

THE ROLE OF SOCIAL MEMORY IN A HERITAGE SITE:
THE CASE OF
MEVLANAKAPI NEIGHBORHOOD AND THE LAND WALLS

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**THE ROLE OF SOCIAL MEMORY IN A HERITAGE SITE:
THE CASE OF MEVLANAKAPI NEIGHBORHOOD AND THE LAND
WALLS**

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This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in Sociology

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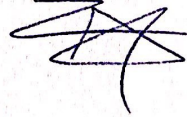
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A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'Zeynep Dogusan', written in a cursive style.

ABSTRACT

THE ROLE OF SOCIAL MEMORY IN A HERITAGE SITE: THE CASE OF MEVLANAKAPI NEIGHBORHOOD AND THE LAND WALLS

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This thesis is based on a field research, on a unique urban case of an intertwinement of cultural heritage site with a traditional neighborhood, Mevlanakapı, at the center of Istanbul. Since 2014 the park project of Fatih Municipality within inner conservation zone of the land walls turned into a conflict between the settlers of the neighborhood and the municipality. The building of the park was possible by a renewal project on a settled part of the neighborhood, which will lead to demolishing the houses already there. The conflict between the sides have revealed a field of research of the meanings given to history and heritage, besides political applications. Years-long experience in the neighborhood enabled the dwellers to come together against the demolition threat easily and show an alternative way of having a relationship with history, through social memory based on everyday experiences. The mechanisms of social and spatial identification of the dwellers are based on a relationship of everyday life practices with social memory. Everyday life features in the spatial setting of the land walls, lead to an original relationship with a heritage site on a local basis. These different experiences have allowed the inhabitants to have a heterogeneous imagination of the land walls compared to the great politically instrumentalized historical narratives.

Keywords: Social Memory, Sociology of Everyday Life, Cultural Heritage Site, Mevlanakapı, The Land Walls of Istanbul

ÖZ

MİRAS ALANINDA TOPLUMSAL HAFIZANIN ROLÜ: MEVLANAKAPI MAHALLESİ VE KARA SURLARI ÖRNEĞİ

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Bu tez, İstanbul'un merkezinde, kültürel miras alanının geleneksel bir mahalle olan Mevlanakapı ile mekânsal olarak iç içe geçtiği özgün bir kent örneğinde yapılan bir alan araştırmasına dayanmaktadır. 2014 yılından beri, Fatih Belediyesi'nin kara surları iç koruma alanındaki park projesi mahalle sakinleri ile belediye arasında bir çatışmaya neden olmuştur. Çünkü parkın inşa edilmesi için ilan edilen yenileme projesi, mahal- lenin yerleşik bir kısmındaki evlerin yıkılmasını öngörüyordu. Bu çatışmalı süreç, ta- rafların tarihe ve mirasa verdiği anlamların açığa çıktığı bir araştırma alanını ortaya çıkardı. Mahallelilerin hayatları boyunca mahalle mekanında ürettiği deneyime daya- nan sosyal ve mekânsal aidiyetleri, yıkım tehdidine karşı bir araya gelmelerini kolay- laştırdı. Kara surlarının oluşturduğu mekânsal özelliklerle şekillenen mahalle gündelik yaşamı, kültürel miras alanıyla yerel ve özgün bir ilişki kurulmasını sağlamıştır. Günlük deneyimlere dayanan toplumsal hafızaları aracılığıyla tarihle ilişki kurmanın alternatif bir yolunu göstermişlerdir. Bu farklı deneyimler, sakinlerin, siyasi olarak araçsallaştı- rılmış büyük tarihi anlatılara kıyasla, kara surlarına dair heterojen bir tahayyül edin- melerini sağlamıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Toplumsal Hafıza, Gündelik Yaşam Sosyolojisi, Kültürel Miras Alanı, Mevlanakapı, İstanbul Kara Surları

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The Land Walls of Istanbul is one of the unique examples of ancient military architecture which marks the boundaries of the Byzantine capital, built by Theodosius II in the 5th century. It does not stand only as a fortification wall, but also a rich cultural landscape, showing the diversity of the urban history (Bütüner, 2010a) This cultural landscape also contains an important aspect of social life of the city with the oldest neighborhoods next to it (Figen Kivılcım Çorakbaşı, Asu Aksoy , Alessandra Ricci, 2014). As a part of this long history, the old neighborhoods contain elements of an urban culture with a multi-layered structure from Byzantine and Ottoman pasts, which show the palimpsest structure of the city. The understanding and imagination of the area by the local people living there is intertwined with everyday life and the physical structure of the walls (Ortaç, 2010):

Today, there are still many haunting memories for the Land Walls; Yedikule bostans that specialized in the cultivation of lettuce still provide vegetables; Cemeteries still characterize the landscape of the walled zone; Vehicles still pass through the gates... People still walk along the Land Walls; Janissaries still attack the Land Walls every May 29. On the other hand, the Land Walls and walled zone have experienced radical transformations as well. Basically, they lost their defensive purpose; they no longer encircle İstanbul and define the boundary of the city. The walls, that were once constructed to block attacks, have now been invaded by people and have become an urban space that serves totally on the human scale; and the Land Walls that once dominated the landscape have now been absorbed by the urban landscape.

(Bütüner, 2010a, p.16)

Physical conditions of the walls, with a huge architecture, of 7 km length and 20-30 m width, and 16,5-hectare wide area, became a significant determinant of the everyday life practices of the neighborhoods next to it. These physical conditions lead to a unique experience at the center of the city.

The land walls area has become an urban area of conflict, on administrative and historiographical spheres. Public administrative authorities became responsible before

international institutions like UNESCO when the land walls area entitled as a World Heritage Site (*Dünya Miras Alanı*). This process brought with it applications laws, for the protection of the area as a historical site and also organize the settlements around them according to the new rules. Through this new process, new urban transformation projects were also applied in the neighborhoods next to the land walls. Urban transformation projects were implemented not only for protectionist aims but also to gain profit by calling new national and international new users to the area. This lead to a conflict with the traditional dwellers of those neighborhoods. The dwellers have to obey to the zoning rules in the cultural heritage site, by organizing their settlements according to it. These rules could make their living in those areas disadvantageous compared to other districts of Istanbul. Also, urban transformation projects turned into a threat against them, forcing economically vulnerable groups to leave their neighborhoods. I argue that, the predicted demographical change in the traditional communities of the neighborhoods in the cultural heritage site of the land walls, is legitimated by narratives on historic protectionism. Because of that, we have to take into consideration the perspective of the locals, not only as a community try to protect their right to keep living in their neighborhood, but also in a relationship with the narratives legitimizing these projects.

Sociological understanding and analysis of the neighborhoods on the heritage site is possible with a perspective considering the historical, social, and physical conditions of the area. Although there are studies, which have examined the area from the perspectives of architecture (Yıldırım, Güney, 2015), architectural history (Turnbull, 2004) and social history (Behar, 2003) and provided important information on the spatial and social-historical features of the area, they have little to say on contemporary conflicts. The experts who are more concerned with the protection of the historical value of the area, approach the urban projects to analyze their compatibility with its heritage value. On the other hand, sociological studies focusing on the conflict, search and analyze the urban transformation projects in those neighborhoods with an economic perspective taking the neo-liberalization policies of urban administrations into consideration. These studies try to understand the area only as a part of this conflict and in relation to a struggle against this conflict. I argue that a sociological

study of the neighborhoods should take into consideration the relationship with history in everyday life, which was established much earlier than the area was declared as a cultural heritage site. Because of that, I focused on the social memory of the neighborhood, based on everyday experiences, which enable the dwellers a social and spatial identification with the area, not only as an intimate place but also as a place of history.

In this research, I have tried to understand the relationship between the land walls and the neighborhoods next to it on everyday basis. As I focused on Mevlanakapı neighborhood (*Mevlanakapı Mahallesi*), I followed the everyday experiences in the memories of the dwellers and tried to understand the social experience and social memory of this community on the land walls. The social memory of the neighborhood, which is produced within the land walls' complex in everyday life, includes heterogeneous aspects which are not included in grand narratives of the land walls. This social memory has also a manipulative power on historiography of the land walls and their administrative transformations today. It has also an empowering aspect for the settlers, to stand in a group against upcoming threats from the municipality.

This research is written by starting a general theoretical perspective, which will help us to make sense of this specific case. Then the methodology used for this research is explained. I gave a small background on the urban planning history effected the area and lead it to the contemporary conflict with the renewal projects. The chapter in which I have shared findings of the field research has three sections, first one is focused on the neighborhood, the second on the land walls area and in the third one I have showed the relationship with history and everyday life. In the conclusion part, I summarized the contributions and proposals of this research.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

2.1. Scope of the Field of Social Memory

The study of social memory is a transdisciplinary field, including approaches from sociology, history, literary criticism, anthropology, psychology, art, history, and political science. It examines commemorations, monument buildings, national historiographies, and biographies. (Olick & Robbins, 1998). Social memory deals with the effect of the role of the past on the present, in social relations and in everyday meaning giving mechanisms. The field emerged by the critique of modern ways of historiography, historicizing national narratives, usage and instrumentalization of history for the sake of present reasons.

Memory studies as a topic of sociology was first established by Maurice Halbwachs' (1992) on the conceptualization of collective memory. He differentiates collective memory from personal memory by emphasizing the role of society in recollection. According to him, people remember in groups, as a part of and within the relation of a group (Halbwachs, 1992, p.38). Only in a societal relation, we can remember and by remembering together we reach a collective homogeneous memory. His societal holistic perspective on memory was groundbreaking but was also criticized by following scholars because of his conceptualization of collective memory as a homogeneous one. A homogeneous collective memory concept approaches society as one single unit and cannot consider various small group-based relations with their own memories. Later on, Aleida Assmann brought a heterogeneous perspective to Halbwachs' collective memory, with the concept of "social memory" (2006). Assmann uses collective memory as a general concept, which includes "family, neighborhood, the generation, the society, the state and the culture we live in" (Assmann, 2006, p. 210). Thus, this concept argues that there are three categories that suggest different ways of understanding and using the memory. While theoritizing the memory as a social phenomenon, the way it is instrumentalized has to be taken into consideration. Culture and politics are two spheres of the organization of memory by authorities.

Cultural memory includes, archives of cultural accumulation of a group's history and political memory includes national narrative, based on the historiography of the state. As the third category, social memory is based on a shared social experience of small groups and builds up a group identity. While instruments of cultural and political memories are shaped in a homogenizing way of national narratives to be used to educate society in a top-down manner, social memory is shaped bottom-up in a heterogeneous structure (Assmann, 2006, p. 215).

Seeing a group in a homogeneous way can also lead to dismissing some individual memorial details, or to try and fit them into the same basket of memories, to have an overarching category. To have a more detailed perspective, Özyürek (2007) suggests the term "public memory". Public memory is inspired by Appadurai and Breckenridge's term "public culture", which considers culture as a "zone of debate" (1988, p.6). Rather than drawing a dichotomy between the two, Özyürek places public memory in a debatable sphere and conceptualizes it including both the "shared and the contested aspects of memory" side by side. According to interests in the present, different individuals and groups can promote different versions of their memory (Özyürek, 2007, p.9). Within a group and also between groups, each member can bring a different detail to public memory.

The debate on the societal features of memory is crucial for my research. I argue that people of Mevlanakapı have a sense of group identity based on their shared experience in the neighborhood. However, this identity can show itself in various ways because of the differences in individual experiences. Interviewees of the research have different demographic qualities and a range of experiences in the period between the 1950s to 2010s. These memories can also emerge in a competitive way, according to the interviewees' position in contemporary conflicts in the neighborhood. Despite the differences among narratives, they show that the neighborhood has a shared group identity.

There are also heterogeneous details emerging according to the experience of the participants. In some cases, according to their current neighborhood situation, participants express different versions of an event. Due to having different relations to the historical narratives on the heritage site, some memories differ in contradicting ways between participants residing in the same location. Based on the conditions of my research group, I will use Assmann's category of social memory by taking into account Özyürek's criticism, which opens up a place for individual sense-making mechanism in relation to the present.

To understand a social and spatial perspective of social memory, I will look at its association with spatial and social features. For the social memory part of the research, I will mainly use the theoretical work produced under the concept of place memory. To have a sense of social memory of the neighborhood, I have followed everyday life details in different periods in a lifetime. Therefore, I will use concepts of sociology of everyday life to analyze those parts of the research. The social and spatial perspectives of social memory can have interchangeable concepts which you will see below.

2.1.1. The Role of Memory in Social Identification

Social identification with the group is made possible by their daily practices of remembering together. Collective memory in this sense has a connective role for people. It "allows people to have a certain social identification, both on an individual and a societal level" (Mistral, 2003, p.14). Remembering in groups and remembering together is a way to construct a community.

By remembering together we build a feeling of belonging. This sense of belonging starts with crucial moments of personal biography, like "the place one was born in, the family one belongs to," which are long-term childhood memories (Fenster, 2007, p. 253). Based on personal experiences a sense of belonging can be felt. A sense of belonging to a community builds on collective crucial experiences and shared symbols, which attach people to a community (Fenster, 2007, p.253). Jan Assmann (2013) makes a distinction between two types of memories; cultural and communicative

memories which enable social identification for people. For small intimate communities, collective memory is produced and remembered on an everyday basis as a "communicative memory" (J. Assmann, 2013, p.37). The identity culture created unites individuals and gives a sense of "us" (J. Assmann, 2001, p. 21). Culture is a normative sphere, with rules and common values, based on common perceptions of memories. However, it is a stricter way to divide people into groups and it's harder for a newcomer to be a member of a culture. Compared to cultural memory, which is mainly reserved in archives or various cultural elements of the group, communicative memory is a non-institutional memory which lives in everyday interaction and communication. While cultural memory is one of the main determinants of a nation, commemorative memory works through group memories, which goes back three generations, which can transmit the same memory to each other (J. Assmann, 2013). On a daily basis, the people of Mevlanakapı are in a relationship with the land walls' cultural memory, which was produced by cultural and administrative authorities. The national narratives emphasizing the Ottoman conquest of the city and the heritage value of the area was produced with various applications, like museums and commemoration ceremonies. Alongside these organizations, local people also produce a communicative memory on everyday basis which they can carry on to the upcoming generations.

By remembering together, "people can form a new community as a framework for social identification and bonding." (Blokland, 2001, p.280). The practices of social memory in this sense can "create a sense of continuity and solidarity within social groups" through which a member can have temporal and relational bonds to other members of the group (Fentress & Wickham, 1992, p. xi). Neighborhood solidarity can be built within their mnemonic community through the constructive role of social memory. Social bonds of a group make the communicative memories durable and communicative memory can work to build a feeling of group membership (J. Assmann, 2013, p. 38). So what we remember is embedded in a social context of "mnemonic communities" (Mistral, 2003, p.15). Mnemonic communities are groups that we socialize in to determine the boundaries of what is remembered and what should be kept out of the memory to be forgotten. "Mnemonic socialization" is a process of

incorporating new members to the group, by internalizing collective past to attain the social identity of the group (Mistzal, 2003, p.15).

However, through this mnemonic socialization process, when newcomers cannot participate in collective remembering, they can be excluded as an “outsider” (Lash, 1991, p.104). While mnemonic communities determine the boundaries of the memory, they can also determine the boundaries of the group. Social identification of the group is also built through the exclusion of “outsiders” based on their lack of involvement in this long-term sociability of remembering. Talja Blokland describes everyday conversation in a neighborhood community as “recalling memories of shared experience was a secret language to those who had not been present at the time. Recollections about the neighborhood, in which one person added to the story of another and ‘everybody’ knew what the story was about, were overarched by the myth of neighborhood and networks in collective memory” (Blokland, 2001, p. 279). The “secret language” of the neighborhood makes anyone who does not understand the reference an outsider, so they would be excluded from the community (Blokland, 2001, p. 279). In my research, while participants talk about past events and people of Mevlanakapı, they refer to them in a specific way. They use nicknames or terminology only used within the neighborhood, thus I, as an outsider, was incapable of understanding their secret language. This also works for the newcomers to the neighborhood.

In this sense, memory has a strong relationship with the group identity. The group identity is based on the collective memory of the group, thus, remembering the past is required for the members of the group. It can work in small communities and even also in the production of nations under a state. Mnemonic socialization of a neighborhood, Mevlanakapı in our case, is built within a communicative memory. Settlers of the neighborhood remember and remind each other of Mevlanakapı’s collective memory and boundaries of its social identity. The meaning of group identity can be sustained by collective memory. In order to legitimize identity, memory is called and recalled continuously. By doing so they preserve a sense of belonging to their mnemonic community and they can transfer the social identity to other generations.

We can also mention a reciprocal relationship between identity and memory. Similar to how present situations affect the way the past is remembered, the present situation of a group identity defines the boundaries of what is or what should be remembered. Traditional identities which are destructed under modern socializations or identity of minority groups which are under attack from the majority are more keen to keeping their memories alive in order to be able to save the authenticity of their identities (Mistzal, 2003, p.134). Edward Said (2000) conceptualizes the contemporary search for a group-based identity, as a need of late the 20th century, in which local bonds of religions, dynasties or even families are under threat of mass societies (p. 179). That's why many "people now look to this refashioned memory, especially in its collective forms, to give themselves a coherent identity, a national narrative, a place in the World." (cited in Hoelscher & Alderman, 2004, p.349). When we compare the relationship of settlers of Mevlanakapı within the mass society of the capital city, we can recognize that the local cultural and social memory of the neighborhood is also under the threat of both the physical and social changes. It is under attack by the massive urban changes around them. That's why they try to save authentic ways of their local identity, by standing together and reminding each other the unique parts of their memory. Also, grand historical narratives of the region undermine and overlook the local memories of people. Although not the main determinant, the mnemonic community of Turkish nationhood with its cultural memory is one of the main elements of the neighborhood's social identity. The social memory of the neighborhood, which fades away in time, has a more heterogeneous structure compared to the national historical narrative.

The role of temporality in identity building provides a clue about its function in social identification. Our image of the past, how we remember ourselves in time and in space, can connect us to several structures with a social and temporal understanding. In this sense remembering connects us to society and brings about a "synthesis of time and identity" (J. Assman, 2013, p. 36). Conceptualization of time, with a distinct past and its construction in relation to identity is crucial in this sense. The memory works as the "essential anchor of particularistic identities" when it is a "collective belief in some vision of the past as being 'the true' one in a specific moment of the

group's life" (Mistzal, 2003, p. 133). This collective belief of a specific past is a way to express collective experience in identifying "a group, giving it a sense of its past and defining its aspirations for the future" (Fentress& Wickham, 1992, p. 25). The past is constructed in order form a connection to the future. The social memory acts as the main source of group identity, by constructing "some kind of continuing sense in an ever-changing present" (Young, 1988, p. 98 cited in Mistzal, 2003). This sense of continuity enables memories to be recalled in the present time, and it is recalled when it still maintains a meaning for the contemporary situation of the society.

2.1.1.1. Nostalgia as a Tool of Social Identification

The temporal and spatial understanding of the social identification of the neighborhood indicates a nostalgic conceptualization of time. The relationship between remembering and nostalgia is intertwined (Adams & Larkham, 2015, p.2), thus nostalgia can be seen as a specific way of remembering. Nostalgia is originally a Greek term, and it means longing to return home (Boym, 2011). The term contains a feeling with a perspective of time and of one's own situation in that time. The belief that there is a stable home to return to and the feeling of loss of something that is vital for self-being, cause nostalgia. It can be described as "a longing for home that no longer exists or has never existed" (Boym, 2011). Longing for a specific time or a place can individually have positive or negative results. But if we consider social nostalgia, we should take into account its association with social mechanisms.

Nostalgic way of understanding the time is criticized due to its obsessive attitude with the past. On the other hand, the way nostalgia is organized by authorities is highly criticized because of a narrow way of historicizing and the way it is used for commercial purposes. In the urban sphere, the way nostalgia is used for the urban organization has been condemned as a recessive wish to recall an idealized past, which has been destructed by urban modernity (Pickering& Keightley, 2006, p.919). Nostalgia, in this sense, occurs as an objection against modern way of understanding, which conceptualizes time as progressive. On the other hand, through the organization of the urban space, during the official production of historical narratives and urban elements of memorialization, alternative or ordinary memories are suppressed when

they do not fit into major narrative of urban past (Farmer&Pendlebury, 2013, p.265 in Adams, Larkham, 2015, p. 5). That's why the way nostalgia is used by the state in recalling of the past in a romanticized way can have exclusionary effects.

Svetlana Boym puts forward the prospective potential of nostalgia Against the conceptualization of nostalgia as a regressive desire to call an idealized past (Pickering& Keightley, 2006, p. 919). She argues that, if nostalgia can be imagined responsibly as a binding tool of personal and collective memories then "the fantasies of the past determined by the needs of the present have a direct impact on the realities of the future"(Boym, 2011). She differentiates between official nostalgia which denies the idea "to surrender to irreversibility of time"(Boym, 2001, p.15) and "reflective nostalgias" which challenges the history produced by the authorities. In this sense, reflective or unofficial nostalgias contain "imaginative possibilities" (Loveday, 2014, p. 726) and transformational power (Seremetakis, 1994, p. 4) against grand narratives of history. For her, nostalgia can be a "poetic creation, an individual mechanism of survival, a countercultural practice, a poison, and a cure" if it is not instrumentalized through predisposition in a usable way, such as using nostalgia in nation-building (Boym, 2011).

Besides Boym's argument on providing perspective, nostalgia can directly have a positive effect through emotions. Memory contains nostalgic content if it "draws hope and comfort from the past" (Lash, 1991, p.83). A promising way of nostalgic remembering in this sense can positively contribute to memory. Psychologically, nostalgic way of remembering not only contains negative feelings but it also enables social identification and "social connectedness" (Cheung, et al. 2013, p. 1488) For instance, older adults can nostalgically remember their youth, indicating that "self- defining moments of one's youth, and hence may account for the romantically inflected memories coming from some respondents" (Hepper et al., 2014 in Adams & Larkham, 2015). Drawing hope from the past turns into a social identification if you share your self-defining memories with respondents sharing those memories.

For the settlers of Mevlanakapı, the nostalgic recalling of the past can indicate their move to the neighborhood, or their childhood for those who have spent their childhood in the neighborhood. The period between 1960s to 1990s is referred by different respondents as a “vision of the past as being ‘the true’ one in a specific moment of the group’s life” (Mistzal, 2003, p.133). This shared memory is not only the “self-defining moment of one’s” but the self-defining time interval for the entire group. Thus people with same nostalgias socialize in the same group.

Despite Boym’s distinction between official and unofficial nostalgias, there are still overlapping aspects. There is a constructive exchange between individual alternative memories and official commemoration mechanisms (Bonnett & Alexander, 2013, p.3). They can both learn from each other and display the other's characteristics by social identification. Like all socializing processes inclusion within a group comes with the exclusion of the outsiders. For instance, the reference to the fictitious and lost feeling of the past (Blokland, 2001, p.279), works as a social identification tool by including the people of the same feeling while excluding the others. Furthermore, within official nostalgias, especially elderly people in a group mentions topics of the past in daily conversations, by reducing it to a “one-dimensional memory” to “make sense of their changing environment” (Blokland, 2001, p.280). It works as a nostalgic remembrance of the good old days, in which the community was in its ultimate condition. The settlers remember the neighborhood as ‘We who have lived here all our lives and who own this neighborhood had a better time when it was ‘only us’ (Blokland, 2001, p. 280) However, it can be an exclusionary experience, to nostalgically remember the past, for the newcomers who do not know the “good old days”.

In the urban sphere, nostalgia plays an important role in people's social and spatial identification. The shared feeling of nostalgia with distinct references gives a "continuing sense in an everchanging present" (Young, 1999, p. 98). A nostalgic understanding of time and space in this sense, enables people to cling to a beautiful past when they are not satisfied with the current situation of the city. Nostalgia can also be a "progressive force in urban life" for the resident since cities have undergone dramatic physical changes due to official transformation plans (Adams & Larkham,

2015, p.1). Nostalgic memories of urban dwellers can form continuous engagement with the city (Muzaini, 2015).

2.1.2. The Role of Memory in Spatial Identification

We can look closer to the effect of the spatial sphere in remembering practices. The sense of group membership is not only preserved within the social context but also brings with it a sense of belonging to the place they live in. Social identification is related to collective memory through place-making (Blokland, 2001, p. 279).

The relationship between place and society is constructed through several processes. Spatial identification, which can be understood as a sense of belonging to a place, is related to the meaning given to that space. The social meaning of a place or its identity, cannot be taken as the default, but rather is the product of sociality. In this sense, places cannot be conceptualized with fixed meaning, but they are end-results of various social relations (Massey, 1994, p. 119).

The meaning-giving process to a place starts with a sense of belonging to the place, which is achieved through performances of users. Long-term memories, "our childhood experiences, our personal readings, and reflections on specific spaces, which are associated with significant events in our personal history" constitute a sense of belonging to those places. (Fenster, 2007, p.248). According to Neil Leach in order to make a place in context of space, a social territorialization and narrativization through performances are needed (2002, p.129). Belonging to a place is the consequence of the territorialization and performativity, and "out of that belonging a sense of identity might be forged." (Leach, 2002 p.130). Leach conceptualizes the performance of users through "performativity": a concept originally established by Judith Butler (1993). Identity constitution, according to Butler, is based on actions and behavior. But those actions and behavior, and performances in general, have to be followed repetitively to be able to produce an identity. So performativity is "accumulative iteration of certain practices" and "the identity is the effect of performances, not vice versa." (Leach, 2002, p. 130). Place identity emerged and reinvented through performativities, which means identities of people and places can be in a multiple and

shifting structure (Massey, 1994: 7, p. 142) and they are always in a mode of transformation (Massey, 1995, p. 186). The possibility of changing the given meaning makes identifications “fleeting and transitory” (Leach, 2002, p.130).

Spatial identification of a place is possible through performances of a group of people. We can consider the mechanism and the extent of these performances. Michel de Certeau conceptualizes that those meaning and belonging producing performances as “spatial tactics”. These tactics are every day habitual movements of people which enables them to engage with the place. This engagement is “a process of appropriation of the topological system on the part of the pedestrian” (De Certeau, 1984, p. 97). Spatial tactics offer ways of making connections and finding meaning in otherwise abstract places (Leach, 2002, p. 130). Daily routines and practices in the city, like “repetitive daily walking practices”, is a way to create “everyday sense of belonging”. (Fenster, 2007, p. 253). In an abstract urban environment, “our daily practices help us to draw our “private city” and to underline the intimate allies and paths that we use in our daily practices.” (Fenster, 2007, p.253)

According to Walter Benjamin (1969), two manners of appropriation of architecture, usage and perception is achieved by habitual performances. He argues that "as regards architecture, habit determines to a large extent even optical reception." (1969, p.240). Thus, even the way we visually perceive an architecture is based on habit, which is guided by physical contact. Neil Leach, on the other hand, enlarges the scope of identification actions from everyday basic actions to ritualistic behaviors, through which “a certain attachment to place” and colonization of territories by communities is achieved (2002, p.130). These experiences and spatial identification are transferred to upcoming generations by memory, through which "a sense of continuity, of belonging and of self" is formed (Degnen, 2016, p.1663).

Memories of people and places cannot be separated in the collective memory. Social relations can be fashioned and maintained by shared memories of people and places. Sense of place attachment and belonging to a place can be built by these shared

memories. (Degnen, 2016, p.1633). The individual experience of a place, "the embodied sensorial register of experience" can have a connective role in people when it is shared through memories. (Degnen, 2016, p. 1645). When we appropriate the place through vision and touch, we leave traces which create "memorized sensory experiences" (Leach, 2002, p.132). Those memorized experiences are recalled with the repetition of habit (Leach, 2002, p.132). While this feeling of attachment connects people, it is also created and enriched through everyday talk of sharing experiences. Place attachment "made and remade in animated, active forms of social memory and contemporary exchange and debate amongst friends, relatives, and acquaintances" (Degnen, 2016, p. 1663). This exchange of commemorative memories in this sense "binds people together and creates a sense of belonging" (Degnen, 2016, p. 1662).

2.1.3. Place Memory

Memory is emerged and recalled in spatial settings: "places, sites, buildings, and streets give us our bearings and enable us to anchor and order our memories" (Truc, 2011, p. 148). Social groups remember within space their shared experiences. Certain places can also be organized to be remembered in a certain way. In this sense, the order of remembering works, also with institutions and organizations. Place memory is a general term refers to two different ways of remembering, on everyday basis and through an organization process.

2.1.3.1. Intimate Places of Memory

Mevlanakapı neighborhood stays partially on the cultural heritage site, at the periphery of the historic city center of Istanbul. The places of everyday usage of Mevlanakapı thus, include mundane memories of places interwoven into places of memory of streets of the cultural heritage site. The map of memories include the intimate places of first settlements in the neighborhood to the streets of houses to main roads of the district, and everyday life practices on and around the historical land walls. Following a settler's place memory, is a way to start with intimate places toward the social ones of the neighborhood.

The house is the most intimate place of experience, of sensing the physical environment and of imagining the memories. Bachelard conceptualizes it in the "Poetics of Space" as a shelter of memory and familiarity which stays as an antithesis of happening outside of the home, which is mainly modern urbanist buildings. (Bachelard, 1969). The settlers of Mevlanakapı can also recall their memories in their first houses by giving examples of combining physical examples with sensual ones, by emphasizing their feeling around it. However, the memories are always recalled in relation with the neighborhood, with people living around it or physical relationship between the streets passing by and the house. For some of them also, the historic wall is the landscape they see when they look out their window. That's why it is impossible to conceptualize the intimacy of daily life, with only from inside the house, because of its close relationship with the shared outside places of the neighborhood.

Neighborhood is a place of connection of physical and social intimacy. Michel de Certeau conceptualizes the neighborhood, in which every spatial aspect can be linked within walking distance (Certeau, Giard, Mayol, 1998, p.10.). The neighborhood can be called "an outgrowth of the abode" binding all the places accessible from home (Certeau et al., 1998, p.11). This physical accessibility brings with it an elimination of the boundary between private and public space. Public space is privatized in everyday use in the neighborhood (Certeau et al., 1998, p.11). Within a city, which has the most foreign environment for the users, the neighborhood provides a transitory environment by connecting the private to the public, a continuity from the "most intimate" to the "most unknown" place. (Certeau et al., 1998, p.11) This social and spatial circumstances of the neighborhood enables everyone to easily enroll in the city and its planned structure.

Its social environment is based on the spatial proximity of different people and these physical circumstances bring with it certain social rules for the neighborhood. Everyday life in the neighborhood is based on practices, which defines the identity of the groups, and each member's place in social relations (Certeau et al., 1998, p.9). Neighborhood as a place of a community, that is socially linked to each other with their

closeness and repeated habits, can keep its order by a manifested social commitment. "Propriety" is a social contract, on which "the neighborhood's coexistence is based" (Certeau et al., 1998, p.9) and "a compromise in which each person, by renouncing the anarchy of individual impulses, makes a down payment to the collectivity" (Certeau, et al., 1998, p.8) "The practice of the neighborhood" which is organized under priority, "a tacit collective convention, unwritten, but legible to all dwellers through the codes of language and of behavior" is a way to recognize space in a social way (Certeau, et al., 1998, p.16).

These norms of propriety enable the "coexistence on the same territory" of people who are not officially linked to each other. By behaving according to propriety, a dweller "becomes a partner in a social contract that he or she consents to respect so that everyday life is possible" (Certeau, et al., 1998, p.8). Through these rules neighborhood turns into a "collective public", that embraces those who obey these norms and exclude others who transgress the social norms (Certeau, et al., 1998, p.16).

This transitivity between private and public space in the neighborhood could also be found in traditional Turkish neighborhood, in which residential homes extend to streets, and people have a strong sense of "belonging and collectivity" (Mills, 2007, p.336). Neighboring is one of the social activities which we can think within a priority concept. It enables transgression of spaces while opening homes to neighbors and also, making the physical spaces of the neighborhood a familiar place (Mills, 2007, p. 336). "Ongoing and reciprocal visiting" of neighbors, is a responsibility to show membership in the group thus extends the "private family space" to the "residential street of the neighborhood" (Mills, 2007, p .341). Another neighboring propriety activity is knowing, which means "everyone 'knows' each other, or is 'known' in the neighborhood" (Mills, 2007, p.341). In a De Certeau (1998) sense, propriety "describes the behaviors of neighbors that create belonging by defining who is an insider and who is an outsider to the neighborhood" (Mills, 2007, p. 343). Through knowing, knowledge is produced to create familiarity and with it the safety of the neighborhood (Mills, 2007, p. 343).

