ANTINOMIES OF (RE) PRODUCTION OF PLACE ATTACHMENT IN A LARGE CITY: THE CASE OF BAHÇELIEVLER, ANKARA

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Submitted by **DENİZ DİRİER** in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of **Master of Arts in Urban Policy Planning and Local Governments, the Graduate School of Social Sciences of Middle East Technical University** by,

Prof. Dr. Sadettin KİRAZCI
Dean
Graduate School of Social Sciences _____

Assist. Prof. Dr. Ömür BİRLER
Head of Department
Department of Urban Policy Planning and Local Governments _____

Prof. Dr. Hüseyin Tarık ŞENGÜL
Supervisor
Department of Political Science and Public Administration _____

Examining Committee Members:

Prof. Dr. Mustafa Kemal BAYIRBAĞ (Head of the Examining Committee)
Middle East Technical University
Department of Political Science and Public Administration _____

Prof. Dr. Hüseyin Tarık ŞENGÜL (Supervisor)
Middle East Technical University
Department of Political Science and Public Administration _____

Prof. Dr. Ayşe Çolpan KAVUNCU YALDIZ
Yıldırım Beyazıt University
Department of Political Science and Public Administration _____

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Name, Last Name: Deniz DİRİER

Signature:

ABSTRACT

ANTINOMIES OF (RE) PRODUCTION OF PLACE ATTACHMENT IN A LARGE CITY: THE CASE OF BAHÇELIEVLER, ANKARA

DİRİER, Deniz

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This thesis investigates the concept of place attachment, focusing on its dynamic nature and its impact on personal and social identity. Place attachment, the sense of belonging to a specific place, is deeply rooted in individuals lives, shaping their lifestyles, political views, and ideals. However, it is not a static concept; it evolves with changing political, social, cultural, and economic conditions. This research aims to explore the formation, development, and transformation of place attachment, particularly when individuals cannot reproduce their identities due to these changing conditions. Utilizing Bourdieu's theories of field, tripartite capital, and habitus, alongside Savages concept of selective attachment, this study examines how people adapt to new environments and maintain their place attachment. Bourdieu's framework highlights the importance of accumulating economic, cultural, and social capital to gain prestige and respectability, which are essential for forming and sustaining place attachment. The process of moving to a new neighborhood, adapting to its unique rules, and integrating into its social fabric involves significant effort and changes in behavior, speech, social circles, and more. The study focuses on the Bahçelievler Neighborhood, a place caught between the past and present, unable to

reproduce its identity. Through in-depth interviews with 12 long-term residents over the age of 50, the research aims to capture the historical, urban, and sociological changes in the neighborhood and their impact on place attachment. The findings suggest that when place attachment cannot be reproduced, it transforms into a defense mechanism, helping individuals protect their identities amidst changing conditions. The main hypothesis is that place attachment, as an output of social identity construction, becomes a defense mechanism when it cannot be reproduced due to changing conditions.

Keywords: Place Attacment, Sense of Belonging, Ankara, Bahçelievler Neighborhood, place identity.

ÖZ

BÜYÜK BİR KENTTE YER(EL) AİDİYETİ YENİDEN ÜRETMENİN ÇATIŞKILARI: ANKARA BAHÇELİEVLER ÖRNEĞİ

DİRİER, Deniz
Yüksek Lisans, Kentsel Politika Planlaması ve Yerel Yönetimler Bölümü
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Bu tez, yer bağlılığı kavramını incelemekte ve bu kavramın dinamik doğası ile kişisel ve sosyal kimlik üzerindeki etkisini ele almaktadır. Belirli bir yere ait olma duygusu olarak tanımlanan yer bağlılığı, bireylerin yaşamlarına derinden kök salmış olup, yaşam tarzlarını, siyasi görüşlerini ve ideallerini şekillendirmektedir. Ancak, bu statik bir kavram değildir; değişen siyasi, sosyal, kültürel ve ekonomik koşullarla birlikte evrilmektedir. Bu araştırmanın amacı, yer bağlılığının oluşumu, gelişimi ve bireylerin bu değişen koşullar nedeniyle kimliklerini yeniden üretemedikleri durumlarda nasıl dönüştüğünü araştırmaktır. Bu çalışma, Bourdieu'nün alan, üçlü sermaye ve habitus teorileri ile Savage'ın seçici bağlılık kavramını kullanarak insanların yeni çevrelere nasıl uyum sağladıklarını ve yer bağlılıklarını nasıl koruduklarını incelemektedir. Bourdieu'nün çerçevesi, ekonomik, kültürel ve sosyal sermayenin biriktirilmesinin prestij ve saygınlık kazanmak için önemli olduğunu ve bunların yer bağlılığını oluşturma ve sürdürme açısından kritik olduğunu vurgulamaktadır. Yeni bir mahalleye taşınma, o mahallenin kendine özgü kurallarına uyum sağlama ve sosyal yapısına entegre olma süreci, önemli çabalar ve davranış, konuşma, sosyal çevreler gibi birçok alanda değişiklikler gerektirmektedir.

Araştırma, geçmiş ile günümüz arasında kalmış ve kimliğini yeniden üretememiş bir yer olan Bahçelievler Mahallesi'ne odaklanmaktadır. 50 yaş üstü ve 30 yıldan fazla süredir mahallede yaşayan 12 kişi ile yapılan derinlemesine görüşmeler aracılığıyla, mahallenin tarihsel, kentsel ve sosyolojik değişimlerini ve bunların yer bağlılığı üzerindeki etkilerini yakalamayı amaçlamaktadır. Bulgular, yer bağlılığının yeniden üretilemediği durumlarda, değişen koşullar arasında bireylerin kimliklerini korumalarına yardımcı olan bir savunma mekanizmasına dönüştüğünü göstermektedir. Ana hipotez, yer bağlılığının değişen koşullar nedeniyle yeniden üretilemediğinde, bir savunma mekanizmasına dönüştüğüdür.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Yer Bağlılığı, Aidiyet Duygusu, Ankara, Bahçelievler Mahallesi, yer kimliği.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In a world where spaces are changing rapidly, place attachment is a type of belonging that can be analyzed both personally and socially, which, although it is fixed in people's minds, is actually in purgatory due to its constant physical change. Belonging to a place, which is the most fundamental attachment after family ties, is a symbol that reminds us who we are with concrete elements. It provides individuals with a reliable ground on which to build their lifestyles, political views and ideals. The place where we live not only determines who we are, but also creates a habitus for us with its customs, habits and rules. The neighborhoods, cities and countries to which we feel connected go far beyond their physical boundaries and form a schema that determines the decisions and choices people make throughout their lives.

Although the concept of place attachment affects our identity and the decisions we make throughout our lives, this does not mean that we are working on a static concept. Place attachment is a dynamic concept. It changes with changing political, social, cultural and economic conditions. In our thesis, the formation and development of place belonging and how it changes if it cannot be reproduced will be investigated. During the literature review process, it has been observed that the place attachment of individuals to their neighborhoods is explained either entirely by social judgments or by personal preferences/ predispositions. What makes our research special is that it shows that belonging to a place is a dynamic process and that people who cannot reproduce their identities turn from social reasons to personal preferences in order to protect their identities.

In our thesis, the process of formation and change of place attachment will be explained through Bourdiue's theories of field, tripartite capital, and habitus and Savage's concept of selective attachment.

People may move from one neighborhood to another for various reasons. Nevertheless, most of them seek a better life. According to Bourdiue, the standards of a “better life” are determined by the prestige and respectability of individuals in society. The motivation of people who act with this motivation in choosing the neighborhood where they will live is to obtain features that they can build their identities on and that will distinguish them from others. While finding that “special place” is a relatively easy process, adapting to it requires a much more difficult learning curve. Each neighborhood represents a different field of play. This field has rules, players, punishments and codes of behavior. In order to maintain their place in this new space and to be a part of it, people have to rearrange their spending, clothing, speech, behavior, possessions, social circles and much more. Thus begins the accumulation of economic, cultural and social capital. The process of accumulation of these forms of capital seems quite challenging and artificial at first. Until the process of capital accumulation provides individuals with privileges not only within the neighborhood but also socially. Thus, the neighborhood, which was initially seen as a field of play, begins to be defined by a more inclusive concept: habitus. Individuals become the founders and protectors of this game they enter in order to achieve high social status. In other words, the neighborhood becomes their way of life, and this creates place attachment in the residents.

In a world where change is absolute, fields of play, rules, exchange values of forms of capital and lifestyles are also undergoing change. Thus, settlements, neighborhood residents and their place attachment need to be reproduced in order to maintain their belonging in a healthy way. If this is not done, the neighborhood is caught between the good days of the past and the realities of the future. In this situation, some residents are able to adapt to new conditions and re-value their playgrounds and forms of capital, while others are unable to do so. According to the researcher, Savage's concept of elective belonging describes the bond established by residents who have not reproduced their sense of place, but instead live in a small community where they are able to maintain the rules of the past and the exchange value of forms of capital.

In order to examine place belonging in detail, we will focus on the Bahçelievler Neighborhood, where changing historical, urban and sociological conditions can be

observed. The reason for this is that Bahçelievler Neighborhood is an in-between place between the past and the present and has not been able to reproduce its identity. In order to examine what place attachment once meant and what it has become, in-depth interviews will be conducted through open-ended questions with 12 people over the age of 50 who have lived in the neighborhood for more than 30 years and have witnessed its many phases.

