"Belonging" in the gentrified Golden Horn/Halic neighbourhoods of Istanbul

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Mainstream gentrification research predominantly examines experiences and motivations of the middle-class gentrifier groups, while overlooking experiences of non-gentrifying groups including the impact of *in situ* local processes on gentrification itself. In this paper, I discuss gentrification, neighbourhood belonging and spatial distribution of class in Istanbul by examining patterns of belonging both of gentrifiers and non-gentrifying groups in historic neighbourhoods of the Golden Horn/Halic. I use multiple correspondence analysis (MCA), a methodology rarely used in gentrification research, to explore social and symbolic borders between these two groups. I show how gentrification leads to spatial clustering by creating exclusionary practices and eroding social cohesion, and illuminate divisions that are inscribed into the physical space of the neighbourhood.

Keywords: gentrification; belonging; social cohesion; social-symbolic borders; multiple correspondence analysis; Istanbul

Introduction

Mainstream gentrification research has been important in analysing the changing residential characteristics of inner-city neighbourhoods. However, most of the literature focuses on motivations and experiences of middle-class gentrifiers and neglects non-gentrifying groups (Lees, Slater, & Wyly, 2008; Slater, 2006; Watt, 2008). Although researchers note that not all gentrifiers are alike (Marcuse, 1989; Rose, 1984), in most accounts non-gentrifying groups are excluded (Butler, 1997, 2003; Hamnett, 2003; Zukin & Kosta, 2004). Consequently, non-gentrifying groups are categorized as displaced or evicted residents, and it is presumed that the social space of gentrifiers and non-gentrifying groups does not overlap. In some cities, however, the arrival of gentrifiers to inner city neighbourhoods does not rapidly lead to homogeneity; instead, gentrification generates a period where the displacement process enables both groups to live beside one other. My research expands the existing focus not only to include non-gentrifiers but also the impact of gentrification on social cohesion and belonging patterns in neighbourhoods; I also discuss the impact of local demographic dynamics such as neighbourhood trajectories, migration and poverty during the gentrification process.

Few studies discuss how gentrification research contributes to a better understanding of class relations. Gentrification's structural social class underpinnings are represented

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through the lifestyle choices and tastes that operate within a particular social space to produce recognizable neighbourhoods (Bridge, 1994). Scholars typically emphasize the importance of looking at habitus, and the spatial strategy of the new middle class as a distinct field (Bridge, 1994, 2001; Butler & Robson, 2003). These perspectives have yet to address processes contributing to the production of the "gentrification habitus." Why do people choose certain areas in which to live and how do they develop a sense of place and belonging? What kinds of networks and relationships play a role in developing tendencies towards particular housing choices? Recent research on belonging and the "spatialization of class" provide some answers to these questions (Savage, Bagnall, & Longhurst, 2005; Savage et al., 2010; Southerton, 2002), but belonging and place need to be examined as fluid and mobile entities that change over time.

However, most analyses of the socially constructed concept of belonging use data representing only middle- and high-income groups, or focus on cultural consumption patterns that shift away from spatial analyses (Butler & Robson, 2003; Hanquinet, Savage, & Callier, 2012; Savage et al., 2010). There is a need to incorporate different social groups in such analyses in order to better understand border-making processes between different groups, and to explore the overlap between social space and physical location —"power and fixedness." In this paper, I contribute to this discussion not only by extending and diversifying the research sample—in terms of income, occupational class, migration and housing tenure—but also by expanding the geography beyond the traditional cores of gentrification research in the Global North and Western Europe.

In this paper, I deploy an innovative approach[1] to study gentrification and its impact on neighbourhoods by incorporating different groups into the analysis. It uses new microdata collected in 2008 in the context of the historical neighbourhoods of Golden Horn, Istanbul. The data cover not only different income classes and migrant groups, but also people with different housing tenures. In addition, the data include comparative accounts from both a gentrifying and a non-gentrified neighbourhood supported by qualitative interviews. I use multiple correspondence analysis (MCA) as a tool to explore belonging patterns of different social groups and their status in the everyday life within their neighbourhoods; this enables us to examine not only the symbolic borders (Lamont & Molnar, 2002) between different classes, but also helps to uncover how urban segregation and urban inequality *take place* within social space—the "practical space of everyday life" of neighbourhoods (Bourdieu, 1985, p. 169). I argue that in order to comprehend the impact of gentrification on non-gentrifying groups, and to explore inclusionary and exclusionary practices we must consider patterns of belonging and border-making processes of different groups. The rest of the paper is organized as follows: the next section offers a brief summary of recent discussions in research on belonging and the description of the data. The third section presents the results in (1) an exploration of belonging and neighbourhood engagement patterns of different groups with MCA and (2) an evaluation of the impact of gentrification on social cohesion through a linkage of quantitative analysis with qualitative narratives. The paper ends in the forth section with a conclusion.

Belonging and the spatialization of class

Mainstream research on gentrification fails to provide an in-depth analysis of the dynamics of social class in the gentrification process; instead, most research focuses on the definitional details of occupation or income as surrogate indicators of class relations (Bridge, 1994, p. 3). There is still a need to address processes that contribute to the production of the "gentrification habitus." Before I review recent discussions on class

differences in the belonging literature, I want to emphasize that unlike the community studies perspective I do not look at neighbourhoods as communities, nor do I consider relationships among people within neighbourhoods to be reflections of community-type relationships. Although community studies have been an important part of urban research, in most cases the term community is used to mean "all things" to "all people" (Cohen, 1985; Crow & Allen, 1994; Delanty, 2003) and considered as a natural fact.[2] Early research in the United Kingdom focused on settlements of workers, designating the term "occupational communities" to these settlements. Later researchers turned their focus to "territorial communities" or "place communities" and discussed shared characteristics like ethnic origin, religion and occupation—primarily focusing on "community spirit" and "community attachment" (Fisher, 1982; Fisher et al., 1977; Wellman, 1979).[3] However, a number of scholars have challenged these research trends, pointing to the danger of representing community as a natural fact and emphasizing that living together in a particular place does not by extension entail a development of strong interactions among people (Cohen, 1985; Southerton, 2002). Feminist critiques have also highlighted the tendency of community studies to either patronize women, portray them as invisible minority members (Crow & Allen, 1994; Stacey & Thorne, 1985) or view social support and community bonding as cost-free (Stacey, 1969).

Instead, research on belonging suggests that a social group's disposition towards a particular habitus is not a simple reflection of a static, place-bound sense of "community." Researchers explore class cultures, consumption and lifestyle practices of middle-class groups while focusing on the mobile character of new belonging patterns (Savage et al., 2005, 2010; Southerton, 2002). Southerton (2002) notes the impact of geographical mobility on the development of patterns of belonging and the negotiation of both physical and social boundaries between groups. Savage et al.'s (2005) study of middle-class dwellers in four different middle-class areas of Manchester emphasizes the mobile character of new belonging patterns as "not linked to any historical roots they may have in the area" (p. x) such as not living where they were "born and bred." Moreover, people create their sense of belonging in a particular space through its comparative advantages and linkages to other locations. The concept of "elective belonging" suggests that places are not characterized by tensions between insiders and outsiders, rather people choose to belong to places that match their territorially bound habitus, embodied in their dispositions and linked to their personal and social goals. Neighbourhoods are consequently presented as local, unstable units that are reproduced and redefined through people's imagination instead of as passive, static and permanent entities (Savage et al., 2005).

Savage et al. (2010) discuss politics of belonging, its relation to cultural capital and social class, and especially how the middle class is culturally engaged and deeply invested in its location. Different forms of belonging, such as "elective belonging" and "dwelling in place" assert that the middle class is not "deeply concerned" with "socially cohesive neighbourhoods" (Savage et al., 2010). Butler and Robson (2003) look at the characteristics of contemporary processes of middle-class formation and focus on the significance of concepts such as habitus and field for understanding housing patterns of social classes in six different areas of London.

However, the emphasis of these studies on the middle class alone has been criticized (Watt, 2008, 2009). Watt (2009) finds Savage and Butler's parallel approach as "in danger of losing sight of how taste/distaste operates relationally between classes" (p. 2876). Watt (2009, pp. 2888–2889) highlights the importance of middle-class disaffiliation to space and suggests that the middle class is spatially selective—developing patterns of non-identification and non-participation within the wider areas of neighbourhoods.

Contrasting with these United Kingdom-based examples, several researchers have explored territorial identities, the meaning of home and belonging patterns of the working class (Fried, 1973; Herzfeld, 2009; Katznelson & Zolberg, 1986; Porteous & Smith, 2001). Fried shows that attachment to a place is necessary for the development of spatial identity within working-class communities. In addition, working-class households greatly value specific places of familiarity and memory (Fried, 1973). For this reason, displacement from the community entails widespread grief and mourning (Fried, 2000). In his analysis of Rome, Herzfeld explores the importance of the sense of local belonging and how discourse on national heritage developed by the rich had disastrous consequences for lower-income inhabitants. Herzfeld (2009, p. 11) emphasizes that the sense of belonging to a specific place is "generated by a specific pattern of relationships between elements of the built environment and the local culture." Porteous and Smith (2001) write on the meaning of home for the working class and emphasize the destructive impact of uprooting and forced evictions on working-class belonging. Research on working class and belonging enables us to analyse working-class formation not restricted to workplace relationships, labour movement, trade unions or factory regimes. Belonging patterns of the working class are linked to social relations, cultural resources and class capacities based on the neighbourhood: class relations are lived and experienced beyond the confines of the workplace.

