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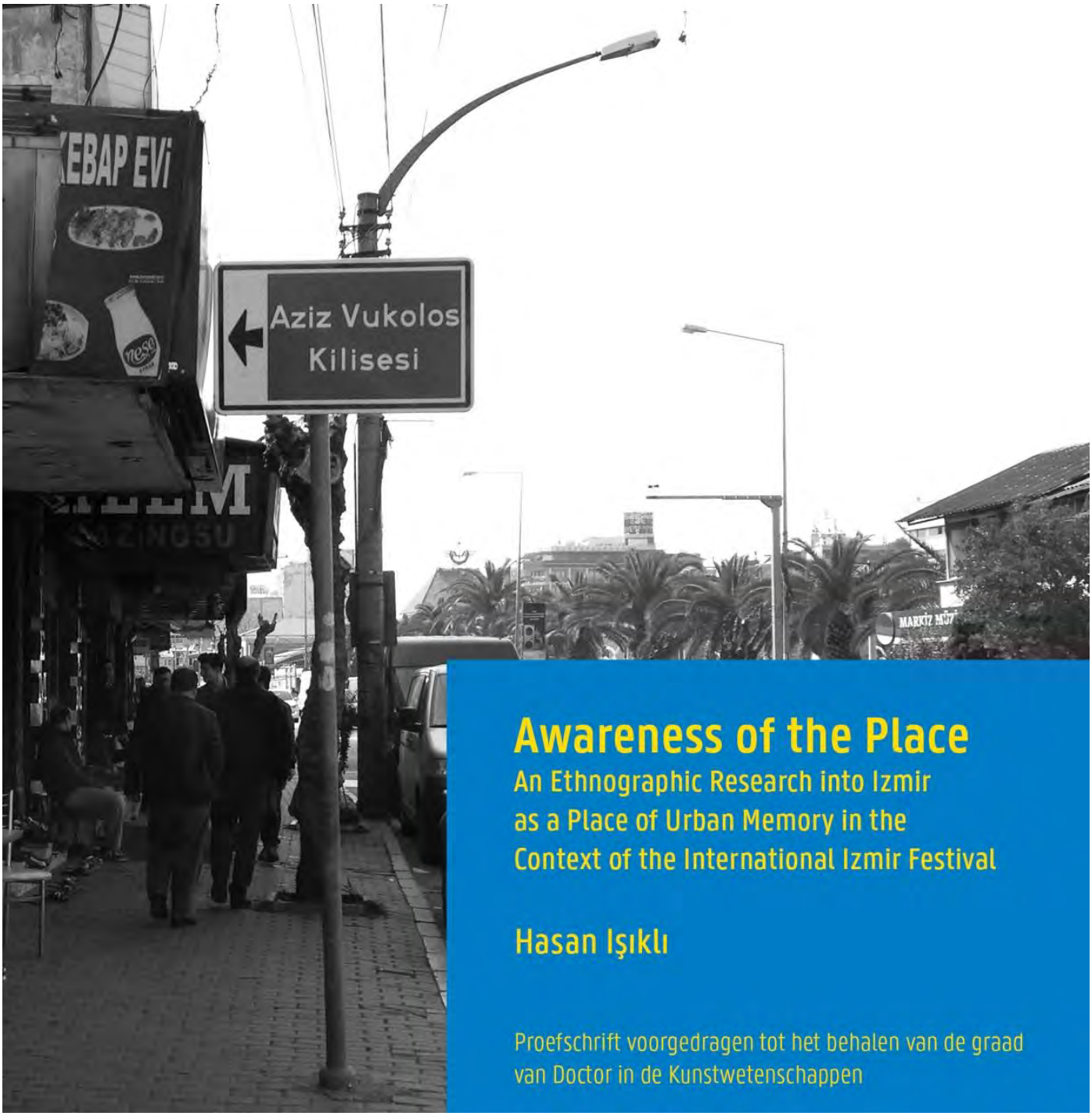

Awareness of the Place

An Ethnographic Research into Izmir as a Place of Urban Memory in the Context of the International Izmir Festival

Hasan Işıklı

Proefschrift voorgedragen tot het behalen van de graad van Doctor in de Kunstwetenschappen

For Smyrnians and Izmirians...

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Promotor: prof. dr. Christel Stalpaert
Copromotor: prof. dr. Rozita Dimova

2021

Acknowledgment

This book is a harvest of a long process. Therefore, the notion of time has been a matter of contemplation. When you design a logo for a company, the research and implementation may take some days or weeks, when you illustrate a comic book it may take some months, or even couple of years. This book took approximately 10 years. This 10 year has been a journey of exploratory in the thick layers of ethnography. The joy of discoveries came hand in hand with the sorrow of failures. There were many moments of conflict, anxiety, shame, disappointment, boredom but also the hope and faith. The reading, reviewing, writing and editing took more time and energy than expected. In one hand this research blocked me to engage in different jobs to build, on the other hand it gave a meaning and purpose to my life, especially after the depressive periods of Gezi Park manifestations in 2013 and several bomb attacks and the coup attempt in 2016 in Turkey. Indeed, there have been dramatic changes in Turkey from 2010 till now. Turkey is a dynamic country whose actuality and cities have being changed fast. While I have changed as well on the path of doctorate, I owe thank to many people.

First of all, I would like to express my gratitude to my supervisor Prof. Dr. Christel Stalpaert who initiated me the concept of heterotopia and later memory studies which brought an important depth to the research. Indeed, whatever the context is, heterotopia and memory studies contribute richness to any urban and/or artistic research.

I would like to express my gratitude to my co-supervisor Prof. Rozita Dimova who had always hand on me. Without her, I couldn't manage to achieve this book. In addition to this, she initiated me to material culture which helped me to understand the affect of the memory places on humans. Her guidance also provided an awareness of my positioning as a designer. Although this book doesn't include directly the graphic design discipline, this positioning made me aware how I was keen on representations of Izmir through the imaginary and narrations.

I achieved the research without funding or salary. It was difficult to seek a customer for my freelance carrier and find a job to make my living. I owe thus, a big thank to my mother, Feyza Işıklı who supported me both financially and morally from the beginning of the doctoral training.

I also thank her sister very much, my aunt Nihal Yeşilturna who provided my access to the spectators among the research group. Although she had breast cancer during my fieldwork of 2012 and 2013, she didn't hesitate to participate to my interviews and to contact her friends. Obviously, the spectators of the International Izmir Festival are not a closed community. I needed a group of elder people who attended the festival from the beginning till recent times. In the same way, I would like to thank her friends and other spectators and festival volunteers to give their time and share their knowledge.

My volunteer job helped to be connected with the festival team. Either I worked or not, I would like to thank the employees of Izmir Foundation for Art, Culture and Education and the president and art director Filiz Eczacıbaşı Sarper herself to share the archive pictures, booklets and spare their times for chats and in-depth interviews.

I would like to thank Fulya Ertem Başkaya for not being only an attentive advisor to me, but also an elder sister to support me spiritually.

As you may imagine, when you jump from regular graphic design and illustration sector to ethnography of urban memory in the frame of an arts festival, you have a lot to learn to understand about anthropological perspective, impact of performing arts, the arts festivals, urban planning, architecture, history and cultural traumas. Many conversations and dialogues gave a shape to this dissertation. I would like to thank to Kathrin Deventer from European Festivals Association, Hervé Georgelin from National University of Athens, department of Turkish Studies and Asian Studies. I would like to give a warm greeting to my friends (according to their appearance at the process) Sinem Cankardaş Nalbantçılar, Herman & Lucrece Van Bostraeten, Jethro Mortier, Emin Artun Özgüner, Suzanne Porcherot, Jean Porcherot, Görkem Daşkan, Meltem Elmas, İpek Ek, Gökçe Sanul, Clara Rivas Alonso, Merel Heering, Fırat Şeker, Hasan Cenk Dereli, Duygun Erim, Carla Tommasini Esperanza, Roberto Cavallini, Ceren Kayalar, Tomris Özge Gökşen, Ceren Tunalı, Metehan Özcan, Miltiadis Zerboulis, Duygu Yurttaşen, Cahide Sarı, Asim Murat Okur and Jale Sarı. I would add also eminent academicians Şebnem Yücel, Burkay Pasin, Ahenk Yılmaz, Gülsüm Baydar, Katerina Markou and Fotini Tsibiridou for their precious remarks.

I cannot forget the help of other contributors: I thank my cousins; Emre Işıklı for translating an interview from Turkish to English (2012), İdil Tuna and Tolga Çapanoğlu for the transcriptions of the fieldwork records (2013). I also owe a thank Füsun Noyan (2019) and Susanna Westen (2020) for the editing service.

Finally, my special thanks go to art initiatives of Tieten Met Haar in Ghent and Darağaç and Kendine Ait Bir Oda in Izmir. They were giving inspiration and support to the stressful period of reading-writing-editing cycle. Thanks to Darağaç and Kendine Ait Bir Oda I had the opportunity to implement my arguments on urban memory into artistic practice.

Hasan Işıklı, December 23, 2020, Izmir

Preliminary Notes

Geographical Terms

This book consists of an analysis of Izmir from 2011 till 2018. I focus on the memories of the festival participants anchoring on the experiences of 2002 and from 2011 till 2013. My concern was mainly about the connection between the past and the present. The city that the research was conducted is a multilingual society where Greek, Turkish, Armenian, Ladino (a Spanish dialect spoken by the Jewish community), Italian, French and other European languages used to be spoken till 1922. Today, the official and mostly language is Turkish. Therefore, when I speak about the actual city, I employ its Turkish name, *Izmir*. When I refer to the city's past, I employ its old name in English: *Smyrna*. The changing name in English language was made after the republic like other European countries. Also concerning the inhabitants of Izmir, I use Izmirian or the original Turkish name, *İzmirli* (*İzmirliler* in plural). In the same vein of the city's name, I use the English name, *Smyrnian,* to refer the communities who lived before 1922. As a matter of ethnographic writing, the book reflects the Izmirians of today. I maintained their contemporary naming of the streets and neighborhoods. I believe that it is also useful for the readers who would like to check the locations on Google Maps or similar sources.

Participants' Names

The International Izmir Festival's participants who have been my interlocutors during the fieldwork revealed their personal point of view on the city, its history, politic and sometimes the festival's organization. For ethic reasons, I changed their names and significant personal information to protect their privacy. The nicknames which represent the interlocutors are chosen at random, it means they don't have any relevance with their real name. I gave as much as possible urbanite names that are suitable to the secular and 'modern' characteristics of the participants. The older ones had older and more traditional names, while the younger ones are depicted by more contemporary names.

Pronunciation

The Turkish alphabet is a modified Latin alphabet. Below are the letters that are read differently:

C: “j” like “Jersey”

G: “g” like “Glasgow”

I: “i” without point. The sound is “e” in “water” or “o” in “Jackson”

İ: “i” with point. The sound is like “i” in “Ingrid”

J: “j” as pronounced in French

Ö: The sound is “i” in “Birmingham”

Ş: “sh” like Sheffield

U: “oo” like “Liverpool”

Ü: “u” as pronounced in Dutch

List of Abbreviations

İKSEV – İzmir Kültür Sanat ve Eğitim Vakfı (Izmir Foundation for Culture Arts and Education)

EFA – European Festivals Association

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Ground Floor

Jumping from City Branding to Urban Memory Research

Chapter 1. Setting the Stage

My hometown of Izmir once used to be a trade-oriented port city, and it is also known for its agricultural industry, as indicated in *Değişen İzmir'i Anlamak* (2010). Izmir, similar to other cities on the Aegean Sea, is a secular and westernized city of Turkey. After the Justice and Development Party (AKP) ascended to power in 2002, other cities became more conservatively Muslim while Izmir became more radically secular. As a consequence of this ideological separation, investments in Izmir were reduced, and thus industry and trade became more unstable. Although factories closed and waited for new decisions and clients, the construction of apartment buildings and residences increased.

I remember the billboard of the former mayor of Izmir, Ahmet Piriştina, at the entrance of Kültürpark which cited his words 'Izmir will become the city of fairs and tourism.' Following this argument many local establishments gathered at the symposium of *İzmirli Olmak* (To Be Izmirian) promoted by the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality. The section on design in particular discussed the brand value and design potentials of 'made in Izmir.' It is from this perspective that I started this research focusing on the historic sites of Izmir, believing that the actual symbol of Izmir – the clock tower – was inadequate. Izmir had a representation problem that lacked a unique and charming narrative. The International Izmir Festival seemed a good candidate for such a narrative, rather than hosting the University Summer Olympic Games in 2005 or being a candidate for the World Expo (of 2015 and 2020). The International Izmir Festival was local and a more constant representation of the city. Therefore, my first motivation in investigating the International Izmir Festival was to better understand the ways in which the festival was connected with the identity of Izmir. I also took into consideration the politics at play. The branding of a city is obviously a design process that seeks to construct a representative urban narrative. The narratives and images become the ingredients of the city's representation in this process. At the end of the 20th century, Izmir followed the global wave of cities that were transforming from a focus on industry to one of tourism. The city's branding of the province of Izmir became crucial on the international scene, and emphasis was placed on the city's historicity and modernity.[1] Many projects were initiated by the metropolitan municipality, the

[1] See the web sites of the metropolitan municipality of Izmir and *Değişen İzmir'i Anlamak* (2010) by Yıldırım and Haspolat (eds).

chamber of commerce and İZKA[2] (*İzmir Kalkınma Ajansı*/ Izmir Development Agency) with the goal of shaping the city's growth.

I started this research from an impulse of graphic design: I would redesign the visual identity of the city of Izmir with the help of the International Izmir Festival that has taken place for more than a quarter of a century. According to the statement of the Izmir Foundation for Culture, Arts and Education (İKSEV), the festival claims to be one of 'great prestige and high artistic standards' and to provide 'opportunities to numerous world-renowned artists to perform at unique historic venues.' According to the web site and previous festival booklets, the festival seemed to be the perfect vehicle to enhance the city's prestige in terms of city branding. Thus, I would investigate how – within the festival – I could tell a story and create appeal by integrating Izmir's mythical historical background and its topography in a new corporate design. Its location on the seaside and its being a port city were already of potential value in this endeavor. When I stepped into this research, there was much that inspired me, including Izmir's geographic attributes and its rich and ancient past. My ideas resonated with the ideas of the founder of the International Izmir Festival, Nejat F. Eczacıbaşı, who was dedicated to the vision that 'every effort (be) made to shape the future, to make dreams come alive, to be able to be open to the past, to accumulate experiences into innovations and to serve humanity.'[3]

My initial ideas were also inspired by the festivals that I had attended in the past. The first one was the legendary Avignon Theater Festival, which I visited in 2000. The core idea of the festival, which was to save art from the hegemony of Paris and to share it with the rest of the province, was pioneered by Jean Vilar, an actor from Paris.[4] Indeed, by promoting theatre in a small city like Avignon in the south of France, the branding of it as a holiday destination proved to be very successful, and this inspired many other organizations in Europe and the Mediterranean Basin to follow in its footsteps. Presumably, the Palace of Popes (le Palais des Papes) at the center of Avignon had been empty for decades, and it was only sporadically visited by sightseers. After Vilar's performing arts initiatives in the city, the place evolved into an open-air venue and became a landmark in which 'art met history,' as mentioned by İKSEV (Izmir Foundation for Art, Education and Culture). I was struck by such an image: just like the Avignon Theater Festival, the International Izmir Festival performed at 'unique historical venues,' such as the ancient site of Ephesus, especially the site's amphitheater and the Celsus Library.[5]

My second inspiration was the Lyon Light Fest of 2005, again in France, where I admired the idea of presenting the historic sites in the concept of a light show transformed by an old

[2] İZKA is an agency whose aim is the sustainable development of the province of Izmir and its branding. The visual identity that was my aim had already been designed in 2009 by I Mean It Creative, an advertising agency based in Los Angeles and Istanbul. For more details, visit the website of İZKA: http://www.izka.org.tr/en/30691/Vision-Mission-Core-Values (the vision of the agency) and http://www.izka.org.tr/upload/Node/30237/xfiles/Izmir_Gorsel_Kimlik_Rehberi_2_0.pdf (visual identity of Izmir city branding) (last access: March 24, 2019).
[3]http://www.iksev.org/en/izmir-festivali (last access: December 25, 2020)
[4]https://festival-avignon.com/en/history (last access: April 25, 2019)
[5]http://iksev.org/en/izmir-festivali/4/venues (last access: April 26, 2019)

religious ritual. According to tradition, candles were placed in front of windows on the night of December 8th to honor the memory of the Virgin Mary's protection of the city against the Black Death epidemic during the Middle Ages and the flood of 1852.[6] After 1999 the fest was integrated more with visual arts and attracted many visitors from outside the city. Various lighting systems and animations were projected onto an ordinary neoclassical façade or an old bridge. The festival had a path to be followed within the city center. A festival participant was able to walk from one historic site to another to experience light shows and to gain a fresh outlook on the history of the city. The streets were full of people drinking hot wine, eating waffles and buying little light sticks. Eventually, the fest served as a prime example of how local values could be redefined by an arts festival, with city branding effects.

My last inspiration was the Angouleme Comics Festival, again in France, that I had visited in 2007 when I was a master's degree student of graphic design in Montauban. I was impressed by the infographics and the illustrations presented there. Many comic characters were painted on buildings in public spaces, sometimes functionally, sometimes more decoratively. The visual identity of that small southwestern French city was linked effectively with the art festival and its products. Walking on the streets of Angouleme was inextricably connected with encountering the comic characters of the festival. During that festival, I realized how graphic design and illustration could be a powerful tool in co-creating and even redesigning a city's identity.

Having participated in such festivals, I was yet unaware of their possible concomitant effects on historic sites in the process of city branding. Considering that the festival's involvement with historic sites attracts many visitors, I realized that the festival and graphic designers treat the city as a screen: as a setting for gazing at and consuming beautiful images, where there is an infinite play of representation of the self and others.[7] Essentially, at the core of city branding is the notion of presenting an easily consumable image of a city to a large national and international audience. Cities were becoming commodities where local identities and global trends contested with each other (Kırlar Can et al., 2017; 269). Transfixed by this observation, I became aware of the need to investigate what lay under the surface of this easily consumable image of the city of Izmir. What was the cultural identity of Izmir that the International Izmir Festival proclaimed? What politics were at play with the current city branding? How did it engage in dialogue with the city's complex urban history? It became clear to me that both physically and socially Izmir was quite different than Avignon, Lyon and Angouleme. Preoccupied by these questions, I inferred that I needed to take another approach that would go beyond the superficial 'image' question.

I also realized that I would need to conduct a thorough historical research to learn about the city's complex urban history. This recognition coincided with a growing awareness of the

[6]http://www.fetedeslumieres.lyon.fr/en/page/story-behind-festival (last access: April 25, 2019)
[7] See 'Las Meninas' in *Order of Things* (1966) by Michel Foucault.

stereotypes circulating about the city of Izmir and its inhabitants. I felt an urge to give voice to Izmir's complex identity by conducting ethnographic research, during which time I dug into the complex relationship between the historic sites, artistic events and the people involved in the International Izmir Festival. Gradually, through my ethnographic research, I became aware of the cracks in the 'beautiful' image the festival presented to its (inter)national visitors. On its official website, the International Izmir Festival presents Izmir as 'the cradle of civilization, motherland of epic poet Homer and famous philosopher Heraclitus, (...) an 8000-year-old city where the festival has mingled art and history.' My first in-depth interviews and inquiries indicated that the International Izmir Festival's participants identified Izmir as 'West-oriented' and 'European-like.' Some were in agreement about its Mediterranean identity, some made distinctions, claiming its specific Aegean identity. To me, it became clear that the International Izmir Festival only illuminated a particular part of the city of Izmir. Moving away from the idea of an indigenous population descending from a cradle of civilization 8000 years ago, the population of Izmir appeared as a complex melting pot of descendants of the former Ottoman Empire that also included migrants from the Balkans, Crimea, Crete and other regions of Anatolia. The 'intact' locals, whose families had been settled in Izmir for many generations, were the small Levantine and Jewish communities whose actual origins were in the Iberian Peninsula, Britain, France, the Low Countries and Italy. Ever since the time when their relatives immigrated abroad in the 20th century, one foot may have remained 'outside' the country.[8] Furthermore, the city had experienced a huge fire in 1922, followed by the deportation of the Orthodox community that had survived the *Kurtuluş Savaşı* (Independence War) from 1919 to 1922 between the Kingdom of Greece and the Turkish government of Ankara. The people arriving after the war were Muslims from the Balkans and the Greek islands as well as some from the Anatolian countryside. Despite its current image, it was not possible to define a so-called authentic local identity.

[8]Here I imply the perception of Turks about Turkish identity. Yael Navaro-Yashin argues that as the national identity was being constructed, it was based on religion and language, not ethnicity. Modern Turkey was claimed to be the 'land of the Turks.' Thus, the communities which did not fit within these parameters of language and religion remained outside. See pages 46-51 in *Faces of the State, Secularism and Public Life in Turkey* (2002), Princeton University Press. Navaro's analysis is also highly supported in *Islam, Secularism and Nationalism in Modern Turkey: Who is Turk?* by Soner Çağaptay (2006) Routledge.

Fig. 1: Izmir's new brand consists of an emblem of an evil eye with script characters. Nationally, Izmir is thought of as a very 'Turkish' city and one that enjoys life. This perception is reflected in graphic designs seen around the city, as above. On the other hand, this image contradicts the motto of '8000 years of history' (picture taken by the author)

Izmir's new logo and my preliminary interviews based on a color analysis[9] of the city did not sustain the common discourse of 'a historical city of 8000 years.' The local organizations and I – in my position as a graphic designer – aimed to generate an appealing image that would attract the attention of international tourists and serve to increase the pride that the inhabitants feel in their city. Nonetheless, these efforts were left hanging out to dry, because the past that we were proud of was not reflected in the new logo. The latter signified *nazar boncuğu* (evil eye),

[9]Color analysis was the application of Shigenobu Kobayashi's color identification for cities. According to his book, *Colorist: a Practical Handbook for Personal and Professional Use* (1998), one of the methods to assign the colors of a city is for the researcher to produce approximately 100 hues and ask local people to identify their environment through those colors. The local person may designate the physical environment, or s/he can define symbolically a particular aspect of the town through the colors. Finally, the designer-researcher classifies the characteristics of the city according to the constantly repeating colors on the table of soft-hard and cool-warm axis. This method is tricky in trying to represent the perception of the residents, because Kobayashi doesn't mention how many samples are necessary or how to combine a symbolical color approach with a physical description of an environment. The other method was to make natural observations and assign the colors on their own using the same table. However, this time the perception level of the researcher as viewer becomes an issue, questioning his perception level due to his previous experiences and knowledge.

something that referred to a common Turkish identity. The International Izmir Festival did utilize ancient sites, but it did not claim a connection between the people living in the past and the present. Moreover, main venues such as Ephesus harkened back solely to the distant past and not to the more recent past. Therefore, the image that the festival had created failed to reflect the complexity of the past 8000 years; rather, it was selective. The people of the recent past (especially 19th and 20th centuries) and their lives remained silenced. Hence, my approach could also limit the richness of Izmir while I attempted to harness the ancient past for its branding. If I redesigned the visual identity of the city of Izmir constructed on the basis of the festival, the festival's sustainability would not help to construct a strong and original representation, making it similar to unsustainable spot events like international fairs and sport organizations. It is obviously not appropriate to erase a city's complex urban history or to strip away its infinite variety by using a single image and a single value to represent it. The romanticized ancient past and its representation would be insufficient to illustrate the city's actual complex and multi-layered cultural identity. Izmir appears to be a West-oriented, modern Turkish city constantly absorbing massive in-migrations demanding ever more space in which to live and work. The decay of the past was already hidden beneath this dense urban fabric.

Then, during the summer of 2011, something extraordinary happened. From local news I learned that the International Izmir Festival had organized a concert in Ayavukla[10] in Basmane, a district in the old part of Izmir inhabited by people whose income was so low that they resided in run-down houses that they could neither afford to repair nor to destroy in order to construct new apartment buildings. I imagined Filiz Sarper, the art director of the festival and the president of İKSEV,[11] a member of the elite and a lady of high society, elegantly clad for the concert, walking up the 'dirty' and dark streets of Basmane, which she had perhaps never actually seen before, since Basmane wasn't a location 'fit' for her lifestyle. Basmane was known as a business neighborhood with some electronic stores (second-hand and repair), small textile industry and offices. The same neighborhood also had many nightclubs. Like the sun and the moon, they shared the same neighborhood without touching each other. It was also known as a neighborhood inhabited by people with low incomes who were said to be migrants and members of the Roma community. In that sense, the neighborhood pretended to be heterogeneous and yet remained eclectic because of the limited interaction among the different social classes, ethnicities and migrants. The upper-middle and elite classes rarely ventured there. After sunset, as the time of the concert approached, those 'clean jobs' in shopping centers, workshops and other business centers closed, and the 'dirty jobs' in nightclubs opened for the evening. Basmane at night was another layer of the city, similar to Foucault's evocations of "illicit sex at motels that lie on the outskirts of American towns dotting the countryside roads" described in his essay,

[10]*Ayavukla* is the common name used by the public, including my interlocutors. The official name which appears on signboards and web sites is *Aziz Vukolos Kilisesi*, Saint Voukolos Church in English. The web sites of the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality and the Ministry of Tourism and Culture of Turkey refer to it as *Aziz Vukolos Kilisesi Kültür Merkezi* (Culture Center of Saint Voukolos Church) to emphasize its actual secular function.
[11]*İzmir Kültür Sanat ve Eğitim Vakfı*: Izmir Foundation for Culture Art and Education in English

Of Other Spaces (1986; 27). It was from his observations of these motels that Foucault gave an example of the powerful concept of heterotopia, a concept that became one of the theoretical cornerstones of this doctoral thesis. The nightclubs, with their kitschy decorations, were considered places of basic desires and 'impurity,' which single and married men visited in order to watch shows, drink alcohol and have sex with 'artistic women' (cabaret singers and dancers) and prostitutes. Again, this Basmane neighborhood was not a place be visited at night by a woman from society's upper echelons.

However, there were other aspects to Basmane apart from its stereotype as the 'dirty' part of the city. It was also a historic neighborhood containing many old buildings. Reflective of a festival where 'art and history met,' it featured a church that *once upon a time* belonged to the Orthodox Christian community. In 2010 the church was renovated by the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality with the aim of preserving its cultural heritage and of making it available for artistic events. The church became a culture center complex, where it served as a concert hall, and the priest's house became a history museum of the press and journalism. A well-equipped restroom was added to the museum. Moreover, the church, museum and restroom were enclosed in a nice garden with flowers, trees and a fountain.

Discovering that there was an old Orthodox church in Basmane and that the International Izmir Festival was organizing a concert there was a key moment in my research. I realized that a neglected historical place was coming alive and that the festival participants were leaving their comfort zone for a while to attend the concert. A building that had always been there – another reality of Basmane belonging to a past which had remained invisible underneath the stereotype of 'dirty' Basmane – had now become visible and tangible for a short period. This was my source of inspiration.

Indeed, it was the stunning image of the festival's art director, Filiz Sarper, walking in Basmane in her high heels to attend a Western classical music concert that changed the direction of my research. The concert within her festival was a unique event that drew her away from the comfortable spaces in which she dwelled in her daily life, in order to encounter the church, its history and its neighborhood. That opening event introducing the old church/new culture center to the public was an occasion for her to be there. Moreover, she was not the only one to experience this, but many other festival participants as well. Also, it was not just a concert, or the inauguration of a historic site renovated by the municipality that was taking place; there was something else going on. The extraordinary image of high-class people walking along the streets of Basmane led to my discovering that Izmir had a very complex structure, with urban cracks along the visual surface. There were gaps and breaks in the time-space continuum in Izmir, just as historian Mark Mazower (2010) had discovered in Thessaloniki, transforming it from an Ottoman port city consisting of communities of a transitional nature to a modern Greek city.

Despite this discovery, questions remained in my head. Did the renovation of the church align with gentrification efforts by the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality in order to 'clean up' the so-called 'dirty' image of Basmane?[12] And how did the International Izmir Festival position itself in this process of image-making? What were the spectators' impressions as they visited a historic neighborhood with an unsavory reputation? These questions only fueled my desire to move forward with the ethnographic side of my research and to ask other visitors myself.

In my research on the history of Izmir, I was motivated by the question of why a city's past had been neglected and rendered invisible for so many years. My new aim was no longer to ferret out the city's identity and to harness its image and traditions for branding. These identities would necessitate an excavation of memories. Hence, I did not investigate places, but memory places (Nora, 1989), places which had gained new meanings in a period of forgetting. The meaning of these places was more than that laid out in the official history. They were the carriers of the personal and social memories of a community, something referred to as urban memory. Therefore, the historic sites had material and symbolic value. Assuming that these places were memory places in both a personal and collective way, it seemed that the crystallized memories (Assmann, 1995; 128), those which were well defined and solid, could also be remembered in interactive moments like an arts festival. Obviously, I knew that once an artistic intervention had taken place, it would start to make new sense after each new experience. As a matter of fact, I strongly felt that the research should absolutely give a voice to the festival participants, who had their own way of making sense of the places of memory, and they might refer to the people who actually lived in that space. How were they making sense of their city in daily life? What was changing among them, as participants of the International Izmir Festival, while they were operating, both physically and emotionally, in a part of the city that they perhaps had prejudices about and/or where they had possibly never even been before?

First, I focused on my own memories of Basmane. The contrast between the church's religious past and the actuality of its secular surroundings, as well as the contrast between its 'dirty' and dilapidated surroundings with the 'clean' and elegant festival participants, had become a central focus framing my research. I zoomed in on a previous memory of Basmane dating back to 2009, when I took a 'cultural tour' in the area. I remember that the tour guide explained that the border between the Christian and Muslim neighborhoods intersected with sections of the Jewish and Armenian neighborhoods. They all came in contact with each other in Basmane. After some walking, the guide made us enter Ayavukla. At that time the church was under renovation, and both the interior and exterior were messy. It was not a very welcoming sight, as the high walls were full of dirt, and construction materials were spread around. I

[12]Once must not forget that "the discourse of gentrification is compelling: it promises to improve the 'attractiveness' and 'flair' of the neighborhood. However, gentrifiers in fact conceal their real, economic pursuit: i.e., to increase property values. The renovation and revival processes usually are of primary benefit to the real estate business. It is not infrequent that lower-income families and their small-scale businesses are forced to move from the economically expanding area, being unable to keep up with the rising standard of living (Stalpaert 2019).

remember feeling that though I was still in Izmir, it was 'another' Izmir, not 'mine.' After this introductory walk in Basmane, I forgot about Ayavukla until the concert took place there as part of the International Izmir Festival in 2011. Clearly, there were crucial differences between the city tour and the festival. The city tour was organized by a tour agency that was established by tour guides, retired historians and archaeologists. Together with the guide, I visited the church and its neighborhood, while listening to the guide and only passing by the church for a few minutes. However, the festival had another relationship with the church: it wasn't merely 'passing by for a few minutes'; the French classical music group *Des Équilibres* was invited with the sponsorship of the French Institute of Izmir, and the festival had presumably spent many hours for the setup, sound check, concert performance and taking down of the sets. The spectators stayed there during the entire concert. It was a visit of a longer duration, but it wasn't a permanent stay either, as the organizers and the participants did not continue to spend their time in the neighborhood in the days following the festival. There was a sequel, though; the festival used the church again as a historic venue the following year, in 2012, but after that never returned.

Second, I investigated the power structures at work in the renovation process. The International Izmir Festival had included Ayavukla among its venues because the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality had bought it and had been involved in its renovation. İKSEV, the foundation which organizes the International Izmir Festival, had a partnership with the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality and had asked İKSEV to present the place to the public with an event. According to Nilgün, one of my interlocutors working for the organization, the purpose was to emphasize the importance of the place and its value as part of the city's cultural heritage. However, after the festival, only a few of my interlocutors returned to Ayavukla. If it was so important to renovate the church, why wasn't there a more permanent revival of its use as an historic venue? What was so important about the church for it to be converted into a 'cultural heritage' site and for which community in particular? And, more crucially, how did that heritage site reveal cracks in the smooth surface of the 'modern' image of the city of Izmir?

The festival booklet noted that Ayavukla was the sole church to have been saved from the Great Fire of Smyrna and that it had become an archaeological museum after the declaration of the republic and later a rehearsal hall for the state opera and ballet. Sometime after the 1970s, a second fire left the building in ruins, and the building was neglected for many years.[13]

The organizational team knew about the church's past. My crucial question to the festival participants started here: were they aware that they had been in a memory place connected with a heavy cultural trauma? Did the spectators think about what had happened to

[13]Sometime after the 1970s, because the festival booklet and the web profile of the church in the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism indicate that the church had been an archaeological museum till 1951. My interlocutor, Mustafa, who had worked at the State Opera and Ballet of Izmir, said he had attended rehearsals there. During an interview in 2012, he was in his 50s. That means that the fire probably did not happen before 1970.

the church members during and after the Great Fire of Smyrna?[14] Moreover, the concerts of the International Izmir Festival took place on summer nights. Ayavukla was at the end of a residential street, and on the day of the concert, the residents of the street were resting in front of their houses. The festival crowd passed through their neighborhood during intimate family time. Under such circumstances, what were their thoughts about their presence in such a neighborhood?

These questions were at the core of my investigation of Ayavukla church and the Basmane neighborhood. They became the jumping-off point for my research and prompted me to proceed and to discover other such neglected memory places by asking my interlocutors if they had had similar experiences at the festival. In the end, the answers concentrated on four historic venues that also revealed themselves as memory places: Kadifekale with the Castle of Izmir, which appeared to contain a memory of segregation; the church of Ayavukla, that proved to be an onion with many layers; the old state cigarette factory named Tekel or Reji, where the industrial past could be smelled; and the Abacıoğlu Inn in Kemeraltı, where trading habits struggled with the involvement of the festival's 'high-culture' event. The first three memory spaces were explored by means of a series of deep interviews and daily conversations when I worked for the festival. With respect to the Abacıoğlu Inn, I switched to participant observation in 2013.

And so, the main conceptual topography of my research came into being. I was certain that these unstable, volatile interventions made at the memory places had a common point: the places had been neglected for many decades. They were dead, their memories were silent. Suddenly they came 'alive' with a crowd, stage settings and performances by eminent artists. They offered an unusual experience to the festival participants living in apartment blocks in the modern and 'clean' neighborhoods of the city.

The hypothesis of my research is that, if only for a short while, the intervention of a cultural event in a memory place might be called subversive. This is in line with theories about the transgressive nature in the liminal space that the carnivalesque offers (Eisenbichler and Hüsken, 1999). The cultural intervention created a suspension of time and place, creating carnivalesque conditions within the framework of the festival, which in turn added to the memory of a heterotopian makeover (because time had already been suspended and the festival participants had subverted the use of the city during the carnivalesque time frame). The participants caught a glimpse of 'otherness' in the sense of contemporary social distinction or historical alteration that had been erased from the official narrative of the city. Consciously or

[14] The Great fire of Smyrna took place September 13-16, 1922, just after the government of the city passed from the Kingdom of Greece to the Turkish government in Ankara. It did not engulf the entire city, however, the area where economic enterprises were concentrated was terribly damaged. It also 'somehow' only affected neighborhoods other than those inhabited by Muslim and Jewish communities. See more details in First Floor in the chapter of the same name.

not, they encountered what geographer David Harvey calls "*time-space compression*."[15] In other words, by visiting a place that represents a lifestyle of the past, they also realized their own fast-paced and ephemeral ways of using the city; life lived at such a fast pace is one of consuming rather than of experiencing.

Each place in my research topography is in fact a memory place that carries a cultural trauma and/or a dismissed past. Each of them reveals a different layer in the complex identity of Izmir. Moreover, each participant of the festival related differently to this urban memory place. Architectural historian Mark Crinson would say that they related differently to the urban memory of Izmir, defining urban memory as "a collage of collective memory, different locations and limitations of space" (Crinson, 2005).

Each place also becomes a stage of social conflict in the urban context. That is, while the upper-class Izmirians (those who are natives or who settled in Izmir earlier) move to the seaside neighborhoods, the historic areas where people reside, and work are settled by succeeding waves of lower-class newcomers. On the one hand, the upper classes have thought of these historic neighborhoods as 'dirty' – both physically and symbolically - until their revalorization under the impetus of city branding and gentrification. As my interlocutors would share later in their accounts, those places were regarded as 'poor,' 'ruined,' 'difficult,' 'dysfunctional' and 'unsafe.' The memory places themselves were affected by this symbolic dirt, and city branding treated them as commodities which should be 'cleaned.'[16] On the other hand, the populations who immigrated later were experiencing a process of emplacement under the conditions of survival. Their origins were different geographies, and they brought with them different housing and working habits. They did not have the economic power or the cultural capital to appreciate and revalorize these memory places. They also had no connection with the memory of these historic neighborhoods. Based on the different priorities, there has been symbolic exclusion between the neighborhoods because of differentiation in the social classes (Yardımcı, 2007).

After completing my fieldwork, I did not stop visiting some of the places that I had studied during my research. I wanted to verify whether the festival participants were still in any way connected to or affiliated with those places and whether they had revisited them on other occasions. Because of administrative reasons that prohibited trespassing, I was never able to

[15] Harvey coined this term in his book *The Condition of Postmodernity* (1989). He argues that the economic (and cultural) activities are accelerated in a globalized world due to the effects of communication technology and transportation. While cities and countries are now interconnected more than ever, the spatial experience turns to consumption (last access: April 28, 2019).

[16] The symbolic meaning of dirt might bring to mind Mary Douglas' seminal work, *Purity and Danger: an Analysis of the Concepts of Taboo and Pollution.* However, I interpret the case of Izmir a little differently. I tie the perception of dirty and unsafe attached to historical neighborhoods to the cultural trauma of the Great fire of Smyrna and the population exchange, following Turkish modernity. The latter, like any aspect of modernity, is conditioned on constructing the new and erasing the past. Moreover, Turkish modernity prepares the conditions for massive waves of migration from the countryside, resulting in urban sprawl. While the urban Turkish identity signifies a high social status, migrants from the countryside, especially those belonging to the lower classes, are slowly abandoned. For more detail, see *Invisible City* in this book.

visit Reji again. However, the security officer of the factory mentioned that it had become a ruin after being neglected. According to him, it would be dangerous to enter the building or even to walk next to it. I had to obtain permission from an establishment (the security statement mentioned the Nevvar Salih İşgören Foundation) that had changed over the past five years. Kadifekale is physically less accessible; it is located at the top of the Pagos Mountain, and access is limited to some bus lines and taxis. Since I lived to the north of the Gulf of Izmir, which lies on the other side of my research topography, I usually crossed the bay by ferry, then walked or took the underground. Ayavukla in Basmane and Abacıoğlu Inn in Kemeraltı were more accessible. I have witnessed their transformation between 2013 and 2019. In Ayavukla, the church didn't change, but the surroundings did. Initially, the small house behind the church was used by two old fashion designers from Izmir. Their collection could be visited with the assistance of security staff. Later, when I visited the place again in 2016, it was totally closed to the public for security reasons.

As I mentioned above, the building opposite the church housed the Izmir Press Museum, together with the offices of the administrative staff. The museum has gradually become more popular, and new objects have been added recently. There has never been any water in the fountain between the church and the museum, but it was relatively clean, with some leaves from the Californian pepper tree next to it. The restroom, a small construction next to the museum and opposite the church, was well-maintained, which is for me an indicator of whether a place is neglected or not. The floor was always clean, and there were always paper towels next to the lavatories. I attended some performances in the church, including a performance by the Izmir Baroque Ensemble, which had also given a baroque concert in Abacıoğlu Inn in 2013. The church is still a venue for performances. Many artists from Izmir (especially contemporary dancer Cansu Ergin) have performed there, and each time I visited the place, I saw that the quality I called 'empty shell' is very characteristic of the church. It was obvious to me that this old church was an architectural remnant of a (religious) community that no longer exists. In a paradoxical way, it was established as a cultural center, but it still also retained the identity of a church. As a matter of fact, the frescos were deliberately half renovated, conveying the message that it had once been a church, that it had been neglected, then renovated and now served another function. There were contemporary wooden chairs with rich blue and red pillows. On the backs of the chairs were metal labels on which the names of the sponsors and the seat numbers were written, as in a theater. It was not really a church, but not really a concert hall: it was a museum-hall, reminding the visitor of the past and serving the contemporary performing arts. Obviously, this glimpse of the past behind the reshaping of the present might be expressed as well by the term "urban palimpsest" used by the litterateur Andreas Huyssen: "*cities and buildings as palimpsests of space, monuments as transformable and transitory, and sculpture as subject to the vicissitudes of time. Of course, the majority of buildings are not palimpsests at all. As Freud once remarked, the same space cannot possibly have two different contents. But an urban imaginary in its temporal reach may well put different things in one place: memories of what there was before, imagined alternatives to*

what there is. The strong marks of present space merge in the imaginary with traces of the past, erasures, losses, and heterotopias" (2003; 7).

Meanwhile, the church's surroundings have changed dramatically since 2013 onward: Basmane received a massive wave of immigration of Syrian refugees. Although some families stayed only temporarily, many others settled and opened up shops for their necessities. The store signs and the labels on the Syrian food items and other products were all in Arabic. Some restaurants and exchange offices had flashing digital boards advertising money exchange services that switched from Turkish to English to Arabic. I walked many times along Anafartalar Avenue. Arabic mixed with Turkish and other languages. There were young boys, teenagers, adult males of different ages and attire who were standing, working, playing or chatting. There was little presence of women in the public space. In a very short time Basmane also came to include a Syrian neighborhood. I didn't include this process in my research since the festival's use of Ayavukla occurred prior to the Syrian refugees' arrival. Instead of a new meeting of 'art and history,' the festival handed off the historic sites, especially at the city center, and found refuge in the new concert hall of AASSM (*Ahmet Adnan Saygun Sanat Merkezi* – the Art Center of Ahmet Adnan Saygun).

Abacıoğlu Inn experienced both a physical and a social transformation. I will of course analyze these transformations in detail in my data analysis, but what is important for now is that some years after the International Izmir Festival's intervention, the place is no longer what Assmann calls an 'island of time': "*islands of a completely different temporality suspended from time*" (1995; 129). The commemoration of the past consists of only four plastic boards at the entrance of the inn. The boards display pictures and a map of old Izmir and Kemeraltı, the market district. Although there is no specific information about Abacıoğlu Inn and the former shopkeepers and craftspeople there, the information and visuals are insightful concerning the trading history of the district, including all the inns. I translate and paraphrase some sentences to better convey the functionality of the inns and their change:

"*By the orientation of the long-distance caravan trade to Izmir's port in the 17th century, the city which was [already] the primary distribution site of West Anatolian products held an important position. (...) Parallel to the dynamism of the trade, there was a cosmopolitan society of non-Muslim Ottoman subjects and Europeans in Izmir. While Frenkler*[17] *extended along the gulf coast (along the seaside), the Kemeraltı district began to develop as a center of Oriental-style trade. (...) Kemeraltı trade district extended to the space filled by the internal bay after the mid-18th century. (...) While [the former seaside line] formed the main road, the streets cutting perpendicularly to the main road shaped the traditional plan of Kemeraltı. (...) Kemeraltı became a place of direct shopping, it is common for [each inn] to have a narrow façade facing the main road and a larger interior with a courtyard. (...) In this period, the long-distance caravan trade, which impacted on the economy, was the main factor shaping trade architecture, which concluded with forms like inns and the covered bazaar of the Kemeraltı district. The inns, which served the*

[17]An old word meaning French. Frenk later became an appellation used for all Europeans.

purposes of trade (shopping), storing and accommodation, are among the most important structures of the center. Some inns were designed as multifunctional, others contained only trading activities."

According to sources[18] confirmed by İKSEV and the shopkeepers of Abacıoğlu Inn, the place has been modified many times. Today only some wings from the original structure remain. As with Ayavukla, it was renovated by the municipality (and even won the Philippe Rottier European Prize of Architecture) in 2007. It was up to the shopkeepers to render a cleaner, comfortable and yet 'authentic' view. However, there was no mention of the tremendous trading past on the signboards. The general information about the history of Kemeraltı and the inns did not mention the courtyard, which was the common area of the inn. On the one hand, the kitschy logos, tables and chairs, decorative objects and ice cream board seemed to be masking 'the past' that a visitor seeking a so-called 'authentic' cultural heritage would find disappointing. On the other hand, the dynamism was there. The place was alive, and, in keeping with its physical transformation, the inn continued to adapt itself to the present.

Foucault explains the changing functions of historic venues and the different ways in which visitors relate to these memory places as follows: "*the accumulation of time, there are those linked, on the contrary, to time in its most fleeting, transitory, precarious aspect, to time in the mode of festival*" (1986; 26).

From the perspective of graphic design, I thought of these places as both layout and material. I wondered how we could better have these two functions dialogue with one another. I also wondered how we could have the performances dialogue with the places to create a stronger (and longer) subversive effect. In other words, could we use a performance to reveal the hidden or forgotten memory of a place on a more enduring basis? Performance scholar Mark Fleishman's article about his project, Cargo (2011), argues for this. According to him, the place in which performances are staged has a particularly powerful effect on spectators. He bases his discourse on the work of historians Paul Ricoeur (Memory, History and Forgetting, 2004) and Pierre Nora (Between Memory and History, 1989): the forgotten memory might have eroded, but something always remains. The past comes back, but it is not complete, it is always fragmented. Furthermore, once it comes, it is painful. The action of remembering concerns the present. Moreover, Fleishmann calls those emotive places 'sensitive sites' (2011; 11), derived from the term *lieu de memoire* (memory place), coined by Nora (1989; 14). I wish he had also shared some observations and accounts of the spectators. Yet his work inspired me to focus on the cultural traumas and silences behind the festival setting and the big, flashy and eye-catching city branding. Thus, I became aware that the International Izmir Festival did not include any performances evoking the cultural trauma of the Great Fire of Smyrna. However, the 'islands

[18]https://www.kulturportali.gov.tr/turkiye/izmir/gezilecekyer/abacioglu-hani and http://www.mimarizm.com/makale/abacioglu-han_113860 and http://www.izmirguide.com/en/detail/2839/abacioglu-inn The same information can be found in the booklet of the 27th volume of the International Izmir Festival (last access: May 18, 2020).

of time,' the places disconnected and almost discarded from actuality were unintentionally triggering the imagination of the festival participants. Again, different from the dynamics of Cape Town, Izmir has had an identity and self-representation crisis on the international scene. I, as a first-hand example, was confused by the Europe-Middle East dichotomy created by European rhetoric (Navaro-Yashin, 2002). The stereotypes of Turkish, Izmirian, European and Middle Eastern were already frustrating. My body, my habits, my values and my way of thinking were stereotyped by other Turks, Europeans and Middle Easterners, and I struggled with how to position myself against these stereotypes. Therefore, as you will notice in the following chapters, I was particularly inspired by the approach of Amy Mills (*Hafızanın Sokakları: İstanbul'da Peyzaj, Hoşgörü ve Ulusal Kimlik*, 2014), Paul Connerton (*How Modernity Forgets*, 2009) and Yael Navaro-Yashin (*Faces of the State, Secularism and Public Life in Turkey*, 2002) in discussing the background of these identities. Considering the complexity of Izmir's cultural identity, I realized that city branding is interwoven with memory. Hence, I needed to excavate the cultural traumas of Izmir of the 20th century that include the Great fire of Smyrna, the population exchange, and Turkish modernity within the flow of migration from the countryside to the big city in order to better understand the silencing and forgetting of particular periods of time.

Watching a performance created an interesting duality in the neglected historic places of castle, church, factory and inn. The presence of the performers dialogued with the 'story of the past' that memory places carry with them. This was very different from what can be observed in other performances in historic venues where stage actors in costumes simulate life as it happened in the past. This was not about a 'reconstruction' of the past. The present time gained a meaning beyond the meaning of the past. Once each of these historic sites became a concert venue, it acquired a new function and a new layer of meaning. During the International Izmir Festival, visitors read in the festival booklet about the history of the city related to that place, shared their emotions (mostly nostalgia and amazement) about the events (most of them do not label the events as cultural traumas). However, this could hardly be called a commemoration: an objectified form of culture that might be construed as a systematic way of recalling a memory through ceremonies, rituals and festivities (Assmann, 1995; 128-129).

Building on Maurice Halbwach's concept of collective memory, Assmann explains the structure of memories. According to him, there is communicative memory, transition memory and cultural memory. Communicative memory, which Bilgin covers as well in *Tarih ve Kolektif Bellek* (2013), is the type of memory which is transmitted during daily discourse and which remains for three generations in a place. It consists of exchanges between individuals of a community. Second, transition memory is at risk for migrants and citizens whose city changes drastically after a period of 'modernization' or following a disaster that destroys all the key objects that used to be the symbols and landmarks of the area. Assmann describes how an element of everyday communication enters 'the objectivized culture', when the group relationship and contemporary references are lost (1995). Communicative memory, which is kept alive by a community, dies when the community is scattered. The elements of the collective

memory which have been decided to become the reference. This memory is fixed and institutionalized. "*Therefore, the character of this knowledge as a mémoire collective (collective memory) disappears as well. "Mémoire" (memory) is transformed into "histoire" (history)*" (1995; 128)

At this point I would like to emphasize that the space of objectivized culture and crystallizing memory (Assmann, 1995) in these places is inevitably followed by people's detachment from both the physical and the social environments. Again, according to Assmann, if, for example, an individual immigrates (preferably in a traumatic way, such as a deportation, as in the case of the population exchange between Greece and Turkey) to another geography, he would be detached from his home. Over time, while the 'home' continues to change, his memories of home would be 'frozen.'[19] In the event that there are people from the same 'home' around, the evocative images of these memories would become a part of group identity, and, as a result, be reshaped: "*We can refer to the structure of knowledge in this case as the "concretion of identity." With this we mean that a group bases its consciousness of unity and specificity upon this knowledge and derives formative and normative impulses from it, which allows the group to reproduce its identity*" (Assmann, 1995; 128).

This reformation – or, as Assmann says, 'concretion of identity' – takes place after the time of the objectivized culture, and it is during this process that the community builds a new memory: cultural memory. Different from communicative memory, cultural memory is distinguished by the dynamics of the memory. It is not an element of storytelling, gossip or rumor anymore. Cultural memory is continuous, and it is institutionalized. It is reproduced and shared through text, images, rituals as well as festivals that correspond to Foucault's definition of heterotopias. Cultural memory practices form 'islands of time', islands of a completely different temporality suspended in time. In cultural memory, such islands of time expand into memory spaces of 'retrospective contemplativeness' (ibid; 129). The heterotopian places that I investigate in this doctoral thesis do not possess the form of cultural memory, because they do not represent the official history's narrative. Yet those monuments and buildings are 'islands of time,' assisting the moments of 'retrospective contemplativeness.' In his concept of heterotopia, Foucault emphasizes the feature of the relationship of space with time (1986, 22-23). He does not mention cultural memory, but refers to cemeteries, museums and libraries as the heterotopias where time does not flow but accumulates and contrasts with daily life. On the other hand, memory scholars such as Assmann seem to be less 'sensitive' to the heterotopian characteristics of memory places in the urban context. In my view, those places that are also called 'sensitive sites' play the role of heterotopia within the community, as 'sensitive sites' contrast with the daily life of present-day inhabitants.

[19] See *Cyprus and its Places of Desire: Cultures of Displacement Among Greek and Turkish Cypriot Refugees* (2012) by Lisa Dikomitis. Indeed, the ethnographic work mentions that the villagers who left the village had a common image of their home. When they returned after approximately three decades, they came face to face with the shifts between this image and reality.

Heterotopias have a time and space outside of daily life, with ephemeral moments that are sometimes hidden, sometimes visible in neglected places of a city. Heterotopias are defined by Foucault as "*the counter-sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia (the imaginative perfect form of the society) in which the real sites – all the other real sites that can be found within the culture – are simultaneously represented, contested and inverted*" (1986; 24). In other words, these are the spaces in which each culture creates its own 'other,' like a mirror. I quote Foucault's mirror metaphor in his description of heterotopia:

"*The mirror is after all a placeless place. In the mirror, I see myself there, where I am not, in an unreal, virtual space that opens up behind the surface; I am over there, there where I am not, a sort of shadow that gives my own visibility to myself, that enables me to see myself there where I am absent (...) From the standpoint of the mirror I discover my absence from the place where I am since I see myself over there*" (1986; 24).

There is a resemblance between the mirror metaphor of Lacan and Foucault's introduction of heterotopia as a 'real space reflecting many other spaces' (ibid.) which might be construed as the reflections of fractured subjectivity (Giles and Middleton, 2008; 221). In both instances, the awareness of the placeless place is provided by looking at the self which is an image, with physical boundaries. Thus, parallel to cultural memory, heterotopia theory contains 'the concretion of identity' and 'obligation', both of which are ontologically the time and space(s) in which the individual creates his/her self-image. While cultural memory reconstructs the nexus of the individual with 'others,' heterotopia asserts that the individual identifies himself by concretizing his 'otherness' in space.

Foucault mentions that heterotopian sites are penetrable: we enter them only for particular occasions like rites, ceremonies and festivals. However, he does not explain how these places and their meanings are crystallized in the collective memory and contribute to reconstructing a community's identity. Indeed, these sites become the mnemonic objects that recall the special and 'other' moments of an individual's life. If these places are situated in a city like Izmir, which was destroyed and rebuilt following the great fire, which experienced a tremendous population exchange, big waves of migration and a modernization effort in the twentieth century, they gain the peculiarity of a palimpsest, as Huyssen describes in "Present Pasts" (2003). According to him, these 'haunting places of the past' resonate constantly in the present time:

"*After the waning of modernist fantasies about creation ex nihilo* and the desire for the purity of new beginnings, we have come to read cities and buildings as palimpsests of the space, monuments as transformable and transitory, and sculpture as subject to the vicissitudes of time. (...) an urban imaginary in its temporal reach may well put in different things in one place: memories of what there was before, imagined alternatives to what there is. The strong marks of present space merge in the imaginary with traces of the past, erasures, losses, and heterotopias*" (Huyssen, 2003; 7).

Drawing on Foucault and Huyssen, I have appropriated the theoretical framework of memory studies into my ethnographic research, specifically when interpreting my collected data, i.e., in reference to how the festival participants related to the historic venues as memory places prior to the performance, on the day and moment of the performance and after an interval of time, when I interviewed them. What began as an exercise in capturing a general view of the city's stereotypes in the participants' collective memory evolved into a research of these specific places to investigate their roles as heterotopia in the context of Izmir as an urban palimpsest.

In this doctoral thesis, I examine Izmir's past as a palimpsest and heterotopia, entered only on the particular occasion of a performance during the International Izmir Festival. While interviewing the participants of the festival and observing my own reactions, I had the following questions in my mind: Have the memories of these "sensitive sites" (Fleishmann) vanished along with the migration of the citizens who lived through the traumas? How do the material traces left behind affect the memories of the participants of the festival? Even if these people do not have a personal memory of the traumatic event of the great fire, what happens to the past and its physical manifestation? The subsequent analysis examines this complicated relationship first, from the moment when the festival team entered these palimpsests until the technicians deconstructed the sets and the place (re)gained a heterotopian quality, and secondly, how – later – the festival participants remembered this unintentional act of memory.

As I pointed out earlier, my own research changed profoundly after reading the news of the festival's holding a concert at Ayavukla. The church testifies historically and physically to the transformation of the city: from a multicultural past to the deportation of its community and the Great fire of Smyrna to the modernity in which the church served first as an archaeological museum, then later as a rehearsal hall and warehouse for the state opera and the ballet of Izmir. A religious place became a secular place.

One year after the concert in Ayavukla, I studied Reji, where a concert and an interactive music installation were organized as a remarkable example of the city's industrial past. The ruins of the factory reflected the city's transformation from an agro-industry dependent on products like tobacco and cotton to the hollowed present, symbolized by the empty warehouse, its ruined sections and its wild garden. Later, when I read *Üç İzmir*, edited by Enis Batur (1992), and interviewed some older participants, I realized that the multi-layered structure of the factory resembled that of Ayavukla.

Kadifekale (Belvedere Castle) has no multi-layered features like Ayavukla and Reji. Compared to the constantly changing features of the city, Kadifekale seems to be a unique and stable 'island of time'. Even in the 16th century, Smyrna/Izmir was divided into the upper city on the hill, where migrants and lower-income residents settled, and the lower city, near the seaside, where the upper classes lived. Nevertheless, I discovered that Kadifekale represents an

important cultural trauma as an urban memory place: that of the segregation between different social classes and ethnicities. In the past the castle was associated with the lower-class Muslim (Turkish) neighborhood. Now, it is associated with a migrant population from southeastern Turkey. The Muslim community, that previously had the lowest income and less access to urban infrastructure, used to live at the axis of Kadifekale and Basmane but then moved close to the seaside, replacing the higher-income Christian community. They, in turn, were replaced by other ethnic groups arriving by the migrations that then became 'the disadvantaged.' Although the castle is a candidate for becoming one of the city's most popular tourist spots, there is still a tangible physical boundary between the wealthy communities living close to the sea, the gated communities on the outskirts of the city, and the castle itself. I will investigate the notion that the invisibility of the castle symbolizes the nonexistence and, hence, the invisibility of interaction and communication between the diverse social classes and ethnicities. An awareness of the castle as a placeless place inaugurates an awareness of this (traumatic) history of segregation.

The last case study is an inn located in the historical market area of the city used by the International Izmir Festival during my fieldwork in July 2013. Even though it does not feature a distinct trauma, it is a palimpsest waiting to be read. Like the previous examples of multi-religious, multilingual, industrial and migratory pasts, the inn stands as a testament to the city's commercial identity as a harbor town. However, the structure of trade has changed dramatically during the last century. Kemeraltı, where the inn is located, played an important role in connecting the famous Silk Road from Asia to Europe. The Abacıoğlu Inn seems to be out of place in a city that is expanding and seeing its shopping malls relocating to the outskirts. Compared to the other case studies, the inn is similar to Ayavukla: after its renovation, it is looking for a new role to play in contemporary urban life. At the same time, it maintains a connection to the past. In a manner different from that of the other urban memory places, it is more 'alive,' as it has many shops which are open for customers, visitors and even for tourists arriving on cruise ships.

The cultural memory of Izmir encompasses two major traumas: the Great fire of Smyrna and the population exchange that literally erased the city's memory, a past that nobody lived through, or worse, a past that never happened. I felt a responsibility to dive into the city's history in order to better comprehend the forgetting process and the reactions of my interlocutors. However, there is one point that I should make clear from the beginning: since Izmir is a living city, it is constantly changing. The data collected for this research consists of a personal diary between 2008 and 2010, and my fieldwork notes from January 2012, autumn 2012, summer 2013, June 2014 and, later, between 2016 and 2018, while I was teaching at Yaşar University in Izmir. Hence, when I describe, for example, the Basmane neighborhood, I do not provide information about the recent migration of Syrian refugees escaping from the war in Syria or the latest urban projects conducted by the NGOs, TARKEM (Historical Kemeraltı Research and Investment Group) and the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality. As I progressed in

the research, I focused on how the festival participants remembered their experiences in those memory places. More precisely, the memories of the festival participants reflect performances in 2002 and from 2011 to 2013. This means that when the festival organized the concerts in 2011 and 2012, the Syrian refugees had not yet settled in the Basmane neighborhood. Still, I would like to emphasize that following the fieldwork I conducted in the summer of 2013 and later, IKSEV has not held any events in the church.[20] Most of my data were from the concerts of 2002, 2011 and 2012 that I did not attend. Thus, the account of the interlocutors reflects what as well remained in their memory and how they recently imagined those memory places. Only the event at Abacıoğlu Inn in 2013, which I attended as a participant observer, was a 'hot case' in which I was personally involved as part of the organizational team and taking notes largely on the interaction of the participants with the place. Yet, as I mentioned above, I regularly visited the inn to follow the progress of the place in public use and, of course, new layers of sense-making added upon the hidden urban memory place. I say hidden, because although today Abacıoğlu Inn is becoming a popular place in Kemeraltı, its trading past, when intercultural dialogue took place between diverse ethnicities, is rarely evoked. On the one hand, this weak act of memory might be criticized. On the other hand, the transformation of Kemeraltı from an old market district to *yeni yaşam merkezi* (a new life center) is understandable in terms of enhancement of the previously neglected market neighborhood. This transformation has actually been supported by TARKEM and other local establishments as a way to provide sustainability for the future. According to my meeting with the director, Sergenç İneler, and his team, the company of TARKEM intends to avoid gentrification. While they revalorize Kemeraltı as an historical marketplace, they want to renovate the old historic buildings and organize functions for the youth. Also, they want to make visible and revalorize the remaining old craftsmanship which is currently almost gone. Ayavukla[21] is similarly slowly becoming more popular after the public's first encounter with it through the festival in 2011 and 2012. Finally, the multi-layered identity and the traumas are rarely evoked by either the locals or the local authorities.

To conclude this introduction, let me explain that I have divided this thesis into floors in a manner analogous to an historic building. Similar to the historic sites selected for this research, research is a construction of discovery, resembling the place that was previously invisible and later spotlighted by the festival.

I clustered the first four chapters on the Ground Floor, like the entrance to a building. As you will see in the following chapters, I present the insights of my research here like a guide

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[20] Publicly named Ayavukla (*Aziz Vukolos Kilisesi Kültür Merkezi* / Saint Voukolos Church Culture Center), it has not been used by the International Izmir Festival since 2012: http://iksev.org/en/izmir-festivali/gecmis-festivaller (last access February 6, 2018). The place is rarely used for special ceremonies by the Orthodox Patriarchy in Istanbul and serves for concert and dance performances by permission from the sport and culture department of the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality.

[21] I prefer to use this informal name rather than the new official but long name, *Aziz Vukolos Kilisesi Kültür Merkezi* (Saint Voukolos Church Culture Center). This name remains on written communications, whereas the artists, spectators and the employees of the location prefer to say only "Ayavukla" or "Aziz Vukolos."

talking before visiting an exhibition. I have already mentioned in this chapter my jumping-off point, inspiration for the content and method of studying it. In the following chapters of this Ground Floor, there are more detailed explanations concerning the methodology and the content to guide the reader in how to 'read' the intervention of the International Izmir Festival and my positioning.

Proceeding from the Ground Floor, I designated the next part as the First Floor. This part includes chapters covering Izmir's history, describing the physical and social (and sometimes tragic and still taboo) changes. This part was necessary to include in the thesis in order to follow the traces of the historic sites which the city and the festival wanted to utilize as part of its image. Adopting the attitude of a graphic designer who wants to understand the needs of his client and how his client wants to represent himself, and whether there are any incompatibilities between his wishes and existing materials, I analyzed the 'Aegean Pearl' narration of İKSEV and other local and national organizations. To follow the metaphoric illustration of the First Floor, I name it 'the invisible city' for reasons having to do not only with the historic sites but also with the memories which are invisible. On this floor, I reveal the traumas of the Great fire of Izmir and the population exchange combined with Turkish modernity in the 20th century. At we leave the First Floor, my aim is for the reader to have a better understanding of the gaps: the changing lifestyle of the indigenous people (who remained after the population exchange); the conflict between the places that the refugees carried in their memories and to their new home; the dissolution of cultural memory because of the migration of a new generation and, finally, the newcomers of the last decades. The room of the Great fire of Smyrna is still sensitive; young eyes are requested not to visit the area without the guidance of an adult.

After that, the reader arrives at the Second Floor, entitled 'the City's Festival.' One enters the rooms and discovers a different perspective on the building's story through visiting four heterotopias. Kadifekale represents the memory of segregation with the layers of migration. Ayavukla is another multi-layered place which has lost its original meaning and function, leaving behind memories of its community's deportation. Reji reflects the city's industrial (and colonial) past, and, finally, Abacıoğlu Inn, the trading past. These case studies reveal the interaction of the city's past with its current residents. It is my hypothesis that the festival participants are affected by these memory places. While attending a performance with the heterotopian appeal of the festival, they start to make sense of these rooms on the second floor and to question the building's hidden past. Meanwhile, they may superimpose their own personal 'stories' on the (hi)story of the building.

Finally, the reader arrives at the Terrace, where the sparkling effects of an awareness of place are brought to light, and the inhabitants of the second floor can carry away the experience of these 'invisible rooms' into their daily lives. The terrace is an open-air space for discussing and reinterpreting post-fieldwork data and the consequences of the festival's intervention on the memory places and the festival participants. I discuss the effects of the festival's intervention on the historic sites and analyze the cultural policy of the festival concerning these urban memory places. In addition, I discuss the social exclusivity of the festival in order to link the research to similar research done on other festivals.

Chapter 2. Research Methodology

This chapter certainly does not purport to represent the entirety of anthropological literature on the topic. It is merely a guide explaining the process of the ethnographic research carried out for this dissertation. As a newcomer to the discipline of anthropology, as well as someone who plunged into the depths of ethnographic research with excitement but also with trepidation, I feel that it is necessary to outline the basic ethnographic parameters that have guided me throughout the research process and that have enabled me to make sense of my own position during my research. Positioning myself as a native ethnographer born and raised in Izmir, marked by my upper-middle-class background, I divide this chapter into several sections, while at the same time I remain cognizant of their overlapping properties: ethnography, fieldwork strategies, ethnographic writing and subjectivity in ethnographic research. Though I find the vibrant debate in anthropology on ethnography and ethnographic research as a primary method very exciting, my intention in this chapter is not to document diverging definitions of ethnography but rather to identify how the methodologies of ethnographic research, fieldwork and participant observation have been implemented in my research on how the participants in the Izmir International Festival encountered a heterotopian part of the city that contrasted with their daily lives. These ethnographic methods allowed me to detect what changes these participants in the International Izmir Festival experienced, while they entered – both physically and emotionally – this heterotopia and a part of the city that they perhaps had prejudices about and/or had never before visited. It allowed me to investigate what parts of their cultural memory were triggered when visiting the historic venues, functioning as (urban) palimpsests during the festival.

I agree with those anthropologists and the discipline's converts who have attempted to demonstrate that ethnographic research does not only consist of conducting a series of interviews and keeping a diary about 'life there' (Behar, 1996; 5-21; Geertz, 1973; 6-23). Neither is it an assemblage of library research on geography and history to explain some lesser-known places or communities to 'others,' especially the elites of the Western world (ibid. Behar and Geertz, see also Asad in Writing Culture, 1986; 159). By dwelling in more detail on ethnographic research, fieldwork research and writing, and practices of participant observation, I attempt to reveal the multiple layers of otherness and positioning that exist in studying one's own 'culture.' I build on those accounts that have revealed how painstakingly selective and arduous the process of selecting data is by contrasting different fieldnotes, interview records, descriptions and diary entries. Too often I was faced with the weakness of my own authority as a writer and decision-maker when it came to select the most relevant aspects of my research. It will become

evident in the text that (and hopefully why) I have devoted a significant amount of space to the notion of subjectivity. This was done in order to deal with the multiple roles I myself played during my research: as participant-observer and organizer of some events, as well as a native Izmirian deeply passionate about the city, its past and future, but also as an outsider who had lived abroad for many years. By reflecting critically on the notion of subjectivity, I tried to come to grips with my own awareness of this place, often switching between attachment, passion, distance, disbelief and surprise. Moreover, while working through the theoretical density of the concept of 'subjectivity', I sought to refine my ability to verbalize and chronicle the experience of this place in writing.

In the following sections, which represent a small slice of the vast anthropological literature, I will discuss those works that have assisted me in formulating and conducting this research. I outline my field strategies and how they fit within the festival's rhythm and the participants' lifestyles. I then return to the notion of subjectivity to disclose the complicated connection between myself as a researcher and my interlocutors, further influenced by the transformation of Turkish society. This provides the methodological groundwork for the next chapter, in which I describe the topography of the city of Izmir and focus on the four memory spaces that are the central case studies of this doctoral research.

2.1. Focus on Ethnography

Considered as anthropology's main method, and as a production process of anthropological research, ethnography has been described as an endeavor to approach society for the purpose of 'reading it' (Talal Asad, 1986; 162) or as a process by which to deconstruct and reconstruct "*the grounds of collective order and diversity, inclusion and exclusion*" (Geertz, 1986; 2). "*Ethnography is an emergent phenomenon. Its authority and rhetoric have spread to many fields where 'culture' is the newly problematic object of description and critique* (ibid. 2)." In other words, Geertz acknowledges that ethnography is interdisciplinary by its very nature. He also remarks on its unfinished nature, because its structure consists of an endless process, depending on how the ethnographer interprets his/her own position. "I'm not sure I can tell the truth... I can only tell what I know" (Clifford, 1986; 8). It is generally accepted that ethnography is the sovereign method of sociocultural anthropology, always holding an interdisciplinary scope in which the ethnographer implicates his/her own skills and builds on his/her own background. I build on Geertz's assertion that the ethnographer is always an interpreter, and in this vein I draw on Van Maanen (1988) and Marcus and Fischer (2013), who emphasize the notion of representation – which reveals how culture is "*contested, temporal and emergent. Representation and explanation – both by insiders and outsiders – is implicated in this emergence*" (Clifford, ibid. 19).

Having said this and having acknowledged that in this study ethnography is used as a partial and interpretive pursuit, I acknowledge the existence of my "designer intuition" in my attempt to understand how the audiences and the organizers of the Izmir Festival make sense of the memory places, and also to unveil the process of the construction of narratives about a certain place (Clifford, 1986; 19).

This has been my task as I have followed Geertz (1973; 12-30) and his early assertion that "*ethnography is not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretative one in search of meaning. It is fundamentally shaped by space, because anthropologists don't study villages; they study in villages*" (1973; 22).

Today, ethnography's palette extends to a wide range of topics from religion to economy, including Western countries, and it is always coupled with interdisciplinary theoretical frameworks. In this context my ethnographic research is concentrated on a subgroup in an urban setting. I study the relationship of the group to the city of Izmir, especially to the urban memory places in the context of the International Izmir Festival. By doing this, I unveil the complexity of the processes of cultural memory within a textualized representation.

In summary, if we agree that ethnography is about 'reading' a culture, that it is critical and interpretive and demands a jump from one's desk to there, and that it does not study the village but requires studying in the village, the question remains: what does good ethnography entail? "A good ethnography," according to Marcus and Fischer, "is one that gives a sense of the conditions of fieldwork, of everyday life, of microscale processes (an implicit validation of the fieldwork method that itself indicates the anthropologist "was there"); of translation across cultural and linguistic boundaries (the conceptual and linguistic exegesis of indigenous ideas, thus demonstrating both the ethnographer's language competence and the fact that he has successfully captured native meanings and subjectivity); and of holism" (Marcus and Fischer, 1999; 25). This encapsulates precisely my task in studying the International Izmir Festival and the different places that emerge during that time and then disappear once the festival is over. Ethnography is central in my task of mapping out the traces left behind once the festival is over and the places are left to fall into oblivion. It is through ethnographic fieldwork that I attempt to deal with the heterotopic character of these places and their fleeting accessibility.

2.2. Field Strategies

Having outlined the relevance of my own take on ethnography and fieldwork, I want to reiterate that fieldwork practice is "*the discipline's impossible attempt to fuse objective and subjective practices*" (Clifford, 1986; 32). I want to briefly discuss the dilemmas surrounding fieldwork strategies. Again, as a point of reference, I build on the arguments formulated in the mid-1980s that stressed the ethnographer's awareness of his/her own process of making sense with his/her

positioning as a researcher (and also as a subject of the culture where s/he comes from) instead of claiming to be 'neutral' or 'objective' (Mary Louise Pratt, 1986; 27). Pratt defends recycling others' field data, which she calls "second-hand material," by arguing that a culture might be transmitted at the intersection of science and art (literature). However, she highlights the 'limits of ethnography' and addresses personal accounts or attempts to record and interpret the 'other' through his/her personal narration.

Along these lines, I have also learned to deal with the anxiety of social status triggered by the sometimes-irreconcilable disparities between my interlocutors and myself on many levels: socioeconomic, cultural, performative and emotional. I have mastered the technique of being serious and organized so that my research is taken seriously. I have also constructed a way of acting sincerely to gain my interlocutors' trust and thus be able to learn what they really experience while attending the International Izmir Festival and spending time in one of the memory places featured in my analysis: Kadifekale (castle), Ayavukla (old church-new cultural center), Reji (old monopoly cigarette factory) and Abacıoğlu Inn. In the meantime, while I analyze my interaction with the interlocutors and am invited into their offices or living rooms, I observe the different dynamics created by the locations where the encounters take place: the garden of a cafe (which belongs to nobody); a concert venue, where we might stand and converse; or someone's home, where we might sip coffee in the living room.

Similar to Bakalaki (1997), Marcus and Fischer (1999, 2013), whom I mentioned above, and Okely (1996), whom I will review in detail in the section entitled Subjectivity in Ethnographic Research, Gupta and Ferguson remark upon the "educated urban native" (1997; 23). According to them, the members of this group are considered "not authentic enough" (ibid.). The authors appear to have a limited view of the ability of these individuals to be interpreters, tradesmen (logistic) and guides. In my opinion, whether the ethnographer is a 'halfie' (Dikomitis, 2012; 22) or a complete outsider, we need to approach fieldwork like a festival production; there is limited time and space, and there is a group to engage. Indeed, the ethnographer is motivated to be there for the research, but she/he needs to motivate the group members to participate in the research. Therefore, at the beginning of the fieldwork, an "educated urban native" can initiate the first steps of negotiation between the ethnographer and the research group members and help to minimize any misunderstandings. For example, I devoted a significant amount of time to talking with the technical staff of the festival, especially during the festival, when they were busy, nervous and therefore reluctant to share much about their perceptions of the performances in the memory places. Struggling with the limited time to construct the stage, starting from the departure of the last tourist at 18:00 till 20:00, when the audience was permitted to enter the site, they mainly talked about the technical constraints of the site, such as how difficult it was to set up the cables and the generator at the city center because of safety concerns (i.e., the old cigarette factory was a ruin, they could damage the site and/or the equipment could be damaged by the conditions in the factory). The narrow and dead-end streets also presented problems for the transport of the equipment. Yet their perceptions,

although not explicitly present in the subsequent analysis, have informed many of my own impressions of the memory places during the festival and the extraordinary pressure imposed on the venues and the festival staff.

Although an insider and a native of Izmir, I have already mentioned that I changed my strategies depending on the reactions of the people and my own attitude (to be patient, to understand how they made sense of my presence and the content of the research). I had also developed strategies for validating the data as well as asking questions to prompt responses about what the interlocutor felt during the performance or to grasp hidden meanings between the lines. Many times, I asked the same question in different ways to compare the answers of the interlocutor. Or I summarized their statements and asked new questions based on the summary. My purpose in making summaries was to confirm my understanding, but also to check "*between what there is and what we perceive*" (Michael Snegg, 2015; 30) to fit within the framework of my research.

2.2.1. Diverse Models of Field Strategy

Victor Turner reminds us that 'reading the culture' before and during the fieldwork resembles theatre: individual actors come to the foreground, the social structure is laid bare through the cultural expressions, and a series of interactions among them take place in the flow of real life. Therefore, the ethnographer cannot have control over the 'solid form' of the research. Hence, in addition to applying changeable and post-structuralist methods of research and analysis, this research remains solidly grounded in anthropological work, as exemplified by "*the power of narration in Malinowski, the structural analysis of Evans-Pritchard and hybrid theatrical narration with case study presenting of Turner*" (Marcus and Fischer, 2013; 103).

When describing my networking strategies, I followed Berg (2009), who discusses the importance of "stars": those subjects who are in a central position in their community (like the chief of a clan), and whose goodwill it is sometimes necessary to obtain – although it might be intrusive to do so – in order to have access to people or information. Depending on the conditions, the stars may gradually become the key interlocutors, as happened in my case. My 'star' was my aunt. She introduced me to many of her friends, who had participated in the International Izmir Festival since its inception. She was a gatekeeper to that group of my interlocutors.

One important criterion for me was people's relation to Izmir. The focus was on people who had not only been born in but who had also lived in Izmir and thus shared its daily struggles. I also talked to some artists. Although they had limited contact with the specific memory places, given their isolation during the festival in five-star hotels as well as the impossibility of comparing and contrasting the memory places and their neighborhoods during daily life and

festival performances, some of them shared interesting comments about the city and the festival as outside observers. This helped me to better picture the city's and the festival's historic strengths[22] and often its organizational weaknesses within the festival network of the European Festivals Association (EFA). Lastly, I was wary of the city administrators, as their involvement with the memory places was confined only to the opening of the concerts and the ceremony. In June 2014 I met Neslihan at her workplace. While we were chatting, I shared the spectators' complaint about the late announcement of the festival program and limited cheap seats. She nodded her head, smiled bitterly and said: "*I know. I also talked about this with Filiz* Hanım*. Sometimes we have dinner together, especially after each festival, to discuss what happened and what might happen in future editions of the festival. The problem is always the same: funding. There are not enough sponsors. This is not Istanbul. The prefecture and the municipality of Izmir... (she lifted her head up a bit, looked for a moment into the distance and sighed) don't really care [about the festival]. Each year Filiz* Hanım *runs around asking for the support of the establishment, especially the prefecture. Once, the prefect asked her: 'Filiz* Hanım*, why do you struggle and exhaust yourself for such things?' He said 'for such things.' Can you believe that?*"

Indeed, in 2016 I had a chance to meet again Filiz Sarper, the art director of the festival and the president of the foundation. While we chatted, she – as a member of EFA – compared the International Izmir Festival with other festivals in Europe. (As a member of the board, she is therefore able to participate in the board meetings in Brussels) She explained to me: "*Of course, they (other members) can announce their festivals months ahead of time, because they have budgets, and they are supported by the governments of their countries. They know years in advance how much money they will have and what to organize. We struggle for funds till the very last minute, so of course we announce the festival at the last minute.*"

I witnessed this struggle of the festival concerning its budget. Although the political and administrative authorities are official festival partners, I often observed their lack of interest in and understanding of the festival. Instead of seeing themselves as supporters and partners who have a major impact on the festival, those people I interviewed admitted that they saw their roles only as spectators of the festival. In light of these facts, I focused my field strategy on getting close to the spectators composed of my circle of friends and my aunt's extended social circle in addition to the festival's organizational team. I considered later the positioning of the city administration (municipality and prefecture) when I analyzed the festival's intervention in the urban memory places.

[22]This research is based on the image of the city. Through the research that I conducted, it was evident that image, identity and memory were interwoven. Although the entire province is rich historically, the festival does not know how to deal with those layers of history. To better explain the lack of memory, I dedicate a sizable part of this thesis to the city's history in the First Floor.

2.2.2. Getting Into the Field

In 2001 I went to the neighborhood of the castle in Ankara with the photography club of Bilkent University. Our intention was to take 'authentic' pictures of Ankara. That neighborhood was a historic place reflecting central Anatolian architecture and urban planning. Similar to Kadifekale, the castle and its neighborhood were constructed on a hill populated by low-income and lower-middle-class people. The president of the club reminded us to be considerate of people and to ask for permission before taking their pictures. I was shy, so I did not dare to focus on humans. I took pictures of the houses to study the texture, lines and negative space.[23] When I entered a street, there was a group of children who were playing football and hopscotch. As soon as they realized I had a camera, they stopped and approached me: "*Abi abi! Bizim de resmimizi çeksene!*" (Hey, bro! Take our pictures too!) I was the only adult in the street, and I thought it would be a bit inappropriate to take pictures of the children. Although I was the only adult, it seemed that I was the only one who was intimidated. The children were grinning and giving me instructions on how I should take their pictures. One kid, apparently older than the others, addressed me: "*Abi! Bak bizi böyle çek, daha güzel olur*." (Bro! Look, take our pictures like that, it'll be better) I was puzzled and smiled: "*How do you know that?*" He answered: "*Because other people came before you, they took our pictures like that, and they said later that they won a prize*."

Apparently, the children wanted to help me. But was this a 'natural and authentic setting'? If I took the pictures, because of the repetition of the subjects, they would probably make 'natural' and 'authentic' sense to the viewers. Although the image would represent a 'natural setting' and an 'authentic' Ankara, it wouldn't be something intact – later negotiated, cultural – fact, but it would gain another meaning, like the winking children of Geertz in his famous work, Thick Description. The image might be the same, but the creation of it and the meanings behind it would be changed.

I call this situation 'Guests are coming' – when I become aware of my own conspicuous (and often disruptive) presence in the space of others. I experienced this phenomenon particularly during my participant observation at the Abacıoğlu Inn. When I was there to explore the physical setting, I observed that the building was square in structure, but that the common space that the shopkeepers, visitors and the clients used was in a 'P' form. The stick of the 'P' was the entrance corridor filled with shoes and clothes hanging on the wall that hid the historic information table. The space of the 'P' was the courtyard, and the keyword defining that space would be 'random'. The toilet signs were hanging askew, each food store set out its tables and chairs in a random fashion, there were randomly arranged flowerpots, some parasols with beverage brand logos, an ice cream store, unruly ivy dangling from the trees and the eaves, some off-white awnings offering random shade, and an 'authentic' Turkish weaving loom... It remind-

[23] *Negative Space* is a term in design to define the space between forms. Especially in drawing and photography, this term is used to refer the background which makes figure(s) stand out. The relationship of negative and positive spaces might be seen to have creative implications.

ed me of a messy kitchen that you may be able to ignore when you cook and eat on your own. However, when we, the 'guests,' came, things gradually changed. I will discuss this in more detail when I share my experiences in the case study of Abacıoğlu Inn, but here I want to stress that once the shopkeepers heard that there would be a concert sponsored by the municipality, they took charge of the common space that had previously looked so neglected, and the appearance of the courtyard actually improved each time that I visited the inn for the purpose of observation.

Pinxten suggests that whether an interlocutor is assigned or not, any group member who is met is a potential interlocutor (1997; 21-22). During my research, although I had scheduled in-depth interviews with the participants, there were also spontaneous moments during which I exchanged information with a festival participant. For example, at one point I was introduced to Neşe, who was acquainted with a technical staff member, İlhami *abi*, and my interlocutor, Nezaket. Our paths first crossed after a concert in Celsus Library in Ephesus and then before a concert in Abacıoğlu Inn. She learned that I was working for the festival and saw my accreditation card hanging from my neck, granting me access everywhere within the festival area. Each time that she complained about how expensive the tickets were, especially for students and young people, she told me how she could attend the concerts of the Izmir Symphony Orchestra for free thanks to İlhami *abi*, who let her sneak inside the concert hall and sit in a free seat or in the corridor. According to Pinxten, my spontaneous conversations with Neşe count, because her story reveals the approach of the festival in a social context. Neşe was providing information about a potential spectator group unable to access the festival.[24] Moreover, she and some other spectators, like Nezaket, Sophie, Nicole, Sevim and Ahmet, drew my attention to the cultural policy of the festival by raising the issue of "who can buy the tickets?" and "for whom is the festival organized?"

One of my inspirations concerning this randomness in the field was Kemal Yalçın and his research on the population exchange between Greece and Turkey in *Emanet Çeyiz, Mübadele İnsanları* (2001). The stories about the childhood of his father and the dowry of the Greek neighbor girls affect him, and he starts to search for the family of his father's former neighbors. By using his professional network and, later, his own co-villagers in Denizli, he concentrates his field strategy on snowball sampling, which might be defined as the practice of asking interviewees to recommend other interviewees. His snowball sampling does not achieve results quickly, but while he is in the field, the research's content changes dramatically from the telling of the story of finding the owner of the dowry to the traumatic dimension of the population exchange. He also develops his field strategy by associating his life story with that of his

[24]Pinxten says that the transformation of casual conversation into scientific work should not be confined just to assessing the background and the validity of statements and actions. Rather, an assessment of the behaviors is needed to determine an argument, which is then implemented by the behaviorists and the positivists. Nevertheless, the same behavior might have different meanings when performed by different subjects of the same groups. This may result in neglecting the complex structure of intersubjectivity.

interlocutors. Because of his political views and past journalism, prior to his fieldwork, he is exiled from Turkey; he can't go to Turkey, and he is homesick. Later he is allowed to enter the country and expands his research among other exchangees in Turkey. As the fieldwork goes deeper, he has difficulty in gaining the trust of the villagers he visits. Therefore, when he meets someone from a village, he usually gains his or her trust by telling his own story and his father's story and then asks him or her to introduce other co-villagers. And in some instances, he employs tactics based on his village culture. He guesses that men who emigrated from Anatolia might gather and chat in coffee shops; indeed, he meets and records many interlocutors' accounts in public spaces like coffee shops and parks. The important detail that the author does not explicitly mention is that he already knows how to behave in a coffee shop and talk with old people from the Anatolian countryside. He does not go through any initiation or training period, but as he too is in exile, he can empathize with his research group, who are also 'in exile' far from their home.

If I compare this with my own strategy, I must say that I benefited from being an insider/researcher who had previously worked as a volunteer for the festival organization. This meant that I did not experience any difficulty in gaining the trust of my interlocutors. I focused rather on the question of how the actual inhabitants of Izmir made sense of the old town and the impact of the International Izmir Festival. Then the question was how to obtain the maximum amount of data by observing and recording people's practices and when to write down my notes. Also, as I stated at the beginning, before I began this fieldwork, I worked as a graphic designer, and I retrieved data concerning the image of the city and the festival so that I could redesign the visual identity of Izmir by utilizing the International Izmir Festival. The fieldwork gave me in-depth insight into the (subversive) intervention of a cultural event in an urban memory place and sensitive site in Izmir, and the inspiring dynamics of the fieldwork provided a framework leading to insight into the complexity of urban palimpsests and heterotopias in the city.

The sincere and poetic style of Yalçın has been a model for me in the usage of spontaneous data collection. I learned not to underestimate the advantage of a long chit chat moments in Greece and Turkey and to introduce myself into the fieldwork environment. My other model, Dikomitis (2012, 22), draws on her 'halfie' native researcher profile as she starts her snowball sampling via her own family and relatives living in Cyprus, first in Nicosia among the Greek Cypriot refugees and, later, contacting the Turkish Cypriots settled in Larnakas tis Lapithou / Kozan. In any case, my models indicate that gaining the trust of the research group members may take time. Because of financial constraints and my career plans, my strategy was to stay in Izmir for one academic year and summer period(s). While I slowly cast my research group net farther, I also met many academicians and artists who directed me to further projects and teaching jobs.

The constraints of my fieldwork were time and place, since the research group gathered at the venues that I analyzed only during the period of the festival. I did conduct in-depth interviews with the interlocutors later on, but even then the setting of the interview (i.e., office) sometimes came with its own limitations. I and my interviewee both might be stressed because of time constraints or tense because of being in an official work setting.

Whether the purpose was studying stereotypes in city branding or a community's shared urban memories, I planned to collect data about the cultural identity of Izmir, whose past is only superficially known. As I explained in Setting up the Stage, the idea of an urban palimpsest evolved during my research, along with an awareness of the past, the traumas experienced, and the invisible memory places. The urban palimpsest of Izmir was such a complex matter that I had to develop an interdisciplinary approach and bring in elements of social anthropology and further implement ethnographic interviews when the focus shifted to the city's memory and what I introduce as an 'awareness of place': this sense of place is fraught with an awareness of its history and associated memories as well as the social conditions at play during the festival. It was not a deliberate decision on my part but the unfolding process of the research that made me rethink my approach and which caused me to change my focus and the questions I directed toward the festival participants.

2.2.3. Self-Positioning and Pitfalls in Intersubjective Dialogues

One of the main challenges of ethnographic research is the ethnographer's desire to immediately access the data. Pinxten argues that we are impatient, because we have become accustomed to the direct transfer of information in the Western educational system (1997; 27). According to him, the process of collecting data may be compared to the moment when a storyteller is relating a story. When the storyteller transfers the fairy tale from his or her memory, she/he also 'sees' the audience, and she/he modifies the fairy tale according to the age, educational level and social position of the audience. In this regard, Pinxten maintains that the 'core' strategy is to know that an in-depth interview should be based on a dialogue rather than a rote question-and-answer method.

To give an example from my own fieldwork: I consider myself initially to have been a controlled 'receiver,' impatient and anxious to grasp the 'correct data.' My strategy was to get the information by motivating my interlocutors, using color tablets that I had designed, inspired by the Colorist by Shigenobu Kobayashi (1998). I asked my interlocutors how they would describe the city of Izmir and their neighborhoods with the help of ten colors. The interlocutors were asked to select colors that helped them to explain their physical experiences when I showed them images of certain areas in Izmir and/or symbols of those areas. My attempt to use

color identification in order to design a new visual identity of Izmir had limited results, but this color identification method proved to be a valuable tool. It did help the interlocutors in sharing memories via stories. As I lacked Kemal Yalçın's experience, my graphic design background became my own back-up strategy to improve my data collection. The most interesting discovery was that the color tablets became playful tools which prompted the interviewees to freely share their experiences and knowledge. After the intense fieldwork of 2012 and 2013, I continued to visit the festival organizers and some spectators.

Data collection is a process. When I employed the color tablets, I realized that the more anxious I became, the more tension I projected towards my interlocutors. The source of my anxiety was in gaining their trust in order to 'get into their minds,' if I can say that, or at least to learn what they felt and how they remembered the festival and historic sites at the city center. Without a doubt, I collected the most valuable and in-depth data from passionate festival participants, who were talkative, imaginative and easy-going, because they were already staunch supporters of the organization and the music.

