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Enstitüsü

T.C.
MARMARA UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY (ENGLISH)
**CONSUMPTION, LEISURE ACTIVITIES, SOCIALIZATION PROCESSES, AND
SPATIAL PRACTICES IN BAĞDAT AVENUE**

DOCTORAL THESIS
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İstanbul, 2024

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İstanbul, 2024

ÖZET

Türkiye’deki modernleşme deneyimi daima pek çok krizle karşı karşıya kalmıştır. Mekân ve kentleşme bahisleri bu kriz alanları arasında yer alır. Özellikle 1980 sonrasında büyük kentlerdeki gecekondulaşma ve nüfus artışı, kentsel mekânın nasıl şekillendirilmesi gerektiği konusunda büyük tartışmalara neden olacak, modernleşmeye ilişkin sorunlar, bu vesileyle, kentleşme bağlamında yeniden tartışılmaya başlanacaktır. İstanbul Bağdat Caddesi, bu ilişkisel zeminin beslediği son derece zengin bir araştırma alanına sahiptir. Yeni yapılan Marmaray ve metro hatlarıyla kolaylıkla ulaşılabilir hale gelen cadde, bir yandan hala ayakta kalmayı başaran nadide konaklara, diğer yandan Anadolu yakasının en lüks rezidanslarına ev sahipliği yapıyor. Pek çok zincir kafe ve restoranın yanı sıra çok sayıda “fine dining” mekânına, teknolojiden giyime çok çeşitli markaların şık mağazalarına vitrin oluyor. Bu çalışma, bu göz alıcı örnekli tüketim, boş zaman etkinlikleri, sosyalleşme süreçleri ve mekansal pratikler bağlamında incelemeyi hedefliyor. Etnografik yöntemi benimseyen çalışmada sosyomekansal analiz ve tarihsel sosyoloji yöntemleri de uygulanıyor ve arşiv çalışması, katılımcı gözlem, yarı yapılandırılmış mülakat ve çeşitli nitel materyallerden elde edilen veriler doğrudan yorumlama yoluyla inceleniyor. Farklı sosyoekonomik ve kültürel özelliklere sahip bireylerin ve toplumsal grupların gündelik yaşamda mekânla ilişkilerinin, makro düzeyde mekansal ve kültürel değişimle birlikte nasıl değerlendirilebileceğini sosyoloji disiplini çatısı altında henüz çok sınırlı bir şekilde ele alınmış olan Bağdat Caddesi örneği üzerinden sorguluyor. Çalışmanın teorik zemini ağırlıklı olarak Bourdieu sosyolojisine dayanıyor.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Bağdat Caddesi, mekansal analiz, şehir, Bourdieu, modernleşme

ABSTRACT

Turkey's modernization experience has always faced many crises. Space and urbanization issues are among these crisis areas. Slum settlement and population growth in large cities, especially after 1980, caused debates on how urban space should be shaped, and problems related to modernization began to be discussed again in the context of urbanization. The Bağdat Avenue in Istanbul has an extremely rich research field nourished by this relational ground. Recently becoming easily accessible via the newly built Marmaray and metro lines, the Avenue hosts, on the one hand, rare mansions that still manage to survive, and on the other hand, the most luxurious residences of Istanbul's Anatolian side. In addition to many chain cafes and restaurants, it showcases many "fine dining" venues and stylish stores of a wide variety of brands, from technology to clothing. In this sense, it stands out as a striking example of Istanbul and Turkey's spatial and cultural change after 1980. This study aims to examine this avenue in the context of consumption, leisure activities, socialization processes, and spatial practices. Adopting ethnographic methods, socio-spatial analysis, and historical sociology, the study examines the data obtained from archival research, participant observation, semi-structured interviews, and various qualitative materials through direct interpretation. It questions how the relationship of individuals and social groups from different socioeconomic and cultural characteristics with space in everyday life can be evaluated together with spatial and cultural change at the macro level, through the example of Bağdat Avenue which has been discussed in a very limited way under the umbrella of the discipline of sociology. The theoretical basis of the study is mainly based on Bourdieu's sociology.

Keywords: Bağdat Avenue, spatial analysis, urban, habitus, modernization

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*

This thesis has overcome many challenges. It encountered numerous obstacles, well known to those who closely witnessed the process. Like any doctoral thesis, it strayed significantly from its original plan. Studying a unique place like Bağdat Avenue brought all its difficulties and pleasures to the researcher. I am grateful to everyone who supported me in undertaking such an important part of my academic journey, even if I cannot name them all here. Of course, all the shortcomings of this study are solely my own.

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I. INTRODUCTION

In 2016, when the 45th United States (US) presidential election concluded, the whole world was faced with such a big surprise that everyone was asking the same question to each other: What is going on? On the morning of this interesting night when Donald Trump was declared president of the United States, “anger and mourning” dominated the New York avenue. Except for a small minority who welcomed the new situation with maturity because they were aware of the deep political division that emerged in American society a long time ago, no one could understand how someone like Trump, who even being a candidate was a miracle, could be elected president. Sociologist Arlie R. Hochschild, who problematized the social polarization that became evident during the Obama era and examined how the world looks from the heart of the right, was one of these forward-thinking people.

In her study, based on five years of ethnographic research, Hochschild analyzes the rise of the American right and examines the role of emotions on political preferences through Tea Party supporters in Louisiana. The “deep story” behind the “deep division” that American society has experienced in the last decade and the emergence of the right-wing’s hostility, which stems from “a painful loss of honor, alienation and involvement in a secret social class war”, constitute the main problematic of the study. When I first read Hochschild’s book as part of the readings for one of my doctoral courses, I had an important mental and professional enlightenment that even a subject that is open to extreme surprises, such as election results, can become more or less predictable for a good sociologist. Hochschild exemplified how to “read” society with her work using the ethnographic method. What she did was try to “understand their feelings”, “put herself in their shoes” and detail their “deep stories” with an expression “as they *felt*” (Hochschild, 2016; IX).

Hochschild wanted to understand how Americans who remained in the red parts of the map on election nights constructed a narrative in everyday life, how they convinced themselves of the narrative, and how the alienation and differentiation resulting from this complex process emerged. Therefore, she spent five years among Tea Party supporters in Louisiana, preferring an ethnomethodological framework in her work. As can be seen from the detailed structure of the text, she manages to comprehensively reflect the thoughts and lifestyles of the social group she is trying to get to know, by almost completely participating in their everyday lives, attending their meetings,

and through in-depth interviews. In the fiction and style of the work, she applies a technique that tells the story of Hochschild's journey toward the heart of the American right, inviting the reader to enter the universe of angry and sad Americans who feel like strangers in their own land. In this sense, ethnography, which is the methodological choice of the study, functions as a mediator in establishing empathy to clarify the issue comprehensively and provides the opportunity to go beyond the blue-red distinction that is visible at the superficial level through individual stories.

Encountering this study during my doctoral course period made me extremely sure about what kind of study I wanted to do when preparing my thesis proposal: Whatever the topic I preferred, I would choose a research method that would enable me to empathize perfectly with my research object. Turkey's last twenty years bear some similarities with the USA in terms of increasing populism and neo-conservatism in politics, but the situation is quite different in terms of the ideological stance of the agents. However, although its nature is different from that in the US, social polarization finds reflections in many aspects of everyday life in different layers of everyday life.

So much so that the following questions keep circulating in the minds of social scientists and those who try to progress on this path: How can a social scientist (especially a sociologist) remain calm and do her job in such a divided and polarized society? How can abstract concepts and other intellectual tools help us understand society as institutionalization weakens, social anomie strengthens, the nonsense of all kinds rapidly becomes normalized, and common sense falls just as quickly out of favor? Is there a way to get out of this ring of fire without hiding in the ivory tower? And most importantly, do social sciences/sociology still offer a reliable way to understand the world and society and make us believe that another world is possible? Thanks to Hochschild's work, I reviewed all these questions just before determining the topic, scope, and method of my doctoral thesis, and started this study to seek answers to these questions in an applied way.

The modernization experience in Turkey has faced many crises from the beginning. Space and urbanization issues are also among these crisis areas. While the issues of how to govern the country and how to save the state have been the most important agenda items of intellectuals since the Ottoman period, how the imperial capital should be governed has gained importance over time. With the move of the capital from Istanbul to Ankara in the early Republican period, the door to discussions about the city and social identity was opened. Afterward, the social importance of the

design of specific spaces, cities, houses, and avenues would come to the fore many times and would be addressed as a socio-political issue. Slum settlement and population growth in big cities, especially after 1980, would cause great debates about how urban space should be shaped, and problems related to modernization would begin to be discussed again in the context of urbanization.

Istanbul, the symbolic place of Ottoman-Turkish modernization from the beginning, has been at the center of these discussions. The dramatic change that Istanbul has undergone in the last hundred years, with its roads, squares, living spaces, and monumental buildings, bears many traces of the unique character of Ottoman-Turkish modernization. Social stratification, ideological polarization, lifestyle differences, and socioeconomic disintegration constantly change the social silhouette of the city. Again, especially after 1980, Istanbul became the spatial ground where the changing social order with the dominance of neoliberal political economy in the country is visible with all its elements. Examining Bağdat Avenue, one of the most interesting areas of the city, means entering an extremely rich field of research nourished by all this relational ground. Bağdat Avenue, which has become more easily accessible with the newly built Marmaray and metro lines, hosts rare mansions that still manage to survive, and the most luxurious residences of the Anatolian side, on the other hand. In addition to many chain cafes and restaurants, it is the showcase of many “fine dining” venues and stylish stores of a wide variety of brands, from technology to clothing. In this sense, it stands out as a striking example of the spatial and cultural change of Istanbul and Turkey after 1980.

This study aims to examine this striking example closely. The study seeks an answer to the question “How can the relationship of individuals and social groups from different socioeconomic and cultural characteristics with space in everyday life be evaluated together with spatial and cultural change at the macro level?”, specifically on Bağdat Avenue. In the study, which adopts qualitative research methods and techniques, the data obtained from archive study, participant observation, in-depth interview, and various qualitative materials are examined through direct analysis; it is evaluated what are the dynamics of everyday life practices on Bağdat Avenue, which have been discussed in a very limited way under the discipline of sociology, how these dynamics can be evaluated, and the role of spatial change on these practices. In this regard, the sub-questions

I am looking for answers to are as follows:

- How does spatial change in the physical sense affect the social environment of any place?
- What is the relationship between the physical change of the place and the sociocultural change of the society?
- How are sociocultural and sociospatial change affected by macro changes?
- How does the social environment of a place affect the experience of living, working and socializing in that place?
- How does the experience of living, working and socializing in a place affect the habitus of socioeconomically and socioculturally different individuals?

I endeavor to answer these questions specifically about the experience of space on Bağdat Avenue.

Bağdat Avenue, which is Turkey's largest open-air shopping center with its large commercial areas, covers an area of 14 kilometers, touching the Kızıltoprak, Göztepe, Caddebostan, Bostancı, Suadiye, Şaşkınbakkal, Çiftehavuzlar, Selamiçeşme, and Erenköy neighborhoods within the borders of Kadıköy Municipality, and the İdealtepe, Altıntepe, Küçükyalı, Orhantepe and Cevizli neighborhoods within the borders of Maltepe Municipality. As of 2022, there are a total of 5539 shops and stores and 7712 residences on the avenue, including those under construction. According to TUIK data, the area around Bağdat Avenue has a population density of 12,686 with a total of 21,059 residents. While 33% of the area's population is elderly, 19% is young, and 48% is middle-aged, 43% of the population is male and 57% is female (*See Appendix -I*). The area, where urban transformation projects have been intensively implemented since the early 2000s, includes the neighborhoods with the highest housing sales prices on the Anatolian Side, such as Fenerbahçe and Caddebostan, according to May 2021 data. The avenue, which gained the title of "the 25th most expensive avenue in the world" in 2010 (Tüzün, 2010), on the other hand, includes neighborhoods where the middle and lower middle class are concentrated, such as Erenköy, Bostancı, Fikirtepe, Küçükyalı. Bağdat Avenue, which is mostly evaluated in the space and city studies literature with the assumption that it has a homogeneous socio-spatial integrity, has a very layered sociological basis with its differentiation in terms of variables such as purchasing power, consumption trends, real estate distribution, commercial parameters, workplace density, household population, and per capita income. However, the popular part of the avenue is

the approximately 4-4.5-kilometer section that cuts through Şaşkınbakkal, Suadiye, and Caddebostan neighborhoods.

The avenue also has a unique place in the history of spatial transformation in Istanbul. Thanks to the master plan prepared by the famous architect Aron Angel, the avenue exemplifies an open, spacious, nature-friendly structuring style with its wide sidewalks and low-rise houses and reflects the modern face of Istanbul in the early Republican period. The years 1952-1954 were the years when the first planned development was seen on the avenue, which was compared to world-famous avenues such as Champs-élysées, Regent Avenue, and Ringstrasse (Bayhan, 2012). During these dates, as part of the general planning prepared for the Kadıköy district, 3-storey buildings at 9.50 elevation are allowed on Bağdat Avenue and its surroundings. With this permission, for a while, mansions from the late Ottoman period, two-storey small villas built after the avenue was widened by passing tram lines on both sides after 1935, and buildings built by the new permit, coexisted on the avenue. This period coincides with the last moments of the avenue, whose spatial quality will change significantly in the future with developments such as the increase in population and housing demand around Kadıköy due to the industrial area established between Maltepe and Tuzla with the 1955 Istanbul Industrial Zones Plan and the 1966 Industrial Areas Plan; within the 1/5000 scale Bostancı-Erenköy Regional Development Plan dated 1972, building density was increased between Kızıltoprak and Bostancı; afterward, the construction of the Bosphorus Bridge, which was put into service in 1973, and the connection of the ring road to Uzunçayır and Söğütlüçeşme (Berktaş, 2012; 40), before this great change, making the avenue an attractive research subject in the context of Istanbul studies.

As will be mentioned later, the 1980s can be considered the beginning of the avenue's transformation process that continues until today. During this period, apartment building accelerated, the coastal road was filled, and a marina was built in Kalamış Bay. In the 1990s, developments such as the reconstruction in Fenerbahçe and the extension of the coastal road embankment from Bostancı changed the face of the avenue. Urban transformation began after the 1999 earthquake and gained serious momentum in the 2010s. Although it pauses from time to time, construction and real estate speculation on the avenue never ends. Nowadays, the avenue, which has become more open to speculation due to the economic crisis and increasing real estate prices throughout the country, is frequently the subject of news due to its jaw-dropping rental prices.

This study sheds light on this dynamic change adventure that has been continuing the avenue since the 1980s and especially examines what happened after 2000s in terms of consumption, leisure activities, socialization processes, and spatial practices, considering various parameters such as those mentioned above. The study, which closely examines the experiences of living, working and socializing on the avenue, offers a socio-spatial analysis framework. The study, which contributes to the field of space and urban sociology, also contributes to the field of Istanbul studies and especially to studies on the Anatolian Side of the city, which has a very limited place in the general literature.

1. Theoretical Framework: Promenading Bağdat Avenue in Sociological Perspective

In his book, in which he makes an attempt to develop theory in sociological studies, John Levi Martin emphasizes four basic issues about the role of theory in sociology: Although we have relatively good knowledge about the social world, we do not have very good knowledge about knowledge; instead of learning more about the concrete world we want to study, the moment we have a seemingly solid finding, we embrace it as if we were worshiping it, because this rapid and strong appropriation plays an important role in taking aspects of the way we think about things and imposing them on the world (moreover, we do this very often without any shame and act like “kids who think they are doing real archaeology by digging up fossils that grown- ups have placed in a sandbox”); despite this, the fact that it does not have to be this way at all, that is, by being much more meticulous in forming our thoughts, we can overcome all these handicaps and apply the use of theory in sociology in a healthy way, *if we wish*. According to Martin, realizing the possibility of sociology becoming a “science”, or in other words, what “we need to do if we want to be truly scientific” is a formal examination of the architecture of theoretical structures, and (especially compared to “mastering arcane vocabulary”) this is surprisingly easy for an educated mind with a social science formation (Martin, 2015; VII).

Of course, under ideal conditions, this is exactly what should happen: Thorough consideration of not only the research object, but also all the elements that determine the relationship to be established with the research object, especially the theoretical and methodological framework, each detail should be evaluated meticulously, and the study should be

carried out with the meticulousness of an artist. On the other hand, the sociological conditions that a good artist is exposed to while performing his art have decisive functions on social science researchers in practicing their “art” and advancing in their fields. Constructing the research clearly and simple enough for a taxi driver to understand, while at the same time presenting a natural performance like a master singer and ensuring that the audience is satisfied with this performance (Abbott, 2004; 225) is -in my opinion- as Martin claims, “mastering arcane vocabulary” (Martin, 2015; VII).

Just as a Jane Austen novel, a Shakespeare play, a Miyazaki film, a Leonard Cohen song, and a work by Mimar Sinan cannot be constructed easily, the construction of a well-thought-out sociological research involves the same care and difficulty. Among the many agents that come into play in the process of determining the theoretical and methodological basis of social science research, the conditions to which social scientists are exposed often seem unimportant and relegated to the background. However, in addition to the endless crises of the social sciences and the countless debates going on within it, it would be best to put aside as soon as possible the misconception that the social scientist, as the object of sociology her/himself, operates in a perfect comfort zone, isolating her/himself from the conditions of the decision-making process regarding his research.

Especially the changing global conjuncture after the pandemic and the fact that institutionalization, which already exists in a makeshift manner, is gradually weakening in societies such as Turkey whose social structure is pregnant with radical changes, is the most decisive element of the field of social sciences after 2020. For this reason, in this study, it was inevitable to apply reflexive sociology, which will force the researcher to reflect on herself throughout the research sociologize every step she takes, and to review her relationship with the research object even while performing everyday life practices outside the research. Reflexivity, in its simplest form, expresses the idea that researchers will be shaped by the values and interests that arise from their socio-historical location. That is, researchers’ perspectives and research approaches will be influenced by the social and historical context in which they are located. This means that research in social sciences cannot be isolated from the researcher’s personal history and social context, that the findings produced by researchers cannot be affected by social processes and personal characteristics, and that the publication of these findings can shape the environment in which political and practical decisions are made, and even suggests that it may directly encourage certain

types of actions, that is, it may have some social consequences (Atkinson and Hammersley, 2007; 15). This goes beyond Martin's suggestion. Undoubtedly, Martin is not unaware of the "researcher habitus" (Martin, 2015; 127), but like many studies that think about science, the researcher *habitus* in this text is related to those within the scientific *field* and after acquiring the *habitus*. However, thinking reflexively also requires considering the structuring of the social scientist *habitus*. In this sense, this study deemed it appropriate to primarily benefit from reflexive sociology while drawing the boundaries of its theoretical framework. While examining the spatial experience of individuals in everyday life on Bağdat Avenue, it preferred to apply to Bourdieu's sociology. Particularly in the analysis of data obtained through in-depth interviews, it used the concept of habitus as a key concept in analyzing the experiences of the interviewees.

The concept of *habitus*, which Bourdieu developed in the 1960s and included in detail for the first time in his *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (1972), was used by various thinkers before Bourdieu. As Bourdieu states, various names exhibited similar conceptual searches with the desire for "both to avoid the philosophy of the subject without sacrificing the agent and to avoid the philosophy of structure without ceasing to take into account the effects of structure on and through the agent", as can be seen in Hegel's *ethos*, Husserl's *Habituallität* or Mauss's *hexis* (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992; 121). Among these names, some directly use the concept of *habitus*, such as Norbert Elias. However, there is a very important difference between Bourdieu's usage and his predecessors. In his later works, Bourdieu uses the concept, which he will explain as the source of "the 'lifestyle space' of contemporary classes" and the compass of the "practical sense" (Bourdieu and Wacquant; 2023; 355), in the form of "habitus", especially in order to use it beyond the meaning of "habit": "the generative (if not creative) capacity inscribed in the system of dispositions such as *art*, in the strongest sense of practical mastery, and particular specially *ars inveniendi*" (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2023; 122). This definition separates Bourdieu's *habitus* from the mechanical framework of his predecessors and creates an elusive concept. What is in question is neither an internal structure that holds and organizes a person's physical, emotional, and mental functions together, as Elias does, nor the habits that form the internal structure of consciousness, as Husserl expresses with *habituallität*.

According to Bourdieu, to avoid structural realism, it is necessary to transform objective systems of relations into totalities formed outside the history of the individual and the group. This means that it is important not just that something is done, but also how it is done. Therefore, it is

necessary to create a theory that investigates how practices arise in order to understand how observed order, rather than statistical regularity, is created. This need, which is the condition for building an experimental science based on “*the dialectic of the internalization of externality and the externalization of internality*, or, more simply, of incorporation and objectification” can be met with the concept of *habitus*:

The structures constitutive of a particular type of environment (e.g. the material conditions of existence characteristic of a class condition) produce *habitus*, systems of durable, transposable *dispositions*, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles of the generation and structuring of practices and representations which can be objectively” regulated” and” regular” without in any way being the product of obedience to rules, objectively adapted to their goals without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an Express mastery of the operations necessary to attain them and, being all this, collectively orchestrated without being the product of the orchestrating action of a conductor. (Bourdieu, 2013; 72)

Habitus is a kind of system formed as a result of the internalization of influences from the outside world. This system generally responds to the demands of the world in a consistent and often orderly manner. In the process of socialization, it becomes a system that is collectively internalized and shared among individuals. This concept is similar to John Searle’s “action intention” or Noam Chomsky’s “deep structure” concepts. However, here the “deep structure” is not fixed, it is a matrix of production that is historically and institutionally rooted and therefore socially variable (Bourdieu and Wacquant; 2023;54). In this framework, it is not possible to think of *habitus* independently of the concept of *field*.

Bourdieu’s theory, as a result of relationality, presents an integrity - not a totality - that can be understood by explaining three basic concepts, each of which complements the other. The concepts of *habitus*, *field* (social space), and *symbolic power* become understandable when considered together and in the light of practices. Accordingly, “a field consists of a set of objective, historical relations between positions anchored in certain forms of power (or capital), while *habitus* consists of a set of historical relations ‘deposited’ within individual bodies in the form of mental and corporeal schemata of perception, appreciation, and action.” (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2023; 16). In this respect, the field is “field is the institutionalization of a point of view in things and *habitus*” (Bourdieu, 2000; 99), and in every field, what is expected from new entrants to that field

is to accept and internalize the *habitus* specific to that field, which is a belief system (ethos) based on the unquestionable, amorphous-undoubted acceptance of the rules and values in that field, and a certain mode of thought envisaged by the construction of reality based on this belief system, that is, it is the *eidos* of the belief system (Bourdieu, 2000; 99-100). Therefore, what is required for the newcomer to be accepted into the field is to have an attitude that is appropriate to the field and open to learning. Rather than immediately adopting the *habitus* specific to the field, the important thing is to have characteristics that will show that one has the potential to adapt to the *habitus* of that field and to transform into this *habitus* when necessary. These characteristics often correspond to people's physical appearance, clothing, posture, and movements as well as their abilities (Bourdieu, 2000; 100).

Habitus, which expresses the thought and behavior patterns that agents internalize and automatically apply throughout their lives, shapes the reactions of individuals in every situation they encounter. *Habitus* is formed by being influenced by the past experiences and social environments of the agents and directs the person's thoughts and behaviors, often unconsciously, and constantly reproduces social patterns by determining their future behaviors. So much so that even when agents act consciously by a project or plan, they still act by the requirements of their *habitus* (Bourdieu, 2013; 158). According to Bourdieu, the answers of *habitus* are usually given unconsciously, that is, agents do not usually think or calculate when giving these answers. However, sometimes *habitus* may involve conscious strategic thinking. For example, they can evaluate possible future outcomes based on their past experiences and act accordingly. Yet these strategic calculations are often defined in comparison with objective potentials that currently exist. That is, individuals' reactions and behaviors are evaluated about the current situation and not to possible future outcomes. Therefore, the answers of the *habitus* generally tend to be compatible with the potentials registered in the present (Bourdieu, 2013; 159).

As a matter of fact, according to Bourdieu, the specific logic of a field exists in the form of a specific *habitus* adopted by those operating in that field. This *habitus* is often not explicitly stated or imposed but creates the sense of game/ing in the field. This sense of game/ing is often expressed as a 'spirit' or 'meaning', be it philosophical, literary, artistic, etc. When a person enters this field and acquires the specific *habitus*, a change, sometimes quite radical, occurs in the *habitus* of origin (initial patterns of thought and behavior). This change often goes unnoticed because it occurs slowly and imperceptibly. For this reason, the person usually does not realize this transformation

(Bourdieu, 2000; 11).

In this respect, trying to understand what role the spatial experience they gained in Bağdat Avenue played in the habitus of the interviewees who had the experience of living, working and socializing in Bağdat Avenue became the main issue of the third part of the thesis. However, in order to clarify this issue, the two subsections that I included in the second chapter had to be written first. The fiction that would ensure the macro-micro interaction contained in the research question required examining the spatial change of the avenue and the large-scale cultural change of which the avenue is a part, rather than considering the role of the Bağdat Avenue experience in the interviewees' habitus only as an actual and micro social phenomenon. Therefore, in the first subsection, I examined in detail the spatial change experienced in Bağdat Avenue since the late Ottoman period, discussed this change together with the spatial change of Istanbul, and especially discussed the change after the 1980s together with the cultural change. In the second subsection, I continued the discussion of cultural change by focusing on the process that started with the emergence of popular culture in Turkey after 1980 and the spatial traces of what happened afterwards. In this section I analyzed a data pool consisting of a wide variety of source types, from cinema to literature, from memoirs to social media posts. Thus, I have prepared the reader for the analysis I will conduct in Chapter Three with a narrative that is quite rich in terms of data, methods and analysis techniques.

In the first chapter of his book, where he talks about the subtleties of conducting good research, Howard Becker continues where Martin left off:

Many people think the object of sociological research and theorizing is to simplify our understanding of social life by finding the underlying laws that govern its operation. I think, contrariwise, that the object is to find out the nature of and make a place in our thinking for, everything that observably contributes to producing the results I'm interested in. I want my analysis, my theory, to contain everything I need to describe and account for what my case study has forced me to see. (Becker, 2014; 4)

This description inevitably reminded me (perhaps because I have come across it frequently on social media lately) about the “destroying everything while trying to fix it” (Uyar) in Turgut Uyar's poem titled “*Terziler Geldiler* (Tailors Have Come)” in his book *Tütünler Islak* (1962; 33). The poem İsmet Özel introduced (after reading it with enthusiasm) by saying “Yes, ‘trying to fix

everything destroys...'; isn't it obvious? 'Trying to fix everything destroys...'; is there any more open?" in the program titled "Poetry Turk's Climate" on TRT 2 in 2006, basically offers a critique of capitalism and urban destruction. Adapting this line to Becker's description, I can't stop asking this: "I wonder if there might be things that are missed by trying to include everything?"

Nothing is missing from Becker's approach. Becker sets out from correlations that disappear over time after being identified as a result of comprehensive research and forming an empirical basis for important studies, and questions "those so-quickly falsified causal connections" and "theoretical strategies that produced" them (Becker, 2014; 2); then he asserts "everything left out of the analysis or data-gathering, perhaps because you aren't aware it's present, perhaps because it's too hard to find out about, let alone measure, is still there, at work, having its effects" (Becker; 2). It is impossible to find fault with this justified demand for meticulousness. Likewise, how can we object to the following point: "Focusing on a sharply defined and narrowly delimited research question leads us to ignore everything else, or write it off as random error, or in some other way stop paying attention to it. I think that's a mistake and instead look for a way to build what might otherwise be left out into my thinking about what I'm studying." (Becker, 2014; 3)

Likewise, one can only take one's hat off to this observation: "The things I study don't happen all at once, so I build the idea of change or process into my thinking about them. When some hitherto stable relationship turns up missing in what I'm studying, I don't treat that as the unfortunate failure of a theory I'm testing, but rather as an opportunity to learn about some parts of the process I hadn't seen until then. Not, as computer people say, a bug, but a feature." (Becker, 2014; 4) The truth is that both Martin and Becker are quite sincere and right in finding the flaws in the current way of thinking in social sciences and trying to solve these flaws meticulously after long research experiences. However, I doubt to what extent the new generation of social scientists will be able to influence research practices, even if they make all their efforts to break out of the narrow boundaries of conventional practices. In the post-pandemic era, where visibility, self-reflection, and building performative identities have become popular, reflexivity is not only in a scientific sense; but also stands in an important place in terms of capturing the spirit of the age and - if it is not a stretch to express it this way - internalizing the *habitus* (of course, it can also be called *zeitgeist*) of the period.

As Abbott says, "Our readers must know not only the causes and consequences of society, not only its virtues and disadvantages but also, in the words of Kawabata Yasunari, its beauty and

sorrow” (Abbott, 2016; 121). Ultimately, the most important element that distinguishes qualitative research from journalism is that newspapers are obliged to focus on extraordinary cases (see the principle that it is newsworthy that a man bites a dog, not a dog bites a person), but there is no such obligation in social sciences, on the contrary, it is mostly to investigate obvious and ordinary things that are acceptable (Silverman, 2021; 449). For this reason, activating the creative forces, as well as the meticulousness of an artist, has become one of the indispensable elements of good qualitative research today. This study strives to create the necessary conditions for a good qualitative analysis with the theoretical approach it adopts.

2. Literature Review: City, Space and District/Neighborhood

The relationship between humans and the place they live in concerns social sciences in many ways. With all the correspondences, extensions, and implications of space, it fits into a meaningful context within the socialization adventure of the individual. On the other hand, studying space means studying almost everything precisely because of this richness of context. According to Henri Lefebvre, one of the important names in the field, “the history of space (just like the history of social time) is never completed” because the history of space is related to the development adventure of disciplines such as city planning and architecture, as well as the fields of economy and trade and can therefore be analyzed along with almost the entire history of social change (Lefebvre, 2020; 26). Gaston Bachelard, in his *Poetics of Space*, one of the leading books of the field, talks about the imaginary nature of space and points out the incomprehensibility of space and that its abstract and subjective dimensions do not allow for a universal definition (Bachelard, 2017; 30-32). Neighborhood studies are one of the modest branches of this difficult-to-comprehend, highly contextually rich research field. It progresses along with urban studies, which is another sub-branch of the field, mostly remaining in its shadow.

Although very old texts on space, city, and district can be accessed, when we talk about these fields under the umbrella of social sciences today, we are talking about relatively recent dates. For example, the birth of urban history as a discipline is related to the political, economic, and social transformations that took place in the 18th and 19th centuries, and the role of cities in both directing this change and being affected by the results of this change (Uğur, 2005; 9-10). Similarly, urban sociology is a manifestation of the practice of “making sense of and explaining urban problems with concepts, ideas, and approaches borrowed from ecology”, which dates back to some

19th-century ecologists and was influential in many social science disciplines after 1920 (Arl, 2015a; 12). Neighborhood studies are a much newer field in this sense.

At the time when Baudelaire wrote *Le Spleen de Paris* and Fritz Lang filmed *Metropolis*, the modern city had a brand new space design and structure with its crowds, fagencies, shop windows, and boulevards. The organization of social space, like social time, will now be the subject of important discussions. While urbanization becomes a rising trend, it will also find itself as the symbolic bearer of change in the organization of space. The phenomenon of district and neighborhood will take its place in discussions from time to time as important components of the modern city, and it will be tried to be positioned within the city as a whole. For example, in his article for *The Town Planning Review* in 1954, Mumford mentions that although the idea of planning according to neighborhoods is widely accepted, it is not so in practice, that those who object to neighborhood-based planning argue that the city should be considered as a single unit as a whole, and that the arguments developed for and against neighborhood planning bring about interesting intellectual collaborations (Mumford, 1954; 256). However, in his opinion, the neighborhood is positioned in cities as a unique structure that produces its color through the common living practices of people who choose to be neighbors (Mumford; 257-258).

On the other hand, even today, these discussions are not sufficient to make it possible to talk about a distinct “district and neighborhood” literature on a conceptual level. Just as districts and neighborhoods cannot be moved to the macro context as the subject of local studies, the role of districts and neighborhoods in city studies is limited to being the reference unit of limited studies. In this context, Saskia Sassen, giving examples of the studies of Duneier, Burawoy, et al., Klinenberg, Lloyd, and McRoberts,¹ states that detailed fieldwork is a necessary step to capture many discoveries in urban research, and argues that today we must see the city “as a single, integrated, albeit strategic, space where multiple cross-border processes intersect and produce different socio-spatial formations” (Sassen, 2006; 477). Although district and neighborhood studies have become popular, especially since the 1990s, as a tool to meet the need for detailed fieldwork, this very instrumentality prevents the district and neighborhood from gaining importance as a

¹ Michael Burawoy vd., *Ethnography Unbound: Power and Resistance in the Modern Metropolis*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991. Mitchell Duneier, M., *Sidewalk*, New York: Farrar, Strauss & Giroux, 1999. Eric Klinenberg, *Heat Wave: A Social Autopsy of Disaster in Chicago*, Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 2003. Richard Lloyd, *NeoBohemia*, London, England: Routledge, 2005. Omar McRoberts, *Avenues of Glory: Church and Community in a Black Urban Neighborhood*, Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2005.

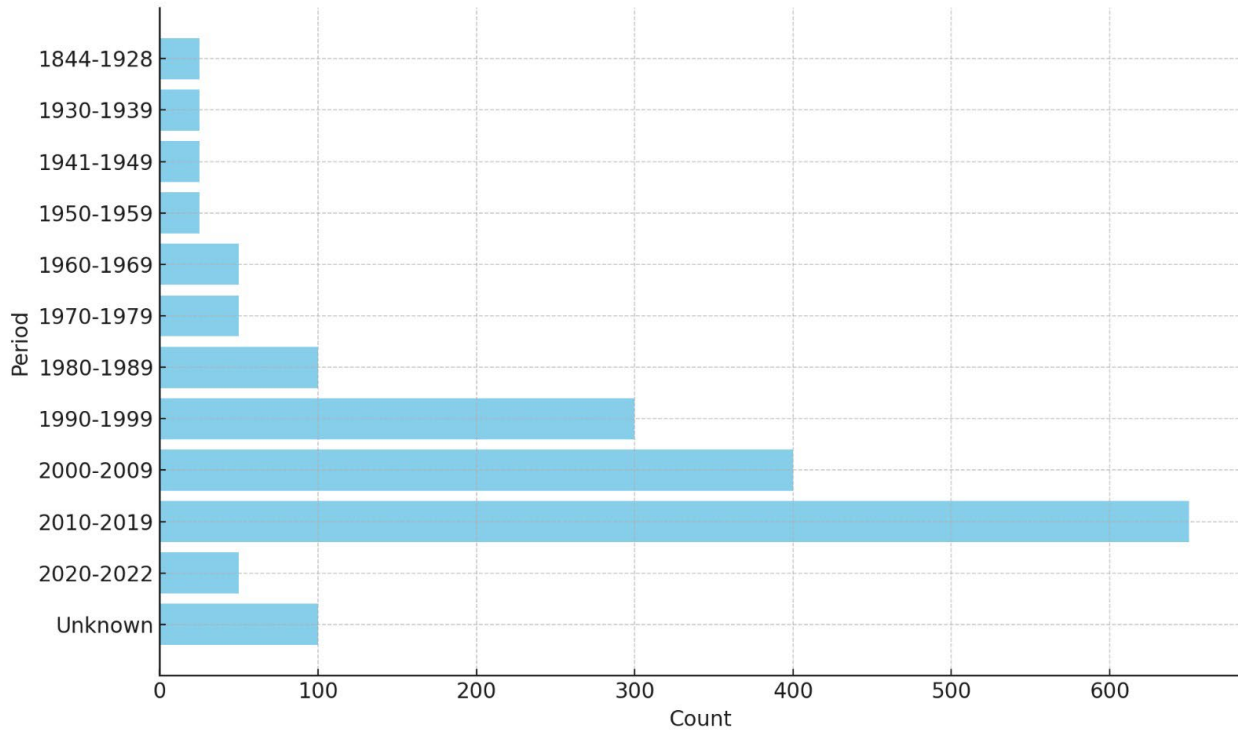
conceptual unit.

There is a similar conceptual deficiency in district and neighborhood studies in Turkey. In research focusing on a specific district or neighborhood, the conceptual basis of the subject is often glossed over in a short introductory text, while abstract definitions of district and neighborhood concepts are avoided. Although the neighborhood is subject to some definition attempts within the culture and coexistence subheadings of the Ottoman city discussions, it is not the subject of strong abstractions that determine the academic agenda, except for Şerif Mardin's concept of "neighborhood pressure". In a sense, this is what should happen; although every attempt to describe the Ottoman neighborhood is correct in one aspect, it will be incomplete because it addresses the issue in a limited way (Demir and Uğur, 2020; 462). Approaching the subject from this perspective, it is possible to understand why the district and neighborhood studies literature is concentrated on the local level, and why it has not been able to turn into an independent discipline that has come of age with conceptual discussions, even though district and neighborhood has been an issue that has been on the agenda in urban studies since the early dates. Research that traces the capillaries of the city must continue to preserve their local identity in order to contribute to the field. It is necessary to wait for the number of studies with the competence exemplified by Sassen to increase, so that researchers, who explore the micro units of the city with the meticulousness of a surgeon, can turn these original stories into an independent field.

However, it is possible to come across many qualified studies on various districts of Istanbul, especially in the abundant pool of Istanbul research. Tülay Artan's social history study titled *18. Yüzyıl Kadı Sicilleri Işığında Eyüp'te Sosyal Yaşam* (Social Life in Eyüp in the Light of the 18th Century Kadı Registers; Artan, 1988), Sema Erder's ethnography titled *İstanbul'a Bir Kent Kondu: Ümraniye* (A City was Dedicated to Istanbul: Ümraniye; Erder, 1996) Hatice Kurtuluş's oral history study titled *Toplumsal Hafızada Zamanda ve Mekânda Maltepe* (Maltepe in Time and Space in Social Memory; Kurtuluş et al., 2018), which she conducted with a group of researchers, and Cem Behar's recently published study titled *Bir Mahallenin Doğumu ve Ölümü (1494-2008): Osmanlı İstanbulu'nda Kasap İlyas Mahallesi* (Birth and Death of a Neighborhood (1494-2008): Butcher İlyas Neighborhood in Ottoman Istanbul; Behar, 2019) can be considered as the leading work in the field.

Istanbul Neighborhood Studies and Bağdat Avenue

On the other hand, it is possible to come across many qualified studies on various districts of Istanbul in the fertile pool of Istanbul research. According to available data, the origins of neighborhood studies in Turkey date back to the 19th century. The first known monograph about the districts of Istanbul is *Nouvelles Promenades Dans le Bosphore ou Méditations Bosphoriques* written by Alexandre Timi in 1844. A total of 16 neighborhood monographs were identified from this first study until 1930. During this period, local governments in the modern sense were not yet very strong and the city consisted of only 7 districts even in 1927. While this number reached 15 in 1930, these districts were Adalar, Bakırköy, Beşiktaş, Beykoz, Beyoğlu, Çatalca, Eminönü, Fatih, Kadıköy, Kartal, Sarıyer, Silivri, Şile, Üsküdar and Yalova, and among these, Fatih, Eminönü, Kadıköy, Beşiktaş, and Sarıyer districts were established in the same year (Şahin, 2015b, 246).



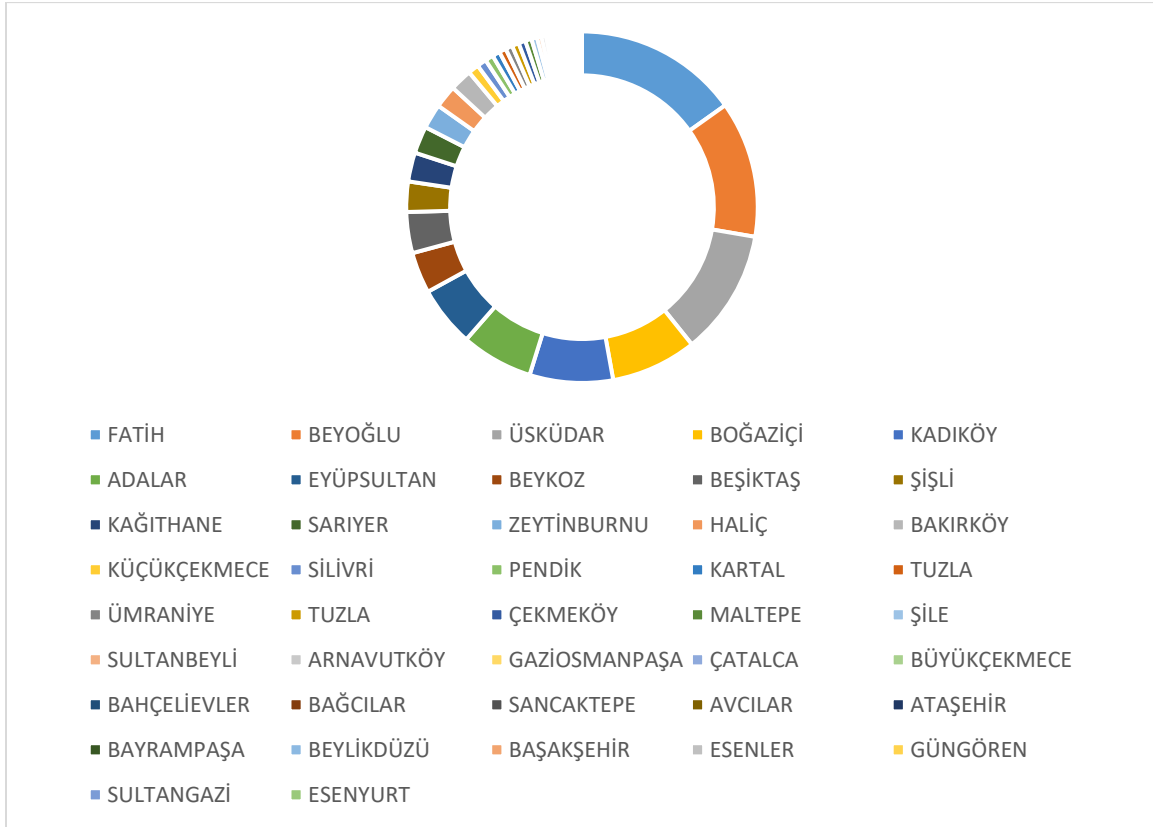
Graphic 1 The numerical distribution of the identified monographs on the neighborhoods of Istanbul by years. A list of Istanbul Monographs on Neighborhood was used.

Mehmet Tevfik's text *İstanbul'da Bir Sene, Üçüncü Ay: Kağıthane* (A Year in Istanbul, Third Month: Kağıthane; Tevfik, 1883) and Celal Esad Arseven's *Kadıköy Hakkında Tedkikat-ı Belediye* (Municipal Researches on Kadıköy; Arseven, 1911) and *Eski Galata ve Binaları* (Old

Galata and Its Buildings; Arseven, 1912), Mehmed Raif's text *Sultanahmed Parkı ve Asar-ı Atikası* (Sultanahmed Park and its Ancient Artifacts; Raif, 1916), Süreyya (İlmen) Pasha's *Üsküdar'ın İmarına Aid Bir Fikr-i Umumi ve Hulasa-i Mütalaat* (A General Idea and Summary of the Reconstruction of Üsküdar; İlmen, 1924) are the ones that stand out among the Istanbul district monographs found before 1930. In 1935, the first work directly dealing with the historical development of a district of Istanbul, *Kasımpaşa'nın Tarihçesi* (The History of Kasımpaşa; Abaç, 1935), was published by Sadi Abaç. During the 1930s and 1940s, large and small texts were produced on the Adalar, Boğaziçi, Üsküdar, Beyoğlu, Fatih, Eyüp and Kadıköy districts. In most of these texts, rather than the spatial development of the district, a limited aspect or an element, person, or structure identified with the district is discussed. However, texts that provide data for spatial development, such as Henri Prost's *Boğaziçi Anadolu Sahilinin 1/2000 Mikyaslı Nazım Planını İzah Eden Rapor* (Report Explaining the 1/2000 Comparison Master Plan of the Bosphorus Anatolian Coast; Prost, 1941) and the reports of the *CHP Üsküdar Kazası İdare Heyeti* (CHP Üsküdar District Board of Directors), are also published.

These years were the years when the understanding of municipalism in the Republican era was shaped and the new regime faced important issues regarding the development and management of cities. According to Tekeli, the most important of these issues are eliminating the destruction suffered by the cities of Western Anatolia due to the war and responding to the need to fill the gaps opened in various service areas due to both physical improvement and changing demographics due to population exchange (Tekeli, 2009; 32). Another important issue is that the modern municipal initiatives that started at the end of the Ottoman period have not yet produced sufficiently comprehensive knowledge, therefore the new regime does not have a strong municipal experience (Tekeli, 2009; 33). For this reason, in the first years of the Republic, many laws made regulations regarding municipalities, the definitions of duties and powers were reviewed, and experts were consulted on urban planning. The new districts and districts that emerge in this process have an uncertain future. By the law no. 2295 dated January 1, 1934, neighborhood headmen (muhtar), which had no administrative position on paper since 1913, were officially abolished and this situation continued until 1944. On the other hand, while the jurisdiction of municipalities is constantly expanding, the same municipalities cannot obtain the income and personnel they need to fulfill their duties (Tekeli, 2009; 90-91). Although the management of the districts is in the provincial and district municipalities, it is not difficult to guess that the municipalities, which are

stuck between their duties and possibilities, cause some gaps in the administration of the districts at a level where the understanding of municipalism has not yet become clear enough. It is necessary to consider the quantity and quality of district monographs before and after 1930 in light of these developments.



Graphic 2 Distribution of identified neighborhood monographs on Istanbul neighborhoods by districts and areas of the city. A list of Istanbul Monographs on Neighborhood was used.

Second Generation: There is Something Lost in Istanbul

In the 1950s and 1960s, district monographies both increased in number and density in Boğaziçi and Üsküdar decreased. Names such as Rakım Ziyaoğlu, Zeki Teoman, Çelik Gülersoy, Mahmut Yesari, Samiha Ayverdi, Sedad Hakkı Eldem, Bedii Şehsuvaroğlu, Semavi Eyice published their first district books in this period. Criticisms about the political conflicts of the multi-party period and the reflections of these tensions on the city administration are partially reflected

in these books, but semi-touristic promotions, activity reports, and emphasis on cultural and architectural richness are more prominent. During these years, an important development that will affect the literature of the district in the future begins to come to an end. At the end of the 1940s, it can be seen that researchers in the urbanization literature began to draw attention to the housing problem. These were the years when the first slums began to appear in metropolitan cities, including Istanbul. The first important slum studies were published in these years (Arlı, 2005; 295). Rapid population growth and intensifying internal migration movements become the focus of attention in the urbanization literature in this period. In addition, the Middle East Technical University, which will strongly influence the urban studies literature in Turkey with its urban planning and architecture departments, was founded in 1956 and began to contribute to the literature during this period (Arlı, 2005; 297).

In the 1970s, the destruction of the construction activities in the 1950s became evident, the city faced the reality of slums due to internal migration, and infrastructure problems emerged, especially in the newly established districts and districts, in response to the increasing population, and this was responded to in various ways. The dynamism that started in the 1950s radically affected the topography and silhouette of the city, and on the one hand, the city's ecological corridors and water resources in the east-west and north directions were damaged, on the other hand, the original texture in the central points of the city degenerated and the historical Istanbul urban identity began to disappear. In particular, areas such as Süleymaniye, Zeyrek, and Fener, which are areas rich in original examples of civil architecture and monuments, have been abandoned to their fate and left vulnerable to the blows of unplanned and anonymous modernization with unplanned urbanization (Karakuyu et al., 2010; 46). Considering that the population of the city increased from 1.16 million people to 4.74 million in the period between 1950 and 1980 (Parin and Yıldız, 2010; 205), it will become more understandable how strongly we had to confront the striking consequences of these dynamics.

In this context, the Istanbul Greening Association organized the Bosphorus and its Surrounding Problems Symposium in 1974,² and Boğaziçi University organized the Golden Horn Problems and Solutions National Symposium in 1977 (Tezcan, 1977) and compiled its papers into books; and it is seen that books on the Bosphorus and the Golden Horn environment began to gain weight again in this period.

² *Boğaziçi ve Çevresi Sorunları Sempozyumu*, 1974.

Çelik Gülersoy's books titled *Korunması Gereken Boğaziçi* (Bosphorus to be Protected; Gülersoy, 1972), *Yıldız Parkı ve Malta Köşkü* (Yıldız Park and Malta Mansion; Gülersoy, 1979), *Yıldız ve Emirgan Parkları ve Köşkleri* (Yıldız and Emirgan Parks and Mansions; Gülersoy, 1980), Semavi Eyice's book *Bizans Devrinde Boğaziçi* (The Bosphorus in the Byzantine Era; Eyice, 1976), Sedat Hakkı Eldem's *Sadabad* (Eldem, 1977) and memoir titled *Boğaziçi Anıları* (Eldem, 1979), Abdülhak Şinasi Hisar's *Boğaziçi Mektupları* (Boğaziçi Letters; Hisar, 1979) text were published in this period. While Beyoğlu, Eyüp, and Üsküdar districts continue to remain on the agenda, mayor Fahri Atabey's district-oriented detailed activity reports attract attention as a new format (Atabey, 1973). The books titled *Zeytinburnu Gecekondu Bölgesi* (Hart, 1969), prepared by Charles W.M. Hart in 1969 by the Istanbul Chamber of Commerce, and *Zeytinburnu: Gerçek Yönleriyle Bir Gecekondu Kenti* (Akçay, 1974), prepared by Faik Akçay in 1974, can be included in this period. During this period, one of the reasons for the interest in Zeytinburnu, which was considered the starting point of slum development in Istanbul (Şenyapılı, 1998; 302-303), was that the widespread manufacturing industry on the periphery of the city brought the slum culture to the agenda of Istanbulites as a socio-spatial problem. In these years, the manufacturing industry, as a sector consisting of structures that are included in the everyday life of the city in an "upstart" way, such as slums, becomes the mediator of the emergence of new clusters and new districts in the city. Since Zeytinburnu is one of the first examples of this relationship, it manages to attract the attention of district studies (Tuna, 2010; 369.). In the same period, as the city began to expand towards the Anatolian side with the Bosphorus Bridge, which was completed between 1970 and 1973, connecting the Asian and European sides of the city, introductory texts were prepared about the districts here.

Bölgemiz Marmara İlimiz İstanbul İlçemiz Kadıköy-Kartal (Our Region, Marmara Province, Istanbul, Our District, Kadıköy-Kartal; Uykucu, 1973) and *Tarihsel Yönleriyle Kartal Maltepe* (Kartal Maltepe in its Historical Aspects; Aytemiz, 1970) were published in this period as the first district monographs, we could detect about the Kartal and Maltepe districts.

The Third Generation: Chasing the Past in the Neoliberal City

As Güvenç and Işık emphasize, Istanbul is, in fact, "a city that is literally 'on the move'" and it is possible to detect this elusive state of the city even with the population growth seen in the forty-seven-year period between 1950 and 1997 (*See Table 1*) (Güvenç and Işık, 2002; 203). The

1980s were a period when this dynamism of the city was multiplied by political activity, and with the September 12 coup, Istanbul, like the rest of the country, entered a regime governed by neoliberalism. Between 1980 and 1984, all three mayors of the city were military men, and they implemented practices such as painting all buildings facing the E5 highway white to ‘aestheticize’ the view on the road and renaming the 1 Mayıs Neighborhood, one of the central areas of left-wing groups, as ‘Mustafa Kemal Neighborhood’, which made symbolic interventions on the names of shantytown settlements (Gül, 2017; 153-154). On November 6, 1983, the military regime was replaced by the Motherland Party, which came to power through elections, and a period began in which economic reforms had strong effects in almost every area from the political arena to everyday life, and the keyword was ‘development’. In this context, many developments that would directly or indirectly affect the city took place, from the construction of the first-class highway in 1984, which reduced travel time between Istanbul and Ankara to five hours, to the establishment of new digital telephone operators, to the widespread electrification of villages, the establishment of the first foundation (private) university, allow the import of black market products, the opening of the first McDonald’s restaurant in Taksim in 1986, to the zoning amnesty (Gül, 2017; 154-156). Although these developments did not find direct reflection in the neighborhood monographs of the period, they ensured that ongoing efforts to protect Istanbul and preserve the heritage of the past would be strengthened in the following years.

	Türkiye	İstanbul
1950	20,947,188	1,666,477
1955	24,064,763	1,533,822
1960	27,754,820	1,802,092
1965	31,391,421	2,293,823
1970	35,612,776	3,019,032
1975	40,347,719	3,903,650
1980	44,736,957	4,741,890
1985	50,664,458	5,475,982
1990	56,473,035	6,620,241
1997	62,610,252	8,180,319

Table 1 Population of Türkiye and Istanbul between 1950-1997 (Güvenç and Işık, 2002; 203).

Neighborhood studies, as the spatial counterpart of social change, social stratification, and social differentiation in sociology, enable the establishment of original fields of old and new research paths such as modernization, everyday life, social movements, lifestyle, and social groups. As in the discipline of history, in sociology, as well as in the discipline of history, it is often in a

position to question how the past is constructed on a social level as part of the literature on social memory, nostalgia, and memory studies, and to examine the spatial projection of the social in the relationship established with the past and the present. Likewise, as the spatial manifestation of the search for social identity, it becomes an important reference unit, especially in terms of discussions on cultural heritage. The chaotic dynamism caused by the neo-liberalization wave of the 1980s, which was articulated by the intense population movement after 1950, points to a period in which this search was reinforced in the case of Istanbul. From this perspective, we see that texts that can be considered as the non-academic predecessors of these paths, although they would intensify later, began to be published in the 1980s. For example, Said Naum Duhani's *Eski İnsanlar Eski Evler: 19. Yüzyıl Sonunda Beyoğlu'nun Sosyal Topoğrafyası* (Old People, Old Houses: The Social Topography of Beyoğlu at the End of the 19th Century; Duhani, 1982) was published in 1982. Tülay Artan's work *18. Yüzyıl Kadı Sicilleri Işığında Eyüp'te Sosyal Yaşam* (Social Life in Eyüp in the Light of the 18th Century Kadi Registers) was published by Tarih Vakfı Publications in 1988.

In this period, despite the distribution of districts that became quite diverse compared to the 1970s and before in terms of the subjects that the texts focused on, interest in the Bosphorus, Üsküdar, Haliç, and Beyoğlu areas continued. However, while this interest was on the one hand scattered and focused on more specific titles for these districts, on the other hand, as time progressed, the increasing destruction in the cultural fabric of the city dragged the writers into a sense of mourning and the nostalgic emphasis that would gradually gain momentum began to become apparent. As the titles *Göksu'ya Ağıt* (Gülersoy, 1987), *Hayal Belde Üsküdar* (Felek, 1987), *Bir Zamanlar Kadıköy* (Giz, 1988), *Kaybolan Bakırköy* (Örsan, 1989) indicate, there is a general belief in these texts that the place has changed irreversibly and that important elements related to social identity have been lost with this change. Neighborhood literature also received its share of the “explosion of speech” that Nurdan Gürbilek mentioned in this period.³ In a period of uncertainty after the coup, when politics and ideologies were silent and culture had to speak by integrating with the ‘market’, neighborhood monographs offered a passive resistance against the loss of identity of the city. In the meantime, literature gained new writers such as Nezih H. Neyzi, Müfid Ekdal, Önder Küçükerman, M. Baha Tanman, Adnan Giz, Yıldız Demiriz.

In the 1990s, familiar names from different fields such as Orhan Türker, Pars Tuğlacı,

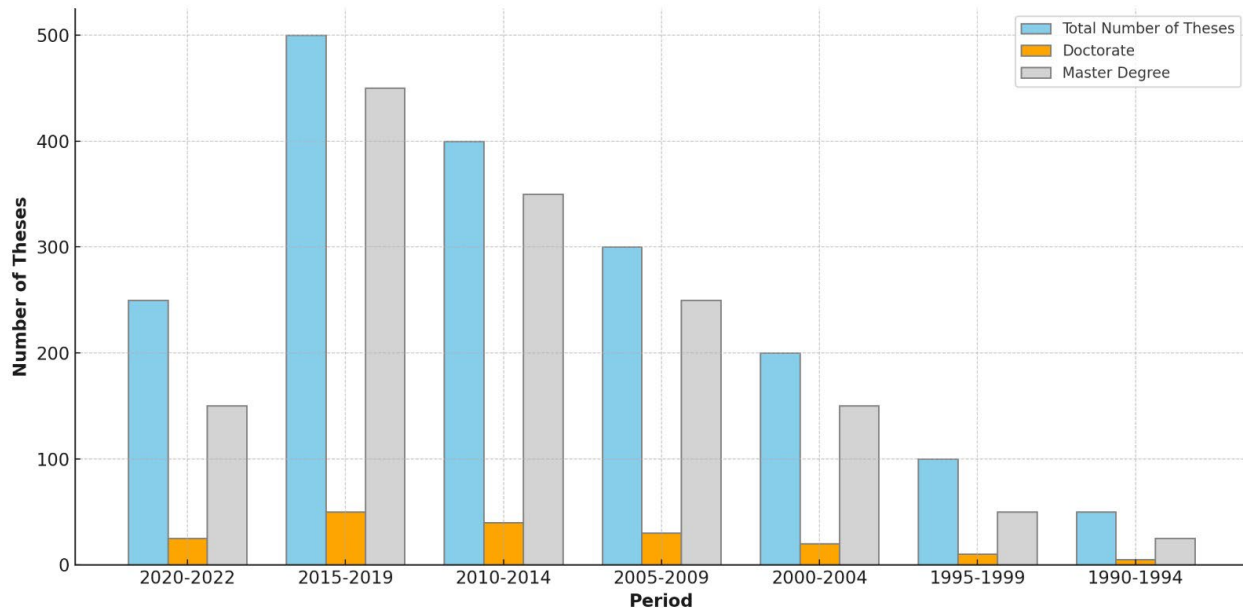
³ It will be discussed in detail in the second chapter.

Gökhan Akçura, Cahit Kayra, Burçak Evren, Turgay Tuna, Ahmed Yüksel Özemre, Jak Deleon, Turgut Yılmaz, and Murat Belge would be added to these new writers; Sema Erder's neighborhood ethnography, *İstanbul'a Bir Kent Kondu: Ümraniye* (Erder, 1996), would be published during this period, and local municipalities would contribute to the enrichment of the visual material of the field by publishing the photography competitions they organized as books. The extension of the ambivalent cultural climate pointed out by Gürbilek in the 1990s was a different verbal explosion in which the return of the 'repressed' gained importance. Social memory and oral history studies made an impressive entrance into the agenda of social sciences. Memory studies, which emerged after the Second World War, especially with studies aimed at recording the experiences of Holocaust survivors and gradually gained momentum, came to the agenda with the triggering of the cultural climate after the September 12 coup in Turkey (Neyzi, 2009; 3-4). As society changes rapidly after a traumatic experience, accounting for the past, pondering over social identity, and revealing issues that remained in the shadows became practices that gained momentum with the increase in communication opportunities, and oral history courses were opened in universities in the 1990s (Neyzi, 2009; 4). Neighborhood studies also began to overlap with this literature as a means of bringing local memory to light under the heading of urbanization, opening up the ignored problems of the past to discussion, and recording what was already at hand. The reflection of these studies in neighborhood monographs is the publication of studies that focus on smaller units of the city such as Polonezköy, Moda, Kazlıçeşme, Bebek, Kuştepe, Esentepe, Kuzguncuk, Caddebostan, and the intensification of publications by both metropolitan and district municipalities that attempt to record the history of Istanbul neighborhoods. We also encounter the activity reports published by local municipalities, which we started to see in the 1980s, and more frequently in the 1990s.

The Last Generation: The Golden Age of Neighborhood Studies

The disciplines of architecture and geography, like history and sociology, have agenda items that affect the agenda of neighborhood studies. Although they come into contact with social sciences, both disciplines, which are mainly guided by physics and mathematics, have experienced significant technological innovations in recent years, and thanks to these innovations, the measurable quality of space has increased. Various modern mapping and reconstruction technologies developed within these disciplines have come to the forefront as current research methods and techniques in city and neighborhood studies, thus increasing the concretizing quality

of the field's abstract discussions. In addition, these developments have contributed to the importance of neighborhood studies for microhistory and microsociology and have supported the readability of the social implications of spatial change on a historical and conceptual level.



Graphic 3 According to the data of the List of Theses on Istanbul Neighbourhoods, 5-year concentrations of theses related to Istanbul neighborhoods prepared under the roof of different disciplines since 1990.

In this context, building studies, which are among the basic research topics of art history and architectural history, have also facilitated the determination of the kind of analysis basis on which monumental structures or civil architecture examples identified with districts can be evaluated. We can say that this interaction has led to a significant interest in district studies in academic literature, especially since the late 1990s (*See Graphic 3*). As will be examined in more detail below, the emphasis on architecture and urban planning disciplines also holds an important place among the concepts and themes that come to the fore in theses on Istanbul districts. The physical texture of the district, monumental structures, civil architecture examples, and concrete cultural heritage elements, which are mostly described through memories in district monographs, are included in these theses on a more conceptual and analytical level. Applications of geographical technologies are also widely applied in the method sections of theses prepared after 2010.

In the 2000s, neighborhood studies saw a significant rise. 500 Istanbul neighborhood monographs were identified between 2000-2009, and 598 between 2010-2019. Again, according

to the Council of Higher Education database, 297 theses on Istanbul neighborhoods were prepared between 2000-2009, and 801 between 2010-2019. Symposiums organized by local municipalities, photography competitions, special publications for anniversaries, a booklet series on Istanbul's neighborhoods published by the metropolitan municipality, publications and activities of civil society organizations such as the History Foundation, Science and Art Foundation, Suna and İnan Kıraç Foundation, İKSV, and Çelik Gülersoy Foundation are developments that accelerated neighborhood studies and contributed to the enrichment of the literature in this period. The first examples that come to mind as examples of these publications that were made permanent by turning them into books are: The symposiums, which were first organized by Eyüp Municipality in 1993 with the title *Eyüp: Dün Bugün* (Eyüp: Yesterday Today) and after 1998, became traditional under the name *Tarihi, Kültürü ve Sanatıyla Eyüp* (Eyüp with its History, Culture and Art) and continued for 11 years; Symposiums on Beykoz, which were held for the first time by Beykoz Municipality in 1998 under the title *Beykoz İlçesi Çevre Sorunları* (Environmental Problems of Beykoz District); Üsküdar symposiums organized by Üsküdar Municipality in 2003 and later; *Vefa Semti Dünü Bugünü Yarını* (Vefa District Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow) symposium organized by the Foundation for Sciences and Art in 2006; Eyüp project carried out by the History Foundation together with the Ministry of Culture; and the two-volume study titled *Cumhuriyet Döneminde Ümraniye Şehirleşme, Toplum, Ekonomi ve Yönetim* (Ümraniye Urbanization, Society, Economy and Management in the Republican Era) published by the joint project of Istanbul Şehir University Urban Research Center and Ümraniye Municipality.

With Istanbul being chosen as the cultural capital of 2010, the field became even more active, and a series of 89 books on Istanbul's neighborhoods was published by Heyamola Publications. Boutique publishing houses such as Adalı Publications, which publish about the Islands, are established, publications and events aiming to introduce the neighborhoods of Istanbul to children become popular, and old monographs are brought to light or reprinted. Again, as an extension of oral history studies that gained momentum in the 1990s, personal archives begin to be digitized and the memoirs of families who identify with the neighborhoods they live in are brought to light. Examples of institutional or civil architecture are examined through biennials spread to different parts of the city. In addition, the interest in ethnographic research methods in social sciences increases and neighborhood-focused field studies are carried out in various studies implemented as a means of making sense of society. Studies such as *Nöbetleşe Yoksulluk:*

*Sultanbeyli Örneği*⁴ (Poverty in Change: The Sultanbeyli Example; Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, 2001) and *Fatih Başakşehir: Muhafazakar Mahallede İktidar ve Dönüşen Habitus* (Fatih Başakşehir: Power in the Conservative Neighborhood and Transforming Habitus; Özet, 2019) published in different periods are examples of this kind. The rising nostalgia trend in social media also encourages curiosity about the past of neighborhoods and efforts to record the physical structures that represent the cultural heritage of the city.

Bağdat Avenue Research

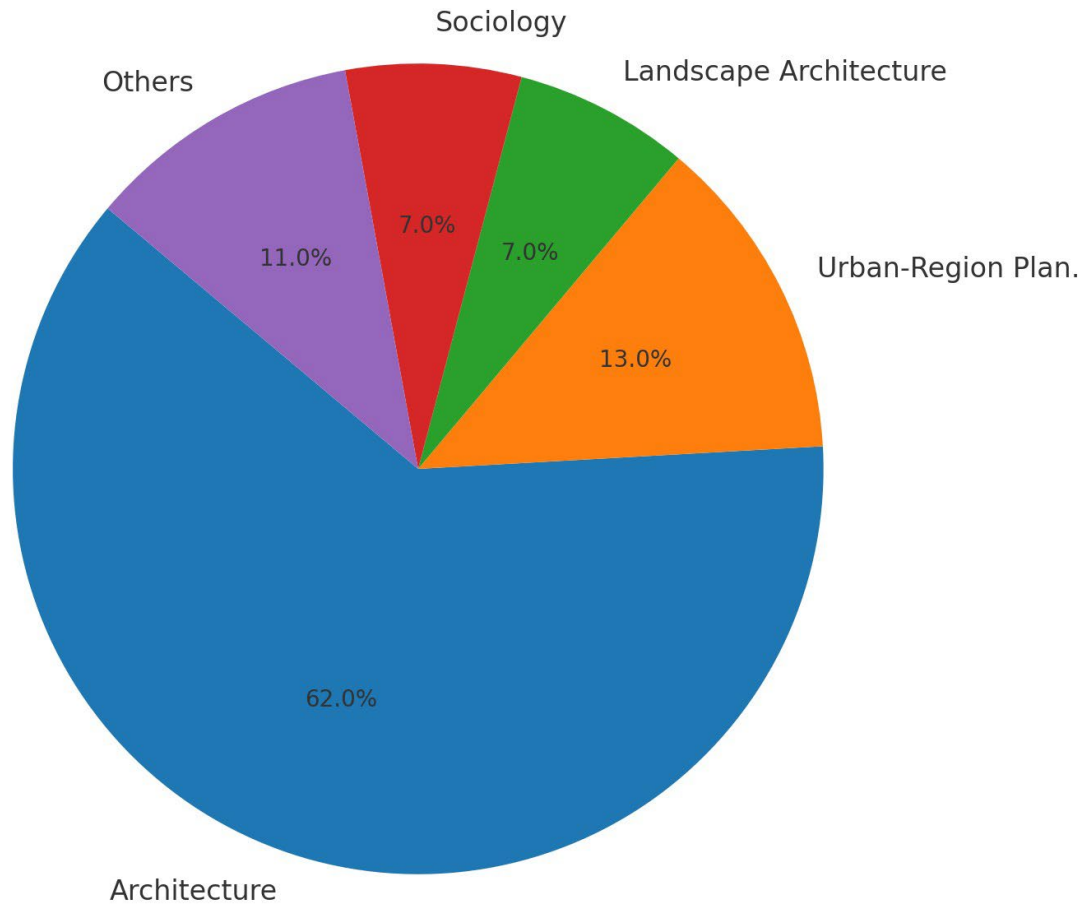
Considering all these developments, when we want to clarify the place of Bağdat Avenue among the studies conducted on Istanbul districts, we encounter the following view: Studies that address or partially refer to Bağdat Avenue are mainly produced between 1991-2022 and under the roof of various disciplines such as architecture, transportation, urban planning, sociology, landscape, and economics. Most of these studies are in the fields of architecture and urban planning (See Graphic 4 and Appendix 5).

In studies such as the thesis titled *Kamusal Bir Alan Olarak Cadde: Bağdat Caddesi Örneği* (Avenue as a Public Space: The Example of Bağdat Avenue; Pekşen, 2015), the importance and function of Bağdat Avenue as a public space, the effect of design on public space functions, urban transformation, and spatial change come to the forefront as research themes. Studies such as *Kentsel Mekân Olarak Caddelerin Mekansal Karakterinin Yürünebilirlik Bağlamında İrdelenmesi: Bağdat Caddesi Örneği* (Examining the Spatial Character of Avenues as Urban Spaces in the Context of Walkability: The Example of Bağdat Avenue); *Sokakların Dönüşümü ve Yeniden Yapılanmasında Sosyokültürel Pratiklerin Rolü: İstanbul Bağdat Caddesi Örneği* (The Role of Sociocultural Practices in the Transformation and Restructuring of Avenues: The Example of Bağdat Avenue in Istanbul); *Bir Müşterek Olarak Kent İmgesi: İstanbul Bağdat Caddesi Örneği* (The Image of the City as a Common: The Example of Bağdat Avenue in Istanbul); *Türkiye Mimarlığı'nda Modernleşme Çabaları: Konut Mimarisinde Cephe Yaklaşımları ve Bağdat Caddesi Örneğinde İncelenmesi* (Modernization Efforts in Turkish Architecture: Facade

⁴ Even though they do not directly focus on a district, studies that identify field research with a district specific to the selected subject can also be included in such examples. For example, the research conducted by Yael Navaro-Yashin in Fatih Çarşamba in the early 2000s, at a time when secularization and public space debates determined the political agenda in Turkey, provides the opportunity to catch some clues about the habitus of the district. See. Yael Navaro-Yashin, *Faces of the State: Secularism and Public Life in Turkey*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2002.

Approaches in Residential Architecture and Their Analysis in the Example of Bağdat Avenue) address the avenue in terms of urban architecture and design.

Distribution of Theses on Bağdat Avenue by Discipline



Graphic 4 Distribution of Theses on Bağdat Avenue by Discipline ⁵

⁵ The list that makes up the data in this chart has been prepared as a result of a search on the YÖK Thesis Database with the keywords Bağdat Caddesi, Kızıltoprak, Caddebostan, Suadiye, Bostancı, Küçükyalı, Maltepe, Erenköy, Kalamış, Göztepe, Fenerbahçe. The first data obtained as a result of the search was eliminated and studies that did not directly touch the subject were excluded. For example, studies that are related to the neighborhoods on the route of Bağdat Avenue, such as the effect of the closed sites of Maltepe Adalife and White city on the perception of space, Caddebostan Beach field study, creation of the marketing strategy of Caddebostan Vakıf Tennis Club club, evaluation of the Marmara coastline between Kadıköy and Bostancı as a recreation area, Küçükyalı Archeopark etc., but not directly related to the avenue, were excluded from the list. Restoration projects of buildings located in these neighborhoods but not close to the avenue, or studies evaluating these neighborhoods, were also not included in the list. However, even though the entire Erenköy neighborhood is not close to Bağdat Avenue, thesis such as the study

In studies focusing on residential architecture, issues such as modernization in architecture, cultural heritage, protection of cultural assets, the relationship of residential architecture with cultural change, and the aesthetic value of mansions and pavilions, the number of which is decreasing, are discussed. In addition, although not completely independent of these categories, there are also studies under the headings of *Kentsel Dokuda Arka Bahçe Kullanımı* (Zeytinci, 2005), *Kentsel Ölçekte Gürültünün Denetlenmesinde Engel Etkinliğinin İncelenmesi* (İşler, 2005), *İstanbul'da Bağdat Caddesi ve Cemil Topuzlu Caddesi'nde Satışa Sunulan Çağdaş Konut Salon Mobilyaları Üzerine Bir Araştırma* (Artıkoğlu, 2003) ve *Sokak Arayüzlerinde Saydam Yüzeylerin Kent Kullanıcıları ile Etkileşimlerinin Değerlendirilmesi: Bağdat Caddesi Örneği* (Uzel, 2018) those include more specific research such as the furniture of houses sold on the avenue, the use of backyards in urban texture, noise control on an urban scale, digital presentation techniques of urban design, and the use of transparent surfaces in avenue interfaces.

In the sociological studies titled *İstanbul Bağdat Caddesi ve Yakın Çevresinde Kentsel Dönüşüm: 2012-2018 Dönemi* (Koylan, 2018), *Kendi Kendini Denetleme, Bakış ve Sosyal Çevre Arasındaki İlişki: Bağdat Caddesi Örneği* (Öztürk, 2015), ve *2000'lerde Değişen Müslüman Kadın Portresine Bağlı Olarak Maddi ve Görsel Kültür İnşası: İslami Moda Dergileri ve Görsellik Odaklı Sosyal Medya Ağı* (Saraç, 2015) prepared on the avenue, topics such as how the neighborhoods on Bağdat Avenue were affected by urban transformation, how urbanization policies were concentrated on the avenue, how the relationship between social environment and self-control can be interpreted in the context of Bağdat Avenue, and how the Bağdat Avenue experience can be associated with the change in material and visual culture in Turkey in the 2000s are included.

In studies conducted on neighborhoods on Bağdat Avenue, such as *Erenköy'deki Kentsel Doku Değişimi ve Kültür Varlığı Konut Yapılarının Koruma Durumları* (Öztürk, 2018), *Mütareke'den 1938'e Maltepe* (Altuntaş, 2020), *İstanbul'da Göztepe ve Caddebostan Mahallelerinde Doku Değişim Süreci ve Nedenleri* (Sağlam, 2000), the avenue finds limited space for itself and mainly examines the spatial development of the neighborhoods and the residential

titled “Urban Transformation, Displacement and Chancing Lives: Istanbul-Erenköy and Fikirtepe” were included in the list because they draw the framework for the spatial transformation of the neighborhoods on the avenue. On the other hand, the theses about Kadıköy, one of the two districts on the avenue to which the neighborhoods belong, are not included in this list as they constitute a literature in itself, while two thesis studies that make general evaluations about the history of the other district, Maltepe, are included in the list.

architecture in the area. There are also studies such as *Kent Ağaçlarında Konfor ve Ekonomik Değer Analizleri: İstanbul Göztepe 60. Yıl Parkı Örneği* (Sönmez, 2017), *Sosyo-Demografik Değişkenlerin Rekreatasyon Katılımına Etkisi: İstanbul (Kadıköy ve Maltepe) Örneği* (Alakoç, 2018).

In this respect, academic literature on Bağdat Avenue has mainly focused on various subheadings of the discipline of architecture, and it is seen that two of the three studies prepared under the umbrella of the discipline of sociology on the avenue take the avenue as a case study, and one focuses on how urban transformation affected the avenue between 2012 and 2018. The avenue, which has a unique place in the history of spatial transformation in Istanbul, is an example of an open, spacious, and nature-friendly structure with its wide sidewalks and low-rise residences thanks to the master plan prepared by Aron Angel and reflects the modern face of Istanbul in the early Republican period. However, the spatial development of the avenue has not yet been subject to comprehensive studies.