Gentrification and belonging research in Turkey

In Turkey, early gentrification research primarily addressed similarities and differences in the process compared with mainstream gentrification research in Western countries (Bezmez, 2008; Ergun, 2006; Islam & Behar, 2006; Uzun, 2003). "Gentrification" was not yet a "dirty" word often related to the globalization of Istanbul (Ergun, 2006; Ince, 2006; Islam, 2005; Keyder, 1999; Mills, 2006a, 2006b; Uzun, 2001, 2006). Some scholars evaluated gentrification in Istanbul chronologically without examining reasons for discrepancies in gentrification processes in different areas, and without questioning whether changes within neighbourhoods were representative of gentrification in the first place. Most analyses were based on observations or interpretations of macro indicators rather than empirical data (Ciravoglu & Islam, 2006; Ergun, 2006; Islam & Behar, 2006).[4] Other scholars have outlined occupational characteristics of gentrifiers, and the impact of frontier gentrifiers on explaining the process of gentrification itself (Ilyasoglu & Soytemel, 2006; Ince, 2006; Sen, 2006; Uzun, 2001).[5]

Several factors affecting property prices and choices of gentrifier groups *in situ* were different architectural features, location of properties and their distance from certain municipal restoration and renewal projects or cafes—as well as the possibility of a view of the Bosphorus from several locations (Sen, 2006). Analysing displacement, Islam and Enlil (2006) revealed the importance of informal mechanisms regulating the rental housing market through different levels of social relations that has provided cheap rental stock in the area for years, thus protecting tenants from rising rents. Furthermore, they identified tactics used by landlords and/or companies for displacing tenants counterbalanced by tenants' awareness of their legal rights and their willingness to defend themselves against displacement.[6]

Taking a different perspective to analysing daily life in Kuzguncuk, Istanbul, Mills (2006a, 2006b, 2007) explores neighbourhood (*mahalle*) as a space of belonging and collectivity, addressing the importance of familiarity and neighbouring as a cultural practice. Nostalgia for the traditional mahalle life has made historical neighbourhoods

of Istanbul popular sites for those who want to live in traditional places in contemporary times, where everyday actions of the collective and the individual actions of belonging define who is an insider or outsider. Although she examines class division and origin in Kuzguncuk, her later analysis focuses much more on the reproduction of the cosmopolitan social memory of the past about the non-Muslim minorities in Kuzguncuk.[7]

In contrast to Mills' Kuzguncuk example, the Golden Horn/Halic area (GHA) neighbourhoods have different demographic characteristics[8]; most of the population in Fener–Balat–Ayvansaray in particular consists of newcomers. In GHA neighbourhoods, class backgrounds, occupational class and cultural capital differences were dominant narratives of different social groups, as compared to narratives of religion, migration or ethnicity.

In this research, I use Bourdieu's approach of MCA to study the social space of belonging in GHA. I incorporate gender, education, income, property ownership and migration into the MCA analysis. This paper contributes to the analysis of urban segregation and boundary-making processes of different social classes with a mixed-method approach and a relational class analysis. Attachments to place or residential choices are not just matters of urban planning; they are also significant for understanding contemporary urban inequality. Different forms of belonging and symbolic borders among different social groups help us understand and challenge *a priori* assumptions about urban heritage and preservation discourses, and help us assess whether gentrification is an inevitable external process. Understanding different forms of belonging also allows us to look beyond accepted tendencies in mainstream housing research that could potentially help mitigate the issue of social polarization.

Field research area and data collection

This research was conducted at the GHA of the Historical Peninsula of Istanbul. The neighbourhoods of Haskoy (N1) and Fener, Balat and Ayvansaray (FBA) (N2) were selected due to their different demographic and residential characteristics. From the 1950s to the 1980s this entire area was the main industrial complex of Istanbul. It hosted industrial factories, iron, steel and lathe workshops, textiles, leather and press industries, as well as the main shipyard of Istanbul. During the 1960s and 1970s, migrants mainly from the Black Sea region created village-like neighbourhoods and lived in the area. Eventually, most of the districts encircling the Golden Horn became working-class neighbourhoods filled with families employed by local companies and factories.

During the 1980s a majority of public enterprises in big cities like Istanbul were privatized (Keyder, 2005). The first step of turning Istanbul into an international trade and tourism centre was industrial decentralization in GHA.[9] In the 1990s, historical buildings and complexes including the Haskoy Dockyard, the Ottoman Navy anchor foundry and the Silahtaraga Power Plant were sold to private museums and private universities; this process was followed by the restoration of other public compounds.[10]

Apart from these projects, the Fener and Balat Rehabilitation Project has had an important impact on gentrification of the GHA (Ergun, 2004).[11] The first stage of restoration drew media attention to the GHA region and the restored buildings began to appear in design magazines. Tour guides began to include this area in walking tours of Istanbul; preservation of cultural heritage and rescue of historical buildings dominated the news. However, emphasis on cultural heritage was defined solely by the architectural style of buildings and only with respect to houses.[12] The rehabilitation project ended in July 2008; 121 residential buildings and 33 shops in Balat Market were restored. The scope and goal of the project were limited to the improvement of physical conditions of historic

buildings. The Fener and Balat Rehabilitation Project launched the gentrification process in the area. Negative aspects of the restoration process—dramatically increasing housing prices, dislocation of tenants, rent speculations and uncontrolled investments—were ignored by the project initiative and there was no social support from the local government.[13]

Results of this research are derived from both qualitative and quantitative methods. Fifty life history interviews were conducted between June 2007 and August 2008. The survey was conducted on both sides of Halic (i.e. North and South Halic) ($N = 200$ households; 100 on each side) and questionnaires were distributed on a household level. In each household, one questionnaire was used for one representative adult member of the household. Respondents were asked questions about their income, savings, debts, consumption, employment status and occupational history of each member of the household as well as their migration history. Furthermore, questions about neighbourhood-based social networks, friendship and solidarity patterns, attitudes towards the neighbourhood and the city, leisure activities, political views and social participation were also asked.

The sample shows clear differences in the socio-economic composition of Haskoy and FBA neighbourhoods. In FBA, the majority of residential units are composed of historical housing units, whereas in Haskoy, most of the population lives in apartments converted from informal squatter houses. In both neighbourhoods, respondents in the 30–65 year age groups (63% in Haskoy, 73% in FBA) and primary school graduates (48% in Haskoy, 61% in FBA) constituted a plurality of the sample; 21% of the respondents in FBA and 2% in Haskoy were of Kurdish origin. In Haskoy, there were more people working in skilled working-class jobs (18% in Haskoy, 10% in FBA) and in FBA, the second and third most common occupational groups were service and sales workers (6%) and elementary occupations (5%). Of total breadwinners, 89.5% did not have employment contracts; however more people had employment contracts in Haskoy (12%) than in FBA (3%). In Haskoy, there were more pensioners and more people with relatively permanent jobs who had been working in their jobs longer than 5 years (48% in Haskoy, 39% in FBA). In FBA, 32% of main breadwinners have been working in their jobs for less than 2 years and 50% were unemployed for more than 6 months in the past 5 years. Furthermore there were more retired workers in Haskoy (22%) compared to FBA (8%) and the second biggest income source in Haskoy was pensions, whereas in FBA it was self-employment. In both neighbourhoods, more than half of the women in the sample (59% in Haskoy, 57% in FBA) were not employed in the paid labour force.

Patterns of belonging in Halic neighbourhoods

In this section, I examine belonging patterns in Haskoy and FBA neighbourhoods by using MCA. MCA is used because of its exploratory strengths—it enables not only the observation of relationships between complex categorical variables, but it helps to uncover connections between "objective" social relations such as economic background, occupation, age, gender, etc., and "subjective" individual choices such as belonging, relationships among neighbours, etc. MCA is a helpful device for linking patterns of interaction and belief with social indicators and unravelling the distribution of individual attitudes within social space. In the social sciences, MCA has mainly become known through the work of Pierre Bourdieu, particularly his works *Distinction* and *Homo Academicus* (Bourdieu, 1984, 1990). Other scholars have also used MCA to look at cultural taste and participation (Bennet et al., 2009), and to analyse elite power structures

(Hjellbrekke & Korsnes, 2009) and attitudes and the organization of cultural values (Majima & Savage, 2007).