I collected rich data through semi-structured interview, and many times I arranged a series of meetings with interlocutors. Similar to color tablets, I was fairly elaborated: I prepared the open questions, printed out, brought my recording machine with me and asked verbally their consent to record. Although I attempted to maintain the control of the interview process, the most interesting remarks were often directed at me at precisely the moment when I put aside the print-out and recording machine and started to hold an informal conversation with the person. I was stressed by the very need to assess the impact of the festival on the spectators, organizers and, if possible, local administration. At the beginning, I focused on my interlocutors' lifestyles in a big city and the festival's calendar. As someone born and raised in Izmir, I assumed that there would be no problems in beginning with the field routine. As is usually the case during fieldwork research, this was accompanied by my constantly questioning how I should present myself. I indeed gradually gained the sympathy of some of the festival organizers, who connected to me due to my experience in organizing events. In comparing my volunteer work between 2008 and 2010 to my work with the team during the summer of 2013, I experienced two moments of 'appreciation' from them. The first happened before Dance Theatre of Harlem's performance in Kültürpark, when, as I completed the task, I had been assigned that evening, I approached two organizers to report what I had done. They were talking and joking with each other. After my report, one smilingly said, "*You see how he works!*" The other answered, "*Well, after all, he is experienced... one experienced volunteer is equal to four regular volunteers.*" I knew that the festival team was struggling to find trustworthy volunteers, and I used that role to become needed and appreciated. Although it was a performing arts festival with mostly classical music on the program, there weren't any volunteers from the conservatory, which meant that nobody was fully qualified to know what the constraints of a classical music concert were or what a musician might expect before the performance. Moreover, again for the same reason, neither I nor the other volunteers who were serving as interpreters knew the specific vocabulary related

to stage setting. Often, the volunteer tasks were gender-specific, and my tasks were for an all-male group, because a man would be at ease in a men's group, while a *kız* (girl) or *bayan* (lady) would feel uncomfortable, because one of the staff members might 'bother' her.

The second instance of appreciation connected with my service as a volunteer occurred in June 2013, when I and the festival team came to Abacıoğlu Inn for a meeting with the shopkeepers of the inn. The meeting was intended to inform the shopkeepers how the festival would transform the courtyard as a festival venue. As I had no assignment at that moment, I asked the festival coordinator if I could join in, because it would be important for my research. She agreed. When we got to the inn, I realized that the shopkeepers and festival team already knew each other. I was the new actor on the scene. The shopkeepers, after a moment of silence, gazed at me with half-closed eyes and very serious faces. The festival coordinator needed to introduce me: "*And Hasan Işıklı from the hosting department*." I remembered that earlier on she had introduced me to artists or other persons from outside the team as "*Hasan, the volunteer interpreter.*" The coordinator wanted to find an excuse or an explanation for my presence at the meeting in the face of the cynical group of *esnaf* (shopkeepers). Yet this more prestigious introduction was remarkable to me, for I was also confused as to whether she appreciated me as an experienced volunteer or simply because I had reminded her that I was researching the festival. The meeting, which I will describe in greater detail in the case study, was tense. This new identity, seemingly performative, raised my standing in the hierarchy of the festival organization and also gave me access to the inner circles of the festival's production process. I construe that moment as a big step forward in the field, because before then I was often seen as occupying a lower echelon within the hierarchy, and they could not share "confidential information," as the coordinator said. It meant that my volunteer status enabled me to get in touch with the organizational team, to gain insights into the festival and yet to stay in a liminal space, where I wasn't fully privy to all of the information shared among the festival's production staff, such as communication with sponsors, permissions and protocols, or the fees paid to the artists and festival employees.

In order to make the hierarchy clear, to gain the trust of the research group members and to maximize spontaneity while in the field, I realized that a semi-structured sheet of questions might be helpful in structuring the content of the interview. It could function as a reminder, but it could also constrain both sides, both interviewer and interviewee. When I had an interview with Ceren (one of the festival employees working at İKSEV) at her office, just before heading to the meeting with the shopkeepers of Abacıoğlu Inn, her time was obviously limited (at the time I met them, she held a position as THE representative of the festival, and she was conscious of her status). I was asking questions from my prepared sheet of questions, but all I got were the same answers given at the previous interview. I felt as if I were spinning my wheels and not arriving at my destination. There were invisible barriers between me and her. Yes, I was respectful, and, yes, I had prepared an elaborate set of questions focused strictly on the research topic. She knew me already, and she had agreed to give a series of in-depth interviews.

Moreover, she supported my research, because she was curious about the results. However, when I occasionally asked a spontaneous question, since I wondered if she might be willing to share any personal accounts regarding entering the historic sites in the scope of organizing festival events, she answered curtly. When I asked for more details, she said "*Sanırım soruları belirli anketin üzerinden gittiğimize göre bu yanıt yeterli olacaktır*" (I think that since we are following a questionnaire with pre-set questions, this answer will be enough.) I was taken aback. She was right. In as much as I was making an effort to give the impression of being serious and was too dependent on the printout that I was holding trying to manage the interview, I had limited the potential for spontaneous verbal exchanges.

Ironically, the most interesting part of my interaction with Ceren happened when I left things to the flow of the moment: After the interview, with her permission I attended the meeting. I observed without interrupting things. I never spoke unless a curious shopkeeper asked me questions about my job in the festival. Soon after the meeting, Mustafa, the technical director, told us that he had lost his keys. Ceren, Mustafa and Deniz, the head of electrical and lighting systems, called the shopkeepers and other colleagues from the foundation to ask whether they had seen his keys. Kadir *abi*, a colleague from the foundation, said that he had just left the building and hadn't seen any keys. Mustafa was suspicious of his answer, because he thought that Kadir just didn't want to return to check for the keys. Finally, after giving up hope, the meeting group abandoned its search for the keys. Deniz proposed to Mustafa that he stay at his place and look for a locksmith in the morning and call his car service. Then Mustafa started worrying about the next morning's meeting. He needed to take a shower and wear clean clothes. Indeed, it was summertime, the weather was hot, and we agreed that he would need these. Deniz tried to calm Mustafa: "*Gel abi, bişey olmaz bende duş alırsın. Ben zaten duş aldıktan sonra evde çıplak dolaşıyorum. Sen de rahat ol. İstersen sana benim kıyafetlerimden veririm.*" (Come, brother, no problem, you take your shower at my place. I walk around naked after a shower anyway. You relax, too. If you want, I can give you some of my own clothes.) Mustafa was still pondering what to do. He was grimacing and saying grumpily, "*N'apçam abi yaa...üfff*" (What will I do, brother...pfff) constantly. Deniz insisted and added that they could have a drink together with some watermelon. After hearing 'I walk naked at home', I was curious whether Deniz was trying to seduce Mustafa. However, he wouldn't dare do that in front of Ceren and me, would he? I didn't know Deniz well, but I knew that Mustafa had had relationships with women in the past and was not really tolerant of non-heterosexual relationships. So Deniz must be addressing him not as a colleague but as a friend that he had worked with for more than a decade.

Mustafa accepted Deniz's proposal, and they headed to Karataş. Ceren and I lived in Karşıyaka. We crossed Konak Square and took the ferry together. We sat on a bench on the deck of the boat. Ceren called Filiz *Hanım* and reported what had happened at the meeting. After she switched off her mobile phone, we started to chat about the festival and current events. The Gezi Park protests were still continuing. She asked about my opinion of the protests. Then she expressed her personal thoughts about the system and the culture, mentioning how people,

especially women, were forced to be silent at home while they were growing up, and to continue to be silent both at home and at work after becoming adults. I had already heard Ceren having earnest conversations like that, but it was when she was talking to other female volunteers, her little sister and her colleagues. At that moment, outside of the concert venue and her office, she was speaking earnestly to ME. It was a moment of recognition, when I abandoned my sheet of questions with Ghent University's fancy logo and allowed myself to be caught up in the flow of the field.

I conducted my final interview with both Mustafa and Ceren at the end of my fieldwork in 2013. I still had my recording machine but no longer took along my sheet of questions. Mustafa's answers were the same: short, sincere and ironic. Unless he complained about the organization of the festival, he kept his statements short. Also, he was often distracted by phone calls and questions from the staff on site. In contrast to him, Ceren's statements were more 'colorful': even though she maintained the same opinions, her way of expressing herself had become less official and more personal because of our dialogue. Moreover, she was metaphorically describing her feelings about her interactions with the urban memory places. Her metaphors later contributed to the textualization process of my fieldwork records.

What had changed in my methods to retrieve such 'colorful' data from Ceren? I was the same person, and the method was again a mixture of in-depth interview with participant observation. Essentially, what I had done was to give up on 'managing the field.' Without planning, I gave up on the strict structure that Pratt (1986; 41) and Pinxten (1997; 30) criticized as "codified field methodology" or the "direct transfer of information" inherited from the traditional Western educational system (Pinxten, 1997; 27). Thus, later, much later, I realized that my involvement with the episode of Mustafa's losing his keys had served as my real initiation among them, and especially with Ceren. I shared an intimate personal memory with them and became a part of the group. Although I didn't speak or offer a solution, I was THERE. It was an unplanned moment when neither they nor I were working. In that moment I was not recording their conversations or taking pictures with my camera. I was not holding a print-out of a set of questions with the logo of a West European university which highlighted the fact that I was there for my own work and not as a part of their group.

While I appreciated Ceren's openness, I also wondered if I might have gathered more data from her, since she was more easy-going with female volunteers (Dikomitis, 2012 and Okely, 1996). Ruth Behar, who studied the personal (especially emotional) positioning of the researcher in The Vulnerable Observer (1996), argues that one resource of the research topic might be sourced from the personal background of the researcher. Therefore, while the ethnographer analyzes his/her fieldwork and writing processes, she/he may reveal experiences and expressions of self-reflexivity. As exemplified in my own experiences, she states that even while the ethnographer implements the participant observation technique, she/he is 'there': action happens in each moment, and routines and unexpected events are in flux. Consonant with the

"confessional tale" notion of Van Maanen (1988; 73-100), it is both ethically (transparency) and technically (validity) necessary to underscore your 'being there' in the frame of subjectivity: the ethnographer admits that she/he is a research group member as well as the researcher. She/he examines the way in which his/her presence influences the interlocutors' narratives and his/her own reactions to people and events. However, Behar does not only mean that the individual is "subject to forces beyond their conscious control" (Giles and Middleton, 2008; 213). Rather, a 'vulnerable observer' is not only a researcher who may be detached from the field because she/he feels alienated, but also a researcher who may 'go native' and create a reality which protects the research group. She suggests that the ethnographer is aware of the fact that she/he feels intense emotions and deviates from rational and analytical observation. She/he accepts and integrates this fact into the ethnographic account. In this context, the discourse of Behar corresponds to the research of medical anthropologist Veena Das (2007; 66-92), who indicates that feelings and the cases contribute to the semi-structured interviews and quantitative data in better understanding the cultural fabric.

Being an insider carries its own weight. Similar to the experiences of anthropologist Admire Chereni, being a 'native' among migrants shifts one's positioning between being an insider and an outsider. According to Chereni (2014), although he is of the same nationality as his research group members, he is a legal resident and holds a higher status in the foreign country where they are settled. On Chereni's initial entry into the field, he quickly notices that his access (or sometimes lack of access) is dependent on his identity. His interlocutors get close to him, because he of the same race and nationality (being a black African and a Zimbabwean citizen in South Africa). The difference between their educational levels is overcome by his modest approach. Because of his age, he also allows the age hierarchy and his gender (male) to create a 'son' and 'elder' relationship. He is single, so he finds that he is excluded from some events (2014; 10). Thus, his approach to fieldwork has to be balanced between his primary academic goal and the conditions that arise from the adaptations he makes to the field as an ethnographer.

Even in cases where the prospective ethnographer is a native, when s/he starts fieldwork, there is unavoidably an 'I' and an 'other.' I will explain further in my own process how an ethnographer's questions raise the interlocutors' awareness of his role. For example, they may realize the international scope of the research and start to think about their group and their 'place in the picture.' Similar to many cases where other festivities and rituals are studied, the ethnographer presumes that the community gathers for a limited time. Thus, the native ethnographer who conducts only participant observation during a festival and does not engage in spontaneous interviews may give the impression that she/he is detached from the field because she/he is 'temporary here anyway.' She/he may be seen as not having enough distance to avoid emotional involvement or, as Raymond Madden ironically describes it, 'close but not too close' (2010; 81). Especially while observing, the ethnographer may issue himself the command: 'I only observe'. However, a native researcher is already a part of the setting: while I

observe them, I also watch the concert, I take the artist to his or her hotel, or I act as a translator between the technician and the artist (for example, I learn the technical language of setup: *konsol* is not a 'console', but the *board* to control the light and sound system of the stage). This position of being both observer and participant enables the researcher to witness intersubjective dialogues as well as the many faces of his/her own subjectivity more clearly.

To illustrate the association of subjectivity in the field conditions of Izmir's urban memory in the context of the International Izmir Festival, I may briefly postulate that the fieldwork was implemented by myself, thus there was a mutual influence between me the researcher, me the local, and the interlocutors themselves. On the one hand, while I influenced the interlocutors by drawing their attention to the memory places that the festival had used in the past, they realized their 'local', educated, white-collar identities. On the other hand, I was not an 'invisible sound recorder or camera'; I was there and, similar to Chereni, I was confronted with the attributes of my age, gender and place in the social hierarchy. I too became a 'vulnerable observer': the interlocutors compared me with their children, they worried about my career and financial situation, wished me well in finding a job and earning a good income. They gave me parental-type advice that caused my so-called academic authority to collapse (my identity as a 'doctoral student from a Western European university' did not last too long), instead creating a relationship of parent/relative and child, which was closer than the official interviewer and interviewee approach.

My strategy was to be recognized and have the credibility to have access to meetings and to be able to ask questions about their private lives and views about the city's politics. I expected that being a doctoral student from Belgium would grant me an aura of prestige and thus ensure rich data collection. I soon realized that creating the image of a serious doctoral student from Western Europe wasn't enough, and since I was there, I should be included in the conversation, react to their responses, and when they jumped to other topics, I needed to bring them back to topic. The interlocutors involved in my research have diverse attachments to the city of Izmir. Most lived in different districts of Izmir, studied in different schools either in Izmir or outside. Some of them had been local for several generations, some had migrant parents but were born here, and still others had settled here because of their jobs or marriages. In accordance with their socioeconomic level, they visited the same or similar neighborhoods, where there were cultural events and gatherings that they participated in at stores, cafés and restaurants. They went less frequently or not at all to Kemeraltı (an old market district) and Kordon (an old harbor, promenade road at seaside), which they used to visit in the past. Furthermore, they were less familiar with these residential neighborhoods, where they had never lived. For example, my aunt was born in 1953 in a neighborhood on the axis of Kadifekale and Kemeraltı that was known as the old Muslim neighborhood.[25] When she was a little child, she moved to the old town of

[25]However, my aunt employs "Turkish neighborhood" instead of "Muslim neighborhood" to distinguish herself from the traditional Muslim image. She identifies with the secular-modern-nationalist discourse. For more detail about secular-national identity and its representation to others, see "*Faces of the State: Secularism and Public Life in Turkey*" by Yael Navaro-Yashin.

Karşıyaka (a city to the north of the Gulf of Izmir and a part of the Izmir metropolitan area) and lived in an apartment block at the seaside between the old town and Bostanlı (a newer, upper-middle-class district of Karşıyaka, which itself gradually became a center because of the establishment of cafés, restaurants, shopping and leisure facilities). The other interlocutors that I met through my aunt lived in different parts of the Izmir metropolitan area. My aunt meets up with them not only in the Alsancak district, which was the 'common space' for them, but she also visits them at their homes, therefore she knew other neighborhoods in Izmir where the upper-middle class lived. During the festival period, she was introduced to the area of Kemeraltı, which she normally would have rarely seen, because it is "too crowded and unsafe," and never for shopping, which is the primary function of the place.

At this point I would also like to draw attention to the importance of labels and signifiers. This process of the signification of the participants of this study became clearer over the course of the interviews. By using the label *İzmir Festivali katılımcısı* [participant of the (International) Izmir Festival], I unintentionally introduced a more permanent category that created an identity among my interlocutors with a sense of belonging to a larger and more permanent group formation than being a mere spectator for a limited time. They were at first surprised, then sarcastic and (towards the end of fieldwork) more meditative about the social and political connotations of being a participant in an arts festival associated with high culture. However, they never identified themselves with the middle-class social stratum. The organizers remained in the role of organizers and the spectators in the role of spectators. One of the male participants who had worked in the past for the municipality of Izmir did not identify himself as a powerful administrator but only as a spectator. Later he distinguished between the International Izmir Festival and other festivals, such as the International Puppet Days and the Izmir Poem/Literature (?) Days, by employing the words 'We (the municipality) sustained' and 'Izmir Festival did...'

I would also like to highlight the performative and changeable ground on which the interviews for my research were conducted and performed. The most significant identity performed by the organizers and participants during the interviews was the local identity (*İzmirli*) followed by 'classical music listener,' 'lover of dance' or else their profession. When, in February 2013, I started to ask more questions concerning urban memory places, they made references to the generation to which they belonged. They addressed the changes they had experienced at different stages of their lives (growing up, marriage, being students, employment, getting old, retirement), and often these changes were explained in relation to the city. According to Bakalaki, researchers who are 'halfies' are locals who are detached from their homeland, and therefore from the continuity of the local daily life. They "*experience split selfhood, as they find it difficult to identify fully with anthropology and with their colleagues*" (1997; 517). She argues that, on the one hand, being a native might call into question one's anthropological authority, because they lack an outsider's view and 'learning child process'. On the other hand, if the native anthropologist identifies herself not only as a researcher but also as an interlocutor

(I don't mean being at the center of the 'story' like the protagonist style of early ethnographers, but rather like being a dancer in the flow of choreography), her positioning shifts between interlocutor and researcher and can thus become more valuable than an outsider's self-reflexivity, because a native is able to manage the fieldwork not only because he/she speaks the local language but can also use his or her self as a key interlocutor beginning with his/her own social environment.

Some reflections on gender are appropriate here as well, as this identity register emerged conspicuously during my research. Bakalaki tackles the gender issue and postulates that being a woman is an extension of halfie positioning, because, whether native or not, the womanhood of a female anthropologist is still more distinctive than the manliness of a male anthropologist in many cultural studies of socioeconomic subgroups and communities. Thus, strategically, female anthropologists often choose their interlocutors among women, like Bakalaki, Okely and Behar. Although I was a male fieldworker, I share the multiple gendered subjectivities in ethnographic research. For example, most of my male interlocutors were more distant and taciturn, whereas the female interlocutors were more relaxed and talkative. The only relaxed and talkative male interlocutors were the artists, who also shifted constantly between the positioning of spectator and artist, though there was even a volunteer of the festival who had a more open character. The majority of my interlocutors were women, because most of the organizers were women, and also because my 'star' was my aunt, and most of her friends were women. Some of the husbands, of course, contributed as well.

While I concur with Bakalaki's (1997; 518) conclusion that being conscious of one's own subjectivity may lead to better research, I would also like to stress how profoundly important it was for my research, but especially for the process of writing, to reflect on my own subjectivity in the context of the city of Izmir, the festival and the people I had worked with there.

A component of alienation in my fieldwork (Smith, 2009) prevented me from integrating completely into my interlocutors' lifestyles. To be perfectly clear, I may say that the circumstances of my nomadic life drew a distinct line between that of the insider ethnographer and the local resident. Studying in Belgium ensured a certain detachment from my Turkish reality. When I started my doctoral research at Ghent University, the physical distance and a two-year stay in a foreign country created unavoidable alienation. Once I settled down in Izmir for my research, I was ready to integrate back into the community, because this time I had a specific purpose. I had an active role to play in society, and this time my motivation was the contrast of 'discovering other cultures to escape banality': it was to understand my own culture and to interpret the experiences of people with whom I had things in common. Underlying this motivation, if I aimed at having a normal life, I could ultimately become someone similar and 'go native.' However, the interlocutors I eventually connected with were married, divorced or widowed and, similar to the case of Chereni (2014; 10), and Dikomitis' positioning first among Greek Cypriots, then Turkish Cypriots in her fieldwork (2012; 27-29), my marital status gave rise

to my 'son' role in addition to my 'nephew' identity. Even though my age and single status were different from those of my interlocutors, there were enough similarities for me to be able to easily engage in dialogue with them, but enough distance that I was aware I was still the 'other' who intends to analyze his research group.

After the sessions of January and autumn 2012, I suspended the interviews, and I concentrated on reintegrating into Izmir. I noticed that the position of insider was appealing, since it enabled me to quickly make new contacts and to conduct the interviews in the local language (Suwankhong and Liamputtong, 2015). This helped me to better understand their approach to the questions and to me, as opposed to requiring training for initiation into a group. However, the distance between the ethnographer and his interlocutors became more fragile. In this instance, the methodological notes that I read helped me to avoid some 'accidents' in the field, such as judging the interlocutor's reaction from a personal point of view or being offended when the interlocutor attacks the questions, the content of the research or the ethnographer's own career (Are you a student or working? How much do you earn per month? Do you have a scholarship or are you supported by your family? What kind of university is it? Why Belgium? Do you think that you will have a job after this?).

After the 2012-2013 academic year, I continued to regularly visit the festival each summer, and during the semesters that I worked at Yaşar University in Izmir, I had the occasion to visit my research topic places and to meet up with some of the interlocutors. As a consequence of previous field strategies and experiences, I gave rein to my curiosity, while my approach became more improvisational than based on questioner preparation. Meanwhile, I remained respectful of the hierarchy of the local cultural fabric. I was attentive to my field roles and more aware of how I was received by the 'other.'

2.3. Conceptual Framework

According to urban geographer Eric Corijn, the idea of a city has become more important than that of a country because of the effects of globalization: "*a country is built on the image of "commonness" that can be turned into community and become the basis of the nation. National culture constructs tradition, a common past, legitimising identity. (...) The city, urban life, doesn't fit that framework. It is exceptional, because it is based on difference, on the plurality of functions, activities and cultures, on the construction and creativity based on that encounter between strangers. Urban culture is not traditional. On the contrary it expresses common destinies, it is projected on the future. (...) The [capital] cities produce an emergent culture, linking the nation with the world, deconstructing national identities into universality, allowing for the space of flows to take over from the space of places*" (2006; 55).

In a period when the identity of a city is caught between being an image to gaze upon, a space of consumption or a 'home' where one establishes one's own belonging, art festivals emphasize the role of 'exchange' in the cities. An actual big city is a place where different ethnicities and social communities are concentrated. A festival like the International Izmir Festival aims to connect performing arts that originated in the West with an audience which is mostly non-Western. Whether in the setting of Ephesus or Basmane, the spectator is invited to experience the 'other.' This 'other' might be a distant past, whose community may seem like a fairy tale, melding perfectly with a night performance in an ancient amphitheater or a recent past that reminds us of a multireligious and multiethnic city. Or sometimes the 'other' might belong to the same slice of time: the present, when new waves of migration introduce other actors to the city. These actors might be ignored in daily life, but they might unintentionally be encountered when the festival participants visit a site dedicated to the festival by the local authorities. Thus, both the venue and performance provide material for an intercultural dialogue. This ethnography must be read in two layers: how the festival participants are (re)connected to the urban memory places (including cultural traumas) which have been forgotten, and how they make sense of a memory place in the actual setting of migrants, different social classes and lifestyles. This eventually contributes a significance to the existing differences.

When the International Izmir Festival is supported by the local authorities and organizes the events at places designated as part of the 'cultural heritage,' it forces the festival participant to detach from the realities of daily life by facing the city's past. The purpose of featuring these places in an arts festival is surely to present these bits of the 'cultural heritage' and to valorize them by associating them with a high-culture event. The former European Commissioner for Education, Training, Culture and Youth, Ján Figel', and the former director of EFA, Hugo De Greef (2008; 12 and 20-22), point out that arts festivals contribute economically to a city, and they are "*attractive platforms for promoting a city, region or country. Festivals have an utterly positive impact on the image of a location. And, at the same time, they affect the local population, whether they participate in large numbers or not*" (De Greef, 2008; 21). The International Izmir Festival is clearly an actor with a positive impact on the image of Izmir.

The International Izmir Festival is a heterotopia in the city of Izmir in the sense that it is a festive area (Foucault). Architectural scholars Michiel Dehaene and Lieven De Cauter (2008) follow the discourse of Foucault and describe cinema, theatre and dance as heterotopias, because while they occupy a real space, they are also fictive spaces, because they are representations of a reality. These places hence function as 'islands of time' and as mnemonic objects which have the potential to serve in the construction of cultural memory (Assmann, 1995). In short, cultural memory is a memory of specific events,[26] objects and experiences which are 'crystallized', which means determined and reconstructed by a society and eventually by

[26] See *İzmir Kültürpark'ın Anımsa(ma)dıkları* (2015) edited by Burkay Pasin, Ahenk Yılmaz and Kıvanç Kılınç

institutions through rituals, ceremonies, festivals, texts and artistic productions. According to Assmann, cultural memory in particular is designed through ceremonies and festivals in order to assert a group's identity without changing the structure of the past to the present. Unlike communicative memory, which is the 'organic' transmission of past events, cultural memory may be supported by an arts festival that itself turns into a landmark in the collective memory of a community.

Returning to Foucault's theory, these islands of time, which deviate from daily life, are precisely the 'counter site' of the realm of daily life, like the example of a cemetery. The case study places are double time heterotopia when, for instance, they temporarily become festival venues with the support of local authorities under the motto of the festival, 'history meets art'.

This ethnographic study follows the path of four places which became heterotopias in the context of the International Izmir Festival. Although Izmir is a city whose past was partially obliterated by a great fire, waves of migration and a modernization movement, its cultural identity was discussed in 2009 in the symposium *İzmirli Olmak* (Being from Izmir), supported by the Metropolitan Municipality of Izmir. It is important to emphasize the date of the symposium. 2009 was a time when the decision to make Izmir 'a city of congress and tourism,' initiated by former mayor Ahmet Piriştina, was already being acted upon. The tobacco and textile sectors had been the backbone of Izmir's economy. As they were shrinking due to the privatization of the state's companies, such as the monopoly cigarette factory (Reji) and Sümerbank, the policies of the capitalist and Islamist government were also cutting Izmir off from national politics. The negative propaganda of the Islamist government increased against Izmir, because the city's political profile was still republican and secular. There were arrests and lawsuits against the mayors of the province of Izmir. Many so-called liberal Islamist deputies were speculating about the municipality of Izmir, and some big companies were moving their headquarters to Istanbul. With respect to this situation, Aziz Kocaoğlu, the mayor at that time, opened his speech with the following:

"We by no means perceive the notion of "İzmirlilik" (being from Izmir) as 'urban chauvinism,' and we do not recognize this notion as something that conveys unwarranted arrogance. But, at the same time we can't be expected to ignore, to bear or tolerate the unfair, wrong and intentional accusations that Izmir and Izmirians faced recently." (Izmir Symposium Notes, Izmir Metropolitan Municipality Press)

Local academics and intellectuals made presentations with the assistance of such establishments as the Chamber of Commerce of Izmir. The panels discussed the potential of the city and how to make it more productive and attractive. In addition, while the city's identity was being designed (or branded), the local values of the past were 'updated.' Hence, this research might also be considered as a harvest of the crisis that was reflected in the Being from Izmir Symposium. As I described previously, this is a city with historic sites and some local values that needed to be reevaluated. However, the circumstances are quite different than the genesis of

the Avignon Theatre, Lyon Light and Angouleme Comics Festivals. This doctoral thesis embraces the city branding process of Izmir in which the International Izmir Festival plays a pivotal role. The research questions the action of city branding and analyzes its complexity within the framework of this arts festival. In particular, I tackle the intervention with the historic sites in order to construct a new representation process and telling of the story of Izmir. As I follow the process of making an arts festival in this sociopolitical context, I zoom in on the complex layers of the urban memory places through the experiences of a group participating in the oldest arts festival of the city. Therefore, the title, 'Awareness of the Place,' clusters the processes of the awareness of urban memory by a festival participant and a local graphic designer discovering cultural depth of image-making. As opposed to other research methods, it was interesting to trace the process of a festival participant's becoming aware through a series of in-depth interviews. With respect to his/her interaction with me, I also provided an opportunity to question his/her presence (and absence) in those neglected historic sites.

The research framework of awareness of place follows the traces of the deep ruptures between the past and the present of Izmir. In memory studies, especially in urban cases like that of Izmir, the term 'urban palimpsests' (Huyssen, 2003) describes the rupture that exists with respect to the remnants of some part of the past, which lead to further pursuit of traces of the past. These 'urban palimpsests,' which no longer serve a function, remain outside of the ordinary citizen's view. Although they are neglected, they become 'islands of time' (Assmann, 1995), because the places continue to preserve a certain period of the city's past. The power of these places, even though the subjects of such a culture may know little about the past, is that they invite one to contemplate the period and the events that concerned. They may have a mnemonic effect on the individual. Accordingly, if I were to express it in 'designer jargon,' the active experience of the user creates an intersection of the materials' essence. An object belonging to the past conveys an impression about a different lifestyle and mindset. The visitor compares this with his/her life and reproduces another understanding of functionality and aesthetic.

The historic buildings and monuments may become the image of a city, but if they become a part of a city's identity, it is because they preserve specific memories and stories. A monument may become a landmark in a cityscape thanks to its easily recognizable shape, but a pharmacy or a café can also become a landmark depending on its uniqueness and longevity within a neighborhood. Hence, this might be a point that designers and architects overlook when they construct new expositions or sport complexes that are divorced from the life of the locals. Even if a building and its visuals are functional, aesthetic and appropriate for the climate, a designed object doesn't make sense without the memories constructed through human interaction. While I was interviewing Ceren, one of the organizers of the festival, she expressed how deeply she had been affected by the state of the old cigarette factory. It was not just its traumatic memories but the lifeless and neglected condition of such a place representing the city's industrial past that she found lamentable:

"*These buildings which are not used anymore... Yes, humans both damage and give life to buildings. I have never seen any building without human presence that is still as strong as when it was new. So, it is not right for a building not to be used or to stay empty. So, there is a need for humans and events to keep it alive... Here we (the festival team) try to go to these abandoned, lonely buildings that nobody visits and to be there.*"

Like Dehaene and De Cauter (2008; 87-100), who reveal the heterotopian characteristics of festivals and especially of theatre, Bernard Faivre d'Arcier (2008) – the former director of the Avignon Theatre Festival – claims that a festival provides a space for creativity. He adds: "The true role of a festival is to help artists to dare to engage in new projects."[27] This means that the heterotopian conditions of a festival make the expectations of the spectator more flexible, because they foster innovation in the festival's programming and location selection. The International Izmir Festival itself is a heterotopia; although the program might seem similar to the annual program of the AASSM (Ahmet Adnan Saygun Arts Center) in the city center or the Hikmet Şimşek Art Center in Karşıyaka. The diversity of the artists and the diverse variety of performing arts (i.e., antique Greek opera in Asklepion Bergama or the Kodo Japanese drummers in AASSM) align with this approach. When locals discover a historic place where they have never been before or one which they once knew that now serves another function, the places 'multiply' (Massey, 2005). The city and the citizens get a chance to harness the potential that they have discovered.

In the same vein, the location selected and its effect on the participants is a second heterotopian characteristic of art festivals. This is a central part of this research. When the organizers set out to arrange a performance in a castle, an old church, an old cigarette factory and an inn, they enter into a dialogue with the physical conditions of the place, the people living or working in the neighborhood and the question of transport. As for the spectators, they may have prejudices about the neighborhood, but the content of the performance may motivate them to attend. Naturally, when they visit the site, they interact both physically and socially with the neighborhood on their way to the performance.

While the International Izmir Festival attempts to present and revalorize neglected historic sites, it unintentionally offers an encounter with the 'other' on many levels: first, the past and its inhabitants, and then the present and its inhabitants. The physical and social interactions of both the organizers and spectators provide an awareness of their otherness under the heterotopian conditions of the arts festival. The festival experience is double-sided: one side is the desire of a spectator to watch an international performance; the other side is the multiple reflections of identities at the site. The person is surrounded by a familiar, yet again different part of the city in which she/he lives. The performance shows an 'other' from another country; the neighborhood shows an 'other' that is both familiar and strange. Meanwhile, the

[27] See the article written by Hugo De Greef (2008; 28) in *Cahier de l'Atelier: Arts Festivals for the sake of Art?* EFA Books 3

experience mirrors the otherness of the festival participant. It opens a time-space to meditate about who she/he is and is not. The heterotopia constituted by the festival encourages flexibility among the group to engage in a limited exchange that underscores, as Corijn (2006) confirms, the notion of the plurality of a city. Thus, awareness of place is about a lack of memory, in other words, about something forgotten and then remembered, or at least something which was previously invisible being discovered. Awareness of place is an awareness of the memories embodied in those historic places. Those invisible places and their memories become fleetingly visible (or sometimes not) under the heterotopian conditions of the International Izmir Festival.

In the next chapter I will describe in more detail the city of Izmir and the International Izmir Festival to offer a better understanding of the background of this study. After describing the city and the local people, it will be easier to grasp the geographic, social and political structure of the city and the role that the festival plays in city branding. Defining the contemporary situation of the city and the identity of the festival should be helpful in filling in the gaps of the city branding process. Finally, insight into the realities of Izmir should grant a better understanding of this extended research examining the lack of memory after a traumatic period, Turkish modernity and why the festival's intervention at urban memory places is extraordinary in the social-political context.

Chapter 3. The International Izmir Festival: Contextualizing the Research

3.1. The International Izmir Festival

Since 1986, the date it was established, the International Izmir Festival has been a major event taking place each year in diverse venues, bringing together individuals who belong to similar social classes. The participants take pleasure in similar things, specifically Western classical music, world music (Turkish classical music is included) and contemporary dance. They gather together for season concerts organized by the State Opera and Ballet of Izmir, as well as at cultural centers connected to the municipalities. Considering that the cultural centers are multiplying and the number of performing arts activities is increasing, it is obvious that there is a growing arts scene in Izmir. The most remarkable characteristic of the festival is its organizing of events at historic sites: some historic sites are located in downtown Izmir, the popular summer town of Çeşme, and ancient sites like Ephesus in Selçuk and Asklepion in Bergama, all of which are in Izmir Province. As will become clear further on, attending a classical music performance at such locations provides the participants with an opportunity, first of all, to discover new historic sites, and second, to question their own sense of the space. This means that not only can a festival participant enjoy the performance, but the venue itself may also have an effect on their experience.

The International Izmir Festival is a regular member organization of İKSEV (Izmir Foundation for Arts Culture and Education). The events mainly consist of performances of Western classical music as well as opera, ballet, contemporary dance, world music (i.e., Turkish, Greek, Japanese, Chinese) and jazz. It is similar to its 'elder sister,' the Istanbul Music Festival,[28] again organized by IKSEV, with the sponsorship of Eczacıbaşı Holding, and the Bodrum Music Festival,[29] which is also a member of EFA (European Festivals Association). Although the Bodrum

[28]http://muzik.iksv.org/en
[29]www.bodrummuzikfestivali.com/en/

Music Festival is organized by Pozitif Agency, with sponsorship mainly from Doğuş Holding, there are similarities in the program, ticket pricing, visual communication and spatial use.

The International Izmir Festival is a summer festival and was created in the past as an alternative arts production for the city, since the state orchestra, opera and ballet are closed in June. Thanks to the climate, it is possible for open-air performances to extend throughout the entire province of Izmir, and part of its special appeal is that some of the historic sites used as venues are in close proximity to summer residences.

The festival sometimes extends from May to September, with most events or performances taking place between mid-June and mid-July. According to my informal conversations with the organizational team, a priority is placed on attendance; this means that the calendar is flexible so that artists and groups are able to coordinate their performances with the rest of their touring schedules.

In contrast to popular festivals like *Gentsefeesten* in Belgium or the Lyon Light Fest in France, the International Izmir Festival is not associated with any historical events, religious holidays or other traditional celebrations. Nor does it have a specific theme. This means that there are no thematic visuals implemented on the urban landscape, and the content of the performances consists of freely chosen selections from the artists' repertory, as approved by Filiz *Hanım*. Most often the artists who perform during the festival might already be traveling to Turkey or Greece for another festival. Thus, the International Izmir Festival may choose to engage them because their pre-existing engagements at other nearby events help to reduce travel costs (e.g., Mario Frangoulis, a New York-based Greek singer, sometimes performs during the summer at festivals in Athens, Istanbul and Bodrum).

The festival is an active member of EFA (European Festivals Association), whose headquarters is in Brussels, Belgium. Filiz *Hanım*, the art director of the festival and the president of the foundation, İKSEV, is a board member of EFA, which provides a platform through which all member festivals share their cultural policies, networking of the artists and festivals' program, new technologies on communicating with the public and, finally, ticket pricing and budget, which are an inescapable aspect of festival management. The association is also responsible for organizing an annual assembly and workshops for young festival managers who work with the member festivals. These workshops are also open to the public for an extra fee. The association is physically located in Brussels, but in accordance with their EFFE motto (Europe for Festivals, Festivals for Europe), the assembly and workshops are held in a different city each year and are hosted by a member festival organization. Furthermore, selected essays and articles are published by EFA Books.

At the beginning of my research, when I talked to friends and relatives who were interested in the performing arts or with people that I met at arts events, I was surprised that

both the festival venues and the festival itself were not on the radar of a wider audience. Although the festival publishes a festival book every year that is sold at the venues, and it also prints and distributes many posters, banners, booklets, and flyers in the popular areas of the city and, finally, maintains an active Facebook and Instagram profile, I came across many people in Izmir and abroad who had watched a performance without realizing that the performance had taken place as part of the International Izmir Festival. For instance, in 2013, when I met Oğuz with his wife and daughter at their summer house at Çeşme, they mentioned that they were arts lovers and attending the arts events in Izmir and that the mother, Oğuz, had a piano, and she used to play. When I asked my questions about the events of the International Izmir Festival, they indicated that they weren't familiar with it. Suddenly, Oğuz remembered that they had attended the Pink Martini concert at the Çeşme Open Air Theatre the previous summer (2012). This encounter gave me an insight into the profile of the festival participants. Although the festival was not addressed to a closed community, you were supposed to be part of an arts, design, teaching or urban group (i.e., NGOs connected to the municipality and district governorate) in the city.

One of the slogans of the festival is 'where art and history meet'. As the tables at the end of this chapter illustrate, the festival is organized not only in the historic areas of the city, but also in open-air theaters, which are more suitable for dance performances. Moreover, some historic sites are not evaluated in the context of an 'island of time' because they are already well known and popular. One example is Çeşme Castle; located on one of the main roads of Çeşme, which runs parallel to the seaside, many people, both locals and tourists, walk along the seaside and pass in front of the castle. They may even stop in front of it to look at the huge monument, with a big sculpture of *Cezayirli Hasan Paşa*; the Ottoman naval commander, whose presence is conspicuous among the modern cafés and hotels. Moreover, the castle has enough open space around it to make it stand out among the other elements on the same seashore. Just opposite the castle there is a small park and a café where people eat ice cream made with mastic. When I recall the days that I spent in Çeşme, I can clearly recall the image of a summer evening, what it felt like to stand in front of the castle and the taste of chocolate-flavored ice cream, as well as the smell of the ice cream cones. Thus, these distinctive physical qualities and the location turn the castle into a noteworthy place that remains in the memories of visitors and locals, providing an interesting contrast with Kadifekale. The latter is seen from both the city and the sea; it is located atop Pagos Mountain, separating it from the popular and rich neighborhoods by the seaside. The fact that the castle is topped by a huge, bright Turkish flag, which can be seen from distances far and wide, makes it an obvious landmark. Considering that Kadifekale is one of the oldest monuments of Izmir and that it is physically quite unmistakable, one would expect it to be a popularly visited site, like the castle in Çeşme. However, Kadifekale is not 'visible' to the typical festival participants, because they would not normally visit it. Moreover, the castle has a different connotation. While Çeşme Castle is a tourist site and has a positive image, Kadifekale reminds Izmirians of the social conflict between the locals and the migrants living in the

neighborhood. From a cultural perspective, my observation is that the enormous flag creates a cultural contrast to the nearby neighborhood inhabited by the Kurdish community, which does not always share the discourse of "one nation, one flag, one language, one religion" of the inhabitants living near the seashore (Saraçoğlu, 2010; 361-402). Moreover, elderly people used to tell me that the '*top patladı'*, the cannon shot that signified the end of the fast during Ramadan, used to be done in Kadifekale. Nowadays the announcement of '*top patladı*' is made from mosques in the form of the imam's song projected digitally from loudspeakers installed in the minaret of each neighborhood's mosque. In other words, the entire city is no longer oriented toward a single source of sound (because the city is too large and crowded), and each neighborhood is oriented towards its own mosque. I would note that although the castle's attributes are such that it could easily serve as a symbol of the city, the clock tower in Konak Square has become the symbol of Izmir, both nationally and locally, as evidenced by the logos of the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality and the Municipality of Konak (downtown).

As can be seen in Table 2 at the end of Chapter 4, not every historic seaside resort is utilized by the festival. For example, there have not been any concerts in Foça, which is a typical fishing town that becomes a summer destination for urban dwellers who like to stay there during the summer holiday period. The reason for this could be the technical difficulties affecting the venue selection; i.e., the castle of Foça has a very small stage without any backstage space, and the conditions of the seats and stairs are more uncomfortable than in Çeşme.

Tables 1 and 2 also show that the selection of the venues is explicitly different from any other arts festivals, in which many of the performances are concentrated in the center of the cities. This can be explained by the fact that the International Izmir Festival does not have a permanent official festival area. The venues require the permission of the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality, the Turkish Ministry for Culture and Tourism and some other local authorities. For this reason, there are not specific pathways connecting the venues, meaning that visitors or participants of the festival are left to devise their own routes.

Another aspect of the festival is that the program extends over a long duration. The frequency of events is low, considering that the duration of the festival is one month, with eight concerts over the course of approximately thirty days. When I have discussed the duration of the festival with the spectators, they have complained in particular about the long intervals between performances. My aunt has said on numerous occasions that "*a festival should happen intensively over a short time. When it [The International Izmir Festival] extends over two months and sometimes till September, then everyone loses the* 'festival heyecanı' *(festival enthusiasm). You go to two or three concerts at the beginning, then there might be ten days of nothing. You go to your summer house, you are busy with that, and they say, 'There is a concert in Ephesus.' Well, I mean* 'festival heyecanı kayboluyor' (the motivation for the festival disappears). Another interlocutor, Mustafa, also mentioned the timing: "*It is not a season of art or something like a biennial. It is a festival. The thing that you call a festival happens over three days, maybe one or two weeks, not more. You can't hold onto*

that energy, especially in Izmir. People run to their summer houses, weddings and similar events. Well, look, this year (2013) we have Ramadan."

In sum, the festival's events happen across a large swath of Izmir Province. The distances are too great to make for a concentrated festival area. The events' dates also are too scattered to have an impact on a target group. Nevertheless, if we consider that the city's artistic activities decrease during the summer season, the festival does infuse a certain vitality to the venues where the performances take place and within the circle of people interested in classical music and dance.

As for the content of the performances, there are sometimes collaborations with local artists, as well as with artists from other cities and countries. For example, in the summer of 2013, there was a concert of Hille Perl & Lee Santana with the İzmir Barok Ensemble at Abacıoğlu Inn. Musicians from Germany played Italian baroque music, whereas their Turkish counterparts performed Ottoman music of the same period. Another example might be my production, in which storyteller Didem (Tarlalı) Köktaş from Izmir, Lebanese pianist and composer Elie Maalouf, with Palestinian percussionist Yousef Zayed from Paris performed a braid of oriental jazz music and stories from different regions. The diversity in the educational backgrounds of the artists and the content essentially blurred the borders between East and West.

Some of the music groups are sponsored by contributions from the consulates and cultural institutes of the European countries from whence they originate. The events are supported by Eczacıbaşı Holding, which is the main sponsor of the festival. Some other local companies and municipalities also occasionally contribute.[30] The festival is tightly linked to the Eczacıbaşı family, since the artistic director and president, Filiz Sarper, is a member of the Eczacıbaşı family and was one of the founders of the festival, together with Nejat Eczacıbaşı. The family itself originates from Izmir, but many family members and their business establishments are actually located in Istanbul. Thus, business and artistic investments are predominantly made in Istanbul and not in Izmir.

Notable performances have taken place at the festival by such world-famous artists as *Kodo* from Japan and *Dance Theatre of Harlem* from the United States. İKSEV, the organizer of the festival, is a non-profit foundation, though the festival's production team claims that they do not have a specific target audience. The ticket prices may vary between 30 and 250 Turkish liras, which is still too expensive for a middle-class Turkish salary.[31] The most expensive ticket areas in the first rows are often almost completely empty. Many of the wealthy participants receive

[30]Among the most faithful are the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality for venues and logistics and the Consulate of Italy in Izmir, the French Institute of Izmir, the Goethe Institute, the Consulate of Poland in Istanbul and the Honorary Consulate of Poland in Izmir, the Consulate of Greece in Izmir (until the economic crisis), which invite artists from those countries, Tükelmat (printing house), Telekurye (cargo company), and Hilton Hotel Izmir, Swissotel Izmir and Mövenpick Hotel Izmir, which provide accommodation for the artists.

[31]The average salary was 940.5 Turkish Lira (408.91€) in 2012, 1000.54 Turkish Lira (331.30€) in 2015, 2558 Turkish Lira (401.56€) in 2019 (last access: November 1, 2019).

invitations – in other words, free tickets – due to their VIP status, but they may not attend. My interlocutors, who were all in the middle or upper-middle class, generally anticipated buying the cheap tickets, which cost 30 liras, or tickets that cost either 40 or 60 liras at the most. They did not buy tickets that cost more than 100 liras.

I worked as a volunteer in the hosting department of the International Izmir Festival, and I had already recognized and remarked on this distribution of power. The relationship between Istanbul and Izmir is not balanced. As I mentioned above, in the last decades local companies have moved their headquarters to Istanbul, and the arts and media sectors used to be monopolized by Istanbul until recently. There is a stereotype of Istanbul as being the business center for everything, whereas Izmir is the province for holiday and retirement.[32] As an example of this phenomenon, Melis Alphan, a journalist originally from Izmir, working at the time for the national newspaper *Milliyet* (which again has its head office in Istanbul), wrote in 2008 an article about Zubin Mehta, who came to Turkey for the first time to give a concert in Istanbul. In fact, Zubin Mehta had already given a concert in Izmir before performing in Istanbul. I sent her an email to inform her of the mistake. She replied by email, sending her apologies, but she never made an official correction of her article. However, she also wrote in her column how she loved Izmir and went to Çeşme each summer. Izmir has new, popular festivals based on local foods, such as the Izmir Boyoz Festival[33] and the Alaçatı Herbal Festival, however, Istanbul continues to dominate artistic life in Turkey.

3.2 Research Background: Interlocutors, Neighbors and Relatives

My research circle – the festival participants who were involved in my research – could be grouped together according to their shared interest in music and dance. Starting from this point, I tried to capture more similarities among the research group members when I conducted observations and in-depth interviews. In this regard, anyone who was interested in Western classical music, ballet or contemporary dance had the potential to become my interlocutor. Or anyone who attended the events of the International Izmir Festival might be my interlocutor, too. At first, I focused on people who attended the International Izmir Festival and who lived in Izmir most of the time. I quickly eliminated daily visitors coming with cruise tours and tourists who were in Ephesus for their holiday. At the beginning of my fieldwork, the focus of my research was on how local people perceived Izmir. I maintained the same method of selecting interlocutors when I analyzed urban memory behind city branding actions. My aim was to

[32] The article, *Az Gelişmiş Memleketlerde Şehirleşme Eğilimleri: Tarihsel Perspektif İçinde İzmir* by Mübeccel Kıray, might be considered as an example of provincial cities' 'feeding' the capitals in terms of raw material and workforce. In developing countries, the balance is not symmetrical concerning the economy and politics. At a national level, Istanbul, and at a regional level, Izmir, hinder the urban development of other cities.
[33] Boyoz: a sort of pie originating from Izmir Sephardic cuisine.

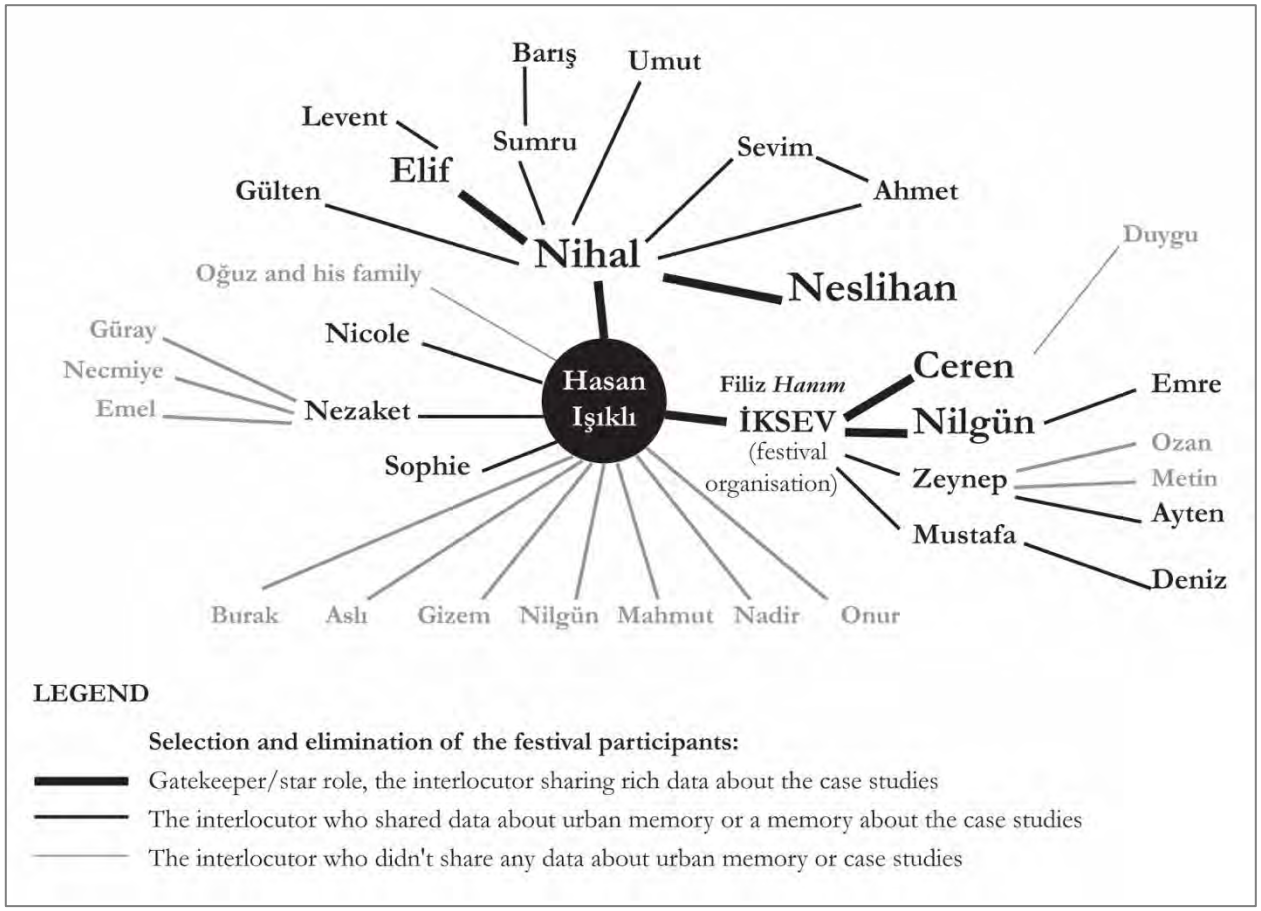
distinguish how we make sense of our city compared to how others perceive Izmir in order to market to them better.

After being inspired by the concert in Ayavukla, I reframed my research circle according to more specific criteria. There would be – if possible – continuity in their festival participation. When I decided to investigate urban memory places in the context of the International Izmir Festival, I again eliminated some interlocutors with whom I had started my fieldwork and focused only on those who attended or assisted with the performances in Kadifekale, Ayavukla, Reji or Abacıoğlu Inn. It was easier to coordinate with the interlocutors from the festival organization, since they attended every concert. As for the spectators, if one attended a performance in a memory place, this was sufficient. If the spectator had been to two or three memory places, it was excellent; and if it had been four of them, it was miraculous. Therefore, I focused on the festival participants who had been attending the festival for about 10 years.

These participants could be further divided into three age categories: 20+, 30+ and 50+. The youngest participants were the volunteers who helped the spectators find their seats. They were students from either Ege University or Dokuz Eylül University in Izmir. They were informed about the festival via the volunteer activities of the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality. They knew about the festival from each other and İKSEV's announcements. In that group, I chose my interlocutors from among those who had attended the festival for at least three years, either as a volunteer or as a spectator. Naturally, I could collect little data from them, because they did not have as much cumulative experience, and they had had less of a chance to see how the visibility of a neighborhood had increased after the festival organized an event there. And yet their fresh insights were significant when compared with the responses of the older participants, and they provided me with an opportunity to review my own observations in the group.

The second age group included the festival participants from the organization and the spectators. They had started their careers and had a more stable lifestyle, compared to the students. They also had discovered the festival through their social network: leisure clubs, friends and family. As an insider, I belonged to this age group. However, when I started the fieldwork, I was living in Belgium. After spending a year – from September 2012 till September 2013 – in Izmir, I went back to Belgium. Later, I led a more peripatetic lifestyle between Izmir and Ghent. I still had the unpredictable lifestyle of a student; thus, I was in between the two age groups. The final group, the seniors, were the principal participants. Most of them had been familiar with the International Izmir Festival since it was first organized in 1986. They were the founders, collaborators and witnesses of the festival's evolution. Because of this big-picture view of the festival's evolution, this group did not hesitate to criticize the selection of venues and the ticket prices. After the first session of interviews in January 2012, one of the seniors stated that she found the festival too elitist. She was unable to find affordable tickets, and she had to pay very high prices, while the richest attendees were watching the performance for free, thanks to

their special VIP invitations. She decided not to attend the festival anymore for this reason, and she removed herself from the research. Others in this third group were less passionate than the youngest ones, who had just discovered the festival, because they wanted to socialize with the other volunteers and had thus come to like classical music. The majority of the third group continued to attend the concerts despite their complaints. Although they did not admit it explicitly, they had strong ties to the festival and many memories after many years of participation. Not surprisingly, they were fond of classical music, too, whereas the younger festival participants were still discovering the artists and the pieces.



Graphic 1: Diagram demonstrating my network and snowball sampling in the fieldwork (designed by the author)

There is also a fourth group that was reluctant to help me with my research into the festival participants and the performances: the technical staff. As they said: "*It's a job; we come every year.*" In fact, while I was tired of taking notes, conducting interviews and following the artists, the technical staff was already exhausted from setting up the stage in the middle of Ephesus right after the departure of the last visitor. Though we used the place for approximately three hours, they were there day and night in order to ensure that everything was set up appropriately. Through these interviews, I was able to reveal some inspiring experiences that became useful concerning the embodiment of the heterotopia concept in the Izmir Festival. For example, Ephesus Celsus Library, a regular venue of the festival, is an ideal heterotopia. Its

function changes during the festival period, and it is a location that is always 'otherized' (Cenzatti, 2008). Originally a library, it is both a tourist spot and a historical monument, transformed into a heterotopia for the festival participants in the few hours between closing time at 18:00 and its reopening for the performance at 20:30. During this interval, plastic chairs are set up at the venue, and after the concert, when the site is again empty, the technical staff dismantles the set and returns it to the city center. Hence, I presume that the International Izmir Festival creates perfect heterotopias, since it has places that it uses repeatedly or for just one night. In this fashion, even common spaces like Abacıoğlu Inn in the city center or the Celsus Library, at an ancient site, are both disconnected from their usual sense of daily life and daily time (Foucault, 1986).

At the beginning of my research, there were four strict group classifications: spectators, artists, organizers and the local administration. I had planned on using theory to compare these groups and to emphasize the effects of positioning at the cognitive level. The praxis was different. First, the artists who came for their performance approached the International Izmir Festival almost like the technical staff, defining it as a 'job.' In the summertime, many of the performers flew from one festival to another and had little interaction with the spectators and the social environment of the venues. They were cut off from the space and time of the festival. An artist that I chatted with on the shuttle going to Ephesus told me that after all the flight transfers, hotels, rehearsals and performances, he didn't remember where he was when he woke up in his hotel room in the morning. Of course, there were exceptional cases, too. Mario Frangoulis, his artist friends (George Perris, Elias Malandris) and technical support (Dimitris Bourboulis) participated regularly in the International Izmir Festival from 2008 to 2010 and later in 2014. They conducted rehearsals at the venues and presumably had more interaction with the different locations.

In addition to their lack of connection to the place, there was another practical reason why I eliminated the group of performers: they did not have enough time to give any in-depth interviews or even to fill in a short questionnaire. In conducting my fieldwork, I assisted with their transfer from one venue to another. They were frequently stressed out or tired from being on the road, and were not generally welcoming, with their sunglasses blocking eye contact and their instruments standing next to them, a physical barrier to any interaction with the people around them.

Second, I eliminated the local administration. It was hard to get to know them for bureaucratic reasons. Again, they did not have the time to allow me to interview them in their offices. Of the three interlocutors from the local administration (one was a former mayor) that I contacted, I had different results from what I had anticipated. One of them had never participated in the International Izmir Festival. He was a state employee assigned by Ankara. The others identified themselves as spectators and had not evaluated the festival from their administrative positions.

Finally, after establishing contacts and reframing the interlocutor profile, I worked very hard to find those participants who had been faithfully attending the festival for at least ten years. However, as I stated above, I tried to be more flexible, gathering inspiration and contributions from different groups with different relationships to the festival. Roughly speaking, I settled the framework on 'those who attend the concerts for the performances' and 'those who are interested in classical music' to differentiate between the main interlocutors. Although they had similar lifestyles and behavior, I would not say that the International Izmir Festival's participants are a closed community. Depending on the nature of arts festivals, people who had become acquainted recognized each other, they greeted one another, and they might have short conversations. They interacted before, during and after the performances, but they were not close. They might be defined as an open group with things in common. Thus, the research group had three different subgroups: the spectators, the organizational team and the local artists. The artists tended to have a flexible position; they might sometimes be involved with the organization, or they might attend like an ordinary spectator. As I already indicated, contrary to the stereotype, they were not all members of the elite class.

As is seen in the above diagram, I started to contact the festival participants from my own social network and İKSEV, the foundation which organizes the festival. The names are pseudonyms, and those whose names are written in larger, bold-faced type are the interlocutors who gave a series of in-depth interviews and with whom I later interacted when I conducted participant observations. My aunt was laconic in her statements, however, thanks to her, I was able to connect with the festival participants, who have indeed been to memory places before and during the festival. The names in smaller letters provided little information about their experiences with the festival and urban memory place(s). The names written in grey were either not involved in in-depth interviews or did not have anything to do with the memory places utilized by the International Izmir Festival. The people whose names are most distant from the black circle, "H.I.," are those who had little connection with the festival and my research. During the time I was conducting my fieldwork, they were assisting their friends or, although they attended the festival, I was unable to retrieve anything from them concerning the research topic. As for Filiz Sarper, I did not change her name, because it was abundantly apparent that she became a key player of the research. I also use big black letters for her, because I was told during my fieldwork that she was too busy for an interview. It seemed impossible to observe her while I was working with Nilgün, Ceren, Zeynep, Deniz and Mustafa during the fieldwork, though I collected a great deal of data from her after the conclusion of the official fieldwork period.[34] The names of Burak, Aslı, Mahmut and Nadir are in grey, because they did not provide any data about urban memory places. They were not regular festival participants, and they preferred to attend events at the Ahmet Adnan Saygun Arts Center, a new venue in a non-historical

[34] Ironically, I was able to meet her a couple of times in person while writing my dissertation for the second time. Prior to 2014, she knew that I was engaged in fieldwork and had requested an appointment for an interview. Later, when we bumped into each other at an event or I had an appointment with her, she knew me as a producer applying for the festival. While the intentional ethnographer role became a disadvantage, the role of producer has been an advantage in gathering data.

neighborhood. Although they did not have anything to say about the festival's intervention in the urban memory places, they were helpful in discussing stereotypes about Izmir at the beginning of my research. They assisted during the first phase of the fieldwork, when I analyzed Izmir's cultural identity through colors. I utilized the color tablet technique to capture their perceptions of Izmir. Inspired by the application of colorist Shigenobu Kobayashi, I printed a hundred color hues on cardboard and asked the interlocutors to choose ten colors that represented Izmir for them. They were active participants in the color tablet technique sessions, thus their accounts became valuable, because they served to construct the foundation for my research by showing me that the stereotypes in my head did not accord with reality, which led me to abandon certain preconceived notions. From that point forward, I focused on urban memory places in the context of the festival.

Prior to and at the beginning of my fieldwork, I shared the common perception that the International Izmir Festival's participants supposedly represented members of the city's elite. My research shows that the festival participants were more varied than expected. In addition to the upper-class participants, there were also retired music teachers, students, academics and other white-collar workers who attended the festival. In fact, whether festival organizer, artist, or spectator, they were mostly from the middle class. Nevertheless, I adjudged my research circle members as being 'elite' in the sense that they were interested in high culture, because the practice of listening to Western classical music and attending an arts festival would be interpreted as being '*Avrupai*' (European-like), confused with 'modern' and 'elite' in the contemporary culture (Navaro-Yashin, 2002; 11, 21-22 and 49). I adopted these stereotypes – reflections of the Turkish mindset – by framing my research group as European-like and modern, because they led secular lifestyles, and especially because they listened to Western classical music, which originated in Europe. Because 'Europe' involves the creation of otherness in Turkey, the juxtaposition of European classical music with Turkish pop music was sometimes seen as part of a process of identification: 'I am who I am not,' as Stuart Hall argues in his article, *Who Needs Identity?* (1996). However, this classification could at times also be seen as alluding to a subject's social status. What is striking is that even though the famous Turkish pianist Gülsin Onay played a piece from Adnan Saygun, a Turkish composer from Izmir who specialized in Anatolian folkloric melodies and blended harmonies in his symphonic works, she and her performance could be interpreted as an act of 'European-likeness' by the type of traditional individual who only listens to Turkish folkloric and Turkish classical music. In other words, although the practice of listening to Western classical music is attributed to the elite class, not all of the participants of the festival belong to the elite class on the basis of their income bracket. The inverse is also valid in the context of festival practice. Not all of those with high incomes were members of the elite in the sense of being sincerely interested in Western classical music, ballet and contemporary dance and behaving properly at concert venues.

Nilgün was another important person for my research, whom I met even before my fieldwork. I met her on a day trip and, after learning about my volunteer job at the festival and

my interest, she wanted to stay in touch with me. Nilgün is her real name, and I did not include her in the diagram, simply because she did not become my interlocutor. At the beginning of summer 2013, I made an appointment and visited her at her flat in Mavişehir. The weather was already hot outside, and I was sweaty. I entered her clean, white-toned living room, cooled by air conditioning, and had a chat with her. She told me about her immigrant grandparents from Greece and her childhood in Karantina, now known as Küçükyalı. We decided to meet in two weeks. She served me Turkish coffee. Even though I do not like coffee at all, I accepted, supposing that it would be a good strategy to conform to a local custom in socializing. After serving me coffee and chocolate, she said that she was fasting because it was Ramadan. On the day of the next appointment, she showed an exceptional politeness by calling me to cancel the appointment. (Other interlocutors, except for Elif, never called or sent a message when changing plans. I had to confirm each time.) She said that as she was fasting, she was too tired to participate in the festival and to give an interview. I was disappointed, of course, but I gained another awareness through this conversational exchange. I had supposed that festival participants belonged to the stereotypical secular modern group, as I mentioned above, and therefore did not practice Islam. Nilgün's example was a wake-up call to be alert and to pay attention to my interlocutors' subjectivity in breaking with the stereotypical image of a classical music festival participant. I was henceforth more careful to avoid the sorts of generalizations to which a native researcher may fall prey during fieldwork.

One of the surprises of my fieldwork was my connection with Neslihan. I knew that she was close to the festival board and had participated in the International Izmir Festival since its inception and had followed it every year. She was the perfect festival participant: passionate about historical places and classical music. I contacted her through my aunt again, and when we met, she was generous about sharing both her memories of the festival and her memories of Izmir. Thus, without planning, she became a key interlocutor and shared her insights about the festival.

The lax attitude that people displayed in keeping their appointments with me was evident in their lack of etiquette in attending classical music concerts. You are expected to be on time, sit in your seat, switch off your mobile phone and not talk loudly during the concert. Unfortunately, people did not always observe etiquette. For example, if you work for a company that sponsors the festival and you have an invitation (i.e., a free ticket as a form of quid pro quo for your company's contribution), you are at least expected to call the festival's sponsoring section and inform the protocol secretary that you will not be able to attend the concert so that the appropriate arrangements can be made with respect to the seats. It is disconcerting for an artist to play to an audience when the first rows are almost empty. Another example of inappropriate behavior was related to me by a festival volunteer. Metin once told me about a man who sat in the wrong seat in the first row. When Metin politely asked the man to move to his ticketed seat, the man insisted that he intended to stay in the first row and physically stood up to challenge Metin. Later, when Metin was relaying the incident to me, he said, "*Hasan,*

inanamazsın adam üstüme yürüdü. Diğer arkadaşlar kurtardı beni!" (Hasan, you won't believe it, the man almost assaulted me. Other colleagues saved me!") Another example was provided by a volunteer by the name of Ozan. He told me that in 2012, at the Çeşme Open Air Theatre, there was a concert by Pink Martini. An elegantly dressed woman sat in Filiz *Hanım*'s seat, who, according to protocol, only took her seat just before the start of the concert. When Ozan tried to convince her that the seat was reserved, she insisted that she was a neighbor of Filiz *Hanım*'s from the summer house in Çeşme and that she had been invited. She refused to move, and Ozan was not able to find her another seat. When Filiz *Hanım* came to sit in her seat, after making sure that all of the protocols had been properly followed, she was surprised. Finally, Ozan ran and got a plastic chair from backstage so that Filiz *Hanım* could sit down. While he was sharing this anecdote with me, he was laughing irritably: "*Bak nelerle uğraşıyoruz Hasan*!" (You see what we deal with, Hasan!)

Another factor that contributes to the problem of finding enough attendees is that the festival organizers may announce the festival program only a few weeks ahead of the opening concert because of some unforeseen issues or other arrangements with the artists.[35] Apart from its official website and Facebook profile, the visual communication of the festival is displayed on billboard installations in certain locations in the city, however, many spectators complained that there were not enough of them. During the years when I worked as a volunteer and, later, during my fieldwork in the summer of 2013, I noticed the efficiency of the new application for booking cheap tickets online via the festival's updated website. Some concert tickets were sold out in one day. This means that although it is hard to estimate the total number of International Izmir Festival participants in the metropolitan zone, since the festival itself may be invisible to the general public, the sold-out tickets signify that there is a motivated group that waits for the festival and eagerly anticipates the concerts. Unfortunately, the seniors, who were the first participants of the festival, today may not be able to find tickets for the performances that they want to attend, because they are generally slower to react to the sale of tickets and have the habit of buying the tickets on the last day or a couple of days before the performance from ticket-selling spots and not online. When they cannot find tickets, they feel 'betrayed' and upset by the

[35] In 2014 the festival announced the festival program just a few weeks before the festival's opening. Considering the time for the advertisements and reservations, this attitude is explained by such public relations considerations as "while there is Soma, we cannot announce to people that 'we make festivaaal' (employee distorted her mouth, imitating the elitist attitude) so we preferred to wait for a while before making an announcement via the media." The Soma coal mine disaster, in which more than 300 workers died, happened on May 13th, and the Izmir Festival started on June 14th. Although respecting the period of national mourning and keeping discreet about an event unrelated to the mine disaster and labor rights might be understandable, it may also be construed as validating the perception that art in general is a leisure and luxury activity for which there is no place during a period of crisis. However, festival directors like Olivier Py consider festival practice as a creative solution to political, social and economic turmoil (See my article in EFA blog: http://www.festivalbytes.eu/bend-it-like-an-art-festival/) Considering the European festivals (i.e., the Avignon Theatre Festival), the festival team could even make an announcement on March 14th, so that the inhabitants of Izmir and outsiders, who live far from Izmir, could arrange their holiday permissions and flight tickets, which are cheaper when bought in advance. From this humble approach, although I switched my thesis from city branding, which sought to connect global trends to local values to localization, I concur that an arts festival should not be exclusively for local people. Instead, it should be conscious that it might become a space of openness to connect the host city to other geographies to promote not only artistic experiences but also an intercultural dialogue. I recommend EFA Book Series 4, "Dialogue: Festivals Act for an Intercultural Society."

new e-commerce application on the internet. Hence, those who have not yet retired can afford to buy expensive tickets, whereas others try to track down invitations from their acquaintances, or they may obtain tickets via the sponsors or the festival team itself.

In summary, festival participants are sarcastically called "the elites of Izmir." This appellation does not quite reflect reality. Seen from the outside, all festival participants are assumed to be rich and powerful. However, they are mostly old and retired, and there are also unemployed people or university students who can afford the events with difficulty. This 'elite' image, which is even shared by some of the spectators and the general public, carries certain negative connotations such as arrogant, artificial or 'detached from Izmir-Turkish reality.' And yet, apart from the festival, some pop and rock music concerts in Izmir may be as expensive as the International Izmir Festival's events.

In addition to my semi-structured interview on urban memory places, I interviewed my interlocutors about their notions of being local, Izmirian, Turk and modern. They were aware that they were criticized by other local people. Yet they also claimed their local identities – such as being Turkish and *İzmirli* – by emphasizing that they were working eagerly for the festival or consciously going to the events because they were 'owning' the values of Izmir. When one participates in the International Izmir Festival, s/he assumes her/his local identity. The festival's utilization of historic sites can also be attributed to a similar motivation of wishing to maintain Izmir's cultural heritage.

Chapter 4. Izmir: Between Politics and Invisible Topography

4.1. Geography

Izmir is a city located on a long and narrow bay on the coast of the Aegean Sea where Turkey and Greece sit across from each other. The Aegean, which is a part of the Mediterranean Sea, is one of Europe's eastern borders. To the west of this bay lies the Karaburun Peninsula, extending north, and thus partially cutting off the bay from the Aegean. This blocks the inhabitants' view of the open sea and limits their perception of being connected to the world by water. For example, a journey from the island of Chios, which lies to the west of Karaburun and is the nearest foreign neighbor, requires circumnavigating the Karaburun Peninsula.[36] The harbor, which is located in Alsancak, the narrowest part of the bay in the southeast, does not have many docks, since the bay itself seems to be a large, natural dock. The trading ships and cruise boats that are seen on the bay are the only things that serve as reminders that the narrow, lake-like surface is part of an open sea. These ships, as Kaya (2010) affirms, are the perpetual but not fixed visuals of the urban landscape. In particular, ships exporting grapes are one of the rare continuities of the city from the past to the present. Whatever their cargo is, these ships appear and disappear.

In a city where there are few open spaces, apart from squares, marketplaces, parks, and crossroads – which serve urban functions – the sea seems to be a void next to a land densely packed with buildings. It is a blue and static surface in contrast to the land, which is being built upon and reshaped every day. It is my observation that the seaside is especially crowded on weekends. Individuals, couples, families, groups of friends, and amateur fishermen stand, walk along the path or sit on the grassy area that was created by filling in the sea in the 2000s. While there, they may chat, take pictures of the sea and themselves, eat sunflower seeds together with

[36]There is no ferry or daily boat service between the city center and Chios. The only connection is provided through Çeşme, a summer town on the Karaburun Peninsula close to the island.

some beer purchased from a *Tekel bayii*[37] or sit on the terrace of a café. Swimming is not possible, because the bay has been too polluted ever since the last quarter of the 20th century.

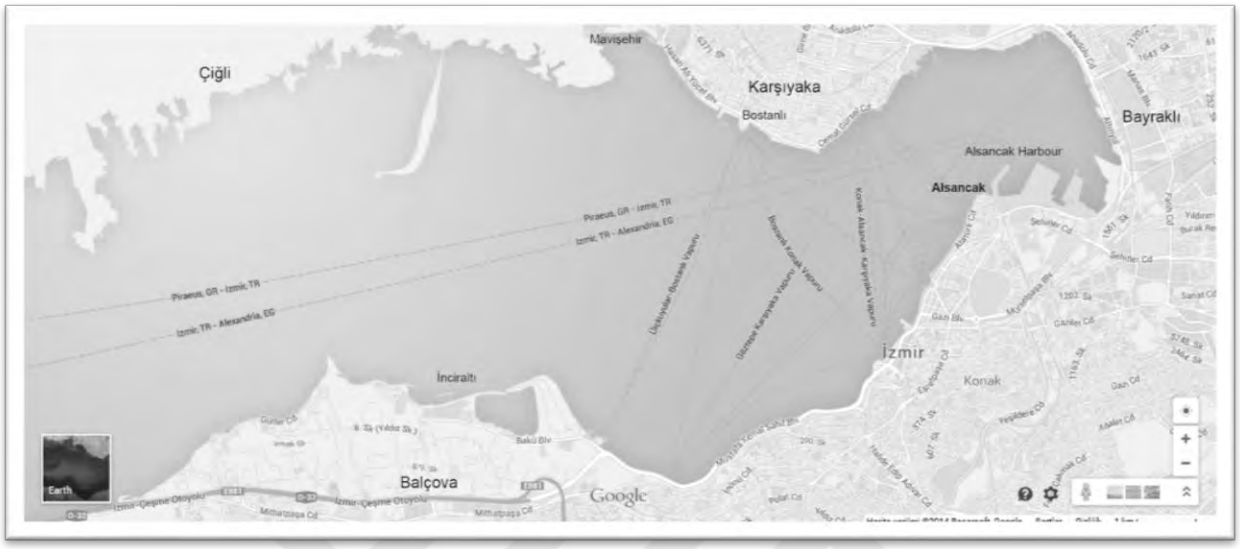
Map 1. Izmir and its environs (caption Google Maps)

The city center extends along the southeast side of the bay. On the other (north) side lies Karşıyaka, which stretches along the coast until it reaches Çiğli, characterized by high-rise dwellings and shopping centers to the west, extending to the newest *Atatürk Organize Sanayi Bölgesi* (an industrial zone) and a nature reserve called *Kuş Cenneti* (Bird Paradise). The new construction sites are very close to the industrial zone, and the nature reserve is particularly well known as a habitat where migratory birds winter over. The city has steadily grown along the route of the suburban railway connecting the bay and the metropolitan zone to the northern part of Izmir Province.

From north to south lies Bayraklı, at the end of the bay and stretching in a southeasterly direction. Bayraklı, which is the oldest settled area, also marks the narrowest part of the bay. Unfortunately, the connection of the town to the sea is blocked here by the highway, irregular skyscrapers and the railway. An important detail about Bayraklı is the Tepekule excavation area, which hosted the International Izmir Festival in 2000. This place, like other places selected by the International Izmir Festival, is physically obscured by urban development, because it lies at

[37]A *Tekel bayii* used to be a dealer of *Tekel*, the state-owned tobacco and alcohol production company. Nowadays it is the designation for a shop which may or not include a grocery market but which usually sells tobacco and alcoholic drinks (varieties of wine and beer, different brands of rakı, whisky and liqueurs), beverages, cigarettes and snacks (sunflower seeds, nuts and chips). Tekel Bayiis used to sell alcoholic drinks all the time, but according to regulations set in 2013, selling alcohol after 10:00 p.m. is now forbidden.

the crossroad of a highway connecting the north of the city to the south. The historic site is also surrounded by the old industrial zone of Bayraklı, which extends to Bornova.[38]



Map 2. The Bay of Izmir (Caption: Google Maps)

The harbor, which is situated at the corner of this narrowest part of the bay, extends towards the popular neighborhood of Alsancak, similar in shape to that of a fan, with office buildings, container parks and old industrial buildings, which either lie in ruin – as in the third case study of Reji (Tekel Cigarette Factory) – or are being turned into nightclubs, especially along Şehitler Avenue and the streets which run parallel between Kıbrıs Şehitleri and Liman avenues.[39] The rest of the Alsancak quarter includes a residential area, office space and a leisure area. During recent decades the old Chios-style houses that used to be inhabited by the Greek and Levantine communities have been renovated and transformed into bars and restaurants of various types. The seashore, Kordon, is a popular attraction, where different social classes gather for leisure activities. From here, the character of the seashore changes to that of a business zone until it reaches Konak City Line Port. Thereafter one finds a military zone, art institutions and residences until İnciraltı, where the bay flows out to the 'open sea.' Balçova *ilçesi* (district), which includes İnciraltı Park at the seaside, is similar to the northern part of the bay, with a series of shopping centers and apartment blocks extending parallel to the highway in a westerly direction, connecting the center of Izmir to the Karaburun Peninsula.

[38] This zone is still changing. Currently, a sort of Manhattan Project is underway. The old warehouses and factories lie in ruin, and they are gradually being replaced by skyscrapers and wedding organization clubs. In the context of urban memory, the axis of Bayraklı and Bornova might be an interesting topic of research.

[39] It is interesting to note that the quarters of Alsancak, Çankaya and Basmane are places where night life and businesses that deal with sexual activities are concentrated. These quarters serve business and educational activities [training centers (*dershane*), language schools, career schools] during the daytime and nightclubs and massage parlors at nighttime.

Although the city has historical axes, the new French School-based urban planning that took place after the Great fire of Smyrna erased the 'organic' growth of the city, similar to what occurred in other Mediterranean port cities (Nedim, 1997; Kasaba, 1994). Despite unplanned waves of migration and irregular traffic and parking patterns, Kültürpark's organized design and grid system at the site of the former fire area has remained unchanged.

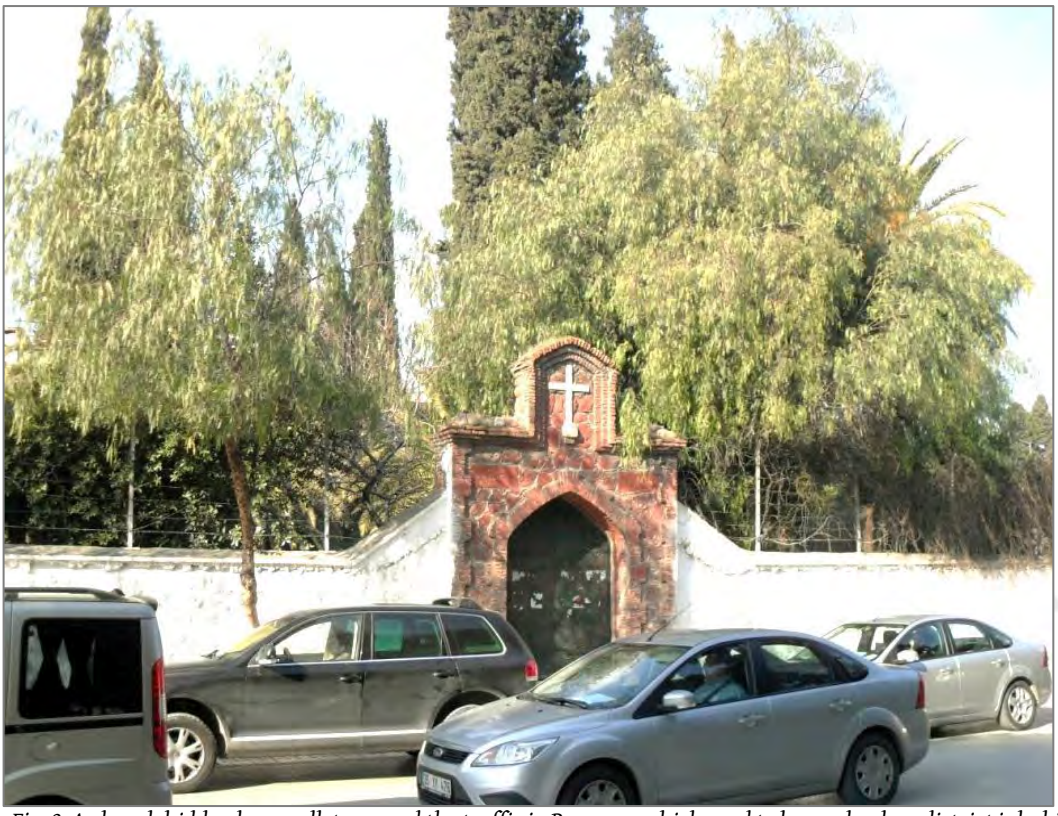


Fig. 2: A church hidden by a wall, trees and the traffic in Bornova, which used to be a suburban district inhabited by the Levantine community (photo by the author)

The topography of the metropolitan zone is flat along the seaside and northern part of the bay but becomes rugged, with hills adding layers to the urban landscape. There has always been a duality because of the difference of altitude between the seaside area and the hill where the old castle (Kadifekale) sits in the city center. According to Kuban (2001), this topographical feature has split the city into two parts ever since the Hellenistic period. The upper part traced by the hills connects the city to the land. It has traditionally been the place where the lower classes have lived, changing hands in each period. The lower part extends along the seaside. This is where, since it serves as the city's connection to the sea, the communities which have dealt in trade have settled. The presence of the harbor and its shift from south to northeast gives shape to settlement that has become haphazard, depending on commercial activities like other harbor cities. Furthermore, similar to other big cities, it has engulfed former villages and towns that have also become a part of the metropolitan area. In that sense, the administrative title *ilçe*, especially in the context of Bornova, Buca and Karşıyaka, is equivalent to *şehir* (city), because

although these places are connected to the historic center, they are physically and administratively autonomous. Moreover, they steadily extend their borders to formerly untouched areas; Karşıyaka rises to the hills, which was once forest, and Bornova and Buca to what used to be agricultural land.

Bornova is a town which provides an example of the kind of extreme urban transformation that has left behind few urban palimpsests. It is located to the east of the bay, behind Bayraklı, and is the harbor's hinterland. In the past it had a greater connection to the harbor, because it was where the Levantine community's residences were, and the men commuted from Bornova to the harbor. Moreover, it was where some agricultural products were stored and transported from (see Peker in *Üç İzmir*; 1992; 284 and Karadağ, 2000; 176). Nowadays it is a satellite of the city center, thanks to railway and highway connections.

The transformation of Bornova started with the departure of the Levantine community and continued with the establishment of Ege University in the district. Student and academic populations settled first at the center of Bornova, then expanded to the surrounding areas. Furthermore, many shopping centers and big chains like Ikea were established at the edges and sometimes on the campus of Ege University. Forum Bornova, a shopping center with an open plan, was designed and constructed as an alternative to Kemeraltı (a chaotic, old-style, open-air marketplace) and other modern shopping centers, which are located in huge, enclosed buildings. Thanks to the attraction of the educational institutions, shopping areas, restaurants and clubs, Bornova became a popular district, attracting people from nearby towns for day trips. Some families preferred to leave the crowded center, and gated communities were built at the edges of the district, thus extending its spread over a larger area.

Initially, shopping centers seemed clean and safe, because they provided security control at the entrances, cleaning service on each floor and public toilets. In addition, they were preferred as a way to escape from the winter's inclement weather and the summer's extreme heat. On the basis of my own observations, it is young couples and families with children who prefer the shopping centers, since the most popular shopping centers are located in the suburbs of Çiğli (north), Bornova (east), Narlıdere (west) and Gaziemir (south), cities connected by the highway.

Public transportation is inadequate, given the population and distances. Especially if someone lives in a suburb, public transportation may take hours with transfers, and the leisure activity of shopping might turn into a huge ordeal, what with carrying bags, children and children's bags between crowded public vehicles. Thus, I surmise that the ease of parking for car owners is appealing for those who fit such a profile. Similarly, those who match this profile typically skip the International Izmir Festival, because of the distance and difficulty of transportation. Each year the International Izmir Festival cooperates with the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality, and arrangements are made for shuttles to take spectators to the

headquarters of the festival or Sabancı Culture Palace in Karataş at the city center (these buildings are approximately 100 meters from each other on Mithatpaşa Boulevard) and return them to the same spot after concert performances at sites such as the Celsus Library in Ephesus. The concert ends at approximately 23:30, and by the time that attendees get back to the city center it is 1:00 a.m. Even if the concert takes place at a locale in the city center, such as Abacıoğlu Inn in Kemeraltı or Ayavukla in Basmane, arrival is always close to midnight. Similar to many cities, after midnight there is no regular bus, boat, underground, suburban train or tramway service. Instead, there is *baykuş servisi*, a night bus shift which circulates along the major axes of the metropolitan zone. Therefore, if the concert is, for example, by an unknown Italian soprano or a German quartet, people living in the suburbs might be reluctant to participate in the festival. Besides, none of my case study sites offer a safe parking facility in close proximity that is large enough to accommodate a crowd. With the growth of cities, accessibility and transportation seem to have become major problems for arts festivals.

Nowadays, in spite of the fact that the city areas do not provide parking or safety, the use of space has changed yet again. After smoking was banned in interior public spaces in 2008, open-air spaces became popular again, whereas shopping centers needed to provide a space for smoking. The more traditional buildings, like Kızlarağası Inn and Abacıoğlu Inn, have become alternatives for socializing and daily city trips, because people can smoke in courtyards while they eat and drink coffee and tea.

The rapid urban transformation of Izmir under neoliberal influences[40] and the incongruous results can be explicated by continuing with the example of Bornova and by sharing my personal observations. Yaşar University, where I have worked since 2015, has a small campus that forms a corridor between the residential neighborhood of Özkanlar and *2. Sanayii Sitesi* (2nd Industrial Zone). Cut off by the highway from the residential area, the campus is in an industrial zone where my father worked in his early thirties, by coincidence the age I was when I started to work at Yaşar University. I remember dusty roads, messy workshops and the noisome admixture of oil, engine, and burned-out metal as I passed through this part of Bornova during my childhood. I remember well how, over the passage of time, some empty factories became ruins (very similar to my case study of the Tekel Cigarette Factory). In 2009, when I visited Nazlı, a friend from university who had started to work at Yaşar University, we left the campus and walked along a street to reach an 'authentic' industrial coffee shop.

The roads were less dusty and less chaotic, but there were still not enough sidewalks for pedestrians to walk on. The coffee shop was a rough cottage haphazardly covered with plastic

[40] Source: https://www.arkitera.com/gorus/izmirde-neoliberal-kentlesmenin-manifestosu-olarak-folkart-projeleri/ (last access: October 30, 2019) Arkitera is an online architecture magazine sharing architectural news and debates in Turkey. In an article from the January 3, 2017 issue written by Eylem Bal and Didem Akyol Altun, they analyze the neoliberal projects of Folkart Construction Company. According to the authors, the urban realm has become commodified because of the real estate/construction-based neoliberal economy. The "new center" of Izmir is expected to become Bayraklı and Bornova, the site of a once-moribund industrial zone.

material, and there were simple plastic chairs that customers could place on the grass. The space that the coffee shop occupied also seemed arbitrary, since it was squeezed into a green area between an olive orchard belonging to the Ministry of Agriculture, a busy street, and old cars and materials belonging to a Renault service center and other repair shops. The customers provided a contrast: fashionable students, casual chic academicians and mechanics who came wearing their dirty coveralls. Between 2015 and 2017,[41] the industrial zone shrank towards the interior part of Çamdibi district, which is where the industrial zone and the *muhacir mahallesi* (an immigrant neighborhood) inhabited by Macedonian and Bosnian communities intersect.

The traffic increased, the trucks were replaced by sports cars, the empty factories and warehouses became trendy cafés. Private dormitories and student residences popped up in the urban landscape. One building became a huge 'copy center' complex, offering printing services, specialty materials, and café and breakfast facilities which were –of course – full of students from Yaşar University. The 'authentic' coffee shop extended its territory onto the grass and under the pine trees. The field of olive trees was surrounded by a barbed-wire fence. A neglected space transformed into *yeni yaşam merkezi* (new life center) for students, where there were restaurants and cafés, blocks of flats and studios with parking and big courtyards and fountains. A building facing the gate of the campus was destroyed, then a new building was constructed, advertising "the new life of Izmir" on the metal panels covering the worksite. According to geographer Karadağ (2000; 176), the area around and behind Yaşar University campus was zoned as an industrial area, but after the '90s many industrial establishments were moved to the new industrial zone in Çiğli, to the north of Izmir. Architects Çelik, Türkseven, Ulusoy and Zengel (2015) offer the analysis that areas like deserted industrial plots have lost their function because of the massive waves of migration from the countryside to Izmir, changes in industry and the shifting of industrial zones. As a matter of fact, they either remain as wasteland or gradually adapt to the new demands of the phenomenon of migration.

4.2. Social Intimacy of Daily Life in Izmir

Obviously, it is virtually impossible to make generalizations about the daily life of a large city[42] composed of different social classes, ethnicities and cultural backgrounds (including subcultures like death metal rockers, video gamers, and yoga/well-being groups). I focus this section on my observations of the use of space, especially in the city center. With respect to the effects of globalization, it might be similar to many other big cities worldwide, therefore I will attempt to filter the pattern of daily life practices in the spatial context.