This physical intimacy with the neighborhood can also be seen as a social intimacy among the people. Neighborhood in the Turkish cultural context also refers to a “closeness and familiarity” which is produced by everyday practices between the community. (Mills, 2007, p. 339). Being close to each other leads to remembering together and that creates an intimacy among the group: *the framework of collective memory confines and binds our most intimate remembrances to each other*” (Halbwachs, 1992, p. 53). According to Halbwachs, small groups like a family are very powerful to enable its members a shared consciousness besides a shared memory. Members of a family share a history, which affects their reactions and the way of thinking throughout their whole lives. *“Within the framework of family memory many figures and facts do indeed serve as landmarks, but each figure expresses an entire character, as each fact recapitulates an entire period in the life of the group”* (Halbwachs M., 1992, p. 53). Because of the intimacy in everyday life, neighbors can also be conceptualized as an “extended family” (Tanriover 2002 in Mills, 2007, p.339). The physical intimacy of the neighborhood similar to family intimacy, meaning that they can recall specific events and places by coming together.

2.1.3.2. Urban Memory

A city is also a place of memory, its organization affects and is affected by social memory. "Memory and metropolis are interwoven" in a sense that they shape each other (Mistral, 2003, p.17). Narratives and social memory of a city are shaped by social life and built an environment of the city. The social and physical setting of a city in this sense is based on the context of experiences and memories. Spatial organization of the city includes social groups of different classes, of ethnicity and of gender in a specific way, and differentiates experience and “evokes particular and diverse memories” (Du Bois, 2014, p.347). Within these diverse memories and experiences, some parts of the urban past is emphasized and recalled to the center of the city, while other parts are forgotten, hidden or cast out to the periphery. That's why Walter Benjamin conceptualizes the urban setting as “the battleground for the past”, which is contestable and open (Mistral, 2003, p.16). Walter Benjamin (1968) consid-

ers the city as a repository of social memory. Physical features of city work as mnemonic symbols of collective memory, revealing "hidden and forgotten pasts" (Benjamin, 1968, p.16).

The relation between memory and place is shaped and organized under modern institutions, which shows its most effective role in a modern city. The modern approach to urbanization places a sharp distinction between, memory and history, and the institutions of both. While memory lives and remains "in permanent evolution, open to the dialectic of remembering and forgetting, unconscious of its successive deformations, vulnerable to manipulation and appropriation, susceptible to being long dormant and periodically revived" history is "representation of the past a "reconstruction" (Nora, 1989, p.8). This distinction between real memories and duty memories, is also crucial for the organization of the past of the city. As opposition to this modernist urbanism, Rossi (1966) puts forward the relationship between human beings and the city as "preservation of old buildings is analogous with the preservation of memories in the human mind" (cited in Crinson, 2005, p.13). He argues that under modern urbanism the city loses its typology, with the destruction of old buildings, which work as a guide for people by providing a memory and identity of the city. According to him, if the architectural past of a city is not preserved, people living within it cannot make sense of the city (Crinson, 2005, p.13). The organization of modern city affects memory and places of memories in physical and social senses. David Frisby argues that since the beginning of the 20th century, spatial interventions and transportations are preventing our possible encounter with the past and with the present of the metropolis, which resulted in systemic erasure of memory traces (1999, p.106).

As Ward (2016) argues it is the nature of urbanization, which erases local characters and builds a homogeneous environment. Also because of this transformation, people living in the city can lose their relation with places of memory, which Simon Ward conceptualizes as a "distraction": "the role played by homogenization lies not just in the demolition of places, but also in the structuring of a way of encountering the city." (2016, p.19)". The encounter with the city, the way we perceive and experience

the city is also organized by modern ways of urbanization. Tony Bonnett (2008) conceptualizes the organization of modern museum, at the beginning of 20th as a “regime of attention”, which dominates the gaze of the citizens, by organizing the space. Simon Ward uses this concept to understand the domination on the urban gaze. The urban space is organized to educate the citizens on how to look and to perform in the city, what kind of relations and meanings should be given to places, and the correct way to act there to convey this meaning. This regime insists on what should be paid attention to and what parts deserve inattentiveness by the spectators (Ward, 2016, p.20). The concepts of Pierre Nora’s sites of memory, Bonnet’s “regime of attention” and the organization of the urban space could be thought parallel to each other as modern organizations.

However, in the post-modern city, modern way of erasing the tradition is replaced by a selective way of historicizing the city. Post-modern architecture has emerged as a denial of the uniformist approach of modernist architecture, and post-modern urbanism emphasized diversity in public space (Harvey, 1999, p. 86). Instead of disciplining the city, post-modern urbanism formed it in a more particularistic way by considering local traditions, needs, and demands. This rejection of modern urbanism resulted in "de-centered and multi-cultural cities" (Gottdiener&Budd, 2005, p.124). “Post-modern urbanism”, recalls the already uprooted past, back to the city center (Crinson, 2005, p.12). While the poverty is transported to the periphery, city centers become place of “lost or mythical forms of public life, historic buildings that are little more than the carcasses of former functions, loft spaces with cleaned brick and stripped interiors filled with new fittings, ‘historic interiors’ that are preserved as if in aspic, facades saved while their inners are gutted and completely rebuilt, and new museums established in old mills, steelyards and power stations”.(Crinson, 2005, p. 11). According to Boyer, in post-modern urbanism, even the memory of the modernist city is removed from the urban scene, giving its place to “matrix of well-designed fragments.. fictional styles of life and imaginary behaviors' (Boyer, 1996, 2-4). Because of this instrumentalization and selectiveness interrupting the continuity of history, city dwellers lost mediums to “translate memories and traditions into meaningful contemporary forms.” (Crinson, 2005, p.13).

Organization of memory sites within the post-industrial city is also different than it was in modern times. While we re-interpret the past for the needs of the present, memory is recalled as “a cure to the pathologies of modern life” to the city (Huysen, 1995, p. 6). Postmodernist urbanism created “themed and simulated environments” (Gottdiener&Budd, 2005, p.124), by replacing duty-memories sites. Contemporary museums are not a place of the showing the honor of the nation-state, but they have a role "in the social objectification of the past and organized memory around diverse artifacts" (Mistral, 2003, p.21). In post-modern urbanism in this sense, the museum is "no longer simply the guardian of treasures and artifacts from the past discreetly exhibited for the select group of experts" but turned into a "world of spectacle of popular fair and mass and entertainment" (Huysen, 1995, p. 19). The organization of the İstanbul historical city-walls site, by building new museums, replacing the traditional re-conquest ceremony to a fire-work show, could be considered within this change to post-modern custom of commemoration.

2.1.3.2.1. Performance of Sites of Memory

There is not a sharp distinction between modern and post-modern urbanist applications. Contemporary cities contain both modern and post-modern urbanist elements in a mixed manner (Gottdiener&Budd, 2005, p. 124). While modern and post-modern applications on commemoration work side by side, urban dwellers by shaping their relation with urban space and memory, are effected by both. Memories include the way people identify themselves in the city they reside in (Adams & Larkham, 2015). Official and unofficial memories are produced in relation to each other, and also has the potential to transform each other. “Authentic, personal, subaltern, auratic and humanized” memory is recalled within an urban setting, which reminds "collection of objects and practices" of the past "through the traces" of the physical setting. The attachment of urban dwellers to the city is gained with the relationship between the official and unofficial nostalgias. (Bonnett& Alexander, 2013). Urban dwellers' memory of the city and their relation to the place they live in, are shaped within these official organizations but not determined by them. Urban memory specifies cities "as places where lives have been lived and still felt as physically manifest, shaping what

is remembered" beyond the conservation initiatives of experts and authorities (Crinson, 2005, p.12).

Paul Connerton argues that preservation of the past is possible through representation within words and images, but also within our habitual memories. Habit is "sedimented in the body" which keeps "the past in continuing ability to perform certain skilled actions". (Connerton, 2009, p.72) Besides our individual physical habit, there is also a social physical habit, which results in social performances. Neil Leach argues that we "articulate and reinvent" our group identities by performatives, which are "accumulative iteration of certain practices." (Leach, 2002, p.130). "Through ritualized repetition, a symbolic act" the space used for this ritual can be imagined and claimed as belonging to the community and the community to the space (Leach, 2002, p.130).

Sites of memory are spatially constructed memories, but these are not only physical sites. Non-material ones like "the celebrations, spectacles, and rituals that provide an aura of the past." (Holscher& Alderman, 2004, p.349) are also part of this concept. "Through bodily repetition and the intensification of everyday acts that otherwise remain submerged in the mundane order of things, performances like rituals, festivals, pageants, public dramas, and civic ceremonies serve as a chief way in which societies remember." (Holscher& Alderman, 2004, p.350). If we think about the organization of land walls as a lieux de memoire in the city, we can follow similar performances calling the citizens. Remembering the Walls in terms of an Ottoman Past of the conquest of Istanbul in 1453, has been the main theme for all the organizations around the walls. Most significant of these organizations in the 20th century is the commemoration of the conquest. This ceremony was organized every year since 1953 until its cancellation in 2012. As a semi-civilian ceremony, it was open to public and spectators, and local participation. Narratives of the people of Mevlanakapi shows this ritual's effect on the participants, which is the internalization of the Ottoman past. The building of Panorama 1453 History Museum built in 2009, was also given the same consideration. As a museum dedicated to the conquest, it is another

contribution to the conceptualization of the land walls as a site of memory of Istanbul's conquest.

2.1.3.2.2. Gendered Differences in Remembering

Urban experience changes according to different interwoven groups in society like economic and social classes and also gender. These each produce their own tactics to survive. Urban space in this sense is also layered with the past experiences of those groups and the urban plan is reshaped and appropriated by those groups in various senses (Hayden, 1995, p. 9). Women of the city also shape the city with their tactics and they build up their own group memory by sharing of their experiences. The distinction between public and private places, indicate that the former belong to men and the latter belong to women. This is the most commonly used and generalized conception, while differentiating gender-based usages. Public space, which is the space of power and control of society, perceived as the "middle - or upper-class, heterosexual male domain, while home with the domestic work burden, is women's space" (Fenster, 2007, p. 245). This social and spatial distinction can end up as restriction of usage of public spaces, like streets or parks, by women (Fenster, 2007, p. 245). That's why historically women's representation is a "interruption in the city, a symptom of a disorder, and a problem" (Wilson 1992, p.9 in Collie, 2013, p.4). These limitations of movements of different genders, end up with gendered symbolic meanings and identities of certain places (Massey 1994).

Within the neighborhood experience, propriety set the limits for gendered organization of sociality, which imposes certain acts to defined sexes and also limits the spatial organization by marking out certain places by usage by gender (Certeau et al., 1998, 23). In contemporary Turkish neighborhood, we encounter an interwoven relation of public and private spaces, hence gendered space is produced in various ways (Mills, 2007, p. 337). While women can use different parts of a neighborhood or city more freely, they create a sense of belonging to those places. "Every day belonging" to places can emerge, as a spatial and emotional attachment to those places of everyday usage and to people of those places, which are family and neighbors for women (Fenster, 2007, p.247). Neighbor practices can produce gendered places, by calling

women to socialize with “traditional gender roles” at home or in a residential street (Mills, 2007, p.336) and men more in the streets and public places of the neighborhood. Home or residential street in this sense can refer to a more ultimate place of memory for women. (Fenster, 2007, p. 247).

Propriety also refers to regulation on public actions, as a “standardization of behaviors” (Certeau et al., 1998, p.18). To be able to “remain a dweller in the neighborhood”, each member has to act properly, not to be noticed and excluded from the neighborhood community (Certeau et al., 1998, p.18). However, out of the neighborhood, de Certeau conceptualizes walking in the city, as becoming an anonymous subject without notice from the public. Collie argues that urban spatiality differentiates according to the gender of the passersby, there is a "gendered pedestrian subject" (Collie, 2013, p.7). Women cannot “enjoy the privilege of being anonymous” in the city. (Collie, 2013, p.4). By producing their own tactics in the city, they decide on their appearance at particular places in the city, to avoid any kind of abuse.

According to Forsberg (2005), everyday bodily practices of people and their gaze constructs gendered places in the city (cited in Bryant& Livholts, 2007, p.31). According to activities women are responsible for mostly domestic-related works, thus a house becomes a gendered place. In public places, this relation can change in depending on the hour of the day , in which some places for women, turn into men's places at night (Bryant& Livholts, 2007, p. 31). Re-gendering of public places is related to women’s fear of danger that is specifically connected to certain places and time periods. This fear is the result of past memories women carry within their mind and body. Koskela (1999) argues that “Violent attacks and sexual harassment remind women every day that they are not meant to be in certain spaces” (p.11 cited in Bryant & Livholts, 2007, p.31). That's why while choosing places to use women have to decide by negotiation and adaptation of measures, in contrast to men (Bryant& Livholts, 2007, p. 31). This “gendered fear in public space” (Bryant& Livholts, 2007, p. 31) show the difference between male and female experiences. However, fear is not the only emotion brought by women to the negotiation of usage of a certain sapce, they can also develop courage after that (Koskela, 1999 in Bryant & Livholts, 2007). The memory

fearful events of the past is recalled by women in certain situations and restricted place. It is recalled as a tactic for women to decide on their actions in that space (Bryant& Livholts, 2007, p. 38). In this sense public space fear of women , can be a negative experience in “creating imaginary spatial threats”, or a positive experience in bringing “awareness and strategies” to decide, and to form “agency and empowerment” (Bryant& Livholts,2007, p. 37). Different experiences of place by women and men change their relationship with that place and the way they recall those places. The usage of public and private spaces within an urban organization and neighborhood change according to the gender.

2.1.3.2.3. Palimpsests of the City

Instead of a homogenized modern urban space we live within a layered city, with remnants of diverse memories. This layered texture is conceptualized as a palimpsest referring to a type of manuscript, which is reused several times before the remaining is erased and could still be seen. So the writings of previous usages can be read. Huyssen (2003) uses the concept of “urban palimpsest” to discuss political forgetting and remembering institutions, which serve the past of each layer of a city to consumer society's contemporary demands. In his book, Goytisolo conceptualizes İstanbul as a palimpsest city in a literal way *Yeryüzünde Bir Sürgün* (2006). According to him, İstanbul has an urban morphology and urban memory with an overlap of Roman, Byzantium and Ottoman remnants. The marks of each layer can still be read in the city.

The historic land wall is a good example of this palimpsest nature of İstanbul, showing various ways of usage from various time intervals of the city's history. This wall-complex stand as a remnant of layered history. Remnants in the middle of the city may not draw the attention of by-passers, but they can also be seen as be "obstacles from a stubborn past" in a modernized urban environment (Certeau et al., 1998, 133) It is an obstacle to the present being of the city, because of its exposure of layered time. Till, conceptualizes these disruptions on the urban surface as a wound, when it is a sign of violence experienced in the city: ‘open wounds create an irritation in everyday space through which past collides with present' (Till, 2005, p. 103). De Certeau,

on the other hand, refers to the remnants which do not fit to the homogeneous urban planning. In his article "Ghosts in the City", he discusses the juxtaposition of renovated places with remnants in urban space. As he conceptualizes city like a text, he refers to remnants also with an autonomy, speaking their own language. "The seemingly sleepy, old-fashioned things, defaced houses, closed-down factories, the debris of shipwrecked histories still today raise up the ruins of a strange city. They burst forth within the modernist, massive, homogeneous city like slips of the tongue from an unknown, perhaps unconscious language" (Certeau et al., 1998, p.133).

De Certeau's perspective is quite different to Nora's lieux de memoire, in which he refers to subjects intention to remember. Remnants in Nora's sense have to be organized and their historical meaning has to be recalled, to make them effective for the viewer (Ward, 2016, p.55). In De Certeau's perspective, neither the subject has to be educated nor the remnant has to be rewritten to be compatible with the historiography of the city. Although the subject, the urban dweller, does not know about the remnants, the remnants can "burst off" for the "involuntary spontaneity of a memory" (Ward, 2016, p.26). So the material itself has a power to break the rules of the modern city.

De Certeau's emphasis on the arbitrariness and inattentiveness is part of his theory which mainly focuses on the power of unorganized forms of living to change the organized ones. The land walls of Istanbul, as a UNESCO World Heritage Site since 1985 should have the power of a historical narrative by itself. However, it could not become a protected monument when we look at everyday practices of the city. Several pieces of the wall, stones, and remnants of it stay around the main wall structure. These physical objects have the power as in de Certeau sense, to break the view of the city. These also burst off for a call to history in the daily life of Istanbul.

The power of physical layers of the palimpsest of Istanbul emanates with the layers of memories of the citizens, who also have the power to recall their memories. Ac-

According to Halbwachs, memory of a place, and especially urban space, contains collective memory produced by a various group of people, above each other. He argues that historical layers of a place refer to layers of society.

"The place a group occupies is not like a blackboard, where one may write and erase figures at will. The board could not care less what has been written on it before, and new figures may be freely added. But place and group have each received the imprint of the other. Each aspect, each detail of this place has a meaning intelligible only to members of the group, for each portion of its space corresponds to various and different aspects of the structure and life of their society, at least of what is most stable in it" (Halbwachs M., 1980, s. 128)

Halbwachs in his piece "the Stones of the City", discusses the relationship between physical objects and citizens living around these object: "Not only homes and walls persist through the centuries, but also that whole portion of the group in continuous contact with them, its life merged with things" (1980, p.2). Halbwachs argues that people organize social habits and local culture by adapting their everyday practices to physical settings they live in. In his discussion on the influence of physical environment to groups living around them, he makes a distinction between metropolis and old small cities. It is easier to protect the physical environment of more traditional social groups, which are not under the threat of massive transformations similar to ones in big cities. However, city inhabitants also object when their used physical environment is taken away from them, because of their close relationship with it: "but even if stones are movable, relationships established between stones and men are not so easily altered." (1980, p.3) Like the stones which are the main material of this surrounding, people object to be taken away from their habits that are organized around that material. "The stones and other materials will not object, but the groups will. This resistance, if not in the stones themselves, at least arises out of their long-standing relationship with these groups" (1980, p.3). So even people lose that physical setting they will recall their memorial habits, to build a similar habit with a similar physical surrounding.

The call or domination of a space by one group is not enough to remember it only in that particular way. We can talk about a competition of memories on the place.

Halbwachs argues that various memories can be localized in the same place (2008, p.145 cited in Truc, 150) and those memories can be in competition between social groups. "Each group strives to assert its authority by localizing its memories and thus to stamp its mark on its selected "places of memory" in a symbolic marking of the urban space." (Truc, 2011, p.150). The competition on the urban space does not end up with a defeat of one or the other group. Instead, social carriers of memory or physical remnants of memory stays in the urban space waiting to be recalled. While palimpsests of Istanbul are recalled, by authorities or groups of urban dwellers, physical environments play the role of a clue to attach. The built environment "bears the marks of historical periods and events." (Blokland, 2011, p. 280). However, the historical identity of a city or a groups memory on a place can only be called, by recalling its relation with sociality. "The raw material is there, but the collective remembering is still an act." (Blokland, 2001, p.280).

2.1.3.3. Organization of Sites of Memory

Remembering a place by a group of people can sustain . A place can also be reconstructed through power of remembering, which brings people and institutions together. However, recalling of places is also a debate on how to remember them. The modern ways of organization of remembering; historiography for education and monumentalization of places, are all part of a debate about the tools of the nation-state.

The usage of space for the institutions of historiography is a way to educate the members of the nation. Pierre Nora (1989) conceptualizes the "establishment " of shared history as manipulation of social memory by historiography. In Pierre Nora's term museums or monuments are *les lieux de Memoire* , which are "sites of memory" and not *milieu de memoire*, which are "real environments of memory" (Nora, 1989, p.7). Memory sites are contemporary inventions of modern states, which are "embodiment of memory in certain sites where a sense of historical continuity persists" (Nora, 1989, p.7). It is an equation of real memory, which is attached to sites, spontaneity and group feeling, with history which is attached to events, rationality and universality. Sites of memory are used to educate people in a certain way to remember, by

uniting them by doing certain acts in certain places. (Nora,1989). While real memory is spontaneous, *les lieux de memoire* brings with itself a memory of duty, which you have to remember as a nation (Ward, 2016, p.11) The organization of it is a selective way of remembering. While recalling an event or a site is a duty for the nation to remember, "certain elements of the past need to be forgotten" (Holscher&Alderman, 2004, p.350). Thus, national monumentalization acts as a form of obligation to remember aspects in a certain form, and it results in forgetting other details in history (Young,1992).

Massey argues that the history of a place 'is as open to a multiplicity of readings as its present. Moreover, the claims and counter-claims about the present character of a place depend, in almost all cases, on particular, rival interpretations of its past (1995, p.183). The land walls of Istanbul have been organized as a site of memory of the conquest of Istanbul. However, it is also a real environment of memory for the people living next to it an environment of daily life experiences.

Nora's distinction between "abstractions of modernity" and "authentic experience of space" (Ward, 2016, p.14) is also seen in Paul Connerton's conceptualization of modern ways of having a relationship with a place in the book *How Modernity Forgets*. In place of Nora's real memory sites, which are the sites that are in relation with social memory in everyday life, Connerton (2009) uses locus as a concept in contrast to the memorial. Memorials which are built or preserved as a place of remembrance turns into places of forgetting, but in contrast, locus is the effective carrier of cultural memory (Connerton, 2009, p.30). Locus, is a place of daily usage of intimate relations, with inattentive and mundane details. Cultural memory, as a way of living and thinking, could be preserved and brought to other generations through locus.

Hebbert (2005) adapts this concept to the organization of a city, by taking the street as a locus of collective memory. Street is a locus in contrast to city squares which are mainly used for memorials. He argues that: "A shared space- such as a street- can be a locus of collective memory in a double sense. It can express group identity from above, through architectural order, monuments, symbols, commemorative street

names, civic spaces, and historic conservation; it can express the accumulation of memories from below, through the physical and associative traces left by interweaving patterns of everyday life. In practice the two types are inseparable..." (Hebbert, 2005, p. 592). In this conceptualization, Hebbert does not think that the modern way of remembering a street as a method of erasing everyday memories, but he conceptualizes locus as a transitional term, in which historiography and social memory can live within each other. In this sense, Connerton's term locus has a stricter differentiation between social and political memory, like Assman, and conceptualizes locus as a part of the former. Hebbert uses Halbwach's collective memory as a general term to emphasize the transitory nature of locus. By using Assman's categorization of social memory, I focus on the memory produced at the bottom among people. So I conceptualize the land walls area as a locus in both senses by also taking into consideration of the potential transition in Herbert's sense, in an intimate sense, when it was a place of everyday usage, especially before the cleaning processes in the 1980s and restoration process in 1990s. Especially after the 1990s, the usage of the land walls closed to the people living around it. Heritage value of the land walls is emphasized during this process by administrative organizations, so the experience of it became more transitional.

The relation with the place itself is a reciprocal one in this sense. Memory and place can affect and transform each other. Places are "articulations of social relationships"(Blokland, 2001, p. 271) which can work as a vehicle for people to reconsider and reshape their relationships. The relation with the place is shaped by material and subjective experiences. Even the values and the representation of a place, which are seemed as intrinsic aspect of it, can be acquired by these specific experience and attitudes of users. These experiences, for example, can work for streets as a "symbolic geography of street patterns" (Fentress and Wickham, 1992, p.121), which are reputations to describe or explain social identities or communities to map them out (Blokland, 2001, p. 271). They can also work as a cultural sphere for meaning giving mechanisms, which are specific values attributed to some places. These values, which emerge out of experiences, can define social constructions and representation of a culture.

Locus for Connerton (2009) is as a carrier of cultural memory to upcoming generations. Connerton defines the remembering group as a constant organization, that keeps remembering as it is and living the same culture for a long time, without any effect of modernization (Ward, 2016, p.18). Halbwachs, on the other hand, emphasizes the reciprocity of this relationship, which is open to change for both sides. According to him some places have special meanings that can connect members of a group. This sense of belonging to a place is the result of meaning giving and the physical transformation of both sides. "When a group is integrated into part of the space, it transforms that space in its own image, but at the same time it bends and adapts to the material things that resist it", so that "the place bears the stamp of the group, and vice versa" (Halbwachs, 1997, pp.186,195 in Truc, 2011, p.151). For Halbwachs collective memory is needed in order to connect to a place. The material itself constrains the memory. Familiar and local setting of collective memory is vulnerable to change or destruction. Memories of everyday life are vulnerable ones and can be conceptualized as "memory of places" (Truc, 2011, p.148). The loss of the places of everyday life lead to an alteration or forgetting of memories. But as the other side of reciprocal relationship, "places of memory", are reshaped according to the collective memory. This can lead to a reconstruction of lost places on the original places they are remembered on. (Truc, 2011, p.149) In this sense, Halbwachs emphasizes the symboling marking of places, and the power of collective memory to recall certain places. Those places can only be remembered and preserved by a group who are concerned with it (Truc, 2011, p.153). So the social attention to a place can be revitalized, even though the place is "undone by the forces of homogenization and distraction in the city." (Ward, 2016, p. 18).

2.1.3.4. Organization of Heritage Sites

The role political authorities play within institutions and organizations show the effect of power relations on preservation and narrativization of historical centers. Under preservation, authorities have to decide which historical remnants are worth to preserve, what is included in heritage and what is not. Like memory, heritage is also a way to call back the past to the present, "active processing" and "the contemporary

uses" of it (Ashworth, Graham, 1997, p.381). Heritage is conceptualized by a reinterpretation of the past, according to historical narratives. However, it is hard to agree on the concept of heritage.

Connerton (1989) argues that "control of a society's memory largely conditions the hierarchy of power." (p.1). The instrumentalization of social memory is the creation of the past for the purposes of the present. This relation between past and the present is conceptualized by Benjamin (1969) statement "history is filled by the presence of the now" (p. 261) and by Trouillot (1995) phrase "past is a position" (p. 15). According to Trouillot "past does not exist independently from the present", thus past is continuously created by us (1995, p. 15). Historical narratives and historical sites are recalled also not for their own sake but for different contemporary agendas (Holscher & Alderman, 2004 p.349), especially for creating a national perception. Building a nation is partly about writing a shared history but also about organizing places that members of the nation will feel attached to. In this sense: "Imagining a community is both that which is created as a common history, experience or culture of a group's belonging- and about how the imagined community is attached to the places-to location of culture" (Anne-Marie, 1999, p.43) in (Leach, 2002, p.130).

2.1.3.4.1. Museumization of Heritage Sites

Museumization of ancient regions as a heritage site for national purposes through political influence is another controversial issue. Histories selected in historical sites and exhibited to tourists were established according to social (Urry, 1990) and political purposes (Allcock, 1995). Museums often freeze the past in selected, temporal moments. Such moments are, in fact, the product of a nation's efforts to establish an official monumental past that serves the purpose to show its authority to highlight certain aspects of history (Herzfeld, 1991). In this sense, heritage a safe place, freed and saved from the present social and political problems, inherits a history that is no longer alive (Urry 1990).

First, the process of establishing this region as a historical heritage starts with the legitimation of the administration of this region by the state. This national and international legitimacy is won, by emphasizing the rich multicultural cultural heritage of the country (Tucker, 2012, p. 260).

With the authority to organize the past, cultural experts became the owner of the heritage. During this process, local voices are heard through the filter of cultural experts, which shows how the “structural inequalities and unequal power relationships work” in remembering (Bartu Candan, 2007, p. 88). A heritage place’s value and meaning can change according to the way and identity of the interpreter: "All heritage is someone's heritage and therefore logically not someone else's", in this sense "any creation of heritage from the past disinherit someone completely or partially, actively or potentially”(Tunbridge, Ashworth, 1996, p.21). So the inheritance and interpretation of history process work within a power relation about “who gets to tell which story about the past and to whom and under which circumstances and through what means and which histories are invoked for what end and how these are contested and reworked.” (Bartu Candan, 2007, p.94). In the production and consumption of heritage, different groups have not equal power, to be involved in the process and make their historical interpretation valid (Bartu Candan, 2007, p.93).

2.1.3.4.2. Erasing Locality

Preservationist approach decides which sites and values are worth protecting. While this process in turn tries to satisfy the international audience, it can be overlook or disregard the diversity within the culture and differences of localities (Ashworth, Graham, 1997, p.381). On historical heritage sites, heritage produces memory and also consumes it when it is prepared to serve visitors or tourists (Tucker, 2012, p. 258). So the state sanctifies a region, by acting on behalf of tourists, at the cost of the wishes and memories of local people (Tucker, 2012, p. 262). This inheritance process can work side by side with consumerism, which produces a "heritage industry” (Hewison, 1987).

Michael Herzfeld conceptualizes the organization of heritage as a “battle over time” which turns into a “battle over the possession of identity” (Herzfeld, 1991, p.4). In this battle a historical site, although it contains local people, can not only belong to those citizens living there. It became a part of the nation-state and its “monumental conception of history” (p.5). By museumization of a region, the past is related to the context of institutional legitimacy, which prevents direct access to the past and its relation with everyday experiences (Walsh, 1992, 176). While the "familiar domestic spaces" turn into monumental ones under these modern organizations, local and national understanding of time and space may create conflict (p.5). The nation-state reconceptualizes time as a "monolithic present", by creating “traditional neighborhoods” and “archeological monuments” out of the local peoples’ everyday places, “the streets where their friends and enemies live and die” (p.6). In this sense, Herzfeld puts a distinction between a social and monumental understanding of time, which is the difference between "popular and official understandings of history" (1991, p.10). Social time is the product of everyday experience, which is unpredictable, event and place-specific. Monumental time, on the other hand, is the "time frame of the nation-state" which is "generic" (Herzfeld, 1991, p.10) and “reductive”, in which “it reduces social experience to collective predictability” (p.10). Predictability is only possible by “authoritarian control” of the time and the understanding of the past constitutes within “categories and stereotypes” (Herzfeld, 1991, p.10). This understanding of time which is "monumentalization of history” enable to order the space (Herzfeld, 1991, p.9). Monumental time operates to make perfect scenic environments out of social spheres of everyday life. (p.10). It is a “reductive process” according to Herzfeld, which sees monuments above sociality and its physical carriers: "Memory-saturated homes are formally cataloged as historic houses, all socially experienced sense of time disappears in favor of a set of banal, bureaucratic verities” (Herzfeld, 1991, p.11).

The state gets into a contradiction with local memory and legitimate right of ownership of local people when it enters a region to organize a cultural heritage site. So to find an appropriate discourse and to justify the protection of the region, national and international communities are called to embrace the region. This process is a way of

forgetting the history of local structure living in the memories of local people and highlighting the monumental past of the national community.

2.1.3.4.3. Urban Heritage Sites

Preservation of historical city centers has been an important subject for cities that experienced the destructive applications of 20th-century modernism and homogenizing applications of globalization (Gottdiener&Budd, 2005, p. 126). The term preservation in a city refers to the protection of the built environment, which has a historical or cultural significance and under threat of "deterioration, demolition, redevelopment, social upheavals, and simple neglect" (Gottdiener&Budd, 2005, p. 126). Cultural heritage of metropolitan regions became important after they have been through destructive applications of "capitalist land market conditions" which try to open space by replacing old buildings in the city center with new buildings or park projects. (Gottdiener&Budd, 2005, p.126). Capitalist real estate market in this sense operates by ignoring the social value given to the "landmark buildings", that is why urban development in 20th century operated in a destructive way (Gottdiener&Budd, 2005, p.127) by erasing "50% of humankind's historic architectural heritage in 100 years." (Gottdiener&Budd, 2005, p.126). Preservation within the urban sphere can work as an objection to the real estate market's profit production strategies. This counteracts the only possible intervention of the government and international culture preserving institutions. (Gottdiener&Budd, 2005, p.127).

Preservation policies can be conducted by international organizations, like "Cultural capital" program of UNESCO. However, those programs are also criticized since they open the cultural values of a city to the international market and tourism to be consumed. Like the global real estate market's destructive role in the built environment, opening historical places to global viewers can also lead to the destruction of local cultures of cities (Gottdiener&Budd, 2005, p.129). If the inheritance process is global or maintain a Euro-centric view, architectural elements representing Western civilization, like monuments and city centers, may be emphasized and protected. While the "active neighborhood culture of the street" may be ignored (Appleyard, 1979 in Gottdiener&Budd, 2005, p.129).

The way the past is reproduced within urban history, besides the destruction of the global tourism market, can pave the way for nostalgic consumerism. Nostalgia can be exploited commercially by the state as part of national heritage programs and its selective ways of recalling history for organizing the urban sphere (Loveday, 2014). This consumerism can be done by the reproduction of places, like opening themed sites within the city and mechanical reproduction of nostalgic objects of cities (Gottdiener&Budd, 2005, p.129). The past of the city and urban heritage sites are reorganized for commodification of nostalgia.