As a result of the above explanations, the main hypothesis of our thesis is: When place attachment, which is an output of our social identity construction, cannot be reproduced as a result of changing social, cultural, political and economic conditions, it turns into a defense mechanism that people create to protect their identities. The subject of our thesis is those who produce place attachment through the identity of Bahçelili. For this reason, the formation of place attachment, its current state, its future and what we have left after the changes it has undergone have been analyzed through the subject mentioned throughout our research.

In order to prove our hypothesis, our research will include a literature review covering geographical, sociological, psychological, Marxist and our own theoretical views, a section explaining the limitations and methodology of the research, the official history of the Bahçelievler Neighborhood, an explanation of the data we collected, and finally an evaluation section combining the theoretical background and data.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Place attachment is a concept that can be explained in different fields. When we look at the literature, three main fields are interested in place attachment: 1) Geographical, 2) Sociological and 3) Psychological. However, all of them correlate with each other. There is no absolute domination of one aspect. Researchers which are analyzing place attachment usually come from sub-fields: Human Geography, Social Psychology, or Environmental Psychology. Therefore, identifying the concept is complex and easy at the same time. Firstly, it is tricky because it is not enough to know one discipline's terminology and point of view. The place can be identified with the community and called a shared experience. Besides, it can be defined in terms of individuality and personal experience. On the other hand, it can be seen as "passionately loving a certain landscape." Secondly, it is an easy process that does not force the researcher to be stuck in a single set of minds. Even though one discipline was chosen as a primary path, the direction would not stay the same because of unexpected impacts. In such circumstances, other fields could be considered escape roads.

2.1. Geography

At first glance, we see the concrete and precise meaning of the place. Such a view can direct us to examine "the place" geographically. According to National Geographic Online Resource Library (2022), a place can be defined as a specific location. On the other hand, when we down-scoop this broad term and search for the meaning of "place attachment," we come across community, memory, emotions, experiences, and habits. These categories may seem "out of context" in the conventional sense of geography. However, for geographers like Yuan (1974),

objects and emotions cannot be separated. The concept of place is far more profound than clear images. It automatically brings attachment to the knowledge of what belongs to us and what belongs to them. (Relph, 1976) These approaches introduce us to the field of Human Geography. Its main point is to concentrate on the dynamic relationship between spatial matters and people in terms of how they shape each other's lives and actions. (Castree, Kitchin & Rogers, 2013)

> Place is security; space is freedom: we are attached to the one and long for the other. (Tuan, 1977, p.3)

When we look at Tuan (1974) explained the place attachment with "topophilia." In a broad definition, it is referred to feeling an intense love for a specific environment. According to Tuan (1974), even though it is not one of the main sentiments for people, it brings together all significant events, changes, or emotions under the same roof. However, this roof is not always a keeper of memories. Topophilia is like struck that comes suddenly without context. A landscape, a sunrise, a hill, or a street can be the definition of beauty for a moment, and a person can create a bond with it. On the other hand, the bond can be stronger with personal experiences. An individual's definition, feelings, and images of a place can usually be irrelevant to reality. Tuan also mentioned that people of the modern age have disconnected and abusive relationships with their physical world. From this point of view, he praises a child-like memory of the places. Children usually remember the moods of the places, not the same objects. (Relph,1975) A house can be defined as two bedrooms and one bathroom in catalogs. On the other hand, this house is full of meanings added by humans. Tuan gave a class perspective on emotions that we feel for places. (Tuan, 1974) It depends on what you do for a living. A flat is not significant from other houses that carry sale value for a real estate agent. The apartment is just a meta in their life since it is meaningless. On the other hand, when a family, a couple, or an individual starts to live in this flat, the place will gain meaning. Even a small territory that we can call mine creates attachment. Besides, the past can bring deeper attachment. Places can become sacred with memories or ancestral links. The same flat can be bought just because it is close to the old neighborhood of one of the family members. The past can be a tool for place attachment. Just like familiarity,

place attachment can remind patriotism. A place can be a neighborhood or country. The scale of the land divides the definition of attachment into local and imperial. (Tuan, 1974) While the source of the attachment in the local sense is personal, in the imperial sense belonging comes from pride.

Personal emotions and dichotomies nurture Tuan's poetic view of place attachment. On the one hand, there are the official owners of the land who are inspired by egoistic, patriotic, and materialistic thoughts toward a place. On the other hand, actual landowners had personal and creative relationships with the place. Tuan praises the latter and romanticizes them with topophilia.

In Relph's Place and Placelessness (1976), we see a bunch of definitions in-between place and geographical terms. Firstly, location is an essential concept that we have to understand. A place cannot be experienced as a precise location independent of other concepts. It is an overlapping concept that includes both internal and external effects humans give. (Relph, 1976) One of the main concepts geographers look for is where the place is located. It looks like concrete ground to examine. However, it does not have to be a fixed concept in various cases. For example, some neighborhoods define themselves with their hometown. In Turkey, since there were many migrations from other cities to İstanbul, a community can be seen who represents themselves, for example, "Little Sivas," and live in the environment of "fellow townsmen" in the middle of a metropolitan city. In this case, the location became an abstract form that can be easily changed. Therefore, attachment to a new place can be so quick if people continue to live as they used to in the past. (Relph, 1976)

Secondly, places are described mainly by their landscapes which means everything surrounding them. External natural shapes like rivers, trees, a sunset, or a rock set can make a place unforgettable. A home is not only about its furniture, members, or rooms. Appearance can be an essential part of the place attachment experience. Nevertheless, as long as the subject is human, bound changes can occur even though nothing changes. (Relph, 1976)

Thirdly, the eternal arbiter of science and everyday life affects place- time. People usually mention their residence time to state how well they know a place. To know

and to be known in an area creates place attachment. The reason behind its acts and behaviors became rituals and habits after a while. A relationship that builds upon practices and traditions can create a strong attachment. To live in the same place for years makes a whole with past, present, and future. Against everything that changes in the outside world, people can be secure in their same old neighborhood with a unique sense of time. (Relph, 1976)

Fourthly, the concept of community is also a fact that determines attachment and other concepts in relationship with the attachment. The feeling of becoming "us" is established in a particular place that unifies people. (Minar and Greer, 1969) A common experience that occurs in a shared place creates attachment. Furthermore, identities are mainly shaped in this process. Being from Ayrancı Neighborhood means not only people's official address but also a specific identity, political view, livelihood, and lifestyle. It is different from being from Dikmen. The dichotomy of them and us strengthen the idea of bounding. "People are their place, and a place is its people, and however readily these may be separated in conceptual terms, in experience, they are not easily differentiated." (Relph, 1976)

Fifth, places can be sensed in a personal sense. An area can be defined as a person. For example, a house can be an individual's identity and means nothing to others. Protecting the home from burglars means protecting furniture and preventing interference with others to the privacy. The security of one's place creates boundaries that bring attachment.

Sixth, more than being familiar, being known in a place help us to be rooted in one place. Just like trees, our roots are a basic need for human beings. (Relph, 1976) The seventh one is connected with the idea of the root, which is home. As humans, we develop attachments to our roots in the place we call home. The home creates our identity on both individual and community levels. "Home is not just the house you happen to live in; it is not something that can be anywhere, that can be exchanged, but an irreplaceable center of significance.

Place attachment is not always what we romanticize. A place sometimes comes with drudgeries. The feeling of attachment may prison people into nostalgia. A street or a

house that reminds us of our bad memories can trigger our traumas. Attachment can turn into an obsession. “Our experience of place, and especially of home, is a dialectical one – balancing a need to stay with a desire to escape.” (Relph, 1976, p. 42)

For Relph, even though he makes the connection between vital concepts and place, place is both something we can define with other things and something we can define alone. Place and the attachment we feel can be explained by its location, familiarity, or just the existence of it.

2.2. Sociology

After the geographical form of the place, we define places with people. People make places and invest effort and meaning to create cities or buildings. (Gieryn, 2000) It is a clear indicator that social processes occur with the material things we design, build, use, desire and protest. (Habraken, 1998) According to Low and Altman (1992), the early attempts to understand place attachment were dominated by geographers and psychologists. However, sociologists have been drawn to the topic after realizing the effects of place attachment on the concepts of homelessness, relocation, mobility, changing family structures, crime, and community development. When people shape their lives and environment, they shape them, either. Daily routines, differences, power relationships, and collective action creates a bond between place and people. According to sociological research, meanings given are publicly shared with cultural aspects. Therefore, when people provide culturally shared emotion to particular land, a symbolic relationship is called place attachment. (Low,1992) In this light, place attachment is not a concept we can determine only by memories or a sudden aesthetic struck. It is a common experience with community living and daily life routines. On the other hand, sociological thinking does not presume a consensus on place attachment. It does not marginalize personal preferences, but it tries to examine the complexity of the whole and its bonding to the place.

For Low (1992), there are six aspects for explaining the power of attachment to places. These are genealogy, loss or destruction, economics, cosmology, pilgrimage,

and narrative. However, as Relph (1975) mentioned before all categories that we choose to describe the bonds between people and place overlap. Therefore, attachment cannot be explained with a particular concept.