[41] I reviewed this chapter in 2017, and when I go to Yaşar University today I can still see massive new construction around the campus area (last observation: May 6, 2019).
[42]The population of the metropolitan area of Izmir is 4,223,545 according to data from *Nüfus Müdürlüğü*: https://www.nufusu.com/il/izmir-nufusu (last access December 22, 2017).

Life in Izmir is relatively slow-paced, which is different from other metropolitan Turkish cities. The slow rhythm of life and the small, closed social groups are well defined. Izmir, like other big cities, contains facilities for health, transport, marketing, education and leisure, however, the slow pace, sunny weather and the presence of the sea remind inhabitants constantly of the proximity of many vacation towns on the outskirts of the city.

Although Izmir is physically a metropolitan city, a quick refresher on its geography is in order to understand why the pace of life is so slow and the diversity of lifestyles is so limited, similar to that of many small Aegean coastal towns. Similar to other Mediterranean cities, Izmir enters a period of extreme heat in the summer. May, early June and September are still bearable, but during the period when the International Izmir Festival takes place, air-conditioned interiors or the seashore are appealing in order to escape from the concrete buildings and asphalt roads which absorb and reflect the heat like an oven. During school vacations, generally in the second half of June, middle-class or elite families move to their summer houses in the provinces. Thus, a three-month period of *yazlıkçı* (summer house settling) starts. During this time, the city becomes virtually empty during the day, and the marketplaces and shopping centers are less crowded. During my fieldwork, the sun, heat and sweat were omnipresent.

In Izmir many buildings have small windows closed by shutters or only tulle curtains, which do not allow anyone from outside to see the interior, but which let the sunlight in. The buildings also have balconies, which used to be the favorite spaces of Izmir's inhabitants. Especially during the summertime, afternoon tea with friends and, later, dinner used to be consumed on the balcony while watching the street. This practice is reminiscent of the courtyard structure that urban planner Kuban (2001) studies in Muslim community housing during the Ottoman period, prior to the era of modern planning. Balconies and courtyards are considered in-between spaces that provide humans privacy in the open air. Nowadays the balconies are often enclosed (mostly without any consideration for harmonizing with the architecture of the entire building). The reason given is usually privacy, but more likely to be safety and comfort. These enclosed balconies are either a part of the living room or an extension of the living room, where people sit and read, children play, and decorative plants are cultivated.

Among the stereotypes attributed to Izmirians, according to social psychologist Bilgin (2011), distrust dominates the locals' daily lives. This should not be considered as the usual consequence of feeling insecure in a metropolitan city the size of Izmir. This is based on the famous local expression, "*İzmir'in havasına ve kızına güven olmaz*" (don't trust the weather and the girls of Izmir), which emphasizes that there may always be a surprise in store, hence you cannot anticipate future plans. Furthermore, this feeling is enhanced (unfortunately) by the general conditions in the country: the unstable educational system victimizing many teenagers, bad working conditions, corrupt politics, lack of human rights (i.e., minority rights, freedom of speech, the unlawful jailing of writers, journalists and students on trumped-up charges and without a trial). This attitude affects the media in addition to the heavy censorship. With these

conditions in mind, it is not surprising that I have witnessed many sudden disputes erupting among the inhabitants of the city. For example, public transport, especially aboard buses, is an ideal place to observe interactions among citizens. In the city center, a bus that only circulates on the main roads often does not show up within the scheduled fifteen-minute window. There is often an accumulation of passengers at the bus stop. When the bus arrives after half an hour, a crowd of people rushes to the doors, and some people who come later try to enter the bus first. Once, after I had waited half an hour for bus 169 in front of the Atatürk Cultural Center at Konak Square, two buses arrived in quick succession. As usual, the crowd rushed to the first one, and I ran to the second one together with just a few other people. The first bus was already full, but the second still had space to accommodate additional passengers. The second bus left the stop abruptly, after a quick opening and closing of the doors with only a few people on it, while the first, overcrowded bus was still at the stop trying to accommodate more passengers.[43]

Fig. 3: The entrance of the Dominican Church at Alsancak damaged by tagging (photo by the author in 2013)

Daily life can be observed at religious and secular buildings as well. Mosques, churches and synagogues can be found on any street. On the one hand, they serve as landmarks, as they differ from the dwellings that surround them, and they have been in the same place for a long time, similar to Western cities. They are often used for the purpose of orientation when trying to find one's destination. Moreover, they serve a mnemonic role in helping to capture the town in one's memory.

On the other hand, all of these religious structures are separated from the public space and are surrounded by high walls and fences. When I enter a mosque, even though it may be a historic one, I

[43] This information dates back to my fieldwork period from 2011 till 2014. Recently, the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality expanded the underground network and constructed tramway lines on two sides of the Gulf of Izmir. In tandem with this, many bus lines were taken out of circulation in order to 'motivate people to use transport that was more ecological, punctual and appropriate to world standards.' (See the monthly publications of the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality.) Unfortunately, the rail system has not yet been able to meet the demands of overcrowded Izmir. Furthermore, the tramway goes between sidewalk and road, sometimes even crossing over the sidewalk. It moves slowly and cautiously, thus it may take a long time to cover a relatively short distance.

cannot visit it at my ease like a Catholic church in Belgium or France. First, I have to take off my shoes at the entrance and put them on a shelf, because the outside is considered to be 'dirty' and those who pray will be touching the floor with their hands and faces. I take off my shoes when I enter my home as well. This dichotomy of clean-inside and dirty-outside designates '*mahremiyet*' (privacy), a space that I may not visit as I am. This understanding of mosque and home might be interpreted as '*oikos,*' the ordering of space from ancient Greece until today (Dehaene & De Cauter, 2008; 97).

If I compare the churches and mosques of Izmir, the entrances of the churches are usually closed, and there are barbed-wire fences along the walls. Silence dominates. The trees that burst forth from the walls give off a wild impression, and the walls, unlike those of the mosques, are often sprayed with graffiti by teenagers, like "KSK 35/5" or "GÖZTEPE," which are the slogans of the local soccer teams [KSK refers to Karşıyaka *ilçesi* (town) and Göztepe is again Göztepe *semti* (neighborhood)]. The silent and closed churches look neglected, and it occasionally happens that their walls are a convenient space for football fans to express their local identity and write some tags. The mosques too have walls and gardens that distinguish the privacy of the interior from the street. The walls are usually not tagged. In comparison with the churches, which always seem to be closed, mosques offer a striking contrast: mosques are places of constant movement and noise. The imam's voice is broadcast loudly from the amplifiers on the minarets. The volume can be considered as a way of establishing the presence of the mosque. Moreover, I often see a beggar waiting outside or a crowd from a funeral or worshippers going in and out. Therefore, when I attended a classical music concert dedicated to the theme of Christmas at Saint-John Anglican Church, across from Reji and the Alsancak train station, I wrote this reaction in my field diary:

December 16, 2012. I am in the Anglican church near the Alsancak train station. A Christmas concert is being held. The spectators are primarily Turks, Levantines and foreigners who live [in Izmir] temporarily. There are Zouzou and Françoise with the students from Dokuz Eylül University's conservatory. The choral members have elegant and beautiful clothes. They sing with good articulation without any mistaken notes. I feel a kind of Izmir Festival paradox. The event is quite Western, but are we Western too? What are we? Is it only an artistic performance or a desire to be a Westerner? Maybe both. Because I have just visited my parents in Karşıyaka, this historic place and the performance make me feel as if I am attending the International Izmir Festival. I am in an intercultural ambiance that has connections to the West. Instead of reacting negatively to the Turkish-Muslim stereotype of 'Western=Christian' or being scared by the thought, 'have we become a cultural colony?', we should let our culture be nourished. Why don't we open [ourselves] up to change, cultural interaction and evolution instead of closing off our own culture and values by saying "that is our culture" out of worry that the public – I mean 'we' – will reject each other? Didn't our language and religion change after the interactions of a long time ago?

At both the Izmir Festival and this Christmas concert, I am preoccupied with the question of "who are we?" I feel alienated in these places, which are different, although they are a part of this city, despite

their difference in rhythm and texture from my contemporary Turkish life among the concrete dwellings, cars, billboards and shopping centers. Yes, this church is in Izmir, and as I am İzmirli*, this church is a part of my physical environment. But then it is always a little bit of one and a little bit of the other, which is foreign. I both belong and do not belong here. Zouzou is French and Catholic. It seems that she belongs to this church more than I do. But at the same time, she is a foreigner, because she is not* İzmirli*. Apart from my wish to see a familiar face around me, the people who take pictures with their iPhones and iPads in this historic church contribute to blurring the religious aspect of this ritual at an historic place. It depends on me whether I perceive this event as an artistic performance or "a missionary endeavor."*

I noticed other aspects of social life as well. For instance, the locals who belong to the elite or upper-middle class may expose more bare skin in their dress than the middle and lower classes. Although this has changed because the AKP government created its own religious, conservative elites (Demirtaş-Miltz, 2010), there is still a socioeconomic aspect to dress codes. Men can wear shorts, and women can wear shorts, skirts or short dresses. Men from the lower and middle class always wear jeans or trousers of other fabrics, while the women always wear long skirts, trousers and large pullovers or t-shirts that hide the contours of their bodies. Despite these differences, all social classes share a common sensibility about color. Men wear always lots of white, black, grey, ochre, brown, khaki and dull blue, regardless of their social class, whereas women have more freedom to choose bright, dull, dark or light-colored clothing. The bright colors and the short apparel are regarded as 'childish,' 'effeminate,' 'holiday-like' or have some other pejorative meanings. As a fieldworker I respected these dress codes in the beginning, but later (from July) I couldn't resist wearing shorts in the extreme hot weather, while still adhering to the color codes. I always wore ivory, white, black, dark blue and ochre colors, to show that I cared and respected them, and that I was still serious in my job.

If daily life appears orderly, organized and predictable, then it reflects the urban plan and signage system of the city. It seems at first glance that there is little order concerning urban planning and signage systems in Izmir. Street signboards, which are one of the essential elements needed to find an address, are not always in the right place and sometimes do not even exist. When I had an appointment with an interlocutor in his/her office or home, they first gave me the name or the number of the street with the number on the door, and then they added the name of a café, a pharmacy, a supermarket or a building painted with a different color to serve as my landmark in locating the interlocutor's address. Furthermore, even the official city map provided by the tourism desk of Izmir was not updated. The map that I received from them was printed in 2008 by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism in Ankara. I looked for the concert areas, and the place where the AASSM (Ahmed Adnan Saygun Arts Center) was built was not indicated. It was displayed as a green area without a name. Moreover, when I searched on Google Maps for the place where Ayavukla should be, it was shown as being an archaeological museum. It was updated a few years after its public opening. As a matter of fact, except for the sea, it is hard to name a stable landmark.

Map 3: Ayavukla (Agios Voukolos Church) was indicated according to its previous function on Google Maps (access date: May 2, 2014)

Map 4: Ayavukla (Agios Voukolos Church) was changed, as its original name in Turkish was 'Aya Voukla Kilisesi' on Google Maps (last access: April 16, 2015 captured by the author)

This ambivalence and unpredictability are echoed in daily life. I catch myself and members of my social network (including the research group members) saying words like *bakalım* (let's see) or *kismet* (fate), which indicate a lack of being well-prepared. There are strict rules but no (auto) control, thus it happened to me many times that when I set something up (i.e., an appointment with an interlocutor for an in-depth interview), the other might reply yes, because saying no would be impolite, so s/he might say yes, but when the time came, s/he might give an excuse based on family or health for canceling the program. What's worse is that I never know whether people mean what they say, because they don't want to say 'no' directly. The answer might be a fake excuse, because saying no would be impolite and offensive. For example, after

making an appointment many weeks in advance, I would end up calling them or sending Facebook Messenger messages (not email, since I never know when they reply or if they reply, and not WhatsApp, because the smartphone was not as popular as now) just one or two weeks in advance, then calling again three days before the meeting and again on the morning before leaving home to go for the interview. At the beginning of my research, I used to call them just two weeks in advance. Sometimes when I arrived, they were absent or busy. Very few people used a planner to remember an appointment, and it was possible that they forgot it. They seemed to be spontaneous. However, spontaneity was making my fieldwork stressful. I did not have the option of visiting all of them at their homes or of finding them in a public place where they gathered regularly. This behavior was reflected in the festival organization and its participation. According to Filiz Sarper and some interlocutors from the festival team, "because of financial reasons and the uncertainty of sponsors' contributions, the festival program might be changed up till the very last minute." This means that it is possible that the program will be released only a few weeks before the festival. As the dates vary in the months of May, June, July and even September, the festival goers living outside of Izmir have to face the prospect of having to buy expensive plane tickets. Every year I had to make a guess that there would likely be events in the second half of June and the beginning of July, and I booked my flight in advance to avoid expensive fares. What's more, as Nilgün and Neslihan also argued, a festival that wants to contribute to the image of the city, and therefore to appeal to tourism, needs to be able to coordinate with cruises coming from Europe or the hotels in Kuşadası, Selçuk (these are very close to the events at the ancient site of Ephesus), Çeşme and Izmir's city center, but in order to do so, the managers and agents need to be aware of the festival program some months in advance in order to include it in their tour program or their promotions. What's more, I had observed that the employees of the sponsors and other people receiving invitations might confirm their attendance but might not actually show up.

According to Nilgün and Ceren, many seats in the first rows of the venue are indeed empty, but they cannot sell low-cost, last-minute tickets, because, first, they are a non-profit organization, thus they are restricted by laws. Second, the sponsors are VIPs, and if they were to come late and find someone else sitting in their seat, it would be an awkward situation to deal with. Third, the organizers have engaged Biletix Company to handle ticketing and sales. They are not allowed to take the initiative to sell those 'last-minute tickets' on the spot. Finally, some concerts, especially those in Ephesus, are relatively less accessible; people who do not have tickets but might consider waiting outside for 'cheap, last-minute tickets' would need to drive from their homes to the entrance of the ancient site[44] and might wait for nothing after a long drive.

[44] Ephesus is an archaeological site, but it is actually a museum-city preserving many dwellings and streets. It is on the outskirts of Selçuk city on the way to Selçuk. It is protected by fences and gates with security service and sometimes gendarmerie. In the summertime it serves as a museum till 18:00. The organizers and technicians must show their free access accreditation cards and the audience their tickets to enter the city after 20:00, which is the official time for opening the doors

Moreover, in addition to all this iffiness and unpredictability, the issue of invisibility must be taken into account as well. This invisibility might again be a consequence of indirect communication, where the information is not conveyed directly. The lack of an efficient graphic design application makes it difficult to highlight the venues and historic monuments. Moreover, it is again stressful to find the venue if one is not familiar with the neighborhood. The new cultural venues of AASSM (Ahmed Adnan Saygun Arts Center) in Göztepe and Hikmet Şimşek Art Center in Atakent quarters are again hidden behind other concrete blocks and traffic circulation. Wayfinding graphics are not strong enough to orient a pedestrian. It is remarkable that the signboards and the necessary wayfinding system of an artistic venue are less visible than a kebab restaurant. Nowadays, fortunately, one may find one's own way by using smartphone applications as long as s/he has enough battery and a good internet connection.

My interlocutor Emre, who is both an artist and a spectator, maintains that the conserve-ative approach of the administration contributes to invisibility in the city as well: "*Konak Theatre is closed. The entrance is locked, the toilets are locked...Let the people enter so that they can visit and discover. But no! It's not possible...This is the mentality of the conservative state.*" This might be interpreted as an indication of distrust by the institutions and an apprehension that public spaces will be misused by the citizens. On the other hand, as Emre mentions, it seems that citizens do not take responsibility, and they do not have the civic consciousness to properly maintain a public space; for these reasons the state's authoritarian approach to these institutions is paternalistic, like that of the father of a traditional family (Navaro-Yashin, 2002; Dimova and Cojocaru, 2013).

In conclusion, the International Izmir Festival, whose events are organized in a large space, reflects how space is used in the city. There are many barriers preventing people from 'seeing' places and from communicating with the places in which they interact. Some barriers might be considered as physical, such as the hot weather and the long distances that need to be covered, especially during the festival period, which is when people typically go to their summer houses. Other barriers are more organizational and are related to the habits and political-social structure of the country. As an insider, I share my experiences related to the lack of trust. Issues of unpredictability and unreliability are certainly factors contributing to people's (lack of) time management skills, and the structure of the city and the difficulties in navigating within it are also large contributors. Evidence of Turkish society's indirectness and inhibition are reflected across a broad spectrum, ranging from oral communication to building construction. An example of the former is what happens when there is a disagreement; confrontation or negotiation are both avoided, leaving wounds festering. An example of the latter is as simple as the lack of windows in bathrooms, since privacy is seen as paramount.

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of the festival. To buy last-minute tickets, people would have to wait outside the gates of the ancient city, and, once they enter, they would have to run in order to arrive on time at the amphitheater, library or Odeon.

4.3. The City and its Politics

Politics is one of the elements that has molded Izmir's contemporary identity. This hot topic shapes its image nationally, and it is worth delving into briefly. Izmir has been considered the 'Other' at different periods of its history. The large number of non-Muslim citizens and its distance from Istanbul have lent the city an autonomous character in comparison with other Anatolian towns. Hence, it used to be identified as *Gâvur İzmir* (Infidel Izmir). After the founding of the republic, the refugees from the Balkans and Greek islands who replaced the non-Muslims exerted a liberal influence on the lifestyle of the country, thus reinforcing Izmir's cosmopolitan and liberal past.

Since the elections of 2002, when AKP (the Islamist party) ascended to power in Turkey, politics have been reflected in daily life. While Izmir has maintained a Kemalist (republican and secular) stance, other Anatolian towns have grown more Islamist with respect to politics and lifestyle. Many Turkish writers criticize the stereotype of 'Izmir as the castle of the Left' in "*Değişen İzmir'i Anlamak*" (eds. Haspolat and Yıldırım, 2010). In fact, power was in the hands of the shopkeepers, local family companies and landowners who used to vote for the right in the city, where the economy was based largely on agricultural trade and industry. Nevertheless, Izmir is still recalled as the place where the *Kurtuluş Savaşı* (War of Independence) started and ended, from the disembarkation of the Greek army in Izmir on May 15, 1919 to the transfer of the city administration to the young government in Ankara on September 9, 1922. Hence, national values are strongly embedded in the local culture, such as choosing to display the Turkish flag and Atatürk's image in contrast to the headscarf, which symbolizes Islamic and thus more Ottoman values (Navaro-Yashin, 2002).

Neslihan Demirtaş-Miltz analyzes the political orientation of Izmirians in the context of local identity, claiming that this image is contradictory to reality (2010; 403-433). Like other authors of the book, her critical approach indicates that Izmir's characterization as 'the castle of CHP' (*Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi*/ Republican Public Party) or 'the castle of the left' is not always reliable, because the inhabitants of Izmir used to vote for liberal parties because of their economic policies. If they vote for CHP today, it is because they are unified under the secular, Western-like lifestyle that the AKP government rejects. What is regarded as modernity takes the form embraced by CHP: a model which mimics the contemporary, modern lifestyle of Western countries.

Still, CHP supports those local values that are a part of national values: a belief in Atatürk's vision, secularism, being Turkish, and support for the Turkish army, whereas the political platform of AKP, the sovereign political party, includes modern infrastructure, transport and construction projects. Instead of endorsing an idealized and ultimately modern Turkey, it valorizes the Islamic religion and the traditions of the countryside. Thanks to such populist politics, it became popular in the countryside and the low-income migrant neighborhoods of

the big cities. Hence, the party's policy echoes the view of the late Ottoman state that juxtaposes the 'Muslim character of the Anatolian towns' against '*Gâvur İzmir*' (Infidel Izmir), an otherizing designation for the non-Muslim majority of the population. When former prime minister (and now president) Recep Tayyip Erdoğan refers to this past identity of Izmir in a speech, he plays on double meanings: while he positions himself and his voters as a continuity of the Ottomans, Izmirians who don't vote for AKP become 'infidel' and, naturally, the 'other' of 'his' Turkey. Today's Izmir is obviously not the same non-Muslim city. In fact, after the war, with the population exchange and the internal waves of migration, the majority of the city is Muslim, just like the rest of the country. Izmirians subscribe to the policies of CHP, which is secular and yet nationalist like AKP. Erdoğan's identification of Izmir as *gâvur* is something that its citizens protest, since the majority of the city is as Muslim as the rest of the country. In response, Izmirians later adopted an interpretation of *gâvur* to indicate its more secular and West-like lifestyle. Thus, secular-nationalism has become fused as part of the local identity (Demirtaş-Miltz, 2010; 423-424).

The concept of *Beyaz Türk* (White Turk), which refers to an identity cluster that is Turkish, Sunni Muslim and secular, is also generally valid in describing the identity of Izmirians. This identity was painted as the ideal after the founding of the Turkish Republic prompted a period of homogenization in the country. Homogenization first meant the establishment of a nation-state based on post-French Revolution values, which had already spread throughout Europe and would lead to the end of the multiethnic Ottoman and Austrian Empires. Historically speaking, from Venizelos[45] to Atatürk the common goal was to end the struggles between the communities and to create a stable, 'modern' system in which there would be the regulation of only one religion and language in daily life, education, politics and law. After the Balkan Wars, this goal began to be realized in the European territories of the Ottoman Empire (the Balkans and Greece). The Muslims in these areas fled to Anatolia (even though they didn't speak Turkish), and the non-Muslims of Thrace and Anatolia fled to Greece, Italy, France, Great Britain and the United States. Furthermore, the tense conditions of World War I and the great fire accelerated the waves of migration of the Levantine and Anatolian communities before the population exchange. After the founding of the republic, the state aimed to create a homogeneous, modern and secular Izmir. However, this objective could not be fully realized, because those who migrated from the Balkans and Greece maintained their cultural identities while adapting to the new identity that was being constructed. For example, they claimed to be Turkish, Izmirian and Cretan all at the same time. The Levantine community, which used to be the backbone of the city, experienced a similar confusion about its cultural identity (Schmitt, 2006; 114-118). (For example, one may claim to be Izmirian, Catholic and English all at once, which does not accord

[45]Venizelos was a Greek politician who supported the Hellenization of the Asian coast of the Aegean Sea. He participated in the Paris Conference in an effort to convince the Allied Forces that since the majority of the population of Izmir and its surroundings was Greek, the land should be given to the Kingdom of Greece. He was supported by Lloyd George, the British prime minister. Venizelos served as prime minister during the governance of Izmir by the Greek Kingdom between 1919 and 1922. For more detailed information, see Giles Milton's *Paradise Lost: Smyrna, 1922* (2008, Basic Books).

with the Turkish national identity.) The people of Balkan and Greek origin replaced the Levantine community and filled the socioeconomic gap left by its departure. Thus, ironically, the city which was intended to be a homogeneous Turkish city again became multicultural.

There are other examples that do not fit the stereotype of the secular, CHP-supporting Izmirian. According to Kaya (2006), Policarpo Sergio, who comes from one of the oldest Levantine families of Izmir, became a member of AKP because of its liberal politics. According to Kaya, AKP's electors generally include the lower classes, and the party, which is traditionally Islamic, assigned Sergio the task of convincing the *Alevi*[46] community to join AKP. While the author finds it highly contradictory, he associates this choice with the commercial past of the Levantines.[47] From this point of view, a distinction is made between the refugees and immigrants from the Balkans and Greek islands who were driven away after the wars and the Levantines, whose ancestors individually came to Smyrna for purposes of trade after the 16th century.

This contradiction in the identity of *İzmirli* is applicable not only to individuals. The city itself plays a part. Izmir, which is represented as a modern Turkish city, has been affected by the *Beyaz Türk* formula. However, this image of being *Gâvur İzmir* has been reduced to the stereotype of a city where miniskirts can be worn, the relations between the sexes are liberal, and alcoholic drinks may be enjoyed: i.e., a city that does not lead a conservative Muslim lifestyle. However, the 'modernity' of Izmirians is an outdated notion of modernity that is nostalgically tied to the values of the early years of the republic (Özyürek, 2006). Demirtaş-Miltz (2010) claims that to the CHP, modernity means cultural modernity, whereas to the AKP it means economic development. Izmirians espouse CHP's version of modernity, which is gradually leading to its splitting off from the rest of the country. However, this outdated form of modernity contradicts modernity in today's sense, because Izmirians do not embrace diversity; for example, they react negatively to Islamic clothing, the Kurdish community, Syrian refugees and other Middle Eastern groups.[48]

It is also worth considering the notion of acceptance of the other with respect to alternative groups at the urban scale. It is not only ethnic or geographic origins but sometimes a non-normative profile that may be a source of tension. If I project myself as a subject,[49] when I was conducting my fieldwork and introduced myself as a doctoral student, illustrator and single person, the locals constantly asked questions about my income and my plans for the future, as I seemed like something of a 'work in progress' for them. I was an anomaly, as I did

[46]A religious community in Anatolia known as being more liberal in their lifestyle.
[47]According to the news in Radikal Journal, he resigned from the party, claiming that he had been exploited as an image and not given any active role (resource: http://www.radikal.com.tr/politika/sergio_akpde_vefasizlik_cok-762473 (last access on May 23, 2014).
[48] I borrow the same words of the authors of *Değişen İzmir'i Anlamak* (eds. Yıldırım and Haspolat), which was published in 2010. While editing this chapter in 2020, I realized that the aggressive reactions of the locals had changed to a more unspoken cynicism towards religious and Middle Eastern individuals.
[49] Particularly after the Gezi Park protests in 2013 and the coup attempt on July 15, 2016, intellectuals from Istanbul and Ankara have moved to Izmir. The local intellectuals and newcomers have lately created a cultural hub in which alternative lifestyles (i.e., art collectives, yoga/well-being groups) have become more acceptable.

not have a regular job and was not married with children. I experienced similar reactions from my interlocutors when I later worked in Izmir as a freelance illustrator. My memory dates back to the time before I started my research. In 2009 I was seeking a workspace in the city center. The only spaces suitable for artists were in Kardıçalı Inn, which was in bad shape and already filled with other local artists, dominated by Dokuz Eylül University graduates. I realized that the other inns, shops and business places were designed for commercial sector use or to serve as warehouses. They were either too large, too expensive or too dark. My request as an illustrator was received each time with amazement and curiosity as something that the landowners or building managers were not used to. As far as housing is concerned, I also experienced difficulty in finding a studio to live in as a single person, which was different from my experiences in France. There was a paucity of studios at a good price. There were mostly apartments with two or three bedrooms and one living room, which were designed for married couples with children.

This lack of acceptance of the 'other' as well as a lack of diversity are also reflected in design. The interiors of the apartments, whatever their year of construction or location, were again similar: there was always a living room next to the entrance – in which to host guests and keep them distant from the bedrooms – and the bathroom never had a window. The absence of windows in the bathrooms had to do with the notion of privacy, for the body should always be discretely hidden from the outside, similar to the dress code that I mentioned earlier. Other options for accommodation were student dormitories or old houses in shambles that the inheritors could not deal with and which were waiting to be demolished to make room for a new residence.

Similar to my experience with workspaces, the studios that I found were constructed in new residences in the suburbs like Çiğli.[50] Considering the main purpose of studio housing, they were ridiculously unaffordable for a young single person, even more than the ordinary old apartments with two bedrooms and a living room. The type of ghettoization associated with the inhabitants of the upper-middle class ignored the young artist and designer population with irregular or lower incomes.

Before analyzing the phenomenon of migration in detail in *Chapter 6, Modernity and Migrations*, I will address briefly the influence of the migration phenomenon on Izmir's political scene. According to sociologist Cenk Saraçoğlu (2010) and economist Alp Yücel Kaya (2006), migration is tightly tied to city policy. After all, contemporary Izmir contends with migration from the rural areas of Turkey, which struggle against the background of conflicts of local values

[50]Çiğli, which used to be a migrant *ilçe* (town), has been a part of the metropolitan zone for decades. It has become a mixture of low-quality apartment blocks inhabited by lower-class migrant families; new and good-quality apartment blocks and villas for the higher economic classes; a large industrial zone adjacent to a nature reserve inhabited or visited by local and migratory bird species. As some people of the upper class have moved out of the city center, Çiğli has become one of the areas in which people have chosen to settle. The town is close to Karşıyaka, where there are art centers and public transport to the other side of the bay. Still, according to my observations, the festival participants who live in Çiğli find it difficult to return home after a concert in AASSM, Çeşme Castle and Ephesus, which are located on the west and south axes of Izmir Province, whereas Çiğli remains on the axis north of Foça (Phokai) and Bergama (Pergamon).

and the 20th-century model of modernity. Even though the new arrivals speak Turkish, they are unaccustomed to an urban culture modeled on that of the West and are unfamiliar with the standard societal norms of living in an urban environment (i.e., traffic rules, attitudes towards women, apparel, use of shared spaces in apartment blocks). The clash of different ethnicities and cultures, representing a confrontation between local and national values, often begets conflict. Therefore, while locals vote more for CHP (Republican People's Party), with its urban and secular-traditional discourse, the migrants tend to vote for AKP (Justice and Development Party), because of its Islamic-traditional discourse. This results in a polarization of the city (Saraçoğlu, 2010). According to some of my interlocutors, immigrants from the countryside represent the image of the 'Islamic lifestyle, sexism, rudeness, disrespectfulness and dirtiness.' Locals and immigrants differ in their understanding of modernity, and they are reluctant to engage in a dialogue with each other; thus, the reaction to migration cannot be transformed into its potential for creativity and cosmopolitan richness. We can see this clearly during the International Izmir Festival, when there is little interaction between the festival participants and the inhabitants of the neighborhood. This ties in well with other migration case studies which show that the construction of the local identity is debated and performed in public spaces (Demirtaş-Miltz, 2010; Hall, 1998; Mills, 2014; Cesari, 2011; Dimova, 2012).

Izmirians' tolerance for the 'other' depends on the relation of the 'other' with the past and being local. While, for instance, the Jewish community may gain sympathy due to their relation to urban memory, as Saraçoğlu (2010) mentions, there is little sympathy for the recently arrived Kurdish community, which is associated with terror, poverty and rusticity. I quote the statement of my interlocutor Nilgün, a self-identified *İzmirli,* when I asked about her attitude as a local:

"Ethnic origins are not important. For example, our house was one of three houses sharing one roof. There was an old Jewish brother and sister living on the lower floor of the middle house. On Saturday, they didn't light a fire. It was the Sabbath. Starting Friday evening we would do their shopping and cooking, because they didn't light a fire (laugh). We served them. We were only kids. We didn't do any housework at home, but we did theirs every Saturday. My parents never said, "Why do you serve the foreigners? The Jews!" They would even do it when we couldn't. Each Saturday, during my whole childhood. That poor man died. His sister was taken away by her family. They left. For 6-7 years, probably, we lit their fires, did their shopping, we bought their bread and newspapers. We helped to clean their house. I mean we looked after them. It was the same for all the neighbors. He is Jewish, the other is Greek or Turk...We didn't have such a thing. Our neighbors were Jewish. We also had Jewish neighbors on the upper floor. 30 days of Ramadan their children used to fast with us and get up for Sahur, and we used to eat bread without flour (matzo), as they don't eat bread during their Hamursuz (Pesach Fast)."

Nilgün drew a traditional picture emphasizing such values as religion and neighborhood. She stressed that she had not contributed to housework done at her home, however, she had helped the old Jewish neighbors. The words *Jewish* and *old* were stressed to indicate tolerance, respect and solidarity. Moreover, she maintained her discourse of the exchange of religious

practice based on respect and interaction between Jewish and Muslim neighbor children. In contrast to this, she told me during a later interview that the peasants who had emigrated from eastern Turkey (which often implies the Kurdish community) filled the sidewalks around Kültürpark during the International Izmir Fair. What would the foreign visitors of the fair think of Izmir? She added another anecdote related to this: once her brother came back from Athens with his Greek colleagues/friends. They wanted to visit Kemeraltı, the old market area. Her brother saw women with scarves and burqas. He was ashamed of this sight next to his Greek friends and complained to Nilgün. While Nilgün shared the shame and anger of her brother, she said how she missed the 'clean and elegant Kemeraltı of her childhood' and disapproved of the 'Middle Eastern Arab marketplace' conditions of Kemeraltı. This means that as long as a neighbor was local, had similar values and belonged to the same social class, ethnicity and religion did not matter. However, conflict between today's locals and new arrivals may arise not only due to a difference between social classes and lifestyles but also between ethnicities.

As I stated above, there has been a polarization between Izmir and many Anatolian towns during the last decades (eds. Yıldırım & Polat, 2010). While the political views of Izmir have retained a nationalist, Western-like secular understanding of modernity, the economically developing Anatolian towns generally favor a religious, nationalist policy. Returning to the cultural-political conflict between the secular-modern and Islamist parties, journalist and politic scientist Koray Çalışkan reflects on Demirtaş-Miltz's argument. His position is that "*the rage of Izmir against AKP does not originate from the cultural differences; in fact, it is real, there is a structural reason.*" According to him, the taxes are higher than the investments: "*While Izmir takes 1, it gives 50.*"[51]

Çalışkan's article in 2014 agrees with the authors of *Değişen İzmir'i Anlamak* (eds. Yıldırım and Haspolat, 2010). They postulate that the global crisis, the efforts to make Istanbul a global city, and the power relation of AKP-CHP negatively influence Izmir's economic sustainability. Its famously mellow ambiance has been eroding with the increasing population and unemployment. The ambitious attempts to make Izmir "Turkey's modern face" have slowed down (Pasin et al., 2015). With Izmir's loss of economic and political power, local shareholders and entrepreneurs have transferred the headquarters of their companies to Istanbul. I detected that the people that I talked to were indeed angry and disappointed at being left out of the national and international competition of the cities and being obliged to move to Istanbul or to let their children move to Istanbul. Local investors and the younger members of the population complain of an inequality of investment and promotion, something which is seen as being attributable to Istanbul's dominance and the way in which the government distributes power.

[51]Koray Çalışkan, "Big Punishment from PM Erdoğan to Izmir" March 13, 2014, Radikal Newspaper, source: http://www.radikal.com.tr/yazarlar/koray_caliskan/tayyip_erdogandan_izmire_buyuk_ceza-1180596 (last access: October 23, 2019)

Yet once more, during this crisis the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality has become an important actor with its local investments and innovations. The municipalities (i.e., Seferihisar Municipality, *citta slow*) and other local organizations (i.e., TARKEM, Izmir Chamber of Commerce) offer local network-based practical solutions. Within the context of my research, their investment in tourism, and, in particular, the festivals, attracted the attention of the public and the media and became a way to promote the restoration of monuments and the establishment of new cultural centers.

To summarize, Izmir is a brand city on a national scale, known for its secular, Western-like lifestyle. Different from the cities which vote for AKP, where being modern is associated with investment in construction, for Izmirians being modern connotes cultural progress along Western lines. This seemingly liberal view is considered secular-conservative, while those cities which vote for AKP are seen as religious-conservative. Behind the 'modern' image of Izmir, there is less acceptance of the 'other,' which may also extend to diverse social classes, ethnic origins and lifestyles.

Table 1. The venues in the city center of Izmir

	Venue	Organization Year(s)	Open Air?	Distance*
Izmir city center and metropolitan area	Kültürpark Open Air Theatre	1987(x7), 1988(x6), 1989(x5), 1990,1991(x3), 1992(x4),1993(x2), 1994(x3), 1995(x2), 1996(x2),1997, 1998(x2), 1999(x2), 2000(x3), 2001, 2002, 2003(x2), 2004, 2006(x4), 2007, 2008(x2), 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016	Yes	2.3 km on foot
	Karşıyaka Open Air Theatre (Karşıyaka)	1987(x2),1988 (x2), 2004	Yes	15.9 km by car
	Atatürk Cultural Centre	1991, 1994(x2), 1998(x2), 1999(x2), 2015	No	0.65 km on foot
	İsmet İnönü Art Centre	1994, 2000	No	2.1 km on foot
	DEÜ Sabancı Cultural Centre	1994, 1997, 2005, 2006, 2011, 2019	No	0.8 km on foot
	St. Polycarp Church	1997, 1998, 2000	No	1.6 km on foot
	Agora	1999	Yes	1.8 km on foot
	Alhambra Scene	1999, 2019	No	0.3 km on foot
	Tepekule (Bayraklı)	2000	Yes	10.1 km by car
	Kadifekale (Belvedere Castle)	2002(x3),	Yes	5.9 km by car
	Gündoğdu Square	2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2012	Yes	2.6 km on foot
	Uşakizade Latife Hanım Mansion	2003	No	3.2 km on foot
	Ege University Campus Culture Centre (Bornova)	2004	No	13.2 km by car
	Müziksev	2007, 2008	Yes	3.6 km on foot
	Ahmet Adnan Saygun Arts Centre	2009(x3), 2010(x4), 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015 (x4), 2016 (x4), 2017 (x6), 2018 (x5), 2019 (x6)	No	5.3 km on foot
	Ayavukla (Agios Voukolos Church)	2011, 2012	No	2.4 km on foot
	Izmir Tobacco Factory (Reji)	2012 (one-month interactive video installation)	No	3.2 km on foot
	Izmir University of Economics Open Air Theatre (Balçova)	2012, 2014, 2015	Yes	9.2 km by car
	Abacıoğlu Inn (Kemeraltı)	2013	Yes	0.5 km on foot
	State Theatre Konak Stage	2016, 2017	No	0.85 km on foot (approximately 150 m. bird eye view)
	Kızlarağası Inn (Kemeraltı)	2019	Yes	1 km. on foot

Table 2. The venues in the province of Izmir

	Venue		Organization Year(s)	Open Air?	Distance*
Izmir Province	Ephesus Antic Site (Selçuk)	Ephesus Amphitheatre	1987 (x4), 1988 (x12), 1989 (x6), 1990 (x6), 1991 (x3), 1992 (x5), 1993 (x5), 1995(x5), 1996(x6), 1997(x4), 1998(x4), 1999, 2000 (x6), 2001 (x4), 2002(x6), 2003(x3), 2004(x3), 2005(x3), 2006 (x4), 2007(x2), 2012, 2013, 2014(x2), 2016, 2017, 2018	Yes	91 km by car
		Celsus Library	1989, 1996, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003(x2), 2004, 2005, 2006(x3), 2007, 2008(x4), 2009(x2), 2010(x2), 2011(x3), 2012(x2), 2013(x2), 2014(x2), 2015 (x2), 2016 (x3), 2018 (x4), 2019	Yes	91 km by car
		Odeon	2009, 2010, 2011, 2013, 2015, 2019	Yes	91 km by car
		Agora	2012	Yes	91 km by car
	Virgin Mary's House (Selçuk)	1988, 2000		Yes	96,1 km by car
	St. John Baptist Church (Şirince)	2014		No	94,4 km by car
	Çeşme Open Air Theatre (Çeşme)	1990 (x3), 1996, 1997(x2), 1998(x2), 1999(x3), 2000, 2001(x3), 2007, 2015		Yes	85,3 km by car
	Metropolis Antic Theatre (Torbalı)	2001		Yes	68,7 km by car
	Çeşme Castle (Çeşme)	2004(x2), 2005(x3), 2006(x2), 2009, 2010(x2), 2011, 2012, 2017 (x2), 2018		Yes	85,6 km by car
	Asklepion Antic Theatre (Bergama)	2006, 2008, 2009, 2010(x2)		Yes	106 km by car
	Alaçatı Open Air Theatre	2007(x2), 2008		Yes	75,2 km by car
	Agios Haralambos Church (Çeşme)	2008, 2014		No	86,7 km by car
	Sığacık Castle (Seferihisar)	2010		Yes	50 km by car
	Çeşme Caravanserai (Çeşme)	2011		Yes	85,1 km by car
	Çeşme Marina (Çeşme)	2012		Yes	85 km by car
	Red Basilica South Tower (Bergama)	2013		No	106 km by car

**Konak City Line Port has been selected as the starting point. This is the location of Izmir City Hall, the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality, the entrance of Kemeraltı (the oldest commercial area), and many bus stops connecting to everywhere in the city and an underground station. It is literally the heart of the city. Google Maps was used in order to measure the distance.*

First Floor

Invisible City

Chapter 5: Cultural Traumas of the City

This chapter of my thesis examines two important cultural traumas that are entangled with the development and history of the city of Izmir: the Great fire of Smyrna (*İzmir Yangını / Katastrofi tis Smyrnis*) that took place in 1922, followed by the population exchange between 1924 and 1926. These cultural traumas, as Mazower argues (2010), created a 'gap and breaks' in the city's time-space continuum. The aftermath has been a period of forgetting abetted by the rapid implementation of modernization efforts to rebuild the city after its destruction by the fire. The rebuilding of the city actually involved a redesigning based on a rigidly nationalist perspective. Urban planning under nationalism deliberately erased specific elements of the multicultural Ottoman period from the city's memory and replaced them with modern elements deemed 'more appropriate.' Moreover, the old neighborhoods, which were the repositories of urban memory, were left neglected, while waves of migration from other cities and the countryside led to creating the city's urban sprawl. In this way, the city's organically grown, multi-layered identity was violently rent asunder.

Modernization according to the rigidly nationalist perspective occurred not only in Izmir, but throughout the entire Turkish Republic, which was 'born from the ashes of the Ottoman Empire' (Serçe et al., 2003). I focus the next chapter on the consequences of nationalism and modernization in Izmir. Before sharing ethnographic details of how the International Izmir Festival interacts with the four selected memory places, I intend to describe the politics at play in the redesign of the urban environment. In this chapter I also aim to reveal the background behind the cultural traumas and the Turkish drive for modernity, which ultimately resulted in a forgetting of the past. I refer to sources from history, architecture and urban planning. Thus, this chapter relies on published sources rather than on an ethnography of how local people remember and debate the past. It should also be considered more descriptive than analytical in order to provide a better understanding of the motivations of the International Izmir Festival and why its involvement with the castle, the church, the cigarette factory, and the inn is extraordinary within the context of the actual city of Izmir.

The period covered in this brief recap of Izmir's history comprises the urban developments of the late 19th century and the 20th century in general, and the shift from a cosmopolitan Ottoman city to a national Turkish city in particular. Although I allow my interlocutors to voice their points of view and knowledge, the bulk of this chapter relies on historical knowledge from secondary sources. To obtain a meta-perspective on the matter, I carefully compare the approach of Turkish, Greek and other international sources, as particular practices of official history versus oral history. After describing this traumatic event, I share my observations on

how this trauma is remembered and reflected upon in the current era, drawing from my fieldwork notes and interviews with my interlocutors.

In investigating Izmir's past, I pay particular attention to the absence of material traces of religious monuments, houses and street names after the fire, as well as the absence of memory among the migrants who lived in the city following the fire and population exchange. In doing so, I examine how the city's complex and multi-layered urban identity was deliberately forgotten and later reconstructed by and for a 'nationalist present.' This research takes into account the layered nature of the cultural fabric of the city in the context of social, political and economic movements both in the country and the world at large. It explains why some historic buildings, representing a particular past, have been neglected, thus relegating particular memories of the city to oblivion. It will provide firm ground for the subsequent chapter, in which I analyze the effects of the International Izmir Festival, which interjected itself into the memories of some of the city's unique historic sites. As it is my hypothesis that a site-specific festival can foreground the heterotopian conditions of a memory place in a city, attributing agency to sensitive sites in an urban context, I first need to describe in detail the nature of these places.

5.1. The Great fire of Smyrna

The Great fire of Smyrna of 1922 not only affected the urban structure of contemporary Izmir, it also marked the city as an urban memory place in many ways. As novelist Elif Şafak expresses through her character Armanuş: "*Türkler için zaman pek çok yerinden bölünmüş kesik kesik bir çizgi gibiydi; geçmiş belirli bir noktada sona eriyor, şimdi sıfırdan başlayıveriyordu. Türklerin geçmişi ile şimdisi arasında safi kopuştan başka bir şey yoktu.*"[52] (2006; 173)

When one travels in the old settled areas of Izmir, one can see only a few old houses and monuments from the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. They are often vacant and in bad condition. Modern-style cubic buildings predominate in the urban landscape. Indeed, it seems that only the present is there. Looking at them, it is hard to believe that the city has been inhabited for centuries. However, if you look carefully, on the ground you might discover sewer covers, with Arabic characters on them, dating from the Ottoman period. Sewer covers are among the most ubiquitous urban objects in cities.

[52]For the Turks, the time was like a dotted line cut in many pieces; the past ended at a certain point, the present started from zero. There was nothing but a rupture between the past and the present of the Turks. (translated by the author)

Fig. 4: A sewer cover from the late Ottoman period. The Arabic characters contrast with the new graphics pasted on the surface.

These common objects, found everywhere in the streets in the center of Izmir, in fact reflect an otherwise forgotten period of the city's history, linking the expunged period of the Ottoman Empire to the city's urban infrastructure and industrialization. These elements are rem(a)inders of the past, proving that there *really* had been something there before (Huyssen, 2003; 5, Mazower, 2010; 20-22 and Mills, 2014; 33). This awareness became even starker when I was at a dinner in 2014 in Marseille with Johan, a Flemish friend from Brugge; Şirin, a Greco-Albanian friend who was born and grew up in Izmir; and Kamel, her Franco-Algerian husband from Marseille. During our conversation I remembered these sewer covers and spoke of them. For a while, Şirin and I exchanged similar exclamations like 'wow!' and 'how interesting!' The others smiled and voicelessly mimicked us as if to question the reason for our reactions. Why should a sewer cover with Arabic letters be so amazing?

Indeed, when a person lives in a city which has changed dramatically without that time's being reflected in its architecture and other urban components, any object which acknowledges the past seems like a fairy tale, for that 'reality' is either not tangible or has been discarded by contemporary life. Like Şafak's description, Ottoman Smyrna appeared to be an exotic city; it was distant, and it felt *as if* it were another city. After the founding of the republic, the birthday of Izmir was accepted and celebrated as September 9, 1922, the date when the Turkish army entered Izmir and control of the government was transferred from the Kingdom of Greece to Ankara. Therefore, a simple sewer cover that reveals itself as you walk along with bowed head

would have an astonishing effect, almost like seeing Aladdin's lamp: out of time, mysterious and not belonging to your reality. The impact of this derives from the rarity of urban palimpsests in cities like Izmir. There is a sharp disconnect between the past and contemporary life, but the objects and buildings that remain from the past provide a connection. As anthropologist Yael Navaro (2007) argues, although objects from the past exert affective powers on contemporary users, their meanings have already shifted. They might become a commodity of urban myth reflective of social thought (Bilgin, 2011). Later such an object, including architecture, might be reevaluated as part of the city's efforts to assert its local identity (ibid.).

According to history textbooks, Izmir, as a multicultural harbor city, played an important role over the centuries as part of an Ionian confederation, the Roman Empire, the Byzantine Empire and the Ottoman Empire. In theory, there must have been many communities in the same location before today's residents moved there. Recently, there has been an increasing degree of interest in old photos and books about *Smyrna* illustrating the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. However, it doesn't seem that they were *really* in Izmir. Apart from the shapes of the mountains and the gulf, the pictures seem to display *another* city that existed in the past. The differences between the current landscape and what can be seen in the photos are so marked that one has to look at the natural environment for clues before one is able to discern any similarities.

My sense-making with regard to the presence of sewer covers in the street is also valid on a larger scale. In contemporary Izmir, the difficulty in making sense of the connection between the past and the present is a common one, heightened by the relative scarcity of objects and buildings remaining from the past. The experience of disruption and discontinuity is attributable to the disruptive effect of the cultural trauma of the Great fire, and the modernization movement that followed it. As such, the trauma's effect might be interpreted in the context of modernity's relationship with the past. Temporality and forgetting are among the main characteristics of a modern society (Connerton, 2009). Aside from the traumatic dimension of the fire, this phenomenon may be one of the reasons that the fire has essentially been swept under the rug. Apart from this, it is appropriate to comment on the effect of the trauma itself. Even though the Turkish community was not as affected as the Greeks and Armenians, its members were involved in the conflict. The matter of forgetting might be a double-layered one. For one, the impulse to forget is certainly a phenomenon associated with modernity. Yet, more than that, the painful emotions connected with the harrowing memories (the conflict before the fire and the turmoil during and after the fire) were likely something that the Turkish community wanted to put behind them. Later, although knowledge of the trauma seems to have been forgotten, feelings of unease, insecurity and uncanniness have seemingly become embedded in the old places (Navaro, 2015). All of this may help to explain the tendency of the Turks who remained in the city (as well as the settlers who came from other regions in Turkey) to disassociate themselves from the places that represent the past.

Map 5: The fire area affected the economic and cultural center of the city (source: levantineheritage.com)

With respect to the fire, there is still speculation about what happened and how many people were affected (deaths, violations, burglaries, psychological diseases, the estate rights of non-Muslim individuals, etc.). Questions also remain as to which community should be held accountable for the fire and whether it was an accident or a war crime. Despite the variety of narratives, a number of authors agree that the lack of anyone's being in charge led to the fire and crimes against non-Muslim groups during a period when the city administration was being transferred from the Greek government to the Turkish one (Şenocak, 2003; Coral, 2008; Housepian Dobkin, 2012 and Milton, 2009). Furthermore, many authors attribute the underlying conditions leading to the fire to the internal and external politics of the Ottoman Empire dating back to the 16th century.

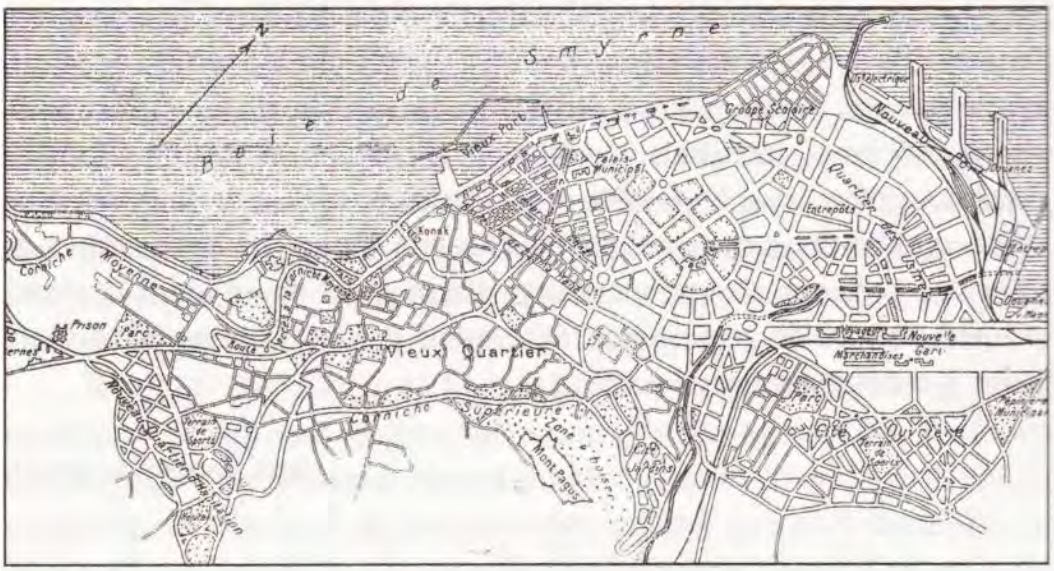
The fire occurred in the Christian neighborhoods, where Greek and Armenian communities existed side by side with Muslim and Jewish neighborhoods as well as Levantines and new settlers from European countries near the seaside. After starting in the Armenian neighborhood, located near what is now Kültürpark, the fire got out of control. The local Christians and those who had fled from other towns took refuge in the consulates and then escaped to the seaside in order to get away from the fire and attacks from gangs (Serçe et al., 2003; Smyrnelis, 2006).

Like other Ottoman cities, Smyrna[53] was divided into different ethnic neighborhoods, in which each community had its own residential area, commercial area and common spaces (fountain, square, cemetery and religious buildings). Basmane, the site of one of my case studies at the Saint Voukolos Church (Ayavukla), was one of those rare quarters where the Turkish, Jewish, Greek and Armenian communities intersected. The Ottoman formula, which segregated the population based on religion, might be considered one of the factors that laid the groundwork for the fire, because by the end of 19th century, while nationalism was on the rise in the Ottoman territory, there were already waves of migration for economic (employment that

[53] The old city was identified as Smyrna in English documents. The Turkish name, İzmir (Izmir), was adopted by English-speaking countries after the founding of the Turkish Republic in 1923.

accompanied industrialization) and political (loss of territory after the wars) reasons (Georgelin, 2008).

Le plan de Smyrne en 1922 et la partie incendiée (d'après L'Illustration, *1933).*



Plan d'aménagement de la ville de Smyrne proposé par René et Raymond Danger et Henri Prost en 1925 (d'après L'Illustration, *1933).*

Maps 6 and 7: A map of Smyrna in 1922 after the fire and the first urban plans for modern Izmir in 1922 (source: Cana Birsel, ed. Smyrnelis, 2006, p. 204)

Although it seems that the Great fire of Smyrna was, in a sense, a harvest of war for the citizens of the collapsing Ottoman state, it was not the only fire to have destroyed the city during Smyrna's long history. Historical records indicate that the city witnessed many great fires arising from ethnic conflicts or natural disasters. In the past, after each earthquake that shook the city, causing death and destruction, fires were almost inevitable. On each occasion commercial activities were halted, and the economy collapsed, but then the city recovered, and once again it became rich and crowded because of migration (Kasaba, 1994). It was not only cultural and religious but also commercial tensions between communities which provoked conflicts, so that sometimes neighbors found themselves burning down each other's houses or even neighborhoods. Far from being premeditated and systematic, historians generally speak of these conflicts – which sometimes resulted in great fires – as erupting spontaneously. Izmirian industrialist Melih Gürsoy gives an example of this in his historic study: "*On March 14, 1797 the city was highly damaged because of a dispute between the Cephalonians and Croats and a big part of the city was burned*" (1993; 37).

It might be argued that there was scarcely any time during the last centuries for the accretion of much in the way of architectural monuments, because Izmir was destroyed so many times. Novelist Mehmet Coral, the author of *Ateşin Gelini: Gâvur İzmir* (the Bride of Fire: Infidel Izmir) (2008), analyzes the phenomenon of fire in Izmir's history. According to him, after migrations and socioeconomic changes, the city's development followed that of the other harbor cities to which it was connected by trade. For example, the Chios style, as seen in Izmir, is accepted as an early innovation of modernity in residential housing. According to him and architect Şeniz Çıkış (2009), traditional structures were considered vulnerable, because the houses fell victim either to earthquakes or fires. From the 19th century until World War I, new materials and techniques originally utilized for industrial construction spread to residential buildings as well, thus creating a more sustainable and homogeneous style of architecture in Izmir.

A meta-perspective reveals how the current urban landscape and the architectural changes in Izmir throughout the centuries seem to be the consequences of regular natural disasters, as well as deliberate fires, resulting from cultural, religious and economic strife among neighbors and neighborhoods. Industrialization and the massive waves of migration of the 19th century fostered not only new job opportunities but also the growth of cities, while the political conflicts in the Balkans were already harbingers of the end of a multicultural empire and the birth of new nation-states. Historian Marie-Carmen Smyrnelis (2006) believes this urban transformation to have been as traumatic as the Great fire itself. In studying Smyrna/Izmir, she describes the series of traumas happening in Izmir from the First World War onwards as a "wound" (2006, 11); with the great fire, this cosmopolitan and multicultural city ceased to exist. Thereafter, she construes that until recent times the city itself was left forgotten on the international scene.

In *Smyrna 1922* (2012), English professor and researcher Marjorie Housepian Dobkin further investigates this series of traumas. She conducted the first ethnographic research in the United States and Greece, interviewing migrants coming from Anatolia, in particular the victims of the fire. She connects the trauma of the Great fire with the period of Islamization of the Balkans and Anatolia. She links the Ottoman tax system, implemented for centuries, as a major reason for the conflicts: initially, the Muslim community seemed to possess all the advantages, because they were privileged and paid less in taxes. Later, however, according to the capitulation agreements, the non-Muslims, who had formerly been exploited by their Muslim colleagues and tax officers, were able to obtain a European (mainly Italian, French, British and Greek) passport, either through (preferably) a marriage or trade work with a European company and came to possess more privileges than a Muslim citizen of the Ottoman state. As I will discuss in the case of the old cigarette factory, the capitulations provided commercial and legal autonomy and further economic power to Western investors, and later to the subjects of the empire who obtained European citizenship. This, along with the corruption of the state, set the stage for conflict to erupt between the Muslim community and the Western settlers and non-Muslim communities.

Dobkin, for that matter, detects a connection between the Armenian genocide[54] and the Great fire of Smyrna. Many authors (Arı, 1992; Coral, 2008; Housepian Dobkin, 2012; Ege, 2002; Smyrnelis et al., 2006; Şenocak, 2003; Milton, 2009; Neyzi, 2008) agree that the fire was a consequence of post-war conditions. In particular, the once relatively harmonious dialogue between the Greek and Turkish communities had been replaced with distrust and hatred. Thus, the fire is conceived of as part of a continuum (Housepian Dobkin and Milton) of the genocide and the effects of the genocide (Gürsoy, 1993 and Coral, 2008). In the same vein, Mazower (2010), who analyzes Thessaloniki, another Ottoman port city located in the Balkans on the Aegean Sea, which used to be economically dominated by the Jewish community and governed by Muslim administrators, states that this city also transformed socially after the *Tanzimat* (declaration of reforms) in 1839. The non-Muslim community, especially its religious leaders, gained more political power. Furthermore, many non-Muslim individuals were also able to acquire a European passport by taking advantage of the capitulations. As a matter of fact, he argues that the power similarly shifted from the Ottoman pasha – the ruler of the city – to the consulates, and from Muslim landowners to non-Muslim traders.

[54] The Armenian genocide (1915) is still debated between Western countries and Turkey, just like the Great fire of Smyrna. The EU and the USA recognize the genocide as a systematic massacre of the Armenian community under the motivation of Turkification and/or the Islamification of Anatolia by Enver Pasha's government in order to 'cleanse' and prepare the land for the nation-state. (See the publications of Hervé Georgelin to follow the debate in more detail.) The Turkish discourse mentions it as an effect of WW1 conditions: the Armenian community, which had once been an obedient *millet* of the Ottoman sultan, was provoked after the spread of the ideology of nationalism in Europe following the French Revolution (1789). Russia, the USA, France and Great Britain (UK) manipulated the Armenian community under the alleged motivation of freeing them from the repression of the Ottoman state. The real purpose was to weaken the latter and to destroy it in order to share the territory of the 'sick old man,' as the Europeans called Turkey. Due to the conflict between the communities, the Armenian community was transferred to Syria in order to restore peace to the Anatolian countryside. (See the publications of Stanford Shaw and Halil İnalcık for a more academic take on the debate.)

Milton's qualitative study (2009), based on the experiences of individuals, approaches the trauma specifically from the period of World War I. While Housepian Dobkin (2012) focuses on the Greek and Armenian communities, Milton builds on his outsider view by analyzing the actions of Levantines, the half-outsider and half-local community, by reporting on the foreign political actors. In emphasizing this unique community, Milton suggests that Smyrna had a flourishing microenvironment in which intercultural dialogue played a crucial role. Each community played a unique role in the daily activities, and this created a balance between the corrupt central government of Istanbul and the colonizing European countries and the USA. Like historian Oliver Jens Schmitt (2006; 106-120), he adds that the nationalist discourse of that period does not easily apply to Smyrna. According to Milton, the Levantine community – the actors of economic and cultural stability in the city – was accused of acting treacherously between the Ottoman Empire and the 'Allied Powers' (Britain, France, Italy, Greece and USA. Russia became a non-player after the revolution of 1917). Milton underscores the fact that policies geared towards benefitting the Allied Powers were the main catalyst of the ensuing disasters in the region.

He further claims that the elite Levantine community created an intercultural dialogue in a multicultural city because of their old-style 'fatherly' attitude, which enabled diverse ethnic and religious communities to live together in different neighborhoods and to work daily in the factories of the Levantines. This meant that by working together, they became more familiar with each other's cultures and were able to live in harmony together as members of 'the working class,' a new urban role for them. Moreover, the soccer teams formed by both the Ottoman communities and the Levantines included players from diverse cultural backgrounds. As was also mentioned in Kozmas Politis's novel (1994), until the beginning of 1914, it was common for Greeks and Turks to play together in the same sports club or to compete in the same leisure activities; this led to less segregation and increased the interactions between (at least) the men of the communities.

Milton, who focuses mainly on the Levantines[55] in this *lost paradise,* records that during the war, when the factories were closed, a wealthy Levantine family called Whitall continued to pay the salaries of the workers. That family is described as being proud of being English, while at the same time they emphasized their place attachment to Smyrna. Milton claims that the Levantines were not just a community which took advantage of the trade capitulations and judicial privileges, but they were also the architects of Smyrna's cultural identity; its autonomous and Western-like traits still exist even today. Indeed, Schmitt (2006; 117) identifies this community

[55] Giles Milton is an English journalist. His particular focus of study is the members of the Levantine community with origins in England and the English-speaking elites of the city (i.e., the consul of the USA, George Horton). He approaches WW1 and the fire from their point of view. His subjective analysis in such a sensitive debate might open doors to more conflicts in historiography. On the one hand, as sociologist Leyla Neyzi (2008) asserts, this type of work might be counted as oral history in that it focuses on the experiences and perceptions of a group. The novels of Dido Sotiriou (2003 and 2006) are a good example of this approach. On the other hand, the works of Hervé Georgelin (2008), Marjorie Housepian Dobkin (2012) and Mehmet Coral (2008) have a more document-based and academic approach to understanding the background of the fire. Both approaches depict a Smyrna where political and economic tensions already existed among the communities.

as '*le groupe supranational*' (supranational group). Like Milton, he asserts that Smyrna consisted of a microculture. Thus, while nationalism sparked the ethnic conflicts that flared up in Anatolia, Smyrna was less affected by this political strife until the beginning of World War I, when the mouth of the bay was blocked and bombarded by the English and German military forces.

Like Housepian Dobkin (2012) and Sotiriou (2003), Milton criticizes the political mistakes made by international politicians. On the one hand, he blames the extinction of the Armenian elites on the governments of Enver, Cemal and Talat Pasha, who wanted to promote the Turkification process. On the other hand, he also criticizes such politicians as Woodrow Wilson, Georges Clemenceau, David Lloyd George, Vittorio Orlando, King Konstantin of Greece, and the other participants of the 1919 Paris Peace Conference. The decisions taken at this conference would lead to turmoil among the local communities of Anatolia.[56] As Raymond Williams said, they were acting in accordance with the '*structure of the feeling*' of that period: nationalist, idealist and romantic (1961; 42, 48). While Greek antiquity was valorized as the foundation of European civilization, the Ottoman port cities that had already begun modernizing according to European trade demands were considered ugly, because they were inauthentic and disappointingly 'not oriental' (Smyrnelis, 2006; 169-177).

The nation-state idea formulated to design new countries after the end of WW1 led to the drawing of new borders and identities. While Enver Pasha's government took an aggressive approach to the Turkification process and Venizelos's approach was his '*Megali Idea,*' both espoused a 'purification' process that resulted in the neglect of Anatolia's multicultural socioeconomic traditions, especially in a city like Smyrna, whose microculture reflected its economic and social life.[57] What's more, many political circumstances paved the way for the disaster: Woodrow Wilson's idea that 'each ethnicity can establish its country in the realm in which they are majority' (Milton, 2009; 92-93) ignored the structure of a multicultural city. Both Turkish and Greek nationalists in Smyrna/Izmir claimed that they were the majority (Georgelin, 2008; 36). Lloyd George supported Greece's *Megali Idea* so that Great Britain could gain control of the region by manipulating weaker allies like Greece. In conjunction with this, the Italian minister, Orlando, planned to gain control over Smyrna, but witnessing the tensions between the communities in Smyrna and the manipulation of the British forces that seemingly supported Greece made him give up his idea of colonizing Smyrna, and he thus decided to send troops to the southern part of Anatolia. The Allied Powers decided that Greece, instead of Italy, should govern Smyrna, and the Greek army arrived in the city. The Greek troops, which, unlike the

[56] Anatolia is not a historically unique case of the Allies' colonial actions. There were other locations which were traumatized, such as Cyprus and Lebanon, which both contain plural ethnic, linguistic and religious groups. Read also: Port Cities of the Eastern Mediterranean, eds. Keyder, Çağlar; Özveren, Y. Eyüp; Quataert, Donald; translation: Gül Çağalı Güven. Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Press, 1994.

[57] At the beginning of this research, I focused more on port cities and emphasized that this microculture distinguished them from other regions. Navaro-Yashin (2002) expands on what I mean by this 'microculture' to a larger scale: according to her, there have been many cultural exchanges between the communities, and this has led to a synthesis of different cultures (see also Braudel, 2007). The phenomena of region (zone) and national identity were artificially constructed, like the examples of Europe versus Turkey or the borders between Europe and the Middle East.

British, lacked colonial and organizational experience, provoked hostilities between the local Greek and Turkish communities (Milton, 2009; 97).

While the *Rum,*[58] the local Greek Orthodox community of the Ottoman Empire and the new Greek settlers from the Kingdom of Greece, buoyed by the nationalist discourse, cheerfully greeted the arrival of the Greek troops, other communities, especially the Turkish community, perceived this as an 'invasion' and 'occupation.' After the Greek army's attacks on the Muslim/Turkish community, the latter became more motivated to rebel. These tensions persisted, although Aristidis Stergiadis, a Greek intellectual who was the governor of Smyrna, did his best to ease ethnic violence. Arguably, these tensions had been provoked at a higher political level, but they were also felt on the ground among the common people, causing turmoil in the city that ultimately led to the Great fire of Smyrna. Schmitt (2006) surmises that even if the *Megali Idea* had been realized, and even if, presumably, neither the fire nor the population exchange had occurred, the multicultural population would still have vanished, and the city would have again become homogeneous under the banner of Greek nationalism.

Both Coral (2008) and Milton (2009) concur that in Ankara 'the government of the public' was making decisions that inevitably contributed to the processes leading to the disaster: a few days after the end of *Kurtuluş Savaşı* (War of Independence), on September 9, 1922, when Izmir was back under the control of the Turks, Atatürk visited the city and assigned Sakallı Nuri Pasha, who had served as the governor of the city prior to the Greek takeover of the administration. According to Milton, the pasha was not able to govern the city as diplomatically as the high commissioner, Aristidis Stergiadis, who had made efforts during his administration to eliminate discrimination against the Turkish community and to decrease conflict between the communities. Moreover, Stergiadis' approach to security was more all-encompassing and diplomatic, resembling that of the Whitall family. Milton reports that Stergiadis criticized archbishop Hrisostomos, who had been represented as a hero among the Greek community, for using incendiary and nationalist rhetoric in his homilies. After taking back the city, Sakallı Nuri Pasha allowed the Greek religious leader to be lynched by an 'enraged Muslim community waiting outside the city hall' (Milton, 2009; Coral, 2008). In so doing, he sowed seeds of insecurity and panic among the Orthodox community. Setting fire to the buildings of the other might be seen as both a form of protest and of revenge. Gürsoy indicates that when there was a moment of pent-up tension and fissure among the communities, a fire seemed an almost inevitable consequence, used as a method for different communities to demonstrate their antagonism toward each other.

While Housepian Dobkin and Milton focus on the ethnic and cultural policies of the Ottoman and Greek states towards the heterogeneous Izmir population, Coral approaches the circumstances leading up to the fire through an economic lens (2008). According to him, the

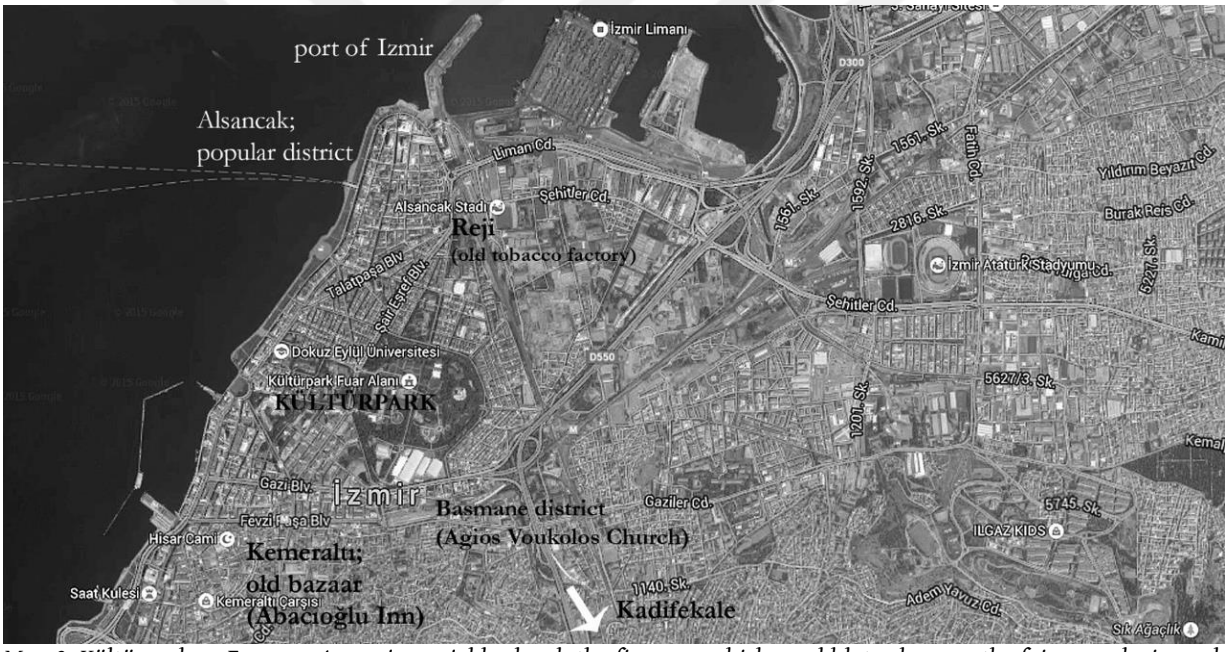
[58] The word Greek in the English language includes both the Orthodox citizens of the ex-Ottoman Empire territory and Greece, whereas *Rum* refers in Turkish to those Greek Orthodox people living in Turkey and Cyprus. The citizens of Greece are called *Yunanlı,* according to Turkish grammar: Yunan-istan (Greece); Yunan-lı (Greek) or Belçika (Belgium); Belçika-lı (Belgian)

corruption of the Ottoman state was responsible for the conflicts that had been building up since the 16th century. Housepian Dobkin (2012) emphasizes that the corrupt Ottoman tax system and rules established prior to the 19th century left the non-Muslim Ottoman subjects feeling unappreciated and victimized, while the very same system and rules enabled the Levantines and other individuals of European origins to profit from tax-free commercial activities. Starting in the 19th century, the Greek and Armenian communities began moving up the social ladder, gaining a more advantageous position, and competing economically, culturally as well as politically with the Levantines in Smyrna. Moreover, the nationalist discourse brought the Greek Orthodox community of Smyrna closer to Greece, specifically with respect to their common language and religion. In this process, deemed 'natural by the *Megali Idea*, the Ottomans' hegemony over the administration of the government and the Levantines' cultural and economic hegemony shifted in favor of the city's Greek population, further inflaming tensions. Kechriotis (2010) has compiled elaborate descriptions of 'Greek Smyrna' in which the city is a landmark in Greek identity: it signifies the past of the Greeks in their collective memory. In contrast to this, after the founding of the Turkish Republic, Izmir would become the symbol of a new, modern Turkey oriented towards the future (Serçe et al., 2003).

Historians and journalists who study the Great fire of Smyrna often ask the same question: Who burned the city? A number of answers make reference to the report of the fire chief, Paul Grescovich, who reported that the fire was the result of actions taken by fully armed Armenian gangs and inadequate fire-fighting equipment. An alternative explanation is that it was the Greeks who set off firearms in a warehouse in the Armenian neighborhood. Other theories claim that Turkish forces created a fire wall in order to catch the Armenian gangs, and when a fire started, they allowed the city to burn; feeling inferior to the Christian communities, they wanted to remove any traces of the Christian communities in order to make it a completely Turkish city (Neyzi, 2008 and Kolluoğlu-Kırlı, 2005). I argue that in the context of a cultural trauma, the tendency to try to find out who the 'guilty' party is itself a part of the trauma. This is because when one party becomes guilty, the other automatically becomes the victim, the one who is not charged with responsibility.

Hypnotherapist and psycho-kinesiology educator Nil Gün (2010), who analyzes personal trauma, draws a similar picture to that of essayist Janine Altounian concerning collective memory and positioning in a traumatic case. According to her, if someone declares a person or a group to be guilty, the word 'guilty' is inserted into the memory, and as a consequence the 'victim' is associated with the one who is 'guilty.' Moreover, she argues that the victim group is dependent on the guilty group. Even the third-generation descendants of a victim – people who did not personally experience the trauma – are affected by the trauma in their daily lives: these third-generation victims display some of the same emotions as their ancestors. On the other hand, upon having the trauma passed along to her/him, s/he tries to repress it and constantly makes an effort to place blame on the 'guilty' group. In other approaches, victimhood becomes part of the collective memory. The victim adopts the attitude of the perpetrator and projects it onto a third party (Bock, 2001). This can be explained as being a reflection of the repression

process or 'the man identifies himself with the power object that he is both frightened of and dependent on' (ibid. 233). Alternatively, it might be construed as a case of projective identification postulated according to the defense mechanism theories of Anna Freud (*Ego and the Mechanisms of Defence,* 1936) and developed by Melanie Klein (*Notes on Some Schizoid Mechanisms,* 1946). A journalist from Izmir, Bahar Akıncı,[59] who focuses on the concept of guilt, emphasizes that while the communities were accusing each other and inventing the image of "*güzel İzmir*" (beautiful Izmir) by transforming it into a legend, the city became an ugly city after the fire, because the need for shelter that created a real estate-based economy[60] took priority. What's more, the authors who wrote about the Great fire of Smyrna focus on forgetting and the covering process related to the consequences of forgetting or silencing (ed. Smyrnelis, 2006; Georgelin, 2008; Neyzi, 2008; Housepian Dobkin, 2012; Kolluoğlu-Kırlı, 2005). This forgetting, neglecting and abandoning are supported by 20th-century modernism, in which the new models of social structure and future-based designs govern the urban realm.



Map 8: Kültürpark or Fuar, an Armenian neighborhood, the fire area which would later become the fair area during urban modernization (source: Google Maps 2015)

The reasons for the fire and the conflict among the communities in the city might also be explained through a world view shaped by religion.[61] According to Dikomitis (2012),

[59]Bahar Akıncı "*İzmir'e Ne Yaptınız Beyler?*" October 27, 2012, Hürriyet: http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/izmir-e-ne-yaptiniz-beyler-21788047 (last access: May 18, 2018)

[60] Renting apartments, business centers, workshops, stores with real estate agencies, construction supplies and construction companies. In Chapter 6 I explain the growth of this sector, which had a progressively aggressive attitude on the urban landscape, in the process transforming the concept of home to a commodity.

[61] There are many studies of cultures in which life and death or mundane and divine are not separated. The communities may live out their daily lives and dwell in their houses in close proximity to sacred places or the tombs of their grandparents and ancestors.

Bonnemaison (2005) and Pinxten (1983), cultures may develop a sense of place attachment through the way they think about their religion with respect to the physical environment. Dikomitis (ibid.,98-116), who analyzes the notion of place attachment, home making and memory among the Greek and Turkish Cypriots, shares in her ethnography that religious monuments are scattered in the landscape, and some salient elements, like a hill at the entrance of a village, are connected with a religious legend in the collective memory of Greek Cypriots. In the Orthodox religion, it is common for each city to be associated with a particular saint who protects the people, like the examples of Saint Polycarp for Izmir and Saint Dimitri for Thessaloniki. According to the tradition of martyrdom, if an archbishop or high-ranking member of the clergy suffered persecution or death in connection with his religious beliefs, that was often sufficient for him to be declared a saint and thus become someone to call upon to intercede upon behalf of the city and its citizens.

In the setting of the Ottoman state, an archbishop had earthly powers as well, such as administering the law and ensuring obedience to the sultan. He operated under the control of the *kadı* (the Islamic ruler of the city), therefore he was a bridge between the Ottoman bureaucracy and his community (Mazower, 2010). This Ottoman administrative system continued among the Orthodox community. Different than the Turkish-nation state, which had a secular model, the Greek nation-state was resourced by the religion. Therefore, even though Turkish Muslim and Greek Orthodox communities come from the same system, their construction of national identity evolved differently (Hirschon, 2012).

Related to the religious structure, there might be a link between the perception of the Greeks of Izmir and the lapidation of archbishop Hrisostomos[62] during the conflict before the fire. Before the fire, while the city was under the governance of the Greek Kingdom, the sermons of the politically involved archbishop had included inflammatory nationalist rhetoric. He was seen as trying to incite people to kill the Turks, whereas the city governor, Stergiadis, whose ties to religion were not as close, tried a more peaceful and conciliatory approach. When the city was again under the control of the Turkish administration (this time not the sultan in Istanbul but the government of Ankara composed of Turkish intellectuals), Sakallı Nuri Pasha, who had been the governor before the Greek administration, allowed the Turkish community to take revenge. Rather than the archbishop's being placed under arrest and tried in a court of law for his provocations, he was lapidated by the citizens. The killing of such a holy person further fueled the Turkish community's desire to seek revenge and spread terror. Hrisostomos,

[62] According to the Orthodox martyr culture, upon his death the archbishop of Smyrna, Hrisostomos, became a saint. He also became a symbol of the catastrophe in Asia Minor, representing the loss of home and beloved family and neighbors. When I interviewed the priest of the Anglican Church of Izmir, who was included in the circle of official minorities of Turkey according to the Lausanne Treaty, he shared with me that he had attended the ceremonies and meetings of other Christians. After the fire Hrisostomos was known as the last archbishop of Izmir. The patriarch of Istanbul recently assigned a new archbishop of Izmir. However, because of security reasons and the lack of a community, the archbishop visits Izmir only for special occasions, such as the Easter ceremony in Ayavukla, which was sanctified by the patriarch after its renovation, before the International Izmir Festival introduced it to the Turkish public and media: https://eu.greekreporter.com/2015/04/11/turkey-first-resurrection-in-st-voukolos-church-izmir/ (last access: November 7, 2018)

according to the Ottoman system and the Orthodox religion, was both a representative of his community and a connection between the mundane world (the *cemaat*; congregation) and the spiritual world (Georgelin, 2008 and Milton, 2009). This is my interpretation of the situation and the mood of the Orthodox and Muslim communities in the tumultuous period leading up to the Great fire.

After the founding of the Turkish Republic, many countries adopted the Turkish name, Izmir, and thus the former names of *Smyrne* in French and Smyrna in English started to indicate a historic town which did not exist anymore. Meanwhile, Greeks continued to use the Greek name, *Smyrni*. Their feelings for the city where the Greek presence had ended so tragically were tinged with nostalgia in a manner similar to Kechriotis' (2010) analogy of Atlantis. Turkish has more consistently used *İzmir.* Behind the national narrative of Izmir, however, there is a loaded story of the War of Independence, when the multicultural past becomes disturbing and unwelcome. Şahabettin Ege, an author from Izmir writing his memoire, introduces this period with the following description: "*My purpose in writing this memoire was not to tackle the national wounds, but to revive the panorama of Izmir in those days. Unfortunately, we touched those wounds*"[63] (2002; 34). His approach might be construed as being that trauma is not limited only to the level of guilt and victimhood. The reactions of communities depend also on how they deal with trauma, like forgetting in Izmir, and, on a more national scale, modernity (Navaro-Yashin, 2002). In tandem with the physical destruction of 'old' buildings, memories were better forgotten (Crinson, 2005; Connerton, 2009).

As a concluding note, Izmir-based researcher Bülent Şenocak (2003) approaches the Great fire of Smyrna more empathically by suggesting that reaching an understanding is preferable to finding 'the guilty group': "*the suspicions in this matter rest on Armenians. But even though this is true, I let the reader reconsider how appropriate it is to blame the whole community for the crime of Armenian gangs*"[64] (2003; 237). There are clear differences between what and how the non-Muslim communities who have emigrated abroad from Izmir and the Muslims who live in the city today remember. For instance, there has recently been speculation about future projects in Kültürpark. After a concert by Nikos Anthios, a Greek musician performing religious music of 19th-century Smyrna in Ayavukla in 2017, I met an English priest who had recently settled in Izmir. On the way back home, we crossed the dimly lit Kültürpark together to reach the other side of the city. We talked about urban memory places because of my research, and he shared an account similar to Milton's, because he was affiliated with the Levantine community of Izmir. Unlike my interlocutors from the International Izmir Festival, he focused mostly on the period before the fire and how Kültürpark used to be the Armenian neighborhood. He defined the park as a "place of trauma," whereas my interlocutors focused on the period after the fire, especially between the '50s and '80s. They recalled the glorious period of *Fuar* (the International Izmir Fair), with the stands of foreign countries, the first bicycle or school set that they bought, the concerts

[63]translated by the author
[64]translated by the author

of famous Turkish artists like Zeki Müren and Ajda Pekkan and the image of *teyzeler* and *ablalar*,[65] who gather for those concerts at noontime and leave before the arrival of their husbands. Similar to Amy Mills' ethnographic account about Istanbul's Kuzguncuk neighborhood's revealing a silenced past of the events of September 7-8, 1955, which caused a division among the people of the multicultural neighborhood, it is interesting to note how selective the collective memory of a community might be (2014; 46-48). The members of a religious minority attach themselves to the place through an older past, whereas the period before the fire is totally ignored by the secular Muslim majority.

Fig. 5: The booklet for the first commemoration of the fire in Izmir

My interlocutors today still recall the same place with some nostalgia, though adding that they don't go to *Fuar*[66] anymore, because now it is not as special and unique as before, since now all of the products can be found anywhere. They emphasize that it is too crowded and unsafe due to the recent migrations. When I told my aunt that I was conducting research into the fire and the feeling that the park was unsafe, my aunt shared the experience of my grandfather. Like Serçe et al. (2003), Kolluoğlu-Kırlı (2002) and Pasin et al. (2015), she said the fire area had remained in ruins and uninhabitable for a while after the fire.

Many people working in quarters like Çankaya and Basmane, which were in close proximity to the fire area, would close their shops together and leave the quarter together: "*It was unsafe, so nobody wanted to stay alone after sunset. You know, these are also mostly trade quarters, so anyway there was nobody living there at night. Imagine it this way:*

[65] *Teyze* literally means aunt and *abla,* older sister. My interlocutors address women from the lower and middle class this way to be polite.

[66] At first the park was associated with the International Izmir Fair and was called Fuar (from *Foire* in French). Today, as the professional fairs have been moved to a new fair area in Gaziemir, close to the international airport, the official name, Kültürpark, has come into use again.

there are ruins without any lights or people, there is a big dark hole in the middle of the city."[67]

Because of the effects of trauma and the political atmosphere of that period, the fire created a conscious severing within the multicultural Ottoman port city. The city's economy and cultural capital had evaporated. The aftermath of the fire was a memory place of the conflict. In an effort to construct a counter-memory, the Turkish state utilized it as a new beginning, attempting to repress the anxiety that followed after the devastation, and it became an incentive after the declaration of the republic (Kolluoğlu Kırlı, 2005; 34). It then became a cornerstone for the reconstruction of Izmir, which was to be the representation of Turkish modernism (Serçe et al., 2003; Yılmaz et al., 2015).

As is seen in Figure 11, in September 2014 some local associations and the French Institute of Izmir organized a commemoration of the days of the Great fire of Smyrna. There were panels, a ceremony, a city tour, a conference and a film screening. I was not informed of whether it was on a local or international scale. My personal opinion is that even though it may have taken place on a local scale, this kind of inclusive organization can also have a positive impact on Izmir as an urban memory place, empowering the uniqueness of its identity and further opening the doors for a diverse and rich city to compete in city branding projects.

5.2. Population Exchange

Once, when I was in secondary school, a classmate said, "*We, the Cretans, make such good jam.*" She hadn't been born in Crete; it was only her grandparents who came from a village there. Some days later I realized that all of the children in my class had immigrant backgrounds. Some had roots in Greek towns, such as villages in Crete and Thessaloniki or its hinterland, or in a Balkan country (Albania, Bulgaria, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Northern Macedonia), while others were from Anatolian towns, like mine. The only locals were two Sephardic Jewish girls in the classroom. Their names were not Turkish, so they were somehow also classified as 'ecnebi' (non-Muslim, which also refers to the word 'outsider'), recalling their families' arrival from Iberia in the 15th century. Even the most local of my classmates had family pasts connected to a migration story. As a teenager, I had difficulty in figuring out what being an Izmirian really meant. Who exactly was local?

[67] Translation by the author

Fig. 6: A street exhibition at Kordon in 2013 commemorating the 90th anniversary of the population exchange organized by the Foundation for Lausanne Exchangees, Alsancak Rotary Club and Izmir Metropolitan Municipality.

In contrast to the Great Fire of Smyrna, which has received extensive local and international scholarly coverage, but which has also been treated as something long ago and distant, the *Mübadele*, or population exchange between Greece and Turkey, is still a part of the discourse of daily life in Izmir. When people introduce themselves, they may add that they have *mübadil* (exchangee) roots, which are generally Mediterranean or European. This has a combination of meanings: in addition to the romantic evocation of a town far from Izmir, a European background is related to Turkish modernity, which is associated with Europeanization (Navaro-Yashin, 2002; Kolluoğlu-Kırlı, 2007). While the fire tends to be swept under the rug, the trauma of the population exchange is projected in rather romantic terms. Despite that difference, the trauma of dislocation and the consequences of the population exchange can be seen in the city.

If the gloss of this romantic view of the Balkans and Crete[68] is removed, it reveals the tragedy of being a refugee. As Dikomitis (2012,) explains, forced migration by states not only

[68] Local tourist agencies like *Ebruli Turizm* (http://www.ebruliturizm.com.tr/celestyal_crystal__ile_yunan_adalari__atina-tour2500.html) and *Escan Turizm* (https://www.escantur.com/yunanistan-turlar.html // last access December 10, 2018) often organize tours to the Greek Islands and Balkan cities departing from Izmir. Visiting the other side of the sea has recently become more feasible and thus less 'exotic.' Still, there is this exotic view in the historical context in following the traces of the population exchange or visiting the old Ottoman monuments or else visiting Atatürk's birthplace in Thessaloniki on national holidays. Based on observing my mother and some of her acquaintances, Thessaloniki and Komotini in particular had a powerful effect on this generation raised in a closed, secular-nationalist Turkey. While they were repeatedly astonished by the geographical and culinary resemblances between Izmir and Thessaloniki, the Ottoman architecture and "*çarşı*" (marketplace) in Skopje and Ohrid, they also enjoyed seeing people speaking Turkish in Komotini. I witnessed my mother's questioning her Izmirian identity as well as her being Turkish, Aegean and Ottoman (without actually pronouncing the word) under the phrase "our common past" with Greek and Macedonian people. When she visits the places, eats local products and

causes dislocation but also new problems in the emplacement process. Creating a new home in a place where they were forced to settle must surely have involved collisions between their memories of their former homes and their new physical environment. Dikomitis analyzes this collision in her ethnographic work among the villagers of Larnakas tis Lapithou (Kozan), both the former inhabitants and the later and current ones. The Greek Cypriots, who were the former inhabitants of the village, lived in the urban zone of Nicosia. She records their idealized image of the village, which still plays an important role in their identity. When the borders are open, she follows the villagers while they visit their 'home.' Unfortunately, the confrontation is painful; the image of the village in their memory does not correspond to the actual village, which has changed. Additionally, they are only able to visit their 'home' and cannot live there. Daily activities such as fetching some water from the fountain or gathering fruit from the garden regain a ritualistic meaning that commemorates 'home' in the days following the visit. The holy meaning of home is disturbed: many of them do not return. Some of them transform the visits into a 'pilgrimage' in which they clean the religious places (church, cemetery, a holy cave and monastery) and try to restore their sanctity.

In the case of Turkey and Greece, specifically in the case of Izmir, the larger geographic scale amplifies the separation. Moreover, the sea is a natural border that prevents easy access. If I compare the scale of Cyprus with that of the Aegean, neither the refugee from Crete nor from Thessaloniki can swim or make a daily trip to his former 'home.' Therefore, until recently a visit could not be considered, especially considering the political circumstances and transportation issues. According to Yalçın (2001) and Housepian Dobkin (2012), a curiosity about one's own past has motivated the third generation to travel beyond the borders of their adopted homeland to discover the villages of their grandparents. While there is no discussion about returning by either side, the third generation is content merely to visit the roots. There are some significant results of emplacement processes that can be identified: First, the third generation may be barely able to speak the local language (of the grandparents), which is a barrier to readjusting. Second, the refugees, their children and grandchildren have adapted to their new home. Although cut off from their former village lifestyle, they have retained some of the mnemonic objects that enable them to hold onto the past, such as a plant or an object that they were able to bring from their former house.[69]

As concerns the population exchange, the rupture has been sharply felt in the context of Izmir, but it is of a different nature than the great fire. Different from the examples of Foça, Bergama and Ayvalık, the massive wave of migration had already started with the Balkan Wars at the end of the 19th century, and the local Greeks who had survived as well as the other non-Muslim communities left the city after the fire. Many Turkish people from Anatolian towns who

later shares her anecdotes, she gets closer to the Balkans and distances herself from the republic's policy of being 'Turkish' and from the "*Doğulular*" (Eastern people), implying Kurdish and Syrian migrants in Izmir. Izmir and its relationship to the Balkan cities requires more research in the scope of the anthropology of tourism.