Ten recoded variables were used to construct the space for the analysis of patterns. These variables can be divided into two groups: the first group measure neighbourhood belonging and attachment, which were originally asked as eight questions on a 5-level Likert Scale. In this first set respondents were asked: (1) if they feel that they belong to their neighbourhood; (2) if friendship and associations with other people in the neighbourhood mean a lot to them; (3) if they can go to someone in the neighbourhood when they need advice; (4) if they borrow things and exchange favours with their neighbours; (5) if they are willing to work together with neighbours on projects to improve the neighbourhood; (6) if they plan to remain in the neighbourhood for more years; (7) if they think of themselves as similar to the people in their neighbourhood; and finally (8) if they regularly stop and talk to people in their neighbourhood. In survey results for each of these questions, only one or two people responded neutrally (neither agreeing nor disagreeing). Due to the very small number of neutral answers, for the MCA analysis, "neutral" attitude was recoded as a missing category and "strongly agree" and "agree" answers were recoded as "agree." Likewise, "strongly disagree" and "disagree" answers were recoded as "disagree." Furthermore, four variables were generated by combining these Likert Scale questions for the MCA analysis. Answers were combined for questions 6 and 7 (feeling similar and willing to remain in the neighbourhood); 1 and 2 (feel a sense of belonging to the neighbourhood and friendship means a lot); 3 and 8 (ask advice and regularly talk to neighbours); 4 and 5 (borrow/exchange things and willing to work together).

The second set of questions focus on neighbourhood engagement, aspirations and spare-time activities: (1) overall how good or bad they consider their area (schools, public transportation, security, infrastructure); (2) if they dream of living in another neighbourhood; (3) if they ever dream of living in another city; (4) how often they talk with their neighbours; (5) how they spend their spare time, and (6) if they are ill, who cares for their children or family. In total, 10 variables were included in the analysis of neighbourhood belonging (see Tables 1 and 2).

In total, nine variables were used as supplementary measures: (1) neighbourhood (2) family occupational class (3) year of migration (4) number of high school graduates (5) number of university graduates in each household and number of each type/source of income items (6) number of wages/salaries items (7) number of self-employment income

Table 1. Eigenvalues exceed $\lambda = 1/10 = 0.1$.

	Eigenvalues	Modified rates
$\lambda 1$	0.2858	0.664928151
$\lambda 2$	0.1842	0.136554961
$\lambda 3$	0.1558	0.059972437
$\lambda 4$	0.1530	0.054104706
$\lambda 5$	0.1423	0.034463869
$\lambda 6$	0.1341	0.022397114
$\lambda 7$	0.1248	0.011846407
$\lambda 8$	0.1213	0.008738613
$\lambda 9$	0.1138	0.003668103
$\lambda 10$	0.1105	0.002123547
$\lambda 11$	0.1079	0.001202091

Table 2. Frequency table of active variables and modalities.

Variable/Modality	Frequency	%	Axis 1		Axis 2	
			Y1	Ctr.	Y2	Ctr.
General idea about the neighbourhood						
Positive idea about the neighbourhood	89	45	0.37	2.09	0.21	1.12
Neutral idea about the neighbourhood	87	44	−0.17	0.42	0.00	0.00
Negative idea about the neighbourhood	23	12	−0.74	**2.22**	−0.82	**4.16**
No information	1	0	–	–	–	–
Dream of living in other neighbourhoods						
Wants to go to closer neighbourhood/better house	23	12	−0.37	0.55	−0.50	1.58
Wants to go to more affluent districts	25	13	−0.75	**2.47**	−0.06	0.02
Wants to go to far/cheaper mass housing	24	12	−0.51	1.07	−1.28	**10.65**
Does not want to leave	128	63	0.31	2.13	0.34	4.06
Dream of living in other city						
Wants to go to smaller cities/more liveable	24	12	−0.77	**2.50**	−0.08	0.04
Wants to go back to home city/town/village	16	8	−0.08	0.02	−0.12	0.06
Does not want to leave Istanbul	156	78	0.11	0.34	0.02	0.01
No information	4	2			–	–
Spare time activity with family						
Visit/invite neighbours	31	16	−0.35	0.68	0.83	5.76
Stay at home, cook and watch TV	52	26	0.19	0.34	0.21	0.62
Visit other districts	46	23	−0.24	0.46	−0.10	0.13
Go to local parks in Halic	69	34	0.16	0.33	−0.47	4.18
No information	2	1	–	–	–	–
How often do you talk to any of your neighbours?						
On most days	132	65	0.28	1.76	−0.26	2.45
Once or twice a week	41	21	−0.05	0.02	0.64	4.52
Who looks after your children/ family when you are ill?						
Parents/parent in-laws	51	26	−0.30	0.78	0.01	0.00
Other relatives	76	37	−0.16	0.32	0.47	4.48
Neighbour	53	27	0.54	**2.70**	−0.70	**7.09**
No one	18	9	−0.14	0.06	0.17	0.15
I like to think of myself as similar to the people who live in this neighbourhood/I plan to remain a resident of this neighbourhood for a number of years (similar and plan to remain)						
I feel similar and I will remain	143	**71**	0.41	4.11	0.27	2.86
I feel similar but I won't remain	10	5	−0.22	0.09	−0.52	0.74
I do not feel similar but I will remain	32	16	−1.10	6.78	−0.73	4.69
I do not feel similar and I won't remain	11	6	−1.95	7.30	−0.58	1.00
No information	4	2	–	–	–	–
I feel like I belong to this neighbourhood/the friendship and associations I have with other people in my neighbourhood mean a lot to me (belonging and friendship)						
I feel similar and I will remain	125	62	0.55	**6.62**	0.17	0.96
I feel similar but I won't remain	22	11	−1.05	4.21	0.92	5.02
I do not feel similar but I will remain	27	14	−0.52	1.28	−1.45	**15.49**
I do not feel similar and I won't remain	16	8	−1.75	**8.58**	0.21	0.20
No information	10	5	–	–	–	–
I regularly stop and talk with people in my neighbourhood/If I needed advice about something I could go to someone in my neighbourhood (talk-ask for advice)						
I talk with people regularly/ask advice	88	44	0.69	7.25	−0.23	1.24
I talk with people regularly/do not ask advice	60	30	−0.25	0.65	0.49	3.84

(*Continued*)

Table 2.   (*Continued*).

Variable/Modality	Frequency	%	Axis 1		Axis 2	
			Y1	Ctr.	Y2	Ctr.
I don't talk with people regularly/ask advice	18	9	−0.31	0.31	−0.75	2.76
I don't talk with people regularly/do not ask advice	25	12	−1.60	11.14	0.15	0.15
No information	10	5	–	–	–	–
I borrow things and exchange favours with my neighbours/I would be willing to work together with others on something to improve my neighbourhood (exchange favours and participate)						
I borrow things/willing to participate	124	61	0.41	3.69	−0.12	0.49
I borrow things/not willing to participate	15	8	−0.31	0.26	−0.48	0.92
I do not borrow things/willing to participate	31	15	−0.48	1.24	−0.12	0.12
I do not borrow things/not willing to participate	23	12	−1.30	6.84	1.12	7.82
No information	7	4	4	–	–	–

Note: 10 active variables, 46 active modalities and 32 passive modalities with their absolute frequencies and percentages; Y – coordinates; Ctr. – contributions; in bold, contributions of modalities retained for interpretation.

items (8) number of pensions and finally (9) total household budget (see Table 3). Following the selection of variables, MCA with choice for active categories analysis was performed. As a result Axis 1 is the strongly dominant axis and the main oppositions are therefore to be found in factorial Planes 1–2. In all, 11 eigenvalues exceed $\lambda = 1/10 = 0.1$. Therefore, I decided to interpret Axis 1–2. To make a better estimate, modified rates were examined and it was seen that the first axis was explaining 66% (0.66) of total variance (Table 4). For the interpretation of Axis 1–2, the average contribution was taken as 0.1 for the modalities (1/10 = 0.1) and 80% of variance was observed.

Considering the graph of Planes 1–2 (Figure 1, right side), Axis 1 shows 11 modalities indicating positive-belonging modalities such as: positive reactions to the neighbourhood, feeling that one belongs to the neighbourhood, agrees with the importance of friendship, borrows things from neighbours, asks for advice, participates in the neighbourhood and invites neighbours to his/her home. On the left side we see 26 modalities which are mainly negative-belonging modalities such as: rarely talking to neighbours, negative feelings about the neighbourhood, not feeling similar to the people in the neighbourhood and not wanting to remain, wanting to go to a smaller city or more affluent neighbourhood, not borrowing things or asking favours of neighbours. This leads us to interpret Axis 1 on Figure 1 as an axis of belonging.

On Axis 2, modalities are related to neighbourhood engagement as well as having aspirations outside the neighbourhood. Here, activities that are inclusive of social engagement with neighbours, spending time in the neighbourhood, and having friends/relatives in the neighbourhood are ordered from high to low. Modalities related to aspirations outside of the neighbourhood, spending spare time outside the neighbourhood, visiting other districts or cities, or wanting to move to other areas/cities, are on the lower side of Axis 2. This leads me to interpret Axis 2 as an axis of neighbourhood engagement. Figure 1 broadly shows four different belonging patterns. In the upper right section of the graph, strong belonging patterns and strong attachment to neighbourhood are observed: people find themselves similar to other people, spend their leisure time mainly at home or in the neighbourhood with neighbours/friends. They have a positive view of their neighbourhood and do not consider leaving Istanbul. Most individuals in this group have a working-class occupation (see Figure 2). In the lower right section of the graph, we also

Table 3. Frequency table of supplementary variables.