This process can be seen in various projects on urban cultural heritage sites. Similar to those in small cities, their organization in Istanbul are also made with the alignment of culture experts and official representatives of the state, by ignoring the experience and knowledge of the city's inhabitants. The history of the city is preserved and open to new touristic visits, without any concern about the locals living in it presently. In Istanbul especially these processes can ignore and even overlook the local group of people. This process is a way to discuss the cultural identity of Istanbul. The (re) imagining of the city's history is shaped by contemporary urban policies and global trends. However to be able to find a "suitable way to remember what happened in the past" (Bartu, 1999, p.56) is not easy because of the layered nature of the city and its heterogeneous presence.

Because of the diverse meanings of the past, it is a "dissonant heritage". (Tunbridge, Ashworth, 1996, 27), whence reproduction cannot end up. Dolores Hayden (1995), suggested broadening the concept of heritage by including "public art, spatial struggles, diverse perspectives, especially from minority and gendered community representatives, and the relationship between landscape and public memory." This diverse and inclusionary perspective is only possible to include citizens from local and diverse communities to decision making processes, which is mostly only open to experts.

2.1.4. Empowerment Role of Memory

Michel De Certeau theorizes everyday resistance under the field of sociology of everyday life. To study how various memories work in the city, I will use this perspective

on the city, which includes spatial features as a sphere of analyses. Michel de Certeau's theorization in this literature could be seen as an attempt to find an individual's power to change the system. In this sense, he does not look for a revolution but transformative effects of an individual's everyday practices in an urban setting. "Anonymous masses" in de Certeau's terms, can have "silent and unacknowledged form of resistance to break established order and accepted disciplines" (Gardiner, 2000, p. 168). These are minor practices, which cannot be acknowledged in advance, but occur simultaneously, by temporal decisions. According to various situations the individual produces heterogeneity through everyday life experiences. People's actions do not work with the logic of the system and can escape from the "domination of a sociocultural economy, from the organization, from the grasp of education, from the power of an elite, and finally from the control of the enlightened consciousness." (De Certeau, 1984, p. 158) With these features they can produce a way of resistance against the system. Thus, they become "resistant to translation and codification into a formalized, authoritative language" (Gardiner, 2000, p. 177).

Spontaneous and imaginative energies of the people" according to him does not fade away under the technocratic system, but produce and reproduce alternatives for themselves in each and every position. In this sense, we need to understand how this transformation occurs according to his two concepts, strategy, and tactic. Strategies are the practices of the power, and tactics, refer to the mundane everyday life practices of the individual. Tactics are actions without political purpose. By emphasizing tactics de Certeau shows an empowering side of basic, mundane practices, like even walking in the city. The tactic "depends on time, it is always on the watch for opportunities. It manipulates events to turn them into opportunities" (De Certeau, 1984, p. xix). Strategies try to supersede time and memory, while tactics are "hidden, dispersed and ephemeral" and are connected to collective memory with a tradition carried through generations (Gardiner, 2000). According to Michel de Certeau individual acts in the system and in the space of power, but can have a manipulative power to "break through" the space of power by using time: the memory.

As I mentioned above, like in the piece "Ghosts in the City", Michel De Certeau breaks the relationship between the spatial and social features, by conceptualizing both as powerful to break the ongoing order of the modern city. He also conceptualizes memory by breaking its cohesiveness specific to a place: "In fact, memory is a sort of anti-museum: it is not localizable" (p.108) in his essay in "Walking in the City". He means by this that memory can move among people and lost its local reference in sayings among people. Michel de Certeau conceptualizes memory as a tool of the individual which is recalled by thinking of places, which are the places of the system: "memory produces in a place that does not belong to it." (De Certeau, 1984, p. 98). Memory is powerful to change the spatial features of the system. It "mediates spatial transformations" and "produces a founding rupture or break" (De Certeau, 1984, p. 85). This break could be thought in parallel to break made by a tactic in the strategy. In this sense, he also finds a tactical power in memory, which is a power to change and manipulate the strategy. To this manipulation, memory looks for possibilities: "Far from being the reliquary or trash can of the past, it sustains itself by believing in the existence of possibilities and by vigilantly awaiting them, constantly on the watch for their appearance" (De Certeau, 1984, p. 87). Although this conceptualization of memory does not make any distinction between individual or social memory, its features related to time and space and its power to make changes could be thought in parallel to the literature of social memory.

Communities living in a heritage site, can experience manipulative power of tactic within strategy, by reproducing their memories to historical narratives. The "historical effort" of preserve heritage sites, can turn into a "tactic" for residents when they realize that they can only protect their places by adopting the state's rhetoric for self-defense (Herzfeld, 1991, p.6). This attempt to "reclaim their lives from a de-temporalized past and de-socialized present" people can develop their "historical consciousness" in a "counter-archaeological" (Foucault 1972) based on their social knowledge (cited in Herzfeld, 1991, p.10). Local people, as a tactic, can also adapt, the language of cultural experts to be able to be heard by authorities. (Bartu Candan, 2007, p. 88).

Individual memories have a critical, creative, embodied” power (Bonnett, 2006, p. 26). Especially nostalgic memory can empower people by remembering things in a certain way. Nostalgia can be yearning for a place or for a specific time in individual or social history. Memory gains its critical power with nostalgia’s yearnings and connections. (Bonnett and Alexander, 2013, p. 2). As mentioned above, nostalgia’s contribution to social and spatial attachment, also makes people question the mechanisms of who causes this feeling of loss. The nostalgia of material landscape can be in conflict with official nostalgias. Like in Blokland’s (2001) example of the official nostalgias effect on unofficial ones, there is an exact opposite effect of the latter to the former. Critiques emerged out of nostalgic feelings can be useful for officials to understand what is lost for the settlers of the city. So unofficial nostalgias can find and coalesce with official ones. According to Adams and Larkham, settlers’ “individual efforts to keep the past” (2015) which creates an unofficial form of nostalgia can be used in a positive way to build “official nostalgia” of the city, which effects the plans to decide which parts will be included and which will be taken aside. So those plans can be accepted and supported by local communities (Adams, Larkham, 2015).

Walter Benjamin argues that memory has the potential to be used against historicism politics, which see the past in a homogenizing and all-encompassing way, as an “empty time” without any inclusion of experience and conflict. According to him, memory is active to create its calendar and to unite past and present, by making a leap from former to the latter or vice versa (Benjamin, 1969). Relations and details of a place, which seem lost in the memories of people can be recalled in state of emergency and can encourage people to come together by remembering the same memory. Recalling of place memory can be crucial for less-privileged groups, who are under threat of losing their historically significant places. “Subaltern and dominant groups” can be in competition in certain places, to anchor their memories in place (Holscher & Alderman, 2004, p.349). In this sense, social memory has also a productive feature in political struggle to remind groups identities (Özyürek, 2007). In the thesis, I also look at the productive power of social memory, its capacity to bring people together in the neighborhood and also its possibility to manipulate the homogeneous narrative of the land walls.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

The research process was possible through a lengthy preliminary investigation process on the land walls area. At the beginning, I have done research to have a more general perspective. On the spring of 2017, I conducted unstructured in-depth interviews with the four mukhtars of the neighborhoods, *Derviş Ali*, *Karagümrük*, *Topkapı* and *Mevlanakapı* within the inner side of the land walls area. Also, I have interviewed an officer, working as an urban planner at Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality Directorate of Cultural Heritage Preservation to understand administrative perspective on the planning of heritage sites. Within this process, I was able to understand the main problems of the neighborhoods within the cultural heritage site. As I recognized that the recent conflict has been through Mevlanakapı neighborhood, I decided to focus my case study there. As I have been following all the events and the news related to the land walls issue, I found out the Inner-Wall Neighborhoods' Association and participated to the public speeches organized there. I have attended three organizations there and was able to introduce myself and my research suggestion. By developing a trust relationship like that, first of all, I have interviewed two young founders of the association. Later on, they did not become part of my respondent group, because they were belonged to a younger generation. But they helped me by informing about the ongoing debate with the neighborhood and a giving a general social perspective there. With the help of them, me and another researcher, who was also interested in the issues there, organized group interview meeting in the association center with the members. We were able to conduct an unstructured interview with the members of the association. At this organization, I found my main contact person from the association. Also following the meeting, I conducted another unstructured interview with another member of the association. In these meetings, I have not taken voice recording but took field notes to decide on my interview questions. Through this process, I decided that the topics related to social memory and everyday life came forward within the field. So, I made readings to have a theoretical perspective before I start the research.

At the end of this investigation, I prepared my interview questions based on social and spatial aspects in the social memory of the neighborhood. However, through the network of the association, I would only reach to the neighbors who live in the former Melek Hatun neighborhood, which are under the threat of the renovation project. To have new contacts from the southern side of the neighborhood, which is former Veledi Karabaş neighborhood, I kept searching for the contacts. At a cultural walking tour on the land walls, which I had participated to know the area, I met a dweller from Mevlanakapı neighborhood. He was one of the tour guides to tell the history of the neighborhood. Through him, I met the former mukhtar, Nedim, of the Veledi Karabaş neighborhood and his community center, which is originally the old local administrative center of the neighborhood, turned by the neighbors to a place to socialize in daily routine with their friends. Nedim became my gatekeeper on this side of the neighborhood, and I reached all of the respondents through his network.

I used purposive sampling by setting the criteria for the respondents to have lived in the neighborhood for more than 30 years and still living there. This 30 year- process refers to the period before the heritage site applications ended. However, I made an exception by including one of the respondents who have moved from the neighborhood but still has a strong relationship with the community. To reach the female respondents with this criteria was not easy, because most of the women neighbors had left the neighborhood after marriage. The small group of the female respondents I could reach were women who came to the neighborhood by marrying men from the neighborhood. That's why I have only one female respondent who has childhood memories in the neighborhood. This lead to a lack of female experience from early lifetime, in the research.

Through these two neighborhood center's network, I conducted 20 semi-structured in-depth interviews with 9 female and 11 male members of the neighborhood, within 17 neighborhood visits between the dates 13.07.2017 and 23.10.2017. Overall I visited 25 times the area, for observation and to attend the meetings of the association and the community center. I conducted interviews in these centers, at houses of the respondents and in the parks of the neighborhood. I made voice recordings during

the interviews and transcribed the whole interviews afterward. In this process, I had to dismiss one male respondent from younger generation because his experiences in the neighborhood belong to a recent time period, which is not compatible with other narratives. Also, interviews of two female respondents were removed from the list because I could not finish the questionnaire with them. At the end, the research is mainly based on the one to one and a half-hour long interviews of 7 female and 10 male respondents' who have lived in the neighborhood between 30 to 70 years.

Besides these interviews, I also used photographs, as research documents brought by the respondents to our meetings. Besides being a very social character, Nedim was also interested into the history of the neighborhood, and he had a historical photo archive. At one of our meetings, he told me the stories of these photographs and allowed me to use them in the research.

After I transcribed the interviews and turned them into texts, I used Microsoft Excel program for the analyses. I started with the main categories of the questions and categorized the answers by focusing on the places, within the neighborhood and within the land walls. Also I took the social relations, by following the people in to consideration. I coded them by establishing new relations between the themes of the questions. According to those, I added new codes to the document. I analyzed the coded categories with direct interpretation. While I had a research-oriented methodology, I added new theories to interpret the new categories of the research. By integrating methods and theory, I created main categories of the thesis. While I had a spatial focusing perspective in the research, I conducted my analysis by taking the relationship between the places of the neighborhood and of the land walls into focus.

By writing the narratives, I tried to select ones which are compatible with the titles. However, as I followed a theoretical perspective which opens the discussion to diverse versions of memory within a community, I also tried to show different aspects within a community. As a research trying to find out a minor perspective within this area, the narratives with challenging aspects were chosen to show the heterogeneity there. By considering ethical purposes, I used pseudonyms for the respondents' real

names and I did not give details about their places of living, to protect their anonymity. Nedim is the exception of this, he allowed me to use his original name and personal documents for the research.

While writing the narratives of the field, I tried to protect special usages of words and local definitions not to lose the respondents' unique way of telling their stories. For example, I took the nicknames of the neighbors in the narratives, which turned out to be proper nouns, as the way they are used within the neighborhood, without translating them. Also, I give the original version of narratives in the footnote to save the specific genre of everyday language within the neighborhood. I use the land walls, land walls area, or land walls-complex to refer to the whole area within the cultural heritage site.

CHAPTER 4

ADMINISTRATIVE INTERVENTIONS TO THE LAND WALLS

The urban areas next to the land walls of Istanbul turned into an industrial center between 1950 and 1970, and the population growth increased, which led to the building of illegal houses there (Bütüner, 2010b, p.1). Illegal workplaces used spaces within the land walls complex, like ditches or empty towers, in this process. The land walls area, as one of the neglected regions in Istanbul, turned into a place of illegal activities and urban dirt (Altan, Ç. Güler, A. 1999). The first legal rules on the protection of the walls were set in the 1980s. However, before they were fully applied, some commercial activities and illegal houses kept using the area until the year 1990. This urban experience within the years led to stigmatization of the land walls as an unsafe place (Perouse, 2011), p.346).

Conservation policies on the area started with the declaration of the land walls, with its inner and outer conservation zone, as a world heritage site by UNESCO in 1985 (Bütüner, 2010b, p.190). Within the recognition, the land walls were described as “the 6,650 meter terrestrial wall of Theodosius II, with its second line of defense, created in 447, was one of the leading references for military architecture” (UNESCO, WHC, 1985). When the city walls were included in the UNESCO Cultural Heritage List, international institutions were included in the administrative policies related to the protection and restoration of the city walls. The local authorities became responsible for following the rules of UNESCO, on heritage protection.

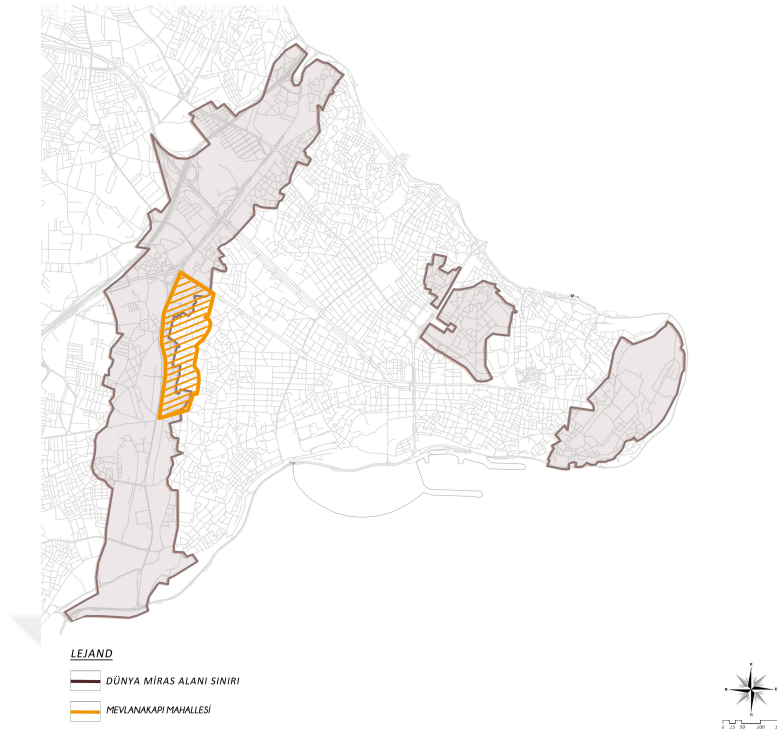


Figure 4.1. Location of the Neighborhood in the Istanbul Heritage Sites

Following the year 1985 restoration projects on the walls were executed by the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality and Turkey Tourism Monuments Protection of the Environment Foundation. Between 1987 and 1989, Belgradkapı, Silivrikapı, and Mevlevihanekapı were restored. This international recognition of the land walls, started the cleaning process in the outer conservation zone, by removing small factories (Perouse, 2011, p.350). In the restoration and conservation work, firstly, the extension structures around the city walls were tried to be demolished. Until 1991, all small factories and leather mills were moved around the city walls, and their buildings were demolished (Ahunbay Z. Ahunbay M., 2000 p 1). Between 1991 and 1994, with the participation of various institutions such as Istanbul Technical University, the land walls, the walls around Golden Horn and the sea walls were restored (Ahunbay Z., Ahunbay M., 2000, p.1).

4.1. Renewal Projects on the Inner-Wall Neighborhoods

Until the 2000s the cleaning process of the outer conservation zone was already completed. However, the policies on the inner conservation zone of the land walls were postponed because of the high population and tense urban structure there. In 2000s,

Turkey has been through new urban transformation policies which were described as “neo-liberal urbanism” (Bartu Candan, Kolluoğlu, 2008, p.5). This definition refers to similar applications in the cities, which led to a raise of urban rent for the administrators and construction companies. However, on the other hand for urban citizens, it caused to “the dis/replacement of significant numbers of people, the relocation of poverty, and dramatic changes in the urban and social landscape of the city.” (Bartu Candan, Kolluoğlu, 2008, p.11). For the urban transformations of the old neighborhoods within historical inner-city zones, in 2005 the law no 5366 was enacted, which is called Preservation by Renovation and Utilization by Revitalization of Deteriorated Historical Cultural Properties. With this law, local municipalities gained the authority for the implementation of urban transformation projects in historical inner-city zones with the designation of “renewal areas” there and without the need to follow the conservation plans (Kuyucu, 2010, p.1485). After this legal change, the role of urban conservation boards, which were authorized to control the projects within the historical center’s compatibility with conservation plans, was minimized. It paved the way for the declaration of renewal areas within the land walls area and implementation of urban transformation projects there, by district municipalities.

The areas within the historical city center on the inner side of the land walls are under the rule of Fatih Municipality. Following the recognition of the law, three renewal projects were implemented on the land walls area by Fatih Municipality. It started with the project in *Sulukule*, with the renewal of three neighborhoods which were mainly settled by Roma people. The project started in 2006 and continued until 2011, because of a controversial process ended up with the expropriation of local Roma people and replacing of their houses with a housing project refer to a “traditional Ottoman style (BİAHaber Merkezi, 2008). Within the state The project was proposed as a best practice by the state to UNESCO and was legitimized by defining the former situation of the neighborhood as a “challenging party against this cultural potential”:

Sulukule will also hold substantial tourist and cultural potential, owing to its integration and the relation it has created with the city. Sulukule stands on an outstanding tourist and cultural route along the city walls. It also complements the route along Tekfur Palace, Anemas Dungeons, Ayvansaray and

Fener-Balat Culture. It is designed as a living space nurtured by these areas, rather than a challenging party against this cultural potential. (UNESCO, WHC, n.d.).

Another project was implemented next to the Golden Horn, started in 2005 with the declaration of Fener, Balat, Ayvansaray as a renewal area by the Fatih Municipality. Also, because of local appeals, the application of the project could not be finished until 2012. A housing project called “Turkish Neighborhood” was built there by renovating the original houses of the dwellers, who had to leave their neighborhood. Also, an international company built a hotel next to the walls, which was criticized as a controversial implementation (Ayvansaray Türk Mahallesi Yenileme Çalışmaları, 2016). Within the both of these projects, the traditional neighborhoods and their dwellers were replaced with a new housing project with a reference to the Ottoman past style. This gentrification process enabled the opening of the area to the international audience. The dwellers, who were living in those renewal areas, defended their rights to keep living in their neighborhoods, by emphasizing their spatial identification and their social belonging, which was based on their social memories, including family memories and local knowledge (Turan, 2015; Erkoçak, 2016).

These urban projects referring to the Ottoman past, lead to museumization of the neighborhoods, by erasing the past’s relation with everyday experiences (Walsh, 1992, p.176). According to Herzfeld (1991), these “traditional neighborhood”s (p.6) are produced by turning “familiar domestic spaces” (p.5) into monumental ones. It is a way to produce nostalgia out of “heritage”, with a selective way of writing their history and organizing their physical space according to it (Loveday, 2014). Under the nostalgia, these places are reproduced like a “themed site”s to be consumed in the market (Gottdiener & Budd, 2005, p.129).

In these renewal projects, the intention was to clean or regulate the physical conditions of the land walls area. Instead of old and ruinous houses, new housing projects were built, or the municipality wanted to regulate the usage of market gardens by turning them into controllable parks. These projects also lead to a replacement of

people belonging to more poor classes with economically powerful ones (Bartu Candan, Kolluoğlu, 2008, p.11). The daily users of the walls were wanted to change in this sense by emphasizing the history of the area and protection of cultural identity (Ayvansaray Mahallesi Kentsel Yenileme Projemizde Sona Yaklaşıyor, 2017). These examples of urban transformation projects on the land walls are compatible with the critiques on international cultural heritage programs, which were described them as a way to open the cultural values of a city to the international market with tourism (Gottdiener&Budd, 2005, p.129). Internationalization of cultural values can also lead to prioritization of international demands before local ones and can harm local features like “active neighborhood culture of the street” (Appleyard, 1979 in Gottdiener&Budd, 2005, p.129).

Arguments produced for national audience followed this legitimization of the projects to international audience through the emphasis on historic preservation. Between 2013 and 2014, the recreational park project on the historic market gardens of the walls, “Yedikule Bostanları” was tried to be implemented by Fatih Municipality. However, the project was protested by activist groups and was stopped with the rejection of the metropolitan municipality (Taptık, 2013). The land walls’ image as a criminal place in the social memory of the Istanbulites were reminded, especially for the park project. While labeling the market gardens as a reason for crime, the planned recreational park was defended by claiming that it will provide security for the area (Bostan, 2013). This argument was compatible with neoliberal urban policies, in which using security concerns as a way to label some places with crime was used to legitimize replacement of people (Bartu Candan, Kolluoğlu, 2008, p.18).

4.2. Commemoration of the Conquest of Istanbul

The projects which directly affect the current situation on Mevlanakapı are the ones started with the removal of *Topkapı* bus station to *Esenler* in 1994. This removal led to various gentrification projects there implemented by Zeytinburnu district municipality and Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality (Bütüner, 2010b, p.225). The first one of these started in 2001 with building of Topkapı Culture Park, which neighbors the Mevlanakapı wall gate in a walking distance. One of the significant projects within

the park is Panorama 1453 History Museum (*Panorama 1453 Tarih Müzesi*), which was built to commemorate the conquest of Istanbul, which also signifies the commemoration of the land walls with the conquest.

Until the construction of the museum, the conquest of Istanbul has commemorated with the conquest ceremony on 29th of May. Re-conquering of the city with role-playing soldiers was a public ceremony open to the audience. At the 500th anniversary of the conquest, the ceremony was invented in 1953, to emphasize a national, "Turkish-Muslim" identity of Istanbul, by leaving the Byzantium past behind (Perouse, 2011, p. 356). As an official ceremony, it showed the power of the state to emphasize a particular aspect of history by conceptualizing it as a symbolic monumental past (Herzfeld, 1991). The ceremony is also an official nostalgic activity. By reducing the real past to a one-dimensional repeatable one, re-conquering the walls with costumed soldiers became possible. In this sense, official view denies "to surrender to irreversibility of time (Boym, 2001, p.15). The conceptualization of the land walls area as a site of memory was emphasized with non-material social organizations as "rituals" like that to make the public internalize the memory there (Holscher & Alderman, 2004, p.350). For the people who participated in the ceremony, the ceremony was an opportunity for them to internalize the "aura of the past" (Holscher & Alderman, 2004, p.349). In this way, they became part of the history, and also history became a part of their social memory. The traditional ceremony was abolished and replaced with a fireworks show in 2012 (Fetih Kutlamalarında Değişiklik, 2012).



Figure 4.2. Map of the Neighborhood in the Land Walls Heritage Site

The Panorama 1453 History Museum was opened in 2009 as a contribution to the dominant historiography on the walls with reference to the conquest by Ottoman state. As a site of memory in Pierre Nora's sense, this museum was built to unite people to remember a unified memory of society. It calls mainly the national audience to a symbolic, frozen moment of the fall of the land walls by soldiers of Fatih Sultan Mehmet. This call is to unite them under a group feeling in the site of conquest, make them feel that they share the same memory of the success. The way the museum unites people is more than what a modern museum does as a "regime of attention", to look and perceive a historical artifact in a certain way. The Panorama 1453 History Museum is compatible with museum definition of post-modern urbanism, which do not have to keep "treasures and artifacts from the past" but is a popular institution for "mass entertainment" (Huysen, 1995, p. 19). The panoramic picture, not only calls to a spectacle but as an encompassing picture with sound effects it calls as a physical experience. As panoramic picture was used in 19th for public amusement, also the museum and the park project can be interpreted as an amusement (Ünsal, 2016, p.333). The commemoration of the conquest, with the fire-work show and panoramic museum, is turned into a post-modern way of commemoration in this sense. Refunctioning of the land walls also showed elements of amusement, like the mini-golf course within Topkapı walls (Türkan, 2019).

Other projects contributed to this gentrification process are the investments turning the area to a culture and education center. Two university campuses were built near to Mevlanakapı, Fatih Sultan Mehmet University which uses the Yenikapı Mevlevihane building, which gives the Mevlanakapı gate its name and Biruni University. In the Topkapı Culture Park, there is a City Library opened by Zeytinburnu Municipality in 2016. Also, Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality's city museum project called "İstanbul Topkapı Kent Müzesi" started in 2017 (İstanbul Topkapı Kent Müzesi İnşaatı, n.d). Although these projects are on the outer side of the walls, they affect the land value within the area and also effected the prices in Mevlanakapı.

4.3. Recreational Park Project in Mevlanakapı Neighborhood

I argue that there are three stages of administrative interventions to the area affecting Mevlanakapı. The first one is the gentrification process, which ended up to land speculation in the neighborhood. Secondly, this gentrification process brought with it a cultural narrative on the projects of the land walls area. The reference to the Ottoman past and the conquest of Istanbul became the main theme of the projects within the projects in Topkapı Culture Park. Also, this narrative was used to legitimize the projects by claiming that they preserve this referred past. Lastly, stigmatization of the walls and also the neighborhoods next to the walls with crime, was used to legitimize the projects in the eyes of the public. The dwellers of Mevlanakapı had to defend their right to keep living in the neighborhood with producing arguments against each of these policies.

Mevlanakapı Neighborhood, with its name and with its legal borders, was established in 2008, with the change of the neighborhood structure of Fatih. With the combination of the former *Melek Hatun*, *Veledi Karabaş*, and *Beyazıtâğa* neighborhoods, Mevlanakapı was established (Fatih'te 45 Mahalle Tarih Oldu, 2008).

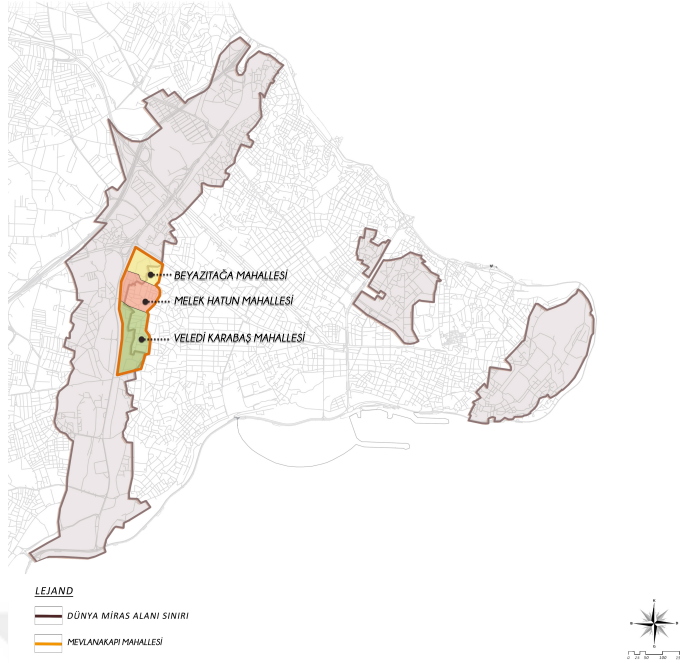


Figure 4.3 Map of Old Neighborhood Borders

As a traditional neighborhood, whose history goes back to the Ottoman period, the main physical characteristics of it was established at that time. The social characteristics of the neighborhood started to change in the 1950s, with immigration from Anatolia. This immigration process lasted until the 1980s and turned the neighborhood into a worker neighborhood with the physical change of illegal settlements (Bütüner, 2010a). From a view of the grocery store, which sees the walls over the street, the physical change in the last 29 years explained. A dweller moved the neighborhood in 1980 explains this dramatic change there:

Well, I came to this street 29 years ago, in 29 years this place has changed. Look, I'm saying there were only two apartment blocks. Now there's no empty place. At that time there were very few families, it was all workplaces. Then the municipality has closed most of the workplaces. It's changed a lot. (Bayram, personal communication, 14 September 2017)¹.

The contemporary physicality of the neighborhood consists of narrow streets and densely structured high apartment blocks.

¹ "Valla işte bu sokağa geldim 29 sene. 29 senede burası değişti. Bak iki apartman vardı diyorum. Şimdi boş yer yok. 25 senede değişti bu hale geldi. Zamanında öyleydi, zamanında burada aile çok az vardı hep işyeriydi. Sonra belediye zaten iş yerinin çoğunu kapattı. Baya değişti ya. O zaman öyle değildi."

In the 2010s uncertainties and disorder emerged in the neighborhood. A drug gang, which was using some houses in the neighborhood and also taking advantage of the narrow *Kaledibi* street (*sokak*) with the openings to the perforated structure of the land walls, disrupted the peace of the dwellers within the former Mevlanakapı neighborhood. The drug gang created unrest and fear and restricted the movements of the neighborhood by invading the street next to the walls. The dwellers attributed the gang's years-long activities in the neighborhood to their cooperation with the police. The drug gang's pressure on the neighborhood was ended in the summer of 2017 with a police operation (CNNTurk, 2017). At that operation, three police officers were found related in a bribe relationship with the gang (CNNTurk, 2017).

This process showed that the dwellers' distrust towards the administrators had justifications. The experiences people of Mevlanakapı had in those years also showed that turning the neighborhood into an unrest place can also be used to the legitimization of replacement of people, which is compatible with neo-liberal urban policies (Bartu Candan, Kolluoğlu, 2008, p.18). During the urban transformation interventions to the neighborhood, the dwellers also experienced processes caused to distrust to the administrative.

In 2012 a historical market garden on the southern side of the neighborhood was confiscated with the claim of Fatih Municipality that the area will be turned into a park (Fatihhaber, n.d.). However, after the confiscation, the zoning status of the area has changed and it was opened to construction. Instead of a park, the municipality built there a dormitory and gave the right to use it to an association related to the government, TÜRGEV, for free (Fatihhaber, 2014).

The process of building the TÜRGEV dormitory is one of the examples lead to distrust of the administrators by the whole dwellers. TÜRGEV dormitory could be built thanks to the re-zoning of a market garden land, which was run for three generations and was a green area on zoning plans, for construction. The dwellers argue that the rules on the construction within the cultural heritage site, which restricts the daily life conditions of the neighborhood, were not applied during the construction of this dorm.

Due to the wall protection rules, it is not possible for the dwellers on the line near the city walls to upgrade their homes more than 2.5 floors. The dwellers react with a common belief that, these settlement policies can be violated for economic rent if necessary. TÜRGEV dormitory, which was built on the same area is an essential example in this sense. For the interests of socially or economically powerful groups, the protection rules can be loosened. The old owner of the market garden narrated this double standard of the municipality as such: “They were not allowing me to drive a nail. After the purchase, they built a dormitory as a big as 100-150 flats of a block. What else do you expect?”² (Tarık, personal communication, 25 September 2017).

Within the year when a green area of the neighborhood was transferred to an association to construct a multi-story dormitory, a settled area on the northern side of the walls wanted to be demolished to build a park. In the year of 2014, the settlers living on the three blocks, with the number 1501,1502,1503, of the former Melek Hatun neighborhood, got a letter from Fatih Municipality, telling that their houses would be confiscated for a park project and that they had to evacuate their residences within three days (Fatihhaber, 2014).

² “Bana çivi çaktırmıyorlardı. Satın aldıktan sonra 100-150 daire yapacak kadar yurt yaptılar yere daha ötesi var mı?”