[69] See the exchangee accounts of Dikomitis (2012) and Yalçın (2001).

had followed the Turkish army settled in Izmir. Furthermore, the exchangees who settled in the Aegean region moved to Izmir in search of better living conditions.[70] In this case, there was not only a collision between traditions and modernity – something which befell many developing cities in the 20th century – but also a dramatic physical and social rupture. There was no connection between the past, which represented 'home,' traditions and safety, and the present location, where a refugee constructed his new 'home.'

The emplacement of refugees resulted in a dichotomy during the process of establishing a new home. The refugees brought not only their bodies and some objects, but also their memories of their former homes as they struggled to create something that resembled what they were used to, something congruent with their customs and beliefs. In this respect, Izmir is set apart from other towns that experimented with population exchange. When the refugees[71] came to Izmir, the fire area was intact. The city already provided a terrifying contrast to the reassuring environment needed by a refugee, i.e., a well-established system and an aesthetically pleasing physical environment. Moreover, it was a period in which the new Turkish Republic was engaged in the process of constructing a new, modern Turkish Izmir from the 'ashes of Smyrna.' It had already begun with a plan to create a European-like, secular, Muslim, Turkish-speaking society, which intentionally included the refugees. The impulse of the refugees to create a home in their new surroundings without changing their old habits clashed with the modernization policy of the new state, which prevented them from forming a bond with the urban memory of Izmir. If modernity meant that the place itself was ephemeral, unreliable and not worth preserving, why bother trying to care about an old building?

However, according to the discourse of Assmann (1995), communicative memory, which is more organic and disorganized, would allow the first generation of refugees to pass along some ways of thinking and behavior to their children because of the intensity and consequences of their traumas. Trauma can be an impetus for further trauma, due to its repetition and circulation throughout a society (Rancière, 2010). It concerns, in other words, the repression of the subjects' reaction for the purposes of cultural interpretation:

"*The new settlers could not save themselves from being 'muhacir' (emigrant) and 'mübadil' (exchangee). They tried to forget the tragedies that they had lived through and to construct new lives. They did not really want to tell their children what they had experienced either...*

[70] Interview with the spectator, Barış, in November 2012. Barış, whose parents were from Crete, shared information similar to that of my friends, whose grandparents were from Thessaloniki and Crete: many exchangees were from the villages of Crete and Greek Macedonia and settled in Aegean villages after the population exchange. However, as Kemal Yalçın also describes in *Emanet Çeyiz* (2001), some families were unable to adapt to their new environment, either because they were disappointed by the exchange of land and home or they lacked the know-how to cultivate the new kinds of crops they encountered in this new land. They preferred to settle in big cities like Izmir and Istanbul for economic reasons.

[71] Officially, their status is *mübadil,* which is translated as *exchangee*. I sometimes use the word *refugee* to emphasize their social and psychological conditions.

(...) But later on the new generations were interested in stories about those who had been left behind. They managed to empathize, they raised the question 'who are we?' in the '90s. There have been some who are curious about their grandfather and grandmother's language, the Cretan dialect and traditional Greek. There have been mutual visits among those 'refugees' of both countries. The people who left undoubtedly missed Anatolia, while those who came missed Ioannina, Thessaloniki and Crete. Unfortunately, new generations do not know about Izmir's conflagration, the destruction that people had to deal with"[72] (Housepian Dobkin, 2012; 9).

When I conducted the first interviews among participants of the International Izmir Festival, some of my questions were about defining Izmir and Izmirian, being a resident of Izmir. In their attempt to define these two labels, the interlocutors also emphasized that recently the identities of refugees were a frequent topic of discussion. For instance, Mustafa reacted: "Have you ever watched Dedemin İnsanları?[73] There are many lessons in it. The main character says, 'I am a refugee; I am the child of a refugee.' There (Greece) it is the same. Do these people really know their past, their former country (home) and its actual situation? Perhaps this should be the role of the festival: it should gather both sides of the sea, and then people would see each other, they would know and recognize what has changed, how much he has become a local and how many things remained from there."

State-instigated population exchanges have a profound impact on urban memory. It is worth studying a community with homes and jobs suddenly uprooted and becoming refugees. Although the status of an exchangee is not the same as that of a refugee, because it is accomplished at the prompting of the host governments, a community is similarly separated from their home for political reasons. I would like to cite an example from novelist Dido Sotiriou's Ölüler Bekler (2003). The father of the main character is the owner of a soap factory in Aydın, but after migrating to Athens, he can only find work as a clerk at the harbor. The family becomes destitute, as the father loses himself in alcohol, caught up in nostalgic memories of Smyrna. Although the book is characterized as a novel with fictional characters, it does a good job of supporting the ethnographic accounts of Kemal Yalçın (2001), in which he describes the social and economic struggles of exchangee villagers living on both sides of the Aegean Sea. These two books, which narrate the experience of population exchange from a micro level (personal narratives, family accounts, tales of city or village life, etc.) criticize the ideology of nation-states introduced upon the collapse of the multicultural Ottoman society. The consequences of this trauma are still felt in urban memory places, where the memories

[72]Translation by the author. The text is cited from the preface of the book written by the publisher of Belge Press; the Turkish translation of the book, Ragıp Zarakolu

[73] The title of the film is translated as *My Grandfather's People,* by film director Çağan Irmak, who is from Seferihisar, another town in Izmir Province affected by the population exchange. The film therefore narrates the experience of a town whose population consists of exchangees during the military coup of September 12, 1980. The story connects two layers of trauma related to nationalism in the collective memory of Turkey. To watch the entire film: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0ixDCdiT3p8 (last access: December 7, 2018).

associated with a common past are concentrated and have been transmitted over the past century.

In other words, the population exchange was one of the consequences of the conflicts between the communities during the Ottoman period and a reflection of the idea of the nation-state in these new countries. The Greek and Turkish exchangees, who are identified as the "Children of Lausanne" (2006) by journalist Bruce Clark, later became a model for other communitarian conflicts. Although he cites the examples of Cyprus and the Balkans, he adds that efforts were also made to effect a population exchange between Palestinians and Jews after the creation of Israel.

The notion of a population exchange is premised on the idea raised at the Paris Conference, during which the political leaders – Wilson, Lloyd George, Orlando and Venizelos – entertained the idea of deliberately moving people between states even before the war of independence between Turkey and Greece. In refutation of this political argument, cultural geographer Joël Bonnemaison emphasizes the significance of place attachment and how different communities develop a sense of place through the practices associated with their beliefs and daily lives. He argues: "(...) the landscapes offer signs that allow human groups to situate themselves in time and space and to identify with a given culture and society" (2006; 51). On the basis of this, buildings, streets and other public spaces accumulate different layers of meaning in the urban landscape. A quay may represent a place of commerce and transportation for one group. Meanwhile, others may associate their own personal experiences with the space. In that respect, shared memories and personal experiences are transmitted to the next generation, which is how places can accumulate meaning (Bilgin, 2014; Mills, 2014).

The rupture of urban memory is closely tied with the economic activities of the local communities interacting with the physical environment. Alp Yücel Kaya, an economic historian from Izmir, gives the perfect example of ships as 'ambulant landmarks' exporting dried grapes. In the context of Izmir, ships exporting figs and grapes are both an ambulant and a permanent image of the city (2010), because they represent the centuries-old dried fig and grape trade in Izmir. Economic activity forges group memories and shared information and helps in creating bonds and group solidarity that are essential for survival and the making of a home. The mübadils fill the city physically, mixing with other emigrants from the Balkans, the countryside and other regions of Anatolia, seeking accommodation and jobs after the destructive effects of war. Unfortunately, although the refugees coming from other areas had other skill sets, they were not able to sustain the know-how of the local industry and the agricultural sector that had been organized over the preceding centuries via the international trade network between Anatolia and Europe with the African port cities. (Arı, 1992).

In his interview published in 2006, Izmir-based historian Fikret Yılmaz (2006, ed. Smyrnelis) argues that the population exchange was not a sudden event. It was part of a series

of events during and after World War I. The flow of migration between the European territory of the Ottoman Empire and Turkey itself had already started before the population exchange. With the increase in ethnic conflicts, specifically after the Balkan wars of 1876, many Muslim communities immigrated to Anatolia from the Aegean Islands, the Balkans and Crimea. Many Muslims who feared for their safety and economic stability thought that they might be able to live in Izmir, which was a multinational city with strong ties to Europe, especially through the immigrants coming from Chios, the neighboring islands and Greece. After the Kurtuluş Savaşı (1919-1922), the war following the Sevres Treaty between France, Great Britain, Greece, Italy and the Ottoman government in Istanbul, citizens whose cities had been burned took refuge in Izmir (Eugenides, 2007; Neyzi, 2008). Each political conflict in the Balkans, Anatolia and the Middle East was followed by recurring episodes of migration and displacement (Arı, 1992; Yılmaz, 2006).

In other words, Izmir became a city that had both received and sent off migrants while the Ottoman Empire was collapsing. The mass migrations understandably impacted attachment to place, although those that took place at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries have had an even more powerful impact. Arguably, the city of Izmir, which has been a pioneer of modernism in the Ottoman territory, with the settlement of Europeans who introduced industrialization and new methods of urban planning, lost its notion of 'place,' first, after the physical devastation of the great fire, and second, after this circular migration caused by the population exchange in 1924. After the population exchange, followed by waves of migration, the population of Izmir returned almost to its former level, however, the new residents were not privy to the city's urban memory. This lack of memory and the opportunity to share it were the reasons for the rupture. The Kemalist idea of inaugurating a new beginning was what was ultimately responsible for creating a sense of home and of belonging. This blueprint for a modern Turkey drew a picture of a secular, Muslim, Turkish and European-like Izmir that called for leaving the past behind and heading toward a bright future.

The Kemalist model, which sought to construct a new identity for the newcomers, was also reflected in the city's public spaces (Demirtaş-Miltz, 2010). In the meantime, spaces that had been left untouched by the fire and reflected the former lifestyle became dilapidated and dysfunctional, and eventually such spaces were razed and sacrificed for the 'necessities' of the modern city (i.e., dwellings, business centers, parking lots and larger roads). This was also true in the areas affected by the great fire, where the population increased due to internal migration (Birsel, ed. Smyrnelis 2006; 205-219; Serçe, Yılmaz and Yetkin, 2003). This means that at the time when a new Izmir within the new Republic of Turkey was being established, all the old elements representing the past were being devalued.

My interlocutors were 'modern' Izmirians, thus their memory belonged to modern Turkey's collective memory. The memory of the Great fire of Smyrna was historical knowledge to which they were not connected. It was an event from the past. Similar to Mills' work (2014), this is an example illustrating the way in which collective memory might be selective. The new

inhabitants of a town may construct their place attachment based on a feeling of nostalgia that refers to a positive image of the past. This view may approach traumatic memories merely as something that happened and which belong to the past. Meanwhile, an old resident may have a different recollection of that event because she confronts its consequences in her daily life (Mills, 2014).

Some older migrants from other regions in Turkey remember the earlier multicultural past with nostalgia, though they have more awareness of the history of this time period. This differs from Leyla Neyzi's oral history conducted with an old Izmirian woman who had witnessed the conflict between the Greeks and Turks in Izmir, including the burning of Manisa and Izmir (2008). None of my interlocutors recalled any personal, family accounts. Only Ceren from the festival organization shared how her grandfather, after witnessing the fire as a child, had begun to stutter for a long time. As a matter of fact, many of the urban memories went into exile together with the exchangees, while those who settled after the fire brought other memories from their former homes.

Urban memory is a collage of collective memory, different locations and limitations of space (Crinson, 2005). According to Massey (2005), the spatiality of time means "recognizing crucial characteristics of the spatial: its multiplicity, its openness, the fact that is not reducible to a surface, its integral relation with temporality" (2005; 88). Although she deals with memory in the context of globalization and representation of space, Massey also equates space with multiplicity. Connections to memory are made through urban palimpsests. With respect to multiplicity, as my research on the International Izmir Festival indicates, the layers of a space are called into question based on the personal and collective memories of individuals. Arts festivals, especially those organized at historic sites, augment the urban image (Quinn, 2005). Such circumstances, which valorize urban memory, offer people the opportunity to gain knowledge of the past. Yet image-making which does not prioritize the past creates a dichotomy between the history (the organization's view) and the memory (the place's affect) that it hides.

I remember at the beginning of my research how I, as a local person and a graphic designer, was eager to discover and define the identity of Izmir. The historic sites were the perfect visuals to grasp Izmir as an ancient Mediterranean city with a close affiliation with Western culture through a long trading past. The image of the city was important in creating a harmonious design with a value for tourism. My naïve attempt to pin down Izmir's identity erased what Massey calls "space as a sphere of heterogeneity" (2005; 99). This means that even though the effects have been dramatic, neither the Great fire of Smyrna nor the population exchange could fully destroy, replace or exchange the past, as obviously there are many pasts and many presents. While the fire opened up a space for contemporaneity to fill in, those who arrived after the population exchange inevitably encountered the past and a life that was already established prior to their arrival. Massey rightly stresses multiplicity rather than annihilation: even though the cosmopolitan and Mediterranean identity was subsumed by the fire and was seemingly

exiled with the migrations, it neither froze nor got lost. In other words, the correct concept to explain cultural traumas is not destruction, but transformation of both the urban landscape and the actors. This transformation prepared the ground for the Kemalist project rooted in Turkish modernity and the gradual abandonment of the old city.

Massey argues that space is always heterogeneous, and this heterogeneity creates heterotopias: "all spaces are at least a little accidental and all have an element of heterotopias. This is the instability and potential of the spatial, or at least of how we might in these space-times most productively imagine it" (2005; 116). Melek Göregenli (2010) and Nuri Bilgin (2011, 2013) similarly argue that space is not a passive surface. While we pass by, leave, abandon, discover and return, the space is fixed in our imagination, but it changes in the cycle of time-space-subject (Massey, 2005; 124-125). Even if there are people who are unaware of the fire and the population exchange and who therefore make assumptions about the city without knowledge of those events, its urban memory would still experience erosion depending on the nature of forgetting and remembering.The memory of the place would inevitably be forgotten, reimagined, remounted and rebuilt (Bilgin, 2013).

In concluding this chapter, I argue that although the traumas of the Great fire of Smyrna and the population exchange caused a rupture in urban memory, the sense of place shared by the non-Muslim communities has not been destroyed. Although there seems to be no continuity between the city's past and present, tales of places multiply and proliferate. While the multicultural Ottoman city has transformed into a modern Turkish city with new actors, newcomers continue to feel like 'double-time strangers' (Clark, 2006), as they have also enthusiastically embraced modernity as their new starting point. Their grandchildren have inherited imagined memories of a place from whence their grandparents came and have constructed an identity shaped by nostalgia and romanticism. The exchangees were traumatized by the fact that they were forced to leave their homes. Many of them had made a living by working the land. On arriving in Turkey, they became poorer and struggled to make a new 'home.' In addition to their own trauma, they encountered another trauma within the urban landscape of Izmir. The sense of a lack of safety in the collective memory might be construed as one of the reasons for silencing the past; as a community, they preferred to repress and forget the painful past and to prepare themselves to play the roles of modern Turks in a city 'reborn from its ashes.'[74] The migrants of the 1920s built a new Izmir by constructing a

[74]*Küllerinden doğan şehir* (the city reborn from its ashes) is not only the title of the book written by Izmir-based historians ErkanSerçe, Fikret Yılmaz and Sabri Yetkin, but also the name of two groups on Facebook: one is "*Küllerinden Doğan İzmir*" and the other "*Küllerinden Doğan Smyrna.*" The group members are mostly older than fifty and belong to the same age group as my interlocutors. In particular, they share pictures of old Izmir before the fire and new Izmir after the urban renovation of the 1920s and 1930s. Although the titles imply the fire, interestingly enough, the group members do not associate themselves with the fire and instead focus on clean, modern and yet naïve Izmir's urban landscape until the '80s (fewer cars, fewer people, magnificent old monuments, etc.) in a nostalgic perspective. This is in keeping with the accounts in Serçe et al. (2003) in which the authors mention the fire as a tragedy that they don't connect with. When one uploads an old picture, other members make comments under the picture, recalling their personal memories or some detailed information about the surroundings. The

geographic dialogue of where they were now with where they came from. The International Izmir Festival does not ritualize the past nor does it construct a concrete, unique cultural memory (Assmann, 1995). And yet the Smyrna of Izmir multiplies with the heterogeneous experiences of its urban dwellers, and also of the organizers and spectators of the festival, which encourages new urban memories, albeit short-lived. In the following chapters I will elaborate on the approach of the festival's management in creating such a short-lived connection between a specific location, its past and the contemporary performative effect of the festival.

action of looking at a landscape that no longer exists creates a new narrative beyond that of national history. This new narrative indicates the intersection with as well as the divergence from urban memory and official history.

Chapter 6. Modernity and Migrations

Previously, I analyzed the physical and social gaps existing in Izmir's urban memory. In this chapter I will continue to analyze the reasons behind the International Izmir Festival's choosing to organize events at the historic sites in the city center aside from its regular ones in the ancient site of Ephesus. Its motivation to organize events at historic sites was a consequence of Turkish modernity. Modernity itself has had a huge impact on the urban environment. While representation of modernity expanded in a physical sense through urban planning and architecture, it prepared the conditions for waves of migration from the countryside to big cities like Izmir. The reason for analyzing the effects of these waves of migration and Turkish efforts at modernizing is to understand the process of forgetting: how the historic sites were neglected and abandoned and how the memories that they represent were forgotten. Before the festival organization became involved with these sites, they were a sort of clutter while the city changed and adapted to modernity with the growing population. This chapter also clarifies the relationship of memory in Turkish culture through materiality, whereby older buildings and neighborhoods represent Izmir's past.

The erosion of urban memory – or, in other words, the sharp rupture between the past and the present in Izmir – is not just the result of the fire and the population exchange. The nation-state proclaimed its desire to forget its traumatic past and to recover from it by "reaching the glorious and promising future of the new Turkish republic" (Kolluoğlu-Kırlı, 2005). The *millet* system of the Ottoman state, which organized the multicultural society according to religion (Georgelin, 2008 and Mazower, 2010), had already started to fragment by the time of the rise of nationalism. As the new nation-states were being established in the Balkans, Muslims who were living in these areas started migrating to Anatolia. The competition of colonization and the presence of petrol in the Ottoman territory –which are often discussed as being among the key reasons for WW1 – contributed to the political and economic collapse of the Ottoman Empire. Because of capitulations made to the European settlers and because of the advantages that the non-Muslim subjects accrued from being granted European citizenship, the formerly privileged position of the Muslim community deteriorated drastically. The transfer of power to the bourgeoisie also meant that religious authorities lost influence (Mazower, 2010). According to Neyzi (2008) and Kolluoğlu-Kırlı (2005), the journalist Falih Rıfkı Atay – a friend of Atatürk's who accompanied him during the war of independence – 'confessed' that the Muslim community felt inferior to the non-Muslim communities and that the Muslim community was afraid that the non-Muslims might return. As a matter of fact, the Great fire of Smyrna and the following period of silencing and forgetting are considered to be a consequence of the political and economic conflicts between these groups (Kolluoğlu-Kırlı, 2002, 2005, 2007 with Coral, 2008; Georgelin,

2008; Milton, 2009; Housepian Dobkin, 2012). Atatürk and other Muslim/Turkish[75] intellectuals who fought in the war for independence had witnessed the empire's being divided among Great Britain, France, Italy and Greece after WW1. In the conditions that existed during this period, they saw a new nation-state as the only viable option for survival. Between the nationalist movements in the Balkans and the Arabian Peninsula, Anatolia would be designated as 'the location' of this new country, because a country could not be considered a nation without a territory (Navaro-Yashin, 2002). After the founding of Turkey, according to the national discourse, Izmir would become a landmark denoting where the war of independence had started and ended. May 15, 1919, when the Greek army disembarked in Izmir, is officially accepted as the start of the war, and the end as September 9, 1922, when the Turkish army entered Izmir after its victory of August 30th against the Greek army (Coral, 2008; Bilgin, 2010 and 2011). Afterwards, during the Lausanne negotiations, Atatürk and Venizelos agreed to a population exchange between Turkey and Greece, considering that living together would not be possible. The loss of the war, the Great fire of Smyrna and the arrival of refugees from Anatolia led the Greeks to accept this agreement, which was also in accordance with the nation-state understanding of the two countries (Clark, 2006).

Fig. 7: A street exhibition debating the notions of memory and modernism in Izmir organized in 2013 by the Chamber of Architects in Izmir, curated by Emel Kayın.

[75] As mentioned above, the Ottoman state was divided into a *millet* system based on religion. The concept of nationality did not exist. According to Navaro-Yashin (2002), the notion of nationality started with Western modernization after the declaration of *Tanzimat Fermanı* (1839), which included such reforms as the recognition of civil rights for non-Muslims, the reorganization of communities – granting them more autonomy, taxation and many other regulations of daily life. Interestingly enough, at the same time that Muslims started to adopt Western education, military and many other regulations of daily life, they also adopted the word "Turkish" that Western countries were utilizing to identify them. Therefore, as you will notice, identification of an Ottoman community through a modern perspective might be confusing. To respect the historical context, I prefer to utilize the religious identity of the community dating before the second half of 19th century and the 'modern' national identity for the period from the last quarter of the 19th century through the present time.

As nationalist Turkey was being established upon the ashes of the Ottoman Empire, Izmir became the embodiment of the ideology of the post-Ottoman nation-state: a place that had assumed the new character of 'Turkish modernity' by suppressing the sovereignty of its non-Muslim communities. The aim was to make locals, migrants and foreign visitors perceive Izmir as a modern and Turkish city (Pasin et al., 2015).

Hence, as I introduced in the example of Kültürpark above, we see the existence of multiple narratives: the small non-Muslim group recalled that it used be the Armenian neighborhood and, later, the area where the fire took place, whereas my secular, Muslim and 'modern' interlocutors rarely mentioned the area of the fire, and if they did, it was in connection with some anecdote. They mostly associated the place as a park with the International Izmir Fair – a connection promoted abroad by the city and the country – a place where a modern lifestyle could be represented and practiced.

This chapter focuses on the process of redesigning Izmir, which was conceived of as a window on the 'modern' and 'Turkish' Republic of Turkey, based on the selective nationalist collective memory. For example, while September 9, 1922 is celebrated as independence day and the birthday of Izmir, the Great fire of Smyrna, which happened just a few days later – September 13-16 – is not commemorated at all, and the extent of the catastrophe has only recently captured the attention of local artists and academics. On the one hand, the Levantine and Jewish communities are very small – even those who still live in Izmir are like urban palimpsests. On the other hand, today's Izmir has a very large Muslim community, whose origins are the Balkans, Crete and the Aegean Islands, with Kurdish migrants also arriving from eastern and southeastern Anatolia after the 1950s.[76] This great diversity of ethnic origins obviously belies the argument of a 'Turkish Izmir.' After the 1980s, the image of Izmir as 'urban,' 'modern' and 'Turkish' – imagined and constructed by the Kemalist ideology – fades away. When I discussed these notions with my interlocutors, they talked about how Izmir is Turkish, Aegean, republican and secular while simultaneously cosmopolitan, Mediterranean and *avrupai* (European-like) (Yıldırım et al., 2010; Bilgin, 2010; Kolluoğlu, 2007; Smyrnelis ed. 2006; Yılmaz et al., 2015).

While I study the lifestyle changes that have been imposed under the guise of being 'modern,' I also pay attention to why and how Kadifekale (the castle), Ayavukla (Saint Voukolos Church), Reji (the old monopoly cigarette factory) and Abacıoğlu Inn remain invisible and the memories that they represent have been forgotten. More precisely, I address the factors that explain how certain places became both local and 'other.' I examine this in connection with the International Izmir Festival, which invites 'modern' Turkish spectators, who partake of classical

[76] The Roma and African communities of Izmir are less often mentioned because of the paucity of sources about their presence and relationship with urban memory. In comparing the two, while the latter is almost invisible, the Roma people are visible, especially at Konak Square and Kordon making music, selling tissues and flowers, and telling fortunes. See *Own or Other Culture* by Judith Okely for more information about the exclusivity and insiderness of Roma community.

music, contemporary dance and theatre, to also explore such experiences within their own neighborhoods.

6.1. Urban Redesigning Under Nationalism

The Great Fire of Smyrna in 1922 and subsequently the population exchange between 1923 and 1927 had a dramatic impact on Izmir's urban landscape. I argue in this section how developments after the fire and waves of migration, including the population exchange, have affected Izmir's urban memory to such an extent that only a few urban palimpsests remain, which would later be co-opted by the International Izmir Festival as a pioneering effort in city branding.

In the Turkish language of today, the word *modern* (the same as English) has many connotations. After the founding of the Turkish republic, many changes took place in the domain of daily life. Some examples are the adoption of a family name and European dress codes [including the abolition of the chador and fez, representing the Ottoman past and Orient (Navaro-Yashin, 2002)] and the switch to European measures for weight and height. The Arabic alphabet was abandoned, and a Turkish alphabet was created by adding some special characters to the Latin alphabet. In addition, some attempts were made to make the language more 'Turkish' by replacing Arabic, Persian and French vocabulary with Turkish words which already existed, or which were created on the basis of Turkish roots. This approach of 'renewal' encompassed all aspects of daily life. As with other reforms, new urban development was based on European models.

At the beginning of the 20th century, when nationalism was on the rise, including in the Ottoman territory, being modern was equated with being nationalist. Intercultural societies like the Ottoman Empire had to experiment with the concept of nationalist modernity. As I argued above, the reason is related to the power relationships among communities. It is also reflected in how an ideology may interpret interculturalism either as competence and power or as old-fashioned and not modern.[77] The contemporary understanding acts as a spur toward developing the capacity to understand the other person and a wish to be understood oneself (Wood and Landry, 2008). In contrast, the notion of power in the modern nationalist discourse consists of a nation-state design implemented homogeneously within its borders, which minimizes nuances. In the context of Izmir, modernity might also be construed as a symbiosis of the modern

[77] Ironically, while nowadays an intercultural city is celebrated for internationalization in harmony with globalization, cultural competence is required in the professional milieu. See Intercultural City by Wood and Landry, 2008, page 40.

ideology's tendency to suppress the past, and post-trauma psychology, which leans toward forgetting the past. Both used modernity as a cover for erasing the past (Kolluoğlu-Kırlı, 2007).

Fig. 8: Some examples of Chios-style houses in Alsancak (la Punta or the Point) (picture taken by the author)

Historically, the urban planning and modernization of Izmir had started even before the founding of the Republic of Turkey in 1923 (ibid.; 217). Izmir's urban landscape had already been influenced by the industrialization of Europe in the second half of the 19th century, because it was connected to Europe both culturally and economically through the Levantine community and through international trade. Therefore, Izmir, where modern infrastructure and lifestyle (business, education, health, and leisure) had been introduced, became the sort of setting where each community devised its own version of modernization and adapted national identity within the community (Georgelin, 2008). This period left a lasting impact on each community in different respects, ranging from architecture to education to economic life. The advent of European companies and traders in Izmir expanded the city's trade beyond the borders of the Ottoman Empire and contributed to this impact. For example, the Chios style known by locals in Izmir as *Rum evi* (Greek house) is actually an example of the architecture of early modernism, which combines local architecture (stone and wood) with a new understanding of industrial construction materials (steel) (Coral, 2008; Çıkış, 2009), whereas the factories built in the harbor and surrounding industrial area[78] were of typical European brick. Armenian and Greek

[78] One of these factories, a coal gas factory constructed by a French company, had become a ruin by the end of the 20th century. Recently, it was bought and restored by the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality, and it has been transformed into a complex that includes areas for open-air concerts, cinema screenings, meetings and exhibitions as well as a restaurant (http://www.izmir.bel.tr/Kultursanat/EtkinlikMerkezleri/TarihiHavagaziFabrikasi).

neighborhoods mixed the local style with the European one, while Turkish neighborhoods preserved their old traditions, meaning that there was and still is less urban infrastructure, less technology and fewer health and educational facilities. These neighborhoods, which are located on the hillsides and called the 'upper city,' have remained less 'modern' in comparison with the Chios-style[79] houses located on the seaside (Kuban, 2001).

According to urban planner Doğan Kuban, for a few decades after the declaration of the republic, there was no longer any segregation or ethnic neighborhoods that existed in isolation from others. Modernity created according to the 'secular, Turkish-speaking and Muslim' formula enhanced equality between the upper city and the lower city, particularly with respect to urban infrastructure. This formula also tended to apply toward everyday life for everybody.

By the late '50s a new understanding of 'modern' had emerged, and the efforts at homogeneity had been abandoned. Here I cite the statement of historians Serçe et al.:

"By the second half of the 1950s a completely different Izmir was ascendant. The post-1955 period was an era of great differentiation, which formed an urban space completely different from previous periods (...) We decided to dwell on the period between the end of the Greek occupation and the time of the above differentiation, that is, the first thirty years of Republican Izmir. We also treated the period between 1923 and 1955 as a period of the healing of the wounds of city dwellers through a process of reconstruction to overcome the trauma of the great fire[80]" (2003; 11).

Indeed, Izmir's period of 'modernization' is reflected in the documents about this period. The style is often enthusiastic, and there is abundant information about city planning and urban reforms, which follow one right after another despite unexpected economic crises (1929 and WW2) and migration from the countryside. Undoubtedly, as Serçe et al. remark, it is the post-trauma period, in which the surviving indigenous population lived side by side with uprooted refugees who wanted to forget the past. This impulse of the new modernity was a motivating force that united individuals from different backgrounds and locales with the goal of building a new life.

According to Serçe et al. (2003) and Yılmaz (2007), in the 1930s the area where the fire occurred had still not been completely restored due to economic constraints and the post-war global crisis. The harbor city, with its multicultural character and intense international traffic in trade, had collapsed. Investors and people with 'know-how' abandoned the city. Gradually, following the global economic crisis of 1929, Izmir had to convert its economy from a focus on internationally connected and competitive production and trade to that of a national one

[79] The Chios style is a construction style typical of the late 19th and beginning of the 20th century, which was popular in the Aegean region, including the islands. Because of the use of wrought-iron work and the reproduction techniques of the ornaments as well as the traditional materials of wood and stones, this type is recognized as an early modern house by historians of architecture.
[80] Translated by the author

supported by the state. The process of changing ownership from non-Muslim industries and facilities to Turkish entrepreneurs could not be completed, and the factories had to be managed by the state (Kaya, 2010). Although efforts were made, public factories like Reji (the state monopoly cigarette factory) would become inactive during and after the privatizations. The enthusiasm for creating a new city, a new nation and a new country seemed to have been thwarted by the 1960s.

After the fire, the decision of *İktisat Kongresi* (finance congress), led by Atatürk, was to give Izmir priority for renewal. This was because of the fundamental necessity to build infrastructure, not just because of the destruction of the fire, but also because of the neglect experienced by the quarters on the hills during the Ottoman regime. As I stated earlier, even as late as ten years after the fire, the citizens were still affected by the ruins in the middle of the city. Yılmaz supports this view:

"The dreadful scene of the fire in the center of Izmir, with only the outer walls of the houses, piles of stone, and the corridors of basements, extending in an infinite black scene, drew all our attention so that we could hardly take a glance at the saved areas" (2007; 19-20).

After the fire in 1922, there was an urgent necessity to reestablish urban life. The war was over, and Izmir was officially and proudly a part of the Turkish republic. Nevertheless, some authors viewed the city after the fire as "*a city that had become a black hole, except for the seaside and the suburbs*" (Serçe et al., 2003; 61). Therefore, the first task of the city was to establish a new fire department with the proper equipment and trained firemen.[81]

'Modern' Izmir, the city that came into being after the fire and the foundation of Turkey, has been reviewed by many urban designers, including Danger, Prost and even the famous urban planner known as the cornerstone of modernism, le Corbusier. Unfortunately, the modernist understanding and the city plans did not fit within the municipality's budget and the unpredictable and ever-increasing population due to immigrants arriving from the countryside. The plans of Danger could only be partially implemented. Eventually, the 'black hole' that was left as a result of the fire, with the ashes and the pillars of the dwellings rising to the sky, was a reminder not only of the fire itself but also of the period of conflict and turmoil. This black hole was turned into Kültürpark by Mesut Özok, the municipal architect who also designed the fire department building. Kültürpark still functions as a culture park modeled after Gorky Park in Moscow, with sports and artistic venues and a fair area (Güner, 2015 in Pasin et al.). The entire city itself was planned according to national Turkish styles, particularly the state buildings, which are composed of modern constructions with Turkish elements in the windows and domes. Meanwhile, the 'civil' dwellings are quite simple, with three floors and a garden. However, after

[81] By coincidence or not, this fire department was restored in 2004 and has become a city archive and library. I found a lot of material about the Great fire of Smyrna in this library: http://www.apikam.org.tr/Bagimsiz/kurulus-oykusu (last access: November 9, 2018).

the liberal waves of the 1950s, Izmir's first national modernist attempts were replaced by '*halk tipi apartmanlar*' (affordable residences for the public), which consisted of basic concrete blocks. The idea behind these constructions was to house as many families as economically as possible, since the population continued to grow with the arrival of new immigrants wanting to work in the factories.

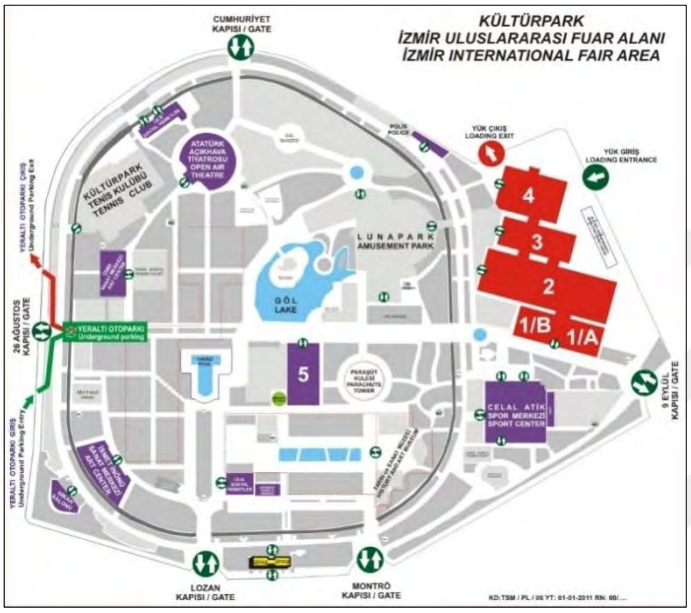


Fig. 9: The infographic plan of Kültürpark: as can be seen, the park has areas for sports and leisure activities as well as an international fair area, which gives the park its popular name of 'Fuar' (derived from foire in French).

Over the years the municipality of Izmir engaged many urban planners, however, none of the projects came to fruition. The first of these were the Danger brothers. Their French-style urban plan was criticized by the next urban planner, Jansen: "*it aimed to be aesthetical but not functional, so it is bad*" (Serçe et al., 2003; 63). His criticism was confirmed by the municipality, and the Dangers' plans were only partially implemented, with some modifications. Later the engagement with Jansen was broken off, because the budget he requested was too high. Then the engagement with le Corbusier was suspended due to World War II and the municipality's disagreement with le Corbusier. According to his plan, Izmir would have been surrounded by a greenbelt, and the entire historical urban fabric would have been transformed into new buildings, turning Kültürpark into a zoo. Land and ownership law, passed in the aftermath of the fire and population exchange, but which had not even been resolved in the Lausanne Treaty, was ignored in the plan. Although the municipality later came to appreciate le Corbusier's plan, it was too late to implement it, because the population was steadily growing, and the need for roads and residences was increasing. Therefore, le Corbusier's plan was shelved. Finally, an urban design competition was organized, but the winning plan could not be implemented, because the population, which had been estimated to reach 400,000 in 2000, had already reached 300,000 by the 1960s. The construction of '*gecekondu*' (shanty housing) could not be prevented because of the need for more housing. Although the city was focused on becoming 'modern,' it ultimately became obvious that no plan could be implemented because of the urban sprawl fed by the waves of immigrants flooding in from the countryside and other regions of Turkey.

Kültürpark thus became a part of modern Izmir's urban plan and represented Turkish modernity in the spatial and social context, neither of which can be separated from each other (Pasin et al., 2015 and Massey, 2005). Today the park is less popular, though the shopping and

café streets in the same district remain popular. In Izmir many places constructed during the first decades after the republic was declared[82] have lost their popularity; with few attempts made to update them, they may be demolished, or else they remain invisible among the crowd. Hence, the park not only represents the modernization movement of the Turkish republic's first decades, but it also bears witness to the gradual lifestyle changes that have taken place in Izmir (Pasin et al., 2015).

When I interviewed my interlocutors about their urban memories of Izmir, they mostly remembered *Fuar.*[83] Many social and political phenomena have affected people's use of urban space; for example, the introduction of television and, later, the internet are claimed to have encouraged people to stay at home. Turkish modernity can be better understood if approached through the prism of 20th century modernism. According to this, Turkey should divest itself of the heaviness of the past and '*muasır medeniyet seviyesine bir an önce gelinmeliydi*'[84] (it should immediately reach the level of contemporary civilizations) (Serçe et al., 2003). As clarification, I quote a statement by Yılmaz:[85]

"Beginning in the 1950s Turkey was at an historical crossroads. Turkey, which was located after the Second World War within an external political framework on the axis of NATO and USA in the world balance, would quickly become alienated from its founding principles. In the same period, in 1946, the process of creating a multi-party democracy was inaugurated as a consequence of external politics. The liberal[86] *period, which started in 1950, left the country under the effect of the quickly changing winds. Izmir was one of the cities most affected by these changes. The city, which underwent the reconstruction works and revitalization process until the 1950s, experienced a new burst of construction as a dominant understanding of modernization under the effect of intense internal immigration during that period. The mindset which regarded modernization as 'living in apartment blocks' found a chance to implement this. Not only did the massive influx coming via migration change Izmir's social structure, but at the same time it also brought unplanned emplacement and ghetto-like constructions causing urban sprawl throughout the city*[87]*"* (Yılmaz, 2007; 10-11).

This means that the city, where space is a commodity to be speculated on, was constantly being destroyed and rebuilt. This temporality might be construed as an effect of alienation after

[82] I mean the period of 1923-1955 argued by Serçe et al. (2003)
[83] The local people use still this word derived from *foire* in French. Kültürpark was associated with the International Izmir Fair. Nowadays its official name, Kültürpark, is promoted, because the business fairs were moved to a new fair area in Gaziemir, close to the airport. Kültürpark is again evaluated for art, sport and leisure events.
[84] This sentence is a cliché, which is repeated, implying the struggle to improve and modernize after the declaration of the republic.
[85] The book consists of a grid system in which the left column is in Turkish while the right one is in English. This part does not exist in the English version.
[86] In the Turkish context, liberal means less government by the state and more free market.
[87] Translation by the author

the fire and the migrations. It might also simply be due to the nature of modernity that, as the past erodes, a new present is constructed all over again (Connerton, 2009).

Fig. 10: A view from a street in the city center with modern apartment blocks. Turkish flags wave even when it is not a national holiday.

If Kültürpark is a spatial reflection of forgetting, and construction a reflection of modernity, it might also be regarded as the construction of modern Turkey's memory. The names of Kültürpark's gates repeat this representation of the republican rebirth of the city with modern and nationalist references (Kolluoğlu-Kırlı, 2002). The War of Independence is also considered to be a new start in the daily life of the nation; national holidays and festivities commemorate important dates having to do with the war and the founding of the republic.[88] The period from August 1922 until the declaration of the republic in particular is reflected on the gates of Kültürpark: *26 Ağustos* / August 26th refers to the beginning of the final war in which the Greek army was defeated by the Turkish army; *Montrö* signifies the ceasefire signed in Montreux which voided the Treaty of Sevres;[89] *Lozan* commemorates the Treaty of Lausanne, which recognized the independence of Turkey in 1923; *9 Eylül* / September 9th refers to the date

[88] 23rd April, the establishment of the Turkish national government in Ankara; 19th May, the start of the War of Independence; 30th August, the final victory against the Greek army during the War of Independence; and 29th October, the declaration of the republic.

[89] According to this treaty, the Ottoman Empire would have been divided up among Great Britain, France, Italy and Greece. It was signed in 1919 by the Istanbul government with the winners of WW1.

when Izmir was 'saved;'[90] and *Cumhuriyet* celebrates the republic, the glorious culmination of the wars and agreements with the Allies (Great Britain, France, Italy and Greece). Other national holidays include August 30th, a day when the Turkish army is honored with a parade; April 23rd, which celebrates the world's children, and May 19th, which is dedicated to youth. Schools take an active role in these celebrations and participate in a parade along the city's main streets, and sporting events are held at a stadium. The biggest national holiday on the Turkish calendar is Republic Fest (Cumhuriyet Bayramı), which falls on October 29th. On this date the squares, big buildings and, in particular, the balconies of almost all apartment buildings are festooned with Turkish flags and Atatürk's image.

As a native researcher, while observing my mother, aunt and some festival participants, I have noticed in the last few years that the meaning of this celebration has changed. While in the past it was typically required to celebrate a national holiday, lately it has become an act of public defiance by those who hold to secular-nationalist values against the religious values espoused by the AKP government,[91] which has canceled some of these holidays.

Obviously, the fire area extends beyond Kültürpark. After the park was designed, new neighborhoods emerged as a consequence of the new city planning. The park is intersected by large avenues forming a star shape, and at the end of each avenue is a gate which opens to a square. This new urban design under the nationalist ideology left an impact on the street names as well. According to the modernist plan, it was originally intended to reorganize the city in an arrondissement system, as in Paris, because the Danger brothers had already designed the plans of Alger, another 'oriental' Mediterranean port city with aims of becoming 'modern.' However, the arrondissement system was later replaced with the American grid system. Thus, each street was given a number.

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[90]Georgelin (2008) regards this word commonly used by the Turkish public with sarcasm. He interprets this change of power as 'conquering,' as it concerned the plundering of shops and houses, violence, rape and the fire which 'cleaned' the Christian existence in the city, a phenomenon he discussed. See also Leyla Neyzi for her oral history in *Remembering Smyrna/Izmir*.

[91] AKP (*Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi*: Justice and Development Party) is an Islamist party which came to dominance in 2002. The interpretation of Navaro-Yashin (2002) for Refah Partisi is the same as for AKP. Although it differs in its Islamist politics from CHP (*Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi*: Republic and Public Party), the party established by Atatürk, it is also a harvest of Turkish politics. It reformulates the nationalist Turkish identity with religion, whereas its adversary, CHP, as argued by Demirtaş-Miltz in *Değişen İzmir'i Anlamak* (2010), maintains the secular-westernized model of nationalism and modernity, which was the founding pillar of the Republic of Turkey. The republic in its early years created a national identity based on origins in Central Asia, referring to the similarities between European and Anatolian culture. As Navaro-Yashin states, the AKP government has created another narrative of national identity based on the Ottoman Empire. For instance, productions based on the Turkic-Islamic culture and the Ottoman period have become popular (i.e., the Turkish series "*Muhteşem Yüzyıl*") and large jewelry companies have released jewelry designs based on Islamic forms. The AKP government is defined by its neoliberal economic policy following the reforms of Kemal Derviş, a Turkish politician appointed by Bülent Ecevit, the former prime minister from the ruling DSP (Demokrat Sol Parti: Democratic Left Party). The economic policies are reflected in cultural policies. For example, while the AKP accelerated privatization, as in the example of Reji, the monopoly cigarette factory, the budget was dramatically decreased for arts festivals, state symphony orchestras, opera and ballet. İKSEV, which used to receive considerable support from the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, had to be content with only securing permission to organize the International Izmir Festival in Ephesus. This economic and political loss of power has become one of the reasons for the festival's lack of visibility today.

The historian Erkan Serçe (2000; 162-170) interprets the change of the street, avenue and *mahalle* (neighborhood) names as a continuity of the politics of each period from Mahmut II in the 19th century until now. He argues that the Turkification of the place had already started before the declaration of the republic, but it was implemented more systematically in 1937-38. Yet, as he indicates, each swing of the political pendulum served as another excuse to change the names. For example, a big boulevard was dedicated to General Voroshilov, a Russian commandant who played a role in Turkey's war of independence, an important factor with respect to the city's international relationships. In the 1950s, when Turkey grew closer to the USA during the Cold War, its Russian name, Voroshilov, was changed to Plevne (Serçe et al., 2003). This change is meaningful in the context of Turkish modernity, because, as Navaro-Yashin (2002) states, the reference point of modernity changes from Europe to USA after the 1950s.

The naming system also included those streets that remained after the fire. Kaya (2006) mentions '*la Rue des Roses*' (Roses Street), which was officially renamed with a number. Nevertheless, this commercial street is widely known as *Gül Sokak,* the Turkish translation of the French original. Actually, there are many similar examples of this difference between the official street numbers and the names used by the locals. The most notable example is 'Kordon,' the quay which is now a recreational area and one of the most popular places in the city. The Tourism Office of Izmir uses Kordon, despite the fact that the official maps printed in Ankara and the international mapping facility, Google Maps, show it as *Atatürk Caddesi* (Atatürk Avenue). Another example is the avenue parallel to Kordon, which used to be a quay but which is now inland after the filling of the gulf back in the 19th century. It is still called *İkinci Kordon* (Second Kordon), which carries the memory of the place. Its official name is *Cumhuriyet Bulvarı* (Republic Boulevard).

In 2013 I met my aunt and her friend Gülten between concerts. I mentioned the difference between the official versus the public place names. Gülten said: "They call Cumhuriyet Boulevard *İkinci Kordon* (Second Cordon). In fact, there is no official term 'Second Cordon.' [However] Nobody says *Cumhuriyet Bulvarı* (Republic Boulevard) or *Atatürk Caddesi*, [but they say] Kordon and İkinci Kordon. There are streets which live with their names [like] Kıbrıs Şehitleri [Avenue]... Kemeraltı retains its old name. Izmirians don't really like street numbers. Thank God, there is Google, we check [the streets numbers] using Google."

If the streets, avenues and squares, which are public spaces, are deemed to be an area of power relationships (Foucault, 1986; de Certeau, 1988), the changing of their names is an indicator of this. It is interesting to note here that AKP, which had distanced itself from the republic's nationalist ideology, in 2019 indicated on a poster the location of its meeting as Kordon, the unofficial name, instead of writing Atatürk Avenue. Under the assumption that Kordon is the most popular place in Izmir and one of the images of the city, President Erdoğan, like other politicians, wanted to claim the space to show his strength. By writing Kordon on the poster, he aimed to acknowledge the city's popular local identity. Ironically, although he

distanced himself from the Kemalist identity of the place, he overlooked anti-Western Islamist politics by embracing the place's Christian past.

Gülten's argument suggests that there is a crack between the sovereign power and the resistance of locals due to the habits and memories associated with their daily lives. This ambiguity of unofficial and official names of the places is not exclusive to Izmir's historic center. It is possible to observe the same distinction in the social environment of my hometown of Karşıyaka, the former banlieue-summer resort of the city; I notice that the road that extends parallel to the sea is called *Yalı*[92] *Caddesi* (Mansion Avenue) by the people, whereas the signboard carved by the municipality indicates that the name of the road is *Cemal Gürsel*[93] *Caddesi*. In the district of Aksoy, the street signs show the three main streets that cross *Yalı Caddesi* as *Reşadiye, Fidanlık* and *Çamlık,* but each one is also designated with a street number as well. The way the street number is presented is a good indication of how little the locals care about the official street numbers: the signboards are often rendered invisible, hiding under balconies or beneath the signs of stores or hidden under air conditioners or they simply don't exist. During our conversation about the street names, my aunt added: "*In the sense of urbanization of course... each street has a number in Izmir. But that is inappropriate: to give another name to Reşadiye Street...or another one. Yalı Avenue became Cemal Gürsel. I always say Yalı Avenue. Again, I know it is wrong, but to give numbers might be because there is such a kind of urbanization and systematization.*" I asked then:

- *So, what happens if these streets have to be identified with the numbers, and the previous names are fully replaced?*
- *They become unrecognizable.*
- *Let's say everybody forgets these names. What would happen to Kilise Street or Çamlık Street?*
- *Then they become more ordinary. For example, they named Üçkuyular as Kennedy Square, then Fahrettin Altay Square... But many people [still] say Üçkuyular. You can't change it.*

Along the same vein, another day Gülten and my aunt were discussing Karşıyaka and, again, urban memory, because of my presence at the table. Inspired by my research, Gülten mentioned this ambiguity between the official names of streets and the old names used by the local people: "Nobody calls Yalı Avenue Cemal Gürsel. The local administration should be more careful about that." My aunt replied firmly, "I write Yalı Avenue even for official correspondence."

Again, without mentioning that the International Izmir Festival organized an event in a memory place, the festival goers realized the differences between their contemporary reality and the city's past, and local people experienced the shift of their own urban memory from the official and 'modern' place identity. Although my aunt defined herself as a secular *and* modern

[92]*Yalı* is a special name given to mansions built on the seaside.
[93]*Cemal Gürsel* was the fourth president of Turkey (1960-66).

person, her local identity came forth at certain moments. On the one hand, she was willing to hang Turkish flags, to participate in the republic's parades on the 29th of October and to defend Kemalist values. On the other hand, she purposely rejected the modern names given by the Turkish state. She assumed that Izmir would become 'unrecognizable' without the old place names. During our conversations she waxed nostalgic about cosmopolitan Smyrna. While she connected old Smyrna to *her* Izmir, she emphasized some similarities, such as its pioneering character in politics, its being the starting place of the war for independence, just as Nilgün affirmed that Izmir was a pioneer in active literature and journalism among the Muslim communities despite censorship during the Ottoman times. According to my aunt and Nilgün, Smyrna was, in fact, modern well before Ankara and Istanbul; it was a place where women dressed elegantly and non-conservatively. Similar to my experience with the design of the Izmir logo, they distanced themselves from the stereotypes of Izmir reproduced at the national scale.[94] The modern identity in Izmir has been dichotomized between national and local values. While modernity evoked the republic, secularism, westernization and Kemalist reforms at the national level, it evoked being the pioneer of progress at the local level. In that sense, my interlocutors rejected the lazy, seaside, summer town image identified in the collective memory of mainstream Turkish culture.

The renaming of the streets is certainly confusing, and it is likely that both the administration and the public will continue to employ the previous names instead of the numbers or names designated by the municipality. After the discussion with my aunt and Gülten, I thought that if my aunt insisted on employing the local name of a street instead of its given number, even for an official letter, it was clear that cultural memory cannot simply be erased by top-down state intervention. Yılmaz (2007) analyzes some photos from the 1930s to the 1970s taken by *Foto Cemal*, a famous local photographer, where he emphasizes that the city was being destroyed, even under the precarious conditions of WW2, under the pretext of modernization, in which the old was sacrificed for newer, cheaper and supposedly more functional constructions.

As Izmir was altered physically, the functions and the sense of the places changed as well. The focus on novelty in a cheaper and faster way spurred on the development of the construction sector; the *müteahhit*[95] system resulted in the construction of a high number of big apartment blocks, where the original owner was able to live off of the rentals of the flats that he owned. The *müteahhit* would acquire some other flats after establishing his team, constructing the building and selling or renting it to other people seeking residences. When I was

[94] See 'İzmir ve İzmirlilere İlişkin Algı ve Temsiller' (Perception and Representation Concerning Izmir and Smyrnians) in *İzmirli Olmak, Sempozyum Bildirileri* (Being Izmirian: The Reports of Symposium) by Nuri Bilgin (2010).
[95] Investors who contract with owners of lots or old buildings to construct apartment blocks in the space. They don't make an initial payment but offer the owners a predetermined number of units after the building is finished.

interviewing Sevim, she complained about the rapid pace of change due to an economy focused on constructing new buildings and renting out flats and shops:

"*Everything is fast, everything is quick... when I said Mavişehirli*[96] *(a local of Mavişehir), you laughed. They build quickly in succession, paint and are ready. Then we live inside of them. Recently I almost cried. Do you know Kilise Sokak?*[97] *When you enter from Aksoy,*[98] *turn right. This is Kilise Sokak. We lived there. When we first came here, there were only houses, now there are shops and stores. There weren't any stores. There was the kindergarten of my daughter. As soon as you enter [the street], there is a church; that house was next to the church. Gaye Hanım, my daughter's teacher, was also the owner of the house. She was a very pretty woman my age. She studied pedagogy at Hacettepe University,*[99] *and she came back to her father's house. She painted the shutters red, and she sewed everything one by one and made a pretty kindergarten. The interior was as pretty as the outside. Then Gaye Hanım died early, we lost her early to cancer. She had already transferred the kindergarten. After her death, her heirs had the kindergarten demolished! Think, my daughter goes with her children to that street where she lived till she was 13 years old. She would like to say: my childhood was spent here... [but] Nothing! Nothing! Nothing! People lose their memories, and I say that these are a part of the city's identity*."[100]

I laughed at her when she said '*Mavişehirliyim*' (I am a local of Mavişehir). Mavişehir is a new residential neighborhood consisting of skyscrapers and the oldest 'shopping mall' in Izmir, Ege Park, where I often used to go in my adolescence. I could accept her identifying herself as being Karşıyaka*lı* and Izmir*li*, but I found the idea of her considering herself to be a local of a new neighborhood to be contradictory, because I associated local identity as being tied to social relations and the accumulated narratives of a place.

It is important to mention that the kindergarten was a pre-modern house from the early 20th century. In contrast to its neighbors – newer apartment blocks – it was old. But its age was not the key factor: it was regarded as a commodity by the heirs, who wanted to profit by having

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[96]*Mavişehir* is one of the first suburban skyscraper towns in Izmir. Although it has many amenities like security, building management, parking and a shopping center, the quality of the neighborhood – its social environment – is deemed to be very low. For more information about the suburban enclosed space, read: Low, Setha. 2008. 'The Gated Community as Heterotopia' in Dehaene, Michiel and De Cauter, Lieven (eds.) *Heterotopia and the City: public space in a post-civil society*. London: Routledge.

[97]*Kilise Sokak* literally means Church Street. The name comes from Saint-Helen Catholic Church constructed on the street by the Levantine Alliotti family at the beginning of the 20th century. Like other locals, I don't employ the official street number (1728, ref. Google Maps), and I know it by its old, local name. By coincidence, I took driving lessons at a school on that street in spring 2013. I noticed that the shopkeepers who work there know both the official street number and its old name, for administrative reasons, as they are often asked how to find an address. The street is in the center of Karşıyaka, just behind the commercial street.

[98] She means *Fazıl Bey* Avenue. Although this old name is one of the rarely recognized street names, the locals call the street by the name of the district, because this street is one of the boundaries of the district connecting to the Donanmacı district, where the residential zone used to be connected to *Çarşı*, the market area and administrative heart of the town of Karşıyaka.

[99] It is one of the most prestigious universities in Turkey and is especially popular for the study of medicine and education. My interlocutor implies the positive character of the kindergarten and the social status of the owner.

[100] This interview was conducted in 2013. The so-called urban transformation projects in Turkey have opened the door to the construction companies to tear down houses and apartment blocks and reconstruct buildings without any creativity. The discourse of Sevim could be romantically interpreted in the context of place attachment. Today her words mirror how so-called urban transformation might have negative consequences for individuals and communities in the context of urban memory connected closely to city branding.

many flats that they could rent out, earning a high income. Thus, after the building had been demolished, the land was as usual turned over to a *müteahhit* to build yet another apartment complex. *Kilise Sokak* is very close to the old market neighborhood of Karşıyaka center. As the shops spread to *Kilise Sokak* over time, the crowds and traffic in the market neighborhood destroyed the intimacy of the street: it has become a place where not only the residents but also the shopkeepers live, and in which vans loaded with products, clients and window shoppers live or pass by. Later, when I met Sevim and Ahmet, I learned a new fact: they had moved out to Mavişehir because the social profile of the street had also changed. They preferred Mavişehir, because it was quiet and more genteel. Sevim, who wanted to emphasize the gentility of her daughter's kindergarten and the street's previous situation, had made much of the kindergarten teacher's university education as well as her professional skills. Some eminent universities are a mark of distinction and confer social status in Turkey. The old military or land-owning aristocratic status indicated by titles such as sultan, pasha or *bey* has been replaced by a meritocracy that values the name of one's university, educational level and professional success (de Botton, 2008). Going back to *Kilise Sokak*, the change of function and, later, the change of the street's social profile played a role in the erosion of the place's memory just as much as the destructive effect of modernity. Later on a Levantine shopkeeper of Italian origin whom I met in 2016 told me that there used to be more Catholics[101] living around the church and *Kilise Sokak*.

Sevim's husband Ahmet shared a similar account in an interview in 2013:

"(...) *We lost too many things. Yesterday I went down*[102] *to Karşıyaka. I walked. (Pause) Your aunt and I went to the places where we used to live, the places where your mother used to live (He gazed at me to see my reaction.) [We were] in the Mavi Köşe neighborhood. Seriously, I almost cried. Because we had such beautiful days. There were the houses that gave it its character. The houses. Think: a house. You see? Forget about philosophy, music, art. A house. We are people who couldn't preserve those houses. The 3-4 houses that remained were almost ruins. There was a house opposite ours. A person called Vişan Hanım lived there alone. They (the municipality) wrote 'this house is registered and under preservation in 1990' on a signboard. The house's walls are barely standing up. We are a community that doesn't know what it does. Can you think how difficult it is to unify this community under a common value and to reveal their roots, I mean the city's character again? These are people who cannot protect three buildings, and it is a society in which the general mentality says to the people who want to preserve: 'No need, brother, never mind. We build a thirty-story building and earn such an amount of money*."

During my fieldwork, many of my interlocutors shared similar experiences and found the city 'unrecognizable,' just as my aunt had said. They reported that the pragmatic and

[101] The identity construction of the Levantines is different from the national-modern identity construction. They may have other citizenships (i.e., Italy, France, and UK) in addition to their Turkish citizenship. Therefore, their nationality is rather fluid. They may define themselves by their locality (i.e., Alsancak, Bornova, Izmir, Istanbul) and religion. For more information, see Oliver-Jens Schmitt's 'Levantins, Européens et Jeux d'Identité' in *Smyrne, la Ville Oubliée? Mémoires d'un Grand Port Ottoman, 1830-1930*. (2006) Paris: Autrement Press (ed. Marie-Carmen Smyrnelis)

[102] Locals employ the verb *inmek* (to go down) to indicate going to the city center.

popular approach for a city whose population was increasing rapidly[103] was to erase the previous urban space and to construct new buildings. This '*kimliksizleşen şehir*' (city gradually losing its identity) would exist without the accumulation of lived memories –temporary, homogeneous and ordinary.

When I look at my field notes, I note that I felt uncomfortable and even confused after my interview with Ahmet. My attempt to focus on the city's image and city branding did not fit in with his sincere sharing of his memories of Karşıyaka. Clearly, his complaint (almost a lamentation) echoed the erosion of social life and urban landscape, the effects of the drive to modernize. I realized that the reason for Izmir's cultural identity problem and its branding problem was the lack of memory. Ahmet and his wife Sevim had lived for a while in Switzerland. Many years later they visited their old neighborhood and again bought some bread from the bakery which they used to frequent. At first, they were happy to see that the place where they had lived had barely changed. Then they realized that they were frequently 'escaping' to Urla,[104] because actually Izmir was changing rapidly, and they couldn't find *their* Izmir, which was their home. That awareness of separation from their home made them feel sad during the rest of their visit. Ahmet also mentioned in his account the unsustainability of the city. He saw Vişan *Hanım* as the relatively cosmopolitan past of Karşıyaka, and he blamed the locals for not preserving their old houses but for letting them fall into ruin or for demolishing them and replacing them with buildings which were 'modern' but unremarkable. Moreover, he blamed the municipality for its lack of a preservation policy, and he implied that the festival (including me) was also lacking in its focus on 'philosophy, music and art.' In this context, it becomes more meaningful that the International Izmir Festival chose to organize some of its events at urban memory places in the historic neighborhoods to remind attendees that the city, which is the object of

[103] The population in 2018 was 4,279,677. The population was 3,750,000 in 2007. Izmir still receives disproportional migration from the province, its hinterland, eastern Turkey as well as from Syria: http://www.nufusu.com/il/izmir-nufusu (last access: December 14, 2018).

[104]Urla is a seaside town midway between Izmir and popular summer resort Çeşme. Because of its location, it has become a suburb where upper-middle and elite classes reside in gated communities - 'site' (derived from *cité* in French), where they live yearlong. While this group wants to get close to nature and the 'authentic Aegean life,' they prefer to preserve a distance from the local people of Urla. This phenomenon forms a new group of ecologists, academicians, yoga educators, designers, antique shop owners and craftsmen separating themselves from the 'dirty, crowded and stressful urban life.' For further information see http://www.portizmir.org/en/portizmir4/projects/transcrossings (last access: December 29, 2018).

constant destruction and reconstruction, still retained some remnants attesting to its historicity.

Fig. 11: A view from a bar street perpendicular to Kıbrıs Şehitleri Avenue in the Alsancak neighborhood: as can be seen, Chios-style residential houses saved from the fire have changed their function. While they were being adapted to contemporary life, the façades were maintained, except for the addition of awnings to protect clients sitting outside to smoke.

Above you see a view from one of the bar streets in the Alsancak neighborhood. The houses in this neighborhood used to be inhabited by upper-class, non-Muslim families. One side of the street where I took the picture has been demolished to make way for cheap apartment blocks and stores. The new residents and, later, their 'modern' grandchildren preferred to live in apartments, and these houses were abandoned. Since the end of the 1990s, the policy of 'demolishing the old houses and building to accommodate an increasing population' has changed slightly. These houses were rented and then bought up by the night life sector. Since Alsancak, which comprises Kordon, is a common meeting point and is considered to be a 'hub,' the bar investments have been successful and have expanded throughout the neighborhood. Although the houses' authenticity has been damaged, they have adapted to the entertainment preferences of the contemporary inhabitants and visitors. Today, to buy an old house, renovate it and live in it as a residence would be highly discommodious because of the noise and the crowds from the bars that stretch along the entire street. Furthermore, these streets were constructed at an earlier stage of urban planning, which means that there is little parking space for residents, guests and the clients of bars. Unfortunately, the public transportation system is

inadequate, and bike riding, which would be an alternative solution, is limited to the seaside,[105] because there are no bike paths anywhere in the city, and it would be dangerous to ride in the street.

Nicole, a friend who has often attended the International Izmir Festival in the past, is a Frenchwoman married to a Turk from Central Anatolia. They have lived in Izmir for more than 35 years. After I completed my fieldwork, we continued to stay in touch via email. On one occasion she invited me to a Christmas concert in Saint John's Cathedral.[106] Upon receiving my email expressing my astonishment at the accessibility of the cathedral and marveling that there were some *lieux de memoires* still hidden behind walls and buildings, she answered:

"*When I came to Turkey, I was shaken by this memory problem. I had the impression that Turks were standing there ignoring the entire past of this land. Not exactly, but maybe this past wanted to mask itself as if nothing existed. But it doesn't work. Now it changes, it becomes fashionable to recognize one's own past and to assume it. People love to tell that a part of their family came from abroad, who had been mixed in a period of time. They understand slowly that it is richness. But... there are many things to discover and to digest, it will take time. Yes, here we are in another time and place, but we hide it, and there has been such destruction in Izmir that traces of the past are really rare and weak... one more reason to validate them! We can't construct the future if we don't sit well on our own past!*"

Nicole's observations run parallel to my findings as well as my impulse to shift my research from being a celebration of city branding to research into the complex functioning of urban memory places. As Özyürek (2012) asserts, with the failure of the Western model, 20th-century modernism in Turkey parallels global trends. In contrast to homogenizing design, the new geo-localization focuses on reevaluating past lives and memories in search of the authenticity of self, which produces further city branding projects (Landry, 2000 and 2012). This might be a reaction to the identity crisis of big cities like Izmir against the backdrop of the rapid pace of change, unfettered growth and the ever-increasing congestion, that appear to be the inevitable price paid in the quest to modernize (Oral, 2002). The point that I want to stress here is that this rapid growth of cities through massive migration has allowed for the fading of urban memories (Connerton, 2009). In that sense, the individual may lose the place attachment constructed collectively through memorials and personally with locus (ibid.). Memory, especially today's fashionable phenomenon of nostalgia, might also be interpreted as an erosion of modernity as a reaction to the fast pace of change and alienation in the cities. In this context, the following

[105]Since 2013, first in Karşıyaka, then later in the city center, bike stations have been installed for the people who want to rent a bike for a few hours or a day to travel around Izmir.

[106]Another invisible historical place in Izmir. This cathedral, which was originally a Catholic Church, was used by the NATO member American community after the 1950s. For security reasons, the walls were heightened, supported by grey metal panels, and fences were added. I was finally able to discover this cultural heritage in February 2014. The building's entrance gate was then open. The security staff and later Nicole herself told me that the building had been transferred to the protection of the French Consulate. The rituals would now be open to the public; anyone could visit the building. Still, the service is bilingual, in Italian and Turkish.

have become fashionable: family stories about and pictures of exchangees, and heirlooms reminding one of a past to which one is no longer connected, which make an object feel as though it is from another dimension, such as sewer covers with Arabic letters.

When I talked to Elif about historic places in the city which have become invisible due to the encroachment of modernity and the unrestrained construction sector, she explained to me how she had discovered those places thanks to special occasions:

"*There (Saint Polycarp Church), I went two or three times for the concerts. It was very hot in the summer. It was like a Turkish bath. Although we sweated like you would in a sauna, we took extreme pleasure from the visit. People can experience the acoustics and the place itself. Recently, there was a Sephardic concert exclusively for Jewish people in the synagogue in Karataş (she refers to the Beth Israel Synagogue). I could see the interior thanks to that concert. I have tried to enter inside for years. If you don't have any relatives, you can't get in. The concerts should be organized in the synagogues and other places. When people pass by there, they don't see these places. Not only did this [concert] allow people to become aware of what a synagogue looks like or where the pulpit and altar are situated in a mosque, but artistic performances also make connections between people and the space. Their acoustics are good. Besides, the church is related to the musical organ... The organ complements a church very well; you know there might be a performance including the organ (...) for example, why not organize a Sufi concert in a mosque?*"

Izmir's urban memory was physically laid waste by the fire and socially with the displacement of the local non-Muslim people supplanted by Muslim immigrants from Balkan countries and, later, waves of migration from Turkey's hinterland and the countryside of Anatolia. Still, there are many religious buildings which remain both public spaces and a part of urban memory. As I mentioned in the Ground Floor (section *4.2. Social Intimacy of Daily Life in Izmir*), the non-Islamic religious buildings are practically invisible in the urban landscape. They are physically hidden by walls, trees and greenery. Not only is visual interaction limited, but access for the purpose of visiting is also limited to just a few churches. As Elif's experience indicates, a Muslim citizen cannot visit a synagogue on his or her own without having a connection from within the Jewish community.[107] The changes in the modern urban environment might be read as a deliberate rejection of traditional urban structures and lifestyles, which include those buildings representative of the city's multicultural Ottoman past.

Indeed, the city has changed drastically with changes in the economy and the social mobility of its residents (Kaya, 2010). Moreover, modernity is built on temporality and forgetfulness, because of the constantly changing nature of daily life (Connerton, 2009). However, compared to any religious monument in France or Belgium, physical discreetness and inaccessibility are neither the effects of population density and urban sprawl nor of a modern lifestyle. According to Mills, who analyzes the urban memory of Kuzguncuk in Istanbul, the non-

[107] Recently TARKEM (*Tarihi Kemeraltı Projesi* / Historical Kemeraltı Project) declared that some synagogues on *Havra Sokağı* (Synagogue Street) have been restored and could be visited with the collaboration of the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality.

Muslim inhabitants hide their ethnic and religious identity in the interest of safety. As for churches and synagogues, efforts are made to maintain them despite the fact that the non-Muslim community members have gravitated to other districts in Istanbul. When she visits the people of a neighborhood, she recognizes the common discourse of urban memory with the oft-repeated phrase, 'in the old times everything was beautiful. Turks, Armenians, Greeks and Jews used to live together. Then one day they left.' She reveals that the political events of September 7-8, 1955 lie behind the rupture and sudden migration of the non-Muslim community. The event is connected to the luxury tax system of the 1940s, when the public, especially the lower and middle-class migrants from the countryside, plundered the homes, shops and religious buildings of the non-Muslim communities, incited by nationalist politics. The fact that both their Muslim neighbors and the state, which declares that everybody is equal under the modern and secular legacy, failed to protect them created distrust and deep disappointment among the non-Muslim communities towards Muslims. From the perspective of the Muslims, they were ashamed to face their neighbors and continued to live their lives as if nothing had happened. Thus, the event was hushed over due to *mahalle adabı*[108] (Mills, 2014; 205-238). Based on her research, Mills discusses the role of the sovereign power in selecting what and how to remember. According to Bilgin (2013), the political events of the past might be selectively remembered or forgotten by a community's collective memory. Memory is constructed not only cognitively, as an effect of everyday interactions, but also upon the axis of social and political relations of that community within which the individual is situated. In this context, Mills argues that the *mahalle* is a smaller-scale version of the state, and behind the silences and disconnection with urban memory lies the *mahalle's* social control.

In Izmir, awareness of Turkish modernity and its effects coexists alongside awareness of the great fire and the population exchange. One of the most important indicators of the changes in lifestyle that accompanied modernity was the perception of an apartment block as a symbol of modern life. In the realm of cultural policy, the goal pursued was that of 'immediate modernism," which essentially meant trying to catch up with Western countries, which had been accepted as the center of the civilized world ever since the time of Turkey's founding (Navaro-Yashin, 2002; 50-51, 61 and Serçe et al., 2003). Efforts to 'become immediately modern' demanded sacrificing traditional urban development and aesthetic land values. Thus, Turkish modernity evolved in a dichotomous fashion. On the one hand, the Kemalist group envisioned a progressive, secular nation with citizenship based on Western ideas. On the other hand, the religious faction, which interpreted *modern* as meaning economic progress, preferred another version of modernity, one in which traditional life and the urban landscape would be preserved (Demirtaş-Miltz, 2010).

[108]*Mahalle adabı* literally means the rules of good manners in a neighborhood, but it refers to social control in a Turkish context. One's private life and social life are interrelated, and neighbors have the right to interfere with the intimacy of each other. The negative side of this social connection is expressed as *mahalle baskısı* (oppression of the neighborhood) in contemporary urban culture.

A good example of a traditional urban landscape is Kemeraltı, the traditional trade area for commercial activities of both the Muslim and Jewish communities. Kemeraltı, which was the main market district, was frequented less and less by the upper social classes after the 1990s, since it had become crowded and unsafe with the increase of the population following waves of migration from other cities and Turkey's countryside. Meanwhile, supermarkets and large-scale shopping centers became ever more popular, as they were considered to be clean, safe, well organized, and equipped with air conditioning for the hot summer weather, together with activities for the children as well as parking. Kemeraltı could not compete under these conditions. Similar to the hammams, its authenticity stemmed from its being a traditional place for watching and visiting, the type of exotic place detached from modern reality.[109]

In concluding this section, I would like to mention an interpretation raised by Dehaene and De Cauter (2008): that is, the reason for abandoning the old neighborhood might be the 'impurification of the *oikos*' (home, intimate interior). Old neighborhoods have changed beyond recognition, streets have become noisy and crowded because of the increasing number of shops and traffic, while old neighbors have died or left the neighborhood. Often, a local may find an old neighborhood painful to live in or even just to visit, because it evokes lost memories and is a reminder of not just the physical changes that have occurred but also the social changes that have stripped away those aspects of what made it 'home.' However, as Massey (2005) argues, when an environment changes, one's lifestyle and expectations may change as well. Kuban, who describes Izmir within the framework of 20th-century modernity, addresses this issue as well:

"In Turkey and other countries that live with the obligation of cultural change, a modern lifestyle has to begin by denying some characteristics of traditional culture. Those which are Western and not ours are symbols of social status and innovation. Hence, cultural sustainability, which should be the fundamental of preserving programs, is not given sufficient importance. There has been tremendous progress in construction techniques. Nevertheless, traditional materials and urban structure have protected its characteristics since the Middle Ages until the founding of the republic in Turkey. We don't have the progress that Europe experienced in the 19th century and the previous tradition of a monumental city. New material and a Western urban plan don't correspond to traditional ones. Therefore, while symbolic status comes to the foreground, historical continuity is forgotten and dismissed" (1972; 52).

The disappearance of these landmarks, either through demolition or being hidden behind new buildings, causes an erosion of the physical and social environment, evidence of the city's temporality and vulnerability. Thus, temporariness becomes the main characteristic of

[109] My family illustrates similar dislocation. My mother's father and his family lived in the neighborhood of Agora, on the way toward the castle (upper city) and Kemeraltı. His old neighborhood has old houses lining narrow and hilly streets. After marriage, he lived for a while in the same house with his mother. After a small fire, he lived for a while with some relatives before moving to Karşıyaka, a town that was the suburb for the summer and that has recently become a part of the metropolitan area. There he lived in a flat of a three-floor building with a garden in the neighborhood of the old center of Karşıyaka. Finally, when my mother was already in secondary school, they moved to a flat on the seaside, approximately 15 minutes on foot to the old center of Karşıyaka. Similarly, my mother moved to Bostanlı, which in that period was a newer neighborhood near the seaside and approximately 30 minutes by foot to the old center of Karşıyaka.

the urban landscape via the changes wrought by modernity. The subjects of modernity continue to move to ever newer, safer and more functional neighborhoods commensurate with their purchasing power.

6.2. Migrations: Segregation of the Urban Realm

As the Ottoman Empire was collapsing, it was giving birth to new nation-state countries. Izmir, which was the home of diverse communities, was a typical Ottoman port city like Thessaloniki, Beirut and Alexandria. As a consequence of this drastic change, Izmir was exposed to the effects of nationalist ideology hand in hand with modernity. The city experienced turmoil and a large-scale fire. The fire burned the neighborhoods close to the seaside where – just as today – the economy and urban life were concentrated. The neighborhoods burned were where the Christian communities lived. As Bourdieu (2015) mentions, the Greek and Levantine communities, which managed the economy and urban life of the city, in particular possessed 'cultural capital.' In the aftermath of the Great fire of Smyrna, those neighborhoods not only became a 'black hole' in the urban fabric, but the absence of the know-how of these individuals also became a black hole in the region's economy.

In the context of urban memory places, an erosion of memory occurred because the individuals who shared that urban memory were sent off. Furthermore, as a consequence of the population exchange, the city received individuals who came from outside, with other memories. Although they were expected to build up the economy of the city, they did not possess the same international trade network as the Levantine community or the commercial craftsmanship of the Greek and Armenian communities (Neyzi, 2008). Following these dramatic changes, the city was redesigned from scratch according to the ideology of the nation-state. The center in particular was built upon the idea of a 'modern Turkish city.' The fire was seen as the end of defeat and the start of a glorious new life (Kolluoğlu-Kırlı, 2002). Moreover, the past, which had been imagined through a more nostalgic and romantic lens, passed into oblivion under the pressure of temporality (always new) and rapidity (whose rhythm ever increases with changes in technology and lifestyle).

In this section, I analyze the consequences of the influx of migrants occurring in the second half of the 20th century. In particular, I will be looking at the process of impoverishment, neglect, inactivity and forgetfulness in the old neighborhoods after the 1950s. While nationalist state control had been replaced by a capitalist system, these places had been made over by migration, and there were differences in social class. In this respect, I question ethnographically the dialectics of local-migrant, modern-traditional and urban-provincial. My focus is on

capturing reflections of these dialectics among the festival participants in how they make sense of themselves and the 'other' as regards urban memory places and their neighborhoods.

The places and the environment that we today call 'historic,' which were considered 'modern' in the late 19th and beginning of the 20th century, have been made over by modernity. Over time locals or migrants belonging to the upper economic classes moved to neighborhoods which were cleaner, safer, more comfortable (i.e., offering electricity, water and heating, a toilet/bathroom located inside the house, a bigger kitchen with room for a refrigerator, and space to park the car(s)), and newer (the latest fashion of living in an apartment building). The newly arrived migrants from the countryside who could afford to settle down in the old houses (i.e., Basmane and Kadifekale) repaired the houses to the extent commensurate with their economic capacity (i.e., oriel, roof, window and door) or they did not repair them at all, and the buildings became ever more dilapidated. Furthermore, there might be upgrades depending on the situation (i.e., an air conditioning system with an engine and drain water tube), habits (enlarging the living room by closing the oriel window or the balcony) or desire for the latest in functional-aesthetic approaches (i.e., covering a stone wall with plaster, hanging plastic-based signboards). As a matter of fact, prior to the International Izmir Festival's initiatives in the neighborhood for 'foreign visitors and Izmirian people to meet art and history,' when some buildings were being reevaluated because of their historic value, they were already part of the daily life lived by another group.

When modernity fosters rapid change, the sort of place attachment emphasized by Göregenli (2010) and Bilgin (2011) comes into question: if the local people are so proud of being from Izmir, why have they let their old residences become ramshackle or be handed over? An orthodox church from the late 19th century loses its visibility first with the building of concrete apartment blocks and a large avenue filled with dense traffic and second when it is abandoned by the locals. In my account of the case of Sevim and Ahmet, locals who are landowners handed over their house to contractors, who destroyed it to build a big apartment complex that both the contractor and the landowner could live in and/or rent out to newcomers. The inhabitants of a street change because the street becomes a commercial street. This is obviously not just the sort of oblivion that follows traumas, but it also relates to urban politics, which cannot be explained by the new urban plans and modernization in daily life. Beyond the changing of street names, the state permits fast and shoddy building construction.[110] In contrast to *today*'s modern understanding of preservation and its contribution to the image of a city, the old-style buildings were perceived to be worthless according to the *previous* modern understanding, because they were not modern. In reality, the committee for the protection of cultural heritage[111] has authority over whether historic houses are restored authentically, and it does not permit a building to be torn down until it reaches the stage where it is falling apart. Despite this seeming

[110] See the analysis of modernity in architecture and its representation in *Kentin Suretleri: Mekân ve Görsel Politika* (2019) by Bülent Batuman.
[111] A committee attached to the Ministry of Tourism and Culture of Turkey: www.kulturvarliklari.gov.tr

bureaucratic protection, the phenomenon of *müteahhit* (contractor) dominates the Turkish urban landscape. The apartment and office building sale/rental economy in Izmir depends on the economic policy of the state and the rapid growth of the population, just like the other cities of Turkey. As I described above, land – sometimes even a plot – is handed over to a construction company, which tears down the old house(s) and builds apartment blocks. The landowner gets some flats and shops, while the construction company sells off the other flats and shops to recoup its investment. Serçe et. al (2003) remarks on this phenomenon, which also took place during an earlier period of Izmir's development, when it was reconstructed after 1955. This might be seen as an evolutionary adaptation to modernity and as a natural consequence of the migration of the country's population to cities in search of better economic and life conditions. Whether the motivation is a modern lifestyle or economic opportunities, waves of migration of this type are responsible for pumping up the real estate sector, which is still supported by the state; the cycle of destruction, (re)construction, marketing, selling and renting contributes to the economy (i.e., the employment of both white- and blue-collar individuals, an increase in the sale of construction materials and in international trade) and satisfies the need for housing. In point of fact, this phenomenon might be interpreted in a Lefebvrian way. The historic sites, which play the role of memories' representation, encounter with the modernity. The old design struggles against the new lifestyle. In other words, the space which becomes the representation of the former production of space faces to the process of 'new' space of production, representation of space (idea-design) and space of representation (where being the fashionable is manifested to the other). Although preservation committees exist, the historic sites, especially public monuments like the castle, church and inns, become vulnerable in the face of the spatial needs of the newcomers and the growing construction-real estate sector.

This framework might make it easier to understand the significance of the festival's temporary involvement. Beneath the layer of a constantly changing modernity, there is no singular reality: as Navaro-Yashin (2002) and Massey (2005) argue, people and communities construct a power relationship regarding space. This produces many realities and narratives.

While a team of designers may (re)design the logo of a city, the renovation of its visual identity concerns a process of selecting the brand value. Which past and which narrative are selected to represent the uniqueness of that city? What part of the past should be emphasized while the rest is discarded? (Gibson, 2009 and Landry, 2012). The matter of identity and its visual representation raises questions as to how certain forgotten neighborhoods with 'poor, old, dysfunctional, dirty and uncanny' reputations have been transformed into 'old, valuable cultural heritage with a multicultural past.' In this context, while İKSEV presents some places to the public using the justification of promoting the International Izmir Festival's upscale, high-culture events, those undertones were triggered to effect a change in the public's view. The issue of meaning and its visual representation raise such questions: Why is it that Izmirians, who are proud of their modern Turkish identity, are so disconnected from the buildings which were constructed after the founding of the republic and which therefore represent Turkish

modernity? How do they deal with nostalgia for the Ottoman multicultural past and the recent nationalist past? Why does the festival organization limit itself to visiting those places on only one occasion? If the festival was so motivated to 'meet history and art,' why were the places' memories not thematized in a festival event?

Under the motivation of presenting the historic sites to contribute to the brand value of Izmir, some memory places regained importance and prominence within the framework of the International Izmir Festival. While the historic sites, which were in fact urban memory places, became festival venues, the memories that they represented were not evaluated within the festival's program. From the perspective of graphic design, I was concerned with the medium (the building) and the content (the memory). I therefore continue to argue the reasons for the disconnect of time-space in this section before passing on to the case studies.

According to Navaro-Yashin, while the Turkish notion of modernity was being articulated according to a Western model, the Turkish nation was being conditioned to aspire to a certain level of civilization. This design of a nation required geography in which to articulate the notion of Turkishness (2002; 11 and 47-49). The countryside of Anatolia was regarded as a source from which to 'study the origins of Turkishness.' Thus, while the highly educated urbanites were contributing to the economic development of the country, they were also assigned the task of 'bring(ing) modernity to the countryside and collect(ing) data to learn about these origins.'[112] If one were to suspend criticism, this attempt would seem to be a symbiosis involving an exchange between the countryside and the urban realm (Corijn, 2006). Again, if I return to the historical background described by Navaro-Yashin, the urbanites from the metropolitan cities of Istanbul and Izmir considered themselves to be more modern than the modernizing Anatolian towns, and they felt a responsibility to serve as role models. It is worth recalling the premise that Izmir would become the 'window display of modern Turkey,' where the elements of *gâvur* (foreign, non-Muslim, and unfaithful) would be effaced after the fire, and the population would be replaced with Muslims via the population exchange with Greece.[113] In this context, Izmir may indeed be seen as a brand at the national level. Another Mediterranean port city, Marseille, which is known as the 'frustrating energies' (Lanaspeze, 2005), has also experienced a layering of new identities through constant waves of migration from other cities and countries. This might serve as an augury that there might be some ruptures in urban

[112]Ahmet Adnan Saygun is a good example of this period. He was born and grew up in Izmir and studied in Ankara. He worked many years as a composer, maestro and teacher. He traveled in Anatolian villages and collected many folkloric songs. He composed symphonic and piano concerto works, including Anatolian folkloric song rhythms. His name has actually been given to the new art center in Izmir where İKSEV organizes both the Izmir European Jazz Festival and the International Izmir Festival: https://www.aassm.org.tr/en/AhmedAdnanSaygun/14/66 (last access: January 9, 2019)

[113] Although I refer to the Treaty of Lausanne here, the actual emigrants of Izmir do not consist only of Greeks. There were many waves of migration in the 20th century from Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Crimea, Macedonia and Kosovo. Navaro-Yashin (2002) contends that the Islamic religion – just was it was during Ottoman rule – was the unifying element of the new country. Therefore, the 'modern' idea of a secular national identity stands in contradiction to the origins of the country's composition. In addition, despite the attempt of Turkish modernity to create a more homogeneous society by removing the non-Muslim communities from Turkey, the population still remains ethnically diverse.

memory (Mazower, 2010). In the case of Izmir, the rupture is more significant. Beyond the issue of its cultural identity, the many festivals and events, renovations and construction of new buildings and recreational areas[114] for the city branding projects, Izmir is deeply concerned about *representing* the image of modern Turkey to its citizens and the countries it considers as allies (Kolluoğlu-Kırlı, 2002 and 2007).

If I tackle the representation of being modern in the 20th century, according to novelists like Reşat Nuri Güntekin (i.e. *Çalıkuşu, Eski Hastalık, Anadolu Notları, Yaprak Dökümü*) and Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu (i.e., *Ankara, Panorama*) the transformation of society regarding the new lifestyle (which affected education, attire, interior design, leisure activities, woman-man relationships, the status of woman in society, etc.) was embraced in the countryside in the first decades of the republic, though initially there were some identity crises reflecting the identification of the self and relations with the older generations. *Cumhuriyet Çocuğu,* by novelist Nihal Yeğinobalı, might be considered as a prime example of the type of post-war modernity that accelerated with the founding of the republic. In the book she shares memories of her childhood in the city of Manisa, Izmir's neighbor. She describes how her family, other families and her primary school teacher were enthusiastic about the republic and becoming modern Turks, which they saw as a new start after the attacks by Greek soldiers and the burning of Manisa. She narrates this part of her memories with nostalgia and associates it with the naïveté of her childhood. When she moves to Istanbul with her family, her father arranges for her to attend a private American school for girls. She observes that Istanbulian people are less willing to embrace the 'republican values' and continue such customs as going to *tekke* and kissing the garments of a sheikh. On the other hand, an Istanbulian girl from her class mocks her because the author doesn't know 'modern' words like *sürpriz* (surprise) and *piknik* (picnic), and she eats *tarhana* soup for breakfast instead of toast with butter and jam and milk. Also, Republic Day on October 29th is not celebrated as enthusiastically as at her primary school in Manisa. As a matter of fact, the author unfolds the process of modernization in the new Republic of Turkey. When she compares the old town of Manisa with the big city of Istanbul, she points out the differences between the two cities in terms of traditions; while Istanbul continues to represent the unwanted Ottoman past despite its large size, Manisa, which is reconstructed after the war, becomes the epitome of an Anatolian town which cheerfully embraces the republic's reforms and modernity. A second layer of meaning involves the tension of modernity's being something Western, at the core of which is the inherent understanding of a big city as being culturally superior to a small town.

Modernity was indeed experienced earlier in big cities like Izmir and Istanbul as a consequence of international trade and industrialization. Some customs and practices of a modern lifestyle occurred here before they did in provincial towns. The Turkish Republic had

[114] See the symposium notes of *İzmirli Olmak* (Being Izmirian) published by Metropolitan Municipality of Izmir (2010): http://www.apikam.org.tr/YuklenenDosyalar/fckfiles/file/IzmirliOlmak%20smpzym.pdf (last access: January 11, 2019)

already intended to modernize and provide the necessary infrastructure for the Anatolian towns devastated by the wars. In the case of Izmir, as Kuban (2001) mentions, there was a sharp imbalance in public services between the low-income Muslim neighborhoods like Kadifekale (upper city) and the higher-income Christian neighborhoods near the seaside. Similar to Yeğinobalı's comparison of Manisa and Istanbul in her memories, one part of the city was neglected and disadvantaged, whereas the seaside was already taking on the appearance of a modern city. Therefore, while Izmir was redesigned as a modern Turkish city, an attempt was made to make the upper city and the seaside more homogeneous (Kuban, 2001).

During the time Izmir was experiencing attempts to modernize, enthusiasm for republican values was affected by economic and political changes in Turkey. After the '50s, when Turkey became a member of NATO, its relationship with the United States became closer. The construction of a modern nation provided by *halkevleri* (public houses) and *köy enstitüleri*[115] (village institutes) was seen as 'too communist.' The competition between the USA and USSR was reflected in Izmir, at the international fair, which was a place where Turkish people could follow the fashions from abroad: "It is obvious for a visitor to the International Izmir Fair that American life promises technological progress and prosperity and not the Soviet Union" (Gönlügür, 2015; 106 and 118-119).

According to a report by social scientist Mübeccel Kıray published in 1971, the term 'primary city', coined by geographer Brian Berry, is quite apt for the case of Izmir: a primary city is one which absorbs the economic, social and political power of the region, or even the country, especially in developing countries. Izmir had been developing rapidly ever since the early days of industrialization and railway connections in the second half of the 19th century. While dominating its hinterland, it was dependent on it for raw material, products, labor, transport and marketing to the global trading network. This relationship augmented the difference between big cities like Izmir and the provinces. As is obvious, the ideology of Turkish modernity's promise of cultural and economic progress for all of Turkey has never been realized or balanced.