In the field of Istanbul studies, it is seen that many studies that address the spatial development adventure of Istanbul are in contact with the fundamental problems of sociology such as urbanization, modernization, and the transformation of everyday life. It is possible to detect this interaction in many studies, from İlhan Tekeli's studies on urban planning to the studies written by academics such as Murat Güvenç, Zeynep Çelik, Sibel Bozdoğan, Murat Gül, Sema Erder, and Hatice Kurtuluş. Studies such as *İstanbul - Küresel ile Yerel Arasında* (Istanbul - Between the Global and the Local; Keyder, 1999) and *İstanbul Nereye?: Küresel Kent, Kültür, Avrupa* (Where is Istanbul?: Global City, Culture, Europe; Göktürk, et al. 2011), where the city is associated with globalization in the context of economy and politics, are frequently referred to in the literature. However, despite the wealth of material it possesses and the productive discovery opportunities it offers researchers, Bağdat Avenue has only found a place on the periphery of these studies. During the preparation and discovery process of this study, it was determined that the avenue, which can only find a place between the lines in the main sources on the history and urbanization adventure of Istanbul, has not yet been the subject of comprehensive research even at the article level in the context of urbanization and spatial change adventure of Istanbul at global and national levels.

When we look at the period after 1980 in terms of the spatial development of the avenue, we see that it was the beginning of a “renewal” period that will continue until today for Bağdat Avenue. When Zoning Law No. 3194, which was accepted in 1985, allowed more than one building

to be built on a parcel, the few mansions on the avenue were demolished and apartment construction was accelerated, later, with the filling of the coastal road and the construction of a marina in Kalamış Bay, the avenue became a busier place than before. In the 1990s, Fenerbahçe was reorganized and transformed into a recreational area, the coastal road filling was moved beyond Bostancı, and various developments affecting the physiology of Kadıköy indirectly strengthened the spatial mobility of the avenue and made it an attractive residential and business area.

Before 1980, it was also a period when only the ground floors of a small number of apartment buildings were still used as shops, and the residents and visitors of the area, mostly located around Şaşkınbakkal and Caddebostan, meticulously went to these shops, and therefore to the avenue, imitating the clothing style in Beyoğlu during the early Republican period (Çaşkur, 2017). After 1980, this situation changed rapidly, and the spatial change of the avenue and its transformation into a commercial center proceeded in simultaneous processes. The 1980s, when there was a general belief that it strongly affected the fate of the country on a social level as well as a political context, had a wide place in the field of Turkish studies. However, Bağdat Avenue is not included in the studies focused on the relationship between space and society in the literature of Turkish studies. However, the subject can be encountered in many sources outside the academy: There are various examples ranging from the nostalgic memories of individuals in their 70s such as Ali Neyzi, Şadan Akyol, Nedim Ergan, Adnan Ergeneli to more contemporary city monographs and novels such as *Ford Mach I* (Burak, 2019) and *Cadde Çocuğu* (Kıran, 2017).

When we look at neighborhood books about Bağdat Avenue in the non-academic literature, the first thing that comes to mind is the neighborhood book series prepared by Heyamola Publications due to Istanbul being the 2010 European Capital of Culture. Hikmet Temel Akarsu's *Lodoslaraltında Bostancı... Ve... Bağdat Avenue*, Ali Ural's *Bostancı Bahane*, Cüneyt Altunç's *Suadiye Suadiye*, Nevra Bucak's *Rufinia'dan Çiftelhavuzlar'a*, Celal Özcan's *Gözbebeğim Göztepe* books prepared within the scope of this series are important sources because they focus on neighborhoods located on Bağdat Avenue. These works are generally in the form of modest notes written by residents of the avenue who already have writing skills. They include general information about the past and present of the neighborhood and the author's impressions. In this sense, they are semi-memoirs and are works based on the author's subjective experience.

There are also similar books published at different times by different publishing houses, such as Dilek Kent's *Erenköy'de Duvarlar*, Deniz Kurbanzade's *Geçmiş Suadiye'de Aştı*, Sinan

Korle's *Kızıltoprak Günlerim*, Nezih H. Neyzi's *Kızıltoprak Anıları*, Bedi N. Şehsuvaroğlu's *Göztepe*, Yıldız Demiriz's *Caddebostan'dan Anılar*, Melek Y. Köselerden's *Bir Zamanlar Maltepe*. These texts also include subjectivity, nostalgic anecdotes, longing for values lost with changing times, and their relationship with space. However, there are many clues about Bağdat Avenue among these memories and short notes. It is also possible to come across short notes about the avenue between the lines in books of memories or semi-memories of a similar nature about Istanbul. In particular, general information about the spatial transformation of Bağdat Avenue and social life on the avenue can be obtained from texts that focus on Kadıköy and Maltepe. Of course, these texts do not have the quality of scientific research.

This study aims to make a unique contribution to the literature on Bağdat Avenue summarized so far. Actually, the number of sociological studies on Bağdat Avenue in the existing literature is quite low. This study, prepared under the discipline of sociology, differs from existing theses in that it addresses the spatial experience of Bağdat Avenue in a multidimensional way. By combining the emphasis on space in the architectural theses prepared on Bağdat Avenue with the human and society-oriented approach of sociology, it offers a body of data and analysis that can be used in both fields. It transforms the micro-scale, individual experience-centered approaches of district monographs into an element of analysis through theoretical abstraction. By doing something that has not been done before in the literature, it analyzes the spatial change in Bağdat Avenue by associating it with cultural and social change, as well as with the change of the city and the country.

3. Methodological Approach: What's Happening in the Kitchen?

As mentioned above, this thesis carries a methodological framework based on qualitative research methods. As is well known, discussions about methodology in the social sciences, at the most fundamental level, have not changed much since the founding figures of sociology. Ethical impartiality, objectivity, the role and importance of methodology in scientific progress, causality, and the consistency of historical explanations have been the main topics of this discussion. Alternative approaches developed under these headings have been classified in many ways, with their intersecting and diverging aspects, and they have been tried to be framed from various perspectives such as the nature of the research, its purpose, and the characteristics of the research object. Of course, although every classification effort has a certain consistency within itself, it is

not possible to talk about a final classification that prevents other classifications. So much so that some of the studies that try to classify methodological approaches in social sciences try to clarify the subject by classifying the classifications in a way. One striking example of this kind is Andrew Abbott's work *The Chaos of Disciplines*.

Although it does not claim to be a direct methodology book, in this study, Abbott discusses social science theory, the historical development of social sciences, and the relationships between disciplines and research methods around the question "How do social sciences change?" (Abbot, 2013; 19). It touches on issues such as how research methods diversify in the social sciences, how the research practices and approaches of different disciplines differ, and how interdisciplinary work can enrich this diversity - even though, in one sense, it is "a failure in itself" (Abbot, 2013; 281), and suggests that, at the end of the day, interdisciplinary collaboration can act as a bridge between these different approaches. Because "...if the knowledge of one thing is good, the knowledge of two things is better, and three is even better." (Abbot, 2013; 284) and what is important, as Bott emphasizes, is that "interdisciplinary contact changes each researcher individually" (Abbot, 2013; 281). Although this thesis does not claim to be interdisciplinary, as will be explained in more detail below, it contacted different disciplines in terms of the data it used and the way it analyzed the data and did not refrain from benefiting from their knowledge to enrich the research.

Similarly, in *Methods of Discovery*, which he prepared for young researchers, which includes more practical advice and focuses directly on the method, he therefore avoids standard categorizations. Ultimately, while it is obvious that we are all "on the same journey, trying to say interesting things and falling into bad habits", on the one hand, we are individuals "trying to re-imagine the social world" (Abbott, 2004; XII) and that researchers' excitement dies in comparison to the formation they receive (Abbott, 2004; IX), talking about method actually means talking about "creativity that revitalizes methods" according to him (Abbott, 2004; XII). Currently, in a context where research in the field of social sciences has become increasingly unexciting (at least in Turkey), such excitement was needed to carry out such a thesis study, and therefore, such motivation in choosing the method.

This study argues, firstly, that cultural analysis is "not an experimental science seeking law, but an interpretive science seeking meaning" (Geertz, 2020; 20). This is not a cultural study or anthropology thesis, but Geertz's evaluations of field research and qualitative studies within the discipline of anthropology offer a valid argument for all qualitative studies within the

methodological framework. While shaping the claim of “culture” and “defining/understanding culture”, argues that it is talking about “a context[uality]” that can be discovered by locating all of these and describing each of them intensively (*thick description*), rather than “something to which social events, behaviors, theories or processes can be causally attributed” (Geertz, 2020; 32). In this sense, it agrees with the claim that studies examining culture - staying true to the original meaning of the word *fictio*- should be considered as “fiction” (Geertz, 2020; 34), and accepts that the difference between the fictionality of Madame Bovary’s story and an anthropological/ethnographic note, in terms of the conditions and goals of their creation, is not a simple detail (Geertz, 2020; 35). However, it has some concerns about the danger of these assumptions dragging it into a constructivist methodological approach and losing sight of the structure that certain patterns that follow behind all descriptions will make visible. It aspires to have a relational quality in line with the theoretical framework it is based on and tries to implement the “social praxeology” suggested by Bourdieu with the same motivation. According to Wacquant, Bourdieu articulates “structuralist” and “constructivist” approaches as follows:

First, we push aside mundane representations to construct the objective structures (spaces of *positions*), the distributions of socially efficient resources that define the external constraints bearing on interactions and representations. Second, we introduce the immediate, lived experience of agents in order to explicate the categories of perception and appreciation (*dispositions*) that structure their actions from the inside. It should be stressed that, although the two moments of analysis are equally necessary, they are not equal: epistemological priority is granted to objectivist rupture over subjectivist understanding.

(...)

A genuine science of human practice cannot be content with merely superimposing a phenomenology on a social topology. It must also elucidate the perceptual and evaluative schemata that agents invest in their everyday lives. (Wacquant&Bourdieu, 1992; 11-12)

This thesis adopts a similar methodological framework and to act in this direction with an approach beyond the dualities that social sciences fall into. Of course, affirming “the *primacy of relations*”, “against methodological forms of monism that purport to assert the ontological priority of structure *or* agent, system *or* agent, the collective *or* the individual”, as Bourdieu does (Wacquant & Bourdieu, 1992; 15), is a troublesome and painful path. However, in order to analyze and interpret

the research object beyond *doxa*, this set of Bourdieuan accurateness is needed. In this respect, this thesis assumes that the difference between it and *Madame Bovary* lies in performing a performance based on the meticulous knitting of a reflexive network of relationships woven layer by layer just as Bourdieu, who said that “every proposition set forth by the [science of society] can and ought to apply to the sociologist himself” (Wacquant&Bourdieu, 1992; 202), and avoids “giving ammunition to people who utilize against sociology the most elementary weapon there is - relativism” by making “bovaristic confessions” about himself, when necessary, precisely so that “a Bourdieust sociology of Bourdieu can be made” (Wacquant&Bourdieu, 1992; 202-03).

3.1 Ethnographic Method

Aware of the responsibilities that this meticulous methodological approach imposes on itself, this thesis, *firstly*, defines itself as an “ethnographic study”. In his famous work, in which he categorizes qualitative research methods into five basic approaches, John W. Creswell defines ethnography as “both the way of examining a group that shares the same culture and the final, written product of a research” (Creswell, 2013; 90). Accordingly, the basic features of ethnography can be listed as follows: a complete description of all or part of a social group with a common culture, revealing all its complexity; involves examining the patterns of physical activity and social organization of the group through their observed behavior as well as what they express in language; having a basic theoretical basis on which description and explanation models will be based; the research data is obtained as a result of an extensive field study; finally, in the analysis of these data, the researcher, with an ethical approach, conveys the opinions of the participants as they mean and makes generalizations from there with a good synthesis (Creswell, 2013; 91-92).

Similarly, Atkinson and Hammersley (2007) describe ethnography as a research method in which the researcher tries to understand social issues by participating in people’s everyday lives for a long time, watching events, listening, asking questions and collecting documents. Then they state that the following five features constitute the basic nature of ethnographic studies: 1) Research is based on people’s actions and narratives in everyday life, not under conditions created by the researcher, as in experimental settings, etc.; 2) data are collected from a wide variety of sources, but participant observation and/or informal conversations are often the main sources; 3) the data collection phase is often “unstructured” because it is not based on following a fixed and detailed research design determined at the outset, and the categories used to interpret what people say or do

are not incorporated into the data collection process through the use of observation schedules or surveys; 4) the research focus is often small-scale because this is necessary to facilitate in-depth study; 5) analysis of data involves interpreting the meanings, functions, and consequences of human actions and institutional practices and examining how they are embedded in both micro and macro contexts. Therefore, the outputs of research are mostly descriptions, explanations, and theories (Atkinson and Hammersley; 2007 3). Types of ethnography are diverse, but the most popular are *realistic* ethnography, which is “an objective description of the situation, usually written from a third-person perspective, reporting objectively on information learned from participants in the field,” and *critical* ethnography, “in which the author advocates the liberation of groups excluded from society” (Creswell, 2013; 93).

In his *Methods of Discovery*, Andrew Abbott says that ethnography means “living in the social situation in which one works and being, to some extent, a participant in this situation” (Abbott, 2004; 15). Throughout the research, the ethnographer conducts her/his research by entering and leaving the field and the situation s/he studies, looking from inside and outside at the same time and continuing to improve his research with new questions (Abbott, 2004; 16). Ethnography, which dates to the work of Gerhard Friedrich Müller, who participated in the Second Kamchatka Expedition (1733-43) as a professor of history and geography, was brought to the field of contemporary anthropology with Malinowski’s studies and emerged primarily as a method used by the discipline of anthropology, and over time it became one of the important research methods of sociology.

An important turning point in the use of ethnographic methods in sociology occurred with the emergence of the Chicago School. Since the 1920s, sociologists working at the University of Chicago adopted the ethnographic method to examine urban life and social interactions on site. Important names such as Robert Park, Ernest Burgess, and Louis Wirth contributed to urban sociology with ethnographic studies using methods such as participant observation and in-depth interviews. Since the 1960s, the use of ethnographic methods in sociology has become widespread. Under the influence of postmodernist thought, the complexity and pluralism of social reality began to be emphasized. During this period, sociologists focus on ethnographic studies that focus on individuals’ experiences, meanings, and local contexts (Atkinson and Hammersley, 2007; 1-2). In recent years, critical approaches have come to the fore in ethnographic studies with the influence of critical sociology. These approaches use ethnographic methods to understand social injustices

and power relations.

Nowadays, the ethnographic method is used quite frequently in sociology. Ethnographic research is perfect for on-site observation of social events, in-depth understanding of social interactions, and analysis of local contexts. Ethnography is an important tool for understanding social phenomena and enriching social theories. In the ethnographic method, the act of explanation is semantic, and the function of the researcher is to translate the research object into an understandable language (Abbott, 2004; 30). The value of ethnographic methodology lies in the flexible process by which it is carried out, and in this respect, ethnography can be considered an “approach” as well as a research method. The ethnographic method is naturalistic; it works with society without trying to influence or control it. It adopts a style that emphasizes the complexity of culture while trying to understand human action by establishing emotional closeness with his political world. It is holistic; accepts that a social phenomenon can only be understood when seen as part of a “holistic” system and that the whole is always more than the sum of its parts (Bray, 2019; 360-64).

A typical ethnography makes its field understandable by providing abundant detail, showing the bifurcations in the subject, and determining where habits considered “weird” for the familiar social form fit into the everyday routine of the research field (Abbott, 2004; 31). Likewise, “through its emphasis on context and self-reflexivity, ethnography explains the researcher’s interpreted perspective” and offers the opportunity to understand and describe “the complex dynamics and intangibility of the human social world” (Bray, 2019; 378).

In this study, the ethnographic method was used to see the whole in its parts, to examine the differentiation of social practices through bifurcation, and to describe the complexity of consumption, leisure activities, socialization processes, and spatial practices in their natural functioning. However, in doing justice to the ethnographic method, this study is critical of itself and, like Becker, is concerned about what it leaves out. As Becker says, “Perhaps everything so difficult to uncover, let alone measure, is still there, at work, showing its effects” (Becker, 2014; 13) and the question “What might I have left out in my imagination about what I am studying?” (Becker, 2014; 14) is one of the vital questions that the researcher should ask himself in every social science research. Of course, this study will remain a very modest attempt compared to the “sociological novellas” (Wacquant, 2004; 8) of master ethnographers such as Loïc Wacquant, who enrolled in a gym with the intention of “using it as a ‘window’ into the ghetto to observe the social

strategies of the young men in the neighborhood” (Wacquant, 2004; 9) in Chicago, where he went with the invitation of sociologist William Julius Wilson to study the black American ghettos, then left it as a boxer proficient enough to participate in the Golden Gloves boxing competition, and capture a close bond with the object of research but turn it into perfect research without losing its objective subject. On the other hand, the biggest excuse for the shortcomings of this study is that it was prepared under current conditions that are not at all better than the French higher education system, which made Bourdieu, the person who played a major role in Wacquant’s achievement of this mastery, say “The French university, too absorbed in the literary fascinations of the intellectual sphere and attaching too much importance to journalistic pursuits and devotions, offers the researcher what the trans-Atlantic provides him with; it does not offer an autonomous and self-sufficient university space, especially with its tight networks of experts from different disciplines, with forms of scientific exchange that are both flexible and serious, with seminars and informal colloquiums” (Bourdieu, 2008; 30).

On the other hand, this study received support from different research methods and enriched the ethnographic method with the analysis tools of these other methods. Especially in the second chapter of the thesis, various methods were used depending on the variety of data and the explanation program used. In order to examine the data obtained as a result of in-depth interviews, participant observation and field research in the third chapter with an approach based on Bourdieu's sociology, it was necessary to consider the spatial change of Bağdat Avenue and the cultural change of Turkey after 1980 together in the second chapter. Accordingly, in this chapter, I benefited from socio-spatial analysis and historical sociology. In socio-spatial analysis, I constructed a historical narrative with an approach that tries to reveal how space interacts with social, economic and cultural dynamics, based on the assumption that space is not only a physical place but also a reflection of social relations and power dynamics. With this method, which I used to strengthen the basic method of the thesis, it was possible for me to associate the spatial change in Bağdat Avenue with the spatial change of Istanbul and macro-scale economic, social, cultural and even political developments. In the second part of the chapter, I touched upon the emergence of popular culture as a social phenomenon, its impact on spatial experience, and how Bağdat Avenue was perceived in memoirs, literature, cinema and social media. Here too, since I benefited from the narrative techniques of historical sociology, I applied a method close to historical sociology. As you will see in detail below, since both the sources I used and the way I explained were diversified, I also

resorted to tools such as text analysis techniques, which are generally used in the field of literature and cinema. Therefore, my method and technique choices in this section were based on eclectic and pragmatic preferences. In this sense, the main method I used in the main part of the thesis was ethnography, but I can say that I strengthened this method with various methods and techniques.

3.2 Data: Participant Observation, In-depth Interview, Archival Study, and Other Qualitative Data

In order to strengthen the claim of this study to establish a relationship between micro and macro, during the data collection phase, I not only collected in-depth interviews, participant observation and field research data, but also applied various sources such as archive scanning, films, literary texts, memoirs, and social media posts. A total of 20 hours, 59 minutes and 40 seconds of interview recordings obtained through 22 in-depth interviews and 396 pages of data obtained by transcribing these interviews in the Word application in Calibri, 12-point font, 1.5-line spacing format constitute the most concrete data source of this study. Interviews I have conducted in a semi-structured format; the participants were individuals from different genders and age groups, different education and professional groups, and different social classes, who had experience living, working, and/or socializing on the Bağdat Avenue in different periods. In this regard, when the interviewees were categorized in the light of descriptive information such as *age*, *gender*, *social class*, *lifestyle*, and *spatial experience*, the necessary diversity was provided to see the avenue from different perspectives. The differentiation criteria in the *social class* category were made as follows: University graduates and those working in “white-collar” jobs are “middle class”; those who engage in business and own property are the “upper middle class”; those who were currently working as workers or retired as workers were included in the “worker” group.

NUMBER	GENDER	CLASS	AGE	FIELD	LIFESTYLE
1	Male	UPM	61	AVE1	SEC
2	Male	M	63	AVE2	REL
3	Male	W	53	AVE1	SEC
4	Male	M	34	AVE3	NEWREL
7	Male	M	40	AVE1	SEC
8	Female	M	73	AVE1	SEC
10	Male	UPM	61	AVE1	SEC
11	Male	W	65	AVE3	REL
12	Female	M	37	AVE1	SEC
18	Female	UPM	66	AVE1, AVE2	REL

5	Male	M	53	AVE1	SEC
6	Male	M	33	AVE1	NEWREL
13	Male	M	24	AVE1, AVE2	NEWREL
14	Male	M	37	AVE3	SEC
15	Female	M	22	AVE1	NEWREL
16	Male	UPM	35	AVE1	NEWREL
17	Female	UPM	46	AVE1, AVE2	REL
19	Male	UPM	35	AVE1	REL
20	Male	M	37	AVE1	NEWREL
21	Female	M	32	AVE1	SEC
22	Male	M	53	AVE1	SEC

Table 2 Table Summarizing the Social Profiles of the Interviewees

Regarding lifestyle, the interviewees were divided into three groups: “secular”, “religious” and “new generation religious”. The classical distinction of sociology regarding being secular or religious was applied. Interviewees who had religious sensitivities or stated that they practiced any religious practice were defined as “religious”, while interviewees who stated that they were more flexible regarding religion and practiced non-religious practices, such as drinking alcohol, were defined as secular. Interviewees who did not fit neatly into the “religious” category, who stated that they were relatively more flexible in their approach to religion but did not practice secular practices, were included in a group titled “new generation religious”. It was the flexibility in their approach to non-religious practices that led to the need to differentiate this group from the classically religious group. For example, one interviewee explained his understanding of religiosity through the use of places where alcohol is served and the practice of making friends with individuals who use alcohol:

...I am a religious person in my own life. The meaning of the word conservative can be used differently because I don't know if I am a person whose ideas do not change, but I adapt to environments. I mean, I spent most of my childhood in Izmir, naturally Izmir and Kadıköy are similar profiles. I have never consumed alcohol myself; I am 34 years old, but I was a person, a youth, who drove the car on the way back from all my friends' events because they had drunk alcohol, who stopped by their side to make sure nothing happened to them when they were drunk at work and delivered them to their homes, etc. In terms of my life, yes, I live a religious life in my sense, but I am not a person who is detached from those people. I am not a person who is detached

from that life and that culture.⁶

The questions prepared in advance during the interviews aimed to understand where the experience of living/working/socializing on Bağdat Avenue stands in the interviewee's life story, lifestyle, and thoughts. In the personalized questions based on common questions (*See Appendix-2*), an attempt was made to determine the chronological course of the interviewee's spatial experience and her/his impressions of spatial change. During the interviews, where the interviewees were informed that they were audio-recorded, at the locations they desired, the interviewee's body language, some of the gestures he showed while speaking, and her/his attitudes before and after the recording were noted.

In the thesis, this important data source is accompanied by a second 100-page data set obtained from field visits and participant observations made between Monday, December 16, 2022, and Monday, March 11, 2024, which became more frequent and less frequent in some periods. In this phase, which constitutes the most colorful phase of the study, in addition to taking records to concretize the physical identity of Bağdat Avenue, long observations were made by spending time at different points of the avenue. Observations were made on the avenues, cafes, bookstores, and stores on what kind of social practices at different times, and individuals created the social environment on the avenue for the participatory observation and field visit schedule and the list of visited places).

In addition, a third data pool came from archival research, including many open sources such as Taha Toros Archive, SALT Research Archive, Gertrude Bell Archive, Nicholas V. Artamanoff Collection, ETH Library, *Arkitekt* magazine, Turkish Cinema Research (TSA) database, as well as personal memoirs those directly on Bağdat Avenue or referring to Bağdat

⁶ Therefore, I thought that religious interviewees who made these and similar statements or insinuations should be evaluated in a category other than the "religious" and "secular" categories. Since this distinction would also be important in the analysis section, I examined the literature a little bit to establish it on the sociology of religion. First, I came across the topic "The sociology of new religious movements", but since this title deals with different and new religiousness, I did not come across an expression that defines the group I am talking about. "New generation religious" was not directly included in the studies as a concept or category, but it was the subject of surveys and research on the religious understanding and religiosity of Generation Z. Therefore, it would be appropriate to open such a third category in this study. Ultimately, I decided on this categorization so as not to distract from the topic. However, those who are interested should apply to Tınaz 2005 to examine the role of religious organizations in the sociology of religion together with new religious movements, to Nişancı 2022 for a critical and comparative examination of the basic assumptions of the two most prominent secularization theories, to Nişancı and Aysan 2019 for a statistical study on religiosity levels according to sociodemographic and sociocultural indicators in Turkey, and they can look at the Faith and Religiosity in Turkey report, which contains up-to-date data on the phenomenon of faith and religiosity in Turkey.

Avenue, various current texts that have a form between memoirs and novels, web research on current news and social media monitoring, accompanies these two sources. Taha Toros Archive, which was opened to digital access by Istanbul Şehir University in 2018, consists of archive documents collected by historian-writer Taha Toros. Of the 54,124 items in the archive, 33,574 (approximately 60 percent) are newspaper clippings. The archive also includes private collections of important names and institutions in terms of our cultural history.⁷ Salt Research archives focus primarily on Turkey, the Eastern Mediterranean, and Eastern Europe, encompassing visual and textual sources that document the transformation of society, geography, art, and design from the last century of the Ottoman Empire to present-day Turkey.⁸ The Gertrude Bell Archive, consisting of her letters, diaries, photographs, reports, maps, and writings, documents Bell's archaeological and political work in Turkey and the Middle East.⁹ Similarly, The Nicholas V. Artamanoff Collection, comprising his photographs, letters, and personal documents, captures Artamanoff's work and experiences in Turkey and the broader Eastern Mediterranean region.¹⁰ The ETH Library Archive, containing a vast collection of documents, manuscripts, photographs, and scientific records, chronicles the academic and research history of ETH Zurich, including significant contributions to studies related to Turkey and the broader region.¹¹ *Arkhitekt* magazine, featuring articles, photographs, and architectural drawings, documents the evolution of architecture and urban design in Turkey and the surrounding regions during its publication period from 1931 to 1980.¹² Turkish Cinema Research (TSA), established in 2013, includes films, archival materials, and scholarly articles that explore the development and impact of Turkish cinema from its early days to contemporary times.¹³

⁷ See. <https://www.marmara.edu.tr/news/marmara-universitesi-kutuphanesi-acik-erisim-sistemi-yenilendi>

⁸ See. <https://archives.saltresearch.org/?locale=en>

⁹ See. <https://gertrudebell.ncl.ac.uk/>

¹⁰ See. <http://images.doaks.org/artamonoff/>

¹¹ See. <https://library.ethz.ch/en/archiving-and-digitising/archiving/eth-zurich-university-archives.html>

¹² See. <http://dergi.mo.org.tr/detail.php?id=2>

¹³ See. <https://www.tsa.org.tr/en/>

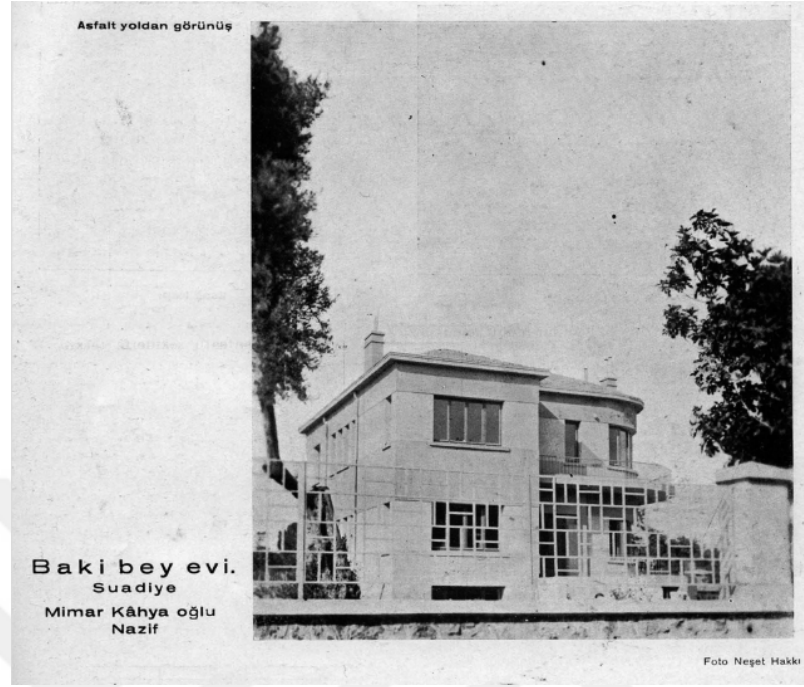


Image 1 An example of the images used in building analysis in *Arkhitekt* magazine

Of course, it was not possible to use the entire archive scan within the scope of the study. However, examining in which sources and in what way Bağdat Avenue is mentioned can be seen as data in itself, and this is mentioned from time to time in the text. For example, in the Taha Toros Archive, some clippings commemorated the spatial change of the avenue with nostalgic longing, problematized the lack of preservation of historical places, and introduced cafes and restaurants on the avenue, as well as news about Istanbul's entertainment culture, including different venues. From this news, it was possible to obtain some nuances about the reception of the avenue at different times and to refer to them in the interviews. In the SALT Archive, there was not much data directly related to Bağdat Avenue, but some small data could be obtained from scans about Kadıköy and the districts along the avenue. Additionally, there were drawings and photographs of some of the civil architecture buildings on the avenue. Some of these were used to explain the topic of spatial change. *Arkhitekt* magazine also had architectural drawings and photographs of some of the buildings on the avenue in the past. From these texts, it was possible to get some clues about what criteria were observed in the different styles of buildings built on the avenue in the past, and some of them were also occasionally referenced when talking about spatial change. Although no direct reference was given, these investigations were effective in making sense of the spatial development of the avenue through more concrete data.

Unfortunately, there was no data about the avenue in sources such as the Gertrude Bell Archive, Nicholas V. Artamanoff Collection, and ETH Library. However, it was possible to identify various structures on the avenue in some films in the Turkish Cinema Research (TSA) database. For example, in the image on the left, in the upper frame, a scene from the movie *Özleyiş* (1961), the garden and stairs of the Ragıp Pasha Mansion, which is still on the Caddebostan coast, can be seen. When compared to the photo below taken in October 2023. The effect of the coastal embankment, which was started to construct in 1984, on the spatial change in the area can be observed concretely.



Image 2 Garden and stairs of Ragıp Pasha Mansion above, in a frame from the movie *Özleyiş* (1961); and below, in a current photo taken by the author

Data obtained from cinema and literary texts on Bağdat Avenue such as *Cadde Çocuğu*, *Ford Mach I* and *Rüzgarda Salınan Nilüfer* or partially mention the avenue or middle class in Turkey such as *Kadıköyü'nün Romanı*, *Çoğunluk* also helped draw a meaningful framework for how the avenue was associated with middle class. In Bourdieu's sociology, how an individual perceives a cultural product is directly related to his habitus. The elements that were and were not included in literature and cinema about Bağdat Avenue, alternative approaches to the avenue,

helped to understand how the avenue was viewed by intellectual circles, and what kind of relationships were established between the middle class and Bağdat Avenue by writers and filmmakers, who were mostly middle class and white-collar themselves. The data obtained from personal memoirs, usually written by people over a certain age or even dead, mainly reflected nostalgic interest in the old days of the avenue. The parts of these texts related to Bağdat Avenue were identified and used to question the interview data according to the period in which they were written and the subject and to pursue various questions about spatial development. For example, Nedim Erağan, in his memoirs written in 1994 and focusing on Istanbul's trams in the 1930s, emphasized that the city and Kadıköy lost their beauty as the old trams were taken out of circulation and stated the following:

I look at the years we have come to, and today. Today's life forces me to accept my rightness.

During my childhood and youth, there were no minibus paradise neighborhoods in Istanbul and Kadıköy. There were no people drinking whiskey with *lahmacun*. There were no houses where arabesque songs were listened to, whether painful or painless. There were no kebab shops or steak restaurants on its avenues. There was beauty and decency. And what else do I want to say? I want to go to a square and shout to those old Istanbulites: Where are you? Those beautiful people, what happened to you? Are you dead? Did you stay? Or have you stopped leaving your homes?

Where are you? It was in its place in the peasant village for all these years. Or did the ground move? (Erağan, 1998; 12)

When comparing the past and present of the avenue, as in this quote, complaints about crowding, the brutal destruction of past space elements, and some practices seen as cultural corruption were frequently enough to form a pattern in different data sources. In this study, the reinforcement of such patterns with different sources made it possible to make meaningful determinations in content and discourse analysis.

Part of the material of the detailed qualitative data research consisted of various texts that could be considered secondary data in some respects and sources in others. There was an important emphasis, especially in texts that had a form between a memoir and a novel or that gave the impression of an autobiographical novel, that the spatial change of the avenue after 1980 was

associated with globalization and the country's adoption of neoliberal policies after the coup. Considering that the writers of these current texts are well-educated avenue residents, it can be said that they are an important comparative element in analyzing the data obtained as a result of interviews and participant observations (See Appendix-3 for the list of texts in the form of memoirs, novels, etc.).

Within the scope of the research, 447 materials were obtained as a result of social media monitoring and scanning. Since these materials contain various observations about the avenue by social media users who have experience of living/working/socializing on the avenue, they not only help to capture important clues in comparison with other qualitative data but also serve as a function of pointing out various determinations about the perception of the avenue today. Additionally, in order to prevent the obtained data from reproducing *doxa*, statistical data is used when it is needed obtained from TUIK (Turkish Statistical Institute) and Endeksa, and 2160 original images obtained during participant observation and field research were used throughout the research as appropriate.

3.3 Analysis: Direct Interpretation

In this thesis, directed interpretation was mainly used to make it possible to evaluate the obtained data with a relational approach, through cross-readings and comparisons. As I mentioned above, according to Abbot, there is no single way to categorize methods in social sciences, and different questions asked for categorization can create alternative categorizations:

If we categorize by type of data gathering, there are four basic social science methods:

1. *ethnography*: gathering data by personal interaction
2. *surveys*: gathering data by submitting questionnaires to respondents or formally interviewing them
3. *record-based analysis*: gathering data from formal organizational records (censuses, accounts, publications, and so on)
4. *history*: using old records, surveys, and even ethnographies

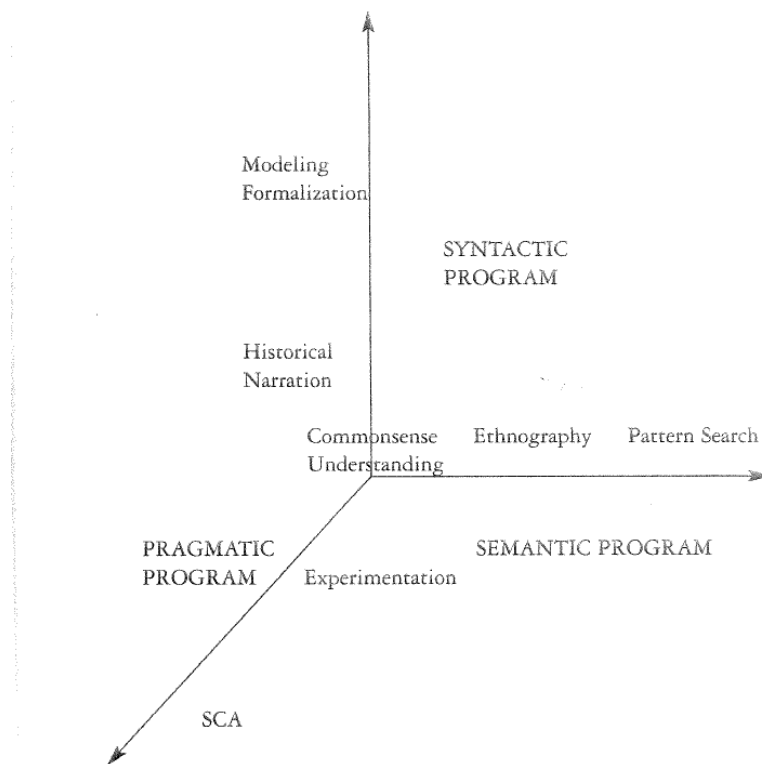
If, by contrast we begin with how one analyzes data, we might have three methods:

1. *direct interpretation*: analysis by an individual's reflection and synthesis (for example, narration)
2. *quantitative analysis*: analysis using one of the standard methods of statistics to reason about causes
3. *formal modelling*: analysis by creating a formal system mimicking the world and then using it to simulate reality

If we begin with how one poses a question, we might note the important issue of how many cases we consider. This would give us three kinds of methods:

1. *case-study analysis*: studying a unique example in great detail
2. *small-N analysis*: seeking similarities and contrasts in a small number of cases
3. *large-N analysis*: emphasizing generalizability by studying large numbers of cases, usually randomly selected (Abbott, 2004; 13-14)

According to Abbott, these three different classification systems can be used separately or in various combinations. As a matter of fact, there are these hybrid combinations in many categorizations created for basic methods in social sciences (Abbott, 2004; 15). Therefore, it is possible to design a study with various combinations in terms of research method and analysis technique, and this is largely at the initiative of the researcher.



Graphic 5 Abbott's graphic on explanatory programs (Abbott, 2004; 29)

On the other hand, when choosing one of these methods over the other, it is important to consider that different methods envisage different types of explanation. These three types of explanations used in social sciences are *syntactic*, *semantic* and *pragmatic*. Abbot illustrates these

three explanations in three dimensions in the figure below. The origin of each of these dimensions corresponds to explanations that focus on everyday details, common-sense events. In this way, every explanatory program is rooted in everyday life and extends towards abstraction with “universalizing” moves:

The *syntactic* program explains the social world by more and more abstractly modeling its particular action and interrelationships. The *semantic* program explains the world of social particulars by assimilating it to more and more general patterns, searching for regularities over time or across social space. Finally, the purely *pragmatic* tries to separate more and more clearly the effects of different potential interventions or causes from one another. (Abbott, 2004; 28).

Therefore, as the figure shows, two methods starting from the same point can differ and diverge from each other depending on the explanation program they adopt. In this respect, the research method the researcher chooses, as well as the program she will use to explain the findings of her research, have a determining role in the analysis technique she will use. Accordingly, in this study, I used syntactic and semantic explanation programs together, and as I mentioned above, I applied spatial analysis, historical sociology and ethnography methods. For this reason, instead of sticking to a single analysis technique, I preferred the analysis technique that was suitable for the data and method of each section.

As Abbott mentioned in the passage I quoted above, what we base our decisions on method and technique may change. In the first part of the study, I used the historical narration technique while performing spatial analysis, taking into account the data I had and how I could best explain it. I compiled all the materials, large and small, that I found regarding the spatial development of Bağdat Avenue into a historical integrity. I brought together many sources like pieces of a puzzle, from theses written in the field of architecture to memoirs about old Istanbul, Istanbul encyclopedias and newspaper archives, and built a chronological narrative. What I paid attention to at this point was to use the data I obtained through a critical filter and to present a simple framework as much as it was possible. Because I planned the first two chapters after the introduction chapter as a basis for my analysis in the third chapter. The important thing was that the reader could have a preliminary reading on the basis of the evaluations I will make in the third chapter. Because, as I mentioned in the literature section, there were no comprehensive contemporary studies on the spatial development of Bağdat Avenue. Studies that touched on spatial

change in a limited way did not combine this change with social analysis. Those who will read the third part of this work would need this kind of framework.

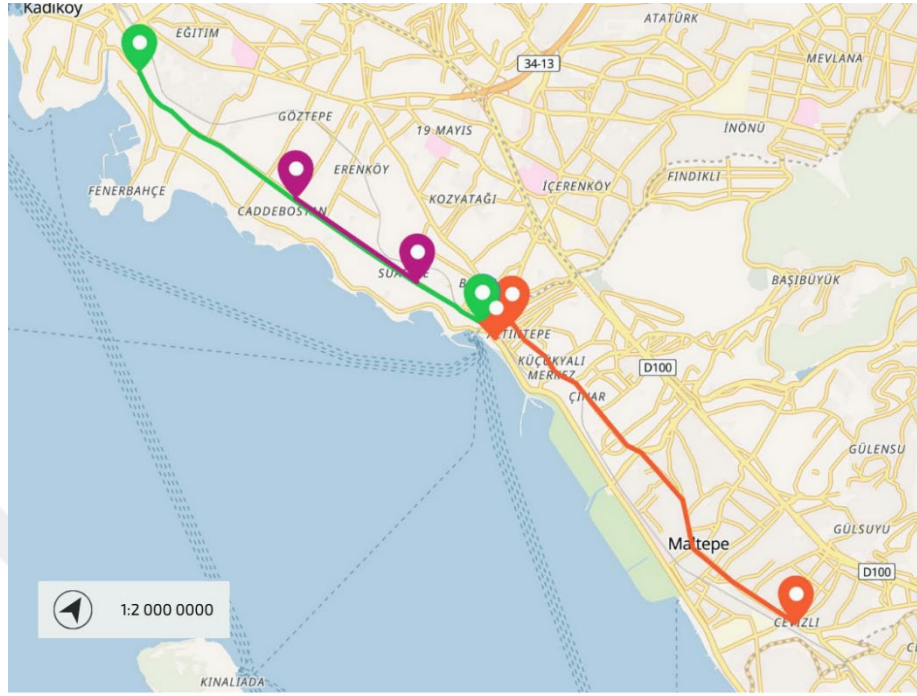
In order for the study to become holistic and for the spatial change to be in a sociologically meaningful place, it had to be combined with a sociocultural analysis. In the second part of my second chapter, I tried to do just that and continued to use the historical narration technique. However, the efficiency here was different compared to the previous part and I had to add different techniques. While I tried to stick to a chronological structure like the first part, I also tried to strengthen the sociocultural dimension of the narrative by making various thematic emphasis. In this sense, I analyzed how Bağdat Avenue was received in memoirs, literature, cinema and social media. While I tried to stick to a chronological structure like the first part, I also tried to strengthen the sociocultural dimension of the narrative by making various thematic emphasis. In this sense, I analyzed how Bağdat Avenue was received in memoirs, literature, cinema and social media. Therefore, I had to subject all of these sources to text analysis and interpret them. In order to include the results, I obtained in the narrative, I built contexts that would relate the outputs of each field to each other. I tried to establish these contexts through macro narratives that left their mark on the change of politics, society and culture in Turkey.

After completing this section with the methods and techniques I mentioned, I mainly used the data I obtained through in-depth interviews, field research and participant observation in the third section. After completing this section with the methods and techniques I mentioned, I mainly used the data I obtained through in-depth interviews, field research and participant observation in the third section. In this section, which I see as the main part of the thesis, I constructed a narrative in accordance with the explanation program of ethnography, which is the basic method of the thesis. I used the direct interpretation technique to construct this narrative. Since direct interpretation is based on "an individual's reflection and synthesis" (Abbott, 2014; 13), as stated by Abbott, it does not have a specific definition. It is a technique shaped partly by emulation of similar studies and partly by the researcher's current analysis experience. I followed this path: First, I transcribed the interviews I conducted around my research question and aimed to become familiar with the data by reading all the transcribed texts together with my field research and participant observation notes. While I was trying to get to know the data, I also took note of the important themes and patterns that emerged in the data. Then, I revisited the texts, placing these themes and patterns side by side, and tried to understand how they related to the data I used in the other chapters. I then

attempted to analyze and interpret these themes in the context of the thesis' research question. Direct interpretation was a technique that required some flexibility, and I showed this flexibility as much as possible. However, before moving on to the conclusion of the thesis, I wanted to summarize the data again and concretize it with various visualizations. Therefore, I went a little beyond the limits of direct interpretation in this section. Even though I emulated Mitchell Duneier's style in this sense, I applied a research technique that I developed in accordance with the intricacies of the subject and research question I was dealing with.

3.4 Notes on Scope, Limits, and Writing

The most difficult aspect of conducting socio-cognitive critical discourse analysis on Bağdat Avenue was to deepen the relationship between the interviewees' subjectification processes and the discourse they produced. For this purpose, in addition to carefully examining every sentence made by the interviewees and comparing them with other qualitative data, it was necessary to make various comparisons with various quantitative data. Due to the limited quantitative data regarding Bağdat Avenue, I cannot say that I could achieve the depth I desired on this subject. In this respect, I believe that this study will pave the way for various quantitative studies. The second difficulty in the analysis process was the inability to find sufficiently comprehensive studies on the upper and upper-middle classes in Turkey, which are identified with the Bağdat Avenue social environment. I tried to overcome this difficulty by creating class diversity among the interviewees and cross-reading. In other words, I was able to look at both the avenue and this class identified with the avenue from different perspectives by interviewing people from upper and upper-middle-class groups identified with Bağdat Avenue, as well as people whose economic capital is similar to this group, but whose social and/or symbolic capital is different, or vice versa.



- The main part of the official borders of Bağdat Avenue within the borders of Kadıköy Municipality
- The part of Bağdat Avenue extending to the minibus route
- Popular part of Bağdat Avenue called "Cadde"

Map 1 Map showing the different boundaries of Bağdat Avenue

Another issue that constituted a fundamental problem in determining the scope of the thesis as well as in the analysis process was where the boundaries of Bağdat Avenue begin and end. Today, Bağdat Avenue officially starts from Kızıltoprak and ends in Cevizli. However, the part of this 14 km line that goes from Bostancı to Cevizli is also known as the “Minibus Street”. Minibus Street runs as a separate unit from Bağdat Avenue in the direction from Bostancı to Kızıltoprak. Therefore, when we say Bağdat Avenue, we mean the approximately 6-7 km section between Kızıltoprak and Bostancı. In addition, when “Cadde” is used with capital letters or when expressions such as “hanging out on the Avenue”, or “going shopping on the Avenue” are used, what is meant is an approximately 4-4,5 km section of Bağdat Avenue, corresponding to the Şaşkınbakkal, Suadiye and Caddebostan districts, where stores and shops are dense. In this study, I chose to examine the wide version of the avenue spreading between Kızıltoprak and Bostancı. However, I led the analysis phase by seeing the part that meets the “Avenue” as the heart of Bağdat Avenue, as in the established perception. Thus, it was possible to evaluate the “Avenue” and its

surroundings as a whole.

Finally, I would like to make a note about what kind of fiction and language I adopted during the writing phase of the thesis. The most difficult and most enjoyable part of conducting a qualitative analysis is the writing phase. In every ethnography I read during my doctoral education, thanks to the precise guidance of my esteemed professors, I aspired to capture such a taste in my thesis, as I was exposed to the texts I enjoyed while reading, rather than just broadening my horizons in social sciences. I can give many examples of such studies, from Hochschild's book that I mentioned above to *Taxi Dance Hall*, one of the classics of the Chicago School, to Mitchell Duneier's *Sidewalk*, Matthew Desmond's *Evicted*, and Wacquant's *Body and Soul*. I especially benefited greatly from Esra Özyürek's study *Nostalgia for the Modern: State Secularism and Everyday Politics in Turkey* and Yael Navaro-Yashin's study *Faces of the State: Secularism and Public Life in Turkey*. In this sense, I wanted to present the information I obtained and the analyses I made to the reader with a certain reading taste. Let's close by remembering what Abbott said about *Chaos of the Disciplines*: "Writing this book reminded me of important things that I often forget (and will undoubtedly forget again)." This thesis did something similar to its author: it led her into many of the same mistakes into which she has often fallen (and will doubtless fall again). These errors will not go unnoticed by meticulous readers.

4. Outline: Organization of the Work

This work opens with a simple prologue. After this short prologue explaining how Arlie Hochschild inspired this thesis regarding the method and approach, there is an introductory chapter that touches upon issues such as the purpose of the study, starting point, research method, literature from which it will be used and will be included, theoretical foundations, nature of the research material, analysis process, scope, boundaries, etc.

In the second chapter, under the title *Spatial Transformation of Bağdat Avenue in the Context of Socioeconomic and Sociocultural Change in Turkey*, the sociospatial development of Bağdat Avenue is examined within the broader context of Istanbul and Turkey. The chronological course of the spatial development of Bağdat Avenue, which has a unique story in terms of urban planning and urbanization; it became a popular place as an Ottoman summer resort in the second half of the 19th century; how it turned into an urban space over time, after maintaining this feature for many years and preserving its feature of being an elite area in the early Republic period; and

how this transformation accelerated after the 1970s is discussed from various aspects. The change of the avenue after 1980 is examined in a way that makes sense of the emergence of popular culture in Turkey and how Bağdat Avenue is positioned within this culture. Therefore, this section seeks answers to the following questions: How does spatial change in the physical sense affect the social environment of any place? What is the relationship between the physical change of the place and the sociocultural change of the society? How are sociocultural and sociospatial change affected by macro changes?

In the third chapter, *Living, Consuming, and Socializing in Bağdat Avenue*, it is discussed what the experiences of living, working, and/or socializing on Bağdat Avenue today mean in terms of consumption, leisure activities, socialization processes, and spatial practices. In light of the analysis in the previous section, Answers to the following questions are sought regarding the spatial experience on Bağdat Avenue: How does the social environment of a place affect the experience of living, working and socializing in that place? How does the experience of living, working and socializing in a place affect the habitus of socioeconomically and socioculturally different individuals? In this context, it is examined how spatial experience on Bağdat Avenue affects the habitus of interviewees with different socioeconomic and sociocultural positions.

In the conclusion, all these discussions are summarized, the core of the study is revealed, and the framework of the Bağdat Avenue social environment is drawn with its changing and unchanging aspects from past to present.

II. SPATIAL TRANSFORMATION OF BAĞDAT AVENUE IN THE CONTEXT OF SOCIOECONOMIC AND SOCIOCULTURAL CHANGE IN TURKEY

The present appearance of Yeşilyurt and Bağdat Avenue is all his work. He regarded parks as the respiratory organs of the city and would not let a single nail be driven into a green area. As a matter of fact, despite some administrative interventions and pressures during his work, he did not deviate from his views and left his post with an assertive letter of resignation bearing the note ‘I am ashamed to work in an institution where personal interests are in popular’ (Güleryüz, 2010).

These words describe Aron Angel, a master architect who passed away in 2010. Angel, born and raised in Istanbul, went to France to study on the advice of Henri Prost, a famous urban planner whom he met by chance and graduated from the Institut d’Urbanisme and Ecole Spéciale d’Architecture de Paris at the same time. In 1942, he returned to Istanbul to attend the Academy of Fine Arts and became a graduate architect. When he meets Henri Prost, who is in Istanbul at the time, he starts working as his assistant. They work together on the zoning plans of Bursa, Yalova, and the Istanbul Master Plan. In 1952, Prost’s contract expired, and he decided to return to France. Upon this, Lütü Kırda, the Governor and Mayor of Istanbul, offers Angel the position of Chief Consultant to the Istanbul Master Plan Bureau, and he begins to work in this position (Güleryüz, 2010).



Image 3 A photo taken on the groundbreaking day of Lütü Kırda Sports and Exhibition Center. The second person from the left is Aron Angel. In the middle is Lütü Kırda, the Governor and Mayor of the city at that time, and on his left is Henri Prost.

The documentary *İstanbul Hayali* (Istanbul Dream), which tells the story of Angel's life and professional experience through the testimonies of his family members and friends, attracted considerable attention when it was screened in Gezi Park during the Gezi protests. The documentary, which also includes comments by urban planning experts such as İlhan Tekeli, Cana Bilsel, and Tarık Şengül on Istanbul's urbanization process, mentions Angel's wish to apply the green, spacious, people-oriented design he realized on Bağdat Avenue to the entire city. However, Angel, who was always opposed to the arbitrary use of places allocated for public use and was therefore known as "Mr. Obstacle", could not realize this dream. In 1953, when he realized that he could not prevent the construction of the Hilton Hotel in the middle of Gezi Park (Park No. 2), which stretched from Taksim to Dolmabahçe, he resigned from his post and started freelancing (Örnek, 2021). Today, Bağdat Avenue is still one of the most livable areas of Istanbul and continues to benefit from the various advantages of Angel's design, but it is far from the ideals for which Angel resigned, especially due to the drastic changes it witnessed during the 2000s.

This chapter, which discusses the spatial development of the avenue, provides a framework for the relationship between spatial development and sociocultural change by trying to explain how the ideal of a livable urban space, which Angel (and many other distinguished architects) wanted to extend to the whole of Istanbul, affected the spatial experience on Bağdat Avenue, how the spatial experience on Bağdat Avenue began to change with the sociocultural change in Turkey, especially after 1980, and what the prominent elements/characteristics of the spatial experience on the avenue were in the 2000s. In addition, it evaluates the effects of the changing perception of space with the emergence of popular culture in Turkey after 1980 on Istanbul and Bağdat Avenue through memoirs, novels, films, various archive documents and social media posts. Thus, it enables individual experiences to be considered together with macro-scale socio-spatial and socio-cultural change, which will be discussed in the next section, where the data obtained through in-depth interviews, participant observation and field investigation will be evaluated.

1. Spatial Transformation and Planning on Bağdat Avenue Until the 1980s

As I have mentioned earlier, Bağdat Avenue was the road used by *kervans*¹⁴ to go to Bağdat during the Ottoman period and it was named with this feature. When the route of the avenue, which

¹⁴ According to the Turkish Language Association (TDK), the definition of *kervan* is as follows: A pack animal train that carries passengers and trade goods to distant places. See. <https://sozluk.gov.tr/>

was called “Bağdat Road” until the Republican period, and the range points on it are followed, it is seen that this road connected the capital to Anatolia and the eastern and southeastern provinces of the empire during the Ottoman period, and that it is a very old road dating back to the Byzantine period (Karakaya, 2012; 89). According to the 1776 Kauffer Map, the Bağdat Road is the road that continues towards Bostancı in the direction of Kızıltoprak from the two main roads to the east of Kadıköy. In this period, the spatial transformation process of Bağdat Road, which extends to the present day, would witness an important turning point as Kadıköy, which was still a quiet village in this period, started to mobilize in the second half of the 19th century. As an extension of Istanbul’s modernization process, Kadıköy would first transform into a popular resort settlement and then into a significant urban space.

With the start of ferry services (1850), the construction of the Haydarpaşa-İzmit railway line (1873), the Kuzguncuk fire (1865), and the Crimean War (1853-56), its population would rapidly increase, its everyday life would become quite lively, and its spatial development would gain momentum. During this vibrant period, while Levantines, foreign merchants, and diplomats concentrated in Moda, the neighborhoods of Kızıltoprak, Göztepe, Feneryolu, Erenköy, Caddebostan, Suadiye, located on the railroad route running parallel to the Bağdat Road, would attract the attention of Ottoman elites and bureaucrats. During this period, many pashas, who belonged to the high-status group of the society, turned the area into a decent countryside with the mansions they built on the large lands on this route. Among them were Ahmet Zühtü Pasha, Cemil (Topuzlu) Pasha, Gazi Ahmet Muhtar Pasha, Rıdvan Pasha, Deli Fuat Pasha, and many other prominent names of the period (Yılmaz, 2017; 1021-7). These names even gave their names to the areas they lived in, and as can be seen in the example of the Zühtüpaşa Neighborhood, the area they still live in is known by their names.

1. 1. Appearance and Components of the Avenue at the Turn of the Century

The mobility, which has been intensifying for half a century since the beginning of the 20th century, has become more evident at the spatial and sociocultural level. While neighborhoods of Kadıköy such as Mühürdar, Haydarpaşa, Rasimpaşa (Yeldeğirmeni), and İbrahimağa became a socializing place frequented by everyday commuters, today’s Moda, Fenerbahçe, Kalamış, Caddebostan and Suadiye became a popular summer resort. Bağdat Road became a quiet countryside with little construction except for mansions built in large groves and similar green

areas. Accordingly, each neighborhood undergoes a unique process of change. For example, Kızıltoprak, famous for its vineyards and gardens since the Byzantine period, became famous to produce red-colored bricks around 1782. It became a neighborhood after 1839 and was known as the Zühtüpaşa Neighborhood after Zühtü Paşa, Abdülhamid II's Minister of Education, built a mosque and a primary school here in 1882 (Teoman, 1969; 16-17). When the construction of the Haydarpaşa-İzmit railroad began, the name of Eren Baba, whose grave is located in Tunuslu Tarla, was given first to the station and then to the neighborhood due to the extension of the railroad from the Tellikavak section to Bostancı (Teoman, 1969; 9). It was also during the construction of the railroad that the name Bostancı Neighborhood was registered (Teoman, 1969; 15). Caddebostan, which expanded after 1750 with field sales towards the bay on its shore, was named Cadı Bostanı on the map of Istanbul commissioned by Mahmut II to Monsieur Barbie in 1819. Although the area was called by this name because it was an orchard and, in this state, it looked dangerous and frightening, the face of this area changed over time with the mobilization that started during the reign of Abdülhamid II (Teoman, 1969; 20). Göztepe, which had advanced in animal husbandry to meet some of Istanbul's need for milk, cheese, and oil, also became more popular after the opening of the railway line; after a while, it too gained the status of a neighborhood (Teoman, 1969; 23).

Sermet Muhtar Alus describes the history of the avenue in the 1940s as follows:

Those who know it know what kind of avenue it was. Hunchbacked, dust, smoke, mud, swamp... Today's various, cubic, baklava room, and chickpea sofa mansions are located in the countryside, fields, and mountainsides. (...) In front of Selamiçeşme, there are a lot of people who go *karmanyola*¹⁵ after Isha [prayer]... (...)

Fat Yanko Ananyadi, a draper, lives on the left after passing the fountain. On the shores of Çiftehavuzlar, there was a fish boat of its own, and two Greeks on salaries used to carry rare fish such as red mullet, coral, halibut, lobsters, and pavurianas to the soup kitchen every day. (Alus, 2019; 244-245)

Eser Tutel mentions that on the land side of the Selamiçeşme quad crossing, there was a railroad bridge built with massive stones that survived until the 2000s. Built by the Germans who built the

¹⁵ According to the Turkish Language Association (TDK), the definition of *karmanyola* is as follows: Robbery committed by threatening death on deserted roads in the city. See. <https://sozluk.gov.tr/>

railroad in the 1870s, this bridge was demolished and replaced by a new, impractical bridge when the author was writing his memoir (Tutel, 2000; 24). Refik Halid also says that Çiftehavuzlar was so named because of the two pools in the garden of the country casino, which was an important socializing place when the popular mansions that would later become synonymous with the neighborhood had not yet been built (250). Alus refers to these pools as “the larger one was filled with red fish and the evening people were around it” (Alus, 2019; 245). According to Ekdal, Çiftehavuzlar has changed so much over time that even those who know the old version have difficulty recognizing it (Ekdal, 1996; 392). However, in the early 1900s, Cemil Topuzlu’s famous mansion added so much color to the area that Alus mentions the owner of the mansion as “what entertainments and garden parties he gave there for the doctors of Istanbul” and notes that “let the ears of our great operator ring, he had the gas lanterns in front of his mansion and on the opposite side of the road swept and the place was sparkling” (Alus, 2019; 245). The countryside casino mentioned by Refik Halid is also frequented by “polite men” returning from Fenerbahçe, especially on Wednesdays, Fridays, and Sundays (Tutel, 2000; 26). While this place survived in the 1930s despite its neglect, it would soon be parceled out along with the garden of the Cemil Topuzlu Mansion and opened for construction. Another important building in the neighborhood, Hacı Bekir Mansion, was first rented to the Büyük Club in the 1930s and then transferred to the Büyük Club, thus surviving until the present day (Ekdal, 1996; 392-93).

The part of the avenue after Çiftehavuzlar, excluding places such as the beach, tea gardens, and casinos on the shore, was known for the mansions built by the notables of the period. In Göztepe, there were the lands of Tütüncü Mehmet Efendi, who gave his name to the big avenue that today runs perpendicular to Bağdat Avenue and is the center of the area. Mehmet Efendi bought a large part of Göztepe and had a mosque built here in 1899. The mansion of Osman Pasha, a veteran of the Ottoman-Greek war who was known as Camgöz Osman Pasha because of the glass prosthesis he had installed to replace the eye he lost in the Ottoman-Greek war, the Abidin Pasha Mansion built by Sermet Muhtar Alus’ family, the mansion of Gazi Osman Pasha, known for his defense of Plevne, the mansion of Osman Pasha II. Abdülhamid II’s chamberlain Zülüflü İsmail Pasha’s mansion named after him, the mansion of artillery general Ömer Faik Pasha, one of Sultan Reşad’s aides, Tütüncü Mehmet Efendi Hamam, which gave its name to Hamam Avenue, and Yani’nin Gazinosu next to the station are important buildings that constituted the physical face of the area in that period (Kütükçü, 2014; 184-90).

From the 19th century onwards, Erenköy became an elite neighborhood where high civil servants and wealthy families settled, and it became a popular neighborhood for the Ottoman elite with its mansions and mansions with gardens, large vineyards, and gardens. Among these magnificent mansions, which were mostly painted white by the fashion of the period, the mansion of Cemile Sultan, sister of Abdülhamid II, the mansion of Zihni Pasha, Minister of Commerce, the mansion of Kabasakal Mehmed Pasha, the mansion of Memduh Pasha, Minister of Internal Affairs, the mansion of Mehmed Ali Pasha, a building known as the mansion of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha and the famous Giraffe Mansion built by Münif Tahir Pasha stood out. Erenköy was also famous for the “pembeçavuş” and “alpehlivan” grapes grown in its vineyards (Hür, 1994; 178). As Reşad Ekrem Koçu describes it, Erenköy was once located on the outskirts of the city “with its landscape composed of orchards, vineyards and vineyard houses”, but during the reigns of Sultan Abdülâziz and II. During the reigns of Sultan Abdülhamid II and Abdülhamid II, it “joined the densely populated residential area as a resort favored by state officials and dignitaries”; these beautiful wooden mansions surrounded by large vineyards and gardens “had wells dug in their gardens, and since motorized water pumps were not yet available, large propellers and wind turbines were placed in the wells dug in the gardens, on neat towers made of iron rods, in harmony with the architectural elegance of the mansions” (Koçu, 1968; 5161). Erenköy Inas Numune School, one of the oldest girls’ schools in Istanbul, opened in 1911, and the Zihni Paşa and Galip Paşa mosques, named after their founders, were among the prominent buildings of the neighborhood at the turn of the century. In addition, just as Tütüncü Mehmet Efendi Avenue in Göztepe was the center of the district, the road known today as Ethemefendi Avenue in Erenköy, which cuts Bağdat Avenue vertically, constitutes the main route of the district.

Alus describes the route from Göztepe to Erenköy on Bağdat Avenue as follows: “The vineyards, orchards, large pool, cascades and the summer house of Cemal Pasha, the Grand Vizier’s aide, are on our left. On our right is the mosque that was built later; the mansion where the late Şemseddin Sami poured his eyes into his books; next to it, the summer and winter residence of Dr. Celâl İsmail Pasha, one of our well-known internists... Ahead of it, a few isolated houses” and notes that the area was called Bolbedros under the trees in Şaşkınbakkal, that it was filled with Christians on Sundays, that those who came there played horas with laternas and mandolins, and that the area became deserted by saying “Beyond that, Suadiye muadiye arzullah” (Alus, 2019; 247). On the other hand, according to Koçu’s encyclopedia, the author, who was born in 1887, after

starting the subject by saying, “In our childhood and youth, the area was very secluded,” he goes on to say that on the beach, “The mansion of Horoz Ali Pasha, the commander of the Ertuğrul Cavalry Regiment; the mansion of Şevket Bey, the General Manager of the Ziraat Bank, Kâmil Paşazâde, the sadırâzam Kıbrıslı Kâmil Paşazâde; The mansion of Feriki Avni Pasha, Minister of Military Medicine, and later Chief of the Department of Engineering and Construction at the Serasker’s Gate; the mansion of Şemseddin Sâmî Bey, the author of Kaamûsüi Âlâm, on the avenue; and a little further on, the mansion of Celâl İsmail Pasha, one of the military doctors and one of the famous internists of the time” (Koçu, 1963; 3323). From this, it is understood that although the settlement on the avenue spread as far as Caddebostan, socialization practices diminished as they went towards Bostancı. On the other hand, Alus writes that “the people of rank and position who spend the summer in Göztepe and Erenköy neighborhoods” would “prefer the ferry that calls at the Caddebostan Pier to get sea air and refresh themselves by watching the surroundings”; that the number 17 Şâhin, one of the “most well-connected and well-traveled” ferries of Idârei Mahsûsan, would “run and run”; that its deck was “filled with pashas and gentlemen” and that these well-to-do passengers got off at Caddebostan and returned to their homes in the carriages waiting for them, indicating that there was some activity on the beach, if not on the avenue (Koçu, 3323-24).

A similar situation is also observed in Suadiye. In terms of quantity, the mansions here are sparser than in neighborhoods such as Göztepe, Erenköy, Kızıltoprak, and even Feneryolu. However, there are a small number of eye-catching, quality buildings (Altunç, 2009; 45). Among these, the Mehmet Küçük Deveci Bey Mansion, which is still standing and currently serving as the Vakko store in the center of Suadiye, is one of the symbols of the avenue today. While this area was not yet as lively as the neighborhoods of the avenue close to Kadıköy, it, along with Erenköy, was especially popular with state officials who wanted to get away from the Palace. However, with the mosque built by Reşat Pasha, who served as Minister of Finance during the reign of Abdülhamid II, in memory of his deceased daughter, this area became independent from Erenköy and turned into a neighborhood that would become popular in time (Kütükçü, 2014; 227). The mansion of Vamık Bey, an internal medicine specialist, the mansion of Mabeyinci Sadi Bey, the first person to bring the wind-driven propeller pump to Istanbul, and the Nezahat-Nurettin Ege Mansion, famous for the variety of trees in its garden, are the old buildings known in the area (Kütükçü, 2014; 228-229). Cavit Pasha Mansion, Huguenin Mansion, and Pink Mansion are the

prominent buildings of Bostancı. Bostancı functions as the gateway to the city until the beginning of the 20th century. The bridge over the Çamaşırcı stream in the neighborhood ensures that this area, which is full of orchards that meet some of the city's vegetable and fruit needs, is also an area where entrances and exits to the city are controlled (Akerman, 2009; 39). The fountain that welcomed travelers into the square after crossing the bridge is also one of the important structures of the area that continued to exist at that time.

1. 2. The Emergence of Urban Planning, Modern Municipalism, and Bağdat Avenue in the 1930s

Tekeli argues that in the second half of the 19th century, there were five main problems that needed to be solved in Ottoman cities, particularly Istanbul:

The *first* is the need for restructuring in the city center due to the new economic relations that the city entered into and the new institutions and organizations that emerged as a result of the administrative reform. The *second* is the realization of the transition to the new form of differentiation in housing areas caused by the new social stratification that emerged as a result of the economic and administrative transformation, and the *third* is the opening of new housing areas required by the city whose population is growing rapidly, the *fourth* is the realization of infrastructure and urban services such as roads, public transportation, etc. required by the new urban structure that emerged, and the *fifth* is the prevention of the frequent burning of the city by large fires since most of the buildings in the city are wooden. (Tekeli, 2021; 25)

The search for solutions to these problems would prepare the birth of modern municipalism and pave the way for radical changes in the administration of the city. In 1826, when Mahmut II abolished the Janissary Corps, the classical order, which had become unworkable in many respects, would change; the establishment of the *İhtisab Nezareti* (which is, an administrative unit that managed a kind of police force in the city at that time) on the same date and the assignment of duties such as the supervision of tradesmen, the collection of taxes, the organization of urban life, and the repair of roads and sidewalks would be an important step in this direction. However, when these and subsequent developments are taken into consideration, the search for solutions for the management of Istanbul was initially still largely dependent on the central administration: "It can be said that this tendency was reversed and the search for a kind of local administration began with

the establishment of the İstanbul Şehremaneti in 1855” (Tekeli, 201; 29). The establishment of the *Şehremaneti* (The predecessor of the modern metropolitan municipality at that time) was followed by developments such as the establishment of the *İntizam-ı Şehir Komisyonu* (City Organization Commission) in 1856, the commission’s implementation of road regulations and the preparation of the *Nizamname-i Umumi* (General Regulations) report, and the division of Istanbul into 14 municipalities with this regulation that entered into force in 1857. Among these 14 municipalities, the famous *Altıncı Daire-i Belediye* (Sixth Municipal Department) in Pera was organized under the direct supervision of the *Sadaret* (Office of Grand Vizier) instead of the administration of the *Şehremaneti*, which enabled the development of a unique local government experience and served as a pilot area for several new practices in terms of municipalism (Tekeli, 2021; 30). Later, with the *Dersaadet İdare-i Belediye Nizamnamesi* (Dersaadet/İstanbul Municipal Administration Regulation) issued in 1868, *Şehremaneti* was tried to be strengthened and the city’s zoning, road works and water administration were assigned to *Şehremaneti*. On the other hand, the Ordinance could not be fully implemented, and not all local municipal offices could be established due to economic insufficiencies. According to the 1877 *salnames*, Kadıköy was among the few municipalities established in Istanbul. In 1877, the “Dersaadet Municipality Law” drafted by the “Ottoman Assembly of Deputies” ended the privileged position of the *Altıncı Daire-i Belediye* and decided to divide Istanbul into twenty municipal departments and to expand the scope of municipal duties. Until 1908, the city administration remained within this legal framework (Tekeli, 2021; 31).

During this period, fires were one of the most important issues affecting the physical structure of the city. The increase in the number of fires in the city due to population growth caused the wooden housing fabric to become a major threat. While 109 fires were recorded in Istanbul and Galata between 1663-1839, this number increased to 229 between 1853-1906. As a matter of fact, after 1840, fires become a major issue, and more modern ways of dealing with fires are sought, this becomes an important turning point in terms of urban planning. In particular, the plans prepared for the northern part of the Golden Horn after the 1870 Pera fire are very important in terms of revealing the ideal urban design of the period, even if they are not put into practice (Çelik, 2019; 68-69).

The first city maps begin to be prepared in approximately this period. The von Moltke map prepared during the reign of Mahmud II, the Huber and Goad maps of the Abdülhamid II period, the German Blues of the Union and Progress period, and the Pervititch maps prepared during the

early Republican period will take their place in history as the first important cadastral maps of the country and play a role in shaping urban planning activities (Arlı, 2015b; 255). In the same period, the construction of the Dolmabahçe and Yıldız palaces led to a change in the city center, Pera became politically prominent, and *Grande Rue de Pera* became “an area that incorporated the European fashion of the period with its Western-style shops, stores, offices, cafes, hotels, opera houses, circuses, etc.” (Arlı, 2015b; 12). On the other hand, the fires caused the wooden buildings in Galata to be replaced by stone, brick, and masonry residences and multi-storey apartment buildings, while Karaköy Bankalar (Voyvoda) Avenue, which became the center of large banks and financial institutions brought to the forefront by the changing economic structure, caused the business district to shift from Suriçi to the opposite side (Arlı, 2015b; 13).

All these developments, together with the aforementioned issues, enabled Kadıköy to become a popular seaside resort, and with the expansion of the city to the periphery, the area gradually turned into an urban space. In 1882, with the new possibilities brought by the *Ebniye Kanunu* (Building Regulations)¹⁶ that came into force, the conditions for opening lands for development changed, and it became possible to move to districts outside the city center such as Erenköy, Göztepe, and Bostancı without being subject to the sultan’s permission. The law stipulated that in the case of parcelization by dividing vineyards, orchards, and vacant lands, public spaces such as schools, police stations, mosques, etc. that would contribute to the formation of neighborhoods must also be built and stipulated certain regulations regarding the avenues and alleys between the parcels to be opened. For example, building heights were determined according to the width of the avenues (Halu, 2010; 294; Tekeli, 2021; 54). However, these regulations could not prevent rent-seeking ventures; for example, Tütüncü Mehmet Efendi was able to divide the 1,000 acres of land he bought in Göztepe into 10.25 acres of mansion plots and sell them to more than a hundred Ottoman pashas and bureaucrats (Şehsuvaroğlu, 1969, 8).

After Abdülhamid II, the fate of the city, like the fate of the country, takes a complicated path. First the proclamation of the Constitutional Monarchy, then the Committee of Union and Progress period, followed by World War I, and the country’s exposure to successive administrative crises directly affected city life. The 1912 defeat in the Balkan Wars, in addition to its political and financial consequences, causes the demography of the city to be marked by Rumelia immigrants. The city was occupied during the war and was subject to a second wave of migration by White

¹⁶ It is the first legal regulation on zoning in the Ottoman period.

Russians fleeing the civil war in Russia. As the country shrunk with the loss of the empire's territories after World War I, the Ankara-centered organization of the War of Independence and the transfer of the city's capital role to Ankara after the war caused the already reduced total population of Istanbul to decrease further and the proportion of the Turkish population to increase. In this sense, the city both shrunk and homogenized at the same time (Tekeli, 2021; 69).

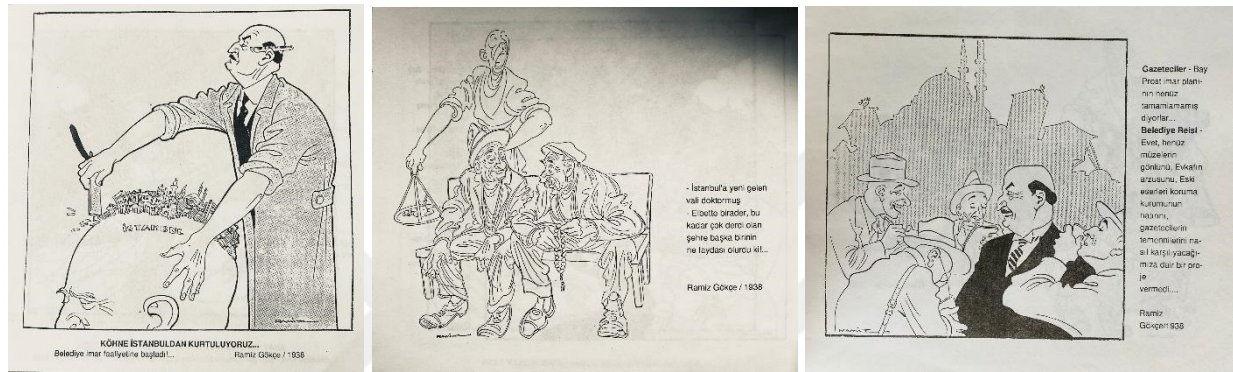


Image 4 Three drawings by Ramiz Gökçe in 1938. Source: Istanbul Exhibition from the City Hall to the Metropolitan Municipality (November 22, 1994) Booklet, Istanbul: Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality Cultural Affairs Department & Cartoonists Association

Despite this complex picture, the spatial development of Kadıköy and Bağdat Avenue continues to follow a certain course. According to Doğan Kuban, before 1945, the state's financial resources flowed predominantly to Ankara and Anatolia, and for this reason, most of the necessary investments for the reconstruction of Istanbul could not be made, and only practices such as the improvement of avenues, the construction of small parks and the extension of the tram line were realized (Kuban, 2000; 383-84.). However, Bağdat Avenue was not directly affected by these impossibilities; it continued to develop thanks to the fact that the density of construction had just begun, and that the population of the area belonged to the upper and upper-middle class and was engaged in initiatives to improve the area. While the new regime distanced itself from the city by identifying Istanbul with its Ottoman past, Kadıköy and Bağdat Avenue continued to be a favorite destination, especially during the summer months. The area, which pioneered many cultural innovations as of the Second Constitutional Monarchy period, became one of the important socializing spaces of the Republican elites by assuming a position that welcomed Ankara within Istanbul (Yılmaz, 2017; 127). Likewise, on the eve of the Republic, Kadıköy was one of the most developed districts of Istanbul: "It is seen that public and infrastructural services that were not

available in many parts of Istanbul at that time were provided in Kadıköy, whereas a disaster such as fire, which threatened and destroyed most of Istanbul, had little effect on Kadıköy” (Halu, 2010; 297).



