From Here to Elsewhere: Migration in Response to an Anticipated Earthquake[1]

Cemre Aydoğan
(Yeditepe University, Turkey)
cemre.aydogan@yeditepe.edu.tr

What drives residents to leave their homes when disaster looms, and how does such migration reshape their sense of belonging? I examine the pre-emptive migration of Istanbul's Kadıköy residents, predominantly middle and upper-middle class, in anticipation of a destructive earthquake expected in Istanbul, where the district's buildings are old and vulnerable to seismic risks. Drawing on ethnographic research, I investigate how the fear of a natural disaster, intensified by the recent catastrophic earthquake that struck Kahramanmaraş in February 2023, compels individuals to migrate and how their attachment to Kadıköy persists despite this involuntary migration. The district's strong community ties and shared middle-class habitus foster a deep-rooted sense of belonging that transcends physical departure. Even as these residents move to safer locales, they feel connected to Kadıköy's urban identity. The discussion highlights the tension between disaster risk and urban attachment, shedding light on the emotional complexities faced by those who must choose between safety and a place they consider home. Finally, the case of Kadıköy helps to illustrate the process of transition from "risk individuals" to "risk migrants" (*émigrés*).
Keywords: Earthquake, Istanbul, Kadıköy, migration, middle-class.

Introduction

Most residents of Istanbul are familiar with Prof. Dr Naci Görür,[2] a prominent geologist known for his assertive yet ominous predictions regarding the anticipated Istanbul earthquake and the potential devastation it will bring to the city. While Dr Görür has emerged as a public figure due to the studies he spearheaded, many other geologists and geophysicists share a consensus that Istanbul is at risk of a looming significant earthquake (Sørensen et al. 2006, Aochi and Ulrich 2015, Cinicioglu et al. 2007). However, temporal uncertainties surrounding earthquakes, combined with the nuances in the opinions of experts,[3] create a complex landscape of attitudes toward earthquake preparedness among Istanbulites, particularly from a politically determined standpoint (Scoones and Stirling 2020, Kayaalp and Arslan 2022).

The destructive earthquakes that struck the Marmara region in 1999 prompted significant political intervention, leading to new building codes to provide earthquake safety in Turkey (Sezen et al. 2003, Jacoby and Özerdem 2008). Nonetheless, the persistent uncertainty about

[1] I am grateful to the anonymous reviewers for *Urbanities* and to Prof. Ebru Kayaalp for her invaluable feedback and insightful comments. Her perspective has significantly contributed to the improvement of this article.

[2] Dr. Naci Görür is well-known Turkish geologist who holds a professorship at Istanbul Technical University. He regularly gives public speeches on TV programmes or social platforms to remind of the anticipated earthquake in Istanbul and the destructive results the residents of the city should prepare for. https://bilimakademisi.org/bilim-akademisi/kurucu-kisa-ozgecmisleri/prof-dr-naci-gorur/, accessed 17 May 2024.

[3] As an example, Şener Üşümezsoy is another publicly known geologist, and he insists on the possibility of a non-destructive earthquake (or a less destructive one) in Istanbul. https://www.beykent.edu.tr/haberler/detay/2023/10/03/deprem-bilimci-prof-dr-usumezsoy-marmara-depremi-ile-ilgili-malumatlar-curutuldu-7-ustu-deprem-olmayacak, accessed 17 May 2024.

earthquakes has fostered a flexible and often unregulated construction market, resulting in many buildings erected after 1999 failing to adhere to the established earthquake regulations.

Since the Justice and Development Party (AKP) assumed power in 2002, Istanbul has transformed into a construction site, reflecting the party's neoliberal policies (Bora 2021). Many of these new construction projects lack adequate safety measures and quality control to protect residents during an earthquake or other disasters. Following the devastating 7.2 magnitude earthquake in Van in 2011, then-Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan announced an urban transformation initiative aimed at curbing unlicensed construction (Bilecen 2021: 53). However, this policy primarily resulted in the construction of new "attraction centres" and houses for existing property owners, thus reinforcing existing inequalities rather than addressing the broader needs of those affected by the earthquake (Ibid.).

The earthquakes in Marmara in 1999, Van in 2011 and Izmir in 2020 have significantly eroded public trust in the state due to inadequate state assistance and the state institutions' inefficiency despite the high casualty rates and destruction, highlighting a lack of preparedness for earthquakes at the state level. In February 2023, a series of earthquakes with a magnitude of 7.8 struck several cities in south-central Turkey, resulting in catastrophic human and economic losses (Goldberg et al. 2023). These events and the perceived incapability of the state further heightened public anxiety, particularly in earthquake-prone zones like Istanbul, where residents have become increasingly aware of their risk due to perceived governmental ignorance (Beck 2014).

This article presents ethnographic research conducted in Istanbul's Kadıköy district, where the district's buildings are old and vulnerable to seismic risks (Yenice and Samanlioglu 2020). Ethnographic studies are particularly useful for understanding "behavioural data" in pre- and post-disaster contexts, illuminating the discrepancies between "what people say" and "what people do" (Indah 2018: 799-800). During my fieldwork, I engaged with former Kadıköy residents who had migrated away from the district due to concerns about potential earthquakes, particularly following the chaotic atmosphere after the earthquakes of February 2023. I also conducted semi-structured interviews with participants to gather insights into their experiences and views.

Kadıköy is notable for its diverse demographic composition, predominantly encompassing residents from the middle and upper-middle classes (Tuğal 2015, Öktem 2024). This socio-economic structure contributes to the district's rich cultural tapestry and positions it as a microcosm of broader societal trends in Turkey. The district is home to various pronounced groups, including secularists, feminists, environmental activists, white-collar professionals and LGBTQ+ individuals, all of whom contribute to Kadıköy's distinctive identity (Doan and Atalay 2021).

In the context of the post-Gezi Uprising Turkey, Kadıköy has gained further significance as many residents perceive the area as a bastion of progressive values amid the rising Islamification seen in other districts, such as Beyoğlu (Pelivan 2020: 503). This positioning highlights Kadıköy's role as a refuge for individuals escaping the prevailing socio-political climate cultivated by the country's Islamist government (David and Punto 2018).

Consequently, Kadıköy has evolved into a site of solidarity and activism, where individuals from diverse backgrounds unite to advocate for their rights and express dissent.

Furthermore, Kadıköy's urban landscape promotes public engagement and discourse through its numerous cafés, cultural centres and public spaces, fostering a strong sense of community and collective identity (Sahin 2020). Its residents' commitment to social and political issues not only reinforces their sense of belonging but also solidifies Kadıköy's reputation as a vibrant hub for counter-hegemonical cultural and social movements. This dynamic interplay between local identity and country-wide socio-political struggles makes Kadıköy a pivotal site for examining contemporary Turkish society.