Supplementary variables/modality	Frequency	%	Axis 1/Axis 2	
			Y1	Y2
Neighbourhood				
Fener Balat Ayvansaray	100	50	−0.19	0.12
Haskoy	100	50	0.19	−0.12
Family occupational class				
Managers and professionals	14	7	−0.41	0.21
Clerical support workers	11	6	0.14	− 0.21
Service and sales workers	33	16	−0.10	0.09
Crafts and related trades workers	69	34	0.01	−0.14
Plant and machine operators	34	17	0.30	0.34
Elementary occupations	28	14	−0.03	−0.38
No information	11	6	−0.24	0.46
Year of migration				
Between 1945 and 1989	81	40	0.10	0.13
1990 and after	55	32	0.05	−0.33
Born and lived in Istanbul	64	28	−0.16	0.11
Number of High School Graduates/Household (HSG)				
One HSG	56	28	0.01	0.01
2–3 HSG	24	12	−0.02	0.11
No HSG	120	60	0.00	−0.03
Number of University Graduates/Household (UG)				
One UG	22	11	−0.19	0.30
2–3 UG	6	3	−0.91	0.48
No UG	172	86	0.06	−0.06
Number of wage/salary items in the household				
One wage/salary	94	47	0.04	−0.18
2–3 wage/salary	30	15	0.23	0.06
No wage/salary	76	38	−0.14	0.20
Number of pensions in the household				
1–2 pension	57	29	0.15	0.36
No pension	143	71	−0.06	0.14
Number of self-employed in the household				
One self-employed	54	73	−0.14	0.10
No self-employed	144	27	0.04	−0.04
Total budget (monthly/TL)				
0–600 TL	39	20	−0.13	0.21
601–1000 TL	62	30	0.06	−0.17
1001–1500 TL	50	24	0.03	−0.10
1501–2000 TL	21	11	0.03	0.32
More than 2000 TL	25	13	0.08	0.08
No information	3	2	−0.98	0.41

see strong belonging patterns, but people have more aspirations outside the neighbourhood. These people have good relationships with their neighbours, ask for advice or borrow things, but they have friends or relatives in other parts of the city and do not feel similar to other people in the neighbourhood. Gentrifiers and early migrants who also have strong social networks, relatives or friends outside the neighbourhood are located here. Among the early migrants, mainly those who are self-employed or work as artisans are located in this part of the graph (see Figure 2).

Table 4.   Variances of axes, modified rates and cumulated modified rates.

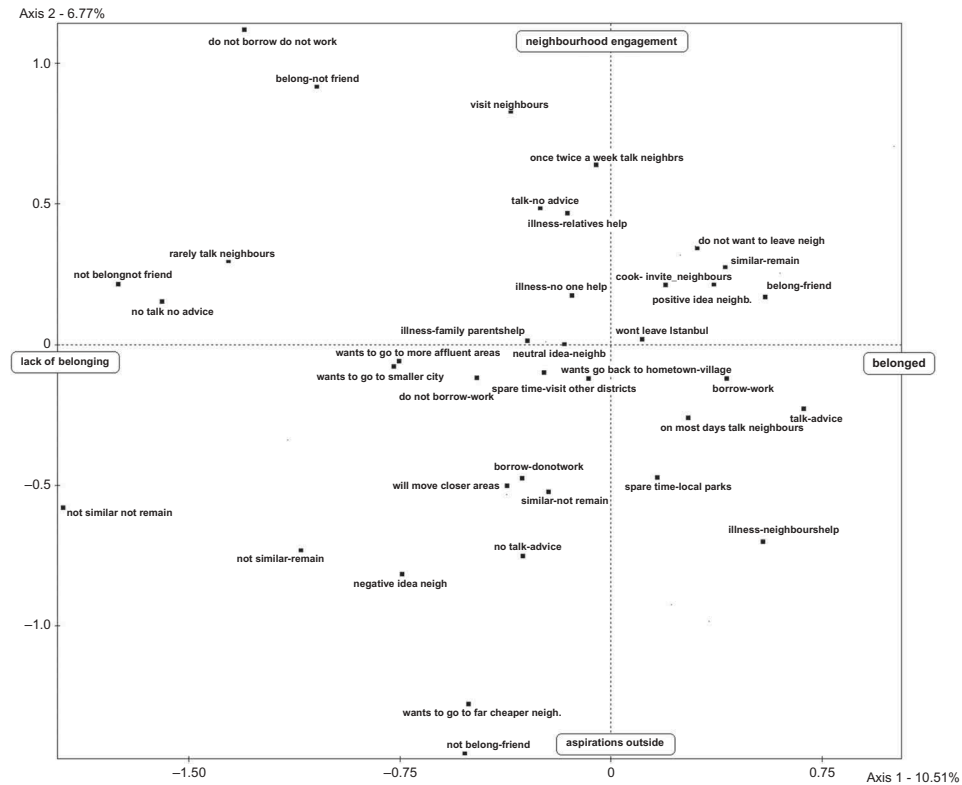|	Axis 1	Axis 2
Variance of axes (eigenvalues)	0.28	0.18
Modified rates	0.66	0.13
Cumulated modified rates	0.66	0.80

Figure 1.   Modalities.

The upper left section of the graph shows variables that indicate lack of belonging. People who have very limited relationships with neighbours and who do not speak with them frequently or ask for their advice can be found in this portion of the graph. Here, we mainly find people who are upwardly mobile or second-generation immigrants who have ambitions to move to more affluent middle-class areas of the city. Managers, professionals and those in service sector-related jobs are located on this side of the graph (see Figure 2). Although these people have limited relationships with their neighbours, they feel engaged in their neighbourhoods because of family history or relatives. The fourth belonging pattern, represented in the lower left portion of the graph, also shows a lack of belonging. Differing from the upper right section however, these people have negative views of their neighbourhood. They do not speak to their neighbours or take advice from them. They want to move to other neighbourhoods and may consider moving to smaller cities rather
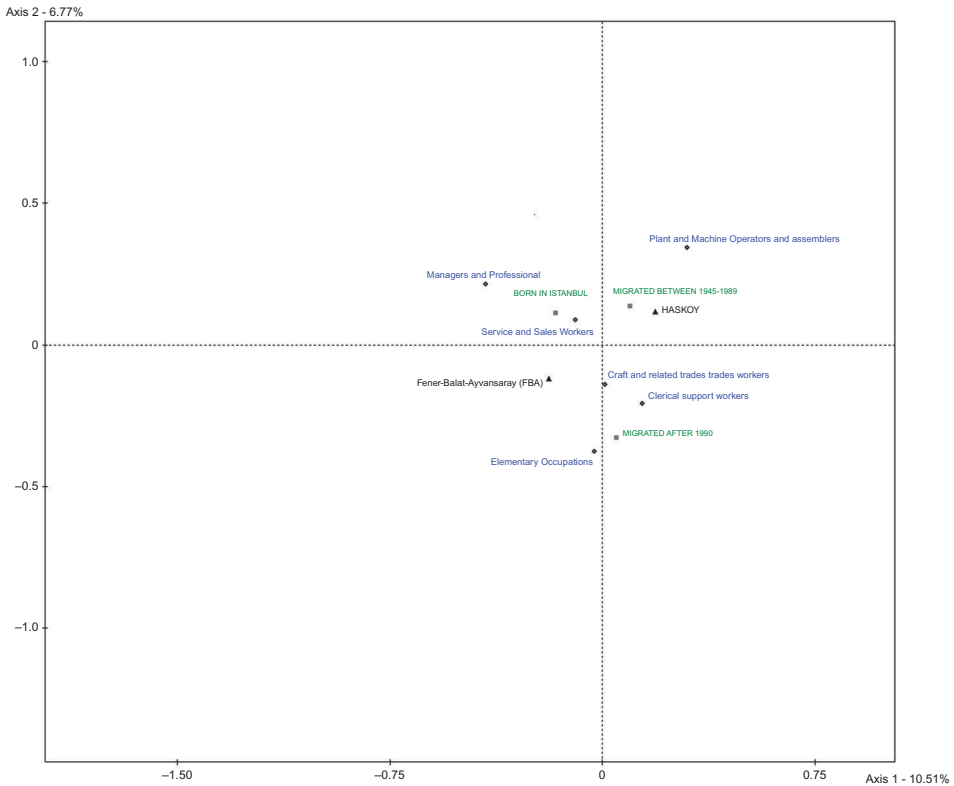
Figure 2.   Supplementary variables.

than Istanbul. People living in dilapidated houses were found to be located in this section of the graph. In addition, it was observed that people who worked in elementary occupations and those who have migrated to Istanbul after the 1990s were also members of this fourth pattern of belonging.