Image 5 Above is a booklet titled *Üsküdar-Kadıköy and Havalisi Halk Tramways Türk Anonim Şirketi* published in 1932, telling the story of the company's establishment and nationalization, and mentioning its activities, along with a map of the current and projected tramway network. It bears the note, "Written by the Executive Member Necmeddin Sahir Bey and published by the decision of the Board of Directors." Below is a picture of people leaving the Fenerbahçe stadium after a match, trying to get on the tram that will go to Altıyol from Yoğurtçu.

The 1930s are an important period in terms of the spatial development story of Bağdat Avenue. According to Eyice, until the 1930s, Bağdat Avenue was a dusty and muddy dirt road where only two cars could pass side by side, and after 1930, it was asphalted from the Bostancı direction to the Fenerbahçe road junction, and from there, the continuation in the Kadıköy-Üsküdar directions was paved. It was left paved. Then, after 1935, tram lines were passed on both sides of

the Avenue; initially, these tram lines had separate tracks with ballast inside, but after 1940, to widen Bağdat Avenue, the rails were lowered to the level of the main avenue, and the traffic road was made more spacious (Eyice, 1994; 529).

Undoubtedly, a significant development in this period was the Master Plan for Istanbul made by the famous French urban planner Henri Prost. The plan, which considers the city as a quadruple structure consisting of trade, industry, housing, and recreation areas, “defined a significant part of the historical peninsula as an archaeological park and aimed to protect the historical silhouette of the city with the height limit it introduced. Road plans and Golden Horn bridge routes were rearranged to re-establish the relations between Pera and the historical peninsula. Vatan and Millet avenues were planned and new roads connecting these avenues to the coast and Beyoğlu were envisaged. The inner parts of the Golden Horn were arranged as industrial areas” (Arlı, 2015b; 265). In the master plan prepared by Prost for the Anatolian side, covering Çamlıca, Üsküdar, and Kadıköy and approved in 1940, a stadium was considered for Kadıköy, and in 1938, upon the request of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, a detailed plan of the Fenerbahçe peninsula was made, including a yacht club. Additionally, in order not to spoil the natural beauty of the peninsula, it has been suggested that no hotels should be built here, and that the tourist hotel should be built on the west coast of the bay (Tekeli, 2021; 82-84).

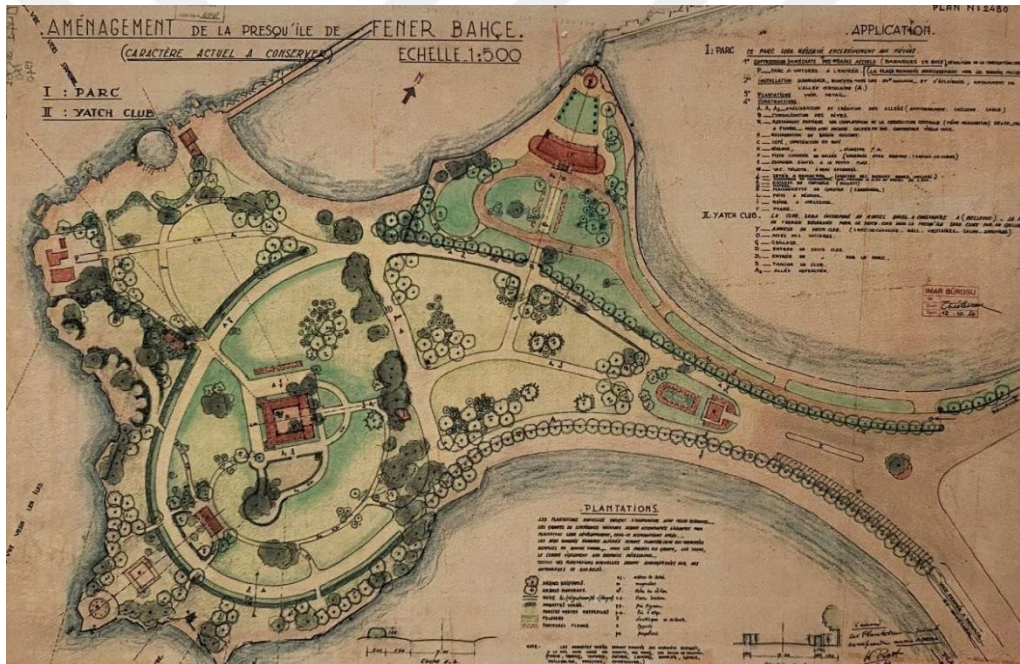
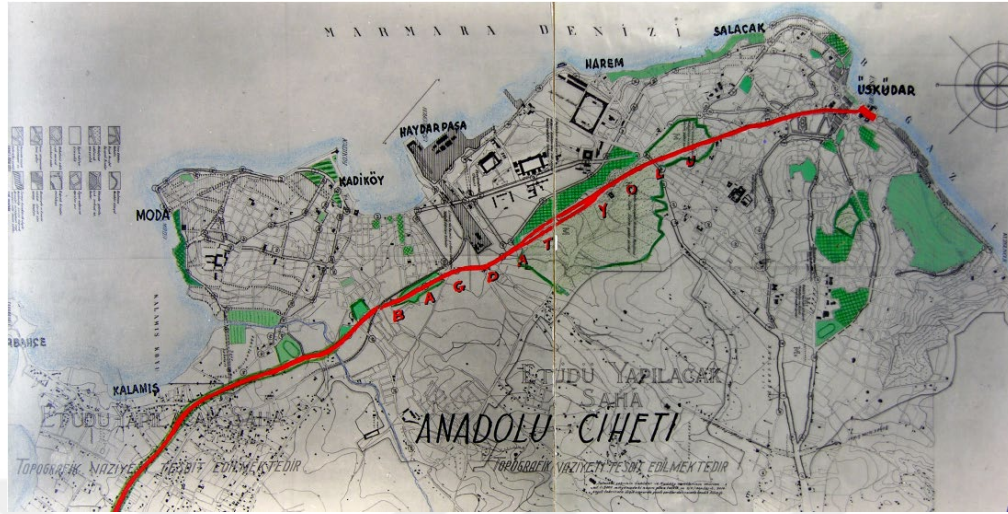


Image 6 Above: Henri Prost, Anatolian Side Master Plan. Bilsel and Pinnon, 2010; 83. Below: Fenerbahçe Park land use plan, Erdikmen, 2013; 78.

Among the applications implemented in this direction, there are many innovations that directly or indirectly affect the spatial development of Bağdat Avenue such as Expansion of Bağdat Avenue, rearrangement of all beaches on the Anatolian coast and the islands, re-establishing road connections between Büyük and Küçük Çamlıca with Üsküdar and Kadıköy, construction of Üsküdar, Kısıklı, Ümraniye and Bağlarbaşı roads and Kadıköy-Çamlıca road, reconstruction of the Haydarpaşa coastal road and dock by building an overpass separating the at-level intersection of the railway and the urban road in Haydarpaşa, Expansion of Kadıköy Pier Square, opening of the

pier avenue, widening of the avenue leading to Cevizlik along the coast in Kadıköy, opening of Bahariye Avenue from Altıyolağzı to the newly built Kadıköy Community Center, improving the road connections of Istanbul's resort districts such as Kızıltoprak, Göztepe, Erenköy, Bostancı, Maltepe, Kartal and Pendik, extending from Kadıköy to Pendik (Tekeli, 2021; 87-91).

These practices, on the one hand, paved the way for the transformation of the area into an urban space by strengthening the integration of the districts along the avenue axis with the city, on the other hand, encouraged the coastline to maintain its popularity as a recreation area and to maintain the area's summer resort feature. Likewise, the 1930s were the years when Kadıköy and Bağdat Avenue became famous for their beaches. Kadıköy's sea baths have a history dating back to the Second Constitutional Era. Especially the sea bath in Moda was a lively place of socialization that was the subject of Müfide Kadri's paintings at that time. However, the real success of beaches came a little later. Beach culture in Istanbul reached its peak in the 1930s, the brightest years of the early Republican period. The practice of swimming and having fun in the sea for recreational purposes and in special clothes, which was largely introduced to the city by the White Russians who came to the country in the 1920s, became increasingly popular in the 1930s, as the burden of war decreased, the country declared its independence, and the new regime adopted a Western-secular ideological line. (Yılmaz, 2017; 142.) An important threshold has been crossed, especially with the opening of Suadiye and Caddebostan beaches. For example, Müfid Ekdal describes the importance of Suadiye Beach as follows:

On the summer evenings of 1929, a flood of people could be seen slowly coming through the fields from the seaside to the Suadiye train station, and the platform of the small station building would fill up and overflow. That year, Suadiye Beach was opened and brought a different and high-quality lifestyle to the life of Istanbul as well as Kadıköy, with its sea, casino, hotel, jazz, and restaurants. (Ekdal, 1996; 147)

According to Ekdal, in those years, the land between the station and the sea consisted entirely of fields, and the sea was directly visible from the railway, and the only means of transportation on the thin road stretching between Kadıköy and Suadiye was the train (Ekdal, 1996; 147). The facility, which was opened in Suadiye in the late 1920s with the initiative of Mustafa Güler, is a structure consisting of a beach, hotel, restaurant, nightclub, and casino, and with Atatürk's frequent visits there, the practice of "promenade (*piyasa yapmak*)" in the recreation areas of the late Ottoman

period was moved to Bağdat Avenue. So much so that Bağdat Avenue has become the main artery where the youth of the Anatolian side take a stroll called “going on the asphalt” from 17:00 to 20:00 in the summer months (Halu, 2010; 298). Other factors that supported the dynamism of the avenue in this period were developments such as the opening of Kadıköy-Bostancı and Kadıköy-Fenerbahçe tram lines in 1934, the arrangement of the Fenerbahçe peninsula was made by Henri Prost in 1940, Üsküdar and Surroundings Public Tramways Company’s transition to bus operation and organizing the first bus lines as Kadıköy-Caddebostan, Kadıköy-Suadiye, Üsküdar Kısıklı in 1946 and also the opening of Caddebostan Casino in 1950.

1. 3. Spatial Transformation on Bağdat Avenue in the Light of Development after 1950

While the Governor and Mayor of İstanbul Dr. Lütfi Kırdar initiated the third development operations in Istanbul between 1938 and 1948, the Kadıköy and Bağdat Avenue axis were affected to a limited extent by this initiative. However, like all of Istanbul, Kadıköy and Bağdat Avenue would also face the consequences of rapid urbanization in the 1950s. Although slum settlement and the destructive development operations of the Menderes governments, which are the most striking results of this process, did not directly affect Bağdat Avenue and its surroundings¹⁷, the new road opening and widening works implemented in Kadıköy during this period (Akbulut; 1994) indirectly affected the. The 1950s are considered the years when Turkey opened to the outside world and started to step into the liberal economic order. As is known, in these years when Istanbul, as the most significant industrial and commercial center of the country, started to receive a large amount of immigration, the city population increased rapidly and, accordingly, spatial growth was observed, slum settlement began when industrial workers often turn to their immediate surroundings to meet their housing needs (Şahin, 2015a; 457). During this period, Bağdat Avenue enjoyed the advantages of not being an industrial zone and the fresh suburbanization process. While the industrial facilities newly opened or already existing in Zeytinburnu, Haliç, Gaziosmanpaşa, Eyüp, Alibeyköy, Kağıthane, and even Çubuklu, Paşabahçe, and Beykoz caused population increase and slum settlement in these places; Kızıltoprak, Fenerbahçe, Göztepe, Çiftehavuzlar,

¹⁷ It is important to emphasize that the area was not particularly affected by shantytowns. According to the data Karpat referred to in his study on Social Transformation in Turkey, the urban population in settlements with a population of 10,000 and above increased by 409% between 1927 and 1965. The internal migration rate increased from 10.5% of the total population in 1955 to 11.8% in 1965. In the early 1960s, shantytown residents in Istanbul would constitute 45% of the total population (Karpat, 2015; 33). These shantytowns, which “surrounded the good neighborhoods of the cities,” had almost no contact with the Bağdat Avenue axis.

Caddebostan, Erenköy, Suadiye, Bostancı, Yenisahra, Merdivenköy and İçerenköy are the districts where “a sparse settlement pattern prevails” (Şahin, 2015a; 457-470). However, when the *İstanbul Şehri Rehberi* (Istanbul City Guide) dated 1934 is compared with the *Haritalı Şehir Rehberi* (Mapped City Guide) of 1955, we see that the settlement between Kurbağalıdere and Bostancı has become denser and the area north of the railway line has expanded slightly (Şahin, 2015a; 470).

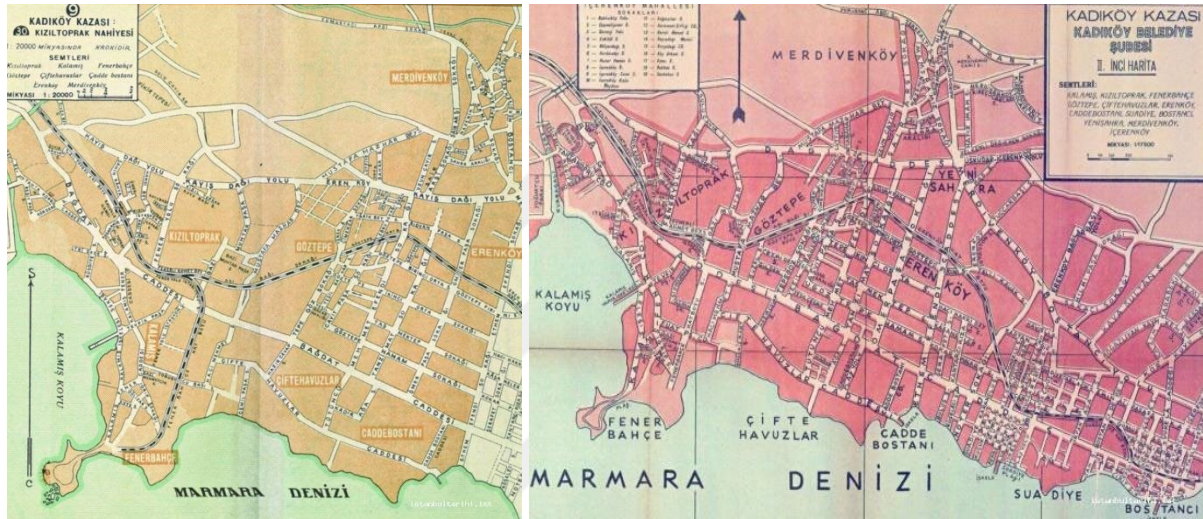


Image 7 Bağdat Avenue in the *İstanbul Şehri Rehberi* of 1934 and the *Haritalı Şehir Rehberi* of 1955. Source: Şahin, 2015a; 468 and 471.

While the population of Istanbul quadrupled from 1,000,000 to 4,000,000 in the period between 1950 and 1980, this development, which was not foreseen in the Prost plan, also caused problems in housing, infrastructure, clean water, and employment generation. In this period, Türkiye was in the Second World War in foreign policy. It tries to adapt to the changing international conjuncture after World War II and the conditions of the Cold War period, and accordingly, it changes its relatively neutral position during the war and turns to relations with the Atlantic Alliance. She adopted an anti-Soviet attitude, worried about Russia’s claims over Istanbul and the Bosphorus. The tremendous social and economic dynamism that emerged when this situation was combined with the transition to the multi-party era became the beginning of “the real story of today’s Istanbul” (Arılı, 2015b; 266-67). Part of this story includes the city’s search for identity. In this respect, the celebration of the 500th anniversary of the conquest in 1953 is an important development. These celebrations, to be held every year after 1953, reflect the militarist tendencies of the period, as well as the enthusiasm for the city’s transition to Turkish identity, and

can be seen as an effort to calm the rising sense of threat in Istanbul (Tanyeli, 2010; 268).



Image 8 An example from the *Milliyet* newspaper dated May 30, 1953, regarding how the celebrations held on the occasion of the 500th anniversary of the conquest of Istanbul by the Ottoman Empire were reflected in the press. <https://kronoloji.isk>

In this period, the flexibility seen in the religious field with the transition to the multi-party system increases the visibility of religious elements and practices in the public sphere. Developments such as the removal of the obligation to recite the adhan in Turkish and the completion and opening of Şişli Mosque for worship have added a different dimension to the city's search for identity. In this respect, the Istanbul reconstruction movement during the Menderes period is often seen as a political propaganda tool, and it is claimed that Menderes tried to gain power from the political response of the "revival" of the city, which fell out of favor when Ankara became the capital during the Republic period. However, as Gül stated, this point does not fully explain the issue because the planning of Istanbul has actually been on the agenda of the Democratic Party government since the first day it came to office, and "Considering that Prost was dismissed immediately after the 1950 municipal elections and a group established by Turkish experts prepared the zoning plan for about five years, it can be concluded that the practices that started in 1956 were not a project that was started suddenly and unprepared and was not a project

aimed solely at pleasing the masses.” (Gül, 2015; 550), even in the articles on architecture and planning published in the 1930s, it is frequently stated that the development of the city should be carried out by “enlightened artisans who grew up and made a living in this city” instead of foreign planners (Arif, 1933;161). Therefore, it was not possible to talk about a single context or a specific dynamic in the identity search part of the story.

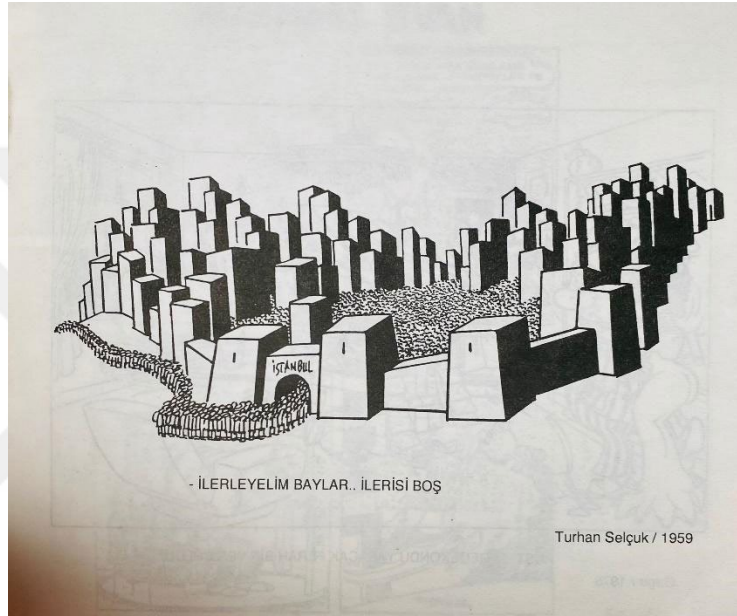


Image 9 A critical drawing on the uncontrolled growth of the city. Source: Booklet of Istanbul Exhibition from the City Hall to the Metropolitan Municipality (November 22, 1994), Istanbul: Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality Cultural Affairs Department

The first of the four separate offices that carried out the development program, which would last from 1956 to 1960, was under the direction of German Professor Hans Högg, who had previously prepared the city plans of Hannover and Munich. According to a 55-page report prepared by Högg, “Istanbul was going through a transformation similar to the change that Baron Haussmann brought to Paris during the reign of Napoleon III. At the end of this process, Istanbul would have ‘wonderful tourist attractions’ and wide roads required for modern traffic.” (Gül, 2015; 551). Italian urban planning professor Luigi Piccinato, who worked in the new office established within the Bank of Provinces in 1958, stated in his report to the prime minister that the latest construction works “wake up a sleeping city” and argued that the historical character of Istanbul made the development of Istanbul difficult, but that these efforts could be successful thanks to the “geographical situation”, “modern expropriation laws” and the “big goals” of Prime Minister

Adnan Menderes (Gül, 2015; 551-52).

Bağdat Avenue had its share in all these developments, with new roads opened or expanded in Kadıköy (Akbulut, 1994; 337) and permission for 3-storey buildings at 9.50 elevation in Bağdat Avenue and its surroundings, depending on the general planning of Kadıköy district made from 1952 to 1954 (Halu, 2010; 299), thus the villas on the avenue were replaced by four-storey apartment buildings with gardens (Yücel, 2014; 41). In 1958, the tramway was removed, the avenue was closed to traffic for months, and within the scope of the expansion works, the gardens of the houses on both sides were expropriated and their walls were moved back (Halu, 2010; 299). However, until the 1960s, it cannot be said that the low-density, detached, and mostly garden-oriented construction type that formed the unique character of Kadıköy and its surroundings underwent a serious transformation (Akbulut, 1994; 337). In the table below (*Table 3*) you see the list of events that directly or indirectly affected the spatial change in Bağdat Avenue in the 1950s.

1950.06.16	The ban on Arabic calls to prayer has been demolished.
1950.10.22	According to the census results, the population of Istanbul was determined as 1,002,085
1952	Terkos Dam Facility was electrified. As of 1952, the total amount of water given to Istanbul was recorded as 44.7 million m ³ , the city population was 1,043,000 people, and the daily amount of water given per person was 117 liters.
1952.01.05	The Istanbul Professional Football League has started.
1955	The 2nd Elmalı Dam, which was designed to meet the water needs of the Anatolian Side for 10 years and has a reservoir volume of 10 million m ³ , was put into service.
1954.04.01	Migros was established.
1955.02.09	Istanbul Municipality signed an inspection protocol with sea minibus boats.
1955.03.16	Anatolian Side Üsküdar and Area Tramway Operation (Üsküdar-Kadıköy Public Tramways Company) was transferred to İETT.
1955.06.10	Turkey's first five-star hotel, the Istanbul Hilton Hotel, opened.
1955.10.23	As a result of the census, the population of Istanbul was determined as 1,297,372.
1956.03.01	The governorate and the municipality were separated from each other.
1958.07.11	The governorate and municipality, which had been united since 1930, were separated. While Ethem Yetkiner remained as governor, Kemal Aygün was appointed as mayor.
1958.10.30	Vatan and Millet boulevards were opened.
1959.02.17	Sirkeci-Kadıköy car ferry line has been put into service.

Table 3 Some important events that affected the socio-spatial development of Istanbul in the 1950s.

Considering that mass tourism in Turkey came to the fore in the 1950s and that Istanbulites “discovered” Adalar, Caddebostan, and Suadiye before Erdek, Ayvalık, Kuşadası, Bodrum, Marmaris, and Antalya, it is difficult to say that a tremendous transformation took place on the Bağdat Avenue axis in the 1960s. In this period, residential architecture with resort functions, which is one of the elements that determine the resort character of the area, are apartment buildings

that are “easily recognized with their wide balconies, long and large windows, and simple facades” (Gürsürer, 2019; 32-33). While these structures helped the area maintain its summer resort function, they also formed the basis of the apartment typology that would become prominent and identified with the area in the future (Gürsürer, 2019; 33). In this respect, the 1960s are a period in which the seeds of the transformation that will continue to this day on the Bağdat Avenue axis were laid, the summer resort architecture began to evolve from mansions and villas to apartment architecture, and road and landscaping arrangements had not “yet” accelerated compared to the rest of the city. The picture drawn by SES magazine in a news article dated March 1968 confirms this description as follows:

Caddebostan, Suadiye, and Bostancı neighborhoods of Istanbul have a quiet, lonely atmosphere in this season. This is the weather that gives people peace and a little sadness... Especially if the weather is rainy, and if the leaves are flying here and there with the wind...

On such an afternoon in mid-February, we are looking for the house of Önder Somer, who lives in house number 33 on Caddebostan Plajyolu Mehtap Avenue. The surroundings are deserted. Even though we had been walking for ten minutes, we saw either two or three people on the road... The strong southwest wind was howling deafeningly in our ears. (SES, 1968)

What is striking in the description of the reporter who went to interview Önder Somer, who described himself as the “negative young man” of Yeşilçam and was one of the “three local artists living in Kadıköy” at that time (SES, 1967), is that he romanticizes the district, which is lively in the summer, with his emphasis on its calmness and solitude in the winter months. Moreover, as stated in the introduction of the interview, the first thing the reporter said when he arrived at Somer’s house was “What are you doing here, we have been on the road for two hours”, it seems that he considered the place outside the city (SES, 1968).

In fact, according to Architect Arif Atılgan, Bağdat Avenue gained fame as a socializing or “market” place in the 1960s. It has achieved this fame, on the one hand, with its mansions that remind of its roots dating back hundreds of years, and on the other hand, with its unique newly built apartments and that it has still not lost its summer resort feature. On the other hand, with the “Condominium Law” enacted in 1965, construction work for flats began in Kadıköy, and in the 1970s, Bağdat Avenue rapidly entered a period where old mansions were demolished, and new apartments were built (Atılgan, 2015). The buildings constructed in these years cause the distances

between houses to become closer. Now, those living in the apartments built in Kadıköy and its surroundings enter into new public spaces beyond “having a private and protected space” and “these apartments, which are not introverted like their cousins on the European side of Istanbul”, participate in an experience in which the border between the private space of the property owners and the avenue / public space becomes blurred in terms of their relationship with the outside (Gürsürer, 2019; 33-34).

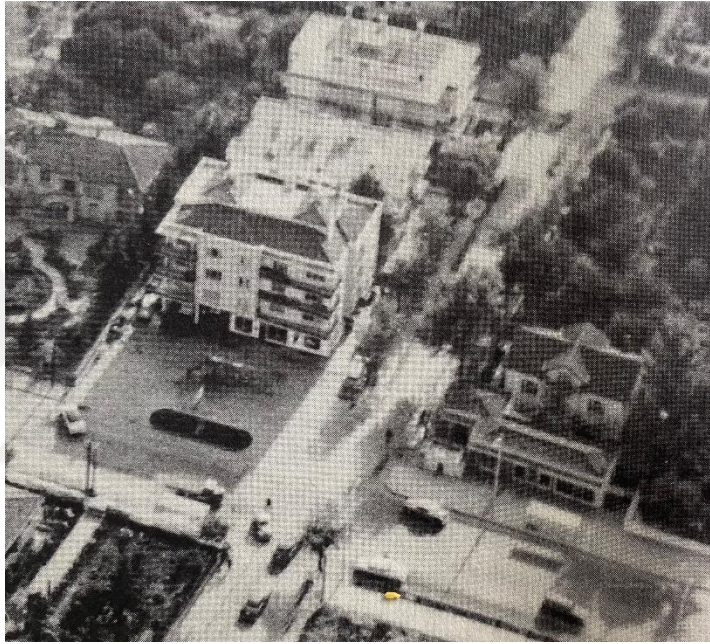


Image 10 Suadiye Beach Road Avenue, shot from an airplane, 1962, Nevzat İnanoğlu Archive (Altunç, 108).

Established in 1966, the Greater Istanbul Master Plan Bureau, acting together with the Regional Planning Bureau unit of the Ministry of Development and Settlement, carried out activities to control the growth of the city. In this regard, Piccinato, who came to the city for the second time for consultancy, stated that if the development of the city was left alone, it would turn into “an impoverished octopus metropolis with an empty hinterland”; he suggested that what could be done to prevent this was to spread the development to a wider area by implementing a plan consisting of a fast roads system and ports (Tapan, 1998; 85). In fact, urbanization slowed down somewhat in this period due to the continuation of small production in the provinces thanks to populist policies and the country’s labor migration to Europe (Tekeli, 1998; 15). However, the plan prepared by the Master Plan Bureau had already ignited the fuse, and the issue of the construction

of the Bosphorus Bridge, which would connect the two sides of Istanbul, came to the agenda. In fact, while there was a fierce debate between the benefits and harms of bridge construction to the city, the “Ring Road Location Plan” was approved and put into practice in 1968; thus, sleeves were rolled up for the ring road arrangements of the Bosphorus Bridge, which was tendered in 1970 and whose construction was completed in 1973 (Tapan, 1998; 85-86).

According to Kuban, the city, which forms a strip longer than 60 km on both sides of the Marmara Sea, developed along linear coasts at that time, and this almost equal division on both sides of the city and the fact that the transitions between Thrace and Anatolia were provided through Istanbul made the construction of the Bosphorus Bridge necessary (Kuban, 2000; 408). However, this “necessity” did not invalidate the predictions of those who criticized the construction of the bridge because it would cause the expansion of motor vehicle traffic, the establishment of new settlement areas around the bridge, and, accordingly, the pollution of the city’s natural resources. The development of the city after 1973 will witness the confirmation of all these predictions (Kuban, 2000; 409). The development that confirmed these predictions on the Bağdat Avenue axis was that a significant portion of those working in districts such as Maltepe, Pendik, Kartal, and Tuzla, which were opened to industrial use with the 1955 Istanbul Industrial Zones Plan and the 1966 Industrial Areas Plan, settled around Kadıköy; hence the population and housing demand in the area increased, additionally, the ring road arrangements leading to the bridge have made Kadıköy and its surroundings an attractive residential area. When this situation was combined with the increase in building density between Kızıltoprak and Bostancı (1.8 as a precedent) thanks to the 1/5000 scale 1972 Bostancı-Erenköy Zoning Development Plan, the process of intense apartment building began (Akbulut, 1994, 338).



Image 11 Nuvit Tekül Apartment in Çiftelavuzlar, 1974. Source: Salt Research Utarit İzgi Archive

The planning of the 1960s directed housing supply through cooperatives as an alternative to “build-sell”, and the production model developed by the Social Insurance Institution (SSK) provided the financing of 10% of the houses built in Turkey in this period, but it did not become widespread enough in the long term (Tekeli, 1998; 16-17). The mass housing model, which was first proposed in the Second Five-Year Plan in 1967, was a move led by local governments and private enterprises instead of the state, and therefore could not produce a permanent solution to the

housing problem (Tekeli, 1998; 17).¹⁸ This effort to solve the housing needs of the increasing population after the Second World War, through Emlak Bank, turned into an attempt to respond especially to the demands of the middle and upper classes in the first examples in Levent and Ataköy on the European side and Koşuyolu on the Anatolian side of İstanbul after a few small trials around Mecidiyeköy and Şişli. So much so that the Levent area, which increasingly appeals to upper-class buyers, has become the symbol of the modern lifestyle in Yeşilçam cinema over time. On the Anatolian side, the project developed on the east side of Koşuyolu Avenue targets the middle-income group, while cooperatives for municipal employees are designed on the west side of the avenue (Ergut et al. 2015; 573). The production of apartment buildings by contragents, which has become widespread since the 1960s and called “build-sell”, dominates the market with the typology of “standard apartments, which can generally be defined by their plain facades and repetitive plan schemes” (Ergut et al. 574). In the table below (*Table 4*) you see the list of events that directly or indirectly affected the spatial change in Bağdat Avenue in the 1960s.

1960.05.26	Istanbul City Hall, which its foundation was laid seven years ago, opened.
1960.05.27	General Refik Tulga became governor and mayor.
1960.10.14	The trials of Democrat Party executives began in Yassıada.
1960.10.23	The population of Istanbul was determined as 1,465,535.
1962.02.27	Turan Ertuğ became the mayor.
1962.03.06	Niyazi Akı was appointed as the Governor of Istanbul.
1962.06.08	Kadri İlkey was appointed as acting mayor.
1963	A large portion of the James Bond movie <i>From Russia with Love</i> , directed by Terence Young and starring Sean Connery, was shot in Istanbul.
1963.02.28	Necdet Uğur became the mayor.
1963.09.18	Many houses collapsed in the earthquake and 1 person died.
1963.10.06	Jacqueline Kennedy, the first lady of the US President, came to Istanbul.
1963.12.10	The first Mayor elected by the people, Haşim İşcan, took office.
1964	Istanbul Radio was connected to TRT
1965.06.23	The Condominium Law, which will change the face of Istanbul, entered into force.
1965.10.24	As a result of the census, the population of Istanbul was determined as 1,742,978.
1966.01.18	Vefa Poyraz was appointed as the Governor of Istanbul.
1966.05.09	The Sirkeci-Kadıköy car ferry line was removed and the Sirkeci-Harem line was put into service.
1966.11.14	The tram lines on the Anatolian side made their last trips.
1968.03.12	Faruk Ilgaz was appointed as acting mayor.
1968.06.08	Fahri Atabey became the mayor.
1968.10.26	French President Charles de Gaulle arrived in Istanbul.
1969.05.29	Electric trains started operating on the Haydarpaşa-Gebze suburban train line.

¹⁸ As a result of private enterprises abusing existing needs, corruption issues have also come to the fore and corruption scandals such as the Güvenevler File have emerged. (In addition, the 1961 film *Otobüs Yolcuları* directed by Ertem Göreç has taken its place in Turkish cinema history as an original production about this incident.)

Table 4 Some important events that affected the socio-spatial development of Istanbul in the 1960s

During this period, bank houses accompanied this typology, which is exemplified in the houses built by the Workers' Insurance Institution in Suadiye on Bağdat Avenue. The construction of Bahçelievler Cooperative by the state for the first time in 1936 in Ankara, and then the production of the first mass housing example in the Saraçoğlu neighborhood in 1943, was criticized for “civilization of housing production” and “supporting alternative housing production”, and in the ongoing process, civil cooperatives were established. Their organization increased and gained strong momentum in the 1950s (Şumnu, 2014; 52). This practice, which was mostly carried out by state banks until the 1950s, began to be implemented by many private banks after this date, in parallel with the liberalized economic order with the change of government. Thus, bonus houses become a serious sector in terms of quantity and quality, and banks make a significant contribution to modern housing production in Turkey with this practice (Şumnu, 2014; 53). Kadıköy and its surroundings, especially the Suadiye, Çiftehavuzlar, and Erenköy neighborhoods on Bağdat Avenue, are one of the places where this practice is applied most intensively in Istanbul:

With the Savings Incentive Bonus system that İş Bank and Ziraat Bank started to implement in 1930, people began to gain the habit of investing their savings in the bank. Established in 1944, Yapı Kredi Bank introduced an innovation to the bonus system, giving customers a lottery number at the end of the year, in addition to interest, for every 100 lira in their accounts, and started giving a house to the lucky customer who won at the end of the draw. This system, which had a great impact on the public and increased the bank's number of depositors, was implemented by almost all banks for many years. For bonuses such as houses, villas, apartments, and land, the real estate address was Kadıköy most of the time. Kadıköy turned into a favorite bonus area of banks with garden houses, villas, or apartments built in different districts for 20-25 years. (Muşazlıoğlu, 2023)

On the other hand, these houses did not produce a clear typology like build-and-sell, and each bank presented different models. Since there are no models that appeal to a common social class, such as cooperative structures, there is no model that can be defined as “bonus houses” and evaluated in terms of architecture (Şumnu, 2014; 53). Despite this, it can be argued that the apartment buildings built on Bağdat Avenue, especially after 1965, create a typology specific to the area:

The majority of the residences in the Bağdat Avenue area are segregated and most of the buildings, except for the apartments with commercial units on the ground floor, are designed to be located in the garden. Almost all residences have large windows and balconies; dynamism on the facade is mostly provided by the geometric composition of windows, balconies, and other architectural elements. Rational lines and right angles are dominant in mass formation and facade details (Gönül, 2021; 436).

Therefore, as an exception to the situation where the mentioned “unqualified” or “identityless” structures took over the residential architecture, especially for the period covering the late 1960s and the early 1970s, Bağdat Avenue has achieved the qualification of “being an urban area where qualified single examples come together” and has become a special area in this respect (Gönül, 2021; 451).

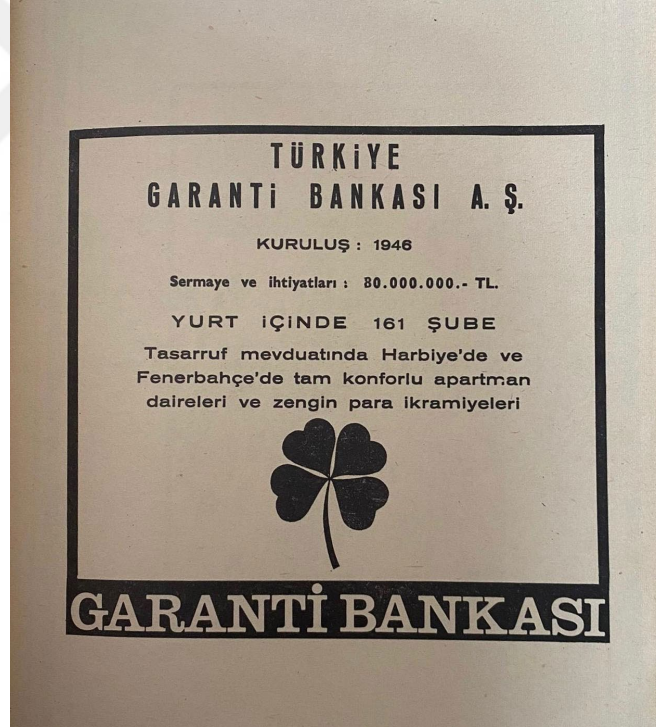


Image 12 Bank house advertisement published in *Musikî ve Nota* magazine. (August 1971, Y: 2, C: 2, P: 22)

After 1960, trade and service sectors began to intensify in Kadıköy and its surroundings, and over time the area turned into a second-tier metropolitan sub-center and lost its old district center characteristics (Akbulut, 1994; 117). While it is said that “Can there be shopping in a place as far away from the city as the bottom of hell? Who will go shopping and eat the wind of the sea

in the winter and the apocalypse?” for the center of Kadıköy, over the market building built in 1930, and tradesmen do not use this place (Muşazlıoğlu, 2022), in parallel with the population increase, especially in the late 1960s, Kadıköy ceased to be a dormitory city and gained a new character. Naturally, the first seeds of an expansion extending from Kadıköy to Bağdat Avenue were put forward in this period. With the removal of trams in 1966, the Kadıköy-Bostancı tram line was replaced by bus line number 4. With the Bostancı-Erenköy Zoning Development Plan prepared in 1972, 4-storey construction was allowed on coastal parcels and 5-storey construction on the avenue, and with the construction of the Bosphorus Bridges and surrounding highways in 1973 and 1986, land prices and the density of workplaces along Bağdat Avenue increased (Muşazlıoğlu, 2021).

In the 1970s, the economic crisis caused by the oil crisis caused a recession in the construction industry. While small contragents withdraw from the market, large companies begin to turn to capital-intensive construction systems. The Ministry of Development and Settlement established workshops producing wood and concrete panels in Ankara to prevent slums and find a solution to the housing problem by producing fast and cheap housing, but the resulting poor-quality products cannot solve the problem (Sey, 1998; 36). Therefore, while slum settlement continues, large-scale housing projects are implemented through Emlak Bank, and municipalities and cooperatives also carry out large housing projects of their size. In addition, it is seen that there is an increase in the construction of industrial buildings, commercial buildings, and summer houses (Sey, 1998; 37). In the table below (*Table 5*) you see the list of events that directly or indirectly affected the spatial change in Bağdat Avenue in the 1970s.

1970	The first bus station in Istanbul was put into service in Harem.
1970	To respond more quickly to the needs of Istanbulites living on the Anatolian Side, the first İSKİ branch was put into service in Kadıköy.
1970.02.20	The foundation of the Bosphorus Bridge was laid in Beylerbeyi.
1970.10.25	As a result of the 9th General Census, the population of Istanbul was determined as 2,132,047.
1970.03.06	With the start of TRT television broadcasts, ITU ended its broadcasts.
1973	Within the scope of the Istanbul Water Distribution System Project, drinking water infrastructure was transferred to maps for the first time. Istanbul was divided into service areas for the first time. On the European side, Ortaköy-Bebek and Tarabya-Büyükdere steel pipelines, on the Anatolian side, Kozyatağı-Bağdat Caddesi and Kozyatağı-Altunizade transmission lines were put into operation.
1975.10.26	The population of Istanbul was counted as 2,547,364.
1976	Large-diameter water pipes were closed to create reservoirs, and water was supplied by tankers to shantytowns where water supply was not available and to all areas where drought was felt.
1977.09.02	5 people died in a conflict that broke out due to the demolition of a shanty house in the 1 Mayıs Neighborhood of Ümraniye.

1979.10.10	Thirty Ikarus brand buses brought from Hungary started operating.
1979.11.15	The fire that broke out as a result of the collision between the Romanian-flagged tanker Independenta and the Greek-flagged dry cargo ship Evriyalı 800 meters off the Haydarpaşa Port resulted in the death of 43 crew members and environmental pollution.

Table 5 Some important events that affected the socio-spatial development of Istanbul in the 1970s.

During this period, 15-20-year-old low-rise buildings in Kadıköy were demolished and 8-12 storey residences were built in their place. So much so that, within ten years, the building density and population in the area more than doubled. With the new zoning plan prepared for the district, the precedent is set, allowing the land to be divided, and thus, depending on the increase in construction density and number of floors, “a housing texture consisting of buildings of varying heights depending on the size of the parcels” is built in the district (Çoban Çınar and Özkan, 2023; 2077). This period was also the year when architecture in Turkey continued its search for “pluralism”. There are efforts such as blending international approaches with local cultural resources and adapting universal architectural principles to unique conditions (Gönül, 436). Since standard plans and building types have not yet been implemented in the build-and-sell business, the build-sell apartments built especially on Bağdat Avenue were mostly designed and well-studied by well-known architects. In this sense, from various perspectives, Bağdat Avenue apartments are considered “good examples of modern apartment types in Istanbul” (Görgülü, 2016; 173). Therefore, while the quality of the buildings causes an increase in the value of land and houses in the area, the profile of people who prefer the area also changes (Çoban Çınar and Özkan, 2023; 2077).

Mübeccel Kıray mentions that the suburbanization that occurs in underdeveloped countries follows a unique path. Although second/additional dwellings such as summer palaces, hunting lodges, and vineyard/plateau houses were common in all pre-industrial agricultural societies, after the industry, with the arrival of the railway and the transfer of environmental wealth to the central societies, those who accumulated large incomes settled in large plots of land at distances that could be reached by train or horse-drawn carriage. They are somehow settled; in the second stage, the richer middle and upper-middle classes emulated the life of the previous rich group and created summer resort areas by building summer houses around the city. When the city center becomes crowded due to mobility triggered by technological developments in transportation and communication, the structure of the city changes again and while the summer resorts become suburban, car ownership increases in the middle class (Kıray, 1998; 103-104). In this respect,

spatial change in Bağdat Avenue is in a close relationship with social change:

Although a large part of the capital accumulated in Turkey, especially from agriculture and small enterprises, from the 1950s to the 1970s, when the number of middle classes increased rapidly, was invested in the construction of apartment buildings, these buildings, which had a single investor, could not meet the demand. Consistent with the characteristics of the economy of the society at that time, solutions such as build-and-sell and condominium ownership, then various cooperatives and bank loans were found as an unorganized informal sector activity. Thus, many apartments with the same workplace-residence relationship and accessibility within the purchasing power of the middle classes were produced. During this process, Bağdat Avenue and its surroundings developed as a area where many middle-class people owned houses. (Yazıcıoğlu, 2001; 43)

In this direction, with the acceleration of apartment buildings in the 1970s, the area began to acquire a suburban character and also entered a process of middle-classization. However, compared to the speed of spatial development, it can be said that the process of middle classization progresses quite slowly and even moves backward from time to time. 1980 and later are quite interesting in this respect.

1.4. Bağdat Avenue from the 1980s to the Present: From Elitism to Globality

As mentioned before, the 1980s correspond to many important turning points in Türkiye's history. In the period following the September 12 military coup, permanent and radical changes took place in many layers of the country, such as political, economic, social, etc. The control mechanism, which has been intensively applied to development policies since the 1950s, weakened in this period and capital began to gain an international character. While the country's cultural exchange with the outside world was quite limited during the 1950-70 period, when the isolationist policy gained momentum, the new generation of large-scale manufacturing sector in Istanbul gained a privileged position. The main reason for rapid and uncontrolled urbanization and slum development is the failure to provide the physical infrastructure and financial resource development required by this growth, and the use of limited available resources with an approach that prioritizes rural development. The policies followed after the 1980 coup declared that this policy of introversion could no longer be implemented (Keyder, 1999; 20-21).

This change affects city management, spatial development of the city, and sociocultural

texture in various aspects. A two-stage law on metropolitan management was adopted in 1984, and a new Zoning Law was enacted in 1985. With these two laws, a striking movement began to occur in local governments. For example, one result of the liberalization policies of Özal and ANAP cadres, who acted with the concern of gaining the approval of the broad masses, was to strengthen local governments to quickly address the priority needs of city residents. This enables mayors to start to come to the fore in the public arena as important political agents, as can be seen in the example of Bedrettin Dalan (Erder and İncioğlu, 2008; X-XI). With the strengthening of local governments, having a say in municipalities would become more important, cliques within the squad would begin and CHP candidate Nurettin Sözen, who took advantage of the conflict between cliques, would become the Mayor of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality in 1989, on the other hand, the claim that there were self-interest demands at the basis of all these conflicts would come to the fore, and allegations of abuse of power and corruption would reach the court corridors (Erder and İncioğlu, 2008; XII-XIII). In the table below (*Table 6*) you see the list of events that directly or indirectly affected the spatial change in Bağdat Avenue in the 1980s.

1980.10.12	As a result of the census, the population of Istanbul reached to 2,772,708.
1980 İSKİ	The number of subscribers, which was 26,015 in 1933 when İSKİ was founded, reached 407,832 as of 1980.
1981	TRT's facilities, which are still in use on the hills of Ortaköy, were opened for Istanbul Television.
1981.11.23	Istanbul Water and Sewerage (İSKİ) Administration was established.
1982.05.22	The 1st Istanbul Symposium was held, where Istanbul's problems were discussed.
1982.07.12	The International Istanbul Film Festival started.
1982.09.01	Istanbul hosted the 18th Congress of the International Association of City and Regional Planners (ISCARP).
1982.09.19	The renovated Fenerbahçe Stadium was put into service.
1982.09.24	Abdullah Tırtıl was appointed as the mayor.
1983.11.22	The Bosphorus Law came into force.
1984.03.08	Istanbul was given "metropolitan city" status.
1985.10.22	As a result of the 12th General Census, it was announced that the population of Istanbul was 5,475,982.
1986.06.22	The foundation of the metro system was laid.
1987.02.07	Şan Cinema (Egemen Bostancı Performance Center) burned down.
1987.04.06	Istanbul Transportation and Trade Inc. was established.
1987.05.17	Feminists held a "No More Beatings" protest in Kadıköy.
1987.05.29	Sea buses started operating between Bostancı and Kabataş.
1987.07.04	Büyüçekmece, Kağıthane, Pendik and Ümraniye districts were established. The Telephone Administration was divided into two the Istanbul side and the Anatolian side.
1988	The opening of the Southern Golden Horn Sewerage Facilities was carried out by the Prime Minister of the period, Turgut ÖZAL, and the Prime Minister of England, Margaret THATCHER. The World Bank introduced this facility to other countries as a "Key Project".
1988.07.03	Fatih Sultan Mehmet Bridge was opened.
1988.09.02	The name of Istanbul Transportation and Trade Inc. was changed to Istanbul Sea Buses Industry and Trade Inc. (IDO).

1988.09.04	The natural gas power plant built in Ambarlı started production.
1989	Turkish immigrants deported by Bulgaria have arrived.
1989.03.04	Tarlabası Boulevard was opened with a ceremony.
1989.03.28	Nurettin Sözen was elected as the metropolitan mayor.

Table 6 Some important events that affected the socio-spatial development of Istanbul in the 1980s.

In these years, in line with these developments, an important turning point was experienced on Bağdat Avenue. During Bedrettin Dalan's term as mayor (1984-1989), a project was developed and implemented to fill the coastline from Kalamış to Bostancı and build a coastal road on it. At the same time, a new era begins in Bağdat Avenue, where traffic continues in a single direction towards Kadıköy (Eyice, 1993; 529). According to Atilla Yücel, the coastal embankment and the opening of the coastal road, which are "the last development that prepared the environment and appearance of Bağdat Avenue in the early 2000s" (Yücel, 2014; 29), also caused the waterside residences to be cut off from the sea. In addition, this innovation is combined with developments such as the construction of Kalamış Bay and the marina in Fenerbahçe, as well as the expansion of squares in both areas by filling the sea and Haydarpaşa Bay between İskele and Mühürdar, which changed the physical appearance of Kadıköy in general and results in the area losing its summer resort feature permanently.



Image 13 Some practices implemented in Istanbul between 1983 and 1993 were subject to criticism (Ekinci, 1994; 138).

One of the important developments that affected the fate of Istanbul and Bağdat Avenue in

the 1980s is related to the city's master plan. The "1/50 000 scale Istanbul Metropolitan Area Master Plan", which the Greater Istanbul Master Plan Bureau, which was established in 1960 by the decision of the National Security and the Council of Ministers, worked on for many years and was finally completed on July 29, 1980. But before it could be implemented, a coup occurred and the coup administration closed the Master Plan Bureau (Ekinici, 1994; 31-32). Since the coup administration secured itself with the principle of Provisional Article 15 in the 1982 Constitution, many practices contrary to the Master Plan were easily implemented. With the Tourism Encouragement Law, which came into force on March 12, 1982, and the subsequent zoning amnesties, practices completely outside of city planning became possible. Among the practices criticized because they were carried out in violation of Istanbul's master plan and zoning law in these years, some developments on the coastline directly affect Bağdat Avenue, as can be seen in the figure above. Beginning of construction of reinforced concrete buildings in Kadıköy-Bostancı coastal filling areas; the construction of a municipality-owned facility called Pyramid in Fenerbahçe Park, in violation of the zoning plan and the Coastal Law; Plan changes that enable coastal lands included as 'protected areas' in zoning plans to be opened to development are among these practices (Ekinici, 1994; 141).

While these practices radically separate the physical texture of the area between before and after 1980, they also have a direct impact on the everyday lives of the residents of the area. For example, Mehmet Bedri Muharrem examples the effects of beach filling and bay construction in Kalamış as follows:

Among the places where people who make Kalamış Kalamış come together, the one that has had the longest living opportunity is the tea garden at the bottom of the old Kalamış Pier, which those who know the place call *Köhne*. (...) This place was unfortunately destroyed after the 1980s by young ideas and those who have great fear and paranoia of young people, and this magnificent place called Kalamış has disappeared. (...) It was buried seven floors under the ground so that no one would grow up here again, and artists, writers, poets, and philosophers would never come together again. Now, there are kebab shops and an area that only serves boat owners in Kalamış. (Muharrem, 2013; 141-42)

On the other hand, while the intermediate piers outside Bostancı are removed and the train line turns into a means of transportation serving the districts to the north and the east of Bostancı,

Bağdat Avenue with its new form now becomes a one-way artery and thus, it acquires a fluidity that can be easily reached from many points of the city for twenty-four hours (Yücel, 2014; 40). On the other hand, building construction continues to change. Updates made to the Condominium Law in 1983 allow “easement rights” to be sold by deeding. Thus, houses can be sold through a licensed project, even if the construction is not completed yet. This has caused small “build-sell” companies, which had the opportunity to finance the entire project in advance, to turn into large capital companies and create luxury housing projects that mostly target the upper middle and upper classes and carry brand value. The main goal of construction in this period is to build high-density structures by placing as much population as possible in high-rise buildings and thus providing more income.



Image 14 Dilman Apartment (1966, Architect Melih Koray), Nil Apartment (1974, Architect İbrahim Paşalıoğlu), respectively.

While the attention to detail in residential architecture continued in the 1960s and 1970s, it is seen that this sensitivity decreased in the 1980s. This is due to the difficulty in finding quality and cheap hand workmanship and quality builders since the 1970s. On the other hand, in the 1980s, the aesthetic framework of modernism also changed and the emphasis on the holistic architectural language of the building increased. This situation, which can also be associated with the widespread use of the prefabrication process, causes, for example, balcony railings, which were one of the most effective elements in building facades between 1960 and 1980, to gradually lose their importance (Tulum Okur and Ekenyazıcı Güney, 2022; 2654-55). In a research conducted in 2021, it was

observed that original examples using “aesthetic and decorative elements that give a modern architectural language to apartments” (Tulum Okur and Ekenyazıcı Güney, 2022; 2656) can still be found in the Caferağa, Suadiye, Fenerbahçe, Erenköy, Feneryolu, Bostancı, Zühtüpaşa and Göztepe neighborhoods of Kadıköy (Tulum Okur and Ekenyazıcı Güney, 2022; 2657).

According to Atilla Yücel, three or four generations of construction developed in Bağdat Avenue and its surroundings after the 1950s. This construction, between Kızıltoprak and Bostancı, separates from each other in horizontal blocks in terms of lifestyle, status, and architecture as it moves up the coast. As we move from south to north, counting the coast and coastal road with Bağdat Avenue, the avenue with the railway, the railway with E5, and the area between E5 and TEM as one block each, it is seen that new urbanization continues with a little more loss of status and prestige each time. The first sign of this modern urbanization, as mentioned above, starts from Bağdat Avenue after Tutuncu Mehmet Efendi zones the area, and over time, with the transformation of old suburbs and resort districts into popular residential areas, it forms the backbone of the southern belt, which still maintains its prestige today. “The apartment architecture surrounding the space of the spine [may] not reflect superior care and quality,” but this does not compromise the urban quality and status of the space (Yücel, 2014; 41-42). With the opening of the Fatih Sultan Mehmet Bridge and Ring Roads in 1988, which construction started in 1986, Kozyatağı became an important crossing point, and the parcels located on the Minibus Street and other connection roads leading to Bağdat Avenue also gained high real estate value. The construction of Fenerbahçe Marina will increase real estate values along the Bağdat Avenue coastal route (Berkmen and Turgut, 2019; 159). Therefore, starting from the 1980s, the stratification mentioned by Yücel became increasingly evident and strengthened.

BAĞDAT CADDESİNDE KENTSEL DÖNÜŞÜM

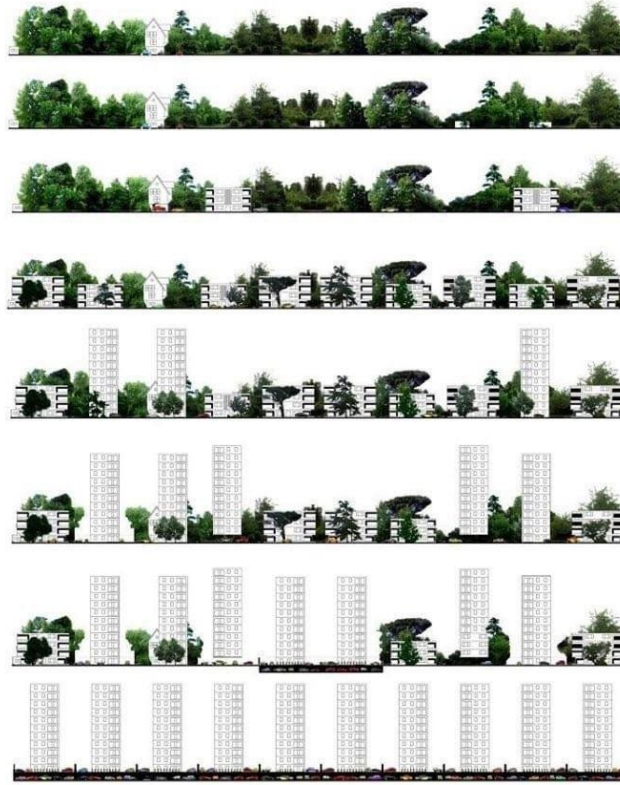


Image 15 An image by architects İrem Mollaahmetoğlu and Ferhan Yürekli, depicting the visual summary of urban transformation on Bağdat Avenue.

In the 1980s, the avenue took on a spatiality influenced by the consumption culture fueled by neoliberal policies and became the most exclusive shopping avenue in the city. The avenue now has “large pedestrian areas shaded by trees for strolling and sitting, entertainment facilities, stylish shops, bookstores, restaurants, and cafes that increase the attractiveness of the avenue, as in other major avenues of the world” (Jacobs, 1993). The socio-spatial practices of the elite culture of the 1930s are replaced by brand-new practices:

... the culture of flowers and vineyards was replaced by landscaping or parking lots, and gardens with pools were replaced by swimming pools or “fitness centers”, beaches were transformed into landscaping areas and marinas, and then reopened at certain points where the homogeneous landscape of the landscaping areas met the sea. Cinema complexes, cafes, and elegant stores, which replaced the old casinos and garden cinemas, gradually increased in number, and Bağdat Avenue, where they were concentrated, continued to be the center and carrier of a lively sidewalk and ground

floor activity. Along this path, “you go to the market”, “you look in the store windows”, you shop, and you watch “brands”: Sometimes these are clothes, sometimes car models. Bağdat Avenue is a place of consumption, shopping, and spectacle; some watch, and those who are watched. (Yücel, 2014; 42)

After the closure of the Ministry of Development and Settlement, which was established in 1958, and the Greater Istanbul Master Plan Bureau affiliated with this ministry, master plan studies continued within the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality Planning and Zoning Department. In this context, the 1/50,000 scale Istanbul Metropolitan Master Plan was prepared in February 1994, and the 1/50,000 scale Metropolitan Area Sub-Regional Master Plan was prepared in November 1995. The aim of these plans is, first, for Istanbul to become a world city by integrating with the global economy and to produce policies in this direction; In addition, it aims to increase the quality of life by preserving the historical, cultural and natural resources of the city and to increase the efficiency of the metropolitan structure and economy (Bilsel, 2015; 533). In these years, globalization has been a trend that has affected all the world’s cities and has been rising with the dominance of neoliberal policies. İstanbul’s dream of becoming a global city is also the goal of many different cities such as Sao Paulo, Dubai, and Shanghai. At this point, the 1999 earthquake and the 2001 economic crisis accelerated the socio-spatial organization of the city to enter a process of restructuring. Istanbul is now the “rising stage of the global arena” and, like many similar cities in the globalization process, while the city is opening to the outside world, on the other hand, industry is rapidly flowing to the peripheral cities; as the city specializes in productive services, white-collar employment increases (Ergut et al., 2015; 580). In the table below (*Table 7*) you see the list of events that directly or indirectly affected the spatial change in Bağdat Avenue in the 1990s.

1990.10.21	The population of Istanbul was determined as 6,620,240.
1990.12	Thanks to the first fiber optic international connection called EMOS 1, communication between Istanbul Turkey, and the world was ensured.
1991.09.30	The foundation of the metro was laid.
1992	Kartal and Kadıköy sea bus piers are now in service.
1992.01.15	Cable television broadcasting begins in Istanbul
1992.01.22	Natural gas use in homes has begun.
1993.04.22	President Turgut Özal was buried with a ceremony attended by tens of thousands of people.
1993.04.28	39 people died as a result of the explosion of methane gas accumulated in the Hekimbaşı dump in Ümraniye.
1993.06.13	Production of gasworks was terminated.
1993.08.19	İSKİ General Manager Ergun Göknel was arrested.
1993.09.23	Michael Jackson gave a concert at İnönü Stadium.

1994.05.05	The Grand Istanbul Bus Terminal began operating.
1994.12.30	In the bomb attack on the Marmara Hotel patisserie, archaeologist Yasemin Cebenoyan died on the same day, and writer and filmmaker Onat Kutlar, who was injured, died 12 days later.
1996.01.09	In the attack on the Sabancı Center building in Levent, Sabancı Holding Board Member Özdemir Sabancı, ToyotaSA General Manager Haluk Görgün, and secretary Nilgün Hasefe were killed.
1996.06.13	Cuban President Fidel Castro arrived in Istanbul to attend the Habitat II Summit.
1996.09.11	Türkiye's National Internet Infrastructure Network (TURNET) was put into service.
1997.06.14	The D-8 countries summit was held.
1999.03.13	14 people died in a fire started by terrorists in the Blue Bazaar in Kadıköy.
1999.08.17	Thousands of buildings collapsed in Istanbul due to the Gölcük earthquake and 981 people died.
1999.11.18	The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe convened in Istanbul.

Table 7 Some important events that affected the socio-spatial development of Istanbul in the 1990s.

On the other hand, there were important developments in the administration of Istanbul in the 1990s. In this period, when local municipalities continued to rise, the 13 parties participating in the 1994 Istanbul elections entered into a fierce struggle with their proposals and projects against problems such as water, traffic, environmental and air pollution, and the inability to collect garbage. The winner of the election was the Welfare Party (RP), which surprisingly won 14 of the central districts of Istanbul, while the party's candidate, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, came to power in Istanbul. Erdoğan's intense exposure to the politics of marginalization in the media due to his political identity opens the door to many discussions that will determine the main agenda of the city and Turkish politics in the following years (Miş, 2015; 360-61). While the February 28th, 1997, coup took place in a short time, the local elections of April 18, 1999, were marked by the closure of the RP and Erdoğan's imprisonment for a poem he read. With the local and general elections being held on the same day, the election agenda spills over from the administration of Istanbul to the administration of the country, and lifestyle debates become the main discussion ground, inheriting from the late 90s to the 2000s, manifesting itself in every field at the local and general government levels. However, all these discussions do not prevent the rapid globalization of the city. In the period covering the period 1980-2000;

Urbanization accelerates with the Fatih Sultan Mehmet Bridge and TEM, new transportation projects, three-four-storey slums, and new gated communities spreading to the north of the city, forest areas, and water basins. The second bridge and ring roads play a critical role in the radical change of the urban macroform. Along the extension of these roads, the urban landscape changes with new settlements, high-rise apartment blocks, and TOKİ (Mass Housing Administration) residences. Mayors of the period (Bedrettin Dalan, Nurettin Sözen, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Ali

Müfit Gürtuna, Kadir Topbaş) and non-governmental organizations, Chamber of Architects, KİPTAŞ (Housing Development Planning Inc.), TOKİ, national or foreign investors, prominent social are agents.” (Ergut et al., 2015; 581).

In this equation, the increasing nostalgia/demand for the old in the city causes a tendency towards the Golden Horn, Pera, and Nişantaşı, while the Bosphorus area continues to be the fascinating face of the city with its museums, global restaurants, private houses, and waterside mansions. Kadıköy and Bağdat Avenue maintain their importance as an urbanizing suburb (Ergut et al., 2015; 581-82). In this direction, in the 1990s, residential areas on Bağdat Avenue were developed in the west direction, parallel to the Bosphorus Bridge connection roads. With the planning made in 1998, the way was paved for a further increase in the density of the avenue and its surroundings (as a precedent of 2.07), and the entire area was turned into apartment buildings with intensive housing production based on the build-sell system. While the 1999 earthquake forced the city to expand towards the north, closed residential areas increased around the FSM Bridge connection roads to the north of Bağdat Avenue (Halu, 2010; 302).

Following the earthquake in 1999, the Building Inspection Law No. 4708 came into force in 2001, the “Regulation on Buildings to be Constructed in Earthquake Zones No. 26454” in 2007, and the Building Inspection Implementation Regulation No. 26778 in 2008, and the license authority was taken from the municipalities and given to the Building Inspection Offices. In 2004, with the law no. 5612, TOKİ was provided with broad powers to make zoning plans and put them into effect ex officio, while in the same year, with law no. 5273, the Land Office was abolished, and its powers and responsibilities were transferred to TOKİ. As a result, TOKİ, which gained broad powers, implemented many mass social housing projects throughout the country and started to build luxury residences in big cities by establishing partnerships through revenue sharing (Gök and Çıtak, 2021; 177).

The “Habitat II: World Conference on Human Settlements” meeting held in Istanbul in the 1990s was highly influential on these changes implemented in the 2000s. This comprehensive meeting, where urbanization and housing problems in poor and developing countries were discussed, guided the urbanization program of many of the political staff who governed the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality in the 1990s and who would later have a say in the government throughout the 2000s. The role of this meeting is great on Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality’s establishment of KİPTAŞ for housing production, and the equipping of TOKİ, which produced

more than 100,000 houses in Istanbul alone and more than 500,000 houses across the country in less than ten years, with extraordinary powers after the 2000s (Arlı, 2015b; 290-91). In the table below (*Table 8*) you see the list of events that directly or indirectly affected the spatial change in Bağdat Avenue in the 2000s.

2000.05.17	Galatasaray Football Club became the first Turkish team to win the UEFA Cup. Istanbul Metro started its services between Taksim and 4. Levent.
2000.10.22	As a result of the census, the population of Istanbul was determined as 10,185,735.
2001.01.08	Istanbul Sabiha Gökçen International Airport was opened.
2002.12.20	The metro line was brought to Atatürk Airport.
2003.02.17	Muammer Güler was appointed as the Governor of Istanbul.
2003.08.18	The Istanbul Earthquake Master Plan prepared by the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality and universities was introduced.
2003.11.01	Kadıköy-Moda nostalgic tram line is now in service.
2003.11.15	Twenty-seven people, mostly Muslims, were killed in the terrorist attacks on the Neve Shalom and Beth Israel synagogues.
2003.11.20	As a result of the terrorist attacks on the British consulate and HSBC headquarters, 30 people, including theater artist Kerem Yılmaz and the British Ambassador to Turkey Roger Short, died.
2004.05.09	The foundation of Marmaray was laid, and Yenikapı Rescue Excavations began.
2004.05.15	The 49th Eurovision Song Contest was held in Istanbul.
2004.06.28	The NATO Summit, attended by heads of state and government from 46 countries, has begun.
2005	An 8,500-year-old grave was found during the excavations in Yenikapı.
2005.03.01	The Metropolitan Municipality took over the City Lines Operation and gave it to Istanbul Sea Buses (İDO) in order to manage sea transportation from a single center.
2005.05.25	The Champions League final match between Liverpool and Milan was played at the Atatürk Olympic Stadium
2005.12.31	Eyüp-Piylotlu cable car line is put into service.
2006	İDO was declared the world leader by the International Fast Ferry Organization in the categories of the number of passengers carried, the number of ships it owns, the number of lines it serves, and its carrying capacity.
2006.06.29	Taksim-Kabataş funicular system was put into service.
2006.11.28	Pope Benedict XVI arrived in Istanbul.
2007.01.19	Agos newspaper editor-in-chief Hrant Dink was murdered.
2007.04.01	The Bosphorus Bridge was illuminated.
2007.09.17	Avclar-Topkapı metrobus line has been put into operation.
2008.05.15	Queen Elizabeth II of England arrived in Istanbul.
2008.07.27	18 people died in terrorists' bomb trap in Güngören.
2008.08.14	Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad arrives in Istanbul
2008.09.08	Topkapı-Zincirlikuyu metrobus line has been put into operation
2008.10.20	The first hearing of the Ergenekon case began in Silivri.
2009.03.03	Söğütluçeşme-Zincirlikuyu metrobus line has been put into operation.
2009.03.16	The 5th World Water Forum has begun
2009.05.20	The UEFA Cup final match between Werder Bremen and Shakhtar Donetsk was played at the Şükrü Saraçoğlu Stadium.
2009.09.08	One of the worst flood disasters in history occurred in Çatalca and Silivri. 31 people died.
2010.09.22	Domestic ferry transportation services were taken from İDO and given to the Istanbul City Lines Tourism Industry and Trade Inc., established within the Metropolitan Municipality.
2010.10.22	According to the General Census results, the population of Istanbul was 10,018,735.
2010.11.28	The roof of Haydarpaşa Train Station burned.

2011.06.01	Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality privatized the Istanbul Sea Buses (IDO) Company.
2012.08.17	Kadıköy-Kartal metro line opened.
2013.01.28	According to the Address Based Population Registration System, TÜİK announced that the population of Istanbul was 13,710,512 in 2012.
2013.05.21	Emek Cinema was completely demolished.
2013.05.29	The foundation of the Yavuz Sultan Selim Bridge was laid.
2013.10.29	Marmaray was put into service.
2014.07.25	The High-Speed Train between Istanbul and Ankara was put into service.

Table 8 Some important events that affected the socio-spatial development of Istanbul in the 2000s.

Bağdat Avenue also gets its share from this intense housing production activity. The first stop of the urban transformation projects implemented after the 1999 earthquake was Bağdat Avenue. According to official reports, in the earthquake with a magnitude of 7.5 Mw on the Richter scale that occurred on August 17, 1999, 17,480 people died and 23,781 people were injured in just 45 seconds.¹⁹ After the earthquake, when it became clear how unprepared the city was for the earthquake on an institutional and social level, the public became seriously worried even in areas such as Bağdat Avenue, where the earthquake did not cause serious damage - and was even defined as “one of the most suitable districts for settlement in Istanbul” (Gürsürer, 2019; 39). For this reason, the need for urban transformation/renewal comes to the fore. There have been various urban transformation/renewal practices since the 1980s. Transformation practices, which were implemented until the early 2000s to solve property problems in slum areas and to transform slum houses into apartment-type residences, changed dimensions after the earthquake, and new legal regulations were needed in this regard.

In this regard, the first regulation made was the “Draft Urban Transformation and Development Law”, which came to the agenda in 2004. The draft, whose scope was later greatly changed, entered into force on 16.05.2005 under the name “Law on the Renewal, Protection and Sustenance and Use of Deteriorated Historical and Cultural Immovable Assets”. With the Municipalities Law No. 5393, municipalities are given the authority and responsibility to “implement urban transformation and development projects to protect the historical and cultural texture of the city or take measures against earthquake risk” regarding urban transformation, and the Law on Transformation of Areas Under Disaster Risk No. 6306 dated 16.05.2012. The Ministry of Environment and Urbanization is given broad powers, and the role of the central government is

¹⁹ According to the Parliamentary Investigation Report published in 2010, 18,373 people lost their lives and 48,901 people were injured. See https://www.jmo.org.tr/genel/bizden_detay.php?kod=9121&tipi=3&sube=2&subesi=

strengthened (Yenice, 2014; 82-85). Therefore, the on-site demolition and reconstruction of houses at risk from earthquakes are only possible by this law that came into force in 2012 and the planned areas type zoning regulation dated 2013.

However, this urban transformation move, ostensibly undertaken to make the city safe against earthquakes, turns into profit-making in practice under the rule of free market conditions since it paves the way for the production of more salable area if existing houses are demolished and rebuilt, and because “two-thirds majority” is deemed sufficient for the demolition and reconstruction of buildings that have received a “risky” report under Law No. 6306 (Gürsürer, 2019; 39-40). The speculations that emerged in 2012 after a report claiming that 80% of the buildings on the avenue had reached the end of their lifespan and were risky and that these buildings should be demolished and rebuilt, serve exactly this profit-making system, and at the end of the day, this area becomes the city’s most intense urban transformation activity area. Thus, the housing typology, as well as the physical texture of the area, undergoes a radical change.

In the area, with the Istanbul General Plan Notes dated 1985, apartments with balconies on three sides were replaced by apartments with smaller balconies; with the Master Development Plan dated 1998, very high buildings began to be built in high-density residential areas (Gürsürer, 2019; 102-103). By the 2000s, this change had already begun, independent of the urban transformation move. The intense urban transformation activities that started in the 2010s are like the last stage of this radical change. The following sentences, written by one of the residents of the area in 2014, summarize the situation:

Something different has been happening on Bağdat Avenue lately. Our elders who make laws think better of us than we do. They have enacted a new law against the earthquake risk in Istanbul. This law, called urban transformation, plans to demolish buildings that are at risk of earthquakes and build new ones in their place.

According to this law, there is currently a feverish construction activity on Bağdat Avenue. At least 4 large apartment buildings are being demolished on every avenue and new ones are being built in their place. You would think that there is only an earthquake risk on Bağdat Avenue in Istanbul. I have not seen such intense construction in any other part of Istanbul. No concrete cars or trucks are passing on our avenue s.

There are also major problems in demolishing and rebuilding these buildings. There are maybe 12 apartments in a building. A risk report can be obtained for the building upon the request of the

owner of one of them. In line with this report, the Istanbul Infrastructure and Urban Transformation Directorate of the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization decides to demolish the building. The Land Registry Directorate, which receives this order, announces to the other annexes that the building will be demolished. If the property owner pulls himself together and objects within 15 days, fine, the incident is reviewed again. Otherwise, your building will be demolished within the period stipulated by the municipality. Either you make a deal with a demolisher or the municipality collects the demolition fee from you and demolishes your building.

You are suddenly left without a home that is your family's memories, with money that is not worth the value. (Bayhan, 2014)

Of course, the apartment buildings built as a result of the urban transformation drive carried out under these conditions are quite different from the previous ones:

One of the general characteristics is that there are almost no balconies, or apartment buildings with facade decorations, called French balconies, that do not have a balcony function, have begun to be built. The relationship of buildings with the avenue has weakened. The ground floors began to be used as entrance lobbies, security cabins, high walls separating the avenue from the garden with sharp boundaries, security systems, cameras, and the use of a limited garden created the avenue-distanced qualities of these apartments. In this period, which coincided with the aftermath of the 1999 earthquake, building durability, earthquake fear discourses and the desire for innovation came to the fore. At the same time, with this last generation of apartment building period, closed residential areas, gated communities and residences/residence sites have become widespread in Bağdat Avenue and its immediate surroundings (Koylan, 2018; 58).

On the other hand, while with the council decision of the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality dated February 12, 2016, a 15-storey limit was imposed on areas where height is allowed in the area, the buildings located directly on the avenue are not the first target of the transformation since they cannot rise above five floors due to the zoning status (Koylan, 2018; 39).

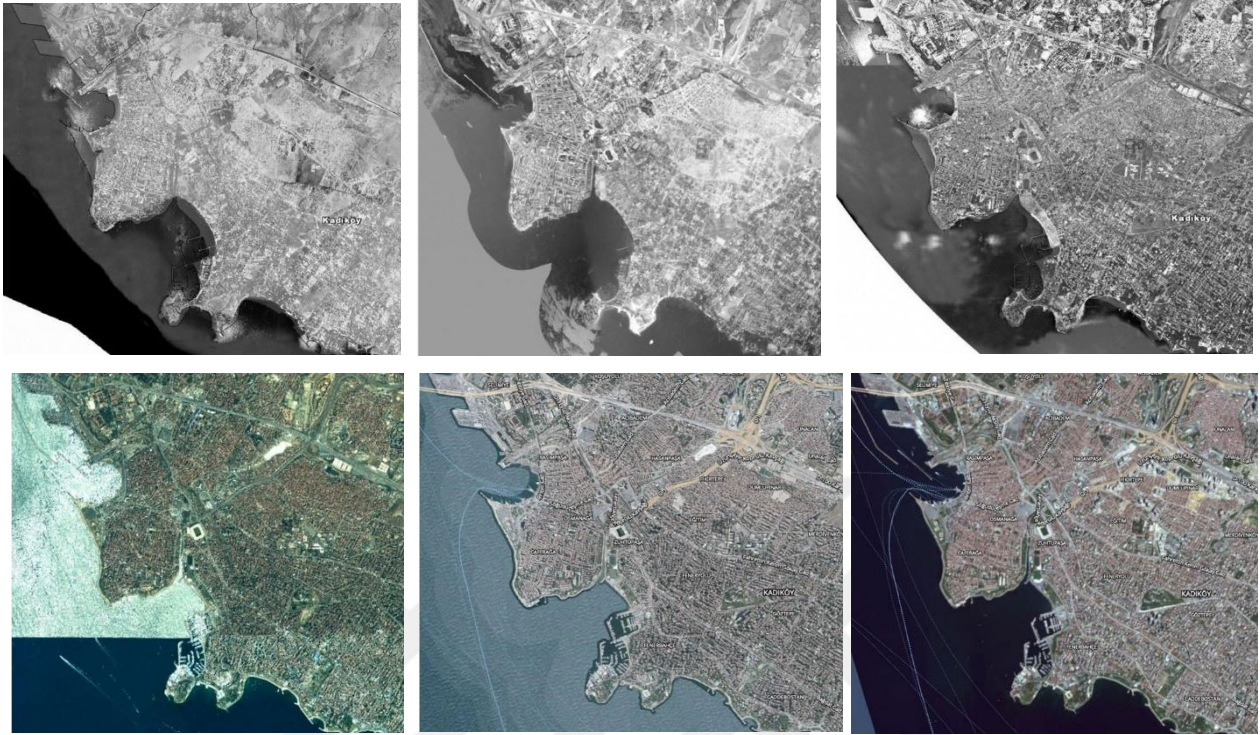


Image 16 Urban density in Kadıköy and its surroundings in 1966, 1970, 1982, 2006, 2013, and 2018 respectively.