Many of the study's participants had the opportunity to migrate to safer neighbourhoods in Istanbul or Kadıköy, despite the high rents in these areas. Nonetheless, they expressed a profound sense of belonging to Kadıköy, shaped by their "shared behavioural norms" (Zahnow and Cheshire 2023: 127). The post-Covid economic crisis has severely impacted the residential sector in Turkey, particularly in Istanbul, leading many middle-class tenants in Kadıköy to terminate their leases (Kahveci 2023). However, among the participants I interviewed, the primary reason for migration was not the housing crisis but rather the fear of an anticipated earthquake.

This ethnographic research aims to address the central question of *how migration due to earthquake risk affects the sense of belonging and urban identity among middle-class residents of Kadıköy*. To explore this, I initially spoke with former residents of Kadıköy who inherited their family homes through the Maussian gift tradition (Bennett 2014: 658). These individuals often felt a moral obligation to preserve their connection to their urban quarters through social routines, everyday rituals and daily activities (Benson and Jackson 2013: 794).

I also engaged with a group of former Kadıköy residents who migrated from other Turkish or European cities, attracted by the urban assets and opportunities available in the district, such as its diverse commercial offerings (Mattson 2020: 77). It is crucial to note that both groups share a common feature: their *middle-class habitus*, which encompasses similar reactions, quotidian practices, family backgrounds, educational histories and consumption behaviours within a specific urban sub-division (Bourdieu 2004, 2011; Rinaldo 2008; Davey 2009; Brazil 2018). All participants exhibited middle-class norms while articulating their attachment to Kadıköy, focusing on how they realized their middle-class identity within the district.

This article posits that "risk migrants" (*émigrés*) who relocate due to anticipated earthquake risks may struggle to cultivate a sense of belonging in their new environments due to their deep-rooted attachment to their former urban quartiers. In essence, the central thesis demonstrates that the fear of an impending earthquake in Istanbul drives pre-emptive migration among Kadıköy's middle and upper-middle-class residents, yet their strong attachment to the district — shaped by shared middle-class habitus — persists despite their physical relocation. Thus, "risk individuals", who foresee receiving no assistance from the state or any higher authority in situations of risk and uncertainty (Jarvis 2007: 26), transform into "risk migrants"

within their own country over time. This transformation positions them in a more precarious situation within their imaginaries and narratives.

Belongingness and the Urban

The concept of belongingness has been extensively studied across various academic fields, including political science, sociology, social psychology and cultural anthropology. Researchers often explore the connections between belongingness and dominant identities, such as ethnicity or religion (Eriksen 2002, Apitzsch 2009, Duran et al. 2020). A significant portion of the literature focuses on these dominant identities while deconstructing the idea of belonging itself. Some anthropologists and social psychologists analyse belongingness through affect theories, examining its emotional dimensions (Leavitt 1996, Leary 2010). Recently, attention has shifted toward investigating belongingness through narrower, more adaptable identities that reflect individual contexts (Dasgupta and Goyal 2018).

This article emphasizes urban environments as critical spaces for the construction of belongingness. Residents of cities or specific neighbourhoods often cultivate a sense of belonging through daily practices and rituals. These repetitive actions contribute to the formation of new identities among individuals who share similar urban lifestyles, as "the repetitive actions directed at making places of residence simultaneously reconstruct classed identities" (Benson and Jackson 2013: 794). Consequently, class emerges as a crucial aspect of discussions about belongingness in urban settings. Middle and upper-middle-class residents frequently assert "moral ownership over their places of residence" (Benson and Jackson 2013: 795).

Bennett (2014) contextualizes the idea of moral ownership through Marcel Mauss' concept of the "gift". Mauss argues that gifts are complex and vital for forming social bonds, obligations and an economic framework distinct from monetary transactions (Mauss 1998: 84). The exchange of gifts fosters enduring relationships that transcend mere transactions. Strathern (1992) adds that gifts carry social meanings and obligations, shaping relationships over time.

Building on Mauss' framework, Bennett posits that places can be perceived as "inalienable gifts passed from generation to generation" (2014: 660). Weiner (1992) elaborates on inalienable goods, asserting that they remain deeply embedded in a group's cultural memory and social identity, making it difficult to separate them from their origins. For urban residents who inherit homes from their ancestors, these properties represent both a material and moral connection to their past.

Social memory plays a crucial role in understanding the right to inhabit particular urban spaces. Connerton (1989) suggests that social memory acts as a collective means of preserving identity and continuity, particularly regarding shared spaces and traditions. This connection to place, maintained over generations, reinforces the notion of homeownership as part of a Maussian gift economy. Urban habitus, shaped by ancestral legacies, intertwines with the right to reside in these areas, leading residents to view their homes as inherited gifts rich in social and historical significance.

Moreover, social memory functions as a repository of trans-generational experiences, including pain, joy, defeat and triumph. It can also promote self-stereotyping that influences the need to belong (Gardner et al. 2000: 487). The transmission of social memory, particularly through communicative memory (Assmann 2011), may embody specific moral dimensions of a society or community and could reproduce stereotypes aligned with existing moral norms. Thus, the interplay between gift economies and social memory is vital in constructing moral ownership and belongingness among urban residents. However, the ongoing phenomena of internal and external migration can disrupt the generational continuity of gift traditions and moral ownership.

Migration to urban areas often correlates with industrialization and the pursuit of job opportunities. Various social factors also contribute to this trend. Factors such as educational pursuits and the allure of urban life significantly influence migration rates. Biswas et al. (2019) argue that "scarcity of heterogeneous jobs" and "lack of social safety" are not universal issues across urban environments, particularly within specific neighbourhoods. For middle-class residents, social safety may intersect with gender, ethnic diversity and class dynamics. Gordon et al. (1980: S148) contend that urban neighbourhoods are essential for examining social harmony and safety, shaped by residents' similar profiles and needs.

Raco's research in Britain demonstrates that middle-class residents of specific urban subdivisions often impose their agendas, fostering social harmony under a collective urban identity (2007: 312). These residents' repetitive practices evolve alongside the urban landscape, potentially enhancing social safety and cohesion. Shach-Pinsly and Ganor (2021: 6-7) highlight that perceptions of security are closely tied to environmental factors, such as street lighting and building proximity, as well as surveillance mechanisms designed to deter insecurity.

Furthermore, while gender, age and ethnic affiliations are vital for assessing varying senses of security and identifying segregation among urban social groups (Notter and Logan 2022, González-Pérez 2021), the psychological security of middle-class residents may also be shaped by their neighbours' education levels and shared social needs (Liu and Zhang 2015: 313). The tradition of gift economics — particularly the transfer of urban properties through Maussian principles — establishes moral ownership and trans-generational protection of constructed morality among residents. However, as urban areas attract migrants, the moral codes of long-standing residents may evolve to accommodate new group norms.