The cloud of individuals graph (Figure 3) gives us a broader picture of patterns of belonging. If positions of neighbourhoods are considered and one can find them located opposite each other on the first and second axis, the plane representative of belonging distinctly shows a concentration of individuals from Haskoy. Overall, lower forms of belonging in FBA were observed as compared to Haskoy.

Twenty of the interviews were with respondents who also took part in the questionnaire, so I was able to plot them on the MCA map. This allowed me to explore relationships between social and economic background, as well as different patterns of belonging. However, due to the limits of this paper, here I analyse only nine interviews for individuals shown on the belonging map (Figure 4). Then these accounts are compared in regards to their narratives on belonging, which in turn have enabled me to combine qualitative and quantitative approaches. This research does not claim to represent all types of belonging in these neighbourhoods. On the contrary, the aim of this research is to show the existence of several belonging patterns among different groups.

Most interviews followed sequential life cycles: passing from childhood to adulthood and marriage, in addition to individual occupational history and everyday life in the
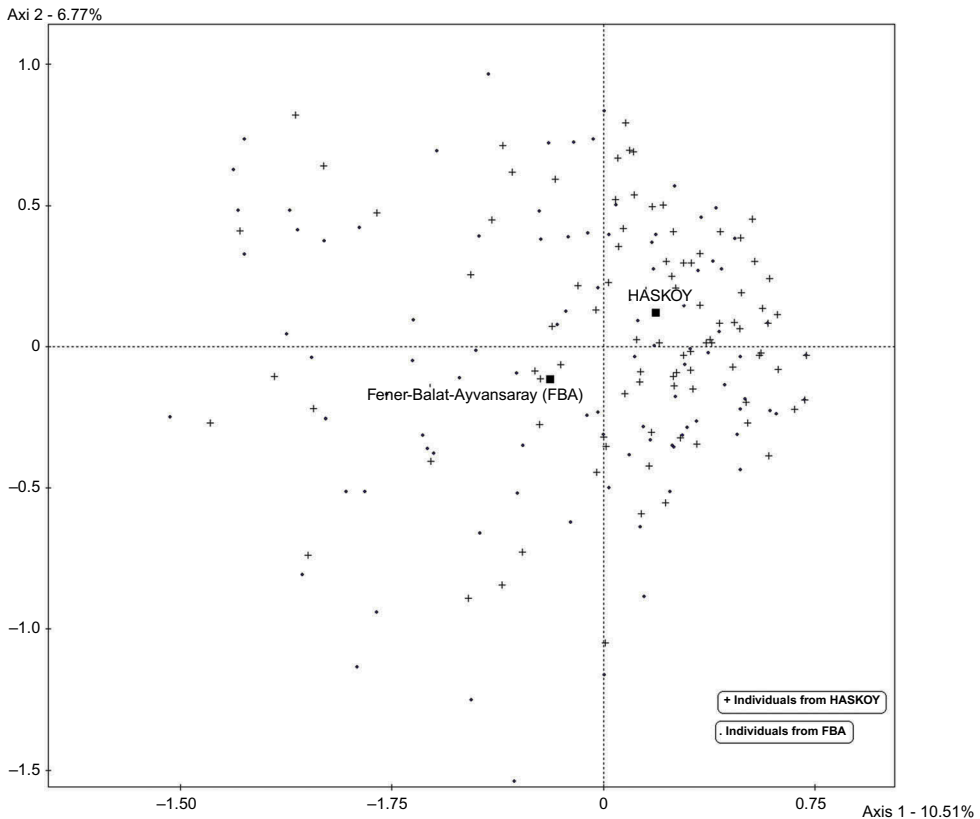
Figure 3.　Cloud of individuals/neighbourhood.

neighbourhood. Migration histories were among the most commonly mentioned topics and people over 50 years old linked their migration stories to their occupational histories. In Haskoy, it was very common to find people from both genders who told their life story as an occupational history.

Retired women were commonly found in Haskoy due to the presence of a wool factory in the neighbourhood. Zeliha (born in 1955, located on the lower right side of the Planes 1–2) came from Samsun Bafra directly to Haskoy and started working in the wool factory. In the survey Zeliha answered the majority of questions on belonging positively. Living most of her life in Haskoy, her narrative was organized around her years of factory work and her neighbours who worked alongside her:

> I started working in 1980, the 1st of October. I came from the village. It was easy to find this job. I went to the factory, I applied and they hired me. It was big—1,200 people were working there. I worked in the preparation section; I worked three shifts and on Saturdays. All of my colleagues were from this neighbourhood. We were neighbours and we were working together. The majority of them were from Samsun Bafra. In my department there were 10 women, eight from Bafra, and two from Giresun.

In later years, Zeliha got married and sent her children to the village. She worked with her husband in the same factory until they saved enough money to buy a squatter house in the neighbourhood.
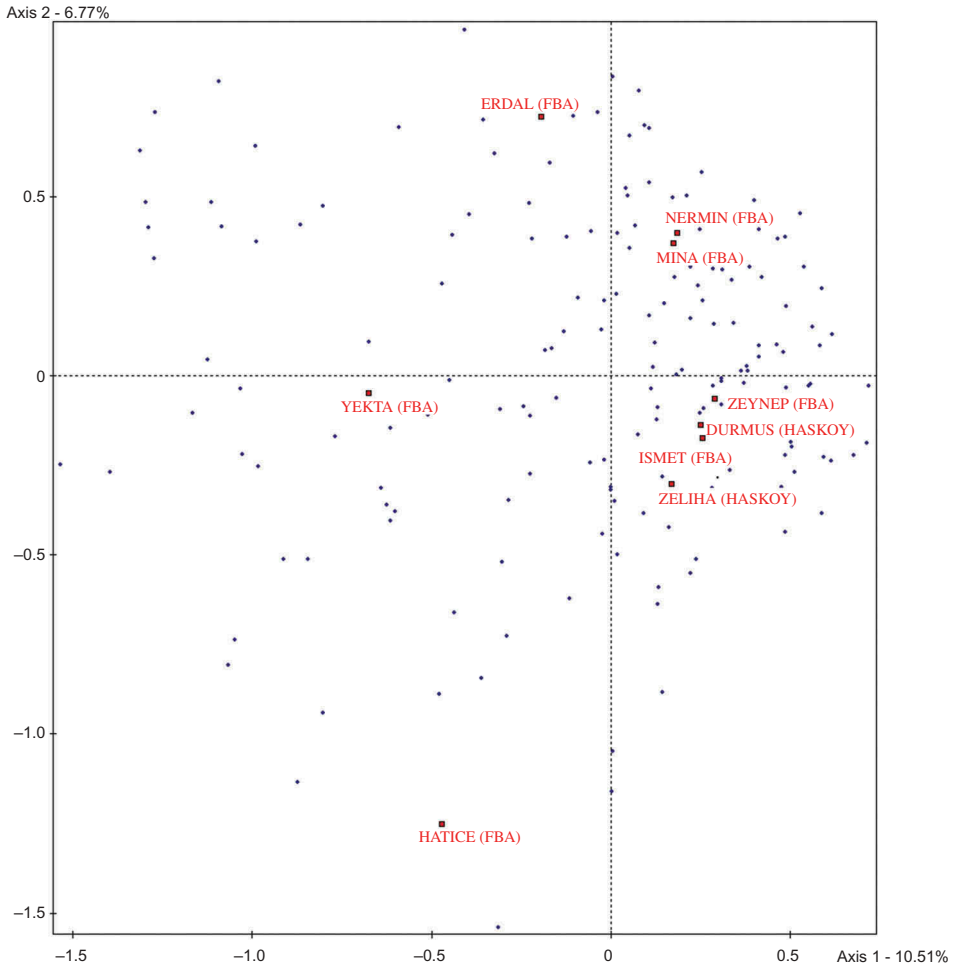
Figure 4.   Cloud of individuals with respondents.

> We bought this house because it was close to the factory. We paid some of the money in advance and the rest in instalments. We could save money because we were eating at the factory; we had bonuses every three months. We were shift working. I remember many times I was called if somebody did not go to work that day, I ran to the factory before finishing washing the dishes. They were calling me because they knew that I sent my children to the village. It was very crowded here, like Eminonu.

I asked Zeliha how they spent their free time. In her reply, she revealed that they did not really have that much free time, they were not even able to go back to Samsun to see their children:

> After working 10 years, I brought my children here and paid the rest of the social security money for five more years and I retired. I remember from my street we retired at the same time with some of my women friends.

Although people prefer to introduce themselves by their place of origin, people hardly mention their villages/home cities in their narratives. Our next respondent, Durmus (born

in 1933, located on the lower right side of the Planes 1–2) came to Haskoy from the Black Sea region (Sebinkarahisar) after his father's death. Durmus' mother brought him to his uncle's house in Istanbul after primary school and asked her brother to help find a suitable job for her son. Eventually, Durmus decided to be a shoemaking apprentice in a small workshop:

> My uncle's son and I, we were born in the same house, we were close friends. He came to Istanbul eight years before me and finished his primary school in Istanbul; I finished mine in Sebinkarahisar. When I came here, he told me, "Go and work in the shoe workshop in our building and learn how to make shoes. I will learn how to make clothes. You will make shoes for me, I will make clothes for you and we will live easily." I accepted. I learned shoemaking very well and I worked as a foreman in big shoemaking companies, and then I opened my own workshop. I was making wonderful shoes. I became well known. Once I made a very good pair for the director of the Denizcilik Bankası [Bank for Maritime Industry]. However I was tired of long working hours. I went to see that man and asked for a job in the naval yard. I worked there until I retired in the late 1980s.