Firstly, place attachment may originate from a genealogical bond with history or family links. One can be born and spend a crucial period in a place. In this case, the experience becomes an attachment. However, this is not a fact for every community. According to Low (1992), this kind of relationship belongs to traditional communities where you do not have many options but home. As Durkheim mentioned in his dichotomy of traditional and modern society, solidarity takes a different form in modern society. Houses, relationships, and neighborhood preferences depend not on bonds but cost-effective reasons. Neighborhoods or homes rapidly change in urban life. Furthermore, family bonds can not hold people to a specific place.

Secondly, the loss or destruction of one's community can retrospectively create a bond for a place. Especially now a place and known in a place establish strong emotions. A change through an unexpected event may cause place attachment. People return in time and try to keep their memories fresh to recreate that particular place. Losing a home can be the result of lots of events. Obligations like natural disasters or war can cause it. On the other hand, it can be the cause of seeking better living conditions. Therefore, labor migration or brain drain can be considered a voluntary loss. When we watch any interviews on media, people who live abroad usually have a well to return to their "homeland." Even though changes occurred in several social aspects, the feeling of loss glamorizes the past. Place attachment became a solace for people.

Thirdly, the economic linkage that comes with ownership may bring place attachment. In this sense, ownership is a broad term. It includes those who are in power and those who are not. For example, a landowner that buys a piece of agricultural land can create a bond with the place. Even though they will not work in this area, it reveals a need for protection. To protect their livelihood, people would develop attachments. Besides, as Tuan (1974) mentioned, a worker has love and hate

bound with the land they do not own. The one's labor and witnessing to the adversities and miracles of the soil would also create an attachment to the place.

Fourth, religious or spiritual motivations trigger cosmological attachment to the place. It means believing in a place. (Low,1992) For Muslims, it can be Mecca or Hira Cave, which symbolizes the house of Allah or the beginning of cultural or religious systems for believers.

Like this attachment, we can examine the fifth factor, named pilgrimage. The need to visit a sacred place for religious reasons is also an indicator of the place's attachment. Fantasizing and accomplishing a spiritual task which means seeing a holy place, gives people a unique title that honors their journey. Afterward, these pilgrims' positions in social relations and daily life will change. Therefore, the place attachment will not only be an individual accomplishment that provides relief because of fulfilling the responsibilities for the afterlife, but it also means gaining the respect of others. This experience also creates a massive market for countries that have sacred places. It is religious tourism. Items that symbolize buildings, walls, or land and hotels for visitors will be opportunities for the local people. Furthermore, place attachment becomes a socioeconomic factor affecting several sectors and lives.

The last factor is narrative, which means creating an attachment to the place through storytelling or naming. Through narrative, origin or family histories create a cultural attachment to a specific location. However, these are only stories that have minimum effect on people. In addition, place names became a vehicle to reach deep-rooted history. (Low,1992) Names give a solid ground for a group, nation, or belief. It also means ownership of the place. To know names means not only familiarity but also can provide a cultural insideness that creates place attachment. (Cross, 2015) Naming and storytelling of a place can serve on different scales.

On the one hand, it can be a conscious project for creating cultural value. For example, declaring Ankara as the capital city of the Turkish Republic, which was safer than the western front, can be considered a military strategy for wartime. It was also a political move to show the dependence of the new state on the Ottoman

Empire. Above all, it was an incident that claimed the new nation-state. Become the "mainland" and was named as it generated a story of the Turkish Republic and its first characteristic that differed from the former government. The nations that lived in Anatolia were tired of years of war, migration, and poverty of the Ottoman Empire. People were unmotivated and indecisive to call this piece of land a homeland. Suffering was matching with the Empire and İstanbul. Within this insecurity, the decision of the founder cadre of the Turkish Republic developed a move to motivate people indirectly. Ankara served as the new hope of the nations. More precisely, it was a cultural strategy to recreate the homeland. Furthermore, attachment to the place can be considered a political symbol for a new idea.

On the other hand, attachment to a place can be seen locally through indirect naming. According to the research of Taylor, Gottfredson, and Brower (1984), the groups that shared local ties between each other and the place are more able to supply a neighborhood name. This means that the names establish stronger bounds to call a place "ours" rather than numbers. Neighborhood and street names label places and people that lives there. It creates a distinction from others. When we meet someone new, we learn their name to recognize them later. Like this example, many neighborhood and street names help us know more about the people living there. (Taylor, Gottfredson, and Brower, 1984) To know where you are meant to know who you are. This is how an inevitable bond is created between people and places. Even though being a local from a place does not define an entire personality, political view, or lifestyle in modern society, it is still relevant in many communities. For example, many presume about the neighborhoods of Keçiören and Ayrancı. These forecasts can be on social relations, culture, lifestyle, livelihood, political views, and beliefs. Names symbolize the history of people. It is almost impossible to understand how people see it and how the local people define themselves without knowing them. For a foreigner, the absence of place names may harden the attachment to a place.

It can be said that from a sociological view, it is hard to define place attachment in a particular aspect. People's preferences and individual choices mostly come from the traditions and values of the society in which they live. Even with factors considered "personal," Low tries to reach the broader picture with a socio-economic review.

2.3. Psychology

Even though it is hard to separate disciplines in terms of place attachment, there are some central cores of fields. There are many schools of thought in terms of attachment. One is environmental psychology which we can adopt to explain bonding a place. According to Gifford (2011), environmental psychology studies relationships between individuals and their environmental surroundings. For environmental psychologists, place attachment is not a bond that is suddenly created. Individuals must spend time in a specific place and be part of the area's story. (Hay, 1998) This type of attachment cannot be analyzed only with the qualities of the place. An individual's characteristics, memories, social relations, and values create a particular place. Therefore, an unexpected loss or incident may cause the meaning loss of a place. To understand place attachment, there will be two theories we will cover: The attachment theory and the self-theory.

When we look at the first school, attachment became an important issue that needed to be explained from childhood. In Scannell and Gifford's (2017) article, attachment is divided into four phases of attachment theory. According to Bowlby (1982), proximity, safe haven, secure base, and separation distress are concepts that affect an infant's life and will show their result through all relationships that require attachment. Firstly, proximity has to be fixed, which means infants should be close to their caregivers for the need for protection. There we achieve the second phase since the sense of security is accomplished by providing a safe haven for infants; in case of a continuous safe haven, infants steps into the third stage, which means a secure base. At this stage, infants begin to explore the environment and affiliate with others comfortably with the fulfillment of security. Any prolonged periods of separation from caregivers may cause trouble with the attachment relationships of infants. Therefore, it may cause permanent resistance to forming bonds with other people.

According to Scannell and Gifford (2017), attachment theory for child development is similar to place attachment. People need to be close to a specific place, physical or mental, to feel a bond. For instance, a person who never lives Çiğdem Neighborhood may feel like they have attained everything they need. The best shop, park, store,

barber, and tailor are the closest for some. Besides, it can be assumed that people who establish associations like "Ankara Malatyalılar Derneği" like to be in a place that fabricates a closeness to their hometown. People attach to a place in the next stage since they can feel safe there. It is a two wayed system, people feel comfortable in their places, and these places are comfortable because of people's sense of ownership. Especially for people that can be considered excluded may feel an attachment to a specific place because of obligations. After the fulfillment of continuous attachment to a place, a secure base may occur. With the knowledge of returning home, people can go beyond the borders of their houses. Being away may strengthen the bonds between places and people. As mentioned in the sociological reasons behind the place attachment, people sometimes glamorize the places they left behind even though they choose to leave. However, not every house symbolizes peace and continuous safety. At this point, another place can be adopted as a home. After all, the stress of possible separation distress from a place may be disturbed the feeling of attachment. To leave a place full of memories and social relations may felt one like being "left behind." Especially during involuntary separations, which may include forced migration or disasters that cause mobility, people faced with permanent depression, anxiety, or traumas. (Abramson, Stehling-Ariza, Garfield & Redlener, 2008) People who live traumatic separations or unwilling mobility may never feel at home.

In addition, for some psychology researchers, place attachment can also be examined with the concept of place identity. According to Proshansky, Fabian, and Kaminoff (1983), the sense of self is one of the first learning of an individual. The distinctions between us and others develop our self-perception. "The statement, 'That is a mommy,' distinguishes the child from 'a mommy.'" (Proshansky, Fabian, and Kaminoff, 1983, p.57) Besides, knowing ourselves is also possible with objects. The things we recognize but do not consider "self-property" define what is ours. For instance, to determine the neighborhood in that one life, one must remember the other. The adoption of the place attachment is established with opposition. From this point, place identity is part of the self-identity, which means developing a cognitional sense of the environment in the individual's life. Memories, feelings, values, attitudes, and meanings that people establish are the cognitional processes that shape

their lives. With these concepts, we record the physical environment. (Proshansky, Fabian, and Kaminoff,1983) Therefore, we define what is a good place or not. Because of that, the place identity modifies itself through periods of human life. For example, it can be imagined that a family who has lived in the Kolej neighborhood for a long time has a strong attachment to this place. However, the unexpected death of a family member or a disaster may change this relationship. The identity of being from Kolej can be abandoned. This place's identity can cause distress and grief. Therefore, we can think about what the Kolej neighborhood means not in general but in human cognition. Even though there are shared meanings of places, an individual has the experience that defines the place in their way. People's experiences can shape their sense of place identity from birth until death. Furthermore, it can be assumed that everybody has their own private Kolej according to their minds' conscious or unconscious cognition.