Scott's study of British migrants in Paris illustrates how migration influences the transference of moral values to new contexts, ultimately shaping newcomers' sense of belonging (2006). Scott notes that skilled British migrants, primarily middle-class white-collar workers, seek to access the "city-centre amenities" of Paris, with "leisure time" being a significant factor influencing their sense of belonging (2006: 1116). This research underscores how external migrant groups can develop a collective sense of belonging within their new neighbourhoods. Similarly, Yang (2024: 142) observes that "culture is reflected in the lives of local residents", suggesting that local inhabitants — regardless of their migration status—can construct a culturally imagined identity within their urban spaces.

In conclusion, internal migrants also forge their sense of belonging within urban areas through their middle-class habitus. Shared factors such as educational backgrounds, leisure activities — often "distinct from mainstream norms" (Zukin and Costa 2004: 102) — political aspirations, family dynamics and friendship networks are vital for understanding the sense of belonging among middle-class urban residents in their neighbourhoods (Rinaldo 2008: 35-36). The similar demographics in these neighbourhoods often reduce concerns about criminal activities (Venkatesh 1997). I will now examine how the (re)construction of middle-class habitus, whether among long-term residents or new migrants, is crucial for understanding their sense of belonging from a cultural standpoint.

Middle-Class Urban Habitus

The concept of habitus, as defined by Pierre Bourdieu, reflects the reproduction of the self through social interactions from the moment of birth (2004: 175). Family background and socio-economic status significantly influence individual identity and social attitudes, suggesting that habitus comprises "transposable dispositions" passed down through generations (Ibid.). While Bourdieu emphasizes the structuring effects of habitus, Crossley (2001: 83) notes the complexities and strategies inherent in social life by underlining the importance of interactions between social contexts and individual agents. This dynamic interaction is crucial for understanding the emergence of distinct habitus forms that represent the narrow identities of diverse social groups. Social habitus can thus be understood as socialized subjectivity (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992), shaped by environmental and social practices. This article aims to illustrate the (re)construction of middle-class habitus influenced by urban practices.

Middle-class individuals and their offspring often dominate prestigious universities (Davey 2009: 47). Preserving cultural capital is essential for this demographic, as it largely informs self-identity through both formal and informal education (Bourdieu 2011). Cultural capital also shapes the everyday social interactions of middle-class members, influencing choices regarding consumption, such as food and alcohol (Brierley-Jones et al.2014). The level of cultural capital effectively delineates the boundaries of social habitus. Despite identifiable differences within middle-class or upper-class groups, members tend to reside among others with similar socio-economic backgrounds. A primary objective for middle-class individuals is to create a cohesive urban subdivision, consciously or unconsciously, fostering a sense of belonging through "trust among community members" (Hwang and Lee 2023: 25). Therefore, the formation of middle-class habitus, akin to other habitus forms, relies on the presence of similar social agents and shared cultural capital, including choices regarding educational institutions within their neighbourhoods (Candipan 2019). This habitus solidifies through the accumulation of like-minded individuals in specific areas, making a strong sense of belonging and community ties evident among residents with comparable educational backgrounds, social tastes and friendships (Horak and Vanhooren 2024).

Many major cities contain well-known urban subdivisions where middle-class residents coexist, making their habitus observable through shared educational backgrounds, leisure

activities, political interests and family motivations. In Istanbul, Kadıköy is a prominent district favoured by middle-class residents (Tuğal 2015, Öktem 2024). The area boasts various social venues, such as pubs and concert halls, attracting visitors from other Istanbul districts eager to engage with its social offerings. However, the post-Covid economic crisis has severely impacted the residential sector in Turkey, particularly in Istanbul, forcing many middle-class tenants in Kadıköy to terminate their leases (Kahveci 2023).

While the housing crisis affected many residents in Kadıköy, the anticipated risk of a devastating earthquake in Istanbul has also prompted increased migration among the middle class. In February 2023, a series of earthquakes with catastrophic human and economic consequences struck south-central Turkey (Goldberg et al. 2023). This disaster collectively traumatized the nation, with Istanbul at the centre of discussions regarding earthquake preparedness due to its high population density and many structures not built according to safety regulations. Those considering migration from Kadıköy due to earthquake fears often found themselves unable to locate alternative housing options due to soaring rents (Özdemir Darby and Selçuk 2020).

The looming threat of an earthquake has also driven rent prices upward, reflecting the phenomenon of "disaster neoliberalism" (Neumann 2018: 77). This study employs ethnographic methods to narrate the disruptions in belonging experienced by former Kadıköy residents who developed a sense of community rooted in their middle-class habitus but were compelled to relocate due to the impending earthquake threat. This theoretical framework underpins my central assertion: Bourdieu's habitus concept elucidates how middle and upper-middle-class residents of Kadıköy cultivate a strong sense of belonging, underscoring that this demographic is among those least affected by external pressures like disaster neoliberalism and the housing crisis.

In this context, the participants' narratives reveal how middle-class habits emerge prominently. This approach meaningfully elucidates the intricate relationship between physical safety and emotional attachment amid pre-emptive migration.

Methodology

In Kadıköy, residents' strong attachment to place arises from shared values, a communal identity and a sense of belonging, particularly among those feeling marginalized by broader socio-political changes (Özbay 2024). To explore this relationship, I employed ethnography, a method conducive to understanding informal interactions, social norms and practices within urban settings from the residents' and the researcher's perspectives (Lees 2003, Auyero and Jensen 2015). Having been a resident of Kadıköy for over two years, I leveraged my own experiences, particularly observing migration trends following the February 2023 earthquake, which led many to reassess their futures in this dynamic neighbourhood.

I also conducted semi-structured interviews with 18 participants who migrated from Kadıköy after the February 2023 earthquake (11 homeowners and 7 tenants), aged between 32 to 43. My sampling criteria required participants to have resided in Kadıköy for six months,

and I asked them to self-identify their socio-economic class. I promoted my research through social media and local networks, employing snowball sampling; only one participant was a personal acquaintance, while the others were recruited through mutual contacts.

All participants identified themselves as middle-class, having graduated from prestigious universities and worked as white-collar professionals. Their educational and occupational backgrounds underscore the relevance of middle-class urban habitus in understanding belonging and identity in Kadıköy. Before each interview, I read an oral consent form to participants. Through these methods, I sought to address my research question: How does migration due to earthquake risk affect the sense of belonging and urban identity among middle-class residents of Kadıköy? My findings will be presented in the next section, linking them to the theoretical framework of middle-class urban habitus.