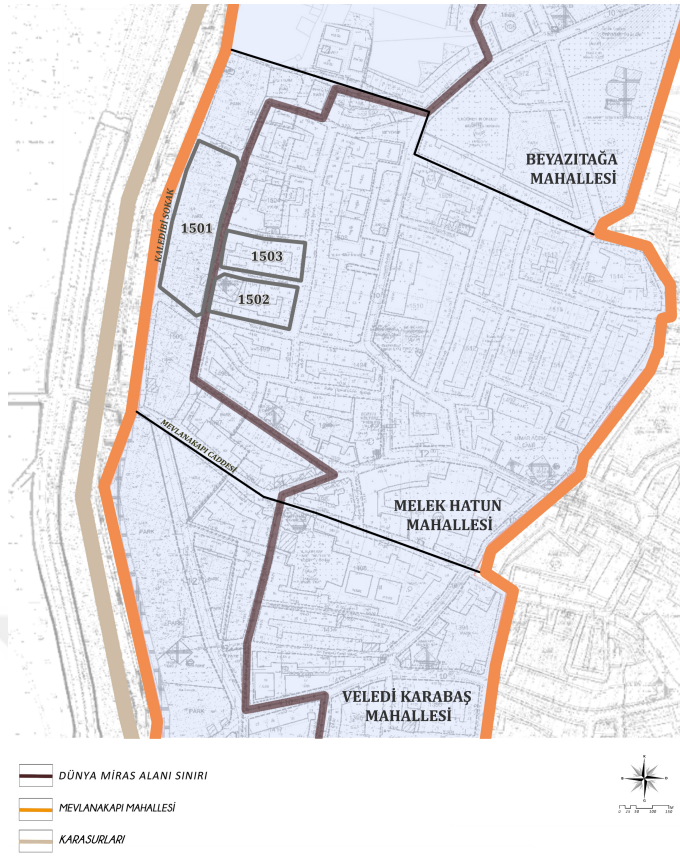


Figure 1.4. Map of Renewal Areas In the Neighborhood

After this direct threat, the municipality organized meetings to inform the dwellers about the recreational park project along the inner side of the land walls. The usage of exclusionary phrases in the meetings to the dwellers gave them the impression that they had no choice to come back to the neighborhood when the project ended: “It is said that the park project will afford elite people an opportunity. They tell this to me. I said, are we included to what you have told. No. Then why do you bother me and yourself?”³ (Ahmet, personal communication, 17 September 2017)

After the publicity and information meeting held by Fatih Municipality in 2014 and 2015, the people living in the renovation area felt the pressure of urban transformation more. This process has been shaped within the framework of many administrative strategies and local tactics developed against urban projects in Istanbul.

³ “Ama diyor ki elit insanlara imkan tanıyacak diyor. Bana anlatıyor şimdi. Dedim biz var mıyız bu anlattıklarının içinde? Yok. Niye anlatıp da beni de yoruyorsun o zaman kendinizi de yoruyorsunuz?”

Kuyucu argues that urban transformation projects within the illegal settlements of Istanbul could be realized with the manipulation of legal ambiguity and creating an administrative arbitrariness (Kuyucu, 2014). We also see the usage of ambiguity and arbitrariness during the process of informative meetings for Mevlanakapı. The priority strategy of the municipality was not to provide adequate information to the locals. This is where a management regime is noticed, where the information is stored, vague, not everyone is given the same information and opportunity. Although information meetings were held in the neighborhood and, in fact, the majority of residents in the renovation area attended those meetings, there is different information about what was promised in the meeting.

We understand that the feeling of the residents that some parts of the information were hidden at information meetings creates trust problems among local and administrators. For example, despite project introduction meetings in different years, they were not convinced that the planned project was a “park” project because TOKİ is included as a collaborator. While Fatih municipality has been the main representative of the transformation project for the neighborhood, after one year they created an “administrative arbitrariness” by including TOKİ to the project and saying the dwellers that, they have to interact with TOKİ to have information: “It's not urban transformation, they said they are going to build a park. Have you ever seen TOKİ even build a park? What do you think the Toki will get from the park? They're fooling us. It's a ridiculous idea. The mansions and the villas will be built. Everybody knows.”⁴ (İlknur, personal communication, 13 July 2017).

It is an administrative strategy that prevents information from being fragmented, transferred through different channels, and changed in the process, giving different information to everyone from the neighborhood at different times.

⁴ “Kentsel dönüşüm değil. Park yapacaklarmış. Ya şimdye kadar TOKİ’ni parka girdiği görülmüş mü? Park yaptığı görülmüş mü? TOKİ’nin parktan ne geliri olacak? Çocuk kandırıyorlar. Çok saçma bir fikir, Konduracak villaları konakları. Herkes farkında.”

Participants, whether under the threat of demolition of their houses like the dwellers of the former Melek Hatun neighborhood, or not, are reactive to the administrators and big construction projects. The various projects they have observed around them, including the one in their neighborhood or in other neighborhoods next to the city walls, caused distrust towards the administrators. So far, they argue that they have only witnessed misapplications on the area. For example, they refer to the process in Sulukule as a bad example where the rights of former residents were usurped, and the neighborhoods were opened to rent. Similarly, the project to establish the “Wall Protection Line” from Balat to Ayvansaray, which was cited for the justification of the planned destruction in the former Melek Hatun Neighborhood, was not implemented for Sulukule. According to this project, the areas alongside the inner site of the walls, were going to turn into a park. However, Fatih municipality and TOKİ’s cooperation built a house project on this area in Sulukule.

Against the policies on their neighborhood, people reacted by coming together and producing arguments based on their years-long experiences there. These group experiences which have produced social and spatial identification to the neighborhood, are recalled within the shared memories. Social memory of the neighborhood provides a sense of community for them. It empowers the dwellers in this sense, to produce counter-arguments on the neighborhood and to have an alternative way of understanding, the culture, and history of the land walls. The details of social memory, the role it plays for the neighborhood is explained detailly in the chapter on the field study of the neighborhood.

CHAPTER 5

MEVLANAKAPI NEIGHBORHOOD NARRATIVES

5.1. Neighborhood's Physical and Social Circumstances

Descriptions and definitions on Mevlanakapı change according to the period a respondent has experienced. Their experiences cover a period from the 1950s to the 2019s, in which the physical and social circumstances of the neighborhood changed several times.

The history of the neighborhood is learned from the former inhabitants and passed to newcomers in time. The neighborhood takes its current name from Mevlanakapı, which is adjacent to the Yenikapı Mevlevihane. However, the two former neighborhoods that make up the neighborhood, Veledi Karabaş, and Beyazıtğa, got their names from the mosques within. These mosques, which give the name of the neighborhood, are the people in important political positions during the reign of Fatih Sultan Mehmet. For this reason, the history of the neighborhood is read by some participants with the city wall and conquest. The third component of Mevlanakapı, Melek Hatun, took its name from a mosque. It is told that helpfulness of a woman, made her famous and led to give her name to a mosque, and afterward to the neighborhood. However, compared to the narratives attached to the conquest, the story of Melek Hatun is a minor one, and known only by a couple of people.

When the former Sultan Mehmet the Conqueror conquered Istanbul, these names were given the names of those who had a great historical trait in the conquest of Istanbul, dead people or people who had good deeds. Almost all of these 69 neighborhoods, when Fatih Sultan Mehmet took Istanbul, were named by his own, given the name Melek Hatun, that neighborhood, Beyazıtğa and that neighborhood, Veledi Karabaş.⁵ (Eyüp, personal communication, 10 May 2017)

⁵ "Fatih Sultan Mehmet İstanbul'u fethederken bu isimler orada bulunan konumda veyahut İstanbul'u fethetmesinde büyük tarihi özelliği olan kişiler, ölen kişiler veya hayır sahiplerinin isimleri verilmişti. Hemen hemen bu 69 mahallenin hepsinin ismi, Fatih Sultan Mehmet İstanbul'u aldığı zaman bizzat onun, işte şu mahalle Melek Hatun şu mahalle Beyazıtğa, şu mahalle Veledi Karabaş diye verildiği zaman."

Social memory (Assmann, 2006) of the neighborhood includes heterogeneous components occurring in various narratives of the dwellers. This details not only change according to the experience of an individual lifetime but also transferred through generations by “communicative memory” (J. Assmann). People refer to stories told they have heard from older generations by telling the history of the neighborhood. The participants, who have seen the 1950s and 1960s, argue that the neighborhood was famous for the old mobile fire-fighting group, known as *tulumbacı*, and hooligans, bullying people, known as *kabadayı*. While none of the respondents have met a *tulumbacı* in their life, to be able to refer to that past give them “a sense of continuity” (Fentress & Wickham, 1992, p. xi). They describe the neighborhood, not as a dangerous neighborhood but a neighborhood which also includes uncanny inhabitants: “The old sultans said that it is said as a proverb. ‘Collect a madman from every neighborhood and bring them to here’, said the sultan. However, he said, ‘take all of Mevlanakapı’. So Mevlanakapı was a bit of a gangland. It was like that when I came here.⁶” (Müşerref, personal communication, 18 October 2017).

The oldest population of the neighborhood contains immigrants from an eastern city of Turkey, Malatya and also a northern Asian immigrant group, the Tatars. There is also a minority group who have said they have been from Istanbul for several generations. The immigrant groups, settled in the region spreading between Mevlanakapı and Şehremini neighborhoods, as they preferred to live close to their relatives. The families from Malatya, are described as 7-8 related families, who came to the neighborhood at the Ottoman time. They owned the lands of the area and were dependent on animal husbandry. After a while, they became the wealthiest families of the community. The other majority, Tatar families claim that the neighborhood was also famous as a center of Tatars, called “*Tatar payitahtı*” (Müşerref, personal communication, 18 October 2017).

⁶ “Eski padişahlar demiş ki, o çok söylenir atasözü olarak. Her mahalleden bir deli toplayın her mahalleden bir deli alın gelin demiş padişah. Ondan sonra ama demiş Mevlanakapı’dan hepsini al gel. Yani Mevlanakapı biraz şey yatağı. Öyleydi de ben geldiğim zaman.”

Dwellers of the neighborhood, who experienced the 1950s and the 1960s there describe built environment of the neighborhoods, with low-rise, stone and wood houses, with large empty spaces between them. Participants who experienced the neighborhood in the 1950s and listened to the history of the neighborhood from their older neighbors also state that there was agricultural production there. It is emphasized that the neighborhood was “like a village⁷” (Nedim, personal communication, 22 August 2017) at that time. In addition to the lack of population, the abundance of green spaces in the neighborhood, the details of the relationship with nature in the daily life of the memories give us an idea of the physical and social characteristics of the neighborhood. Rural elements stand out in the details of the everyday life of the neighborhood’s past.

Before the increase of the settlement, the neighborhood’s empty spaces were described as a wetland with fig trees. It is remarkable that in the narratives of the past, places of neighborhoods are remembered by the trees grown there, and the fruits of the trees. We understand that trees are seen as a bookmark, spatial boundary, and location indicators. The trees were one of the most prominent things in times when the buildings in the neighborhood were low-rise, and the area was physically more empty. We can think of trees as memory places on their own.

Although the neighborhood is not in the urban center, it is seen by the dwellers in good accessibility circumstances. In the center of Fatih, they can reach many services, especially health services, in university hospitals. Moreover, before the removal of the city’s main bus terminal from Topkapı, it was in a walking distance for there. Beyazıt, which has been an important production center for a long time, was visited by people of Mevlanakapı for a long time, who could reach there by walking or taking the tram from the center of Topkapı. Settlers of Mevlanakapı are satisfied with the location of their neighborhood in the city, from which they can reach many centers of the by public transportation:

⁷ “Köy gibi”

Sure, it's close to everywhere. The bus station was here. You've been coming and going wherever you want. We were taking a minibus everywhere from Topkapı. The advantage is that the hospital is at my feet, the school is at my feet. Everything is at my feet. How am I supposed to go anywhere else? This is four to four for the employee. I was coming from work by walking.⁸ (Çiğdem, personal communication, 09 October 2017).

5.2. Social Relations in the Neighborhood

In Mevlanakapı, like in any other traditional Turkish neighborhood, “belonging and collectivity” are two senses which determine inclusion and exclusion mechanisms (Mills 2007, p.336). Social relations of the neighborhood is based on inclusion and exclusion of people to the neighborhood community. Inclusion of the neighborhood community is possible through “knowing” of each other (Mills, 2007, p.341). In Mevlanakapı, although a person does not settle within the physical borders, he/she can be accepted as a member of the neighborhood community if the community knows he/she. This familiarity among people enables them to trust each other and make the neighborhood a safe place (Mills, 2007, p.343).

There are everyday life practices, to save the safe neighborhood environment from any harm that could come from unknown people. Those practices are the social contract, or the “propriety” of the neighborhood, which are based on unwritten “codes of language and of behavior” (Certeau et al., 1998, p.16). With the help of the propriety, a place can be recognized by a group of people. Behaving properly in this sense defines who is within and who is out of the borders of the place of the community. The most common practice, which works as a reminder of the borders of community, is to call out to someone to express identity while passing through any street. This practice is applied by the hooligans most of the time and that's why could make strangers uncomfortable: “For example, groups would gather in their corners and drink until morning. If the child of our neighborhood knows you, there is no problem.

⁸ “Tabi her tarafa yakın burası. Ciddi söylüyorum. Otogar burdaydı. İstedğin gibi gidip geliyordun her yere. Topkapı'dan her yere minibüsle gidiyorduk. Avantajı şu hastane ayağımın dibinde okul ayağımın dibinde. Her şey ayağımın dibinde. Başka yerde olsa ben nasıl gideceğim? Dört dörtlük burası. Çalışan için. İş yerinden ben yayan geliyordum. Çünkü çok avantajlı burası“

However, you would suffer if he doesn't know you. Of course, it used to be dangerous, but now there is no such danger.⁹ (Eyüp, personal communication, 10 May 2017).

To emphasize the intimate relationship between the dwellers and the neighborhood, the respondents use phrases like “a person from the neighborhood”¹⁰ or “the child of our neighborhood”¹¹. These phrases emphasize the inclusiveness of the neighborhood. When social harm comes from a recognized person, who is “a member of the neighborhood”, dwellers do not overemphasize the problem. In narratives those kinds of out of order cases were told without any emphasize and by showing it in a moderate way. The descriptions on hooligans are an example of this usage. Because the hooligans were seen as members of the neighborhood community, the harm they give to society is covered by also mentioning the good things they did for the neighborhood, or it is claimed that they were mad.

We see that the hooligans, who were relatives of the families came from Malatya, had authority on the streets of the neighborhood. Besides, their criminal activities like stealing, gambling, or murder are mentioned. *Ayı Ahmet, Ayı Recep, Dolmacı Bahattin, Kambur (Arap) Cavit, Deli Fehmi* are remembered by their names.

Ayı Ahmet, was a *külhanbeyi*, a hooligan of our neighborhood. He had a *bitirimhane*, within the empty space of the walls, when you enter from the castle gate. He made people play gamble there. However, he did not harm anyone in the neighborhood. He was yelling on the street “you will sleep at your houses without locking your doors.” He was helping the poor¹². (Ahmet, personal communication, 17 September 2017).

⁹ “Mesela köşe başlarında gruplar toplanırdı, sabaha kadar içki içerlerdi. Bir aile geçtiği zaman orda geçerken o muhitin çocuğu seni tanıyorsa sıkıntı yok tanımiyorsa sıkıntı çekerdin sen geçerken. Tabi eskiden tehlikeliydi ama şimdi hiç öyle bir tehlike yok.”

¹⁰ Bu mahallenin insanı

¹¹ Bu mahallenin çocuğu

¹² “Ayı Ahmet, buranın külhanbeyi, mahallemizin kabadayısıydı. Kale kapısından iki boşluk var ya sağda solda, orası onun bitirimhaneleriydi. Gece kumar oynatırdı orda. Ama hiçbir mahalleliye zararı olmamıştır, olmazdı. ‘Kapılarınız açık yatacaksınız’ diye bağırırdı böyle. Fakire fukaraya yardım ederdi.”



Figure 2.1. A Newspaper Article on a Hooligan. (Nedim Altınbüken Archive)

However, this collectivity can be disrupted by certain experiences of the dwellers. The only respondent, who was directly harmed by a hooligan is a woman, who was verbally assaulted. The sociality of the neighborhood also works within spatial limits for genders (Certeau et al., 1998, 23). “Traditional gender roles” call women more to socialize at homes or on their residential street (Mills, 2007, p.336). That’s way women using the public spaces may encounter with disturbing acts from male dwellers. However, in the neighborhood, those disruptions can also be covered. Although this assault happened for years repetitively, the hooligan is still mentioned as “harmless” and as an exception of the neighborhood’s safe circumstances: “Ayı Ahmet was a harmless person, they were doing harm only to each other. He assaulted me many times, verbally. This was the only case I feel unsafe in the neighborhood, besides of it there was no harm.”¹³ (Sevda, personal communication, 23 October 2017).

In this sense, the way the respondents remember the past can also hide the dissonances they have been through in the neighborhood. Social memory can have a nostalgic feeling, which reduces the past to “a one-dimensional memory” (Blokland,

¹³ Ayı Ahmet denirdi, bir zararı yoktu. Vardı o kendi aralarında. Bir kere sürekli beni kendi kafasında rahatsız etti. Hani laf attı. Bir vaka olmuştu onun haricinde hiçbir rahatsızlığımız semtimizde olmadı.

2001, p.280). By remembering the past and their community within the ultimate situations, they can exclude anything which can harm this consistency. Especially the elderly can “make sense of their changing environment” by strengthening their identification to their community (Blokland, 2001, p.280).

Although it is said that there are few non-Muslims in the neighborhood, we see them in the narratives about the famous hooligans. These bullies were forced to confiscate the property of non-Muslims or to sell their land very cheaply. We do not know how the dwellers opposed the bullies or how non-Muslims fight this oppression. The harm given to non-muslim groups seemed like an act to an excluded group of the community; that’s why it was not felt by all of the community.

There have been too many murders. There was a Deli Fehmi, related to those families (from Malatya). He was killing people easily. He killed 4 Greek people to be able to have their lands. He was a strange man, a mad man with a report. They were all old habitants of our neighborhood.¹⁴ (Nedim, personal communication, 22 August 2017)

The two non-Muslims recognized by the majority by name are *Koço* and *İstrati*, the two market gardeners of the neighborhood. The relationship with them in everyday life was established with positive intentions but from a dominant position. The characteristics of non-Muslims, which were thought to be good, are the ones similar to the Muslim majority. We understand that this resemblance in behavior and habits is sometimes due to the demand from the majority.

Koç (Koço)’s wife was coming to all of our prayers at homes, to *mevluds* and funerals, covered with a headscarf. The poor lady was opening her hands and praying. I couldn’t remember the lady’s name, ‘Something Madame “we were calling her. As she came to our funerals, we said “it’s a right of neighbors” and went to their home with other girls from the neighborhood, for condolence to Koço.¹⁵ (Müşerref, personal communication, 18 October 2017).

¹⁴ “Çok adam öldüren oldu. Bir Deli Fehmi vardı, bu söylediğim ailelerin akrabaları birbirleriyle, çatır çatır adam kesiyormuş. 4 tane Rum’u kesmiş yerlerine hep sahip olmak için. O değişik bir insandı. Raporu bir deliydi. Mahallemizin eskileri bunlar.”

¹⁵ “(Koço) nun Hanımı geliyordu başörtü örtüyordu bütün dualarımıza geliyordu. Mevlitlerimize cenazelerimize. El açıp dua ediyordu kadıncağız. Hanımının adını hatırlayamadım ‘Birşey Madam’ diyorduk

The process lh accelerated the departure of *Istrati* and *Koço* from the neighborhood was the reflections of the pogrom in Istanbul on the night of September 6-7, 1955. The both were assaulted, and their goods were damaged at that night.

5.2.1. Neighboring Practices: Ambiguous Borders

The narratives on the neighborhood start with the most intimate place of experiences, the first houses they had lived. The “shelter of memory and familiarity” (Bachelard, 1969) for the dwellers who had started living in the neighborhood before the apartment block development period of Istanbul, was a one story stone or wooden houses with a garden. There are a very small group of people who still keep living in the same house in the neighborhood. This group is the one living in the former Melek Hatun neighborhood, who had built their own homes. The other group made their houses reconstruct and moved to the same place to an apartment block. Some respondents have moved to different apartments in the neighborhood in years. Despite these physical changes, the memories of the first houses can be recalled with intimate feelings. This recalling is also possible with the help of the “mnemonic community” (Mistzal, 2003, p.15), consisted out of the neighbors. While remembering the intimate feelings attached to the houses or to the families, the respondents always referred to their neighbors and their houses. This connectedness between neighbors is possible through the social and physical practices of the neighborhood.

A neighborhood is both a spatial and social mechanism based on intimacy. Everyday practices of a neighborhood eliminate the boundaries between public and private spaces, by privatizing the public space (Certeau et al., 1998, p.11). “Neighboring” practices are shaped by a physical permeability, which removes the borders between houses and places of the neighborhood and social permeability removing the borders between families and neighbors (Mills, 2007, p.336). The most fundamental relationship, on which social structure and everyday life practices are built on is the neighbor

ama. Tabi. Bizim gibi el açıp amin diyordu. Ondan sonra öldü, bizim cenazelerimize gelince bizler de komşu hakkı dedik, evine gittik sade kızlarla, Koço'ya baş sağlığına.” (Mürvet)

relationships and all the practices within it. Neighboring is the most basic social activity in this sense, which refer to “ongoing and reciprocal visiting” of the neighbors, by opening the private spaces of the home to the neighbors but also by privatizing the places of the neighborhood, by using them for neighboring practices (Mills, 2007, p 243).

This transgression between home and residential street was also felt, at houses with gardens. Gardens work as a transitory place, whence facilities like pools and fountain were open to usage of the neighbors. In this sense, the dwellers were also publicizing their private places to share with their neighbors. Houses, in this sense, are not mentioned as private spaces but as a part of the built environment of the neighborhood. This embeddedness to the neighborhood is also felt, with the reference to “not locking the doors”, saying, which refers to safety feeling attributed to the neighborhood. Besides the trust this phrase refers to, it also shows the physical transgression between the places. These physical usages bring with it, the “propriety” of the neighborhood (Certeau et al., 1998, p.9). The “collective public” of the neighborhood (Certeau, et al., 1998, p.16) is based on social solidarity and economic solidarity. This social solidarity enables lots of function. In the past, when social and physical services were not provided to the neighborhood, the dwellers were finding solutions by helping each other

Each neighborhood had old inhabitants living there, they had warm social relations. There were no police office or municipality. When you had a problem, you could visit neighbors with good contacts, who were known and respectable. They would help you to reach services, by guiding to a hospital or to a doctor, whatever you need.¹⁶ (Eyüp, personal communication, 10 May 2017).

The rules of social solidarity are determined by a neighborhood law that advises to share whatever you have with the closest. Although there is no defined public space, people have a social consciousness of sharing the commons, mentioned with the

¹⁶ “Her mahallenin orada yaşayan eski insanlar vardı. O insanların insan ilişkileri çok sıcaktı. Ve komşu komşuya gittiği zaman, bir derdin varsa, o zaman karakol, belediye, emniyet yoktu, bir kişiye gittiğin zaman o kişi hatırı sayılır kişidir. Ona sorduğun zaman bir derdin hastaysa, hastalığınla ilgili hastane veyahut da doktor, hemen filan yere filan kişiye, , o işler o şekilde yapılıyordu.”

phrases like “the right of the eye”, “right of the air”. This daily life practice of being aware of that even air is used jointly, could be read together with space permeability. This permeability brings with it the responsibility, for the people closest to them. For example, even homeless people living on the street were counted as part of families’ responsibility to care.

Social permeability refers to transgression between families and neighbors. “Close-ness and familiarity” of the neighborhood (Mills, 2007, p.339), enable to consider neighbors as an “extended family” (Tanrıöver 2002 in Mills, 2007, p.339). Remembering the past as a group today was possible with their shared intimate experiences. They can remember the past as “a life of the group” (Halbwachs M., 1992, p. 53), because they experienced the life within the neighborhood, as an “extended family”. That’s why their memories of the past give the impression of a family memory. For example, in the past, children of neighbors spent time together, and people took care of neighbor’s children. Neighbors were counted as family members. This relationship brings with it an order of daily life, whence unwritten social rules and manners they can remind each other. They intervened each other’s life, questioned each other, and even the neighbors treated children like their parents. The respondents talk about older neighbors, like elderly family members. The participants say that they would refrain from doing something if a neighbor would warn them. The respectful relationship between generations in a family can be established between generations among neighbors: “I wouldn’t go when my mom or dad said, “go to the grocery store”. I would object to them, I would say I’m not going. However, I couldn’t object when the neighbors said me to go because we had no right to object to the neighbor within Istanbul culture.¹⁷” (Tarık, personal communication, 25 September 2017).

According to the rules of the propriety, the extended family not only care for each other’s social needs but also care for economic needs. Economic solidarity was also experienced within the ambiguous borders of the neighborhood, in which people did

¹⁷ “Annem baba annem bakkala git dediği zaman gitmezdim. Onlara itiraz ederdim, bana ne gitmiyorum derdim ama komşular git dediği zaman itiraz edemezdim. Çünkü komşuya gitme hakkımız yoktu İstanbul kültürü olarak.”

not need to ask for help or to be asked for help. Like within a family, everyone was aware of each other's need and did not need to ask for it. Economic solidarity in everyday life was experienced by intervention to each other's life. Because people know each other's need, without asking the respondent, they were supporting each other.

We had a landlord called *Paçavracı Kemal*, for 30 years we have lived in their house. When we were kids and playing, a cart came with two men. They asked where my mom is and said: "you are going to move to our house." So we moved there. Can you imagine a landlord like that today? He did not take rent from you that month if he heard there is a patient in your house. If you get engaged or had a new child, he wouldn't get rent from you that month. He even bought a house for some people, bought a car to some people, for some of them bought a carriage. He was such a benevolent person.¹⁸ (Nedim, personal communication, 22 August 2017)

5.2.2. Business Life in the Neighborhood

We understand that social and spatial permeability and economic solidarity have also been decisive in the neighborhood's working life in the past. These social circumstances lead to "unprofessional business relations" in everyday life. Like we have seen in economic solidarity, people also could help to their neighbors, by their work, without waiting for a price. Those helping practices are also done without an offer, the request for help is implicit. Those who support this work do it voluntarily. There are many memories in which in childhood, dwellers were helping the employees to have fun together: "People were always doing each other's work. For example, there was a horse carter on our street. The coachman was unraveling the horse, I was taking it to the barn, in the garden. He would bring them from the barn in the morning."¹⁹ (İhsan, personal communication, 21 September 2017).

¹⁸ "Bizim bir ev sahibimiz var Paçavracı Kemal, 30 sene biz onların evinde oturduk. Çocuktuk oynuyorduk bir at arabası geldi, iki tane de adam. Annen nerde annemi çağırırdı. Bizim eve çıkacaksınız siz dediler biz öyle taşındık. Şimdi öyle bir ev sahibi var mı sen gel bizle otur diye? Yok. O evde birinin hasta olduğun duysun o ay senden kira almaz. Nişanlan, çocuğun olsun, öyle bir şeyin olsun o ay kira almazdı senden. Kimine ev aldı. Kimine araba aldı. Kimine at arabası aldı. Öyle hayırsever bir insandı."

¹⁹ "İnsanlar hep birbirinin işini yapardı. Mesela at arabacı var, atları alır götürür ahıra koyardı, Beygiri çözüyordu arabacı, ben ahıra götürüyordum bahçede ahır vardı. Ahırdan getirirdi sabahleyin."

Physically, workplaces were connected to houses, and some people were using their household place and their gardens for production. The earliest production remembered at houses was the production of phyllo doughs out of starch, which is known as *güllaç* in Turkish. It is used for a special Ramadan desert with the same name. Respondents over the age of 70, told that *güllaç* production was quite common in the houses, even their mothers or grandmothers were producing it. For the upcoming generation, who spent their childhood in the 1950s, the most frequently mentioned job in the neighborhood was weaving fabric, a job that could be done with handlooms in the homes. When a job is done at home, family members and neighbors could easily be part of it. There are narratives, especially on women, who help other female neighbors on weaving. Although there were also narratives on the paid female workers at this house work, we understand that working conditions were very flexible compared to today: “There were weaver women working at our place. We had looms in our house. They were coming when they are needed to work. When they didn’t come, I remember my older sister was working. Then, my two sisters, they got married and gone.” (Hüseyin, personal communication, 18 September 2017). This textile production within houses ends with the emergence of automatic machines. The women’s involvement in this sector continues till the 1980s in textile factories in Topkapı.

Location of Mevlanakapı had been a commercial production center, with changing sectors over the years. Weaving workshops were mentioned since the 1960s in the area at the foot of the walls. It was told that the fabrics woven there were taken to *Tahtakale Mercan* in a horse carriage and sold. People moved to the neighborhood in the 1970s claim that the neighborhood was a worker neighborhood at that time, which receives immigration. The area turned into one of the urban industrial districts of the city for a while. In the 1980s, there are casting workshops on the walls. These are details of the neighborhood’s small industrial history. In the 1990s, when the restoration of the city walls and cultural heritage arrangements were on the agenda, it was changed by moving the workshops out of the neighborhood.

Because of the social and spatial permeability, the experience of the neighborhood within the business sectors also attached places to people and people to places. In this sense, places and their meanings are produced with social relations (Massey, 1994, p.119). This sociality is possible through performances, like the regular performances as a way to appropriate architecture (Benjamin, 1969) and the performativities (Leach, 2002) of users to enable them to be attached to those places. While spatial identification of a group is carried by memory to keep “sense of continuity” of belonging (Degnen, 2016, p.1663), within the collective memory, places’ and people’s memory are recalled together. Because of that, while the respondents recalled their memories on the important places of the neighborhood, they recalled them always with people used those places. Even in the business sectors of the neighborhood, workers or owners of those places were remembered by name, showing the social experience of the neighborhood at those places. These workplaces can be places of visited for basic needs or even places of industrial production.

Out of the houses and this small industrial sector, there has been a small group of tradesmen and artisans, for basic everyday needs. Butcher, greengrocery, grocery store, pastry shop, woodcutter house, tin shop, blacksmith shop, coffeehouse are remembered stores from the past, which show consumption habits of the neighborhood. All of these stores are remembered with the locations of the stores, and with the names of the artisan or the shopkeeper, which shows that there was a social relationship between artisans and the neighbors.

The most remembered group of tradesmen are grocery storekeepers. They had a crucial role in everyday life because of their contribution to social and economic solidarity in the neighborhood. The grocery store owners were mentioned like community leaders because they were aware of the news of the neighborhood and taking care of the neighbors. They were known, trusted, and seen as a member of the “extended family (Tanriover 2002 in Mills, 2007, p.339) by the neighbors. According to the “propriety” (Certeau, et al., 1998, p.16) of the neighborhood, it is a shame, to leave it unrequited when someone asks for help. Because of the poor economic situ-

ation of the neighborhood, it was seen compulsory of grocery shop owners to support the neighbors economically. Besides of the voluntary helps seen by everyone, grocery store owners had an extra duty of selling their staff on trust and lending cash to people:

Anyone can deliver the key to you. A grocery store owner is the headman of the neighborhood. Let me tell you the simplest. If you have no money in the pocket if you want, “give me five liras”, a grocery store will give you that, but if you go to the market, he will not give you that money. The grocery store owner was both a friend and a relative.²⁰ (Çiğdem, personal communication, 9 October 2017).

Peddlers are a big group of people remembered more than shopkeepers. There are semi-mobile peddlers, who were producing their staff at a place in the neighborhood and distributing it by different types of handcarts. There were people selling regular needs like milk, 71utono, olives and olive oil, as well as those who came seasonally like *boza*, *sahlep*, ice cream and dried fruits sellers. These groups were using handcarts for their trade.

Horse-drawn carts were mainly used for transportation at longer distances. In particular, a business network has been created among different tasks related to horse-drawn carriages. So different locations around the land walls area were specialized for usages of that network. It is told that there was a market where horses and carts were sold in *Karagümrük*, and in *Mevlanakapı* an empty area was used as a parking place for them. Empty places of the walls were also used to hitch animals. The blacksmith stores were also mentioned in the neighborhood, which shows that there was enough number of horses and cows, needed it.

²⁰ “Gelen anahtarı sana teslim ediyor. Bakkal demek, mahallenin muhtarı demektir. En basitinden söyleyeyim ben sana. İsterse cebinde para olmasın, bana beş lira ver desen bakkal çıkartıp verir ama markete gitsen sana vermez o parayı. Bakkal hem dost hem akrabaydı.”



Figure 5.2. The Blacksmith of the Neighborhood. (Nedim Altinbüken Archive)

The streets of the neighborhood became part of the business area, because of the peddlers and carriages. This mobility creates a situation in which working people, goods, and vehicles are circulated in the daily public life of the neighborhood.

The other two mostly mentioned businesses are market gardens and dairies. Market gardens are remembered since the 1970s, especially in the former Veledi Karabaş neighborhood. They were located in empty places within the neighborhood, until they lost their places in mass apartment development. Although these places were private properties, through the products produced there, they became part of the neighborhood. Until the neighborhood got crowded, the products of the market gardens were shared with the neighbors, as a part of the social rule, “right of the eye”.