Of course, urban regeneration is not the only factor affecting the sociospatial development of the avenue in the 2000s. As in previous years, various spatial arrangements have been made in these years. It is important in this respect that the entire avenue was reduced to 3 lanes and the pedestrian sidewalks were widened in 2004. The change in urban density in Kadıköy and its surroundings is an issue that affects the avenue itself. As can be seen in the images above, the concentration in Kadıköy and its surroundings since 1982 is more serious than before. According to Güvenç, with the construction of the bridge, Kadıköy started to receive more population than ever before, and while it used to be attractive for the wealthy and retired people, with the bridge it becomes a center of attraction for everyone who owns a car. Looking at the year 2006, we see that both the coastline was formed, and the green areas lost in residential areas were obtained by filling the sea. The east of Kurbağalıdere is much denser than the west. In the 2013 image, it is determined that the concentration trend in 2006 has strengthened and the urban texture with gaps between the stations in the past no longer exists. There is a similar picture in 2018. Additionally, it is seen that major constructions in Fikirtepe have started (Güvenç, 2020).

On the other hand, the 2000s were the years when Bağdat Avenue was filled with cafes and restaurants and was gradually becoming a shopping center. In the 1990s, the main crowded area of

the avenue was between Şaşkınbakkal and Caddebostan. There were also patisseries where local residents spent time. After Caddebostan, things would get quieter until Göztepe, and after Göztepe, it would become quite quiet. In the other direction, things would get quieter from Şaşkınbakkal to Suadiye, and it would become quite quiet from Suadiye to Bostancı. Even the ground floors of some of the buildings between Şaşkınbakkal and Caddebostan, which was the most crowded part in those years, were residences, not shops (Atılğan, 2015). Since the early 2000s, cafes, restaurants, and stores of world-famous brands have spread rapidly on the avenue, taking this place away from its boutique identity in the past. In a research conducted by a French company in 2012, it was chosen as the 4th best shopping avenue in the world, ahead of Paris's Champs-Élysées, Tokyo's Ginza, and New York's 5th Avenue. In the research, which ranks 30 famous avenues of the world according to categories such as service concept, cleanliness, shopping friendliness, and variety offered, and examines the "quality of avenues recommended for tourists to visit", Bağdat Avenue ranks 4th after Orchard Avenue in Singapore, Venue de la Liberte in Luxembourg and Hooftstraat in Amsterdam, receiving the same score as the third. The expressions used for Bağdat Avenue in the research also reveal the spatial hybridity of the avenue: "According to shopping enthusiasts, Bağdat Avenue wins with its 'look'. It stands out with its flowered areas, minibusses, and shops selling water. If you want to drink Turkish coffee on the luxury avenue without breaking the bank, you can also go to Starbucks on Bağdat Avenue. The American chain has adapted to Istanbul's coffee culture and placed good Turkish coffee on the menu." (Yazman, 2012a).

However, the intense urban transformation move that will begin with a report published in the same year will make the avenue uninhabitable within a few years, although the pauses will not slow down the speed of change of the avenue. This report, which we mentioned above, is prepared by the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization by the Urban Transformation Ministry Authorized Institution Tektaş Engineering within the scope of the urban transformation process. Hakan Çatalkaya, Chairman of Tektaş Engineering Board of Directors, points out that the intense urban transformation activity that will start on the avenue is related to the earthquake saying, "Hakan Çatalkaya, Chairman of Tektaş Engineering Board of Directors, points that the intense urban transformation activity that will start on the avenue is related to the earthquake by saying, "Most buildings before 1999 are risky" (Yazman, 2012b). On the other hand, at the end of the day, new high-rise buildings with no architectural identity built in place of demolished buildings irreversibly change the face of the area, and controversial structures such as the 45-storey Four

Winds (Park Residences) skyscrapers built on the site of the old meteorology building also emerge.



Image 17 Four Winds (Park Residences). These buildings, which stand out with their height compared to the buildings on the avenue, are presented on the company's website as follows: "Four Winds is also a first in Turkey with its lush gardens. A large part of Four Winds, built on a 44-acre land, consists of green areas. This means that the privileged families who will live in Four Winds will have a living space that consists of only 7% of buildings and 93% completely covered with greenery. Your new neighbors in Four Winds are nature and green. The green areas that Four Winds offers its residents are not limited to their own land. There are also many parks and green areas around Four Winds. Without straying far from Bağdat Avenue, you can easily take your children and meet nature, the parks with the most beautiful green areas, from Özgürlük Park to Göztepe 60. Yıl Park, from Kalamış Park to Yoğurtçu Park, are right next to you. The coastline where you can breathe in the sea air is just a few steps away." Source: <https://www.tasyapi.com/tr/Bağdat-caddesi-four-winds-residence-09406>

This rapid transformation trend experienced a brief pause in 2017. Nearly 100 projects covering approximately 2 thousand residences come to a halt. The reason for this is seen as urban transformation being implemented in an unplanned manner, by transforming thousands of buildings at the same time, rather than proceeding in a planned manner by starting step by step and creating reserve areas. This situation, which even puts contragents in trouble, does not last long, but it also benefits large construction companies. Melih Tavukçuoğlu, President of the Anatolian Side Construction Contragents Association (AYİDER), in his statement to a newspaper on the subject at the time, said that the renovation works of 5 thousand buildings on Bağdat Avenue were ongoing, that the number of problematic buildings was around 10%, and that these buildings were generally projects undertaken by contragents who had recently entered the profession, and added

the following: “Over 100 contragents are problematic. 100 of them are about to leave the industry. Strong companies survive. Others are eliminated. Some people, known as ‘bag sellers’, may go to companies that are having problems with cash and buy flats for half the price. “It may lead to a situation similar to spotters in the white goods industry for a while.” (İlhan, 2017). On the other hand, on the same date, in another statement, he stated that the number of contragent companies in the area, which was around 100, has increased rapidly in recent years and reached 500. They made promises to the rightful owners that they could not fulfill to get the job, and then they increased the prices of the flats to fulfill these promises, and therefore they had difficulties in sales (Ulusoy, 2017). In this sense, we can say that urban transformation continues rapidly in this process, despite minor disruptions, and continues to be the most important agent shaping the socio-spatial change of the avenue, free from conflicts between agents.

In these years, there has been a decrease in pedestrian traffic due to the dust and noise created by the constructions carried out within the scope of urban transformation. This decrease and the increase in rents cause many stores to close their branches. Among these famous stores, the number of which reaches 60, there are brands such as Michael Kors, Zara, Benetton, Bershka, Kitchenette, Teknosa, Linens and MAC. Sercan Ilıcalı, the store manager of Diesel, one of the world-famous brands that is preparing to close its branch on Bağdat Avenue in 2016, states that the customer density on the avenue has decreased due to the increase in economic uncertainties and the July 15 coup attempt, the increase in rents is due to urban transformation, rental fees have increased in the last 6 years, and explains why they decided to close the branch as follows: “This store has been here for 15 years and the rent is 40 thousand liras. But since we are former tenants, it is more affordable than the market. If we try to rent a shop elsewhere, we will have to pay 150 thousand liras. There is no business on the avenue like before. So, if there are no sales, it is not possible to cover the rent.” (Demirtaş, 2016). Another tradesman, who runs a more local shop, points out that the trend of avenue store closures is also related to the deterioration of economic stability and changing customer habits, with expressions such as There are at least two shopping malls in every district. They created chain stores again. Citizens also prefer to go to shopping malls, saying they are safe and quiet. But this crisis will hit those places too. The number of people coming to the avenue has decreased. Those who come do not come to buy anything but to travel. “I hope we get out of this situation without too much damage.” (Demirtaş, 2016).

The pandemic process that follows this crisis will undoubtedly directly affect social life on

Bağdat Avenue, as it does all over the world. As it is known, during the pandemic in 2020, citizens over the age of 65 and under the age of 20 were prohibited from going out as part of the measures taken against the spread of the virus called COVID-19, and the operations of “public rest and entertainment places” such as cafeterias, tea gardens, hookah lounges, internet, and game rooms were temporarily suspended. This slowdown of social life, combined with the problems caused by the urban transformation process after 2012 and the economic crisis, caused a significant stagnation in the avenue, which is an important place of socialization. So much so that, while preparing its strategic plan, Kadıköy Municipality organized the first of the “Talking Kadıköy” meetings, which it organized to get the opinions of the neighborhood residents, on “Bağdat Avenue, which was most economically affected by the epidemic”, and seeks solutions to the problems of the avenue with the participation of Kadıköy Mayor Şerdil Dara Odabaşı, Deputy Mayors and unit managers, IBB officials, Istanbul Development Agency officials, representatives of the tourism association and platforms in Kadıköy, non-governmental organizations, and academics.²⁰

However, the pandemic also reveals the advantages of the avenue from different perspectives, and the withdrawal of famous brands from the avenue in 2017-2018 helped end the period of relative stagnation that started with an average of 10% of construction projects remaining unfinished. For those who do not want to go to closed shopping malls due to the epidemic pushing people away from closed areas, Bağdat Avenue becomes a place that serves as an open shopping mall, offering both shopping and socializing opportunities. Lawyer Ali Güvenç Kiraz, President of Bağdat Avenue Association, summarizes this situation with the expression “Our biggest problem was commercial areas. This was our purpose in establishing the association. We had a serious problem regarding our shopping mall retailing that we lost to shopping malls for many years. However, after March 2020, when normalization started on June 1, the process was that people preferred not to go to closed areas and stayed in open areas.” (Yavuz, 2020).

Ultimately, according to the “8. Istanbul Shopping Avenues” report prepared by Cushman & Wakefield, while the number of empty stores on Bağdat Avenue decreased from 17 percent to 13 percent compared to the previous year, the number of visitors on weekdays increased by 30 percent. According to the report, the rate corresponds to a 12 percent increase compared to the pre-pandemic period in 2019. Again, it is seen that the food and beverage industry has started to rise

²⁰ See: “The Future of Bağdat Avenue Was Discussed”, Kadıköy Municipality official website. <https://www.kadikoy.bel.tr/Haberler/bagdat-caddesinin-gelecegi-konusuldu>

after the pandemic, there has been a significant increase in the number of stores in this category on Bağdat Avenue, and the number of stores on the avenue has increased in general (Cushman & Wakefield, July 2023). Tuğra Günden, Chairman of the Board of Directors of Cushman & Wakefield, explains this change by stating that “with the need and longing for socialization and access to the open air that emerged after the pandemic, physical retail has left behind the years-long recovery phase and entered a period of rise and the pressure on retailers has decreased” and emphasizes that “especially the effect of new investments of local and foreign companies, which have been opened, on the increase in the attractiveness of Istanbul’s shopping avenues” cannot be denied (Uygun, 2022).



Image 18 The news on the official blog of the international cosmetics brand Sephora about the store that opened on Bağdat Avenue on November 11, 2023. The brand announces the news as follows: “We opened our long-awaited flagship avenue store in Turkey with its new concept called Core Concept on Bağdat Avenue, one of the popular avenues of Istanbul. This new concept was implemented in Turkey for the first time after Westfield in England and Champs Élysées in France. While the first two floors of the location where Sephora Turkey also moved its headquarters operate as stores, the building with the first floor and four thousand square meters, which has the iconic 10-meter-long Sephora Flame logo on its front facade, is the first and only Sephora building in the world.”

Today’s Bağdat Avenue corresponds to a sociospatial space shaped by all these changes. While it is claimed that the post-pandemic inflation and the resulting high cost of living have caused the formation of a new demographic on the avenue, middle-income people living in the area, including artists, writers, and intellectuals, had to leave this place, they had to go “to the outskirts of the city or to holiday destinations close to Istanbul, such as Erdek and Ayvalık, that will meet their socio-economic expectations”, in this sense, there is a kind of “cultural migration” (Çakır, 2023). It is also known that the stores that were closed in 2017-2018 were replaced by other brands in the area, where construction projects prepared within the scope of urban transformation

accelerated after the latest February 6th earthquakes and many famous companies opened their first stores in Turkey here to increase their brand value. According to Cushman & Wakefield's 2023 report, Bağdat Avenue is the avenue with the most foreign brands among the shopping avenues in Istanbul. However, as high demand and high occupancy rates cause rent levels to rise, stores, especially in the food and beverage sector, have spread to the side avenues connected to the avenue due to supply constraints and high rents on the avenues. The report also notes that urban transformation works on Bağdat Avenue increased compared to the previous year due to the earthquake disaster, but there was a decrease in rental transactions in 2023 due to the supply limitation on the avenue, and while the number of weekday visitors increased, the number of weekend visitors decreased compared to 2022 (Cushman & Wakefield, March 2024).

A strange twist of fate will include Angel's grandson, Uzay Heparı, among the architects of the cultural climate of the 1990s, when Istanbul and Bağdat Avenue were rapidly changing. His interest in pop music, which started with his admiration for MFÖ in the 1980s, would lead him to a career path far removed from the classical music education he received, and he would experience a rapid rise in the field of popular music from the early 1990s. At the same time, during this period when popular music was on the rise, Heparı, who worked with names such as Sezen Aksu, Aşkın Nur Yengi, Sertab Erener, Levent Yüksel, passed away suddenly in 1994, perhaps he would have had an important place in the 1990s table summarized below. In Istanbul, today, the only legacy of Angel's work is Bağdat Avenue, which, despite all its changes, is still one of the breathing locations of the city as a long walking route. What remains from Heparı are the arrangements that left their mark on the popular culture of the 1990s through popular music.

To sum up, Bağdat Avenue, originally a caravan route during the Ottoman period, has a history extending back to the Byzantine era and served as a significant road connecting Istanbul to Anatolia and beyond. The section emphasizes the architectural contributions of Aron Angel, a prominent architect who significantly influenced the modern appearance of Bağdat Avenue. Inspired by Henri Prost, Angel was committed to creating green, livable urban spaces and focused on preserving green areas within urban designs. Despite facing numerous challenges and ultimately resigning in protest against urban developments he disagreed with, Angel's work left a lasting impact. The avenue's transformation accelerated with key infrastructural developments such as the start of ferry services in 1850, the construction of the Haydarpaşa-İzmit railway line in 1873, and population increases due to events like the Crimean War. These developments transformed areas

along the avenue into vibrant, desirable locations for both the Ottoman elite and foreign merchants, marking a significant phase in Istanbul's urbanization and modernization processes.

2. The Emergence of Popular Culture in Turkey: From the 1980s to the Present

As we concluded our previous chapter with an exploration of Bağdat Avenue's transformation, from a vital Ottoman route to a modern urban space, we now turn to another significant phase in Turkey's sociocultural evolution. Our journey continues by delving into the emergence and impact of popular culture in Turkey, particularly from the 1980s to the present. This period is characterized by profound changes that reflect broader shifts in political, economic, and cultural landscapes. The 1980s marked a turning point, with the introduction of neoliberal policies following the 1980 military intervention, reshaping Turkey's economic and cultural fabric. This section will explore these dynamics, examining how popular culture not only reflected but also influenced the broader sociopolitical discourse, setting the stage for Turkey's continued evolution in the new millennium.

When Ebru Gündeş filmed an attractive video clip for her new album *Ben Daha Büyümedim*'s (I have not grown yet, 1995) most popular song "Fırtınalar (Storms)", Caddebostan Maksim on Bağdat Avenue had not transformed into Migros, a pioneer supermarket in Turkey that was established by inspiring its original in Switzerland. *Fırtınalar* has been telling a forbidden love story between a man and a friend of his girlfriend. Ebru Gündeş and her handsome forbidden partner Berke Hüracan met in front of Caddebostan Maksim when their luxury cars face to face and almost crashed. According to the narration of the clip, Hüracan (Turkey's first registered best male model in real life) and Gündeş fall in love at first glance and quickly drift into a stormy love affair. The impact of this video clip is in parallelism with the public agenda in those years: The ethical dimension of the love in the clip divided celebrities in two; which one is prior; loyalty or love? According to show programs of the year that clip was filmed, it was the first clip that created "storms" in public agenda, and the first one that narrated a short film story.²¹

On the other hand, Ebru Gündeş was also on the agenda because of her private life in those days. Gündeş declared during an interview that she got married to businessman Levent Akkaş religiously (imam nikahı) and became the focus of criticism in the sense of rebelling against secular

²¹ "Fantezi Müziğin Genç Prensesi: Ebru Gündeş- PART 3 'Fırtınalar'", *Şokopop* YouTube Channel. See: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_IQXeYjURo0&list=PLYAu_6GJn1wWme2L93a1p27KwXQu31AIH&index=3. Last Seen: April 15, 2024.

lifestyle principles. As it is commonly known, on the eve of the February 28th military coup, there was a strong “sensitivity” to religious lifestyle and its symbols, because of the rising İslamist movement in the political field. Interestingly, another popular public character, who is known for his religious marriage, and criticized because of this practice was Müslim Gündüz, the leader of *Aczimendis* (a religious order), and one of the main figures of the February 28th military coup. More interestingly, the head of the Istanbul Bar Association Turgut Kazan filed a criminal complaint for Gündeş and Gündüz together because of a violation of civil law.²² Therefore, the anxiety that the state and society were leaving the secular line and moving towards becoming religious, which was responded to by the headlines of the mainstream newspapers of the period, “Is Turkey becoming Iran?”, interestingly, turns an inexperienced singer whose only goal is to escape from the slums of the city and achieve a more prosperous life, and the leader of a sect whose foundations were laid in 1985, a graduate of the Elazığ Evening Art School, into threats to the regime at the same time.



Image 19 A photo from Ebru Gündeş's video clip “Fırtınalar” that shows Gündeş and Berke Hürkan in front of Maksim Casino.

Since these years coincided with the strengthening of the Islamic movement in the political arena and the emergence of popular culture, the foundations of which were laid in the 1980s, local municipalities also became important in changing the course of politics, and the fact that the Welfare Party (RP), as a party appealing to the religious/conservative base, achieved success with

²² i.b.i.d.

arguments based on social democracy, causes the secular Kemalist ideology to be identified with elitism. Thus, spatial and cultural change is experienced through the tension of who will have the authority to organize the public space in the shadow of the political. In this respect, even this small anecdote shows that it is not easy to understand the cultural climate of Turkey in the 1990s, full of contradictions, and the spatial texture that witnessed this climate.

2.1. What Happened Between the “Explosion of Speech” and the “Suppression of Speech” in the 1990s?

The 1980s, as mentioned before, are considered an important turning point in terms of sociocultural transformation in the country. Many intellectuals believe that the emergence and spread of neoliberalism as a new political and economic system after the 1980 military intervention reshaped the country in this sense. In this context, the cultural dilemma of the 1990s, as mentioned above, is the legacy of the 1980s, as Nurdan Gürbilek explains in her accurate assessment. Nurdan Gürbilek, in *Vitrin’de Yaşamak*, states that the cultural change experienced in Turkey in the 1980s had two distinct features. Accordingly, while, on the one hand, the atmosphere of oppression and violence created by the September 12 coup collapsed on the society with all its weight, on the other hand, society is under the influence of “another form of power that society is less familiar with, a power that presents itself as an institutionlessness at first glance, a formative, provocative and inclusive power rather than a prohibitive one” (Gürbilek, 1992; 7). According to Gürbilek, these two features did not exclude each other throughout the period, but rather nourished each other, ensuring the existence of a seemingly contradictory cultural transformation. Thus, in this climate where the “explosion of speech” and the “suppression of speech” can be observed simultaneously, on the one hand, a “civilian” culture is born, and on the other hand, this “civilian” culture comes to life in a “market” built by the state (Gürbilek, 1992; 16).

Therefore, in the 1990s, Türkiye faced the contradictory results produced by the dualistic climate of the 1980s in different areas. In the 1990s, the “market” consolidated its place, and the political economy entered the orbit of neoliberalism. This means that the country is opening and globalizing. However, this opening leads to various crises of belonging internally, at individual and social levels. This quest, which has an important place on the public agenda, becomes a contradictory paradox that forces the individual to speak or remain silent, as the tension between being local/original residents of the country or foreigners who do not show sufficient “sensitivity”

to fulfill their citizenship obligations. Yael Navaro explains the general picture as follows: “The meaning and components of indigeneity were at the heart of social debates and conflicts. What constituted Turkish nativism? There was no consensus on the answer. As the Islamist movement gained popularity and strength, the content of ‘Turkishness’ was being scrutinized, opened to discussion, and new layers were revealed.” (Navaro, 2002; 41). In this sense, with the 2000s, this issue of nativism would begin to be discussed more passionately, and with the change of hands of the government, and with the change of hands of the government, it will lead to the emergence of alternative and contradictory approaches that “reflect the demands of the ‘periphery’ to be increasingly settled in the ‘center’” and “claim to be a discourse expressing the march of the periphery to the center” (Bulut, 2018; 109).

Istanbul was the symbolic space that staged cultural and ideological struggle specifically between Islamists and secularists. In this regard, the March 1994 election did not mean just a municipal system contest among political parties, it was the picture of conflict on culture, identity, and ideology (Navaro, 2002; 46). After the 1980 military coup, between 1980-and 84, Istanbul was governed by three military mayors: İsmail Hakkı Akansel, Ecmel Kutay, and Abdullah Tırtıl. In the 1984 election Bedrettin Dalan, and the 1989 election Nurettin Sözen took over this position. Dalan was a member of Anavatan Partisi (Motherland Party, *ANAP*) which represented the liberal wing of the Turkish right in those years. Sözen was a social democrat and member of Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (Republican People’s Party, *CHP*), organized by Mustafa Kemal in 1923, and has been represented Kemalist ideology since this year. The possibility of being next mayor of the city is a religious person, who is a member of Refah Partisi (Welfare Party, *RP*) dispatched secular groups to worry about the future of the Kemalist regime, rather prospects of Istanbul’s spatial problems.

Military mayors of Istanbul at the beginning of the 1980s, preferred “to paint all of the buildings facing the E-5 motorway white, to rehabilitate their disorganized appearance and establish ‘aesthetic’ scenery”, and “to change the names of the most iconic *gecekondu* settlements of the city” like ‘1 Mayıs Mahallesi’ which was the hub of leftist marginal groups in the 1970s, through ‘Mustafa Kemal Mahallesi’ rather conducting regular municipal services (Gül, 2015; 153-54). On the other hand, what Orhan Pamuk says that he remembers in the 1980s’ Istanbul in his famous book is “the *arabesque* that became popular during the 1980s, are all expressions of this emotion, which we feel as something between physical pain and grief” (Pamuk, 2004; 109-110). The emotion expressed by *arabesque* music was *hüzün* according to Pamuk, who identifies the city

with it in his book and argues that “it suggests an erosion of the will to stand against the values and mores of the community and encourages us to be content with little, honoring the virtues of harmony, uniformity, humility” (Pamuk, 2004; 111).

According to Martin Stokes, as an urban practice, *arabesque* has several “spatial binary oppositions” in this way; “a ‘Western’ (i.e. modern) Turkey is opposed to a subversively ‘Oriental’ (backward) Turkey; planned and ordered urban space as opposed to the disordered and unplanned spaces of Istanbul’s squatter town districts (gecekondu); control of the body is opposed to ecstatic lack of control; ‘outsides’ (dış) are opposed to ‘insides’ (iç); that which is ‘covered’ (kapalı) is opposed to that which is ‘open’ or ‘exposed’ (açık).” (Stokes, 2003; 22). Stokes also argues that those dualisms are originated or reframe a moral order dualism between East and West, or being Eastern and Western, and, in this context, “arabesk can be seen not only as a Geertzian cognitive map of the spatial schemas of this dramatic conception of urban life but is also a set of practices with which these schemas are manipulated and used.” (Stokes, 2003; i.b.i.d). Although Pamuk asserts that *hüzün* (and its median in the popular culture *arabesque*) cannot be understood by Westerners, Stokes considers understanding *arabesque* as a spatial practice is possible and it is also the way of capturing how globalization is significant for Turks.

Both in the 1980s and 1990s, the struggle between seculars and Islamists is based on globalism and consumption practices. Ideological references between these two groups are mostly instruments of ambition to win (Navaro, 2002; 139). According to Keyder, populism has been one of the basic fagents that influence ideological history in Turkey between 1950-80. Anti-elitism after the Single Party Period made significant the role of Turkish peasants in politics due to their integration with the market (Keyder, 1999; 242). Petty bourgeoisie with aspirations to rise found a way through rightist parties at least until the 1970s and promoted developmentalism as a way to get votes. But in the 1980s, politics turned the rudder to the demands of modern industries due to its increasing, and cannot be ignored power (Keyder, 1999; 244-45). Since 1980, the petty bourgeoisie went on the won way through Milli Görüş Hareketi (National Perspective Movement), which was born in a centered-right political field as an Islamic group, then became independent after the establishment of Millî Nizam Partisi (National Order Party, MNP) in 1970.

Indeed, Turgut Özal and his political party ANAP was a coalition that included both secular bourgeoisie and local entrepreneurs in peripheral countries of Turkey. The economic field was a meeting ground, and for a short period, centered right was reconciled by Özal there. In this period,

Özal declared an amnesty for *gecekondu*s and other unauthorized buildings by Parliament decision and donated his mayor Bedrettin Dalan with authorizations that no mayor had before. Dalan, initiated a building movement to make Istanbul attractive for global capitalism and tourism activities by reimagining the face of the city, and starting the first instances of gentrification (Özbay, 2015; 195-96). Before he was elected, Dalan described his perspective on the city as “The biggest need of Istanbul is neither road, water nor metro. The greatest need of Istanbul is, first, to bring a rational, constructive, and work-performing mentality to the head of the municipality” which the Motherland Party has and explained his election strategy as “Unite Istanbul with power.” (Miş, 2015; 357). This “work-performing mentality” implied a transformation for Istanbul in the sense of dramatic spatial changes and being stage of cultural struggle that meant a kind of class conflict. Indeed, Istanbul was already a package that waiting for “sale” in the global market, but she must be purified from unfunctional demographic components, and be dressed up in new cultural costumes. Post-1980s were identified by initiations of realizing these two basic missions, thereby, migration and gentrification ascended to the top of the agenda (Özbay, 2015; 198-99).

In this context, the March 1994 elections did mean the struggle in the authentication of this marketing process, and determining consumption strategies, although ideological stances cannot be ignored at least at the level of discourse. As Navaro points out, “The increasing popularity and power of the Islamist movement cannot be separated from the development of market networks for believers and specialized companies for 'Islamist products'.” (Navaro, 2002; 140). During neo-liberalism was consolidated regularly in economic and political levels, the urban areas became the spaces for seeking cultural and ideological identities in those days. After the 1985 domestic migration wave, Istanbul became a more complicated city. % 80 percentage of total new immigrants (1.099.246) came from urban areas, and they were mostly well-educated (Özbay, 2015; 200).

Ideological stances of the 1980s at the global level included both elitism and populism and produced special prototypes of new social classes. *Yuppies* were 1980s iconic figures that identified with those years. *Yuppie* is an abbreviation of “young urban professionals” that is mostly used for differentiating family-based bourgeois from those newly skipped upper classes from lower (Kozanoğlu, 1993; 10). In the Turkish case, *yuppies* are in similar conditions to the rest of the world. They graduated from well-educated universities, learned foreign languages, and focused on finance, public relations, and banking. They were hardworking, ambitious, and talented people

(Kozanoğlu, 1993; 12). Since they became more common in society, their rising from lower to higher classes emerged as objects of desire. A yuppie was usually characterized by a passion for consumption:

Yuppie has to be a hard consumer for many reasons. Firstly, due to the nature of things, he considers himself worthy of the best of everything. Because he is talented and hardworking, he deserves it. His time is short and competing with time is part of his ideology. For this reason, it is only natural that he buys the remote-controlled stereo, the fastest car, and focuses on ready meals with imported sauces and mustard condiments for dinner. Second, for the yuppie, consumption, and investment are intertwined as if challenging the basic assumptions of economics. If you wear a Rolex watch, Italian shoes, and an Armani Zegna dress, in addition to satisfying your “guided aesthetic” taste, you can also give some messages necessary for your advancement in business life: Messages that are necessary for a perfect image, such as infrastructure investment, such as that you are an elite person, that you do not play small, that you have complete self-confidence for the future because you do not shy away from large expenses. (Kozanoğlu, 1993; 167-68)

Additionally, a yuppie must live like a family-based rich person to be together with the upper classes to continue climbing classes down to up in the long term (Kozanoğlu, 1993; 168). Since the end of the 1980s, plutographic publishings like *High Quality*, *First*, *Fame*, and *Elite* stimulated upper classes’ lifestyles for *yuppies*, and their followers; thus, class mobilization became an everyday life routine in Istanbul in the beginnings of the 1990s (Kozanoğlu, 1993; 173). After an idealist young generation, those who believed in different ideologies withdrew from the public arena, management, business administration, and economy disciplines became shining in universities. “Being successful” was the most significant aim in this new period, and the criteria for success were described as saving much more money. Advertisements on TV depict happiness as a result of being successful, and equal to easily consuming whatever you wish. In this context, consumption services were developed in Istanbul, specifically number of cafes, restaurants, cinema halls, and clothing stores increased, and the city reshaped to serve these new consumption practices (Navaro, 2002; 141).

On April 24, 1982, Turkish Radio and Television Corporation (TRT) started its color trial broadcast. On March 1, 1984, the Mass Housing Act came into effect. On May 4, 1984, the first color advertisement was broadcast on television. On May 1, 1984, TRT switched to full-color

broadcasting. On May 20, 1986, Tarlabası demolitions began. On October 26, 1986, McDonalds opened its first restaurant in Turkey in Istanbul. On December 7, 1987, *Tempo* started to be published. On July 3, 1988, the Fatih Sultan Mehmet Bridge was opened. Galleria AVM was opened on October 1, 1988. On March 1, 1990, the first private television channel Star 1 started its test broadcast. Carrefour is opened at İçerenköy in 1991. Internet service became available on April 12, 1993. Capitol was opened on 18 September 1993, and Akmerkez was opened on 20 December 1993. These were just some significant developments of this period that summarize the sociocultural change due to the consumption practices and development of globalism (also neoliberalism), and its repercussions on the city.

According to Hikmet Temel Akarsu, who experienced all these years in Bağdat Avenue, in the 1970s, “Even a place like Bağdat Avenue, which was seen as the bastion of bourgeois indifference and egocentrism, wasted its young people like many diamonds in the chaos of that period.” However, the last romantics of those years learned the lesson they would learn after the 1980 coup, and when the “Years of Friedmanism” came, “everyone was trying to turn the corner, grab the money, make a fortune, move up the class, and for this purpose, all their values were abolished” (Akarsu, 2010; 47). In this atmosphere, as Kadıköy gains value for the middle class, conflicts begin in every family based on land, shares, title deeds, floor easement, etc. Since even the smallest plots of land around Bağdat Avenue become very valuable, even those with a tiny share become very rich and everyone tries to become a businessman (Akarsu, 2010; 48). In this period, when Michael Jackson was talked about as a popular culture icon, a malicious scene similar to the music video of the *Thriller* album surrounded the avenue, and a period was experienced in which money was the supreme value and the people of the avenue began to enjoy being rich and privileged (Akarsu, 2010; 52-53).

Another avenue resident, Batuhan Kıran, an “avenue boy” in his own words, who also has a novel written about Bağdat Avenue, describes Bağdat Avenue of the 1980s as follows:

It was the end of an era in Cadde in the 80s, I can say that it was like a magnificent final scene. It was a make-up version of the 70s, but it was not disconnected from it... Until the second half of the 80s, the avenue was a closed box. It belonged to the residents of the district, which had few visitors and was mostly economical and highly educated. Of course, the latest model cars and trendy clothes were also here... But more importantly, it was in touch with nature, wide flats with large balconies, giant plane trees, and flocks of birds would welcome you. So much so that sometimes we couldn't

hear each other's voices over the birds chirping. In the evenings, the sound of cutlery could be heard from the balconies, as conversations, and laughter, everyone knew each other, and there was a common spirit. Every time you walked away from the avenue and came back, you would realize the difference of this place again. (Uygun, 2017)

In this respect, it can be said that the arabesque rising on the outskirts of the city did not visit the avenues much and managed to preserve its elitist identity from the past, at least until the end of the 1980s, despite the rise of popularism. However, while the build-and-sell construction craze, which was claimed to have been caused by 50 billion dollars of cash entering the country with the initiative of the Özal regime in the 1980s, equipped the avenue with high-rise buildings similar to the beaches of Rio, "the waterside residences of the richest people of the country" would come to the fore (Akarsu, 2010; 56). In the same years, in a short time, the fronts of those waterside residences would be covered with filling areas and opened space for the people's relationship with the sea. This can be seen as the avenue's first serious contact with populism. However, the spread of popular culture on the avenue begins to become evident through consumption habits rather than spatial change.

At this point, we can return to the anecdote at the beginning of the chapter: In Turkey, the development of retail marketing is considered as started with the establishment of Migros Türk in 1955. In 1975, Koç Group took over the majority shares of Migros, and merchandising process began quickly. Since the end of 1990, "Migros has well analyzed the changing demands and expectations of the Turkish consumer following Turkey's outward-open economic policy", in its formal explanation, initiated supermarket merchandising by new practices such as employing part-time workers, keeping open stores until 10.00 pm, creating first discount market ŞOK, and introducing first private labeled productions to consumers. Migros used its talent of analyzing Caddebostan and made a famous casino through a huge store, where the first electronic shelf labels were used in there at the end of 1996.



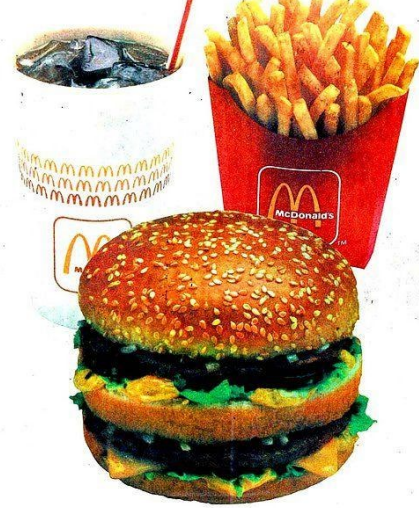
Image 20 Migros Türk once operated a mobile market using trucks, as seen in this postcard.

In the second half of the 1990s, Turkey witnessed the rapid spread of supermarkets, shopping malls, fast food restaurants, and chain stores of global trademarks that completely changed the spatial fabric of cities, especially Istanbul. In parallel with the emergence of a new social group that has much ambition to be “successful” and beginning consuming practice as the key to happiness as TVs, newspapers, and periodicals emphasize; new consuming places also emerged as spatial correspondents of the change. During George Ritzer’s striking study *McDonaldization* was published in 1993, in Turkey, McDonald’s restaurants newly became popularized. The brand, which opened its first branch in Turkey in Taksim in 1986, introduces the society to an American-style “new concept of eating” and a “new lifestyle” by offering a combination of practicality and elegance (Kunduz and Yirmibeşoğlu, 2019; 63). After the days when eating out was considered a luxury, this model, which provides quality and clean food at affordable prices and is accessible to everyone, became widespread over time, and other brands opened branches in various districts of the city, giving rise to a new food and beverage culture. Especially young people enjoy eating in places similar to the places they watch in American

movies, and as of the 1990s, these places have rapidly increased in cosmopolitan districts such as Şişli, Kadıköy, Bağdat Caddesi, Levent and Taksim (Kunduz and Yirmibeşoğlu, 2019; 65).



**Türkiye'nin ilk McDonald's Hamburger Restoranı
Taksim'de açıldı.**



**İstanbul'a hoşgeldin
McDonald's!**

Image 21 A McDonald's sign is seen in a photo taken during the April 23rd celebrations held on Şaşkınbakkal/Bağdat Avenue in 1997. Source: @oldisguide. On the X platform where the photo was shared, a user who spent his childhood in the 1990s made the following comment: "A very strange photo for those who were avenue kids in the 90s. Tours between the lights of Şaşkınbakkal-Erenköy, McDonald's, Cafe Caddesi, Whollywood, and even Öztekin depending on the age. When it opened with Çarşı and Marks cinemas, it was a different excitement. It was the most beautiful time in the most beautiful place in the world." In the second image, an advertising poster for the opening of the first McDonald's in Turkey is seen.

Ayfer Tunç says that this change has completely changed the eating and drinking culture by saying, "The hamburger chains, which were the choice of the new generation, have shaken the throne of Kristal Büfe, which had a queue in front of the cinema exits in Taksim Square before the Tarlabası demolition, and time has destroyed it." (Tunç, 2005; 364). Kristal Büfe on Bağdat Avenue manages to maintain its position on the avenue together with Barış Büfe is another old brand of the area, resisting this fast trend throughout the 1990s, and serving as both a family place and a place frequented by young people, even when McDonald's quickly became ordinary and eating and drinking practices took on completely different dimensions. (Kunduz and Yirmibeşoğlu, 2019; 85). However, its branch in Suadiye, one of the most successful stores of the brand that started to serve as Turkey's first hamburger shop in Taksim in 1962 and left its mark on the sector in the 1970s

and 80s, transferred its premises to Starbucks' first Turkish branch in 2003. The closing of Kristal Büfe, which inspired brands such as Marmaris Büfe (1964), Kızılkayalar (1972), and Bambi (1973) after its opening, is seen as “the beginning of the end of a genuine and sincere era for the food and beverage industry in Turkey and Istanbul” (Akyıldız, 2021).



Image 22 In the 1990 film *Bir İçim Su*, Serpil Çakmaklı and Engin Koç are at the Kristal Büfe.

Another significant development of the 1990s that evolved in interaction with this irony of consumer society is the opening of KRAL TV and rising popular music within its different forms. The “word explosion” of the post-1980s, as Gürbilek points out, was met with new sounds, new names, colorful video clips, and genre experiments in pop music in the early 1990s. Young popular singers (such as Tarkan, Yonca Evcimik, Bendeniz, Demet Sağıroğlu, Mustafa Sandal, Candan Erçetin, Sibel Alaş, Levent Yüksel, Seden Gürel) marked this period with their songs lyrics easy to memorize, and their video clips those mostly show different parts of the city as the arena of romantic love stories. On the other hand, a new kind of *arabesque* that is combined with popular music by adding *alaturca* motive on popular rhythms arisen as an alternative musical genre in those days. The first generation of *Arabesk* music became old-fashioned, and fantasy music replied to

the demand of updating *Arabesk* for the 1990s' dynamic social climate. Sibel Can, Mahsun Kırmızıgül, Seda Sayan, Of Aman Nalan stood out as pioneering figures of this new musical stream.

Ebru Gündeş emerged as one of the strong representatives of this new hybrid musical genre in 1995. She began her career with Turkish classical music songs, and she achieved to be included in the music market although she was very young and inexperienced. But her success story was interrupted by upheavals in her private life and the failure of her second album comparing popular music albums of this year. Gündeş and her producer firm found the solution by contracting with a social research company to reveal the demographics of Ebru Gündeş fans. Gündeş prepared her third album by considering the results of this research, thus, a renewed Ebru Gündeş body and style of dressing, as well as a renewed album repertoire focusing on pop in its infrastructure, emerged. So, this paved the way for an uneducated young girl who grew up in poverty on the periphery of the city to attain, within a very short time, the kind of wealth that “yuppies” could only hope to achieve during their retirement, maybe.

The yellow Porsche, one of the symbols of this wealth, in front of Maksim Casino, which has been one of the important symbols of the entertainment life that has been going on since the 1960s in Caddebostan and lived its last days before turning into a big supermarket, is like a summary of the period, in a way. This yellow Porsche is the harbinger of the fast-moving consumption culture that would change the social and spatial fabric of the city in the new era, the Turkey of the 1990s, which has gradually turned into a consumer society, and a roaring lumpenry. Soon, neither the educated “yuppies” nor the wealthy bourgeois could continue to monopolize the privilege of being the bearers of social taste; the boundaries between the city center and its periphery would also loosen, and lumpenry continued the road by overcoming all obstacles with pragmatic means.

The 1990s were also the years when big stadium concerts were held, and world-famous stars and popular culture icons were hosted in Istanbul. While the echoes of the populist wave continue, the relationship between the country and the West, which “jumped the era” in politics with Tansu Çiller, is seen in the media as equivalent to the technological progress in the transition from wire cabinets to refrigerators, and “The female Prime Minister we sent to America is also the symbol of Modern Turkey” (Civaoğlu; 1993); on the other hand, the year 1993, identified with the Uğur Mumcu assassination, Sivas Massacre, Dev-Sol raids and intense PKK terrorism, witnessed giant stadium concerts that “those who lived will never forget, and those who did not see will say, ‘Did

this really happen?"". However, these concerts, which were organized with great difficulty, made a wide impact in society with great advertisements and hosted important names such as Michael Jackson, Madonna, Metallica, and Bryan Adams, could not be continued.



Image 23 Advertisements and press coverage of some of the Istanbul stadium concerts that made Ahmet San a world-famous organizer.

In approximately the same years, the New Democracy Movement (YDH) was founded by “about 30 young people, mostly from the financial sector” (Göğüş, 1993), and even though these young people were “İstanbul yuppies with gold Rolex watches, Armani costumes, with an average age of around 27” (Göğüş, 1993), they would not be very successful (or maybe even for this very

reason), and their political adventure would end before it even started in the first general election they participated in. The party that emerged victorious in the 1994 local elections, which was the first and last election in which YDH participated, was the Welfare Party, which stood out with its religious/conservative identity, and Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, the candidate of this party, would take over Istanbul, which is “Turkey’s window to the West” (Bali, 2018; 194). Such a result from this election, in which the view that “the fate of Istanbul and the future of the country will be determined by the votes cast in the same ballot box” (Livaneli, 1994) is widespread (as will be stated with almost the same expressions in many subsequent elections) and at a time when the country (at least in the west) was so close to the utopia of modernization, opened the door to many interesting developments in sociocultural and sociospatial terms starting from the second half of the 1990s. Therefore, many innovations brought to the city by this “colorful” period when the country opened up to the outside world caused both a cultural change and spatial experience to gain new dimensions. The fact that the country did not have the same “colour” in terms of politics and economy was a situation identified with the contradictory atmosphere of the post-1980s. Even though the 2000s were greeted with millennium enthusiasm, similar contradictions would continue. As can be seen below, the speed of change and the depth of contradictions will cause an increase in interest in the past in society, and as an extension of this development, the interest in the past of the place will also increase significantly.

2.2. Popular Culture, City and Nostalgia in the 2000s

Society in Turkey is often criticized for forgetting its past and having a “fish memory”. This criticism generally implies that she made wrong choices because she forgot the betrayals of the opinion leaders who deceived him in the past. The 2000s became a period in which society became interested in the past, defying this criticism, and all kinds of memories became valuable. We mentioned that the identity crises caused by globalization created an important public opinion in the 1990s. In this respect, one of the most important agents in society’s curiosity about the past was undoubtedly the search for an answer to the question “Who are we?” Esra Özyürek, in her social memory-themed compilation published in 2001, describes the Turkish society’s curiosity in discovering the past as follows:

...in recent years, more memoirs than ever before are being published one after another. As soon as they are published, they take their place on the shelves of bestsellers and pirate stalls. Ottoman language courses are

being opened for the first time as a hobby. Furniture that was previously considered ‘heavy’ and ‘Turkish-style’ and thrown away from homes is being brought back home for a fortune from second-hand dealers and auctions. People in their 20s ask their grandparents where they came from and hang their youthful pictures on their walls. The collective memory that shapes the knowledge of the past is writing new memories and deleting old ones with inexhaustible enthusiasm. (Özyürek, 2001; 7)

According to Özyürek, although similar movements in the world that emerged with the loss of belief in modernist ideology also played a role in this interest, there is also a side specific to Turkey. This is because the gap left by the first Republican generation, who tried to break their ties with the past by turning to the future with the alphabet change made when the Republic was established, caused a great hunger in the new generations for both their own past and world history (Özyürek, 2001; 7-8).

On the other hand, Özyürek, who examined Kemalist nostalgia in her doctoral thesis that she started in 1997, interprets another side of the coin as “new Kemalism” and makes the following observations:

As part of market leadership, the new circulation of symbols in Turkey strengthens the power of corporatist and statist Kemalism but revives it in a new form. (...) Kemalism in its nostalgic form is neither completely statist nor completely dominated by the market; rather, it is state-centered but constitutes a new political model for market symbols. Nostalgic Kemalism is to diagnose the vanguard of crude state art with market-related fagants and symbols and by adhering to the memories of institutions as masks. New consumer products and privatization initiatives make new payments on state symbols, markets, and personalized identities (Özyürek, 2006; 234)

Kemalist nostalgia is also the manifestation of the need to embrace the state and founding values again as a force that will hold society together against Kurdish and Islamist movements as a serious security problem, the acceleration of social change with globalization and the spread of individualization in society. It is also a manifestation of the need to embrace the state and the founding values again as a power to hold on. From another perspective, it is a front of struggle against the return of the repressed. One of the greatest achievements of the Republican regime was that it seriously disrupted society’s connection with the past. In this way, he was able to use social memory as a kind of tabula rasa and construct it according to his epistemological framework. However, the 1990s were a period when all the marginals pushed out of this framework moved

towards a strong alliance. Therefore, a kind of memory struggle began, in which alternative memory constructs competed with each other and all alternatives united in a common front against the mainstream official narrative (Gürpınar, 2023; 324). The Kemalist ideology opened a new safe front for itself in this struggle by occasionally revising its historical narrative and distributing it to the civilian sphere under the influence of the market.

Kemalist nostalgia, which became increasingly established after February 28th, on the other hand, plays a role in shaping the ideologies opposite it, such as the old Kemalism. In particular, since the “withdrawal” of Kemalism to the civil sphere and the advancement of Islamist/conservative movements towards the heart of the state were a simultaneous process, their interactions with each other were quite strong and produced important results. For example, Neo-Ottomanism, which argues that the search for social identity can be solved by returning to the Ottoman Empire and building an imagination of the past, accordingly, is one of these results. Just as Kemalist nostalgia is represented by commodities that can be bought and sold in the civilian sphere, it is expressed through the naming of shops using the word “Ottoman”, Ottoman monograms on car windows and rings, and various decorative elements used in places. According to some researchers, this movement, which “became a powerful symbolic political tool that determined the ethos and pathos of Turkey in the 2000s”, determines both politics as a management mentality and the civil sphere as a social phenomenon (Tokdoğan, 2018; 16- 17).

Istanbul is surrounded by the symbolic elements of all these struggles and mutual fronts. The most active market of the “identities market” (Navaro, 2002; 187) is in Istanbul. Resistance positions for both Kemalist nostalgia, neo-Ottomanism, and different forms of Islamism and secularism are located in Istanbul. For example, one of the elements that made the “reactionist threat” discourse possible on February 28th was the mosque that the Welfare Party (RP) wanted to build in Taksim (*See Image 4*). This mosque began to be served many years later, by Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, who brought the project to the agenda in 1994, when he was serving as the president of the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality with RP, while he was the President, its construction started in 2017 and was completed in 2021 (Göksedef, 2021). After the Justice and Development Party (AKP) led by Erdoğan came to power in 2002, Atatürk Cultural Center (AKM), Emek Cinema, Gezi Park, etc. Similar debates over symbolic spaces will arise from time to time; Kemalists will accuse Islamists of trying to erase this period from social memory by destroying symbolic places of the history of the Republic, and Islamists will accuse Kemalists of not being open to innovations.



Image 24 The headlines of *Sabah* (February 1, 1997), *Hürriyet* (February 4, 1997), and *Milliyet* (January 31, 1997) newspapers, respectively. All three mainstream publications of the period emphasized that the construction of a mosque in Taksim, along with other developments, was a move that pointed to the government's "reactionary" threat and was brought to the agenda as an important issue in the political arena.

In this respect, attempts to shape social memory through city space become more interesting after 2010.²³ On the one hand, on the occasion of the city's election as the 2010 European Capital of Culture, many memoirs and monographs about the city's past are published, events and content are produced by the municipality and the Development Agency, and Istanbul nostalgia gains a supra-identity quality; and on the other hand the protests that took place in Gezi Park in 2013 and the government's intervention in the incident resulted in an increase in social polarization based on

²³ In fact, the foundations of this hybridization can, in a way, be associated with the spatial turn experienced in the field of history in the academy. Among the bifurcations caused by the search for identity after 2000, there is also an increase in interest in Ottoman social history. Considering the tremendous increase in research on Ottoman cities after 2000 (see Uğur, 2020 for details), it will be seen that the effort to search for its roots in the depths of space and try to derive a new framework for the culture of coexistence from here is not limited to Istanbul and a popular interest.

[illegible]

A kind of hybridization leaking through the cracks within the facade is a distinct element that carries the post-2010 Istanbul nostalgia into the 2020s. Of course, various agents such as the proliferation of new media and the commodification of space also support this hybridization. However, the point is no longer to look for the answer to the question “Who are we” in the past; now the goal is to build the Istanbul of the future and the Turkey of the future. For this reason, while “renewing the old” becomes an important trend, many elements of the city that were not appreciated before will begin to be taken into consideration. In addition to nostalgic practices that have ancient origins but have gained popularity after 2010, such as gaining artistic value in the 1990s through the black and white photographs taken by Ara Güler for newspapers in the 1950s and 60s, since the 2000s, television channels have been re-broadcasting Yeşilçam films with a

curiosity that evokes nostalgia for Istanbul,²⁴ cultural heritage-themed exhibitions and the rise of practices such as museology and collecting, and increased interest in Istanbul biennials and film festivals, old apartments, old avenues, various places and materials that remind us of old Istanbul attract great attention, especially through social media. Now, when “old Istanbul” is mentioned, the places that come to mind are no longer Suriçi and the Bosphorus but spread over a wider area. Biennial venues such as Abdülmecid Efendi Mansion, cultural activity and exhibition areas renewed by Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality such as Museum Gazhane, and small districts such as Yeldeğirmeni, where old houses still stand and the neighborhood culture partially continues, even though they are on the verge of demolition, become the subject of Istanbul nostalgia, and thus, in the 2020s, nostalgia for Istanbul acquires a framework that includes the Anatolian side of the city.



Image 26 The news item titled “Göztepe’s Historical Mansions for Those Who Want to Escape the NATO Chaos” in the Friday supplement of the Hürriyet Newspaper dated June 25, 2004. Dr. Müfid Ekdal, known for his books on Kadıköy and one of the

²⁴ For a detailed analysis on this subject, see *İstanbul Açık Şehir - Kentsel Modernitenin Endişelerini Sergilemek*, İpek Türel, Istanbul: Metis Publications, 2021. In particular, the sections “Fotoğraflarla ‘Eski İstanbul’u Hayal Etmek”, about the exhibition of Ara Güler's Istanbul photographs, and “Sinemasal Şehir”, which examines the appreciation of Turkish cinema in terms of Istanbul nostalgia, contain important findings in terms of Istanbul nostalgia research.

most important sources of Kadıköy nostalgia in this respect, was the person who presented the mansions in question to the reporter. As it is also mentioned in the news item, if it were not for Ekdal's archive and studies, Kadıköy studies would also be greatly lacking. Source: Taha Toros Archive.

Within this framework, the nostalgia of Kadıköy and Bağdat Avenue also finds its place. 15 of the 88-book "İstanbulum" series, which started to be published by Heyamola Publications with the contributions of the Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture Agency on the occasion of Istanbul being the 2010 European Capital of Culture and continues with new books, are about Kadıköy and Bağdat Avenue.²⁵ Similarly, 144 of the books in the Istanbul District Monographs list are related to the Kadıköy and Bağdat Avenue area, 133 of them were published after 1980, and 105 of them were published after 2000.²⁶ 32 of these books directly address the Bağdat Caddesi districts. Apart from this, as mentioned in the literature section, there are nostalgic descriptions of the area in Istanbul monographs, many sources in the memoir genre, and various novels. As of the 2000s, we can see Kadıköy and Bağdat Avenue have been subjected to a nostalgic reception on pages opened on Facebook, accounts on Instagram and Twitter (X) platforms, and various blogs and podcast channels.

This nostalgic reception includes the spatial change of the avenue, old mansions that are still standing, buildings that have been demolished or are being demolished, famous people who lived here in the past, closed cinemas and beaches, as well as various memories about everyday life, entertainment culture and forms of socialization. As can be seen in the images below, sometimes an anonymous photograph from the 1950s, sometimes a postcard from the late Ottoman period, sometimes a joyful photo of intellectuals coming together in the house of a poet living in the area in the 1980s, an image whose date can only be guessed circulated as a nostalgic element on social media. Kadıköy Apartments (@kadiköyapartman), which is the result of the initiative started by Hande Tulum Okur and Efsun Ekenyazıcı Güney with the aim of "archiving the housing texture that is about to disappear in Kadıköy and creating a memory album", directed by Emre Muşazlıoğlu, "Kadıköy in history, art, and life. The Kadıköy Cultural Atlas (@AtlasKadikoy), which he manages with the motto "History, art, life in Kadıköy", and the personal accounts of intellectuals from various fields living around Kadıköy / Bağdat Avenue, help this nostalgic reception gain a more organized and objective dimension.

²⁵ See. <https://heyamola.net/12-istanbulum-kitap-dizisi>

²⁶ See. <https://istanbulmonografi.com/>



Image 27 Examples of nostalgic reception of Bağdat Avenue on social media

In the memoirs and monographs, many elements such as the first patisserie opened on Bağdat Avenue (Liz Patisserie) and the first fruit ice cream tasted there (Bucak, 2010; 79), a former governor (Fahrettin Kerim Gökay) who occupied himself with gardening in his mansion in Göztepe after his retirement (Özcan, 2009; 192), an earthquake that started while he was writing the book “on the seventy square centimeter kitchen table” (1999 Marmara earthquake) (Ural, 2010; 40), beautiful looking wooden mansions seen along the way while walking from Kalamış Club to

Fenerbahçe, “a few of which have served Turkish filmmakers for years and have become shooting plateaus” (Erağan, 1998; 41), again, mansion life in Kalamış and private lessons taken with the aunt’s daughter from the teacher who came to the house (Ergeneli, 1993; 82) and then the occupation of this mansion by British soldiers (Ergeneli, 1993; 83), the “demolish-build-sell” craze after 1970 and the avenues where all the buildings were demolished and rebuilt over time, and even some of the newly built buildings were renovated (Canberk, 2009; 43), summer cinemas (Altunç, 2009; 92-100) are included. Additionally, the authors of these texts support their memories with various visuals, ephemera, and ego documents in their archives.



Image 28 The memoirs include various images from personal archives. In the upper left image, the author remembers his relatives playing backgammon on the veranda during his childhood. In the background, a revelry is seen where Ayşe Çavuş Avenue, one of the busiest roads in Suadiye today leading to Bağdat Avenue, passes in front of it (Altunç, 33). Below, a field where football matches were played on Bağdat Avenue in the 1950s is seen. The photograph was taken in the early 1960s and is in the Nevzat İnanoğlu Archive (Altunç, 171). In the right image, Gören Apartment, built on the site of Selahattin Pınar’s house, is located (Bucak, 74).

The main theme in these texts is that as time changes, the good days become increasingly distant, and the place presents a physical reflection of this distance. For example, examples of expressing spatial change with sad feelings appear in almost all texts:

And the day came. All these places were flooded. In 1984, huge graders and sand trucks passed over everything. That beautiful coast was filled in for the sake of building a road. (Altunç, 2009; 187).

We can also consider Süheyla Hanım a resident of Feneryolu in a way. When she got sick, she had to leave the two-story villa-type house where she had lived for many years and this neighborhood. It was after her death. One day recently, while passing by, I saw that this house that I knew well was being demolished and a multi-story apartment building was being built in its place. Another page that reminded me of the past was thus closed. (Canberk, 2009; 96).

...Serra is a witness to an Istanbul that no longer exists. The mansions in those beautiful gardens, which were the most beautiful examples of wooden architecture, first started to be rented floor by floor. Then the gardens were parceled out. Then the apartment buildings rose. While the concrete blocks reached the sky, the gardens dried up. The parks disappeared. The streams dried up. The land became invisible and untouchable. Today, Bağdat Avenue and its neighborhoods are once again under construction attack, and the few traces left from the past are about to disappear. (Uşaklıgil, 2018; 52)

As mentioned in the introduction, another emphasis of these texts is that a more decent lifestyle used to dominate Bağdat Avenue, but this decent atmosphere disappeared with spatial and cultural change. In this respect, while the authors commemorate the spatial change with sadness, as in these examples, they also mourn those “decent” days: “There was no crazy consumption, it was beyond shameful, it was not even thought of. No one was aggressive, there was general decency and politeness. For example, when I was a child, there was the concept of uncle police, and uncle police was never a scary figure.” (Uşaklıgil, 2018; 53). In this respect, it can be said that the nostalgia that occurred after the 2000s carries the desire to carry past values and lifestyles to the present with an idealized fiction. It is seen that the Kadıköy Apartmanları account and initiatives such as Şehrin Panoları, İstanbul Apartmanları, and Kültür Envanteri, which are not limited to Kadıköy, also aim to revive the social memory with spatial elements. Kadıköy Apartments, which also points to the political aspect of this attempt to make people forget/remind them of the “In this way, every structure of a country between 1950-1970 and even 1930-1980 is destroyed. There is a before, there is an after, so why the attitude as if a period never happened...” question after sharing

about a building undergoing urban transformation in Moda, also objects to an impersonal architecture, like similar initiatives.

On the other hand, one of the issues emphasized in the memoirs is that in a period when change came to Bağdat Avenue and Istanbul as a whole, and thus popular culture declared its dominance, the good days of the past can only serve as an emotional shelter:

Music was also a music for this intermediate generation. A genre called Arabesque emerged; it was an unknown thing, a strange thing that needed a thousand witnesses to call music. This genre of music created people who got on the nerves of the listeners and who didn't know what the hell they were doing as they got on the nerves. The real musicians were pushed aside. Because now it was not quality but poor quality that was important. In this beautiful Istanbul that was becoming more and more rural, the majority understood and enjoyed this. Culture had been destroyed. (Erağan, 1998; 80).

In this sense, avenue nostalgia includes elitism and anti-popular culture. However, this portrait of elitism must be drawn carefully. By the late 1990s, “the monthly salaries of members of the classes that could not renew themselves could not even cover their apartment dues in the vicinity of Bağdat Avenue, where in the 60s a colonel, a teacher, a civil servant could buy a living by paying their retirement bonus” (Akarsu, 2010; 81). One step later, the prices of luxury apartments, which were demolished and rebuilt by contragents by the new rich, who drove the petty bourgeoisie away from the area, rose to millions of dollars, as if they were competing with the apartments in Manhattan (Akarsu, 2010; 82). Therefore, it is not possible to consider the motives of nostalgia for the avenue, which was subject to a serious identity change in class terms in the late 1990s, independently of the agencies shaped by social conditions.



Beyza Uzüğüten Cumbul
@buzzluk

...

Her yer hızla aynılaşıırken, birinciliği Bağdat Caddesi'ne vermek üzereyiz. Cadde ruhu yerini aynılığa bırakıyor; çok yazık. 😞

Her sene özlemle koşup, her yerle aynı olan başka bir yer bulma hızım adeta özlemimle yarışıyor. :(

[Translate Tweet](#)



Aysun Ellid
@aysun_ell

...

O son Nüzhetler, Şenizler, Şerminler, Cesimler ne zaman nerede bittiler asla bilemedik... Caddebostan Maksim'in Migros olduğu gün belki de, bittiler ve gittiler...

22:21 · 6.03.2022 · [Twitter for Android](#)

Image 29 Statements by individual users on social media that the avenue has lost its original identity. Although it is not known from which perspective these statements criticize the change in the avenue, it is seen that they share the nostalgia for the avenue expressed in the memoirs.

On the other hand, according to researchers such as Uğur Tanyeli, who claims that Turkey is “a very slowly changing country that thinks it is making all kinds of changes very quickly” if we take into account cities such as Shanghai, which turned into a megapolis in almost a generation, districts such as Bağdat Avenue and Nişantaşı are areas that were established for the upper classes and still maintain these characteristics (Özcan 2012). Since the difference between poverty and

wealth in Turkey is a cultural definition rather than an economic one, as in many countries, there is a lifestyle stability that does not interfere with economic changes. Despite this, the reproaches expressed in memoirs and social media are globalization, liberation, etc. It needs to be evaluated in contexts such as. Similarly, according to Tanyeli;

In late modernizing societies, the destruction of communal control and traditional order and the establishment of a new one do not occur within such a universal framework. In such societies, a multiple structure emerges that will continue its existence in all social, economic, and cultural areas for a very long time. On the one hand, traditional communal structures and cultural relations survive even if they undergo significant changes. On the other hand, modernity focuses or areas emerge alongside them and are articulated to them. (Tanyeli, 2002; 76)

In this sense, while the control mechanism arising from the neighborhood structure throughout the city continues to operate strongly, districts that cannot function in this way may arise in the periphery. In such situations, which show the “symbiotic” unity of modern and premodern, urban life naturally takes a complex form. This hybridity seen in Istanbul during the late Ottoman period is a process that began in the 18th century when the upper classes went to the summer districts on the city’s periphery and gained a relatively freer space experience. This symbiotic association, which continued during the early Republican period, creates an “urban revolution” for which the wealthy segment of the society pays the price (Tanyeli, 2002; 78-79). This is how new and innovative districts such as Kadıköy and Bağdat Avenue are born. The grandchildren of the Ottoman elite inherited the legacy of their grandfathers who signed this urban revolution and made Kadıköy and Bağdat Avenue the pioneers of a unique modernization experience in the early Republican period. The price of being a pioneer in modernization is being the “*other* of Istanbul” due to its symbiotic relationship with the premodern, and according to Tanyeli, if this ongoing situation changes one day, Turkey’s modernization will only then be able to move on to a new phase: “When it comes to that point, it will be understood that, for example, Bağdat Avenue is neither an angel nor a devil.” (Tanyeli, 2002; 84).

This section has discussed how the rise of popular culture after 1980 had interesting cultural consequences in the 2000s for Turkey and Istanbul in particular. Many developments that accelerated the emergence of popular culture, such as the development of means of communication, the liberalization of the economy, the transition to color television, and the beginning of the use of

the Internet, were welcomed with enthusiasm by the society. However, the contradictions created by these developments and the various concerns caused by rapid change brought about the popularization of nostalgia. Nostalgia for old days, old people, old things and old places created a curiosity for social and spatial change. This curiosity has been responded to in many ways, from social media posts to comprehensive academic studies. Among the channels where this interest was reciprocated were literature and cinema. As can be seen below, Bağdat Avenue has an interesting place in this interest. Tanyeli's hope of examining Bağdat Avenue as a key issue in understanding society and modernization does not find significant response. Instead, it is mainly seen as the spatial basis for criticism of the upper and upper-middle classes in Turkey.

2.3. Pamuk's Istanbul, Erol's Kadıköy, Burak's "Cadde"

I love this avenue because it does not hide its disgust and reveals its fakeness. This avenue seems to want to say that life is nothing but a continuous hypocrisy: As if everything is written on it that it is fake! Disgusting apartment marbles! Disgusting plexiglas panels! Disgusting chandeliers hanging from the ceilings! Well-lit disgusting patisseries! I love all the disgusting things that do not hide themselves. I am fake too, how lucky, we are all fake! (Pamuk, 1991; 133).

Orhan Pamuk talks about Bağdat Avenue in this way in his novel *Sessiz Ev* (Silent House) published in 1983. In his second novel, published after *Cevdet Bey ve Oğulları* (Cevdet Bey and His Sons), each of the characters named Recep, Büyükhanım, Hasan, Faruk and Metin describes the plot as narrators. Metin is the youngest of three brothers who meet to spend the summer at their grandmother's house in a resort called Cennethisar. Metin, whose mother and father are not alive, comes to this place in the summer of 1980, when he graduates from high school and joins a rich group of friends. The above description is included in one of the chapters where the character is the narrator and consoles himself by saying "I am smarter than all of them!" (Pamuk, 1991; 52) in this group of friends where he sometimes feels alienated because he is not rich like them.

Metin, whose only dream is to go to America for education and return to the country rich, is disgusted by Bağdat Avenue's hypocrisy as well as his hypocrisy. The reason for Metin's hypocrisy is that he falls in love with a girl from this rich group of friends. Because he is in love with Ceylan, he puts up with the disliked behavior of these spoiled rich people who live without worrying about their livelihood, relying on the inheritance they will inherit from their father. She

dances, participates in car races, and goes swimming with these young people, who belong to a social group that she sees as “underdeveloped idiots” (Pamuk, 1991; 130) who do not know how to have fun because of their families, she always struggles with this hypocrisy. In this respect, the fraud he attributes to Bağdat Avenue seems more honest than his own life. But ultimately, he doesn’t like the avenue and its people because they are rich. This description, which is probably a reflection of Pamuk’s hatred of the bourgeoisie, which will gradually increase in the following years, reminds me of the words made by the author in this regard in an interview: “The bourgeoisie makes me very angry. I am disgusted by their arrogance. Not only is he narrow-minded and selfish, but he also hates his people. Neither military interventions nor the oppression of the Kurds disturbs the secular Turkish upper class. They look down on many Turkish women just because they wear headscarves.”

Roni Margulies mentions the following anecdote in an article he wrote inspired by Pamuk’s words: “My friend, the son of a wealthy family from Istanbul, is walking on Bağdat Avenue with his mother, who was born and raised in Suadiye. Two women wearing headscarves are coming. My friend’s mother freezes: ‘Did they come here too!’ she screams.” According to Margulies, what the woman refers to as “them” is entirely a class situation because “What are these poor people doing in a rich neighborhood of Istanbul? They can be cleaners in my house, they can serve me, but they cannot shop where I shop.” she means. According to Margulies, who evaluated this anecdote, which he thought sheds light on the process of change that Turkey experienced in the first 10 years of the AKP government, “It reflects the general view of the bourgeoisie and the ruling class” " With this approach, Orhan Pamuk is saying that he is not on the side of “the rulers of Bağdat Avenue, but on ‘these’“, that is, on the side of democratization (Margulies, 2012).

Such exemplary explanations, interpretations, reactions, and determinations, in which the triangle of space, city, and literature intersects with politics and democratization, are encountered on many occasions in Turkey. In particular, with the modernization of the city and city administration in the late Ottoman period, the opening of two large public parks in Çamlıca and Taksim in the 1870s made new socializing practices an integral part of everyday life in the Ottoman capital. The issues directly affected and influenced by these new practices are also reflected in the literature of the period. Many novels such as *İntibah*, *Müsameretname*, *Süleyman Musli*, *Turfanda mı Yoksa Turfa mı?*, *Zehra*, and *Araba Sevdası* deal with these issues (See. Altuğ; 2015). Since these years, criticisms about the superficiality of the admiration for the West and modernization,

which some of the Ottoman elites nurtured and grew without any intellectual background or serious mental and practical experience, have found a place in the triangle we have mentioned. Although some of the neighborhoods on Bağdat Avenue are mentioned in these texts, the first novel to deal directly with *Bağdat Avenue* is *Ford Mach I*, written by Sevim Burak. Considering that the first novel written on Kadıköy was Safiye Erol's *Kadıköyü'nün Romanı* published in 1938, it can be said that *Ford Mach I*, which the author started writing in the 1970s, is a work that is quite overdue. In this respect, it can be argued that the state of being the “other of Istanbul” mentioned by Tanyeli affects Bağdat Avenue the most as a part of Kadıköy.

In fact, in the early Republican period, various works were published, such as Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu's *Sodom ve Gomore*, a novel written in 1928 about the Armistice years, which, instead of commemorating Istanbul for its beauty, denigrates it, even humiliates it, identifying it with misery and inferiority. However, the degenerate center of the city, which is denigrated for opening its arms to the occupation soldiers, is the Bosphorus. In the text, even the beauty of the peaceful nature cannot hide the sinfulness of the “monden” life, the cosmopolitan and flexible life of the Ottoman society. From now on, beauty, goodness, and righteousness are the attributes of Anatolia, the heart of the “national awakening”. For Yahya Kemal, who was born only five years before Yakup Kadri in a Balkan city on the western side of the empire, the Bosphorus is the masterpiece of civilization. The conquest continued even after the Conqueror, and with its architecture, music, spirituality, and the subtleties of everyday life, it clothed the city in an elegant “Turkishness” that it would never want to take off again. Moreover, this is such a garment that neither Easternness nor Westernness looks hideous on it. The civilization that was once established by being close to the Orient could very well be built and revived today in the “air of Western civilization and its principles”. In this sense, Yahya Kemal and cosmopolitanism are not seen as weakness or smallness. While evaluating the translations from Greek philosophy during the reign of Fatih as “the arrival of knowledge in the Turkish country”, he proudly mentions the existence of a “free, pure, exquisite” life in these places after the conquest.

Picking up where Yahya Kemal left off, his student Tanpınar continues to describe “saintly Istanbul” and warn those who disfigure the city. In *Beş Şehir*, he sees Istanbul as a fountain from which everyone can draw according to their taste. He expresses that each of its neighborhoods is like a complete table with a different color, and a different flavor and that if he eats from one, his mind will remain on the other. Missing the Bosphorus when he is in Göztepe, Nişantaşı when he

is in Suriçi, and Eyüp when he is in Nişantaşı, is accordingly an ordinary part of everyday life for an Istanbulite. On the other hand, this colorful, cosmopolitan “composition” undoubtedly also represents a deep-seated separation and change. Beyoğlu and Üsküdar, Tarabya and Beyazıt, Beylerbeyi whisper to us the symbolic meaning of this “deep” separation. This separation, which is partly inside and partly outside the composition that “opens up like a rose, leaf by leaf” and turns every Istanbulite into a humble poet by constantly “exercising their imagination”, is also a clue to a story of change and metamorphosis. According to Tanpınar, with the Second Constitutional Monarchy and the Proclamation of the Republic, this composition was completely dissolved, and Istanbul completely tore away its old identity. Tanpınar, who thinks that we accepted Westernization unquestioningly when the Ottoman Empire was replaced by a modern nation-state, was a lover of Istanbul before this identity change. For this reason, he waxes nostalgic for Istanbul and the Bosphorus in the text.

Orhan Pamuk will also join this nostalgia with the text he wrote in the form of memoirs and essays called *Istanbul: Memories and the City* (2004). In the work in which he identifies the city with the concept of sadness, he says that Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, Yahya Kemal, Abdülhak Şinasi Hisar, and Reşad Ekrem Koçu, whom he refers to as “four sad writers”, are writers who are stuck between “being Western and being ‘genuine’” and emerging from this in-between with a unique language and style, he finds it impressive that these writers, who deeply felt the impact of the collapse of the Ottoman civilization along with the Ottoman Empire, expressed this loss in a “poetic” style without falling into a “simply nostalgic” or “aggressive nationalist/communitarian” line. This style, which he calls “the sadness of ruins”, coincides with his portrait of “black and white Istanbul”. He states that he experienced the Istanbul of his childhood as “a two-colored, semi-dark, leaden place, like black and white photographs” and that it remains in his memory that way. The fact that a movie is being shot on every corner in the districts where these mansions, which are filled with tales of princes who have lost their minds, courtiers who have become drug addicts, and stories of exile and betrayal, where old Istanbul houses and sumptuous mansions have been demolished, they have been left out among the apartment buildings, they have “acquired a special Istanbul color” due to neglect, were burned down gives Pamuk the feeling of “being involved in dreams and daydreams made of Istanbul’s old richness, lost buildings and legends that are now far away.” The feeling that permeates every part of the city and deeply penetrates the lives of its residents is sadness. He depicts the city among the ruins of a collapsed civilization, tired, exhausted,

hopeless embarrassed, and fatalistic under the influence of the feeling of helplessness and poverty in the face of the victorious civilization. “In Istanbul, sadness is both an important local musical feeling, a basic word for poetry, a perspective on life, a state of mind, and what is implied by the material that makes the city a city” (Pamuk, 2004; 93). In this respect, it contains positive and negative connotations at the same time and is even “carried with pride” or at least pretended to be so because of this plurality in its content.

In this context, Pamuk tries to capture the “places and moments” where sadness makes itself visible in the city, as well as touching on the place of sadness in Arabic and religious literature and how Arab and Greek philosophers have addressed the subject since Kindi. He reveals the panorama of everyday life in Istanbul with a long list of examples. He references the concept of *tristesse* used by Claude Lévi-Strauss in his *Tristes Tropiques* and emphasizes that an individual melancholy does not explain the sadness here, that he is talking about a culture to which millions of people feel they belong, and that sadness is a way of life that permeates these lives and is integrated with the texture of the city and its people. At this point, *tristesse* also loses its explanatory meaning, and the sadness of Istanbul and Istanbulites emerges as an introverted feeling, different from the sadness a Westerner discovers by looking at the city. What brings him together with the four writers we mentioned above is his attempt to convey this unique way of experiencing sadness to the reader in an original language. It is this sadness itself that alienates Metin from Bağdat Avenue in *Sessiz Ev*.

However, in her novel, which she wrote long before Pamuk and Tanpınar, Safiye Erol will try to move this discussion in a different direction with a completely different depiction of Kadıköy within the framework of a symbiotic modernization analysis of exactly the kind Tanyeli mentioned. In each of the four novels that Safiye Erol wrote throughout her writing life, Kadıköy and/or Kadıköy districts are one of the important places in different sizes and shapes, but in *Kadıköyü’nün Romanı*, the district itself is like an agent. The author, who cares about the unique modernization experience of Kadıköy, exemplifies the social environment and lifestyle of Kadıköy, which was one of the most popular summer resorts of the “new Turkey” in the 1930s but also witnessed a rapid urbanization experience from the beginning of the century. Focusing on a period in the lives of a group of young people living in “Kadıköyü” in the early 1930s, the author conveys to the reader how these young people, who were at important thresholds in terms of their maturation processes, experienced Kadıköy. While the plot of the novel progresses on the axis of the emotional relationships between these young people and the decisions taken accordingly, the heroes who

frequently appear in this plot defend the Republican regime against the traditional thought and life coming from the Ottoman Empire. However, there is a serious contradiction between the ideas that this fledgling Republican bourgeoisie claims in theory and how they apply them to their own lives. They are going through a period of hesitation (Erol, 2011; 394).