Demographic Variable	**Description**	**Count (n)**
Gender	Male	7
	Female	6
	Non-Binary	3
	Prefer Not to Say	2
Age	30-40 years	14
	40-50 years	4
Socioeconomic Status	Lower Class	0
	Middle/Upper-Middle Class	18
	Upper Class	0

Figure 1. A Demographic table of the participants. (Prepared by the author).

Émigrés of Kadıköy

Oxford Dictionary defines "*émigré*"[4] as "a person who has left their own country, usually for political reasons". In this article, I will also use the word *émigré* to refer to middle-class members who migrated from Kadıköy due to the anticipated destructive earthquake as "risk migrants". Although an earthquake is a natural disaster, its political implications are significant; since many have awaited such an event in Istanbul for years, yet political actors have not taken structural action to mitigate its adverse effects. Thus, individuals bear the responsibility of safeguarding their lives and property in the event of an earthquake, which reflects a political conceptualization of risk as an individualized matter (Beck 1992).

This section presents examples from my interviews and informal conversations in Kadıköy to explore the motivations behind my informants' decisions to migrate. While the imminent threat of an earthquake prompts many middle and upper-middle-class residents of Kadıköy to relocate, their deep attachment to the district — rooted in a shared middle-class habitus — endures even after they leave. This dynamic illustrates a complex tension between

[4] https://www.oed.com/dictionary/emigre_n?tl=true, accessed 22 April 2024.

the desire for physical safety and the lasting sense of belonging to their former urban community.

The "anthropology at home" perspective in urban anthropology allows for a more detailed narration of geo-political changes through local and micro examples, particularly in relation to the rank-and-file members of society (Prato and Pardo 2013: 89). As a resident of this city, I moved to Kadıköy two and a half years ago. Kadıköy may be classified as the central district of the Anatolian side of Istanbul, owing to its advantageous location and urban assets, largely attributed to social networks (Forstie 2020). In 2022, it was relatively cheaper than comparable locations on the European side, particularly regarding rent. When my partner and I moved to Kadıköy, we knew many friends living in its various sub-divisions. We began spending our leisure time together, frequenting the same pubs, supermarkets and hospitals. Coming from a similar socio-economic background, we belong to the middle class and exhibit comparable patterns of habitus due to our shared educational experiences and consumption behaviours (Mellor et al. 2010: 117).

When consecutive earthquakes struck southern Turkey on 6 February 2023 — especially around Malatya, Gaziantep, Kahramanmaraş and Hatay — my friends, relatives and I were shocked by the destruction and casualty rates. This was the first moment we labelled ourselves as "risk individuals" and recognized the necessity of self-provision through individual responsibility (Jarvis 2007: 26). A day later, a close friend who later migrated from Kadıköy shared:

> "I do not want to take any action to cope with the results of this possible earthquake in Istanbul. I am just an ordinary citizen. How can I protect myself? Even the state cannot protect me because it failed to save lives in Kahramanmaraş and Hatay. The best solution is moving from my beloved Kadıköy quartier."

This informal conversation captures the essence of many interviewees' sentiments when deciding to leave Kadıköy despite their strong sense of belonging. Living in a multi-story building in Kadıköy, I share a heightened awareness of the seismic risks we face. Although I am close to friends, I, like my friend above, experience feelings of helplessness. My socioeconomic status might allow me to relocate, yet Kadıköy remains perilous due to its proximity to a seismic zone. I often contemplate my potential migration, considering how my spouse and I would adapt professionally to a new environment, particularly given that we would have no local connections. These personal reflections shaped my interviews, encouraging me to incorporate unstructured questions on these themes (Lichterman 2017).

In this part, I illustrate further quotes from my interviews to discuss the intrinsic relationship between being an *émigré* and a "risk migrant" in the context of migrations from Kadıköy:

> "After the last earthquake in southern Turkey [February 6, 2023], I immediately decided to move to another city. I know that no one will come to help me if an

> earthquake hits. So, I prepared a bag for the days just after the earthquake since it might strike Istanbul at any moment."

When I inquired about their feelings post-decision to leave Kadıköy, the interviewee responded:

> "This is another earthquake in my life because it is time for farewell. I grew up here. I have lived in my grandmother's home in Kadıköy for five years. Her home is the last remnant of my grandma. Before me, my dad and mom lived here for thirty years. Now they reside in an Aegean village. It feels like a rupture in our family tradition, but I truly have to migrate from Kadıköy since I do not want to die. My friends live here too. I am an alumna of Kadıköy Anatolian High School. Even my high school friends still live here, despite our education at prestigious universities and opportunities to live in Europe. We chose to preserve the spirit of Kadıköy by frequenting local pubs and buying tickets from the same opera house. I have no idea what I will do in Ankara, where I have decided to live."

While the informant's identity as a "risk migrant" emerges from their fear of an earthquake, the quote also reflects a deep attachment to their grandmother's home, reconstructing their sense of place and belonging (Bennett 2014: 660). Moreover, this illustrates a typical middle-class urban habitus in Kadıköy through certain attachments: friends from similar backgrounds, educational patterns and social routines (Ambrasat et al. 2016). Thus, belonging to an urban place, established through familial traditions, becomes increasingly fragile as their identity shifts from a local resident of a middle-class quartier to an *émigré.*

Furthermore, it is also necessary to highlight that urban areas are, in fact, an important unit of analysis for discussing inequalities following a pandemic or disaster (Krase and DeSena 2023, Sen 2023), as significant socio-economic disparities can emerge even within the same urban environment as I try to show through the emphasis of gift economics like in the previous example. By examining the narratives and decisions of the population living in an urban area with an anticipated natural disaster, it is possible to discuss privileged or disadvantaged local groups.

In the case of the Kadıköy community, the ethnographic approach of this research also highlights the interconnectedness of the economically and socially privileged residents. During one interview at a local café, both my interviewee and I were familiar with the café owner. After the interview, the owner joined our conversation and remarked, "Cemre is also a relatively new member of our community". This comment prompted me to reflect on my inclusion as an academician in this "community" and the unspoken rules for acceptance. As we discussed my research, the owner raised an eyebrow and asked, "Why are you working on such unsettling topics? It makes us feel insecure when everything is fine here in Kadıköy".

Lee and Kramer (2013) argue that sharing a common habitus with fellow community members fosters connections. The café owner's attitude toward me indicated a sense of belonging; they perceived me as part of the same community. Their comments suggested that

they view Kadıköy as a relatively sacred or peaceful place, contrasting sharply with the experience of Kadıköy's *émigré*s.

Another interviewee emphasized their insecurity about being classified as an *émigré*:

> "I have seeped into Kadıköy for decades and have lived in my family's apartment for thirty-seven years. The anticipated Istanbul earthquake not only makes me anxious; even my elderly relatives living in the same apartment have begun considering migration from Kadıköy and Istanbul, despite their age. While we can rent other flats in Istanbul due to our income from tenements, living in another quartier holds no meaning for us. Choosing a safer city is a better solution because, for us, Kadıköy equals Istanbul."