C.Nadia Seremetakis studies relation of senses, which are evoked by various objects, and memory, as an alternative epistemology of the modernity’s instrumentalization of senses. She argues that: “the senses are the bearers and record-keepers of involuntary and pervasive material experience, and therefore as potential sources of alternative memory and temporality” (Seremetakis, 1994, p.20). Material experiences in this sense are collective institutions which generate meanings by senses. (Serem-

etakis, 1994, p.6) According to her, senses can recall each other, and they are “synchronize and crossed with each other.” (Seremetakis, 1994, p.28) Memories of the dwellers, about the market gardens, are told within naturalistic details, referring to different senses recalling each other like colors, tastes or smell of the products. The lost material experiences are recalled with sensual expressions, which refer to the circumstances of the past, enabled the experience of these senses (Seremetakis, 1994, p.2). The wildflowers grown there by themselves were remembered with their colors and also the drink made out of it, reminded by the taste. Those flowers do not grow in the neighborhood anymore, and that’s why the drink too. The smell of the products surrounded the neighborhood, when they were watered, and the sound of the wheel horse could be heard from the outside. These recalling senses also refer to a lost way of agricultural production in the neighborhood.

If you had seen the wells of the gardens, it was beautiful, the sounds, the return of the horse, all you had to see. There was a well of the Greek man, the horse would traverse around, and water would come out, scattered to the salads. The good smell of salad would be got. The blindfolded horse did not know where he was going, he thought he went in the right direction, it was beautiful.²¹ (Ihsan, personal communication, 21 September 2017).

The inhabitants of the former Veledi Karabaş Neighborhood, mentioned diaries, both in the neighborhood and at the bottom of the walls, before the establishment of foundry workshops. Malatya families are the first ones to do the dairy business. Their place in everyday life was narrated through the produced milk’s transportation within the neighborhood and meeting the needs of the animals.

The dairy farms used to take the fertilizers of the animals with a truck. Whenever it came into the bowl, it was poured to the ground; fertilizers were poured. Spills were staying in the neighborhood. Sabri’s father was milking and yelling passing through on afternoons, as “the milkman came”. We would buy from him. Then we put the melon watermelon peels in front of the door. He would have collected at night. Then he’d go and chop them up and feed

²¹ “Siz bostan kuyularını görseydiniz çok güzeldi, sesleri, beygirin dönüşü, onu görmeniz yeterdi. O Rum’un kuyusu vardı, böyle beygir dönerdi o hor hor su gelir, salatalara dağılırdı. Mis gibi koku salata kokusu şey kokusu gelirdi, dağılıyordu. Beygirin gözleri bağlı beygir nereye gittiğini bilmiyor, doğru yöne gittim sanıyordu, çok güzeldi.”

the animals to their cows.²² (Hüseyin, personal communication, 18 September 2017).

According to the numbers of animals mentioned, like more than a hundred cows in a diary, we understand that it was a huge sector and the neighborhood had rural characteristics. Different narrators in the neighborhood in the 1960s, 70s, and 80s told that it was common to obtain milk for children from dairies. The process of moving the dairies in the neighborhood started in the year 1975 when a dairy farm was destroyed and replaced by an apartment building. However, we understand that all dairy farms had to leave after 1990. The dairy farmers moved their businesses to the periphery districts of the city.

By following the change in different job sectors, it is possible to follow a timetable in which neighborhood jobs evolve from unregistered to registered jobs, from peddlers to fixed workplaces, from rural livestock to small industry. The history of urban industrialization and the history of the neighborhood are parallel in this sense. So the neighborhood's characteristic from an empty rural side to a worker neighborhood with small factories and finally a densely settled crowded neighborhood next to a heritage site could be followed.

5.2.3. Leisure Time in the Neighborhood

Although there is a permeability between public and private spaces, there are also specific public places people used to come together in their leisure time. The space of the neighborhood "is produced by the actions of daily life that link neighbors together in bonds of sharing, support, and reciprocity." (Mills, 2007, p.340). The public places of the neighborhood bring neighbors together and contain various practices. The mentioned places, which were used for a specific period of time for everyone,

²² "Mandıra hayvanların gübrelerini gelir alırlardı, sallana sallana giderlerdi o zaman böyle de değil. Her kasise girdiği zaman böyle hangisi geliyorsa dökülürdü yere, gübreler dökülüyordu. Dökülenler kalıyordu mahalleye. Bizim burada Selahattin, Sabri'nin babası sağardı akşam üzeri geçerken bağırdı 'sütçü geldi' diye, ondan alırdık. Sonra yediğim kavun karpuz kabuklarını kapının önüne koyardık. O akşam oldu mu toplardı hepsini. Sonra gider onları doğrar hayvanlara ineklerine yedirirdi."

change according to gender and the age of the respondent at that time. Most of the places mentioned do no more exist.

Usages, experiences and performativities of public and private places, reshape the urban plan and also enable a group of people to appropriate those places (Hayden, 1995, p.9) In the neighborhood as a “transitory environment” between the intimate place of the home to the foreign environment of the city (Certeau et al., 1998, p.11), gendered experiences can also occur in a transitional way. Gender difference differentiates the usage of places, according to the “propriety” of the neighborhood. Like in any other place, also in Mevlanakapı, public space is more male-dominated while private space of home is female-dominated. This differentiation is based on mainly the differentiation of activities according to gender. The empty lots were used by men for playing football. During the teenage years, coffee shops and pubs were mentioned as meeting points. We have very few examples of the women, who also spent their childhood in the neighborhood. Most of the female respondents were people moved to the neighborhood after marriage. There are a couple of narratives of the women who were also participating in the plays on the street. From teenage years, going to the cinema or to the bazaar with female friends, gathering at each other’s houses or on the streets are mentioned. Despite the “traditional gender roles “which” calls the women to homes or the street of home and men to the public, in the neighborhood the public and private places can also be interwoven (Mills, 2007, p. 337). Especially under the institution of family, and if we think the neighbors as an “extended family”, some places can be shared by different sexes. We see that streets and fountains were places, women and men come together. Also, open-air cinemas were places people were going with their friends or families.

“The residential street blends the spaces of the public arena of the main street and the inside of the house, linking neighbors and their homes.”(Mills, 2007, p.340) In Mevlanakapı neighborhood, people also mention that they were socializing with their neighbors on residential streets, by bringing food and sitting tools from the houses, from their private spaces. This privatization also enabled women to gather with their neighbors out of the houses in safe, like an alternative to house gatherings, by using

residential streets as living rooms. Some streets, like the ones on the northern part of the walls, had physical circumstances of a dead end, because the street passing by the walls was too narrow for a car. That is why it was a popular place for neighbors living there, to come together. Those type of spatial features of a neighborhood are essential, especially for the women. To be able to use the space in privacy and safety, women need places they can watch the street without being seen, like dead ends or windows with a residential street view. So they can have the control of the street by “policing that creates safety for children and makes known the presence of strangers as well as any deviant activity”. (Mills, 2007, p. 343). In this sense, some empty places between the walls and the residential area were working as a semi-private semi-public space for neighbors to come together.

Streets were used as a family place, gathering people of different ages. Children also were gathering on the streets to play games, and they could also transform the streets for their needs. Although some games were specialized according to gender, this did not prevent girls and boys from playing together. One of the few female respondents who spent her childhood in the neighborhood express that, it was common to play together with the boys. While girls were not restricted to participate in activities, from a certain age, they were taught and reminded traditional gender roles. Propriety is “standardization of behaviors”, it regulates actions in public (Certeau et al., 1998, p.18). Every day bodily practices are also organized according to the propriety and differentiating activities according to the ender end up gendering spaces. So girls are reminded which activities are suitable for them and to make them act properly to the rules of the neighborhood community (Certeau et al., 1998, p.18).

We were playing games because we were neighborhood children. However, none of the neighbors, boys or girls, had any malicious intent. We were all playing games together. We played hide-and-peek at night. We would play games pierced by canned holes. We used to play steel rod. I don't know you can't see any of them now. We played marble balls like boys. One day my father saw it and asked, “What is that? Are you a boy?” to the marble balls.

We always played girls and boys. We spent our childhood very nice in the neighborhood.²³ (Sevda, personal communication, 23 October 2017).

Childhood experiences are founder experiences for an individual to learn how to be a member of a group. Those experiences are remembered within long-term memories, which constitutes the sense of belonging to the places of these experiences (Fenster, 2007, p.248). That is why recalling the childhood memories intensify the sense of belonging. Childhood memories of the respondents were recalled with the most detailed and colorful examples. We could also understand that the dwellers who spent their childhood within the neighborhood have a very strong sense of belonging to the place.

Especially in earlier ages, when children were spending very long times out of their houses, there was a close relationship between them and the natural features of the neighborhood. People refer to their adopted pets, like dogs and lambs, and also mention the birds of the neighborhood. Children could spend time outdoors in their autonomy. Trees also have an essential place in childhood memories, by collecting fruit from trees or by “diving” and “stealing” as their saying. The physical and social structure that permits the permeability like between the neighbors, the houses and the neighborhood, enable the transgression to the gardens of the houses, to the trees in private properties: “We knew in which garden there was a plum, there were apples, figs trees. You are a child; you can steal it. There is no need to ask for permission. The trees in each garden, which one has the good fruits, were known. Let’s go diving to the trees, no stealing.”²⁴(Nedim, personal communication, 22 August 2017).

²³ “Mahalle çocuğu olduğumuz için oyun oynuyorduk. Gece saklambaç oynarız gece yarısı. Ama hiçbir mahallenin çocuğu kızlı erkekli hiçbirisinde kötü niyet yoktu. Hep beraber oyunlar oynuyorduk. Konserve kutularından delikli tarafından delip oyunlar oynardık biz. Daha da güzeldi Çelik çomak oynardık. Ne biliyim çocuklarda şimdi hiçbirisini göremiyorsun. Erkek gibi misket oynardık. Böyle torbalarla dolu. Babam gördü bir gün ‘bu ne’ dedi? “Sen’ dedi ‘erkek çocuğu musun?’ miskete. Kız erkek hep oynardı. Yani çocukluğumuz mahalle arasında güzel çekti.”

²⁴ “Hangi bahçede erik var hangi bahçede elma var, incir var bilirdik, çocuksun çalışıyorsun. İzin mizin istemece yok. Bir de burada hangi bahçede ne vardır hangisi iyidir, onlar da bilinirdi, hadi dalmaya gidelim, çalmak yok.”

Trees were the place for games where children played in groups. We understand that those stolen fruits were not from the places specialized in fruit production, but from the houses with gardens. The neighborhood was described as almost everyone could grow vegetables and fruits at their gardens, or everyone had a fruit tree at their garden. Those fruits are lost, and now they are part of the memory of the neighborhood, like the famous “Mustaa Bey Pear”, which was described with pink and yellow colors with the garden famous for growing those pears. While some fruits were calling the children of the neighborhood to specific gardens with their taste, they became a place of the group’s routine activity. Seremetakis argues that “Memory is stored in substances that are shared, just as substances are stored in social memory which is sensory” (Seremetakis, 1994, p.4). Different senses remind each other, like the taste and appearance of the pear, by the memories on fruits, which are the shared substances.

Spatial gaps in the neighborhood, especially empty plots, were used as football fields by the boys. Boys were coming together on those areas in daily routines, spontaneously. On which land would be played was chosen according to the features of it like the size or the proximity of the area to the home. In those gatherings, boys were also behaving according to the “propriety” of the neighborhood, which imposes to respectful behavior to the elderly also within the “extended family”. The participation of boys in neighborhood matches there, was possible in a hierarchy of age, in which older boys had the priority to use the plots. Even in those plays from childhood to teenage years, they were learning and behaving according to the propriety, which transfers the collective feeling to upcoming generations. In their teenage years, some of the male participants, kept their relationship with the neighborhood, by playing football in the various local football clubs.

Those empty plots were also used for special occasions. For example, *Bayramyeri* and *Cambazhane* were founded in an empty plot at different times in a year. *Bayramyeri* was specially opened on Feasts of Ramadan and Sacrifice. *Cambazhane*, on the other hand was opened seasonally in the summer. The target group of the both were chil-

dren, and they were described as small fairgrounds. The activities there were organized by the dwellers autonomously. People from the neighborhood were performing as an acrobat on a rope or in a traditional Turkish theater play, called “aspasya”. *Boncuk Ünal*, was remembered as the famous figure from the neighborhood organizing those events and performing there. Mobile gondolas, boats or swing were also brought there and also peddlers selling street foods like pickle juices were gathering there.



Figure 5.3. In Bayramyeri, Gondolas and Children. (Nedim Altınbüken Archive)

Bayramyeri and *Cambazhane* as places of childhood memories were recalled by the dwellers, who spent their childhood in the 1960s, in a very excited way with colorful and sensual details.

The places I went as a child were the most importantly, *Bayramyeri*. The acrobat was also a musician friend, he played the oud and performed on the wire. He also had an improvised theater group. His name was Ünal; he was living here. There was one “aspasya”, it was not a written theatre text, but a recitation. He was educating, informing, and indeed there was no light, no costume, nothing. On stage, with only a sound show, it stays in one’s memory. Even those who watched him cannot forget him. We were going

there once a week with my dad and sisters. Even the taste of pickles sold in that holiday spot remained in human memory. That pickle's taste still stays.²⁵ (Kemal, personal communication, 29 September 2017).

Connerton, argues that the “rituals, festivals, pageants, public dramas and civic ceremonies” are “intensification of everyday acts” which constitutes social memory (Connerton 1989 in Holscher, Alderman, p.350). We see that those civic festivals in public places of the neighborhood were essential tools to carry cultural memory to new generations.

Coffeehouses and pubs were also male-dominated public places. The usage of the coffeehouses was divided into different generations. Teenage boys would not prefer to go to the same coffeehouses with their fathers. It is explained as a “respect” to their fathers, but it is probably also because of the “social intervention” in everyday life. Also, the pubs were not within the neighborhood but in the more central place of Şehremini, which can be reached by walk. Most of the male participants hesitated to refer themselves going to the pub, instead, they use more general phrases like: “It was a habit to go from football matches to the pubs if you are at a certain age²⁶” (Nedim, personal communication, 22 August 2017).

Although I take all the social activities under the name of leisure time, some of the public spaces also emerged because of the physical needs, like the fountains. Because there was no water infrastructure at most of the houses for a very long time, fountains became a crucial meeting point for the public. There are historical fountains with Ottoman writings in the neighborhood, as well as later built ones, which were working until the beginning of 1990s. Fountains with their places were one of the first places remembered in the neighborhood, which shows their importance in everyday

²⁵ “Çocukken gittiğim yerler en önemlisi bayram yerleri. Cambaz, müzisyen bir arkadaşı hem ud çalar, tel üzerinde çeşitli hareketler yapar, bir de doğaçlama bir tiyatro grubu vardı. İsmi Ünal'dı arkadaşın o da burada oturuyordu. Bir tane asbasya vardı. Yani herhangi bir metin yazılı bir tiyatro metni değil de ezberdi. Olduğu halde, oradaki insanı hem eğitiyordu, hem bilgilendiriyordu, hem de hakikaten herhangi bir dekor yok bir ışık yok, bir kostüm yok, hiçbir şey yok. Sahnede sadece ses gösterisiyle o da insanın hafızasında yer eder. Onu izleyenler bile onu hatırlamamaları mümkün değil. Tabi babamla beraber, haftada bir kere götürüyordu. Babam benden ziyade ablalarımı götürürdü, ablam vardı. İşte o bayram yerinde satılan turşunun tadı bile insan hafızasında kalmış. O turşunun tadı hala durur.”

²⁶ “Belli yaşa geldin mi hadi maça gidelim çıkışta da meyhaneye gidelim o alışkanlıklar vardı.”

routines. Although historical fountains are now anonymous, the local residents, who were once active users of those fountains, keep their physical records in their bodies. Habits of an individual are “sedimented in the body” (Connerton, 2009p.72), which enable the person to have abilities to certain acts. When a group of people share a “embodied sensorial register of experience” (Degnen, 2016, p. 1645) of a place, it can connect people to each other and also to a place. One day when we were walking in the neighborhood, Nedim stopped and showed how they were used to bend and drink water from the fountain, which stays still under their apartment block. In the past, while the trough of the fountain came to his waist, he had to bend now, because the floor has risen. Leach argues that we leave traces to the place by touch and vision, which turns out to be “memorized sensory experiences” (Leach, 2002, p.132). Nedim’s embodied experience can be recalled when he sees the fountain, and also it is shared with other people who shared the same experience.

5.3. Sharing an Identity

Every participant positively mentions the neighborhood with statements showing their love and attachment to the place. Besides the feeling of belonging, they have an identity, collectivizing them and turning them into a community. Their sense of place belonging is high, and independently of the years spent in the neighborhood. People who were born in Mevlanakapı and have a family history there for generations and people who moved to the neighborhood after marriage in their early 20s ages, share the place attachment. This attachment is shaped around the daily life practices, habits, and social relations mentioned above. These shared social experiences enable the group to build their identity and also give them a life-long shared reference to their social memory (Assmann, 2006, p.215). However, there are both “shared and contested aspects of” the social memory (Özyürek, 2007, p.9). The dissonances in the past can be interpreted differently by the dwellers, and because of the diversity of experiences, they can emphasize different aspects of a memory. The identity of the neighborhood is conceptualized by the dwellers of Mevlanakapı as a culture attached to the neighborhood and to the city.

Participants begin their speeches by emphasizing their positive views of the neighborhood. They feel themselves also advantageous because they keep living there. “We are proud to live here” was an interpretation reflecting the place attachment, of an overheard, who found out my research is about the neighborhood. However, this phrase could also be interpreted as a defense of the ongoing attachment. By this defending attitude, they struggle against the general view of matching the uncanny and the place of urban crime image of the land walls with the neighborhood. They prefer to choose good memories from the past and emphasize that the neighborhood was socially and culturally superior in the past. “There were elite people living here”²⁷ (Ahmet, personal communication, 17 September 2017), is this kind of emphasize, which does not refer to an economical superiority of the dwellers, but their cultural and social superiority. The “propriety” of the neighborhood, which is all the social rules followed in everyday life, make people living there good-mannered according to them. The word “elite” refers to the good manner in general. This defense also was an answer from people, by putting forward their “propriety” against the “humiliation” created by the projects made by the big planning actors like the municipality. Of course, they also respond to the phrase used in the project introduction meetings of the municipality claiming that the project will open the neighborhood to the elite people. These narratives of the respondents, in which they can talk in the name of an “us”, show their identification with the neighborhood, socially and also spatially. This shows that people have a cultural memory on the local basis, uniting them under the rules of the propriety, and its values which give them a sense of “us” (J. Assmann, 2001, p. 21).

In their emphasis on the social culture, people also conceptualize the locality of the neighborhood within the center of the city. Compared to other places within the boundaries of Istanbul, they see themselves as living in “real Istanbul”. This means they live within the borders of the historical city center because they live within the land walls. This historical location is also associated with an Istanbul culture. For respondents referring to Istanbul culture, the city was not only consisted of historical

²⁷ “Eskiden elit insanlar vardı”.

and cultural value but also a culture on an everyday basis. Being part of the city or even in the center includes being part of the daily life culture it contains. The culture of Istanbul in this sense is moral rules regulating daily life practices and social relations, which is actually what we understand as the propriety of the neighborhood. According to the participants, the culture of Istanbul was learned from the traditional neighborhoods, like Mevlanakapı, and from their dwellers by the migrants.

In the past, when a person from Anatolia had just moved to our neighborhood, came with the moral decency given by the Anatolia, comes ashamed and embarrassed. For example, and he would ask you something, he would start to take Istanbul culture slowly. Now when you say “there is no Istanbul other than this, don’t do that” he objects you. So you’re not fighting to train him again.²⁸ (Tarık, personal communication, 25 September 2017).

The dwellers think that their neighborhood is identified with the culture of Istanbul, although it has been expressed in various ways that this culture has vanished.

Amy Mills argues that the “the cultural practices that create mahalle space identify those who perform actions or receive them as neighbors, as insiders, by creating a vocabulary of ‘knowing’” (Mills, 2007, p.343). The phrase “creating a vocabulary” is inspired from de Certeau who conceptualized the neighborhood practice, as “a collective convention, unwritten, but legible to all dwellers through the codes of language and behavior” (Certeau et al., 1998, p.16). These concepts of “behavior and language”, or “vocabulary”, all refer to the routine practices of the group, which enable them to appropriate the space and to determine the borders of the group by excluding others who are not familiar with the routines. Those behaviors produce social codes of “propriety”, but literally they also produce the language of the group. This connectedness shows itself in the everyday speeches, in the dwellers’ references to the past by using a “secret language” (Blokland, 2001, p.279). In the memories, old neighbors were referred, with their nicknames and occupations. The neighborhood

²⁸ Eskiden İstanbul’dan gelen, Anadolu’dan gelen bir insan mahallemize yeni taşınırdı. Adam böyle gelir mahcup mahcup. Gelirdi mesela sana bana bir şey sorardı, İstanbul kültürünü yavaş yavaş almaya başlardı, sorardı. Şimdi sen ‘bundan başka İstanbul yok, bunu böyle yapma’ diyorsan sana karşı geliyor. Ne oluyor? Sen onu eğitmek için bir daha mücadele etmiyorsun.”

has its own “secret language”, that an outsider cannot understand the conversation without asking questions. The vocabulary of the neighborhood in this sense is loaded with cultural and everyday life details, which could be understood only to the participants of this long-term sociability. Everyday recollections are established by coming together of members of the group to the conversation “in which one person added to the story of another and ‘everybody’ knew what the story was about” (Blokland, 2001, p. 279). For this reason an overheard from the community could intervene in the interview easily.

Every day basis conversations of the neighbors, which are constructed by adding each other’s stories show that they share an identity, built on a “commemorative memory” (J. Assmann, 2013). Remembering together and reminding the memories to each other is a way to sustain group identity and keep the sense of belonging. Remembering together “binds people together, “creates a sense of belonging” (Degnen, 2016, p.1992) and creates the “sense of continuity and solidarity” within the group (Blokland, 2001, p.280). Through those conversations as “active forms of social memory and contemporary exchange and debate amongst friends, relatives, and acquaintances.” (Degnen, 2016, p.1663) the place attachment can be established. The Mevlanakapı neighborhood shows that they keep the group feeling as remembering together the old days, and as continuing the social and economic solidarity in everyday life: “There are no strangers here. We got ourselves a place like this here. We are gathering here as much as we can, trying to chat with each other like this. Here we recall the old memories of the forty years ago, fifty years ago. About all the subjects of those years are always talked here.”²⁹ (Osman, personal communication, 03 October, 2017).

²⁹ “Buranın hep eski insanları yabancı yok yani aramızda. Burda kendimize böyle bir yer edindik. Burda toplanıyoruz işte mümkün olduğu kadar elimizden geldiği kadar, birbirimizle böyle muhabbet etmeye çalışıyoruz. Yeri geliyor eski anılarımızı hep yadediyoruz burda kırk sene evvelsinin elli sene evvelsinin hep şeyleri, hep mevzu oluyor konuşuluyor anlatılıyor burda.”

While the social memory is constructed in relation to the present, also the identity of a group is constructed, in relation to the current situation of the group. The traditional, local groups try to keep their authentic identity by remembering the crucial constructive parts of their social memory (Mistral, 2003, p.134). Remembering together is needed to keep a community safe, and to feel a sense of continuity (Young, 1999, p.98) against the changes in social conditions. Which part of the social memory will be remembered can change according to the current needs of the group. Neighborhood communities, like Mevlanakapı, need to keep their social memories alive to save their group identity, which is under an attack of massive urbanization. However, holding onto the past can also lead to nostalgic remembering.

5.3.1. Nostalgia of the Neighborhood: Good old Days

While the identity of the neighborhood is based within their social remembering mechanisms, nostalgic way of remembering also affects the construction of social memory. Social and physical changes of the neighborhood, which the dwellers have experienced throughout their life, can lead to having nostalgia for an uncertain past.

Nostalgia is a perspective conceptualizing time and oneself, with a feeling of loss of a crucial founding element. The elderly can have a nostalgia of childhood and of young ages, which are “self-defining moments” of a lifetime (Hepper et al., 2014 in Adams & Larkham, 2015). In the individual memories, the respondents of the neighborhood referred to a time period in their biographies, in which they were young, their children were small, and they could spend more time with their friends. This time period was remembered emotionally. The time periods, which are marked as the “real” period of the neighborhood, or its beautiful times, were mostly the participants’ childhood and youth years.

Of course, we long for old buildings and staff. For example, I like to see the old pictures; I like it when I see them. Also, we share old pictures with friends. There is Ahmet, living across my house. I found a picture and sent it to him. “Nedim”, said, “you made me cry”. A picture from the youth which we call

young, aged 15-16 years, you long for it. I said, we friends, we grew up in the same places.³⁰ (Nedim, personal communication, 22 August 2017).

Feeling sorry for the change, longing the past, comes with a sense of nostalgia. By this longing, the lost conditions of the neighborhood, both social and physical ones are recalled. The nostalgia, in which the past was conceptualized with feelings of happiness, tranquility and habit, calls the calm conditions of the old neighborhood. By physical conditions the longing for the first self-contained houses is referred.

Look what I said, where are the old things, I wish I lived at that time. We had a 1+ 1 house, it was small, but we were very happy. Instead of in the building, I would like to live there. I was a kid, but I still remember. It was a little old residence. There was peace; there was happiness; you were responsible on your own for the house. No sound, no noise, no disturbing. I cannot forget the taste of that house.³¹ (Hatice, personal communication, 21 September 2017).

When the dwellers compare the physical and social conditions they live in, with the past, they think there is a negative change. The loss of those days is continuously felt, within emptiness and ruins left, with the things that replace it. Since they are not satisfied with the current situation and image of the neighborhood, they prefer to remember and highlight a period in which they felt safe and happy. This period can be any time, in which the neighborhood “was in its ultimate situations” (Blokland, 2001, p. 280). These good old days can be the 1990s for some and the 1970s for others. Those who remember the 1970s as the good old days point to the loss of an “Istanbul Culture”. Those who missed their first days they had moved to the neighborhood in the 1990s, refer to a social missing, by emphasizing the loss of neighborhood relations. So the neighborhood is remembered as “we who have lived here all our lives and who own this neighborhood had a better time when it was ‘only us’”

³⁰ “E tabi eski binaları şeyleri arıyoruz. Mesela eski resimleri gördüm mü hoşuma gidiyor, bazısı bakarken. Arkadaşlar arasında da eski resimleri şey yapıyoruz bir tane var şimdi benim evin karşısında oturan Ahmet diye. Bir resim buldum ona yolladım ‘Nedim ağlattın beni’ dedi. Gençlik resmi yani genç dedimiz 15- 16 yaşındaki resimler insan arıyor. Ben arkadaşlar dedim ya hep aynı yerlerde büyüdük.”

³¹ “Tabii ki onları arıyorum. Bak ne dedim nerde eski şeyler keşke o zamanda yaşasaydım diyorum. Mesela. 1+1 ev. Küçüktü ama biz çok mutluyduk. Bina değil de keşke orası olsa. Çocukmuşum ama gene de hatırlıyorum. Ufak eski meski. Huzur var mutluluk var, yani kendin aç kendin kapat var. Ses yok gürültü yok rahatsız eden yok. O evin o tadını unutmam yani.”

(Blokland, 2001, p.280): “It was more beautiful in the past. Now there’s no neighboring. Everybody is formal. Although you know your neighbor, there is no visiting. Hello hello, how are you, are you all right? That’s all.”³² (Sevda, personal communication, 23 October 2017).

The time interval from the 1960s to the 1990s is referred to by different respondents “as being ‘the true’ one in a specific moment of the group’s life” (Mistral, 2003, p.133). This shared memory refers not only as a “self-defining moment of one’s” but also a self-defining time interval for the group. However, because of this long time interval reference, we understand that “the true” past is actually an uncertain past. The dwellers socialized within different groups, with whom they shared the same time interval within the neighborhood. “Good old days” of the neighborhood refer to a different time interval for each of these groups.

The narratives praising the past and disparaging the transformation do not only create a cynical sense of nostalgia for the neighborhood. Psychologically, nostalgia enables “social connectedness” within the group (Cheung, et al. 2013, p.1488). Nostalgia of the neighborhood can have a role in the social mechanism, by strengthening the social and spatial identification. This nostalgic feeling within remembering those days, keeps the neighborhood together by creating a community feeling. Remembering those selected days makes one a real Mevlanakapı dweller. The daily references to the fictitious past (Blokland, 2001, p.279), identifies people within a group who share the same feeling and exclude others who do not share it. In the neighborhood today, who say that “we are proud to live here”, are those who remember that “good old days”: “İstanbul’s decency and culture disappeared. Disappeared! Can you imagine? Let me tell you something; maybe we’ve had the last good times. Now, Istanbul sounds strange.”³³ (Tarık, personal communication, 25 September 2017).

³² “Valla ne bileyim şimdi birşey diyemeyeceğim eskisi daha güzeldi. Şimdi hiç komşuluk diye birşey yok. Herkes resmi. Gerçi burda o kadar da tanıyoruz da gidip gelme yok. Meraba meraba nasılsın iyi misin işte bu kadar.” (Gönül)

³³ “İstanbul’un edep ve kültürü kayboldu. Kayboldu. Düşünebiliyor musun? Sana birşey söylüyüm mi biz belki son zamanlarını yaşadık hacıyla beraber. Şimdi İstanbul bir tuhaf geliyor.” (Kenan)

While nostalgic memories strengthen people’s spatial identification, it can also organize them as a “progressive force in urban life”, by which they can raise their voices against official transformation plans (Adams & Larkham, 2015, p.1). While the nostalgia binds people who long for the same version of the past and who have the same needs in their contemporary world, it can work to establish the future of the community (Boym, 2011).



CHAPTER 6

THE LAND WALLS AS A NEIGHBORHOOD PLACE

Land Walls of Istanbul, which is one of the most crucial urban archeological sites of Istanbul has been tried to organized as a site of memory (Nora, 1989, p.7), of the conquest of Istanbul or as a touristic amusement place, in which a one-sided version of the history is presented to the visitors. However, the dwellers of the former Melek Hatun and the former Veledi Karabaş neighborhoods have experienced the historical land walls as a part of the neighborhood places and a part of the street. That is why I conceptualize the land walls within the social memory of the dwellers as a neighborhood place in everyday usage and also as a locus of collective memory (Hebbert, 2005).

The walls are called “castle” (kale) within the narratives of the dwellers. The neighborhood’s reference to the walls with a name different from the official-historical name of “the land walls”, reveals the personal relationship between the neighborhood and the city walls. The city walls are mentioned with possessive expressions, especially with possessive supplements, like “our castle”. As I mentioned above, social and spatial practices of a group are based on routine practices of them which turned out to produce unwritten cultural codes of the group (Certeau et al., 1998; Mills, 2007). Repetition of these routines is “a process of appropriation of the topological system” (De Certau, 1984, p. 97), by which the users make the place to their own. The possessive supplements used for the walls show this spatial appropriation, which is based on repetitive routines, of the walls, by the group. Also to calling the walls “our castle” can be read in parallel to the phrases like “the child of our neighborhood” used for the hooligans, which was a way to hide the dissonances within neighborhood. While hooligans were protected as a member of the neighborhood community, the walls were also included to the community and its positive narrative. The neighborhood’s “secret language” (Blokland, 2001, p. 279) also produced new reference points for the walls: “Wherever I go, I long for here. That's what it means to me. Even I go to the most beautiful place in the world, again my home, my castle.

In Topkapı, we say, “we have seen our castles. We came to our hometown.”³⁴ (Aysel, personal communication, 24 July 2017).

The walls were referred with positive feelings by the dwellers, because of its function as a bookmark, which shows the place of the home and the neighborhood. As within Benjamin’s argument on the determinant role of the habitual behaviors to “optical reception”(1969, p.240), the dwellers who have experienced the walls as a neighborhood place also see it as a reference point of the neighborhood. It is a visible and “legible” (Certau, et al., 1998, p.16) reference point of the positive narratives of the neighborhood: “Whenever I go on holiday or go to our homeland, when we come back, when the castle is seen, I say “what a relief!”. I came back to my place, to my home. You know, I become euphoric. So no matter how much you have your own hometown, you are looking for your own place.”³⁵ (İlknur, personal communication, 13 July 2017).

As a neighborhood place, the land walls are loaded with experiences of a long period of time, for various purposes. It has worked as a public space and a public space of the neighborhood. We see that almost every detail that was a part of the daily life of the neighborhood was also experienced in the city walls. It has been one of the undeniable elements of the daily life of the neighborhood with the opportunities and limitations it provided. The social relationship between the neighborhood and the city walls emerged in the narratives of respondents.