During his career as a shoemaker, Durmus bought land with his uncle and built a squatter house in Zetinburnu where he had lived for 5 years. When he started his job at the naval yard, he sold his share and bought his second squatter house in Haskoy. I asked him whether he felt he belonged to Haskoy or if he had any plans to go back to Sebinkarahisar:

> Only my mother's and father's graves are there. For so many years people have asked my sons, "Where are you from? (*nerelisin*?)." They respond, "My father is from Sebinkarahisar, so we are from Sebinkarahisar." People also ask, "Have you seen that place in Sebinkarahisar?" They answer, "Nooo, even my father doesn't know it." I only remember my house, the streets around our house and the school. I came here when I was 11 years old. I went back once. In 1954, there was a rumour in Sebinkarahisar that I had died in Istanbul. So I went to the post office to call my mother. She did not recognize my voice. They did not believe me that I was alive. To prove it, I went there. It was the only time I saw it again. My sons are begging me, "Father we should see it, please, we can stay in a hotel, people are asking about it." We see it on Karadeniz TV [local TV broadcasting from Black Sea region]. Once they showed Sehinkarahisar, we saw it on TV, which is enough. I was a member of the Sehinkarahisar Association for migrants. I was going to talks, gave money monthly. In the later years I did not continue going, I now see it on Karadeniz TV.

Similar narratives can also be found in FBA. However, there were fewer people from working-class backgrounds in FBA who worked and lived in the area. Nevertheless, it was observed that men from similar age groups and occupational profiles visited FBA on a daily basis to meet with their acquaintances; migrant associations and their cafes were popular meeting places in the neighbourhood. In FBA, among people who were born, bred and residing in the area, I found predominantly women respondents who did not work, but have similar occupational narratives like Zeliha and Durmus. Our third respondent Nermin (born in 1953, located on the upper right side of Planes 1–2) was born and has lived all of her life in FBA:

> I was born in Ayvansaray and lived my entire life here. My mother and father were working at the factory here. You know the parks? There were many factories there. It was a woollen mill, my husband worked at there as well. They all retired from that factory except my mother. Women were not covered by social security during those years. I got married when I was 14; I had a small brother and my mother had quit her job. In later years she continued working from home with no social security.

Nermin narrated how their life was organized around the shifts of her parents' working hours. Her childhood friends also had parents working at the factories and despite the economic hardship Nermin spoke of those childhood years with fond memories:

> We lived in one room; five people in one room. We only had one wooden divan, one table and one stove. But it was good; we kids played in the gardens. We did not have serious economic problems. I remember factories gave food coupons and big trucks came to the neighbourhood; we were able to buy anything we needed. We were very happy.

When I met Nermin she was still living on the same street where she was born in one of the wooden houses that was part of the Ayvansaray Renovation Project. She was among the few people who refused to leave or sell her house. Her narrative was highly affected by the threat of urban interventions in the area. Nermin provided a highly nostalgic account of the "good old days" in the neighbourhood. Belonging narratives rooted in nostalgia were common in FBA and in most of these accounts it was symbolic of how good the neighbourhood was and how residents were part of communal working-class life, or civilized life—civilized enough to be an Istanbullite. These nostalgic accounts and narratives that contradict clichés about the "lower culture" of migrants are important for understanding shared emotions (Ozyurek, 2006). When I asked Nermin about her future life in the neighbourhood she said:

> I was born here and raised here. I am very sad about these rumours of clearance. It is a privilege to live here. My children, or my neighbours' children, they cannot wait to come to our neighbourhood on the weekends. They come at least once a week. They bring their children; they show their places to their children. We have wonderful relationship with neighbours, our doors are open, we don't need to invite them, and we can visit each other anytime.

Her family was among the few families who hired a lawyer to resist the restoration project approved by the Fatih Municipality:

> It all started in 2005. The municipality sent us a written notice saying that they would demolish our houses. We hired a lawyer immediately with our neighbours. People gave their power of attorney and many of them agreed not to sell their houses; they did not find the money offered by the Municipality to be enough. At the third trial, the Municipality stepped back; we won. They stopped the project. Meanwhile, some people offered people more money. People sold their houses, but we did not. There are a maximum of five houses like us. I don't want to leave. If it will be better here, I also want to stay here.

In FBA there were more migrant families from the 1990s migration. Although their narratives were mainly based on economic hardship and involuntary migration, we also observed positive belonging patterns among these people. Our fourth respondent is Mina (born in 1977, located on the upper right of Planes 1–2). She is of Kurdish origin, from Bitlis, one of 12 sisters and brothers. A few years after completing her primary school education she was married to her uncle's son and came to Istanbul in 2000:

> I never dreamed of coming to Istanbul. My husband was working as a lorry driver in Bitlis. An acquaintance from our village offered him a job in Istanbul. One night he said "we are going to Istanbul, pack up!" He asked my father-in-law for one of the girls, to cook and clean in Istanbul. My mother-in-law said "I won't give my daughters, take your wife!" But I was pregnant. She gave one of my sisters-in-law; we came all together with my brothers-in-law. She was taking care of my child; I was cooking and cleaning. My husband's boss gave this

house and he did not ask for rent. In return, my husband worked for him without social security. I did not bring anything; we did not even have curtains in the first months.

I asked how she felt when she came to Istanbul:

> When I first came, I thought these houses looked like caves and nobody can live in them. I said, "Oh my God, what kind of houses are they, they are very small, very narrow streets." I was used to large land, large gardens… I asked my husband, "Are there any people living in these houses?" He said, "Yes, there are people in these houses. Don't worry, you will get used to it." First I saw that woman, we did not have curtains then, I was performing namaz, and she showed me the right direction to kiblah.[14] She pointed towards her window. Later on, I started cleaning the house. I saw strange animals; I asked my husband, "Come here, what are these, what type of animals are they?" He said, "That is called bedbug, be careful they bite." Despite these, I did not want to go back, I was missing my family but I had my child here, my husband is working here.

In the later parts Mina mentioned economic difficulties: how she makes deals with local shops to buy cheaper, leftover bread and of her experience as a parent in the local primary school. Coming from a Kurdish background, Mina learned Turkish in primary school and when we talk about raising bilingual children, she told me that her children's teacher encourages her to speak more Turkish with her children:

> Yesterday, I went to the school's parents meeting. Teachers told us that it is very harmful for our children to speak in two languages. They cannot be good in one of them, they cannot understand what they read and they cannot talk properly at school, because they are very young to learn two languages. We got used to speaking Kurdish at home; I don't know how we will stop.

While waiting for her husband to build their new home in Buyukcekmece, on a piece of land they had bought together with her brothers-in-law, Mina supported her children's expenses with home-based embroidery jobs. She had good relationships with her neighbours and when I asked if she might consider staying or buying a house in the neighbourhood, she responded:

> We bought a small plot of land in Buyukcekmece. Initially, we were thinking about buying a small house here. It was very cheap in those years, it was 6 million liras, but there was a constant rumour, people were saying that these houses are very old; the municipality will demolish all of them.

> [But they are not demolishing them now, instead repairing them]

> It is very expensive now. Furthermore Rums (Greek Orthodox) came here to buy houses. They bought many; this one was bought by Rums (*pointing the opposite house*), that one as well.

> [Rums? So why do Rums buy houses here?]

> These houses were their houses. They want to re-take their houses, looking for their grandparents' houses. There is one here; she is living in that house.

> [So you are neighbours with her. Do you have a good relationship?]

> No. They are not interested in neighbours; they are not people like that. She does not say hello, she comes and she goes. She does not have any relationship with anyone. We learn these things from our friend who is cleaning her house.

Unlike waves of previous labour migrants who benefited from permanent jobs and squatter housing, for the 1990s wave of migrant families, economic and residential options were more limited. For instance, in the case of the "born and bred" cohort or the wave of 1950s migrants, in both neighbourhoods, more people within these groups were representative of strong belonging patterns and positive conceptions of the neighbourhood. In Haskoy, people have more friends from the neighbourhood and feel similar to other people in the neighbourhood itself, and relationships between neighbours involve inviting and visiting each other. In FBA belonging patterns are more fragmented and in the cloud of individuals' map, on both sides of Axis 1 (belonged/lack of belonging), there are nearly equal numbers of people from this neighbourhood. In addition, FBA had a significantly more diverse demographic composition of the population, which has had a significant impact on the development and establishment of belonging patterns in the area. Among the members of this mixed composition were members of the middle class, whom I have also interviewed from both neighbourhoods.