In the early decades of the republic, the Turkish state aspired to achieve '*muasır medeniyetler seviyesi*' (a level of modern civilization) (Kıray, 1971; Navaro-Yashin, 2002; Kolluoğlu-Kırlı, 2007 and Pasin et al., 2015), however, the massive waves of migration to the big

[115]*Halkevleri* were the equivalent of the cultural centers of today in the cities. Similar to the Kültürpark project that I previously described, these public centers aimed to 'cultivate' people similar to open, public universities. The first goal was to teach the new alphabet and increase the percentage of literate people. There were libraries, theatre and dance courses. Meanwhile, the *köy enstitüleri* sought to convince teachers from the villagers to stay and teach in their villages. According to the master thesis of Çağdaş Garip (2016), the villagers coming to the big cities became urbanites, and following their graduation they did not want to return to their villages to teach. Therefore, whatever the consequences of modernism on urban memory are, *köy enstitüleri* might be considered as a preliminary example of sustainable development. For Turkish-speaking readers, the thesis may be read on academia.edu:
https://www.academia.edu/30314309/K%C3%B6y_Enstit%C3%BClerinin_T%C3%BCrk_E%C4%9Fitim_Tarihindeki_Yeri
(last access: January 10, 2019)

cities led to increasing social and economic differences between the big cities and the countryside. The waves of migration from the countryside to the big cities reshaped the features of the social classes. The new profile of low income was reflected in the urbanites' perception of provincial internal migrants as being different from the exchangees, who had already settled down and become an accepted part of the urban environment. Rather than a teaching-learning exchange in constructing the modern Turkish identity – essentially, a relationship of mutuality – the urbanities, deeming themselves to have already achieved modernity, perceived people from the countryside as inferior. In their view, the latter should strive to become like the urbanites. In this encounter that I call 'modernity under construction,' there also existed the dichotomy of secularism and religiosity; over time this became reflected in the populist approach in municipal elections as well as in the growing segregation of the neighborhoods (Navaro-Yashin, 2002).

Within the context of arts festivals, the consequence of this process was that the audience was composed of urbanites possessing cultural capital, whereas the recent migrants lacked this opportunity; this may be seen in the example of the republican ball held in Ankara in the 1930s, described by architect Gülsüm Baydar Nalbantoğlu (1997). Because of social class and urban-countryside hierarchy the urbanites regarded themselves as the being the epitome of modernity and had an expectation that migrants coming from the countryside would be similarly motivated to strive for a level of modernity as quickly as possible. Baydar criticizes the fact that modern urbanites had imposed this modern-urbanite language on the villages of Turkey, whereas the provincial migrants settling in the big cities after the '50s developed their own architectural and spatial practices, like the phenomenon of *gecekondu* (shanty houses). By this time the differences in habits and, of course, spatial practice was reflected in the urban realm and exacerbated the division between the groups. I paraphrase the words of Nilgün, who saw them as a condition of coexistence:

"Izmir was a clean city. Now it's not, because Izmirians are not clean anymore. The ones who live in Izmir are not clean. Even though they are clean, there is so much migration from the countryside. For example, a man pours his dirty water [outside]. In our neighborhood, nobody could pour his dirty water out the door. We used to have shame; you couldn't pour the water that you used to clean your home. Besides, each day we used to clean the pavement in front of the door. Then the whole neighborhood would become clean, of course. Now it doesn't exist. A man lives in the apartment block where my mother lives on the fourth floor. The garbage... the juice of melon and watermelon leaks from his garbage down till it reaches my mother's stairs, can you imagine that! (Angry, she raises her voice.) *You can't believe it. What, that is just opposite the city governor's mansion. She lives in the best quarter of Izmir. (...) But her sixth-floor neighbor doesn't know how to put his watermelon garbage into a plastic bag. Since he doesn't know, it leaks all the way to the first floor. He doesn't have a social conscience, because he doesn't know how to live together with others."*

According to Nilgün, being an Izmirian was associated with being an urbanite, and being an urbanite meant being clean and respectful of others. Later on she emphasized the consciousness in living together and, further, social control and *kentlilik bilinci* (the consciousness of being urban), implying place attachment. During the interview she added that not everybody could live wherever they wanted. It was important for the *esnaf* (the shopkeeper) and people from the *mahalle* (the neighborhood) to ask newcomers who they were and where they came from to be sure about the safety of the home and *namus* (honor, purity) of the women. I thought at first that she meant segregation. When I inquired further, she clarified that it was not about social class: once there was a young single man in their *mahalle*. At first, they (she used the subject 'we' to imply the residents of the neighborhood) felt uncomfortable. Between the lines I understood that she meant that as a single man, who was supposedly heterosexual,[116] the concern was that he would gaze upon and even harass the women. But then they learned that he was studying medicine and that he was poor, so poor that he couldn't buy his books, and since there was no photocopy machine at that time, he was copying the books by hand. The women of the neighborhood shared their meals with him and darned his socks. The young medical student became their 'child,' and everybody was *safe*. On another day, when we were discussing the neighbor who dripped watermelon juice from his garbage all the way to the bottom floors of the apartment block, Nilgün defended herself as not discriminating between elites and those who were poor, but she placed importance on 'urban values.' She added that the *esnaf* was very important in the neighborhood. Her brother used to play with the son of the greengrocer. She gave another real-life example: When she visited her mother, she did her shopping from an expensive but good-quality greengrocer. The greengrocer knew and respected her mother, so he always selected the best vegetables and fruits. If he did not have products that were good enough for his *hacıanne* (pilgrim mother, that's how he referred to Nilgün's mother) he didn't sell to her, and he sent the product later with his assistant. Nilgün's mother recognized this respect and affection, and as compensation she sent via Nilgün a box of sweets or chocolate. Nilgün rejected this giving of gifts; just because she was a client, she didn't have to give an extra gift. However, her mother said the opposite, referring to neighborhood connections. Finally, with a smile on her face, Nilgün concluded with "*mahallede olsam düşsem tutan biri olur*" (if I am in my neighborhood and I fall, there must be someone holding me). Indeed, once she fainted on the street, and the shopkeepers helped her to stand up and sit, and they gave her water. Another time the alarm of a shop was activated. The glass of the window was broken; perhaps there had been a burglary. She waited in front of the store until her neighbor arrived. Her viewpoint was in accord with the traditional neighborhood practice which placed importance on the maintenance of neighborhood connections as a way to promote an enduring local identity. In

[116] I never talked about sexuality and gender roles with my interlocutors because of my social role in the group. As a young, single man, and as an outsider, I could be under suspicion, too. Thanks to my aunt – who has been a gatekeeper – and my volunteer job at İKSEV, my female interlocutors addressed me explicitly; "you are our child." Be careful, they don't use the word *oğul* (son) but *çocuk* (child), which is unisex. Thus, their positive reactions to my interview requests were to help, guide and teach their 'child.' In this account you will also note that the young medical student becomes the 'child' of the neighborhood. Under the affection for and protection of the young man there is a mutual safety feeling between the women gaining the role of *teyze* (aunt) and *abla* (elder sister) and the young man as child that the parties become non-sexualized.

her account she underscored the differences in the neighborhood between locals and the less modern, less urban, less Izmirian newcomers, who adhered to different norms of behavior:

"*If there is a new shop in my neighborhood, I go there and do some shopping. Why? Because that man opened a shop to earn his livelihood in my neighborhood. It doesn't matter to me if he is from Malatya or the Black Sea region or if he is Albanian, Bosnian. He can be anything, it doesn't matter to me. But most Turkish cities are different. I'll tell you an anecdote about a colleague: She lives in Buca.*[117] *Her next-door neighbor is from Malatya. She usually sends her 3 or 4-year-old child to the grocery store. The child crosses the street to buy some bread. Once, my colleague meets the child on the street. She makes him cross the road. Then she asks her neighbor why she sends her child to the other side of the road instead of another grocer nearby. She answers: 'but he comes from Malatya.' She sends her child across an avenue to buy some bread from the grocery man from Malatya instead of another one closer and on the same side of the road. An Izmirian doesn't think like that. She doesn't go shopping because he comes from Malatya. Instead, she makes an effort for him so that he can survive. An Izmirian is tolerant, she doesn't care if you wear shorts, if your boxers or brassiere can be seen, if you walk hand in hand. If someone says that he is Izmirian, you should look at his tolerance. Izmir has an embracing side. A man may come from Mardin, and he becomes Izmirian. But in Istanbul he always remains a man from Mardin. I don't know if it is because of the weather or the sea or maybe because of its human nature, but anyone who immigrates somehow becomes Izmirian. Recently, I took a taxi. The driver was such a talkative old man. (...) We started to chat. 'Where are you come from, uncle?' He answered, 'a village of Midyat' (a town in Mardin province). He continued, 'I have lived here for 20 years. My family grew up here. I am Izmirian.' You see? Here, he can become an Izmirian, but in Istanbul he remains a Mardinian. It must be something to do with the climate and the sea and even with its people. People, why? Because you don't discriminate against a shopkeeper if he is a Mardinian. You don't shun him. If he is a shopkeeper, you do your shopping there, too. If he is a driver, you take his taxi. I don't know... if you make lokma, you give it to them, too. There are some places where people distribute their halvah or lokma*[118] *only to their co-citizens. But an Izmirian doesn't behave like that. One makes lokma on the street, and anyone may take it (laughs).*"

Nilgün's depiction of the profile of a local is positive, emphasizing human values like solidarity and integrity. At first glance it would appear that culture is being transmitted, including urban memory, thanks to Izmirians' modern and urbanite attitudes. However, she asserted that the lack of attachment to the neighborhood and its values was a consequence of the migrants' shutting themselves off with people of common origins. She agreed that when one deals with people who are similar, it is easier to live in harmony, but she rejected the notion that

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[117]A city like Bornova and Karşıyaka in the metropolitan zone of Izmir; it is situated southeast of the city center. It used to be a town on the outskirts, where wealthy Levantine families used to live before 1922. Nowadays it is a student town because of the proximity of the campus and many institutes of Dokuz Eylül University spread out in the town. Otherwise, it is known as a zone of middle- and lower-class inhabitants.

[118]*Lokma* and halvah *(tr: helva)* are special desserts given as charity. According to tradition, it is cooked in front of the house and given to everyone passing in front of the door. This ritual is generally done on the 40th day after or the anniversary of someone's death.

she, as an Izmirian, or the festival's policy, discriminated against people because of their social class or ethnic origins:

"When something happens to Izmir, it causes me pain, but it doesn't cause pain to a man who came from Ağrı (Ararat) just three days ago. He has money, and he came here and bought the sixth floor in a nice building. Before, when one bought a house, a house wasn't sold to just anyone. Izmir, alright, it welcomes people, but you look around and ask yourself 'who is this?', 'does he/she fit in this neighborhood? 'Let's say there are 5-6 young girls in the neighborhood. So, you don't rent your house to two single men who come from just anywhere. I mean, you think that it is not nice. This is not... (Pause) apartheid."

"(...) Our house was one of three houses sharing one roof. Downstairs, in the middle house, there was an old Jewish brother and sister. On Saturday they didn't light a fire. It's Sabbath. From Friday evening we used to do their shopping, cooking, because they didn't light a fire! (Laughs) We served them. We were kids. We didn't do housework at home, but we did theirs every Saturday. My parents never said, "Why do you serve the foreigners? The Jewish!" They would even do it when we were not able to. Each Saturday during my entire childhood... That poor man died. His sister was taken by the family and brought to another place. They left. Probably for 6-7 years we lit their fires, did their shopping. We brought their bread and newspapers. We helped to clean their house. We looked after them, I mean. It was true for all the neighbors. He is Jewish, the other is Turk or Rum... We didn't have such a thing. Our neighbors were Jewish. We also had Jewish neighbors on the upper floor. 30 days of Ramadan, their children used to fast with us and get up for Sahur. And we used to eat bread without flour as they don't eat bread during their Passover (Pesach)!"

Nilgün was clear in her argument about the attitude of a local person of Izmir towards migrants. She emphasized the tolerance and solidarity of the neighborhood. She construed a neighborhood as a small-scale version of the city and made her remarks based on the neighborhood of her childhood and her actual neighborhood. On that point, Nilgün identified herself and, inherently, İKSEV as Izmirian. She shared her experiences representing the local identity of Izmir. After some recorded interviews and daily conversations, she was emphatic that the International Izmir Festival hosted many local and international artists and always gave the best quality of art to the local people. The festival presented those historic places to a public who might be more or less rich, living by the seaside or at summer resorts. The audience that the festival addressed consisted of well-educated people who appreciated the historical and aesthetic values of the urban memory places. Nevertheless, they did not share the memories of those places. In addition to this, they did not have any business reasons or leisure motivations to visit them. When Nilgün gave the example of a person coming from another city three days before and another twenty years ago becoming Izmirian, she highlighted place attachment. In the context of urban memory, she tackled how one might appropriate the local identity after a process of emplacement. Beneath the argument of homemaking, she underscored the necessity of sharing, solidarity and even shopping as part of a dialogue between different social classes, professions and ethnicities. She could start a dialogue with the other because that person lived

in *her* neighborhood. She also underscored the importance of neighborly relations for a true Izmirian. She was open to shopping at a newcomer's store, whereas someone else might prefer to stay within her community. With respect to the example of the young medical student, she was concerned about social control in her neighborhood. The security of women was highly valued by the neighborhood. The help rendered to a single person was related to the locals' tolerant and welcoming attitude, but it also assured them of a certain measure of control regarding their backgrounds, and they were able to assert the need to show respect to an aunt, elder sister or *hacıanne* (pilgrim mother). Thus, returning to the accounts of Sevim and Ahmet, the destruction of a house, the displacement of many people, or a change in the population decreases social control; feelings of security and differentiation from other neighborhoods make it home. Rapid changes in the physical environment or a lack of social control lessen individuals' place attachment (Göregenli, 2010).

Nilgün lived in a neighborhood close to the seaside in the southwest of Izmir. She had previously worked in Karataş, a neighborhood on the seaside very close to the city center, where middle and upper-middle-class people live. More recently, she worked in Alsancak, very close to the bar-restaurant hub and Reji, the old cigarette factory. She had little interaction with neighborhoods like Kadifekale and Basmane, which regularly receive massive waves of migration and where newcomers lived in shanty houses or decrepit, old houses. The fact that she had little reason to go to or visit these neighborhoods meant that she had little contact with the historic sites and the old/modern concentration around Basmane train station, which was still a business center and a connecting point for public transportation. The neighborhoods where she spent her days were places where the waves of migration and poverty were felt less. Moreover, when we talked about her workplace environment and the realities of Izmir, she had a different attitude than the 'tolerant Izmirian' that she evoked: On one occasion she went to Kemeraltı with her brother and his colleagues from Athens. She and her brother wanted to show what the old, original Izmir was like and that it had a fascinating historical background. However, she felt shame that the visitors from Athens saw many people wearing the black chador; it was "*like a Jordanian marketplace.*" It was different from her modern image of Izmir. She added that Konak Square connected Kemeraltı to her workplace, bus stops, underground station and ferry lines pier (Konak Quay). It was very crowded, especially after work hours. Many peddlers placed their stands on the ground without permission and earned money without paying taxes. The municipality didn't say anything, because – she believed – it ignored them in order to gain their votes. Migrants from the countryside had destroyed what made Izmir modern and urban: its tidiness and cleanliness. "*They give an impression of the Middle East. This is not my Izmir.*"

The poverty of the migrants from the countryside indeed underscored how it diverged from an idealized image of modern Turkey. Although poverty was concentrated in the city center and suburbs, estrangement had increased between the social classes as well as the local urban dwellers and new arrivals. The notion of any sort of exchange between the Anatolian

countryside (where the 'origins of Turkish identity' were supposed to be sought) and the big cities (which were supposed to serve as the model for Turkish modernity) had been lost. The perception of the people of the countryside as inferior might be interpreted as due to their social status, something triggered by modern Turkey's efforts to construct a new image in the wake of the republican reforms. One interpretation might be that as the non-European countries, which were influenced by Western culture, became part of a global network, the non-Westerners had a view of 'modern' and 'urban' as referring to the West. The more closely a person resembled this Western-like image, the higher his social status. Hence, the differences between the urbanites and the villagers in their similarity to a Western likeness has created a hierarchy of social status (de Botton, 2008). Or else, as the sociologist Nikoforos Diamandouros argues, this conflict between the countryside and the big city might also be interpreted as a trace of patriotic ruling from the Ottoman period. According to him, the former Ottoman territory, which now comprises many nation-states, maintains this 'heritage,' because industrialization and social class organization could not be achieved (Guillot and Arvanitis, 2013; 63).

In the context of Izmir, these differences and also the lack of exchange between the indigenous residents and the migrants resulted in the displacement of the locals from the neighborhoods. The locals moved out from those neighborhoods which carried urban memory. As there had already been a breakdown in place attachment, the memories were forgotten. This breakdown and forgetting process became a part of the rupture in urban memory that occurred following the fire and population exchange. Settlements such as Karşıyaka, Göztepe, Buca and Bornova were established as gated communities in the suburbs of the city center of Izmir starting from the late 19th century. These pre-modern towns, where the first experiments at creating a cosmopolitan life were conducted, gathered up members of the higher social classes rather than the traditional ethnic-based neighborhoods. Different social dynamics were certainly at play in a neighborhood formed by a religious community than in a social class-based neighborhood. As Nilgün illustrates in her account, ethnic and religious origins are not important in a modern neighborhood. At the beginning of modernity, while traditional families remained in the city center, liberal families, such as Allatini in Thessaloniki or Uşakizade in Izmir, would be less affected by migrations as the result of wars, poverty and epidemics. Thus, a religious-traditional community came to control matters relating to the city center. These new, clean and upper social class-based settlements, which mimicked a modern European lifestyle, were a preliminary example of separation/segregation (Mazower, 2010; 317-332).

Nilgün's understanding of neighborhood transcends segregation because of Izmir's urban and modern values. According to her, the social fabric of the city does not allow for segregation, because an Izmirian is supposed to show tolerance toward foreigners and should initiate a dialogue on the basis of the title of neighbor. Her image of modern Izmir is relevant to the modern understanding of the republic's values: the city is considered to be a part of a country whose population should be homogeneous. Like the examples of Kadifekale and the seaside neighborhoods, the homogenization of the population would be achieved by a national

educational system replacing the Ottoman one based on a community educational system, which was one of the trigger points in the disintegration of Ottoman society.[119]

One of the reasons for the decreased discrimination in the first decades of the republic might be because the non-Muslim locals had been replaced by refugees coming from the countryside of Anatolia, Crete and the Balkans. At that time the new nation was highly motivated to work for unity and to achieve progress. Barış, who was in his 70s when we met, shared with me that no such identification and segregation existed before as now exist:

"*I never ask a person where he comes from. When I am asked that question, [I answer] Izmir. In my opinion, being from here is like being a citizen of Turkey. I ask nobody either his religion or his language or ethnicity. I mean, if you are Armenian, Kurdish... Before, this didn't happen in Izmir. In that sense [Izmir] has a democratic structure. Maybe the cosmopolitan past of Izmir contributed to this (...) I pay attention, if there is any association founded by Izmirians in other cities. It isn't sustained, because there are no such feudal relations. For example, there are some associations for Erzurum and Kars immigrants. Once there was an association for Izmirians [in Istanbul]. There was nobody, because nobody saw that as a unique identity. As a national identity, a person from Aydın and Manisa (neighboring cities) feel that they are Izmirian, too. Later, after the '80s, there started to be divisions.*"

"*(...) I mean, I don't have such a notion in my mind, and I know that it didn't exist in old Izmir. Questions like if you are Kurdish or Turkish, immigrant, Cretan...That kind of thing... We are Cretans on my mother's side. It came out recently that my origins are from Crete (laughs) I don't really feel a kinship with Cretans, there is not an extra sense of belonging to Crete next to Izmir.*"

When I interviewed Barış about Izmir's identity, he immediately rejected any stereotypes about the local identity, and he did not differentiate being Izmirian from being Turkish. He did not question his origins or the origins of the people that he met. His approach reminds me on the one hand of the embracing attitude of Izmir that Nilgün mentions. On the other hand, it might be regarded as a 'modern' approach that an individual of the 20th century would not be interested in a past which was long ago uprooted for a promised future (Özyürek, 2012; 7-9). In comparing Nilgün's description of an Izmirian identity that promotes tolerance and acceptance of diverse backgrounds, Barış seems to be in accord with Nilgün's argument. However, the neighborhood understanding under the lens of modernity does not hold true for Barış. He does not hold with the notion of the central power of a modern neighborhood to exert social control to integrate the newcomer into the city. After living in Alsancak, Barış moved to another hip neighborhood, Göztepe, then to a newer, hipper place, Urla, where the elites of Izmir have settled inside gated communities. Choosing to disregard social connections, he and his wife preferred to follow trends and move to a 'modern' place in Izmir. In that sense Barış and his wife

[119] See the article of Asım Arı about *Tevhid-i Tedrisat*, the law of unification of the educational system: http://www.gefad.gazi.edu.tr/download/article-file/77429 (last access: January 15, 2019). Indeed, the historian Hervé Georgelin emphasizes the different types of schools in the big Ottoman cities which inculcated individuals with different ideologies, which naturally led to more segregation and further polarization between the ethnicities and social classes (2008).

picture the discontinuity of modernity (Connerton, 2009) differently than Nilgün, for whom the neighborhood is placed at the center of being urbanite and modern. There the place attachment of the locals and the dialogue between locals and migrants play a major role.

Izmir's economy has been fueled by the waves of internal migration and the sale of housing. The historic neighborhoods in particular have experienced a turnover as former residents have moved out and been replaced by migrants. When the upper-class locals settled down in the residential areas that used to belong to the former non-Muslim community, the former Muslim neighborhoods were in turn settled by migrants whose economic situation was more precarious. Because of this turnover, the old districts were neglected and became ever more decrepit with each succeeding decade [i.e., heating, infrastructure (electricity and water)]. My aunt recalls that as a child she lived close to the Roman Agora, where the garbage was collected by donkeys, because the streets were too narrow to accommodate garbage trucks. Neither her father nor any guest could park their car. It was difficult to load and unload the car after shopping or going on a visit. She echoed a sentence often repeated by other interlocutors: "[Izmir] *has had too much migration*." As the local people moved to newer neighborhoods with more conveniences or towards the seaside, to the new apartment blocks, the old neighborhoods became a sort of urban 'clutter.'

As for the notions of being local and of place attachment, my interlocutors shared the common idea that they imagined themselves at home in Izmir when they were at the seaside. As I approach the question of Göregenli's place attachment analysis (2010), the sea is more often appropriated than the land. While the city center has changed, with a consistently modern identity, and the older neighborhoods have been handed over to newcomers, land does not offer the sense of continuity and affinity which are necessary for place attachment. As a matter of fact, many neighborhoods have lost their qualities of recognizability and safety. Or, rather, the seaside and the facilities that have clustered around the seaside, such as restaurants, recreation areas, cultural centers and shopping streets, offer the features of distinctiveness, continuity, self-esteem and self-efficacy that are necessary for local identification and further place attachment (Twigger-Ross and Uzzell, 1996).

To comprehend better this identity of a city dominated by the seaside, I analyze in more detail the seaside from a cognitive context. In contrast to the constantly changing urban texture of Izmir, a distinctive characteristic of the sea is its timelessness and quality of continuity. It distinguishes itself from the land in its form, color and scale. In the midst of an urban environment, it is a space without any buildings. Different than a linear seaside, the bay, which becomes narrower in the harbor area, embraces the urban landscape. Although the seaside is intersected by the highway, the railway and no-access areas as part of the harbor's security zone, the majority of the seaside is accessible, principally for transportation and leisure.

Despite this positive aspect which contributes to place attachment, with respect to graphic design, the seaside is not just a negative space rendering the city recognizable or easier to identify by its form and color. Even though Izmir has experienced a process of disremembering, it still retains a socially and historically constructed image. Izmirians contest a contradictory local identity based on the *gâvur* (infidel) identity of the city (Yıldırım and Haspolat eds. 2010). The *gâvur* implies the past of Izmir, with its non-Muslim majority and international sea trade. Before the construction of the modern harbor, the avenue which is publicly called the Kordon was the harbor area from which European companies dispatched products. Later on it became the place where the enemy was killed, the Turkish army entered the city to parade following its victory, and the Greeks were sent out from Izmir on Greek and allied countries' ships (Kolluoğlu-Kırlı, 2005). In the collective memory, the political jargon and local people still employ the expression '*düşmanı denize dökmek*' (to spill out the enemy to the sea), which implies that the Greek army fled to their ships after the defeat, but in fact it was the city's Greek/Orthodox population which fled in panic from the fire and drowned, because the allied countries' ships waiting in the bay did not accept them (Demirtaş-Miltz, 2010; 427). In other words, the local identification of '*gâvur İzmir*' is derived from another sense, not a city of non-Muslim inhabitants but one with Western-like 'modern' Turks.

Being modern in the context of Izmir as an urban memory place is related not only to national identity but also to being urban and as part of the local identity. The local people who organize and attend the International Izmir Festival are disconnected from the urban memory and the places which represent the layered memories of the city. The lack of connection to urban memory places is not only a feature of modernity and nationalism. The social class differences and the impoverishment of the historic neighborhoods have evolved during wave after wave of migration. The seaside, with its connotations as a place of richness, modernity and connection to Western culture, became the image of Izmir's modern, urbane, European-like lifestyle. In this, it is important how an individual identifies him or herself in the heterogeneous and complex structure of city life in the dialectic of urban-rural with local-migrants (Bozdoğan and Kasaba eds. 1997). As Kuban (2001) asserts, the old city center, where migration has been most dense, has not had a preservation policy because of the municipality's populist policy. As a matter of fact, the neglect of preservation has eliminated the feasibility of earning a livelihood in the same neighborhood. Instead, locals followed the impulse of modernity: they moved to the newer neighborhoods with better technological infrastructure and the newest buildings. They also looked for similarity to their social class. This might be interpreted as 'voluntary deterritorialization' (Hetherington, 1997). Even when one decides to leave one's home because there are better options available and the place has come to be regarded an unwanted commodity, it is still possible to experience a sense of nostalgia and regret at leaving behind the place to which one belonged. Moreover, the concept of neighborhood that Nilgün and other interlocutors referred to vanished as a consequence of individuals' prioritizing the modern notion of privacy (Mills, 2014). In that sense, the city center, especially the neighborhoods where

markets and public transport connections are located, has become *agora,* or a place of liminality where the individual is transitory for certain purposes. People mix with other individuals from different groups, and they tend to differentiate themselves from others based on the intimacy, cleanliness and safety of their neighborhoods (Hetherington, 1997 and see also "*Purity and Danger*" by Mary Douglas).

The festival participants are aware of the physical and social changes that have taken place in Izmir. Sometimes they have been directly involved in this handover of the neighborhoods, and sometimes, like the example of Sevim and her husband, they were forced to confront the changes and discovered a solution in moving out. For example, my aunt and her father (meaning my grandfather Hasan) used to work from the '70s till the end of '80s at a printing company that produced paper-based school and business supplies. The company occupied a four-story building in Çankaya, a business quarter close to Kültürpark and Basmane, where Ayavukla is located. It used to be a rich business center with similar modern concrete buildings. With the passage of time, it became difficult to load and unload the paper trucks because of the dense traffic and narrow streets. The paper industry made less and less income, the company did not invest in high-speed digital printing, and the hospital concentrated on more health-based stores like pharmacies. The building later became a warehouse for a medical company, thanks to its proximity to the hospital. The business's failure to adapt to the changing technologies and business environment would appear to be responsible for its demise. Its going out of business, the handover of its building to be used for another purpose, and the growth in the population are just part and parcel of one more instance of the severing of ties with the Izmir of the 1920s-1970s. A more typical example relates to the never-ending construction area on *9 Eylül Meydanı* (9th September Square), just across from Kültürpark and the Basmane train station. The space was historically the first tramway connection from the seaside to the train station. Later it became a bus station, according to the new urban plan that was developed in the aftermath of the fire (Sürvegil, 2011). As the city became more and more crowded and there were more bus companies and travel needs, the bus station became a terminal and was moved outside the city center. There were plans for the construction of a world trade center, but for legal reasons, construction was halted for decades. Whether for personal or professional reasons, other festival participants shared accounts that were similar to those of Sevim and Ahmet, who had moved from the city center to a neighborhood in the suburbs because the neighborhood had changed from being a residential district to being a shopping district. Moreover, the effacement of urban memory has to do with any rupture in the intimacy of a neighborhood due to the turnover of houses, stores and apartment buildings. Changes like this have been the consequence of the waves of internal migration from the countryside to Izmir, and the appeal to the upper classes to move into newer buildings in the newer neighborhoods which claim to be clean and safe. This has resulted in the marginalization of historic neighborhoods, to which new settlers with less income have moved.

At this point I will share a different case of internal migration with its social effects on the old neighborhoods. Elif was born close to Eşrefpaşa Avenue on the outskirts of Mount Pagos, crowned by Kadifekale, the castle of the city, in what was known as the old Muslim neighborhood. Her father first emigrated from Konya seeking better job opportunities. He stayed for a while in Basmane in a *cortejo*, an old Jewish community housing unit which became a building for lower-class single workers, before he invited his wife to join him. Elif's parents had a house with two floors in a neighborhood where exchangee families from Crete had been placed. To borrow her words, she lived in the midst of both 'conservative central Anatolian and more relaxed Cretan-Smyrnian cultures':

"*Though our windows were smaller [hiding us from the outside], those people would sit on the streets. They used to get up early, wash the street with soap and water, put some pillows on the ground and make some tea. They called to each other, 'Ayşe, Fatma, come and let's eat!' They sat together in their printed dresses, ate, drank and felt at ease. Since my father was conservative, he said,* 'Kızım, azcık kapatın oranızı buranızı' *(my daughter, cover a bit your body). They would reply, 'Alright, Uncle Yusuf.' They were very respectful. Quickly, they seemingly covered their bodies and then revealed them again. They touched us. We learned to be more relaxed. We who came from Central Anatolia where everything is closed.*[120] *Did we have a problem? We had a quiet, good harmony. A wonderful neighborhood and friendship... Wherever you went in Izmir, it was a nice profile. The people used to cover their heads with a scarf like that. (She demonstrates the traditional knotting under the chin) They used to go to the cinema. Anyway, life was always outside. As Eşrefpaşa was a middle class [neighborhood], people used to live in small houses with a small courtyard painted with whitewash, yellow or blue powder coating. (...) Therefore, life was in front of the door. Rich people had bigger houses with gardens and pools. The population was small. The houses were always one floor. The one with two floors was ours. There were mulberry trees on the street. We used to have silkworms as domestic pets and would feed them with mulberry leaves in the boxes. There were also cats and dogs. There was such a lifestyle on the streets. Izmir's past was well mannered, cultivated, very generous without discrimination, colorful and with a very developed structure. Therefore, we (she and her husband) love very much the Greek islands and always go there. We love them, because the 'mahalle' continues there. We grew up among Cretans, it was just the same*."

With respect to the tremendous changes that have occurred in Izmir, her account should be evaluated from the perspective of nostalgia: one might prefer to remember cherished elements of the past rather than a more difficult and less 'colorful' present, and her narrative, which focuses on a certain selective and beautified past, skips over the rupture between the past and the present (Mills, 2014; 178-186). Elif's account concentrates on the ordinary, communal life of the neighborhood and how people from different backgrounds could share the same public space together. A similar pattern is also seen in the narratives of other spectators and festival organizers. After my introductory interview with Elif, we continued our second session at lunch. She brought me to a kebab restaurant in the Tilkilik neighborhood of Anafartalar

[120] The interlocutor employs the word '*kapalı*' (closed) in the sense of conservative, discreet and close.

Avenue,[121] which connects Basmane to Kemeraltı. The first interview was held on the terrace of a café in the Levent Marina, which was also close to Üçkuyular Pier, so that I could easily commute by ferry from the other side of the gulf. The marina was calm, organized, clean and 'modern,' whereas the kebab restaurant and its neighborhood were chaotic, crowded, noisy and more 'local.' Elif perhaps wanted to show me two sides of the city: the rich, modern and clean seaside together with the mixed, less well maintained, old-style land. The stunning contrast of the interview places caused me to meditate on the local and national identities and the image of the city, together with its promotion by the International Izmir Festival.

Elif's account indeed supported Nilgün's assertions concerning the social interactions in neighborhoods. She emphasized the role of public space, especially the street as a semi-closed space where the routines of daily life played out and the community's memories were transferred. It would seem that gathering on the street might be interpreted as Hetherington does: "*First, space and place are not treated as sets of relations outside of society but implicated in the production of those social relations and are themselves in turn socially produced. Second, space and place are seen to be situated within relations of power and in some cases within relations of power-knowledge*" (1997; 20).

Elif mentioned how she missed these group interactions that created home. Such interactions connected people to each other and to the city. She appreciated the fact that the International Izmir Festival presented the historic sites to the public, but she also complained that the festival did not interact enough with the neighborhood. Indeed, Sevim assumed that similar people would gather at similar events. Communication would be limited to greeting each other at an arts festival. She and her husband were angry at the spectators who were talking to each other or using their telephones and accused them of being disrespectful. When I mentioned Elif's suggestions to organize an event in a hammam and a mosque, they laughed and joked about it. According to them, Western classical music, theatre and dance were the sorts of events that educated people would attend. Even though they also enjoyed attending events in Ephesus and other historic places (once they brought a bottle of wine and drank it during the concert at the Ephesus open-air amphitheater), people would *essentially* go to the events to watch the events. They would not be motivated to socialize and interact with the neighborhood of the historic place.

Similarly, when I talked to my aunt, she said that classical music concerts were attended by people who loved classical music. Each festival would have its own audience. "The people in those neighborhoods" didn't listen to classical music, thus they wouldn't attend the festival anyway. Only if the festival itself and/or the municipality ran an ad hoc project in the neighborhood every year, or the entire festival program were organized in the same historic place would they make sense of such an interaction with the neighborhood people. If I interpret

[121] This avenue is quite long, extending from near Konak Square by the seaside to 9th September Square, where the train station is located.

my aunt's argument in the context of the place attachment analysis of Twigger-Ross and Uzzell (1996), continuity and consistency were important so that the festival participants would appropriate the neighborhood, while the neighborhood people would feel more connected to the festival organization within their private space.

When I again asked Elif about her actual life and neighborhood relationships, I learned that there were significant differences between her childhood neighborhood and her actual life in Balçova district:

"*I don't feel at ease in Balçova. Because now some people with a certain economic power live in Balçova, especially in the location where I live. For example, at the beginning when I moved there, there weren't any neighborly relationships. They don't have a high educational level, but they are wealthy. They don't have human relationships. The first time I organized summer and winter parties by calling an accordionist. I held a meeting in the middle of the street, then in my garden. I made people connect with each other. There were people who had lived for 30 years in the area and had never greeted each other. There weren't any relationships like during my childhood. (...) Unfortunately, Izmir has become crowded. Because it received too much migration, it has become complicated. Trust decreased. Well, after such a population increase... each city has a capacity of human characteristics, but if it is overpopulated and is exhausted, then there are consequences. These consequences, of course, make people's lives more difficult... People see each other as the real reason for the problems. Then the relations become worse, they begin not greeting each other depending on the crowd. They begin to see each other as competition. It is like a vortex. There is no problem in small towns. We go to a Greek island and feel comfortable. It's very peaceful. People there love to live and have knowledge. They are well educated. As a woman I can go out at 3 o'clock in the morning and take a motorbike. There isn't any problem about safety of life and property. I feel free. [A Greek island] is a land of freedom. You can eat and drink wherever you want, you can even swim naked everywhere. Nobody looks at you even out of the corner of his eye. We go there in winter, out of the tourist season. There are only locals. We drink ouzo and coffee in the coffee shops. I feel as if I am sitting again with those Cretans in Eşrefpaşa. I return to my memories*."

One of the reasons for segregation is a sense of safety. Beyond the place attachment process analyzed above (Twigger-Ross and Uzzell, 1996), a sense of insecurity alienates the former inhabitants from their old neighborhood. Although Elif's family also comes from somewhere else, she complains about the intense waves of migration which lessen social control. Because she misses the warm relations with her neighbors, she feels nostalgic. Similar to other interlocutors who have lost their Izmir, she seeks the Izmir of her childhood elsewhere.

According to Mazower (2010), when the drive to modernize began, the religious common life lived within a traditional community started to erode. Rich families sloughed off the strictures of the religious leader of their community as well as the traditional social order. They moved to the city suburbs. In contrast to the cities nowadays, the poor and the rich used to experience disasters like fires and earthquakes or political pressures together. As a consequence of the separation of the social classes, the individuals of the community who remained in the

city center were left alone to face their poverty, whereas the members of the higher social classes moved away, becoming more privileged.

New neighborhoods of Ottoman port cities like Izmir and Thessaloniki formed on the basis of social class were among the first examples of cosmopolitan life (Neyzi, 2008; Milton, 2009; Mazower, 2010). On the one hand, it might be inferred that society was more 'intercultural' and thus more free, progressive and emancipated, as indicated in Landry and Wood's case studies (2008). On the other hand, paralleling this economic separation, both the old and the new neighborhoods were influenced by the new ideology of nationalism. Economic separation and nationalism both served to augment the tensions that already existed due to the differences and to increase feelings of inequality and desperation (Mazower, 2010). If I return to my analysis of the fire, Izmir had experienced many fires, because groups and individuals could burn each other's houses and/or workplaces when conflict and competition arose.

If I approach this example of segregation within the context of Douglas' *Purity and Danger* (1984), people of the lower classes are, first of all, seen to pose a throat. Unseen dangers, pollution and contamination all create tensions within daily relationships. Like the higher classes of pre-fire Smyrna, those after the '60s – when liberal modernity was being replaced by national-modernity – gradually settled into gated communities[122] (*siteler*) in order shut themselves off from the 'pollution.' Secondly, as de Botton (2008) argues, it is not poor people but poverty itself which has become the source of social anxiety in the modern world, especially in developing countries. People prefer to keep their distance from places, practices and habits that are associated with poverty because of the negative connotations they carry.

Another reason, which is connected but still particular, is the Turkish understanding of secular and religious groups. Although these groups are both a product of Turkish nationalism, they have each concocted a different narrative of what it is to be an 'authentic Turk' (Navaro-Yashin, 2002). While searching for the image and thus the authenticity of this 'authentic Turk,' they assume that it is related to their shopping and spatial use practices. They contrast and contest with the other group and push and pull at each other: each group marks off different neighborhoods of big cities like Istanbul, and they avoid living in and visiting one another's neighborhoods (ibid).

The liminality and openness of particular spaces might be specified as 'agora,' as defined by Hetherington (1997) and de Cauter with Dehaene (2008). Kemeraltı, the largest historical market neighborhood, in particular remains a place where diverse communities mix temporally. Although Nilgün was ashamed to see people dressed in Islamic-style garb next to visitors from a Western country and commented nostalgically that it had once been an elite and 'clean' place, my observations from 2008 till 2019 contradict this statement. Kordon might be characterized

[122] See the documentary "Escape the Istanbul," released by Al Jazeera World: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xzr806nxkbI (last access: February 14, 2019)

as agora, where diverse social classes, either locals or recent arrivals, gather to socialize and enjoy themselves. In that sense, the seaside, as a place of desire and an urban memory place, might be understood beyond the historical context. After referring to Kordon as one of the iconic images of Izmir, Barış called Kordon a 'democratic place' because of its accessibility and collective sense of place.

The locals have lost their attachment to places after a period of traumatic events, nationalist modernity, followed by waves of migration, accelerated handover of the place, unaccompanied by the transfer of urban memory from the older residents to the newcomers. As Navaro-Yashin (2002) states, although the nation-state aimed at creating a homogeneous country out of a collective of Muslim communities, the task was not accomplished. Turkey's society is once again heterogeneous. This heterogeneity is especially reflected in the urban environment, in big cities like Izmir and Istanbul. The multiethnic religious and linguistic structure of the Ottoman state was transformed into religious and linguistically (so-called) homogeneous cities. Later national identity has been maintained. Only the economy that was managed by the state to construct the nation was replaced with more liberal one. This has enabled individuals to take more individual initiative. They have moved to newer and 'cleaner' neighborhoods in order to live a newer version of a modern lifestyle, and in doing so, they have become disconnected from the urban memory places and the sources providing memories. This disconnection is also linked to those new versions of modernity in which the upper-class individual has become conditioned to drawing clear boundaries with neighbors in order to protect her privacy (Mills, 2014). On the one hand, even though memories of how life used to be lived trigger nostalgic feelings of familiarity and safety, the social order's focus on individualism means that life is less and less shaped by rituals, festivities, neighborhoods, gift-giving and exchanges (Connerton, 2009).

As Foucault (1986) argues, culture creates the 'other places,' where the urban palimpsests (Huyssen, 2003) become the representation of space (Lefebvre, 1974). Those disconnected, 'invisible' places might even become the locus. It may happen that an individual will project his personal memories onto those places (Connerton, 2009). Moreover, as Massey (2005) argues, memory finds a way to return in the form of heterotopia. According to Halbwachs (1950), although (urban) experiences and memory seem individual, they are, in fact, an appropriation of the collective experiences and memories of the community. The walls and silhouette of the old cigarette factory, which Izmirians pass by every day on their way to school, work or leisure activities, might be a place both simple and complex, natural and artificial, sensational and abstract (Nora, 1989).

In summary, Izmir's urban memory has been eroded by suppression of the Great fire of Smyrna and the traumas associated with the population exchange. The latter reproduces the urban realm as a stage of performing national identity. The past is rejected and forgotten. The newer technology and lifestyle contribute to Izmir's new image as having transformed from a

multicultural and semi-colonized Smyrna to a Turkish Izmir, which is the embodiment of a secular, Western-oriented, modern Turkey. By the 1950s, when the economy changed from nationalization (state-funded economy) to capitalism (individual-based economy), the balance of countryside and city had changed dramatically. Nationalization was a harvest of the nation-state. The aim was to create an equal, modern and homogeneous society. The capitalism which came afterwards, in which the state took less initiative, was also another attempt at being modern to calibrate the country with Western countries. Because of it, Izmir was the recipient of intense waves of migration from the Turkish countryside. The historic buildings which remained after the fire were torn down to build new apartment blocks to respond to the housing needs of the ever-growing population. The locals and upper-class migrants left the old neighborhoods and settled down in newer neighborhoods. The historic houses, shopping areas and streets where workshops were located, and even the living areas behind the seaside, were handed over. The new residents of the old neighborhoods were lower-class migrants from the countryside. While the old neighborhoods were adapted to the lifestyles of the new residents, they were also adapted to the new necessities of urban life. The historic places that were public in nature were abandoned, and thus they became moribund and gradually became ruins. Although urban memory lives on in the locals' nostalgic recollections of neighbors and their former lifestyle, the character of those neighborhoods has changed; what is old has become dysfunctional, dirty, unsafe and wretched, for it represents poverty and people from the countryside who share neither the same values nor the same lifestyle.

While its sense of place has faded with modernity, Kordon remains a favorite and 'democratic' place at the seaside, utilized by a variety of different groups for leisure activities. These leisure and social activities make Kordon one of the iconic images of Izmir in the collective memory, and not the clock tower, which is Izmir's official image, or Kadifekale, the castle which is one of the oldest, most visible and well-known monuments of the city. Of course, modernity plays a major role to feature Kordon and not the oldest monument of the city center. Kordon is a place where people socialize. It is a part of contemporary life. The fact that it is a large seaside area makes it more appealing to modern individuals than the interior of the city. The seaside remains a place of safety, pleasure and wealth. The seaside represents wealth not because of its upper-class inhabitants, but because it also refers to the port, which connotes the sense of primacy of a city absorbing the power and prestige of its hinterland. Kordon's popularity, in other words, its 'democratic profile,' is not solely because of the characteristics of the place emerging as a powerful and positive image. The fact that people turn their backs on the old neighborhoods and face Kordon is related to modernity: the factors leading to the rupture of urban memory are related to, first, oblivion and second to the alienation the locals feel toward the old neighborhoods which have been altered by the waves of migration. The aftermath of the war and the ensuing poverty have disconnected people from living in and visiting the urban memory places. Despite their nostalgia for the past, the International Izmir Festival's

participants – modern, well-educated and upper-class individuals – are disconnected as well from Ottoman Smyrna (*gâvur* İzmir).

The process of forgetting is about a rejection of Ottoman past. In the construction of the national narrative, Turkish modernity rejected the Ottoman past. It regarded the countries of the West as the role models for economic and cultural development. Although the republic attempted to expand this model of modernity to the entire country, it remained limited to the upper classes of the big cities. Therefore, with the increase of the population in the big cities due to the migration from countryside, social class differences became associated with the difference in being an urbanite or a villager, modern or underdeveloped. The idea of being modern was associated with and assigned as the value of being urban: an identity deemed to be superior. This identity encompassed those locals and newcomers from Greece and Balkans who are most Western-like. The concept of a neighborhood, which at one time provided for the continuity of memory transfer and interaction between the communities, has evaporated because of the extent of migration. As the local and upper-class people have moved to the seaside or newer neighborhoods, the old neighborhoods have been taken over by lower-income migrants coming from smaller cities and the countryside. This turnover of the old neighborhoods has resulted in the grouping of co-villagers/citizens and a nostalgia effect among the earlier migrants who have since assumed the identity of locals.

As I noted in the example of Kültürpark and street names, the Turkish state acts to construct a collective memory within the urban realm. With the erasure of memories of the fire and the neighborhoods before the fire, the urban memory of the actual Izmirians begins with a modern Turkish Izmir 'reborn from its ashes.' While some places like Kültürpark have remained as the image of an idealized Turkish modernity, the modern city plan surrendered to urban sprawl with succeeding waves of migration from the countryside. In particular, business and residential buildings, again representing new, clean, comfortable and modern Izmir, were destroyed to put up sloppy concrete apartment buildings, because the law of supply and demand fueled the phenomenon of *müteahhit* and a big real estate sector that commodified all construction. The *müteahhit* (construction company) would construct bigger and cheaper apartment blocks to accommodate future waves of migration for economic benefit. The real estate economy and migration fed off of each other. Moreover, as Connerton (2009) argues, modernity constantly updates itself: what was previously modern is pushed aside to become invisible, because it has acquired negative connotations.

From the point of view of the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality and İKSEV, the foundation which organizes the International Izmir Festival, the historic places and their neighborhoods became valuable after the most recent wave, that of city branding. This meant that the modern(ist) community had been reminded of the need to evaluate previously abandoned places as part of the 'cultural heritage,' to perform the oldness and historicity of the city, now viewed as a brand value. This impulse was resourced as well by nostalgia for the old neighborhood and

regret at the urban sprawl as well as a desire to find a more attractive and unique image of the city. This new attitude toward the old neighborhoods aimed to compete with other cities worldwide in attracting more tourists. By investing in city branding, it was hoped that the local brands would gain more value. It was hoped that the local economy would be enhanced, compensating for the old industry that had faded after the privatizations (Crinson, 2005).

Second Floor

City's Festival

Izmir has experienced a period of memory loss attributable to the physical changes that occurred as a consequence of the devastation wrought by the Great fire of 1922 and to the social changes that resulted as an upshot of migration, including the population exchange between Turkey and Greece. After the declaration of the Republic of Turkey, Turkish nationalism and modernity have conspired in the erosion of urban memory. This part of my thesis deals with the emergence of memories – long neglected and forgotten – with respect to four "historic sites"[123] in the context of the International Izmir Festival's heterotopian conditions. Before analyzing the relationship of the festival with these sites, it might be appropriate to summarize the structure of the festival, which was launched as a city festival.

The International Izmir Festival, publicly known as *İzmir Festivali,* is organized by İKSEV, a foundation based in Izmir. The foundation is independent, with the status of a non-governmental and non-profit organization. Its main sponsor is Eczacıbaşı Holding, and the president of the foundation as well as its art director, Filiz Sarper, is a member of the Eczacıbaşı family. The festival is regularly supported by the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality, the Prefecture of Izmir, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of Turkey, the Consulate of Italy in Izmir and Goethe Institute Izmir. In addition, the foundation is supported on an irregular basis by companies or organizations based in Izmir such as the Izmir Development Agency, Arkas Holding and the Izmir Chamber of Commerce. It is highly motivated to organize high-quality performing arts events in Izmir and to enhance the city's image and prestige. In contrast with events at the festival's well-known venue at the ancient site of Ephesus (i.e., amphitheater, Celsus Library), when the events are organized in the city center, the spectators and organizational team leave their daily reality for a limited time to experience the 'other' past and present of Izmir.

[123] I will continue to employ the term "memory place" adopted as *lieu de mémoire* by Nora.

Chapter 7. Kadifekale: The Memory of Segregation

Karşıyaka, on the other side of the bay, is a perfect place from which to catch a panoramic view of the old town. To the left, skyscrapers can be discerned, most of which are luxury hotels or business or military premises. Kadifekale (Belvedere Castle) is perched atop the hill, just behind these luxury buildings. To their right there is a vacant lot. This vacant space, which is something very recent in the city's landscape, used to be a part of a shantytown neighborhood. Recently, as a consequence of urban renovation, many houses were demolished, and, in order to prevent a landslide, it became a green area.

Fig. 12: Kadifekale: the castle top of the Değirmen Dağı (Mount Pagos) behind the towers; a panoramic view of Izmir from Karşıyaka, on the 'other side' of the city.

I took the picture above from the balcony of my grandmother's flat in Karşıyaka, where I stayed during my fieldwork in 2013. When I raise my eyes beyond the sea again and look to the hills, the castle and its neighborhood remind me that I am an insider with respect to the city's transformation. The castle is a background image for Karşıyaka, the neighborhood where I was born and grew up, and Alsancak, where I attended school and participated in urban recreational activities, such as attending artistic events and meeting up with my friends. It seemed close and far away at the same time. It was seen as dangerous, because it was a Kurdish neighborhood. I had witnessed in the same period the restorations of the Foça and Çeşme castles. These towns are tourist destinations, and their castles are visited by the public and visitors. In contrast, Kadifekale was known till recently as 'far' and 'unsafe.' After the '90s, when Izmir's city center became a focus of city branding, Kadifekale, the Roman Agora and Kemeraltı were also reconsidered as 'touristic.' Later, while I was conducting my fieldwork, the castle and its neighborhood became a symbol of urban transformation, because of the countrywide expansion

of the construction sector. Prior to this construction, the castle's surroundings used to be surrounded by slums. The lighting of the castle and the installation of a huge Turkish flag stand out in the landscape. The slums around the castle were partially destroyed by landslides and the excavation of the Roman amphitheater. In contrast to the densely built-up surroundings, the new void was striking. The absence of the slums was reminiscent of the actual situation in Turkey, where serial destruction and reconstruction have swept over the country. The municipality's magazine confirmed that the reason for the destruction of the slums was because of the high risk of landslides in the area, as well as the fact that it was an excavation site of a Roman amphitheater. The empty space was sparsely planted with saplings to prevent a landslide.

Fig. 13: Kadifekale by the sea. The densely built-up area contrasts with the apartment blocks and the slums.

By coincidence, the first time that I visited the castle was in the same year as the festival's intervention. I remember that my mother warned me not to go alone, because it was dangerous. Because of her anxiety, I too was nervous when I arrived there. I got off the bus, entered the site via the famous arch shown in pictures representing Izmir as 'old and new,' because the first skyscraper (the Hilton Hotel) could be seen through the arch. My first impression was that it seemed like any other park in Izmir: some indications of age, trees growing haphazardly without any evidence of landscape design, broken trash cans, bare ground with sporadic plants, children playing and shouting, young people sitting and drinking in small groups, and old people sitting calmly without doing anything as they waited for their bus or ferry. As I took the stairs to climb one of the ramparts, I recalled Çeşme Castle, with its view opening up to the sea, a feeling of embracing the bay and the sea. The weather was windy and fresh, when compared to the

downtown area, and the view was breathtaking. There was an asphalt road leading to the edge of the castle, connecting it to the main bus terminals at Konak Square, which is one of the main connections to the city center. I was intrigued: if this was a historic site, and historic sites were precious, then why would such a site remain as only a 'background image'?

Historically, Kadifekale tells a different story from the one emerging from my contemporary insight as an insider. According to legends stretching back to antiquity, the castle was the second settlement in Izmir. Alexander the Great had slept here after hunting on the hill and had dreamt of constructing a new Izmir. After interpretation of his dream in Claros, the center of prophecy, the new city (including the castle) was constructed on the site of Mount Pagos, now Değirmendağı. When this legend is analyzed in the context of collective memory, along the lines of Roland Barthes (*Mythologies*, 1991) and Paul Connerton (2009), the castle is a trace of an ancient myth.

Kadifekale was known as Izmir's 'upper castle,' since the city used to have two castles, a fact that makes it stand out from other cities. The 'lower castle' was also called '*Ok*' (arrow) and '*Saint-Pierre*' and was situated near Konak Square. It used to be the seaside castle protecting the city's port. Later, in the 19th century, because of the extension of sea trade activities and the new quay design that made it easier for ships to offload goods to warehouses, the lower castle was destroyed.

The lower castle was associated with the non-Muslim communities which worked in international sea trade, whereas the upper castle was associated with the Muslim community, which was oriented toward land-based activities, such as the army, administration, local trade or hunting (Batur ed., 1992; Beyru, 1973; Gürsoy, 1993). According to Western sources and notes by travelers, in the late 19th century Kadifekale and its surroundings were described as an area inhabited by a lower-income Muslim community; it was characterized as neglected and exotic, representing the intact oriental face of Smyrna for Western travelers (Pınar, 1994). Although in the same period the coastal zone was culturally and economically influenced by the West, it was already developed with respect to lifestyle and urban infrastructure. Meanwhile, Kadifekale and its surroundings – the 'Muslim neighborhood' – still retained old structures dating back to the 14th century (Serçe, 2000; 164).

The castle, according to historian Fikret Yılmaz (2007; 19-22), gradually became a ruin after the mid-17th century. It was only restored in the 1920s and '30s, after the establishment of the republic, under the direction of former mayor Behçet Uz and his assistant, Reşat Leblebicioğlu. Indeed, when I look at pictures dated 1919, shared via Pinterest and Facebook, the castle seems neglected. And yet, it caught the interest of European settlers and travelers in the 19th century, especially under the influence of romanticism. The castle represented a mystical idea about antiquity and the old times that lay hidden behind the backdrop of a rapidly developing industrial lifestyle. As I mentioned earlier, its attraction lay in its fascination as an 'exotic' object.

Travelers from Europe would climb up to the castle to explore the historic site and to view the panorama of Smyrna (Pınar, 1994)

Kadifekale is also the name of the neighborhood surrounding the castle: *Kadifekale Mahallesi*. Mills (2014), who analyzes the concept of *mahalle* in the context of Turkish culture, defines it as a place assessed in terms of social connections. Similar to European cities before the 19th century, the physical boundaries of Kadifekale are drawn by walls. Living within walls is 'intramuros.' This dialectically equates 'inside and outside' with 'private and other(s).'

According to the urban approaches of Massey (2005) and Huyssen (2003), the castle contains layers that date back to antiquity. It contains cisterns from the Byzantine Empire as well as traces of a small mosque from the Ottoman period. The period called modern urban development (Birsel, 2006; Pasin et al., 2015; Yılmaz, 2007) has bestowed upon the castle a secular and 'modern' function: there are water storage tanks of İZSU (Izmir Water Supply). Moreover, Kadifekale is a place open to the public. It is accessible, and it can be visited during the hours set by the municipality. However, the surrounding neighborhood is seen as 'unsafe.'

In the course of my fieldwork, I noticed a difference between my own observations and the prevailing perception of the castle as 'a nest of Kurds' and 'the base of the PKK.' In recalling their memories of Kadifekale, my interlocutors mixed nostalgia for the past with worries about the migrants. According to sociologist İhsan Çetin (2011), the Kadifekale neighborhood might be compared to neighborhoods in the city center. Similar to Kadifekale, when middle-class white families moved in the last century to the city's suburbs, there was a handover of the neighborhood to lower-income families, and the neighborhoods gradually became impoverished. The author also compares the Kadifekale neighborhood with the favelas in the big cities of South America. According to his research, Kadifekale is also closed to the outside; municipal facilities and the influence of the state are limited to a police station, which serves to 'control and spy on the occupants of the neighborhood' (2011; 19). Çetin argues that although the castle and its neighborhood (he focuses especially on the neighborhood) are located in the city center and are accessible, it is perceived as far and disconnected, mainly because of the ambiguity of the neighborhood's future and tentative status. The underlying reasons are three: firstly, the neighborhood is assessed as a first-tier archaeological site; secondly, the former fields were found to be at risk for landslides (because of the topography and the soil); and, finally, the fact is that many buildings are not legal. There are slum dwellings which were permitted by the former mayor, İhsan Alyanak, when, in the '80s, the city experienced waves of migration. Because of the perception that the area was ripe for demolition, none of the migrant communities felt secure, and many moved from the neighborhood. The houses changed hands several times, including receiving immigrants from Crete (Greece) and, later, Mardin (the southeast of Turkey). As families progress economically, they move to other districts of Izmir, which Çetin interprets as part of the process of geographic and socioeconomic mobility. Because of concerns about the uncertain future of the neighborhood, residents have been less and less

invested in caring for the old houses and dilapidated slum dwellings, even though these residents constitute the dominant social group involved in the renovation of houses. His interviews and observations indicate that because of the ghetto-like social structure of Kadifekale, migrants from Mardin feel excluded from Izmir, yet at the same time they have developed an attachment to Kadifekale as a 'small Mardin in Izmir': a sort of construction of an identity of their own that merges their origins with an adaptation to the local identity. The residents regard the castle in a positive light, appreciating it as a panoramic and historic site where views, air and light are good, but they also share the same perspective as residents of Izmir from outside the neighborhood, who associate the neighborhood with danger, dirt and poverty. They feel excluded by outsiders, however, this sense of exclusion, according to Çetin's research, reveals their belonging to Kadifekale in a political sense. In the first place, Kadifekale is a place where people from the same villages live. It resembles their village and connects them to their hometown origins. In the second place, although the neighborhood has been labeled as a neighborhood of the Kurdish community or people originating from Mardin, the residents have appropriated this identity and see Kadifekale as representing a continuity of their hometown within Izmir. This, according to Çetin, increases the sense of exclusion on both sides and enhances the ghetto-like character of Kadifekale.

On top of my meetings with the International Izmir Festival participants, all of whom were outsiders, I decided to interview a family that has lived in that neighborhood for a long time in order to review the rumors and the experiences of my interlocutors. In July 2018 I met an old couple via a friend. The old couple was living close to one of the old cisterns on the side of the hill. They had witnessed the municipality's use of the castle for water storage; prior to that there had been a fountain. As historian of architecture Doğan Kuban (2001) reported, canals had been constructed for the distribution of water. Migrants who were building crude dwellings were tolerated. The old couple said they had immigrated from İskeçe (Xanthi), Greece in 1958. Indeed, there were water fountains, and the roads were in bad condition. The municipality had done some restoration of the castle walls, had repaved the roads and provided more infrastructure. They used to go to the castle for picnics with their children. They had witnessed the replacement of the migrants from Crete with migrants from Konya, Turkish communities from Northern Greece, Roma, migrants from Mardin, Kurds and lately Syrians. The old couple said they no longer had picnics at the castle anymore, because it had first been neglected by the Kurds and then by the Syrians. The old woman added: "*There are youngsters there...pardon me, they drink [alcohol].*"

When I visited Kadifekale between 2012 and 2017, I noticed the restoration work on the cisterns of the castle. The place fell into the category of 'culture tourism' on the website of the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism (kulturportali.gov.tr). I realized that the top of the hill was flat compared to the sides. There were walking trails, picnic tables, an open-air gallery where woolen products, like saddlebags with bright colors, were exhibited. There was also a weaving loom, implying the authenticity (handcrafting) of the products. I never saw anyone

weaving a saddlebag or *kilim,* but the loom with the long, brightly colored strings attracted attention. Next to the loom there were women wearing relatively traditional clothes selling products, claiming that they were handmade. There was a remarkable difference between my visits of 2012 and 2016. When I went there alone in 2002, and later in 2012, similar to my experience of shooting photos at Ankara Castle and its neighborhood, a group of children surrounded me. This time they were greeting me in English: "*Hello! Hello! What is your name?*" Although I was speaking Turkish, the children, who were speaking a mixture of Turkish and Kurdish, were responding in English. I was a tourist for them, someone who was not from the castle's neighborhood. A tourist guide explained to me that many Western visitors arriving on cruises were guided to Kadifekale as a city attraction to see the ancient monument and panoramic view of the Gulf of Izmir. Locals, except for architects, archaeologists and some intellectuals, rarely ventured to the castle.

While I continued to explore the site, one of the children asked me in Turkish if I had a 'gift.' Maybe some money... I thought it would not be appropriate to give money to the child, since he might ask for money from other visitors, too. I said I did not have any money with me and, a little puzzled, tried to decide whether to walk to the ramparts, the woods or the cistern. At that moment I heard the sound of a noisy engine. An old, dull, reddish-purple Tofaş[124] car appeared in the woods. The children rushed towards the car. The child who had asked for money from me wanted to get in the car. The youngsters getting out of the car denied him his wish. Some children scattered in the park, while others stayed and laughed together at something that I didn't hear. This scene allowed me to scan the park as a space. My attention was attracted to another group of young people drinking in a corner. Drinking alcohol (mostly beer) in the parks is common but considered inappropriate.[125] Although the youngsters didn't have black plastic bags, they were covering the beer bottles with their hands, and their bodies were curved, bending over the bottles. When I looked at the ground, I saw the broken glass of beer bottles. The park must be a heterotopia of sorts for them, a place to experience impurity away from home and school.

When I visited Kadifekale in November 2012, this time with my interlocutor, Nicole, and a common friend. We intended to visit the neighborhood for an exhibition trial organized by the French Institute of Izmir, the Metropolitan Municipality and the Izmir Chamber of Commerce. The exhibition was about an old architectural structure shown together with real world examples. There were some graphics providing information about the layers of time accumulated in one building, and sometimes there were photographs of materials that were missing. I was speaking French with two elderly French ladies. Out of nowhere a group of

[124]*Tofaş* is an old Turkish car company. Recently, a cartel was formed between the Tofaş and Fiat companies. Tofaş's production was mostly for the middle and lower-middle class, as it was of lower quality but cheaper compared to imported brands from Japanese, European and American companies.
[125] Drinking beer is mostly done by men, either young or old, regardless of social class or profession. Therefore, the shop selling beer puts them in an opaque black plastic bag, and men drink their beer covered with that bag.

children appeared again and followed us for a while. As I had experienced before, they started to speak English, grinning: "Hello! Hello! Where are you come from?" One of the children approached Nicole and asked: "Are you a foreigner?" Nicole, with a sudden rise in her voice, turned to the child and answered in Turkish: "*Türküm, İzmir'de yaşıyorum*" (I am a Turk, I live in Izmir.) At that time, she didn't have a Turkish passport. She had married a Turkish man and had lived in Izmir for more than 30 years. She differentiated herself from her guest, who had come to Izmir a few years before, accompanying her daughter. She was also aware that I was there and that I was observing her. On the one hand, I inferred from her reaction that, first of all, she was defending herself, implying "I am not a foreign tourist, you cannot play tricks on me." On the other hand, I regarded this scene as an act of transnationality similar to the Levantine community. The historian Oliver Jens Schmitt (2006) argues that Levantines, who are of diverse origins,[126] have constructed an elusive identity, being 'foreigner' or 'local' depending on the circumstances.

When I visited Kadifekale again in 2016, I was accompanied by architecture students from the *Tasarım Günlükleri* (Design Diaries) collective. They were from different regions of Turkey, including one from Izmir with Kurdish roots. There were neither English-speaking children nor beer-drinking teenagers. Nobody watched us or bothered us. There was a stand with handmade carpets. I observed veiled and unveiled heterosexual couples climbing on the ramparts and taking selfies with the panorama of Izmir in the background. The site seemed 'clean.' The only thing I noticed was the graffiti on the historic walls: tags of lovers and heart drawings. When I walked towards the side with the Roman aqueduct and a huge Atatürk mask across it, I saw an information board in both Turkish and English. The picture of the Atatürk mask had been carved into with a sharp tool.

When considering this setting, the festival's organization must have found it far more challenging than Çeşme Castle. The International Izmir Festival organized two events in 2002 in Kadifekale. At that time Piriştina had recently come to power, and he had proclaimed Izmir as a city of tourism and congress. The historic sites had started to become more valorized. As if from the touch of a magic wand, the castle had changed from an 'other space' of the neighborhood children and teenagers to an illuminated, half-mystical and elegant festival venue. As my interlocutors agreed, in 2002 Kadifekale was like a ghetto which sometimes even the police could not enter. The ambiance was tense because of the political climate and the conflict in the southeast of Turkey between the Turkish state and the PKK. The International Izmir Festival organized "*Nazım'a Armağan*" (A Gift to Nazım), a musical play directed and starred in by Genco Erkal and many famous Turkish actresses from Istanbul.[127] Ten years after the event, when I

[126] I give the example of Andrew Simes, a Levantine celebrity from Izmir. His origins are British, French and Italian. He identifies himself as English, and he attends an Italian Catholic Church. He assumes his Izmirian identity through his support for the Beşiktaş soccer team, whose colors are the same as Altay, which was founded by the Levantine community.
[127] When I study the past events page on the festival's web site, I see that the festival organized the play for June 7 and 8. On July 1, the festival also staged a Berlin Philharmonic violin concert, again in Kadifekale. Interestingly enough, my interlocutors, including the organizers, only remember the performance of *Nazım'a Armağan* at the castle.

visited Nilgün, my interlocutor from the festival team, I asked her what she remembered about the castle and the event. She spoke animatedly: "*Let me tell you: for the 16th festival... We were going to make the event in Kadifekale, but it is an extremely difficult area. That period (2002) we met with the provincial traffic director and painted all the borders of the road white until Kadifekale. Because the people didn't know how to get there! With the opening performance of the 16th festival, the elite class of Izmir saw this neighborhood for the first time.*"

After the interview at the İKSEV building at Karataş, I walked towards the Konak ferry quay, where I paid attention to a poster pasted on the billboard in front of the Atatürk Culture Center on the corner. It concerned precisely the change in the neighborhood of Kadifekale. The advertisement of the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality announced the transformation, including these statements:

Fig. 14: "Not Destruction But Transformation." Urban transformation movement in Izmir. The hill where Kadifekale and the slum neighborhoods are under reconstruction. Although there is restoration work being done on the castle, the slum dwellings have been demolished because of the danger of landslides and the excavation of a Roman amphitheater.

- We expropriated 1968 dwellings in the landslide area.
- We moved the citizens to safe dwellings.
- Izmir gained 420 thousand m^2 of green space (the size of Kültürpark).
- We spent 200 billion Turkish Lira (576 million Euros of that time) for this exemplary project.
- We solved Izmir's 50-year-old problem.

Pictures taken before and after the changes lined one side of the road. A small picture showed Kadifekale in 2008. Another one showed an old couple, inhabitants of Kadifekale, who had been moved to their new 'home' in Uzundere, a distant neighborhood on the outskirts in 2011. The initial impetus to prevent a landslide and to move the inhabitants of the area in order to increase their quality of life was well intentioned. However, a sociologist from Izmir University of Economics, whom I heard as part of a panel discussion in January 2012, explained some of the fallout from this forced displacement. First of all, the inhabitants, who were nearly all lower income, worked in the city center or depended on the city center for other vital reasons. Their dislocation made it more expensive for them to get to their places of work. The commute also contributed to traffic jams and increased the need for improved public transport in Izmir. Second, those who were able to remain close to the renovated area took advantage of the situation and rented their houses out to their former neighbors who wanted to stay in Kadifekale, because that place was their 'home' and their workplaces were more accessible from the city center. In both cases, the Kadifekale residents had become the victims of so-called urban transformation, and not only did they feel alienated in their new apartment blocks, but they became even poorer. In other words, their quality of life had deteriorated despite the positive intentions of transforming the city and of revealing the monuments by creating a touristic axis connecting Kemeraltı, Agora and Kadifekale.

Nilgün described how the festival organization painted the side of the pavement white so that the festival participants could follow the road, since the elites, despite being locals, were unfamiliar with the road to Kadifekale. As she spoke spiritedly, making gestures and raising her voice, she was implicitly criticizing the contradiction of being local but of neglecting one of the city's old monuments. In the same vein as Navaro-Yashin (2002) and Connerton (2009), when Kuban analyzes Kadifekale, the old Muslim neighborhood, he interprets this neglect as a consequence of the Turkish variant of modernity, which exerts pressure on the direction of the city toward a new and Western identity (2001; 52-54).

When I visited Sevim and Ahmet, who have been attending the International Izmir Festival for many years, I observed that there were more layers to Kadifekale than the simple dialectic of village-city or local-migrant. Sevim grew up in a small town and settled down in Izmir because her husband was from Izmir. She was a well-educated woman who had retired from a white-collar job. Her hobbies included painting and attending Western classical music concerts. In the context of Turkish society, she could be defined as 'cultured.'[128] During the interviews she defined herself as someone who had graduated from METU (Middle East Technical University), which has a leftist tradition, and as a socialist. Therefore, when the International Izmir Festival

[128] The term for 'cultivated' is *kültürlü* in Turkish. It literally means someone who has culture. Those people who are not interested in arts and haven't adopted urban values, such as how to behave in public transport, are called '*kültürsüz*': ones who have no culture.

organized an event on Marxist poet Nazım Hikmet with well-known actors and actresses, she eagerly made her way to Kadifekale to watch the play:

Fig. 15: The reception for the opening of International Izmir Festival in Kadifekale in 2002. (The photo was provided from the archive of IKSEV.)

"*When I was there, it was dangerous. It has been probably ten years. It was under occupation, but we didn't realize it was an occupation. [We said:] "Aaa! Nâzım is coming." It was included in the festival, wasn't it? The castle had recently been renovated, and so off we went. As the bus was departing, the ambiance was naturally very strange for me. However, the places that were not occupied were nice. There were old, half-ruined houses. Of course, there were also shanty houses. (...) It was like a dream, so beautiful. Then we left [the castle]. When we were outside, oh my god...there were people gazing at us in a bad way. Of course, this [urban transformation] wasn't complete yet; now there has been more regulation, so maybe now it is safer. We said, 'Fortunately we came with the shuttle,' so we took it again and went back home. But it was so beautiful. I support holding a festival event again in that area. I hope there will always be one there.*"

In her memory, it is not very clear what she meant by 'occupied places.' During the interview I inferred that she meant the shanty houses, but she used the word 'shanty house' in a different connotation. Sevim didn't hide that she was worried about attending a play in a neighborhood inhabited by people of Kurdish origin, especially during a period when there was political tension between the Turkish government and the Kurdish community. She and her husband did not take their car, out of fear that it might be damaged; they preferred to take the

festival shuttle to get to the castle. As a participant, she primarily remembers that she was motivated to attend because it involved a performance by her favorite poet; she also recalls how the people living in the neighborhood responded. She shared less detail about the physical environment. Her statement that 'it was under occupation' emphasized the descriptor 'dangerous.' The participant has not been in Kadifekale since the performance, but when she implied the urban transformation, she had actually been following it in the media. Moreover, she was aware that she would go there only for a specific reason, such as a concert or theatre performance that she was interested in.

Compared with her choice to use the word 'occupation' for the historic site and the threatening gaze of the neighborhood people, the account of another spectator, Elif, differed. She was a person who often traveled and interacted with different communities in the city because of her job and leisure-time activities. Therefore, there was no mention of a 'bad gaze' in her account. She remembered only the aesthetic experience of watching a show with the panoramic view of the castle and the Gulf of Izmir:

"*My work is in Eşrefpaşa, so we (her husband and herself) know Kadifekale. We climb; it's not a place that we don't know. It was important that there was a play of Genco Erkal. Unless we are busy, we always go to the plays of Genco Erkal. And we watched the play in Kadifekale. It was fabulous. They also allowed the Kadifekale public to watch for free, and they watched with excitement... (pause). I don't know who had arranged it, but I questioned whether the public would be allowed to enter the castle. So enthusiastic...Who allowed that? Yeah, Piriştina! Probably there was sponsorship by the municipality. It was satisfying and beautiful in all aspects.*"

I remarked immediately that she remembered that 'the public' had been allowed to watch the play. Her husband was sitting next to her during the interview. For the most part, he did not answer the questions. He preferred to listen to his wife and sometimes contributed to her statements. After this positive recollection, he added: "*They had just cleaned up Kadifekale during that period.*" Upon hearing his words, the memory evoked went in a different direction than Elif's first recall. I observed that she was speaking at a slower pace than usual, making little pauses. After another pause, she said slowly: "*The environment was not like now, it was compressed, [a place] where the Kurdish public was concentrated.*"

I was curious about the impact of the event on the spectators and how the festival had affected memory of the place. I asked: "Was it neglected before the performance?" She agreed that the place had indeed been neglected before the event. While the festival staff was preparing the stage for the performance and the seats, the area had been cleaned up.

In contrast to Sevim's statement, Elif had a more positive attitude. Her silence and the slowing down of her voice came across as more protective. While I proceeded with the interview, I learned that Elif's family came from Konya and lived in Eşrefpaşa, close to the castle. It was also a neighborhood close to the exchangee families from Crete, reminiscent of the statement of my

colleague's grandfather, who has lived in the Kadifekale neighborhood since 1958. Considering that Elif had been born and grown up in a migrant neighborhood not far from Kadifekale, their visit would be in the category of 'returning' after many years, during which their lifestyle and place of residence in the city had changed. Compared to her previous city trips, she observed that the castle had not only been renovated, but its previously lamentable condition had been improved simply by cleaning up the surroundings. This was similar to what I had witnessed during my visits. When her statement is contrasted to Nilgün's, it is obvious that the castle and its surroundings had been neglected, even in terms of simple services, such as painting the road and cleaning the inside of the castle. Since the castle was not part of the routine or travel route of the elites, the road to the castle had been forgotten, even though its silhouette is a constant that can be seen from most parts of the city.

The narratives concerning the castle focused on a period of neglect, and the cleaning had taken place because of the festival's intervention. The presence of the Kurdish community was marked by the excitement and silences in the conversations. Another spectator, Neslihan, an upper-class woman close to the International Izmir Festival organizing committee, agreed with the other spectators and remarked on the divide between the festival goers and the residents of the neighborhood:

"*At that time the mayor was Burhan Özfatura.*[129] *[He said:] 'We are afraid of that area, we can't enter.' We insisted. There was a police barricade. There was turmoil in that period. While I was walking through the castle from my car, the people of that area called me madam, they were yelling to me in English! (Bitter smile) We were so alien to the public; I mean we are also part of the public but...It was such a night. It was the same again in Agora. There were chain-link fences, and we entered. The people were watching us through the links. If we had opened, would it have been good or bad? Would it have become a social revolution? There were such people. The more you exclude others, the worse it becomes. I wish we could say, 'We are giving a concert in Kadifekale, everybody is invited.' And we would wear simple clothes like sport shoes, while those businessmen would wear their jeans or shorts. I think that they have the right. I don't know if my thinking is too leftist, but there shouldn't have been such elitism*."

Neslihan's experience of 'madam' reminded me of my own similar experience at the site with the children. While the festival excluded the residents of the neighborhood for safety reasons and practical issues concerned with organizing an event for a smaller crowd, from the perspective of the people of the neighborhood, the festival goers were outsiders, because they were not from the *mahalle*. They were different in the very fact of their watching a play in their common space. Interestingly enough, Neslihan mentioned that the festival itself had made efforts to intervene at the site, though Filiz *Hanım* herself did not mention if they had taken any initiative. When I met her for my project's evaluation in 2018, we began to discuss possible sites suitable for the concept of oriental jazz with storytelling. In the position of a novice producer, I

[129] Ahmet Piriştina was the mayor of the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality at the time of the 2002 concert in Kadifekale.

asked her opinion of Kadifekale. She said: "*We held the 16th festival there. People in the surroundings were throwing something through the chain-link fence and looking* (she said: "*bakıyor,*" which could be translated as "gazing" as well). *It's not because they would do something, but there was an opening cocktail party. I thought, even though there weren't strong-smelling things, they saw, and it was* ayıp *(shame). I mean, I felt embarrassed. I said to Ahmet Piriştina* (the former mayor of the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality) *to get in [the castle] too. "How might we arrange this?" He said,* "*Ablam sen merak etme*" (Don't worry, sister.) *The following day a truck came with a screen. The people from there burned the truck. It wasn't like now at that time.*"

Fig. 16: The set up of the festival in Kadifekale: The historic walls are purposely lit up to make the old construction stand out. (The photo was provided from the archive of IKSEV)

While I was conducting my fieldwork in 2013, I worked again as a volunteer, assisting in transferring the artists from their hotel to the Ephesus Celsus Library. Because of the ferry schedule, I had arrived early for the hotel transfer of some of the artists. The shutters of the foundation building were closed against the extreme heat outside. I was walking in the dimly lit corridor. Zeynep's office door was open. I entered and greeted her. After chatting, I asked her about her memory of the event in Kadifekale. She shared remarks similar to those of Neslihan. However, different than Neslihan's critical attitude, Zeynep remembered the event in Kadifekale with a humorous anecdote:

"*In Kadifekale people came up in a hurry: 'What is happening here? What are you doing? Who will come?' It was perfect! Filiz Hanım was very elegantly dressed. The kids cried out: "A princess has come!"*

There have been many different conversations about that. And then... (silence) some people watch through the fence. One of them shouts, 'Abla, abla!'[130] *and I said, 'Yes, sir?' He asked, 'Will Ciguli*[131] *come?' Each time I tell this story, I laugh so much that I cry. I had never heard the name Ciguli. I turned to him, and I said, 'No.' Then I asked the youngsters (she means the volunteer team), 'What does he mean? I don't understand.' I didn't understand the word 'ciguli' there. He had obviously almost a language a bit umm... a different accent. Later, over the years, this memory has become a joke. Each time that we go to the concert venue: 'Who will come? Ciguli?' After a while I saw that singer, he is indeed very interesting. I feel the same thing when I tell you this after all these years. (...) That is one of the stories that I always tell with pleasure. I mean the different places, different people... Different places, different adventures... When I recall them all... In fact, one day I should probably sit down and jot down all these memories.*

H: Have you ever been there since the concert?

Z: No, I haven't gone there. Although I wanted to, I didn't go. We even talked about that. But now it is somewhere that you can go. It wasn't like that before. It wasn't like that, too, when we used to go. There was more... (silence) cosmopolitan structure... There have been some changes since that time until now... In fact, we should go, shall we one day? There is a nice café where you can drink tea."

Zeynep was laughing while sharing her experience, in contrast to the bitter smile of Neslihan. With the sentence 'it wasn't like that before,' she indicated that she had had a negative perception of the place before the event. She was also aware of the tension between the festival and the residents of the neighborhood. Her silences showed an effort to speak in a politically correct way. Phrases like 'some people with a different accent' and 'cosmopolitan structure' refer to the Kurdish community and its connotation amid the collective memory. As I described above, Zeynep's words imply the exclusion of the castle's neighborhood by the locals. Her humor is intended to convey the contrast between the high-art theatre production and Ciguli's Roma music. There is a significant difference with the children's expectations of the event primarily as entertainment. The humor might be interpreted as a form of self-censorship in order to avoid making a political faux pas concerning two social classes with different lifestyles.

Zeynep knew that it was not a simple chat, and that I was asking for purposes of my research. She wanted to behave in a politically correct manner while touching on the social exclusion that Nilgün had criticized and Neslihan had felt upset about. According to her, thinking that Ciguli was involved in the International Izmir Festival could be seen as a joke. Indeed, the topography of the city revealed the divide between the educated and higher-class members of the elite and the lower-class migrants from the countryside. The fact that this divide

[130] *Abla* literally means older sister in Turkish. Here, similar to *abi* (older brother), *teyze* (aunt) or *amca* (uncle), it is an informal way of showing respect in a certain social context.
[131] Ciguli is a Turkish singer and accordionist who was very popular in the early 2000s. His music was based on gypsy pop music. His lower-class Bulgarian background contributed to his fame among the lower classes living on the outskirts and in the grey zones of the big cities.

also involved people from ethnically diverse backgrounds was something that was alluded to with difficulty for fear of sounding impolite.

The upper city on the hills with shanty houses and the seaside apartment blocks were still economically and socially divided. Zeynep was *intramuros* at the castle because of her job, however, she was unaware that the festival and the participants had laid claim to the space, which formed part of the privacy of *mahalle.* At the same time, the festival organizers had failed to engage the residents of the neighborhood. In her estimation, it was hilarious that some people with a 'different accent' had asked if Ciguli would perform. When she repeated the statement, 'it wasn't like that before,' she was referring to the Kurdish conflict and the ghetto structure of the neighborhood in the '90s and beginning of the 2000s, which resonated in the neighborhood, and how it was more peaceful or safer now. When she said, 'Now you can go,' there was a lingering awareness of the conflicts of the past, as many other interlocutors had mentioned. However, according to the old couple who had lived in the neighborhood since 1958, there were also diverse ethnic and cultural groups then. It was never a matter of one specific community. Obviously, her interaction was not enough to reveal whether the person asking was Kurdish, therefore, presumably, there had been no political otherness in that encounter, but there was such an expectation, because of the urban memory that regarded Kadifekale as a Kurdish neighborhood. Maybe this 'citizen with a different accent' who was listening to Roma music was a Roma, which would have been less charged with political connotations, without the need for implicit actions like silences or slowing down one's speech. When she said, 'There was a more *cosmopolitan* structure,' she utilized the word *kozmopolit* (cosmopolite), based on the French word, to sound thoughtful and polite. Without using the Turkish words *karışık* (mixed) or *karma* (hybrid), she implicitly referred to the 'other' population of the neighborhood, which was not ethnically Turkish and not from Izmir. I noticed that although she had been there and presumably shared the memories of other colleagues or spectators, she avoided mentioning the police cordon, the neighborhood people who had thrown stones and gazed over the chain-link fence. By revealing her ignorance of who Ciguli was, she implied that she was too 'cultivated' to listen to Roma music.

Although Zeynep generously said 'one day we might go there,' she never visited the castle after the event and never suggested visiting it after our interview of 2013. Obviously, Kadifekale and the park on top of the hill were not places that one would spontaneously decide to visit. First of all, if one decided to pay a visit, physically it would require some effort to climb the hill on foot or to go by a vehicle because of the narrow, serpentine roads. Zeynep had no occasion to visit it during the week. She lived in Bayraklı, an historic center far from the castle. She preferred to spend time with her family on the weekend, preferably at a restaurant, café or shopping center. She did not have any attachment to the castle. Moreover, she did not share any memories of the castle. It was not just the castle but also the memories associated with migration that the castle represented which were far from Zeynep's reality.

Sophie, another spectator like Nicole, had lived in Izmir for more than 30 years. She was married to a Turkish man. She had two children, worked south of Izmir, and lived in Bornova at the time of my fieldwork. She was passionate about theatre and occasionally attended the festival. Similar to Sevim and Ahmet, Sophie was motivated to watch the play because of its socialist content. However, she was disturbed by the image of the police forming a barrier between the residents of the Kadifekale neighborhood and the festival participants. There was even a police cordon so that the spectators could enter the castle without coming into contact with the residents of the Kadifekale neighborhood. During our conversation, she argued for the visibility of the castle but also of the festival as well. First of all, she said that the castle was visible from almost everywhere in the city center, but that nobody 'saw' it. She added:

"*The Izmir Festival seems to be invisible, too. Hem var hem yok yani (It exists and it doesn't exist). Concerning the venues, they tried and they are still trying to make places. Filiz Hanım tried many different places. For example, I remember that we went to Kadifekale.... it was special. The opening [of the festival] began with a play by Genco Erkal about Nâzım Hikmet. It was in Kadifekale, and the spectators were the bourgeois. You know Kadifekale, now all the houses [have been destroyed] ... In that period, it was an area densely populated by Kurds from the southeast [Anatolia]. There was a terrifying level of security, I mean there were a lot of police. She (Filiz Sarper) tried to do that (to realize the play) there. Yes, you bring the play of Nâzım Hikmet,*[132] *but the spectators are not the public! (Suddenly she switched to French) Do you understand? He (Nâzım Hikmet) always wrote for those who were oppressed, those who wanted to seek their rights, inequalities and all about them. In fact, the public were supposed to watch it. We remained a bit bourgeois, intellectual, the ones saying 'festival, passion' among all these police. But we arrived, they prepared something, and we watched it. We watched Genco Erkal. I talked to Genco Erkal after the performance. I was disturbed, and I told him so. I told him my feelings and said, 'You played to us and the play was behind closed doors, inside of the walls.' For whom is the play? Whom should it address? Instead of addressing the public, such an awkward thing happened. It was good with respect to the selection of the venue, but the problem of transport is something serious, especially when it is in the Metropolis, Ephesus... Once they made a performance in Agora too. Anyone can go to Agora. This time there was a transport problem. It has been selective. In fact, the festival is intended only for a certain community. It makes me feel... (She made a gesture of eating something sour) In my mind I have the idea of something more like an inclusive festival*."

I was touched by her direct statement and deep feelings. I had conducted the interview in winter 2013, when I had a rather naïve and romantic approach to the historic sites. My assumption was that if the citizens experienced the historic sites in conjunction with an event, when they felt motivated and happy, they would then associate their happiness with the historic sites. They would visit more often and later become more at peace with the past and therefore with the traumas of the city. There might even be a cultural evolution! Sophie's statement was

[132]Nazım Hikmet is a famous Turkish poet, and he is known for being involved with anti-war and anti-imperialist movements in Turkey. He followed Marxist politics and was exiled to Russia because of this. He wrote many poems on the Anatolian people with contents exalting freedom and equality.

the first signal that I should be more careful with those sites which were in fact, urban memory places and that the intervention of the festival could have a different impact. When I asked more questions about memories associated with the place, she said: "*There is a layer of black tulle over the city which covers the traumas and people from here who don't like to face the problems.*"

Four years after my interview with Sophie (2017), I heard similar stories when I was preparing a presentation for the *Kendine Ait Bir Oda* (A Room of One's Own) art initiative. I presented my research with some photos and the illustrations that I had made in the format of a fairy tale, without revealing the name of the festival, foundation, or Filiz Sarper. The audience that I addressed consisted of young adults and groups of seniors who were affiliated with the artistic milieu in Izmir. I was worried that they would be bored or interrupt me, or worse, that they would chat with each other with a typical Izmir attitude and that they would wander in and out, while I would become distracted and forget my words.

The opposite happened. There was complete silence in the room. Everybody listened attentively. After my presentation, an elderly lady in the first row said in a serious tone: "*I know the festival that you told us about. And I know Filiz* Hanım*. One of the places that you mentioned was Kadifekale. I attended that event, too. There was an opening cocktail party, we were inside [the castle]. People from outside were watching us. We were like monkeys in a cage... (silence). It was a bad experience.*"

Fig. 17: Genco Erkal (in front lying on the ground) acts in the play 'Nâzım'a Armağan' in Kadifekale during the International Izmir Festival in 2002. (The photo was provided from the archive of IKSEV)

I listened to other and more detailed versions of the conflict that I had heard about from the spectators, and later from Filiz *Hanım* over the course of the summer of 2018. I met Dilek, a local intellectual who was the person in charge of film screenings in the Kadifekale neighborhood in the same year as the International Izmir Festival's intervention. She was selecting the films. An old municipality bus and a small Škoda truck were arranged for the open-air film nights at Kadifekale. The old bus would become the white screen and the small truck was loaded with a 35 mm film projector. When the bus and the small truck arrived at the castle, she explained to the public that it was a municipality event, and it was free. The next morning, however, when they returned to the screening place, the vehicles had been stoned and the tires punctured. After repairing them, they had to park them at the storage of IZSU (the water service of the municipality). She echoed the statements made by my other interlocutors: "*At that time it was different.*" Then she added: "*The Kurds living there were settled after the former mayor, İhsan Alyanak, gave them space. They distrusted the state, even the municipality. They were also angry with the municipality, therefore they had negative reactions, such as 'you neglected us for decades and you remember us now.' We (she and her team) were making film projections in Kadifekale, Gültepe and (...) in that period. Every night the film bus and the car were parked inside the water storage of İZSU, and the following evening they were taken out again, and a film was shown. One evening we showed the film Vizontele.*[133] *At the end of the film, there is a scene when Demet Akbağ, who plays a Kurdish mother, learns from the television of her son's death in Cyprus.*[134] *She prays and... I look around, and I see Demet Akbağ is crying, all the women are crying and ululating...Look, even now I have goose bumps." Then we shared what we knew about the festival opening in Kadifekale and the play, Nazım'a Armağan. Again, she mentioned the tension between the Kurds and the state during that period (2002) and how reactive the Kurds were. She continued: "I gave the example of Vizontele; they watched that film, that's nice, but there was also the concert of Aysu (a local pop music singer). She was stoned on the stage, and we took refuge in the tents. The contrast became especially tangible with the Izmir Festival (she raises one hand and sets down the other hand). They say that Filiz* Hanım *and the people attending the festival were elegantly dressed. I don't know how it is now, but at that time they (festival participants) were. Anyway, you know Filiz* Hanım*, she is very well dressed, she has a janti*[135] *style. I mean, is it possible to arrange such an event without informing or inviting [the inhabitants of Kadifekale neighborhood]? Even though Nazım'a Armağan was a leftist event, it remained for outsiders... I don't know if there was a cocktail party, some food might have been shared, or if [Kurdish women] made bread, their bread might have been sold...*"

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[133] *Vizontele* was produced during the same period as the festival's intervention with the castle. The film tells the story of the first television installations in Turkey during the 1970s. A group goes to a village in Hakkari, a province with a Kurdish-speaking majority on the border of Iraq and Iran. After the installation of the cables and the television, a series of humorous scenes takes place in the village until the Kurdish mother (played by Demet Akbağ) watches on television the death of her son carrying out his military service in Cyprus. For more information about the war in Cyprus and its causes and consequences on Turkish nationalism, see Nergis Canefe in *Hatırladıklarıyla ve Unuttuklarıyla Türkiye'nin Toplumsal Hafızası* (ed. Esra Özyürek, 2012), Yael Navaro in *Kurmaca Mekan, Kuzey Kıbrıs'ın Duygu Coğrafyası* (2015) and Lisa Dikomitis in *Cyprus and its Places of Desire: Cultures of Displacement Among Turkish and Cypriot Refugees* (2012).