The novel shows what kind of a crisis of meaning the young people, who were living very modern and prosperous from the outside in Kadıköy in the 1930s, faced at a time when they were trying to direct their lives, on the one hand, the young people were “receiving modern upbringing”; “they are raised as men of material life”, on the other hand, they still “sit in the moonlight and sing Turkish songs wishing they could fall on their knees and cry their hearts out” (Erol, 2011; 105). The network of love relationships within the group, which Mükerrerem calls “almost an addictive novel subject” (Erol, 2011; 106), finds its response in the novel as the expression of this ambivalence, search for meaning and confusion. These old-new, traditional-modern, *ala turca-alafranga*, material-spiritual, etc. tensions, which haunt individuals even while living in the “paradise of the world” (Erol, 2016; *ibid.*), constituted the *social milieu* of Kadıköy, even when it was the strongest and most vibrant symbol of the new and modern. The novel brings the course of young people’s lives to a point where no one can get what they “want” in the last instance. However, based on the assumption that this is an inevitable requirement of maturation, it brings the characters to a spiritual serenity and positions Necdet and Bedriye, in particular, as characters who have come a certain distance towards becoming the ideal Turkish woman and man. This also foresees an ideal combination of old and new in the modernization of Kadıköy. In this respect, it is a conscious choice that the author chose Kadıköy, which allowed this combination in terms of both lifestyle and class diversity, especially for the early Republican period, instead of areas such as Bosphorus or Suriçi, which have become the symbol of the old, and Şişli, Pera or Tarabya, Adalar, which are the symbols of the new and Westernization. In this respect, unlike Pamuk, he sees the contradictions into which the novel’s heroes and the novel’s setting fall, not as hypocrisy but as an effort to search for oneself. Moreover, both Tanpınar and Pamuk think that the real issue is not to mourn the loss but to turn to genuine searches that will channel the complex emotions leaking from the gaps caused by the loss. She claims that instead of veiling the future with the nostalgia of the past, it is necessary to open a door to the future by unveiling the past and accepting it with all its contradictions.

The theme of alienation is at the forefront in Sevim Burak’s *Ford Mach I*, which entered

years later through the door opened by Erol. *Ford Mach I* is generally a critique of modernization. It criticizes how a rapidly modernizing city falls victim to industrialization and mechanization simultaneously with modernization. If we assume that the text started to be written in the 1970s (since the exact date is unknown), we are talking about an old capital that has left behind a few critical thresholds and has already begun to make progress towards becoming a metropolis. The novel deals with Bağdat Avenue as a corner of this city that was once a popular summer resort. Many districts on Bağdat Avenue, as summarized above, were full of elegant mansions built by Ottoman pashas until the craze that started in the 1940s, and these buildings stood the test of time by maintaining all the elements of the old mansion-mansion life. As the text emphasizes, these structures crumbled in the hands of the construction market after the second half of the 1940s. *Ford Mach I* first conveys this change to the reader through the eyes of an old woman from Erenköy. The reader listens to the reproaches of the woman, who has turned her back on this alien, cold, and exclusionary community, ranging from timidity to recklessness, as she has isolated herself from the crowd that fills the avenue with the apartment buildings as well as from her former neighbors who have left her one by one.



Image 30 Her son Karaca Borar introduces the *Ford Mach I* to Sevim Burak.

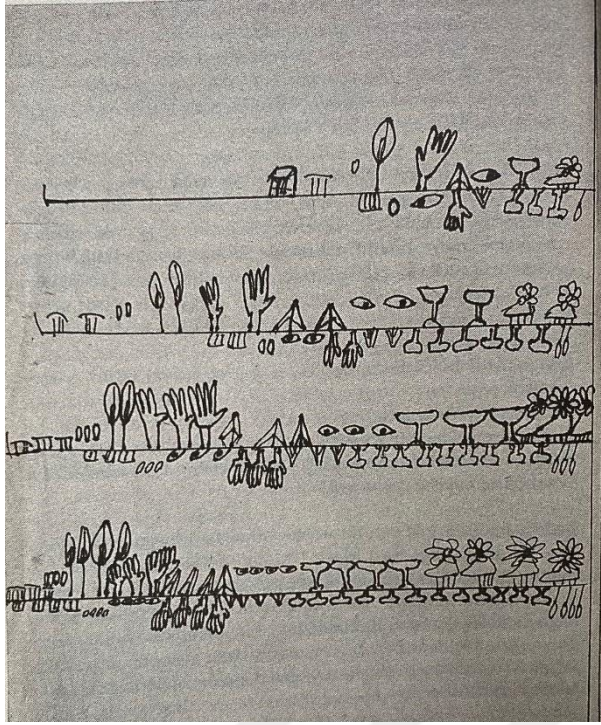
Rather than evaluating modernization as a monolithic phenomenon, Burak makes the text richer and deeper by including his biography. She first identifies the exclusion that comes with being the daughter of a Jewish mother with the loneliness experienced by a woman from Erenköy on Bağdat Avenue in the 1970s. Then, she identifies this character, who is afraid of getting lost in crowds and suffers from the insensitivity of eyes that never turn towards him, with a car that can be considered an antique. Ford Mach I, a character so unique and marginal that it could not find a place for itself in the luxury car races that Bağdat Avenue was the scene of at that time, is a wild character with the power to “tear up a herd all by itself” and “drive them out little by little” if she wanted and ate two of her children. On the one hand, it has become legendary in this respect, but on the other hand, it is not greedy like other cars in the crowd, which constantly eat each other for no reason and live in constant competition with each other; she eats only when he is hungry and is never aimless as he wanders through the alleys that lead down to the avenue “like red smoke.”

In this respect, Burak, as emphasized by Jale Parla, reinterprets with an original touch the phenomenon of criticizing modernization, which has turned into a “love affair” in Turkish novels, through mechanization, and attributing symbols to machines such as human-nature alienation, class difference, false/pretentious Westernism, etc. in fictional texts. Although Parla’s interpretation is based on the story “Palyaço Ruşen”, it can be said that this original character creation in *Ford Mach I* does not only address the issue on the axis of alienation in the equation of modernization-urbanization-mechanization, and she made a multi-dimensional reading in Ford Mach I by pluralizing the car and enriching the narrative, thus saving it from being an object of wealth and ostentation.

In the novel, while Ford Mach I appears as a real character with all its curves and truths and is identified with the old woman from Erenköy who has not yet left her mansion, the fate of these two intertwined characters intersects with the mansions and mansions lined up on the axis of Bağdat Avenue. At the end of the text, when it says, “They crushed the huge Bağdat Avenue to a crisp / They left behind a cemetery of thousands of cars,” what is meant is the Ford Mach I and the old woman from Erenköy, as well as the mansions and mansions that were demolished and dispersed to build apartments in their places. In Pamuk’s *Sessiz Ev*, Metin feels compassion for the mansions that are not made uncanny, such as “that stupid, strange and disgusting old house” (Pamuk, 1991; 62) inherited from Selahattin Darvinoğlu, born in 1881, which his grandson Metin wants to demolish and replace with apartments. The position of Burak’s autobiography in this

equation coincides with his effort to hold on to Istanbul, where he was born in the 1930s, as the daughter of a father of Ottoman descent and a Jewish mother who immigrated from Bulgaria, and the literary world that he tried to be a part of with his original style.

In this sense, Ford Mach I and the old woman from Erenköy are walking around Bağdat Avenue and the side avenues leading to the avenue in a “gendered” manner. As Burak mentioned in her story “Big Bird”, “that girl who walks around the avenues with a hawk on her head” of “the greatest cities where she was taught the greatest pain” is the Ford Mach I. “Her body is stretched in front of the CITY”, she rises “like a thick black smoke” against all this spatial change and the exclusion and ignorance she faces; leaves the avenue and “her own body” to look at her “enemies from a bird’s eye view”; is sautéed in the side avenues leading down to the avenue; becomes “a cloud in the shape of a woman” and watches the 10th anniversary of the Republic celebrations at Rasim Pastanesi and the 50th anniversary of the Republic celebrations at Divan Pastanesi, while thinking about existential issues such as “why we breathe”, “how cars drive”, “how children grow”, “why life is beautiful”, etc. In this respect, the ignoring he expresses with expressions such as “the iron veil that falls on his face”, “the blanket that is pulled from under him”, etc. coincides with the theme of being ignored and thinking about it in “Büyük Kuş”. In “Büyük Kuş”, the Woman who asks the city, “Will you leave me?” “Am I worse than the others?” is the Ford Mach I itself that “wants to say words” to its enemies.



Japon Toyota'nın farlarını hiç kırmamış
Kaynana zırlıtısıyla ralli yarışlarına girmemiş gibi

"Şimdi uyuyor kendine gelince Palyaço Ruşen'e sor"

BAĞDAT CADDESİ'NDE KAÇ TANE
AMERİKAN PAZARI VAR?

Hiç girmemiş

KAÇ TANE WESTERN HOUSE VAR

Pahalı

Caddenin gençlerine TIGER PABUÇ, JEAN PANTOLON
SATAN?

Hepsi bağışlanmış

Sanki satılmamış

Hiç

Yok

Bu dükkânlar

Olmamış gibi

Bağdat Caddesi
Dining Room Milk Bar
"bir yandan atıştırıyor"
High Life – Drug Store Checkin
Room vb.
Saat 13'te Bağdat Caddesi'nde büt-
tün arabaların karnı doymuştur.

Image 31 Sevim Burak is a writer who places importance on the search for form in her works and is in pursuit of innovation. Traces of this search can also be seen in *Ford Mach I*, published after her death. In Bağdat Avenue, she tries to express socio-spatial and socio-cultural change with her own unique style. Pages 126, 107 of the novel, respectively.

It is interesting that this strong objection from the literary world about Kadıköy and Bağdat Avenue being the "other of Istanbul" did not find a response in the 2000s. Although the famous novelists of these years such as Orhan Pamuk, Elif Şafak, Murat Gülsoy, Ayfer Tunç, Şule Gürbüz etc. hosted Istanbul in their novels in many ways and sometimes gave the leading role to the city, there is no reading of Kadıköy and Bağdat Avenue like Tanyeli's. The prominent themes of Turkish literature in the 2000s largely follow the political agenda of the period. Among these themes, mainly brought up by left and liberal intellectuals, various topics such as confronting September

12 and the legacy of the 1980s, various social groups that the republican regime marginalized to raise its elite, and the discriminations these groups were subjected to, various symbolic events that remain in the social memory, countryside, living together, violence, gender, time, and dreams come to the fore. Although the issue of otherness is frequently mentioned in the context of social discrimination, as Tanyeli points out, no one looks at the “other face of modernization” through Kadıköy and Bağdat Avenue. Batuhan Kıran’s novel called *Cadde Çocuğu*, published in 2017, is important, at least in that it directly deals with the avenue and includes the 1980s the avenue with an autobiographical narrative. However, instead of including an intellectual reckoning and criticism of modernization, the work contents itself with a detailed description of the avenue of the period. As can be seen below, a discourse that identifies the avenue with the upper and upper-middle class has been produced in the representations in cinema and social media, rather than such an approach

2.4. Middle Class and Bağdat Avenue on the Screen: The *Habitus* Between Elitism vs Populism

It is in cinema that an attempt to read Bağdat Avenue as an alternative modernization story comes to life, at least partially. However, here too, a contemporary reading of the post-2000 period comes to the fore, as the avenue appears largely as a limited backdrop that provides the basis for criticism of the middle class. Criticism of the middle class is one of the important themes of the New Turkish Cinema films that flourished after 1990. New Turkish Cinema, which manifests itself with the films shot in the late 1990s and early 2000s by directors who were trained in the post-1980 period when Turkish cinema took its first steps towards globalization, touches on various individual and social issues without guaranteeing happy endings, unlike Yeşilçam melodramas. In the films shot by names such as Zeki Demirkubuz, Nuri Bilge Ceylan, Yeşim Ustaoğlu, Derviş Zaim, Semih Kaplanoğlu, Pelin Esmer, Reha Erdem, themes such as city-rural tension, social change, internal crisis, generation conflict, gender, etc. are included along with different forms of search. After 2010, it is seen that social issues gained importance, and criticism and analysis about society intensified in independent films with the new generation of directors. In this context, the criticism of the middle class that rose among intellectuals under the influence of changing social conditions after 2000 became a theme that gained momentum in Turkish cinema.

The social and cultural rupture caused by the 1980 coup inevitably deeply affected Turkish

cinema. The foundations of the criticism of the middle class that intensified after 2010 are based on this break. As briefly mentioned above, individualization also became a strong trend with the emergence of a new social order based on consumer culture in the country, which was rapidly depoliticized after the coup. The individual is no longer a figure that becomes anonymous for the sake of ideologies and political struggles, as it was before September 12. S/He is a social agent who is the direct interlocutor of consumption culture, seeks unique pleasures in all the products he eats, drinks, wears, and uses for different purposes, and abstracts his lifestyle from grand narratives. Naturally, to respond to the demands of this new agent, which has become the driving force of social change, many new sectors emerge, the consumption range expands, and existing sectors begin to review their marketing strategies according to new social criteria.

The development that laid the foundation of the criticism of the middle class, which is one of the themes that will leave its mark on Turkish cinema after 2010, is that individuals belonging to the middle class have the most important role in the spread of the consumption culture brought by the new social order. This is a unique new middle class produced by the new social order. With this development, which makes the definitions of the middle class, which are currently the subject of discussions from different aspects in Turkey, more complex, Turkish cinema firstly encounters “a series of problematic, depressed, conflictual, extreme, uncommunicative characters, from the bourgeois to the marginal” (Suner, 2006; 226). Characters who used to take on more predictable roles are now stuck between dilemmas, deterritorialized, and have acquired a complex typology that remains hidden from their identities and is distant from society.

This movement, which is identified with the social atmosphere of the period and called “Depression Cinema”, is followed by the first examples of New Turkish Cinema. In the films *Tabutta Rövaşata* and *Eşkıya*, both released in 1996, there are signs that the state of depression and hesitation began to evolve into social and political criticism. *Tabutta Rövaşata* places a homeless man named Mahsun (Ahmet Uğurlu) in the leading role. Mahsun, who has been living in Rumelihisarı on the Bosphorus, one of the most luxurious and prestigious areas of Istanbul since the late Ottoman period, continues his life under the protection of the fisherman Reis (Tuncay Kurtiz). Mahsun’s survival in the distinguished district of the city with what the Reis shared from his share, spending the days in the coffeehouse on the beach and nights sleeping on the boat or in the construction site, brings the issue of social exclusion into the main problem of the film. In Suner’s words, “The film tells a story about ‘being outside’ and ‘not being able to get in’. In this

story, the distinction between inside and outside is blurred, and when Mahsun's friend Sarı, who is also homeless, is found frozen in the boathouse one morning, "the magnificent Bosphorus view is always paired with cold, frost, and death" (Suner, 2006; 227).

The film, which destroys the image of the Bosphorus that literature has beautified, is followed by *Eşkîya*, which tells the story of Baran (Şener Şen), a bandit who was captured by the gendarmerie 35 years ago with a group of friends on the Cudi mountain and imprisoned, who is released from prison after long imprisonment and travels to Istanbul in search of his childhood sweetheart Keje (Sermin Hürmeriç). Baran settles in a hotel in Tarlabası with the help of Cumali (Cumali), whom he meets on the train, and while he confronts the crooked relationships in the outskirts of the city, the characters he encounters often exhibit behaviors that make it difficult for the audience to make any judgment about them. The films *Ağır Roman* (1997) and *Laleli'de Bir Azize* (1998), like *Eşkîya*, wander the back avenues of Istanbul, making room for identities pushed to the margins of society. *Güneş'e Yolculuk* (1999) tells the story of the friendship between a Kurdish youth who migrated to Istanbul after his village was evacuated in the Southeast and an Aegean youth who came to Istanbul to work. *Salkım Hanım'ın Taneleri* (1999) is about the exclusion of minority groups in the 1942s. With *Takva* (2005), *The Imam* (2005), *Hayatın Tuzu* (2008), and *Uzak İhtimal* (2009), Turkish cinema was introduced to new religious identities after Yeşilçam and National Cinema, while *Büşra* (2009) introduced the audience to a new religious woman profile and presented gender and middle-class secular male criticism at the same time. The film, which focuses on the love affair between a young, university graduate, a headscarved woman, and a liberal journalist, criticizes the ideological conservatism of the middle class in Turkey. It is also an important example of the modern headscarved young woman type, which will come to the fore more strikingly in 2022 with the series *Bir Başkadır*. The strong feelings that develop between Büşra (Mine Kılıç), the daughter of a conservative and wealthy family, and Yaman (Tayanç Ayaydın) despite their lifestyle differences foreshadow the interaction between the rising new middle class and the old one.

Suner thinks that the theme of belonging is at the center of New Turkish Cinema. According to Suner, the New Turkish cinema, which he identifies with the "ghost house" figure, is constantly pursuing the debates and tensions around the issue of "belonging" in Turkey, in both its "popular" and "artistic" wings: "New Turkish cinema tells us uncanny stories that take place in 'ghosted houses', where the traces of past traumatic experiences are felt, again and again, past crimes are

revealed, and horror lurks beneath the normal and ordinary appearance” and “at the same time, it is a vision of belonging that is imagined, dreamed of, longed for, thought to have been possessed and lost in the past, idealized, remembered with a sense of nostalgia, and transformed into a romantic image” (Suner, 2006; 16). It is also an approach related to the social anomie that emerged after 1980, when macro narratives lost their credibility, evolving into the spread of consumer culture and individualism, on the one hand, and the strengthening of nationalism and new fanaticisms, on the other hand. The spatial equivalent of belonging has moved from the homeland to the home, and on the other hand, the house has moved away from being a safe shelter, causing the house to turn into an imagined metaphor in both senses. In this sense, the criticism of the middle class combined with the criticism of the home, and the (un)establishable relationship of belonging with home and family became the representation of social exclusion.

In this sense, *C Blok* can be considered the first film in the New Turkish Cinema that directly criticizes the middle class. The film tells the story of Tülay, who lives in a flat in Block C of a complex, and her quest to redirect her life. Tülay, who moved up the class with her marriage while living in the suburbs, got a new driver’s license and started going on everyday trips by car. As these trips become more frequent, he realizes the unhappiness in his marriage and begins some internal questioning. It becomes one of the interesting examples of the middle-class woman character who looks for adventure out of boredom in post-Yeşilçam Turkish cinema. For the director of the film, who grew up in the suburbs behind Ataköy, the blocks where the film was shot are whole with “the highways of the newly organized life, the cars, the story of those isolated people.”²⁷ In the press release, the director says, “All dreams of revolution, dreams of a new life, when I see the giant blocks, they crash into their walls, disintegrate and disappear,” and the director draws parallels between the workers’ houses built by the social democrats in Germany and the structures built during the Franco era, the Stalin era, the organization of space in Russia and the organization of districts like Ataköy during the Turgut Özal era, underlining that not much has changed in terms of class rule after September 12.²⁸ In this sense, the film is a criticism of the fact that living in prison-like structures produced by modernist architecture has become an object of desire for the middle class. In these houses, where the man is absent for most of the day, the woman’s boring life, far from labor and production, changes and degenerates with the cars that are

²⁷ “C Blok Üzerine Yönetmenin Sözü”, Rıza Kıracı. *Klaket* 7. 1997. Quoting from: <http://www.zekidemirkubuz.com/Content.aspx?ContentID=43>

²⁸ “C Blok Üzerine Yönetmenin Sözü”, 1997.

also a part of this lifestyle.

After a 22-year hiatus, *C Blok*'s Tülay reappears near Bağdat Avenue in *Rüzgarda Salınan Nilüfer*. Directed by Seren Yüce, the movie focuses on the story of Handan, a middle-class woman who, like Tülay, does not work. However, this time things have changed considerably. Handan did not meet the car as an afterthought like Tülay. She uses the car as a vehicle she has internalized while fulfilling her responsibilities such as taking her daughter to school and extracurricular activities. Unlike Burak's Ford Mach I, it has no antique value. The only technological product Handan tries to get used to is the computer. Handan, who, like Tulay, lives her life by benefiting from her husband's economic opportunities without having to struggle to make ends meet, is in search of meaning in a similar way to Tulay, as middle-class women experience. For this reason, she tries to acquire new hobbies.



Image 32 Meeting with her writer friend Şermin at a café on Bağdat Avenue, Handan took a photo of them upon the request of one of Şermin's fans.

Handan, who aspires to become a writer by emulating her friend Şermin instead of pursuing sexual fantasies like Tülay, cannot carry out the act of writing, which she takes for granted. In this respect, he is a weaker character compared to Tülay. In the film, all the hypocrisy of the middle-class lifestyle is summarized in Handan's contradictions. It is tragicomic that Handan, who intends to engage in intellectual production even though she lacks general cultural knowledge to the extent that she does not know that the water lily is a plant that grows in water and therefore will not sway in the wind, derives her audacity from her economic conditions. On the other hand, Handan's writer

friend Şermin, who knows that the lotus grows in water, represents all the privileges and contradictions of belonging to the middle class. For example, Şermin, who wrote a novel about violence against women, does not mind that her husband works for a company that imports hunting weapons. Likewise, the attitude of parents towards children is the same in both families; they see their children as projects that need to be worked on and try to plan every moment. The only difference between the two families is that the Handan-Korhan couple lives in a better house due to their economic power. Class belonging is the most fundamental element that determines relationships and lifestyles both inside and outside the home. Both couples try to enjoy the hypocritical privileges of living on Bağdat Avenue.

Seren Yüce makes a similar class criticism in her movie *Çoğunluk* (2010). In the film, which is about the friendship of Gül, a poor girl who came from Van to Istanbul to receive a university education, and Mertkan, who studies in Distance Education and is the child of a middle-class family, the relationship between the comfort of belonging to the majority and avoiding ethical responsibilities is revealed. While Mertkan, who works in his father's construction company, enjoys the comfort of the privileges he has without any effort, meeting Gül, who has to work as a waitress to earn her pocket money, pushes him to question what he has. The fact that Gül is Kurdish adds ethnic divisions to class differences, and thus, in this film, many elements of New Turkish Cinema come together under the main title of middle-class criticism. In this way, the discussions on acceptable citizenship, which determined the main agenda of Turkey in the 2000s, found a significant response in cinema with Yüce's two films.

In the movie *Kusursuzlar*, which was released in 2013, the criticism of the middle class again turns to a woman-oriented line. The movie is about two sisters in their 30s who go to their summer house in Çeşme, where they went as a family as a child, this time to relax alone when Lale and Yasemin meet Kerim, it turns all their plans upside down. The sisters, who used to go to the beach together and spend time without any problems, start going through old notebooks when their next-door neighbor Kerim comes into their lives. Thus, the jealousies and anger they have been keeping inside for years will come to light, and the gilding of the perfect middle-class family portrait will fall off. Although there are no clear references to those outside this portrait, as in the *Çoğunluk*, the linear relationship between acceptable citizenship and belonging to the middle class will be pointed out, and it will be emphasized that the interior of the home is not as perfect as it is reflected on the outside, that class belonging and lifestyle do not eliminate all the problems in life,

and that not only those outside the class but also those within the class pay the price for this hypocritical picture of happiness.

The TV series *Bir Başkadır*, which attracted great attention when it was broadcast despite not being a movie and caused a significant breakthrough in the history of Turkish cinema, carries this legacy of criticism to a striking point. The eight-episode one-season series is introduced to the audience as “Their lives are different, their dreams are different, their fears are different. Even though they may seem opposite to each other when their paths cross, boundaries will disappear and they will all touch each other’s lives”, attracted great attention after it was released on Netflix. Meryem, who plays the leading role in the series, works as an everyday wage earner. She begins to see a psychiatrist because she begins to faint from time to time while working. The psychiatrist, one of the characters representing the middle class in the series, keeps his distance from Peri Meryem because she wears a headscarf. Peri, who has difficulty breaking out of the thought patterns of the social group she is in, learns life lessons from Melisa, who is an actress and lives an almost ideology-free life.

In the series, almost all the identity problems of Turkey in the 2000s are touched upon. Ruhiye, who was sexually abused in the countryside, Hayrunnisa, who has a split identity because her father is an imam, Gülbin, who hides that she is Kurdish, her sister who wears a headscarf and her disabled siblings, and Yasin, who works as a security guard in a bar, question how their very distant lives can come together, or at least how they can overcome the walls between them. With the lead character of the series being a headscarved woman, it invites the middle class and Kemalist elites to confront and make peace with the lower class that they have ignored, belittled, and excluded for a long time, and the headscarf worn by many women of that class. It implies that repressed emotions in every segment of society turn into hatred towards others and that overcoming this will benefit social peace. In this respect, what Peri says to Meryem at the end of the series is important:

Meryem, there are emotions that we repress, that we cannot reveal, that we cannot talk about or experience openly with our environment, our closest people, or even ourselves. In all of us, in all people... but this can sometimes cause health problems. At certain times in our lives, we may feel emotionally blocked, Meryem. We may not know how to express our feelings. All of us, all people, suppress our emotions at certain times in life for different reasons. It’s as if all our feelings are stuck in a cage and they resist trying to escape. A great unrest occurs within us, and this affects not only

our relationships with those around us; it also affects our health. Emotions are necessary and useful, Meryem. We need to allow ourselves to feel all our emotions. Emotions are the bridges that will carry you, me, and all of us, to knowing who we are and learning what we want.

The series's promising ending and the fact that for the first time, a headscarved woman takes the leading role are effective in attracting intense attention in academic circles, as well as the criticism of the middle class it contains. While this interest could open the door to a powerful confrontation in the New Turkish Cinema, the directors representing the New Turkish Cinema and the new generation of directors who follow them mostly prefer to continue to criticize the provinces. The debate started by *Bir Başkadır* continues on mainstream television in Turkey through two productions dealing with differences in religion, religiosity, secularism, and lifestyle. However, the emphasis on location is not prominent in these productions.

Likewise, in *Bir Başkadır*, Kadıköy and Bağdat Avenue are not seen among the places that provide middle-class representation, but in *Bir Başkadır*'s second series, *Kuvvetli Bir Alkış*, the main location is Bağdat Avenue. The series is based on a similar idea to Seren Yüce's *Rüzgarda Salınan Nilüfer* and centers on a young middle-class couple living on the avenue who have a child. The spiral of the family's relationship, which is typical of the social group to which they belong, reveals a hypocrisy that is evident in every aspect of the series, which proceeds in an absurd style. So much so that the sentences that Pamuk had the character Metin say in 1983 in *Sessiz Ev* are reminded to the audience with an intensity bordering on rebellion in almost every episode through the child of the family, another character also named Metin. Therefore, Tanyeli's hope of providing an alternative reading of Turkish modernization through Kadıköy and Bağdat Avenue once again fails. Instead, the avenue is identified with a kind of "disgustingness", which is also frequently found in current comments on social media that imply superficiality and hypocrisy.

In this respect, the avenue continues to oscillate between angelization and demonization, as mentioned by Tanyeli. On the one hand, those who see being from the avenue as a source of pride, and on the other hand, those who claim that living on the avenue is torture, constantly produce an interesting dichotomy regarding the avenue. One of the most important complaints about the avenue is undoubtedly about spatial change. The fact that the area has lost its original texture, especially with urban transformation, and that the people living here are exposed to intense construction noise and the resulting environmental pollution causes architects, among many people living in this area, to express their discomfort.

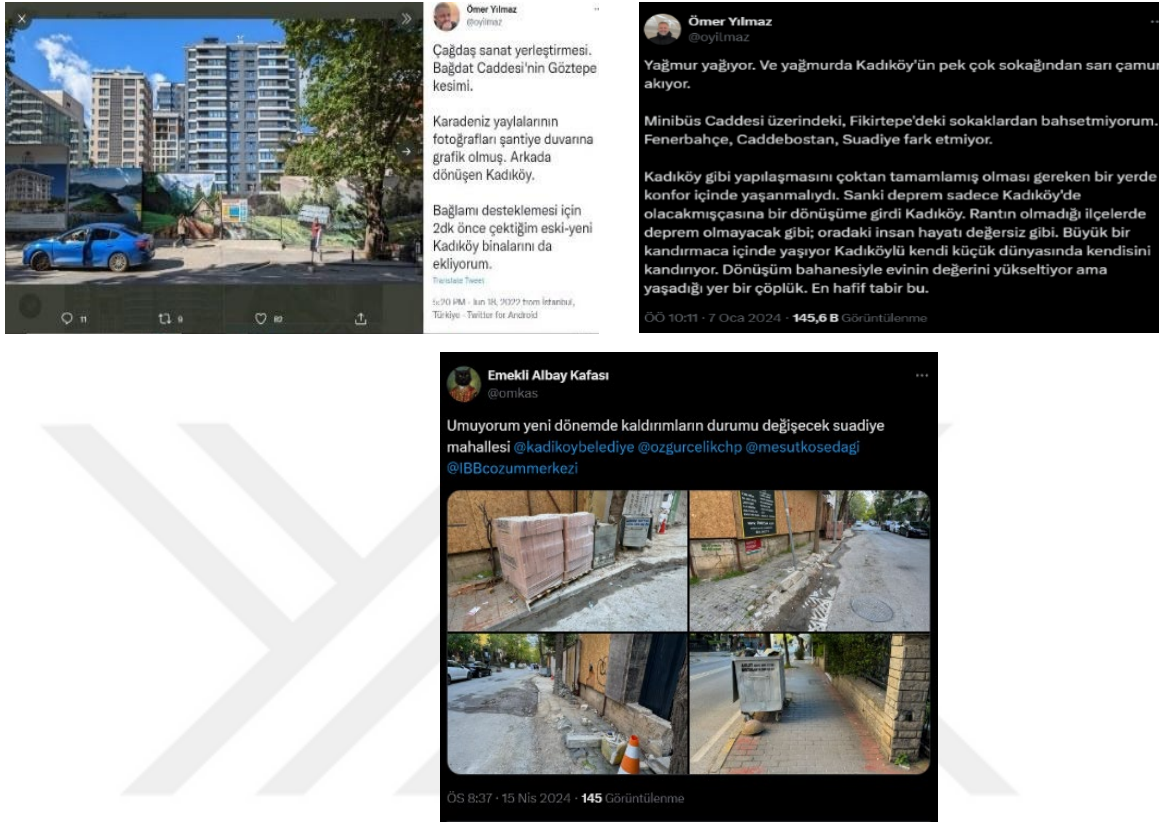


Image 33 A few examples of comments on social media complaining about spatial change, urban transformation-related problems, and unfinished construction on Bağdat Avenue.

In such criticisms, it is emphasized that such practices should not take place in a prestigious area that has a certain level of prosperity and can be the showcase of the city, and it is reminded that the avenue should preserve its distinguished identity, and this distinguished identity from the past. In this respect, rather than demonizing the avenue, it expresses the longing for the days when it was an angel. However, it is also seen that he is accused of superficiality precisely because of this elitist identity. In the examples below, Bağdat Avenue is depicted as a place inhabited by superficial people who are only interested in improving their physical appearance, woke therapists, and activities such as yoga, family constellation, and life coaching, which the upper classes waste their money on.



Image 34 Examples of posts on social media that humorously portray the activities associated with the everyday life practices of the upper-middle class living on Bağdat Avenue.

On the other hand, there are still those who see the avenue with an angelic identity. Especially the fact that the avenue hosts enthusiastic celebrations on national holidays brings about ideological and class ownership. However, various fagents that disperse this enthusiastic halo of secular nationalism may sometimes cast a shadow on this ownership. These elements may be the Apple store that did not hang the Turkish flag in its window during the 100th anniversary celebrations of the Republic, or the immigrants swimming on the Caddebostan beach. As can be seen in the examples below (*See Image 35*), some of these types of posts on social media are made through the social media accounts of traditional media tools such as *Kadıköy Life*. Considering that the magazine has a corporate identity and appeals to the people of Kadıköy, it is understood that they think it is newsworthy that immigrants go swimming, and that the Apple store does not hang a Turkish flag in its window during the 100th-anniversary celebrations of the Republic. The comments under these posts and similar posts made by individual users, as in the other example below, also indicate that this issue is newsworthy. Although less common, there may also be reactions to posts that identify Bağdat Avenue with the secular Turkish identity and criticize cases that cannot be aligned with this identity.



Image 35 Critical posts on social media about various cases that identify Bağdat Avenue with the secular Turkish identity and that cannot be reconciled with this identity.

However, it should be noted that the arrival of the Apple store on the avenue was celebrated with enthusiasm and there were no reports of any attacks on immigrants near Bağdat Avenue. It is necessary to look at the issue a little more from the inside in order to understand the true nature of such reactions to the problems that “disrupt” the concept of space and identity and to determine what kind of position they correspond to in the social environment on the avenue.

In this sense, as seen throughout the chapter, the effects of the social change in Turkey after 1980 were manifested in different ways on Bağdat Avenue. On the one hand, the society was stuck between the “suppression of speech” and “explosion of speech” immediately after the 1980 coup, and on the other hand, it quickly adapted to what neoliberalization brought. As the increasingly globalized world eliminates borders, each innovation adopted in this rapid adaptation process has brought with it new concerns. These concerns have caused nostalgicization of old elements that are lost with the speed of change. In this context, Bağdat Avenue was identified with the upper and upper-middle class habitus and was considered one of the pioneers of change. For this reason, he is angelized in places where change is applauded, and demonized in places where change is cursed. As Uğur Tanyeli mentioned, being angelized and demonized in this way is not actually a new phenomenon for Bağdat Avenue. It is an issue as old as the criticism of modernization that has been going on since the late Ottoman period. However, it has become possible to make a more balanced reading, especially with the spatial transformation that flourished after 2000. Despite this, subjecting Bağdat Avenue to an alternative modernization reading as suggested by Tanyeli is not a popular approach for now. However, as can be seen below, Bağdat Avenue is exactly where the

Ottoman-Turkish modernization can be observed with all its contradictions and where identity, class, social separation, etc. continues in today's Turkey. It provides a research ground that provides the opportunity to discuss issues in detail. The next chapter contains an attempt to see how this opportunity can be used by looking at the present of Bağdat Avenue. In the section where the spatial experience on Bağdat Avenue is discussed from different aspects, an attempt is made to reveal a general depiction that is far from angelizing and demonizing with the help of notes from the field, data obtained from interviews and various qualitative data.



III. LIVING, CONSUMING, AND SOCIALIZING ON BAĞDAT AVENUE

In this chapter, I evaluate the data I obtained from in-depth interviews, participant observation and field research, with Bourdieu's sociology, occasionally referencing various secondary sources. Bourdieu's sociology has an integrated theoretical framework, as I touched upon a bit while explaining the theoretical framework. It is not possible to use Bourdieu's concepts by separating them from each other and applying them piece by piece, in terms of the integrity of the research. However, since it would not be possible to use the entire sociology of Bourdieu within this limited study, in this chapter, we will examine Bourdieu's sociology, how the relationship the interviewees established with Bağdat Avenue has an impact on their habitus, and based on this, the common effect of the spatial experience gained in Bağdat Avenue on the habitus of individuals. I use it to understand what its elements are. In this context, I take into account Bourdieu's analyses on space and his inferences about how social differentiation occurs through social taste in his book *Distinction* (1996). Without breaking away from the holistic structure of Bourdieu's sociology, I add my own interpretation to Bourdieu's sociology, specifically on Bağdat Avenue, by using the interpretations and concepts that make my analysis possible in an eclectic way. In this respect, it may sometimes be difficult for the reader to distinguish which interpretation belongs to Bourdieu and which belongs to me. However, for careful readers who are familiar with Bourdieu's sociology, it will be possible to notice this separation by following my Bourdieu references.

In the first part of the chapter, I outline my field experience. I describe what kind of sociospatial equivalent the avenue whose spatial transformation I examined above has today. I think that this bird's eye view should be drawn first in order to describe the effect of spatial experience on Bağdat Avenue on the habitus of individuals. Then comes the section where I describe the interviewees' general impressions and comments about Bağdat Avenue. I make an effort to understand what the sociospatial space of Bağdat Avenue that I saw during my field research means to the interviewees. In this context, I discuss the prominent issues of spatial change, urban transformation and transportation under subheadings. I argue that these common issues expressed by the interviewees, who are very different from each other in terms of socioeconomic and sociocultural aspects, are the most important elements that describe their general impressions of Bağdat Avenue. I consider that among the important elements of the effect of the spatial experience in Bağdat Avenue on the habitus of the interviewees is the fact that Bağdat Avenue is

an exclusive place and that not everyone can easily enter here, but one of the important feelings it provides for those who can enter here is trust and freedom. I argue that this creates a disposition for differentiation in the habitus of agents who want to benefit from this privilege.

In the next section, I take a closer look at the interviewees' socialization processes on Bağdat Avenue. I attempt to understand the impact of socialization here, unlike any other space, on the interviewees' spatial experience and habitus. The highlights of this section present a small portrait of Türkiye. The interviewees consider that the avenue is becoming increasingly crowded, and although their attitudes towards "foreigners" differ in details, they agree that there are certain criteria for "being/being a member of Bağdat Avenue". Therefore, the issue of locality and foreignness, which I mentioned above with reference to Navaro, and the reflex of resisting change with nostalgia that Özyürek mentioned, come to the fore. This reflex causes some significant confusion regarding Bağdat Avenue's inclusiveness in terms of religiosity and secularism. While some of the interviewees claim that Bağdat Avenue is an open public space for "everyone" who meets the criteria of "being an avenue person", some argue that this is not the case, especially in some periods. Here, I discover that the spatial experience on Bağdat Avenue has different implications in the context of belonging on the habitus of individuals. This distinctive role also manifests itself in different ways during national commemorations and celebrations. While national commemorations and celebrations reveal the unifying role of the avenue for some, for others it means identifying the avenue with being middle class, secular and Kemalist.

However, the distinctive role of spatial experience on the avenue is not limited to this. Socioeconomic segregation is also significant and the fact that the avenue is known as "shopping avenue" plays a big role in making this visible. Therefore, in the next section, I listen to the interviewees' experience of consumption on the avenue. I assert that the mirroring of the sociocultural climate of the post-1980 neoliberalized country to today is that consumption practices have an equalizing role in different sociocultural positions. I argue that this development has made the spatial experience to each other, but still sociocultural positions continue to maintain their importance. I attempt to illustrate this claim on Bağdat Avenue.

Finally, I speak of the interviewees' experiences on leisure activities, which are important indicators of socioeconomic differentiation. Apart from the practice of walking on the beach and doing sports, which they mention as elements of the privileged living conditions offered by Bağdat Avenue, I find that the interviewees' leisure activities are mostly based on spending time in the

places on the avenue. Interviewees who are old enough mention that having fun in places such as casinos, tea gardens and cinemas on the avenue used to be an important leisure activity. They also mention that they went swimming in the area, which used to be a summer resort, and rowed on the beach. However, the only movie house open on the avenue today is Caddebostan Cultural Center and most of the interviewees do not participate in the activities there. This shows that in the interviewees' habitus, the Bağdat Avenue spatial experience is mostly reflected in consumption practices in the context of leisure activities. In other words, interviewees who prefer to spend time here attribute consumption-oriented meanings to this place.

In the last part of the chapter, I undertake to make various inferences by compiling all these findings. I am trying to summarize the effect of the experience of the place in Bağdat Avenue on the habitus of the interviewees, point by point, through their observations and interpretations on the social environment of Bağdat Avenue, and to interpret this by combining it with my field research and participant observation experience. I analyze what all these inferences mean in the context of Bourdieu's sociology and what this modest research says in this sense.

In this regard, it seems meaningful to start with Wacquant's analysis of Bourdieu's urban sociology. According to Wacquant, urban sociology in Bourdieu has the capacity to be transformed into a broad topological social science that includes general analytics of the dynamic relations between *symbolic division*, *social space*, and *the built environment*. Bourdieu treats cities not only as physical structures but also as complex spaces where social and symbolic functions intersect and interact. Instead of limiting the understanding of urban area(s) only to geographical or economic terms, it evaluates it within broader social structures and provides the opportunity for in-depth analysis (Wacquant, 2023; 48). Therefore, instead of seeing Bourdieu as an ordinary part of urban studies literature, it is possible to restate the fundamental problems of urban studies by using the triple dialectics of symbolic, social, and physical space as a framework. In this regard, his “neo-Bourdieuian” urban theory proposes to reconsider the city as “the crucible for distinctive formations of capital and habitus” (Wacquant, 2023; 49).

Accordingly, when viewed from the perspective of institutions or objectified history (that is, from a more structural point), the metropolis encourages the *accumulation and concentration of plural capitals* through the extraction of human, material, and symbolic resources within its borders; as functional differentiation emerges, encouraging the *diversification of capital* into different competing forms, economic, political, religious, legal, etc. and leading in particular to the

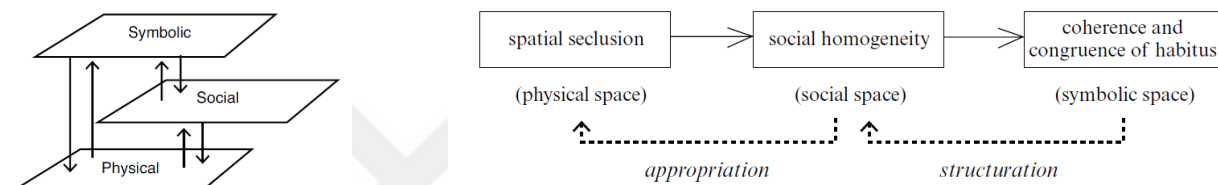
concentration of institutions charged with the reproduction of different species and their owners; it is a distinctive environment that provokes the *contestation of capital by capital* precisely because of the fact of diversity. This last one means that since more than one type of capital comes together in the same compact social and physical space, the nature of their hierarchical order becomes a serious problem.

From the perspective of trends or the embodiment of history (that is, from a more phenomenological framework), the metropolis encourages not only *positional mobility* throughout physical and social space, but also dispositional mobility through the *proliferation of a wide gamut of diverse habituses* based on dense and diverse constellations of social relations and cultural values; the emergence of moments of existential anxiety, strategic innovation and self-questioning, resulting from the dispersion of social experiences and contacts and the formation of *inchoate and disadjusted habituses* resulting from the disconnection between *disposition* and *position*, and *collision of variegated habituses* inconsistent or incongruent with one another in social and physical space (Wacquant, 49-50). Ultimately, this is a framework that covers these issues, each of which corresponds to important theses of prominent figures in the urban studies canon, but is more than that:

In short, the city is a universe that fosters, not just *Marxian exploitation*, *Durkheimian specialization*, *Weberian rationalization*, and *Du Boisian divisions of (dis)honor*, but also *Bourdiesian reflexivity* by exposing its residents to a wide array of practices and criteria of social valuation that relativizes their own both objectively and subjectively. Over the long run, due to the cultural and social churning it fosters, *urbanization is a solvent of doxa*, *capital-D*, and the ferment for the emergence of *distinct doxai* (the plural of doxa) specific to the microcosms that coalesce in the city. (Wacquant, 2023; 50)

To summarize, Bourdieu helps us reconcile the contradiction between the two extremes of urban studies by recognizing that the big city is both a special environment (*milieu*) and a privileged accumulation area of basic social forms and processes. The city is a special environment because it arises from and encourages the accumulation, diversification, and struggle of capital (by other capitals). It feeds on the mixture and conflict of variously-shaped habitus. In this respect, it is essential to theorize the striking continuity of structure and action in the light of the potential disintegration capacity of city life: “This implies that the boundaries of the urban are vaporous, like

those of a cloud, and lie where the effects of capital concentration and habitus variegation fade, which means that they reach into non-urban places far from the administratively defined metropolis. (Wacquant, 2023; 161). On the other hand, the city is a privileged site because it offers a wonderfully classy backdrop for operating the operation of symbolic, social, and physical space at multiple scales and in a variety of historical contexts outside the West. Therefore, “recognizing this double-sided nature of the metropolis can help foster intellectual synergy between the students of the city as *civitas* and scholars of the city as *urbs*.” (Wacquant, 2023; 162).



Graphic 6 On the left, the symbolic, social, and physical space trielect; on the right, the spatial isolation that shapes the habitus. (Wacquant, 52 and 162).

The figures above show how this “double-sided nature of the metropolis” works. But this development produces social homogenization and *spatial seclusion* at the same time. The interesting thing is that coherence and congruence of habitus also arise from this contradiction. In this respect, *spatial seclusion*, whether based on preferences or affiliations (e.g., upper-class district, ethnic group), restriction and hostility (ghetto), or a mixture of the two (working-class district), is defined as the apparent separation of physical, social, and symbolic space. While creating homogeneity, it provides the basis for city people’s practices of establishing social ties and developing strategies to maintain their mental and emotional balance in everyday life (Wacquant, 2023; 162). In other words, “double-sided nature of the metropolis” describes the separations and unifications that occur in physical, social, and symbolic space through the various separations created by spatial seclusion, on the one hand, and creating different unities. In this sense, “...with the trialectic, Bourdieu invites us to merge urban studies into a broader topological science of the dynamic relations between symbolic, social, and physical space wherever they take place – in urban, suburban, and rural areas – and at the gamut of scales, local (a street corner, a neighborhood), city and regional (a metropolis), national and global (a network of cities).” (Wacquant, 2023; 167).

We can explain the role of habitus in this context with reference to Wacquant as follows: With the concept of habitus, Bourdieu takes us down to the bottom rung of the analysis ladder and allows us to examine the habits, representations and emotions in people's everyday lives. Habitus is defined as inclinations to behave, think and feel in certain ways, and these inclinations are acquired, permanent and transformable. This concept helps us to consider the capacities and strategies of agents in historical context, to understand how they perceive social structure and geography and how they create action plans to reproduce or transform mental categories, social positions and places in the city. This approach enables us to reintroduce everyday life into urban sociology without abandoning structural analysis. Indeed, the fundamental principle of the symbolic, social and spatial strategies of all agents is "*the coupling of disposition and position*", which means, "location in an allotment in capitals" (Wacquant, 2023; 167).

In this chapter, I evaluate exactly how these positions and dispositions work in Bağdat Avenue, based on the spatial experiences of the interviewees, my field and participant observation notes. I attempt to identify the interviewees' "acquired, permanent and transformable inclinations to behave, think and feel in certain ways" through their spatial experiences on Bağdat Avenue, and understand how they perceived social structure and geography and how they created action plans to reproduce or transform mental categories, social positions and places in the city by considering their capacities and strategies in a historical context.

1. Looking at the "Avenue" from the Inside: Notes from Field Reconnaissance

I can summarize the picture that emerged as a result of the long walks and participant observations I had within the scope of the research to get to know the field more closely as follows: From the first moment I stepped onto the avenue, I was aware that I had stepped into a rich field in terms of collecting sociological material. Like many people who didn't live or "hang out" on the avenue, I had some preconceived assumptions about it. Of course, I didn't know the avenue at all. I had passed over it from time to time in my childhood. At the age I remember, I knew various districts by name and was curious. Since I live in Maltepe, I also visited the Bostancı coast and approached its borders. In fact, in the first years of my master's study, it was a place I visited 2 to 3 times a week for about a year when I worked as the personal assistant of a writer living on the Caddebostan coast.

What is interesting is that I had no particular curiosity about Bağdat Avenue until,

shortly after leaving this job, I decided on my master's thesis topic and started working on the spatial development and social change of Kadıköy during the Late-Ottoman Era. On the other hand, although I used both sides of the two-way road when I was traveling from Maltepe to Caddebostan, I did not experience the “hanging out on the avenue” culture at all. Various reasons may have prevented this, such as the fact that I was always full thanks to the food offered by the writer I was working with, the fact that I used Barlar Street after getting off the bus on the way to where I worked, the fact that I had no acquaintances or relatives living in the area, and my socioeconomic position. I sensed from the first moment that I would have the opportunity to think about all these sociological agents while continuing my fieldwork. Although the focus of the thesis was on the “avenue” with tacitly determined boundaries, that is, between Şaşkınbakkal and Caddebostan, my walks extended from Bostancı to Fenerbahçe shoreline, down to the Yoğurtçu Park, and up to the Fenerbahçe Stadium. In the early days, I had the kind of inexperience that Atkinson and Hammersly talk about:

In the early days of fieldwork, the conduct of the ethnographer is often a little different from that of any layperson faced with the practical need to make sense of a particular social setting. Consider the position of the novice or recruit – a student fresher, a military rookie, a person starting a new job – who finds himself- or herself in relatively strange surroundings. How do such novices get to ‘know the ropes’ and become ‘old hands’? There is nothing magical about this process of learning. Novices watch what other people are doing, ask others to explain what is happening, try things out for themselves – occasionally making mistakes – and so on. But, in an important sense, the novice is also acting like a social scientist: making observations and inferences, asking informants, constructing hypotheses, and acting on them. (Atkinson ve Hammersly, 2007; 79).

After I got over my initial inexperience, the practices I gained while continuing my graduate studies came into play very quickly. Although I tried to warm up my sociological imagination by stopping by a few times before the fieldwork and gaining a lot of ideas during the preliminary interviews, I was fascinated by my first comprehensive walk. When the walk I started at the Bostancı Kuloğlu Mosque ended at the Kalamış beach, my first impression, apart from the pleasant tiredness, was that this was indeed a very special place.



- Fountains from the Ottoman Period on Bağdat Avenue
- Mansions from the Ottoman Period on Bağdat Avenue
- Various buildings such as bridges, schools and train stations from the Ottoman Period on Bağdat Avenue

Map 2 Map showing cultural heritage elements in the Bağdat Avenue area

During my previous graduate studies, I mapped the mansions where high-status groups lived in Kadıköy during the Second Constitutional Monarchy. Thanks to the sensitivity this mapping aroused in me, such structures attracted my attention everywhere I went and fed my curiosity. Naturally, I paid attention to all the mansions I saw on the avenue and tried to frame the meaning that these buildings added to the spatiality of the avenue. Despite the multi-layered urban transformation adventure that the avenue went through, the fact that some of these structures were still standing was very important, considering the problems regarding the preservation of cultural heritage in Turkey. Mehmet Küçükdeveci Bey Mansion (Suadiye Vakko), one of the symbolic places identified with the avenue, being Vakko's prestige store, showed how convenient it is to think of the avenue together with the concept of *site effects*, an important concept used by Bourdieu

to understand the effects of space on social structures and individuals. In this regard, I evaluated the presence of preserved, renewed, and currently used mansions on the avenue as an element that reminds the avenue of its past upper-class demographics and maintains its aristocratic identity. Those that are in good condition but have a mysterious silence, such as Cemil Topuzlu Mansion, Ragıp Pasha Mansion²⁹, Tevhide Hanım Mansion, or those that are about to disappear due to neglect, such as Tamara Mansion, or those that stimulate the real estate market, such as Kalamış Red Mansion (Madame Anna Cingria Mansion), can be seen as elements that place this exclusivity in a difficult to reach location, turning the avenue into a mere place of contemplation, especially for the lower classes.



Image 36 On the left is the Mehmet Küçükdeveci Bey Mansion, currently used as the Suadiye Vakko store, and on the right is the Tamara Mansion, which is on the verge of collapse. Photos by the author.

Bourdieu uses the concept of *site effects* to examine how the physical arrangements of a particular space shape the social relations and everyday life practices of the people living in that space. The building structure, street layouts, and public spaces in a neighborhood can affect the social interactions and social ties of the people living there. Therefore, it also affects their habitus:

If the habitat shapes the habitus, the habitus also shapes the habitat, through the more or less adequate social usages that it tends to make of it. This certainly throws doubt on the belief that bringing together in the same physical space agents who are far apart in social space might, in itself,

²⁹ I specifically examined this mansion in *Toplumsal Tarih* magazine. See. Yılmaz, Havva (2022). “A Metamorphosis Story: On Caddebostan Ragıp Paşa Mansion”, *Toplumsal Tarih*. 348:76-80.

bring them closer socially: in fact, socially distanced people find nothing more intolerable than physical proximity (experienced as promiscuity). (Bourdieu, 1999; 128)

In this respect, it is not possible for buildings such as mansions in the area not to affect the individuals who live here or come here to work or socialize. In this sense, another element that intrigued me as much as these buildings was the old apartment buildings lined up on the avenue. Even though they were not as striking as the mansions, I was involuntarily excited when I saw the buildings built 50-60 years ago, remembering that most of the apartments were built after the mansions were demolished. Moreover, I came across many buildings on the side avenues that I thought were older, and I took lots of photographs with excitement as if they would disappear immediately. I noted these buildings, some of which date from the early Republican period and reflect the architectural elements of the period, and the apartment buildings built after the 1950s, which do not exceed a certain height and whose walls are generally decorated with ceramic panels of famous painters and artists, as elements that strengthen the historical texture of the avenue. Most of these buildings were not renewed, especially since the buildings directly above the Avenue were not given the right to exceed a certain height, even if they underwent urban transformation. However, while I was writing my thesis, some people entered the renewal process. For example, the Erdişli Apartment Building, located at Haldun Taner Avenue No: 15, decorated with medallion-shaped panels by ceramic artist Türkan Güner, is now in the process of demolition within the scope of urban transformation. However, the Nüzhet Akça Apartment, decorated with ceramic panels produced by Gorbun Işıl, thought to be the work of artist Erdoğan Ersen, is still standing now. The fact that these buildings will eventually disappear and be erased from the avenue memory along with all the cultural heritage elements of the period they represent cannot be denied.



Image 37 On the left, Nüzhet Akça Apartment, Erdişi Apartment. www.kulturenvanteri.com

Continuing to think together with *site effects*, I think about the great symbolic capital that these buildings have brought to the area by surviving for so long. With *site effects*, Bourdieu also explains how places represent symbolic capital and how this capital affects the social positions and prestige of individuals. For example, living in a prestigious area such as Bağdat Avenue strengthens an individual's social status and social networks. He also mentions club effect in this context:

Certain spaces, and in particular the most closed and most “select”, require not only economic capital, but social capital as well. They procure social capital, and symbolic capital, by the *club effect* that comes from the long-term gathering together (in chic neighborhoods or luxury homes) of people and things which are different from the vast majority and have in common the fact that they are not common, that is, the fact that they exclude everyone who does not present all the desired attributes or who presents (at least) one undesirable attribute. (Bourdieu, 1999; 128-29).

According to my observations, even “hanging out” in places on Bağdat Avenue is considered a very strong indicator of prestige for the agents. Considering the “Wow!” reaction I received from many different people when they heard that I was preparing a thesis on Bağdat

Avenue, I think that even passing by this area can be a sign of prestige. As I got over my inexperience, I began to feel the current atmosphere on the avenue more closely and I discovered aspects of the area that were outside of these significant prestige elements. When I got away from the magic of mansions and apartments loaded with history and aesthetics and set my feet on the ground, I saw that the buildings under construction were being used as large billboards. I tried to guess how the residents of the avenue felt when they saw these ugly, large tarpaulins filling the temporary space created by the ruins. In particular, the construction noise mixed with the New Year's excitement on the avenue at the beginning of the field study created an interesting confusion. There was constant destruction and reconstruction on the avenue where New Year's eve as well as national holidays were celebrated with enthusiasm.

Bourdieu's field theory explains how a particular social field determines power relations and competition among individuals within it. Spatial arrangements can affect power relations and individuals' social positions within that area. In this respect, it is not difficult to guess what kind of power struggle took place on the avenue, which witnessed constant destruction and renewal. But it is not easy to determine the agents that forms the power dynamics and affect the social status of the agents. We know that the mansions built during the late Ottoman period today belong to people those are very different from their original owners. However, these changes of hands are very old. It is quite difficult to shed light on the past power struggle here, when even the elites of the early Republican period are no longer alive. Who were those parceled out the land and sold it and made a profit during the transition from mansions to 3-storey apartments? Who came from the more modest parts of the city and strengthened their social status by starting to live here? How many of those living on the area today are second or third generation "avenue people"? If all these questions could be answered, a tremendous contribution would be made to the history of the middle class in Turkey.

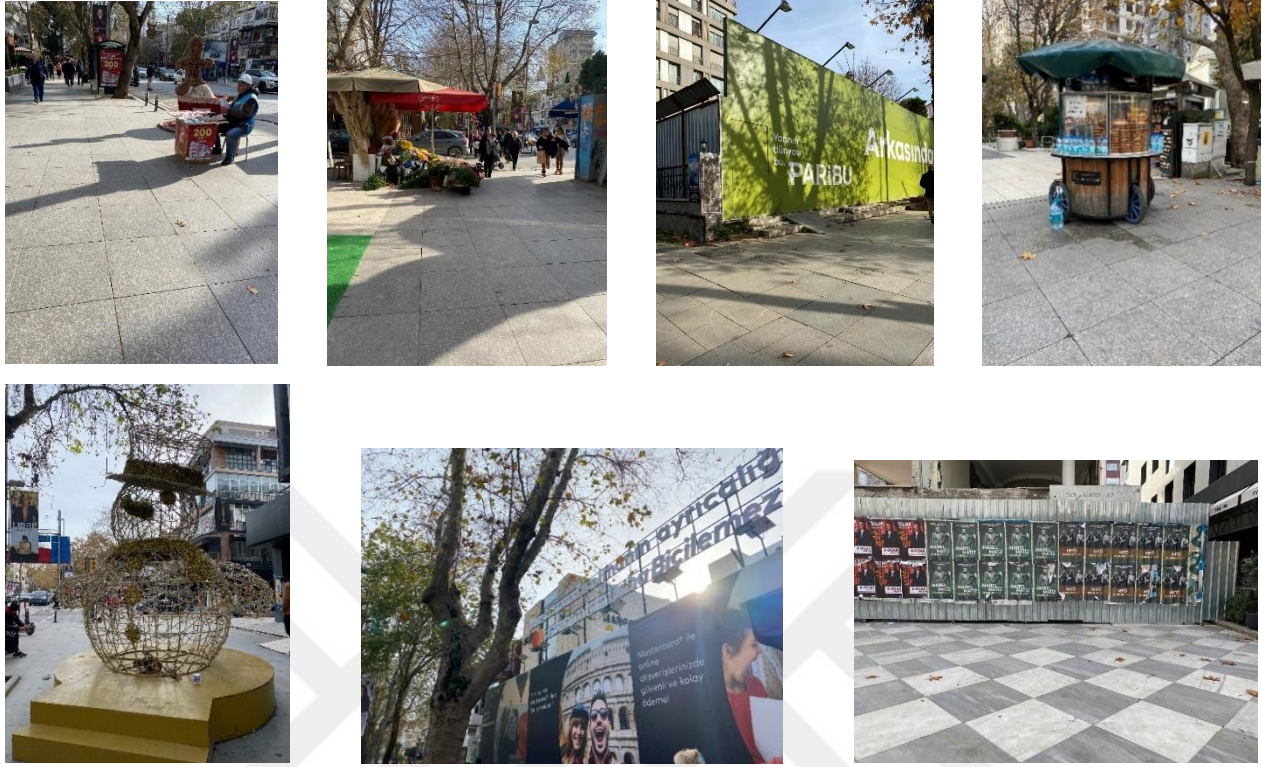


Image 38 General views from the avenue. Avenue vendors are positioned in convenient places, as in all crowded areas. Only the simit vendors' carts are more stylish than the ones usually used. Photos by the author.

On the other hand, it wasn't just mansions, apartments, and houses that were demolished and rebuilt. Stores also changed hands frequently, closing, reopening, or being replaced by new ones. As mentioned above, the stores opened one after the other played a major role in the rapid change of the Avenue after 2000. Nowadays, new stores continue to open. Marks&Spencer is known as the first high-end store to come to the avenue in the 2000s. Clothing stores with high brand value surround the Cadde, with Mango, Zara, Boyner, Benetton, Lacoste, Barbour, Beymen, Chanel, Desa, Nine West, H&M, Crocs and the recently opened Les Benjamins.³⁰ The fact that these stores usually have several floors is one of the factors that give the Avenue the title of

³⁰ In the news about the opening of the store in *Vogue*, the brand's creative director Bünyamin Aydın says "We want Les Benjamins Bağdat Caddesi store to be known for its unique features. The aim of Les Benjamins Cadde store is to capture the spirit of our multicultural universe and to contribute to the participation and co-evolution of Istanbul's youth in this." and expresses that he sees the brand's Cadde branch as special. The interview also includes the following information and comments: "The store, planned to be a center for fashion, art and technology, bears the signature of Dong-Ping Wong from the brand's long-term architectural partner FOOD NYC. In addition to men's and women's clothing collections, children's clothing, perfume, accessories and footwear categories find their place here, while its strong and innovative stance stands out in its architecture." See "Les Benjamins Deneyimi Artık Bağdat Caddesi'nde", Dilruba Karaköse, *Vogue*, June 3, 2022. <https://vogue.com.tr/moda/les-benjamins-deneyimi-artik-bagdat-caddesinde>

“shopping” avenue. The fact that these stores, along with Apple, are now opening on Cadde instead of İstiklal, can be interpreted as a sign that the “design-savvy” customer base has shifted here. From this perspective, mansions and apartment buildings are now far behind among the dynamics that determine the power struggle here. Consumption practices, which are the most important prestige indicator of Turkish society after 2000, are today the most powerful weapon of the symbolic capital war on the avenue.

There are also old grocery stores such as Asian Market and Şanlık on the avenue. Although these stores have a variety of products that appeal to local people, their prices are not suitable for every budget. So much so that even a market such as Macro Center, which is among the highest-ranked chain markets, remains more accessible compared to the established markets of the avenue. Penguen, Remzi, Nezih and Paşabahçe are among the stores that determine the rhythm of the Avenue. Penguen has recently opened large stores in many areas and made a big breakthrough with the book cafe concept. The two stores on the avenue seem to be the product of one of these breakthroughs. Remzi and Nezih are older in the area. Considering that Kadıköy is the district with the highest number of university graduates, it could be expected that there would be more bookstores on the avenue. These figures may justify the criticism of some avenue people that the avenue people are not very good with books. Apart from all these, there are also shops on the avenue, such as Cadde AVM, which once served as karaoke bars and produced names that left their mark on 1990s pop culture, such as DJ Bülent, but today serve as a modest store. Likewise, many shops in the Kuloğlu Passage generally have a history of at least 15-20 years. Apparently, just as the old mansions and apartments are about to disappear along with their living culture, the shops in the area have surrendered to new stores and shopping culture.

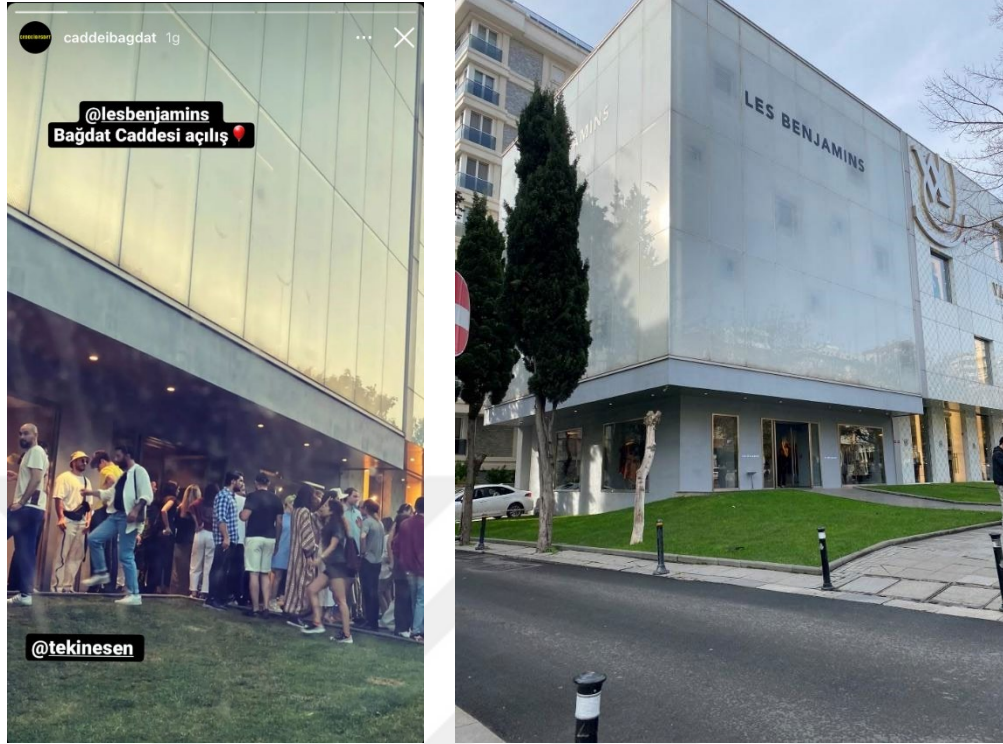


Image 39 On the left, a post from the @caddeibagdat account about the opening of Les Benjamins' store on the Avenue. On the right, is a current photo of the store. Photo by the author.

Again, the number of restaurants and cafes that played a major role in the avenue becoming a shopping avenue in the early 2000s and later in the 2010s, as well as a place that rapidly opened space for new forms of socialization, is countless today. As mentioned before, Barış Büfe and Kristal Büfe are among the oldest on the avenue. Divan is also a place identified with Cadde differently. After the opening of the first McDonald's restaurant in Kızıltoprak, the fast-food stores opened one after the other like a flare for today's situation. Today, in addition to the chain restaurants that have many branches on the avenue such as Mado, Günaydın, Saray Muhallebicisi, Happy Moon's, Cookshop, BigChef's and are frequently seen in shopping malls, there are places such as Kukis, Kızılkayalar, Vitavien, Kronotrop, Vienna Kahvesi, which can be considered semi-boutique as they only have a few branches, and those that can be considered a little more gourmet than the previous ones, such as Saltbae, SushiCo, Brassarie Prime; those like Magnum Store, which are currently only located on Cadde; boutique and gourmet venues such as Bröd Suadiye, Pigalle, Matters, Neni Brasserie, Grillin Guys, Strada; those that focus on local flavors such as Tacoroll, Danilos Pizza, Super Taco, Jeni Falafel & Rolls. When considered together with Bourdieu's claim that people's habitus is shaped by the spaces they live in and that these spatial

experiences have an impact on people's behaviors and social practices, put forward by Bourdieu with the *site effect*, this concentration of eating and drinking places on the avenue allows me to catch an important clue about the habitus of the interviewees. It is impossible for the habitus of someone who lives, works or socializes on the avenue not to be affected by these places and the new eating and drinking practices these places carry.



Image 40 One of the new-generation burger restaurants that opened recently on Bağdat Avenue. <https://www.yummyadvisor.com>

Among the socio-spatial components of the avenue are many large and small art workshops and galleries, and the Caddebostan Cultural Center (CKM), which operates under the municipality, hosts the many important cultural and artistic activities. There are also cultural venues such as Bedri Rahmi Eyüpoğlu Museum House, Haldun Taner Museum House, and the newly opened Kemal Sunal Museum. There are also various non-governmental organizations in the area. Fenerbahçe Businessmen Association and Bağdat Avenue Association are such organizations. In addition to these, there are also “society” units such as Büyük Club, Moda Rowing Club, and Marmara Sailing Club, which have existed since the first years of the Republic and continue their existence with a strict membership system. These formations have significant effects on the elitist identity of the avenue. Since the formations located on the Fenerbahçe-Kalamış coast, which is the most exclusive part of the avenue, are closed communities and work with special membership

systems, people who cannot be included in the existing social network are directly excluded and a protected social fabric is created.



Image 41 Outside view of the Big Club. <https://www.haberturk.com/>

Various schools where residents of the avenue send their children, such as İlhami Ahmed Örnekal, Fenerbahçe Anatolian High School, İSTEK Private Semiha Şakir Schools, 50. Yıl Tehran High School, Private Irmak Schools, and Ali Haydar Ersoy Secondary School, some of which were mentioned in the interviews, are also intermediary institutions that open the door to being included in social networks on the avenue. Actually, an independent study is required to analyze the impact of the agents who received education in these schools on the positions they occupy in the social structure, the social and cultural capital they acquire, and the dispositions they develop in connection with this. Another principal observation is the luxury car traffic I encountered especially during private schools' dismissal hours. On the other hand, as some of my interviewees also preferred, many families may choose to send their children to schools they think are more prestigious even though they live here. Therefore, I have to limit my assessment of what kind of impact these schools have on the habitus of individuals who have the experience of living, working and socializing in Bağdat Avenue, by stating that these schools also play a more or less role in making Bağdat Avenue a prestigious area today.



■ Mosques on Bağdat Avenue

Map 3 Map showing the distribution of mosques in the Bağdat Avenue area

The relationship between the secular, middle-class, White Turkishness that Bağdat Avenue identified with this, and religion is also a problematic issue. However, there are various mosques on the avenue, most of which remain from the late Ottoman period. Although it is not easy to determine how much it affects the social dynamism of the avenue, some mosques are filled at least on Fridays, and visited on the occasion of funeral ceremonies, and that gives the avenue a historical character. Galip Pasha Mosque is in the center of the avenue due to its location and is the mosque that is most involved in the dynamism of the avenue, especially due to the crowds at funeral ceremonies. It is possible to frequently come across charity snacks being distributed in front of this mosque. Mihrimah Sultan Mosque is also located on the avenue and is busy during Friday prayers. Although Suadiye Mosque and Fenerbahçe Mosque are on the avenue route, they are a little quieter as they are closer to the beach. Selamiçeşme Mosque is the largest mosque in the area and the public, as well as its permanent congregation, made a lot of effort to establish it. Although Zühtü Pasha Mosque is within the borders of the avenue, it is well outside the focus of the thesis because

it is in the part of the avenue close to Söğütlüçeşme. Similarly, Bostancı Kuloğlu Mosque can be considered outside the avenue. The fountains that keep the historical fabric alive on the avenue do not flow, but they are intact.

Considering that the Ottoman Era elite's relationship with religion was not as distant as today's upper and upper middle classes, the contribution of these mosques to the *site effects* created by the avenue may be limited to reminding of this past. On the other hand, it can also be interpreted as a sign that the avenue, filled with all its "unconsecratedness", has no serious promise for religious identities. It was interesting in this respect that during the interview with one of the regulars of Galip Pasha Mosque, the interviewee talked about the distance from religion of the people in the area in order to explain how much he did not like Bağdat Avenue. The fact that the inside of the mosque was empty while we were talking, but a crowd dressed in all black for the funeral spilled out of the courtyard, was important evidence for this claim, according to him. He argued that local people only came here for funerals and sometimes to use the mosque toilet. On the other hand, I would learn that another of my interviewees, who was proud to be from Kadıköy and Bağdat Avenue, went to Umrah. In the following sections, I will discuss the impact of the avenue on the interviewee's habitus in the context of religion and secularism.



Image 42 Galip Pasha Mosque.

Today, when I look back, as a result of my relatively long field experience on the avenue, I realize that I experienced an analogy I heard in a seminar I attended: The seminar, which was about the relationship between the photographer and his object, essentially argued that the photographer who did not establish a democratic relationship with his object could not produce “good” photographs. In this respect, he summarized what should happen with a scene in the movie *Leon*. This was the scene in the movie where Matilda, who admired Leon, a successful serial killer, said, “I want to be like you.” Realizing that he cannot persuade Mathilda to give up this idea after some resistance, Leon decides to teach her what he knows and gives the following description: The first step to becoming a good “cleaner” is to look through binoculars. You shoot from a safe area and a long distance. Then you get closer and closer to your goal. As you become more proficient, you can shoot closer and closer. So much so that you can feel your target’s breath. Even your breathing becomes synchronized. It is the same in photography; if you want to photograph nomads at the top of the Himalayas, you have to communicate with them.

This is also the case in ethnographic studies. When we are novices on the field, we are at the furthest distance from the field. We draw a wide and panoramic frame. Then, we get closer and closer and clarify exactly what we are looking for and what we see. This is how my field experience was shaped while examining the space experience on Bağdat Avenue. In the panorama where I looked at the avenue through a wide viewfinder, there were old mansions and apartment buildings, ongoing constructions, crude billboards, avenue vendors, markets, restaurants, bookstores, historical mosques and fountains, shops, schools, venues of non-governmental organizations, cafes, and a long walking route. Binoculars were not enough to clarify how this route was experienced by different agents in different ways, on different dates, and in different time zones. Could I feel the breath of the avenue through participant observation and interviews? We will see this in the below.

2. What does Bağdat Avenue Means for its Inhabitants, Visitors and “Practitioners”

As I summarized above, in this subsection, I try to describe the interviewees’ general impressions and comments about Bağdat Avenue. Based on the interviewees' statements, I attempt to understand what impact the sociospatial area of Bağdat Avenue has on the habitus of the interviewees. Louis Wirth says, “The distinctive feature of the human lifestyle in the modern age is its concentration in huge communities around which smaller centers cluster and from which the

ideas and practices we call civilization spread” (Wirth, 1932; 2). In his article published in 1932, he gives information that approximately 69.2 percent of the world population, which is estimated to be around 1,800,000,000, is urban. Pointing out how striking this rate was at a time when industrialization had not yet become widespread enough, Wirth stated that urbanization brought about tremendous social changes even in just one generation and that sociologists turned to research on rural and urban lifestyles precisely because of their excitement to examine these changes and their consequences. (Wirth, 2-3). For, “The pursuit of this interest is an indispensable prerequisite for the understanding of and possible mastery of some of the most important contemporary problems of social life, as it is likely to offer one of the most revealing perspectives for understanding the ongoing changes in human nature and social order.” (Wirth, 3). Despite many things that have changed since the 1930s, one of the things that has remained constant is the unique opportunity that urban studies offer to understand current social issues.

The diversity in my interviewees’ general approaches to Bağdat Avenue fits into this kind of context. As Wacquant mentioned above when describing Bourdieu’s urban sociology, the definitions of Bağdat Avenue, where physical, social, and symbolic space develop in parallel and become seemingly homogeneous, complement each other from different aspects, help explain the dynamics of spatial seclusion. TD, born in 1990, who extended his law education and worked in various non-governmental organizations in Istanbul while he was a student, says, “Of course, the avenue is not a place suitable for the behavioral patterns of people from lower classes like us. (...) It’s not a place that suits us very well. I couldn’t adapt to the avenue culture very well when I was young [2008]”, and by saying “As you know, rich people generally hang out, but something also happens, so now there are people who want to be like those rich people, even though they are not actually like that, they try to hang out like that, they want to reach that social status.”, BT, who is about to complete his architecture education and frequently preferred the avenue as a place to socialize during his high school years, explains why life on the avenue does not suit anyone. The common point in the comments of these two interviewees, who belong to different social generations despite being close in age to each other in a similar socioeconomic position, is that the avenue is a place that appeals to the upper middle class, and for this reason, those who do not have a certain economic income and the associated social status cannot be comfortable on the avenue.

According to Bourdieu, social class cannot be defined by a single attribute. The impact of many qualities on individual practices can be defined through their distinctive features and the

relationships between them (Bourdieu, 1996; 106). In this respect, the classism that the interviewees attribute to Bağdat Avenue is interesting in terms of the combination and interaction of several qualities. For example, according to BT, although there is not much difference between living in Küçükyalı and living in districts such as Caddebostan and Suadiye, “since all prestigious or rich people with a high social level prefer to live there, people who do not have that status also want to live there.” because they “desire to be on the same level” with them. The word “desire” used by BT has a very Bourdieuan nature. For individuals who want to change their position in social space and increase their symbolic capital by changing their cultural identity, Bağdat Avenue paves the way for gaining prestige only through consumption habits and purchasing power, instead of alternatives such as education, language knowledge, artistic taste, where symbolic capital is acquired through longer-term and difficult ways.

Social agents shape their social positions and cultural identities by adopting socially and culturally accepted desires. In this context, Bağdat Avenue undertakes the sociospatial representation of symbolic capital with the greater consensus of the society. This also explains the pleasure of living on the avenue, which TD described as “when you gradually feel that class difference, something that comes with that adolescence comes to mind, ‘Well, we live on the avenue’ or something like that” after living in his mother’s wife’s house on the avenue for a while during his adolescence. The debate titled “What will be the future of white-collar workers”, which has risen due to the economic crisis experienced in Turkey in recent years, actually carries important clues in terms of understanding how this class desire is embodied on the avenue.