6.1. Experiences of the Land Walls

6.1.1. The Land Walls Experiences Changing By Age

The experiences of the land walls change, especially according to the life periods of the respondents. The most strong memories are recalled from the childhood and

³⁴ “Nereye gidersem gideyim gene burayı arıyorum yani. Benim için anlamı bu. İsterse dünyanın en güzel yerine gideyim gene evim kalelerim. Topkapı’da ‘kalelerimizi gördük diyoruz. Memleketimize geldik.”

³⁵ “Tatile gittiğimizde veya memlekete gittiğimizde dönüyoruz ya. Şu kaleler görüldüğü zaman “oh dünya varmış diyorum” o zaman. Yerime yurduma geldim. Hani o kadar içim coşuyor. Yani ne kadar kendi memleketiniz olsa da kendi yerinizi arıyorsunuz.”

early teenage years, in which it was common to play games in the land walls. Except one male respondent, all of the dwellers who spent their childhood in the neighborhood had memories of their childhood spent on the land walls. Like on the streets of the neighborhood, the land walls were experienced within an autonomy by children, without any security concern. The land walls were narrated as a playground, in which children felt freedom, and they could transform the place by their own. Childhood memories are the long-term memories, based on important experiences of a lifetime (Fenster, 2007, p. 253) which create a sense of belonging to a group. Respondents got really excited when they talked about their memories on the walls and gave so many details about their plays, which shows they could still remember those crucial experiences. Those memories include climbing to the walls and watching the view. According to the narratives, before the restoration, it was easier to climb and spend time there, because the walls were filled with soil.

From here, we climbed from the bottom to the top of the castle with ivy. We used to go down with ivies, did not use the stairs. We used to play cowboys; we play Indians. Look, there's a castle with stairs, see the ladder? We were climbing there. Do you see the opposite side? There, there was always ivy. We'd hide up here, up ahead.³⁶ (Ahmet, personal communication, 17 September 2017).

The freedom children have on the walls were enabling them to have a physical connectedness with the walls. Halbwachs argues that, integration of a group to a place is possible through an adaptation process, while the group transforms the place, it also has to “adapts to the material things that resist it” (Halbwachs, 1997, p. 186 in Truc, 2001, p.195).

³⁶ “Buradan aşağıdan kalenin tepesine kadar sarmaşıklarla çıkardık. Sarmaşıklarla inerdik merdivenleri kullanmazdık. Kovboyculuk oynardık, kızildericilik oynardık. Bak karşıda merdivenli kale var görüyor musun merdiveni? Oraya çıkardık. Şu karşıyı görüyor musun bak duvar örülmüş şurası? Şurası, bak şuraları hep sarmaşıktı. Yerden oralara biz böyle dolaşıp da çıkmazdık sarmaşıklarla çıkardık, tutunarak inerdik.”



Figure 6.1. Children on the Land Walls (Nedim Altınbüken Archive)

The dwellers from a very little age could use the walled area within its both enabling and restricting physical circumstances. Appropriation of the walls was possible by adapting to its physical circumstances. For example, ditches between the road and the walls were enabling to play football, as a flat and bordered area. Even the amateur football clubs in the neighborhood were doing their training in these areas except for the football matches. Some of the male respondents, who spent their childhood playing football in the walls, could keep their relationship with the walls in teenage years, by participating in those local football teams. Fields of these football clubs were outside the walls, *Güzelhisar* and *Topkapı* Sports Club, the former's field was destroyed with the construction of Topkapı Bus Terminal, and after the latter's field was destroyed during the road work there:

Most of the time, we were training in the ditches. We didn't have shoes on our feet. It was all a pit, not one or two. It was always a pit-to-pit ditch all over there. If one was full, we'd go here, if here is crowded we'd go there. We'd have caught an empty one. Because all the people here were young people,

they were playing ball there.³⁷ (Osman, personal communication, 03 October, 2017).



Figure 6.2. Football Players on Güzelhisar Football Field. (Nedim Altınbüken Archive)

While respondents were talking about their experiences on the walls, their close relationship with the walls could be recognized. They talk about their usage of different parts of the walls as if giving an address on a street, which shows their knowledge about the details of the walled system. As practitioners, they “write” the “text” of the walls, In De certain sense (1984, p.93), by finding their way, opening new paths within it. The places they have used is only “legible” among them, which is invisible for those who are not part of this practice.

³⁷ “Çoğu zaman da antrenmanları falan hendeklerde. Ayakkabı mayakkabı yok ayağımızda. Çukurdu tabii, bir tane iki tane de değil. Baştan aşağı hep çukur çukur hendekti oralar, burası dolu olurdu buraya giderdik, burası dolu olurdu, buraya giderdik. Bir tane mutlaka boşunu yakalardık onun. Çünkü buranın tüm insanları gençler, mutlaka oralarda top oynuyordu.”

We called it “the back of the castle” and the ditches. There were *kumkumas* there. I don’t know if Greek soldiers were used to sleep there. However, the walls were covered until there; you could sit on them and watch the castle side or the side that people were playing football. When the older ones came, we had to leave the field, then we sat on there and watched them.³⁸ (Nedim, personal communication, 22 August 2017).

We see that as a place of the neighborhood, empty places of the walls were also used according to the propriety of the community, which gives the priority to the elderly. Also, like within the neighborhood, the dwellers have a “vocabulary” (Mills, 2007, p.343) on the walls, which is not understandable if you are not part of the community. In their “secret language” (Blokland, 2001, p.279), they talk about “kumkuma” part of the walls, which are the empty places covered on top with a semicircular vault. While their top was used by the children to climb and watch the view, inside of them was used to cover something. Using the walls as a playground is an experience stuck in a specific age range. The people who have spent their childhood in the 1960s and in the 1970s on the walls were entering the workforce after primary school. That’s why people were not spending time in late ages on the walls, except the group who participated in the local football clubs.

The walls were also experienced in early ages as a place of nature. It was narrated with plants and animals on it. Children who were using the walls with their pets, had also a special relationship with the walls and its natural features. This narrative can be an example of “like a village” conditions of the neighborhood shared by the walls. It is also an example of a girl above primary school age, who did not have to work, could still use the walls, without any fear.

I even fed a lamb in the past. I think my father took it because I love animals. I wasn't letting anyone touch it; I was the only one taking care of it. Every afternoon, before it got dark, I was turning it out and grazing the lamb on the castles like a tomboy. We called him *Pamuk*. We opened the street gate. Come on, when you say *Pamuk*, dash, it walks out the garden. I never tied it, and it would not move with anyone else except me. I would say ‘come on

³⁸ “Kale arkası derdik, bir de hendekler. O kumkumalar vardır. Artık orda Rum askerleri mi yatardı kalkardı. Oraya kadar dolmuş üstünde de oturursun kale tarafını seyret ya da top oynayanları seyredersin büyükler geldi miydi mecburen çekilirdik biz oturur seyrederdik onları, onlar bitince kalkardık.”

*Pamuk, we are leaving girl'. I was taking it to the castle, like a shepherd, keeping her there for an hour, letting her breathe there and then bringing back to home. Well, I was maximum 14-15 years old at that time.*³⁹ (Sevda, personal communication, 23 October 2017).

The walls were, like the streets of the neighborhood, also places bringing families, people from different ages together. Because the walls were easily reachable and it was an empty green area, it was used as a picnic place. These gatherings were also experienced according to the laws of the neighborhood. Like “privatization” of the residential street within the neighborhood, the walls were also used by privatizing them. The closest places of the walls to the home could be used like the residential street. However other parts of the walls were used more like a public place. The rules of using public and private spaces of the neighborhood was also followed in the picnics. The walls, in this sense “corresponds to various and different aspects” of the “most stable” “aspects of the structure and life of” the neighborhood (Halbwachs M., 1980, p.128). The most stable aspect of the life of the neighborhood could be the “propriety” of it (Certeau et al., 1998, p.9). The dwellers were using the walls with the same social consciousness of commons, that people have a “right of the eye” and “right of the air”.

The walls are the promenade, everyone boils the egg, takes the olive cheese, gets a cover and goes up on the walls. Now they are making ready lawns on the walls, the lawn took out by itself. Children fly kites, and adults also sit. Old people also had a decency. Nobody goes to barbecue. Because why? When you cook a barbecue, you have to give it to all the neighbors around it. That’s why what would they do? They would eat cheese, olive, melon, watermelon.⁴⁰ (Tarık, personal communication, 25 September 2017).

³⁹ “Hatta bir ara bir kuzu besledim. Galiba babam aldı onu hayvanları çok sevdiğim için. O kuzuyu bile kimseye ellettirmiyordum onlara ben bakıyordum. Her akşam onu akşam üzeri hava kararmadan kaleye çıkıp onu ben erkek fatma gibi kuzuyu orda otlatıyordum. Ona pamuk diyorduk bahçeden oraya geçecek sokak kapısını açardık. ‘Hadi Pamuk fırla’ deyince löp löp löp löp yapıp buraya bahçeye karşıya çıkar. Buraya mesela burada da çimler vardı ot bitiyordu. O hemen koşturur o otlara saldırırdı orda bir oyalanır. Hiç bağlamazdım. Hadi pamuk gidiyoruz kızım diye severdim onu kaleye kadar götürür orda hani şey gibi çobanlar gibi orda bir saat onu oyalar sonra tekrardan koyuna hava aldırıp eve getiriyorduk. Valla yaş olarak 14-15 anca.”

⁴⁰ “Surlar mesire yeri, herkes napar yumurtasını haşlar, zeytin peynir şeyisini alır, bir tane örtü alır surların üstüne çıkar. Surların üstü şimdi hazır çim yapıyorlar, o kendiliğinden çimler çıkardı. Herkes alır çoluk çocuk uçurtma uçurur, büyükler de oturur. Piknik nasıl şimdi deniz kenarına gidiyorlar mangal yakıyorlar? Eski insanlar da bir edep vardı. Kimse gidip mangal pişirmez. Çünkü neden? Sen mangal pişirdiğin zaman onun etrafındaki bütün komşularına vermen gerekir. Onun için ne yaparlar? Peynir, zeytin, kavun, karpuz yerlerdi.”

The experience of the land walls as a green area to picnic, also lead to conceptualize the walls as a part of nature. As the dwellers recall the specific places of the walls, with their experiences, they also remember specific flowers and trees, which have grown on those places. Ahmet, who can see the walls from the window of his house, opened the window in the middle of the interview and showed the places of the trees that are no more there. He could remember the types of the trees and their exact places between the walls. Memory continues to live with the place and can be recalled when it is needed: “There were fig trees on the upper side of the castles. Behind it, there were fig trees, one level under him there were the mulberry trees. People were coming to picnic on the walls. There were plane trees, acacia trees, on the backside of the walls. Of course, they were gathering mulberries and figs.”⁴¹ (Ahmet, personal communication, 17 September 2017).

Halbwachs conceptualizes “memory of places”, as the places of everyday life. As memory is remembered with the places it is linked to, memories of everyday life are under the threat of loss, while memory of places are always under the threat of a change or destruction (Truc, 2011, p.148). Trees in this sense are memory of places, they have been lost to changes in the walls. However, in contrast to Halbwach’s argument, the mundane everyday places of the trees can still be remembered, with the help of the land walls, which are “the places of memory”. According to Michel De Certeau, the physicality has the power of reminding within “involuntary spontaneity of a memory” (Ward, 2016, p.26). This spontaneity is possible through the relationship with “the embodied sensorial register of experience” (Degnen, 2016, p.1645). Those “memorized sensory experiences” can be recalled with the remnants of the places of these experiences (Leach, 2002, p.132). When Ahmet looks out of the window, he can remember his experiences within himself, but also within the “traces” left (Leach, 2002, p.132) on the physical environment. The ruins of the wall can recall

⁴¹ “Bu üst tarafta incirlik vardı kalelerin olduğu yerde bir üstünde. Arkasında, incirlik ağaçları vardı onun bir altında dut ağaçları vardı. Eskiden kalelerin orda millet piknik yapardı oturmaya gelirlerdi. Surların üst taraflarına. Çınar ağaçları vardı. Akasya ağaçları vardı. Tabi tabi oralarda dut topluyorlardı incir topluyorlardı.”

his experiences between the trees. It is a reciprocal relationship between bodies and substances.

We could say that although all of the respondents showed compassion and belonging to the walls, people who spent their childhood by playing on the walls, had a special relationship with the walls. According to Toni Fenster, the long-term memory “consists of an accumulation of little events from the past, our childhood experiences, our personal readings and reflections on specific spaces, which are associated with significant events in our personal history” enable sense of belonging to the places of those events (Fenster, 2007, 248) This spatial identification is explained in the narratives, through a lifetime of a person, following from childhood to death, from the neighborhood to the cemeteries outside of the walls: “We were climbing to the top of the castle, to the place right across the cemeteries now. Even one day, a funeral was buried there, I said to the imam: “I spent our childhood on the top of this castle, and this is our grave.”⁴² (Nedim, personal communication, 22 August 2017).

Halbwachs argues that “place and group have each received the imprint of the other” (Halbwachs M., 1980, s. 128). As people have the identity of their neighborhood, they also have the identity of the walls. One of the respondents, who has spent his childhood in the neighborhood, narrated that, one of his boss was calling him “bastard of the castle”⁴³ (Hüseyin, personal communication, 18 September 2017) for bullying him. It seems that through the integration process into space, while the dwellers transformed the land walls, they also had “the stamp” of the place (Halbwachs, 1997, pp.186, 195 in Truc, 2011, p.151). In this sense, the walls become an inseparable identity of them. Also, the walls were imprinted with the social experience of the neighborhood, as “each aspect, each detail of this place has a meaning intelligible only to members of the group” who have experienced the walls as a place of the neighborhood (Halbwachs M., 1980, p.128).

⁴² “Kapının üstü değil bu tarafta bizim hemen mezarlıkların karşısında şimdi. Ben hatta bir gün orda bir cenaze gömülüyordu, dedim ki hocaya: ‘Hocam bak ben çocukluğumuz bu kalenin tepesinde geçti, bizim mezar da burası.’”

⁴³ “Kale piçi”

6.1.2. The Land Walls Experiences Changing by Gender

As a place of the neighborhood, experiences of the land walls were also organized according to the propriety of the neighborhood. In my interview group, there were only two women who spent their childhood on the walls. However, even in their narratives, we understand that less girls were participating in the games on the walls. Despite the “interwoven” private and public places of the neighborhood (Mills, 2007, p.337), and despite privatized part of the walls, the land walls were mainly experienced as a public space. Because of that, “traditional gender roles” which call the women to private space while leaving the public for men (Mills, 2007, p.337) were more dominant in the walls. “Gendering of space” (Bryant, L., & Livholts, M., 2007) is possible through routines and experiences, which also produces “cultural symbolic meaning of space” (Fenster, 2007, p.246). Cultural and symbolic meanings of space put the boundaries of “spatial mobility”, which restricts the mobility of women to the walls. These boundaries are reminded and controlled by the “male cultural guards” of society”. (Fenster, 2007, p. 246). We see that the land walls turned into space of usage of male dwellers culturally.

My younger brother was going to to the castle to play football. My dad was joking, because I grew up among the boys in the house, “You are like a tom-boy, putting your nose in everyone’s business.” I was insisting to go the match. I was allowed to go with my elder brother at the end. I was going to watch the match while they were playing.⁴⁴ (Sevda, personal communication, 23 October 2017).

Although we have little information about the female experience on the land walls, from what we have, we can claim that the two group, male and female dwellers, were differentiating in their land wall experiences. Male and female children were sharing the walls in their childhood, while they were aging, women became more hesitant to use the walls. Within a male-gendered public space, women feel the “gendered fear in public space” (Bryant & Livholts, 2007, p.31). The fear within mind and body of the

⁴⁴ “Benim küçük abim de oraya kaleye top oynamaya gidiyorlardı. Ben de evdeki erkeklerin arasında büyüdüğüm için babam takılırdı ‘sen de erkek Fatma gibi her şeye burnunu sokuyorsun’ derdi. Ben de ‘gideceğim maça bana ne’ derdim. Babam diyordu İrfan götürürse gidersin diyordu. ‘Hadi hadi gel’ derdi, zorlan ben de maç seyretmeye giderdim onlar oyun oynarken.”

female dwellers, changes their experiences of the land walls: “It was deserted at that time. There were no lamps. We were getting uncomfortable and passing fast through, even when we were in a crowd while going to Merkezefendi Mosque.”⁴⁵ (Müşerref, personal communication, 18 October 2017).

Women users of a public place, especially of male- gendered places, have to “negotiate” of the danger risk of it (Briyan & Livholts, 2007, p.31). The female dwellers were following their “tactic”s while they were passing through the walls. Everyday mundane practices are tactics “on the watch for opportunities” (De Certeau, 1984, p. xix), to move within a spatial structure and to be able to appropriate it. Women were looking for the ways to use the walls safely and to be able to “adapt” to the physical environment of it (Halbwachs, 1997, p. 186 in Truc, 2001, p.195).

This adaptation process, which is based on the feeling of discomfort or fear, do not have to bring about a restriction of actions. According to Koskela (1999) women can bring their heard or experienced past experiences, to the negotiation to use a place. However, also they can feel courageous, and develop an “awareness and strategies” (in Bryant & Livholts, 2007, p.37) to use the place. Women found their daily life tactics, through their experiences in the city wall, deciding on which parts are dangerous to use and which parts are safe. These tactics are based on their own experiences from the past to the present and the experiences women tell to each other. Based on this knowledge and experience, they create narratives about which parts of the city walls can be used for transit and transportation and at what times. For example, although they were afraid, Müşerref and her friends kept going to *teravîh* prayer to Merkezefendi Mosque, out of the walls. By considering the risk of danger, she developed a tactic to pass through the walls in the morning if she was alone. At night she was passing within groups.

⁴⁵ “İssızdı zaten o zaman. Yani şeyinden kapısından. İssızdı o lambalar yoktu. Eskiden tedirgin oluyorduk yani hızlı hızlı geçiyorduk. Camiye bile gittiğimiz zaman kalabalığımız ama. Hızlı hızlı geçiyorduk tam surdan geçerken.”

Merkezefendi was on the opposite side of us. We were always going to Merkezefendi to tarawih together. With friends and women from the neighborhood. We were not afraid. So we were passing through the cemetery and praying in Merkezefendi and coming back. We had no fear at that time; we had freedom. We weren't afraid of anybody.⁴⁶ (Müşerref, personal communication, 18 October 2017).

Also, another female participant who was going early to work was not afraid to go out from her house, walk to the gate of the wall and wait for a service bus out of the walls. She explained her courage as “knowing” people using the same way each morning. “Knowing” is the same mechanism, creating familiarity among neighbors and making the neighborhood safe (Mills, 2007, p.343), was also making the walls safe for her.

No, no, our night watchers would pass. Of course, we wouldn't afraid. It was quiet; we all knew each other in the neighborhood. For example, a person from our neighborhood pass by, it is obvious that he comes from work. You know, hello hello, good evening, good evening. There was no fear or anxiety.⁴⁷ (Hatice, personal communication, 21 September 2017).

For this reason, the women with more positive experiences within walls, developed their tactics to use there, and they do not stigmatize the walls with danger. However, when we compare the female experiences from the 1990s to the 2000s, we see that the walled area became more dangerous for women. One of the late movers of the neighborhood in the early 1990s, claims that she would never pass shortcuts to pass through the walls or walk along the walls. They say they were not using the voids or holes on the walls, but they were using the main gates to pass. Deserted and dark transition options were not used, because of the fear felt there and witnessed security problems. She is one of the few female participants claimed to restricted because of the danger: “For example, you can use the shortcut here to transgress the walls.

⁴⁶ “Merkezefendi zaten karşımızda. Merkezefendi'ye biz zaten her zaman teravihe giderdik toplanırdık. Arkadaşlar kadınlar mahallenin, hiç korkmazdık yani mezarlığın içinden geçip Merkezefendi'de teravihimizi kılıp geliyorduk yani. Bizde o zaman korku yoktu serbestlik vardı. Hiç kimseden korkmuyorduk yani.”

⁴⁷ “Yok yok yok gece bekçilerimiz geçerci bizim. Tabii ki, korkmazdık yani. Sakindi, hepimiz birbirimizi tanıyorduk mahallede. Mesela yanımızdan bizim mahallenin insanı geçer, işten gelir belli o da. Hani ‘merhaba merhaba, iyi akşamlar iyi akşamlar’ diyorduk birbirimize. Korku, tedirginlik yoktu.”

However, I have never used there and never use. Because I am afraid, anything can happen. I would also not go in the morning alone.”⁴⁸ (İlknur, personal communication, 13 July 2017).

When we look at the usage of the wall-complex, especially women's narratives about security, are prominent. Therefore, we cannot speak of a homogeneous and total perception of walls and security. Certain places and areas were safe or unsafe at certain times. The places that are considered dangerous were the empty parts of the land walls. As an alternative to these areas, the roads and main crossing points were preferred.

“Cultural symbolic meaning” (Fenster, 2007, p.246) of the walls as a male-dominated public space was possible through the routines of the neighborhood and spatial features of the walls. The land walls were conceptualized by the dwellers, as a family place during the day, who use the walls to picnic. At night, the walls were “re-generated” (Bryant & Livholts, 2007, p.31) and turned into male groups’ places, used especially for drinking alcohol.

We deemed the walls as a place to escape. Sorry, we were buying beer and stuff, and we were going up the walls so no one could see. In the past, around the walls, sorry, there were people drinking wine. Alternatively, the youngsters like us would go and wander on the castles.⁴⁹ (Osman, personal communication, 03 October, 2017).

Male respondents were more hesitant to talk about those narratives but an overheard to the interview encouraged the respondent to talk about it by saying: “also we were drinking wine, you should say all of that”. This male-dominated usage could also be read concerning the physical circumstances of the land walls. The land walls area, as a public place was also enabling a transitionary place between public and

⁴⁸ “Mesela kestirme şu aradan geçtiğiniz zaman geçide geçebiliyorsunuz. Ama ben kesinlikle kullanmadım kullanmam da. Çünkü korkuyorum her şey var. Gündüz de gitmem tek başıma.”

⁴⁹ “O zamanlar kaçamak bir şey zannediyorduk biz surları. Alıyorduk çok affedersin bira alıyorduk bilmem ne alıyorduk kaçak olarak kimse görmesin diye surlara çıkıyorduk oralarda. Daha önce surların etrafında çok affedersin şarap içenler olurdu. Ya bizim gibi gençler giderlerdi kalelerde dolaşırlardı. Başka bir gaye için şey yapan olmazdı.”

private. The place called *kumkuma* is partly covered, it is hard to see the inside when you look out of it. So instead of drinking on the streets of the neighborhood, young men would use a semi-public place by using *kumkuma*. Alternatively, we can also argue that young men were privatizing the *kumkuma* by specifying them for a specific way of usage.

It was a tavern over the wall. Young people, who got money for *rakı* in hand, three to five friends went to the castle. However, that is to say, if a family sits next to them, they will not make a pass or look askance at them. Because you know each other, you know whose child he is. He knows about you.⁵⁰ (Nedim, personal communication, 22 August 2017)

Like the rules mentioned in picnic experiences, the usage of the walls by young men to drink alcohol was also organized according to the propriety of the neighborhood. “Knowing” each other in this experience also enabling a safe environment in the walls according to this narrative (Mills, 2007, p.343).

6.1.2.1 The Relationship Between The Land Walls and Safety

Although the walls were not stigmatized with danger by the dwellers, we understand especially from the female experiences that there was a risk to be disturbed at some places. The spatial conditions of the walls, which enable a transgression between public and private places, enable it to be used for illegal works or some usages to be hidden from the dweller of the neighborhood.

Transforming the physical space of the land walls, was a process of adapting it to those specific practices (De Certeau, 1997 cited in Truc p.151). The land walls were not only transformed by the dwellers of the neighborhood, but also they were open the usage from the people out of the neighborhood. While the propriety imposed “standardization of behaviors” (Certeau et al., 1998, p.18), behaviors which were not compatible with the propriety of the neighborhood, had to be left out of the neighborhood.

⁵⁰ “Surun üstü meyhaneydi. Genç insanlar eline para geçmiş rakı parası, üç beş arkadaş kaleye. Ama yani kimseye de yanında aile oturuyorsa ne laf atar ne yan gözle bakar. Tanıyorsun birbirini kimin çocuğu olduğunu biliyorsun. O seni biliyor.”

The most shared narrative that relates the walls with an image of unsafety is the narrative seeing the wall as a border, where the unsafety begins. Although the dwellers refer to the walls as a part of the neighborhood mostly, in those narratives they are conceptualized as a border. While the inside of the border, which is the neighborhood, is safe, the outside is dangerous, where the neighborhood and almost the city ends.

It was like that in the past. I was working as a taxi driver after I came from military service. My taxi stop was within the castle Topkapı; I was waiting there with my car. At night when a passenger came to go from Topkapı to Esenler, we did not go. We were afraid, because, I swear to God, they were robbing people there. They were robbing the car. We were not going to Esenler from Kaleiçi. However, there was no problem in the inner wall side. This side was safe, wherever you went in Istanbul.⁵¹ (Osman, personal communication, 03 October, 2017).

As De Certeau argues, to protect the propriety, it is required “the avoidance of all dissonance in the game of behaviors and all qualitative disruption in the perception of the social environment. (Certeau et al., 1998, p. 17). Behaviors related to illegality and crime were seemed as “dissonant” behaviors of the neighborhood’s propriety. They were not only socially excluded but also physically excluded to the border of the neighborhood, which are the walls. However, as a transitory place, the walls could never be a strict frontier. For this reason, the walls functioned as a *zwischenraum*, which is an “in-between” space, “a middle place composed of interactions” (Certeau, 1984, p.127). While the land walls were experienced as a public space by the dwellers, it was also the start of the end of the neighborhood with its social rules. In this sense, it was not only a place of exclusion but also a place of interaction with the dissonant behavior.

Individuals or groups of friends, who were going to the walls to drink alcohol, were seemed as harmless, because they were known by the neighborhood. Besides of

⁵¹ “Eskiden vardı, bak ben dedim ya askerden geldik sonra taksi şoförlüğü yaptım. Kendi arabam vardı Topkapı kale içinde dururdum durağım orasıydı taksi durağı. Geceleyin Topkapı’dan Esenler’e yolcu çıkınca biz gitmiyorduk korkuyorduk. Vallahi billahi yeminle söylüyorum sana orda insanı soyuyorlardı. Arabayı soyuyorlardı. Kaleiçinden Esenler’e gitmiyorduk biz. Ama Kaleiçinde hiçbir sorun yok, bu taraf gayet emin bir şey yani burada İstanbul’un neresine gidersen git.”

them, there were also some illegal businesses. Because the area adjacent to the wall, is not allowed to construction, there were illegal constructions there, which were run as taverns and entertainment places. Those places were using the enabling physical conditions of the walls. Since this area outside the walls stays in between the neighborhood and road, it was not bothering the neighborhood dwellers and were not recognized from the people passing by the road. In contrast to the young men of the neighborhood, these business places were attracting “unknown” people, like male customers from Topkapı Bus terminal. These businesses could be seen until the more strict rules of construction in the walled area were applied in the 1990s.

Other illegal activities, which were needed to be hidden, could also be committed in the walled area. The cavities or *kumkuma* places were used for horse slaughtering, which was a business of neighborhood hooligans, like *Ayı Ahmet*, *Kambur Cavit* and *Deli Fehmi*. This can be thought in relation to the horse-drawn carriage business. Because the number of horses were high, the old or sick horses were slaughtered to by these people. They were also sold illegally according to the narratives. Especially women thought that the walls were risky to use at night, because of the uncanny or drunk people living in various cavities of the walls. Extortion and murder cases were counted as crimes committed in the walls also.

There are also narratives emphasizing the danger of the walls by distinguishing the physical existence of the walls and the way they were used by different people, who were assumed to make the walls unsafe.

The walls were not known well. It is not because it was a castle, the walls are abandoned, secluded place, it is not the fault of the walls or the castle. Evil reproduces in an abandoned place. It is abandoned, you did not protect it; you did not take care of it; you were not interested in it. If you abandon a land or a house, it will be the house of evil.⁵² (Kemal, personal communication, 29 September 2017).

⁵² “Surlar pek iyi bilinmezdi. Sur dibi aslında kale oluşu sur oluşuyla değil de terk edilmiş, izbe olan bir yer yani surun ya da kalenin bir suçu kabahati değil. Şimdi terk edilmiş bir yerde kötülük ürer. Terk edilmiş, yani sen sahip çıkmamışsın bakmamışsın alaka göstermemişsin. Başiboş bir arsayı bırak bir ev al bırak terk et kötülüğün yuvası olur.”

We see that narratives of danger are restricted to specific periods, people and parts of the walls in the neighborhood. The problems of safety emerged, during certain periods with spatial opportunities provided by the walls' physical conditions and then disappeared with the new arrangements. In this sense, identification of the walls with danger is not a general perspective of the dwellers of the neighborhood. Those were narrated especially when I insisted on learning them by various questions. This attitude of the dwellers could be read in parallel to "one-dimensional memory" (Blokland, 2001, p.280), which has a more nostalgic perspective for the past. The land walls were part of the neighborhood, to which the dwellers socially and spatially identified. Like they tried to hide or unintentionally do not remember the dissonances in the neighborhood, they were doing the same with the walls. Even people leaving in neighboring houses to the walls argue that they did not even feel to need to lock their doors until recently. This felt trust is explained in the same way of what makes the neighborhood safe, which is knowing each other. It also shows that the walls were seen as a part of the neighborhood.

6.1.3. The Landwalls and Business Relationships

For a long period of time, the land walls were also used for various businesses. Most of them were run within illegal constructions before the protection laws were applied.

There were two coffee houses run by the dwellers of the neighborhood, the both were using the spaces between the walls, on Mevlanakapı and Silivrikapı gates. The one on Silivrikapı, was a wooden building famous with an Eid tradition, of gathering and of listening to the Quran. On Mevlanakapı side, there was a coffee house and a greengrocery store. Neighborhood dwellers were using both of the places to socialize within leisure times. Like other leisure time places of the neighborhood, these places were also producing "social relations" (Massey, 1994, p.119) and enabling a form of attachment through the performativities (Leach, 2002). Those coffee houses were also male-gendered places like the other coffee houses within the neighborhood.

One of the famous old shops, on the inside, next to the entrance of Mevlanakapı gate, was the shop of Paçavracı Kemal. It was both an antique shop and a small textile workshop, where pieces of fabrics are brought together and re sewn. We learn that the area covered with iron grates at the foot of the wall could be used at that time. This small workshop place can be thought of as an interesting example in terms of using spatial characteristics of the land walls, as using the empty places within it, combining it with historical and small industrial production properties together.

We called Professor İlber Ortaylı, we made someone *çi börek* done, and took him to the place of Paçavracı Kemal. He had a place, on the gate of the castle. When you enter from the gate on the right side, there were iron grates next to the fountain. They were open in the past; there were many beautiful seating places, İlber Ortaylı delighted there.⁵³ (Nedim, personal communication, 22 August 2017).

In social memory, people and places are always recalled together (Degnen, 2016, p.1633). So the place of Paçavracı Kemal next to the walls, were enabling to have a social relationship with the walls and remember the place with the social relation on it.

Small industrial production centers were also an important business sector on the land wall complex area. It was the extension of the industry outside the wall into the neighborhood, which I mentioned above, turned the neighborhood into a worker neighborhood. The empty spaces adjacent to the wall, both inside and outside, were small industrial production areas. Soda Factory, Glass Factory, Bitumen Factory, Cotton Factory, Brick Factory, Sewing Machine Factory, Fabric Factory, Leather Factory, Cardboard Factory, GÜllaç Factory, Styrofoam Factory were mentioned by the respondents as “on the castle”, by which they meant, within the land-walls complex. In addition, there was an artisan making gravestones for the graveyard across the street which was also located outside the Mevlanakapı gate. It is told that, in the 1980s, the walls were hardly seen because of the factories.

⁵³ İlber Ortaylı hocayı biz çağırдық çibörek yaptırdık ben onu Paçavracı Kemal’in yerine götürürdüm. Onun kale kapınının orda yeri vardı, Kaleden girince sağ tarafta çeşmenin yanında demir kapılar var oralar eskiden açıktı onun orda çok güzel oturma yerleri vardı İlber Ortaylı ona bayıldı oraya.

The name "factory" is used by all of the respondents to describe these production places. Although this name gives the impression of a vast production place, one of the biggest factories were told to have around 70 workers. While the walls were a place of the neighborhood, so these factories were also ingredients of this place. Like the business relations within the neighborhood, we also see that meaning producing social relations (Massey, 1994, p.119) were also established, with the owners of the factories. Some of the owners were also from the neighborhood, or they were known by the neighborhood. This lead to a personal relationship with the neighbors and a "knowing" (Mills, 2007, p.341). The factories were recalled not only as buildings or what they produce but with people within them. One of the impressive examples is Çağlar Soda Pop Plant, which is remembered by almost everyone. The factory owner's son was a friend of the respondents from the neighborhood, that's way it became the first factory came to the dwellers' mind. For another participant, the factory reminds him "the first drank soda pop".