This quote reveals the intertwining of familial traditions with the necessity of conservation in residential choices. Furthermore, it highlights the possibility of being classified as an *émigré* even among older generations, and it displays that when conducting urban anthropology, the "local dynamics" are shaped not only by nationwide or regional developments, but also by the morality and rationality of local people (Pardo 1996: 11-12). This participant had moved to an Aegean village in Muğla six months earlier, demonstrating that their *émigré* identity is not rooted in economic hardship but rather a conscious choice shaped by risk perception. When I asked if they still felt like an *émigré,* they responded:

> "Certainly! I am an alien in this place. Yes, there are people here with similar educational and family backgrounds, but I am attached to Kadıköy. Its streets, parks and pubs are my safe places. While there are comparable locations, I feel no belonging to them."

This interviewee articulates their identity as an alien following migration, despite it being internal migration within Turkey. They emphasize their established sense of belonging to Kadıköy through their middle-class habitus, suggesting that their *émigré* identity remains intact despite relocation.

This identity crisis is apparent among nearly all participants in this study. One participant from Izmir returned to Kadıköy after living in Europe but moved back to Izmir shortly after the 6 February earthquake. Izmir, another Aegean city in Turkey, also faces significant earthquake risks due to seismic Line-17, a major fault line in the Aegean region known for its potential to cause significant earthquakes (Ocakoğlu et al. 2005). When I asked why they chose another perilous location, they explained:

> "Yes, I just migrated to a city where another earthquake might occur at any time. However, at least I have family here. If I had stayed in Kadıköy, I would have accepted surviving alone. I have many friends in Kadıköy, but you know the streets; no one could help during or after an earthquake. I started taking first aid lessons, but I questioned whether this would truly help. We are all alone in Istanbul. I really miss Kadıköy because I found true friendship and love there. I miss my daily habits,

like buying a croissant from my favourite bakery and drinking an americano with friends from the same quartier. But I couldn't cope with the anxiety."

This testimony reveals an acute awareness of risk, influenced by political realities (Dake 1992). The interviewee does not emphasize financial concerns or the current housing crisis in Istanbul while narrating their migration story, indicating their socio-economic status as a middle or upper-middle-class individual. Ultimately, their *émigré* identity did not stem solely from migrating away from Kadıköy; rather, it was a culmination of past migrations driven by various reasons. However, this final move solidified their identity as an *émigré*: "This time I felt like I was uprooted".

This last statement captures the emotional upheaval of migration, highlighting a deep disconnection from one's perceived roots and community, stemming from a strong sense of belonging to that very community. In the next part, I display several testimonies of my participants to reframe their sense of belonging to an urban place and to reshape their urban identity after migrating from Kadıköy.

After Migration: Reframing Sense of Belongingness and Urban Identity

In this part, I will present testimonies from my interviewees to reframe their sense of belonging. Many studies highlight that a new sense of belonging may develop in different places under various conditions (Janke et al. 2024, Afonso et al. 2023, Raijman and Geffen 2018). Onebunne and Alike argue that "security challenges", "unemployment" and "breakdown of communal living" are substantial reasons for ruptures in the existing sense of belonging to a place (2019: 15). Therefore, migration can serve as a means of salvation for those experiencing such threats. If developing a sense of belonging is viewed as a need, adaptation to a new environment and internalization of the rituals, routines and rules of a new place may be desired or expected among migrants.

For *émigrés* from Kadıköy, environmental risk-related concerns significantly influence those who migrate to other parts of Turkey. Participants in this study, like many residents of Kadıköy, primarily belong to the middle class from a socio-economic perspective (Tuğal 2015, Liebelt 2023). Consequently, unemployment or economic reasons are generally not push factors in their migration narratives. They did not mention any breakdown in their communal living routines either. Therefore, their involuntary migration due to the risk of earthquakes has created observable barriers to developing a sense of belonging in a new environment.

One participant articulated their connection to Kadıköy, stating:

> "I still belong to my hometown, Kadıköy. My family left their home to me there, and I grew up in that home. It is the correct place for me. But I want to emphasize that our family home is not valuable due to its price. It is valuable to me because I was like a protector of the moral codes or everyday rituals of our quarter through the ownership of our home."

This statement indicates that this interviewee prefers to conserve their sense of belonging to Kadıköy. They centralize "the gift" dimension of their property, asserting the need to protect "moral ownership over their places of residence" (Benson and Jackson 2013: 794) for maintaining a balance between the giver and receiver of the gift (Polanyi 2002). Further, "the moral codes" intended to be upheld in urban life do not reflect only "personal virtue"; rather, they define the boundaries of the moral through "others' recognition and legitimization" (Pardo 2019: 65) which, in the case of Kadıköy, brings the concept of gift economy into focus.

As noted earlier, Kadıköy has also attracted many newcomers in recent decades due to its urban appeal. My ethnographic observations reveal that these newcomers often arrive following extensive educational journeys and international experiences. In my apartment building, there are two couples with similar backgrounds. Ongoing construction projects around my residence frequently attract adults, often in their early 40s, inquiring about the prices of newly built homes, signalling an interest in purchasing a property. However, some of these newcomers may eventually leave, driven by concerns over the anticipated earthquake risk in the area.

Several *émigrés* from this group also reframe their sense of belonging to Kadıköy. One participant stated:

> "I regularly visit Kadıköy to see my friends and girlfriend. I still belong to Yeldeğirmeni [a quartier of Kadıköy], my true home. I am happy with the conditions in Ankara, where I migrated, but the sense of belonging is another attachment. I left my social habits to protect myself from the ruinous results of a possible earthquake. However, this is not a voluntary migration. I still follow several accounts on Instagram to stay updated about the inauguration of new pubs or cafes in Kadıköy."

According to this participant, constructing a sense of belonging to a place is neither easy nor quick. Despite having lived in various cities across Turkey, they assert that Kadıköy remains their "true home", deeply intertwined with their social identity (Weiner 1992). This enduring connection reflects the complexities of belonging, where emotional ties to a community persist even amid physical relocation. The participant's ongoing engagement with Kadıköy through social media and visits highlights how digital and physical spaces interplay in maintaining their sense of belonging, reinforcing that attachment to a place can endure beyond geographical boundaries.

Another participant, who migrated from Kadıköy just after the February 2023 earthquake, mentioned that they and their family began visiting Kadıköy regularly during national or religious holidays:

> "This is like a religious ritual for us. Yes, we just spent a year in our new quartier, but we do not want to be folks of here (*buralı* in Turkish). So, we try to visit Kadıköy as much as possible, as if we were part of diaspora tourism."