As mentioned in the previous sections, the white-collar phenomenon is the gift of the post-1980 period to Turkey. Although this social group, defined by TDK as “civil servants and technical personnel who do not work with their physical strength during the production process but engage in intellectual activity and work for a salary or wage”, sees themselves as different from blue-collar workers by being well-educated, open-minded individuals who know the world, with qualities such as brain work and creativity, at this point today, a social context has emerged in Turkey where this distinction is about to be erased and white-collar workers have even gained a more disadvantaged position. This issue, in which professional groups such as doctors, lawyers, architects, and academicians complain loudly about this “equalization”, has begun to be the subject of research. The words of Onur Serttaş, a “white-collar” finance sector employee who spoke in the documentary prepared by 140journos, reveal the main lines of the discussion:

No one comes to Istanbul because they feel like it, including me. I am white collar now, for example, they call me a white collar. I am a worker, a worker who works in front of a computer. I am selling my labor. I was forced to live in Istanbul.

Everything is expensive. You go somewhere, you have to eat, it's expensive. You're going to go drinking, it's expensive. This time you create alternative plans for yourself. More public, common areas are free beaches, parks, and gardens. You go, a lot of people. Istanbul is such a place. Will you enjoy it? You need to take it out with everyone else. You are sunbathing, you are breathing, all together. Why? people everywhere.

When you think about it, you are in Istanbul and everything is in Istanbul. Opera is here, and culture, art, theater, and festivals are here. Sports competitions are here, but ask, 'You have been in Istanbul for 3 years, how many times have you been to the opera, how many festivals have you been able to attend?'

The reaction of this social group, which quickly created its habitus after its emergence in the 1980s and brought members to the upper class in a way that pushed the limits of social mobilization as the "class moving class", to the dramatic equalization with the working class, corresponds to a dystopia, as stated by Serttaş. In this equation, where the types of capital owned by white-collar and blue-collar workers are greatly approaching each other, the white-collar wants to protect symbolic capital, which is the only type of capital where inequality persists. He has no hope in economic capital because "everything is expensive" and the purchasing power is equalized because the salaries have got very close to each other. He has no hope in social capital because all the white-collar workers around him are experiencing the same problems as him. Cultural capital, on the other hand, will almost weaken its hand in the *game*, especially since it does not have an economic return for the years spent in education and it cannot spare time to nurture this type of capital while "selling one's labor". All that remains is to separate its agency from the working class by using its symbolic capital.

For ÖFY, who is a new-generation white-collar worker and works as a project manager at TRT without a staff, being on the avenue serves exactly this function, even though he doesn't feel like he belongs there:

...people are moneyed, it's decent, it's sweet, the avenues are smooth. For example, now that rich people live there, the architecture is beautiful, you look at the buildings, their exterior coverings are beautiful, you go, the cafes are nice, the service is good, the tea is good. There is good food, drink, and everything there, there is a good grocery store. It's expensive, everything has a price, but you can get the best of everything. (...) You are also around more educated and decent people, whether they like it or not. After eight in the evening, there is no sound of children on the avenue, no sound of music in the building. No one tries to renovate their house on Sunday. I mean, I'm a resident because it's a certain level.

It is very valuable for ÖFY, who lives on the avenue, to live on the avenue, even if it is by straining his limited means, rather than living without paying rent in Pendik or paying more reasonable rents in Maltepe and Kartal and saving money. Because he doesn't have to worry about security when his wife is out on the avenue at two or three at night. By saying "I can't do this in many parts of Pendik, I can't do this in Kartal, I can't do this in Gülsuyu of Maltepe...", he points out that his desire to live on the avenue does not only come from the desire to be in a prestigious area, in a place where he enjoys being together with members of the high class, even if he is not a part of it. However, when he says "... you are around more educated and decent people, whether they like it or not. After eight in the evening, there is no sound of children on the avenue, no sound of music in the building. No one tries to renovate their house on Sunday. I mean, I live here because it is at a certain level." it still reminds him of his primary motivation.

OB, who has been earning his living as a doorman in the area since the 1970s and had to move to Bulgurlu when the apartment building, he worked in went through urban transformation in 2015, expresses the same desire by saying "I miss this place very much, God knows (...) Bağdat Avenue was completely different, it was a very beautiful place." Although OB, who voluntarily took part in the construction of the Selamiçeşme Mosque, wishes to live in the elite identity of the avenue like ÖFY, his economic power as a retired worker does not allow him to live here. While listening to him, I couldn't help but think, "Is there any news that there is no place for him even in the novel of the avenue?" However, at that time, he was busy repelling the attempt of his friend, whom he had invited as a guest to our meeting in the association room of the mosque, who also lived here in the past and made a living as a painter, to talk about the avenue as an ordinary place and say "What's there to talk about here?" and to break the magic of the place he had so desired

by saying “Don’t say that... brother, this is a beautiful place, this is Bağdat Avenue!”

Bourdieu posits that although social class must be defined in terms of the impact of different qualities on practices, their distinctive features and the relations between them, not all these factors have to be in an equal dependency relationship with each other, and the ones with the most important functional weight can come to the fore in determining the structure of the class (Bourdieu, 1996; 167). In this respect, the determination of economic capital in social environment on the avenue is still important. This situation is exemplified by the fact that ÖFY was able to live on the avenue as a white-collar university graduate, albeit with difficulty, but OB could not stay here, despite his admiration for the avenue and probably, in part, the special bond he formed with this place because he spent the best years of his youth here. On the other hand, AO, who does not prefer to do so even though his economic capital allows him to live here and could at least push the opportunities such as ÖFY, still reminds us that the class should not be explained with a single quality.

Do you know what an avenue is in my eyes, as they say... The place seems to me like the place of young people but of a degenerate society. I mean, I’m a bit more old-fashioned in these matters, I like that thing and warmth more, old, for example, there’s a bazaar in Küçükyalı. You know, it’s like an old neighborhood... For example, when I pass by there, I feel very peaceful. Maybe that’s why I didn’t like the avenue very much, I didn’t go there or visit it...

AO’s husband has a flat in Feneryolu. Her husband’s family also resides in the area. After having to sit there for a while, at the first opportunity she gets, she goes to an apartment in Küçükyalı, close to the market. She spent some of his youth in Küçükyalı and is very pleased with the neighborly relations she established here. While she was living on the avenue, she didn’t like it when her friends told her that she was now an “avenue girl”, implying that she had moved up the grade and she never planned to live on the avenue. She finds the residents of the avenue cold, and her short-term tradesman experience by taking over her friend’s shop during the pandemic has shown him how right she is. For her, the decent identity of the avenue that ÖFY and OB admire means arrogance and superiority. That’s why she prefers not to enter into a race to increase her symbolic capital by living in a place where she can establish warmer and more intimate relationships and live her life without pushing the limits of her economic, social, and cultural capital.

Another example is IR, who finds an avenue far from his lifestyle even though his economic capital allows him to live in Moda. IR, who is engaged in trade and has a strong cultural and social capital with his writer and cartoonist identities, states that although he spent very special times here during his childhood and youth and has been residing in a nearby location like Moda for years, he has not visited the avenue, which has increasingly become a “shopping place”. He describes the place he used to visit for shopping by saying “...for example, my daughter and my grandson cannot enter, they cannot walk on Bağdat avenue, they feel like strangers. (...) Actually, it still has a bit of a closed-off atmosphere.” Therefore, the issues that make the avenue an object of desire for some may be a means of moving away from the avenue for others. In both cases, the elitist aspect of the avenue as a social, physical, and symbolic space comes to the fore. This shows that the avenue still carries the social fabric identified with the upper class, which has existed since the past, without leaving any room for hesitation. However, to understand the social environment on the avenue and habitus of the interviewers more deeply, it is necessary to focus on spatial and social practices.

Therefore, what the interviewees agreed on is that Bağdat Avenue is a special part of Istanbul and an important indicator of symbolic capital, whether they feel they belong there or not. This common opinion seems to have forced them to reconsider their own positions due to their spatial experience on Bağdat Avenue. A number of practices that they would not be able to observe or experience -some of which we will mention below- if they had never met Bağdat Avenue or lived in Fatih, Küçükyaşı, Pendik, Kartal, etc., cause them to realize their class identities. Having the privilege of having a spatial experience on Bağdat Avenue makes them feel, in the simplest terms, “different”; for example, they think and feel that there is a difference between them and someone who only spends time in Fatih or lives in Kartal instead of Bağdat Avenue. Even though this "difference" does not have the same meaning for all of them, they have common ground in accepting the existence of a difference. Therefore, *site effects* work, and as I mentioned above, just passing by on the avenue becomes a sign of prestige for the agents. Despite their different socioeconomic and sociocultural affiliations, the tendency to “differentiate” themselves from the rest of society is the common disposition of these agents.

2.1. The Impact of Spatial Developments and Gentrification in Bağdat Avenue on Interviewee, Visitors and “Practitioners”

Among the issues that the interviewees tend to “differentiate” themselves in terms of spatial practices, the most obvious issue is the issue of spatial change and related urban transformation. Especially after 1980, the avenue rapidly lost many of its unique elements and became an anonymous place and the quality of life decreased, which is on the agenda of the interviewees as an issue that changes and sometimes restricts their spatial practices. BE, a graduate of Saint Benoît and interested in exploring old buildings and places as a hobby while continuing his translation career at school, is one of those who are saddened by this change. In addition to what he remembers from his childhood, BE also remembers the old stories of his mother, whose roots go back to Hacı Bekir, the confectioner in the Ottoman palace, and he dreams of the avenue remaining as it was in those days.

...[my mother] says, for example, in the 50s and 60s, we didn't lock the doors at night, for example. There was no such thing as doors, he said if you see it, it's a glass window, you can see inside and so on... (...) It was so clean and decent. Of course, the sea was clear then. All kinds of fish, everything, those years were truly like a dream. (We couldn't catch up) with them. Unfortunately, of course, rapid urbanization after the 80s, as I said, after the Bosphorus Bridge was opened in 1974, and the Anatolian Side became a habitable area even in winter...

İR, who personally witnessed this change before, thinks that the first step that takes the avenue away from its old natural and original identity is the beach embankment. According to him, the avenue ceased to be a summer resort and moved away from its old authenticity from the moment the filling works started, and the sea became inaccessible. İR states that the spontaneously developing socio-spatial texture of the coast was damaged by the filling, and therefore a situation called “deterioration” emerged today:

[Before 1980] the mouths of the avenues leading to the sea were closed. So even reaching the sea from there was difficult and impossible. Either boatmen had occupied those places, or some social clubs, facilities, etc. So, you go down the avenue, towards the sea, but you cannot reach the sea. Where do you reach me? From Suadiye to Caddebostan, from several such points. The mayor of that time [before 1980] - I forget his name - said, “We will open these places to the public, people

in white underwear will now be able to swim in the sea in front of those waterside residences” etc. What happened? He added flights, buses, I don’t know what. What happened, nothing. Nothing happened because they felt alienated, they were not comfortable. It is a process that can progress naturally. As they move up the class and change their class, the newly rich gain self-confidence.

Another interviewee, retired teacher GŞ, who personally witnessed the spatial development of the avenue in the 1980s, also thinks that the avenue has changed a lot due to the fillings. “The road came between those mansions. Those old mansion incidents are over. Swimming incidents ended completely after 85 or 86. (...) Casinos came to an end, something happened after that, and they faded away. As I said, with those things, transformations, infrastructure works, and fillings, the avenue has become quite dull.” Despite this, GŞ, who thinks that the avenue never lost its popularity in Istanbul and even throughout Turkey, recalls that only at some point during the urban transformation process, the stagnation of the avenue reached an alarming level:

They had to close all the world brand stores one by one. Meanwhile, as you know, shopping malls developed very rapidly. When people couldn’t do anything, they had to move to shopping malls. That’s why it got pretty dull for a while. We said, ‘Oh no, Bağdat Avenue is getting lost!’ But now, after this pandemic, it has regained its former dynamism. So sometimes there is no place to step.

On the other hand, GŞ also thinks that the change of the avenue after 2010 has accelerated much faster than before:

After 2010, I went to the summer house, I came back, and I said, ‘Oh, there was a shop here.’ A shop changes hands 3 times a year. (...) Before that, it was more permanent. In other words, a shop remained for 5-10 years. You know, if the building doesn’t collapse, if nothing happens, it stays longer. But after 2010 it is tremendous. Nothing stands still. Next thing we know, there was something there, what happened? Either due to urban transformation, the impact of this pandemic or not being able to keep up with the rapid change at work...

These interviewees also have the impression that this rapid change of the avenue brings it face to face with the danger of becoming ordinary. For example, according to TD, “Buildings, faces, and characters have changed a lot. Now it’s uniform, largely.” So much so that when he looks at the avenue in its new state, he sees a very distinct and anonymous painting: “Young ladies wearing

crops and tights. There is a lot of dog density. I mean, they used to be the place with the most owned dogs in Istanbul, but now everyone has a dog. (...) And everything became very uniform. Men are the same way. Very uniform. Those faces from my childhood, my youth, even up to 2013, 14, have disappeared from the avenue.” TD repeats these sentences, which indicate that the change in the physical space of the avenue and the change in its social and symbolic space proceed together, from a broader perspective as follows:

It has changed a lot. It used to be upper middle class (...) You know, the avenue was a place where our state, that is, the Republic, offered favors to its officials. As we go further, Feneryolu, Fenerbahçe, Kalamış, there are rich merchants rather than this group of civil servants, but you know, the deep-rooted and local people of Istanbul... Indeed, I remember those signs; dentists, lawyers, private practice. For example, private practice has changed the texture of the avenue a lot, Tayyip Erdoğan’s closure of the private practice issue. (...) Then, of course, it is something that is for the benefit of the public in the short term, but in the long term, it is also the proletarianization of medicine. (...) Therefore, doctor signs, I remember from my childhood, private clinics were an important element of the avenue. It disappeared in an instant.

They blame this negative change squarely on urban transformation and consider that the avenue has lost its original identity with urban transformation. According to BE, Kadıköy and Bağdat Avenue succumbed to urban transformation in this process. It wiped out everything about the past and left the area without an identity. Even though some of the buildings were renovated for justified reasons, the issue has already gone beyond this dimension: “So now it is a completely different event, based entirely on profit. So, the oldness of that building is not an earthquake issue anymore. “There is a terrible rant going on.” Just like TD’s sentences about how the people of the avenue have become uniform, BE describes the uniformization of buildings:

For example, enter Iskele Avenue and now go to the place called Caddebostan Barlar Avenue. I mean, there is almost not a single building left that reminds us of the old days. And they are all similar, monotonous buildings. Almost similar in appearance, these are small balconies called French balconies, which are not balconies. You know, “modern” without a balcony or a garden, I say modern in quotation marks; buildings that look alike...

According to BE, most of the buildings on the side avenues of districts such as Caddebostan, Suadiye, and Erenköy were built in the 60s and 70s and served the summer house concept of that time. In this sense, the area had a unique texture. However, with the urban transformation, these buildings were eliminated, and perhaps all of this was done on purpose so that these buildings and the period they reminded of, and the way of life of the people who lived here at that time, would be erased from the social memory: “So I don’t know, it’s become something like this, of course, we’ve started to take something from everything and create conspiracy theories, but it’s a bit like destroying your identity like this as if you’re taking revenge. Avenue names have been changed for no reason, many avenue names are either completely new, erasing the past and building something from scratch, and of course, the most fundamental agent here is profit, money.”

SG, who has been living around Çiftehavuzlar, Caddebostan since his childhood, knows the area well and is currently a real estate agent here, evaluates the change caused by urban transformation in the social and physical space of the avenue from a different perspective. According to him, the most fundamental things are money and rent. According to him, the fact that even companies that have nothing to do with the construction industry attempted to work as contragents here for a while is an indication of this situation. However, during that period, especially in 2014-2015, so many houses were built that the contragents could not sell these houses and could not make the profit they aimed for. Moreover, they had to sell the houses they built cheaply because they had financial difficulties. BB, who ran a well-known place on the avenue for a long time and managed to keep his shop afloat during the urban transformation process, mentions that most of the shops on the avenue left during this process:

When we did urban transformation, there were shops next to us. There was Özsüt, then there was Marmaris Büfe. There were a lot of shops. (...) All of these had to close. That building [which we used to use as a shop] went to strengthening, it was not demolished and rebuilt. It would be delivered and returned within 3-4 months. (...) Around 120 people suddenly became unemployed in that building. We were the only ones who moved out of the building, we were the only ones staying here.

According to BB, an important change seen on the avenue after urban transformation is the decrease in alcoholic venues there.

...there were many night-time alcoholic venues in the club-style (...) after the buildings were renovated with urban transformation, they generally did not give their prices due to the noise. These have always turned into markets (...) Alcoholic venues are not opening, and such places have started to move towards Kadıköy. There is so much noise, fights, drinking alcohol, etc. Since these people live on the top floor, he does not allow such things with his family. If a person does not give permission or sign, the municipality does not allow him to sell alcoholic beverages here.

On the other hand, we should not rush to discuss what kind of changes this whole adventure of change, those who disappeared and those who came or did not replace them, caused in the symbolic space of the avenue. According to AT from Manisa, who came to Istanbul for university education and spent most of his student years on the avenue because he studied at Marmara University Göztepe Campus, places such as İstiklal Avenue, Cihangir, Beyoğlu can be foreseen, and while there are places with clear borders, Bağdat Avenue is this place with which we can compare. It has a different aspect that distinguishes it from other types of places:

Bağdat Avenue seems to have a slightly more autonomous structure. In other words, let's not say structure, it is the neighborhood of that area in terms of mass, and it is 1, 2, or 3 times higher than Asmalımescit. There were more luxurious vehicles, more luxurious businesses, and, I don't know, brands that we haven't seen anywhere else, it would make you feel like you were in a European capital or had gone to a European dimension. That was my first impression when I came [to Istanbul]. Going to Bağdat Avenue means 'Are you just hanging out on the avenue?' There are even vulgar expressions such as avenue child and avenue girl. So he had such an image. That's how he perceives it.

In a way, the inclination of the interviewees to "differentiate" themselves from the rest of society, which the spatial experience they gained on Bağdat Avenue gave them, is being disrupted by the effects of urban transformation. They do not like urban transformation because they consider that the symbolic capital carried by Bağdat Avenue is damaged by this operation. Consequently, the power that the spatial experience they have on the avenue would add to their symbolic capital is diminished. In addition, this striking spatial change causes the identity of "being from Bağdat Avenue" to be eroded, and they are left with nothing regarding exclusivity and originality. Therefore, a tendency to "anxiety about losing the privileges of differentiation" arising from change

is added to the tendency to “differentiation”.

Selling and Buying Houses: Housing Market on the Bağdat Avenue

...they were 2-storey houses in a garden. They were nice houses. Later, of course, they all became skyscrapers. Now you can't see or find one. These were extremely modest houses. So people living there were people who already had some deposits in the bank. Here's how much deposit you have, it gives you a lottery number for every 1000 lira. Take the key out. Some of them were selling them, some of them settled there... We called these bank houses... (IR)

Realizing that they cannot resist urban transformation, the interviewees add the tendency of “accepting that they have lost their differentiation privileges” to the “anxiety of losing their differentiation privileges” tendency. Street dwellers, who believe in the necessity of resisting urban transformation on an ideal level but cannot resist the profit promised by urban transformation, tend to “exchange symbolic capital for economic capital” and “not turn the contradictions between ideals and practices into an ethical problem.” We will see the details below.

Although it took the 1980s for consumer culture to take over the avenue, as is often emphasized, the distinguished identity of the area dates back to the late Ottoman period when it emerged as a summer resort. Many high-status Ottoman elites initiated the development of the area as a popular summer resort in the second half of the 19th century. Although the high economic capital possessed by these elites directly affected the spatial development of the area, it is difficult to say that capital in the area was directly transferred from generation to generation due to the previous transfer in the early Republican period. As many buildings that have disappeared or constantly changed hands indicate, the heirs of the first-generation high-status groups that settled in the area were only able to remain permanent in the place to a certain extent. However, a symbolic space marked by many prominent Ottoman bureaucrats whose names were identified with the area, such as Deli Fuat Pasha, Ragıp Pasha, Cemil (Topuzlu Pasha), Kazım (Karabekir) Pasha, had a constant influence on the physical and social space. In this sense, an upper-middle social class that had a certain economic capital, although they were not strong enough to build huge mansions on large lands, was able to settle in the area, which remained an elite summer resort in the early Republican period. Thus, when the mansions were replaced by town houses with gardens, the first low-rise apartment buildings replaced them, and the resort area began to evolve into an urban space

with small steps, the capital era began among the property owners of the area. Therefore, middle-class civil servants with small deposits in the bank were able to come to the avenue, as well as members of the bourgeoisie engaged in trade. Again, a considerable number of state officials, individuals, and families in various positions with roots in the Ottoman palace, and prestigious professional groups of the period such as doctors, lawyers, and engineers also owned property here.

For example, SG's family came to this area in the 1960s. The single-storey house with a garden they bought when they came here later turned into an apartment. While they were previously living in Sultanahmet, they realized that the neighborhood texture in that area was starting to deteriorate, so they moved into the house they bought as a summer house and then gave it to a contractor and built an apartment. These old apartment buildings in SG were much more livable buildings than the current ones. He says "There were four-storey houses with big balconies, very big, that is, big living rooms inside the house, and people lived accordingly. Afterward, with the urban transformation, people's houses started to become smaller, and most people did not even put a balcony in their living rooms so that they would not become smaller." However, he believes that the balcony plays a very important role in apartments:

In other words, they didn't want a balcony so that the living room could be bigger, so they confined themselves to their homes. In the past, my grandmother lived on the balcony, for example, in our old apartment, my grandmother lived next door. It had a huge swing. We would sit on that balcony all day. Afterward, our apartment had a balcony, but many people did not want this and wanted their apartment to be smaller.

BK, who opposes the demolition of the building he lives in and the cutting down of trees in the garden due to urban transformation, describes his disappointment in urban transformation as follows:

Urban transformation upset me a lot, Havva, I mean, my psychology was disrupted. I went crazy around here and started fighting with people. We had two houses and I fought hard to keep them from being demolished. Then I realized that the laws did not support me. So whatever I do is useless. I'll just be wearing myself out. And the people of this place disappointed me so much then. At that time, I always thought that when the people I called brother and uncle were little, I thought they were sane and foresighted people. Then, when this urban transformation happened, everything

happened, so they fell out of my favor. Then I said, how can you do it?

BK fought hard not only for his own flat and garden but also for the trees on the road that were cut down because the high-speed train would pass. He organized demonstrations and protests. With a few people who showed strong resistance, even tying themselves to trees. However, after his disappointment, he left this place and settled in Dragos. He thinks that starting the urban transformation process from Bağdat Avenue is a profit-oriented choice. “Think about the person living on Bağdat Avenue, he was already rich before and the building was strong. Why are you starting from Bağdat Avenue, brother? Start from Zeytinburnu, start from Avcılar. The man’s house here was already solid. He built his house solidly. Is the man crazy? He should go to his own house... He has money, of course, and he will have a solid house built. It’s all about profit...” he says.

SG describes the value of this rent in terms of the real estate market today and how it whets the appetite of the sector as follows:

... most of the real estate agents in this area are not from this area. So, he lives in Kartal but wants to work in this area. Why? Because house prices are expensive, that is, high. Now you can build a house for 2 million in Kartal, the worst price here right now is 7-8 million. In other words, if a flat is sold, it sells for 4 or 5 times more. (...) 70% of the real estate agent profile in this area does not live in this area anyway. I mean, they live in Ümraniye, I don’t know, they live in Kartal, they live in Maltepe, or Üsküdar, Acıbadem, those are the places... I mean, people come from there.

Since we talked to SG immediately after the February 6th earthquakes, we also touched upon the effects of the earthquake on the market. In this context, he made another interesting observation about why the rent on the avenue is so appetizing. According to him, Bağdat Avenue is such a special area within this market that, for example, when there is a crisis in the country, while everywhere becomes stagnant, on the contrary, more business is done here. “Because some people panic and sell them, others collect those goods cheaply, and the people here who have money, the rich ones, somehow collect those goods,” he says. To compare, he gives an example from his own office’s work in Kurtköy: “We currently have a structure in Kurtköy and we have sales there too. For example, when there is a crisis there, all work stops. No matter how low the prices hit, no one will buy it. Most of them are in that area because they have credit. Because people

who don't have money try to buy a house there somehow, for example in those areas..." On Bağdat Avenue, business never stops and people become even richer.

In this respect, the concept of *selective opposition* that Bayurgil borrowed from his interviewee in his research seems meaningful. Bayurgil observes that there is an ambivalence in the positions of upper-middle-class homeowners towards urban transformation, both because the most important common criticism of the area is urban transformation and because the interviewees who made this complaint have at least one flat that has been renovated with urban transformation, and she Bayurgil believes that this unstable position can best be explained by selective opposition. She describes this situation as "Landlords embrace the anti-growth language, but their rhetoric does not match their actions as they carefully and selectively pursue self-interested growth policies" (Bayurgil, 2022; 878). Therefore, they demonstrate a practice that considers class interests and their interests against one of the country's biggest problems but continues to criticize the process on an ideal level without losing anything from their opposition position. The effect of this on the social, physical, and symbolic space of the avenue is as follows: It simultaneously makes the social *milieu* of Bağdat Avenue one of the areas with the highest symbolic capital and enables it to be identified with upper-class elitism; at the same time, this *milieu* functions as a complex "structure" that allows it to be one of the leading symbolic venues of political opposition as if it has no contribution to rent policies and to produce the same discourse with the poor classes that the rent economy oppresses the most.

In this respect, both Pamuk's reference to hypocrisy and Tanyeli's alternative reading of modernization become more meaningful. Because the prototype accepted as the native of the place has evolved from the upper and upper-middle class "White Turkish" identity of the 1950s to the upper and upper-middle-class White Turkish identity of the 2000s. In the ideological change of White Turks, since the civilianization and marketization phenomena described by Özyürek have come to the fore since the 1990s, it can be said that there is a situation of compression between the idealism of the Kemalist principles of the early Republican period and the realism of the policies after 1980, when neoliberal policies declared their dominance, in the ambivalence of spatial and social practices regarding consumption. This squeeze is the result of the Kemalist upper and upper-middle class's hesitation, which remained in opposition at the government level due to the implementation of neoliberal policies by the "conservative" government after 2000, in protecting their class interests and leading the government opposition.

This is also a problem about how the ideal of being a “unprivileged, classless unified mass” can be updated in the society that has opened to the world after 1980 and has been rapidly introduced to mass media. It is also an indicator of the state of being at peace with the contradictions that lie behind the self-renewing power of Kemalism in Turkey. The reactions showing a White Turk reflex towards the candidacy of Fatih Maçoğlu,³¹ who was nominated by the Communist Party of Turkey in the last local elections, and the victory of the CHP candidate Mesut Köseadağı, according to the unsurprising results, are still the strongest tendency underlying this tangle of contradictions, ambiguities, and ambivalences. It shows that the class has interests. Not counting exceptions such as BK, the residents of Bağdat Avenue, who have a strong opposition to urban transformation on an ideological level and have no hesitation in giving their homes to urban transformation to make a profit, also have this tendency.

2.2. Transportation and Crowd: Sharing the Avenue

Bourdieu says, “Spatial distances on paper are equivalent to social distances” (Bourdieu, 271). Accordingly, especially in developed societies, social space is constructed in such a way that agents or social groups are distributed according to their positions in the statistical distribution, differentiated according to their economic and cultural capital, they are also settled in spatial space in such a way that the closer they are to each other in these two dimensions, the more they have in common; the farther they are from each other, the less they have in common. More broadly, the space of social positions is translated into the space of positions through the mediation of the space of dispositions or habitus (Bourdieu, *ibid*). In this context, the means of transportation changing at different times on Bağdat Avenue and becoming the avenue more “accessible” over time can be evaluated as a area with high economic and cultural capital losing this feature and becoming “ordinary”. This decrease in the symbolic capital of Bağdat Avenue means that the “differentiating” function of the area also decreases. While the concern about this decrease corresponds to the interviewees’ inclination to “lose their differentiation privileges”, in this section I describe the

³¹ The commentary made by presenter Fatih Portakal on the FOX evening news bulletin regarding Maçoğlu’s candidacy is an example of this. Portakal criticized Maçoğlu’s candidacy with the following words: “Now you may ask, what is Fatih Maçoğlu doing in Kadıköy? I mean, will he go to Bağdat Avenue or, I don’t know, Feneriyolu and say, ‘Friends, we are making a revolution, let’s walk’? Or will he plant tomatoes in the gardens? Or, I don’t know, will he ask for people’s votes by shouting, ‘Let’s produce collectively and earn collectively’? I mean, the people there are ‘concon’ anyway. You know Bağdat Avenue, I don’t know, Fenerbahçe. (...) I mean, the rich segment I mean...” For the full speech, see. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dSsItDG5miM>

interviewees' satisfaction with the accessibility of the avenue. There is an interesting relationship between these two seemingly contradictory situations. While the interviewees agree that Bağdat Avenue is a special and prestigious place, how do they not see its easy accessibility as a fagent that spoils this feature? Because among the features that make Bağdat Avenue special and distinguish it from the rest of the city is that it is a safe and liberal area. Bağdat Avenue is a place where "not everyone" can experience living, working and socializing here, but it is a place where those who get this experience will feel safe and free. Therefore, "accessibility" again functions as a differentiating fagent in this sense. From another perspective, although it is physically easily accessible, the fact that not everyone can benefit from the spatial experience here offers the opportunity for differentiation to the area and therefore to its residents and visitors. In this sense, the match between spatial distances and social distances, as Bourdieu mentioned, does not occur on Bağdat Avenue, which is an exception. However, the tendency towards differentiation in the interviewee's habitus comes to life creatively.

Many interviewees made comments such as that after Marmaray was opened, transportation to the area became easier, this increased the crowd on the avenue and caused fewer "avenue" people to come here compared to before. According to some, since they do not embrace the unwritten cultural principles of this crowded avenue, it spoils the texture here, while for others, since the crowd is already increasing throughout Istanbul, the density here should be seen as an extension of it and should be accepted. In this regard, the argument that means of transportation, like mass media, democratize space can be applied to the avenue. However, it should be kept in mind that the area, where transportation has played a major role from the very beginning in its development, first as a summer resort and then as a city space, has already been very easily accessible since the 1980s and is a part of Istanbul where you can travel comfortably and safely 24/7 on the other hand.

For example, TD thinks that access to the avenue was easy even before Marmaray was built. He remembers coming to the area by commuter train in 2008. He says that there was an interruption of around 1-1.5 years while Marmaray was being built, but apart from that, he could easily reach the avenue by train between 2008 and 2014. Apart from this, he also states that there are many means of transportation, and they work all the time, for example, after having dinner for a while, he takes the bus number 129 T to go to Taksim Atatürk Library and returns with the Taksim-Bostancı minibüs around 4-5 in the morning. In this respect, being able to "go" to Bağdat Avenue or even living on Bağdat Avenue does not directly mean being a "person of the avenue".

Therefore, the exact match of spatial space and social space does not always mean that symbolic space will also participate in this match. A social group or agent that provides spatial representation on Bağdat Avenue is not directly included in the symbolic space. The shopkeeper, who has been working as a Tekel dealer on Bağdat Avenue for 25 years despite living in Kartal, gets goosebumps when he hears the word Bağdat Avenue and whose first thought is that his customers are uncomfortable with him because he watches A Haber in his shop, is one of the best examples that cannot find a place in the symbolic space of the avenue, but has maintained its presence in the spatial space for years.

From this perspective, the position of the avenue on the map should also be reviewed. There may be many answers to the question of why the agents stay in this place, where they are included in the spatial space but not in the social or symbolic space. Even though I couldn't get into the details of the tradesman who ran a Tekel dealer because he didn't allow a recorded conversation and didn't extend the conversation, for which I only took notes, the most important reason for him still staying on the avenue seemed to be to strengthen his economic capital. ÖFY, who continued to live on the avenue, accepting the fact that he was not an "avenue person" and probably never would be, due to his lifestyle, the class he belonged to, and the instability of his economic capital, put forward more pragmatic reasons:

...when I leave home, I want to have places where I can spend time walking without driving. There was no such place near my father's in Kartal, so I would get in the car just to have a coffee at Starbucks. I live on Atatürk Avenue there. [Here] There is a Starbucks in the back avenue of my house. If I go to the other side, one of the most famous kebab shops is there. If I get on a seagull and get off, I'm at Caddebostan beach in 5 minutes. Things like this. If I lived there with my father, I wouldn't want to walk on Kartal beach. Ugly. Kartal is both ugly and full of ridiculous people. I do not feel safe on Pendik Beach.

On the other hand, if we look at the examples he gives, it is clear that he does not choose to live here just for the practicality it provides in daily life. There are many neighborhoods and streets in Istanbul where cafes or kebab shops are very close to homes. However, there are not many places where brands that have achieved a certain quality standard are concentrated, as in the case of Starbucks, which is specific to the avenue. ÖFY pointed out this issue in different parts of the interview and described the desire to live on the avenue as the desire for a "quality life". The

comparison of Caddebostan Beach, which is an extension of this “quality life” ideal, and Kartal/Pendik Beach, points to a spatialization distinction in which social and cultural capital differs, considering the physical similarity of the coastline extending to Tuzla. Exactly this differentiation is discussed in depth in *Distinction*, where Bourdieu analyzes the differences between social classes and especially how cultural tastes express and reinforce class differences. In fact, up to this point, I have explained that the biggest impact of the spatial experience on Bağdat Avenue on the habitus of the interviewees is the desire to differentiate, the inclination to differentiate themselves from the rest of society through spatial experience. In the following section I explain how these tendencies are reciprocated during socialization processes.

3. Socialization on the Avenue: How *Habitus* Works?

In this section, where I closely examine the socialization processes of the interviewees on Bağdat Avenue, I endeavor to understand the effect of socializing on this avenue, rather any other place, on the interviewees’ spatial experience and habitus. Under the subheadings of “being/not being from Bağdat Avenue”, the issue of religiosity vs secularism, national commemorations and celebrations, I examine how the experience of space on Bağdat Avenue affects the habitus of individuals who differ socioeconomically and socioculturally. At the very beginning of his monumental study *Distinction* Bourdieu states that behind the statistical relationships between the level of education or social origin and the way a particular knowledge or knowledge is processed lies the fact that the ways people acquire and use this knowledge vary depending on their cultural capital, the opportunities they can benefit from, and the relations between cultural groups:

Hidden behind the statistical relationships between educational capital or social origin and this or that type of knowledge or way of applying it, there are relationships between groups maintaining different, and even antagonistic, relations to culture, depending on the conditions in which they acquired their cultural capital and the markets in which they can derive most profit from it. (Bourdieu, 1996; 12)

From this perspective, the connection between the production and “sale” of cultural capital is interesting. How can we understand the conditions that create discrimination in social, spatial, and symbolic space on a plane where even educational capital does not have any meaning on its own, and where cultural capital can be acquired by learning the unwritten rules of where, how, and for

what purpose the knowledge acquired through education will be used? We pursue this question in this chapter. We will see how the dispositions towards differentiation acquired through spatial experience is reflected in socialization processes through space.

3.1. Excluding vs Including the “Strangers”

In this section, I examine whether interviewees’ tendency to differentiate has a counterpart in terms of spatial seclusion. While talking about the spatial experience in Bağdat Avenue, one of the issues that came to the fore regarding the socialization processes in the area was that there was an inclusive and tolerant social environment in Bağdat Avenue. However, as the conversations increased, I heard different experiences on this subject. Here, by evaluating these experiences, I analyze how interviewees’ differentiation tendencies differ from each other. Narratives on the argument that Bağdat Avenue has always a tolerant social environment were often shrouded in a nostalgic aura. This point, which I have come across in many memoirs, interviews, and even social media channels, is confirmed especially by my interviewees who have seen the avenue before 1980 or heard about it from their relatives. For example, he says that he was never discriminated against because his father was an Ashkenazi Jew and his mother was a Sephardic Jew and a member of the İR minority: “I grew up in a cosmopolitan environment. I had friends, childhood friends, from almost all walks of life. But none of us were interested in our families. It’s the same in the schools I attended. It was only when I went to the military that I realized what my true identity was.” On the other hand, he adds that he had many Jewish friends in the area where they lived at that time. He mentions that there is such a dense Jewish population that he has almost the same number of Jewish friends as his Muslim friends. He also tells an anecdote about how there is no discrimination in this environment where he also has 1-2 Armenian neighbors:

...in my childhood, for example, the word “Jew” was considered a bit of an insult. There was such a thing in some circles, but we didn’t know about it so much that we used to have neighborhood fights, for example. We used to attack gangs, etc., for “cowardly Jews”, those who ran away, etc... (...) So, there is no such consciousness. Nowadays people call this antisemitism, but there is no such thing. But right now it is, because it is not said that way, unfortunately, there is such a thing. So it’s very different.

Similarly, he states that there was no distinction between rich and poor in the past: “Do you know

that when you look at it, the difference, the gap, was not that big... There were rich people. Yes, there were very rich people. They were also people who had digested wealth. I'm talking about the avenue, there were always people who had absorbed their wealth, but they did not stand out. It was nothing like my blind finger."

Reminding that he was aware of how far from reality what he said seemed, he continues as follows: "Everyone was respectful, and holidays were celebrated together. What I'm saying sounds very nostalgic, but that's how it was. In other words, both Jewish holidays and Muslim holidays were celebrated together. During Eid al-Adha, the lambs, sheep, etc. purchased at work were shared, distributed, distributed to the poor, etc. We would experience that holiday together. We always lived together." He explains the change from those days when Jewish children did not realize that they were Jews, but the word "Jew" was used as an insult in the common language, when holidays were celebrated together, laughed together, and cried together, to today, when every issue involves a great deal of "sensitivity" in the name of political correctness: "...politics and economy change everything. Of course, this is also related to the story of the world getting smaller and smaller. Now everyone is more or less aware of everything, but no one can digest anything," he explains. Although it does not seem possible to have such a peaceful social atmosphere in Turkey in the 1950s-60s, when IR's childhood passed, it may be possible for children to develop a unique partnership in an equation where identity politics has not yet found a response on the victims' side. On the other hand, EM, a Saint Joseph graduate and tourist guide who spent his childhood in the 1980s, agrees with IR that there is no class discrimination shaped by economic capital:

When I think about neighbors, I don't remember any groupings in terms of profession or social class. I mean, there were so many different people and professions. So there was a neighborhood, too. It would be discussed. I remember that there were a lot of people coming and going, like my mother's friends... We would always meet in the apartment. Well, it's not like that now. Of course, there were apartment neighbors. It was being discussed, so I remember that.

Of course, the question that comes to mind here is how the fact that they have a cultural capital shaped by the common denominator of having the opportunity to live on Bağdat Avenue, even though they come from different professional groups and social classes, shapes the relationships these apartment residents establish with each other. Similarly, since compatibility was

a generally prominent element in narratives about neighborly relations of that period, there may be doubt as to how specific this was to the Bağdat Avenue area. However, some interviewees think that the avenue still has a cosmopolitan structure. For example, GŞ describes the social space of Kadıköy and Bağdat Avenue as follows:

...a very colorful society, very respected. People are all respectful to each other. It's like something has happened lately, their perspectives (have changed). I would say that maybe it is an effect of politics, but no one has always intervened with anyone else. (...) There is respect, that is, first of all. People are good as a society, as a society, they are intellectual, they are educators, and they know values. Whether it is a national holiday or a religious holiday. He always knows that people from all different ethnic groups are respectful to each other on those issues.

Likewise, SG, a real estate agent from the younger generation, says that even people who are “not from here” are treated with tolerance on the avenue: “...now, people come here a lot on the weekends and so on, and you see, they are not from here anyway.” You know, he's not from around here with his clothes and things, but no one says anything to him, he goes down to the beach and rides his bike. I don't know, he also plays guitar and sings music. You know, close or open, gay, whatever, gay, no matter who they are, there is tolerance here...” SG, which is frequently covered in old and new media, is where the demographic structure has begun to change, an intense influx of foreign population has been seen, and foreigners have bought a lot of houses here. He also finds the revolts, bordering on xenophobia, unwarranted: “There is not a lot of [house] sales to foreigners in this area. I mean, people always say 'foreigners raised [prices], that's what happened,' but it doesn't happen. On the opposite side [European Side], it's mostly Esenyurt, which is far outside of Istanbul anyway. The main thing is that the ones [of the foreign customer] have money are going to Bebek, Etiler, I don't know Ulus... there are a lot of sales there, especially the Bosphorus line.”

BT, who works at a famous chocolate shop on the avenue while continuing his architecture education, confirms SG on this issue by saying, “... I have been working there for nearly 2 years, if I add up, 50-60 immigrants or people of foreign origin have arrived.” Despite this, the news in the media, mostly with provocative language, and the comments on this news contradict the narrative of tolerance on the avenue. If the foreign population is so small, what is the reason for the rising reaction? Should these reactions be explained by the increasing anti-immigrant sentiment across the country? Or are these rumors rising because those who see themselves as the owners of

Bağdat Avenue cannot tolerate seeing weeds in social space? These are all questions that need to be considered. Another testimony that makes these questions more meaningful comes from NB, a headscarved woman who was a student at Erenköy Girls' High School in the 1990s and often preferred Bağdat Avenue for shopping and socializing while living in Kartal:

Marks & Spencer was opened. For example, when it first opened there, people would go there and come out and say things like that, on the escalators [because I was wearing a headscarf]. You know, it's not directly about me, but it's the loud talking and announcing. Because I didn't listen much, because I didn't look at people... For example, if Pizzahut was buying it, I would go to Pizzahut [with a headscarf]. I didn't particularly go to places where I wasn't taken. Things like cafes or fast food, we were going to those kinds of places because we were young. But I haven't experienced this in stores. For example, I have never lived in Vakko, it sells scarves anyway. For example, when Beymen had a good discount, they would give special news. Let's reserve it. Because we shop. Not in the stores, but in the cafes and the people there, especially in that area after Suadiye, that is, the part of Bağdat Avenue that turns to the beach and an avenue above, let me tell you that section.

NB belongs to a family known around Kartal in the 1990s. As a family, they are ship owners and do many other jobs. Almost all of the bazaar in Kartal belongs to them. They own a lot of real estate. Therefore, she can study at Erenköy Girls' High School and socialize on Bağdat Avenue. As you can see, as a family, they shop from the most prestigious brands on the avenue. Because they are well-known customers, they can receive special treatment. Despite this, he feels limited in cafes and restaurants. At Marks&Spencer, customers may be verbally harassed. Moreover, he is subjected to this treatment not only in the past, in the atmosphere of February 28th at the end of the 1990s, but also today: "For example, the Divan on the avenue, that is, they look at it differently after that when people enter. So now, with the shopping malls, they had to be overcome, but the avenue still pretends to be bourgeois. Likewise, Nişantaşı is the same when we go to Nişantaşı. They are also bourgeois, so the activists, the rich, all those living on that side, they all go there and socialize there." Apparently, despite all this cosmopolitanization, the avenue still maintains its old elitist identity and class barriers for some of the avenue's residents. ND says that her sister-in-law was also subjected to verbal harassment in a store in Göztepe during the last elections, saying "Have you come this far?" ND's comment on this event, which resembles one of the striking scenes of the TV series *Kızılılık Şerbeti*, which examines the differences between secular and

religious/conservative lifestyles and how they produce social tension, attracts attention with the headscarved female characters it features, and whose first episode was broadcast on October 28, 2022, besides Margulies' anecdote above, is as follows: "We are already here, can I explain?"

We have seen in the previous section that spatial experience on Bağdat Avenue affects the tendency to differentiate in the interviewees' habitus. The first subsection of this section shows how this tendency differs from each other according to the socioeconomic and sociocultural formations of agents during socialization processes. In fact, each agent spatial experiences on Bağdat Avenue according to own habitus. When the positions they hold in society come together with the spatial experience on Bağdat Avenue, they acquire new positions. We have said that the position an individual occupies in the social structure affects the dispositions (dispositions) s/he has, and in the same way, these tendencies reproduce or can change the individual's position in the social structure. Habitus explains precisely this interrelationship. It is this relationship between position and disposition that makes sense of how individuals experience the social world and how they act in this world.

In this respect, the fact that a middle-class, secular agent who has spatial experience in Bağdat Avenue thinks that there is no discrimination in the social environment of Bağdat Avenue, and that a middle- or upper-middle-class headscarved woman or any individual from the working class thinks that they are discriminated against here is related to the positions they hold. In Bağdat Avenue, the spatial experience interacts with these positions held by the agents and their various existing dispositions. The new dispositions that emerge as a result of this interaction will not be the same as each other due to the differences in the previous positions and dispositions. The difference in the interviewees' expressions and approaches in this section reveals this differentiation. SG, who grew up in a middle-class secular family and was born and raised in Bağdat Avenue, thinks that there is no discrimination in the area and that everyone spends time and socializes as they wish here. By displaying a typical Turkish middle-class secular habitus, he shows a disposition to ignore discrimination because he is not discriminated against. IR, a middle-class secular minority member who spent all his summers in the area from childhood until he got married and then spent time here on various occasions for a long time, claims that there was no discrimination here in the past, but now it is on Bağdat Avenue, as it is all over the world. This is a typical example of the disposition of minority members living in Turkey to keep alive the nostalgia of old Istanbul, which they regard as one of the ideal periods of the culture of living together. ND, whose youth coincided with the

February 28th period and who used Bağdat Avenue as an important socializing place because she studied at Erenköy Girls' High School, on the other hand, exhibits an example of alienation and inability to belong to secular public spaces, which is a typical disposition of the common habitus of headscarved women who spent their youth in the most heated period of the secular-religious conflict. ND's statement that she herself was discriminated against shows that this tendency is based on a phenomenological reality. SG's disregard for discrimination is probably based on the fact that he has never encountered anyone discriminated against in any way. On the other hand, this disposition can be seen as a homeowner's reflex resulting from being a “local” of Bağdat Avenue. In this respect, if we could talk about a “Bağdat Avenue habitus”, we could say that it exhibits one of the dispositions of the individuals included in this habitus. Since Bourdieu does not mention space habitus, we can define this for now as a disposition of the middle class, secular, White Turkish habitus through the spatial experience on Bağdat Avenue. Thus, in this context, we can argue that the spatial experience on Bağdat Avenue can be considered as a kind of microcosm to get to know the habitus of different socioeconomic and sociocultural groups in Turkey.

3.2. Religious and Secular: Changing *Habitual* Borders in the Avenue

In this subsection, I attempt to deepen my finding in the previous subsection that the spatial experience on Bağdat Avenue can be considered as a kind of microcosm to get to know the habitus of different socioeconomic and sociocultural groups in Turkey, in terms of the issue of religiosity and secularism. I attempt to understand what can be inferred from the spatial experience of Bağdat Avenue regarding this issue, which constitutes one of the important tension lines of identity politics in Turkey, and what kind of effects this experience may have had on the interviewees' habitus.

On one of the days when I was doing participant observation, I made the following note, thinking about how little data I had to clarify the questions that were coming to my mind and to generalize: “I feel like a study like Bourdieu could never be done in Turkey. Because it seems that it is not possible to reach the statistical data he achieved there. It is not that comprehensive studies have not been carried out recently. But I have not yet met a sociologist who can carry out theoretical knowledge and comprehensive statistical studies together and thus produce concepts by making various generalizations.” Especially when statistical studies are adopted in doctoral theses, either the data collection process of the research is weak and simple surveys prepared quickly are answered by a sample that has not worked on it, or while the data collection process is carried out

meticulously, so much time is spent that it cannot go beyond a descriptive description of that data. In conceptual studies, even at their best, the empirical part is very weak. In this case, it is inevitable to experience resource shortages even in more modest studies. For example, there is no reliable data pool that we can refer to to get to know the tastes of the middle class in Turkey. For this reason, discussions about the tastes of the middle class are largely read through the secular-religious/conservative lifestyle conflict.

Another interesting point is that, apart from Esra Özyürek's ethnographic study, there are not many examples of studies dealing with the issue of secularization in Turkey that take empirical data from everyday life and have a "self-reflexive" framework about secularization. As Ardiç stated, "This work, in which the author, who has a 'habitus' shaped within the 'core' Kemalist tradition, displays an interesting example of self-reflexivity, is unfortunately an exception in this respect in the literature." (Ardiç, 2008; 82). At this point, the fact that the elements that evoke the religious/conservative identity in the public sphere are more visible, as it has been governed by a the government that defines itself as "conservative democrat" but is attributed a religious/conservative identity (especially by the opponents) due to the policies it implements and the identity of its base for the last 20 years, attracts attention in the field of social sciences. While the "new middle classes" are the subject of urban studies, attention is turned to the religious/conservative habitus. However, in societies where statism is strong, such as Turkey, there is an entrenched upper-middle class from which the newly emerging middle classes will inevitably be affected, and whose mystery has still not been solved by thorough research due to its introversion. Although this upper-middle class cannot avoid many changes brought about by time, it is quite resilient in protecting its boundaries. Although we do not have enough concrete data to measure this resistance, the visibility of headscarved women in the public sphere is still an important variable as a fagent that activates some reflexes.

Among the interviews I conducted within the scope of this thesis, what NB and ND said is very important in this respect. NB is ND's mother and she has not the same opportunities as ND. She did not have the opportunity to receive a good education like ND because she was married when she came to Istanbul from Rize at the age of 16-17. However, when he was newly married, he and his wife loved Bağdat Avenue very much, so they had been coming here for shopping and walking for a long time. However, like her daughter, she was also subjected to various harassment because of her headscarf. For example, she remembers the 1990s as follows:

Of course, we experienced a lot of things at one time because we were covered up, for example, I experienced this myself. I mean, they were looking at me differently. I remember the first time I went to Boyner when it opened, their attitude, their condescending looks. But normally I felt very comfortable there, so this was such a trend at that time. The veils were removed from schools and closed. They were looking at me so badly, but for some reason, I never knew what I was, so the headscarf is not a person's idea, the headscarf is a belief. Since I always knew this, I wouldn't mind doing anything, I mean, I would enjoy it, but I have always witnessed such things.

Likewise, she recalls an incident that took place in the heat of the period and was reflected in the newspapers:

...I never forget, in a store [window] at that time, they made them wear sheets and put crosses on them because they didn't want such customers. I was there at that time too. So, I was gone. They told me it wasn't selling. (...) I told them "You will lose. You are doing very wrong. I am a customer, this is a business, and I am a customer. What are you not selling against? What are you not selling on?" (...) Now I see that those sectors have completely turned to this [hijab clothing].

Despite this, she does not give up going to the avenue and still prefers it when she needs to shop on an avenue with a beautiful and long walking route, such as Bağdat Avenue, rather than closed shopping malls. NB's circle consists mostly of upper-middle-class families like his own family. Not all of these families are religious/conservative. She has a large enough network to receive invitations to weddings at the Büyük Club, Fenerbahçe Yacht Club, and army lodges. She also has various memories of such events that she attended as a guest. For example, she says that he cannot forget the surprise of the people in the hall when he went to the Fenerbahçe Yacht Club for the first time with his family for the wedding of a young man he met as a family.

I will never forget the moment they first saw me. (...) Everyone is wearing something like a petticoat. Everyone is so open, they have cocktails in their hands, and they have this and that. We entered, and that is the only place I experienced this in my life, look, I have never experienced this on the avenue or anywhere else in my life. We entered there, my husband was in the front, my aunt and uncle behind. Of course, we have our coats on, we are dressed in a stylish coat and covered up, and our feet and bags are very neat. After that, they stayed like this, they froze, and life froze. I

never forget that picture.

She does not encounter the same surprise after this first experience in the 1990s. She says “Then I went to those clubs a lot, and people improved, got used to it, learned. After that, we had many weddings, that is, people from our segment also had weddings. It’s still happening. It does not happen like this.” She encounters more limited reactions. According to AT, who comes from a conservative family, compared to the increase in the visibility of the conservative segment in public spaces throughout Turkey, this situation does not progress at the same pace on Bağdat Avenue. According to him, “In the vast majority of the avenue, maybe 70%, 80%, the dominance is still very much on the left.” He specifically states that he uses dominance in the sense of “cultural dominance”. On this subject, for example, she mentions that her sister, who was wearing a headscarf after the Gezi Park protests, was harassed by the “CHP aunties” while driving in the far left lane. According to him, by waving a flag over the car window, they treat those who do not follow their ideology, especially women with headscarves, as if they were “enemies of the Republic”. He thinks this approach is still very common on the avenue.

SG, who defines himself as an Atatürkist, draws a similar portrait with the term “CHP aunt”: “... I mean since people started living in this area, they have always been Atatürkists, that is, Republicans. Because there is an educated group here and there are always people who are loyal and grateful to their country, so it is the same in our circle. There is something very intense in this area, there is something they call ‘Kadıköy auntie’, they always live here.” On the other hand, SG’s description of “CHP/Kadıköy aunt” is different from AT’s: “[Women] who don’t care about anything and say, ‘no matter what they let me in, I will speak my mind’. So, this area is such a area. Because people have somehow learned to be right. You know, they don’t use parties for certain things.” According to SG, these people, who identify with the area and are “natives” of this place, continue the thoughts and lifestyles of their families who lived here before them:

In other words, his/her ideology is the same, s/he saw it that way, and so did his family. Because in this area, most of them have fathers who were high-profile people in some way. In the 1960s and 70s, 20-30-35-40-year-old people bought houses here, now they are all 80-100 years old, and they are raising Republican, I don’t know, children. They are not doing anything right now, you know, they are not moving on to something else political. You know, that’s what he saw from his family in this area.

AT also agrees with SG that the locals/owners of the avenue are the middle-class, Atatürkist segment that settled here in the past: "...now that I think about it, the real natives of the avenue are those born in the 1950s, 40s, 60s, the generation born in those years. (...) I mean, people have lived there since the 50's and there are still houses like that in the side avenues. There are two-storey houses with a 1970 model Mercedes next to them. In my opinion, they are not even native to the avenue, I think they own it." According to him, the power of this generation and their say on the avenue is not related to their economic wealth. The power of this group, like the group that we see in the parking lots of seaside houses on the Bebek shoreline, live in ancestral houses inherited from their ancestors, and have a Renault Megane or Opel Astra in their parking lot, is also a cultural power stemming from their ownership of old property. Therefore, what both interviewees say means that they want to preserve the limits of their own lifestyles in order to maintain the class privileges enjoyed by an enlightened generation born in the early period of the Republic, raised in the idealist educational institutions of the first period of Kemalism, and coming from elite families, although not all of them were rich. In other words, the first social group that comes to mind when talking about Bağdat Avenue corresponds to a class that has been trying to live and keep alive a habitus shaped by the lifestyle principles of early Republican Turkey since the 1950s.

On the other hand, many developments since 1980 weaken this class's claim to ownership of the avenue. For example, as NB mentioned, in the 2000s, instead of houses sold for 1,000,000 or 2,000,000 TL on the avenue, you could buy waterside residences on the Bosphorus. Despite this, she explains the reason why people prefer to live on the avenue:

For status, [to say] 'I live on the avenue' or to make friends with the people in that environment. Because how many friends can you make living in a mansion, and how much can the environment be like? But you go down to the avenue there, you have neighbors, you have apartment neighbors, your children study in the same schools, (...) as a status, they go out to that avenue, take a walk, go to the cinema. In other words, it is good for those who like to be in the center and live life in the center. Even if he is rich, he prefers to live there due to his status.

In this sense, some consequences of the fact that groups with high economic capital preferred this place after the older generation with high cultural capital can be mentioned. According to AT, Bağdat Avenue is in a sense being disformed and even assimilated as mansions

are replaced by residences. According to him, this change means “Currently, only material possessions have become sufficient to live in that environment.” According to OB, the old fashionable life on Bağdat Avenue is long gone: “...for example, look, I’m really surprised now. Now, for example, when I look at newlyweds, I see that there are fights and noise in the house after being married for 2-3 years. It didn’t exist before, my daughter, it didn’t exist, it didn’t exist.” ÖFY believes that despite this change, a certain level of politeness has been preserved on the avenue, and this is related to individualization:

...the neighbor I met in the elevator, whom I had to meet, at least knows how to say “hello” and doesn’t smell like sweat. After that, they don’t have to say things like, “Well, you bought a new car, congratulations.” Well, I don’t like too much interference in my life. Everyone is very individual in those parts. Maybe this is not a good thing for society, but it is a good thing for me while I am alive. I mean, they don’t have to worry about who came to their house and who left. Naturally, there is no gossip environment as in a neighborhood culture. You do your job with everyone, that is, you buy something from the market, they don’t ask you extra ‘Are you expecting a child yet’, for example. But my parents are asking there...

As you can see, this subsection shows that it is not possible to address the impact of the spatial experience on Bağdat Avenue on the interviewee's habitus in terms of the issue of religiosity and secularism with a shallow approach. The experience conveyed by agents who have the basic positions and dispositions of religious and secular habitus reveals that the class basis of the issue is stronger and the belonging/ownership debate underlying ideological conflicts comes to light. The question “who will rule the country?” has been going on since the late Ottoman period. The debate was transformed into a discussion in the context of being a native and owner of the country through the definition of “ideal citizenship” by the founding elites and intellectuals in the early Republican period. It was inevitable that this debate would bring about a major identity debate, the consequences of which continue to this day.

In fact, according to the definitions of "ideal citizenship" that have begun to take shape since the Second Constitutional Monarchy, citizenship is seen as being a member of an organic whole, a member of the family. “Homeland” is the common “home” of the “nation” as a big family. Citizens are also "children" of the extended family that comes together in this big house, that is, of the homeland (Üstel, 2008; 73). What this definition includes and excludes is determined by the

principles of the regime in the early Republican period. Middle-class, secular, Kemalist White Turks are both the guardians of the regime and the real owners of the homeland. Just as the protection of the homeland as a physical, social and symbolic place requires responsibility, being the owner of that homeland also entails the right to have a say. Therefore, while the place is safe and liberal for the real owners, that is, the ideal citizens, there is no harm in the undesirable citizens feeling uncomfortable.

As I will examine in more detail below, the spatial experience offered by Bağdat Avenue, as a space identified with the ideals of the regime and the social group that carries these ideals, also becomes the scene of this dilemma. The problem of belonging experienced by "unacceptable" citizens in a space that in principle belongs to all citizens causes the issue to turn into a conflict between acceptable and unacceptable classes. Even if the social class of undesirable citizens has sufficient economic capital, they will not be able to be included in the deserving class because they cannot claim rights on the avenue because they are not secular. In this respect, SG's reminder that his family has been "here" for years refers to a subtext that he "owns this place". The fact that AT never sees himself as "the owner of this place" and describes the portrait of a typical middle-class, secular, Kemalist White Turkish family as the "native/owner of Bağdat Avenue " is a disposition brought about by his religious and conservative habitus. Similarly, ND's and NB's inability to feel like they "belong here" is a manifestation of the same disposition. Having a certain spatial experience in Bağdat Avenue does not cause this disposition to change, because their experiences are, on the contrary, in a direction that will encourage the strengthening of this disposition.

3.3. National Ceremonies, Commemorations and Festivals

Look, I experienced that thing in two places; seeing such people flocking from the avenues... And I experienced it in Mecca. When the adhan is recited like this, where there are people from everywhere, it is tremendous because the crowd (comes) to worship wherever they find the way. (...) The same thing happens in Kadıköy, especially on 29 October Republic Day. (People come from everywhere) like a river... It starts here [in Suadiye], marches, and so on. Minibus Street down from here. Already cars, marches, marches. (GŞ)

In this section, I take a closer look at national commemorations, celebrations and festivals, which are the most important indicators that the avenue is identified with the acceptable and ideal

citizen typology. By considering these activities together with Randall Collins' concept of "emotional energy", I analyze how the tendency to establish belonging over space is legitimized and works through my field observations.

Celebrations on national holidays such as October 29, April 23, May 19, August 30, and New Year's Eve, and commemorations on November 10 are held in large crowds. Kadıköy Municipality organizes the celebrations on national holidays. The walk, which is usually held as part of the celebrations, starts in Suadiye, ends at Caddebostan İskele Avenue, and the crowd heads towards the events on Caddebostan beach, if any. Although celebrations are held in many districts of Istanbul, Bağdat Avenue is considered the "center of celebrations", especially on October 29th. Within the framework determined by the municipality, Bağdat Avenue becomes the main place where the crowd gathers as the different events held throughout the day are completed in the celebrations supported by a band and torch lighting ceremony, sports festival, bicycle and classic car convoy, interviews, poetry recitals and concerts throughout Kadıköy.

During the celebrations, participants carry Turkish flags, Atatürk posters, crescent and star balloons, various pennants representing the groups (usually schools) participating in the celebrations and illuminating objects such as candles. The march starts with the 10th Anniversary March and is recorded by the municipality with plenty of cameras and photographs. In the motivational speeches made during the march, emphasis is placed on gratitude to those who saved the homeland, greetings, and respect to the soldiers currently defending the homeland, and the pride of celebrating with those who have "Republican values". Some of the soldiers who participated in the War of Independence or legendary folk heroes such as Yahya Kaptan, Ali Çetinkaya, Şahin Bey, Ahmet Hulusi Efendi, Sütçü İmam, Ayşe Çavuş, Halime Çavuş, Soldier Saime, Tayar Rahime, Kara Fatma are counted one by one and greeted.³²

The walk lasts more than 1 hour, accompanied by exciting short speeches, anthems, and songs. The playlist consists of anthems and songs such as İzmir March, Youth March, 29 October Republic March, We Are Always Like This (İzel), Everything Will Be Fine (Athena), New Turkey (Işın Karaca), More Beautiful than You (Atatürk version), My Blond Hair, Blue Eyes, Turkey (Grup Destan), We Have Nothing Apart, Yuh Yuh (Selda Bağcan), We Took a Sign (Cem Karaca); the 10th Anniversary March, the İzmir March, and the Youth March are played once or twice. Closing is done with the National Anthem. When the march ends, the National Anthem is played

³² These names are the names listed in Haluk Levent's interpretation of the İzmir March.

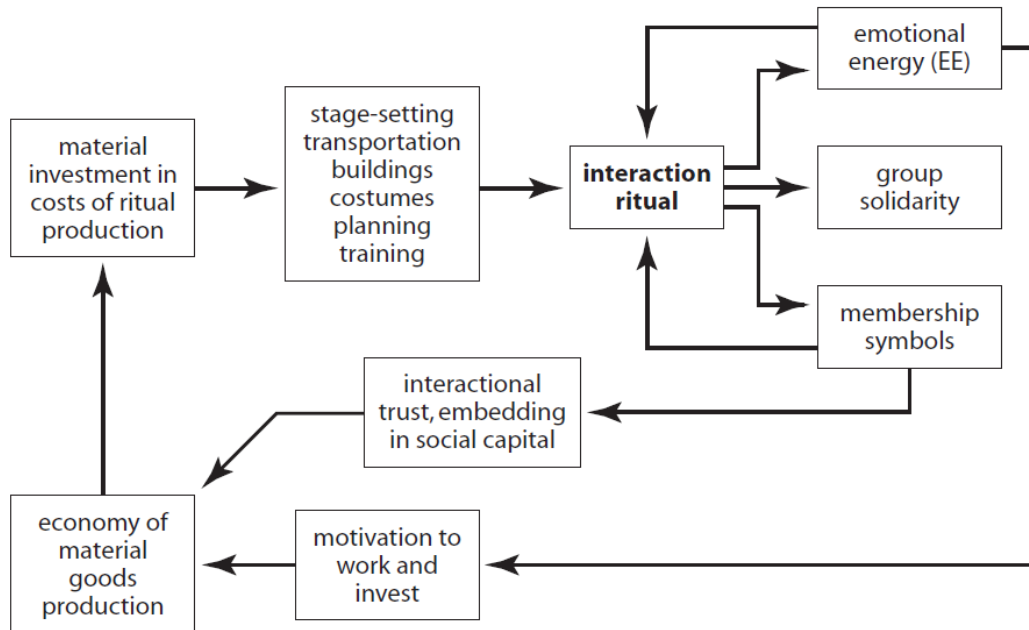
from the organization bus with the recording used in the ceremonies held in schools, and the participants are asked to stand ready and sing along, just like in schools. Then, it ends with the mayor's enthusiastic speech, his thanks to those who contributed and the participants, and the reading of our "Oath"³³ together.

It is seen that almost all the houses and shops on the march route hang the Turkish flag. During the walk, there are no problems between the participants and those eating and drinking at the venues along the route, and among the points frequently reminded during the walk is the emphasis that these organizations have been held without any problems for years. Women, men, young people, elderly people, and children with their families participated in the march. Although the socioeconomic profile of the participants is not homogeneous, they are generally well-dressed. While families, especially those with their young children, support the civilian nature of the march, the presence of headscarved women, albeit in small numbers, prevents ideological reductions. On the other hand, it is known that secularism is an important item among the principles meant by "upholding the values of the Republic" expressed in the motivational speeches made from the organization bus. Likewise, in these speeches, a linear relationship is established between being from Kadıköy and being a Republican and Atatürkist. Likewise, in the speech made by the mayor, there are many political messages as well as expressions such as "Kadıköy, the castle of the Republic" and "Kadıköy people are the executors of the Republic's values".

In this respect, Randall Collins' concept of "emotional energy" can be applied to make sense of the atmosphere of the avenue in such events and especially the social motivations of those who participate in these celebrations. Collins defines emotional energy as a measure of emotional intensity in social interactions. Social interactions refer to social events where people come together and interact in a certain order. These interactions often occur within a specific ritual or order and can increase the "emotional energy" of participants. According to Collins, when this energy is high, people interact more easily and relationships can be deeper. Thus, emotional energy is a common criterion that individuals use when choosing between alternative social interactions. The situations in which a person is most drawn to a church service, a political rally, or an intimate conversation are determined by the amount of emotional energy he or she expects from that situation (Collins, 2004; 158). Since the "emotional energy" of social interaction can rise as quickly as it can dissipate quickly, it must have at least a topical aspect so that it has the strongest emotional appeal at a given

³³ A different version of Andımız (Our Oath) recited in schools.

time. Yet it is not easy for individuals to choose which social interaction practice to make “emotional payment.” Suggesting a market analysis within this framework, Collins uses the table below.



Graphic 7 Collins' market analysis chart shows social interaction rituals and the production of material resources (Collins, 2004; 159).

Accordingly, every social interaction has some costs. On the left side of the social interaction (IR) model is the market for material goods and services, which flows into the IR market. In this picture, the market for social interaction that produces emotional energy can be used by individuals to evaluate material goods and services, but not vice versa because “we cannot derive a preference schedule for emotional energy from the preference schedule for any good in the market for money or material goods” (Collins, 2004; 159). Although this does not always mean that individuals value social solidarity more than material goods, there are not a few cases where “emotional energy” acts as a common denominator that facilitates choice. Celebrations held on national holidays on Bağdat Avenue are an example of a social interaction ritual in which enthusiasm is constantly renewed and emotional energy is kept alive for more than 1 hour, as seen in the example of October 29.

Many dynamics can be mentioned in why individuals choose to invest emotional energy in

this interaction ritual. If we evaluate it in terms of the outputs seen on the right side of Collins' market analysis table, these celebrations can be listed as reasons such as strengthening group membership, meditating in remembering, carrying, and making membership symbols visible in the public sphere, and bringing renewed emotional energy in return for the invested emotional energy. Taking a closer look at the content of the speech made by Kadıköy Mayor Şerdil Dara Odabaşı at the 29 October celebration in 2022 will also help to understand the participants' motivations for investing emotional energy.

In his speech, Odabaşı started by saying "Hello everyone from Kadıköy, the castle of freedom, the castle of the Republic" and addressed the audience as "my friends, my neighbors, the lovers of this beautiful country, the Republic, the people of Kadıköy, who are the protectors and keepers of the values of the Republic." Then, he tries to create a strong sense of belonging in the audience by reminding them that everyone gathered there, "regardless of their age, identity or affiliation", are brothers and sisters "not from the same mother and father, but from the same Republic". "We are on Bağdat Avenue, where the pulse of the Republic beats," he says, adding that the venue for the celebration is not just any place, but the right place in terms of investing emotional energy.

In this direction, after an introduction that will make the participants feel about unity, solidarity, unique brotherhood, and belonging to a special group, it makes a transition that will excite the enthusiastic audience that has already gathered: "Even though our every meeting is crowned with our enthusiasm and shakes the heavens and the earth, and even though we renew our loyalty to Gazi Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, together, arm in arm, on every holiday, some people still consider it their duty to attack our feelings of brotherhood, step on our lifelines, and press our nerves." At this point, rather than asking the question "who is trying to attack our unity and peace?", the sweet excitement of anger or at least criticism towards those who are left out of collective belonging surrounds the crowd. The speech, which continues with expressions confirming Anderson's definition of the nation as a strong feeling and imagined community based on a common belief and identity that allows people to come together as a nation, actually criticizes those who are outside "this big family". Listing all the Kemalist talking points one after another, he responds to a debate³⁴ that was on the agenda at the time and says the following:

³⁴ The actual debate was the following sentences made by AKP Group Deputy Chairman and Kahramanmaraş MP Mahir Ünal during a speech: "The most severe cultural revolution in history took place in Turkey. For example, the French Revolution destroyed everything but did not touch the dictionary, that is, the language. Again, one of the most

We are the indomitable guardians and defenders of all the revolutions that crown the Republic. The letter revolution is one of them. Today, some politicians who cannot openly attack the Republic reveal their hostility towards our great Republic by attacking revolutions. On November 2, 2022, Turkey, what other truth would attack the alphabet revolution that took place on November 1, 1928, serve, other than hostility to the Republic?

As can be seen here, Odabaşı defines criticizing the alphabet reform as an attack on the Republic and, as expressed in the later parts of the speech, on Atatürk and continues his speech with criticism of the government since this criticism was expressed by a government official and specifically states that it is not an isolated action. Drawing the ideological boundaries of the *imagined community* by saying “We are on the side of the secular Republic of Turkey against some people’s dreams of a caliphate. We are on the side of the Republic’s cultural revolution against all kinds of attacks. We are on the side of the alphabet revolution, the language revolution, and the Republic.”, Odabaşı says that the people of Kadıköy, who oppose the regulations to be made in Haydarpaşa Train Station and Kalamış Bay, are the “indomitable guardians” of this imaginary community.

Moreover, by saying “This is Kadıköy, which has welcomed millions of people who have escaped from all kinds of neighborhood pressures and clung to the values of the Republic for years and is proud of it. “This is Kadıköy, the castle of freedom, without excluding anyone, without interfering with what anyone eats, drinks, wears or believes.”, with a single investment of emotional energy, it promises to gain the right to feel the feeling of belonging to a community by being surrounded by tight ties of belonging, and to enjoy the freedom of moving within the community as much as you wish.

Therefore, when we consider this speech together with Özyürek’s thesis on the marketization of Kemalism, it becomes plausible to think that a large buyer mass of this market is located on Bağdat Avenue. Although each national holiday has its unique order and content, there is no significant change in this collective package. Although young people are the focus on May

severe revolutions was the cultural revolution carried out by the Mao in China, and that also did not touch the language. But unfortunately, as a cultural revolution, the republic destroyed our dictionary, our alphabet, our language, in short, our entire set of thoughts.” The debate that began with these sentences ended with Ünal’s resignation. See. <https://www.bbc.com/turkce/articles/c6pz0y1qq0ko>

19, children on April 23, and some elderly people on August 30, the general outline of the ritual does not change. Only on November 10th, due to the feeling of “national mourning”, enthusiastic joy is replaced by sadness and sometimes anger. SG, who also participated in these events, describes this situation as follows:

So, for example, this is the area, let me say it for October 29th. I think that on August 30th or October 29th, life stops in this area, the avenues stop, that is, the passage of cars stops, I don't know, classic cars are coming, VWs are coming, bikers are coming, why do they come here? Because they do something here. Now, if this man goes to Beşiktaş, no one would mind, or, I don't know, there is an avenue in Ümraniye with shopping malls and Canpark, etc. Now, if you make a convoy there, no one would look back, but in this area, people applaud. I mean, they like it, people cry, I don't know, it's a lot of different things.

According to SG, these events are a non-partisan issue. It's not something that has anything to do with the current political climate or anything. According to him, the people who come together at these events have no interest in instrumentalizing the parties. He expresses this situation by saying “For example, we are always Atatürkists, we have nothing to do with the CHP, we have no ties, we have nothing to do with it, we criticize it. I mean, most people are like that here.” Özyürek says that this claim of non-partisanship is a claim that emerged on the 75th anniversary of the Republic, but in practice, these celebrations were held with a discourse that is significantly similar to the early Republican period. On the other hand, SG says that in a march he attended on Bağdat Avenue in the 1990s, he witnessed other participants expressing their discomfort when CHP members (including his mother) unfurled their flags. EC believes that in these events, people act with a political identity and a political attitude, and the whole audience is not included. “Maybe it's my prejudice because of the incident I had with my sister before, but for example, I don't see anyone wearing a proper headscarf during walks,” he says. For comparison, he expresses “For example, when the right wing wins an election, people pass by in a convoy on Bağdat Avenue and I see other people glaring at them. I think it's like saying, ‘You are disturbing us, should a convoy be held here?’ But if the opposite happens, they will join that convoy themselves.”

When we put these comments side by side, the picture that emerges shows that these celebrations are held to keep secular, Kemalist, and Republican ideals alive. Those who adopt this ideological approach are the ones who will achieve emotional enthusiasm by investing emotionally

in these celebrations and thus strengthen their social and symbolic capital. In addition to ensuring the realization of these spatial practices, Bağdat Avenue has become identified with these practices, being known as the “heart” of these activities that have been recurring for years and have become the symbolic space of these practices. “Supra-partisanship” remains a minor detail in this sense, because for now, CHP is the only party in Turkey that combines secular, Kemalist, and Republican principles. Not using the CHP flag in events has a close relationship with the marketization of Kemalism by retreating (or spreading) into the civil sphere. This acts as an element to increase social and symbolic capital in the market of emotions.

4. Consumption on the Avenue: Globalism and its Aftermath

Evin Aslan introduced the interview she had with Ali Güvenç Kiraz, Chairman of the Board of Directors of Bağdat Avenue Association, in *Gazete Kadıköy* dated August 30, 2021, as follows: “Ranked fourth in the list of the world’s most valuable shopping avenues in 2012, the Bağdat Avenue is now losing its former character. Bağdat Avenue Association aims to make the avenue a shopping venue as it used to be, and a place frequented by people again.” In his speech, Kiraz stated that after being selected as the fourth most valuable shopping avenue in the world in 2012, Bağdat Avenue ironically entered a dead end due to problems such as urban transformation, economic crisis, etc. and according to their study in late 2018, it lost 40% of its value; and explains the starting point of the association as “Brands are leaving the avenue. People also started to leave Bağdat Avenue and settle in other places. The avenue was losing its old identity and was about to lose its identity as a shopping avenue. “At this point, we felt the need to intervene and establish the Bağdat Avenue Association.”