On the left, when going out of the gate, there was a soda factory. I was at the age of 15-18. I don't know what his name was, even his son was sitting in my neighborhood, and I drank the first soda pop from there. At that time we called it "factory", where the manufacturing was done, even it had one room. It sold the soda pop to these neighborhoods and it was very beautiful.⁵⁴ (Eyüp, personal communication, 10 May 2017).

The social experience and the relationship with that plant, enabled it to be remembered as a part of social memory. Also a childhood memory, as a long term memory based on "significant events in our personal history" (Fenster, 2007, 248) enables to give a special meaning to those places of the events. The dwellers who have spent their childhood in the neighborhood, have shared memories of this plant. Also, the sensory element added to this childhood memory makes factory unforgettable. The senses "as record-keepers of involuntary and pervasive material experience" (Seremetakis, 1994, p.20) were enabling to build an alternative collective memory of the dwellers.

⁵⁴ "Çıkarken solda, orda bir Gazoz Fabrikası vardı. 15-18 yaşlarında. İsmi neydi bilmem, hatta oğlu da benim mahalleimde oturuyordu ben ilk gazozu orda içmiştim. O zaman imalat yapılan yere biz fabrika deriz, bir odası da olsa. Bu civarların gazozunu o verirdi çok da güzeldi."

This personal relationship also shows itself with some factory owners. There was a factory worked on the walls, which was continuing one of the oldest artisanries of the neighborhood by producing *güllaç*. We understand that the factory owners were also socially identified with the neighborhood. After the factory was moved, the owner was sending a packet of *güllaç* to the old neighbors in the month of Ramadan. Also although they left the neighborhood, it is told that those people keep coming to neighborhood for the prayers on Friday and their funerals were organized in the mosques of the neighborhood. It seems that even people who had only a business relationship with the neighborhood could be a member of the “collective public” (Certeau, et al., 1998, p.16), which is based on routine social practices. So they keep participating in everyday routines of the neighborhood to carry on this “sense of continuity and solidarity” of the group (Blokland, 2001, p.280).



Figure 6.3. A Marble Shop Out of The Walls. (Nedim Altınbüken Archive)

There were also dwellers who had worked in those factories. Although the factories were moved in the 1980s, a dweller moved to the neighborhood in the 1990s, was aware of the industrial past of the neighborhood, because she knew a neighbor who had lost his arm while working in the factory. The loss of an organ of a dweller could be conceptualized as a trace of the “embodied sensorial register of experience” (Leach, 2002, p.132). While sensory experiences, can be remembered by the physical remnants of the experienced places (Leach, 2002), the loss of objects with sensorial

memories (Seremetakis, 1994), can also lead to a social memory aspect. So, the industrial past, can keep following the neighborhood by a work accident and can have an “involuntary spontaneity” as reminding the memory of it (Ward, 2016, p.26).

On the southern side of the neighborhood, there were iron foundries, producing various tools out of iron. They were spread to the empty plot at the bottom of the walls area, inside and outside of it. It was told that the areas could be rented for very low prices, because of the ambiguity of land ownership. This small industrial production at the bottom of the city walls affected the daily life of the neighborhood positively, by enabling job opportunity to the neighborhood, and negatively, by polluting the area. There were often fires broke out in the factories, and the waste of production dumped to the walls, which turned the area to an industrial dumpster. However, we see that the damage to the land walls was not seen as damage to a historical remnant. Mira Debs argues that damage to a cultural remnant can lead to a traumatic effect to a community if the damage happened suddenly in an unexpected way to an artwork with a “string collective totemic importance” (Debs, 2012, p.487). Despite its cultural and historical significance, the land walls were seemed and experienced as a place of neighborhood by the dwellers. The area also had never got a totemic importance for the community. While they have experienced various demolitions on the land walls area during the years, there was not a sudden damage experience of it. Because of these reasons, the harm of industrial production given to the walls was narrated as harm to the neighborhood by air pollution, not as damage to the walls.

Lastly, the walls had some temporary users from various professional groups. Filmmakers were using the walls as a film set for the films. I didn't know anything about this group since I started the field, but many people talked about the moments of encountering people who were making films on the walls. I think this is an exciting detail in the neighborhood's daily routine. There was another group, which was not that much mentioned if I had not asked. They are the Roma people, who were coming to the walls to live in tents seasonally. As a seasonal worker group using the walls as settlement, they were changing their works according to the needs of the neighborhood. They worked as a tinner when the dwellers were using copper caps. When

there was no routine garbage collection service given to the neighborhood in the last era, the Roma families collected dump to sell in recycling factories. Also, a family was coming from Adana each year to work as a drummer in the month of Ramadan. They were known by the dwellers, while the same family members kept doing the same job for years. With the change of the land wall conditions; it became impossible to have tents in the walls, so, they started to rent a house in the neighborhood.

6.2. Various Imaginations on the Land Walls

The dwellers' opinion about identity and meaning of the land walls is based on their experiences, daily routine usages and memories, which are all shared by the group. Because the meaning of a place is established by social relations, which can have various perceptions (Massey, 1994, p.119), the identity of the land walls is also not fixed. Performativities reinvent place identity "in a multiple and shifting structure" (Massey, 1994, p.142). Various perceptions of the walls, constitute various imaginations on the walls. The respondents are more keen to have a positive imagination on the walls. They hide the negativities like economic backwardness, infrastructure problems, and neglect, by emphasizing positive features. Also, their narrations can have alternative perspectives than historical imaginations of the wall.

The city walls are perceived as beautiful, despite many negative features, by the respondents. Under the expressions defining aesthetics, physical characteristics which enable the freedom of movement to the neighborhood, are explained. Within the concept of beauty, the green area the walls provide is also narrated. In contrast to the dense building blocks within the neighborhood, the open space of the walls is an essential contribution to the physical conditions. The dwellers who experienced the walls as a green area in childhood, remember the walls' condition in those days. As Benjamin argues that "habit determines to a large extent even optical reception." (1969, p.240), the way the dwellers see the walls are based on their habits on the area. Trees were remembered by the experience, their positions and as an aesthetic memory: "It gives me beauty. In the past it was giving me beauty, we were climbing

to the top and sitting easily. Everyone was climbing, women and children were also climbing.”⁵⁵ (Ahmet, personal communication, 17 September 2017).

These narrations covering the negativity comes with positive narrations, emphasizing the dwellers’ positive narrations of their sense of belonging to the walls. The dwellers imply the walls a spiritual and distinctive atmosphere and embrace the area as part of their individual and social being. “This atmosphere of the walls, is described by conceptualizing the walls as a border pointing to the center of Istanbul or pointing to a kind of feeling of happiness evoking a sense of spatial belonging. There are two different forms of appropriation of the walls as the signifier of this spirituality or the signifier of the space to which they belong. The walls seem to be a part of the both: “Especially the walls is very highly spiritual here. The inside of the walls is very beautiful. I think it's the inner city that you call real Istanbul. The walls suits here.”⁵⁶ (Nalan, personal communication, 22 August 2017).

The attributed spirituality to the walls is based on the history of the land walls. However, it is more like an appropriated version of history, based on an oral culture still living in the neighborhood. One of the performativities reinventing the identity of the walls is telling stories together, which shows the living oral culture “overarched by the myth of neighborhood and networks in collective memory” (Blokland, 2001, p.279). As a “mnemonic community” (Mistzal, 2003, p.15), the neighbors not only remind each other their past experiences but also old stories of the area. While communicative memory, transfers the memories of the past through the generations, it gives the group “a sense of continuity” on the place they live (Fentress & Wickham, 1992, p. xi). The transferred story is not an experienced one in this sense; it has a role to connect the members of a community just by keep telling it to each other. As Greimas argues, while referring to an old proverb or an aphorism, people voluntarily let their voice be replaced by the person transferred this phrase (Greimas, 1970, p. 309

⁵⁵ “Yok, g zellik veriyor bana. Eskiden ok g zellik veriyordu bana. ıkıyorduk tepelerde oturuyorduk, rahat rahat. Herkes de ıkıyordu. Kadını da ıkıyordu oluęu da ıkıyordu, ocuęu da ıkıyordu.”

⁵⁶ “Hele ki surlarımız buranın maneviyatı ok y ksek. Sur ii ok g zel. Zaten asıl İstanbul dedięin sur ii bence. Yani sur ii asıl İstanbul olan yer burası. Sur buralara yakıřıyor.”

in O'Meara). Therefore, the transferred informative stories can connect people from various generations by making them speak in each other's place.

Myths work as an agreement of the community in this sense, giving a meaning to the locality and connecting it to a historical success story. By keeping these legendary stories alive, people praise their ancestors and increase their own reputation (Malinowski, 1974 in O'Meara). Mythical stories, which are the agreement of the Mevlanakapı community, are based on the identification of the walls with martyrdom. Especially female respondents from the former Melek Hatun neighborhood have more narratives emphasizing the spiritual features of the city walls. This spiritual reference to the walls through martyrdom also establishes a personal relationship with the walls. They believe that martyrs serve a kind of protection to the neighborhood. While people praise these legendary characters, they not only relate themselves to have a sense of continuity in the neighborhood. However, also they keep them alive in everyday life, by turning these people into daily life helpers.

We know that the bottom of the walls was washed with martyr's blood. For example, in the earthquake, thank God, our place, our neighborhood was not damaged, although this building is very old. You know, we say by ourselves, just because the martyrs have a thing. So it's a matter of faith. So we know that. We only heard from the old ones, martyrs, doing things while taking the castles.⁵⁷ (Hatice, personal communication, 21 September 2017).

Especially the residents who live next to the walls told that they regularly encounter mythical elements in their daily lives and in their private areas. They think that mythical characters make their presence felt to them.

Our children, for example, hear the sound of someone coming down the stairs, like the sound of water. They hear, but they're used to it. I even feel most of the time. Sometimes, for example, in the evening, sometimes in the kitchen, as if standing next to me. I see it come in. I see the door sway. For example, sometimes, I feel like, I feel its breath behind me. Sometimes I see

⁵⁷ "Surların dibi şehit kanıyla yıkandı onu biliyoruz zaten. Mesela depremde falan Allaha şükür bizim orası hiç zarar görmedi o mahalle mesela. Ki bu bina çok eski olduğu halde. Hani biz diyoruz yani kendimizce, şehitlerin şeyi de var diye. Yani inanç meselesi. Yani öyle biliyoruz. Sadece eskilerden duyduk işte şehitler, kaleleri alırken şey yaparken."

it passes like darkness into the other room. My husband's belongings were lost many times. A shirt, a sweater, a scarf has disappeared many times.⁵⁸ (İlknur, personal communication, 13 July 2017).

Since these mythical stories spread from ear to ear and formed with narratives, it did not go through a homogenizing process like writing history. While history is a “reconstruction”, memory of these stories live “in in permanent evolution, open to the dialectic of remembering and forgetting, unconscious of its successive deformations, vulnerable to manipulation and appropriation, susceptible to being long dormant and periodically revived” (Nora, 1989, p.8) In these stories, forgetting also, remembering can be repeated as a continuity. There can be changes in the stories, because of the people who missed the performativity of transferring the stories. Also, while, people’s identities are multiple and shifting (Massey, 1994, p.142), the meaning given to places, and relations with them can also change. Because of that, the identities of places can always be in a transformation (Massey, 1995, p.186) and identifications with the walls can be “fleeting and transitory” (Leach, 2002, p.130). Identification of martyrdom with the walls is the shared concept of the mythical stories of the dwellers. However, the way the concept is interpreted and the relationship of different group of people with this story can change.

According to O’Meare, the core of founding legends of Islamic cities, carry a mythical paradigm by relating their history with the alleged miracle of Islam (2014, p.172). Like the walls surrounded the ancient cities refer to distinction and reversal (O’Meare, 2014, p.173), also these mythical paradigms are established on distinction and reversal. The history of the foundation of Istanbul is started with the conquest by the leadership of Mehmet II. Because of that, mythical narratives which are produced out of this history include a paradigm based on the distinction between “us”, the Turks and “the other”, the Byzantines. However, while male respondents relate more easily

⁵⁸ “Bizim çocuklar mesela, merdivenden biri iniyor gibi ses duyuyorlar, su sesi gibi duyuyorlar. Duyuyorlar ama alıştılar yani. Ben bile hissediyorum çoğu zaman. Bazen mesela akşam, mutfakta bazen uğraşıyorum sanki yanımda duruyor. İçeri geçtiğini görüyorum. Kapının sallandığını görürüm. Mesela bazen ben dururum sanki arkamda nefesini hissedirim. Bazen bir karanlık gibi geçtiğini görürüm öbür odaya, hali hazırda. Eşimin eşyalarından çok kaybolan oldu. Eşimin gömleği, kazağı, atkısı kaybolduğu çok oldu.”

to the dominant mythical narrative of the conquest, and they show kind of a personal and emotional relationship with the ritualistic commemoration of the conquest ceremonies, female respondents did not emphasize this kind of a distinction in their narratives. There are more plural perspectives within the female narratives. Although martyrdom is a concept within Islam, we see that those who died in the city walls are remembered in an unidentified unity.

Our place, here, because that's the bottom of the wall, there were a lot of battles in the past. You know, from both sides, both Muslims and Byzantines. Of course, absolutely there were very good people in them. I mean, I say for the both sides. Martyrs from their soldiers, also from our side.⁵⁹ (İlknur, personal communication, 13 July 2017).

Another example of plural perspective in mythical narratives related to the land walls can be found on the specific places which dwellers defined as *yatır*. There are mythical places on the land walls area, where legendary stories of them are produced with the mixture of history and memory, on the physical existence of the historical artifact. It is believed that the corps in *yatır* are in-between life and death, and if they are called, they can also come to help the people (Güncel Türkçe Sözlük, n.d.). In contrast to the martyr myths, *yatır* stories are narrated in relation to a place, and also their identity is ambiguous. Because the land walls area was a Byzantine necropolis (Özer, 2010), the unidentified tombstones are likely to be from the Byzantine time and later associated with mythical Muslim stories. This situation of unidentified tombs or mixed identifications can be read from this fact. These unidentified places show palimpsest structure of the land walls area. As remnants, which are “obstacles from a stubborn past” (Certeau et al., 1998, 133), the unidentified tombs work as obstacles to the dominant, homogeneous narratives of the walls. They “burst forth” to speak the “unknown, perhaps unconscious language.” (Certeau, et al., 1998, p.133). It has an effect that multiplies historical and mythical narratives in the region. For example, the green gravestone outside Mevlanakapı gate is a grave that attracts everyone's attention at the entrance. Although its identity is not known, the respondents said

⁵⁹ “Ve bizim buralar yani sur dibi olduğu için vaktinde çok savaşlar olmuş. Biliyorsunuz her iki taraftan da, hem Müslümanlardan hem Bizanslılardan. Tabi ki mutlaka onların içinde çok iyi insanlar vardı. Yani her iki taraf için söyleyeyim ben. Onların askerlerinden de şehitler, bizimkilerden de.”

that they recite prayer every time passing through the gate. These various imaginations of the dwellers have a heterogeneous perspective which is not represented in the dominant narratives of the land walls. These local imaginations are produced with a relation of the grand narratives, however, they can also escape “from the domination of a sociocultural economy, from the organization, from the grasp of education, from the power of an elite, and finally from the control of the enlightened consciousness.” (De Certau, 1984, p.158). As a tactical power of the locals, these imaginations are “resistant to translation and codification into a formalized, authoritative language” (Gardiner, 2000, p.177). The dwellers appropriate these places with their ambiguity, tell their stories within mythical identities, and keep their imaginations on the walls alive.



CHAPTER 7

RELATIONSHIP OF HISTORY AND EVERYDAY LIFE

The neighborhood's relationship with history and the way dwellers of the neighborhood make sense out of history, are based on everyday life practices. Although the dwellers do not claim that they are historically knowledgeable, they are aware that they live in a historical site. They established a historical consciousness within their relationship with the neighborhood and land walls area.

7.1. Relationship with the History of the Neighborhood

The historical consciousness of the dwellers is based on their everyday encounters with historical artifacts, their relationship with the old inhabitants of the neighborhood which transfer the historical knowledge and traditions to the upcoming generations, and the knowhow they learned from experts, historians, archeologists, and protection experts who had visited the neighborhood for various excavations. While the area became a part of the urban cultural heritage site, they experienced the transformation of their everyday places, their "traditional neighborhoods" into an "archeological monument (Herzfeld, 1991, p.6). In this process, they have experienced the practices of historical experts, who appraise the historical value of the artifacts in the neighborhood. There has also been older practices of appraisal the historical artifact to gain economic revenue, conducted by the treasure hunters. However, within everyday life, the respondents emphasized the narratives that they were assessing the historical artifacts, as a part of the neighborhood and showing practices to protect them.

Finding artifacts around the area is a part of everyday routine. The remnants found in the excavations in the neighborhood, can "burst off" (Ward, 2016, p.26) spontaneously showing a layer of the neighborhood to the dwellers. Their social experience with historical remnants was not organized through "reductive process" of "monumentalization of history", because of that they would keep unpredictable, uncategorized versions of historical consciousness within an imperfect social environment

(Herzfeld, 1991, p.9). In almost every excavation in the neighborhood, from laying water pipes to building new buildings, dwellers of the neighborhood encountered historical artifacts, which is an example of the place of history in everyday life. They developed practices to protect or at least not to damage them, with their own means. In some cases, they did not prefer to discard the historical artifact, even if they did not know how to preserve it.

When we took the toilet of the mosque under the ground, look at that stone, now you look at it, they call it the column head, we found it. I thought the imam was going to throw it. I said, “bring it here and let it stay here”. If it is needed, we use it as a side table there.⁶⁰ (Nedim, personal communication, 22 August 2017).

The sarcophagi which were found in excavations, showed the palimpsest structure of the city, with an overlapped urban morphology of Byzantium and Ottoman past (Goytisolo, 2006). The found tombs dated with Byzantine time, show the necropolis layer of the area (Özer, 2010). The dwellers’ narratives on the sarcophagus show their perception of the historical past of the neighborhood. The first narration of a found sarcophagus is the one removed from the garden of Kemal in 1970. When the sarcophagus came out, his father had a photo taken with it and their neighbors gathered to see it, which shows that it was an event that everyone welcomed with joy and amazement. After the finding, Kemal’s father made an effort to get the sarcophagus to the museum.

⁶⁰ “Hatta biz caminin tuvaletini yer altına alırken şurada bak bir taş şimdi bakarsın ona sütun başı diyorlar, oradan çıktı. Hoca attıracaktı dedim ‘atma getir buraya koyalım da dursun’. Lazım oluyor büfe sehpa gibi kullanıyoruz onu orda.”



Figure 7.1. The Found Sarcophagus

This is the sarcophagus which was taken off under our house, date of the year: 1970. When the sewerage of the house was old, we wanted to transfer it to the new sewer installed to Mimar Kasım Street. While digging inside the shop, there was found a crucifix. My dad went to the Archaeological Museum. They came from the Archaeological Museum the next day. The director of the museum reported that it could remain in place; it did not possess any value. Then we sent it to Halkalı, to my uncle's farm. Eventually, the Archeology Museum took him away. After 30 years, it became precious. There are bones in this photo, no sarcophagus, they put it on it.⁶¹ (Kemal, personal communication, 29 September 2017).

It is assumed that the dwellers living next to the walls, has no affinity with the Byzantine past of the area. However, for the protection of a very foreign historical remnant in their current conditions, the dwellers worked individually and communicated with

⁶¹ "Bu da bizim evin altından çıkan lahit. Bak. Tarih 1970. Evin kanalizasyonu eskiyince Mimar Kasım'a yeni kanalizasyon döşendi. Evin birisini oraya aktarmak istedik kanalizasyonun. Orada dükkanın içini kazarken orada haç çıktı. Arkeoloji Müzesi'ne gitti babam. Ertesi gün geldiler çıkardılar. Herhangi bir kıymeti haiz değildir yerinde kalabilir diye rapor verdi müze müdürü. Yani sahibi ne yaparsa yapar. Sonra biz bunu Halkalı'ya gönderdik amcamın çiftliği vardı. Neticede Arkeoloji Müzesi almış götürmüş onu oradan. 30 sene sonra kıymetli oldu. Bu fotoğrafta kemikler var lahit yok üstüne koyup çekmişler."

the administrators. This is an example of an unpredictable version of the neighborhood's historical consciousness based on everyday life (Herzfeld, 1991, p.9). Although they could not categorize a historical remnant with its date, they can show a collective interest to protect it.

There are also narratives showing the administrators in conflict with protection purposes. In an urban heritage site, remnants had to be organized to have a “perfect environmental scene” (Herzfeld, 1991, p.10) physically and also they had to be conceptualized to fit in the historical narrative of the site. Otherwise, they can be an “obstacle from a stubborn past” in an urban environment, by exposing an unidentified layer of history (Certeau et al., 1998, p.133). The narratives on the demolition of the sarcophagi that were excavated at different periods in both Mimar Kasım Street and Mevlanakapı Street show that the remnants which would not fit the modern homogeneous urban planning were seen as an obstacle and could easily be removed. The demolition of these graves happened in front of everyone in public spaces in the neighborhood. The fragmentation of the sarcophagus extracted on Mevlanakapı Street by municipal employees was defined as a bad administrative practice, lack of work, ease, and treason.

The same sarcophagus of Alexander at the archaeological museum appeared here. Water was going to come here from *Sarayburnu*, under the coastal road. I got off the bus. It was on Mevlanakapı Street. Then someone drove from the city hall. He said, “Quick! Things may remain unfinished. Otherwise, we will stay here for six months.” They took quickly (the tomb), broke it, loaded it into the truck and left. There are such treacherous people.⁶² (Nedim, personal communication, 22 August 2017).

The dwellers of the neighborhood also establish their relationship with history within the framework of a competition or conflict with the ruling group and administrators.

⁶² “Arkeoloji müzesindeki İskender’in lahitinin aynısı çıktı burda. Mevlanakapı’nın dışında eskiden su gelecekti buraya Sarayburnu’ndan sahil yolunun altından. Otobüsten indim. Mevlanakapı Caddesi’nde. Derken geldi birisi arabayla belediyeden. ‘Çabuk’ dedi ‘şimdi bu kalır işler yatar’ dedi. Haldur huldur kırdılar aldılar kamyonu yükleyip gittiler. Büyükşehir belediyesi geldi, ‘hemen hemen hemen’ dedi, attı arabaya kırarak, ‘yoksa 6 ay kalırız burada’. Yani böyle hain insanlar da var.”

While the dwellers see themselves as knowledgeable, watchful, protective, and conscious about history, they see authorities as far from protectionism as well. The dwellers emphasized the contrast between their efforts on this matter and the applications of the authorities, which are seen as indifference.

There are also civil initiatives to preserve historical artifacts of the neighborhood. We see there was a tradition of an interest into history and culture, in the neighborhood. Those interested neighborhood dwellers, although they had no administrative authority or protective qualifications, were also attempting to preserve historical artifacts. In the family of the protagonist of the tomb narrative, this tradition can be seen. *Sakine Hatun Namazgahı* was one of the historical artifacts demolished in the 1950s reconstruction policies. His father restored it in 1962. However the building has de-structed again in the latest road work in Topkapı.

Namazgahs are lost, there is no example of it right now. My father had prayed on *Sakine Hatun Namazgahı*, when he was a child. Then its stone was lost, it was destructed during the construction of the New London Asphalt. My father found the inscription after he collapsed. He provided permission from the foundation, put the stone there, and built it, in 1962. He was interested in such things.⁶³ (Kemal, personal communication, 29 September 2017).

The story of his father to restore the *namazgah* is an example against the dominant narrative of the lack of historical consciousness and of historical interest of the locals. Kemal's interest in history, inherited from his father, has shown itself in various restoration efforts. In the 2000s, he communicated with the individual bureaucrats for the restoration and museumization of the Itri's House, which he claimed as located near to the neighborhood. He learned the place of the house, from the older inhabitants of the neighborhood, through "commemorative memory" (J. Assmann, 2013). Halbwachs argues that the memory of space is produced by the contribution of

⁶³ "Özellikle namazgahlar kayıp. Namazgah bilir misiniz? Bugün bir tane örneği yok. Sakine Hatun Namazgahı şöyle, babam rahmetli çocukken orda namaz kılmış. Sonra taşı kaybolmuş onun. Topkapı'da, e-5le Edirnekapı'ya dönülen yolun kenarındaydı. İki tane çitlembik ağacının dibindeydi. Yeni Londra Asfaltı yapılırken yıkılmış. Yıkıldıktan sonra kitabesini buluyor. Babam vakıflardan izin almak kaydıyla oraya o taşı koyup içine mermer duvar yapıp o namazgahı yaptı, 1962. Böyle şeylere meraklıydı."

knowledge and experience of various generations. Historical layers of a place, which is the Itri's House in our example, are "intelligible only to members of the group" (Halbwachs M., 1980, p.128). So the dwellers can keep memory of a place and transfer it to upcoming generations.

There were also local initiatives of the inhabitants, bringing together the civilians and the civil servants of the neighborhood. Restorations of the mosques of the neighborhood was possible by the enterprise of local administrators, headmen of the neighborhood and with an initiative of an imam attendant in one of the mosques. *Üzeyir Hoca*, who has worked for more than 30 years in Hacı Evliya Mosque, started the process of the restoration of 4 mosques of the neighborhood. Between the years of 1994 and 1999, places of 4 mosques were detected and their restoration started in upcoming years.

There were ruined mosques; they were rebuilt in the meantime. Our deed manager was sitting here, Ekrem Bey. When I was the mukhtar, I took out all the vacancies of the neighborhood, noted plot numbers, went to him. He went with Üzeyir Hoca to all of them; he took an architect with him. They were describing and he drew them. He (Üzeyir) led and we supported him with five of our friends here. We signed the letter that we will be responsible for the rebuilding of the mosques. We started before I was a mukhtar, and keep doing it after I stand down.⁶⁴ (Nedim, personal communication, 22 August 2017).

Those mosques, which were on foundation lands, had completely lost their functions before the restorations. They were used as a coal depot, as a foundry, even some shanty houses were built on them. During the reign of the mayor of Fatih, Eşref Albayrak, who served between 1998 and 2004, the restoration of the Çinizade Mosque, built by the neighborhood by collecting money, was described as a complicated process.

⁶⁴ "İşte yıkık camilerimiz vardı onlar yapıldı bu arada. Bizim Mevlanakapı'daki Hacı Evliya Camii'ne bir hoca geldi Üzeyir hoca diye sağ olsun 25 tane camiinin yapımına sebep oldu o ön ayak oldu. Bizim tapu müdür burada oturuyordu ya Ekrem Bey. Ben muhtar olduğum zaman bütün mahallenin boş yerlerini çıkarttım ada paftalarını aldım gittim ona. Üzeyir Hoca'yla hepsini dolaştıydı o zaman yanına da bir mimar almıştı o. Onlar tarif ediyor o da çiziyor. O önde gitti biz de burada beş arkadaş ona destek verdik, camileri biz yapacağız diye altına imzayı attık. Muhtarlığımdan önce, muhtarlıktan sonra da devam ettik."

Çinizade mosque, had a minaret, on its place was a shanty house, people were living there. Even one of those who lived in that shanty house wanted to kill the imam. "Because of you, these shanty houses were taken away from us" they said. They were living there for free.⁶⁵ (Eyüp, personal communication, 10 May 2017).

Like the other empty spaces in the neighborhood, mosque areas were used for the production of different small workshops. The built environment of the neighborhood and also the old mosques of the neighborhood, "bear the marks of historical periods and events" (Blokland, 2011, p.280). The usages of the mosques for various purposes show circumstances of different time periods and social experiences of the neighborhood. The reconstruction of the *Tarsuslu* Mosque is one of the most impressive stories because as well as the narratives of shanty houses and workshops in other mosques, there were illegal works also taking place in this mosque area. Its place which was revived as a foundry in almost everyone's childhood memories, was rebuilt after many years.

That mosque, for example, was completely destroyed when I arrived. There were only four walls left. Its minaret did not appear at all. When I came in, they were cutting horses and selling them to butchers, inside that mosque. Then they transformed it to the foundries. It was rented out, the last time scissors were manufactured there.⁶⁶ (Bayram, personal communication, 14 September 2017).

⁶⁵ "Çinizade Camiisi, minaresi vardı camii yerleri gecekonduydu tabi orada oturuyorlardı. hatta o Artvinli hocayı o gecekonduda oturanlardan biri öldürmek istedi, 'senin yüzünden bu gecekondular elimizden alındı' derdi bedava otururlardı."

⁶⁶ "O cami mesela ben geldiğimde tamamıyla yıkılmıştı. Bir tek dört duvarı kalmıştı. Minaresi de hiç gözüküyordu. Artık ben geldiğimde içerde at kesiyorlardı satıyorlardı kasaplara, o caminin içinde. Bir sabah bakıyorsun nerde bir lüks kasap varsa hayvanların etini oraya götürüp ucuz ucuz veriyorlardı, lokantalara. Sonra sonra şey oldu dökümhanelere döndürdüler. Kiraya verdiler, en son bir adam makas döküyordu. Makas imalatı yapıyordu."



Figure 7.2 The Barn Inside the Tarsus Mosque (Nedim Altınbüken Archive)



Figure 7.3 The Foundry Inside the Tarsus Mosque (Nedim Altınbüken Archive)

The attempt to rebuild mosques is one of the most obvious, civilian examples of preserving the historical remnants of the neighborhood. If we think that the abuse of these mosques and also their reconstruction, as an act of the dwellers, we can understand the different social dynamics in the neighborhood. Within culture and memory, there can be “shared and contested aspects” according to the interests of different groups in the society (Özyürek, 2007, p.9). While, collective remembering is “an act” on “the raw material” (Blokland, 2001, p.280) the remembrance of the historical identity of a place, can be a contentious because of conflicted interests of different groups. We see that the process of rebuilding the old mosques of the neigh-

neighborhood exposed the conflicting interests in these areas. While a group of the dwellers took action in this process, other groups found this unnecessary or even perceived it a threat to their existence.

There are also various situations in which the neighborhood's desire to protect historical artifacts came against the practices of the authorities. Those examples are the ones, in which the neighborhood got into conflict with the municipality's attempt for renewal projects. In those examples, the authorities are seen as those who try to make economic gain from history or those who do not value history. In contrast to them, the local people emphasize that they value historical monuments both as historical value and as a part of the neighborhood.

The most recent example of the perceived contradiction with the administrators is the one, happened on the market garden on the southern side of the neighborhood. That market garden was expropriated for the park project on the inner conservation zone of the cultural heritage site, however, the area turned into a dormitory and given to TÜRGEV for free (Mevlanakapı Mahallesi Evlerine Sahip Çıkıyor, 2014). The administrators, who demolished the ancient wells during the construction of the dormitory, were accused of ignorance of technical and local knowledge. By this example, the dwellers establish a contradiction between their local knowledge and that of the administrators.

There were two wells in the garden. They were historical wells, but thanks to the municipality, they did not care the history, flattened them all. They were, of course, registered wells. So they (the municipality) found trouble. I said, "don't destroy this well, the water of this well will not be lost". What they did was, they built a gymnasium for the girls down to 800 meters. The water of that well is constantly pouring into the hall. They are constantly cleaning the floor and changing the parquets.⁶⁷ (Tarık, personal communication, 25 September 2017)

⁶⁷ "Bahçede iki tane kuyu vardı. Tarihi kuyuydu ama sağ olsun belediye tarihi kuyu muyu dinlemedi dümdüz etti. Tescilliydi tabi. Ne oldu belayı buldular. Ben dedim ya bu kuyuyu yok etmeyin. De ne? Bu kuyunun suyu kaybolmaz. Ne oldu 800 metre aşağı yaptılar orayı kızlara spor salonu yaptılar. O kuyunun suyu sürekli salona su dolduruyor, durmadan altını temizliyorlar parkeleri değiştiriyorlar."

Another example of the conflict between the administrators and the dwellers occurred by the attempt to demolish the police station at the entrance of the Mevlanakapı gate in July of 2014. The attempt was cancelled because of the uprising of the dwellers on that day (Mevlanakapı Karakolu Yıkılmaktan Şimdilik Kurtuldu, 2014). The reaction of the neighborhood coincides with the period of the announcements and informative meetings for the transformation project on the former Mevlanakapı neighborhood. While in those days the neighborhood felt the threat of demolition of their own houses, reaction against the vehicle of municipality grew. The dwellers of the neighborhood who were organized at that time in the association, in order to prevent the destruction of their houses, were led by the neighbors who cared about the historical value of the police station. A community that met in a short time that day prevented the destruction. Although the history of the police station is known by very few people and the police station has been used out of its function for a long time, like a workshop or storage of a carpenter, the dwellers reacted when the municipality tried to demolish it.