Since the topic of attachment has been dominated by the field of psychology for years, it is hard to narrow the topic. Besides, environmental psychology is a flexible area where we can find clues from child development to the geographical sense of the place.

It can be assumed that the explanations of the meaning of place and attachment are complicated. They are like two solar systems that have their plan and dynamics. The topic becomes political when one starts to think about systems and dynamics. This is the unifying factor of these two concepts. They are both socially constructed.

2.4. Marxist Approach

It can be assumed that the explanations of the meaning of place and attachment are complicated. They are like two solar systems that have their design and dynamics. The topic becomes political when one starts to think about systems and dynamics. This is the unifying factor of these two concepts. They are both socially constructed. Besides, their meanings change through the history of production.

In Marxist literature, there are two opinions about place attachment. On the one hand, being interested in place symbolizes the persistence of relationships, objects,

and events. The attachment of it can also bring back localism which can be an obstacle to internationalistic ideas. Therefore, being belonged to one place may get ahead of being belonged to the class that you part of. It can confuse the masses and damage the sense of class struggle.

In times of capitalism, constantly growing and crises go parallel. According to Harvey (1993), capital accumulation locates in one place and drains all the resources. At one point, overaccumulation causes a problem. There are two temporal solutions for this crisis. A geographical expansion means creating a new place to reproduce the capital. The other is to destroy space with the change of the sense of time through technological developments (Trains, canals, automobiles, telecommunications, etc.). In two scenarios, a place that carries bonds, stories, and memories becomes an aging object that can turn into a memento. Searching for a new home to over-accumulate capital affects the sociocultural construction of people. Place attachment became a useless thing and a burden for "improvement."

On the other hand, analyzing place attachment in terms of socio-spatial relationships can help create a progressive approach to understanding society and its bonds with the environment.

According to Massey (1994), capitalism determines people's sense of place. Concepts like security and dangerousness or livability and unlivablity, which provides attachment or estrangement to the place, are given by the standards of the fabricated sense of the lifestyle of capitalism. Besides, measures are not equal for everybody. The term time-space compression is one of the examples of how we can relatively sense the place. As Warf (2008) explained, the distance between places is getting closer since technological developments offer advanced transportation and communication types. Massey (1994) added the power geometry concept to understand the inequality of opportunities in terms of place. For her, mobility from one place to the other is determined by who is in power. Therefore, the antagonism started with the controllers of the flow and those who drifted. This argument can be applied to the sense of place too. "To form a progressive understanding of place, social scientists must work with global-local times and relations between places and

people to contribute to the political struggle (Massey, 1994, p5).” When the place attachment is analyzed, the same logic can be implemented. Some reference points had to be followed to avoid falling into the pit of generalization and essentialism. Firstly, Massey (1994) stated that a place could not have a single identity since it includes various kinds of socio-economical status. Therefore, at the next level, we can also not predict one place’s identity to the community. There are several communities in one place, and experiences can be diverse. In this sense, on the third level, a place cannot be analyzed with geographical boundaries since it has a dynamic construct of relationships. Finally, exploring the local cannot be understood as limited or marginalized. It is because local is both the beginning of the global and the small scale of capitalistic relations. Furthermore, it can be helpful to examine local communities and their attachment to the place if we want to reach a sensible grand theory. For Massey (1994), the uniqueness of a place does not mean the refusal of universal and historical conditions.

For these reasons, in a geographical sense, places and social relations are changing at both individual and community levels. This is because all concepts of place are both part of and the result of a process. One of Massey’s contributions was to argue the criticism of fixity towards the place.

2.5. An Alternative Approach: Bourdieu's Triadic Methodology

When we examine place attachment in different school of thoughts, it can be observed that they are highly dichotomic. On one hand, there were post-modernist and existentialist opinions on place attachment. As we have seen above, some geographers and most psychologists define place attachment based on the subjective and unique experiences of individuals. On the other hand, structuralist geographers and sociologists were focus on a society that established and live by strict rules. According to this group, place attachment develops independently of people's own choices and is part of an identity construction that people develop according to the expectations of others. Leaving aside this dichotomy that dominates our entire literature review, a more holistic view is obtained when we look at place belonging from Bourdiue's unifying perspective and concepts.

For him, this dichotomy between schools can be described as “absurd opposition between individual and society” (Bourdieu, 1990, p.31). We expect that Bourdieu, like all thinkers, would ask himself the same question when it comes to belonging to a place: What glues society together? To answer this question, for him, personal experiences and society rules have to work together. Therefore, the concept of habitus helps us to understand the relationship between two sides.

The habitus explains how our likelihood to act, think, live in a certain way. How the social world becomes objectified into a range of probabilities and expectations that makes us more likely to choose certain actions rather than others. Bourdieu thinks that social inequality is caused by people's conscious or unconscious choices. Habitus is our living space consisting of our social practices that determine our social class. Each habitus has its own social practices. Not only the characteristics of a habitus but also the predispositions within it are important. According to Bourdiue (2005), habitus can be described as a system of disposition. For this reason, habitus cannot be directly examined and analyzed like a concrete object.

> The habitus of a determinate person – or of a group of persons occupying a similar or neighbouring position in social space – is in a sense very systematic: all the elements of his or her behaviour have something in common, a kind of affinity of style, like the works of the same painter… (Bourdiue, 2005, p.4).

We can only understand habitus by examining all the visible and invisible practices that make it up. Habitus is all the actions we think we do automatically in everyday life. The habits, the way we think, our identity, our identity, our political views and our way of life, which we have acquired because of the culture we grew up in and the class we belong to, cause us to automatically develop a set of responses and actions to things that happen in everyday life. All of the above-mentioned characteristics constitute our performance in daily life. This performance is not natural and is shaped by environmental factors. Habitus can be seen as a product of history at this point. For this reason, it undergoes a change, albeit difficult, over time with social experiences and education. Therefore, even though we live our lives with certain tendencies and automatic responses that develop throughout our lives, this does not mean that the habitus is unchanging.

So how can we establish a link between Bourdiue's concept of habitus and place attachment?

> Bourdieu and Wacquant argue that we feel ‘at home’ in the fields where our habitus has developed (1992:128 in Friedman, 2002:300). Similarly, we feel at home in the places where our habitus has developed. (Easthope, 2010, p.133-134).

Even though Bourdiue does not use “place” and “attachment” spesifically in his theories, it is everywhere present in his discussion of habitus. For Casey (2001), it is a middle-term between self and place. Habitus connects the world and local, common and personal. It explains how we shaped by the environment that we live in.

A house, street, neighborhood or city can mean very special things to people. A place is shaped by the meaning we give it. According to Bourdiue, there is no need for a concrete relationship with a place for the formation of our habitus. However, Habitus can be seen in everything about human beings. Like hot water, while it takes the shape of the glass it is poured into, it also warms the surface of that glass. In other words, just like a human being, it both takes shape according to its environment and shapes it. A person's memories of the place where they live, the people who live there, the story of the place and the connotations of that place construct their identity. The place gives the person a root. From this root, the characteristics we define as habitus emerge, and thus the concepts of us and others emerge. This process of construction can sometimes proceed positively and sometimes negatively. For example, we represent our neighborhood or we think that the neighborhood represents us. In contrast, sometimes we try to get rid of the neighborhood we were born in as soon as possible. The emotional relationship with the place can be a bond of belonging that one does not want to sever from one's identity, it can be an experience that one remains neutral to, or it can be defined as an unpleasant coincidence in one's life. All the positive or negative meanings given to the Place by the individual are related to how well the habitus of the same person is adapted to the conditions of the day. The adaptability of people's habitus to the conditions of the day is related to the extent to which their habitus is or is not included in the capital cycle.

There is always a space in the background of our habitual experiences. If we think of the world as a theater stage, we can see ourselves as actors with specific roles. The meaning of all our performances depends on the space in which we perform them. For example, a behavior that may be considered a crime in the eyes of society may be considered an honorable behavior in order to protect neighborhood solidarity. Thus, we can understand that our perception of space is also related to our habitus and is also something that shapes it.

> "Because the actions that we make on the basis of our habitus are consciously experienced, we are able to think about our experiences within a given place, and because habitus is not only habitual, but also "improvisational and open to innovation"(Casey, 2001:409), we are able to make choices about, and innovations regarding, our interrelations with that place within the constraints imposed upon us by our habitus." (Easthope, 2010, p.133).

But are all habitus equally valuable? More precisely, how can we know what our habitus represents that distinguishes us from others in society? As mentioned above, some lifestyles are defined as desirable, while others are labeled as undesirable. At this point, we can make an in-depth analysis of how our habitus is formed in society with Bourdiue's theory of capital forms.

When we think of capital, the first thing that comes to mind is often its economic equivalent. When we talk about accumulation, we think of money and things that can be bought with money. However, we cannot understand the structure and functioning of the social world by thinking only about the economic dimension of capital. We also have to define our cultural and class position, which influences all our actions, with certain symbols that money cannot buy. These symbols determine who we are born as and who we die as, and are constantly accumulated.