Middle-class residents in Haskoy were mainly second-generation of the earlier migrants. Although rent is relatively low in Haskoy compared to other central neighbourhoods, there were not many newcomer middle-class households. Middle-class households did not favour the area because of the housing quality and the overall industrial atmosphere. In recent years, following the opening of the Koc Museum, especially the coastal side of Haskoy has become more attractive to middle-class residents. However, in FBA, the majority of the middle-class residents were newcomers. FBA became popular among the middle class gentrifiers, especially after the European Union rehabilitation and renovation project.

Different patterns of belonging can emerge in the same neighbourhood at the same time and this research demonstrates that social and economic backgrounds as well as residential processes are among the most important factors that shape people's emerging patterns of belonging. Similar to Savage's middle-class informants (Savage et al., 2010), the middle-class gentrifiers in FBA preferred to narrate their arrival story by telling how they chose their houses and decided on FBA after comparing several places. Zeynep (born in 1967), located on the lower right side of Planes 1–2, is a lecturer at the university. She did not want to be a part of suburban life and instead of being completely "anonymous" she made a choice to come to FBA:

> The reason I came here was due to its historical character. Instead of living in an ordinary housing complex, living in a place with its own character, both living your own life as an individual and also living as a member of the community in a different culture has its own enjoyment. If you are looking for this kind of a contradiction, one can find it here. The people who come here are either artists or journalists or writers or actors who give importance to history, who are observers, researchers, but a person who knows the importance of this place. In other words they are not people who weigh everything with money and it is impossible for those who weigh happiness in life with his/her car or other values to be happy in this neighbourhood. It is impossible for them to choose to live here.

The gentrifier group mainly focused on the social distance between them and others by emphasizing their housing status. Similar to Southerton's and Watt's findings, gentrifiers put more emphasis on the appreciation of the old houses and tried to differentiate themselves not only through their cultural capital but also by associating it with the housing hierarchy (Southerton, 2002, p. 184; Watt, 2009, p. 2889). Like Zeynep, Ismet (born in 1972, located on the lower right side of Planes 1–2) came to FBA after the 1990s. He not only bought a historical house but also rented a shop for his business and spoke of

how he found his dream house. When I asked Ismet if he feels he belongs to the neighbourhood, he said:

> People have closer, warmer relationships here. They take care of each other. I mean it is not living in a luxurious apartment like in Bahcesehir, where you live in an apartment block and you even don't know who is living downstairs. You might not meet them for years. If you get sick, no one comes and asks you "Are you ok?" It is different in this neighbourhood. Every minute they ask, "Are you ok, do you need anything?" Yes sometimes it may be too much, "Who is that? Who was your visitor yesterday? You were with someone the other day, who was he?" I got through this process and now my neighbours love me.

On Axis 1, the side representative of the lack of belonging, on the lower left side of negative belonging, we see people from elementary occupations or households with low-income levels. Hatice (born in 1972), located on the lower left side of the Planes 1–2, had a very limited relationship with her neighbours and was looking for an opportunity to leave FBA. Hatice came from Kastamonu to Istanbul in 2001 and her story starts with how hard she worked during her childhood:

> When we were children, we were cutting, gathering wood and pasturing the animals. We had 10–15 animals; we were six brothers and sisters. We did not have time to play games. When I compare the conditions in the village with Istanbul, it was more difficult in the village. We did not have enough food. My husband was working in Istanbul and visiting us every six months in the village, and then we moved to Istanbul.

In the village, women were working both at home and in the fields; most of them were living with their husbands' families under the control of the in-laws and/or senior members of the household. City life became an important attraction for these women so as to escape the rigid control in the household (Erman, 1997a, 1997b). Many migrant women find city life "more comfortable and clean" with better opportunities, like transportation and availability of consumer products. As Erman, Kalaycıoğlu, and Rittersberger-Tilic (2002) point out, many of these migrant women consider themselves to be "housewives in the city living comfortable lives." Looking back to Hatice's narrative, I asked her if she had any difficulties adapting to life in Istanbul:

> My husband was working somewhere in Topkapi, changing jobs very frequently; I cannot remember which job he had then. He found that basement flat in Balat with the help of his friend at work. When I came, if I say the truth, we did not have bread to eat. Neighbours helped us a lot. We survived and we came to this point by hardly making ends meet.
>
> [So you have close relationship with your neighbours?]
>
> No, I don't have close relationship with many neighbours. I have two or three friends from the neighbourhood; we visit and help each other. Only when we sit outside on the streets, we talk with other neighbours. Here people do not like close relationships.

Later, Hatice expressed how her family makes ends meet. Although her husband is employed, his salary is irregular and aside from Hatice's home-based embroidery job, her 13-year-old son also works at the local restaurant after school. Despite these difficulties, Hatice was very happy to live in Istanbul but she was hoping to move to a better house in a "safer" neighbourhood where her "children could play in the streets." Despite Hatice's narrative of lacking belonging in the neighbourhood, we observed that small-group solidarities among women were vital for poor households and women were

responsible for strategies that resolved daily problems in the neighbourhood (also see Soytemel, 2013).

Daily life and patterns of belonging of working class families are centred around the home, as mentioned earlier, and are linked to neighbourhood streets and household spaces (Fried, 1973). However, apart from the impact of gentrification, lack of belonging among working-class families is connected to demographic changes and future trajectories of the neighbourhoods. Following demolitions in GHA by the mid-1980s, many working-class and migrant families had left the area because of the resultant changes to their everyday lives. However, until the 1980s, housing had been an important aspect of class-based solidarities among the wave of labour migrants of the 1950s. Neighbourhood collectives were central in social relations in GHA and they were closely linked to migrant networks and factory/trade union networks. In other words, many of these class capacities were closely tied at the neighbourhood scale (Aslan, 2004; Kocak, 2008). The decentralization of heavy industry and removal of factories from GHA affected these social neighbourhood networks and solidarity/support mechanisms. Additionally, between 1985 and 2000, Istanbul's population increased from 5 to 12 million. After the 1990s, Istanbul, as well as GHA, received the second wave of migration. In particular, on south GHA, new migrants—a majority of whom were mainly Kurdish people who had been forced to leave their villages or cities in eastern and southeastern Anatolia—replaced the uprooted working-class households. These demographic changes have reshaped the dynamics of social relations, as well as redefined proximities and distances among social different groups.

Furthermore, a lack of belonging can also be seen among those who consider their settlement in these neighbourhoods as temporary, with relatives residing in the neighbourhood but their own aspirations projecting elsewhere: they want to go to more affluent areas once they can afford it. Among this cohort are self-employed individuals, the upwardly mobile second and third generations of migrant families or those who have managerial/professional occupations. Some of these families have come to these neighbourhoods after the economic crisis of 2001 and as soon as they find better jobs, they hope to move to a better place.

Yekta is one of these respondents, located on the lower right side of the Planes 1–2. Yekta (born in 1964) came to Istanbul from Diyarbakır in the mid-1990s. He has worked different jobs, from construction to sales, and spent many years in FBA living in bachelor rooms. Later, he brought his family to FBA and with the help of his brothers who were working in construction jobs with good village networks he decided to open an estate agency. He has used his knowledge of the area and his good relationship with local people to run a successful business; as a result he has been able to buy two flats in FBA. When I met him, he was planning to buy a better house in a more affluent area. Despite his lack of belonging, Yekta's daily engagements were linked to the neighbourhood. He had good relationships with people, but in a limited way. Although he borrows/exchanges things with his neighbours from time to time, he was reluctant to engage in collective causes. He does not want to feel committed or to participate in collective decisions.

Our last respondent is Erdal from FBA (born in 1939, located on the upper left side of the Planes 1–2). Here we see people who do not feel that they belong to the neighbourhood, but who nevertheless have ties due to relatives or family history. These people have neighbourhood relationships with a very limited number of people; they have small, close networks around their families, relatives or co-workers. People who lack belonging in Haskoy are mainly located in this part of the plane and people here tend to be upwardly mobile. Returning to our last respondent, Erdal was born in Balat and his father had his

own construction business. Giving a highly nostalgic narrative, Erdal spoke about his childhood, stressing how successful their family business had been. When I met him, he was the owner of 15 buildings in the neighbourhood. He was living a very affluent life in a luxurious apartment that he had built in Fatih and was busy with the local association for businessmen that he founded recently:

> I was one of these common people. I earned a lot but I made everything with my labour. I worked hard. During my childhood, when my friends were swimming, I was working with my father. We finished our buildings on time, our customers liked us. I am one of the founders of the local association for businessmen. We plan to take the issue of security very seriously. We are planning to set up a CCTV network in the neighbourhood. We can monitor people and help the police force.

Conclusion

In Istanbul, the service sector and creative and cultural industries are much smaller than manufacturing and construction sectors. Manufacturing and low-wage work constitute a large segment of the labour market, and informal sector dynamics play an important role in the labour and housing markets. Evidently, gentrification is more than just a result of conversion and transformation from a manufacturing centre to a business/creative or cultural industrial hub. Moreover, gentrified neighbourhoods do not always have a homogenous middle-class population; the gentrification process takes time and comprises both working-class and low-income households as informed by existing social networks. However, there remains a need for gentrification research that incorporates greater empirical sensitivity in class analysis—analysing class formation and class relations as well as the impacts of ethnicity, gender, migration and neighbourhood trajectories on dislocation and relocation of different groups.