This quote highlights that *émigrés* from Kadıköy may reject building a new sense of belonging to their new urban subdivisions, instead preserving their attachment to Kadıköy through regular visits. The participant compares this to diaspora tourism, which involves returning home

through travel (Li et al. 2020: 2110). Thus, the possibility of attachment to a new environment may be less likely while they reinforce their sense of belonging to Kadıköy through travel.

When examining their middle-class urban habitus after migrating from Kadıköy, participants' responses indicate an identity crisis, as they continue to foster their sense of belonging to Kadıköy through visits while generally avoiding adopting the norms of their new environment. One participant expressed this tension:

> "To be honest, I want to spend my days like in Kadıköy. However, I know it is impossible here. My new quartier does not provide opportunities or assets of Kadıköy; that's why I feel that I am not an urban citizen anymore. A migrant perfectly defines my current identity."

Baubock asserts that urban residents might define themselves as "urban citizens" because they feel "sovereign" due to their rights, status, societal contracts and local democracy within their urban environment (2003: 157). This passage illustrates that this interviewee combines urban and citizenship concepts to discuss their appreciation for their previous urban identity, likely constructed through the realization practices of their middle-class habitus. Furthermore, they adopt the identity of migrants to define their supra-identity, even though they are an internal migrant remaining within the borders of their nation-state. Another participant also conceptualizes their identity in crisis:

> "I feel like a rootless migrant now. I have always lived in city centres for education or work, but migrating because of risk affected me negatively. I loved Kadıköy — its location, places and the profile of its people — and I know I cannot find any similar place in Turkey. I migrated to another city centre after the earthquake [February 6, 2023], and I feel like an alien here, although I can access many things. This migration is still a crisis for me, especially regarding my everyday routines."

This discussion reveals how the environment and community shape one's identity and how urban identity can be considered a paramount identity among individuals. Furthermore, it is reasonable to suggest that some middle-class members may build a sense of belonging and feel local if they live in a place that aligns with their middle-class habitus. The complexity of maintaining ties to a former community while trying to adapt to a new one underscores the profound impact of migration on urban identity and belonging, particularly for those with strong attachments to their previous homes. The narratives illustrate the emotional struggles arising from navigating these dual identities in a constantly changing urban landscape.

Conclusion

In this ethnographic study, I examined the sense of belongingness through various thematic and methodological debates within anthropology, focusing particularly on overarching identities. Doing so, I aimed to illuminate the relationship between urban identity and belonging from an anthropological perspective among residents of Kadıköy. These individuals generally own their homes through Maussian gift traditions, alongside internal migrants who have relocated to the

quartier for urban opportunities, education, or work. As a resident of Kadıköy myself, I observe a distinctive urban spirit here, which transcends mere access to opportunities or the district's advantageous location. The residents share similar profiles and collectively develop a middle-class habitus, making migration from Kadıköy potentially destabilizing for their identities.

Although Kadıköy faces a housing crisis that has particularly impacted tenants, my focus remained on participants who left not solely due to this issue. The devastating earthquakes on 6 February 2023, marked a turning point in Turkey's modern history. After these earthquakes, my ethnographic observations indicated that many residents chose to leave Kadıköy, identified as a seismic zone, amidst growing warnings from geologists regarding the risk of future disasters.

To explore this dynamic, I formulated the research question: How does migration due to earthquake risk affect the sense of belonging and urban identity among middle-class residents of Kadıköy? Through ethnographic research and semi-structured interviews, I gathered experiences and testimonies from *émigrés*. My findings reveal that these individuals strive to maintain and develop their sense of belonging to Kadıköy, despite facing anticipated risks of destruction and isolation due to impending earthquakes. From a theoretical perspective, this persistence is largely rooted in their middle-class habitus, which centres around Kadıköy as a place of belonging.

I have analysed their testimonies through the lens of risk migration, emphasizing decisions to migrate stemming from distrust in political institutions during disasters. Participants experience an identity crisis; while seeking to enact their middle-class habits in daily life, they increasingly see themselves as migrants disconnected from their homeland. This study underscores the transition from "risk individuals" to "risk migrants", suggesting that identity crises arising from forced environmental migration significantly contribute to the broader discourse on belongingness.

This process of transition is not just a reaction to perceived risks but also a disruption to deeply rooted urban identities. By examining this transformation, I hope to shed light on the emotional and social challenges faced by those forced to leave their homes. This approach contributes to migration and disaster studies by showing how perceptions of risk and distrust in political institutions drive migration decisions and reshape what it means to belong, especially for middle-class residents of Kadıköy.

References

Afonso, J. D., Barros, S. and Albert, I. 2023. The Sense of belonging in the context of migration: development and trajectories regarding Portuguese migrants in Luxembourg. *Integrative Psychological and Behavioral Science*, 57 (2): 518-546.

Ambrasat, J., Von Scheve, C., Schauenburg, G., Conrad, M. and Schröder, T. 2016. Unpacking the habitus: Meaning-making across lifestyles. *Sociological Forum*, 31 (4): 994-1017.

Aochi, H. and Ulrich, T. 2015. A probable earthquake scenario near Istanbul determined from dynamic simulations. *Bulletin of the Seismological Society of America*, 105 (3): 1468-1475.

Apitzsch, U. 2009. Ethnicity as Participation and Belonging. *Ethnicity, Belonging and Biography. Ethnographical and Biographical Perspectives*. Berlin: Lit-Verlag.

Assmann, J. 2011. Communicative and cultural memory. In P. Meusburger, M. Heffernan and E. Wunder (eds), *Cultural Memories: The Geographical Point of View*. Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands.

Auyero, J. and Jensen, K. 2015. For political ethnographies of urban marginality. *City & Community*, 14 (4): 359-363.

Baubock, R. 2003. Reinventing urban citizenship. *Citizenship Studies*, 7 (2): 139-160.

Beck, U. 1992. *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity*. London: Sage.

Beck, U. 2014. Risk society. In J-F. Morin and A. Orsini (eds), *Essential concepts of global environmental governance*. London: Routledge.

Bennett, J. 2014. Gifted places: The inalienable nature of belonging in place. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 32 (4): 658-671.

Benson, M. and Jackson, E. 2013. Place-making and place maintenance: Performativity, place and belonging among the middle classes. *Sociology*, 47 (4): 793-809.

Bilecen, T. 2021. 17 Ağustos 1999 İzmit Depremi'nden 23 Elim 2011 Van Depremi'ne Kapitalizm ve Mülkiyet Hukuku: Deprem ve Konut Hakkı. In T. Bora (ed.), *İnşaat Ya resulullah*. Ankara: İletişim.

Biswas, R. K., Kabir, E. and Khan, H. T. 2019. Causes of urban migration in Bangladesh: Evidence from the urban health survey. *Population Research and Policy Review*, 38: 593-614.