[134] She refers to the intervention of the Turkish army in Cyprus in 1974 because of the conflict between Turkish and Greek Cypriots.

[135] *Janti* is the Turkish pronunciation of the word *gentil* from French. The original meaning is 'nice, kind and lovely.' In Turkish it refers specifically to a person who is dressed nicely and flamboyantly.

The old couple who had lived in Kadifekale from 1958 to 2018 shared that it was not just Kurds but other ethnicities that lived there as well. However, the castle and its neighborhood were remembered in connection with the political climate of that period and the Kurdish community of Izmir. The good intentions of the International Izmir Festival to present a historic site to the public and the desire to enhance the brand image of Izmir led the people of the organization to engage in self-censorship when I conducted my interviews. As Mills' research (2014) indicates, group dynamics determine what is revealed, what is ignored and even forgotten.

When I look at the photo of the festival's opening at the castle, I don't see the chain-link fence and the people from the outside staring at the festival audience. The festival photographer must have been focused on the festival crowd in order to document the opening of the festival and to present the castle in a positive light. Safety is obviously a fundamental necessity for any festival. The festival organization had managed to ensure the safety of the spectators, but the tension between them and the residents of the neighborhood caused them to feel embarrassed and to choose not to remember or document it.

A few days after the festival of 2013, I visited Ceren, who was also part of the festival organization. During our chat, I asked about her experience in Kadifekale. Although she was more discreet and content to share official information about the event in the interview in 2012, she revealed another aspect of the security issue during the event. While the festival team was preparing the castle for the performance, Ceren and Mustafa had had some problems that they did not discuss during the first interviews. Mustafa and Nilgün told me that '*they*' (a specific identity like 'Kurds' or 'the immigrants of the neighborhoods' was never mentioned) threw steel-wire rollers at Ceren's head. I asked her if it were true. She remained silent for a few seconds, while I repeated 'roller...steel roller.' She said: "*Let's keep it among us... That one is a difficult place.*" I was intrigued by her answer. I needed more information to understand exactly what had happened and what stuck in her memory. Hesitantly and gingerly I asked again: "Was it difficult physically?" Her answer was short and firm: "*It happened once there.*" When I had previously asked her colleague Mustafa, he had mentioned that some materials had been stolen. There was a police barricade. Besides, some of the festival participants said: "*We felt like Martians.*" I shared his words with Ceren. She replied: "*Of course, they felt that way*." I said: "They called Filiz *Hanım* 'princess." She replied slowly: (I couldn't see her expression behind her sunglasses, but she calmly nodded her head) "*Filiz Hanım wore something white with tulle for the opening. They said something like princess, queen. We were disturbed, and they were disturbed, too. If you come like 'daaan!' then it happens like that. Like this: daaaan!!! (She made a fist and let it down slowly on the table, imitating the impact of a mallet)* Yavaş yavaş alıştırmak lazım *(It should get them used to it slowly)*."

As Ceren mentioned, the reaction of the inhabitants of Kadifekale was that it was an infringement on their privacy. When I visited the photographic installation about the Kadifekale

neighborhood in 2012 with Nicole, none of the photos revealed evidence of any damage or of any moments in which the residents were caught gazing at the spectators, because the artists who were involved in the project were not Turkish. They had no connection to the political tension between the Turkish state and the Kurdish community. Moreover, they had spent some time together with the people of the neighborhood and were better acquainted with them. Those who had organized the festival (including the opening cocktail party and the play) and who had installed the plaque of Atatürk's mask with the giant Turkish flag were Turkish, whereas the residents living near the castle belonged to another Izmir, whose memories were not equally represented. Although the castle crowns the ancient history of the city and promises an imaginative memory (Huyssen, 2008) for its branding potential, it was engulfed in a *mahalle* that was not represented in that imagination. Instead, the event served to remind the festival organizers and some of the spectators of the existence of another community with claims to the area that they were using, a community whose privacy was being infringed upon. Nobody had asked the residents for their permission. They had already had little to do with the artistic event, because they lacked the necessary cultural capital (Bourdieu, 2015). Ironically – as Sophie argued – though the play dealt with humanist and Marxist discourse, the organization had excluded the most relevant group. Sophie consciously and deliberately employed the phrase 'inclusive art' to indicate the approach that she thought the municipality should take. There should be outreach to the communities not just when it came to the more inclusive and sometimes populist events but also when striving to put on a high-quality, high-culture event.

Chapter 8. Ayavukla: The Shell with Many Layers

(Aziz Vukolos Kilisesi Kültür Merkezi /Agios Voukolos Church Cultural Center)

Commonly known as Ayavukla, but officially as *Aziz Vukolos Kilisesi Kültür Merkezi* (Agios Voukolos Church Cultural Center), the church is located in the Basmane neighborhood. It is not just the building itself, but the neighborhood as well that deserves to be studied in the context of urban memory. The church and the Basmane neighborhood became the inspiration for my research in 2011, when its focus shifted radically from (re)conceptualizing the visual identity of Izmir via the International Izmir Festival to Izmir's urban memory within the scope of the festival.

Fig. 18: A view of the Basmane neighborhood: an early modern building on Gaziler Avenue close to Ayavukla (photo by the author)

First of all, I share my personal account as an insider researcher. The Basmane that I knew was a crowded and chaotic place that I used to avoid until recently. I knew that it was a business center during the daytime and a sex-based entertainment nexus at night. Although its social

profile is also composed of low-income migrants, it is more heterogeneous than Kadifekale, which is dominated by migrants from Mardin (from southeastern Turkey). In that sense, as the architect Malike Özsoy (2015) argues, Basmane might qualify as *çöküntü bölgesi* (a grey zone) in the urban fabric rather than as a ghetto. What this means, as I stated earlier, is that some neighborhoods, like Basmane in the city center, have experienced increasing poverty and urban congestion as a result of migrations from the countryside. Moreover, I knew that there were some churches in Alsancak that remained from the time of the Levantine and Greek communities. A few of them were open for services but only rarely for public visits. Alsancak was a neighborhood where locals and non-Muslim newcomers lived. It was a neighborhood where a Western lifestyle was practiced, and imported products were bought. Therefore, it was extraordinary that there was an Orthodox church in Basmane.

The structure of the church was renovated by the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality and the Izmir Institute of Technology, and it was presented to the public by the International Izmir Festival. The festival revitalized the church and also recovered a part of Basmane's past. The past that was recalled nostalgically by the old people and which had been written about in the novels of Dido Sotiriou (*Ölüler Bekler*) and Mira Meimaridi (*İzmir Büyücüleri*) was made tangible there. However, the contemporary collective memory that I share and the presence of a church in Basmane were telling different narratives of the past: beneath the negative image of Basmane, Ayavukla was revealing another, less felt memory. Similar to the sewer cover with Arabic letters, the church was tangible evidence of a rupture, a period from which contemporary citizens were disconnected. While the church was emerging from the past hidden behind the tatters of Basmane's urban fabric, it was revealing that it qualified as an urban palimpsest (Huyssen, 2003).

As in the case of the Kadifekale neighborhood, I find it appropriate to provide a brief summary of Basmane's historical background. According to *İzmir Kent Ansiklopedisi: İzmir'de İdari ve Mahalli Yer Adları* (2013), until the mid-19th century, Basmane was known as Agia Constantina. The neighborhood was located some distance from the seaside, and it was close to the Roman settlement. It was a junction of the Jewish, Muslim and Orthodox Christian communities. According to encyclopedias dedicated to architecture, city administration and location names (2013) and *Basmane Garı ve Çevresi* (Sürvegil, 2011), published by Metropolitan City of Izmir, an Armenian merchant obtained permission from the sultan in 1740 and established a printing factory for women's headscarves. Later, the printing-based textile industry developed in the neighborhood. The color production and print-making gave its name to the neighborhood, and it was called *Basmahane,*[136] which became Basmane. This historical detail is important, because it pinpoints the transformation of the neighborhood from a traditional Ottoman urban

[136] It literally means printing house. However, although it refers to printing, it is not related to book printing. *Basma* is a technique of printing patterns on fabric. The stone and wood printing molds are currently exhibited at the Izmir Ethnography Museum.

composition, sustained by the separation of the various ethnicities, to the premodern framework of separation of functions.

After the train station was built in 1876 by the French company, Régie Generale, for the benefit of French investors in the port of Izmir and its hinterland,[137] the neighborhood became associated with the textile industry. The construction of the train station and the railways compelled the city government to reorganize the neighborhood. Furthermore, the traditional Ottoman structures were gradually replaced by Western-style transport and trade facilities. Hotels, warehouses and restaurants replaced the inns. This was also the time when wealthy Muslim families started to move from Basmane to other settlements like Karşıyaka, Göztepe and Bornova. As a consequence, Basmane, which was where rich Muslim families had resided, became the connecting point for the train station, tramway and sea transport. In particular, when Kordon, the seaside of the city center, was redesigned, the character of Basmane changed in accordance with the new needs for accommodation and other facilities. The mansions left by the Muslim families became hotels. Those who stayed or settled later were those with less income (Atay, 1998; Özsoy, 2015; and Sürgevil, 2011). As Okan Yıkgenç, the president of the association *Basmane Altınpark Tarih ve Yaşamı Koruma* (Basmane Altınpark Conservation of History and Life) shared in his memoir,[138] this process has continued until recently, leading to the impoverishment of the neighborhood. According to Atay (ibid), while the Alsancak (Punta) neighborhood was well maintained and elegant, Basmane, which was situated behind the axis of Gümrük and Konak, where the warehouses are located, became a place that served the needs of the crews of the trade ships. This dilapidated neighborhood was where entertainment and bawdyhouses were concentrated.

After the Great fire of Smyrna (September 13-16, 1922), the Basmane neighborhood was reconfigured according to modern urban planning standards to be similar to other neighborhoods in Izmir. Next to the train station, there was also a bus station connecting the city to other settlements. However, migrants from the countryside who settled in the neighborhood (which had been left by the previous, higher-class inhabitants) adapted the old houses and other buildings commensurate with their needs and budgets. There was not yet any understanding in Basmane of preserving the historical environment (Özsoy, 2015; 757). In essence, Basmane became the first stop for migrants getting off the bus or train because of the accelerating industrialization of the area and the emergence of new job opportunities. Over time the municipality cared less and less about Basmane, and it became a place where less social control was exercised. During the daytime it was a place of business where locals and visitors

[137] http://www.tarkem.com.tr/kemeralti-bina/basmane (*last access: September 7, 2018*) The official web site of TARKEM gives the name of the construction company, whereas the other local printed sources cited above mention that the construction of the train station and railways were an integral part of colonial intentions of benefiting from the capitulations.
[138] http://www.ilksesgazetesi.com/haber/nerede-o-eski-basmane-9931.html (*last access: April 13, 2018*)

met up. Because it was both a transport hub and had developed into a business center, it was also natural for hotels to become concentrated in this area.

Fig. 19: A palimpsest at Basmane: the former main entrance of the Agios Voukolos Church. The neo-Hellenistic style from late 19th century can be recognized. The traces of 'Arkeoloji Müzesi' (archeological museum) can be also distinguished. The door seems eternally shot down because a new door (clean and modern) is used as entrance.

Nowadays there are still many hotels available to host visitors and refugees who stay in Izmir for a short period. Aside from serving this clientele, both the hotels and night clubs[139] are used for the purpose of entertainment and prostitution. In that sense, Basmane itself might on the one hand be interpreted as an *agora*: a place in the city where one performs his commercial role and takes part in urban acts (De Cauter and Dehaene, 2008). On the other hand, it is a heterotopia where one stops, crosses paths with the 'other,' then moves on, having become aware of another side of the city, one that involves other, seamier activities outside of the realm of one's normal experience (Foucault, 1986; Corijn, 2006).

[139] The night clubs which are concentrated in Basmane are historically known as *gazino*, where Turkish classical, pop and Arabic music are played to accompany belly dancers' performances. Similar examples in Istanbul are well represented in *Yeşilçam*, an old Turkish cinema. The parody film *Şabaniye,* featuring comedians Kemal Sunal and Adile Naşit, might be given as an example. As part of further research, Basmane's night clubs might also be analyzed in a feminist framework, where a woman's body is commodified, and the transgenders become more visible. As I mentioned in *Ground Floor*, Basmane has complex identities. It is also a place where Syrian refugees are concentrated and begin to find themselves and build lives in a new setting. The neighborhood deserves to be researched with respect to how and whether or not the complex identities intersect in the context of heterotopia.

Basmane is obviously a 'modern' place that reflects the temporality of modernity as well (Connerton, 2009). This means that while Basmane's population has been changed by the waves of migration, its urban fabric has also changed because of the need for new infrastructure to support small industry and transport. After the population exchange, the waves of migration have mostly come from the countryside. Nowadays the neighborhood typically receives international migrants because of its connections to public transport, and especially because of the presence of the train station. The period of 2012-2014, when I conducted my fieldwork, was just the prelude to the Syrian refugee crisis. Each time the population of Basmane changes, the older buildings adapt to the needs and habits of the new residents. To better understand the reality of Basmane, I share the picture below. The Mavi Kelebek Night Club shown in the picture is located on Gaziler Avenue, an avenue parallel to the railway that extends perpendicular to the street where Ayavukla is located. The original façade refers to the First National Architectural Movement from 1908 to 1930 (Güner, 2005), which sought to incorporate elements of Ottoman architecture and use them in the construction of modern, concrete buildings. As Özsoy argues, because of the new function and socioeconomic profile of the club, major modifications were made without any regard for authenticity (2015). As a consequence, the lower portion of the façade has been covered over with an unsightly stone veneer at the ground level and a big advertisement board, an old ventilator, an air conditioner and pipes appear to have been placed seemingly at random.

Considering the temporality of modernity and the change of the population in the neighborhood, Ayavukla has not been left untouched. What follows is information about the transformation of the church according to booklets published by İKSEV in 2011 and 2012, the website of the Izmir city directory of tourism and culture,[140] TARKEM[141] and printed publications by the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality (Atilla, 2001 and 2002; Sürvegil, 2011, the *İzmir Kent Ansiklopedisi*'s, 2013). Historically, the church community was composed of members of the local Orthodox community's lower-middle class and of outsiders coming from the Aegean Islands in search of jobs in the new and booming industrial sector, similar to the manner in which Basmane's development attracted lower-class migrants from the Anatolian countryside. It was built with the support of the community, which 'left' after the Great fire of Smyrna.[142] After the declaration of the republic, it was transformed into an archaeological museum and served in that capacity until the establishment of a new archaeological museum in Kültürpark in 1951.

[140]http://www.izmirkulturturizm.gov.tr/TR,90973/aya-vukla-aziz-vukolos-kilisesi.html (last access: September 7, 2018)
[141]http://www.tarkem.com.tr/kemeralti-bina/ayavukla-kilisesi (last access: September 7, 2018)
[142] The official web and print publications record the event briefly, as if the Orthodox community that lived in Izmir left in a manner similar to that of any other narrative of economic or social conflict. Nonetheless, Housepian-Dobkin (2012) refutes the narrative that most of the members of the Orthodox and Armenian community died in the fire. In fact, some of them drowned in the sea as they were trying to escape from the fire or the Muslims that were attacking them, and some were raped, robbed and killed. In recognizing the complexity and delicacy of this historic case, I argue that the Orthodox community of Agios Voukolos Church and the properties they left behind in Basmane are another subject worthy of being researched.

Later, it became a storage and rehearsal hall for Izmir's state opera and ballet. After a fire in the 1970s, it was abandoned and fell into ruin. In 1975 it was declared a cultural heritage site, and then, in 2002, it was rated as a third-degree protected area, including the annexes around the church. Finally, the building was given over to the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality, after being restored by the architecture department of the Izmir Institute of Technology, and it became a venue for artistic projects while retaining its name. Despite the good intentions of the municipality and the university, the renovation was not appreciated by everybody. Mustafa, from the organizational team, told me that he had worked in the state opera and ballet before and had held rehearsals at the church. He liked the marbling technique on the wall, which seemed real. According to him, the restoration was not successful. When I attended an event of the Port Izmir Triennial in 2017, I came upon Filiz *Hanım* on the veranda of the church as she was sitting there with her friends. I opened up a discussion about the possibility of the International Izmir Festival's holding events at Ayavukla. She curled her lips in disdain to show she disagreed, and she said that the place was *suni* (artificial), even though the restoration was nice.

Fig. 20: The new entrance with the sign board 'Basın Müzesi' (press museum) (photo by the author)

When I conducted fieldwork for the first time, I focused on the functionality and cognitive aspect of the church. That is to say, I wanted to detect how the church had evolved from being an invisible place in history to developing a sense of place through physical and social interaction with the church and its neighborhood. It was also important to understand how the

festival participants were finding their way around the neighborhood, how they were going to the church and how they perceived the distances from their daily lives in the city center, at home, at work and in the church. One of the most interesting aspects was that it was the sole Orthodox church located in the fire zone to have survived. During a series of in-depth interviews, Ceren indicated that her view of the importance of the building was the same: "*It was saved from the Izmir fire, and it deserves again a new supply.*" She then continued by describing what makes the neighborhood special: *"Basmane is situated in a prior residential area. It is an area where Turks lived in densely populated neighborhoods. But now it is sometimes a place that is not preferred as a residential area, but which still contains all that beauty, that character."* She agreed that many spectators did not know of the existence of Ayavukla and of Basmane's historical background. She finished by saying that the aim of the festival was to introduce new historical values to an audience which would "*probably visit this history in the pursuit of a music note.*" In other words, the festival was creating the motivation for lovers of Western classical music to discover historic sites in the city. Ceren's argument stressing Basmane as an "old Turkish neighborhood" implied that the splendor of the ancient site of Ephesus, with its distant past, was appropriate for representing the Western connection in marketing the city, whereas the modest Orthodox church in the setting of Basmane was appropriate for the local festival goer who would be proud of the city's rich history.

Fig. 21: When the church-museum becomes a festival venue. (The picture was provided from the archive of IKSEV)

The festival organized two events at Ayavukla. The first one was held in 2011 for the purpose of presenting the newly renovated church as a cultural center. The event took place with a concert by the French group, *Des Equilibres,* playing No. 1, Op. 1 in C minor by Ernö von Dohnanyi and Piano Quintet in E-flat Major, Op. 44 by Robert Schumann, and was sponsored by

the French Institute of Turkey in Izmir. The second event took place in 2012, with a concert titled "*İlham Veren Romantikler*" (Inspiring Romantics), featuring the *Fauré Quartett* playing Piano Quartet No. 2, Op. 45 by Gabriel Fauré and Piano Quartet No. 1, Op. 25 by Johannes Brahms, sponsored by the Goethe Institute in Izmir and the Bosch Company.

Similar to Kadifekale, the *mahalle* also became visible conjointly with the church's visibility. Nilgün, an interlocutor from the festival team, highlighted the effects of continuity in her interactions with the contemporary inhabitants of the neighborhood:

"*It might be taken as a sign of affinity, considering the shift from a wild gaze during our first participation to friendly discourse like "Sister, shall we find you a taxi?" during the second one. This might be based only on my personal experience. However, when we came here the first time, everybody was gazing at us as if they were seeing foreigners. In fact, we were. But then they realized that we weren't doing bad things. Now residents call a taxi, and participants buy water in the neighborhood. Because these are important things. A grocery market sells a maximum of five bottles of water per day. But when there is a performance, this climbs to 25, 30, 50... When there is a performance, the grocery market benefits, which means that he gives more money to the greengrocer. Then the greengrocer pays his debt to the butcher... That's how it works. After that, when you come here a second time, their way of welcoming you becomes different. Even though you can attribute it to materialism...then again, people see different people, and they like that. They witness another life. They listen to the good music coming from there. These are important things. Even if you don't participate, it is possible that an artistic event affects secondarily or thirdly an environment*."

Nilgün's account conveys a positive impression of the International Izmir Festival. Through commercial activities, two different social classes interact and start a dialogue. It is a summer festival and, as I experienced both as a spectator and later as a volunteer, water is in high demand before and sometimes after the concerts. Because of the heat and the crowd, the spectators sweat in their chairs and look for a little breeze. Some people use fans or use the festival booklets as fans. Because of these physical conditions, Nilgün's account might be interpreted as the economic contribution of the arts festival to the locality (Quinn, 2005; Laing and Mair, 2015). In any case, the festival has not organized any event in Ayavukla since 2012. The economic-based continuity that Nilgün mentioned was not maintained.

When I discussed this topic with my aunt, she – as a spectator and a local – strongly criticized the venue selection of the festival. According to her, if the festival is mostly held in Ephesus, then its name should be changed to the Ephesus Festival, which would attract some 'crazy' people willing to travel for hours. If it is called the *İzmir Festivali* by the public, it should mostly be held in the Izmir city center. I knew that she hadn't been to those two concerts in Ayavukla. She replied that she had been living at her summer house in Çeşme at that time, and she wouldn't spend hours driving. Without mentioning names, I remarked that some people had found the renovation of the church and the interaction of the classical music concert in Basmane

artificial. She, like Nilgün, emphasized the importance of continuity: "*At first it might be artificial, of course. If you do [the event] once, that's what happens. If you do so consistently, both the people (she means both the residents of the neighborhood and the spectators) and the festival [organization] adapt. The festival should be held regularly [in Ayavukla]. There should be at least one event per week.*"

Fig. 22: The street where Saint Voukolos Church is located. The official brown signboard indicating that it is an historic place can be seen at the end of the street (photo taken winter 2013)

In contrast to my aunt, Nilgün does not see any contradiction in the actions of the festival: "*When you organize an arts event [at a church], you intend it not just for Christians but for everybody. You gain a character and a value there. I mean there are all of these allusions implying that "we opened (here) for artistic events." The inhabitants learn an important value of this city. Even though s/he doesn't participate, s/he learns the name and the place. Those who can go, learn where it is on their own. Besides, they get rid of the prejudices that they have concerning that place and its people. Because...for example, a friend of mine was thirsty. The grocery market was closed. Well, while they were leaving, they said, "Oh, what a pity, the grocery market is closed, we couldn't find it!" A man was sitting in front of his house with a jug. He said, "Bring a clean glass" to someone inside, and he served a glass of water to my friend like "You are thirsty in the summertime, take it and drink." She said, "I hesitated to see if the glass was clean, but he gave it so kindly, so I drank, and it was quite cool. I felt better." You think that the people living there may kill you, because these are marginal neighborhoods. However, it was one of the best neighborhoods in Izmir in the old days. It became a marginal neighborhood later. But the man wasn't asked to give a glass of water...this girl was just complaining that the market was closed. Also, they were not on the same social level. Still, when it comes to water, he wants a clean glass and gives her water. Why? Because she is a guest*

in his neighborhood. When you consider this, your point of view changes. What you see with this example is a person who has the old values. In this marginalized neighborhood, there might be a thief, but there might also be an old man sitting in front of his door in the night with such a sensibility. I mean there are good people there. When you encounter such examples, you change, and in fact your perception of the city changes. One concert being able to do that is something beautiful."

In her account, Nilgün implied values like neighborhood and locality. As a native resident, she connected Ayavukla and the Basmane neighborhood to Izmir, because there were old people giving water to thirsty people based on the notion of compassion and cooperation in a neighborhood. She was aware of the historical background and the present history which had negative connotations. However, she was of the opinion that despite the stereotypical image of Basmane as being dangerous, there were still local people who maintained the old values.

In the same vein, Emre, a middle-aged spectator from the artistic milieu of Izmir, shared his experiences related to Ayavukla:

"*No, I think of it, at least the staff shouldn't be changed there. The security staff's nature has changed. So, it is possible to destroy prejudices both by instinct and people. When I visited for the first time, a dog was barking, but by the tenth day he was wagging his tail. A woman there greeted us with 'good morning' on the twelfth day. The peddlers didn't watch the performance, but when the doors were open during the rehearsal, they came and took a look. There is a need for performances that make these kinds of places meaningful. They couldn't afford to come and see our performance, but the children watched us during the rehearsal, then a gypsy woman asked if they could watch from the upper balcony (he means the balconies in the church). Yes, they watched the rehearsals for 10-15 minutes. A man recorded the music. We were rehearsing D (...). He liked the clarinet and oboe and recorded it on his mobile phone. He asked me the name of the instrument. He asked if he could save the music or not. His sentimental connection with the instrument is the important effect of art for me. During our rehearsal, the security staff came with his family. He hadn't such a culture, but he liked the voice of the girl; then he said, 'I will come, sir.' And on the evening of the performance, he came dressed in his suit.*"

From my side, I expected a '*retrospective contemplative moment*' (Assmann, 1995; 129): that the festival participants would question the building's past and their presence at the place. That response came from only one interlocutor. Elif emphasized the impact of the performance on people's sense-making of the place and the connection with urban memory. She had already visited the church after the renovation and before the concert. When I asked her about the differences between her two visits, she answered: "*When you first visit, you are alone with your own emotions. If you have some knowledge of the church or the culture of the religion, then your imagination and your knowledge...You try to imagine in your mind. Clearly, you try to shape yourself. There is no expression of feelings or any collective one. Watching it alone...Alright, it has been renovated, it comes alive... But you realize the church through the music. What acoustics, brother...You hear different voices*."

From this account, Elif's experience can be interpreted as her personal memory overlapping with what she imagined about the church's past. She argued that she experienced the acoustic capacity of the church during the concert beyond just visiting the church. Moreover, while listening to the music, she stayed there for a longer period of time compared to her prior, shorter visit as a tourist. She observed the church, and her feelings about the music merged with the historical information that she had read. Her personal emotive experience brought her a step further, as it enabled her to develop a deeper connection than my aunt.

When I talked to Elif, I reflected on my personal bias toward her, because in my opinion, a classical music event in Basmane represented a striking contrast between the 'clean' and 'modern' elite cultural production and the 'clutter' of the 'old' neighborhood, with its subliminal reminder of transport connections, immigrant settlement, prostitution and business centers. I also tried to say that the members of the elite rarely had any interactions with the Basmane neighborhood. Elif, who had more experience and knowledge than I did, was not affected by my opinion. Her statement aligns with the perspectives of De Certeau (1988) and Foucault (1986) about walking in a place as a part of daily life, claiming the self, seeing, watching, walking and dreaming. Reflecting the ideas expressed by Huyssen (2008), Elif triggered the process of 'imaginative memory' by dreaming of the church's past while being affected by the acoustics of the place: she was aware that the place had shifted between its past, when it had been an Orthodox church, and the present, when it was no longer a church. The religious community of the church was not there anymore; the church was empty like a shell, and it was temporarily filled for a secular event. The time she spent in the church while attending a concert as part of the International Izmir Festival created the time-space suspension (Foucault, 1986). Her experience was double-layered: first, she visited a *memory place* which used to be a religious and holy place serving a community that no longer existed. Second, as she inserted herself into the space, she experienced a moment when the space became a museum *representing* a view of the Orthodox church.

According to Elif, one can look at a place and appreciate it as a beautiful building, and one can also dream about it even without having a personal connection to its past. When she acquainted herself with the concept of the church, she tried to identify the place and tried to imagine the rituals of the community of the period. However, Ayavukla was more of a shell now; the main structure and some elements of the Orthodox church were what remained. The frescoes had not been completely restored, and the church was not equipped for a ceremony. It was therefore a museum-church, which *represented* the fact that the building had once been a church. Although Elif reimagined the place during its time as a church with its community, and though any festival participant could recognize that it was originally a church, once the community changed, the function and sanctity did not return after a concert, because the community visiting had no connection with the Orthodox religion. Instead, it constructed a new meaning, one that overlapped with the connotations of the church sourced by the community's collective memory. The new meanings would be clustered as a heterotopic experience. From the

moment that Elif entered the church, something happened other than 'just visiting.' She was there with a specific purpose whose duration was specified by an activity. She was still Elif, because one of her identities was 'classical music listener.' She would practice a behavior with which she identified. On the other hand, the space was not her home, nor were they areas that she passed through when she traveled for her job. It was also not a concert hall which she had already visited and was familiar with. Instead, she entered a place that was once forbidden to enter because it was a ruin enclosed behind walls. Moreover, because she grew up relatively close to the church, she already knew the neighborhood. By entering the space for a special occasion within a limited time frame, she created her heterotopia. She practiced an activity that she made part of her daily life in a place outside of her daily life. By visiting the church, she experienced herself in the past of her town, a past from which she was absent. In that moment, the festival *unintentionally* created something carnivalesque, subverting modernity's pattern of forgetting by organizing a modern event in a forgotten historic site. Dimova argues that arts festivals may create a space to make other identities visible and to subvert the dominant cultural policy (2013).

Fig. 23: "You leave the taxi and you walk through the people watching television." (The photo was provided from the archive of IKSEV)

At this point I would like to return to the social interaction of the festival participants with the church's neighborhood, Neslihan had some other observations concerning social interactions, which are crucial both for memory and urban studies, which arts projects aim to harness.[143] As soon as she arrived at Ayavukla, she questioned her presence as a festival

[143]Todos Festival in Portugal and Sarajevo Winter in Bosnia-Herzegovina might be counted as successful examples: http://festivaltodos.com/ and http://sarajevskazima.ba/en/about-festival/

participant in a neighborhood with which she did not feel a sense of belonging. She 'entered' but did not 'visit' the intimacy of a different social community:

"*If I wanted to hold a closing concert in the city center, I would choose Ayavukla, but it was abnormally hot there. You leave the taxi. It is a poor neighborhood. People sit on the pavement. They watch television on the ground. You pass through them, and we were well dressed. I felt bad. While they were casually lying around, we were perfectly dressed. There should be some mixture. When you say that it is a festival, while cutting it off from people and bringing it to an elite level, it disturbed me. When I say elite, I mean the people dressed formally, in elegant dresses. Anyone could say, 'That person plays something; I shall come and listen, too.' There should be a free section. Otherwise, close the box and add some security. If we talk about experiencing a place within the ambiance of [arts] festival, I find it strange for a festival that there is such a sharp segregation.*"

A strong case can be made that these statements express what should rightly be considered an arts festival's maxim: *'There should be some mixture'* and anyone could say, *'That person plays something, I shall come and listen, too.'* Charles Landry, the author of "Creative City" (2000) and "Intercultural City" (2008), encourages citizens who aim to establish a 'mixture' to allow people to become self-aware and to acquire an awareness of place in order to realize their own potential and that of others. In this context, he implies the creation of spaces for heterotopia. With respect to Neslihan's statement about the need to mix diverse cultures and social classes during an arts festival, when I asked Ayten about the stereotypes of Basmane, where Ayavukla is situated, she also mentioned the lack of interaction between the spectators and the local residents, which differed quite significantly from going to the Adnan Saygun Art Center. As she worked in Basmane and had been to the concert, she had had the chance to observe how the stereotypes were 'true' in the collective memory and how she and her friends reacted during the festival:

"*Generally, there is prostitution. However, I haven't seen it with my own eyes. I am here during the day, but maybe you can come at night and see them (the prostitutes). (...) We went to the Ayavukla Church. I have a friend from a hiking club. She came to the concert, too. The concert started at 9:30. She arrived at 8:30. She walked in the dark alone. She told me there were strange people. She felt frightened on her own. Her work is in Alsancak, near the American Cultural [Center]. She came from there on foot. On the way back, she returned home with us using the shuttle [of the festival]. We didn't send her alone. If we sent her alone...(laugh).*"

Ayten's narrative reflects certain stereotypes concerning the Basmane neighborhood. She enjoyed the festival with the other volunteers and her friend from the hiking club. However, though she was a part of daytime Basmane, when it was used for business, she distanced herself from nighttime Basmane. In this regard, attending a classical music concert at Ayavukla seems problematic for daytime workers: an event which motivates them to be at the same neighborhood at nighttime might only be possible on the condition of its being temporary and safely separated from its nightlife.

A statement by Nezaket, another spectator, again maintains the stereotypes of Basmane. Throughout our conversations, she shared how the festival affected the transformation of Izmir's historical center:

"*All the places that I have seen, I saw thanks to the festival, because, for example, I didn't dare to go to the Agora alone*[144] *before. Now I can. Before a certain community made their home there, it was their home. When I went for a visit, they stopped me (she slows down her voice and bends slowly to the ground) and said, 'What's your business here, do you want something?' (Short silence) Now, when they see a stranger, they know that if someone is in the area, they are certainly there for a good reason. There is more understanding.*"

In another session she also shared that she had two colleagues from Azerbaijan whose company had once arranged for them to stay in Basmane. Unfortunately, the two white-collar men felt uncomfortable: first, because they felt insecure, and then because they witnessed the dirt and danger in 'the mice as big as a cat.' Yet Nezaket's attitude seems more constructive than Ayten's. Based on her experiences, she held to the idea that the Basmane neighborhood was 'dirty' in both senses: that it might be dangerous for a woman walking alone, and the lack of infrastructure gave an opportunity for rats to thrive. According to her, there was some enhancement of the neighborhoods of Basmane and Agora when an elite community visited, and this interaction has triggered a change for the better.

After the 2013 festival ended, I asked Nilgün why there were not any concerts in Ayavukla that year. She associated my inquiry with the cultural policy of the metropolitan municipality, then the intellectuals and the locals living in the neighborhood:

"*I think that it is a bit small as a venue. The Minguet Quartet could play there, but this time the South Tower [in Bergama] was more important. It was the first, and it deserved to be highlighted. Ayavukla had been presented with some events. Now, whenever the municipality finds something suitable, it organizes events there, too. Partly it (Ayavukla) entered into casual life. But it is situated in a very unfortunate place. Transport is difficult there.*"

I was surprised by her last sentence. There was a subway station connecting to Konak Square for people coming from the other side of the gulf, a train station connecting to the hinterland of the city, and bus stops approximately 10 minutes away by foot. It was also accessible by car, because the church was also close to Gaziler Avenue, which was connected to the periphery road for Karşıyaka and Bornova. For a moment I was at a loss for words and could not ask what she meant by *a very unfortunate place* and why she had complained about the difficulty of transport. She was a local person living in the city center. She might know the

[144]The Roman Agora, which is often on the city sightseeing axis, is situated close to the Basmane neighborhood, Kadifekale and Abacıoğlu Inn. The International Izmir Festival also organized its opening concert at the Roman Agora on June 15, 1999: http://iksev.org/en/izmir-festivali/gecmis-festivaller/15/13th-international-izmir-festival (last access: May 9, 2020).

transport connections better than I did. There must be another reason that she avoided talking. Previously she had been praising it as an historic area inhabited by rich people and how there were people with old values sharing water. She prefaced her argument:

"*Somehow it (Ayavukla) is done during the festival. But doing it constantly depends on whether the Izmirian moves her ass or not. For example, the municipality regularly organizes Basmane Günleri.*[145] *I didn't attend this year, I don't know if they did... For the first time people became aware of that part of the city with the Basmane station, Oteller Sokağı (Hotels Street) ... There are events organized there, but it mustn't be left to the organizing company alone. In this the public plays an important role. The shopkeepers should realize this situation. For example, a taxi driver or a grocery market owner says that 'there have been some events, I earned a lot of money.' On the concert days he sold many bottles of water. A man should pay attention to such things. He should say that 'there must be more events here.' He should demand it. But in order to demand it, he should keep the street clean. When it concerns civic consciousness, education from childhood is very important. If a family hasn't got it, it cannot educate the child either. For example, a woman looks around and crosses the street with her child when the light is red. The child learns that he doesn't have to wait. If the child is hit by a bus at the age of seven, the driver is guilty. No, madam, you are guilty! For years, you taught your child to cross the road if there was no car. You made your child cross the street by pulling him by his arm. You should teach your child to wait at the red light. You should bring him to an arts or sporting event. A child should know that it is also necessary to protect a city.*"

Nilgün did not exactly answer why her point of view had changed concerning Ayavukla. At first, she implied that the local people were not motivated to go to an event at Ayavukla, then she indicated that the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality was already organizing events there. From this I infer that she believed that the festival had accomplished its task. From then on it was the responsibility of the people of the neighborhood and the municipality to sustain visitation of the church. Based on what she said afterwards, she associated the festival practice in her own neighborhood with the values of citizenship. On the one hand, she made an analogy of festival protocol and management with co-living rules in the city; on the other hand, this distribution of roles implies a sort of responsibility among the actors. If the neighborhood people earn money through the festival, they should support it. However, it also means that the festival should listen to the prospective audience living in the neighborhood. From this point of view, the festival also seems to have acted irresponsibly by ignoring the neighborhood in organizing whatever sort of event it wanted. According to Nilgün, there is an implicit hierarchy between the festival and the neighborhood people. The festival presents a performance, and the neighborhood people should learn to appreciate it, similar to following the traffic codes. Moreover, as Quinn criticizes, while the festival brings prestige and the municipality (or some other local administration or companies) supports it financially, the promising dialogue

[145]Basmane Days was a special event held October 18-25, 2014 by the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality to present patrimonies like Turkish baths, old hotels, the Agora, synagogues and churches in the neighborhood with diverse activities like plays, exhibitions and panels. Although the web site is in Turkish, a quick review may help in understanding the content: http://www.sanattanyansimalar.com/4-basmane-tarih-kultur-sanat-ve-arkeoloji-gunleri/570/ (last access June 16, 2019).

between the arts festivals and the public may remain limited. The festival might be viewed as an economic resource and a 'quick-fix solution to the city's image problems' (2005; 938).

When I last interviewed Neslihan in April 2018, she connected the festival's intervention with the historic buildings to urban and organizational factors. According to her, the city and the festival should work together, because this would create unity. If the neighborhood of a historic building chosen as a venue is disorganized or dirty or if there are other aesthetic issues that have to do with how the residents lead their daily lives, the effect of the festival is lessened. Moreover, the selection of Ayavukla or another historic site is dependent on matters of budget for the setting arrangement/design and whether the artist(s) is willing to perform there or not. Then the performance needs to be technically suitable for the place. For example, Ayavukla was an appropriate place for quartet concerts because of its compactness. The church was physically and acoustically big enough to accommodate the audience but too small for a symphony orchestra concert. For the same reasons, the new Adnan Saygun Art Center was perfect for piano concerts, because pianos could easily be set on the stage. The pianos used for open-air and temporary venues (such as the historic sites) were assumed to have poorer sound quality because of constantly being transported from one location to the next. Filiz *Hanım*, Mustafa and Nilgün also agreed that transport was damaging to the sound quality of a piano.

After 2013 I visited Ayavukla and the Basmane neighborhood several times alone and with my friends, some colleagues and even with my students. I had a chance to repeat the peculiar experience of the International Izmir Festival case: each time a different group (ethnic music, contemporary dance, NGO events, etc.) crossed the street, reached the church-museum-cultural center at the end, took pictures of the venue, and smoked cigarettes in the garden. They were amazed and enjoyed discovering 'such a place in Basmane.' The place became alive with light, music and a crowd of people for only a few hours in the midst of a poorly lit neighborhood. It was an enclave distinguished by its cleanliness, tidiness and visitors.

Basmane and Ayavukla are both heterotopias. They contain contradictions and deviations in the urban imagery. Unlike the migrants coming from the countryside and, recently, the Syrian refugees, there is no historical continuity to back İKSEV's use of space in Basmane. The festival's agenda, as Filiz *Hanım* expressed in an interview[146] with the journalist Simon Mundy from the European Festivals Association, prioritizes presenting a favorable image of Izmir to foreign visitors and organizing high-quality events for the local audience. It does not struggle for the 'right to live in dignity, which should be fought for by daily practice' (De Cesari, 2011; 11). Instead, it is changeable. The intervention to the place may be done day after day or it may be temporary and easy to forget, like the example of the International Izmir Festival. If may be a matter of there being competition between different social classes, differences in their needs and what each expects out of life, as well as a different understanding of aesthetics (Flusser,

[146]https://www.efa-aef.eu/en/festival-focus/international-izmir-festival/ (*last access: September 7, 2018*)

1984; Bourdieu, 2015; Dewey, 1980). If that is the case, then while the use of the space may seem to overlap, it is only in specific circumstances, such as the festival, when they actually touch and connect with each other.

Fig. 24: A general view of the church-cultural center in daily life with municipality workers

With respect specifically to Ayavukla, those who exist at seemingly opposite ends of a spectrum – whether poor or rich, local or migrant – are unified in their response to the past that is narrated by the church. Their rupture with this past is something that they share, and something they are both equally reluctant to explore; Assmann's 'communicative memory' is just one of the losers. What Sophie said when she spoke first about the port and then about Kadifekale – '*var ama yok*' (there is but there isn't) – also applies to the church-museum. In other words, while the Basmane train station, which was built in the same period, makes its presence obvious, Ayavukla is hidden. It is there, but absent any event, it is not (yet) connected with daily life. Regarded from the viewpoint of De Cesari (2011), since it has already been recorded as a third-degree archaeological site by the Turkish state, it is part of the country's cultural heritage. It is unique, special and old, which makes it valuable. As a matter of fact, the metropolitan municipality bought the building from the Ministry of Culture and Tourism and the state treasury; it hired the Izmir Institute of Technology to do the renovation; and the renovation was done under the supervision of the Izmir Regional Committee of Cultural and Natural Values' Protection. The purpose was not just to serve the neighborhood but the entire population of Izmir. The annex buildings in the church

complex area include the Izmir Journalists' Association Press Museum as well as a memorial house containing fashion designer Hanife Çetiner's collections.

Fig. 25: A group of spectators from the Izmir Triennale (2017) in front of eroded-restored frescos

In 2018 I conducted my last interview with Neslihan. After the interview, I turned off the sound recorder. We continued to chat, and she shared an anecdote about Ayavukla. On one occasion she wanted to attend an event there. She left her job and took a taxi from Alsancak. She had to change taxis three times, because each time she asked the taxi driver to take her to Saint Voukolos Church, the taxi driver either answered that he didn't know where the church was and that he wouldn't use his own GPS (so as not to deplete his internet pack), or that he wouldn't drive someone in the evening to a church, especially in Basmane. Frustrated at being late and annoyed by the unprofessional attitude of the taxi drivers, she canceled her plans and went home.

In the same year I also met a tailor whose workshop was on the same street, opposite Ayavukla, and an English priest who was close to the Christian communities of Izmir. The two different men agreed that Ayavukla sometimes saw Greek Orthodox people visiting for touristic reasons and ceremonies. Even the Orthodox Patriarch of Istanbul visited Ayavukla on special religious holidays. The tailor said that the father of the patriarch was also an *esnaf* (shopkeeper) like him, and the tailor had seen the patriarch in his youth working at the coffee shop of his father.

When I chatted with the English priest about the religious ceremony, he told me that the ceremony was directed by the Bishop of *Smyrna* for the first time ever after the stoning of the former bishop, Hrisostomos, in 1922. The attendance of the Bishop of Smyrna in Izmir was unique and very special for historical reasons. He added that all the necessary ceremonial kits were brought and installed temporarily. I saw the similarities between the festival and the Orthodox Church as heterotopic and shared my thought. The English priest disagreed: "*No, in my opinion the approaches of the festival and the Orthodox community are very different. One group only puts on an arts event; they don't deal with memory. The municipality gives them some space, and they use it. But the Orthodox community bears the emotional burdens related to the events of 1922.*"

- *Was there a commemoration of the events of 1922 during the ceremony?*
- *(A small silence, then he looks me in the eye and speaks slowly) Of course not! It was an Easter ceremony. There was only a traditional service. But it was tense, you could feel it.*"

A few months later I attended an event in Ayavukla organized by the metropolitan municipality and some associations supported by the United Nations addressing Syrian women and children living in Basmane. There was a Turkish pop music song in the church and a group of Syrian children performed a folkloric dance from Ankara wearing folkloric costumes of the same region. I met a municipality worker who was interested in my research. She shared her knowledge that there was a religious group in the neighborhood; they opposed the renovation of the church and were disturbed by the rare Orthodox rituals. That event was organized specially to get them used to the transformation of the church into a new cultural center.

In summary, the festival's intervention would, at first sight, seem to have been an attempt to claim space to present to the Western culture and to the locals, or related to social class differences, it might seem as an example of gentrification. They organized two concerts sponsored by European institutions. They attracted a different audience than the inhabitants living in the neighborhood. Meanwhile, the church was not connected to the neighborhood, as it had been an exclusive state building, then a ruin for decades. The festival was engaged to present the renovated historic site to the public. Indeed, it fulfilled its job. The intervention happened in a manner similar to the Kadifekale event: the historic site had already been an enclave for a long time, and the festival crowd visited Ayavukla but had little interaction with the environment. Unlike the example of the Todos Festival organized in Lisbon or the Darağaç event in Izmir, started in 2016 by a group of fine arts artists, neither the artistic directors nor the other actors of the festival tried to engage in a social dialogue with the community. According to sociologist Sibel Yardımcı (2001 and 2007), arts festivals in Turkey, including the International Izmir Festival, have been deployed in public spaces since the coup of 1980. Although they embodied a new representation of 'modern,' they took an especially apolitical stance as an effect of the political conflicts before the coup. Similar to events in Istanbul, the current political climate requires that İKSEV engage in self-censorship. Related to this, the festival spotlighted the church to make it visible temporarily but did not make any attempt to evoke memories of the site. Therefore, the connection with both the memory of the place and the social environment remained limited and fleeting, once again readily forgotten.

Chapter 9. Reji: Smelling the Industrial Past

(Tekel Sigara Fabrikası / Monopoly Cigarette Factory)

Reji, or the Monopoly Cigarette Factory, has been the venue where festival participants have had the most physical interaction because of the place's condition and the content of the event. In analyzing the intervention of the festival at the old factory, I first provide a brief overview of the tobacco and cigarette industry in Izmir's history. I also provide a description of the factory's surroundings with respect to gentrification and the real estate sector. The major changes in the factory's surroundings offer an insight in how to perceive the rupture in Izmir's urban fabric. Upon this I build upon the festival memories of the spectators and organizers, and I again add my personal memories within the framework of an insider's self-reflexivity.

Historically, the cigarette factory might be considered as an extension of the international trade which has grown ever since the 16th century. Initially, the owner of the factory was not a local entrepreneur, but an international company named *Regie co./interessée des Tabacs de l'Empire Ottoman*. In the last quarter of the 19th century, the Ottoman state found itself with a budget deficit. The state was unable to pay the debt, especially after its defeat in the Crimean War in 1854.[147] It therefore prepared the ground to establish the *Düyun-u Umumiye* commission, which might be compared to the IMF. The investors were British, German and Austrian companies with the Ottoman Bank (Kasaba, 1994; 18-19). According to historian and urban planner İlhan Tekeli, the main reason for building a cigarette factory was to take advantage of the high price tobacco was fetching as a means to repay the Ottoman state's debts (1992; 134). For the same reason, the Régie Company monopolized the cultivation and trade of tobacco in the region (ibid.). The cultivation of tobacco was implemented at the axis of the Izmir-Manisa railway, which was constructed in the 1860s by a private British company. Tekeli links the development of Izmir's tobacco trade to early globalization:

"(...)in the last quarter of the 19th century, wheat and cotton were not important to English investors. Rather, the production of grapes, figs, olives, corn and tobacco was more important. These products didn't require any use of agricultural machinery. (...) The increase in tobacco production began after the civil war in the USA. Production was concentrated near the Kasaba (Manisa) railway. The area harvested, which was 176,881,040 m^2 in 1884, grew to 749,029,040 m^2 by 1911. As tobacco grew in importance, control shifted

[147] Source: Hürriyet Newspaper, publication April 28, 2012: http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/tarihi-tekel-sigara-fabrikasi-nda-sanat-20443307 (last access: October 12, 2018)

to the Régie Company, which was established by Düyun-u Umumiye according to the agreement of 'Muharrem Kararnamesi.' That company assessed how production would be carried out and set prices. It is estimated that approximately 200,000 people were killed in conflicts between villagers and tobacco guards"[148] (1992; 134).

The Régie Company benefited from the *kapitülasyon* (capitulations), which consisted of a series of tax-free and legal privileges. It took over control of the tobacco market and made low payments to the tobacco producers. Because of the company's monopoly, the producers were not allowed to produce another product or to sell to any other trader. When the producers revolted, the company hired *kolluk kuvvetleri*, private security forces. Tekeli records a high rate of deaths in the hinterland of Izmir due to tobacco labor exploitation. The industrial and residential structures that remain from this period may be regarded as evidence of how Izmir benefited from these early global ventures. Although the city developed both technologically and economically, in actuality only a few privileged foreign investors reaped any real benefit from this. These less well-known details lay bare the colonial underpinnings of Izmir and its hinterland.

In essence, even though the tobacco sector was initiated by a foreign company as a way for the Ottoman state to repay its debts, the local producers and traders responsible for supplying the product had almost no rights compared to Régie Company, which had a monopoly on the tobacco market. This monopoly of an agriculture-based industry by European settlers was doubtless one of the triggers of the ethnoreligious conflicts. A little research reveals the links between the monopoly of the tobacco sector with the capitulations and the Turkification policy of the Ottoman state's Muslim elites. The Muslim community, which had previously been the Ottoman state's most privileged community, had become the most economically disadvantaged one. As part of reclaiming their power, the Muslim elites in particular pushed forward the adoption of a national Turkish identity instead of the traditional religious-based one. Turkification of the economy increased after the second constitutional monarchy (1908), the Great Fire of Smyrna (1922), the population exchange between Greece and Turkey (1924-26) and as a part of efforts to construct a modern Turkish identity (1923-1950s).

With respect to this historical background and the festival's apolitical stance, the festival's intervention in a historic site with a heavily charged political past was *unintentional*. Thus, my analysis of Reji, within the context of the International Izmir Festival, differs from Crinson's analysis of the industrial fabric and urban memory of Manchester (2005). The presence of the factory in the city center and the accounts of my interlocutors proceed in a vein similar to Mills' ethnographic study of the cosmopolitan past of Kuzguncuk, Istanbul and the silencing of September 6-7, 1955, when the houses and shops of non-Muslims were looted and then gradually taken over by Muslim migrants from the Black Sea region (2014). She describes how individuals

[148] Translation by the author

from Kuzguncuk remember the past of the *mahalle* within the framework of nostalgia, averring that the neighborhood was peaceful thanks to the communities' tolerance of each other.

In my case, when I asked questions about Izmir and its past, the festival participants also remembered a cosmopolitan Izmir with nostalgia. Although they implied that Izmir had value and was a modern, cosmopolitan trademark, their narratives failed to reveal the traces of trauma and their connection to the fire and the massive waves of migration which had swept away the city's urban memory. The memories of the factory would be remembered when the festival organized an event, and, later, when I asked questions during in-depth interviews.

Before sharing the accounts of my interlocutors and my interpretation, it is appropriate and useful to continue with the historical background of Reji to complete the links to the fire, the population exchange and the Turkish modernization period. As far as economic and political development are concerned, the Punta neighborhood, in which Reji is located, became a pre-modern example in Izmir of the interconnection of the port, industry and transport. These very same reasons contributed to its becoming a very popular area as well as its witnessing a traumatic period. One effect of the tax-free and laissez faire policy was massive waves of migration from the Aegean Sea region, especially the Greek islands, due to the close proximity and the plentiful job opportunities in trade and industry. Izmir, which used to be a part of Aydın Province, had already become autonomous according to international law. The Ottoman city, which was divided traditionally into neighborhoods based on religious and ethnic affiliation, grappled with these sudden, economic-based waves of migration. As the Orthodox community grew, the traditional urban fabric and administration became more complex, like the Basmane neighborhood, where the communities were settling, or Alsancak, where workers from different communities came every day to work in the factories. Although mobility and a fast-paced way of life are commonplace in today's urban society, for people of that period they were a shock to the social system. This was just one more stressor that ultimately led to breaking the power of the sultanate, the Ottoman administration and the concept of *mahalle*. The railways constructed within the city were intended, first of all, for the European elites, who were the employers, investors or members of high-status groups living in Bornova or Buca that commuted every day to the factories in Alsancak or the warehouses and stores on the quays. Later the workers also availed themselves of this means of transport for their daily commutes (Kıray, 1971; 487).

With reference to the term *agora*, as used by Dehaene and De Cauter (2008), in the contemporary urban context, the market neighborhoods in Ottoman cities were like agora in the Greek polis: a place where different groups could mix. However, the *mahalle,* which is the equivalent of *oikos* (home), was then the place of privacy for each community. The new trade and industry broke down this separation: the new bourgeoisie preferred to live in newer houses in newer settlements like Punta, a suburb at that time which offered the advantage of transport facilities, such as the tramway, train and ferry, or at least proximity to the harbor and factories. Chios-style houses or *Rum evi* (Greek houses) appeared during this period in Alsancak. As I

described earlier, this style, which is actually regarded as an older style, was among the first modern dwellings of the city and is an admixture of the traditional dwelling structures of Anatolia combined together with new industrial techniques (Çıkış, 2009). This new neighborhood was inhabited by non-Muslim middle and upper-middle class. Mazower claims that it was also the period when religion was no longer such a dominant force in the life of the *mahalle;* rather, it was a time of early modernism, when citizens began to experience a more Western and cosmopolitan lifestyle. Accordingly, separation according to social class assumed more importance than separation according to religious affiliation (2010; 302 and 316).

Development in the city related to the railway and industry was concentrated in the area surrounding the new harbor. This was important for the functionality of the railway and harbor connections involved in export. The industrial zone, which included Reji, was designed accordingly. While construction in the industrial zone was undertaken by individual entrepreneurs, a British company had control over the construction of the Punta (Alsancak)-Aydın railway, and a Franco-Belgian company was responsible for the development of the coastline in 1861. The quay – which is still called Kordon, although its current official name is Atatürk Avenue – is primarily an extension of the harbor. A tramline connecting the harbor and Punta (Alsancak) train station, just next to Reji, served for the transport of both goods and people. Although each store and warehouse previously had its own pier to the sea, it was less organized.

The intervention of the Great Powers (especially Great Britain and France) in the expansion of the port and quays transformed the quay and the Punta neighborhood; it became something similar to a European colony, resembling Levantine cinematographer Giovanni Scognamillo's description of Beyoğlu, Istanbul (1990; 9-11 and 69). The quay, where people dressed elegantly to take a promenade, became a place to perform Eurocentric modernity (Fuhrmann, 2011). This spatial and social divide between the classes and lifestyles continues to this day. The seaside is the place where secular and European-like, upper-class lifestyles are on full parade. In contrast, poverty and a non-Western lifestyle are more on display the greater the distance from the sea. The hills and outskirts of the historic center give way to aging structures that are in a state of disrepair, reflecting the old texture and slums like Kadifekale and Basmane. In addition to the quay design and urban train and tram services, another private European company initiated ferry lines in the bay; thus suburbs like Karşıyaka (on the other side of the bay) and Göztepe (south of the old city center) are connected to Punta and other piers at the city center (i.e., Pasaport and Konak) (Kıray, 1971; Kuban, 2001; Fuhrmann, 2011).

Apart from quay design, industrial construction and new urban infrastructure, it is interesting to note that the Franco-Belgian company recouped its costs by selling land to investors who wanted to open hotels, shops or warehouses on the quay. According to traditional Ottoman law, all land belonged to the sultan, and all the people living on this land were the subjects of the sultan and were supposed to obey him. This new, manmade area, created through the use of landfill to support quay design, contravened the natural authority of the sultan, and was thus a symbol of the rise of the individual, the free market and the advent of modernity. As a matter of fact, it is significant that the sultan's hegemony was shaken among the Ottoman society when the foreign companies established a cigarette factory, forced the villagers to cultivate tobacco and sell to the factory, and even established security forces to assert their authority over tobacco production. This is a striking example of one of the early effects of globalization on traditional structures (Kıray, 1971, 489). In other words, the construction of a new harbor, as well as the industrial and new residential areas, contributed to the erosion of the traditional urban fabric and urban memory as much as earthquakes (Kasaba, 1994) and the fire of 1922. It was not just trade but also culture that began to be oriented toward Western countries. The remnants of the Ottoman urban fabric would be altered by the massive migrations from the Aegean Islands, and later from the Balkans and Anatolia, responding to developing industry and trade. Subsequent to this modernizing process, the fire, the founding of the republic, the population exchange and the 'quick and cheap' development after the 1950s would accelerate the erosion of urban memory.

Fig. 26 left: Overview of the Reji (Tekel Cigarette Factory). The view shows the dynamism of Izmir as well. There is the contrast of St. John's Anglican Church in the first plan and the new skyscrapers extending in the background. The skyscrapers rise in the old industrial zone, once again masking the traces of the old industry and rendering them invisible (photo by the author, 2018).

Fig. 27 right: The main entrance painted red. The vegetation is still almost wild. The new tramline can be also seen (photo by the author, June 2019).

After the Turkish Republic was established, foreign companies like Régie were taken over by the new state as part of the Turkification and nationalization of capital. According to the *İzmir İktisat Kongresi* (Izmir Economy Congress) formed in 1923, the government confirmed its plan for

Izmir to be an important harbor and industrial city, and it was decided to protect the area behind the harbor, with its many warehouses and factories, including the Régie Company (Atilla, 2001; 9). The name of the company was officially changed to *İnhisarlar Tütün Fabrikası* (İnhisarlar Tobacco Factory), but the locals continued to call it by its old Turkish name of Reji. Later, like other factories, warehouses and administrative buildings of the state, which monopolized the production and marketing of tobacco and alcoholic beverages, the factory was renamed *Tekel Sigara Fabrikası* (Monopoly Cigarette Factory).

During the first decade of the 21st century, the state factories were closed in response to a new wave of globalization: the neo-liberal movements in Turkey echoed the changes that occurred within the countries of Eastern Europe (eds. Yıldırım and Haspolat, 2010; Atilla, 2001). Most of them remain empty, always closed and neglected. Because of this situation, though the city has changed and been modernized, these old buildings have slowly become ruins. Reji was closed in 2002 with the privatization of the tobacco and alcohol monopoly by the Turkish state.[149] In 2003 the complex was transferred to *Özelleştirme İdaresi* (the commission of privatization). In 2007 the Izmir Chamber of Commerce on its own,[150] and then, later, in 2009, the Arkas Holding, the Izmir Chamber of Commerce and the Izmir University of Economics released a proposal for the 'Reji Cultural Center,' including its surroundings, calling for the realignment of the underground road and providing a pedestrian tourist zone especially for the tourists coming by cruise ships.[151] In 2010 a part of the building was to be sold, however, Izmir's Chamber of Urban Planning sued, and the state council prevented the sale. In 2011 the complex (the factory, including the restaurant, warehouses and old administration buildings) was transferred from the Ministry of Finance to the Ministry of Culture and Tourism.[152] In contrast to those grandiose but unfinished projects, İKSEV intervened in 2012 in a rather more realistic way, but its intervention was only temporary. After the festival's intervention, the factory complex was rented by the Nevvar Salih İşgören Foundation for 25 years.[153] The foundation intended to establish a private art school, science high school, medical high school and kindergarten, which would commence operation in 2014. Moreover, there would be shops where local women could sell local products, a *butik* (boutique in the meaning of small and fancy) university and 'life space' for the citizens. In 2016, the project was modified to include workshops, a library, restaurants, design shops, a concert hall for 200 people and a guesthouse with four rooms.[154] In 2017 the Izmir Chamber of Commerce designated the cultural complex as the Aegean Civilization Museum or

[149] Source: the report of Tütün-sen (tobacco syndicate) published on July 17, 2006: http://sendika62.org/2006/07/turkiyede-tutun-politikalari-ve-tutun-ureticisinin-durumu-tutun-sen-raporu-8239/ (last access: April 4, 2018)
[150] Source: http://kreatifmimarlik.com/project/reji-kultur-merkezi/ (last access: June 2019)
[151] Source: Yeni Asır Newspaper published on October 12, 2009 https://www.yeniasir.com.tr/kenthaberleri/2009/10/13/alsancaka_turistik_meydan (last access: April 12, 2018)
[152] Source: http://www.kulturvarliklari.gov.tr/TR,108411/restorasyon-faaliyetleri.html (last access: April 9, 2018)
[153] Source: Yeni Asır Newspaper published in November 11, 2013: https://www.yeniasir.com.tr/izmir/2013/11/12/izmire-yeni-kultur-ve-sanat-merkezi (last access: April 4, 2018)
[154] Source: the official web site of Nevvar Salih İşgören Foundation published on May 18, 2016: http://www.nevvarsalihisgoren.org.tr/132-yillik-tekel-fabrikasi-25-yilligina-isgoren-vakfinin-oldu/ (last access: February 26, 2019)

the Mega Museum, something 'that had already been discussed in 1992.'[155] The mega museum project was debated in 2018 by the head of the management department of Yaşar University. In comparing it to the Louvre Museum, Professor Pırnar expressed his opinion that such a big museum was important for the city's[156] cultural life and had the potential to bring in considerable revenue as a tourist attraction. In accordance with her statement, she announced that the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, together with *İzmir Rölöve ve Anıtlar Müdürlüğü* (Izmir Directorate of Relief and Monuments), had successfully completed the purchase and that the renovation-construction would be complete by February 4, 2019.[157]

Mülkiyet İmar/Yapı Bilgisi

Ana Gayrimenkulün

İli	İZMİR
İlçesi	KONAK
Mahallesi	MİMAR SİNAN
Köyü	
Mevkii	

Pafta No	Ada No	Parsel No	Niteliği	Yüzölçümü
L18A08B3B	1125	1		16042.84 m²

Yapı Bilgileri

Cadde/Sokak	ATATÜRK Cd.
Kapı No	129/23
Bina/Site Adı	
Toplam Bağımsız Bölüm	1
Zemin Üstü Kat	3
Zemin Altı Kat	

İmar Durumu

Pafta No	24M3C
Plan Onay Tarihi	
Parselasyon Onay Tarihi	
İnşaat Nizamı	Boş
İmar Lejantı	Kültürel Tesisler Alanı
Ön Bahçe Mesafesi	
Komşu Mesafeler	
Arka Bahçe Mesafesi	
Bina Derinliği	
Kat Adedi	

TAKS	
KAKS	
Hmax	

Fig. 28: Official document of the old cigarette factory's status showing that it was renamed Kültürel Tesisler Alanı (cultural institution space). The document was collected by the municipality of Konak in 2018.

From the perspective of memory studies, Reji, as a slowly decaying complex suspended in time in the midst of a popular district, might be perceived as a 'crystallized place' (Assmann, 1995; 129). Like Ayavukla, the factory has different layers: it has been a witness to different periods of the city's history, including that of the colonial-style production and trade of tobacco and the nationalization policies of the Turkish Republic.

As Kuban remarks in his report on Izmir's historical and modern development, the industrial zone near Reji and the railways and the residential neighborhood of la Punta were not

[155] Source: official web site of the Chamber of Commerce of Izmir published on June 24, 2017: http://www.izto.org.tr/tr/ehaber/type/read/id/3581 (last access: April 4, 2018)
[156] Source: Yeni Asır Newspaper published on February 7, 2018: https://www.yeniasir.com.tr/izmir/2018/02/07/ege-uygarliklari-muzesi-bir-yil-sonra-acilacak (last access: April 12, 2018)
[157] I visited the factory and took pictures through the wire fence on June 28, 2019. Nothing had changed, except that the main entrance had been painted red.

affected by the fire (2001). Then what are the reasons behind Izmir's forgetting of its industrial past? Where does this lack of concern come from?

Fig. 29: A detail from the main entrance. The door's décor features tobacco leaves. The initials in the emblem stand for Türkiye Cumhuriyeti İnhisarlar İdaresi (photo taken by the author in June 2019).

According to Connerton (2009), when it is faster and easier to get around, job and accommodation facilities increase. As a result, the urban scale grows, and migration increases. Like many places, Izmir grew faster with industrialization and the mobility that it afforded in the city. This fast-paced change and the non-traditional structure concealed the mnemonic elements reflective of urban memory. Moreover, the pace of life, mass production, construction and mobility all contributed to destroying again and again the previous urban landscape. Connerton mentions that those aspects of our lives concerned with 'rituals of speed' – such as ferries, trains and then, later on, cars and highways – affect humans' perception of time and space.

In the context of urban memory, although this industrialization is a part of the change of the city as a place where life flows, the rapid pace of change fosters the forgetting and disintegration of the collective memory. The 'ritual of speed,' which places an ever-increasing demand on speed, is one of the significant characteristics of modernity (Connerton, 2009). While Connerton criticizes temporality and the increasing demand for speed, he has no praise for the traditional rhythms of life. What he means is that temporality and the demand for speed have had an effect on the economy. How this is reflected in the urban landscape depends on the power relations involved in the global chain of supply and demand (de Certeau, 1988 and Harvey, 2001). Thus, this ease of forgetting would appear to be one of the effects of the capitalist system, with its inherent lack of continuity and stability. Indeed, history is replete with evidence that capital has generally not rested stably in the hands of many families and communities in Turkey. In an effort to mark the boundaries of its sovereignty, each group which gains access to economic power imposes its own cultural policies, which ultimately leads to the erasure of those of its predecessor (Demirtaş-Miltz, 2010; Yardımcı, 2001 and 2007). This 'structure of feeling'[158]

[158] In this paragraph I precisely clarify the 'structure of feeling' among the Smyrnians/Izmirians who lived through the dramatic changes from a religious community-based urban fabric to the modern understanding of a city fostered by industrialization and the annexation of Izmir to the global economy.

(Raymond Williams in Giles and Middleton, 2008; 23) makes the past and its representations dysfunctional and incompatible with the aesthetic values of the current moment. Over time an individual may gradually come to regard what is old as being a relic of a lesser station in life. As one detaches oneself from one's past life, an erosion of memory becomes inevitable.

Fig. 30 left: The fences and vegetation obscure the visibility of and access to the place. At first glance, what catches one's eye is the poster for the 33rd International Izmir Festival (2019)

Fig 31 right: Rear entrance of the complex. The tags and graffiti suggest that the complex is still abandoned, without the intervention of any project (photos taken by the author, June 2019).

Secondly, as I paraphrased earlier, the memories of tobacco, which are associated with a semi-colonialized past, enhance the nationalist discourse (Tekeli, 1992). The new Turkish Republic, which aimed to construct a new, nationalist and modern Turkey, wanted to forget this period (Ege, 2002; Serçe et al., 2003; and Kolluoğlu-Kırlı, 2002, 2005 and 2007).

Thirdly, even though the area was not affected by the fire, the city, which grew with the massive waves of migration from countryside, required a new transport network, therefore when there has been new urban planning, this area has also experienced many changes.

In addition to the physical changes, the city's streets, neighborhoods and districts have also been renamed with Turkish names. Similar to the gates of Kültürpark that I analyzed in Chapter 6, the neighborhood with the foreign name of Punta became Alsancak[159] (red flag), another reference to nationalist values. Although attempts have been made to implement the ideal of a national modern city, Alsancak, similar to other popular neighborhoods in the city

[159]The word *Alsancak* is composed of *al sancak, which* is the allegorical name of the Turkish flag. See the Turkish national hymn lyrics by Mehmet Akif Ersoy: https://www.lyricsondemand.com/n/nationalanthemlyrics/turkeynationalanthemlyrics.html (last access: December 19, 2019).

center, has, since the 1950s, been razed and renewed many times over because of the city's rapid, migration-fueled growth (Serçe et al., 2003; 62-68).

Fig 32 and 33: Other photos near the rear of the factory complex (June 2019) Reminder: the site is located literally between the industrial zone and a popular center for arts, leisure and educational activities.

The grandiose projects proposed for Reji seem at first inconsistent and far from a sustainable policy. And yet, the interventions and attempts indicate the degree to which the real estate sector has already commodified the urban realm, including those places which represent Izmir's history. The culture-based projects date back to urban planning done after the fire. To the west, south and southwest of the factory complex lie the neighborhoods of Kültür and Mimar Sinan. According to the plans of the Prost brothers and, later, Danger, these areas were set aside for educational facilities (Serçe et al., 2003; 68). Indeed, the district still focuses on schools and cultural institutions. Meanwhile, Reji and the area to its east have primarily been an industrial zone oriented to the harbor. When industry shifted to Bornova, then to Çiğli and finally to Torbalı, the old industrial zone became half-abandoned, especially after the closing of the state factories in the 1990s due to privatization, tax-free imports and new tax regulations. Actually, the image of Reji and its surroundings is rather eclectic, reminding us of the rapidity of the transformation of Alsancak and the harbor area. Reji is located at the junction of Atatürk Avenue and Şair Eşref Boulevard. It is also a crossroad that connects to Talat Paşa Boulevard, the main avenue; the boulevard then juts off sharply from the old industrial zone near the old residential area. The boundaries of the industrial zone form a triangle, whose sides consist of the railway, the highway and the port/sea. The factory is located on a large plot of land adjacent to the railway, and the unused land belongs to the TCDD.[160] Along the sides, parallel to the factory, are the Nevvar Salih İşgören Tourism and Hotel Management School and the Alsancak train station, with an administrative building, kindergarten and lodgings for railway employees. Behind this,

[160]*Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Devlet Demiryolları*: Turkish Republic's State Railways

there is again territory belonging to Turkish Railways (TCDD) and, further on, the trains themselves arriving at the station and the new platform for *İzban* (suburban railways).

Fig. 34: Reji, one of the memory places of the city, is hidden by traffic and neglected vegetation. The picture was taken in June 2013, a year after the festival's intervention.

Upon crossing the avenue that passes in front of the factory, one arrives at a hub of leisure, educational and arts activities.[161] Saint John's Anglican Church, the Consulate of the United Kingdom, the railway museum and the building of Müziksev[162] remind us of the British presence from the 19th century until the fire. They stand adjacent to the city library and a car wash service. The space between Kordon – the quay and the avenue – is again diverse: there are restaurants; Chios-style houses converted into bars, playing rock music; clubs; the Saint-Joseph French School; the Caricature and Toy Museum; an Italian primary school and Italian Cultural Center with bookstores, cafés, and some language and music schools. In addition, Münire, the fizzy lemonade and antique house, gathers fanzine makers and people interested in vintage objects. Parallel to this is Bornova Street, known for its transgender community, which survives

[161] There have recently been visual arts events organized in the Umurbey neighborhood, which is historically known as Darağaç (der-ağaç: a mixture of Persian and Turkish which means the place with trees); in the annexes to Çınarlı (the place with plane trees) and Mersinli (the place with myrtle trees) near the Darağaç Art Collective.

[162] The building is a musical instrument museum and workshop belonging to İKSEV. It is again a memory place dating from the 19th century owned by a British company. It was inhabited by an English engineer who worked for the railways. The mansion was nationalized after the republic was declared and became an employment center for disabled people. The building and its garden were donated to İKSEV with the sponsorship of Eczacıbaşı Holding and Izmir Development Agency. For more details see: http://iksev.org/en/muziksev (last access: June 17, 2019). I collected the information from employees of İKSEV.

by prostitution and other means. There are some other establishments like *Merve'nin Koli Evi,*[163] massage parlors or some hotels frequented by prostitutes, their customers and individuals meeting for sex dates. Based on the differences revealed at this crossroad, Alsancak might be regarded as a heterotopia, as it highlights the fragmentation and deviation from commonly accepted norms and behaviors and the absence of the *mahalle*'s social control.

Presumably, pre-modern Alsancak and its transformation from a residential fin-de-siècle neighborhood to a place of desire[164] might be compared to other cities like Ghent, Lyon and Rotterdam, where the old industrial-harbor zone has been transformed into a place of leisure as well as a residential area. The 21st century has witnessed the transformation of old industrial cities into places where creative projects have been born, and the former industrial sites have been reclaimed for new purposes that may differ from 20th-century understandings (Landry, 2000 and 2012). Yet Izmir is an Eastern Mediterranean port city which has been shaped 'organically' by trade-based migration and the circulation of goods and people (Kasaba, 1994; 2-12). Moreover, Izmir has shared a destiny similar to that of many other cities affected by the global economy. With the growth of industry in East Asia, the factories of many old industrial cities have become less competitive and have eventually closed. Lately, however, they have been the objects of 'creative city' projects: new space for residential and creative arts sectors (Landry, 2000).

The surroundings of Reji, as I have described and shown in the photos, are dense and diverse. The traffic circulation is relatively car friendly in the vicinity of Reji. The roads connecting other towns like Karşıyaka and Bornova create a sort of knot around the factory, hence the factory remains isolated by a sea of cars, buses and, lately, the tramway line.

I should note that Reji is indeed in close proximity to the city's cultural hub. The factory is located at a crossroads connecting the highway to the avenues, the industrial zone to the residential area, and Alsancak to other towns. Obviously, its location in the center of the city is where traffic jams occur mornings and evenings. Thus, it is far from being a place of desire. Instead, people are stressed and focused on their destination. For example, when I come from Karşıyaka by car or bus,[165] I ignore the factory and focus on Saint John's Anglican Church, which is a more salient element at the corner. I *know* that after the church I should turn right in order to reach Talat Paşa Boulevard, which will lead me to the places that I frequent, such as Kıbrıs

[163] The brothel's name makes reference to popular culture: Merve is a stereotypical name in comics, when a girl tells her parents that she is meeting up with her girlfriend whereas she is really leaving home to meet up with her boyfriend. *Koli* means sex date in LGBTI jargon.

[164] Although I am inspired by and have sympathy for Lisa Dikomitis' book, *The Place of Desire* (2012), here I do not refer to the concept of nostalgia but more literally to a place of desire, where people meet up with their partners and friends. They date, drink alcohol in a public space, socialize, dance and listen to music. It is a place where one is released from the social constraints of one's residential neighborhood.

[165]Actually, there is no more bus service between my home in Bostanlı and Alsancak. As an insider ethnographer, I have sustained my dissertation based on my notes from 2009 till now. Some of the notes for this chapter date back to before the construction of the tram line between Halkapınar and Fahrettin Altay Squares, connecting İzban (banlieue train) to the tram.

Şehitleri Avenue, where there are various stores, cafés, bars, restaurants and the Sevinç Patisserie, which is a common meeting point in Izmir. Following the boulevard, I reach the French Institute, the Tevfik Fikret School, where I studied during middle and high school, the Arkas Art Center, which is annexed to the French Consulate, and DESEM, the cultural center of Dokuz Eylül University, where I used to watch European art films. This route is – not coincidentally – also one of the routes I have often used when meeting up with my interlocutors.

Fig. 35: The main entrance to the old cigarette factory. The picture was taken in June 2013, a year after the festival's intervention.

The remainder of the factory's land, hidden by trees, is situated on an island, despite being one of the busiest crossroads of Izmir. There is a striking contrast between this route and the other side of the road, where the factory complex shelters behind walls and greenery. The distance between the two sides is negligible, yet when I was immersed in a wealth of personal memories and those of my interlocutors, it was easy to ignore the other side, as if it were a blank page in a book. When there, all one can think of is getting past once the light turns green, that is, if the traffic is moving at all. Therefore, the old factory becomes an invisible island in both a physical and a metaphorical sense.

The International Izmir Festival organized the opening event of the Re-Rite Project with the concert, *The Soldier's Tale* by Stravinsky, performed by soloists from the Philharmonia Orchestra on June 4, 2012 in the garden of the factory. From June 5th to 24th, the Re-Rite Project, an interactive installation of Stravinsky's *The Rite of Spring*, performed by a virtual orchestra, was projected onto screens spread throughout many rooms in the main building of Reji. Spectators could watch the musicians of the Philharmonia Orchestra conducted by Esa-Pekka Salonen.

In 2013, as I decided to focus my research within the framework of the memory places, I had to gradually change my fieldwork focus on the festival memories of my interlocutors in the selected places. While working as a volunteer, I was again close to the organizational team. Compared with Kadifekale, their memories of Ayavukla and Reji were still fresh. I was waiting for the right moment to properly ask about the organizers' interactions with Reji. It was the second concert of 2013. I was in the festival vehicle returning home from Bergama. Some of the volunteers had fallen asleep, and Zeynep was half asleep. She said that she was hungry. I knew that she had chronic migraines and that when she was hungry for a long time, it could activate her migraine pain. I took my emergency festival food stock, which consisted of a wafer covered

in chocolate, from my backpack and gave it to her. She asked if I wanted to share it. I answered, 'No, it's yours.' She thanked me and ate the wafer. Her face was calmer. She started to chat about a book that she was reading. We chatted about trips to Ephesus during the festival. Then I asked how the venues had been the previous year. She recalled both Ayavukla and Reji at the same time. I quote here her statement focusing on the hot weather at both the church and the factory:

"*It was an incredibly hot summer. How hot Ayavukla was I can't tell you. Because of the heat people waved their hands (she slowly made the movement of a fan with her hand). Then, due to the effect of the heat, they felt tired and couldn't manage even that. The concert finished, the maestro left the building and washed his face and hands in the pool. Görevli (the one in charge – she meant the security staff) warned him that the water was dirty and that cats and dogs were drinking from it. Besides, look there, it contained a blue chemical so that it would look clean. But the maestro said, 'No, no, it's alright,' and he washed again his head, arms... (She imitates a washing movement while bending on the ground)*

H: Well... Then, how was Reji?

Z: Don't ask. It smelled of tobacco. People's throats were burning!"

She added how sick she herself had felt. Some people complained of not being able to breathe well. Some people felt uncomfortable about walking in a ruin. They were afraid that something would fall on their heads. A spectator, Nezaket, shared a similar account. She was a retired music teacher. She was happy to attend the project. She was still giving private music lessons. She was motivated to show her students how an orchestra plays. As she and her students entered the building, a volunteer gave them instructions. Another one guided them to the main hall. She found the place dark and dangerous. She enjoyed the fact that her students had fun with the sensor and simulation system that had been installed so that you became a maestro on the screen and the digital orchestra played according to your movements. She didn't want to put on the maestro jacket and be involved in the game-like simulation, because the jacket could be dirty, as many people had already worn it. Instead, on another day she brought her own violin and tried to play with the digital orchestra, thanks to another interactive installation. She wasn't able to achieve synchronization, and in the end she was angry that the festival had chosen such a difficult piece as a challenge. If it had been an easier piece, then the public could have been engaged more intensely than with *The Rite of Spring*. Then she turned to me and asked rhetorically: "*Maybe that was the intention of the festival?*" she continued: "*The installation aimed to turn your feelings inside out. Stravinsky, especially The Rite of Spring, is a violent and dark masterpiece. I mean it has so much tension. So, when you play it in such a dark and uncanny place with such an installation, you understand better the orchestra and the music.*" Before I asked her, she hadn't recalled the tobacco or the hot weather, as Zeynep had. She had focused on the darkness and the dilapidated condition of the place and its possible connection with *The Rite of Spring*.

Since my focus was on urban memory, I needed to learn whether any of the festival participants were aware of the memory of Reji before the festival. Again, Ayten said:

"*I had never been there before. It was a factory, you know. But my grandparents worked there. Before, there was a special train from Buca to the Alsancak train station (which is just next to Reji) for Reji workers. On that train my grandmother met my grandfather. She was 13 years old. She got married [young]. She started to work at 9 [years old]. When she was 6, she came to Izmir with her blind grandma, and they settled down. They stayed for a while with her aunt's children. Then her grandma died. She was a small kid*."

The life of Ayten's grandmother illustrates very well how things were during that period. Ayten interacted with the factory as a visitor and volunteered for the concert in the garden and the video installation inside the main building. While she was a visitor, she herself experienced the video project, whereas her role as a volunteer was to guide the spectators around the garden and the visitors inside the building. The uncanny sensation that stayed with her in Ayavukla was something fed by the collective memory. Her experience at the factory was slightly more melancholic as well as startling. The lamentable conditions of the factory brought back negative memories of migration and a death in her family. Although she was already affected by the factory and the installation, she did not make the same sort of connection between the event's content and place as Nezaket. Yet her active involvement in the festival triggered a memory from her family history.

In this regard, Nilgün's statement differed greatly. Her memory of the past focused on the period before modernity, when the factory belonged to the Régie Company. She talked about the villagers' resistance to the forced tobacco cultivation and payment determined unilaterally by the company. There was no option for the villagers to sell in the free market, because the *kolluk kuvvetleri* – the company's security staff – might kill them. According to her, resistance was the primary reaction of the lower working class against the system:

"*As an Izmirian, I have a special bond with that place. What interests me...? I don't know how to explain it. One of the tobacco import centers in the Aegean region was this Régie Company. It was very intense here. It later established its own army force. If you didn't sell your tobacco to the Régie Company, you would be shot by them. Yes, they say that nearly 30.000 villagers were killed. It's not a part of our history that we like very much. (She looks at me and drums her fingers nervously on the table) And as with many things, we don't have sufficient research about the period. The existing research is not on the surface. (She means well-known by the public) As a person who already knows that... and of course it is a cigarette factory, your hands should be small, it was a place where child labor was exploited. Women and children [worked there] from the age of 8. Nobody knows about that. Nobody knew that these 8-year-old girls were dead at 15 from lung cancer because of the tobacco powder. And nobody knew about the conditions in that*

factory! Now, some people, yes. It still smells like tobacco, although it has been empty for 20 years. Can you imagine what it smelled like when it was functioning?"

Fig. 36: Re-Rite Project by the Virtual Orchestra: Philharmonia Orchestra and Esa-Pekka Salonen as the principal conductor. The spectators are at the opening of the installation before the concert and experience the factory with the installation. (Photo provided by IKSEV)

As she affirmed, the memory of the factory was hidden. The sovereign discourse did not include it in the official history. As Assmann argues, the memory that she was sharing was a communicative memory which was not institutionalized and had only reached her through her local connections. In contrast to the element of nostalgia used to commodify and market the historic sites to tourists through festivities (Berliner, 2018), the way in which she remembered and shared the memory was filled with anger and empathy for the victims of the region's tobacco sector. In her empathy for the victimhood of the villagers and factory workers, she was appropriating the memory as a part of her identity as a local. Her intense sadness and anger reverberated in the melancholia she felt for the dead victims. She behaved as if she were personally acquainted with the victims: the tobacco farmers and the cigarette factory workers. She had internalized a memory even though she was not directly connected through a family bond like Ayten. I asked more questions about the reason for Reji's selection and the organizational process. She answered:

"*Last year (2012) the cigarette factory was the most difficult [place] for us. In fact, it is in an important place, but people don't know of it. Many people couldn't find it. (...) To make it visible, we had to take pictures, transferring the information and making other preparations; it was a nightmare for us. The night before the opening, it rained, and the roof was leaking. A historically important building, which was disappearing in the middle of the city, needed attention. We departed from that point. Yes, the place was very suitable; it was as they had expected, but it was also important to direct attention to it. We wanted to show that it was possible to hold a performance there. Of course, it was a long and exhausting effort.*

Eventually, the performance was very nice. Now, when I pass in front of its door, I feel an affinity. Because I entered inside, I lived again the history, and it was nice to prove that this place could become functional again. In fact, we really had to provide detailed directions to people, even the journalists from Anadolu Ajansı[166] *(AA - Anatolian Agency), who weren't familiar with it, although it is in the 'belly of the city,' like Kadifekale during the 16th festival. That time we had painted the corners of the pavement white so that people would know which direction they should follow. Because these elite people of Izmir (she opens her eyes wide and makes her lips and cheeks tight vertically and speaks slowly) did-n't-know-the-lo-ca-tion of Kadifekale. They would see the flag and say, 'Kadifekale is there.' They had never been there in their life! Here is Reji, in the middle of the city. I mean, everybody passes in front of it at least once a week. But we had to explain to each person one by one the location of the tobacco factory.*

H: Don't we see it?

N: We are not interested in it. We don't like our history. We don't love anything. We don't know our history. If you live in Kordon and see everything in a limited fashion, you know neither Reji nor Kadifekale. The civic values disappeared rapidly with the increase of migration [from the countryside] and the decrease in the quality of education."

I share Nilgün's entire narrative, because it was full of insights into why people had become disconnected from the urban memory places prior to the festival's attempts to make them public. At the end of her narrative, she made a connection between forgetfulness and the erosion of urban society as a consequence of waves of migration and the low educational level.

As I mentioned in previous chapters, Nilgün had a strong sense of belonging to Izmir. She associated her local identity with being an urbanite. According to her, learning about and highlighting the city's history was important. However, she also criticized the fact that 'we,' the contemporary urbanites of Izmir, were not interested in it. We see the castle, but we never get close to it or appreciate its connection with the myths about Alexander the Great or the fact that it has been a place of migration and poverty for centuries. We pass in front of the factory, but we do not see it. When Nilgün mentioned 'our' history, she implied the counter-memory which, as Kolluoğlu-Kırlı (2002) mentions, was not always pleasant or heroic. As Neyzi (2008) mentions in his study of oral history, what we 'know' of history may be something separate and distinct from that experienced by individuals. In the same vein, Nora (1989) writes that the nation's history, which is taught in the schools, presented in the media and represented in exhibitions (Özyürek, 2012), may conceal many of the multiple memories of a country. There is a connection between Nilgün's anger towards the ignorant journalists with the careless festival spectators and her mother's neighbor, who let the watermelon juice leak from her garbage in the apartment building. When she got angry during the interviews, she chose sides: while she herself identified as local and urban, she felt responsible for the tobacco farmers who had been

[166]The abbreviation commonly used is AA. It is the most important information network in Turkey.

killed and the cigarette workers laboring in the bad conditions. Her account, 'we painted' or 'we informed,' drew a line with 'them': the ignorant and careless media agents and spectators. Nonetheless, she knew that the motivations of a festival spectator were different from those of a museum visitor. The main objective of a festival spectator was to enjoy a classical music event. Therefore, she again assessed her position by emphasizing the responsibility of the organization. She portrayed the media in particular as forgetful and ignorant of the place's memory. She emphasized that it was not only the Anadolu Agency journalists but also the journalists from Hürriyet who had asked for the address of Reji. The situation was indeed ironic, because the Hürriyet Newspaper's Aegean headquarters was located behind the factory.

During my fieldwork, the factory appeared as a memory place in which the festival had intervened. Indeed, as Sophie had said, 'It was there and it was not there'; as a local, I was vaguely aware that there was a building complex belonging to the state, and although I had often passed in front of it, I had never questioned what it was.

Before the intervention of the festival, there was already news about the projects and speculation about Reji. The news, as I shared above, had been published between 2006 and 2010 by the local newspapers. The Aegean service of Hürriyet, or at least the cultural news department of the newspaper, supposedly knew of the factory. The lack of interest and forgetting are indeed stunning. Was it indicative of some form of oppression or oblivion that we didn't know how to deal with traumas or were fearful of 'touching the wounds' (Ege, 2002 and Smyrnelis, 2006)?

When I talked to Ceren about the notion of the factory's invisibility and Nilgün's experiences, she nodded her head with a bitter smile: "*...these buildings which are not used anymore... because the buildings... Yes, humans both damage and give life to buildings. I have never seen any building without the presence of humans that is still strong like new. So, it is not suitable for a building not to be used or to stay empty. So, there is a need for humans and a need to have an event to keep the space alive. Here, we try to go to these abandoned, lonely buildings that nobody visits and to be there.*"

Ceren's account was quite poetic compared to those of Ayten and Nilgün. Instead of sharing facts, she shared the emotional connection between a place and its users. She avoided repeating the word 'unpopular' that I had used in the question; she preferred to identify the buildings with human characteristics: 'abandoned' and 'lonely.' The words surely refer to the closing of the factory after it was privatized, but she builds on the narrative as if describing a relationship in which one of the partners left the other.