Analysing the spatialization of class in gentrification processes requires consideration of individuals' sense of belonging, using multiple methods to incorporate power relations, border-making processes, and symbolic borders in the context of everyday neighbourhood life. In this study, MCA has allowed me to explore the correspondence between subjective individual choices like neighbourhood belonging and their relationship with "objective" structural-social positions like occupation, migration history and income—in order to unravel the distribution of individual attitudes within neighbourhood social space.

The results of this study indicate that urban interventions and gentrification have had a negative impact on belonging patterns in Halic neighbourhoods, especially in FBA. The MCA results disclose that social and economic background and residential processes are among the most important factors shaping people's patterns of belonging. In both neighbourhoods, for middle-class gentrifiers and upwardly mobile second/third generations of working-class migrants, the sense of belonging is observed to develop through connections and comparison with other places. Compared to FBA, Haskoy has more people with higher levels of neighbourhood belonging and there is still a residue of working-class culture in this neighbourhood. People in Haskoy had higher levels of social engagement with neighbours, they spent more time in the neighbourhood and would not consider living in a city other than Istanbul. On the other hand, in FBA, it was observed that there were more people with a lack of belonging. Deindustrialization, gentrification and urban rehabilitation not only affected the demographic structure of FBA, but also led to a process of declining social cohesion. In both neighbourhoods, low-income families are among those who lack belonging, primarily related to poor living conditions. Despite a

lack of belonging, neighbourhood-based small-group solidarity networks seemed to provide vital support for those who were facing income difficulties and housing problems. These inner-city neighbourhoods provide not only social capital, but also an "informal public realm" for the survival of these groups.

This paper has also contributed to the literature on recent urban policies and urban interventions that have created unequal socio-spatial processes in the neighbourhoods of Istanbul. These kinds of development policies eventually triggered the Gezi Park protests beginning on 27 May 2013 in Istanbul, which quickly escalated into a massive uprising widely compared with the events of the Arab Spring and the worldwide insurrections of 1968 (Oktem, 2013; Tugal, 2013). In addition to demands for freedom of expression and of the press, protesters criticized the urban policies of the Turkish government for creating uncontrolled rent increases that worsened social exclusion and polarization through the displacement of the poor from inner-city neighbourhoods. And even though later discussions focused more on ethnic, religious and political exclusion, the Gezi uprisings created public awareness about urban policies and sustained ongoing discussions of class polarization and the right to the city for all citizens of Istanbul.

Although the fieldwork for this research was conducted in 2008, the findings remain relevant to contemporary discussions of social inclusion and exclusion. My findings offer a case study of how gentrification and urban redevelopment affect everyday social life, and highlight the importance of mixed-methods inquiry into the geography of class relations. In urban research, it is essential to go beyond approaches that reduce class to occupational or income categorizations—and it is crucial to rethink and update mainstream portrayals of gentrification that obscure the persistence of working-class community ties. It is essential to consider residential decisions and sense of place not solely as personal choices, but rather as belonging patterns that are intricately connected with place-based dynamics of social class amidst ongoing processes of urban transformation.

Notes

1. A very recent example of this innovative approach is Hanquinet et al. (2012). Here, the authors use Bourdieu's field analyses to map patterns of cultural engagement in Brussels and rightly point out that multiple correspondence analysis can be "a vital tool" for interdisciplinary urban studies to help develop a fluid understanding of social divisions in the context of urban space.
2. Throughout the 1950s to the 1980s, there were several studies on settlements that centred on work places like mines, factories and ports (e.g. Park, 1952; Sweetser, 1941).
3. For a detailed discussion of these studies, see Crow and Allen (1994) and Savage (2008).
4. Periodizations were mainly based on observations of certain "gentrification indicators" in different neighbourhoods. Scholars temporally correlated gentrification processes to specified local developments such as the construction of the second Bosphorus Bridge, suburbanization, population movements from and towards inner city neighbourhoods, restoration and preservation policies (Ergun, 2004; Islam, 2005). Lacking an adequate focus on the settlement characteristics of the city, in several cases researchers mainly focused on the outcomes or the prices of the housing market in different areas of the city. More energy was spent examining the luxurious or design aspects of houses, and the number and calibre of restaurants. This linear periodization became an oft-cited trend, culminating in a discussion about which neighbourhood would be the next one facing gentrification (Coskun & Yalcin, 2007).

5. Islam (2005) defined the profile of the gentrifier group in Galata as "highly educated professional cohorts who generally consist of singles and childless couples" (p. 133). One year later, in the same area, Sen (2006) identified bohemian artists, foreigners and architects as the first wave of gentrifiers, and the upper-class and companies or housing development firms as the second and third wave gentrifiers in Galata (Sen, 2006).

6. Islam and Enlil (2006) looked at Galata and pointed out two reasons for the escalation of property values: "the new legal arrangements that allow property ownership by foreigners," and the "new act on the renewal and re-use of deteriorated historic housing building stock which endows the local authorities with new powers to intervene and regenerate such areas" (p. 13).

7. Mills' analysis of the role of nostalgia and popular narratives in shaping social memory and neighbourhood belonging is to some extent relevant for this research. In Golden Horn Area (GHA) neighbourhoods, the narrative about non-Muslim minorities persists. But this narrative is mainly invoked either by homeowners to hike up housing prices in the heritage market, or in other cases, by Turkish gentrifiers clarifying their awareness of these groups.

8. GHA had been affected not only by the 1950s labour migration, but also by the Kurdish migration from the 1990s onwards. Furthermore, close proximity to the city centre and cheap rental housing stock has made neighbourhoods around GHA a desirable choice for low-income families. In addition, the GHA area accommodated not only squatter housing but also historical housing and heavy industry until the late 1980s. These factors have had a significant impact on the area's demographic composition. GHA not only lost its non-Muslim minorities, but additionally, after deindustrialization and massive demolitions of factories, most of the working-class families. Furthermore, not all gentrifiers are of Turkish origin; in fact, many are from other countries, especially in Fener and Balat neighbourhoods.

9. Between 1983 and 1989, 22 parks were planned as part of the "Halic Culture Valley Project" (HCVP). HCVP targeted "package projects" and area interventions with the support of private developers (Oktem, 2002) and as a result, the majority of factories and ateliers were demolished as part of the renewal project financed by the World Bank. Printing, hardware and leather industries, wholesale markets, naval docks and maritime transport facilities were removed from the area.

10. In 2003, Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality opened the Miniaturk theme park in Halic; in 2004 Feshane, the old fez factory was converted into a museum and a recreation centre. In 2009, Sütlüce, the main slaughterhouse, was converted into Sütlüce International Congress and Cultural Activities Centre. The Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality invested $520 million in this area. The main purpose of these projects was declared in the Prime Minister's declaration of a Tourism Vision of Turkey for 2010, in the 2nd Action period: "Making the Historical Peninsula a museum city for the social motivation and accumulation of information." For detailed accounts of these projects, see Bezmez (2008) and Tureli (2010).

11. Despite "cleaning" the GHA coastline, much of the old housing stock remained derelict. Neighbourhoods of Fener and Balat were surrounded by a number of religious/historical/listed buildings such as churches, mosques and synagogues and in order to renovate the nineteenth-century housing stock, the Fatih Municipality applied to the European Commission for funding in 1997. Following the success of the application to the UNESCO World Heritage List in 1985, the neighbourhoods of Fener, Balat, Ayvansaray and Suleymaniye, as well as the Sultanahmet area in the Historical Peninsula, were declared areas of conservation in Halic. This residential area accommodates 12 listed monuments and 508 listed buildings (Akkar-Ercan, 2010). In 2000, a finance agreement in the amount of 7 million Euros was signed between the European Commission, the Fatih Municipality and the Republic of Turkey (Under Secretariat of the Treasury). Following the 2001 economic crisis in Turkey, and compounded by the unresolved problems of other funding options, legal problems concerning partnerships and the lack of procedures for transferring money to homeowners, the project remained inactive. The second term of the project started officially in 2003 as a project of the MEDA programme with the new consortium of Fatih Municipality, IMC Consulting (United Kingdom), GRET (France) and Foundation for the Support of Women's Work (FSWW) (Turkey), and Foment Ciutat Vella SA, a development company from the City of Barcelona.

12. The price per square metre of building sites in Balat has become 10 times more expensive between 1998 and 2002 (Ergun, 2004, p. 403).

13. In 2006, the Fatih Municipality launched four new projects for the area: "The Regeneration project of Fener, Balat and Ayvansaray," "Renewal of Fener Balat Coastal Area Project", "Urban Renewal Projects" for the remaining unrestored houses in Fener, Balat and Ayvansaray, and finally, "Ayvansaray Turkish Houses Project."
14. Kiblah is the direction of Kaaba in Mecca, towards which Muslims face when praying.

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