Bora, T. 2021. *İnşaat Ya resulullah*. Ankara: İletişim.

Bourdieu, P. 2004. Structures and the habitus. In V. Buchli (ed.), *Material Culture: Critical Concepts in the Social Sciences* (part 1). London: Routledge.

Bourdieu, P. 2011. The forms of capital (1986). In I. Szeman and T. Kaposy (eds), *Cultural Theory: An Anthology*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Bourdieu, P. and Wacquant, L. J. 1992. *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Brazil, N. 2018. The Determinants of Adolescent Neighborhood Satisfaction: Assessing the Importance of School Satisfaction. *City & Community*, 17 (1): 187-210.

Brierley-Jones, L., Ling, J., McCabe, K. E., Wilson, G. B., Crosland, A., Kaner, E. F. and Haighton, C. A. 2014. Habitus of home and traditional drinking: a qualitative analysis of reported middle-class alcohol use. *Sociology of health & illness*, 36 (7): 1054-1076.

Candipan, J. 2019. Neighbourhood change and the neighbourhood-school gap. *Urban Studies*, 56 (15): 3308-3333.

Cinicioglu, S. F., Bozbey, I., Oztoprak, S. and Kelesoglu, M. K. 2007. An integrated earthquake damage assessment methodology and its application for two districts in Istanbul, Turkey. *Engineering Geology*, 94 (3-4): 145-165.

Connerton, P. 1989. *How Societies Remember*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Crossley, N. 2001. The phenomenological habitus and its construction. *Theory and Society*, 30 (1): 81-120.

Dake, K. 1992. Myths of nature: Culture and the social construction of risk. *Journal of Social Issues*, 48(4): 21-37.

Dasgupta, P. and Goyal, S. 2018. *Narrow identities*. University of Cambridge, Faculty of Economics.

Davey, G. 2009. *Defining the middle classes: using Bourdieu's trilogy of habitus, capital and field to deconstruct the reproduction of middle-class privilege*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Southampton.

David, I. and Pinto, G. A. C. R. 2018. The Gezi protests and the Europeanization of the Turkish public sphere. In A. Bourne (ed.), *European Social Movements and the Transnationalization of Public Spheres*. London: Routledge.

'Deprem Bilimci Prof. Dr. Üşümezsoy, Marmara Depremi ile ilgili malumatlar çürütüldü, 7 üstü deprem olmayacak' (Earthquake Scientist Prof. Dr. Üşümezsoy: Information about the Marmara Earthquake has been debunked; there will not be a magnitude 7 or higher earthquake), *Beykent University* Web Page, published online 3 October 2023) https://www.beykent.edu.tr/haberler/detay/2023/10/03/deprem-bilimci-prof-dr-usumezsoy-marmara-depremi-ile-ilgili-malumatlar-curutuldu-7-ustu-deprem-olmayacak, accessed 17 May 2024.

Doan, P. L. and Atalay, O. 2021. After the life of LGBTQ spaces: learning from Atlanta and Istanbul. In A. Bitterman and D. B. Hess (eds), *The Life and Afterlife of Gay Neighborhoods: Renaissance and Resurgence*. Cham: Springer.

Duran, A., Dahl, L. S., Stipeck, C., and Mayhew, M. J. 2020. A critical quantitative analysis of students' sense of belonging: Perspectives on race, generation status, and collegiate environments. *Journal of College Student Development*, 61 (2): 133-153.

Eriksen, T. H. 2002. *Ethnicity and nationalism: Anthropological perspectives*. London: Pluto Press.

Forstie, C. 2020. Theory making from the middle: Researching LGBTQ communities in small cities. *City & Community*, 19 (1): 153-168.

Gardner, W. L., Pickett, C. L. and Brewer, M. B. 2000. Social exclusion and selective memory: How the need to belong influences memory for social events. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 26 (4): 486-496.

Goldberg, D. E., Taymaz, T., Reitman, N. G., Hatem, A. E., Yolsal-Çevikbilen, S., Barnhart, W. D. and Altuntaş, C. 2023. Rapid characterization of the February 2023 Kahramanmaraş, Türkiye, earthquake sequence. *The Seismic Record*, 3 (2): 156-167.

González-Pérez, J. M. 2021. Racial/ethnic segregation and urban inequality in Kansas City, Missouri: A divided city. *City & Community*, 20 (4): 346-370.

Gordon, M. T., Riger, S., LeBailly, R. K. and Heath, L. 1980. Crime, women, and the quality of urban life. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 5 (S3): S144-S160.

Horak, M. and Vanhooren, S. 2024. Somebody to lean on: community ties, social exchange, and practical help during the COVID-19 pandemic. *City & Community*, 2 (1): 3-25.

Hwang, H. and Lee, Y. J. 2023. Community social capital, racial diversity, and philanthropic resource mobilization in the time of a pandemic. *City & Community*, 22 (1): 22-47.

Indah, R. 2018. Probing problems: Dilemmas of conducting an ethnographic study in a disaster-affected area. *International Journal of Disaster Risk Reduction*, 31: 799-805.

Jacoby, T. and Özerdem, A. 2008. The Role of the State in the Turkish Earthquake of 1999. *Journal of International Development: The Journal of the Development Studies Association, 20* (3): 297-310.

Janke, S., Messerer, L. A., Merkle, B. and Rudert, S. C. 2024. Why do minority students feel they don't fit in? Migration background and parental education differentially predict social ostracism and belongingness. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations,* 27 (2): 278-299.

Jarvis, D. S. 2007. Risk, globalisation and the state: A critical appraisal of Ulrich Beck and the world risk society thesis. *Global Society,* 21 (1): 23-46.

Kahveci, M. 2023. Housing Segregation in the Rental Housing Market: A Field Experiment for Istanbul. *Siyasal: Journal of Political Sciences,* 32 (2): 133-153.

Kayaalp, E. and Arslan, O. 2022. Earth in practice: Uncertainty, expertise and the expected Istanbul earthquake. *Environment and Planning E: Nature and Space*, 5 (3): 1579-1596.

Krase, J. and DeSena, J. 2023. *COVID-19 in Brooklyn: Everyday life during a pandemic*. New York: Routledge.

Leary, M. R. 2010. Affiliation, acceptance, and belonging. In S. T. Fiske, D. T. Gilbert and G. Lindzey (eds), *Handbook of social psychology* (5th ed., pp. 864–897). John Wiley & Sons, Inc.. https://doi.org/10.100 *Handbook of Social Psychology* (Vol. 2). New Jersey: John Wiley & Son.

Leavitt, J. 1996. Meaning and Feeling in the Anthropology of Emotions. *American Ethnologist*, 23 (3): 514-539.