The communities who are tired of seeing a change each day in the area may be more reactive to destruction threats against even mundane places of the neighborhood (Ahıska M., 2011). The dwellers were already organized against the demolition of their houses, were feeling the threat of expropriation. Because of that, they could react quickly when they saw heavy equipment of the municipality and objected to losing another place belonging to the neighborhood. Halbwachs argues that a community who has a strong relationship with the physical environment, object to taken away of their surrounding not to lose their habits around it. "The stones and other materials will not object, but the groups will. This resistance, if not in the stones themselves, at least arises out of their long-standing relationship with these groups" (Halbwachs, 1980 p.3). Although this spatial identification and ongoing demolition threat in the neighborhood were the underlying reasons for the local reaction, the dwellers referred to the event as an attempt to protect history.

The police station is on the inner conservation zone of the cultural heritage site, whose authority is on the administrative powers and cultural experts. On heritage

sites like that, because of the “structural inequalities and unequal power relationships” local people have to adapt to the vocabulary of cultural experts to make their voices heard to the authorities (Bartu Candan, 2007, p.88). Reproduction of local memories within the same rhetoric of the historical narrative, which is produced to preserve heritage sites, is a tactic of the dwellers to protect their existence within there (Herzfeld, 1991, p.6). The “historical consciousness” which is based on social knowledge, can be developed as a counter-archeology (Foucault, 1972) to reclaim social time from the “de-temporalized past and de-socialized present” of the monumental time (cited in Herzfeld, 1991, p.10). The dwellers of Mevlanakapı, in this sense, used a compatible terminology with historical narratives of the heritage site. While emphasizing their historical knowledge, the knowledge that the abandoned building was historically an Ottoman police station, they struggle to reclaim the everyday order in the neighborhood and the social relation, which is under threat of the arrangements according to monumental time.

Michael Herzfeld’s concept of “monumental time”, can be read in parallel to Walter Benjamin’s conceptualization on historicism politics. Benjamin argues that historicism politics are based on an “empty time”, which homogenizes history by eliminating experience and conflict in the past. To break the power of these policies, memory can create its calendar, by connecting past and present according to the emergent situations of the present (Benjamin, 1969). In-state of emergency, when there was a risk to lose a place of the neighborhood, the dwellers could recall a memory from the past, against the politics of historicism applied by the municipality.

The politics on heritage site of the land walls is based on homogenizing of historical narratives as well as the physical environment. Because the police station is not a registered historical artifact, it could not become a part of the historical narrative of the heritage site of the land walls. Creating a heritage place in this sense is a selective process, disinherit someone completely or partially, actively or potentially” (Tunbridge, Ashworth, 1996, p.21). The creator of this heritage site is both international institutions, like UNESCO, and national administrators, like Fatih Municipality in our case. While “all heritage is someone’s heritage” (Tunbridge, Ashworth, 1996, p.21),

the value and meaning of heritage are determined according to the creators and interpreters of heritage narrative. These contemporary interpreters narrate the history and actively process the site of heritage according to “contemporary uses”, by calling back the past to the present (Asworth, Graham, 1997, p.381). This process of recalling the past may cut the ties of a heritage site with local relations and everyday experiences around it (Walsh, 1992, p.176). Because of that, it leads to a conflict between local and national understandings of time and space (Herzfeld, 1991, p.5). While “familiar domestic space” (Herzfeld, 1991, p.5) of Mevlanakapı neighborhood turning into monumental ones, “all socially experienced sense of time disappears” (Herzfeld, 1991, p.11) and the places loaded with social experiences of a community, have to be registered to be able to maintain their existence there.

7.2. Relationship with the History of the Land Walls

The land walls as a heritage site are organized according to the practices of “monumental time” (Herzfeld, 1991, p.11). However, as a place of the neighborhood and as a carrier of social memory of the neighborhood, it is also perceived within social time by the dwellers. Pierre Nora conceptualizes the applications of nation-state on places within a dichotomy of the site of memory and places of memory. As a site of memory (Nora, 1989, p.7) in this sense the land walls, were tried to historicize within national historiography, which bring with itself a “duty memory” (Ward, 2016, p.11), to remind the conquest of Istanbul. This historiography is organized on the place to educate and to unite the citizens under the feeling of the triumph. Turning the area into a site of memory was only possible by forgetting “certain elements of the past” (Holscher&Alderman, 2004, p.350) and by obliging to remember in one form of it (Young, 1992). However, the land walls show also features of “real environment of memory” (Nora, 1989, p.7) which include spontaneity and group feeling. The forgotten elements of the past of the land walls are the social experiences of the neighborhood and memories of the dwellers. Also, this way of historicizing leads to ignorance of the palimpsest structure of the area’s past and historical layers of it.

I argue that, it is not convenient to conceptualize the land walls within a dichotomy of modern and pre-modern institutions or of history and memory. The land walls contain both of the elements and need a more transitory perspective to be able to conceptualize its layered character, of sociality and temporality. In this sense, the walls could be thought under the “locus” concept of Hebbert (2005), which is a transitional term, including historical narratives and social experiences in an intertwined way. To have a transitory term is suitable for the walls because, the area has been through a various transformations during the biographies of the dwellers. While in their childhood and early youth memories, they have experienced the area as a public place of the neighborhood, later on, while the administrative policies organizing the area into a cultural heritage site, the dwellers internalized the vocabulary of historicism. In the contemporary situation as an “urban fissure” (Bütüner, 2010b), between the land walls area and the dwellers has very few and an organized social interaction. Considering all of these transformations, the land walls and the dwellers’ relationship have been transitory between an everyday place to a monument.

The relationship with the history of the land walls, like other places of the neighborhood, is based on experiences and memories. The history attributed to the walls by the dwellers of the neighborhood, have different layers starting from their family histories, a part of the neighborhood history and as a reminder of city’s history and culture of inner walls. Those who can see the walls from their windows or from the terrace of their houses, can feel history in everyday life. With the historiography of the land walls, there are different types of relationships. Like on the other historical areas of the neighborhood, the dwellers are interested in the history and tried to learn it by their own means. This knowledge is based on “commemorative memory” (J. Assmann, 2013) through everyday conversations. In this sense, the dwellers are aware of the historical significance of the walls, in their own way, without dismissing their experiences as a place of neighborhood. However, also this historical consciousness is within a relationship with the dominant historical narrative on the walls, between official and unofficial nostalgias (Bonnett&Alexander, 2013). While they can internal-

ize official narratives on the land walls, they can contribute to it with their experiences and social memory. So they can add heterogenous perspectives to the reductionist historical narratives.

Especially those who grew up in the neighborhood, have witnessed that there are various small and large historical artifacts “burst off” (Ward, 2016, p.26) in the land walls area. Therefore, they are aware that they live in a historical environment, which they can explore by themselves but also that these historical remnants can be used for economic gain and abuse.

Now I'll tell you, when I was a child, in the castle there were red stones of this size. We dug one of them and looked. There was a footprint on this like that. Whom belong to footprint, what is the name of *gavur*, we were talking with other children. We had a Nevzat brother, “man give it to me” he said “it is forbidden”. He took the stone from our hand and went away. A few people said that, God knows, he has sold it.⁶⁸ (Nedim, personal communication, 22 August 2017).

The walled area became a target of the group of so-called treasure hunters. Treasure hunters illegally used historical attribution of the land walls, as a means to earn money. Those people were excavating the walled area to find valuable metals, like gold. These are illegal activities since they contain historical objects confiscated without being notified to the state. Because of this illegality, the narratives on treasure hunters were narrated by distancing themselves.

In the past there were some friends, for example a couple of friends I knew, always looking for treasure from morning to night. Accidentally, they would see a sign and a letter, a friend says that I saw the writing right there, they grab dig and shovels and start to dig. They were also digging within the walls. Even if they found something, they did not say.⁶⁹ (Tarık, personal communication, 25 September 2017).

⁶⁸ “Şimdi şöyle diyeyim ben sana çocuğuz kalede dedim ya şöyle aşağı yukarı şu ebatlarda kırmızı taşlar vardı. Kazdık bir tanesini bir baktık üstüne basılmış böyle ayak izi var. Ama işte şudur gavurun adı nedir çocuktuk konuşuyoruz. Bizim bir nevzat abi vardı o bakkal, lokumla gazoz satar. Onun kardeşi ‘ulan ver’ dedi ‘o’ dedi ‘yasak’ dedi aldı bizim elimizden gitti. Allahualem birkaç kişi dedi ki satmıştır o onu.”

⁶⁹ “Eskiden bazı arkadaşlar vardı mesela benim bildiğim bir iki arkadaş, durmadan sabahtan akşama kadar hazine ararlardı hep orda. Kazayla bir işaret görürlerdi bir yazı görürlerdi. Kazayla arkadaşları desen ki ben şurada yazı gördüm hemen şunun sağ tarafında var, kazmayı küreği kaparlar başlarlar. kazmaya. Surların içini de kazıyorlardı. Bulsalar da söylemezlerdi.”

While the physical objects and inhabitants adapted to each other within everyday usages, the life of the dwellers “merged with things” of the history (Halbwachs, 1980, p.2). It is not only a habitual adaptation to a physical setting, but also a learning process of what to do with historical artifacts and developing social practices. Besides the treasure hunters, who were after the historical artifacts to gain profit, the neighborhood had also its experts on antiques, like *Paçavracı Kemal*, I mentioned above.

One day, someone came with Byzantine coins in such a box. He said to me, “Brother Nedim, I found these coins in the castle”. I don't know if he did. “Can you show this to the father”, *Paçavracı Kemal*, he was called father by the old dwellers. I took it naively there. Kemal brother said, “my son take it back to the guy, take it away right now” didn't even take it into his hand. “It is forbidden”, he said, “its penalty is more than murder”. It was a historical artifact, Byzantine money.⁷⁰ (Nedim, personal communication, 22 August 2017).

Dwellers of the neighborhood also develop their historical consciousness in a relationship with historical narratives of the land walls. When I asked them about the history of the city walls, although there were no questions specifically on Byzantine, the answers were mostly referring to the Byzantine past of the walls. Those narratives were based on the knowledge they have learned from the older inhabitants of the neighborhood and their reasoning, by trying to understand how Byzantine made, used, and protected the city walls. In these narratives, even though there are expressions emphasizing a dichotomy, the concept of the enemy was confusing. The respondents could use expressions putting themselves in the place of Byzantines. These narratives show an unpredictable, uncategorized version of historical consciousness (Herzfeld, 1991, p.9) with a transitive expression of the dominant narrative of the history, which put a distinction against Byzantine past: “(The ditches) were a water thing. The water was passing, and they split it against the enemy. The water passes, and so the enemy does not jump over it. This side is the enemy’s side. Our

⁷⁰ “Bir gün bir tanesi şöyle şu kadar bir kutu içinde Bizans paraları var. Bir gün geldi bana dedi ‘Nedim abi ben bu paraları buldum’ dedi ‘kalede’. Bilmiyorum buldu mu bulmadı mı da. ‘Bunu’ dedi ‘bir babaya gösterece’ne’. Baba dediği Paçavracı Kemal, baba derdi eskiler. Ben de saf saf aldım götürdüm. ‘Kemal abi biri bulmuş para eder mi diye soruyor’. ‘Oğlum’ dedi ‘bunu kapat hemen al dedi adama götür’ dedi, elini bile sürmedi. Yasakmış. Bunun cinayetten fazla suçu var dedi. Tarihi eser tabi. Bizans parası nerden bulduysa artık.”

side, I mean the Turks, so as not to pass the water flowing from the stream.”⁷¹ (Müşerref, personal communication, 18 October 2017).

Another grand historical narrative attached to the walls is the conquest of Istanbul by Mehmet II. I have mentioned that dwellers of the neighborhood emphasize the constitution of the old city center of Istanbul within the walls by the Sultan. This also explains the history of the neighborhood in relation to the Ottoman state. However, also the conquest itself as a victory was remembered with the traditional ceremonies each year on 29th of May. In those ceremonies, the conquest of Istanbul stamped on the walls, by repeatedly re-conquering during the conquest ceremonies. The ceremony is a symbol of official monumental past showing the power of the state to highlight certain aspects of history (Herzfeld, 1991). Commemorating a historical past with a ceremony, by reviving it with a re-conquest each year, can be conceptualized as an activity of official nostalgia, which denies “to surrender to irreversibility of time” (Boym, 2001, p.15). While reducing the conquest in a one-dimensional way, the ceremony freezes the past to be able to make it repeatable in each year with the same actions.

Sites of memory in this sense are not only organizations of spatiality, but also non-material social organizations like “the celebrations, spectacles, and rituals that provide an aura of the past” (Holscher & Alderman, 2004, p.349). These social organizations include physical group performances like “rituals, festivals, pageants, public dramas, and civic ceremonies” and lead the group to internalize the memory produced in the site (Holscher & Alderman, 2004, p.350). The commemoration ceremony in this sense was enabling the dwellers to internalize the “aura of the past” (Holscher & Alderman, 2004, p.349) which is the feeling of the triumph. They were also identifying themselves with the history of the conquest.

⁷¹ “Orası zaten su şeyi imiş ya böyle. Su geçiyormuş o işte düşmana karşı orasını bölmüşler. Sular yani geçiyor ya düşman atlamasın. Bu taraf düşmanınmış. Bizim taraf Türkler yani geçmesinler diye o sudan olduğu gibi dere akıyormuş.”

The celebration of the conquest was an essential element for the neighborhood as a family activity. Respondents said that they were participating in the ceremony as a child and also in their adulthood, they took their children and grandchildren there. In this sense, the ceremony was also providing a sense of belonging to the community. "Through ritualized repetition" of a "symbolic act", like re-conquering Istanbul in each ceremony, the space of the ritual, which is the land walls "are imagined and claimed as belonging to the community" (Leach, 2002, p.130). The belonging of the land walls to the Turkish community in general but also to local communities, who participated there, could be imagined through this ritual. As Leach argues that group identities are articulated and reinvented through performativities (Leach, 2002, p.130), a national and a local identity of the neighborhood could be remembered by participating in the conquest ceremony. In this sense, this ceremony was not only a national but also a local tradition for the dwellers of Mevlanakapı. While they become part of a national narrative, they would also make a family memory out of it, by participating there with their family.

This internalization of the ceremony lead to critiques of the neighborhood, when it was taken from its traditional place of Topkapı to Belgradkapı and was cancelled in 2012. The official nostalgia of the conquest ceremony was turned into an unofficial nostalgia for the dwellers, through which they can produce a critique (Boym, 2011). Nostalgia, which enables a social and spatial attachment, gives a critical power to memory, when these connections were lost (Bonnett and Alexander, 2013, p.2). The abolition of the ceremony seemed as a disrespect to the tradition and culture of Istanbul. It was also meant to loss of a neighborhood habit and an event of a family memory: "Look in the old days, conquest ceremonies were held, in our childhood. It's not done anymore, huh! They celebrated it in Ankara. You cannot celebrate it with fireworks!"⁷² (Nedim personal communication, 22 August 2017).

⁷² "Eskiden bak fetih törenleri yapılırdı bizim çocukluğumuzda. Artık yapılmıyor yoo, Selamun aleyküm. Ankara'da kutladılar. Ya havai fişek atılmayla İstanbul olmaz."

While the conquest ceremony was indicating a one-dimensional way of the historiography of the land walls, there were also civic rituals. The celebration of *Hıdırellez* was one of those civic rituals, which show the layered sociality of the neighborhood. *Hıdırellez* is a traditional ritual, in which the start of the summer is celebrated. It is rooted on intervention of Christian, Islamic, and regional traditions (Ocak 1998). Organizing the land walls as a site of memory was possible through emphasizing a crucial moment of the nation's past, which lead to incompatible and local histories to be forgotten (Nora, 1989). Because of the selective process of heritage creation (Tunbridge, Asworth, 1996, p.21), the ties between heritage site and local practices can be cut (Walsh, 1992, p.176). Müşerref, was the only dweller who told this alternative celebration on the walls. This narrative is also exceptional, by showing a female dweller who had a positive experience of spending time on the walls at adult ages.

I remember it; we were going to celebrate *Hıdırellez* to Mevlanakapı, it was greenery at that time. We used to roll over there in the morning. Well, it was told that it is healthy for the body to jump over the fire or you're gonna roll in the greenery. We were going to *Hıdırellez*. There we were having a picnic; we were rolling down and collecting flowers. It's health when you put flowers on our heads. I don't know; it was a saying of the old. After that we were sitting there, chatting neighbors, we were all gathering together. Then we were going to the entertainment in Sulukule. We were going there, and there was fun. They were playing tomtom and dancing. We were watching them. Of course we were taking our children with us.⁷³ (Müşerref, personal communication, 18 October 2017).

The land walls is a "threshold" which connects various usages, and practices (Bütüner, 2010a) and power decides what is representable there among these ingredients (Ahıska, 2010). However, we see by the experience of Mevlanakapı, that, although the dwellers have no power to represent their version of the past, they have the

⁷³ "Ha onu hatırlıyorum Hıdırellez' e gidiyorduk oraya çimenlikti o zaman. Orda sabahları böyle yuvarlanırdık. Şeymiş güya sağlamlıkmiş vücut hani ateşe de atarlar sağlamlık derler ya hani. Biraz yokuş ya orası, yeşillikte yuvarlanacakmışsın. Hıdırellez'e gidiyorduk işte orda piknik yapıyorduk önce yuvarlanıyorduk çiçek topluyorduk. Başımıza çiçek koydun mu sağlamlıkmiş. İşte bilmiyorum artık eskilerin şeyi. Buradan sonra oturup orda, muhabbet komşular, hepimiz toplanıyorduk topluca. Ondan sonra şeye gidiyorduk ay diyorduk Sulukule'de eğlence var aşağıda da Sulukule vardı zaten Oraya gidiyorduk orda da eğlenceyi. Yani şey dümbelek çalıyorlar oynuyorlar yani Romanlar oynuyor yani. Onları seyrediyorduk. Tabi çocuklarımızı da alıyorduk. Kadın kadına tabii."

power to remember and act. Diversity of the experiences and relationships established by the community with the land walls, show what the urban culture may lose with the elimination of these local communities.



CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

In contemporary relations with the neighborhood, social and economic solidarity of the past continues among the older inhabitants. The traditional mechanisms of economic solidarity, like lending money by the grocer, persists with new institutional methods, like taking official aid from the state by the recognition of the mukhtar. In this sense, economic solidarity among the neighbors continues with new styles. The common spaces in the neighborhood and the daily life practices around them have changed. Now, the public places of the neighborhood have structured with more strict functions, and they are not open to autonomous usages. The trust relationship with the neighbors has not been damaged until today. It is described as an element that still makes the neighborhood safe, as they knows each other, watches over each other and cares about each other. The dwellers' sense of belonging to the neighborhood has been preserved. Memories from past to present are also elements that increase loyalty.

This participant group, who moved to the neighborhood at least 30 years ago, which referred to themselves as the old ones, remain as a small group in the neighborhood that knows each other and supports each other. Such social relations continue among the small groups. Thanks to these networks of solidarity, these few former residents in the neighborhood are actively involved in solving neighbors' and neighborhood's problems. They take initiatives and get into contact with administrators to find solutions voluntarily. All these activities are examples of active citizenship on which the neighborhood is organized. Although this group protects the social networks among themselves, they cannot establish the same degree of sincerity with the new dwellers moved to the neighborhood.

When we look at the contemporary relationship with the walls, we recognize that the narratives that perceive the city walls as part of the neighborhood are lingered in the past. Since a big part of the walls is closed to social interaction, the social memory of

the experiences on the walls tends to be forgotten. The walls are no longer experienced as places on their own. They are perceived as a line, in the narratives, the border feature of it is more prominent. Today, the relationship with walls is experienced within structured, functionalized areas arranged by Fatih Municipality and Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality. Rather than the activities and spaces organized by themselves, the neighborhood uses areas of the walls pre-designed for certain activities. The only places open to public usages are the parks on the inner and outer sides of the walls. Today children of the neighborhood have no relationship with the walls. The dwellers around 30 years old are the last generation played on the walls.

Fatih Municipality's project to build a park on the inner conservation area of the walls, is the most recent factor affecting the contemporary relationship with the land walls. Although the arrangements of the walls like restoration, preservation, and opening it to tourism can create conditions that will improve social and economic standards of the neighborhood, it turned out to be a threat against them. This renovation process harmed the relationship with the administrative powers and led to a total critical view among the neighborhood. This critical perspective against the administrative policies is shared among the respondents, regardless of whether they are under the threat of destruction. Among other inner wall neighborhoods, which also share the cultural heritage site with the land walls, I choose Mevlanakapı neighborhood, because I thought that the ongoing conflict would make the dwellers focus more on their neighborhood.

In this research, I have looked for a minor perspective within the conflict zone of the renovation projects on the cultural heritage site. Within the discussions in this area, there is a conflict between the project designers and implementers of the institutions related to Istanbul metropolitan or local municipalities and a professional group interested in the land walls like urban planners, historians or archeologists, which produce critiques against the projects. I had recognized that these projects were only debated among the experts, between the administrators who claim that they produce projects for the public interest, and cultural experts, who claim that the projects

are not compatible with the heritage value of the area. Within this debate on organization of culture, heritage, history on an urban sphere, the voices of the local people, who have been and will be the primary users of the area are not heard. Because of that, I focused on the perspective and the relationship of the local people with the cultural heritage site. Compared to the dominant narratives of the authorities, who explain the exclusion of the local people from the project development processes as the lack of historical consciousness or sensitivity of the people, I found out that the dwellers' have a unique relationship with the history.

The disagreement in the area occurs because of different perspectives on time and space. As a cultural heritage site, the land walls area imposes application rules upon the authorities. The municipality which produces its application on the political sphere cares for the production of consent and economic gain by the projects. In this sense, contemporary goals came forward, like attracting more national and international tourists to the area or attracting income-generating economic classes to the area. Public consent can be produced by claims of these projects to solve contemporary problems of security, disorder, or pollution. Also, the emphasis on a unifying past through these projects, with a focus on the conquest of Istanbul enabled the consent production. The instrumentalization of history by this type of applications show themselves as official nostalgias (Boym, 2001). On the side of the cultural experts, concerns on the preservation of the heritage site, following the rules brought by UNESCO came forward. The historical perspective brought within critiques of the municipality's application, is mainly focused on the Byzantine past of the walls. As the only fortification wall preserved from 5th-century it is an important heritage site, not only for national but also for the international audience. Although this perspective can help to put forward wrong practices of the municipality, it does not get into a relationship with any of the local contributions to the area. While the main focus of this perspective is the historical preservation of a 5th-century structure, applications of the dwellers next to the walls within a lifetime, would seem irrelevant to the concept of the heritage or even harmful to the historical artifact.

I argue within the thesis that the dwellers of a traditional neighborhood, Mevlanakapı, has a strong sense of historical consciousness based on their everyday practices. As a community, with strong social and economic solidarity, the dwellers who care for their neighborhood also care for the land walls. The dwellers are socially and spatially identified with the neighborhood. Their sense of belonging shows itself within their explanations of desire to keep living in the neighborhood. While they emphasized how many years they have lived in the neighborhood, I chased the meaning of this number of years. Listening to the people of Mevlanakapı, understanding their perspective on heritage and history was possible by following their memories.

The memories of the neighborhood, opened a new perspective, showing social experiences of space within a lifetime. People of Mevlanakapı established a strong identification with the neighborhood by their everyday life practices. The place of the neighborhood was stamped by the people and the people was stamped by Mevlanakapı (Halbwachs, 1997, pp.186,195 in Truc, 2011, p.151). This integration of people and places show itself within memories, within the specialized practices and the vocabulary on the place. What they have “written” on the places through years long practices is only “legible” (Certeau et al., 1998, p.16) by following their spatial memories. One of the unique findings of this research is the appearance of the land walls as a neighborhood place within the memories. The majority of the respondents who have lived within the neighborhood, in the 1960s and the 1970s, have experienced the walls as an everyday place, within spontaneity and autonomy, which also lead to a spatial identification and a vocabulary produced among themselves. As a community living within a historical place, they have developed a historical consciousness on their local level, by learning the history of the area from neighbors and also by developing local methods to preserve historical artifacts. In the process of turning the area into a heritage site, they have also developed a relationship with cultural experts and learned to get into contact with them when it is needed. I show in this research that the local people living in a heritage site can develop a unique type of relationship with history, they can show an uncategorized historical consciousness, and they can contribute to the heritage site with their heterogeneous and diverse experiences. I argue that local people's experiences and imaginations based

on traditional relationships bring with it heterogeneity and diversity to the cultural sphere. Any policies threatening traditional communities living in the cultural heritage sites will lead to loss of this contribution of them. Losing those communities is also a loss of urban culture.

To have a compatible theoretical background with my case, I have used theories mainly based on social memory and sociology of everyday life literature. Understanding the spatial perspective of the experiences was possible through contribution of theories focusing on this perspective from human geography and urban planning fields. As a specific case also I needed to use theories of cultural studies, heritage studies, urban studies, and anthropological case studies worked on similar issues. The case of Mevlanakapı, as a specific case of cultural production based on everyday life practices, within an urban and cultural heritage environment, had to be investigated within its autonomous cultural sphere. While a literature on “sociology of cultural heritage” does not exist, I had to use these group of theories in an eclectic way, to make a sociological analysis of the case. Based on this research I think a specific sphere on the sociology of cultural heritage site should occur, to be able to propose a specific terminology and to have an all-encompassing perspective for the issues of the cases like that. Contribution of this research to the area is to show this lack in the sociology literature.

This research also shows that urban heritage sites, even only those in Istanbul, are sociologically very rich cases. Since there is no other research addressing the issue within this framework, I had no guideline to follow during my research. Because of that, I had also deficiencies within the selection of the respondents and within the analysis of the narratives. Further researches on the area, focusing on different time intervals within a biography or among the dwellers, also within the history of the land walls concerning specific urban projects could give more detailed results on the everyday life relationships with the heritage site.

Another contribution of this research is a new perspective on the governance of world heritage sites. I propose to broaden the concept of heritage, like Dolores Hayden (1995), to include minor narratives, minor experiences, and relationship between spatial environment and social memory. Presenting diversity within heritage area is only possible with a more inclusionary perspective. "Reflective nostalgias" (Boym, 2001, p.15) of communities can challenge the instrumentalization within official nostalgias and open a space for "imaginative possibilities" (Loveday, 2014, p.726). This inclusion does not only refer to heritage narratives but also to applications within heritage sites. More inclusionary preservation projects within heritage sites can enable the local people to have a relationship with the site. Adams and Larkham argue that to make urban plans accepted and supported by the settlers, planners should take into consideration the nostalgias of them (2015). The officials can consider the nostalgias of settlers to understand what they yearn for in the urban place and their social memories as a sign of crucial social experiences in the past. As a palimpsest city, layers of Istanbul are not only established out of historical artifacts but also by the contribution of diverse communities who bring with them an urban experience, a specific culture, and an unwritten history. Including urban dwellers' imaginations on the heritage of the city, can bring a promising perspective for the future urban plannings.

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APPENDICES

A. General Information of the Participants

	Sex	Pseu- donyms of Partici- pants	Duration of Stay in Years	Year Interval of Dura- tion of Stay	Age	Education
1	M	Hüseyin	71	1946-2017	71	Secondary School Gradu- ate
2	M	Nedim	63	1954-2017	63	Primary School Graduate
3	M	Ahmet	54	1963-2017	63	Primary School Graduate
4	M	Bayram	38	1980-2017	61	Primary School Graduate
5	M	Osman	64	1953-2017	64	Primary School Graduate
6	M	Kemal	33	1957-1976, 1994-2008	60	Secondary School Gradu- ate
7	M	Şeref	46	1971-2017	76	Primary School Graduate
8	M	Tarık	63	1954-2017	63	Secondary School Gradu- ate
9	M	Eyüp	69	1948-2017	69	Primary School Graduate
10	M	İhsan	79	1938-2017	79	Primary School Graduate

11	F	İlknur	32	1970-1976, 1991-2017	47	Primary School Graduate
12	F	Hatice	35	1974-1985, 1990-2017	53	Primary School Graduate
13	F	Aysel	38	1979-2017	53	Primary School Graduate
14	F	Çiğdem	38	1976-1977, 1979-2017	59	Primary School Graduate
15	F	Müşerref	60	1957-2017	77	-
16	F	Nalan	30	1984-1991,1992-2017	54	Primary School Graduate
17	F	Sevda	56	1953-1970, 1978-2017	71	Secondary School Graduate

B. In-depth Interview Questionnaire

1. Biography

- a. Your Name?
- b. Your Age?
- c. Your Occupation?
- d. Your education status / degree of school you finished last?
- e. Did you live anywhere else in Istanbul before here?
- f. Have you ever moved out of the neighborhood and then back to it?

2. Neighborhood Memory

- a. Are there any different places you have contacted in the neighborhood because of a necessity such as education, work or shopping? If so, which ones?
- b. Do you have any old neighbors you've been seeing for years in the neighborhood? Where do they live / Which street? Do you spend time together in the neighborhood? If so, where?
- c. Does the neighborhood have certain significant places, coffeehouse, workshops, workplaces, still working or closed? (What kind of places do women prefer to meet? Home / park etc.)
- d. What do you remember about the neighborhood's former residents or places?
- e. Are there stories still narrated about these disappearing places or former residents?
- f. What do you think about how your neighborhood has changed for the last 30 years?
- g. Is there anything you are sorry for its lost?

3. The Land Wall Memory

- a. What do you remember about the land walls at time you began to live in the neighborhood? What are your first experience?
- b. What does living near the land walls mean to you?

- c. Do you think the neighborhoods of inner wall area have a specific identity or culture? If so, which aspects do you notice?
- d. Are there any periods in which you feel advantageous or disadvantageous because you lived in inner wall area?
- e. What were you told about the land wall when you were a child?

- f. Were there any areas around the land wall in the past where you spent time or used them in different ways?
- g. Were there any shortcuts and crossing points you used to pass through the land walls in the past?
- h. What do you remember about people coming from outside the neighborhood and using the land walls, tourists, various business groups, truck gardeners, marketers or nomads?
- i. What do you remember about the different places of business, accommodation and trade areas around the land walls?
- j. Do you have any experience causes a fear or concern about the land walls?
- k. In your opinion, is there a change in the appearance of the land walls from past to present?
- l. Do you remember places that have changed, destroyed and rebuilt due to the restoration of the land walls?
- m. Were there any places that were lost in terms of its place in your memory?
- n. Are there any places you are happy or upset because they changed?
- o. What are your opinions and experiences about the difficulty and ease of living around the land wall?

4. Myths

- a. Around the land wall, are there any stories or legends told about the wall?
- b. Do you know anything about the shrines and the entombed saints nearby?

- c. Are there any places you visit regularly? Or do you know the places visited like this?

5. Today

- a. What kind of relationship do you have in daily life with the land walls and its surroundings?
- b. Are there any places that you used before but were closed because of the barriers preventing the passage into the walls? Do they block the shortcuts?
- c. What do you tell your children about the land walls?
- d. Do you use the green areas and parks around the land walls?
- e. Are you satisfied with the lighting?
- f. Do you have security problems when you go to your house?
- g. Can you compare the past to the present in terms of the change of the land walls surroundings?
- h. What do you think about the advantages or disadvantages of living in an inner wall area neighborhood today?
- i. What do you think about how the land wall area should be arranged?
- j. Are you satisfied with current usages of the land wall area?

6. Tensions Lived Due to Large Projects

- a. What type of disagreements do you have with the municipality during your stay in the neighborhood?
- b. Via which channels did any news of destruction or transformation reach you?
- c. During the time you lived in the neighborhood, was there a physical transformation that affected your daily life?
- d. According to its history, how do you think the restoration process of the land walls, the transportation of the Topkapı Garage and the transportation of the Flea Market affected the neighborhood?
- e. What do such environmental transformations bring or lose to the neighborhood, do you think?

- f. Are there any places destroyed during these processes and you feel its absence?
- g. How do you think these processes affected the land walls?
- h. How do you think these processes affect your relationship with the land walls?
- i. Do you have any communication with people coming from outside the neighborhood and use the land walls, tourists, business groups, truck gardeners, marketers or nomads?
- j. (If he/she has any contact with the association)
- k. How did you join the Solidarity Association for Inner Wall Area Neighborhoods?
- l. Can you tell us about the activities of the association?
- m. How do you interpret the definition of “suriçi” in the name of the association?
- n. Do you think that the activities of the association have positive aspects within the neighborhood and that will increase neighborhood unity?