> If economics deals only with practices that have narrowly economic interest as their principle and only with goods that are directly and immediately convertible into money (which makes them quantifiable),then the universe of bourgeois production and exchange becomes an exception and can see itself and present itself as a realm of disinterestedness. (Bourdieu, 1986,p.16).

If it were not for the different types of capital that come from different sources, we would not be able to talk about the lifestyles idealized by many people today. For

example, when we see a celebrity or a wealthy person, it is not only their money that we compare them to ourselves. It can also be the events he or she attends, his or her family, the education he or she receives, the person he or she is married to and the people he or she meets. In short, there are many reasons why that person shines among ordinary people like us.

Based on this, Bourdieu defined three types of capital that can be transformed into each other. Economic capital, which can be directly monetized and institutionalized in the form of property rights; cultural capital, which can be institutionalized through education; and social capital, which can be institutionalized in the form of the title of nobility that sustains itself through social connections.

2.5.1. Cultural Capital

This concept actually reveals another form of competition between people from different social classes that is not as visible as economic capital. There are a number of indicators that show why some people are more successful than others and how they are able to build a better future. These are intangibles such as taste and education, which people often acquire through the environment into which they are born. In some cases, these intangible concepts are transformed into economic capital. We can understand how cultural capital is formed and how it functions by examining its types.

Cultural capital can exist in three forms:

i) Embodied form: Persistent tendencies of mind and body
ii) In objectified form: the transformation of our way of life or identity into cultural goods (paintings, books, cars, collections, jewelry, machinery, etc.)
iii) In institutionalized form: educational qualifications such as diplomas or licenses that guarantee our cultural capital

Embodied cultural capital is basically what we can carry with us through our bodies and behavior. In 1986, Bourdiue gave the example of having a muscular physique,

tanned skin and a smooth accent as examples of this particular form of cultural capital. He stated that such physical features cannot be imitated and that people attain these features through their upbringing and lifestyle. As a matter of fact, today, such features are acquired through plastic surgeries and personal trainers. Although acquiring embodied cultural capital has accelerated with various interventions from past to present, it still requires a certain effort. However, embodied capital cannot be transferred to another person through bequest, purchase or exchange like property. We may learn from our family and environment that white teeth and bronze skin are signs of prestige, but these external attributes are things that we add to our habitus through our own efforts. A person whose sole goal is survival and who works at menial jobs is not interested in whether his accent sounds sophisticated or not. This is because he has no time to devote to such indicators. Indeed, the importance of such features, which are considered prestige indicators, is related to the free time we have.

Objectified cultural capital can be defined as objects (inscriptions, paintings, busts, instruments and objects of collectible value) that express belonging to a certain class and a way of life. These objects can be bought with enough money or exchanged for other objects of similar value. It is not enough for a person who wants to establish himself/herself in the ruling class to have only economic capital. One has to pass various tests in order to be accepted into a privileged class. The intellectual and material value of the objects we own determines our role in the ruling class. An armchair in our living room or a record collection we own can define us as respectable or upstart. So even if we have economic capital, where we spend it leaves our past, present and future open to evaluation by others.

Institutionalized capital is cultural capital embodied in academic qualifications. Compared to other types of cultural capital, we can observe that institutionalized capital offers a guarantee of one's cultural competence. Thanks to a university degree, we have raised both our economic conditions and the social class we are in to a certain level. This facilitates access to other forms of capital. The fact that our cultural capital is recognized by an institution will not be affected by fashion like other forms of capital. A license that certifies the adequacy of our cultural capital will be more resistant to ever-changing conditions.

2.5.2. Social Capital

Social capital starts with having a network of mutual acquaintance and recognition. By becoming a member of a group, family or community, we first acquire an identity, and then, as one of the common users of a collective capital, we can acquire cultural and economic capital through this identity in various fields.

A person is subjected to a series of actions through groups such as the skills, hobbies, professions or classes or families of which he or she is a member. The person fulfills his/her duties within the group by taking part in various meetings, special invitations and convention events. Such activities reinforce the person's belonging to the group and help him/her to be embraced by others. In addition, through dues paid to clubs or various privileges granted to other club members, the individual increases the credit of his/her social capital. Thus, one day, in times of need, with our accumulated credit, we gain access to things that we cannot buy with our economic or cultural capital. Especially in countries like Turkey, where state and private institutions are not institutionalized enough, your social capital can open many doors for you. For example, people who wait for hours in long queues at government offices to get something done can get to the head of the line through an acquaintance. It is also known that there are "bespoke positions" in various universities where many details have been added specifically for a single person to get in. The power we wield through our social capital is determined by the economic and cultural capital of both ourselves and the people we are connected to. There are people who are born lucky and have an innate social capital, which is easier to strengthen because they already come from a "well-known" family. Nevertheless, in order to maintain this form of capital, our collective and individual investments need to constantly reproduce. Only in this way can we acquire lasting relationships of gratitude, friendship, respect and rights. In addition, if a person has grown up in an average or below average environment and is rebuilding their social capital from scratch, the work of overcoming prejudice will be added to the conditions mentioned above.

Social capital, which we constantly invest in maintaining at a certain level, can also be easily threatened. Members within a party, class or club have to protect

themselves and the group's habitus from new members. This is because with each new member, there is a possibility that the group's habitus may be damaged by incompatibilities. The momentum of a social group established with certain principles or common characteristics can be disrupted by a member's disrespect in the outside world. Social capital is often acquired with great difficulty at the end of a laborious and time-consuming process. After this process, social capital is expected to gain value in order to be transformed into economic or cultural capital. All these processes turn individuals into soldiers of the group where social capital is created. Like most hard-earned things, social capital has a sensitive and vulnerable structure.

2.5.3. Economic Capital

According to Bourdiue, although economic capital underlies all forms of capital, it is present in goods and services that are difficult to buy with money. More precisely, there are things whose cost is much higher and whose value decreases when purchased with money. For example, a wealthy family can increase the cultural capital of their child by sending them to a private university under Turkish conditions. Nevertheless, throughout their lives they will be the subject of ridicule from their competitors who have received scholarships or who entered a state university with a degree. As a matter of fact, paying for a job will also damage their social capital in the eyes of the society and will be enough to characterize them as uncouth.

To give another example, let us consider a watch collection that is bought in bulk in two or three days with money. It is highly doubtful that this person will gain respect in any watch collectors' club. As in the previous example, the achievement will be seen as worthless because a collection made without spending the basic elements of labor and time will be perceived as a mere exchange. Examples such as these give rise to the concepts of the "new rich" and the "old rich". Those who think that they can be counted among the prestigious people only by using their economic power, i.e. those who do not foresee the power of cultural and social capital, can lose all the prestige they have with a bankruptcy. On the other hand, even if the old rich run out of money, they are able to hold on for a while and show the will to recover through

their connections. This is not only the case for the upper classes. Our habitus is constantly reproduced by the energy provided by our economic, cultural and social capitals. Without a careful assessment of this triad, we fall into economism.

There is another concept that is seen as the home of the theories of habitus and capital that Bourdiue developed to understand people and their lives: the field. According to him, one should not only focus on human, but should approach social phenomena with a metadology that we construct with the interdependent and co-constructed concepts of field, capital and habitus. Bourdiue's frequent use of the football field analogy is a good example to understand the concept of field.

A football field is defined as the area where a game is played. The inside and outside of the field are separated by lines drawn. Each of the players on this field has a specific position and role in the game. Regardless of their position on the field, there are rules that the players must follow. Independent of everything else, factors such as the weather and the ground characteristics of the pitch influence how the game is played. The sole objective is to beat the opposing team.

According to Bourdieu, people's social life is also like a game. People have to act in various spaces (home, office, school, university, street, dining hall, assembly, demonstration, etc.) according to the rules of that space and according to their own positions. Therefore, people's habitus and actions are restricted. In addition, the social field is competitive and social actors within it have to constantly develop a strategy to gain better positions in the game. The first priority of the social field is capital accumulation. This is a dual process; capitals are both a process within a field and a product of a field. However, there is no level playing field in the social sphere as there is on a soccer field. Some social actors are born with a certain amount of capital and start the game ahead of others. Players within the field have different statuses due to their backgrounds and the hierarchical structure within the field. In this sense, according to Thomson (2008), each field is like a universe in itself and differs from other fields in many ways. In other words, a strategy that brings us success in one field may result in failure in another. Each field has a belief system that rationalizes the rules of behavior within it, so that it becomes natural for social

actors to behave and think in a certain way. Despite all these rules, the social field, like all fields, is dynamic. Both the rules and the players of the game can change due to historical circumstances.

Bourdieu's tripartite methodology mentioned above is not only a comprehensive method for understanding the world, but is also quite suitable for illuminating the issue of place attachment. These three concepts will free us from the static notion of nostalgia in the literature on place attachment.

2.6. Our Perspective

Although the concept of place attachment has been evaluated from different perspectives in disciplines in the literature, there are commonalities. Place attachment is generally associated with feelings of nostalgia and personal experiences. In addition, place attachment has been seen as a static concept and has not been evaluated in a process. In fact, it has been suggested that once a person develops attachment to a place, this situation lasts forever and continues with the same intensity. Through the feeling of nostalgia, people are expected to feel absolute loyalty to the place where they live. On the contrary, it has been suggested that people who cannot establish a sufficient connection with the same place cannot develop place belonging for various reasons. Determining the concept of belonging in terms of presence and absence has overshadowed the fact that the concept is a dynamic process.