Lee, E. M. and Kramer, R. 2013. Out with the old, in with the new? Habitus and social mobility at selective colleges. *Sociology of Education,* 86 (1): 18-35.

Lees, L. 2003. Urban geography: 'New' urban geography and the ethnographic void. *Progress in Human Geography,* 27 (1): 107-113.

Li, T. E., McKercher, B. and Chan, E. T. H. 2020. Towards a conceptual framework for diaspora tourism. *Current Issues in Tourism,* 23 (17): 2109-2126.

Liebelt, C. 2023. *Istanbul Appearances: Beauty and the Making of Middle-class Femininitiesin Urban Turkey*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.

Liu, H. and Zhang, B. 2015. An investigative research on the status of urban residents' psychological security. *Journal of Public Affairs*, 15 (3): 311-315.

Lichterman, P. 2017. Interpretive reflexivity in ethnography. *Ethnography*, 18 (1): 35-45.

Mattson, G. 2020. Small–city gay bars, big–city urbanism. *City & Community*, 19 (1): 76-97.

Mauss, M. 1998. *Marcel Mauss: A Centenary Tribute* (Vol. 1). Oxford: Berghahn Books.

Mellor, J., Blake, M. and Crane, L. 2010. 'When I'm Doing a Dinner Party I Don't Go for the Tesco Cheeses': Gendered Class Distinctions, Friendship and Home Entertaining. *Food, Culture & Society*, 13 (1): 115-134.

Neumann, L. E. 2018. *It can happen anytime: experts dealing with the risk of a future İstanbul earthquake*. Unpublished Master's Thesis, Sabancı University, Istanbul.

Notter, I. R. and Logan, J. R. 2022. Residential segregation under Jim Crow: whites, blacks, and mulattoes in southern cities, 1880–1920. *City & Community*, 21 (1): 42-61.

Ocakoğlu, N., Demirbağ, E. and Kuşçu, İ. 2005. Neotectonic structures in İzmir Gulf and surrounding regions (western Turkey): Evidence of strike-slip faulting with compression in the Aegean extensional regime. *Marine Geology*, 219 (2-3): 155-171.

Onebunne, J. I. and Alike, M. N. 2019. Belongingness and Migration. *Journal of African Studies and Sustainable Development, 2* (3):13-22.

Oxford English Dictionary, Meaning of Émigré' Oxford English Dictionary Web Page https://www.oed.com/dictionary/emigre_n?tl=true, accessed 22 April 2024.

Öktem, K. 2024. Greek–Turkish Encounters in the City: Who meets who in Kadıköy? In N. Christofis and A. Deriziotis (eds), *A Century of Greek–Turkish Relations–A Handbook*. London: Transnational Press.

Özbay, C. 2024. Transforming buildings, reorienting lives: the desire for gentrification in Istanbul. *Urban Geography*, 45 (3): 411-432.

Özdemir Darby, D. and Selçuk, İ. 2020. Historic City Centres and Commercial Gentrification. In *ICONARCH International Congress of Architecture and Planning; 2020: ICONARCH IV-Space and Process in Architecture and Planning*. Konya Technical University Faculty of Architecture and Design.

Pardo, I. 1996. *Managing Existence in Naples: Morality, Action and Structure*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Pardo, I. 2019. Governance Without Legitimacy: An Italian Conundrum of Democracy. In I. Pardo and G. B, Prato (eds), *Legitimacy: Ethnographic and Theoretical Insights*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Pelivan, G. 2020. Going beyond the divides: Coalition attempts in the follow-up networks to the Gezi movement in Istanbul. *Territory, Politics, Governance*, 8 (4): 496-514.

Polanyi, K. 2002. *The Great Transformation*. Chichester/West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell.

Prato, G. B. and Pardo, I. 2013. "Urban Anthropology". *Urbanities-Journal of Urban Ethnography*, 3 (2): 79-132.

Raco, M. 2007. The planning, design, and governance of sustainable communities in the UK. In R. Atkinson and G. Helms (eds), *Securing an Urban Renaissance*. Bristol: Policy Press.

Raijman, R. and Geffen, R. 2018. Sense of belonging and life satisfaction among post-1990 immigrants in Israel. *International Migration,* 56 (3): 142-157.

Rinaldo, R. 2008. Muslim women, middle-class habitus, and modernity in Indonesia. *Contemporary Islam,* 2: 23-39.

Sahin, O. 2020. *The Politics of Staging in Istanbul: Nation and Urban Space*. Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, Western Sydney University, Sydney.

Scoones, I. and Stirling, A. 2020. The politics of uncertainty: Challenges of transformation. London: Taylor & Francis.

Scott, S. 2006. The social morphology of skilled migration: The case of the British middle class in Paris. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies,* 32 (7): 1105-1129.

Sezen, H., Whittaker, A. S., Elwood, K. J. and Mosalam, K. M. 2003. Performance of reinforced concrete buildings during the August 17, 1999 Kocaeli, Turkey earthquake, and seismic design and construction practice in Turkey. *Engineering Structures,* 25 (1): 103-114.

Shach-Pinsly, D. and Ganor, T. 2021. A new approach for assessing secure and vulnerable areas in central urban neighborhoods based on social groups' analysis. *Sustainability,* 13 (3): 1174.

Sørensen, M. B., Oprsal, I., Bonnefoy-Claudet, S., Atakan, K., Mai, P. M., Pulido, N. and Yalciner, C. 2006. Local site effects in Ataköy, Istanbul, Turkey, due to a future large earthquake in the Marmara Sea. *Geophysical Journal International*, 167 (3): 1413-1424.

Strathern, M. 1992. *After Nature: English Kinship in the Late Twentieth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tuğal, C. 2015. Elusive revolt: The contradictory rise of middle-class politics. *Thesis Eleven,* 130 (1): 74-95.

Venkatesh, S. A. 1997. The social organization of street gang activity in an urban ghetto. *American Journal of Sociology*, 103 (1): 82-111.

Weiner, A. B. 1992. *Inalienable Possessions: The Paradox of Keeping While Giving*. Berkley: University of California Press.

Yang, Y. 2024. Cultural Policy Formation and State-Society Relations: Culture-led Urban Redevelopment of Enninglu in Guangzhou. *City & Community,* 23 (2), 135-154.

Yenice, Z. D. and Samanlioglu, F. 2020. A Multi-Objective Stochastic Model for an Earthquake Relief Network. *Journal of Advanced Transportation,* 2020 (1): 1-15.

Zahnow, R. and Cheshire, L. 2023. Community Neighboring Norms and the Prevalence and Management of Private Neighbor Problems. *City & Community,* 22 (2): 126-144.

Zukin, S. and Kosta, E. 2004. Bourdieu Off-Broadway: Managing distinction on a shopping block in the east village. *City & Community,* 3 (2): 101-114.