After some interview sessions, Ceren, who was involved in the setting up of the installation at the factory, shared her personal experiences. I quote her without editing:

"*It was a standing building that many people pass in front of it, and they knew of it perhaps from the newspaper or probably forgot about it or had never even read about it. The Monopoly Factory has been*

there since the end of the 1800s. They said that it was closed in 2002. And since then it has been a building that hasn't had any activity. How many people were curious and turned their heads toward its garden? Or how many people made an effort to enter? Or how many of them gained knowledge about a specific period of Ottoman history when the people working there became ill later? How many of them visited there with this knowledge? Did they ever learn about the little children who were forced to work there because their fingers were very thin and rolled cigarettes very well? Did they think, imagine what sorts of things happened there? Did they recall something when they smelled the tobacco? These are standing, things that happened and have been forgotten. And the Izmir Festival brings it to the surface. (Silence. She avoids looking at me. She stared at the wall for a while, then turned her face to me) Let me give you at least my own example: Last time, when we went to the Reji Factory for the first measurements, and, later, the many times we visited for other, technical reasons, were quite different experiences for me. Especially the restaurant of the factory...which was still open when we went for the first time with the technical team to take measurements. It was being transferred to the Directorate of Culture as is, and when I entered that building for the first time, I had the impression that I was in a scene of the film Anayurt Oteli (Homeland Hotel). It was like a corridor into a parallel universe through a Turkey of the 1950s or 1960s... Even the dress of the tea seller, that tobacco smell inside and the cabinets in which tobacco leaves were exposed...all these things which happened there, the old furniture, I mean everything was as if I had left in the 2000s. I saw another picture, I changed universes...or traveled in time. They spent their lives there, lived there for a long time. It might be perceived that living in a building is to become a part of that building. I witnessed the day when the people left. Then I cried. I shared the sorrow of those people whom I don't know who abandoned that building. I was on the verge of bursting into tears. Because I saw a Monopoly worker standing there to guard the building, and he was worried about the dog that was attached to the building – you know how faithful dogs are. He was wondering who would feed the dog, what would happen to the dog. I thought about the fact that he was a man that I had met just that day and had only said "hello" to. That man's sorrow affected me deeply. I don't know how to explain it; it's not an experience that a person can live through in another place. I thought of all those people who worked for years in the same building, and I remembered something: if I am 80 and I don't work anymore at the foundation (İKSEV) or if the foundation doesn't use this building anymore or if we have to move to another place, how would I feel? Reji affected me very much personally. To construct such a link, to be able to enter into the place's story for an artistic event or for planning was not something that a human can experience with all five senses. The spectators who only came to watch the opening concert or, later, the exhibition remembered the history of the building more or less than what I experienced. We included the place's history in our festival book. We provided that information. They watched, saw, touched and smelled. I think that on some level everyone experienced a connection on the basis on their knowledge and personal life experiences. But this level is personal."

This interview was conducted in July 2013 during the Gezi Park protests, and the government's reactions were a source of stress and worry for my interlocutors. It was the day when I assisted at the meeting in Abacıoğlu Inn with Ceren and the technical staff. Before the interview, when she shared her personal impression of the festival and the venues, Ceren had seen herself as a representative of the foundation and had mostly shared the official history and technical information about the festival. Presumably, the printout of the questions and sound

recorder must have made her anxious, too. That day, because of what was happening 'in the real world' and because of our collaboration for the festival, I managed to open a door to her personal feelings. Her answer about the experience at Reji was indeed sincere and personal. I had been looking forward to it for a long time.

Ceren's account of her experiences during her visits to the old cigarette factory to prepare it for the festival might be an example of both personal and collective memories. Her statement of '*it was like a corridor into a parallel universe through a Turkey of the 1950s or 1960s*' embodies the 'island of time' theory of Assmann (1995). Similar to previous examples, it emphasizes not only her interaction with the building but also with other participants. The social environment is embedded in the physical environment, and it – combined with her knowledge – influenced how she responded to and remembered the factory. In the following conversation, her statement is an exemplary description of the process of the concretion of identity in cultural memory:

"(...) *Also, I felt as if I had abandoned Reji. I mean, such people and all those renovations... We experienced a lot of things. It started to rain with thunder the night just before the opening. As the roof was open, water came inside. There was a horrible crisis, everybody ran everywhere. I mean we probably had so much involvement with that building. When I left, I felt guilty, as if I hadn't helped and (the building) were an old relative, and she was cross with me.*"

According to Bilgin (2011), Assmann (1995) and Navaro (2009), attributing human emotions or personifying objects of memory is connected to the relationship of the object with the individual's own identity. When Ceren's statement about an 'old relative' is analyzed, she again identifies the building as human. Her personification of the building as an 'old relative' appears to be strongly embedded in reconnecting with the place and making it a part of her physical and social environment. If the 'old relative' identification is considered in terms of a group that has a common ancestor (a common, shared past), the place might have gained a new identity founded on the basis of its history. She had read about Reji and the tobacco exploitation in Izmir, because she was interested in the place where she was involved in organizing an event. Furthermore, her interaction with the place and the workers, after visiting it many times, synthesized the information that she had read with the intense experiences she had had there. If one of these components had been different, her motivation would presumably have changed, resulting in her not experiencing such intense emotions as she had had after the festival.

After the festival of 2013, I met Ceren again. This time I asked her what cultural memory meant to her and how she related her individual experience in Reji to urban memory:

"*When I visit there as Ceren and not as the organizer, it becomes another experience. I become more peaceful in discovering things. (...) The concert events are also different. People start to make a correlation during the concerts. Before the concert there is constant preparation and racing around, but once the concert starts, it is a beautiful dinner table: you sit back and watch how people eat with pleasure...it is like that. When a person returns to the past, she says, 'I did it' with pleasure and watches [that place] again by*

correlating it. When I go to a different place for the first time and discover something, I create a different link with a story related to its past. It might be a bit melancholy or exciting. I was deeply affected by Reji and excited. It still stays with me... the smell of tobacco is still on me."

While I pursued the interview, she shared her connection to urban memory from a larger perspective. The memory she used as an illustration is about herself and her family's relationship to the city:

"*When a person visits these historic buildings or rarely used places, she remembers something from her childhood, like a cookie...like 'I remember that one.' Izmir is like a maltreated beautiful dress. In fact, it is a very beautiful dress. It was sewed magnificently, it is wonderful, and it displays special craftsmanship. But it was worn and not cleaned, it remains somewhere deep in a box with dust and storage stains. We clean off the dust and remove those stains and say to people, 'There is a beautiful dress in that dusty box; once upon a time there were people who wore this dress.' Then they dream about the skirts of the dress.*"

On first hearing, Ceren's account seems an example of selective memory prompted by the nostalgia of a secular-modern Turk (Navaro-Yashin, 2002 and Özyürek, 2006). The metaphors she used in expressing herself point to her as belonging to the post-trauma generation which dreams about the experiences of earlier generations. Here the organizers and the spectators are compared to children who discover old dresses in a chest: they discover the historic sites. Even though they cannot 'wear' them in their daily lives, they 'wear' them for a few hours, like a costume, then take them off and again don their normal daily attire. On the one hand, as Mills (2014) affirms, it is a way of making sense of the past and one's self in the context of nostalgia. On the other hand, Ceren concludes that the historic sites are already ruins, and lifestyles have changed. The only things that remain are the memories. The organizers and the spectators construct a memory combining their knowledge and their personal experiences. In this context, Ceren's experience of Reji might be counted as Huyssen's (2008; 9) 'imaginative memory' as well as an 'urban palimpsest' (2003; 5-7), when considering what Ceren meant by what remains. Reji's revival and the agenda that Nilgün and Neslihan mentioned were related to Ceren's discourse: although the festival's priority was organizing classical music concerts, it installed an interactive video installation in physically difficult conditions. Moreover, the festival took up the challenge of inviting the spectators to visit such a place with hidden memories.

And yet, the festival did not officially engage in constructing a cultural memory. In April 2018 I contacted Zeynep to learn more about how they gained permission from the state administration (apparently *İl Turizm Müdürlüğü*, the provincial tourism office), because evidently the visits were quite exclusive and required special permission. I thought if I could read the emails or some letters from the archive, I might gain a clearer idea about the foundation's purpose in being involved with the place. I questioned whether or not any of the sponsors had pushed Filiz *Hanım* toward putting the factory on the agenda so that the ongoing projects could be approved, thereby expediting the bureaucratic process. Was there a proposal for some sort

of memorial (though not a commemoration) on the part of the festival in order to gain permission, given that the factory complex was registered as SIT (a historic preservation area)? My request offended the foundation's employee. She reprimanded me on the phone: "What are you trying to do? We don't make such memory projects, as you say. We needed a large space for the Re-Rite Project, and we got the permission, that's all! Filiz *Hanım* doesn't like *these kinds of things at all.*"

I couldn't ask what kind of 'things' Filiz *Hanım* didn't like. I thought I was already on an intimate footing with the foundation. Even the possibility that the festival might have been trying to make a political statement about a relatively unknown and unpleasant past might be disturbing. The employee's sensitivity about the festival's position indicated a censorship. Her reaction to the telephone call was as meaningful as her factory experience. It meant that it was not only about a trauma, a period of forgetting and lack of memory, but also about the bureaucracy. Some 'things' were sacrosanct, and it wasn't correct to question or express them openly. The foundation was able to organize the festival at historic sites and sometimes in public spaces thanks to permission from and the sponsorship of the prefecture of Izmir, the municipalities and the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. The consulates contributed to the program of the festival. The employee implied that the foundation took a neutral stance. Nonetheless, its status was that of an urban actor with a role to play in the branding of the city as part of celebrating the city's 8500 years, and it was reliant on support from a sovereign power in discharging that role. Essentially, the International Izmir Festival was part of a power game. The program – if not about the urban memory – was a representation of modern-secular Turkish identity modeled on the West.

The personal accounts of the places or – if I borrow from Navaro (2009) – the personified places triggering deep emotions like fear and melancholy are distinguished by the affect of the performance. Like Nezaket, another spectator, Elif, built a connection between the place and the event:

"*Something extraordinary happened next to the train station. When you entered, it was very nice... Was it the tobacco factory or something else? (She turns her head to ask her husband. He says that he doesn't know) It was just next to the train station, at night. We became the maestro of a cyber orchestra! We conducted the orchestra. (laughs) People were not well informed. Personally, I was very excited to participate. I saw for the first time such a thing. I participated and wrote about it on my Facebook page. After my presentation there must have been at least 20 people who went there. Did you go there?*

H: No.

E: Ahhhh... (Her excitement disappeared; she moved her body away from the table) They had organized the rooms so well. There was something in each room. There were stringed instruments in one room and percussion instruments in the other one. They had done double-sided reflections using the projectors. You enter, it becomes percussion, and you become one of them. There is a screen. They hung a

maestro's jacket. You put it on, take up the baton and conduct the orchestra. Your image appears on the screen, too. For the first time, you can see the orchestra from up close, with each kind of instrument. You can touch them. They made something fabulous. There, the preparation phases of the orchestra are demonstrated. You see 'the kitchen' at work. I went there two times, it was so nice. These kinds of events remain in the memory much longer."

Elif obviously took pleasure from the interactive installation. She enjoyed discovering the details of the work. What's more, she didn't know what had happened in Reji before. She barely even remembered the name of the place. However, she expressed her pleasure in that place. Although she interacted at the factory, her festival memory consisted of the installation itself. She didn't remember the name of the place, and it didn't evoke any sort of physical or historical memories about the factory, as had been the case in Ayavukla.

When I interviewed Emre in 2013, in contrast to Elif, he focused on the factory itself. He told me first that the factory complex had belonged to *Tekel* (State Monopoly) before. Then it was emptied. The scrap-iron dealers looted the factory during a period with less security. He smelled the tobacco during his visit to the video installation. Because of the hot weather, he contemplated the working conditions of the workers. According to him, the place became visible. Each time that he passed in front of the factory, he recalled the festival, the smell of tobacco during the hot weather, then the tobacco and cigarette industry in Izmir:

"*During the last festival there was, for the first time, an event in Reji cigarette factory, and that place that we had forgotten, that we passed in front of and didn't see (we say in the same time) became visible. It became alive. In my opinion, it creates (he suddenly comes back from past tense to present tense) a memory for the visitors. Like in marriage, you say: 'We were there'; 'we went there'; 'we ate something there.' The Izmir Festival puts in a lot of effort to incorporate art with these memories. But I see that too: there are so many barriers. (He repeats) There are so many barriers. The building is decaying. The most tragic thing is that it could be saved, if you made a little effort. But [the bureaucracy] doesn't let you. It sees your effort as a cause of its destruction. I mean, they will make Re-Rite, they will screw the nails into the walls, the wall is disintegrating anyway. But no, the man believes that the installation will cause the walls to disintegrate. This is blindness. I think the biggest barrier in front of the festival is the blindness when you look. Blindness! The man doesn't see that the building is being ruined, but he believes that your nails will destroy the building.*"

As can be seen, the accounts of the interlocutors concern two layers: the first is contemplation of the memories associated with the place, and the second is the memory of the festival which becomes part of the place. With a project as creative and promising as the Re-Rite Project, the festival was expected to contribute to Izmir's presentation and its branding effort on both a local and an international scale. For example, Neslihan mentioned that it was important to make the people of Izmir aware of the old factory. She didn't focus on the memory of the place but on the content of the Re-Rite Project and the location of the factory, which had long been a topic of discussion by both the real estate and cultural sectors. In her opinion, the

event was primarily intended to appeal to children. The festival would bequeath to a new generation 'an affinity for classical music and some responsibility and connection to the city':

"*We (she utilizes 'we' instead of a passive form sentence) went to so much effort for the schools. We handed out posters, we spoke with the teachers, but they said quickly, 'The school is on holiday.' Re-Rite was 'a dress as if sewn only for the schools.' They could visit for the whole day. There was the orchestra... (small pause) Nobody came, because it was too hot, and the schools were on holiday. Everybody left [the city]. There is this fact, too.*"

Neslihan's statement reminded me of my volunteer period in 2009. My task was to distribute the flyers and the poster of the festival to the restaurants, cafés, patisseries and some other stores in Alsancak, Mimar Sinan and Kültür, the most popular and elite neighborhoods in the city center. Any trade enterprise was to be informed about the International Izmir Festival. The owners or workers justified their reactions with a gruff voice: 'Alright, leave them there.' While on the road, I got the idea of distributing some flyers to the Reyhan Patisserie, an elegant place at the crossroads of two trendy streets that many International Izmir Festival participants and target audience members visit. When I went there and asked if I could hang the poster at the entrance and place flyers on the tables, the boss came slowly to the front of the door and said calmly, without looking at my face, that he was unable to accept advertisements, because then other companies would want to post their ads, and they didn't want to be overrun with advertisements. As it was my first time working to promote the festival, I was still naive. I was surprised by his answer. How could he not know about the International Izmir Festival? It was likely that many of his customers were following the festival. When I went to an activity center that offered music courses, their reaction was even more disappointing. Instead of saying 'thanks' and considering the festival as a motivation for their pupils, for instance, by saying something such as, 'Oh, thank you. I will bring my pupils to show them a professional performance and meet with the artists,' a man said, in all seriousness, that the İKSEV (Izmir Foundation for Art Culture and Education) was their rival, and they couldn't accept any ads. Later, I talked about this issue with my cousin. She was bringing her daughter to Maria Rita Epik, a private classical music school owned by a Levantine musician. I asked her and also her daughter whether they had ever seen the posters or the flyers for the International Izmir Festival in the center or if they had ever heard of anyone from the school's going to the festival. My niece was attending choral, cello and piano classes. Her answer was a gesture indicating the disinterest of local institutions and private enterprises towards the same activities: "*Valla (I swear), we learned about the Izmir Festival for the first time from you. I had never heard in school about the festival before!*"

Similar to my experience, Neslihan mentioned the unaccountable lack of interest of the schools, especially the music schools, adding to the parents' lack of interest, since they preferred to leave the city for their summer houses. Although the interactive project had the potential to appeal to children, they were missing. Because the families and the institutions didn't care about

classical music concerts or memory places, they lost out on an opportunity to explore the past of the city in which they live.

Fig. 37: A child plays his instrument with the interactive installation in Reji (photo provided by IKSEV)

Surely, the advertisement campaign and organization of the festival might be something to look into as well. I thought that the explanation might be more complex. I therefore decided to investigate the reasons for this gap between the festival and the potential participants who were largely unaware or reluctant. I met with a professor from the Dokuz Eylül University conservatory. He said shortly and harshly: "*Filiz (the president and art director of the festival) is silly. Wasn't she a ballet dancer? Ballet dancers are stupid. She made everybody cross, she stayed alone. We offered her some projects many years ago, she rejected all of them.*" When I asked him for more details, he avoided answering my questions. Then I met a friend from the stage design department. She listened to me patiently, then she said: "*Hasan, Izmir is not Belgium. Here teachers do not share things with their students. I mean the relations are...different. I don't think that the teachers would go to the festival with their students. The students make music and earn money during the summer in a bar or club, or they hang around on a terrace and try to seduce some girls. Besides, let's suppose that they want to be involved in the festival and work as a volunteer and 'network' with the artists, as you said. They can't, because their English is very weak. And the ones who speak English should be proactive and aware of such an event and consider applying on their own.*" Judging from these responses, my conclusion was, as Nilgün had asserted, that the people of Izmir had little connection to either the past or the present of the city in the context of art projects. Nilgün attributed this lack of interest to

education. Thus, the International Izmir Festival remained as invisible as the urban memory places.

The event, despite all the good intentions, seemingly did not reach its target audience due to the weather, the schools' schedules, the hierarchy between students and teachers, and the lack of social engagement between the organizations. Mustafa supported Neslihan's contention:

"*It was the wrong time. The schools were closed, the students couldn't come. The people didn't know the content. You should present it very well. I mean advertising should be the first element of the festival. It couldn't be done. Because of this, it was empty, it was terrible. In my opinion, the lowest percentage was ours, that's for certain...that tour [of Re-Rite worldwide] had the lowest participation with us. (...) still, there was so much effort [to realize it] for the sake of God. But it didn't happen. For me, it was something very nice. You conduct and play like a maestro. You touch the people. It was very nice for me (he mumbled), it was very nice for the spectators*."

When I looked at the pictures from the festival archive, I saw many participants of different ages. Contrary to Mustafa and Neslihan's observations, there were some children, too. Nilgün reviewed the project this time with its content independent from Reji and its connotations of the traumatic events of the 19th and 20th centuries:

"*This project increased the consciousness of the orchestra among the participants. It was more effective among the children. For example, the child of a friend of mine visited there. After one day, he took his parents' hands and came back to Reji (with his violin). He was learning to play the violin. He takes his violin and tries to play it along with the orchestra. It's not possible, of course, at that age playing The Rite of Spring. But you could do this. You could participate with your instrument. (...) I observed the people, I looked at them with happiness, and we brought many children there*."

Nilgün's statement contrasts with those of Mustafa and Neslihan. I presume that in spite of the hot weather, the lack of information, the school summer holiday and the custom of people to try to escape from the heat of the city by spending time at their summer homes, some individuals and their children were informed through contacts and social media, since Elif mentioned that she had shared the event on her Facebook page.

Emre shared with me that he had once been in London and had seen school children and some adults watching general rehearsals in the theater and opera. He liked the idea that people could enter the historic theater hall for free if they wished and respectfully watch the rehearsal. He had suggested the same thing for his theater, which was also a historic building of the First National style from the 1920s. His suggestion was rejected. Then he said that nobody was motivated to open the historic buildings for visits. For example, one could arrange a tour starting from Konak Square and show off the theater, İKSEV's building and some other official or unofficial places on a trial basis. He got excited: "At least open the door of the theater so that people can enter and visit the lavatory. Meanwhile, they can visit the hall and become

acquainted with the theater. But no! They close the doors, they lock the doors and the people walk by the seaside without any interaction with history and artistic events!"

Emre's statement might be understood as a reason for the disconnection with the urban memory places and art projects. He expressed how buildings can function as mnemonic objects in the construction of individuals' memory, while he also highlighted the habit of going to an arts event in a city. While he criticized the bureaucracy, he also mentioned how a historic place's invisibility may contribute to its being neglected. On the one hand, the site may be invisible because it is hidden behind high walls or overgrown shrubbery. On the other hand, its invisibility may be connected to the trauma with which it is associated. As for the bureaucracy, it is outrageous that institutions that are charged with protecting the "cultural heritage" may actually be contributing to its destruction.

In comparing the statements of Zeynep and Emre, there are different positionings. This has nothing to do with the personal experiences and knowledge of an individual, such as Ceren referred to. What we witness in this case is not just the process of forgetting associated with modernity but rather the role played by the patriarchy in diverse forms: the disinterest of a teacher in his/her students, an employee's negative reaction to the festival's connection with the state. Apparently, the bureaucracy itself sought to block the renovation and new projects that would offer the opportunity for it to serve a new function under the name SIT (historic preservation commission). The foundation's involvement with Reji was something that required the permission of the state. For this reason, it did not touch on subjects which were viewed as better left untouched. In other words, the censorship that the festival faced was gradually internalized by its organizers. Although the foundation obtained the requisite permission and had good intentions in placing the factory on the city's agenda, the SIT approach was overprotective of a wall that was literally crumbling away. Although it refused to repair the wall – in the name of historical integrity – it was quite willing to accuse the foundation's technical staff of causing damage to the cultural heritage. Behind the festival's official discourse and stated goal of displaying the beauty of the city to an international audience, the state was resolute with respect to which identities it allowed to be represented to local spectators and the international community (Mills, 2014; 38, 77, and 109). Behind these motivations and, therefore, the permissions and sponsorship required, one senses the patriarchy's overarching desire to retain control over the national political discourse, a stance inherited from the Ottoman state and left unchanged (Özyürek, 2006; 13).

Cultural memory has to do with the process of how 'memory' becomes 'history.' For Ceren, the transmission of cultural memory meant that she responded to the factory almost as if she herself had actually been alive at the time when her countrymen were suffering under the semi-colonial system. The historic places in Izmir selected by the International Izmir Festival are still not part of daily life. Alas, this means that the invisibility of the places persists. The memory places are 'crystallized'; they preserve the memories or connotations of the dramatic periods of

which they were a part. The framework of 'retrospective contemplativeness' (Assmann, 1995; 129) acts on the festival participants during their visits to the building, evoking a past that had been left behind and forgotten. If the building itself is considered as an object, the duration of a festival participant's visit of the installation of '*Re-Rite*' might be regarded as 'a corridor into a parallel universe' for the festival participant. In other words, the surroundings in which the visitor finds himself – the old factory – has a mnemonic effect. Then, similar to the example of the Saint Voukolos Church described in the previous chapter, the visitor is connected to a past from which she was disconnected by her modern lifestyle.

Some of the interlocutors mentioned physical conditions, such as the hot weather and the smell of tobacco. Although cigarettes were no longer being produced, it is noteworthy that the smell was still able to cause respiratory distress for some of the festival participants. It's possible that it made some of them reflect on how difficult the work conditions must have been during both the Ottoman and republic periods.

After industrialization, many cities changed dramatically, both with respect to the physical environment and the lifestyles of their inhabitants. Today working conditions are still a controversial subject in many developing countries. Reji, also known as *Tekel*, the Monopoly Cigarette Factory, is still situated in the heart of the city and is part of ongoing branding efforts. To date, however, there has not been any commemoration of the hardships associated with the working conditions. The site remains isolated, even after the privatization process, and it remains an 'island of time,' despite being in a location which many people pass by on a daily basis. In comparison to Kadifekale and Ayavukla, Reji is not located in a grey zone, but it is nevertheless an absolutely invisible place, its presence obscured by traffic and walls.

In conclusion, the memory of Reji was allowed to erode behind its walls as a consequence of the auto-censorship of the festival and other institutions and the bureaucracy's blocking of the transfer of memory within the community. Different than Kadifekale and Ayavukla, Reji is a place that one may enter with permission. Nonetheless, the memory of the tobacco industry concerns the entire region, because it has left behind deep traces. The production and trading of cigarettes is part of a painful past that extends throughout the entire Aegean region, from the time of the *Düyun-u Umumiye* commission of the Ottoman period through the privatizations of the 21st century. If I may borrow again from the historian Smyrnelis (2006) and the economist Kaya (ibid.), Izmir was known for dried grapes, figs and tobacco in the Mediterranean trade network. The questioning of forgetting reveals many facts related to the fire, the population exchange, and modernity, with the handover of the places because of the migrations from the countryside. There is modernity and change in Turkey's economic system; on the other hand, there are untouchable 'things.' The factory was neglected for decades. As Ceren witnessed, the factory complex had become an island of time disconnected from contemporary life. Some participants recalled the event and the memory of the place when they passed in front of the

factory. As the old cigarette factory's memory was not institutionalized, the memory remained weak, dependent on the knowledge and the emotional experiences of the festival participants.

As the factory continues its slow (and, as yet unchallenged) disintegration into ruin, it does not appear promising to engage in debates on the preservation of urban memory. The primary emotion evoked by the interlocutors' experiences at the factory was melancholy. The lamentable condition of the factory merged with the knowledge they had gained, leading to meditations on the isolation, vulnerability, deaths and temporality of life of those whose lives played out against the backdrop of the factory.

When there is an arts event, even though it is an interactive and didactic project, the spectators make sense of the arts event on the basis of their previous knowledge and the emotional experiences connected to that knowledge. A conservatory student or the owner of a patisserie might need the sort of 'consciousness of a citizen' that Nilgün revealed. This consciousness requires both a connection to urban memory and a social connection to be aware of the content and impact of the festival so that they place a value on and contribute to its visibility.

In this case study, Ceren became my key interlocutor, because she spent more time in Reji than any other spectator or organizer. She visited the factory many times when it was closed to the public. She met in person with the last workers of the factory who were in charge of security. She met the old-fashioned tea maker near the factory. She talked to them, and she listened to their stories. She spent time within their closed workplace community and became privy to their personal accounts. What she meant by the smell of tobacco was not the visual evocation of tobacco leaves at the entrance door or the motif of tobacco on the ground (though it perhaps sparked a response). It was her memory of the many interactions she had had and her internalization of the workers' memories.

Nowadays the factory complex is accepted as a part of urban memory. However, the ongoing projects do not reflect the memory of Izmir's tobacco industry, such as the exploitation of tobacco workers during the Régie and Monopoly (Turkish State) periods. Like any city branding project, the historic value of the factory has been adopted to magnify the real estate value of the place. It has been commodified for the purposes of city branding in order to present an appealing image to tourists and to provide a space in which to consume some arts activities, with little regard for the reasons it was granted a protected status by SİT. Ironically, until now none of the promised projects have been realized. In the end, the most realistic and concrete intervention was that of the International Izmir Festival in 2012, with its concert in the garden and the Re-Rite Project, and the interactive video installation inside. The festival's intervention was brief: it dusted off the factory's invisibility and later left behind a memory of the 'smell of a cookie' at the intersection of personal and collective memories.

Chapter 10. Abacıoğlu Inn:

Drinking Rakı[167] at a Baroque Concert

At the time the International Izmir Festival organized one of its events at the Abacıoğlu Inn, I was conducting my fieldwork. Thanks to this unanticipated situation, I had the chance to implement participant observation parallel to semi-structured interviews. The latter had been useful in retrieving the interlocutors' memories of the festival. The participant observation would contribute to gaining a better understanding of the interactions of the festival and the participants with the place and its neighborhood.

Due to the diversity of methods and the content, this chapter differs from the other case study chapters. First of all, the narrative is more based on observation. Here, I put myself forward in the role of festival volunteer and shift between my roles as narrator and actor. While describing the festival event at Abacıoğlu Inn, I share my own observations and experiences along with those of the other organizers and spectators. Like the previous chapters, one of the focal points is the interaction between the festival organizers and the shopkeepers of the inn that temporarily shared the same space. In this interaction I add again the festival memories of the spectators, revealing their unique experience of Kemeraltı at night.[168]

Second, Abacıoğlu Inn is distinguished from the other cases because of the urban context. While the other sites were desolate, mostly forgotten and in ruins, Abacıoğlu Inn, as part of a vibrant market district, had remained active and functioning. That the memories attached to it had been forgotten was not a matter of rupture but had come about as a result of the social transformations associated with modernity and the succeeding waves of migration from other regions to Izmir. The most crucial points remain the same: it is a historic site, it has become more popular since the event of İKSEV, and the memory that it represents has been revived among the community. I should make it clear that Ephesus, the ancient site which is the festival's main venue, is not a space that is inhabited except by crowds of daily visitors. This

[167] Also known as raki in English. A strong alcoholic spirit consumed in Eastern Europe and the Middle East (source: https://www.lexico.com/en/definition/raki). It is the unofficial national alcoholic beverage of Turkey, whereas wine connotes the non-Muslim communities. Actually, the 'modern' and secular Turkish generation prefers to drink beer as part of daily life. Rakı is a drink more often tied to rituals and is drunk while consuming mezze, fish or other main dishes within the family or one's circle of friends or colleagues. The 'raki table' is often accompanied by Turkish classical music.
[168]Visiting this old market district at night was extraordinary in 2013.

contrasts somewhat with the four historic sites in the center of Izmir, which have their own temporary or permanent users/inhabitants as a part of daily life. Because of the continuity of life at Abacıoğlu Inn, I will not be analyzing in detail how it has become invisible. While sustaining my discourse on the disconnection of the place within urban memory, I will be analyzing the effects of the festival's intervention on a living place: how a historic site becomes a space of power relations and how the memory of its 'trading past' is commodified by two different socioeconomic groups.

Fig. 38: The entrance of Abacıoğlu Inn: despite the use of signage, the inn is all but invisible amidst the visual assault of images. (The photo was taken by the author in 2013)

First of all, Abacıoğlu Inn is remarkable in comparison to Kadifekale, Ayavukla and Reji in the context of its function and visibility. Although it has been in constant use, each time its function has differed depending on how it has been used. In 2007 it was renovated in order to meet the current needs and purposes of the city's inhabitants. According to the festival's booklet, the municipality of Konak was given an award by *Tarihi Kentler Birliği* (the Association of Historic Cities) in the same year. In 2011 the inn was awarded the Philippe Rottier European Prize for Architecture.

After the renovation, the building did not attract as much attention from tourists and locals as expected. The inn became invisible again within the crowded neighborhood of Kemeraltı, the old market district where it is located. Apparently, the municipality of Konak had not maintained the area, and the common spaces in particular – such as the entrance and the courtyard – were left in the hands of the shopkeepers.

The inn is part of a huge market district called Kemeraltı. The district is historic, dating back to antiquity. The area in which Abacıoğlu Inn is located used to be an internal harbor, as it was a part of the sea. It was protected by Saint Pierre Castle, which safeguarded the harbor area and its goods. While the Muslims/Turks settled on Mount Pagos were protected by Kadifekale, the seaside castle was inhabited by Genoese trading families. According to urban planner Çınar Atay (2003), the harbor area became the stage for a power conflict between the Genoese and Muslim/Turkish communities with the intervention of the Crusaders in the Middle Ages. The Genoese community moved their trading activities to Chios in order to maintain their economic and political sovereignty in the Aegean Sea. While Smyrna/Izmir lost its trading sovereignty in the region, other settlements, such as Foça, Urla, Çeşme, Seferihisar and Kuşadası, increased their sea trade activities, grew and gained more autonomy. Izmir's inner harbor area was only able to develop in the 17th century, once the Ottoman state was able to provide stability in the region, particularly in the hinterlands (Atay, 2003; 19-23).

According to the information boards at the entrance to Abacıoğlu Inn, by the 18th century the inner harbor had become silted up, and gradually Saint Pierre Castle became unusable. The inner harbor was filled in with soil, and the castle was destroyed to provide stones. In their place, the main avenue and some perpendicular streets were designed. The main avenue has maintained the shape of the inner harbor; Hisarönü Square and Hisar Mosque, which bear its name, serve as a reminder of the castle at the seaside.[169] The formation of this new market district provided facilities not only for the loading, storing and unloading of goods but also for the public to shop directly. With the increase in trade, which relied on production from the hinterlands, there was a large demand for warehouses for the storage of goods as well as accommodations for traders and their animals. Many inns served these functions. Today there are only a few remainders of the past (Atay, 2003). The festival booklet of 2013 (pg. 79) sustains this discourse, mentioning that Abacıoğlu Inn used to be bigger than it is now; only the northeast and southwest wings remain. According to Rafael, the oldest shopkeeper of the inn, previously the inn was even connected to the Jewish neighborhood at the rear. The closing of the inn's door in the evening provided safety both for travelers staying at the inn and for the Jewish community. Atay makes an analogy between architecture and trade reflected in the 'Ottoman philosophy' of closing off the outside world and providing only limited 'gates.' He also emphasizes that the inns in Kemeraltı were the places where all trade information spread to the rest of the city. By the second half of the 19th century, Kemeraltı no longer functioned as an information broker and had ceded its position as hub of the oriental trade route. The replacement of this traditional trade structure with a Western one was reflected in the architecture and the functions of the inns (Atay, 2003; 61).

As was seen in the example of the Basmane neighborhood, the railway, which interconnected industry and trade, was changing the fabric of urban life and challenging

[169] Hisar means castle and fortress.

traditional authority. As an example of this, the British and French companies, which were managing the city's railway companies, made the decision to ban the entry of camel caravans. Inns were less in demand, because the domination of Western markets was changing transport within the region. As a consequence, inns were closed or became artisans' workshops. In the 20th century Kemeraltı's inns were resistant to modernization: "*When the 21st century came, we saw that the people of Izmir, who were taking the pulse of the region, abandoned the district. The district was in the same situation as Osmaniye Avenue. The character of both at night was one of melancholy and desolation. How clearly it resisted suffering the extinction that faced the avenue.* "İzmir Çarşı" *(Izmir's marketplace) has lost its character and* özveri *by losing the inns*" (2003; 63). Once any modest trader had the economic wherewithal to do so, he abandoned the district. Thus, there has been a dramatic decline in the importance of the inns and, concomitant with this, production and trade in Kemeraltı. Nowadays the stores are instead filled with cheaply manufactured clothes (made in China) as well as more 'authentic' products that the local people and tourists aren't able to find in the shopping centers: spices, costumes and materials for henna nights for prospective brides, their friends and female relatives, for circumcision parties for boys and for wedding parties. Lastly, I noticed that there were so-called authentic coffee shops[170] selling Turkish coffee and black tea in Turkish tea glasses. Some also provide a fortune-telling service. In the rear streets far from the main shopping route, there are still some workshops of carpenters, copper workers and printing works.

Similar to Mazower's (2010) analysis of Thessaloniki, Izmir's development depended strictly on its historical connections to Europe. Even though it is no longer visible today, it used to be a harbor that exported to European ports goods gathered from Anatolia, Iran and Syria. The city's prosperity and development depended on its sea and land trade routes. I was told by my parents and interlocutors that upper-class families used to be involved in commercial activities in Kemeraltı in the 20th century. For example, around 2010 I visited an exhibition at the city archive about Izmir. There was a reconstruction of Ferit Eczacıbaşı's pharmacy with Art Nouveau elements. Indeed, later, when I chatted with Filiz *Hanım,* she said that her grandfather's pharmacy shop was in Kemeraltı. Moreover, Burkay Pasin, an architectural scholar from Izmir, and Sergenç, an employee of TARKEM,[171] mentioned that the Eczacıbaşı family used to have their pharmacy in the place now occupied by the Flo shoe store, and they also used to have a workshop to produce their pharmaceutical products.

[170] Here the nuance between *kafe* derived from café and kahve (coffee) is important. A *kafe* offers a more Western-style menu and interior design whereas kahves in Kemeraltı reflect a mixture of the Anatolian countryside and Orient. Some old local objects, such as pillows with Anatolian patterns, are utilized for their decorative effect. The setting is often a low table surrounded by some wooden chairs and couches.

[171] The share company consisting of the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality and investors from Izmir. The company's aim is to promote the cultural and economic development of Kemeraltı: www.tarkem.com/en /

The book by Atay that I found in the city archive was printed by the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality in 2003. The date of publication may convey an impression about the municipality's change in its cultural policy toward Kemeraltı after Kemeraltı's impoverishment in the '90s. The inns' value as part of the city's cultural heritage have been reconsidered. What ultimately ended up happening was that after Abacıoğlu Inn had been bought and renovated, it was the recipient of architectural awards in 2007 and 2011, and then, finally, it was promoted via the International Izmir Festival.

Fig. 39: The award board at the entrance of Abacıoğlu Inn. (The photo was taken by the author)

If I include my own perception of Kemeraltı/Abacıoğlu Inn as background, it was a district that I avoided. The memory of its trading past was invisible to me, because I had no interest in it. As a teenager in the '90s, it was a disorderly, chaotic place that was overcrowded with human bodies and objects. It was my habit to walk fast, so when I was forced to slow down upon finding myself in the narrow, curving streets of Kemeraltı (covered by some sort of fabric) amid the welter of closely packed people, I found it stifling. My recollection is that the people blocking my progress by walking slowly and stopping frequently to take a look at the products, while taking care of their children, were *doğulu.*[172] It obviously provided a big contrast to the habitat I was familiar with. I was accustomed to going to supermarkets and hypermarkets like Migros, Tansaş and Kipa to shop and to Ege Park Shopping Center in Mavişehir to socialize (cinema, cafe

[172] Translation: easterner. The word contains a geographical reference to people who come from the eastern part of Turkey. Actually, this word is often used to connote people of Middle Eastern background, who are considered less civilized and culturally inferior. See Navaro-Yashin's *Faces of the State, Secularism and Public Life in Turkey* (2002) for more detail about the tension between the countryside and the big cities of Turkey as an effect of modernity.

and fast food), all of which were located in Karşıyaka and Çiğli, in the newer districts of the city. In contrast to my clean, tidy and 'modern' environment, Kemeraltı was unsettling, with crumbling inns, low-quality stores and a 'poor crowd.' At the same time, I knew that it was a place where you could buy rare and imported products or get things repaired that you wouldn't even consider looking for in a shopping center. For example, my father, who owned a clock, watch and optical store in Bostanlı, would send me or my brother to Kemeraltı to take deliveries when other employees were busy. Since Google Maps didn't exist in the '90s, my father would draw a sketch of the location where I was to deliver some old repaired watches or lens orders. Unfortunately, I always had difficulty matching the sketch with the actual space. I would run from one business center to a store, totally stressed out. When my father would call to ask where I was, I would feel panic and finally dare to ask the people around me. The lenses which came to Izmir from Istanbul, Zürich or Milan were not as common as sage, cumin or ground coffee products, therefore, I had to ask many people in order to find the correct address. The most interesting thing was that each time I forgot where the store was, because my sense of direction didn't work as I had been in Bostanlı or Alsancak.[173] Kemeraltı didn't have a grid system like the modern part of the city. Landmarks were of little help, since everything seemed similar. The fact that directions such as 'left, right or straight ahead' had no meaning within the labyrinthine market area stressed me out even more.

My discovery of Abacıoğlu Inn belongs to another period of my life in Izmir. After my studies outside of Izmir, I coincidentally visited the inn with a Belgian friend in 2008. He was there for few days, and I wanted to show him, as a Western visitor, some interesting and 'authentic' places in Izmir. We sat down for some tea. There were some groups of men sitting in the courtyard. At first they looked at us. They greeted my friend in different languages. They proposed that he buy carpets and leather jackets. When he refused, they turned to me and asked if I were a tourist guide. Then they tried to convince me to convince him to do some shopping in the inn. If he were to shop, I would earn 'my part' as well. I translated what the men were saying to my friend. He laughed and said they were trying to do business. For my part, I was embarrassed by the fact that we did not feel at ease with the shopkeepers; they were harassing all the Western visitors, and Izmir had such a bad, non-modern, non-Western image because of them.

When I was conducting my fieldwork in 2013, I learned from the festival's website that Abacıoğlu Inn would be one of the venues. Kemeraltı was under renovation: the municipality was painting the façades and battling the hodgepodge of signboards. It was cleaned more regularly. Abacıoğlu Inn has been one of the examples of architectural renovation in the old

[173] According to cognitive psychologist Barbara Tversky, the fact that I couldn't orient myself might be interpreted as relying on my cognitive collage pattern: I had a certain way of orienting myself in the city. Another spatial structure cannot be codified in my cognitive map (1993 and 2003). On the other hand, another interpretation might follow the construct suggested by Twigger-Ross and Uzzell in 'Place and Identity Processes' (1996): my lack of affinity for and attachment to the place, which stemmed in part from a sense of insecurity, meant that I couldn't retain the locations in my memory.

market district. Gradually some spots, such as Kızlarağası Inn and Hisar Square, followed the example of the inn, and nearby streets became popular as a place of nostalgia and shopping during the day. Related to my research, I included the inn in my inquiry and asked my interlocutors how they experienced Kemeraltı. At first I received comments that echoed my own views of the area, which I have previously shared. Nezaket, who was devoted to classical music, was astonished that there would be a festival concert in Kemeraltı. After some arguments about the content of the festival, she explained what Kemeraltı meant to her:

"(...) *Kemeraltı was very bad in the old times. I don't know if you remember, you couldn't walk at ease. You used to hold onto your bags with both of your hands, because the pickpockets stole them. We had a neighbor who was a police officer. He told us that when the Izmir Fair was held, all the pickpockets in Turkey used to come to Izmir. He said to my mother: 'Now we have found a solution that isn't in the law. We break their arms. Then this news spreads, and they don't come anymore.' (...) The historic areas were so dirty. You couldn't enter. When you go there, you [see] the garbage, the waste...you smell the toilets... For example, I invited many former students from Van. I wanted to bring them for a historic trip. There was so much rubbish heaped up that I said, 'Children, it is also alright if you don't visit.' They were cleaned with the festival.*"

Nezaket shared with me her memories of the Kemeraltı district, including the Roman Agora, which had been a festival venue in 1999 (and Abacıoğlu Inn in 2013). Before her participation in the festival, she had had some negative experiences in the area, and she noted the progress that the municipality had made. According to her, not just the municipality but the public as well as had become more sensible and cleaned those places, especially after the concerts. Thus, she expected similar improvement from Abacıoğlu Inn within Kemeraltı.

Ayten's recollections of Kemeraltı as a memory place of her personal history contain both positive and negative aspects:

"*I live in Hatay [Avenue] now. I used to live in Buca during my childhood. I have been in Alsancak and Kemeraltı since my childhood. When I went to Kemeraltı, each time I was lost...I am still lost. The streets are complicated and messy. It is nice, but it is too nested. We have been there for shopping. Before, we used to go to the cinema there. There was the Çınar cinema, that one on the top of YKM (Yeni Kara Mürsel Shopping Center). Before, I used to go a lot to the cinema. There were summer cinemas.*[174] *I was 16-17 years old at that time...*"

For Ayten, Alsancak and Kemeraltı were places to shop and engage in leisure activities, a perception shared in the collective memory (Bilgin, 2010 and 2011). In comparing Alsancak and Kemeraltı, she differentiated between Western-style and non-Western-style hot spots.

[174]*Yazlık Sinema* (Summer Cinema) was a type of cinema which was a fad before the popularization of TV. It was generally organized in the inns' courtyards and in the empty terrain of the city. The interlocutor remembered that she had attended a summer cinema in Kemeraltı, but she could not recall the exact location.

The accounts of Nezaket and Ayten are very different from each other. The first one emphasized the physical dirt, which connotes symbolic dirt, implying a lack of security; the second one followed the narrative of collective memory: a place of leisure with friends and family. The fact that she interacted differently with Kemeraltı these days than in the past was something she attributed to her living in a different district of the city. She recalled a period of her life when she would go to Kemeraltı to shop and to watch cinema performances.

As might be expected, not all of the festival participants shared the same intensity of experiences at Kemeraltı or Abacıoğlu Inn. My aunt had lived almost her entire life in Karşıyaka. Because of physical distance and the close proximity of the old Karşıyaka market street, she rarely visited Kemeraltı. She had had less interaction with Kemeraltı since her childhood. Actually, she went there neither for shopping nor for any other leisure activity. Like other interlocutors from the other side of the Gulf of Izmir, she had begun to perceive Kemeraltı and the inns in the context of cultural heritage. She was following as well how historic sites were important for the image of city, therefore its value was closely linked with its historicity. She attended the historic site tours with the Ebruli Tour Agency and other intellectual groups with such friends as Elif, Barış and Sumru. When I asked her how often she had been in Kemeraltı and Abacıoğlu Inn, she answered: "*The last time I went to Kemeraltı was in the autumn.*[175] *I didn't have a specific purpose; we just went for a walk. I visited Abacıoğlu Inn, too. We entered and looked a bit inside. It was a nice renovation. If all these inns are renovated, it will be nice. The first time that we entered, we sat a bit and drank some tea and took some pictures.*

H: Have you ever talked with the shopkeepers?

My aunt: Yes, I did. They are happy, but the sales are not what they expected. Different things should be done. There is no life.

H: Though Kemeraltı is very crowded and full of life?

M.A.: Maybe. The people don't enter the arcades and inns very often."

Then I inquired how she personally made sense of Kemeraltı and how her personal history intersected with the collective memory. Since she was aware that I was asking in the context of the International Izmir Festival, she answered me specifically:

"*I was pleased to hear that there would be a concert in Kemeraltı (the concert was to be held on July 11, 2013, a few weeks after the interview). There are new projects about that. I hope it will become alive at night as well. There is a target like that. It is a project that will take 20 years, as far as I know. It will be realized step by step. When I say Kemeraltı, I remember that it was the biggest bazaar in the world. It spread over a very large area. Now the consensus is that it should become a more functional tourist*

[175] The interview was conducted on June 15, 2013.

attraction, which is alive day and night. They considered making a dwelling on the upper floors or providing a hostel so that it would be alive in the evening as well."

Her friend Gülten, who was sitting with us, interrupted: "*Especially for the students. The goal is to attract the younger population there. In the night it becomes terrifying, a ghost town.*"[176]

My aunt continued with her discourse, ignoring the image of a 'ghost town': "I don't have any prejudices about Kemeraltı. Anyway, I follow with pleasure all the current work."

Gülten continued animatedly: "*Kemeraltı is a treasure for me. In the old days, I used to give tours of it to the foreign friends of my father. I have known all the corners of the place for many years. I remember the time that the Kızlarağası Inn was still a ruin, where there were copper workshops. Now Kızlarağası Inn is in a very functional condition after its renovation. It has a place in the middle where you can drink coffee. There are sellers of accessories, scarves, authentic dresses...There are many places where you can taste incredibly delicious things for extremely cheap prices in its surroundings. When I feel sad or depressed, the first place that I go to is Kemeraltı. I walk to Kemeraltı...*

My aunt: (Interrupts) Yes, there is an incredible energy there.

G: There is energy there. For example, you sit in Mennan, and you eat its famous ice cream with mulberries. Then you go to Kızlarağası Inn. Even though you sit alone, by listening to the nearby tables, you can hear what people deal with, what kind of problems they have, and you feel better. Visiting Kemeraltı is kind of like going to therapy.

M.A.: As I come from Karşıyaka, I don't have a nexus. But when I go there, I feel happy, I am filled with energy, with pleasure, and it is a place where I can always make discoveries."

The dialogue among the three of us offers an interesting comparison of how these two individuals are connected to Kemeraltı. One conveyed her knowledge of the importance of the urban projects in Kemeraltı. While sharing her knowledge and approbation of the situation, she rested on her local identity, which referred to a 'cultural' image of Izmir that was shared by the International Izmir Festival. This image emphasized the historical knowledge not visible in the urban landscape except to a select group of intellectuals. With her mention of how she appreciated what the historic projects were doing to create a better image of the city, she not only conveyed her envy of the prestigious images of European cities but also indicated her social status. Compared to this, the knowledge Gülten shared was more detailed than my aunt's account. She had her own memories of the old market district, and each time that she visited the same patisserie and inn and consumed the same things, she commemorated her previous memories. Her Kemeraltı visits might be interpreted as nostalgia for better days in the past, because her act of eating mulberry ice cream referred to a time in her childhood when her

[176] Kemeraltı becomes dark and empty at night, because it is only a commercial area. The crowds and vitality of the stands are replaced with an eerie ambiance in the heart of the city.

parents were alive and things were better: that is, when she didn't have a stressful job and financial problems.[177]

According to my aunt, Abacıoğlu Inn was not a place that had much to do with her life. It was a place that she visited as a tourist. Still, she remarked that it was a part of the city in which she lived. Nevertheless, her interaction, even though it was positive, did not reflect a deep attachment to the place. On the other hand, Gülten had been in Kemeraltı regularly, and it held different connotations for her – i.e., 'a place of therapy' and a 'treasure'; Kemeraltı had a distinctive place in her memory. She indicated that some places, especially the Hisarönü area, bear heterotopian features: while she herself connected to the area with a feeling of nostalgia, she also defined some inns and cafés as being 'other spaces' that she seeks out as an escape from daily life. These are the moments when she thinks of her childhood or pays attention to the 'other.' Kemeraltı reminded her of past experiences, like eating mulberry-flavored ice cream and drinking a coffee at the Kızlarağası Inn, which were part of a rhythmic cycle of rituals that she had chosen to continue since her childhood. This relates to a similar experience imparted by Elif, who discussed the values of urbanites. According to her, interactions with neighbors and friends reminded her as an individual that 'her problems are a drop in the ocean compared to those of her friends' and 'meeting for some tea is like therapy.' Furthermore, for her, Kemeraltı was a living space, in the same way that it was a living space for Gülten. She had similarly positive impressions of and strong emotions attached to it. Again, because of her job, Elif would often walk in Basmane and Kemeraltı: it was a way of suspending her daily life and seeking refuge in the otherness of those places, just as it was for Gülten.

Elif was especially sympathetic towards the inns and hammams. Her father had stayed in bachelor pads converted from inns when he emigrated from Konya to Izmir, and he had spent his time in the coffee shops. When she walked in these neighborhoods, she visited those places and recalled her father. During her visits, she would stop by an inn, including Abacıoğlu, to drink some tea, eat traditional foods and take pictures. On the other hand, the hammams reminded her of her paternal aunt. When she was a little child, she used to stay with her aunt every summer during school holidays. Her aunt used to bring her to hammams every week. Similar to her visits to the inns, she said many times that she visited the hammams once a month as a way to pay honor to her aunt. There is a certain similarity between Ceren's expressing her affinity for the old factory with her analogy of visiting an old relative and Elif's expressing her attachment to the inns and hammams because of her father's connection to the inns and her paternal aunt's connection with the hammams.

Regular visits and daily interactions, like eating a mulberry ice cream or drinking tea, may become part of a ritual of revisiting the places of one's past in order to relive such experiences.

[177] Although there is a stereotype that all of the festival participants are intellectuals and members of the elite, privileged class, I would note that among the group their incomes vary. Most of them are more than fifty years old, some are retired and living on a limited pension, whereas some have their own business or rental properties.

The longer an individual stays in the same city and is actively involved in these places, the more one's personal history may become a part of the city's memory. The inverse is also true: the individual may link the city's history with his or her personal history, like my aunt, who didn't affirm a specific memory of Kemeraltı but who claimed knowledge of the history of the place as a way of asserting its value to her.

Apart from nostalgia and the adoption of a popular narrative, there may also be ruptures between how one remembers a place and the way the place has changed in the intervening time (Connerton, 2009) because of the dynamism of city life (Massey, 2005). According to Nilgün, she and her brother hadn't been in Kemeraltı for a long time, but they wanted to revisit the area in order to take a walk with a European friend of her brother. She mentioned how she used to visit Kemeraltı and do her shopping there. According to her, buying a dress from Kemeraltı used to be an indicator of prestige. All the doctors used to have their clinics there, close to the opera and ballet of Izmir. Seeing the changes in the area left them feeling upset, and they attributed the changes to the consequences of immigration. This experience was different than Gülten and Elif's, both of whom regularly visited the old market district. Nilgün was alienated by the changes that she herself had not witnessed, which manifested a clash between the image of Kemeraltı in her memory and the place that she visited and characterized as similar to a 'Jordanian marketplace,' indicating the presence of women wearing black chadors and headscarves. Her response is similar to Navaro-Yashin's study, which shows that individuals with a secular, Western orientation prefer not to visit districts in cities that are inhabited by religious communities. Referring to Žižek, she maintains that this type of urban segregation is based on the fear of someone modern of being regarded by Westerners as non-modern and non-Western (2002; 33 and 59-65). This conflicts with *her* image of Izmir, which is secular and modeled after the West. This experience of presenting historic Izmir to outsiders is different from Gülten's, who was able to sustain her memories in specific places and implicate the dynamics of the space with the description, 'it has an energy.' Nilgün's image of Kemeraltı was from her memory. The image of Kemeraltı that was her point of reference was formed by secular modern ideology (Mills, 2014 and Özyürek, 2012). When Nilgün revisited the place and saw the differences, the image in her memory and her experience were in conflict.

Similar to my aunt, Nilgün associated her local identity with the official narrative and her previous memories. She felt shame upon seeing non-Western-looking people while in the company of her brother's European friends, because she disassociates herself from the 'Middle Eastern appearance' of a historic site in Izmir. Although she recognized the fact that the shopkeeper and consumer profile of Kemeraltı had changed, she rejected the contrast when compared to *her* image of Izmir. While Gülten and Elif shared their accounts based on nostalgia, they did not mention any differences or comparisons of old and new images of Kemeraltı. For them, as philosopher and architect Stavros Stavrides (2016) argues in the concept of 'liminal,' the old market district was a place in the city to which they escaped from their everyday lives. Their pace slowed down, and they returned to the memory places associated with their

childhoods and families. While visiting those memory places, they visited their own pasts. This commemoration interacted with the present while they interacted with the current actors of the places.

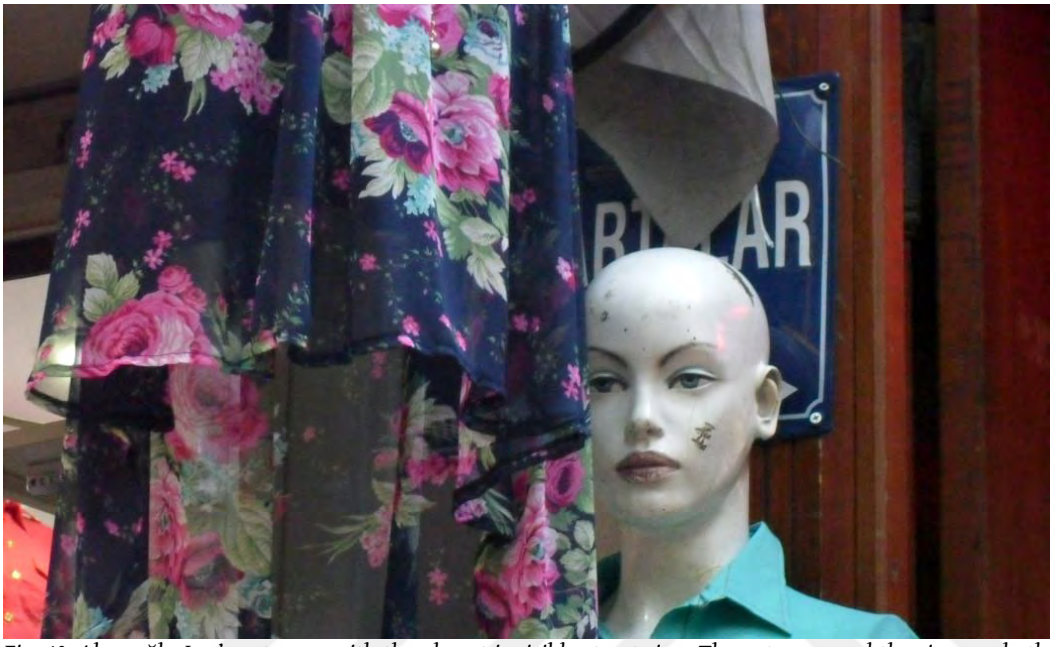

Fig. 40: Abacıoğlu Inn's entrance with the almost invisible street sign. The entrance and the sign are both lost in the 'chaos' of Kemeraltı. (Photo taken by the author in 2013)

The complexity of Kemeraltı, when considering the activities, buildings representing past and present, and the heterogeneous population, might indeed be interpreted in the context of Stavrides' (ibid.) notion of 'liminality.' Ayten's statement highlights the fact that when she visits Kemeraltı, her life takes on a different rhythm than during her normal, everyday life. Ceren's statement reflects a similar pattern of sense-making of Kemeraltı:

"*I think that it is some 300 years old, and it is one of the biggest open-air marketplaces in Europe. It is a terrifying chaos, with all kinds of stores and products being sold next to each other across hundreds of streets that intersect with Anafartalar Street. I generally like to go to Kemeraltı, too. I can never find my way; that's another story. Even though it's hard for me to remember, but it is also a pleasure, that sensation of being lost.*"

Similar to this liminality and other practices of heterotopia in which an individual enters another dimension of time-space, her presence reflects her absence from the reality to which she is accustomed (Foucault, 1986; 24). In other words, in the moment she loses herself, she becomes detached from her daily life and creates an ambivalent space in which she experiences a moment of heterotopia until she finds herself.

In contrast to my interlocutors' and my perception of Kemeraltı as a place of escape, Nilgün criticized the characterization of Kemeraltı as a 'superficial' tourist destination to which

one would escape, or which others discovered after it had been renovated and 'cleaned up.' After my questions about the renovations in Kemeraltı and her perception of the Abacıoğlu Inn, she answered:

"We should distinguish between Kemeraltı and Abacıoğlu Inn. There are very beautiful inns in Kemeraltı. For example, there is the Meserret Inn there. After it was renovated, it would have become a café, too (she means that the inn would become a food court like Abacıoğlu Inn). Then there is Havra Sokağı (Synagogue Street), which is something unique. There are 7-8 synagogues in the vicinity of Synagogue Street. There is 1st Beyler [Street], which is just behind the opera. All the doctors used to live there. All the clinics were in 1st Beyler [Street] or 2nd Beyler [Street]. Izmirians knew they were the streets of doctors. In my opinion, Kemeraltı is not only a place of transit. For example, Kestane Pazarı or Başdurak is the spot where the Silk Road started and ended. There is also Hisarönü and the Kızlarağası Inn nearby, then Dönertaş and Tilkilik. These are remnants of old Izmir. Dönertaş [neighborhood] had blind alleys, and when you enter, there are houses on both sides, like a mansion with a courtyard. These are beautiful places, but who knows how they are now. It's probably 35 years since I have been there. (...) We may need to visit the places that we don't remember. We may have that kind of service. Kemeraltı is not only the Hisar Mosque. There are Kestane Pazarı and the Şadırvanaltı Mosques, which are very old and beautiful. Then there is the Başdurak (Mosque). The mosques in the neighborhood are beautiful. It is shameful now that when people say Kemeraltı, they recall only Hisarönü.[178] And they know it because of the Kızlarağası Inn, as it is just next to it. If Kızlarağası hadn't been renovated and opened to the public, they wouldn't know about it!"

Nilgün was aware of the urban perception concerning the old market district and that some inns had been renovated due to their historic value. Furthermore, some people were visiting it as a tourist destination, not really making it an adjunct to a shopping trip but rather enjoying the historical atmosphere and having a bite to eat or drink. She meant that the place didn't only consist of one 'urban imaginary' or 'getaway' from daily life. She revealed that, in contrast to the present, the neighborhood had once been inhabited by members of the upper socioeconomic class. Indeed, similar to Alsancak (la Punta), signs of wealth can still be seen in a neighborhood of mansions in Kemeraltı. The houses in the vicinity of Kemeraltı are today mostly ruins, because the once residential neighborhoods have increasingly been taken over for commercial purposes.

[178] Reminder: The old marketplace of the Genoese community with Saint Pierre Castle. The mosque and the square bear the name *hisar,* which means castle in Turkish. Although there hasn't been a castle for centuries, the names of the mosque and square bear the memory of the castle. The square in question and Kızlarağası Inn, which is adjacent to the square, are quite popular. These are places where people eat different sorts of kebab. The inn is also a popular site known as a 'tourist site,' where locals and visitors look for authentic objects as souvenirs. Recently, the inn has become an arts space where one can find traditional arts, such as marbling, miniature paintings, instruments, ney (a wind instrument used for spiritual ceremonies), a workshop and antique stores. The coffee shop that Gülten was talking about is on the ground floor, whereas the patisserie with the mulberry-flavored ice cream is located behind Hisar Square.

As the local shopkeepers and traveling traders have been replaced by newcomers from other Anatolian towns and people's shopping habits have changed, the inns have become invisible; they have not only lost their purpose but have physically deteriorated. Abacıoğlu Inn is not an exception. It changed for similar socioeconomic reasons coupled with modernity. Once a gathering place of traders by day and by night, it gradually became a neglected place isolated from the flow of the main street. Although it was renovated and regained as a tourist site under the motivation of restoring the cultural heritage, it remains unpopular and eerie at night. The following is provided as a recap of the cases discussed thus far: Kadifekale is situated atop a hill and is surrounded by a low-income residential neighborhood; Reji is an island in the midst of major roads connecting the city from north to south and from southwest to northeast; and, finally, Ayavukla is also situated in an accessible area in the city center but is isolated, because it is located on a low-income, mostly residential street that carries negative connotations in the collective memory.

When I investigated Abacıoğlu Inn in 2013, before the concert organized by the festival, the daily users included foreign tourists arriving on cruise ships and locals passing by to take pictures and drink some tea in the courtyard. Ayşa Restaurant, which serves Bosnian cuisine, wasn't as popular as now. Except for some stores like the clock and watch repair shop, which had its own client profile, the courtyard and stores were not fancy or set up to serve a crowd. By looking at the big gate and the corridor between the street and the courtyard, one could 'read' the building that used to be a warehouse and a hostel for traders. In its current incarnation, following the renovation, the stores that became cafes or restaurants were the more salient elements. Similar to Ayavukla, the renovation also involved some 'updating.' Compared to the lamentable condition of Reji and the marginalized atmosphere of Kadifekale, Ayavukla and Abacıoğlu Inn had managed to become integrated into daily life, serving different functions than in the past.

I visited Abacıoğlu Inn many times before and after the festival, and each time it was busy: white-collar workers coming for their lunch break, tourists on walking tours, local clients or the friends and relatives of tradesmen working there. The conversations and loud pop music mixed with the canary singing in the cage that hung from a store eave. As Ceren stated, 'the visual and auditory chaos of Kemeraltı resonated there.' However, when compared to the din from the crowded streets, the inn offered relative peace and calm.

When I interviewed Ceren a few weeks before the concert, I asked her about the interaction between the festival and Abacıoğlu Inn. She answered that the shopkeepers were excited, because the event would highlight the inn: "*To see that excitement makes us happy. Biraz toz duman kaldırıyoruz*" (We run upside down a bit).

Upon my request, she accepted my joining the meeting on the same day with the shopkeepers. I was excited as well, because I didn't know what their reactions would be concerning the organization of a classical music concert in their workplace.

When I finished my interview with Ceren, we went downstairs to meet Mustafa at the entrance to the building. We waited for the festival car to bring us near Abacıoğlu Inn. Ceren sighed: "*İçimiz dışımız Abacıoğlu oldu*" (We are completely drained by Abacıoğlu). Then Mustafa complained about the inadequate materials provided by the opera and the municipality, and they discussed some technical issues concerning the place.

As Kemeraltı is a pedestrian area, the driver left us at the entrance to Kemeraltı. We walked through narrow streets and arcades where I had never been before. When we came to Abacıoğlu Inn, the light and sound director was already waiting for us, together with some of the owners of the stores. '*Esnaflar*' (shopkeepers) shook our hands one by one. It was obvious that I was a 'new actor,' so they looked me over for a while. Ceren got involved in the situation by introducing me: '*Hasan da festival ağırlamadan*' (and Hasan from festival hosting). We sat down in front of Ayşa Restaurant around two tables that were placed together. We were served tea, Bosnian '*börek*' or a '*kolašić*' (pie) and some special cookies made of sesame paste. The only woman among the shopkeepers was Ayşe, the owner of Ayşa Restaurant. She was tall, stout, and she had blue eyes with red hair. In contrast to her, the waitress was a thin, brunette woman wearing a headscarf. The waitress timidly and silently served us tea and cookies. Ceren observed the courtyard and started the meeting with her question: "*Is it like this during these hours?*" One of the owners described the human circulation of the inn. He talked about which days and what times the walking tour groups came and when the inn was calm. Zülfikar, the owner of the tavern at the entrance, added: "*It has become more and more popular.*" They discussed the fabrics and parasols that covered the courtyard, providing some shade. Mustafa: "*It needs some order. In Spain, a fabric passed with two ropes made of steel."*

Ayşe: A mechanical system is necessary. There is also winter in Izmir.

Shopkeeper 1: Recently, I went to the Murat Mosque. There was a 100 [dia]meter parasol in the courtyard.

A.: I hope it will be an example for the other inns.

Mustafa: We visited all of them. They were all covered very badly. İçerisi basıyor (It lacks air inside).

Ceren: This inn is unique, there is nothing similar. Çakaloğlu [Inn] was too gloomy and airless. Here it will be arranged according to a concert setting. We will set up some ordinary plastic chairs.

A: (She purses her lips and narrows her eyes) [The chairs] don't look nice like that. I don't know, can't you cover them with some fabric?

C: If there is fabric, it looks like a wedding. Also, it is not easy to transport.

A: (She shows her tables and the tables of the other café extended in the courtyard) We won't squeeze them into a place, let them spread into the corners. The eaves [of the buildings] are bad.

C: Don't worry, as an organizer of the festival, I will tell this to the municipality.

The meeting moved on to matters concerning the municipality. The tradesmen complained that after the renovation the municipality didn't care enough about the inn and the common areas.

A: How will the eaves be done in one week without constructing any scaffolding?

C: (Smiles) The toilets need to be renovated, too.

A: (She nods her head) Yes, sure, the festival is a pretext. The entrance is bad, too.

C: We told Konak Municipality.

A: The representation is bad, too.

Rafael: Our entrance is so cluttered that I can't afford to [discuss with] those at the gate. There is no significance (it is not visible). If you don't describe it [to the customers in advance], they don't see it.

Fig. 41: A general view of Abacıoğlu Inn (photo taken by the author in 2013)

The *esnaf* of Abacıoğlu Inn were aware of the city branding conducted by the municipality under the motivation of İKSEV's event. When the festival organizers were present to collaborate on behalf of the festival organization together with the *esnaf*, their everyday workplace regained importance as an official historic site, and they reappropriated the place, utilizing the festival as a mediator between them and the municipality. Indeed, after the renovation, the inn hadn't attracted clients as had been expected. Thus, while they collaborated with the festival team, they suggested and – as you will read below – implicitly made some demands concerning their own profits connected with the credibility of the inn. Ayşe complained: *"[Peddlers] make the pedestrians like themselves. The yellow line*[179] *doesn't work. The municipality did such a good job, but these people made it problematic. The stores are like warehouses. They put everything on the walls and pavements. When they close the stores, they put everything inside, and there is no space to walk. It's like a warehouse. We are here; we are* esnaf. *We can't say anything*."

The anxiety of Ayşe and Rafael should be considered in the context of *mahalle* again: social control and the unspoken rules of coexistence. Abacıoğlu Inn within Kemeraltı provided the shopkeepers a traditional work setting, where the public circulated and the *esnaf*'s role was to call out to customers and to put out products in common places. Although the historical background of Abacıoğlu Inn was charming, the social structure and the expectations of the inn's shopkeepers made for conflict. Here the *esnaf* of the inn felt victimized, because the sole entrance to their workplace was obscured by the peddlers' goods. Yet they didn't dare to mention this out of worry that if they complained, they would have troubles for as long as they worked in the inn.

After Ayşe's statement there was a short silence. Zülfikar suddenly changed the subject: "*How will you use the inn? Will the concert be with tables or theater seating?"*

C: Theater seating.

Z.: Where the stage will be?

Ceren indicated with her hand the corner of the courtyard where the stage was going to be installed.

Mustafa: It might still be used as an inn and [the concert setting] will not necessarily [occupy] all the places where your chairs and tables stand.

As the festival team became aware of the commercial worries of the *esnaf*, they made efforts to reassure them. They explained that while the setup was being conducted, they could still carry on their normal commercial activities.

[179]The yellow line is a line painted by the municipality on the ground in front of the stores and restaurant intended to demarcate the area of common use.

Based on the flow of the dialogue, I surmised that the team had met with the *esnaf* before. Ceren and her colleagues had visited many inns in Kemeraltı and had checked their appropriateness for the concert. They had decided on Abacıoğlu Inn, first of all, to promote its renovation in 2007 by the municipality. Second, it was an inn which was capacious enough to accommodate the spectators and stage. During the meeting, some *esnaf* of the inn were more active participants than others. We, as a festival team, consisted of four people, while there were six *esnaf* at the beginning of the meeting. Among the group, Ayşe was the one who had most recently opened her restaurant. She was also the one who was most vocal in expressing her wishes, far more than Rafael, who was the oldest *esnaf* of the inn.[180] However, he didn't make use of the courtyard except as a place to sit and relax with his neighbors. Ayşe had been alerted about the engagement of the festival, because she was making use of the common area. There were many iron tables belonging to her restaurant. She was an ambitious woman, and she had located her business in the center of Alsancak, close to a business district, so that people could come and eat during their lunch break. Ayşe had claimed the common area as an extension of her restaurant, because she had already taken pains to ensure that she offered good quality products in an aesthetically pleasing setting. She engaged with the festival team in the hope of deriving more benefit from the common area. Rafael contributed to the conversation with respect to making the inn more visible to potential customers. His reasons for proposing signage that would make the historic inn more visible were half aesthetic, half commercial. As is seen in pictures 38 and 40, the products sold in the street obscured not just the entrance to the inn but also the street sign. The *esnaf* and peddlers refused to be constrained by the yellow line imposed by the municipality. They regarded their stores as warehouses for their products and the street as an open market where passers-by were potential clients who gazed at, touched and sometimes bargained for the items that caught their eye. The custom of entering a store and surveying the shelves would be something available in a 'modern' setting offered by the new chain stores. People used to the configuration of shopping centers tended to prefer 'modern' stores, whereas more traditional people generally preferred the traditional flow and spontaneous exchanges in public spaces like the agora, where the people would mix and interact (Dehaene and Cauter, 2008).

Further, the conversation continued to center on the social aspects of this invisibility. The *esnaf* of the inn were aware of the value of their workplace's designation as an historic site. They claimed that the historic site was rendered invisible, because of the visual chaos presented by the products at the main entrance. They weren't able to compete or negotiate with the *esnaf* and peddlers on the main street, because they wanted to avoid any conflict with their neighbors.

The festival team obtained more information about the aesthetic needs and technical problems associated with the daily life of the inn. In return, they informed the *esnaf* about the

[180] When I visited him in 2019, I learned that he and his family have been in the Abacıoğlu Inn for generations. He revealed that the inn had a second door opening to the Jewish neighborhood during uncertain times. The inn is close to Synagogue Street, where many synagogues are located. For more detailed information, see Çınar Atay's *Kapanan Kapılar, İzmir Hanları (2003).*

technical details of the event, especially how the courtyard would be utilized during the event. Mustafa reassured them, indicating that the concert setup would not totally disrupt their business.

Whether or not they participated in the conversation, the *esnaf* knew that the festival's involvement with the inn as a historic site was in the context of city branding and was an effort to enhance the local identity based on the values of the community. Along the lines of Hastaoglu-Martinidis' research on Thessaloniki (2010) and the report published by the municipality, '*Resilient Thessaloniki: a Strategy for 2030,*' the purpose was to harness the historic potential of Izmir for tourism.

The festival team and the shopkeepers took a break from their meeting. Ayşe went to take care of a client. Ceren and Mustafa took out their mobile phones, and they started a conversation. The shopkeepers were dismissed. Deniz, the light and sound chief, and I ate the last pieces of pie and cookies. He turned to Ceren and Mustafa: "*I will give you the light on the trees, then there* (he indicated towards the stone wall) *we should enter [to set up] around six [o'clock].*"

Ceren ended her telephone conversation and turned toward Deniz: "The sound check will be between seven and eight."

The shopkeepers came back, and Zülfikar began to give advice for the setup: "*Vehicles are allowed to enter from the rear side in the early morning or the night before.*"[181]

The subject of this meeting changed frequently. The festival team tried to explain each detail of the setup in order to reassure the shopkeepers. They continued to discuss the canvas, whether it was possible to adequately cover the courtyard or if they should find a cleaner and more elegant covering that could perhaps also cover the stage. The topic then changed to working at night, then to health problems. This time there was less talk about the Konak Municipality. They began to talk about more personal subjects. Ayşe looked at me while she spoke to Ceren. She saw that I was taking notes during the meeting. Ceren again explained my position in the festival. She kept my role discreet, not mentioning the research aspect. I explained myself, trying to express with the best and simplest words the goal of my research. I started to feel uncomfortable under Ayşe's gaze. On the one hand, I didn't want to stop jotting down notes, because each moment was valuable and should be saved. On the other hand, I worried about giving the wrong impression to the *esnaf.* I kept silent in order to avoid disturbing them with my presence.

Following the conversation, Ceren added that a clavichord would be brought to the stage. I managed to link my role into the meeting. As my duties were to help in hosting the artists, I

[181]Kemeraltı is an entirely pedestrian area, where vehicles are prevented from entering because of the huge crowds.

should know how the inn would be used: "Ceren *Hanım*, will the backstage be there?" (I indicated the stone building, which was just behind the space that Ceren indicated would serve as the 'stage')

Ceren confirmed by nodding her head. She informed Zülfikar that the main entrance would be used exclusively for the spectators, who would come after 8:30 p.m. Ayşe joined the discussion, mentioning that there wasn't any activity in the inn: "*IKSEV and Konak Municipality should do that.*" Ceren smiled, "*Now there is a reason.*" The dialogue moved on to the accessibility of the inn to the spectators, but also, generally, to the visitors. Ayşe complained that although there were lights, the inn wasn't found easily, and that they should put more pressure on the municipality for an official signboard. She believed that the municipality didn't listen to them, but if the comments came from IKSEV, the municipality would respond. Because of such insistence and Ayşe's rising voice, Ceren wasn't smiling anymore. Ceren repeated that she was trying to get the municipality to clean the space, to put up orientation boards and to repair the courtyard. In contrast to the first part of the meeting, the second part was less informative. It was structured rather by the demands of the *esnaf*. While Rafael and another old man remained silent, Zülfikar and Ayşe looked cynically around them. I noticed an avoidance of direct eye contact with Ceren. During a moment of silence, I heard only the sound of my pen against the notebook. I understood from the conversation that the committee of *esnaf*, which represented Abacıoğlu Inn, wanted to make it as popular as Kızlarağası Inn. I scanned the courtyard and saw some signs of neglect on the part of both the shopkeepers and the municipality: there were exposed electrical cables, some rusty shutters, and an array of items – such as parasols, posters, ads and other products – spread randomly across the courtyard. Ayşe again took control of the conversation. She repeated that they needed support, and this could be a reason to organize another concert later. She began to tell her own Kemeraltı success story: "*We did everything ourselves. [The municipality] only took care of the main infrastructure.*" Zülfikar added: "*It's not only concerning the esnaf or store, but let's also make this place beautiful. Bir yer kazandırılmış olsun.*" (Let us gain a place) Then Ayşe continued: "*When I came here to open my restaurant, they asked me: 'What the hell are you going to do inside [of an inn]? The customers won't come to see you.' But if I don't come, and if he doesn't come, then Kemeraltı becomes empty. We are neither cheap nor expensive sellers. They asked me to move to Alaçatı. A pasta dish there costs 30 Lira, mineral water 10 Lira.*[182] *People got used to the deceit. I also saw lately another restaurant nearby here. Three types of meals cost 5 Lira (1,53€).*[183] *Is that possible? Pay 5 Lira for three types of meals, then pay 105 Lira for the doctor! I am a board member of*

[182] These are the prices of 2013. Since then the Turkish Lira has been devalued, but the menu prices of tourist places are still increasing.
[183] 1 Euro = 2,52 Turkish Lira in 2013, 3,26 on August 30, 2015, when I wrote the first version of this dissertation and 6,42 in 2019. The money is converted to a well-known currency to compare the average daily market prices in Kemeraltı and Izmir Festival's concerts.

a food traders' establishment (she means the chamber of catering in Izmir). I struggle with that [price standardization], too. One serves kebab without water, nothing.

Fig. 42: The space that was going to be set up as the stage (photo taken by the author in 2013)

Ceren consoled her, agreeing with her, saying that her restaurant needed more clients to make the inn sustainable. If more people visited the inn, there would be more circulation about her restaurant as well as the inn. Upon hearing this, Ayşe remembered one of the things the municipality had done: "*Konak Municipality used to make an exhibition. Let's make something regular so that people are curious*." She meant that regular events should be scheduled at the inn to attract people's attention and keep them coming back to visit. Ceren skipped over her suggestion and came back to her previous suggestions concerning the maintenance of the inn by the municipality via mediation by the festival: "*This concert will put pressure on the municipality*." Moreover, she calmly defended the limits of the festival's responsibility. Thus, the topic was changed to discuss the environmental conditions of the event. Mustafa and Deniz remarked on the proximity of the Kemeraltı mosques to the inn. Ayşe replied that three mosques in the surrounding area could be heard in the courtyard. She suggested that they could arrange the hours of the event around the nighttime call to prayer. Ceren asked half-jokingly whether the imams' singing was any good or not. We laughed together, remembering that the volume of the imams' singing had increased and that the sound quality of speakers had not been synchronized with the voice of the imam for quite a while.

After this lighthearted moment, Ayşe proceeded with her success story. Imitating her father's Bosnian accent, she told us about his reaction to the renovation of her restaurant in the inn. He didn't understand why she had uncovered the walls to make the stones visible. According to him, stone walls meant bareness and poverty. She tried to describe to her father the 'authentic style,' in which natural and local materials were appreciated. Other shopkeepers at the table added, with a smile, that they covered the stones, because the municipality, which had conducted the renovation, hadn't informed them sufficiently about how to maintain an authentic structure.

When the meeting was finished, I visited the stores one by one. I entered the store owned by Rafael. There were a few objects, apart from some old antiques with the bird cages. At first I didn't understand what he was selling. Later I learned that he was selling the caviar in the refrigerator. The store at the corner was also mysterious. My first thought was that it was closed, because the doors and the shutters were closed. As I looked inside through a half- closed window, a teenager suddenly appeared in front of the store and welcomed me inside. The interior wasn't air conditioned, but it was still fairly mild. It was dark, therefore the teenaged *esnaf* switched on the light. There were three men. They explained to me that they were keeping the shutters closed to preserve the coolness of the interior. The teenaged *esnaf* served tea in a Turkish tea glass. I thought that they might have been watching me among the festival team. Some exploited touts to attract clients from the main street. Others cooperated with guides and hosts of walking tours. I noticed that the Kemeraltı *esnaf* had a dress code. The older *esnaf* were dressed in fabric trousers in greyish, dull and dark tones and a shirt with a white singlet inside, whereas the younger ones wore blue jeans, imitation trademarked t-shirts with graphic illustrations and colorful shirts open to bare their chests. Apart from the teenaged seller, the other workers consisted of two young men sitting and chatting. One said that the other was a friend from military service. When I told them about the festival and the concert that would take place in a few days at their inn, the employer replied to me that it was Ramadan and that he would return home for *iftar* (Ramadan dinner) in the evening. Nonetheless, they asked me who would come to the concert and how much the tickets cost. Strikingly, although the venue selection process had been carried out months before, they were not even aware that a concert was scheduled to take place in their workplace.

After the meeting, Ceren and I split off from the others and walked to the Konak ferry. While we sat in the waiting hall, Ceren called Filiz *Hanım* and reported to her on the meeting. She explained that if the festival found sponsorship, then it could paint the shutters and eaves. She indicated that she had pretended that it would be possible to pressure the municipality into providing support. "*Aba altından sopa gösterdiler Filiz Hanım*."[184] During the meeting, Ceren had pretended to be happy about the participation of the *esnaf* and how they wanted to contribute

[184]*Aba altından sopa göstermek*: Turkish expression which means to threaten someone discreetly. Ceren plays on words with the name of the inn 'Aba-cıoğlu'.

to the enhancement of the historic site. In reality, she was overwhelmed by their expectations. Assuming that the municipality had sufficient resources and that the festival would serve as a mediator, they insisted that the festival team was responsible for assisting the stores in maintaining the façades and common space.

In the following days I decided to observe and, if possible, to interview the *esnaf* of Abacıoğlu Inn. I took the boat from Karşıyaka Quay and arrived at Konak Square. It was before noon, the hottest time of the day, when Kemeraltı had already become unbearable, despite the fabric covers that hung between the stores. Since 2008 I had been observing some of the processes of Kemeraltı that had made it into a tourist destination. The façades had been cleaned and repainted with pastel colors. The pavement stones had been renewed, and security enhanced. There were more students and seemingly upper-class people walking among the crowd. The *esnaf* engaged some touts on the main street to attract customers. These touts, who were always young men in their twenties, were almost obtrusively engaging with the passers-by: '*Hello, hello! English? Bonjour monsieur, you need jeans? Kom, kom! Willkommen!*' I remembered that I had laughed at them when I had visited in the past. I was addressed like a tourist, because I was wearing shorts and carrying a backpack. Based on their intrusiveness and homogeneous dress code, their attitude could be interpreted as rather exclusionary, because while they identified themselves as Turks, according to them a man wearing shorts and carrying a backpack could only be a tourist. My style was unintentionally creating a contrast with their masculine and rather conservative style: while I had an old-fashioned almond-green cap covering a schoolboy haircut, a t-shirt with pastel colors completed with dark-colored shorts, a backpack and sandals on my feet, they had fashionable haircuts styled with gel; they also had beards and moustaches that were cut fashionably. They wore bright and light-toned colored shirts that revealed their chests so that their body hair was visible. Their outfits were completed with imitation jeans. Some of them had 'homemade' tattoos on their arms, hands and chest.

As I walked, I suddenly felt vulnerable, and I subconsciously checked my wallet and cell phone. I had already taken my wallet from my back pocket and put it into a side pocket before entering Kemeraltı. I felt a gaze on me similar to what Nezaket described when telling me about 'some men' asking her if she needed 'something.'

After entering the market district by the city hall, I walked straight for a while, then turned right at the crossroad. I came to the Salepçioğlu Business Center, which was a landmark for me, since I bought my illustration materials in the store inside the arcade. As usual, I was once more surrounded by touts: "*Hello! Kot lazım mı?*" (Do you need jeans?) I said 'no' and continued to walk. The touts returned to their corner. I heard them speaking: "*Gey bu gey gey. Şişt! Kız! Bak kız! Gel gel!*" (laugh) (He's gay, yes, he is. Pist! Hey, girl! Watch here, girl! Come, come!)

I felt my heart beating rapidly and my fingers getting cold under the heat of the summer sun. I continued to walk, but I no longer had the mindset and determined attitude of a

researcher; this jives with what anthropologist Katherine L. Smith says about the effect of unexpected emotional encounters during fieldwork (2009). My romantic ideas of nostalgia and revival of the past had faded. I faced the present of Kemeraltı. I faced the feelings that some female interlocutors encounter when visiting impoverished historic neighborhoods.

I arrived at Abacıoğlu Inn. I sat at a table at Ayşa Restaurant, as I had done during the meeting. I saw Zülfikar passing by. I greeted him, but he didn't respond. Ayşe came outside, and after my greeting, she answered boldly. I asked for the cookies with sesame paste that we had eaten during the meeting. She said there weren't any more of them. I asked for some tea. Rafael's son greeted me and hung his birds in random places in the inn. There were some clients at Dido Café and Ayşa Restaurant. They were calmly chatting under the shade of a tree and awning. They were either young couples or middle-aged groups of women. I paid and left the inn.

When a concert was organized in Ephesus, Bergama or Çeşme, I would take a boat and walk to the foundation building, and a festival car would bring me to the historic site that became a venue for a night. On the day of the event at Abacıoğlu Inn, however, I arrived at the venue on my own. I again entered the old bazaar from the city hall entrance. I again passed by the touts and arrived at the inn at 16:23. The festival would start at 21:30. I was charged with welcoming the artists and guiding them to the temporary backstage area, which had been transformed from a corner of the courtyard. Kadir *abi* from the festival was talking to Zülfikar, who gazed at me again while he asked the names of the staff to note on a document. I greeted them. Kadir *abi* replied, and the other person was content with simply gazing at me. I observed a tension similar to what had occurred during the meeting.

I decided to familiarize myself with the point of view of the *esnaf* concerning the setup process. I supposed that the situation would already be quite stressful for the technical team. Ayşe was watching the setup, and she was not smiling at all. Rafael was absent; his son welcomed me, and after my question about the effect of the event on the inn, he replied that the event wouldn't be an advertisement for the inn. Then he mentioned that the store next door had been saying loudly that it was a paradise of imitation products. Presumably, his neighbor had talked about my visit. I added that I had already visited the store and appreciated the clothes, but regrettably I was charged with waiting for the artists instead of shopping.

Ayşe collected her tables and chairs in a corner. Rafael came up and indicated to the festival team where to put a big flowerpot. Mustafa and Deniz were discussing why the stage was not ready yet. Mustafa replied that they weren't allowed to set up, because the *esnaf* said there would be a cruise tour until four o'clock. He claimed that Zülfikar was on the lookout, waiting for them to cause any sort of problem. He sighed and turned to me and Deniz: "The most important thing is to work in peace. We set the cables in the mountains. (He means in the countryside under challenging conditions) (Suddenly he turned to a technical worker) "*What time will the chair carriers come?*"

Technical worker: "*They said they would be here around 5-6. Do we transmit the cable from the WC?*"

Ayşe approached us. She was wearing a t-shirt that had '*8372 Unutmadık, unutmayacağız*' written on it in Bosnian.[185] She cried out: "*Çöpü görmesin gelenler*!" (The visitors should not see the garbage) She turned to Mustafa: "*Here it is safe, in the evening we leave our tables and chairs in the courtyard. Last night a young boy came up saying that he had heard about the concert, and he would attend it. I said to him, 'You are European, not from here.' The boy said, 'Yes, I come from Albania*."

Seemingly, the festival team and *esnaf* were collaborating. Ayşe and Zülfikar were directing each movement of the festival team and showed significant insecurity. They were interfering with the setup, which was in fact a technical process that neither Ceren nor any other colleague could handle. When Mustafa had said that he had handled the setup in the mountains before, he implied that although the physical conditions were difficult, he preferred to work at ease on his own.

Fig. 43: The transformation process of the inn from tourist spot to venue (photo taken by the author in 2013)

[185]*8372 Unutmadık, unutmayacağız*: We didn't forget, we won't forget. The number at the beginning of the sentence is the number of deaths in the Srebrenitsa massacre. Her t-shirt is a commemorative object. She also has a glass box with blue butterflies in the window of her restaurant. The blue butterfly is the symbol of the massacre in Srebrenitsa. Although I couldn't relate her action with the inn and the festival, it is interesting that she claimed her ethnic identity on the day of the event. One interpretation might be that she expected that there would be top officials from the state, and she intended to remind them to support the Bosnian community in Turkey.

Mustafa and the others decided to place the cable from the right side of the public toilet of the inn, which had access to the outside of the inn, where the generator would be installed. Ayşe's sister appeared and also made some suggestions to the festival team to move the objects in the courtyard. Then she approached me and tried to read what I had written in my notebook. Meanwhile, Zülfikar 'saw' me and asked where the stage would be. I was surprised, because that topic had been discussed and confirmed during the meeting. There was no change in the plan. The stage would be constructed at the end of the courtyard in front of the carpet store. To make sure, I referred the question to Mustafa. He was occupied with the arrangement of the courtyard to provide space for the stage and seats. He replied by mumbling and indicating the space where the stage would be constructed: "*No, the front of it. The plant? It is not bad, people will sit there [so they can still see] (He turned to Deniz) Cut the root of the fluorescent. (Cut the old connection part of the lamp)*

Deniz: Is that your final decision?

M: Leave only the wire."

As a consequence of changing the location of the objects, the 'fixed inhabitants' of the courtyard – the cats – seemed disturbed. They changed their place and ran from corner to corner. Finally, they found refuge under the rising stage and stayed there until the beginning of the rehearsal.

Mustafa discussed how to bring the car closer to the inn in order to set up the stage. When the chair carriers came, another member of the technical staff directed them. Mustafa said: "*Bizi rahatsız eden görüntüyü süsleriz, kamufle ederiz.*" (We will decorate the image that interrupts the view, we will camouflage it)

Rafael: "*I am against having the products in front of the door. Look at that ice cream stand [at the opposite store]." More mild-mannered than Ayşe, his demeanor was welcoming. If the inn was important because of its historic features, the effect of modern-looking elements should be lessened in order to make things appear more authentic*."

Ayşe added more vivaciously to Rafael: "*Bak konser oldu, seferberlik oldu.*" (See, there is a concert, and there has been solidarity) It seemed that everybody was motivated to 'host' the spectators and show how it was a historic and 'authentic' place.

Another *esnaf*, the owner of Dido Café, approached: "*Don't let my store's front close. It is both beautiful and we own it. Isn't it a pity? I am their relative. Doesn't this here belong to the municipality?*" The *esnaf* was defending himself, seeing the stage setup as a threat to keep away customers. He meant that he had a family member working for the municipality, and that if the festival team caused him a problem, he would complain, and that family member in the municipality would help him immediately. The *esnaf*, who had not been around much until that time, was perhaps bluffing, trying to imply that he had connections with people in high places, and therefore he

and his workplace were not to be trifled with. The courtyard, which was the common space of the *esnaf*s, had become the stage where they claimed their power. Mustafa ignored what the latter said and continued to mumble nervously: "*There is already such a heap of stuff here... No comment.*"

Mustafa and Deniz initiated the design process by transforming the courtyard where people typically ate and drank into a concert venue. They first went over where and how to build the stage, seats and lighting, then they went to work in the courtyard and created the space. The change, even though it was temporary, had disrupted the habits of the people who worked there every day and had thus taken them out of their comfort zone. Although they had used the festival to mediate with the municipality, they distrusted both the festival and the municipality itself.

Fig. 44: A so-called 'authentic setting' for the artists that acts as the barrier between the backstage and the seating area (photo taken by the author in 2013)

After the final touches had been made to the electrical wires and a space for the backstage, we had our dinner at the corner café owned by Zülfikar. I began to feel uncomfortable, because he was constantly staring at us. Upon returning to work, the technicians took the carpet looms that were supposed to be decorative 'authentic' objects in the courtyard and changed their locations in order to use them as a barrier between the backstage and the spectator area. Then they took some of the restaurant's chairs and an old-fashioned, traditional sofa and rearranged

them backstage for use by the artists. İlhami *abi*, another technician, shouted with laughter: "*Bak, şark köşesi gibi oldu. Ne güzel!*" (Look, it's like the oriental corner. How beautiful!)