In psychology and geography, the process of place attachment refers to an internal journey. In sociology, environmental factors are included in this explanation. However, there are no detailed explanations on the reproduction of place belonging. It is thought that the relationship of place belonging, which is treated as a platonic love story by the authors in the literature review, is actually a mutual and material relationship. In order for place attachment to continue in a healthy way, it needs to be reproduced. In order to understand the reproduction of place attachment, we need to understand how people live their lives. For this reason, we need to re-examine Bourdieu's concepts of field, capital and habitus in the context of place attachment.

Just as Bourdieu did, when we want to write a story to concretize the concept of field, one of the first concepts that comes to mind is place. Based on this, the most geographically generalizable places are the country, the city and the neighborhood where we live. All of these places represent intertwined game fields. These places are the most fundamental of the many gamefields where we live our social lives. This is because these places are determined at birth and we have no choice. By accepting that we start from the beginning in an unequal playing field, we develop various habits and life views. Thus, our habitus is formed. Then, in order to achieve a good position in the game, one both accumulates capital and becomes part of the capital process. Based on this, our roles that construct our identity are determined. In addition, the first differentiation that determines the position we occupy in the world of life is realized through questions such as "Where were you born?", "Which country do you live in?" and "Where are you from?". The connection that people establish with the places where they live varies according to how these places affect their position in life. For example, living in a neighborhood that can be shown as a source of prestige will positively affect one's status, habitus and capital accumulation in other areas. According to this view, which rationalizes other theories that place attachment is based on purely emotional reasons, people develop attachment to places where they have made gains. Economic capital, as one of Bourdieu's key forms of capital, plays a significant role in this attachment. The accumulation of wealth or assets in a particular place can enhance one's social standing and reinforce place attachment. Economic capital is particularly critical in shaping the material conditions that influence one’s attachment to a place. This includes the quality of housing, access to resources, and the economic stability of the area, all of which contribute to the perceived value and desirability of a location.

Economic capital interacts with cultural and social capital to create a comprehensive sense of belonging and identity within a place. The ability to acquire and maintain property, invest in local businesses, and participate in the economic activities of a community are all forms of economic capital that can deeply influence an individual's attachment to that place. For instance, homeowners in affluent neighborhoods often have a stronger attachment to their locale, not only because of the cultural and social capital they gain from residing there but also due to the

financial investment they have made. This economic stake in the community strengthens their sense of belonging and can lead to a more active role in community affairs, further embedding them in the social fabric of the area.

Most of the elements that enable us to accumulate good memories in a place or to remember that place with longing stem from the existence of an idealized representation of space. The representation of a place as a space, our habitus shaped by it and the capitals we accumulate in this process constitute our identity. The attachment and protectionism we develop towards the things that build our identity is a natural behavior, and economic capital is a crucial element in this process. The economic capital invested in a place can also be seen in the upkeep and improvement of local infrastructure, public services, and amenities, which in turn enhance the overall quality of life and reinforce residents' attachment to their community.

Does a soldier become a soldier because he loves his country or because he has no other choice? Likewise, does a soldier take part in a war because he loves his country or because he is part of the group that was conscripted at that time? To seek answers to such dichotomies is, according to Bourdiue, to evaluate people according to their individual preferences and behavioral patterns, which is not enough to understand the life world. Therefore, it would not be useful to focus only on emotions or rational preferences for feeling connected to a place. What constitutes place attachment in individuals has both personal and social characteristics.

As we mentioned at the beginning of our chapter, the reproduction of place attachment is related to the resilience of the place we live in as a space, the continuity of the capitals produced in the space and the transmission of the habitus to the next generations. The permanence of belonging to a place is realized to the extent that the place and the people living there can adapt to new conditions. As long as the concepts within the scope of Bourdiue's triadic methodology cannot be reproduced, what that place expresses will begin to lose its significance.

In addition, the concept of place attachment does not always encompass the whole. When we feel attachment to a place, it does not necessarily mean that we own it in

all its particularities. Bourdieu's triadic methodology implies that the field inevitably imposes certain rules on people and that we need to be fully committed to the game if we want to achieve a good position. However, this is not always the case with place attachment. We can also develop our sense of place electively. This leads us to Michael Savage's concept of elective belonging.

Savage's argument on place attachment to the residential locale first developed in Globalization and Belonging (Savage, Bagnall & Longhurst, 2005). "I assess the scope of what Gaynor Bagnall, Brian Longhurst, and I called "elective belonging," the way that middle-class people claimed moral rights over the place through their capacity to move to, and put down roots in, a specific place which was not just functionally important to them but which also mattered symbolically." (Savage, p.116, 2010). According to Savage, even though elective belonging includes concepts like housing, identity, place, and lifestyle, it adds a political point of view to the argument, just like other place attachment theories. While other place attachment theories argue about the nature of the place attachment and get stuck into concepts, elective belonging gives a reality check to the theory. To explain the place attachments of residents, Savage differs in terms of nostalgia and elective belonging. For people motivated by nostalgia, the place loses its magic because of changes in public spheres, neighborhood relationships, and the status of residents. The feeling of nostalgia usually accompanies ideas of cultural, symbolic, and economic capital. According to Savage (2010), this type of nostalgia does not refer to nostalgia of the past but instead relates to nostalgia for the change in values that enabled residents to lay claim to the place.

However, for people attached to the place by elective belonging, the place symbolizes good qualities, joys, and passions. According to Savage's research on cultural taste and place attachment, people who move to a home for pragmatic and symbolic reasons can develop a strong attachment to the place. As a result of the research, it has been revealed that people embrace the characteristics of the places they choose to live in a way that suits the person they want to be or the communities they wish to belong to.

> They were clear that they did not live in some kind of faceless suburb, nondescript town, or generic village, but in a particular place with its own identity, meaning, and "aura," with which it was immensely important for them to claim affiliation. (Savage, p.117-118, 2010).

Although people develop a sense of belonging to where they were born and raised, they move to new cities, neighborhoods, and even countries based on job opportunities, status indicators, dreams, and the identity they want. Thus, place belonging, thought to be innate, is re-established through what the person wants to be and the community he wants to be in. In this way, the person can start a new life with the motivation to shape his destiny and future as they wish.

The sense of home is a reflexive process in that people can account for themselves and how they come to live where they do. Sense of spatial attachment, social position, and forms of connectivity are open spaces for people to hold onto things useful for performing their identities. According to Savage (2005), people attach their biographies to the place they choose and write a story about their place belonging. Thus, elective belonging is nourished by the connotations of the place where one lives and by finding features that distinguish it from other places.

Although a neighborhood is a sub-field with its own rules and players, it is essentially connected to the life world and is similar in many ways to the society in which it is located. One of the many areas in Ankara is the Bahçelievler neighborhood.

Bahçelievler is defined as a "living" neighborhood in the 60s and 70s that had many socializing spaces, where high-level profiles preferred to live and where politically turbulent times were experienced. Living here was seen as a privilege. Residents describe it as a place in the middle of the city but calm, sheltered but fun. After a certain period of time, the detached houses with gardens, the symbol of Bahçelievler, were sold to contractors one by one for economic reasons. 3-4 storey buildings started to be built in the place of these houses. As a result, the population of Bahçelievler started to increase and attracted more people with different profiles. Today, Bahçelievler is mostly populated by the elderly. Doctors and students also

live in Bahçelievler due to the hospitals and universities in the neighborhood. However, Bahçelievler has not been able to reproduce itself both physically and culturally Residents who have lived here for many years have continued to invest in Bahçelievler despite the partial urban transformation. In this way, the residents of the neighborhood have established their sense of belonging to the place on both an emotional and economic basis. Despite this, they have not been able to reap the rewards of their emotional and financial investment in Bahçelievler Neighborhood. Residents have not been able to transfer their sense of place to future generations. The residents of the neighborhood, who created many material and moral reasons for living in Bahçelievler Neighborhood, could not convince their own children to live here. Except for the young generation who go to other cities to study, the young generation who stay in Ankara mostly prefer to live in new residential areas such as Çayyolu, Beytepe, Bağlıca and Yaşamkent. Parking facilities, sheltered gardens, proximity to shopping malls and new buildings make these neighborhoods attractive for nuclear families. Unable to ignore all these reasons, residents of Bahçelievler have lost their struggle to transfer place attachment.

Bahçelievler Neighborhood has neither renewed itself and turned into a brand, nor has it become a slum. It is caught in the middle in terms of place attachment. For this reason, the loyal neighborhood residents who still live in Bahçelievler Neighborhood have been deprived of concrete elements that would strengthen their place attachment. Moreover, since they could not transfer their sense of place to new generations, they established a small Bahçelievler Neighborhood where they could maintain their place attachment from the past.

Those who currently identify as Bahçelievler residents have physically adapted to the new conditions. Most of them have undergone urban transformation and continue to live in newly built apartment buildings. They continue to shop from butchers, greengrocers, or grocery stores that have been tradespeople in Bahçelievler for a long time. Since there are few "old Bahçelili," everyone in this community knows each other. For a resident of Bahçelievler Neighborhood trying to maintain their old habits within their small community, belonging is based on the narrative of their old prestigious days as a resident and investments. It is thought that neighborhood

belonging, which has entered a vicious circle, is constructed through a performative process.