Kiraz adds that the association has 50 members, including artists, homeowners, freelancers, and mainly shop owners and brands on the avenue. Kiraz states that they plan to bring the avenue back to its old days by organizing a traditional carnival with cultural and artistic events and shopping festivals that will appeal to all avenue residents, and ends the interview by saying “We recently had a meeting with the *Comitee Champs-Elysees*, which represents one of the most important shopping avenues in the world, the Champs-Elysees. We are considering a collaboration. Together we talk about ‘what we can do as shopping avenues’. We will continue with activities aimed at regaining the neighborhood culture, we will try to protect Bağdat Avenue as the avenue we know it to be, to keep it alive and to take it even further, and perhaps to place it among the top

three most valuable shopping avenues in the world.”

What makes this interview interesting for this study is that it declares how far behind the common belief that comes to the fore in the memoirs and interviews I have examined, which attributes the beauty of the avenue in the old days to its calmness and the fact that it did not lose itself to consumerism. What is said here is also an indication of how much the place, which became famous as a shopping avenue by keeping up with the changes in the social and spatial practices of the upper-middle class after transforming from an elite summer resort into a city space, has adopted this identity. Well, one might think that this is just an interview and reflects only the views of the interviewee. However, it is an important detail that the speaker is the president of the only civil organization that set out to beautify Bağdat Avenue.

On the other hand, today, many identity discussions in Turkey are based on a discussion of belonging based on having a say in the country, as I tried to explain in the previous section. In fact, neoliberalization, which started after 1980 and gained a new dimension in the 2000s, revealed that this debate has a dimension beyond identities and ideologies. It has become clear that the ideology and identity-based rights demands of individuals who want to move up the class to have a say in the country or social groups trying to gain power are actually demands for class equality and recognition. As these demands for equalization began to be met, consumption emerged as the most important unifying force. All sociocultural differences have been erased and blurred by common consumption practices. Of course, it did not disappear, and the discussions still did not find calm. However, in everyday life, a tremendous consensus was achieved. If we look for a small example, we can remember Üsküdar Street, which was recently transformed into a gastronomy street by the municipality in Üsküdar, which is a frequent destination for individuals with a religious-conservative identity. The fine-dining venues opened on this street, the demand for these venues, the sociocultural characteristics of the crowd that comes here, the liveliness of the venues lasting until late hours, etc. make this place deserve the definition of “a conservative version/interpretation of a miniature Bağdat Avenue”. On the other hand, the “interpretations” that different sociocultural groups make to current consumption practices, as in this example, show that identity and ideology oppositions, on the one hand, are still walking underneath like a bottom wave. In this section, on the one hand, I will examine the spatial experience of consumption practices on Bağdat Avenue and how this experience affects the habitus of the interviewees, and on the other hand, I will attempt to evaluate how this bottom wave that I mentioned is progressing on Bağdat Avenue.

4.1. Eating, Drinking and Practices

In the first subheading of the section where I compile the most basic topics mentioned by the interviewees regarding consumption, I start by discussing eating and drinking practices. I touch upon what has changed in Bağdat Avenue with the change in eating and drinking practices, how the spatial experience on the avenue has been affected by these changes, and what the interviewees think about this issue. Then, in a subsection, I attempt to evaluate how the agents' spatial experience has changed in the light of these changes and the impact of this change on their habitus.

Actually, we touched upon the role of chain cafes and restaurants in the spatial transformation experienced in Bağdat Avenue after 2010. The spread of the culture of eating and drinking outside, which is an important practice in terms of both consumption and socialization, is not a very old phenomenon. The emergence of the restaurant “as an urban socialization place” (Spang, 2020; 19) dates back to the 19th century. Before this, the restaurant was a type of food made of meat broth, which became famous in Paris in the 15th century and was thought to have healing powers. First, the practice of going to a restaurant to drink healing bouillons begins, just like going to a cafe to drink coffee. Nothing is sold here other than the restaurants that gave the place its name, but these early restaurants still differ from “inns, taverns, or soup kitchens by the presence of personal tables, sanitary broths, and variable meal times” (Spang, 2020; 20). By the 1820s, they acquired a structure very similar to today's, but it was necessary to wait until the middle of the century for the restaurant culture that would become synonymous with Paris to become widespread. Of course, behind the invention of such a cultural element spanning centuries, there was a network woven with important relations: “The restaurant, as we know it today, represents the transition from the worship of sensibility of the eighteenth century to the sense of taste of the nineteenth century: the mutation of the social value of one age and its transformation into a cultural show-off in another age.” (Spang, 2020; 21).

The spread of restaurant culture in Turkey follows a different course. Eating out in 19th-century Istanbul generally meant going for a picnic in recreation areas such as Çamlıca, Göksu, and Kağıthane. At the same time, everyone would go to these places, which were important socializing places of the period, by preparing meals according to their budget and taste. The new publicization practice pioneered by these spaces also mediated the spread of many innovations in society. Later, more modern promenades and socializing venues such as Gezi Park, Tepebaşı

Garden, and Millet Bahçe would take the heritage of these recreation areas to a different dimension. The first restaurants were seen towards the end of the century in the Pera area, which was a frequent destination for Westernization practices at that time. As mentioned before, the White Russians who took refuge in the city during World War I pioneered many innovations. They were also the architects of the alcoholic restaurants that opened in Beyoğlu and provided entertainment services.

The culture of eating in restaurants as an upper-class practice would become widespread as these restaurants began to be taken as an example of Western eating and drinking culture during the Republican period and were shown as an example by the upper class of the society led by the state leader himself. In addition to Pera Palace Hotel and Tokatlıyan Hotel, restaurants such as Rejans, Pandelli, Konyalı, Borsa, and Abdullah Efendi Lokantası are important places of this period (Kunduz and Yirmibeşoğlu, 2019; 27-31). However, eating out remained a largely upper-class practice for many years. Not only the lower classes, but even the middle classes preferred to eat out rarely, perhaps on some special occasions, before 1980 (Kunduz and Yirmibeşoğlu, 2019; 38). After 1980, with the arrival of fast food in the country, eating out became a practice that could be practiced by a wider audience than before. After 2000, this practice gained a new dimension, and boutique venues became popular with the birth of gastronomy culture. Bağdat Avenue is one of the areas that pioneered the evolution of this spatial practice in Turkey. EM says that before McDonald's, there was a unique fast-food culture here, and that, along with going to the cinema and shopping as a socialization practice, it was an integral element shaping the social and spatial space on the avenue:

...Şaşkınbakkal was an important center. You know, because there are cinemas and, as I said, music record stores. After that, there was the Kazım Kulan Passage that I mentioned before. Inside it, there was a cafe, a billiard room, etc., and there were also shops, such as garments, haberdashery, etc. (...) The first, let me say famous, food and beverage venues were also there. For example, there is still the first Kristal Hamburger, it was number one before McDonald's, so that's the Kristal Burger. A center is completely a center of attraction...

Apart from this, the area also had places such as tea gardens, taverns, and steakhouses from the summer resort period. Although many fish restaurants on the beach were closed during the construction of the beach embankment, İkiler Et Lokantasi in Caddebostan, for example, was one of the first places that came to the interviewees' minds. Although some of these places, where

families go and spend time and socialize with friends, still exist, the avenue is now famous for its new places. Among these places, there are chain brands that started to open in the early 2000s, as well as places that started to become more popular after 2010, offering more boutique tastes as well as creating a new food and beverage culture. According to AT, people do not go to a place on Bağdat Avenue just because it offers good food. They are impressed by the prestige, ambiance, and architecture of the place. According to BT, since it is a little more expensive to open a place on Bağdat Avenue than in other places, “the places are built a little more carefully, a little more in line with the concept.” It is obvious that a lot of investment has been made in it and it looks better quality. This is an element that attracts customers.

TD’s motivation for “hanging out” in places on the avenue is a little outside of these alternatives. TD, who grew up in a secular family, started spending time with Islamist groups after coming to Istanbul. In his own words, this way he finds “the opportunity to experience both cultures at the same time.” According to him, secular environments such as public spaces are always more comfortable because no one interferes with anyone else. According to him, this indifference allows him to “stay alone in the crowd”. As a religious man of secular origin, he likes to spend time on Bağdat Avenue because it provides the opportunity to be anonymous in the secular public space. Because, for example, he thinks that if we had interviewed for this study in Fatih, even though it is another of his favorite places, questioning looks and even various insinuations about what he was talking about alone with a woman would have been inevitable. Moreover, he says that he did not feel any classism until he did various theoretical readings.

...I could imitate cultural behaviors through social media and the internet, rather than from the natural environment and family. That’s why I was able to stay in that cultural area. I mean, I remember very well my first Starbucks order. Normally, I like strong coffee, but I kept hearing “white chocolate mocha.” I also heard about “caramel macchiato” (...) I went to Starbucks, I looked and said, “Can I have a caramel macchiato?” “Of course,” he said. He gave. It wasn’t a difficult process at all. From there, I realized that it is a very easy process to imitate, and through it, you start to imitate those environments. Did I explain? I mean, you don’t have to be very rich if you have enough money in your pocket to order a caramel macchiato, you can be in the same environment with that stockbroker guy or the software developer guy, the person who knows the avenue culture or, I don’t know, the rich housewife type.

In this regard, it is worth thinking about the fact that the places on Bağdat Avenue have become more accessible, creating a kind of democratization or the illusion of democratization, even if it does not coincide with a period when cultural capital and even social capital in some cases can be increased through the internet. Likewise, this case is important in terms of the gender of the place. As two agents with a similar understanding of religion, we see how the spatial and social practices of TD, who does not suffer from the discrimination that NB faces in various restaurants and cafes just because he is male, although his economic capital is much less than NB, differ, and how this affects the social and symbolic social and symbolic practices of Bağdat Avenue. What kind of a difference it corresponds to in space is an important question. Likewise, AT, who had better economic conditions than TD despite having come to Istanbul from the provinces, said: “I mean, even if your pockets are very full, I think it gives you that feeling [of foreignness] when you first enter.” The fact that the experience that makes you say “does not find a response in TD” similarly indicates that it is necessary to understand the importance of the role of the subjectification process of the agent on the experience of space.

The fact that food and beverage trends shape social taste and create new class groups through this taste is a subject that Bourdieu emphasizes greatly in *Distinction*. There are also good studies on the discriminatory role of these practices in Turkey. What is explained in this subsection and the next subsection shows that the spatial experience of Bağdat Avenue can also be examined as an exemplary case. The fast-food culture that became widespread with the arrival of McDonald's in Turkey, the trend of consuming quality coffee that emerged with the arrival of Starbucks, and the “foodisness” culture created by the fine-dining food and beverage venues that have become widespread recently, have functioned and continue to function in society to create a difference between those who have and can access these tastes and those who cannot access these tastes. Bağdat Avenue also pioneers this practice of making a difference, playing a leading role in the spread of these cultures. Of course, it is not a coincidence that TD first ordered the coffee names he heard on Twitter at a coffee shop on Bağdat Avenue, not in Fatih. It is not a coincidence that AT and BT consider that people are not just looking for “good food” at the venues on Bağdat Avenue, but that elements such as prestige, ambiance, and architecture of the place are also important for customers, and that they do not hesitate to pay extra money for this. What is interesting is that in a social context where the equalizing role of consumption practices makes Üsküdar Uncular Street almost resemble a side street on Bağdat Avenue, AT or ND still cannot

enter every place on Bağdat Avenue, even though their economic capital is sufficient. Rather than being an individual shyness, it stems from the fact that Bağdat Avenue is an area where the “bottom wave” I mentioned is still strongly felt, depending on the socio-cultural positions of the agents.

The biggest obstacle to the flawless functioning of the equalizing effect of consumption on Bağdat Avenue is that the social milieu of the avenue is largely dominated by the middle-class, secular, Kemalist habitus. The following anecdote I heard from a woman without headscarf while I was doing participant observation in the field shows that ND is no exception: One day, while ŞB and his son were eating at a restaurant on the avenue, an elegantly dressed woman without headscarf enters the place, but she could not find a seat and could not sit down. Because the only empty place in the restaurant is next to the table where two headscarved young women are sitting. When ŞB realizes the situation, she says “come on in here” and gives the woman a seat, and she and her son sit at the table next to the headscarved women. After settling in, ŞB criticizes the woman's discrimination so much that she has to leave before finishing her meal. After this incident, ŞB feels the pride of having made a small intervention to the middle-class, secular Kemalist dominance in the social environment of Bağdat Avenue, and the sadness that these discriminations still continue.

4.2. Following Global Trends: Restaurants, Coffee Houses and Foodies

Bourdieu says, “The habitus is necessity internalized and converted into a disposition that generates meaningful practices and meaning-giving perceptions; it is a general, transposable disposition which carries out a systematic, universal application beyond the limits of what has been directly learnt-of the necessity inherent in the learning conditions.” (Bourdieu, 1996; 170). In this respect, many practices that determine the boundaries of the class are formed by the agent’s shaping of the career curve he draws according to a touchstone determined as a result of the *inoculation effect* and *social route effect* (Bourdieu, 1996; 111): “That is why an agent’s whole set of practices (or those of a whole set of agents produced by similar conditions) are both systematic since they are the product of the application of identical (or interchangeable) schemes, and systematically distinct from the practices constituting another lifestyle” (Bourdieu, 1996; 170). So, in fact, when we talk about class, class interests, White Turks, upper classes, and upper-middle classes, we use extremely vague and variable concepts. It is difficult to find clear answers to questions such as where the border of which class begins and ends, or which consumption practices can be associated

with belonging to which class. Moreover, we know that not every agent who practices the same consumption practices belongs to the same social class even though they have the same economic capital.

On the other hand, it is possible to simply argue that consumption practices in Turkey after 2000 were shaped by various class taste patterns. Eating and drinking practices have a special place within these taste patterns. We mentioned that after the birth of restaurants, the practice of eating out became widespread after 1980. During this period, restaurants increased both in number and in type, with the expanding influence of the period on marketing, advertising, and consumption in Turkey, as well as throughout the world. While national and international fast-food chains have gained a place in this market, on the other hand, restaurants specializing in foreign cuisines, foods identified with various ethnic origins, and “homemade style” meals have also become increasingly popular. A wide food and beverage culture has emerged in the city’s elite avenues and shopping malls’ food and beverage areas, with middle-class international brands such as Kitchenette, Big Chefs and Cookshop, which stand out with their generic names, and middle-class international franchises such as Shake Shack and Wagamama and “eating out is increasingly becoming an area where it is possible for the new middle classes to actively participate in lifestyle choices and more reflexive consumption practices (Yenal, 2016; 66).

This change can be observed very clearly on Bağdat Avenue after the 2000s. For example, NB recalls the arrival of chain coffee brands in the area in the 2000s: “...I returned in 2002. There was no Kahve Dünyası either. ‘Oh,’ I said, ‘The only thing I will miss when I return from Turkey, I mean America, is Starbucks.’ Starbucks came about a year later. With the arrival of Starbucks, this is how Cafe Neros Coffee World began.” BB, who himself worked in a place that came to the avenue in the 2000s and later started to manage that place, also remembers the opening of the first Starbucks: “Starbucks’s store, the first store in Turkey, was there [points with his hand], it was in Magnum’s place, the first store he opened. It is the first store he opened in Turkey. When the dollar skyrocketed in the rent increase, the rent was in dollars, then they had to close. That store closed and Magnum opened after that. (...) When Starbucks was closed, there was McDonald’s and Burger King opposite it. They were paying rent in dollars. They all closed down when the dollar rose from 2 lira to 5 lira, 6 lira, etc.”



Image 43 The first Starbucks opened in Turkey on Bağdat Avenue in 2003. Source: 1st image, haber.com, 2016; 2nd image, @alphanmanas X account.

TD believes that these spaces offer a common publicity opportunity. “Previously, there was a more beer-focused eating, drinking, and entertainment culture. Coffee has taken its place in many places in Turkey due to the economy of that drink. There are different things like that on the avenue, Starbucks, then there is that donut shop, there is the famous Krispy Kreme, after that, in other places like Vitavien, a culture of sitting with friends, chatting, etc. has developed” he says. He also says that these places, where he feels much more comfortable, were relatively accessible between 2008 and 2014: “I mean, even though it’s not every day, and since I don’t have a habit of drinking alcohol, in the end, it’s like, what’s three teas and a cake going to cost? Even the avenue wasn’t this expensive back then. So, there were places you could enter and exit easily. Especially the non-alcoholic venues were much more affordable.” AT, on the other hand, mentions, “So even if your pocket is very full, I think it gives you that feeling [of foreignness] when you first enter,” and states that he cannot always find the same comfort, especially in places other than chain brands. “...so, I’m going as if I went to Bruges, which is an irrelevant city. In other words, not world capitals, but [like cities] with less known culture,” he says and mentions that there are places that have been open for 17 years but I have never been to: “...because I look at the profile there and say ‘no’, you know, I’m not from that profile. This is not in the sense of plus or minus, but in the sense of difference, in the sense of belonging. You know, financially? No, I’m going to a different place with the same price, but the image of that place is different.” These two different approaches to consumption practices in avenue food and beverage venues show how the career curves of the agents differ as a result of the *inoculation effect* and *social route effect*. The cornerstone of TD is

that only economic capital is sufficient because it does not mind the secular lifestyle and the consumption practices specific to food and beverage venues on Bağdat Avenue, which are shaped accordingly. For AT, the cornerstone is not limited to economic capital, it sees the equation as more complex, and even though it does not carry any identity, such as a headscarved woman, that would directly force it to display an agency outside the secular lifestyle, that is, even though it can be camouflaged in a secular environment when viewed from the outside, it is mentioned. He feels distant from the consumption practices of his subject. Or he cannot imagine himself as a part of the social space of some food and beverage venues on Bağdat Avenue.

On the other hand, BE, a resident of Bağdat Avenue and adopting a secular lifestyle, cares about the determination of economic capital. BE, as a salaried employee, believes that the cafes here cannot be afforded. He says that he paid too much for just one latte at a stylish cafe on the Caddebostan-Erenköy side to host a friend and experienced what is called “avenue price” or “avenue rip-off”. Even if we accept that the businesses here are forced to sell expensive products at some point due to high rental prices, it is difficult to understand why even the things sold on the avenue are sold at special prices on the avenue. However, he also thinks that post-pandemic economic conditions have made almost every place look like an avenue. “Sometimes, for example, I would say that if we moved to another place, it would not only be for the rent, but also the shopping in my area (it would be cheaper). But of course, in the last few months, we have come to such a point that maybe we are all united in the lack of power, everything has become expensive. So, there is not much difference now because everywhere is expensive now” he says. In this respect, we should consider together NB, who prefers not to go down to the beach side of the avenue, especially on the days of Fenerbahçe matches, even though its economic capital is sufficient, and BE, who prefers not to eat or drink on the avenue if possible because its economic capital does not allow it, and when examining the practices of avenue food and beverage consumption, keep in mind that a complex picture emerges created by alternative agencies determined by different capitals.

On the other hand, the question of who the customers of the “fine dining” venues, which are increasing in number and visible to the naked eye on the avenue, are also important. According to GP, one of the interviewees who works in one of these restaurants and cafes, some of which, for example, are places that AT cannot enter, “People of all ages go to the places on Bağdat Avenue.” While more middle-aged people come to Bağdat Avenue venues, whose crowds change hourly, in

the morning hours, a younger crowd starts to come after work. She says that not many people come to the place where she works with children, that the menu is inspired by French cuisine, and that the only local taste is simit, provided that it has content specific to the place. According to BT, the visiting crowd does not consist of a single type or class, but it is very easy to determine whether the visitors are people living on Bağdat Avenue or visitors from outside:

People coming from outside, who are not the customers of the avenue, have a little more something, let me say comfort, a little more cavalier attitude. They even exhibit behavior that we don't like. You know, the people sitting there are a little more aware of the need to follow etiquette when going to a cafe, but those coming from outside are already giving examples; since they will not come again, they can leave the table a little more easily and a little dirtier, etc.

BT sees people's choice to come to these places as a search for great quality and prestige. Apart from this, he considers that places like the place where he works, which has a single branch on the Anatolian side or is number one among the places that specialize in one field, are preferred due to these features.

According to CB, who manages the most popular independent Instagram channel on Bağdat Avenue, quality is an important factor in choosing these places. He asks the question of why people prefer the places on the avenue, especially when chain cafes and restaurants have branches in Bağcılar and offer the same taste to their customers, and he answers, "Because it is not of high quality." What he means by quality is rather "human quality". "Being from Kadıköy or being from Bağdat Caddesi has such a sense of belonging and attitude, sociologically," he says. "I am from my mother, you know, my father is from Beyoğlu, but I saw this from the ancient people here. Protecting, protecting, keeping the neighborhood alive, making the neighborhood live with them too..." He sees this as an intergenerational practice and cultural transfer in which some features, which are normally the basic principles of humanity, become identified with the place, and the place shapes the people living here with these features. He thinks that what makes the avenue an important center of attraction is still partly the preservation of this culture. In addition, an important factor in the preservation of this culture is that the Turkish population of the area has not decreased yet, which distinguishes this area from districts such as Bağcılar, Fatih, and Topkapı. While those who go to venues in other districts mostly encounter citizens of different countries, this situation is much rarer in Bağdat Avenue. That's why it can continue to transmit authentic culture, at least

partially.

So, what does all this tell us? We can summarize the experience behind the interviewees' sometimes contradictory and sometimes complementary sentences as follows: If you want to eat and drink in the places on Bağdat Avenue, first of all, your economic capital must be sufficient for this. Of course, there are still places to eat on a limited budget in some parts of the avenue. Moreover, due to the course of the country's economy, prices are very close to each other in many districts of Istanbul. However, it is not enough to be able to eat at these modest places in order to get a spatial experience on Bağdat Avenue, come here frequently, explore places, and be included in the social circle of Bağdat Avenue. It is necessary to be familiar with the menus of at least a few fine-dining places and the eating and drinking culture of such places.

However, although you can enter almost all fine-dining venues, it may not be possible for you to feel like you belong to the Bağdat Avenue social environment. Customers who come to the places here do not just come to eat quality food. They come to get quality food with quality service. “Quality” criteria do not only include elements such as hygiene, taste and courtesy. They want to feel as different and special as possible. They want to gain the prestige and symbolic capital that Bağdat Avenue promises. That's why they don't want to deal with various customer profiles that would cast a shadow on this prestige in some venues. What a coincidence that “some” venues recognize these “various customer profiles” that “some of their customers” do not want and somehow manage to alienate them. It is also a coincidence that “various undesirable customer profiles” already tend to stay away from these “some places”. Unfortunately, despite my long field observations, I could not figure out how this mysterious mechanism works. As a headscarved woman, I have never been directly excluded from any place I have visited. However, there were times when I felt eyes on me and did not feel comfortable during eating and drinking. On the other hand, there were many places where I strained my economic strength. When I look back while writing these lines, I remember a tension that varies in height in all my practices other than walking on the avenue and spending time in chain restaurants. In this context, we can say *club effect* works on the avenue.

4.3. Everyday Life Consuming: Markets and Shops

An important part of consumption practices on the avenue is grocery and store shopping. Of course, there have been various changes in these sectors, just like the food and beverage sector,

from the past to the present. As mentioned above, the emergence of markets such as Migros and Carrefour in retail sales, the subsequent spread of discount markets, the integration of many sectors from clothing to technology, from glassware to jewelry in a single place by shopping malls, the prevalence of famous brands in the clothing sector through shopping malls, LCW and DeFacto. Many developments, such as the growth of affordable domestic brands, etc., have brought new dimensions to shopping practices. For example, when GŞ talks about shopping, she immediately remembers Bostancı Sabit Pazar (a kind of open fixed market), where models came to the opening of the season. She emphasizes that this market, which she remembers as “...they had such a magnificent and beautiful opening,” pioneered some firsts like other fixed markets opened at that time. “For example, the first chicken shredding and dividing events took place there. In the past, you would buy whole chickens and cook them at home. But that’s where the slaughtering started” she remembers.



Image 44 A view from the renewed Feneryolu Fixed Market

She says that these markets were established so that people could find everything in a tidy place and that sellers would pay less rent and reflect this in their prices so that people could shop cheaply. She states that in these markets, which are opened specifically for each district, such as Bostancı Fixed Market, Fenerbahçe Fixed Market, and Göztepe Fixed Market, in addition to food, souvenir, and clothing needs can also be met, and that these products are more affordable than outside. She remembers that even when gross markets such as Carrefour, which offer the opportunity for mass shopping, were first opened, these markets were still more in demand, but it was not always possible to go to these places that could be reached by car, but fixed markets were very easily accessible. However, in the 1990s this situation was changing, and gross markets began to take precedence over fixed markets. İR says that he often went to Caddebostan for shopping before the 2000s. He says that at that time, he could find many things in the shops on the avenue that he could not find in the Kadıköy bazaar. However, he states that this period, in which the relationship with the avenue and the practice of shopping on the avenue was greater, ended after the 2000s due to reasons such as “traffic, crowds, this and that, and the fact that Moda is no longer enough.”

While TD, ET, BE, and AT stated that they have never shopped for clothing on the avenue, NB and ND have been doing their clothing shopping here since the 1990s, especially for holiday shopping:

I know that we bought it from Vakko with my mother, but I know that I went to the avenue with my mother when I was going shopping for the holiday. I mean, the stores are there, but they are fewer and fewer, for example, you have to walk a lot. At that time [1990s] there wasn't that much cafe culture anyway. After that, there are restaurants and things. There are certain stores in stores. We were going to them and going out, so there was Mudo. You know, Mudo was opened later, but the first one had Vakko, etc. (...) I know that I used to go shopping on the avenue when I was in middle school. I was going there for holiday shopping, not for normal shopping. (NB)

According to CB, while the food and beverage-oriented venues on Bağdat Avenue are currently making money, the clothing stores on the avenue, which TD, ET, BE, and AT do not prefer to use their economic capital economically, cannot make the same profit. However, these stores, such as NB and ND, where only those with the financial means can shop, still want to be here because this increases their brand value. “Now, let's say, if you are not a franchise, that is, if

it is not its building, it subsidizes you, you make a loss as a store, but the man subsidizes you as a prestige for being there” he emphasizes. Giving the example of how many customers Çilek Avenue in Kadıköy, which is famous for its cheapness, attracts, he says: “Everyone goes there. Bağdat Caddesi cannot do this, so it does not have that chance.” He claims that stores cannot make discounts to maintain the prestige of being on Bağdat Avenue.



Image 45 From the advertising film shot by Marks&Spencer, one of the symbolic brands of Bağdat Avenue, in its Suadiye branch for Mother’s Day in 2023. See. <https://twitter.com/i/status/1651149084877639680>

However, “Bağdat Avenue is not free from the world, it is not free from Turkey (...) People are running out of bread at the buffet in Bostancı. What did I say? I opened a place on Bağdat Avenue. I saw for myself that there is no money to be made on Bağdat Avenue,” he mentions. He thinks that the people who retired and bought their homes on Bağdat Avenue 40 years ago were, in a sense, making ends meet. He explained this situation by saying, “Yes, they are white-collar workers with the money in their pockets, but the economy is gradually shrinking, and so is the world. (...) therefore, it is not what it seems, many brands are there just to be found.” For example, based on the example of LC Waikiki, which is preparing to open a store on the avenue, he argues that increasingly cheap brands are coming to the avenue and that this shows the point the economy has reached, and that reactions such as “What is LC Waikiki doing on Bağdat Avenue” are inappropriate. CB’s giving the example of Bostancı makes his claim controversial. Because it is not located at the center of the avenue, as an intersection point connecting Bostancı Bağdat Avenue with the east of the city and the Princes’ Islands. The area where luxury stores are concentrated on the avenue corresponds to the Suadiye-Caddebostan section. However, the fact that LCWakiki will replace the old Boyner store, one of the symbolic places of the avenue, seems to be an important development. Although it is not possible to predict how this will shape the shopping experience on

Bağdat Avenue, it is difficult to claim that it will not have any impact.

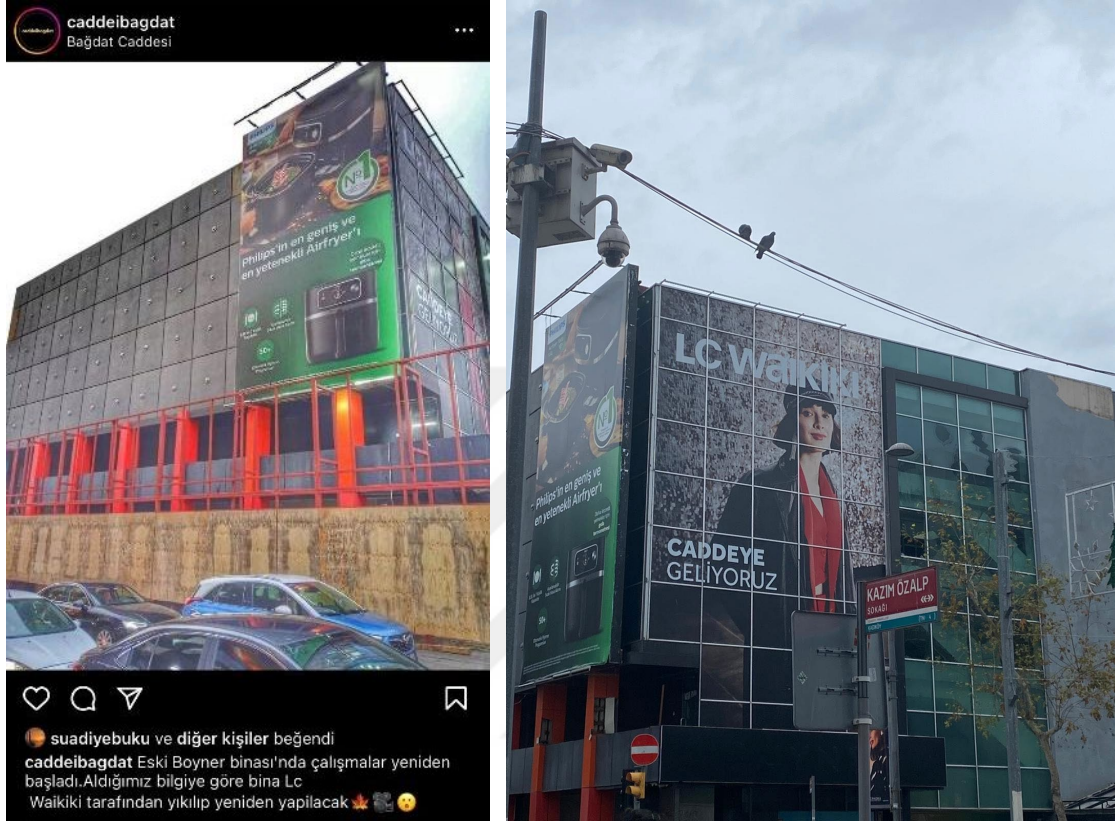
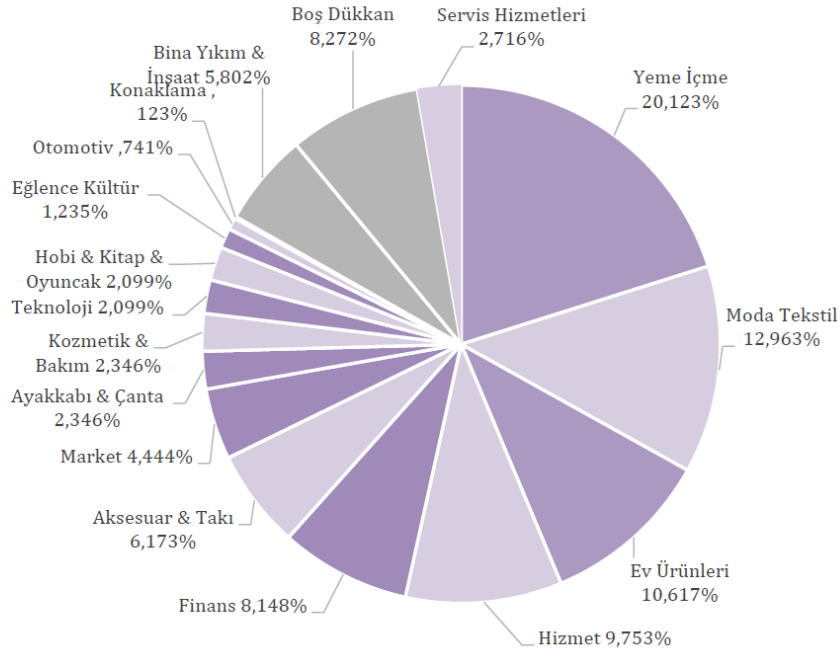


Image 46 News that LCWaikiki brand will open a branch on Bağdat Avenue. The second image on the right taken by the author.

According to the report prepared by Harmoni Gayrimenkul in 2021, based on criteria such as sectoral distribution, unit rental values, area uses, and factors affecting rental value, Bağdat Avenue, which regained its old charm that it lost with the urban transformation practices that started to increase in 2015, 810 buildings were built on Bağdat Avenue that year. There are 1,000 shops, 67 of them are empty and are for rent or sale. Additionally, 47 buildings are in the demolition phase or under construction. According to the report stating that “Bağdat Avenue and its surroundings, where the upper-income group lives in Kadıköy district, have always been a place of prestige throughout history” (Harmoni Gayrimenkul 4), in the distribution of these buildings, the density of these buildings is in the food and beverage sector with 20.12%, as can be seen in the graph below. It is followed by fashion and textiles with 12.96%, household products with 10.62%, and the service sector with 9.75%. In addition, it has been determined that 72% of the shops in the fashion & textile retail sub-sector, which has a rate of 12.96% among the sectors in Cadde, are located

between Caddebostan-Suadiye, where pedestrian traffic is intense. The food and beverage sector, which covers 20.12% of the shops on the avenue, is more homogeneously distributed on the avenue compared to other sub-sectors, with 10% of the sector in the northeast of the avenue, 22% in the section from Göztepe Park to Kızıltoprak, 34% in the section from Göztepe Park to Kızıltoprak. It has been observed that they are located in an area where pedestrian traffic is heavy on the avenue.



Graphic 8 Sectoral distribution of shops on Bağdat Avenue

It is also a fact that as the density increases on the avenue, the number of traditional shops specific to the avenue decreases, which reduces the diversity on the avenue. For example, Paköz and Sinirlioğlu, who examined the diversity created by small-scale commercial volumes underground on the avenue, believe that the disappearance of this unique spatial experience would be a great loss:

When we look at Bağdat Avenue today, we see that buildings with different functions and pavement arrangements that provide spatial diversity at different elevations have been replaced by monotonous sidewalks in front of single-function buildings. For this reason, semi-private and semi-public spaces are rapidly decreasing with the use of different types of denim produced in the recent

past on the avenue.

(...) It is understood that when buildings with double-floor commercial areas are transformed, their pavements cannot be built to allow different elevations as before. This means that one of the elements that spatially enriches the avenue today will be missing. (Paköz and Sinirlioğlu, 2021; 86)

However, for those who do not like to shop in closed places such as ND, the avenue remains an important and unique place of experience. The feeling of prestige felt even when just visiting the shops on the avenue, and the feeling of being special created by the attention and kindness shown in most stores, show that the shopping experience on the avenue has a differentiating function.

...I think the employees of that Apple Store are kinder than other Apple Stores, for example. Frankly, I think it is the same depending on the audience because the other two are in the shopping mall (...) But I think there is an approach at Bağdat Avenue Apple that gives importance to everyone and makes them feel valued. (...) I prefer that place as much as possible. It seems more accessible to me, I wait less in line, and I get better attention and better treatment. And the waiting areas, the store itself, etc. are much, much better than others... (AT)

Therefore, similar to eating and drinking practices, consumption practices in the stores on Bağdat Avenue leave complex effects on the habitus of the agents. On the one hand, it offers the opportunity to reach the quality of everything and strengthens the disposition to feel different from any other member of the society, on the other hand, it creates a tendency to feel ordinary against those who are "more different" due to the various difficulties of keeping up with the social environment of Bağdat Avenue. This dilemma becomes even stronger as luxury brand stores fill the gap left behind by old shops on the avenue.

5. Leisure Activities on the Avenue: Those What Left and, What Stayed

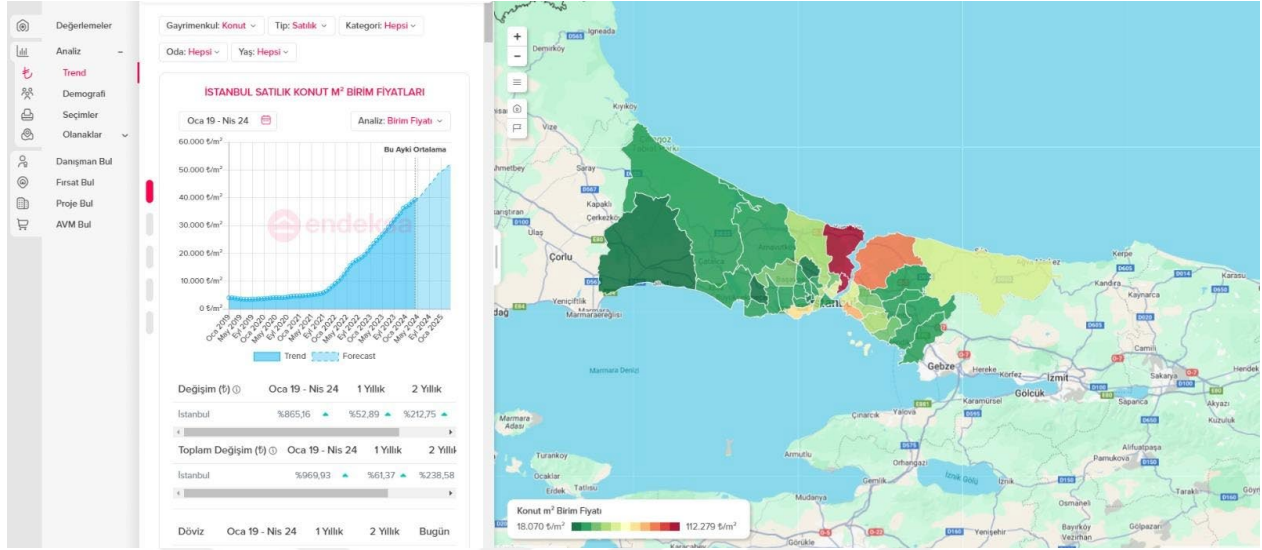
In this section, I evaluate the spatial experience on Bağdat Avenue in the context of leisure activities. In the previous sections, I mentioned that the spatial experience in Bağdat Avenue corresponds to the desire to have certain privileges in the habitus of the agents, unlike any other member of the society. This inference, which I made based mainly on the interviewees' narratives, also includes the desire to share the privileges of the middle-class, secular, Kemalist habitus that dominates the Bağdat Avenue social circle. Sharing the spatial experience on Bağdat Avenue not

only enables the agents to differentiate themselves from the rest of the society, but also enables them to become a disposition of their desire to be similar and common with the life practices of a minority and elite segment of the society to a certain extent. In this context, it would be useful to determine the nature of the relationship between the Bağdat Avenue social circle and leisure activities and to take a closer look at the dynamics of this desire.

While talking about gated communities in the documentary called *Plaza Köylüleri* (Plaza Villagers), Yıldırım Şentürk describes how these structures create differentiation within the city as follows:

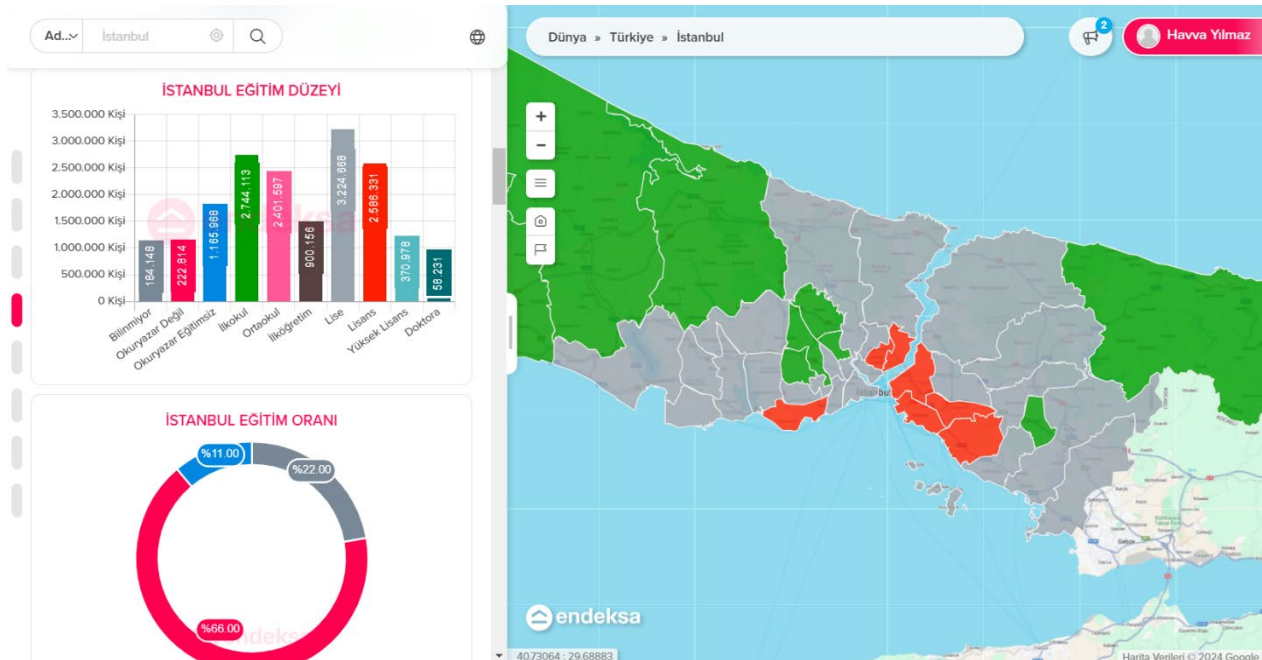
We compress the modern elements that should be in a city into a capsule, squeeze them into a tiny place, package them, and give them to people. In other words, your avenue should be safe anyway, and since your avenue is not safe, it provides this to you within the site. Children should have a playground anyway... Since this did not exist, islands of prosperity were formed in the city. You will either be on these islands, or you will experience more of the city's shortcomings. These islands of prosperity also create welfare chauvinism. Whether we are here or not becomes an important issue. Look at the residence promotions, it promises a privileged life. It is presented as a place where you can do what someone else cannot.

This ghettoization of the city is not a new phenomenon. It is a common practice, especially in Istanbul after 2000, as an inevitable result of the rent economy. However, considering this situation together with the spatial development of Bağdat Avenue and its current location in the city can help understand the leisure activities on Bağdat Avenue. As can be seen, when a projection is made from today to the past, Bağdat Avenue has always existed as an island of prosperity in the city since the days of the late Ottoman period. The glorious days witnessed by the Bosphorus during the Ottoman period were experienced in the early Republican period, especially in the summer months, when the entertainment culture was moved to the beaches of Moda, Fenerbahçe, and Suadiye, and for many years it appealed only to a select group. Although its class position changed from time to time in proportion to its increasing population during the intensified apartment building process in the 1970s and 1980s and the intense urban transformation process after 2000, it never lost its ability to offer a privileged space experience in the city.



Graphic 9 Istanbul housing for sale m2 unit prices from www.endeksa.com

As seen in the chart, according to Endeksa data, Kadıköy and Bağdat Caddesi area is the most expensive area after both sides of the Bosphorus in terms of m2 unit prices of housing for sale in Istanbul between January 2019 and April 2024. Sarıyer 112.279 TL; Beşiktaş, which includes Bebek, Arnavutköy, and Etiler, is 108,148 TL; while Beykoz is 90,412 TL, Kadıköy ranks fourth with 84,017 TL. While Bakırköy, which comes after it, has a population of 75,079, areas such as Üsküdar, Beyoğlu and Şişli remain below 60 thousand.



Kadıköy, with its population density of 19,322.56, is almost as quiet as the areas on the city's periphery, and it is also the area with the highest average education level of its residents, with 169,397 thousand undergraduate graduates. 79,061 of this number are located in the Bağdat Caddesi area, including Göztepe 15,035, Erenköy 13,203, Bostancı 12085, Feneryolu 10,096, Suadiye 10,076, Fenerbahçe 7,745, Caddebostan 7,668, Zühtüpaşa 3,153. While the average household size in Caddebostan and Suadiye is 2.33 people, in Fenerbahçe it is 2.39; 2.27 in Zühtüpaşa; 2.34 in Feneryolu; 2.6 in Göztepe; 2.45 in Erenköy and 2.40 in Bostancı. The average household income is 44,265 in Caddebostan and 39,486 in Suadiye; 43,484 in Fenerbahçe; 29,196 in Zühtüpaşa; 32,144 in Feneryolu; 36,194 in Göztepe; 32,560 in Erenköy and 36,996 in Bostancı. Thanks to the large green areas and parks built on the beach embankment in the area, there are many opportunities for walking, spending time with the family, and taking care of children. Also on the avenue, Göztepe 60th Year Park and Freedom Park in Selamiçeşme are important places that meet the open air and greenery needs of the residents of the area.

Bağdat Avenue and its surroundings, with its houses in tree-lined gardens, wide sidewalks, and long walking routes, which still preserve the traces of Angel's Avenue design, offer the opportunity to live in a location where transportation is very easy within the city, rather than living in a compressed capsule, with many opportunities offered by gated communities. Of course, just having the economic power to buy or rent a house here is not enough to benefit from these privileges. In addition, it is necessary to be able to shop here, send your child to school here, and reach the area with your means when necessary. In order to be included in the habitus of the avenue, more is required than this. Leisure activities gain importance at this point as a part and indicator of cultural capital. Leisure activities, which reveal many issues regarding the agent's class position as well as his education level, social environment and social taste, are important in terms of ensuring the combined use of all types of capital. Thus, it can be clearly seen where and how the social space of which the agent is a part intersects or separates from the physical and symbolic space.

In the same documentary, another interviewee said the following when talking about the "economy of sameness":

The white collar always lived in its own cocoon (...) We graduated from the same schools, good

schools, spoke the same English (this is very important for a white collar, I don't know why it is so important), took the same exams and filled out the same forms, worked in the same companies, we had the same careers. After work, we went to the same shopping mall and ate at the same restaurants. I call this the economy of sameness.

(...)

Our life is a box within a box. The building I go to is a big box, I get into the elevator, it's a box, the floor I go to is a box, the department I go to is a box, I head to my unit, it's a box, I sit at my desk, it's a box. After working all day, sit in another box in the same shopping mall, and sit in the restaurant inside that box. A world where everyone says similar things.

Underlining that this is a problem produced by the system rather than a problem specific to white-collar workers, the interviewee said that it is not possible to be happy in this system with the values left over from the Second Industrial Revolution. These findings may help explain why the physical and social space of Bağdat Avenue, which has become increasingly monotonous compared to the past, is still preferable. Here, the agent still has the opportunity to access practices that he thinks differentiate himself within the class he belongs to. This differentiation, which architecture student BT describes as "...compared to other avenues, Bağdat Avenue is a little more, I see it as the most developed place of Istanbul and Turkey. I mean in terms of options; I mean in terms of things he can do there. (...) If it is going to be a place where a young person or a person living there wants to spend time, I see it as better than other avenues", offers an alternative to the systemic problem that the interviewee who said "We seek the first among equals. So, we say, (...) everyone should earn money at a certain level, but I have a talent that I excel at, so let this be seen or the world should see it" in *Plaza Köylüleri* complains. Bağdat Avenue is a place where agents who studied at the same schools and have the same social and cultural capital can differentiate themselves from others with their free time activities, such as walking on the beach, creating morning exercise routines, and constantly "discovering" one of the newly opened venues, instead of spending time in the same shopping mall. On the other hand, considering the fact that this search for separation has a class aspect itself, this *illusio* that reproduces *doxa* creates the kind of *welfare chauvinism* that Şentürk mentioned and that this chauvinism implicitly extends the symbolic space with a closedness specific to Bağdat Avenue. We can say that it determines its color. In other words, it ensures the continuity of the upper and upper-middle class habitus on Bağdat Avenue by allowing the agent to reveal a little of his side that will make him the first among equals, distracting him

with the pleasure of differentiation. In this context, it would be insightful to take a closer look at the beach culture, cinema and casino culture, and walking activities on the avenue due to the area's emergence as a summer resort. Thus, I can begin to evaluate what opportunities the spatial experience of Bağdat Avenue has offered from past to present in terms of leisure activities, the privileges that these opportunities bring, and how these privileges are interpreted by the agents.

5.1. Between Nostalgia and Xenophobia: Summer Houses, Beaches, and Sayfiye Culture in Bağdat Avenue

I mentioned that the reason why Bağdat Avenue is still a privileged place today is due to its emergence as a popular summer resort in the late Ottoman period and the intense interest shown by high status groups of the society here. Likewise, I also stated that the area maintained this feature in the early Republican period, and this time it became a favorite summer resort and entertainment venue for the new elites. I also added that while it transformed into an urban space over time, this elite social environment was preserved to a certain extent. Therefore, when talking about leisure activities on Bağdat Avenue, it was inevitable to encounter many notes about this deep-rooted elitist past. Moreover, interviewees who witnessed the avenue's past talk with excitement about summer houses, coming to a summer house, and swimming at public beaches before the beach was built. For example, this is how IR remembers the summers when they went to Caddebostan every summer, even though they never owned a house:

What were the people of Istanbul doing at that time [1950s]? When the summer holidays start, there is no going to Bodrum, Alaçatı, Çeşme or Antalya. They are loading the trucks. They load all their belongings, pots of flowers, chandeliers, and everything. They move to the houses on the coastline that they rent. It's quite a move. So there is no need to be so rich. The bourgeoisie, after all, people with middle-class income can do this easily. (IR)

In the broader social memory, where these nostalgic memories are slowly being forgotten, the experiences after the filling are at the forefront. KB, who spent his childhood here in the 1990s because his parents were apartment attendants on the avenue, remembers that people who did not live on Bağdat Avenue came to these beaches and this caused disturbance in the surroundings: "...when I was going to high school like this, in the summer, you know Fikirtepe, the old Fikirtepe, now Of course, they demolished it and so on. We used to say something among ourselves, like

migrating, animals going down to the south, etc., we used to say ‘Fikirtepe people are going down to the south’ (...) I’m not saying this to condemn these people, but it was like that.” Thinking that this situation has gained a different dimension now, KB says “...it was like that then, even that was a thing, how can I say it... I was trying to use the right words, but it seemed like even that was spoiling something like that, but it wasn’t... (...) Now, the people of Fikirtepe welcome the people of Fikirtepe like this. Unfortunately, such a situation exists now. But is this true or false? That’s a completely different topic, that’s a completely different topic”, referring to the interest of immigrants in the area, and trying to criticize the use of the beaches by outsiders without using xenophobic sentences. KB stated that being the child of an apartment worker did not distance him from being an “avenue resident” and that he was not exposed to class discrimination throughout his childhood. Although he had to leave Bağdat Avenue because he could not afford it economically, he still sees himself as belonging here and expresses his discomfort with the attitudes of outsiders.

Expressing that he was pleased with the secular flexibility environment he experienced in the venues on Bağdat Avenue, TD said about the density on the beaches: “... it is much more crowded now. Especially in summer, it’s okay. Of course, I don’t look at it from the same perspective as the enemies of refugees, but it is, well, an unsettling environment. I mean, it’s like this anyway, the people came to the beaches, the citizens are disturbed by the situation, it has something to do with the people there, it has some validity.” He also says that he agrees with these complaints due to the harassment cases that occur here: “...how many of my friends have this happened to me, when I go and sit down with my girlfriend, someone comes from 5 meters away and locks onto you like this. I’m losing my peace, so can I explain? I mean, inevitably.”

SG, another former resident of the area, also states that residents of the area cannot go to the beach at all, especially on weekends: “... there are too many outsiders and it gets very crowded. So, here you go crazy on the weekend, to the point where you want to go for a walk with your wife, there is no place to stop, and the grass is full of people. That’s why people don’t want the subway here, when it opens, more people will come from outside, and that’s why there are good ones, bad ones, I don’t know, talkative people and everything.” He says that apart from the crowds concentrating here on the weekends, there is also a chronic “Gypsy problem” that has been going on continuously during the summer months for years: “...gypsies come in summer. They set up their camp on the beach with a truck. 30-40 people, 3-4 pickup trucks. They go to the toilet there,

put a mattress there, and sleep there all night. I mean, they are here on the beach for 3 months. That's why, for example, it receives a lot of complaints, but of course, the municipality cannot do much about it. "So people set up tents there and live their life there for three months."

In this respect, it is understood that the fact that the area functions as an inclusive public space open to everyone does not make the residents very happy, that there should be a limit on the use of the area by those who do not have avenues, just like in gated communities, and that they do not find it appropriate for everyone to use the leisure activities that should be specific to those living on avenues. Therefore, the comprehensiveness of the definition of *everyone* in the narratives that everyone used these beaches in the past is questionable. It is not difficult to guess that today's immigrants (Syrians, Afghans, Nigerians, etc.) are not included in *every one* of the past. However, when you ask the question of who else was inside and who was outside from today's perspective, it is not difficult to guess that it appealed to a very limited social class.

In this sense, although the social environment of the avenue still maintains its elite and desirable quality, it also has to face the residues dragged by social dynamics. The story of change mentioned by the interviewees is summarized as the fact that the area's most exclusive leisure activity has become commonplace and is no longer a privilege for the residents of the area, as it is accessible to everyone. Interviewees associate the loss of this privilege with the routinization of the area. According to this narrative, an important element of the agents' desire for equalization is eliminated. Therefore, any agent who aims to socialize and strengthen his symbolic capital on Bağdat Avenue by showing that he has the luxury to spare time for leisure activities must turn to new practices specific to the avenue.

5.2. Transformation of Cultural Activities and Entertainment Places on Bağdat Avenue

In this section, I discuss the changes over time in various leisure activities that were very common during the period when the area was a summer resort. Cinema has generally functioned as an element that "integrates" classes in Turkey. This fusion, which often corresponds to an "illusio", is also visible in different aspects of Istanbul, especially when Yeşilçam melodramas dominated the big screen in the 1960s when *auteur* directors such as Lütü Ömer Akad, Metin Erksan, Atıf Yılmaz, Halit Refiğ began to produce their brilliant films in these years. In this period when the symbolic burden of space increases, Istanbul, as an urban space, is at the center of the

country's sociopolitical agenda and social and ideological conflicts. For example, Ertem Göreç's movie *Otobüs Yolcuları* (Bus Passengers, 1961) deals with construction corruption and the growing land mafia in the context of the Güvenevler File, which came to the fore after the May 27 coup. On the other hand, the trend of the period was to have characters in the leading roles, as in Western films, and to create an "Istanbul bourgeois" typology through characters "shaped according to a 'Western' face and the way they dress, eat, drink, dance and sit" and similar concerns are also observed in the movie *Otobüs Yolcuları* (Yıldız, 2008; 86). *Ver Elini İstanbul* (1962), whose script was written by Attilâ İlhan, is about the experiences of a young man who comes to Istanbul from the countryside in his city life. Kemal, who was deceived by his close friend and dragged into troublesome things, crosses paths with Aysel at the hotel where he stays, and the two try to stay clean by holding on to each other in the dark avenues of the city full of traps. While the picturesque view of Istanbul is featured in the scenes where the duo chat away from dangers, the audience finds themselves either in the back avenues in the dark of the night or in the dark and gloomy corridors of the hotel in the scenes where they face dangers.

On the other hand, while the glittering life of the city is depicted in films that use Istanbul as a setting, the hypocrisy, insincerity, and alienation hidden behind this colorfulness are also pointed out. Class conflict is observed as a prominent element in Yeşilçam films. While ostentatious mansions and waterside residences, where the rich live, appear in the luxurious districts of the city, the poor slums are depicted as places of freedom, sincerity, and friendship. In addition to the *Küçük Hanım* and *Kezban* series, class distinction and spatial differentiation take place as a parallel theme in films such as *Kadın Değil Baş Belası* (Not a Woman, but a Trouble, 1968), *Cilveli Kız* (Flirty Girl, 1969), *Fadime* (1970), *Ateş Parçası* (Part of Fire, 1971), *Bizim Kız* (Our Girl, 1977). Generally, in these films, where class differences constitute one of the main lines of tension in the plot, the Bosphorus comes to the fore as a symbol of wealth and the economic and cultural power inherited from the past. The questioning of identity and social belonging that arises when the rich people living in stylish mansions where modern and elite life meets with comfort cross paths with characters from poor neighborhoods, is used as a fertile ground for discussion. Movies such as *Üsküdar İskelesi* (Üsküdar Pier, 1960), *İstanbul Kaldırımları* (Istanbul Sidewalks, 1964), *İstanbul'un Kızları* (Girls of Istanbul, 1964), *Biraz Kül Biraz Duman* (A Little Ash, A Little Smoke, 1966), *Boğaziçi'nde Aşk* (Love on the Bosphorus, 1966), *Boğaziçi Şarkısı* (Bosphorus Song, 1966), *İstanbul Tatili* (Istanbul Holiday, 1968), *Sarmaşık Gülleri* (Ivy Roses, 1968), *Kınalı*

Yapıncak (1969) are examples of this.

The years when these films were watched on the big screen hold an important place in the memories of Bağdat Avenue residents, as well as many Istanbulites. Not only the movies watched but also the places where the movies were watched are the subject of nostalgic memories. For example, İR remembers that the cinemas lined up along the avenue on Bağdat Avenue were a very lively socializing place. These places, some of which were open-air cinemas, attracted a lot of attention at that time because they hosted different cultural and artistic activities as well as cinema.

...for example, there was Budak Cinema. There were concerts at the Budak Cinema. (...) At that time, it was a summer cinema, concerts were organized, etc.

(...)

When you got further (...) there was Çınar Cinema. Foreign films were played there too. There was Ozan Cinema in Caddebostan. Local movies were mostly played there, we always knew there were Türkan Şoray, Belgin Doruk, etc. We fell in love with them there... Directly opposite Çınar Cinema was the Paris Cinema. The Paris Cinema used to show such beautiful films. These are all open cinemas. If I'm not mistaken, there were 6-7 cinemas. Always in that area... (...) Then small open cinemas started to close. Atlantic Cinema remained there as a closed cinema.

According to EM, who witnessed the cinema experience of the 1980s on the avenue, the cinema experience has changed a lot after these years. He describes the desire to go to the cinema and watch new movies in those years by this expression: "Foreign films were coming to the Atlantic Cinema. For example, it became legendary, there was the famous Grees movie that I remember now. The movie Grees came to Turkey and played in the Atlantic Cinema. I remember the thing there, the line. Crazy queue, ticket queue. Because people would watch it like 2, or 3 times. Back then, there was such a thing as cinema..." He remembers that Turkish films were shown at the Suadiye Cinema, right across from the Atlantic Cinema, where mostly foreign films were played, and that while they usually went to the Atlantic with friends, they mostly went there with the family. He also says that the passage where the Atlantic is located is an important meeting point for young people and that the music and record stores here make this place very lively.

One of the places that holds an important place in İR's memory regarding the entertainment culture on the avenue is Caddebostan Casino, which would later become Maksim Casino.

Caddebostan Casino was a beautiful tea garden back then, with stone pines. There are so many places around the world, all pine trees, cones, pine leaves, etc. You have to be careful while walking because you might slip. So, it's that beautiful. On the right, you see the Ragıp Pasha Mansion. The side is the beach, the sandy beach. The left side is also a small bay where skiers pull their boats. There is also a ferry pier right next to it. Such a view of long cliffs and the ferry pier comes to your mind. You sit under those pines and drink your tea during the day. Women come, children play, etc. It's like a nice recreation area, I mean, it's a very nice place. And in the evenings. There is a stage, and the orchestra comes on stage. Metin Ersoy was always singing. After that, some guest artists come. But Metin Ersoy is a fixture there, he comes out every evening and entertains. People come in boats to listen to him. Because pay is no longer free. You buy a drink or something, so it turns into such an environment in the evenings and nights. As children, we listen to Metin Ersoy on the wall outside at night, we listen to the music, people come, they dance, they have fun, etc... The next morning, the same thing again...

While this place, which functions as a tea garden during the day and an open-air casino in the evenings, was, according to IR, “a nice neighborhood garden, a country garden-like place where people sit nicely and socialize”, it suddenly turns into a place completely different under the name of Maksim Casino, with the widening of the avenue above and the placing of a bus stop at the bottom of the road. In these years, which he describes as the period when the casino culture was on the rise, not only the environment changed, but also the social class that came to this place changed; “...and one day we see that neons have been placed. (...) Then, sheet after sheet of advertisements begins to appear. All the famous artists started to appear there, etc., that's the change... Suddenly, there is no Metin Ersoy left, nor the other environment we know...” he says.

During the period when casinos in Istanbul started to close down one by one, the same venue turned from Maksim Casino to Migros. For this transformation, IR says, “I can't get into that Migros, you know? I mean, I feel bad, I feel very bad because the best days of my childhood passed there... I can't digest that image.” During the period when casinos in Istanbul started to close down one by one, the same venue turned from Maksim Casino to Migros. For this transformation, IR said, “I can't get into that Migros, you know? I mean, I feel bad, I feel very bad because the best days of my childhood passed there... I can't digest that image.” says. However, none of the other interviewees remember this change that he witnessed due to his age. Just as they do not remember the days when Caddebostan Casino turned into Maksim Casino, those who remember when

Maksim Casino turned into Migros are EM and BE, who also conduct research on the history of Kadıköy with a personal curiosity. While describing the year 89, BE mentions Maksim Casino as follows:

For example, the cars coming out of Maksim Casino were in a permanent job, they were constant at night. For example, especially on weekends, traffic would suddenly start at around one or two in the morning. While we were hearing music coming from the side road etc., we would say “Maksim is falling apart again”, outside the casino... At that time, for example, Sibel Can and so on first appeared there as main soloists. Maksim Casino was an important venue. Then it became Migros in 97. Currently still Migros.

Casino culture was on Türkiye’s agenda thanks to a recently released Netflix series. On this occasion, the book written by Sacit Aslan, the son of Fahrettin Aslan, known as the king of casinos, in which he said, “I tried to explain the recent history of Turkey with Maksim”, also attracted a lot of attention. According to Aslan, the people who were active in the rise and fall of casino culture were people who had their finger on the pulse of the media and cinema. Just as his father was the king of casinos, Erol Simavi was the king of the press, and Türker İnanoğlu was the king of cinema. This trio intelligently followed the social and political transformation and knew how to react according to the pulse, and thus the casinos had very bright days. However, for the same reason, that is, due to their insistence on closely following the change and keeping up with it, over time they violated the principles of the casino culture and this culture disappeared (REF). It is interesting in this respect that while the print media in Turkey continued to maintain its power even in the early 2000s, Turkish cinema faded in the 1980s, and casino culture faded in the 1990s.



Image 47 Advertisement for Caddebostan Maksim Casino, published in Tercüman newspaper dated 10 November 1989. Source: Taha Toros Archive. 00 1 520361006.

Nowadays, new media have eliminated print media, and the practice of going to the cinema is preferred only to watch some special films in the cinema, digital platforms dominate the sector to a large extent, but television maintains its importance for the mainstream audience, music is listened to on digital platforms, and the entertainment culture with music is dominated by nightclubs and folk songs. It seems that it has been transferred to bars, and large concert organizations are not held very often. In this context, neither the practice of going to the cinema nor the old cinema and entertainment venues can be mentioned on Bağdat Avenue. These spaces and practices can no longer even be found on the avenue as souvenir objects. The only movie theater on the avenue is the Caddebostan Cultural Center (CKM), which operates within the municipality. The venue, which is stated to have been built on the official website “hosts theater plays, jazz and classical concerts, cinema screenings, exhibitions and panels of national and international artists” and “to eliminate the lack of cultural and artistic activities on the Anatolian Side” Kadıköy Municipality started its construction on 05 December 2003, opened with the concerts of Fazıl Say on 11 December 2005, Sertap Erener on 14 December 2005 and Erol Evgin on 21 December 2005. It has continued its activities since that date (except for a period when it

was renewed). However, none of the interviewees stated that they had gone to this place to watch a movie, play, or concert. At the Portakalaltı concert, which I attended, given by Cem Erdost İleri and where Jehan Barbur, Özge Aslan, and İbrahim Demirci were guests, the hall with a capacity of 656 people was full. However, the theaters I went to watch movies were always deserted. Therefore, we can say that the venue offers a modest culture and arts service and that in an area such as Bağdat Avenue, where the level of education is quite high, both cultural and artistic activities and entertainment culture have weakened or shifted to other venues and channels compared to the past. In this sense, cultural and artistic activities do not have a large place in how symbolic capital is used on the avenue today. In the Bağdat Avenue social milieu, other activities focused on consumption and socialization, such as shopping, visiting stores, and exploring places, come to the fore among leisure activities.

5.3. Walking on Bağdat Avenue: Both Inside and Outside of the City

One of the most important features that make Bağdat Avenue preferable for spending free time and socializing is that the avenue offers a long and uninterrupted walking route. The avenue, which has a long pedestrian path with wide pavements from Kızıltoprak to Bostancı, also offers the opportunity to use the same route in different ways by going down to the beach. While TD describes this situation as “The avenue is great as a walking route. I have walked to Kadıköy many times, I mean, I have walked to Kadıköy. I loved walking very much. We have such a connection with the avenue...”, IR says that in the 1950s, these walks were an important opportunity for socialization, people got to know each other, they greeted each other, and got along during these walks. On the other hand, he says that “everyone is showing off to each other, maybe they are just going out to see each other”, in other words, they are “promenading”, as the old saying goes.

BE, on the other hand, states that although he lives in the area, he sometimes does not go out to Bağdat Avenue for weeks or months and that he experiences such reluctance even though the avenue is a good walking route due to its gradual transformation into a shopping avenue. “For example, I take walks on the weekends, I mostly wander around the side avenues, etc. I photograph leaves, trees, etc. in the autumn. But there is something really beautiful about Bağdat Avenue that still connects people,” he says.

Therefore, when I evaluate the spatial experience on Bağdat Avenue in the context of leisure activities, the summary of the picture I encounter is as follows: The elements that made the

spatial experience on Bağdat Avenue special in the past and the elements that make it privileged today are very different. Although some elements of duration can be mentioned in the habitus that dominates the Bağdat Avenue social environment, when it comes to leisure activities, old practices are only mentioned as an element of nostalgia. The socio-spatial change that the avenue has undergone as well as the socio-cultural change that the middle-class, secular, Kemalist habitus that is dominant in the social environment of the avenue has undergone over time have a share in this. As the tendencies of this social group, which dominates the avenue, regarding leisure activities change, the nature of leisure activities on Bağdat Avenue also changes. Likewise, as spatial development changes the parts of the area where leisure activities take place, these activities either change form, move away from the area or disappear. From this perspective, a picture integrated with the macro change story of Istanbul and Turkey emerges.

Since the beach culture of the middle and upper middle classes in Turkey has shifted mainly to the Aegean and Mediterranean areas, and the beach culture in Istanbul cannot resist spatial change, activities such as swimming, boating, etc., which were among the main leisure activities on Bağdat Avenue in the summer months in the past, are moving away from the area. Again, in a period when open-air cinemas in Istanbul are closed, cinemas are moved to closed areas such as shopping malls, and the nature of the practice of going to the cinema has changed considerably, the practice of going to the cinema on Bağdat Avenue is also diluting. On the other hand, although it is much more "stonized" compared to the past, sports activities and walks on the avenue continue to exist as leisure activities because it is still one of the most livable areas of the city and partially maintains its relationship with nature. Additionally, various sportive activities are held especially on Caddebostan and Suadiye beaches those interviewers did not mention. The fact that spending effort on the body and having a healthy lifestyle has risen as a middle-class trend in recent years must also have an impact on this situation. However, the effect of the tendency to seek to be "more equal among equals" on leisure activities is to drag agents into new searches. I strongly observed that these new searches are mostly consumption-oriented, and that especially the discovery of new places provides special satisfaction to the agents. In a way, this change in leisure activities is among the important agents that transform the area from a popular summer resort to a popular shopping avenue. Therefore, the place and importance of the desire to consume in the habitus of individuals who have spatial experience on Bağdat Avenue is indisputable.

6. What About Mozart, What About *Habitus*?

After all these evaluations, what can be said about how the spatial experience in Bağdat Avenue affects the habitus of the agents? To understand this, it is necessary to make an effort to understand how the interviewees make sense of the Bağdat Avenue social milieu by looking more closely at the portrait of Bağdat Avenue drawn by the interview data. The table below, which consists of the words used by the interviewees regarding the four variables that constitute the main subheadings: consumption, leisure activities, socialization processes, and spatial practices, will be informative in this respect. When we examine the table from right to left, we see what kind of concepts that can be associated with each other are associated with spatial practices, socialization processes, leisure activities, and consumption, respectively. For example, while spatial practices are being discussed in the interviews, some of the interviewees start by mentioning that this place used to be a summer resort. Afterward, they state that the socialization practices here in these years were based on warm and friendly neighborly relations, based on mutual trust, and carried out in a free environment where no one despised each other. They generally support these propositions with anecdotes about everyday life in the countryside/summer houses they stay in, and memories of leisure activities such as swimming, having fun, sailing on a boat, or cycling with friends. The consumption practice associated with these concepts is mostly limited to simple shopping activities. However, when it comes to spatial practices encountered with the change of space, for example, urban transformation is mentioned together with earthquakes, core drilling, which is one of the practices in the urban transformation process, houses built by TOKİ, etc.; the following concepts are the destruction of the good relations that existed in the past, the neighborhood culture of neighborhood relations, the disappointment that develops accordingly, the economic justifications behind these practices, etc. Although not every concept indicates such clear relations, and some specific examples such as Suadiye Hotel, arborio rice, etc. do not become meaningful enough without mastering the entire interviews, this simple mapping of the interviews frames the interaction network of the interviewees' imagination of Bağdat Avenue.

TC1: Consumption	TC2: Leisure Activities	TC3: Socialization Processes	TC4: Spatial Practices
Shopping	Summer / Summer houses, swimming, having fun, boating/cycling	Neighborhood, incomparable, reliability, freedom	Summer / Summer House, Beaches, Suadiye Hotel
Money, Dollar, Economy	-	Neighborlessness, alienation, loss of neighborhood culture,	Urban transformation, earthquake, coring (karot alma), TOKİ

		disappointment	
Class, rich-poor distinction, being bourgeois, CEO, Worker(ness)	-	-	Contragent, building, residence, apartment, mansion, waterside house, detached garden houses
Rent-seeking, Renting	-	-	Real estate sector - bag dealers, networking, EYT, dispossession, foreign sales, the great reset
Luxurious, rich, expensive	-	-	Bank houses, Yapı Kredi, İş Bankası, Emlak Bankası, OYAK, fuel-oil
Migros, Carrefour, Macrocenter, Şanlık, DİA, GİMA, Asya Pazarı, Butchers Market, Sabit Pazar, arborio rice, risotto, basil, Akis Petretzikis	market shopping	market shopping	Going to the market
Mango, Zara, Beymen, Marks&Spencer, Vakko, Vakkorama, Benetton, Nike, Adidas, Puma, Rolex, Yargıcı, Kıyafet, moda, Crop&Tayt	Go shopping	Go shopping	Visiting stores, searching for brands
İkiler Et Lokantası, İdris Kebap, Mc Donalds, Burger King, Kristal Büfe, Barış Büfe, Being a gourmet	Going out to eat, giving venue recommendations, gourmet	Going out to eat, giving venue recommendations, gourmet	Restaurant
Divan Pastanesi, Cook Shop, Strada, Krispy Crème, Vitavien, Le Pain (Quotidien), Benzin Café, Midpoint, Abbas Waffle, Magnum Store, Özsüt, İmza Pastanesi, boutique, gluten free	Meeting friends	Meeting friends	Bakery, food
Kahve Dünyası, Starbucks, Caribou, Café Nero, Pablo, Paper, Hümaliva, Dursun'un Kahvesi, Barista, White chocolate mocha, karamel macchiato take a way	Drink coffee	Drink coffee	Cafe, coffee shop
Remzi, Penguen, D&R, Paşabahçe	Reading newspapers/magazines/books	Participating in cultural/intellectual activities	Schools, İlhami Ahmet Örnekal /İstek Vakfı / Fenerbahçe High school
Apple	Visiting a technology store		Design, minimalism
Saksonyalılar, Kulüp 33, Maksim Gazinosu,	Going to a casino/club, attending invitations	Going to a casino/club, attending invitations	Casinos, entertainment venues

Belvü, Büyük Kulüp, Yat Kulübü, Coskun Sapmaz, Sadun Aksüt, Fahrettin Aslan – Casino TSM culture			
Bar Avenue / Iskele Avenue	Todori Tavern	Drinking, to go drinking	Smart place, bar
Cinemas, CKM	Go to cinema	Go to cinema	Cinema, open-air cinema
Consumption, entertainment	Recording music on cassette, music record store, Mojo	KRAL TV	Kazim Kulan passage
Transportation vehicles, phaeton, black/yellow minibus, metro, suburban train, Marmaray	Car racing	Participating in car races	Bedrettin Dalan, transportation, filling, two-way road, construction, E-5 highway
Sports/exercise	Taking a walk	Taç Sports Club	Ambiance, Champs-Elysées, Oxford, Tree-lined avenue s, vacant lots, gardens, groves
Religiosity, Mosques, Anti-radicalization	-	Faith, prayer, Friday, religion, Kandil, Quran, Umrah, veiling, Ramadan, adhan	Mosques, Galip Pasha Mosque, Mihrimah Mosque
Secular, Civil Society, CHP aunt	Participating in events such as celebrations, commemorations, walks, etc., and attending hobby courses	Participating in celebrations/commemorations such as October 29, participating in Gezi protests, attending hobby courses	ÇYDD, Association for the Physically Disabled, Caddebostan Beach, Suadiye
Cultural change, Cultural degeneration, nostalgia, and proletarianization of the medical field	Feeding a cat/dog	Not being neighborly	The disappearance of neighborhood culture, and private practices such as dentists, lawyers, etc.
1980s	Being a avenue boy/girl	Being a avenue boy/girl	Caddebostan, Suadiye
Curios Cat ask.fm	Using social media	Using social media	-
-	-	-	The surviving structures are the Meteorology building and the Forest Management Directorate's lodgings.
-	-	Immigrants, foreigners, gypsies, thinners	Coastal road, crowd, pavement
-	-	Prestige, social status, social satisfaction, option, polite life, indifference, dignified, respectful, well-mannered, tolerant, trustworthy, prestige, autonomous, decent, calm	Şaşkınbakkal, Caddebostan, Suadiye, Çiftehavuzlar, Selamiçeşme, Erenköy

Table 9 Concept map emerged from the interviews conducted within the scope of the thesis

On the other hand, the real details lie in the cross and complex network of relationships that this framework leaves out. The chart below illustrates these complex relationships. Concepts regarding socialization processes, consumption, leisure activities, and spatial practices are expressed in the interviews with a cyclicity, just like in this image. While it is not possible to clearly determine which concept is most related to which heading, almost every concept has an aspect that touches all headings. Moreover, since it is not possible to consider every word here as a “concept”, it is not possible to position the patterns in the conversations in a meaningful place within the narrative of the thesis without the critical discourse analysis applications in the sections above. However, in any case, this concept/association map offers a compact summary of the interviewees’ imagination of Bağdat Avenue, which will gain meaning with extensive analysis.



Graphic 11 Visualization of the concept map that emerged during the interviews for the thesis.