Fig. 45: After the setup, rehearsal starts with the arrival of the artists (photo taken by the author in 2013)

Ayşe asked if it would be possible to clean the courtyard, because the worker from the municipality who was supposed to do it hadn't arrived. Ceren came up and greeted us, saying that the courtyard wasn't catching any breeze. She told me that the festival was a torture for the *esnaf*.

I left the inn to make the transfer trip to escort the artists. They arrived at Eşrefpaşa Avenue opposite the Roman Agora. They needed guidance to reach Abacıoğlu Inn. The van that had transported the artists couldn't enter Kemeraltı's streets, since it was a pedestrian zone except at nighttime.

As soon as the artists arrived at the inn, they began the rehearsal on the stage, whose construction had been completed just before their arrival. The spectators started to arrive as well. I saw Nezaket, then my aunt and some other familiar faces with their relatives.

According to the program, there would be a performance of Hille Perl, Lee Santana and İzmir Barok. The concert started at 21:30. We listened to some baroque musical pieces from Ottoman, Italian and French palaces. In the middle of a song, as I was watching the yellow spotlight dance along the stone wall, I experienced a sensation as if I were simultaneously in Abacıoğlu Inn, Kemeraltı and somewhere else, like an Ottoman inn in Bursa, a Byzantine building in Istanbul, something from here and outside.

When the concert finished, the spectators exited through the main entrance. My colleague and I again guided the artists through a different entrance at the back of a shoe store. The artists ended up using the carpet store to change their clothes. They sat in the temporary oriental corner, and the caterer followed my guidance in installing the service table there.

A small truck entered and parked in the middle of the courtyard. While the stage was being deconstructed, we helped tidy up the inn and put everything back as it was. Kemeraltı was quite calm and silent, much different than during the daytime. Since the inn was surrounded by walls and far from the main road, I didn't hear the routine sounds of traffic either. After finishing the cleaning and tidying up, Ceren offered us ice cream from a store in the inn. It was almost two o'clock in the morning, and we were eating ice cream in a historically invisible place in the heart of the city. Ceren turned to us: "*I loved this place*" (laugh). Compared to before the concert, she seemed more relaxed and was smiling. Mustafa complained that Zülfikar had asked him if they had taken advantage of *their* electricity and how much they had used. He had replied to Zülfikar that they had exclusively used a generator that they themselves had provided, because the usual electrical current wouldn't support the stage spots. Mustafa remarked that he had felt embarrassed. Ceren added: "*Mahallenin muhtarı*!"[186] Mustafa continued: "*He was openly selling beer, rakı and water. I saw it with my own eyes. He and his waiters were walking around in the middle of the concert among the spectators to ask if they wanted to drink something. He almost yelled, "Fruko gazoz!"*[187] *by clinking bottles together. There were even people from among the VIP visitors sitting in the back seats served rakı with meze.*"

'*Fruko gazoz!*' is a phrase that evokes images of the years when open-air cinema screenings were shown. During the film, the sellers of the cinema would walk around among the seats and yell out this phrase to sell *Fruko*-branded sugar mineral water, while clinking the empty bottles with a corkscrew. The spectators would eat sunflower seeds, and since they were thirsty, they would ask for a drink without worrying about disturbing others.

Mustafa's observation indicated the revival of a memory. However, this was not an urban memory of Izmir from the 18th and 19th centuries, recalling the trading life in the historic place. The festival's open-air event behind walls revealed the open-air cinema habits of the spectators before the advent of television. These big open-air cinemas were later destroyed so that apartment blocks or business centers could be constructed. In the context of leisure time space, the spectators practiced their childhood habits in a similar environment. Ceren and Mustafa had recognized this practice, since it was a part of the collective memory.

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[186]*Mahallenin muhtarı* (the headman of the neighborhood) is an expression to imply kindly that a person is a busybody in wanting to know everything about everybody.
[187]*Fruko gazoz!* (Fruko soda pop) is a phrase that was used by the beverage and food sellers in the open-air cinema and theater. These sellers used to walk around among the public during the breaks and shout to attract the attention of the audience members.

As for the spectators, none of them complained about the selling of *rakı* or beer and snacks. For instance, my aunt and her friends weren't aware of it, since they were seated in the middle of the first rows. The alcoholic drink and snack service was conducted in the rear rows, closer to the tavern and farther from the festival performance. The number of my spectator interlocutors was limited, because some had gone to the Gezi Park protests. The one who attended complained about the heat inside the courtyard, how much they had sweated and how they had used the program leaflet like a fan, similar to Ayavukla and Reji. Nezaket expressed that it was a magical night. She dreamed of Don Quixote. She felt as if she were in an inn from centuries ago. My aunt and some other spectators that I met that night later expressed that it was an 'interesting experience,' especially because there was nobody in the streets and all the stores were closed. My aunt said: "*It was interesting to see a place that you know in a different ambiance. The darkness and deserted streets were a little unsafe (small silence), but of course we were not scared. All the spectators left at the same time and followed the main street of Kemeraltı*." Apparently, they didn't feel comfortable on the way back home, but they enjoyed getting home easily, as Kemeraltı is located literally in the heart of the city, with many parking and public transport facilities available. For instance, some took the bus from Bahri Baba Park, next to Konak Square, before entering Kemeraltı, and others took a ferry. The opera and ballet building is located close to the entrance of Kemeraltı, but the festival again offered heterotopian conditions in Abacıoğlu Inn.

After the festival's intervention, although the inn didn't become as popular as the seaside, it became indeed more visible, as was asserted by Nezaket. The spectators were told that it was a collaboration of İKSEV and the municipality, therefore the public demanded more support for the inn. I discussed with Mustafa the aesthetic values of those historic places and their users based on my observations and his reactions during the setup. He answered:

"*There will certainly be an increased awareness of Abacıoğlu Inn. What will be gained? Let's say a person from Alsancak knows there is a restaurant here, Ayşe. It is a very nice place, there will be a difference in the target group. For this reason, an esnaf will work attentively. (...) If we think positively, if good people come, change starts with one store. Then the environment may change, but I don't think that there will be any change. Because with that mentality...because these people don't have this kind of intention. Good is difficult. Good is always difficult. Good is a program. And a program is in fact the easiest. But they don't want that, because people will have difficulty till they reach that level. Here, there is this: I do, I put, let's cross a wire from there. 'Do I turn down the column?' We tore down a fluorescent lamp. It was hanging disgustingly. It has hung there for years, have you never noticed that? Didn't it disturb you? Good is the quality. It's so simple. Therefore, the right spirit is required. Let's hope to make good things happen. What shall we say then?*"

Mustafa's comment about the insensitivity and carelessness of the present users and the *esnaf*s amplified Nezeket's statement. Before the concert, as I mentioned above, Mustafa had prepared for the setup of the inn. It was then that he realized that the hanging lamp no longer

functioned. His awareness began when he had an intensive interaction with the place for the purpose of setting up for the event. In removing the item that was inauthentic and non-aesthetic, he confirmed Nezaket's statement that 'they were cleansed by the festival.'

In the same vein, Ceren focused more on the approach of the festival:

"*From the moment that you enter a living space, if it is not prepared uniquely for you, it is like any other empty historic building. Therefore, you have to collaborate with the people there. Anyway, it was the only way for us to realize this concert in Abacıoğlu Inn. We progressed together with the esnaf, and they did their best to help us. (...) Finally, these people have a certain order. If something happens to come out of this order, then it happens because it is wanted, and there are no problems*."

Ceren told me about the difference between that place, which was full of life, and the main festival venue, the ancient site of Ephesus: Abacıoğlu Inn was 'alive' and was situated in the most dynamic trade area of the city, with its own rhythm. She stressed the importance of how the festival should harmonize with this rhythm and the people living there for the sake of making a performance in that space. Following the interview, I reminded her of our previous conversation during the day of the concert. She agreed that there was tension and a lack of trust. She added:

"*I definitely think that [the attitude of the esnaf] changed, because, as I said, the workplace is the second most private area that a person has after his home. You do something together, something that you don't know... Of course, Izmir Festival has 27 years of experience. We are a team that can adapt to the different places, different conditions and possibilities. We prepare ourselves for this. Abacıoğlu Inn was also a 'first' for us. It is something that the inn's esnaf had never attempted before. 'What will exactly happen during the day?' The people had their workplace and commercial worries. First, they had the impression that we would take the place and would use it the whole day and night, and then they wouldn't be able to work. During the period when Abacıoğlu Inn was selected for the Kemeraltı project, there wasn't any management in the inn. Parallel with our process, they generated a management team among them, and it became easier to communicate. They could present their demands, and we found concerned people working responsibly for the inn. Hence, the problems of the beginning have been resolved. I think that all the promises that we gave about our plans and actions, we realized them, just like everywhere else*."

Ceren's statement contributed to the statement that Nezaket and Mustafa had started to question about an awareness of the place. According to her, before it was selected as a concert venue, everybody had had a rather casual attitude about the inn. When the festival team entered their private domain, they perceived this as a threat, and they banded together. This might be seen as something negative. However, this solidarity provided the group with the ability to take responsibility for the building as something that was of value. Ceren placed importance on the fact that Kemeraltı's collaboration with the festival had led to a new spirit in the neighborhood:

"*If we consider that people go to Kemeraltı for different purposes, probably nobody had seen it at eleven, when the stores were all closed and how the streets looked. I had never walked in those streets at*

11:30 p.m., and I didn't need to. But when I passed through the streets after the concert, I saw Kemeraltı for the first time when it was closed."

In addition, Nilgün tackled the issue of the interaction of the *esnaf* with the organizers as well as the open-air, cinema-style, food-and-drink selling during a classical music concert:

"*In my opinion Izmirians are like this. They immediately adapt to circumstances. There has been such a long history of interaction and multiculturalism that it isn't possible to exclude different cultures, and, also, people like it because it is easy. Ayağına gelince yaparsın (you adapt yourself when it happens to you). During a concert I may buy water, and someone next to me, popcorn. That night people drank beer in Abacıoğlu Inn. Crackers and some snacks were shared at the end of the concert. It means there was that type of a demand. While we were leaving, the esnaf were helping to collect the chairs. They said, 'Come every year,' because if [the esnaf] could sell to 10 people who saw the toilet sign and entered, he sold that night to 100 people. Sure, if you make sales of one week in one night, you help to collect the chairs. Each concert has its own audience; that audience was different. Also, you behave according to the place. Let's say we leave here and go to a luxury restaurant; we behave with more decorum. If we go to Pasaport,*[188] *you sit on your chair less carefully*." She later added that the WC man had asked them an outrageous price for the event, and the festival had had to foot the bill so that all of the spectators and artists could use it for free.

The following, each time that I visited the inn I noticed some changes. The courtyard was tidier; instead of plants and parasols placed at random, there was a neat, foldable tent that covered the courtyard at noon. The *esnaf* recognized me and said that they liked the concert, and that the festival could use their inn every year. After the concert, there were more people interesting in coming and eating at Esmire Café (the tavern of Zülfikar) and Ayşa Restaurant (the restaurant of Ayşe). There was now a brown signboard[189] for Abacıoğlu Inn on the main road, which also helped direct people to the place. According to my exchange with the employees of Ayşa Restaurant, it had become a place for lunch, especially for the white-collar people working in the banks and offices of the neighborhood. Younger people mostly hung out at Yolo Café, which had opened that year. The latter had more fast-food items with a more stylish presentation than any fast-food store in Kemeraltı. It was also the only café which played various kinds of music, switching between old pop, soft rock and funk. The café also hosted some humble exhibitions on its second floor. As a client, you could eat next to artwork ranging from painting, marbling and other two-dimensional genres, and, if you liked one, you could buy it. I observed that many academics ate their dinner and stayed for some beer during the events of the K2 Contemporary Art Center between 2016 and 2018. Although Zülfikar, the owner of the tavern, Esmire, served alcoholic drinks and food (day and night), I saw few people sitting in his part of

[188]A neighborhood near the seaside, a continuation of Kordon before one arrives at Konak Square. Nilgün mentions the low-quality bars and restaurant located at the seashore.

[189]A brown signboard basically indicates a historic place.

the courtyard. Eventually, his tavern closed in 2019. Some other restaurants also closed and were replaced by clothing stores. The carpet store, which had been the backstage, closed shortly after the festival. The left wing of the former carpet store became the office of TARKEM. The right wing was utilized by the K2 Contemporary Art Center, which organized some dance performances by Cansu Ergin as part of the scope of the Izmir Triennial. Since then the right wing has been closed.

On a day when I lunched with Ceren and Kadir *abi*, they discussed what had happened at Abacıoğlu Inn. Kadir *abi* said slowly: "*I heard that Zülfikar was touting 'there is beer,' 'there is rakı.' He is the only one who didn't put his chairs aside. He made sales during the concert*." Ceren replied him: "*Alcoholic drinks are not drunk during the concert...especially when it is Ramadan... Even WE don't drink alcohol out of respect for the people fasting in the neighborhood of our summer house."*

Kadir *abi*: "*There were değnekçiler.*[190] *They would not admit the spectators into the inn. If we closed the store, they could blow up the tires, or they wouldn't let the materials inside. So, I gave some 50 Liras, and I drove them away*."

During their discussion, Ceren touched on the ongoing tension between modernity and traditions. She positioned herself as modern and respectful toward local values, whereas the owner of the tavern was positioned as less respectful. According to stereotypes, it might be expected that she would be less tolerant of religious practices such as Ramadan, whereas the *esnaf* would be more comfortable with that religious practice. Indeed, the shopkeepers of the fake brand clothing store were absent from the concert because of *iftar*, the meal after fasting. In her complaint, Ceren implied that she was respectful of local values and disapproved of the fact that Zülfikar had sold alcoholic drinks during a classical music concert.

Later, when I chatted with the İKSEV staff about the concert, an employee who was charged with communication agreed about the distrust and tension at the inn, fueled by a rumor among the *esnaf*. People had thought that the festival would claim their inn and throw them out. After saying this, he smiled and said self-critically, "Communication is very important in our job."

After leaving my job as volunteer, I started to work at a university in Izmir and got close to Filiz *Hanım*. I gave one presentation and realized one art project within the International Izmir Festival.[191] We had many exchanges during our meetings. Sometimes she also talked about former festival venues. Concerning Abacıoğlu Inn, she pointed out again that alcohol had been

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[190]*Değnekçiler*: Originally, the employees of a state, municipality or a private company who help keep order in the public space, especially parking. Here the festival worker implies a mafia-like group in Kemeraltı, where the customers might be threatened by the touts.

[191] I worked on the production process for *Tales for Grown-Ups: Yolculuk,* collaborating with the storyteller, Didem Köktaş, and the pianist and composer, Elie Maalouf: http://iksev.org/en/izmir-festivali/gecmis-festivaller/34/32nd-international-izmir-festival

sold during the concert. Half-joking, she said that if it had been the Munich Oktoberfest, they would have allowed beer and other alcoholic drinks. However, drinking beer or *rakı* and eating *meze* wasn't appropriate to the concept of a baroque music night. A few years later, when I recalled the event, she answered more explicitly: "*It is difficult to control the movement and circulation of that place.*" She implied that if the festival intervened again, she wouldn't be able to control the spontaneous actions of the *esnaf* and the spectators.

Finally, when I met Nilgün in March 2019, I was made privy to a different insight concerning the festival than the distrust of the *esnaf* and the festival organization's disapproval of the sale of beer and *rakı*. I was negotiating whether I could be involved in another project as part of the festival. I was turned down because the storytelling event had already been done. We continued with our discussion of the former festival venues. I intentionally broached the topic of that baroque music concert in Abacıoğlu Inn. She spoke angrily:

"*Typical Turkish logic: how can I get money out of them? (She was speaking about the esnaf) You invite [us] and you should pay, too. Instead, you expect money! (...) The esnaf in Abacıoğlu Inn is not right. TARKEM put us in touch with Zülfikar. In fact, he is not the responsible [person]. We should have contacted the Konak Municipality! [That evening] the inn stayed open till 11 [pm]. People come hungry, dinner time, you sell beer and chips. We made an agreement with the tuvaletçi (WC worker) so that all the spectators could use it; he took an outrageous amount of money! Ne yolabilirsem! (Whatever I can pluck.)*"

Six years after the event, Nilgün still felt strongly about the *esnaf* of the inn. There had been rumors that the festival was claiming their place, and they were cynical. They regarded the inn's designation as a historic place as having a commercial value from which they hoped to benefit; apparently, they succeeded for a night.

Although Filiz *Hanım* remained discreet, soft and polite, Nilgün lost her temper. The actions of the *esnaf* incurred the disapproval of the entire festival team, no matter who they were and what role they played. In fact, both sides hoped to benefit from the historical atmosphere of the inn and to promote the image of Kemeraltı. As Nilgün shared in her account and as was often expressed by Filiz *Hanım* at openings of the festival, it, as a non-profit organization, had as its goal the creation of a new urban image under the rubric of 'urbanite consciousnesses.' They were supported by the municipalities and willingly involved in the city branding process of Izmir. The *esnaf*, aware of this situation, consisted of individuals who were out to make money. Prompted by the assumption that the new public was rich, they attempted to profit from it as much as they could. As a consequence, their attitude left the festival team feeling disgruntled, and the festival never returned. In 2018 TARKEM and I once again asked that another event be organized in Kemeraltı in an inn; they reconsidered Abacıoğlu Inn and agreed. Due to rain, the event, *Yolculuk: Fairy Tales for Grown-Ups,* was moved on the last day to the Ahmet Adnan Saygun Art Center. A year later the festival managed to organize an event in Kemeraltı, but this time

Abacıoğlu Inn was omitted from consideration, and the well-known Kızlararağası Inn became the festival venue.

Fig. 46: The new brown signboard was installed after the International Izmir Festival. Now it is more visible at the main crossroad of Kemeraltı (photo taken by the author in 2013)

In conclusion, similar to the other examples of historic sites, a place was opened up, which triggered a new process of its becoming an attraction. Before the intervention of the festival, the courtyard, which was the common space of Abacıoğlu Inn, had been neglected. When the festival team initiated the organization of the concert, they needed a person or people whom they could address. During the performance, similar to the other cases, there was a superficial connection with the place's historical memory. An imaginative memory occurred in a more personal way based on the previous experiences and expectations of the festival participants. Apparently, memories of the commercial past, dating back to the 17th century, and of the migrations and handover of the place were never contemplated. Interestingly enough, the heterotopia created by the festival involved the merging of memories of open-air cinemas from the mid-20th century, due to the physical condition of the historic site and the summer night. On the one hand, this indicates that the festival is able to open up 'other spaces' where forgotten memories and practices are remembered. On the other hand, even though the spectators were unaware of it, this unstructured, unanticipated situation led to a power struggle between the *esnaf*, who represented the daily life of the inn, and the festival team, which represented the inn's transformation into an 'other space.' The festival's understanding of prestige in the form of Western classical music was something approved by the municipality that owns the inn and sponsored the event. Therefore, the possibility of contemplating the past, experiencing an 'urban imaginary' and raising an awareness of the place was intended exclusively for 'modern' festival participants who possess cultural capital (Bourdieu, 2015 trans. *Raisons Pratiques*). And yet, in the context of city branding, both the festival team and the *esnaf*

benefited from the existence of the inn as a historic place where Muslim and Turkish identities are assumed. The so-called nostalgia for Kemeraltı and the old inns represents a commodification of such places in the hopes of bringing in more revenue in the long term.

The power play enacted by the *esnaf* of the inn might be interpreted as a claiming of the space, a sort of appropriation of a place which hitherto had been neglected and haphazardly managed. Indeed, the festival became an outside element which revealed the anxieties of the *esnaf*. Except for Rafael, the oldest trader of the inn, the others had established their businesses in such a historic place in the expectation that it would attract many foreign tourists and local visitors. Since they had been disappointed by the neglect of the municipality, they didn't trust it. They thought the festival would take over their space and that they would have more difficulty in earning money. However, there was no solidarity among them. Instead of taking responsibility and organizing themselves, they preferred to see the festival as a mediator between the state (Izmir Metropolitan Municipality and Konak Municipality), which owned the inn, and themselves. Their expectations were that the festival would help with the image-making of the inn (through advertisement) but also that they would reap short-term benefits such as renovation of the façades, cleaning of the courtyard, and a new brown signboard provided by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, signifying that the inn was a historic site. Thus, the festival was perceived as an extension of the state. The cynical (or rather distrustful) attitude towards the state was reflected in the dialogue between the *esnaf* and the festival team. After the event, the *esnaf* became friendlier toward the festival team. Although the festival team managed to play a role in mediating between the *esnaf* and the municipality, this time it was they who distrusted the *esnaf* after the serving of alcohol without permission during the period of Ramadan. Furthermore, the festival team was forced to pay an outrageous price so that the spectators and artists could use the WC, something that was completely unanticipated. This situation was the result of 'Turkish logic,' which meant that if someone was considered to be rich, he or she should be financially exploited. Furthermore, the festival team was charged more than if it were simply organizing a classical music event. In fact, it almost played a governmental role (De Cesari, 2011). Although it was actually charged with creating a good image to be presented to the public, the *esnaf* considered that this role was intended to assist them in their commercial activities and to mediate on their behalf for assistance with maintaining the facilities. In contrast to the Kadifekale case, the *esnaf* were respectfully apprised of each step of the process by the organization. The festival organization accepted and listened to all of the suggestions given by them. Fearful of having the event sabotaged, they undertook to appease the *esnaf* by responding to their complaints and wishes. Despite the good intentions and expectations of the festival team, there was not enough negotiating room to implement the demands the *esnaf* made of the state. The reasons for this may lie in the lack of trust between the people from both groups, the fact that the type of event was not addressed to the *esnaf* and the regular visitors of the inn, and, finally, the *esnaf*'s ignorance of the cultural underpinnings of a classical music concert.

Terrace

Is There an Awareness?

For many years the International Izmir Festival has been held at Izmir's historic sites. These sites represent various memories of the city from antiquity until the recent past. Indeed, the festival has the potential to introduce the rich past of Izmir and to create awareness about its cultural heritage. It claims to have presented many historic sites to the public and emphasized the 8000-year-old history of Izmir.[192] However, because of a lack of consistency, for many among the festival participants, the experience of visiting these historic sites neither awakened any urban memories nor even left much memory of the festival itself. Except for some events held at Ephesus, the promising potential of the 'dream' that was the foundation's aim has not really been realized after the first one or two events at a historic site in the city center. Considering the length of time and the forgetting and remembering of facts, how did the festival participants make sense of those sites after the events? What happened after their 'presentation to the public?' How might the image-making and 'worldwide representation of Izmir' be interpreted today?

First of all, if one wants to analyze the connection between a performing arts event and historic sites, the Festivities of Ghent (*Gentsefeesten*) might be used for the sake of comparison to gain a better understanding of why the unintentional awareness process of the International Izmir Festival is important in the Turkish context. In contrast to the International Izmir Festival, a private foundation is not involved in organizing the event. The festivities, which take place in July (including the national holiday), are organized by an assigned committee managed (and of course funded) by the municipality of Ghent. The events held in the public spaces of the historic center are free. Income is derived from the rental of stands, which sell drink and food, and from visitors' parking fees. There are free urinal installations, but festival participants need to pay to use the portable toilets. The aim is for events to be diverse and inclusive. Some genres are fixed to attract/retain certain target groups, such as ethnic and local music (Bij Sint Jacob, the historic core of the festivities), pop music (Graslei, the oldest harbor), the circus (Coyendanspark next to the ruins of the oldest monastery) and rock music (Kouter, the old flower market square). The historic sites in the public spaces are effectively utilized. Similar to the International Izmir Festival, the content of the event and the memory of the place aren't relevant. I give as an example, *Cargo* by Mark Fleishman, in a memory place of apartheid and massacre in South Africa. The Ghent Festivities take place during a period of the year when many heritage sites also become accessible: the doors of old mansions and monuments are open for visits, historic tours such as 'Art Nouveau in Ghent' are organized, and some museums offer free entrance, like Huis

[192] Turkish-speaking readers may consult İKSEV's official presentation on YouTube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yooEWDmJK2g which aired on March 19, 2019 (last access October 16, 2019).

Van Alijn, where one can get a taste of the daily life of the local culture. In addition to this example, in September the city of Ghent organizes *OdeGand* and Flanders Festival Ghent, which is also a member of the European Festivals Association, with the same concept as the International Izmir Festival. The city of Ghent encourages visitors to experience their own awareness of place with various activities for various target audiences. Still, experiencing the historic sites in Ghent is not as extraordinary as the International Izmir Festival, because they are well maintained and receive many visitors throughout the year. Physically, they are not hidden behind apartment blocks, trees, walls, roads or a plethora of signboards. Conversely, they play the role of landmarks in finding one's way (i.e., Saint Baaf Cathedral, Gravensteen, the Castle of the Counts). Their icons are designed and placed on the tourist maps of tourist information publications, and access information (public transport and opening hours) is readily available. In a social sense, the historic sites are supportive of Flemish identity, whereas the sites visited by the International Izmir Festival do not support the mainstream modern Turkish identity.[193]

Organizing an event at historic sites, especially when sponsored by the state and big companies, certainly has a mnemonic effect on urban memory. Events such as the International Izmir Festival are not commemorations intended to knit the official history with personal memories (Nora, 1989). Foucault (1986), in his museum example, and Connerton (2009), in his critique on memorials, claim that repetitive visits to historic sites by members of a group sharing a similar lifestyle are a practice of 'other space,' where the past is revived. The festival experience, as shown in the case studies, is both personal and social. It is personal, because the festival participant, whether as organizer or as spectator, makes sense through his/her own physical interaction, and s/he tries to find a connection between him/herself and the memory represented by the historic site. At the same time, memory practice is a social phenomenon (Özyürek, 2012; Mills, 2014; Nora, 1989 and Bilgin, 2013). Remembering and sharing a memory is a collective practice. What a community remembers and how it remembers the past is determined by the sovereign power. Thus, the festival participant positions himself or herself vis-à-vis the memory of a place related to the groups to which s/he belongs. Izmirians' 'awareness of place' is thus more than just visiting a tourist attraction. It is about discovery and confrontation as well as a (re)claiming of space by a social class from another one with the support of the sovereign power.

If I analyze the process of discovery, confrontation and the consequences of the festival's intervention, my first case study, that of Kadifekale, represents an encounter of the memory of migration and the reality of migration with the city's image-making practice. Although the castle is one of the oldest monuments of Izmir and can be seen from afar, people had no idea

[193] The connection of architecture and ideology is well analyzed by Kalliopi Amygdalou in *Kültürpark'ın Anımsa(ma)dıkları* (2015, 77-98). The schools located around Kültürpark are built in the neo-Hellenistic style of the Greek community in Smyrna/Izmir. The schools support the modern Greek identity with a narrative of the ancient Greek past, as a reference to European civilization/modernity. They provide a contrast to Kültürpark, which represents the modern Turkish identity, with its narrative of building a new future.

how to get there. Festival organizers engaged with traffic officials and painted the pavement white in order to indicate the route to the castle. As Nilgün told me during the festival of 2018, "*o zamanlar sözümüz dinleniyordu*" (in those times we could realize our demands from the state). Yet most of the spectators preferred to take the festival shuttle instead of taking their own cars. The availability of the festival shuttle for the event was an interesting detail, since it was typically used for events far from the city center.

According to the accounts of both spectators and organizers, there was tension between them and the people of the neighborhood, who threw stage materials at the organizers. Some of the stage materials were 'lost,' and the spectators entered the castle through a police cordon. The neighborhood youth waited hopefully for an artist that they too could watch. They observed the opening cocktail party and the play through the fence. While the organizers remained discreet in their interviews, the spectators remembered the play of Genco Erkal with various emotions. Some felt unsafe, and the presence of a 'police cordon' made them more anxious. Some felt alienated, because the neighborhood children addressed them as 'madam,' as if they were foreigners. Some enjoyed this alienation, which harkened back to orientalism. They felt as though they were in some sort of fairy tale, especially when some of the children cheered for Filiz *Hanım* (and indirectly themselves) as if she were a princess because of her elegant white dress. Ceren and Türker[194] criticized the intervention of the festival at Kadifekale, which could have been smoother and more collaborative, like the case of Abacıoğlu Inn. Some spectators, like Sophie, were disturbed by the presence of fences and the police cordon. The play was about freedom and humanism, but the people whom it most closely concerned had been excluded. Ahmet, a spectator, expressed his feeling of insecurity and suggested hosting a concert by İbrahim Tatlıses (an arabesque music singer), instead of a high-culture event, inviting all of 'those migrants' for free and offering them free *lahmacun* (Turkish pizza) in the Olympic stadium, then 'ridding the historic neighborhood of them.' When I shared the interlocutors' statements with Filiz *Hanım* without mentioning their names, she said how sorry and embarrassed she had felt, because, although the opening cocktail party didn't have food with a strong odor, 'those people' could see what was happening and might feel envious. She had thought of opening the doors to the people of the neighborhood, but the mayor at that time, Ahmet Piriştina, said, "*Ablam sen merak etme*" (my sister, don't worry). He signed an open-air cinema application the day after. Unfortunately, as Dilek, who was responsible for the open-air cinema application of the municipality, shared with me, the Kadifekale community at that time was rebellious toward the state because of its policy towards Kurdish people. They set the vehicle carrying the open-air cinema on fire to express their protest. Then Piriştina said to Filiz *Hanım*: "*You see what would happen if we opened the doors!*" The accounts of my interlocutors often ended with the words "*şimdiki gibi değildi o zaman*" (it isn't like that now), stressing the change

[194] I did not include him in my snowball sample during the fieldwork, because he did not work at the festival at the time of those sites' intervention. During the time I was working there later in 2013 and 2014, he was mostly discreet and sarcastic. He started to "talk" when I told him I had finished my fieldwork. He currently does not work at İKSEV.

in attitude of both sides. Moreover, urban transformation had resulted in many people's being settled in apartment complexes on the outskirts of the city. The shanty houses bought by the municipality were destroyed, and the land had begun to be excavated in order to reveal the ancient Roman amphitheater. When I asked Filiz *Hanım* whether she thought of organizing an event there, she replied that there were still 'works' (excavation) in and around the castle, so they were not planning to organize an event there. For his part, Mustafa emphasized the theft of the materials and the poor acoustics. According to him, the festival's intervention might have been an interesting way to introduce the castle to people, but the site of the castle wasn't technically suitable for the construction of a stage. Ceren added that though some spectators might have an interest in the venues, for most attendees, the priority was the artist and the performance. As a matter of fact, while the spectators might choose to openly identify the people of the neighborhood as 'Kurdish,' the organizers preferred to refer to them as 'those people' and '*göçle gelen insanlar*' (the people coming by migration).

In everyday life the castle serves as a park. The cocktail party and the opening event of the festival reidentified the castle as a protected space, and the divide between the seaside (upper-class) and hillside (lower-class) people was made very apparent. If one thinks back to the city's past, it is obvious that the pattern of segregation between the hillside castle area and the seaside districts has continued. The neighborhood near the castle has consistently been seen as the 'other' in the context of urban memory. Despite the rupture between the past and the present because of the fire, the population exchange and modernity (including the massive influx of migrants), the image of the castle has remained the same: it is a place of poverty and insecurity, and a place where the 'other' lives. On the other hand, it still represents a rupture in urban memory, because who the 'other' is has constantly changed. From this point of view, it has nothing to do with the continuity of a population and their memories. It means that although the structure of the castle reminds us of its protective function, its memory of migration has not been stable. The interview that I conducted with the old couple living in Kadifekale revealed that prior to their arrival from Xanthi, there were already people settled there following the war between Greece and Turkey. During the time they lived in the neighborhood of Kadifekale, they witnessed families from Anatolian cities such as Tokat and Konya settling down there. Later they saw an increasing number of Kurdish people, and nowadays the neighborhood has been handed over to Syrian families.[195] In other words, the social environment of the castle is like a reservoir: first, there is a build-up of a certain population, then it again changes. Similar to the example of Elif and Barış, sometimes there might be interactions and knowledge transfer, such as the stuffed mussel production from the Crete exchangee families and the Kurdish families from

[195] A year after our interview (August 2018), the old couple moved from the Kadifekale neighborhood to the Yeşilyurt neighborhood in Buca, the district where their youngest son lives. Currently, they live on the ground floor, and their son and grandson live on the third floor. The grandfather misses the terrace of his house in the castle neighborhood. He doesn't have the sun and panoramic view from the small garden of the apartment block. The ground floor of the house is already inhabited by a Kurdish family. They did not totally vacate the first floor and are waiting for the castle neighborhood's ultimate urban transformation, i.e., when the municipality decides to destroy the houses and allow for the construction of new apartment blocks.

Mardin. And yet, there is no evidence to support speaking about the old memories of the place when the Muslim community lived separately from the non-Muslim communities prior to early modernity, that is, at the end of the 19th century and prior to the fire. City tours led by an architect or an archaeologist explain which house has a wall from the Roman amphitheater or the old city walls, or how it is possible to distinguish between the architectural elements and the materials of early modernity and the later republican period.

In contrast to the seaside, which represents a popular and prestigious image for the city, the castle continues to be associated with poverty and migration. In the summer of 2019 the new mayor, Tunç Soyer, formed a women's collective with the name of Pagos Market, where the cooperative's goods were sold in order to boost the economic income of the neighborhood women and to change the negative image of the historic site among the local people. In addition, in September Pagos Market's stand was placed among the 'Kemeraltı Street' stands, a more historic section of the International Izmir Fair for visitors. When I reviewed the September-October 2019 issue of the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality's magazine,[196] there were two articles dedicated to Kadifekale. One summarized the Pagos Market project and shared some comments from the neighborhood women. The article emphasized the empowerment of the neighborhood women. A young woman's statement explained to the reader why the project was not just one of gender equality: "*Our self-esteem has increased thanks to the establishment of Pagos Producer Market at the castle and Mayor Soyer's interest. Thanks to this [situation] pressure on our families decreased, too. The prejudices are breaking down. Now women can get the support of their husbands more easily. On the other hand, the producer market is very important for the reason that Izmirians come to the region* (she says region instead of neighborhood)*. Here has always been an excluded place. Together with the market, the people who live in Izmir, but never came here, saw it*" (p. 7). The second one listed 'cultural and artistic' events that the municipality had organized in order to create a '*cazibe merkezi*' (center of attraction) at Kadifekale. The events, which consisted of a series of film, theatre and concert performances, rely mostly on popular culture. There was also news about the 4th International Festival Izmir, again organized by the municipality. The latter changes the order of the words so that there is no copyright problem with the International Izmir Festival organized by İKSEV. While the municipality sponsors the International Izmir Festival, it also organizes its own 'international' and 'Izmir' festival. The most important point is that none of the news has ever talked about the International Izmir Festival that organized the play *Nazım'a Armağan* for the same purpose. The municipality is aware of the 'elite' connotation of İKSEV's festival. While the municipality continues to sponsor the International Izmir Festival, it utilizes this prestigious label when it concerns international tourism. Meanwhile, the municipality prefers to avoid any mention of the festival to local readers/visitors because of the connotations of exclusivity and social class differences. Another reason for this approach might be related to

[196] The free magazine of the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality is always distributed twice per month. It does not provide information about upcoming events, but it does share information on the municipality's successes. I obtained a copy of the magazine at Bostanlı Quay, a public transport distribution point, in November. Some news is also shared on billboards so that people can follow the conferences, concerts and public meetings.

the fact that the municipality, which is governed by a political party, is required to maintain a certain distance from İKSEV, which is a non-governmental foundation.

In the second case, Ayavukla became one of Izmir Metropolitan Municipality's projects advocating 'respect for history.' The *İzmir Tarih* (Izmir history) section of the municipality made a video of the historic axis of Kadifekale, Basmane and Kemeraltı in which they explained examples of historic conservation and inclusive urban transformation on the screens of public transport piers. The church and a renovated synagogue are shown to represent the importance given to the past. Some shots from the events are projected, and the narrator tells how those places were restored and how they contribute to the richness of Izmir's cultural tapestry.

The church is again at the end of the same residential streets with the half-ruined houses. Since the time of the intervention of the International Izmir Festival, the population of the street has remained less open to interaction with visitors. It has also changed, with more Syrian families replacing the Roma families. The *Kapılar* initiative, which provided food, clothing and leisure activities to the refugees, was set up at the entrance to the street. Despite the close proximity, the initiative and its community were not engaged in any activity at the church. No official statement was ever made about any similarities between the church's former members who died or became refugees and the people who settled near the church. The security staff and some employees from the municipality that I talked to indicated that the church and its garden are sometimes utilized for religious activities, such as the Easter ceremony. It has also been made available to NGOs, which have organized festivities for the Syrian women and children.

The church currently serves as a cultural center, where it is possible for an organization to hold an artistic event open to the public. K2 Contemporary Art Center and many other organizations have held events there on the condition of offering free entry. I observed that my interlocutors and Filiz *Hanım* herself attended some concerts and contemporary dance performances at the church-museum. Some academicians brought their students to promote the awareness that 'Being from Izmir' had initiated. For instance, I brought my students from the digital illustration class to see the festival project's infographics map and observed their reactions. Similar to Filiz *Hanım* and Mustafa, they were disappointed at how the church lacked authenticity. They had expected an intact Orthodox church revealing its 'real cultural heritage.' They were not satisfied with the renovation, which aimed to reidentify it as a museum-church, despite its attempt to reveal the period of erasure. According to them, since it was not intact, with all of the accompanying icons and other graphic images, it could not legitimately be counted as part of the cultural heritage, which thereby negated its value. One student added that if Ayavukla were a mosque, the state would not allow it to be converted first to a museum and then to a cultural center.

The third case study in Reji, in other words the Monopoly old cigarette factory, was physically the most powerful (affective) place when compared to the other places. The building

and the garden, the remaining objects and the potent, lingering smell of tobacco strongly evoked the past life of the factory prior to its closure. Since many of the participants were more than fifty years old, the assumption was that they would remember the Monopoly period and the closure of the factory due to the privatizations in the tobacco sector. Except for a few interlocutors, nobody appeared to have contemplated the memories of the building, especially the traumatic events before the republic, when the Régie Company exploited the villagers and the workers. Zeynep, for instance, had a different perspective. She complained about how the smell of tobacco burned and irritated the throats of the VIP guests and spectators. She too smelled the tobacco, but for her it didn't really evoke any memories of the place. Instead, she was worried about what the sponsors would think about their event. To emphasize this, she reported how Filiz *Hanım* was disturbed to hear that there were people whose throats were burning. Like Ayavukla, which was left behind by the community that once gave it life, the trauma of Reji has remained silenced.

As I shared in the case study, Ceren felt a strong connection to the factory, because of the intensity of her interactions while setting up the video installation and her conversations with the ex-workers and their dog. Sharing their sorrow, she felt melancholy and constructed a personal connection with the place. She associated the place with an old relative that she had neglected who had become cross. The 'imaginative memory' described by Huyssen (2003) is something that Ceren experienced, as did Elif during the concert in Ayavukla. Again, similar to previous case studies, the spectators felt unsafe. At the castle this sense of insecurity stemmed from the political tension as well as the presence of the police cordon and the attitude of the Kurdish community. In contrast, the feeling experienced at night in Ayavukla and Reji was one of eeriness. Despite their lack of any connection to the memory of the place, many of the festival participants nonetheless felt insecure. They were familiar with collective memories concerning Basmane: the illegal activities and assaults, the criminality of some of the refugees as well as their involvement with drugs.[197] After being abandoned, the cigarette factory had not been well maintained. The darkness and dilapidated state of the building must have created the sort of uncanny feeling that Navaro-Yashin (2009) mentions concerning how Turkish Cypriots personify the objects left behind by Greek Cypriots and attribute stories to them.

In the final case study of Abacıoğlu Inn, there was a similar pattern as well. Different from the castle, the festival team entered into a dialogue with the shopkeepers of the inn. Although

[197] As an insider I never witnessed such events on my own or in my social environment. The rumors related to Basmane might be fictive and the memories might be reconstructed. While I was writing up the case study of Ayavukla at Basmane, I was attracted many times by Mary Douglas's seminal work, *Purity and Danger: an Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (1966, printed in 2001 by Routledge). The feeling of eeriness and symbolic dirt are related to the collective memory and how the inhabitants make sense of Basmane, and it has some connection with the theories of Douglas. Yet I limited my theory on heterotopia to the effect of the arts festival on Izmir's urban realm in order to maintain the unity and the common points of the case studies and focus on the festival's cultural policy. The symbolic concept of pollution and taboo at Basmane in the context of city branding might be an issue for further research.

the shopkeepers knew that the festival would promote their workplace, some of them remained skeptical.

When I talked later to Mustafa, we had a significant conversation concerning the selection of Abacıoğlu Inn and its effects. He said:

"*Here (Abacıoğlu Inn) was a special request of Filiz Hanım. Each year we try to find new places. Anyway, festivals are special events... It's not a question of getting an audience used to a place. If the audience likes the artist, they'll absolutely come. It doesn't matter whether one lives in the same city. So, it's good that every year there is a surprise.*

H: In your opinion, do these places raise awareness in the city?

M: Of course, there will be a gain. What will the gain be? Someone coming from Alsancak will say, 'Ayşa Restaurant is there, it's a nice place.' There will be a difference in the types of people frequenting here. That's why, unavoidably, the esnaf will be more concerned."

In addition to this account, Neslihan spoke about the visual and social aspects of the event:

"*Yes, when I went there, I was excited, thinking that a place would be presented to the public for the first time. I wondered if the place would match the selected artists, how the public and the tradesmen would feel, how excited the invited guests would be... Alright, the renovation there has been successful. But to have a successful result doesn't necessarily go hand in hand with sustainability. They achieved the project and put a picture on the wall, attesting to the fact that Abacıoğlu Inn received an architectural reward, it was like that, it's like this... From where I sat, when I asked myself what this place contributed to me, I didn't have a positive impression. The mayor, Hakan Tartan, attended. I am grateful that thanks to him we made efforts and gained this place. (...) But concerning the lighting, there are architects who focus on lighting, which is everything. In Rome or in a similar place, we see lighting which is natural but accentuates what is being illuminated. In Abacıoğlu there were useless lights spread about randomly (...) It's not enough to renovate, there must be control. After a renovation, the managers of the place or whatever should be responsible for maintaining it. Each store should be controlled. A store should not be able to place lights or an ice cream board at random. Things should be kept up in a manner befitting the place, unless it is to be abandoned to the culture of the people. [I was disturbed by] the people in the inn who entered and left from the next door. The door at the left was always open. Let's not bring the mayor from there. He was polite, he didn't say anything, but let the backstage be closed off so that people cannot enter wherever they want. The light was constantly on above the Algida ice cream stand just next to the stage. These people gave the concert like that, there was such an incident. Maybe if there were a second time...In Ayavukla it happened like that, too.*"

As Mustafa and Neslihan mentioned, the inn did indeed become more well-known after the International Izmir Festival presentation. A new café-restaurant was opened, and the courtyard has become tidier. The random elements and big signboards for the WC were removed. Pictograms indicating the facilities inside the inn were hung at the entrance of the

inn. Although the visual language of the courtyard was 'calibrated' for a larger target audience, it was a mystery why the festival didn't return despite its safety, easy access and basic facilities, such as the WC and water. When I asked Filiz *Hanım,* she again replied that "the movement and circulation were difficult to manage." By mentioning the 'movement of the inn,' she implied the beverage and food service of Café Esmire during the concert.[198] Furthermore, as Nilgün explained, some of the shopkeepers wanted to get as much as they could out of it, like the painting of their stores and the WC man's asking an outrageous fee for a night.[199] I had asked for Ceren's take on the contrast between Kemeraltı and the festival, implying the Westernized elites vs. the Turkish-style lower class. The owner of Kırk Merdiven Café, known as the 'culture café' in the Karataş neighborhood, had a similar reaction. He said that there had been many fights concerning the claiming of space in the courtyard, and 'it was interesting that a person like me would research that inn.' Despite my stereotyping of Kemeraltı and Basmane, my intentions had been good; however, I do admit that they had been informed by nostalgia. Nevertheless, I couldn't help but be disturbed by the prejudices about the places as 'dirty,' 'uncomfortable' and 'dangerous at night.' Ceren and Nilgün had contradicted this perception from the collective memory. In fact, they acted as advocates on behalf of Ayavukla and Basmane, claiming that they were in fact the old Izmir,' thereby implying their historical value. The motto of the festival was 'art meeting history.' Thus, though the neighborhoods were segregated in daily life, they did in fact have an actual association with the festival and its upper-class audience. The case of Abacıoğlu Inn might be compared to that of Kadifekale with respect to the reactions of those for whom the inn was a part of their daily lives. Although in one instance the festival intervened without getting any buy-in from the residents and in the other it tried to develop a dialogue with the shopkeepers along each step, both the castle neighborhood's residents and the *esnaf* of the inn perceived the festival as an extension of the municipality's (state's) power. Therefore, the festival's reluctance to using those venues again had less to do with the ongoing renovation at the castle or the circulation problems at the inn and more to do with the negative memories that Filiz *Hanım* and her team did not want to speak about or experience again.

Affected by the post-war turmoil and the consequences of the Big Fire of Smyrna, massive migration and the extinction of the Christian communities, other waves of migration via the population exchange and migration from its hinterland and the Anatolian countryside, the desire was for Izmir to become the face of Turkish modernity. Industrialization and social class-based lifestyles, which had already taken hold by the end of the 19th century, continued throughout the period of Izmir's becoming a modern Turkish city. By the end of the 20th century, the city's industrial and commercial capacity were faltering, and the city was overwhelmed by urban sprawl. In trying to adapt to the trend in global tourism, Izmir had already managed to attract national and international visitors to the beaches of Izmir Province and such ancient historic sites as Ephesus and Pergamon. Now its goal focused on attracting

[198] The tavern is currently closed. There is a cafe managed by the municipality. (Last visit of the site: September 2019)
[199] In July 2013 400 Turkish Lira was equal to 160 €.

visitors to Izmir's city center. Many historic sites which had been neglected were (re)introduced to the public via the events of the International Izmir Festival. Although some of them were accessible by foot and public transport, they weren't well known or the neighborhood in which they were located was viewed negatively. With modernity and the cyclical handover of the buildings, the inhabitants of those historic neighborhoods had changed. They were neither routes traversed for leisure activities nor memorials, such as the Alsancak neighborhood and the Kordon seaside that extended from the harbor to Pasaport pier.

The selected historic sites within their neighborhoods reflect the policy of the municipality in the frame of culture tourism and the values of being Izmirian. Each place selected for this research served a different function from the others and reflected different narratives than that of mainstream Turkish modernity. Kadifekale, the castle, serves as a reminder that the city has always received waves of migration, and that in the case of Izmir, migration is both a characteristic of the city and the cause and effect of what it has become. Ayavukla, the former Orthodox church but now a museum-concert hall in its current incarnation, is located in the middle of a business center (i.e., textile workshops) and nightlife establishments. It reminds us that Izmir once had a vibrant Orthodox community as well as a Muslim community. That community did not just consist of rich shopkeepers and craftsmen but also of migrants who came to work in the city's developing economy. Reji, or the Monopoly Cigarette Factory, reminds us that Izmir is an old industrial city and that it was a pioneer in the region in the tobacco industry, initiated by Western entrepreneurs with the support of their home countries. The factory began as a semi-colonial venture, then experienced nationalization of the foreign-owned industry and, finally, privatization, as it adapted from the circumstances of a closed national economy to a global economy. Abacıoğlu Inn reminds us of the reality of Kemeraltı, that the city derived its power from trade. Kemeraltı was once a space for the production, export and import of goods handled by the Jewish and Muslim communities. As an object of city branding, the differing perceptions of what that branding meant for the inn led to conflict beyond those faced on a daily basis when sharing a common space.

The International Izmir Festival organizes its events in places that have served different functions and memories with the aim of creating a more appealing image of Izmir. Although it provides a service similar to that of a production company, it is a non-profit organization sustained only through the sponsorship of companies (especially Eczacıbaşı Holding), institutions (i.e., Goethe Institute, French Institute and the Italian Consulate) and municipalities (i.e., Izmir Metropolitan Municipality, Izmir Konak District). While the festival has the 'dream' of amplifying the city's historic and prestigious image, it is also involved in representing the city's local values on the international scene. This means that the festival, which mainly represents the local values, needs the 'other' for its image to have an impact.

The historic sites 'presented to the public' have been utilized only once or twice by the festival. Different from typical historic sites, such as the ancient city of Ephesus or historic sites

in Europe, they are not part of the daily life of the city, and they are visually concealed. To gain access to them may sometimes require permission (Reji) or handing over one's identity card to security (Ayavukla). It's also worth remembering that when visiting the site, you may be watched by some of the people in the neighborhood (Kadifekale and Abacıoğlu Inn). According to Massey (2005) these are not the places of everyday life. They are heterotopias, which represent a different slice of time, one which has already passed. Their affect and consequences constantly resonate within the city.

In his famous article, Foucault describes heterotopias as '*opposite to the accumulation of time, there are those linked, on the contrary, to time in its most fleeting, transitory, precarious aspect, to time in the mode of the festival*' (1986; 26). Indeed, the case studies covered previously invisible sites that temporarily became visible. Having lost their function, they were no longer part of the daily lives of Izmirians. As such, they were progressively erased from cognitive memory (Connerton, 2009; 139-140). As their memories were forgotten, they assumed the status of islands of time (Assmann, 1995). The ephemeral structure of the International Izmir Festival created binary conditions that are described with the metaphor of the endless mirror: *"The mirror is after all a placeless place. In the mirror, I see myself there, where I am not, in an unreal, virtual space that opens up behind the surface; I am over there, there where I am not, a sort of shadow that gives my own visibility to myself, that enables me to see myself there where I am absent (...) From the standpoint of the mirror I discover my absence from the place where I am since I see myself over there"* (Foucault, 1986; 24). The memories embedded in these places remained silent until the festival's intervention. With the intervention of the festival, the places were transformed into stages representing one of Izmir's historical images. This creation of heterotopia makes the historic sites a temporary place of encounter: different social classes (and their realities), the one which is 'modern' (the festival) and the one which was forgotten (the memories) come closer to each other and their entities resonate upon seeing the 'other.'

In terms of the 'experience economy' that festivals offer (Linko and Silvanto, 2011), the International Izmir Festival offers a group of modern individuals classical music and other performing arts experiences. What makes the International Izmir Festival different from other classical music and arts festivals is the experience of leaving behind one's modern home and office in a modern neighborhood and finding oneself in a historic place, when a tourist, business or leisure visit was not previously contemplated. Suspending the habits of one's daily life and visiting a historic site at an unusual time allow for a heterotopia to be created, providing the modern spectator (and also organizer) with an opportunity to experience what has been left behind by their modern society. Unintentionally, while watching a performance, it opens a space for him/her to contemplate a forgotten or repressed memory.

Although there is an opportunity for 4 E – enlightenment, empowerment, entertainment and economy – the International Izmir Festival doesn't touch on the memories of the place in terms of artistic creation and programming. First of all, the aim of the International Izmir

Festival is to play a role in the cultural tourism of Izmir Province. As a way to brand and market Izmir, the International Izmir Festival, which aimed to contribute to the creation of a historic and prestigious image, organized performing arts events in order to present lesser known places to the public. In tracing this path, I realized that the programs after 2013, the year of the Gezi Park protests, were limited to historic sites outside of the city center and the new Ahmet Adnan Saygun Arts Center (AASSM – Ahmet Adnan Saygun Sanat Merkezi). In 2018, after considering my proposal for *Yolculuk: Fairy Tales for Grown-ups* (I worked as the project coordinator), Filiz *Hanım* agreed to return to Abacıoğlu Inn. However, under the pretext of the variable weather conditions and the risk of rain, the musical storytelling performance was again transferred to AASSM. When I questioned Filiz *Hanım* and the other organizers as to why each historic site was used no more than twice, they provided a litany of reasons. These ranged from the expectations of the artists (they said that they had heard from other artists of the spectacular view from the Ephesus amphitheater and the Celsus Library), to the content (i.e., a symphony orchestra could not be accommodated at Ayavukla or Abacıoğlu Inn), to the technical constraints (i.e., acoustics, external noises, risk of damaging the piano), to permissions (i.e., the Catholic Church does not allow concerts to be held in Saint Polycarp Church, and it is difficult to get permission from the Ministry of Culture and Tourism to use the Ephesus amphitheater) to ongoing renovations (i.e., Kadifekale, Reji,[200] the Ephesus amphitheater).

Whatever the reason, the festival's use of historic sites in the city center as venues was not sustainable. Naturally, unless the municipality continued to hold events in the places after the festival's intervention, the memories of the historic site (and the memory of the festival itself) would be forgotten. In the context of heterotopia, this act of temporarily opening and closing might be interpreted as fleeting rather than inconsistent. Fleetingness, as was seen in the case studies, goes hand in hand with occasions for contemplating the past, learning about the history and calling into question its connection with the city. On the one hand, the festival created 'a controlled urban experience,' 'transformed temporarily the city' and 'merged its image and distinctiveness' (Johansson & Kociatkiewicz, 2011). The festival organizers claimed that they had contributed to introducing the city's historic sites to the public and had shown that Izmir was a precious city. On the other hand, the festival events, which aimed at creating an image and constructing a representation of Izmir, have faded from the participants' memory. It is possible that the lack of any sort of connection with the memories of the place may be tied to environmental factors – such as the weather, the absence of air conditioning, the renovation work being done on the building – or to social reasons, including segregation and distrust. If there were a policy to represent the city and to provide city branding, the festival might be willing to undertake more challenges that involve physical, technical or social factors. The unintentional heterotopian effect created an opportunity for physical and social contact with

[200] The organizers explained to me that the renovation would start by 2017, something I myself witnessed when meeting with the architects who were working on the projects, but as of October 2019 the renovation had not yet started. One important detail is that there is currently a so-called urban transformation project in the old industrial zone for new residences and gentrification.

the memory place and the neighborhood. In a few instances, the festival participants made a connection between their being in the place and its memory. However, it would be naïve to believe that a mainly classical music festival organization would have the vision to delve deeply into the memories of trauma, modernity and oblivion. On the part of the audience, it is too much to expect that they would immediately be able to connect with the urban memories of Izmir, because they were already disconnected from the memories of the period before the republic. As a consequence of modernity (Connerton, 2009) and the forgetfulness of nationalist, secular Turkish modernity (Navaro-Yashin, 2002), they had no opportunity to participate in a deliberate program aimed at fostering cultural memory.

To gain a better understanding of the disconnection from the memories of the places and the festival, I focus on Filiz Sarper, the president of İKSEV and the art director of the International Izmir Festival. My conversations and interview with Filiz *Hanım* and then the interview with her and Simon Mundy[201] from the European Festivals Associations coincided with her discourse emphasizing how the foreign tours and the Greeks from nearby islands visited Ephesus for the festival. She shared Neslihan's 'dream' of creating a dreamy atmosphere. She did not address urban memory or mention a performance related to the history of a historic site.

Different from Dimova's (2012) analysis of the Ohrid Summer Festival but similar to the other members of EFA, she did not say anything about representing the modern and Turkish identities in public spaces and historic sites and further harnessing the touristic value of Izmir, but then as Özyürek (2012) and Navaro-Yashin (2002) argue, she is already a modern Turk. In her heavy makeup and elegant outfit, she smiles with the objective of showing how modern she is (as are Turks in general), thereby indicating her affiliation with a European identity. She and the journalist describe Izmir's long-standing links with European culture since ancient times. She mentions that until 2010 60% of the spectators at the festival were from Greece and the 'world' (when she says world, she means the Western world). Later she expounds on the problems of funding, 'which become harder every year.'

The International Izmir Festival is seemingly not worried about representing the Turkish nation and Turkish identity. The festival is one of the non-European members of EFA focusing on a network of performing arts. While the festival has offered theatre plays, Western classical music concerts and interactive orchestral video installations, it defines the notion of 'modern' from the perspective of a Western eye. This 'modern image' has been established by organizing concerts in ancient sites which are tied to the Roman past of Europe. Similar to the creation of an image for the city of Ankara that is representative of the Turkish Republic (Batuman, 2019), the festival has taken the approach of creating a modern and Western image of Izmir. The image chosen for this city branding is two-sided: it contains the image of the 'other,' who comes from the West, and the image of the local, the 'self' that is reflected by the 'other.' The fact that the

[201]https://www.efa-aef.eu/en/festival-focus/international-izmir-festival/ (last access: October 22, 2019)

memory emerges on the surface of the consciousness of only some of the participants rests on the fact that the festival's priority is not to create a bond with the past from which the public has become disconnected. The modern Turkish identity that the festival represents is of those Turks who live in the city's modern, up-to-date neighborhoods. Hence, when the festival participants attend events at the castle, church, factory and inn, the creation of this modern Western identity stands out even more sharply than after an event at the ancient site of Ephesus. As Foucault argues (1986; 24), the festival participants who interact with the non-modern places have a double encounter and a 'mirroring of the self and their own otherness.' The historic sites offer a concrete representation of history that may be familiar to both the organizers and the spectators, either through having studied it in a book or having heard about it through their social network. Different from abstract historical knowledge, the place offers material to look at, touch, walk around (inside-outside) and feel. The secondary encounter is with the contemporary residents of the neighborhood who tear down the 'dream.' Their presence reflects back this modern Western image created of Izmir, whereas in reality the city has multiple faces that reflect the various social classes and the diverse migrant backgrounds of the inhabitants.

The relationship of the International Izmir Festival with the city, the places' memory and the festival participants revolve around the presentation of Izmir on the global scene. Indeed, the events and selection of venues for the festival are based on how Izmir desires to be represented to the Western countries. Therefore, the festival's membership in the European Festivals Association (EFA) is key. The festival interacts with the city on the basis of EFA's criteria, which prioritize internationalism, new productions, new musical groups and an exchange of artists among the member festivals. Membership in EFA is a guarantee of quality and is therefore a trust. It means that when a festival wants to invite an orchestra or if an artist who has performed in a member festival applies to another member festival, this lends credibility and acceptance by both the festival's management and the artist. The International Izmir Festival is also the representative of EFFE (Europe for Festival, Festival for Europe), a label produced (and marketed) by EFA. The prestige and the network that EFA lends to the International Izmir Festival cannot be denied, because of the credibility of this partnership. In this context, the historic sites which are harnessed to become the image of Izmir are limited to aesthetically appealing settings. This type of 'art' and the festival's motivation are far from the approach that memory places may reveal to diverse communities. Under such a labeling and production process, both the organizer and the festival's target audience may ignore the memories of the places touching on urban memory. The idea of representing oneself based on a Western institution's criteria might be regarded as a form of *orientalism*, the term coined by Edward Said. Alternatively, it might be read as a performance by a non-Westerner related to being accepted as a modern and sovereign Western culture (De Cesari, 2010). From this point of view, organizing a classical music concert in a former Orthodox church is not a mistake. However, framing the festival in a Western context creates contradictions and tensions. Izmir's

urban memory and contemporary conditions might call for something different than what is suitable for a festival held in Salzburg or Aix-en-Provence.

If I attempt to summarize the consequences of this temporary encounter process, the heterotopian conditions offer a break from the modern Western narrative of a group that possesses cultural capital. One becomes aware of the city's palimpsests, which invite the spectator to contemplate the past. Quoting Ceren's metaphors, the experience is like 'visiting an old relative who was cross with her' and 'smelling the cookie of her childhood.' There is a certain affinity to the place's memory in the form of nostalgia for a past that is now seemingly quite distant. At that time Ceren (and also others) remembered how the city has changed via the mechanism of migration and the successive handovers of Izmir's various neighborhoods. The past of their city is something they are proud of and that they promote internationally, but it is also 'an old relative whom they visit briefly but don't have any plans of spending much time with. After their short-lived visit, there is never any question about whether they will return immediately to their modern-safe-clean daily lives.

Obviously, the accessibility of this experience is something that should be questioned as well. A resident of the Kadifekale neighborhood may use the castle park as part of her daily life, but on the day of the festival she is excluded from the historic site, because it is claimed by another group from outside the neighborhood. She is always there – in the neighborhood – and therefore does not 'see' how the form of modernity that she experiences differs from what the castle neighborhood represented in the past (or what it represents to her contemporaries who come from outside the neighborhood). The experience of 'awareness' is intended for someone who comes from outside of the neighborhood, someone who is able to compare her modernity with the historicity of the site. Therefore, the issue of ticket prices, something that many spectators complained about, indicates that the volatile memory experience of the place is not available to all of the city's residents. The potential act of memory remains exclusively for the upper-middle and elite classes.

Naturally, the International Izmir Festival is the product of Turkish modernity. The reason for the disconnection between the festival participants and the urban memory is related to the physical and social ruptures. After the Big Fire of Smyrna, it was not just the city of Izmir but the entire country that changed. The goal at that time was to become 'modern' by following the example of the countries of the West, which were leading the world. Becoming modern meant discarding everything that represented the past. Modernity meant jettisoning what was old and heading off into the new world, to the future. It is only because of the effects of globalization and tourism that the past has been revalidated and thus acquired importance. The cities have become an image to sell, and the process of identity representation has made big cities a commodity (Yardımcı, 2007). This time the images that had previously been marketed were too homogeneous, and the other (here I mean the tourist or cultural consumer, like an international festival participant) wanted to discover something different (Van der Horst, 2010).

The latter identified themselves with the epithets used by others (i.e., tourists). These include examples such as 'Muslims' and 'Rumis,' who identified themselves as 'Turks.' They did so because that is what the Western countries, from whom they were taking a lead, identified them as being (Navaro-Yashin, 2002; 10). If 'Turkish society first erased its history, then embraced it strongly' (Özyürek, 2012; 8), how does one interpret the silence of the International Izmir Festival? Or is Turkish modernity a unique reason for the disconnect? The cultural policy of İKSEV is tightly connected to the attitude of the local community (especially the municipality and sponsors) toward the historic sites. In a larger sense, it was indeed influenced by Turkish modernity. The past remained in the last century as a bit of unsightly clutter, something unwanted yet separate, a part of the city for administrative reasons [i.e., *SİT Kurulu* (cultural heritage conservation center), creating an inflexible bureaucracy for projects dedicated to Reji]. As I explained previously, as people grew wealthier, they preferred to live in the newer neighborhoods and, if possible, close to the seaside.

At the very least, Filiz *Hanım's* contribution is a crucial element in assessing the cultural policy of the festival. Ultimately, she is both the president of İKSEV and the programmer and art director of the International Izmir Festival. Although the municipality offers her some venues or some artists may indicate their preferences (i.e., the Ephesus amphitheater; the Celsus Library, again in Ephesus; and, lastly, AASSM), the selection of venues is evaluated by the commission, and she makes the ultimate decision. As Nilgün says half-jokingly, 'All the decisions are between her two lips.' This makes the festival management rather patriarchal, a structure seen in other prestigious local festivals, such as International Puppet Days or, at the national level, Turkish politics. In this respect, although 'modernity' typically rejects elements of the past, in the Turkish variant of modernity, the patriarchal culture offers an element of structural continuity.

The fact that historic sites and public spaces are neglected, whereas the internal space of a house is maintained, might be an extension of what I attempted to present in the vision of Turkish society regarding sacred and profane places: a house or a mosque implies a certain holiness and intimacy, whereas the outside, the other and the common might be interpreted as unclean and dangerous.[202] Yet, as Emre, who worked in a state cultural establishment, mentioned, it seems that urbanites have failed to take responsibility, and they don't possess the civic consciousness to maintain a public space properly. This places the public in the role of a child, whereas the authoritarian approach by the state to institutions is reflective of a paternal role. As Dimova and Cojocaru (2013) argued, on an international scale it is not uncommon for a similar power relationship to exist between countries. This sort of hierarchy is implicitly recognized in the phrase, 'a family of nations.'

[202] I tried to frame the research within the context of city branding and the image of the city leading from my graphic design background. The perception of Turkish culture in the public space might also be analyzed with respect to cleanliness and holiness. For more detail, see *Purity and Danger, an Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (2001) by Mary Douglas.

When I asked questions to Filiz *Hanım* and some of the employees of İKSEV about this structural characteristic of the festival, they emphasized the lack of budget and indicated that they needed more support from the municipalities and the Province of Izmir. According to them, the festival experience required a sense of unity in and around the historic place presented to the public. Thus, without the collaboration of the state, the festival would be unable to attract enough attention to 'the aesthetics of the city.' One of them mentioned the chaotic visuals of Kemeraltı and the importance of lighting and signboards. The İKSEV foundation is a non-profit organization, thus they are unable to engage in any commercial activities. The festival depends on sponsors and funding from the municipalities. The fact that the organizers perceived my memory questions as relating to urban aesthetics is an indication of their insensitivity to the matter of creating a dialogue with the neighborhoods and providing a project consistently relevant to the memory of the place. The pattern of social and symbolic exclusion that is seen in the case studies and ticket pricing (the accessibility) continues within the festival: minimal interaction with the people of the neighborhood, little engagement with the young artists, NGOs and academics and, lastly, volunteers who were not paid, whereas huge sums were paid to artistic companies known worldwide (i.e., the Tokyo Ballet, the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, the Amsterdam Concertgebouw). The attempt to put on high-quality, expensive events is inevitably reflected in the ticket prices, which means that many communities of Izmir end up being excluded. This is similar to the case analysis of Istanbul, where some arts festivals have sought to serve as the cultural representation of the city but have failed because of the lack of diversity among the participants (Yardımcı, 2001). As a result, some of the former festival participants have distanced themselves from the stereotype of the Turkish elite, which, according to them, is embodied by Filiz *Hanım.* For instance, on several occasions Elif criticized how the organization had become elitist, as did Sevim, Sophie and Nicole during the interviews. My main purpose was to frame the research inside the urban memory and how that historic place had an affect, like nostalgia or awareness about forgetfulness. However, many criticisms of the festival's lack of inclusivity dominated the interviews and daily conversations. I quote Sophie's statement concerning her experience at Kadifekale:

"*Who is the play for? To whom should it be addressed? Instead of addressing it to the public, it happened as such an awkward thing. It was good concerning the selection of the place, but the problem of transport is something serious, especially when it is in the Metropolis, Ephesus... Once they made it in Agora, too. Anyone can go to Agora. This time there were transport problems. It has been selective. In fact, the festival addresses a certain community. It makes me feel... (She makes a gesture of eating something sour) In my mind I have the idea of a more inclusive festival.*"

She had added these words after sharing her thoughts about the police cordon around the castle and the contradiction between the play's content with the exclusivity of the event in a low-income neighborhood. As for Nicole, her views were similar, and she stopped attending the festival and participating in the in-depth interviews as well, as a way to protest the festival's exclusivity. Elif continued to attend the festival, though she was quite critical of Filiz *Hanım*. On

many occasions she criticized her for wearing an expensive but ugly dress, makeup and high-heeled shoes. Behind these criticisms was an anger stemming from a disappointment that was shared by the senior festival participants. In contrast with the early years of the festival, they were older, and some of them had retired. Not only was it more difficult physically for some of them to reach the sites where the performances were held, but for some, the ticket prices represented a financial hardship. Considering themselves as faithful supporters of Izmir's classical music scene and of the festival, they felt (sort of) betrayed by the fact that the festival didn't (or couldn't) accommodate them. Their reaction made me aware of the differences between my motivation and their motivations. While I was exploring the historic sites within their neighborhoods, following the traces of the festival and contemplating the past, they were passionately following the show and criticizing or praising the artists' performances. It has already been a while since the festival began allowing a limited number of low-price tickets to be sold online. Unfortunately, however, they are usually sold out on the very same day that they become available.

Finally, İKSEV possesses two historic buildings donated by the municipality. The first is the main office of the foundation in the Karataş neighborhood. The other is sponsored by the Izmir Development Agency: The Musical Instrument Museum close to the Alsancak train station and Reji. Although the museum has hours it is open, and one can visit the musical instruments for free, the doors are always closed, and it does not seem particularly welcoming. Furthermore, there is no signage and no mention of the history connected with either building. Whenever I visited, both places had barely any visitors, and the small events held during the year are not actively promoted, like the events of arts initiatives or creative gatherings like Pecha Kucha Night Izmir.

As I mentioned above, while the festival organizes events in historic places, it is primarily concerned with increasing the potential for tourism and constructing a 'clean,' 'historic' and thus prestigious image of Izmir. The organization places an emphasis on 'urbanite values' under the motto "*kente sahip çıkmak*" (to appropriate the city), as I was often told and heard in the speeches of Filiz *Hanım*. They want to offer high-quality events, attract the attention of locals and foreign tourists to the city's long history and to contribute to city branding, as the ultimate aim is to add to the city's prestige. If the organization's efforts are focused on tourism, one would think that the festival and the municipality would invest in gentrification. If such is the case, the fleeting characteristic of the festival is not appropriate. Both the state and the investors should expect the festival to host regular events in order to advertise the historic sites and their neighborhoods. If the festival were to visit a memory place on a regular basis, it would have the potential of fostering a new sense-making process. The place would add a new layer of memories. On the one hand, the previous memories may have been manipulated. On the other hand, looking at the situation optimistically, awareness of the place could expand to a larger scale, thus the repetitive characteristics of an annual arts festival would transform the visits into rituals (Quinn, 2005). Then the ritual effect of the festival would prepare a time-space for a

cultural memory with the crystallization of memories and narratives. For example, if events were regularly held in Reji every year, it would promote the public's awareness/recollection of the city's industrialization, tobacco industry, the presence of non-Muslim investors and, naturally, the capitulations. Then the festival would gain new meaning, as it would be associated with the industrial past, and there would be a vivid memory of the tobacco industry, the presence of non-Muslims and the role of the state.

The festival's limited relationship to urban memory parallels its relations with the participants of Izmir. The festival participants with higher incomes, who are more highly educated and who lead a more modern, Western lifestyle, present a reflection of modernity in the urban realm. The modernization of the city, with new urban plans and settlements after the Big Fire of Smyrna, then the waves of migration and handover of the old neighborhoods have involved a process of devaluation and neglect of the neighborhoods. This neglect involves two layers. As the old, neglected historic sites and the neighborhoods became poorer, the memories that they reflected were eroded. Poverty is not just about the segregation of neighborhoods according to social classes. It concerns the collapse and destruction of the old. It includes the adaptation of places by modernity and new users. This transformation contravenes the memory of a place and the authenticity of design, as mentioned by Neslihan and Mustafa. If a place is adapted to suit the needs of modernity, despite the fact that the adaptation may clash with the original purpose for which the place was built, there is a certain continuity which allows for the transfer of memory (Massey, 1995). Modernity and the revisiting of a site after a period of neglect call into question the issue of authenticity: how well the architecture has been preserved and how has it been modified or destroyed over time. According to the festival participants, authenticity is important because of 'urban aesthetics.' Within the context of city branding, aesthetics is not the sole factor that is considered. Its being original is also vital in order to be a brandmark. Secondly, the festival, which presents a forgotten historic site to contemporary society, offers it the opportunity to serve a new function. While the reuse of an old building may seem as though it is giving a building a second chance, city branding, which aims for a high-value representation of the local identity and tourism income, creates a tension between the long-time users of the old neighborhood and the festival participants, who visit under the motivation of attending an arts festival. This is similar to the logo example (see Figure 1 in Chapter 1) commissioned by the Izmir Development Agency (İZKA), which not only the ignored the city's past but also its social profile. This caused a questioning of the narrative based on Izmir's historicity and Mediterranean identity, both of which are inextricably linked to the multi-layered history of the region. As argued by Quinn (2005) and Dimova (2012) and revealed in my cases, the image-making process employed by the arts festival is artificial in its approach. The image-making employed by an arts festival is something that may be utilized for the gentrification of an old neighborhood. As is commonly known, artistic intervention may start

the process of gentrification.[203] One well-known pattern of gentrification occurs when a city, bent on creating a more appealing image, solicits groups of artists, welcoming them to an unpopular neighborhood. Thanks to their efforts, the neighborhood becomes attractive, but then, later, it appreciates in price and ultimately becomes too expensive, forcing them to leave. In the case of the International Izmir Festival, especially the example of Abacıoğlu Inn, there was a power relationship between the shopkeepers and the festival organizers. Because the festival intervened for only one day, the intervention remained a heterotopia, which is typical of a festivity. This means that the individual leaves the space where his/her normal daily life unfolds and experiences a different Izmir. Hetherington (1997) interprets festivals, recreation areas, holiday resorts and historic sites as reflecting a contemporary carnivalesque experience. The 'modern carnivalesque' reflects the crisis that occurs when a bourgeois individual encounters a situation which challenges his ethical values, values hitherto considered unassailable. Hence, the historic sites that the International Izmir Festival participants visit in the old, unpopular neighborhoods become carnivalesque places where they have unsettling experiences. The experience is something momentary and may offer a space-time of openness. As I shared, such experiences may trigger remembering and contemplation among the festival participants. It may create a volatile awareness, like a perfume. Finally, although the sites of Kadifekale, Ayavukla and Abacıoğlu Inn were utilized in later events and projects after the launching of the festival, the increase in their popularity did not help in remembering or constructing the memories of the places. The fact that the organization's interventions are so short-lived has a negative effect on the festival. Except for some faithful festival participants and intellectuals (i.e., historians, architects, academics), the visibility of the festival has remained limited.

The festival seemingly has no direct relationship to gentrification, but it has strong connections to establishments like the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality, TARKEM (a historic Kemeraltı company associated with the municipality) and the Izmir Development Agency (İZKA). After the projects involving the historic sites have been agreed upon, the festival launches them to the 'public. Recently, there have not been any proposals to launch historic sites considered as viable, long-term candidates for tourism. Filiz *Hanım* now selects a narrower palette of venues, relying on AASSM (Ahmet Adnan Saygun Art Center) and the ancient city of Ephesus. Both sites are far from the gaze of and interaction with different social and ethnic groups. Similar to Yardımcı's analysis of the Istanbul Foundation for Art and Culture (2007), the

[203]http://www.moblogankara.org/kentveulke/2014/8/6/markalaan-zmir-alaatdan-ege-mahallesine (last access: November 25, 2019)
The journalist analyzes gentrification cases in Turkey and focuses on Izmir, where the municipality does not permit the TOKI institution of the state, but it itself publicizes the gentrification attempts as a way to attract more investment and foreign tourists. See also https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2016/jan/16/gentrification-inevitable-bad-urban-change (last access: November 28, 2019). Gentrification and city branding are terms produced in connection with the commodification of the urban realm. For more detail, see *Rebel Cities* and *Spaces of Capital: Towards a Critical Geography* by David Harvey

fact that the International Izmir Festival now uses only these two venues has once again rendered the diverse memories and social differences related to migration invisible.

Ultimately, whatever the content, a festival is a leisure activity for the audience. What, how and where to organize it are surely social and political matters. The program and the venue(s) are the products of the festival's cultural policy, just like the other 4 E's: entertainment, enlightenment, empowerment and economic impact (Linko and Silvanto, 2011). Moreover, analyzing a festival involves an analysis of public space in an urban setting: Whose permission is required for this event? Who possesses the cultural and financial capital to put on this event? What is presented during the event (program and venue)? Which identities are represented? Who is really the target audience?

Except for a few examples, the International Izmir Festival's participants are disconnected from the urban memory of Izmir. The most significant among my interlocutors might be Elif, who is well connected with the memories of Kadifekale, Basmane and Kemeraltı from the perspective of a Muslim migrant. Although she has no connection with the memory of the church, she is well connected to the memories of migration in Basmane and Kadifekale neighborhoods. First of all, she is an artist and a shopkeeper working in the Çankaya neighborhood, which is adjacent to Basmane. Naturally, she visits those neighborhoods often. Hence, she has had the chance to follow the physical and social transformation of the neighborhood over decades. Secondly (and also the reason she became my key interlocutor during my fieldwork), she is connected to the Kadifekale, Basmane and Kemeraltı neighborhoods and indirectly connected with the memories of the castle, church and inn through her childhood memories. Those places evoke nostalgia for her. When she is stressed or annoyed by personal problems, she visits these places. She commemorates her childhood and her deceased family members. For her, the traces of the places' memories overlap with her own personal family memories.

The inns represent her father, who emigrated alone from the countryside to Izmir in search of a new life and who spent years living in 'rooms for singles' transformed by the inns and old *cortejos* (old Jewish community housing). For her, the castle again represents her father and her old neighbors who emigrated from Crete. Furthermore, the hammams at Kemeraltı and Basmane remind her of her aunt (her father's sister), who used to take her there when she was a child. She walks in the old neighborhoods, she takes baths in the hammams, she drinks tea in the inns' courtyards, she takes pictures of the places and talks with the *esnaf*. Her visits are ritualistic; as a refuge from daily life problems, they revive happy memories of her childhood and commemorate the dead members of her family. The dead and her family's memories of migration make it easier for her to empathize with the actual migrants living near the castle and church. Moreover, she understands the position of the Kemeraltı *esnaf*, because she is one, too. Although she is devoted to classical music and dance, she never criticized the aesthetic approach of Abacıoğlu Inn's *esnaf* or the renovation at Ayavukla. Instead, whatever my question was, she

returned to the matter of ticket prices and poverty in Izmir. Her attitude gradually made me aware of the festival's lack of inclusivity. As I mentioned in the case of Kadifekale, although the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality sponsors the festival, it itself organizes many free events in public spaces addressing the general public. The most significant example is that it allows organizations and freelance artists to hold performances at Ayavukla on the condition of making entrance free. The content has varied widely, from Nikos Anthios' 19th-century Orthodox music from Izmir to Cansu Ergin's improvisational dance with special software-generated musical accompaniment.

The municipality considers the castle, church-cultural center and the inn to be available for artistic events. It would therefore be feasible for the International Izmir Festival to work hand in hand with an NGO to promote events related to human rights issues and, specifically, migration. As for Reji, the old cigarette factory, if the festival were to become more politically engaged, it might put at risk the subsidies it receives from sponsoring companies and cultural institutions and require additional permissions from Turkey's Ministry of Tourism and Culture. Political engagement is risky, because the factory is like Pandora's box: to produce artwork related to the memories of the factory would necessitate unearthing memories related to the effects of the neo-capitalistic privatizations on the region's unemployment and migration to the big cities. Other memories unearthed would also include the plight of workers working in unhealthy conditions, the use of child labor during the 20th century under the Turkish state and, earlier, under the Régie Company. It would also mean highlighting the Régie Company, which exploited the villagers for tobacco cultivation and cigarette rolling.

Nowadays, there is political tension between Turkey and USA. In the tobacco sector, which is shaped by the global economy, American companies benefit from the free market conditions. They are able to dominate the Turkish market, producing American Virginia tobacco instead of Oriental, the local species. An act of memory may create some sparks among the ashes of the late Ottoman period, when some EU members (including UK) benefited from the capitulations and exploited the local people in the region. As a member of EFA, the International Izmir Festival seeks to link the city and also the country with Europe by representing a Western image of Turkish society. Membership in such an eminent association obviously carries prestige and also creates a platform for diplomacy with the European countries. If the festival engages with Reji's memory, İKSEV might face a diplomatic crisis and perhaps existential problems, as it might risk losing the network and sponsorship.

If there is an approach from the perspective of the global economy and local politics, the International Izmir Festival seems to have been thwarted by various crises. Despite its limited playing field, what makes the International Izmir Festival unique is that it has unintentionally created heterotopias for a modern community. The heterotopias created by the festival, whether wittingly or not, provide an opportunity to gain an awareness of the city – of its past and the different social groups that are not reflected in mainstream Turkish modernity – and to create a link to the global economy through tourism. In the future, the festival organization may

possibly decide to address the temporal and fleeting nature of a festival and become involved in more projects which have a 'hit and run' effect. I have witnessed in Izmir some artistic events which have engaged with acts of memory and awareness of place by entering into dialogue with the people of the neighborhood and by producing contemporary art. I can cite the examples of the Darağaç event and exhibition at Barbaros village in which I was involved as an illustrator. The first one was a dialogue and possibly a co-production by the craftsmen, residents and the artists living and working in the Umurbey neighborhood behind Reji and the harbor. The illustrations, installations and videos were important in serving as a reminder that the neighborhood had been the first industrial zone of Izmir; *once upon a time* it had been the engine of the city, and many inhabitants left later due to the neglect and closing down of the factories. It was an emotional experience to see how the headwoman of the neighborhood protected the artists and the car mechanics who collaborated on the production and setting as they opened up their interiors and walls for the event. The gentrification plan for the neighborhood puts all of the old residents, craftsmen and artists in a precarious position. I was inspired by one of the stray dogs of the neighborhood called Suzi, which didn't belong to anybody but, at the same time, to all of the residents. She was very attached to the two streets where she lived. I painted her different emotional moods on the walls and doors in order to commemorate at least in pictures that she was the queen of her street.

The second example was the exhibition of "*Barbaros Village: the Memory and Story*" in Barbaros village at Urla, still in the province of Izmir, approximately 70 km from home. I and nine other visual artists collected the memories of the village, focusing on eight people who had had an impact on the village's identity. The village was again a *once-upon-a-time* village of tobacco. When the tobacco market shrank dramatically in the '90s, cultivation ended in the village, and many people moved to the big cities. Recently, it has become a destination point for cultural and countryside tourism, based on initiatives by people from big cities like Istanbul and Izmir. As these "big-city individuals" were harnessing the village's potential, they settled into walled villas near the village. The villagers were glad to sell their handicrafts and food to the daily visitors but also worried that Barbaros would be gentrified like Alaçatı village, because of the invasion by the big-city settlers. The exhibition, seemingly animated by a spirit of nostalgia, was a priori for the revival of their collective memory. Therefore, after collecting stories about the eight people, I made pieces of illustrations from the key scenes of the stories. I put them in a small suitcase that I bought at a flea market. On the day the exhibition opened, I asked the old people who had shared their stories and others to pick out pieces and to compose their own village memory, "because," I added, "memory is a constant process of redesigning the past depending on the present." This was a reference to Bilgin.

Perhaps it is not proper etiquette to mention it here, but both the illustrator and ethnographer inside me signal me to write this: I did not earn a penny from those art projects. Still, it was worth it to be a part of them. I was touched to see the gratitude of the old industrial-zone residents and villagers whose lives have been shaped day by day by the politics of city branding. My artistic experiences and observations from May till October 2019 made me realize that it is possible to design low-budget, high-quality events by embracing the people of the neighborhood. As Neslihan said after the concert at Ayavukla, maybe it is time for the International Izmir Festival to take off her high heel shoes and watch a concert with 'others.'

Exit

‘It Tickles’

Izmir is a modern city. It is dynamic. It changes. The International Izmir Festival opens up spaces. It presents unknown or lesser known urban memory places to local and international audiences. The city is old, and there are very old monuments like Kadifekale. The city of Izmir, the festival and the citizens are proud of the history dating back to antiquity. Nonetheless, it is hard to talk about any attachment to historic sites. Their memories have faded from the dynamic urban fabric. The urban memory places remain as objects to confirm their historicity. The festival is charged with supporting the promotion of the local identity and further opening a door for city branding. Although there is an engagement with the construction of an identity that embraces the city's history, the festival programming – and especially the festival participants' experiences – prove that that history from which Izmir's image has been constructed remains superficial. History, which is appropriated by everybody belongs to nobody, since the memories are not there (Nora, 1989). The festival provides a physical awareness of the urban memory places and brings them alive for a short duration. The interaction is many times limited, and the festival booklet contains only a small amount of information about the places' memories. In this sense, the festival does not effectively wield its power to reveal memories or at least imagine memories other than providing a reason to visit those places.

Mazower, who studies Thessaloniki, which bears many similarities to Izmir, highlights the role of nationalism and modernity. The old city has eroded together with its memories. Like the neighborhood of Kadifekale, the upper city has been 'saved' by the dramatic change in the city, which is the reason that there are still some houses from the Ottoman period, when the neighborhood was inhabited by a lower-income population. While the seaside was regarded as valuable, the upper neighborhood was ignored. The houses from the Ottoman era were not saved, because they were not considered to be a part of the cultural heritage (Mazower, 2010; 594). According to him, the revival of a memory typically led to forgetting and even damaging another memory (ibid; 601). In the context of Izmir, the historical value of the historic sites I analyzed was not contested, but they threatened the modern Turkish image of Izmir. The festival participants indulged in a type of nostalgia and often iterated how Kadifekale, Basmane and Kemeraltı were valuable neighborhoods and how they appreciated the municipality's renovation projects and the festival's involvement with the castle, church and inn. Nevertheless, they remained 'modern' and perceived what was old as associated with poverty and filth. This evoked a reaction of aversion as well as eerie feelings anchored in their 'modern' collective memory.

Borrowing the eyes of De Certeau and Massey, I take Izmir's subway from Konak Square to my destination of Bornova. I pass by the Halkapınar connection station, which used to be Diana's bath in Greek mythology (its water springs were still popular until the middle of the 20th century), then Hilal (crescent) station, whose name used to be İstavroz (cross), before the change of place names following the birth of the republic. I notice an old factory chimney standing alone on the terrain. Next to the new construction and the containers arranged like Legos, the old brick chimney gives a hint about the industrial, Western-touched past. Kadifekale, Ayavukla, Reji and Abacıoğlu Inn naturally remind us of another time and a life different from now.

As I move around the city, I observe that the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality takes the validation of historic sites seriously and makes an effort to enhance the branding value of the city. The municipality renovated the Beth Hillel Synagogue at Kemeraltı according to the same cultural policy it followed at Ayavukla and Abacıoğlu Inn. Similar to the other sites, it is now neither a religious place nor a commercial area. It is an open museum with free access.

Collaborating with the International Izmir Festival and allowing the historic sites to be used for high-art events is an act of respect as well as a hope of gaining prestige. The presentation of the sites to the public has intentionally been done using high art rather than a Turkish pop music concert. In connection with this, Filiz *Hanım* mentioned in her opening speech of the festival how 'they' were one of the top ten of EFA's festivals and that they contributed to urban memory and protected the culture. Mazower mentions that many historic sites have been transformed into cultural centers, and there is a motivation to renovate and revalue them (2010; 602). When Harvey speaks about the commodification of the urban realm under globalization, he remarks that the same thing has happened to historic sites. Thus, both in Thessaloniki and Izmir, few projects venture beyond this standard approach. While this motivation is beneficial in that it affords protection to any place older than 40 years desirous of adding to its prestige, it may result in Disneyfication, because of a corresponding decrease in each city's unique charm and attitude.

After a concert at the Celsus Library, I had a conversation with Mustafa about the festival's interaction with those lesser known historic sites. How many people contemplated the past? Were they connected to Izmir's urban memory? Mustafa grinned and said: "*No, there isn't a connection... I don't think so. But it tickles!*" Tickling is a soft impact; we may forget it soon, but it is something. At least for a moment we are stimulated. The memory emerges to the surface under the heterotopic conditions that the festival has created. Then, as there is no attempt to look further into the memory or to revisit the site, both the act of memory and the branding process remain superficial.

If the organization were content to hold the events in a modern building, there would be no need for any act of intervention with the historic sites. In the context of Izmir, which lived through periodic destruction of the built environment during the 20th century, attempts to

revalorize the remnants of the past under the motivation of city branding raise questions about the shift of power. Is it hypocritical to engage in city branding while disregarding the urban memories of a city concealing its traumas?

Although the festival has the potential to be a pioneer in the gentrification of historic sites which are currently migrant neighborhoods, it is content with its current role, which is limited to 'presenting a place to the public,' then handing it off and escaping once more to Ephesus, the ancient, safe, and already prestigious site. Perhaps the festival has its own awareness and implicitly expects that the spectators will experience their own awareness process about Izmir's forgotten memories. Then there might be a discussion about auto-censorship within the patriarchal structure of the festival and as part of the cultural fabric of the country.

While the festival's strength is derived from its prestige, and its goal is to earn more prestige through the events it organizes, its limited approach to the question of memory and neighborhood creates a problem with city branding as well. On the one hand, instead of inviting very expensive artists from Western countries and organizing exclusive events, an intense dialogue with the environment of a historic site would enhance the branding process and the visibility of the festival. On the other hand, the public being addressed is a collective of a population from different territories of the Ottoman state. They emigrated from different geographical regions and lived through a process of forgetting during modernization. The city's memories were erased because of physical destruction and population exchange. Hence, it is also essential for local and national establishments to prioritize cultural memory projects with the collaboration of the International Izmir Festival in order to revalorize historic sites and to construct a strong sense of attachment to these places. Unfortunately, while the collective memory is revived in the form of nostalgia in the popular culture of present-day Turkey, the counter-memory about the multicultural cities' memories remains limited and framed only in the academic and artistic milieus.

If the city branding projects connected with the global economy and global trends are the future of Izmir, the International Izmir Festival should not simply escape to the ancient city of Ephesus or the new arts center of Adnan Saygun (AASSM). The challenges that it initiated in the past should continue in order to create new heterotopias and moments of awareness. Considering Izmir's long-standing past of migration, possible future challenges should embrace immigrants of various ethnicities and social incomes. Consistency and dialogue would not only provide protection for the historic sites but also enhance the brand values of the festival and the city.

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