So why do the residents of the Bahçelievler neighborhood feel the need to put on such a performance? Why is it not seen as a solution for them to move to a new neighborhood that is fully adapted to today's conditions and has an elite audience?

How we belong to a neighborhood is not a personal but a social choice. Symbolic capital, one of the most critical players in this cycle of capital, is an appropriate concept to explain why the residents of the Bahçelievler neighborhood maintain their performance of place attachment today.

Recognition is provided to individuals through concepts such as prestige and honor. Thus, the capital cycle itself becomes legitimized. Neighborhood residents who identify as Bahçelievler residents cannot update their capital cycles. Nevertheless, their old capital cycle is still recognizable thanks to the few remaining reference points in the Bahçelievler neighborhood and other former Bahcelievler residents. Until the reference points of the neighborhood residents and the people who know them are reset, they will continue to protect their belonging to their place thanks to the symbolic capital they have. To preserve this symbolic capital, they have started an elective belonging process by selecting the concepts, memories, values, objects, and structures that they have and that make them feel they belong to the place where they live.

Place attachment is thought to be a dynamic process with periods of rise and fall. Our thesis is theorized on the idea that place attachment, which allows individuals to accumulate forms of capital in the Bourdiuean sense and to acquire an identity that gives them prestige in society, turns into Savage's elective attachment in a shrunken area, both in terms of physical and social environment, where people can feel themselves as valuable as they were in the past because it cannot be reproduced over time.

CHAPTER 3

LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH AND METHODOLOGY

The concept of place attachment is a concept that has been widely researched both in social sciences and geography. However, there are definitions of “place” and “ attachment” that vary according to the standards of the researchers and the schools they follow. From the beginning of our research, the concept of place has been limited both geographically and in terms of what it symbolizes. Since the preparation and writing of the thesis had to take place within a period of 2 years, the concept of place is defined as the neighborhoods that people see as “home” throughout our research. The concept of attachment, on the other hand, has many more definitions than the concept of place, considering the diversity of perspectives of social sciences and the schools of thought followed by researchers. For this reason, throughout the literature review, the meanings of the concept of attachment in different fields of expertise were examined in order to reach the most ideal definition for our research. Thus, the concept of attachment has been defined throughout our research as an emotion that is defined by the culture of the society in which people live, that is both the cause and the result of identity construction, that is reassuring for this reason, and that can be strengthened or weakened as a result of personal experiences. As a result of the combination of these two concepts, place attachment is defined as a dynamic bond formed by the social and personal meanings that people attribute to the neighborhood they live in, apart from the fact that it is a settlement within the boundaries of our research.

After determining the theoretical boundaries of our research, Bahçelievler Neighborhood, one of the oldest neighborhoods in Ankara, was chosen to show that place belonging is a dynamic process. The reason why Bahçelievler Neighborhood was chosen among other rooted neighborhoods in Ankara (Ayrancı, Gaziosmanpaşa, Altındağ, Cebeci, Aydınlıkevler, etc.) is that it does not have an established identity

today like other neighborhoods. Caught between the values of the past and the present, Bahçelievler Neighborhood is neither a depressed area nor a center of attraction. For this reason, this neighborhood is considered to be unique. Bahçelievler Neighborhood was chosen for our research because of its ambiguous sociocultural position in Ankara, making it an ideal neighborhood to examine the dichotomies and variable structure of place attachment.

The political, social and economic crises faced by the new generations in today's fast and harsh changing conditions have led them to make practical and profitable choices. For the new generations who will probably live as tenants for the rest of their lives, living in a neighborhood with a more affordable rent or close to a subway line has led us to eliminate these people (between the ages of 18-40) for the place attachment research. In addition, it is thought that neighborhood residents over the age of 50 owe the construction of their identities, capital and prestige and their ability to reproduce them for years to place attachment. In addition, it was decided that participants over the age of 50 and those who have lived in the neighborhood for more than 30 years should be reached, considering that both experiencing and observing the changes in Bahçelievler Neighborhood is an important factor for the analysis of place attachment.

The process of finding participants was quite challenging, given the categories determined and the fact that the interviews were conducted in the two months prior to Turkey's General Elections. Since people were skeptical of one-on-one interviews due to the chaotic and unreliable environment of the country, a total of 12 people, 6 women and 6 men, could be interviewed using the snowball technique. During this process, despite the preliminary explanation given by the researcher about the subject of the research and the questions to be asked, there were many participants who refused the interview request or gave up the interview at the last minute. According to the researcher, the reason for this is the fear of being “politically labeled” that the participants developed against the surveys and interviews conducted before the general elections.

The interviews were conducted in historical places such as Bulka Pastry Shop and Pelikan Pastry Shop, both to ensure that the participants felt safe during the

interviews and to trigger their memories and thoughts about the Bahçelievler Neighborhood. Each interview lasted approximately one hour and in-depth interviews were conducted by asking open-ended questions. The interviews were audio recorded and later transcribed by the researcher.

CHAPTER 4

THE OFFICIAL ORIGIN STORY OF BAHÇELİEVLER NEIGHBORHOOD

Behind every enterprise lies someone's big dreams. The 1920s and 1930s of the Turkish Republic are, in many ways, a reflection of the plans that a group of educated people had for their country to be on the winning side of history. To what extent the young republic's intellectuals' goals were realized or the sincerity of these dreams is a matter of debate. Nevertheless, the initiatives of the intellectuals who struggled with political oppression, war, and impossibility in the last periods of the Ottoman Empire in the early years of the new regime should be seen as a progressive move for the Republic of Turkey. In the following paragraphs of this chapter, we will discuss one of the dreams of the thinking men of the Republic of Turkey and an essential part of the urban history of the Republic of Turkey.

4.1. Overview of the Ankara

Although the establishment of the Republic of Turkey became official on October 29, 1923, the beginning of the plans of the ruling cadres of the period for the future became concrete when Ankara became the capital (October 13, 1923). Ankara was seen as an opportunity to symbolize the republic. The history of the capital's urbanization also progressed in line with Turkey's political history. Turkey's economic plan could not be capitalist like our neighbors in the West or socialist like our neighbors in the North. Although there was a political system in which action was taken according to the day's conditions, avoiding the risk of choosing any side, the understanding of urban construction and municipality was also progressing in this plan. According to Karpat (2010), The Republic of Turkey was founded on three principles: Nationalism, secularism, and populism. These three principles prevented the republic from drifting to one side or the other. On the one hand, material and

cultural westernization was adopted, while on the other, principles such as nationalism and populism set the limits of political and social freedoms. The principle of populism is an essential element of the urban identity planned in and around the capital city. Even though the principle of populism is meant popular sovereignty, people do not have the socioeconomic power or cultural background to self-governate. Society was learning its rights from educated, revolutionary cadres who had worked for the state for many years. More precisely, there were two elements: those who helped and those who were helped. Thus, under the principle of populism, the Republican cadres were taking and implementing decisions considered to be in the people's interest. The Bahçelievler project was born in such a political environment.

4.2. The Social Atmosphere That Gave Rise to the Bahçelievler Project

The Bahçelievler project offers a panoramic view of the period in which it was planned and the conditions of that period. In 1934, three problems paved the way for the Bahçelievler project: The housing problem in Ankara, rising house rents due to land speculation, and lack of private capital. These obstacles also damaged the place attachment of the newcomers of Ankara, and expected citizen identity was not established. Like the other settlements in the provinces, Ankara was a city where civil servants went on duty and wanted to leave as soon as possible.

Before becoming the capital of the Republic of Turkey, Ankara was similar to other settlements in the Central Anatolia region. However, it needed more resources to meet the needs of its population. However, this situation changed after Ankara was declared the capital. Unlike any other city in Anatolia, Ankara became a symbol of the changing regime and the Turkish identity built upon it. There was an influx of population, both because of the new opportunities it offered and because of the state institutions that moved here in turn from Istanbul.

> The population, 25,000 before the War of Independence, tripled in 1927 and quintupled in 1935 (Tekeli & İlkin, 1983, p.10).

Lacking the resources to fulfill the ideal of being a capital city, Ankara faced a significant housing problem. Due to the lack of private capital in the Republic's early

years, housing construction was not left to the market but state-financed housing construction. The first example of this was the neighborhood established in the Yenişehir district. The civil servants' neighborhood followed this found in the east of Yenişehir. The housing problem that could not be solved by state intervention was compounded by the inadequate supply of housing, which resulted in Ankara having much higher rental rates than other cities in Turkey. Thus, Ankara gradually became an unpopular city among civil servants. Therefore, the development of the national bourgeoisie in the capital city, the only national symbol of the young republic, came to a standstill. Again, it was the state that put a stop to this trend. In this case, in 1927, the state started giving cost hikes to civil servants to cover the high cost of housing rents in Ankara. Adding rent subsidies to their salaries greatly facilitated the lives of civil servants in Ankara. Although this solution to the housing problem raised the living standards of civil servants in the short term, it did not increase the housing supply for a long time, leaving the state and the city open to permanent solutions.