Another application that will make this map more meaningful is the table below, which shows the discourse produced by the interviewees’ statements regarding the social environment on the avenue in terms of the variables discussed in the thesis. As can be seen, the table includes various propositions put forward by the interviewees. Although the ways of justifying these

propositions are not limited to the examples given, they consist of issues on which there is mostly agreement. All propositions except the last three items consist of issues that the interviewees acquired during their Bağdat Avenue experiences and expressed in different ways. The disagreement on the issue of “There is/is not discrimination based on lifestyle in Bağdat Avenue” varies depending on the interviewees’ affiliation with Bağdat Avenue. Retired teacher GŞ, who is proud to be from Kadıköy, believes that there is no discrimination; but ND, who has become close to most of the stores in the area because she lives in Kartal but has been doing her shopping on Bağdat Avenue for years, there is an exclusion based on her lifestyle, especially towards headscarved women, despite all her decency, the polite treatment she receives in many stores, and the fact that she still feels very free while walking around here.

	Propositions/Arguments	Justifications	Justifiers
1	In the past, there was no class distinction, the distinction between rich and poor on Bağdat Avenue	Look, neighbors, look, I was in that 20-apartment building. Would you believe it, we had no relationship between the doorman and the flat occupant. We had a family relationship, they even always called me that. May Allah have mercy on him, there was Abdullah Bey, he was the manager who first hired me. He said, “Look, son. We are not 20 flats here, we are 21 flats [with you].” He was something, he was the fagenty manager. I mean, he was a person who knew human relations very well. May Allah be pleased with him a thousand times over, I mean, he is always like that in our apartment, I mean. I was never seen by the doorman; they never saw the children in the doorman’s eyes. For example, my wife, and I used to have some work, for example, guests came. Ms. Sümbül, would you help us? We never had such fait accompli back then, it was completely different, I mean, really, I think about it now, I look back and see that yesterday, those who were like that are giving orders today, looking down, I don’t know, no. We didn’t have those things.	OB
		There was no such distinction between rich and poor. There was none like there is now. Of course, the system has changed, in other words, as capitalism settled down after the 80s, we started to show ourselves more on these issues. In the past, we didn’t remember at all, I mean, he was the child of a poor family, and this one was rich... There was no such thing between us. And immediately, when we said, look, this is the child of a rich person, when such a thought came to our minds, for example, the elders of the family would say to us, “Because of course, it will be the children of fagenty owners and so on.”	BK

		And we would do this, I mean, we would understand what they wanted to say to us. Of course, it's not like that now. There is a conflict from time to time. He doesn't like her because she's rich, she doesn't want him to come near her because she's poor, and so on. In other words, these are all stories that actually show themselves after this capitalist system has settled down.	
2	Upper and upper-middle classes live on Bagdat Avenue	...in our apartment, there was the pasha, the pasha's wife, the former Yeşilçam players, whoever. I mean football players, etc. Even the drummer of the rock band [Kurban] was standing there with us.	KB
		But the profile of the people here is high, I mean the ones who govern the country, I mean the bosses of industry and electronics, I mean most of them live here, I mean the upper-class lives here, most of them don't calculate their money, I mean there is that thing, the profile is solid. Now when you go up a little bit, I don't know, Ataşehir, Pendik, you go to the side where there are people who work in the service sector, the profile goes down quite a bit, I mean it's always related to that.	BB
3	Bağdat Avenue is a luxurious place. It is an expensive neighborhood.	...the prices are very high. I don't have the budget to be able to afford to buy my clothes from those stores on Bağdat Avenue. But even if I did, there's something like this; for example, not only the clothing stores but also the venues are very expensive on Bağdat Avenue. That's because I think I agree with the manager to some extent. After all, the rents are so terrible that he has to get it from somewhere to be able to afford it.	BE
		Of course, I mean a certain segment of people come there, they are all rich people with cars. (...) Those who come to Erenköy Girls High School are all from good families, certain children in Erenköy. Of course, those who do not send their daughters to Imam Hatip schools, then still, these days, the daughters and children of big businessmen, all of them in Erenköy Girls High School, as a thing, it is a very good state high school, but all of them are children of good families (...) For example, in Kartal, because our family is known as a good family, we have an office, we have ships, I mean in Kartal, as a thing, how can I say... There are buildings and houses and so on, they go. Almost all of the bazaar is theirs, they pay rent to them. After that, there is a lot of real estate, I mean it is known in Kartal. We were a well-known family. (...) Therefore, we go there to shop. We can go, or rather, if we did not have money, we could not go. After that, you can see that the place is different, that is, people.	NB
4	Living on Bağdat Avenue is a sign of prestige	The people living on Bağdat Avenue, since financially well-off people generally live there, I think something like a bourgeois class has formed there. That's why people prefer to live there if they	BT

		are financially well-off, maybe to feel good, or for other reasons. (...) Living in Küçükyalı doesn't make much of a difference. You can do the same things here, but since all the prestigious or rich people with high social status prefer to live there, people who don't have that status also want to live there, because they want to be at the same level.	
5	There are places on Bağdat Avenue where you cannot spend time comfortably even if you have enough money	...I mean, there is for example the Büyük Kulüp and then the Divan. For example, the Divan on the avenue looks different when a covered person enters. I mean, now with the shopping malls, they should have been overcome but the avenue still presents itself as something bourgeois. The same goes for Nişantaşı, when we went to Nişantaşı, it was like that. They are also bourgeois, I mean activists, rich people, all those who live on that side, they all go there, they socialize there.	NB
6	Bağdat Avenue is a safe area 24/7	Now for example in Zümrütevler, I don't know, in something, a woman can't go out after 12 or 1 at night... But here on the avenue, she goes out at 2. Nobody will do anything to you. (...) After that, in Zümrütevler, for example, I was scared at night. Because of the gunshots, I didn't know why, to be honest... (...) Now, there is no gunshot or anything like that here, there is no noise at all here, it is very decent.	ETS
7	Bağdat Avenue is a nice place for walking and spending free time	...there is no other place like this. If I start walking from Kadıköy right now, I can walk almost without stopping along the seaside to the Gulf. And I walk on very nice roads. There is nothing like this on the other side. There is a little bit of Zeytinburnu beach, but that goes only so far. The texture here is not there, for example. The temperature here...	KB
		For example, the apartment we live in has a large garden. It used to be a mansion, called the İzzet Paşa Mansion. It had a small garden, a grove, and even a building built on that land. For example, I have such an advantage. While I live there in the summer, in the spring it is so beautiful under the trees. For example, in the morning, sometimes I pass by there on my way to work, and I share pictures, sometimes even autumn leaves, trees, etc. I mean, there are very few neighborhoods left in Istanbul where you can experience this. Maybe some places on the Bosphorus, Yeşilköy-Florya on the European side are a bit better in this regard. Other than that, places outside of Istanbul.	BE
		...and I made friends there. I felt comfortable and I didn't like closed places. That's why even now my favorite is the avenue, I like to walk like that, I like to walk down and from top to bottom. I enjoy it, for some reason, it has always been enjoyable for me.	ND
8	Bağdat Avenue used to be a more elegant and beautiful place	...for example, my mother was raised in that period, of course, she says; for example, she says it was the 50s-60s, she says back then, for example, we didn't	BE

		lock the doors at night. There was no such thing, and she says if you see the doors, you can see the glass, you can see inside... There was no such concept, I mean, we didn't know about such a thing, someone would come in and take something... It was so clean and decent. Of course, the sea was sparkling then. All kinds of fish, everything, I mean, those years were really like a dream.	
9	The cultural fabric of the area has changed/is changing as new means of transportation make Bağdat Avenue more accessible.	... now for example people are worried about the opening of the metro. People do not want the metro in this area. (...) Because now the metro is coming to lower Göztepe, there are a few metro connections here and to the beach, on the weekends the beach is not a place where people living here can get off. Because there are too many people coming from outside and it gets very crowded. I mean you go crazy here on the weekends on the beach, where you want to take a walk with your wife, there is no place to step, the grass is full of people. That's why people were going to come here when the metro was opened, and that's why more people from outside would come here... There are straight ones, crooked ones, I don't know, there are people who talk bad about it, everything, that's why now a man can come by metro or by bus or, I don't know, by Marmaray.	SG
10	Urban transformation on Bağdat Avenue has become profit-oriented	...now in Caddebostan, Suadiye, Bağdat Avenue, and the surrounding areas, yes, buildings have a lifespan, when they get too old, they can be demolished and rebuilt, but this is something else. In other words, it is a completely different thing that is now based entirely on profit. In other words, the age of that building is no longer the issue here, it is not the earthquake or anything like that. There is a terrible profit going on. For example, go to İskele Avenue, now to that place called Caddebostan Barlar Avenue. In other words, there is almost not a single building left that reminds us of the old days, the old times. And they are all monotonous buildings that are similar to each other.	BE
11	The spatial development on Bağdat Avenue, due to urban transformation, etc. practices, is taking away from the features that make this place livable and privileged	...now I'm not happy. When I come, I can't find the entrance to my house, Havva. Well, it turns out that I, or rather not me, most people, some of them say "turn from here" to remember, we made the bearings according to the buildings of course. And when this urban transformation started, of course, it started happening to some people, Havva, (pauses, trying to find the right word) it started to be traumatizing. Because just think about it, it's like cutting a cat's whiskers. You don't know where it is. For example, if I were to take it with my eyes closed and leave it on the avenue, I wouldn't know where I am. If I used to know, I would know where it left me. Now I don't know. And I look at the old avenue where I live, there it is, it's all concrete. But it was wooded. I calculated that there were about 7 fruit trees in the garden of each apartment building. First, they cut	BK

		down the trees when they came. As if they were taking such pleasure, they cut down the trees right away, what a pleasure. It seems to me that people have become obsessed with the idea of not doing anything, with the psychology of destruction. This innovation is not a bad idea. For example, it used to be more beautiful. Of course, it used to be more decent. Now I say it's not a big deal, it's more like this...	
12	The dominant lifestyle on Bağdat Avenue is secularism.	"The people here are secular. It has nothing to do with religion. Unfortunately, most of them are atheists, I mean. I am not saying this to denigrate, but there are cases." Those who come and go from Bağdat Avenue come here, excuse me, to use the toilet. In other words, they do not come to the mosque. You see, at funerals, how crowded you are, and the inside is empty. ... my mother became veiled much later, at that time [before it became veiled] for example she had once veiled my mother somewhere during the holy night and the doorbell rang and my mother opened the door like that. [Our neighbor sees] "What about you" she says, "What did you do, etc", she has a fit of hysteria. My mother says "Okay", "calm down, the holy night I'm reading the Quran" etc. They got into such a conversation and that's when she said something like this to my mother "Oh" she said, "Is that why Allah is going to burn me" etc. I mean it's not like you don't believe like that, yes, he does but he has a different style.	ETS ÖRA KB
13	There is no discrimination based on lifestyle on Bağdat Avenue	...People, they all respect each other. It seems like something has happened recently, and perspectives (changed). I would say that it is also the effect of politics, but no one has always interfered with anyone. The friendships of people from all backgrounds are permanent, they are permanent. In other words, there is no such thing, there is no such dominance. No one has anything on behalf of anyone else. There is respect, first of all. People as a society...	GŞ
14	There is discrimination based on lifestyle on Bağdat Avenue	...Of course, we experienced a lot of things at one time because people were veiled, for example, I experienced this myself. I mean, they looked at me differently, I remember the first time I went to Boyner, the attitude there when it opened, the condescending looks. But I felt very comfortable there normally, I mean, there was such a trend at that time. Veils were removed from schools, they were closed. They looked at me with such disdain, but for some reason, I never knew what I was because the headscarf is not a person's idea, the headscarf is a belief. Because I always knew this, don't do it, I didn't care, I mean I enjoyed it at that time, but I always witnessed such things.	ND
15	There is a class distinction,	For example, they see construction workers, they are	AO

rich-poor distinction, on Bağdat Avenue	obsessed with construction workers. Of course, they make everywhere dirty, they do this, they do that, there is always a sense of superiority there, for example, the guys are eating and they make it so obvious that they say, well, let's not sit here, it will get dirty, we say the opposite, you will sit. You will clean, I will clean, you sit down and relax, if it gets dirty, let it get dirty, it is my responsibility. (...) I mean, for example, one of them is a lawyer, you know, when you look at it as cultured...	
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Table 10 Table showing the basic propositions that emerged from the interviews conducted within the scope of the thesis.

In the conclusion of his work *What About Mozart, What About Murder?* Howard Becker mentions that he became interested in grand theoretical narratives in the late 1940s when he became interested in sociology. This curiosity, which begins with the assumption that the more abstract is better, is short-lived because when he reads some of the writings of social scientists who seek the “theory of everything”, such as physicists, he realizes that he has not learned anything useful and that the theories do not help him much in understanding the world he experiences and When he looks at ethnographic studies such as William Foote Whyte’s *Avenue Corner Society*, he discovers that he can understand how the researcher “conducts his study, what he sees, and how he relates this to relatively simple but powerful ideas about the way cities work” (Becker, 272). decides that he cannot write the master’s thesis he is trying to write by looking at these sources. Ultimately, using the advantage of meeting Everet Hughes, he produces very creative works both in his master’s degree and his doctorate. He describes the research method that made it possible to carry out these studies as follows:

When I investigate a case, I look for elements that seem to resemble each other in many ways and then look for how they differ, using the differences to uncover new variables and dimensions of explanation. When I’m gathering data, I give up the security of a well-defined problem and plan of research for ways of working that maximize the possibility of running across things I haven’t thought of, things that will bring new possibilities to consciousness where I can deal with them more systematically. The example of Everett Hughes’s perpetual inquisitiveness, his never-ending search for new and different examples, and his willingness to question everything, pushed me **to search for new material to think within unlikely places, places not ordinarily recognized as sources of “real” social science data.** (Becker, 2014; 214-15. Emphasis is mine)

With these statements, Becker stated that he has no intention of favoring qualitative methods over quantitative methods and that he also attaches importance to large-scale studies based on surveys and statistics and added that it is important to “learn not only the answers to some questions you already have but also something that will help you generate some new questions to ask.” (Becker, 2014; 215) Such a motivation lies behind this thesis’s quest to produce an analysis by using as many different materials as possible, and finally in the field. I would like to give detailed information about three cases that I encountered.

The first one is about an old woman I met at Marmaray Feneryolu Station. While we were both waiting at the bus stop, I witnessed him talking to his daughter on the phone. She was giving him the number of a rental advertisement visible from the station. More precisely, she was trying to give the number, but her eyes couldn’t make it out clearly, so she asked me for help. After the conversation ended, she happily hung up the phone and started chatting with me. She said that she lives on the top floor of one of the apartment buildings opposite Kameriye Cafe Çay Bahçesi in Feneryolu, and that her grandchild lives there, but since her grandchild is usually at work, she has to do many things herself, it is very difficult, but he does not complain much. She was 80 years old. He was a tall man with short hair. While her grandchild was living in one of the seaside houses on the Pendik beach, she could not bear living there after her mother’s death, so she sold the two houses he had left and came here to rent. Her goal was to buy a house here, but at that time, house prices hit the ceiling and she couldn’t afford it. Now she is trying to make a living as a real estate agent. The old woman was trying to support him by sharing the house advertisements she saw. Since we could only travel together for about two stops, there were many gaps in the story. For example, I wasn’t sure how realistic it was that paying for two seaside houses in Pendik would be enough to avoid buying anything in the area despite the rise in house prices. Let’s say that, how can a real estate agent in the area still not find a new house? Let’s assume that this is the case, why wouldn’t they choose to live somewhere else instead of this kind of insecurity? In any case, what sticks out in my mind the most is the old woman’s statement that she stocked her house with provisions in case of war. She increased the stockpiling practice, which she started after the pandemic, with the economic crisis and the successive wars, and she was not afraid to tell this to a stranger like me.

The second incident happened to me while I was sitting on one of the benches on the avenue to observe. I was sitting on one of the benches placed in front of the Istanbul Provincial Directorate

of Agriculture and Forestry, facing the flow of the avenue. During one of these interesting experiences, where the observer position and the observed position frequently changed places, I was both listening to the visually impaired artist singing next to me and thinking about what I could capture at an hour when the avenue was very lively. At that moment, a very cute woman, aged 50-60, who had dyed her hair pink and had colorful eyes, sat next to me, asking for permission. After a while, she also started chatting. She said that she passed by here very often, that she always wanted to sit and listen but never had the courage, and when she saw a woman sitting down, she found courage and was very happy. She liked the song and the artist's voice very much, but she thought it would be better if it was located in a quieter place. Because everyone was honking their horns at each other in the middle of the avenue. As the conversation progressed, she said that she lived in Dragos for nearly twenty years and that she had a very privileged life there, but when she separated from her husband, her financial strength did not allow her to survive there. That's why she bought a house on Caddebostan İskele Avenue and settled there, but she was not happy with her situation at all. The dust and noise of the ongoing construction were extremely disturbing, and she was afraid of an earthquake, something she had never experienced in Dragos. After a long conversation that included very important observations about marriage and men, we said goodbye by following us on Instagram. At one stage of the conversation, I noticed the eyes on us and tried to imagine how we looked from the outside. A young woman wearing a headscarf is sitting on a bench in the middle of the avenue, chatting with an older woman with pink hair and watching people pass by. I wonder how this practice, which is generally preferred by older men, worked on me. On the other hand, I remembered that one of my interviewees moved from Bağdat Avenue to Dragos due to urban transformation. Although for different reasons, it was as if they had changed places with the woman standing in front of me. However, the fact that they both had a certain level of economic prosperity prevented them from moving from their current location to Bulgurlu, such as OB. As a headscarved woman, I could communicate and chat either as a researcher or as a private citizen. But I could never know where the border of this friendship would begin and end. The impoverishment that the pink-haired woman complained about was enrichment for me and the OB. The boundaries related to lifestyle were only binding on me because I was a headscarf.

In the third case, I want to talk about, women again play the leading role. One of the days when I wanted to take a long walk around the avenue, actually after completing the fieldwork, I came across something that I thought was interesting. The AKP election office was opened on

Bağdat Avenue, which was seen as the “indestructible castle of the CHP” by political scientists and election analysts in all local and general elections. Since I was almost sure that such an office had never been opened before, I wanted to go in and ask and make sure. I walked in, at first I was mistaken for a voter, then I talked about my work and asked the question I was curious about. Indeed, this was a first in the history of Bağdat Avenue. “Can I interpret this as a sign that political oppositions have been overcome to some extent?” Thinking, I told them that I come today by chance and that I could come on a quieter day during the week if they agreed to meet with those who participated in the propaganda activities on the avenue and listen to their experiences. Finally, when I went to meet the volunteers working at the election coordination center one weekday, I encountered an interesting sight. At first glance, I was greeted by three women who looked like the women mentioned in the interviews as “Kadıköy auntie”, “CHP auntie” etc. After chatting for a while, they told me many of their observations about the area and the various stories of discrimination they had witnessed. These stories were not anecdotes specific to election periods, but according to them, they reflected some characteristics that could be extended to the majority of Bağdat Avenue residents. For this reason, they did not see themselves as classical avenue dwellers and criticized the avenue dwellers. Among these stories, what caught my attention was how one of the volunteers in the office told how he put someone in a place on Bağdat Avenue who did not want to sit next to a headscarved woman. While I was conducting fieldwork on the avenue, I did not experience such an incident, but I did feel like a stranger in some environments. However, the interesting aspect of the issue was that the headscarf issue still maintained its place among many other issues that have determined the pulse of politics since the 1990s.

While I was thinking about this situation, I remembered a different but, in my opinion, more striking anecdote that I encountered while walking on the avenue. While everything was going on normally and there was intense everyday activity on the avenue, an incident occurred that suddenly caught everyone’s attention. A group of stray dogs were chasing the wheelbarrow of a young boy collecting paper, barking with all their might, and spreading fear around. At that time, many parents who had picked up their children from school were immediately at the scene of the incident. Naturally, everyone shook their child’s hand and pulled them towards them and tried to stay as far away as possible. However, because the red light was on, the young man could not cross the avenue and could not leave the dogs around him. Everyone else was not very worried because they were aware that the dogs’ problem was with the young man collecting papers and his car, but all eyes

were naturally on the young man. The young man, who was disturbed by the eyes on him because he had to wait in this situation until the light came on, turned back and said, “Sister, you see there are children,” and tried to warn that “these dogs will harm your family and children tomorrow.” This was more of an attempt to overcome his embarrassment than a warning. The situation he was in was so offensive that he wanted to take the subject away from himself and distract the attention. Unfortunately, he could not find an echo that would meet his wish. Fortunately, the green light was given at that time, and everyone continued on their way. The young man took it slow so that everyone who was behind him and witnessed the incident could pass him by. Finally, after everyone had left, I was about to pass him, and since I wanted to say a few comforting words as I passed, even though I took it slow, I couldn’t find those words or two and couldn’t avoid having to pass him. But at that very moment, we made eye contact and smiled as if we both understood each other. It was a consolation for me that he was able to at least make eye contact with me, of all people. But I would never know what he thought, what he felt, what he encountered on the avenue or in other parts of the city. However, when I put all these stories side by side, I could conclude. He didn’t belong *here*. It was like I didn’t belong either.

IV. CONCLUSION

As I mentioned at the beginning, the main issue of this study was to seek an answer to the question “how can the relationships of individuals and social groups with different socioeconomic and cultural characteristics with space in everyday life be evaluated together with spatial and cultural change at the macro level?” in the case of Bağdat Avenue. I used the data I collected from almost all qualitative sources, such as archival work, participant observation, in-depth interviews, field research, literary texts, memoirs, films, social media posts, reports, etc., to search for the answer to this question. I set out on this path knowing that questions in social sciences generally do not have a single answer and that the answers obtained cannot completely clarify the subject. Since I found my research object very interesting, I believed that any answers I would get would contribute to both my research experience and the field in which I work. When I completed my study, I saw that I was not wrong in my intuition, even though I could not completely answer the questions in my mind.

First of all, while researching the spatial transformation of Bağdat Avenue, I was immersed in a magnificent history of modernization. As I entered the archives I mentioned and searched for keywords such as “Bağdat Caddesi”, “Caddebostan”, “Suadiye”, “Selamiçeşme”, “Çiftehavuzlar” etc., I came across vibrant documents. Each piece of data also showed how Istanbul and Turkey were changing. In this respect, it was quite difficult to filter the above section from this enormous data pool. However, after completing this step, a significant door was opened for the next stages of the study. As I analyzed in Chapter Two, the spatial change of Bağdat Avenue begins in the late Ottoman period. It also has a significant social role as a road used by pilgrimage groups. However, in the late Ottoman period, as I examined in detail in my master thesis, Bağdat Avenue and its surroundings also gained importance as Kadıköy and its surroundings turned into a popular summer resort. Since the high status groups of the society are in demand in the area in this way, it puts this area in a privileged position at the very beginning of the modernization adventure. The reason why this privileged position has more or less continued to this day is the role played by the early Republican period elites, who took over the administration after the Ottoman Empire, in maintaining the area's position as a summer resort. Until the 1950s and 60s, the area preserved its status as a summer place, especially thanks to Caddebostan and Suadiye beaches. However, the intense migration movements that Istanbul was subjected to after the 1960s and the city being

forced to grow gradually began to affect the area. However, it is not affected much by, for example, slums or the demolition movements of the 1950s. The industrial zones that developed on the Anatolian side in the 1970s, the roads built to facilitate access to these areas, and the opening of the Bosphorus Bridge significantly affect the fate of the area. Parallel to the growth of the city, it is time for Bağdat Avenue to grow as well. Of course, the area was still growing in its own way, and the masses coming to the area do not disrupt the upper and upper middle-class fabric here.

In this sense, from the early years of the Republic, while preserving the elitism of the late Ottoman period on the one hand, it also became an instrument in popularizing many innovations that it pioneered. As a popular summer resort, it enabled the elite of the Republic to experience beach culture with all its elements in a lively way. In the 1950s, the dream of the upper and upper middle classes was to own a summer house in the area. Those who did not have a summer house used this opportunity by renting it. Thus, the lifestyles of the upper and upper middle classes colored the habitus of the area. In the period after 1950, when the city was changing rapidly, the single-story, garden-based, characteristic buildings specific to the early Republican period, built by the architects of the period, began to give way to 3-4-story apartment buildings. This development indicates a rupture in which the social environment of the area while preserving its exclusivity, began to move away from the lightness and entertainment culture specific to summer resorts. The area has now begun to transform into an urban space. The second wave of apartment buildings in the 1970s completed this process and Bağdat Avenue transformed into a layered area with horizontal blocks of decreasing socioeconomic level as it ascended from the coast towards E-5. Those with the highest socioeconomic level live on the coast. As you approach the avenue, you see a transition between the upper and upper middle classes. When you get to the *minibus* road, you encounter the middle class.

Filling the coastline and transferring one direction of vehicle traffic to it makes the area accessible 24/7. In addition, the walking paths and parks built on the coastline make it easier for daily visitors to come to the area. Despite this, the avenue was closed and protected like a privileged site until the 1990s. In this way, it could continue to maintain its elitism. However, in the neo-liberalization atmosphere of the 1990s, the avenue windows that appealed to the special tastes of its economic capital-powered residents changed rapidly. Famous brands flocked to the area one by one. Branches of chain brands opened. Cafes and restaurants diversified. Bağdat Avenue became the first place that came to mind when it came to a “shopping avenue” in the 2000s, and even when

the shopping mall craze started, it was the place where the heart of shopping beat for many people. Therefore, the decisiveness of elitism in the social environment of the avenue has decreased. The upper-class lifestyle that continued especially in the coastal part of the area began to differentiate from the rest of the area. However, elitism was partially maintained throughout the area. The partial space opened to populism, with the relative relief of the country's economy, especially as of 2007-2008, is limited to being able to drink tea and coffee at chain restaurants on the avenue, walk along the Caddebostan coast, and visit various stores on the avenue. Sitting on the avenue, being a resident of the avenue, being able to eat at the luxurious venues on the avenue, and shopping on the avenue are still big dreams for those who do not have a certain economic capital.

This dream gradually moved away from the agenda of the lower classes after 2015, while it gradually became a utopia for the middle classes. The intense urban transformation activity that started on the avenue in 2012 had already made real estate prices speculative in the area. With the economic crisis and the pandemic, it is seen that the avenue has become a luxury even for the middle classes. Therefore, as stated in the sections of the chapter focusing on cultural transformation, this whole process is not just a spatial change process. The cultural implications of the country's economy, which started to neoliberalize after 1980, are seen on the avenue as well as everywhere else. The Republican, Kemalist, secular upper and upper middle classes, whom we can call "natives of the avenue", are not very willing to share the city and the avenue with the "others". Nevertheless, they cannot resist the changing conditions. However, in the dissatisfaction with the change that emerges in the memoirs and interviews, not only the spatial change affecting the livability of the area but also various elements seen as cultural degeneration are criticized. The representation of the area in literature and cinema, albeit few in number, also indicates that it is not possible to speak of a habitus that is open to change and inclusive, with a hypocrisy specific to the middle class.

In this regard, I answer the questions I pursued in chapter two as follows: My first question was, "how does spatial change in the physical sense affect the social environment of any place?" When we look at the course of spatial change in Bağdat Avenue, we see that there is a mutual interaction in this regard. When the magnificent mansions on the avenue gave way to low-rise apartment buildings, the country had emerged from a great war, important steps had been taken to transition to a new social order, and the Ottoman high-status groups that were in demand in the area had largely disappeared from the stage of history. Certainly, this whole adventure of change

spanned decades, and most of the elites of the early Republican period were raised in the cultural climate of the late Ottoman period. Therefore, to answer the question “what is the relationship between the physical change of the place and the sociocultural change of the society?”, we can say that there is a continuity relationship here. The relationship between the Ottoman Empire and the Republic is already a story of continuity and break. However, break is as important as continuity. And the important breaking points of spatial development in Bağdat Avenue show that the interaction between the physical change of the space and the sociocultural change of the society is extremely strong and that there is a complex network of relationships between them, where the space affects the society, the society affects the culture, and the culture affects both. In this respect, the answer to the question "How are sociocultural and sociospatial changes affected by macro changes" is clear. All the major changes that the country has witnessed affect even protected areas such as Bağdat Avenue, but such privileged areas are never affected by these changes like, for example, districts such as Esenyurt, Zeytinburnu, Ümraniye. They always interpret change in their own unique way.

The third chapter, titled *Living, Consuming, and Socializing on Bağdat Avenue*, focuses on the content of this unique interpretation and shows how individuals with very different socioeconomic and sociocultural positions affect from the spatial experience on the avenue and the social environment of the there. In this section, I evaluate the data I obtained as a result of in-depth interviews, participant observation and field research, with reference to various secondary sources and based on Bourdieu's sociology. In the first part of the chapter, I outline my field experience and make an effort to draw a rough portrait of the avenue. According to the portrait I drew, the avenue bears traces of the late Ottoman period with its mansions, historical mosques and fountains that are still standing. Since these traces are the imprints left by the elites of the period to the area, they are an element of prestige that reminds us of the avenue's deep-rooted past. Surely, mosques and streets identified with a secular identity do not mean much today, but they are still an important indicator in terms of continuity and break. I also consider the complexity of the area's residents' relationship with religion as a case in point. Among the old prestigious elements of the area, there are also old apartment buildings decorated with aesthetic panels. These buildings, each reflecting the architectural taste of their period and most of which still preserve their aesthetic value, represent the existence of post-Ottoman high culture in the area. But, these buildings, which are important physical elements of the area, are today under the shadow of luxury storefronts, chain cafés and

fine-dining restaurants. This points to the harmony between the physical and social spatiality of the avenue, which is identified with post-1980 consumption. Apart from this, the shadow of urban transformation falls like a huge dust cloud over everything on the avenue, which hosts important social clubs and prestigious schools.

As a matter of fact, in the section where I describe the interviewees' general impressions and comments on Bağdat Avenue, the first topic focuses on spatial change and urban transformation. These headings leave their mark on the general impressions of the interviewees, who are very different from each other in terms of socioeconomic and sociocultural aspects, about Bağdat Avenue because they believe that Bağdat Avenue is an elite place and not everyone can easily enter here. I realize that the elitism resulting from this opinion affects the habitus of the interviewees. They believe that this place should maintain its exclusivity, that urban transformation prevents this, and that spatial development is deteriorating in this sense. I consider this as a "differentiate" tendency.

In the section where I take a closer look at the socialization processes of the interviewees on Bağdat Avenue, I attempt to understand the effect of socialization on the spatial experience and habitus of the interviewees. I notice that the interviewees think that the avenue is getting increasingly crowded, and they agree that there are some criteria for “being or not being a Bağdat Avenue member”. In this sense, I think that the issue of locality and foreignness, which gained importance in social discussions after 1990, and the reflex of resisting change with nostalgia came to the fore. I realize that this reflex leads to confusion about religiosity and secularism. While some of the interviewees claim that Bağdat Avenue is an open public space for “everyone” who meets the criteria of “being an avenue person”, some think that this is not the case, especially in some periods. This shows that the experience of space on Bağdat Avenue has different implications in the context of belonging on individuals’ habitus. This distinctive role also manifests itself in different ways during national commemorations and celebrations. While national commemorations and celebrations reveal the unifying role of the avenue for some, for others it means identifying the avenue with being middle class, secular and Kemalist.

The separating role of spatial experience on the avenue also emerges in socioeconomic segregation. In the next section, I attempt to shed light on this issue by focusing on the interviewees' experience of consumption on the avenue. I say that the reflection of the sociocultural climate of the post-1980 neoliberalized country today is that consumption practices have an equalizing role

in different sociocultural positions. I argue that this development has made the spatial experience similar to each other, but sociocultural positions still continue to be important.

Finally, I talk about the interviewees' experiences about leisure activities. Apart from the practice of walking on the beach and doing sports, which they mention as elements of the privileged living conditions offered by Bağdat Avenue, I notice that the interviewees' leisure activities are mostly based on spending time in the places on the avenue. I see that leisure activities on the avenue used to be much more diverse, and having fun in places such as casinos, tea gardens, open-air cinemas, swimming in the sea, and rowing on the beach have turned into nostalgic elements. Today, the only movie house open on the avenue is Caddebostan Cultural Center and most of the interviewees do not participate in the activities there. This shows that in the interviewees' habitus, the Bağdat Avenue space experience is mostly reflected in consumption practices in the context of leisure activities.

In the last part of the chapter, I attempt to make various inferences by compiling all these findings. I summarize the impact of the spatial experience of Bağdat Avenue on the habitus of the interviewees and endeavor to concretely describe the portrait of Bağdat Avenue drawn by the interviewees in their own words. Thus, I have answered the questions of this section: how does the social environment of a space affect the experience of living, working, and socializing in that space? How does the experience of living, working and socializing in a space affect the habitus of socioeconomically and socioculturally different individuals?

In the case of Bağdat Avenue, the answer to these questions is briefly as follows: First of all, there is a social group on Bağdat Avenue that has become the identity of the avenue: Secular, middle and middle-upper class, white-collar, Kemalist, white Turks who perfectly fit the definition of "ideal citizens" of the early Republican period. The habitus of this group dominates the avenue social milieu. In accordance with the privileged socio-spatial character of the Avenue that has existed since the past, the effects of this domination manifest themselves in physical, social and even symbolic space. Accordingly, there are some common opinions on the avenue. These common opinions listed in *Table 11* summarize the framework that the interviewees acquired as a result of their spatial experiences in Bağdat Avenue. These common convictions and the only point of disagreement help explain what I tried to describe throughout Chapter Three: the effect of spatial experience on the agents in Bağdat Avenue. While the tendencies acquired by agents with different socioeconomic and sociocultural positions through spatial experience in Bağdat Avenue affect their

current habitus, their current habitus shapes their interaction with this experience.

Bağdat Avenue gives agents the tendency to “differentiate” themselves from the rest of society. The elite identity of the area from the past and the middle and upper-middle class, secular, Kemalist habitus that dominates the social environment satisfy the desire to rise to the top in the social hierarchy. The disruption of this "differentiating" social environment of the avenue due to urban transformation creates concern that the avenue will lose this feature. The interviewees fear that the power that the spatial experience they have on the avenue will add to their symbolic capital will decrease and that this striking spatial change will cause the identity of "being from Bağdat Avenue" to be eroded, leaving nothing of privilege and originality. Therefore, among the trends brought about by Bağdat Avenue, the "anxiety of losing the privileges of differentiation" arising from change is added to the "differentiation" tendency. Some of the interviewees realized that they could not resist urban transformation, and in addition to the tendency to "anxiety about losing differentiation privileges", they also add the tendency to "accept that they have lost their differentiation privileges". Avenue residents, who believe in the necessity of resisting urban transformation at an ideal level, but cannot resist the profit promised by urban transformation, tend to "replace symbolic capital with economic capital" and "not turn the contradictions between ideals and practices into an ethical problem".

As the physical accessibility of Bağdat Avenue increases, the audience that visits the area changes. Agents, who have not been concerned about the accessibility of the avenue until today because it remains inaccessible in social and symbolic space despite its physical accessibility, are also concerned about this issue due to the erosion in these areas. However, they mostly channellize these concerns into different issues, such as not being able to swim at the beaches "as before" and not being able to find the human quality unique to Bağdat Avenue.

We see that in the socialization processes, the agents are affected by the "differentiating" aspect of the avenue according to their socioeconomic and sociocultural formations. Each agent experiences spatial experiences on Bağdat Avenue according to his own habitus. When their positions in society are combined with the spatial experience on Bağdat Avenue, they gain new positions. In this context, the fact that a middle-class secular agent with spatial experience in Bağdat Avenue thinks that there is no discrimination in the social environment of Bağdat Avenue, and that a middle- or upper-middle-class headscarved woman or any working-class individual is exposed to discrimination here is related to their own positions. . There is an interaction here, and the new

tendencies that emerge as a result of the interaction are not the same as each other due to differences in previous positions and tendencies. In this respect, Bağdat Avenue can be considered as a kind of microcosm of the spatial experience in Bağdat Avenue in order to get to know the habitus of different socioeconomic and sociocultural groups in Turkey. Because the habitus that dominates the avenue, in other words, the social group that is "native to the avenue", is at the top of the social group hierarchy in the country. This group sees itself as the owner of Bağdat Avenue, just as it sees itself as the owner of the country. Agents who live, work and socialize here but belong to different social groups experience this "host-guest" tension, similar to the "acceptable and undesirable citizen" tension inherited from the early Republican period.

In this context, a picture emerges that cannot be handled with a shallow approach, for example, on the issue of religiosity and secularism, and the experiences conveyed by agents with the basic positions and tendencies of religious and secular habitus reveal that the class basis of the issue is stronger and the belonging/ownership debate underlying ideological conflicts has come to light. The question of what the definitions of "ideal citizenship", which began to take shape after the Second Constitutional Monarchy, do and do not cover today, comes to the fore. These borders, which were determined according to the principles of the regime in the early Republican period, have been overcome to some extent today, but there are still very strong barriers that cannot be overcome. These barriers were apparently overcome by neoliberalization, which started after the 1980s and gained a new dimension in the 2000s. Common consumption practices erased all sociocultural differences. However, the example of spatial experience on Bağdat Avenue also shows that these boundaries still exist. Moreover, socioeconomic differences in the country have become much more "sophisticated" compared to the past.

As I mentioned above the fast-food culture that has become widespread with the arrival of McDonald's in Turkey, the trend of consuming quality coffee that has emerged with the arrival of Starbucks and the "foodism" culture created by the widespread fine dining eating and drinking places have recently functioned and continues to function to create a difference between those who have and can access these tastes in society and those who cannot access these tastes. Bağdat Avenue also pioneers this practice of making a difference and plays a leading role in the spread of these cultures. On the other hand, it is not considered sufficient to reach consumption practices economically. If you want to eat or drink something in the places on Bağdat Avenue, your economic capital must first be sufficient. Customers who come to the places here do not just come

to eat quality food. They come to buy quality food with quality service. “Quality” criteria do not only include elements such as hygiene, taste and courtesy. They want to feel as different and special as possible. They want to achieve the prestige and symbolic capital that Bağdat Avenue promises. For this reason, they do not want to deal with various customer profiles that would cast a shadow on this prestige in some venues. The characteristics of these customer profiles vary.

At the end of the day, a picture emerges that integrates with the macro change story of Istanbul and Turkey. The everyday life practices of the middle and upper middle classes in Turkey and their relationship with space reflect the changes in their own habitus. These changes are fueled by a process of social and cultural change. This process of social and cultural change is not independent of the country's political and economic changes. Bağdat Avenue also has a social identity colored by this dominant habitus. In this respect, the tendencies gained by agents with different socioeconomic and sociocultural positions through the spatial experience they acquired in the avenue are also shaped under the influence of this dominant habitus.

Therefore, this thesis evaluates the relationships of individuals and social groups with different socioeconomic and cultural characteristics with space in everyday life in Bağdat Avenue, together with spatial and cultural change at the macro level and offers a modest examination of this dynamic interaction. Focusing on this iconic and multifaceted urban area, the study reveals the complex layers of socio-spatial transformations that have occurred since the 1980s and offers a new perspective on broader processes of modernization and urbanization in Turkey. The importance of Bağdat Avenue as a microcosm of these changes is meticulously examined, and this study makes a humble contribution to the field of city and space studies. When you look at the neighborhood studies literature, which functions as a sub-unit in the field of city and space studies, it will be seen how limited the sociological research on Bağdat Avenue is. Among these few studies that generally focus on urban transformation, there is no study that highlights Bourdieu sociology, comprehensively addresses the modernization experience of the avenue, and examines macro-scale cultural changes together with micro-scale sociospatial and sociocultural changes of the avenue.

Concern about filling this gap in the literature was at the forefront during this study, which allowed me to simultaneously experience the difficulties and conveniences of such first attempts. The Bourdieus meticulousness that I tried to show in order to examine a place like Bağdat Avenue, which is identified with luxury consumption and elitism, without reproducing doxa, caused the process to become a tool for me to think about the practice of doing science, on the one hand, and

on the other hand, the enormous data and technique that Bourdieu revealed, especially in *Distinction*. It made me burn with the desire to capture technical diversity. Although this desire is satisfying at times, like everything that escapes us when caught, it made me think about the lack of elements that are usually always left out. The contribution made by using different data types together to the thesis was the result of this desire. In this regard, the methodological framework used in the study offered the opportunity to analyze various qualitative data together, such as archival materials, participant observation, semi-structured interviews, cinema and literary texts, social media posts, etc. This comprehensive approach allowed for a nuanced understanding of the agents' spatial experiences and everyday life practices. The use of such a diversity of data by a study centered on the concept of habitus provided a powerful analytical tool to interpret the experience of space on Bağdat Avenue by revealing all its complexity in terms of sociospatial, socioeconomic and sociocultural aspects. By adding methodological depth to this integration of theory and data, this study revealed the importance of the avenue in terms of city and space research and contributed position the study within a broader academic dialogue on space, culture and social dynamics.

In this regard, content with being qualitative research, this study preferred to closely examine, classify and analyze in detail the spatial experience, consumption practices, leisure activities and socialization processes in Bağdat Avenue. Attempting to answer the question of the development of the social environment on the avenue from past to present and what kind of nature it has acquired especially after 2000, reveals a unique example of how micro data and micro study areas can be sociologized and establishes an analysis framework that can be applied to similar cases. While the methodological approach it adopts is ethnography, it aimed to strengthen the micro-scale approach and eliminates the handicap of "being too micro-scale", which is the most important criticism of ethnography, by placing historical sociology data and tools on the basis of this ethnographic analysis.

In this regard, the findings of this thesis deepen various assumptions about Bağdat Avenue and bring alternative approaches to some of them. We can summarize these as follows:

1. Bağdat Avenue has been an important spatial ground on which Ottoman-Turkish modernization has manifested with all its elements since the late Ottoman period, when it emerged as a summer resort. In this respect, the fact that it has not been

subjected to a sociological analysis, taking into account its historical integrity, is an important deficiency in the literature.

2. The fact that Bağdat Avenue has been a popular place for high status groups since the days when it emerged as a modern Ottoman summer resort has caused it to be identified with elitism. This initial appeal played a major role in shaping the social environment of Bağdat Avenue in this manner.
3. All socio-spatial changes seen on the avenue in different periods are closely related to the developments in the country, and it is important to analyze this historical depth in order to understand the current social environment on the avenue as in the country.
4. It is the middle and upper middle class, white-collar, secular, Kemalist white Turkish social group habitus that dominates the social environment of the avenue. This is a result of the privileged position of the area that has existed since the beginning of the modernization adventure.
5. As the tendencies of this social group, which dominates the social environment of the avenue, change, the social environment of the avenue also changes.
6. In this context, the sociospatial and sociocultural transformation experienced in the avenue, especially since the 1980s, offers the opportunity to detail the avenue as a microcosm of broader urban and sociocultural trends in Turkey.
7. Again, in this context, the definition of "ideal citizenship" that has been around since the early Republican period affects the boundaries of spatial experience on Bağdat Avenue. There is a close relationship between being an "ideal citizen" and being a "native" of the avenue.
8. The transformation of the avenue into a center of consumption and leisure activities today shows the impact of the post-1980 neoliberalized country's economy on the everyday life practices of the upper and upper-middle classes.
9. The impact of Istanbul's opening to the outside world, which is among the globalizing world cities after 2000, on the eating and drinking practices, leisure activities, socialization processes and consumption habits of the upper and upper-middle classes stands out as one of the most important development shaping the spatial experience on Bağdat Avenue.

10. Various social reflexes acquired by the upper and upper-middle classes in Turkey after 2000 and the contradictions pointed out by these reflexes find their counterpart in the Bağdat Avenue. Among these, the first things that stands out is the difficulty in internalizing the social expansion that develops accordingly, while easily adopting the consumption practices brought about by neoliberalization; although advocating a cosmopolitan lifestyle, one cannot help but develop various prejudices against those who are not "native" of the avenue; while opposing profit-seeking urban policies, not hesitating to share in the profits that come with urban transformation.
11. In this context, today's Bağdat Avenue social environment has a layered and complex social fabric, like its physical fabric within the combination of 40-storey residences, and architectural elements of the 1960s and 70s.
12. It is possible for the agents who have a certain economic capital to socialize here, spend time in places, shop and even reside here, but, in order to identify with this place and be a "avenue girl/child", still, they must spend their childhood and youth in one of the neighborhoods that come to mind when "Cadde" is mentioned, such as Şaşkınbakkal, Suadiye and Caddebostan.
13. Therefore, with all these contradictions and its resistance to the innovations brought by time, the avenue is considered an indicator that the symbolic capital is still strong for the agents, and in this respect it remains an object of desire.

I hope these findings, each of which deserve to be discussed at length, will inspire new studies that will sociologize Bağdat Avenue, and many studies that examine the avenue from different aspects with different data and develop alternative approaches test these findings.

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Documentary

Plaza Köylüleri (2022, Hazar Uyar) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=McS3jIavkgo>

VI. APPENDICES

Appendix -1: TUIK Data

MUNICIP. NAME	NEIGH. NAME	NEIGH. CODE	CSBM CODE	CSMB TYPE CODE	CSMB TYPE	NUMB. OF RES.	NUM B. OF PRI. WOR K PL.
KADIKÖY	BOSTANCI	40523	196336	3	CADDE	346	289
KADIKÖY	CADDEBOSTAN	40521	191414	3	CADDE	733	497
KADIKÖY	FENERBAHÇE	40514	204156	3	CADDE	695	281
KADIKÖY	FENERYOLU	40515	204703	3	CADDE	460	187
KADIKÖY	GÖZTEPE	40520	191269	3	CADDE	311	134
KADIKÖY	SUADIYE	40522	196608	3	CADDE	516	514
KADIKÖY	ZÜHTÜPAŞA	40513	419580	3	CADDE	280	296
MALTEPE	ALTAYÇEŞME	40612	810537	3	CADDE	412	254
MALTEPE	ALTINTEPE	40613	810633	3	CADDE	738	319
MALTEPE	BAĞLARBAŞI	40615	798601	3	CADDE	543	1243
MALTEPE	CEVİZLİ	40614	811042	3	CADDE	853	598
MALTEPE	ÇINAR	40608	438830	3	CADDE	312	404
MALTEPE	FEYZULLAH	40610	804834	3	CADDE	739	266
MALTEPE	İDEALTEPE	40609	804906	3	CADDE	527	107
MALTEPE	KÜÇÜKYALI	40611	805290	3	CADDE	247	150
TOTAL						7712	5539

CSBM DEVELOPMENT CODE

- 1) RICH (DEVELOPED)
- 2) MIDDLE (MIDDLE DEVELOPED)
- 3) POOR (UNDEVELOPED)

Appendix -2: Interview Questions

Interview Questions for Thesis Study on Spatial Experience on Bağdat Avenue

Not all questions have to be answered. If the speaker requests that his or her answer not be used, the answer is removed from the record during or after the interview.

- 1) How long have you been living/working on Bağdat Avenue? [Or if s/he uses it as a place to socialize] How long have you been going to Bağdat Avenue?
- 2) What do you think Bağdat Avenue is like? Do you think there is something that distinguishes

Bağdat Avenue from different parts/avenues of Istanbul, Turkey and the world? If you are thinking about it, what do you think these are?

- 3) Do you think Bağdat Avenue has changed over time? If it has changed, what would you like to say about it?
- 4) What do you think about urban transformation on Bağdat Avenue? Have you been affected by the urban transformation on Bağdat Avenue? If so, how?
- 5) What do you think about the attempts to return Bağdat Avenue to its old days?
- 6) Where are your favorite places to shop on Bağdat Avenue? How often do you shop? Who would you prefer to go shopping with?
- 7) What are your favorite restaurants on Bağdat Avenue and what are your favorite cafes to spend time in? How often do you visit these places? Who would you prefer to come with?
- 8) Have you ever been to Caddebostan Migros? Did you know that this place was previously used as Maksim Casino?
- 9) What is the experience of running a venue / owning a store (or working in a venue / store) on Bağdat Avenue? What kind of observations have you made about our customers who come to your place / store? [IF S/HE HAS SUCH EXPERIENCE]
- 10) Are you interested in cultural and artistic activities? Is there a culture-art institution / venue on Bağdat Avenue whose activities you follow? (Cultural center, art gallery, cinema, theatre, hobby course, etc.)
- 11) Which places and what kind of activities do you prefer to socialize on Bağdat Avenue?
- 12) Would you like to take a walk on Bağdat Avenue? Do you use the Avenue or the coastal path near the Avenue for sports and exercise?
- 13) Do you remember when Maksim Casino was open on Bağdat Avenue? Have you ever been? If you have been there, can you tell me in detail?
- 14) What is the residential type of the house you use as permanent residence? (Apartment, residence, detached house, etc.) Why did you choose this type of house?
- 15) How much time do you spend at home?
- 16) What are the things that make you happiest and unhappy at home? Can you explain with reasons?
- 17) Will you vote in elections?
- 18) Are you a member of any political party or non-governmental organization?

- 19) Have you participated in any democratic protests or celebrations held on Bağdat Avenue?
- 20) Have you opposed any administrative regulations or practices regarding Bağdat Avenue?
- Would you like to be part of this type of organization?
- 21) What is your relationship with technological products? Do you visit the technology stores on the Avenue? If yes, how often do you visit these places?

Appendix -3: List of Texts in the Form of Memoirs, Novels, etc. Examined in the Scope of the Study

Book Name	Author	P. City	Publisher	P. Year
Hüseyin Paşa Çıkmazı No.4	Ali Neyzi	İstanbul	Karacan Yayınları	1983
Meyzi ile Neyzi	Ali Neyzi	İstanbul	Karacan Yayınları	1983
Çocukluğumun Savaş Yılları Anıları	Adnan Ergeneli	İstanbul	İletişim Yayınları	1993
Tramvaylı Günler ve Eski Tangolar	Nedim Ergan	İstanbul	Altın Kitaplar Yayınevi (2 nd Ed.)	1998
Âsitâne – Evvel Zaman İçinde İstanbul (I ve II)	A. Ragıp Akyavaş	Ankara	Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları (2nd Ed.)	2004
Şakir Paşa Köşkü – Ahmet Bey ve Şakirler	Nermidil Erner Binark	İstanbul	Remzi Kitabevi (3rd Ed.)	2005
İstanbul ve Değişim	Mehmet Tanju Akerman	İstanbul	Elçi Yayınları	2006
Geçmiş Suadiye’de Aştı	Deniz Kurbanzade	İstanbul	Sosyal Yayınlar	2007
Dünden Bugüne Caddebostan	Yıldız Demiriz	İstanbul	Yorum Sanat Yayınevi	2007
Gözbebeğim Göztepe	Celal Özcan	İstanbul	Heyamola Y.	2009
Maltepe	Refet Özkan	İstanbul	Heyamola Y.	2009
Suadiye, Suadiye	Cüneyt Altunç	İstanbul	Heyamola Y.	2009
Fener’e Giden Yol Feneryolu	Eray Canberk	İstanbul	Heyamola Y.	2009
Bir Kadıköy’oğlu	Hulki Aktunç	İstanbul	Heyamola Y.	2009
Kadıköy/Dünü, Bugünü, Yarını	Mehmet Tanju Akerman	İstanbul	Siyah Beyaz Kitap	2009
Bostancı Bahane	A. Ali Ural	İstanbul	Heyamola Y.	2010
Rufinia’dan Çiftelavuzlar’a	Nevra Bucak	İstanbul	Heyamola Y.	2010
Lodoslartında Bostancı... ve... Bağdat Caddesi	Hikmet Temel Akarsu	İstanbul	Heyamola Y.	2010
Maltepe	Refet Özkan	İstanbul	Heyamola Y. (3rd ed.)	2010
İstanbul Seni Unutmadım	Selim İleri	İstanbul	Everest Yayınları	2012
Erenköy’de Duvarlar	Dilek Kent	İstanbul	Cinius Yayınları (2nd	2012

			Ed.)	
Kaybolan İstanbul'dan Hatıralar	Hikmet Feridun Es	İstanbul	Ötüken Yayınları (2nd Ed.)	2013
Mach One'dan Mektuplar	Sevim Burak	İstanbul	Palto Yayınları (5th Ed.)	2014
Kızıltoprak AnılarıOsmanlılıktan Cumhuriyet'e	Nezih H. Neyzi	İstanbul	Türkiye İş Bankç Kült. Yay.	2016
Şimdilik Bu Kadar	Emine Uşaklıgil, Serra Yılmaz	İstanbul	Can Yayınları (2nd ed.)	2018
Kadıköy'de Zaman	Arif Atılğan	İstanbul	K-İletişim Yayınları (2nd Ed.)	2019

Appendix -4: Information on Interviews Conducted in the Scope of the Study

	Int. Date	Interviewee	Gender	Job	Age	Spatial Experience
1	28.07.2022	İ. R.	Male	Writer, Cartoonist, Businessperson	61	Caddebostan
2	October 4, 2022	Ö. R. A.	Male	Engineer (Retired)	63	Erenköy
3	October 12, 2022	E. T. E.	Women	Office Staff (Retired)	53	Caddebostan Şaşkınbakkal
4	November 9, 2022	K. B.	Male	Theater Agent	34	Çiftehavuzlar
5	November 30, 2022	E. M.	Male	Tourist Guide, Writer	53	Suadiye
6	December 7, 2022	T. D.	Male	Editor	33	Suadiye
7	December 7, 2022	B. E.	Male	Translator, Amateur Urban Researcher	40	Caddebostan
8	January 2, 2023	G. Ş.	Male	Teacher (Retired)	73	Suadiye
9	January 6, 2023	T	Male	Bank Employee (Retired)	81	Suadiye
10	January 6, 2023	B. K.	Male	Photographer	61	Caddebostan
11	January 13, 2023	O. B.	Male	Apartment Block Serviceman (Retired)	65	Selamiçeşme
12	January 17, 2023	A. O.	Women	Sports Trainer	37	Feneryolu, Selamiçeşme Caddebostan
13	February 24, 2023	B. T.	Male	Architecture Student, Cafe Employee	24	Erenköy, Caddebostan
14	March 8, 2023	S. G.	Male	Real Estate Agent, Luxury Housing Specialist	37	Çiftehavuzlar, Selamiçeşme
15	March 8, 2023	G. P.	Women	Gastronomy Student, Patisserie-Cafe Employee	22	Caddebostan

16	June 24, 2023	A.T	Male	Business Graduate, Lecturer	36	Suadiye, Caddebostan
17	July 5, 2023	N.B.	Women	Housewife	49	Suadiye, Caddebostan, Erenköy
18	July 5, 2023	N.D.	Women	Housewife	67	Suadiye, Caddebostan, Erenköy
19	July 9, 2023	B.B.	Male	Business Graduate, Runs His Own Place	36	Suadiye, Caddebostan
20	July 21, 2023	Ö.F.Y.	Male	Business Administration Graduate, Works At TRT	34	Suadiye, Caddebostan
21	September 18, 2023	C.G.	Women	Language Instructor, Galatasaray Univ. Graduate	33	Suadiye
22	February 9, 2024	C.B.	Male	Social Media Manager, Journalist	50	Suadiye, Caddebostan, Bostancı

Appendix -5: Theses Written on Bağdat Avenue or Can be Included in Bağdat Avenue Literature from Various Perspectives in the YÖK Thesis Database

No	Names of Theses	Authors	Years	Type	Disciplines
1	Bağdat Caddesi'nde Trafik Akımı İncelemesi	LEBRİZ KÖPRÜLÜ	1991	YL	TRANSPORTATION
3	Maltepe'nin tarihi dokusu	REZAN ÇELEBİ	1995	YL	ART HISTORY
3	Kentsel Tasarım Elemanı Olarak Bitkilendirme ile İklim Kontrolü. Bağdat Caddesi, 1. Levent Ve Ataşehir Örneği	YASEMİN BOSTANCI	1998	YL	URBAN-REGIONAL PLANNING
4	İstanbul'da Göztepe ve Caddebostan Mahallelerinde Doku Değişim Süreci Ve Nedenleri	LALE REYHAN SAĞLAM	2000	YL	URBAN-REGIONAL PLANNING
5	1950 - 1970'lerde İstanbul'da Konut Mimarisi: Bağdat Caddesi Örneği	ZEYNEP YAZICIOĞLU	2001	YL	ARCHITECTURE
6	İstanbul'da Bağdat Caddesi Ve Cemil Topuzlu Caddesi'nde Satışa Sunulan Çağdaş Konut Salon Mobilyaları Üzerine Bir Araştırma	PINAR ARTIKOĞLU	2003	YL	INTERIOR ARCHITECTURE AND DECORATION
7	Okul Öncesi Eğitim Merkezleri: Bağdat Caddesi Alan Çalışması	AYLİN ANLI	2005	YL	ARCHITECTURE
8	Kentsel Tasarım Projelerinin Bilgisayar Ortamında Sunum Tekniklerinin Bağdat Caddesi Örneğinde İncelenmesi	MEHMET ALİ DÜZOVA	2007	YL	URBAN-REGIONAL PLANNING.
9	Yüksek Yapıların Kentsel Gelişme Bağlamında İrdelenmesi ve Yüksek Yapı Politikaları	ÇAĞDAŞ SAYDAM	2007	YL	ARCHITECTURE

10	Sanat akımları açısından Türkiye ve diğer ülkelerdeki başlıca parklar (19. yüzyıl ve 21. yüzyıl arası)	AYÇE EZGİ KIZILDERE	2009	YL	LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE
11	Kentsel Mekan Olarak Caddelerin Mekansal Karakterinin Yürünebilirlik Bağlamında İrdelenmesi, Bağdat Caddesi Örneği	ZEYNEP YAZICIOĞLU HALU	2010	DR	ARCHITECTURE
12	Kentsel Kamusal Mekânda Yaya Hareketi: Bağdat Caddesi Örneği	ALA LEMAN CEMALİ	2011	YL	ARCHITECTURE
13	Kadıköy Hasanpaşa Bölgesi'nin Tarihi Çevre Analizi ve Sıhhileştirme Önerileri	HALENUR MAZBAŞI BERKTAY	2012	YL	ARCHITECTURE
14	Fenerbahçe Semtinde 19. Yüzyılda İnşa Edilen Sayfiye Köşklerinin İncelenmesi ve Koruma Sorunları Üzerine Bir Araştırma	GÜLEN GÖKÖZ	2013	YL	ARCHITECTURE
15	Kentsel Mekanın Değişimi ve Konut Dokusunda Katmanlaşma: Feneryolu Mahallesi Örneği	BURCU ARIKAN	2013	YL	ARCHITECTURE
16	Sokakların Dönüşümü ve Yeniden Yapılanmasında Sosyokültürel Pratiklerin Rolü: İstanbul, Bağdat Caddesi Örneği	AYNAZ LOTFATA	2014	DR	URBAN-REGIONAL PLANNING
17	Mağaza Yeri Seçimine Yönelik Bir Karar Destek Modeli ve Bir Uygulama	MERVE SÜERKAN	2014	YL	INDUSTRY AND INDUSTRIAL ENGINEERING
18	Parklarda Erişilebilirliğin Engelliler Açısından İrdelenmesi: İstanbul – Göztepe 60.Yıl Parkı Örneği	BEYZA BAHADIR	2014	YL	LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE
19	Kamusal Bir Alan Olarak Cadde: Bağdat Caddesi Örneği	CANSU PEKŞEN	2015	YL	ARCHITECTURE
20	Kendi Kendini Denetleme, Bakış ve Sosyal Çevre Arasındaki İlişki: Bağdat Caddesi Örneği	DUYGU ÖZTÜRK	2015	YL	SOCIOLOGY
21	2000'lerde Değişen Müslüman Kadın Portresine Bağlı Olarak Maddi Ve Görsel Kültür İnşası: İslami Moda Dergileri Ve Görsellik Odaklı Sosyal Medya Ağı	SEMANUR SARAÇ	2015	YL	SOCIOLOGY
22	1980 Öncesinde İstanbul'da Tarihi Sayfiye Alanlarında Kentsel ve Mekânsal Değişim Süreci	NEFİSE BURCU YAĞAN	2015	DR	ARCHITECTURE
23	Bina Stokunun Dönüşümü Kapsamında Nitelikli Binaların Yaşam Döngüsü Süreçlerinin Değerlendirilmesi: Bağdat Caddesi Örneği	ETHEM BERK KURTEL	2016	YL	ARCHITECTURE
24	Kentsel Dönüşüm Sürecinde Meşrulaştırma ve Bağdat Caddesi'nin Yeniden İnşa Süreci	DİLARA ŞAHİN	2016	YL	ARCHITECTURE

25	Marmaray Projesinin Etki Alanında Kalan Haydarpaşa-Bostancı Banliyö Güzergâhının Kültürel Miras Bağlamında Değerlendirilmesi	DERYA ALTINER	2016	YL	ARCHITECTURE
26	Konut Üzerinden Bir Mikro-Tarih Anlatısı: İstanbul, Bağdat Caddesi	EMEL CANTÜRK	2017	DR	ARCHITECTURE
27	Erenköy'deki Kentsel Doku Değişimi Ve Kültür Varlığı Konut Yapılarının Koruma Durumları	BURAK ÖZTÜRK	2017	YL	ARCHITECTURE
28	Kamusal Sanatın Toplum Üzerindeki Etkilerinin Değerlendirilmesi Taksim Ve Göztepe Parkı Örneği	TANNAZ TAGHIZAD ASAD	2017	YL	ARCHITECTURE
29	Kent Ağaçlarında Konfor ve Ekonomik Değer Analizleri: İstanbul Göztepe 60. Yıl Parkı Örneği	TUĞSEM SÖNMEZ	2017	YL	FORESTRY AND FOREST ENGINEERING
30	Sokak Arayüzlerinde Saydam Yüzeylerin Kent Kullanıcıları ile Etkileşimlerinin Değerlendirilmesi: Bağdat Caddesi Örneği	BERHAN UZEL	2018	YL	ARCHITECTURE
31	İstanbul Bağdat Caddesi ve Yakın Çevresinde Kentsel Dönüşüm: 2012-2018 Dönemi	DİCLE KOYLAN	2018	DR	SOCIOLOGY
32	Sosyo-Demografik Değişkenlerin Rekreatyon Katılımına Etkisi: İstanbul (Kadıköy ve Maltepe) Örneği	FATİH ALAKOÇ	2018	YL	SPORT
33	Parsel Bazında Kentsel Dönüşümün Alışveriş Caddelerine Etkileri: Bağdat Caddesi Örneği	RABİA KURBAN	2019	YL	URBAN-REGIONAL PLANNING.
34	Modern Mimarlık Dönemi Konut Binalarının Enerji Etkin İyileştirilmesi: İstanbul Bağdat Caddesi Örneği	YAPRAK BEGÜM TUNCEL	2019	YL	ARCHITECTURE
35	Türkiye Mimarlığı'nda Modernleşme Çabaları: Konut Mimarisinde Cephe Yaklaşımları ve Bağdat Caddesi Örneğinde İncelenmesi	HAVVA GÜL BİLGİN	2019	YL	ARCHITECTURE
36	Bir Müşterek Olarak Kent İmgesi: İstanbul Bağdat Caddesi Örneği	ÖZGÜN GÜRSÜRER	2019	YL	ARCHITECTURE
37	Bağdat Caddesi Kentsel Dönüşüm Uygulamaları ve Yaşam Kalitesi Araştırması	DUYGU SERT	2019	YL	ARCHITECTURE
38	Kamusal Mekan Kalitesini Arttıran Mekansal Tasarım Girişimleri Bağdat Caddesi İnceleme Örneği	KHAOULA MZOUGHİ	2019	YL	URBAN-REGIONAL PLANNING
39	Yönetmeliklerin Apartmanların Yapısal Değişimine Etkisi- Bağdat Caddesi ve Çevresi Örneği	GAMZE TOPÇU	2019	YL	ARCHITECTURE

40	Toplu konut cephelerindeki değişimin görsel etki açısından değerlendirilmesi	DOVLETMYRAT ANNAGELDIYEV	2019	YL	ARCHITECTURE
41	Parsel Ölçeğinde Kentsel Dönüşüm Projelerinde Proje Risklerinin Aktörler Üzerinden Değerlendirilmesi: Bağdat Caddesi Örneği	GÖKÇE HANOĞLU	2019	YL	ARCHITECTURE
42	İstanbul'daki Ana Alışveriş Caddelerinin Alışveriş Caddesi Yönetimi Bağlamında Değerlendirilmesi	GÖKÇE NUR TÜFEKÇİ	2019	YL	URBAN-REGIONAL PLANNING
43	İstanbul Anadolu Yakası Kadıköy-Bostancı Bölgesi'nde Gelişen 19. Yüzyıl Ahşap Konut Mimarisi	SİBEL SÜRMELİ	2019	YL	ARCHITECTURE
44	İstanbul Kenti Bazı Alışveriş Caddelerinin Peyzaj Tasarımı Açısından Değerlendirilmesi	PINAR ÖZKAN	2020	YL	LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE
45	Sınır Olarak Bina Dış Duvarının Kullanıcı ile İletişiminin Alan Çalışması Üzerinden Sorgulanması	BAŞAK GÜL DURMUŞ	2020	YL	ARCHITECTURE
46	Mütareke'den 1938'e Maltepe	ONUR ALTUNTAŞ	2020	YL	HISTORY
47	İstanbul'da 20. ve 21. Yüzyıllar Arasında Konut Alanlarının Mekansal Değişimin Analizi: Suadiye- Plaj Yolu Sokak Örneği	CEYLAN SÖZER	2021	YL	ARCHITECTURE
48	Apartman Tipi Konutlara İlişkin Mantıksal Bir Argumentasyon: 1950 – 2020 İstanbul Feneryolu Örneği	BÜŞRA MERİÇ	2021	YL	ARCHITECTURE
49	İstanbul Maltepe İlçesi'nde Yer Alan Konut Yapılarının Deprem Güvenliği Açısından İncelenmesi: Bağdat Caddesi Örneği	GÜLŞAH ÜNSALAR	2022	YL	ARCHITECTURE
50	Yüksek Yapıların Yakın Komşululuğunda Bulunan Konut Alanlarındaki Yaşam Kalitesine Etkilerinin Fiziksel Çevre Yönünden Belirlenmesi: Kadıköy –Four Winds Residence Örneği	AZİME CEREN ASAL	2022	YL	ARCHITECTURE
51	Konut yapılaşmasındaki dönüşüm süreçlerinin mahalle dokusu üzerinde incelenmesi: Bostancı mahallesi	NİYAZİ BURAK ÖZBİLGİÇ	2022	YL	ARCHITECTURE
52	Kentsel dönüşüm, yerinden edilme ve değişen hayatlar: İstanbul-Erenköy ve Fikirtepe karşılaştırması	İŞİL KUŞİN TARLABAŞI	2022	DOKTORA	SOCIOLOGY

Appendix -6: Republican Era Bağdat Avenue Chronology

1929 Electric trams started operating

23 March 1930 Kadıköy was separated from Üsküdar and became an independent district.

- 1930-35 Bağdat Avenue was asphalted from Bostancı direction to the Fenerbahçe road junction, from here onwards, the rest in Kadıköy-Üsküdar directions was left as paved.
- 29 Oct. 1934 Kadıköy-Moda, Kadıköy-Bostancı, Kadıköy-Fenerbahçe tram lines were opened
Tram lines were run on both sides of the avenue in the form of separate tracks with ballast inside.
- 1936-1951 Within the scope of the Istanbul Master Plan prepared by Henri Prost, a stadium was built around Kurbağalıdere and a marina on the Fenerbahçe Peninsula.
- 1937 Üsküdar-Kadıköy and its Surroundings Water Company was transferred to the Water Administration
A water tank was built in Kozyatağı
- 1938-1949 Within the scope of the third construction operations in Istanbul;
A bridge was built on the section of the Kadıköy-Üsküdar road that coincides with the railway in Haydarpaşa
Bağdat Avenue (Old Ankara Asphalt) was asphalted up to Kartal
Kadıköy Halk Evi (Community Center) was built
- 1940 The arrangement of the Fenerbahçe peninsula was made by Henri Prost
To widen Bağdat Avenue, the tramway rails were lowered to the level of the main avenue
Bağdat Avenue was expanded with a new 10-year development program announced in 1943-53
Along with all the beaches on the Anatolian coast and the islands, those in this area were also reorganized
Road connections of Istanbul's resort districts such as Kızıltoprak, Göztepe, Erenköy, Bostancı, Maltepe, Kartal, and Pendik, extending from Kadıköy to Pendik, have been improved
- 1945 The Gas Company, which also operates the Kadıköy Gas Works in Hasanpaşa, was incorporated into IETT.
- 1946 Üsküdar and Havalisi Public Tramways Company started bus operations and the first bus lines; It was organized as Kadıköy-Caddebostan, Kadıköy-Suadiye, Üsküdar Kısıklı.

In 1947	Bus operations started to support trams in public transportation
1950	Caddebostan Casino opened
1953	Haydarpaşa Port additional dock and warehouse construction started
1954	Üsküdar-Kadıköy and Havalisi Trams Company was liquidated and joined IETT.
1954-1958	Haydarpaşa-Pendik two-lane road (E-5 / D-100) was completed.
1955	The non-Muslim population began to leave the area. With the Istanbul Industrial Zones Plan, industrial activities intensified between Maltepe and Tuzla. Accordingly, population and housing demand began to increase.
1959.02.17	Sirkeci-Kadıköy car ferry line was put into service
1965	Condominium Law allowed the construction of multi-storey reinforced concrete buildings in Kadıköy
1966.05.09	The Sirkeci-Kadıköy car ferry line was removed, and the Sirkeci-Harem line was put into service
1966	Industrial Areas Plan, population and housing demand continued to increase due to the intensification of industrial activities between Maltepe and Tuzla
1966.11.14	Tram lines on the Anatolian side made their last trips
1967	Electric trams are taken out of circulation
1969.05.29	Electric trains started operating on the Haydarpaşa-Gebze suburban train line
1972	1/5000 scale Bostancı-Erenköy Zoning Plan, building density was increased between Kızıltoprak and Bostancı
1973	Bosphorus Bridge ring road was built, followed by Uzunçayır and Söğütlüçeşme connections
1973	Within the scope of the Istanbul Water Distribution System Project, drinking water infrastructure was transferred to maps for the first time. Istanbul was divided into service areas for the first time. Ortaköy-Bebek and Tarabya-Büyükdere steel pipelines were put into operation on the European Side, and Kozyatağı-Bağdat Caddesi and Kozyatağı-Altunizade transmission lines were put into operation on the Anatolian Side
In 1976	Fahrettin Aslan, known as the King of Casinos, opened Caddebostan Casino as Maksim Casino
1982.09.19	The renewed Fenerbahçe Stadium was put into service

- 1984-1987 Between Dalyan and Bostancı, the sea was filled the coastal landscaping was carried out and the coastal road was opened
Traffic started to flow one-way and the axis from Kadıköy to Maltepe was transferred to the coastal road
- April 20, 1984 Büyük Club moved from Beyoğlu to Çiftehavuzlar
No. 3194 of 1985, it became possible to build more than one building on a parcel. Accordingly, a craze for apartment building began, concentrated especially in the gardens of the many mansions that had survived until that day
Apartments with balconies on three sides are being replaced by apartments with smaller balconies
- 1985-1988 Marinas were built in Kalamış Bay and Fenerbahçe
- 1985-1986 Bağdat Avenue visual-aesthetic arrangement was made
Filling works for the coastal road extending towards Bostancı continued
Sea Bus Pier and Terminal Building applications were completed
Arrangements were made for recreational purposes
- Oct. 24, 1986 McDonald's opened its first branch in Turkey in Taksim, and in a short time the city's various locations, and it also opened the Bağdat Avenue/Şaşkınbakkal branch
- 1987.02.07 Şan Cinema (Egemen Bostancı Performance Center) burned down
- 1990s II. The Ring Road was completed and Kozyatağı connections were put into service. Accordingly, sub-centers of office use emerged in the Kozyatağı area and Söğütlüçeşme
- 1992 Kartal and Kadıköy sea bus piers were put into service
- In 1992 Fenerbahçe peninsula was organized and turned into a recreation area again
The coastal road filling continued beyond Bostancı
- 1996 Caddebostan Maksim Casino was closed. Migros was opened instead
- 1998 Master Development Plan, very tall buildings began to be built in high-density residential areas. The way was paved for the density of the Avenue and its surroundings to increase even more (as a precedent of 2.07), and the entire area became apartment buildings with intensive housing production based on the build-sell system
- 1999.08.17 Due to the Gölcük earthquake, thousands of buildings collapsed in Istanbul and

- 981 people died
- the earthquake forced the city to expand towards the north, closed residential areas increased around the FSM Bridge connection roads to the north of Bağdat Avenue.
- 2001 Building Inspection Law No. 4708 was prepared
- 2003 Starbucks opened its first branch in Turkey on Bağdat Avenue
- 2004 TOKİ was given broad powers to make zoning plans and put them into effect ex officio
- With the law no. 5273, the Land Office was abolished, and its powers and responsibilities were transferred to TOKİ
- 2005 The scope of the “Draft Urban Transformation and Development Law”, which was brought to the agenda in 2004, came into force on 16.05.2005 under the name of “Law on the Renewal, Preservation, and Use of Deteriorated Historical and Cultural Immovable Assets”, whose scope was greatly changed
- With the Municipalities Law No. 5393, municipalities were given the authority and responsibility to "implement urban transformation and development projects to protect the historical and cultural texture of the city or to take measures against earthquake risk" regarding urban transformation
- 2007 The “Draft Urban Transformation and Development Law”, which came to the agenda in 2004, became the “Regulation on Buildings to be Constructed in Earthquake Zones No. 26454”.
- 2008 26778 Building Inspection Implementation Regulation came into force and license authority was taken from municipalities and given to Building Inspection Offices
- 2009.03.03 Söğütlüçeşme-Zincirlikuyu metrobus line was put into operation
- 2009.05.20 Shakhtar with Werder Bremen the UEFA Cup final match between Donetsk was played at Şükrü Saraçoğlu Stadium
- 2010.09.22 Domestic transportation service by ferries was taken from İDO and given to Istanbul Şehir Hatları Tourism Industry and Trade Joint Stock Company, established within the Metropolitan Municipality
- 2012 With Law No. 6306 on the Transformation of Areas at Disaster Risk dated 16.05.2012, the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization was given broad powers regarding urban transformation

Speculation arose after a report suggested that 80% of Class C buildings had reached the end of their lifespan and were risky and that these buildings should be demolished and rebuilt

An intense urban transformation activity started on Bağdat Avenue
a French company, it was chosen as the 4th best shopping Avenue in the world, ahead of Paris's Champs-Élysées, Tokyo's Ginza, and New York's 5th Avenue

2012.08.17 Kadıköy-Kartal metro was opened

2013.10.29 Marmaray was put into service. 2014.07.25 High-Speed Train was put into service between Istanbul and Ankara

2016 With the council decision of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality dated February 12, 2016, a 15-storey limit was introduced in areas where height is allowed in the area

2017-2018 Some of the famous brands were affected by the economic crisis, ongoing construction traffic due to urban transformation, etc. It was withdrawn from the Avenue due to the recession for various reasons
10% of construction projects were left unfinished

2019 Bağdat Avenue Association was established

2020 Pandemic, stagnation increased on the Avenue after March 2020. However, when normalization started on June 1, the Avenue became a center of attraction again as people stayed away from closed areas