In addition to the housing problem, another issue that made the Bahçelievler Project necessary was the rising land prices in Ankara due to land speculation. Land speculation in Ankara, which was generally increasing rapidly, started with declaring the city the capital. Newcomers were buying land in the newly rebuilt city from its former owners. Ankara, whose social and urban value was increasing daily, was seen as a source of income by opportunists. In Ankara, land in what is now known as the Old City (around the Ankara Castle) was bought from locals with the idea that the city would develop from here to sell it at a higher price later. New land speculation would arise daily due to rumors about a new public building or recreational area. Thus, land value in the Old City increased rapidly after a certain point. In this situation, it became increasingly difficult for the state to build a new center of life.

> To avoid the material damage caused by land speculation, 198 housing units were made by the state in the area called Yenişehir (Tekeli & İlkin, 1984, p.21).

The state's housing subsidies and efforts to prevent land speculation did not sustainably contribute to Ankara's urban development. As Ankara failed to develop as a city, forming an urban identity reflecting the Republic of Turkey took time. Only

within a city could the citizens and lifestyle that would set an example for the newly established Nation-State be created. Otherwise, the ghosts of the past could emerge from Istanbul. To find a sustainable and permanent solution to the problems of urbanization, the Ankara City Zoning Directorate was first established on May 28, 1928. Afterward, an international competition was organized for the planning of Ankara. Herman Jansen won the competition organized. Despite the initiatives above, the plan prepared for Ankara in 1936 caused land speculation as soon as it was announced where the plan would be realized. In this case, the plan could not be realized due to high land prices. In this way, the area where the plan was to be implemented was changed many times, resulting in a hollow and irregular urban structure. Even though some regions received infrastructure services according to the plan, buildings could not be built on them because the plan could not be realized. All this was increasingly infuriating the middle-class civil servants.

The struggle of the new Ankara residents against the housing problem and land speculation found strength in cooperatives, which were supported by state officials and the public at the time. The newly established Republic of Turkey had neither private capital nor the resources for state investment. Therefore, it could not adopt an economic model like its neighbors to the West, nor like its neighbors to the North. Thus, the government decided to support several corporatist initiatives. The cooperative experience is familiar to this geography. During the Second Constitutional Monarchy, cooperatives were introduced as an alternative to private companies in the establishment of a national economy in Turkey. In the Republic of Turkey, the concept of a cooperative company was first introduced in 1924 with an addition to Article 15 of the "Ticareti Berriye" law. Subsequently, "İtibari Zirai Unions" were established to create integrated cooperatives that met peasants' credit, agricultural sales, and consumption needs. Similarly, the "Ankara Civil Servants Cooperative," founded by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, was one of the first cooperative initiatives in Turkey. Although these cooperative initiatives pioneered Turkish cooperativism, they fizzled out before they could become widespread. The Great Depression forced the Republic of Turkey to develop alternative forms of economic development. Thus, as an alternative to capitalist or socialist options, the 1930s of the Turkish Republic was marked by corporatism. One of the main reasons for this is

that Mustafa Kemal Atatürk supported cooperatives. It was also one of the items included in the Party Program of the Republican People's Party, the ruling party of the time, in 1931. Cooperatives played an essential role in realizing the principle of populism, one of the six arrows of the CHF.

4.3. The Idea Behind the Bahçelievler Project

In the shadow of the economic crisis and the absence of private enterprise, the idea of Bahçelievler Cooperatives was born when the concept of state-sponsored populism was adopted. Before discussing the aims of the Bahçelievler Project and the processes it went through, it would be helpful to look at the garden-city concept that developed alongside corporatist thought. Defining this ideological attitude in the urban context will provide a solid social and political start.

> The corporatist ideology claimed that the unified community structure, which it claimed existed before the capitalist period, had disappeared in this modern economic structure and that society was divided into two as "bourgeoisie" and "working class," thus creating a class distinction in society. (Kansu, 2009, p.6).

In the corporatist ideology, which is essentially a conservative attitude, the class unification of people poses a threat to society. Class differences encountered in every field were perceived as an enemy against the unifying values of society. Instead, it was desired to create a mass of people loyal to their nation and state and convinced that they were in the same boat. According to Kansu (2009), one of the most significant criticisms of corporatist thought about the modern world order was the high-rise, windowless, and narrow apartments in rapidly urbanizing European settlements. Urbanists refer to these and similar buildings as "mietkasernen" or "rent barracks." This type of house, which was popular then, also mobilized opposition urbanists. It was argued that citizens living in these conditions were alienated from their national values, and their health deteriorated. The solution offered by the new understanding of urbanism, which demanded a life in more humane conditions, was a return to village life. The political analysis of the projects of detached or two-story houses built in a sunny garden is precise: The enclosures in which people are in similar economic conditions and social statuses, separated from one another but with an integrated structure within, will prevent possible class conflicts. Thus, politicized

populations could be easily controlled with changing economic balances. Lörcher and Jansen, who made the first city plans for Ankara, were also influenced by this closed "siedlung" neighborhood model.

During the last years of the Ottoman Empire and the early years of the Republic of Turkey, many Turkish students who went to Europe to study closely followed the sociopolitical developments and innovations in Europe. Nusret Uzgören was one of the names influenced by this architectural alternative movement in Europe. According to Tekeli and İlkin (1984), after seeing Yenişehir, one of the first neighborhoods in Ankara that could be called Western, Nusret Uzgören likened the structure of this neighborhood to the Garden City examples in Europe.

Uzgören, who sought the solution to the capital's housing problem in the garden houses built in Yenişehir and wanted to realize this solution through cooperative activities, had German and French books brought from Europe to find ways to learn these ideas. As mentioned in the previous section, the Garden City concept is an architectural trend and a way of thinking. He concluded that detached houses or houses comprising a few apartments would maintain the traditional neighborhood fabric and offer citizens a healthier lifestyle. Bahçelievler was an important initiative in that it helped the new capital gain symbolic meaning in the nation-state process and set an example for other cities. In addition, the profile of the citizens who would represent the Republic of Turkey would be defined in Anatolia. Uzgören shared his understanding of cooperativism, which he wanted to develop based on his own European experiences and research, with the Ziraat Bank circle, which could be considered the pioneers of cooperativism activities in Turkey, and established a team of three or four entrepreneurs. Thus, to solve Ankara's housing problem, the idea of establishing Bahçeli Evler (Garden Houses) as a cooperative organization, which had developed within a small group around Ziraat Bank, was ready to go public. Implementation of the Bahçelievler Building Cooperative

4.4. Implementation of the Bahçelievler Building Cooperative

While the entrepreneurial team that Uzgören was a part of came up with a proposal for a cooperative neighborhood to solve the housing problem in the capital, other

solutions were also proposed. The first of these proposals was establishing a state neighborhood in Ankara or constructing state housing. Building houses next to the ministries and renting them to the civil servants working there would solve the housing problem of civil servants on the one hand and prevent land speculation due to the housing needs of civil servants on the other. Although this proposal sounds reasonable initially, it is not considered a sustainable solution. This is because a possible civil servants' neighborhood would solve the housing problem of only one population segment and block the way for private initiatives. The second proposal emphasized during this period was to transfer the state-owned land to those who would build houses at low prices after providing infrastructure. In addition, the state would also offer cheap materials and loans to those who would build houses. Thanks to this proposal, a neighborhood to be established close to the city (Aşağı-Orta-Yukarı Ayrancı, Çankaya, Dikmen, Etlik, Keçiören, Solfasol, Ayvalı, and İstasyon arkası, etc.) would provide an opportunity to preserve the coherent structure of the city. However, this proposal was shelved to be realized only after the Second World War.

For various reasons, these alternative routes were not deemed feasible, and the Bahçelievler Building Cooperative was decided to be put into practice. As in Tekeli and İlkin's (1984) research, we will divide the processes before and after the realization of the project into seven stages. These can be listed as organization, land acquisition, planning of Bahçelievler Houses, finance, crises, the start of life in Bahçelievler, and the demise of the Bahçelievler building cooperative.

4.4.1. Organization

Since the Bahçelievler Building Cooperative would be a first for Ankara and the entire Republic of Turkey, organizing the masses around this idea was one of the biggest obstacles. This innovative idea was shared with the public for the first time with Uzgören's article in the newspaper Hakimiyeti Milliye on May 26, 1934. In the article, it was stated that more than fifty citizens had already joined the cooperative, and an attempt was made to attract the interest of other citizens. Indeed, the first meeting held at the People's House after the published article was met with interest.

In June, articles and advertisements about the cooperative continued. One of these was:

> "Ankara, Become a Building Cooperative Partner! Find a Building Cooperative Partner!
>
> Because becoming a member of a building cooperative means that you will own a house with a lower installment than you pay for rent today. Finding a partner in a building cooperative means that the house that will be yours will cost less." (Tekeli & İlkin, 1984, p. 46)

In addition, another advertisement reads:

> "The person who will be a partner in the building cooperative: Must be married or have children. He must have a job or a certain income." (Tekeli & İlkin, 1984, p. 46).

As we can tell from the advertisements, the persuasive factor in the Bahçelievler Building Cooperative, which is being organized, is to become a homeowner with an appropriate credit method. Moreover, conditions such as marriage or having children are required to show that Bahçelievler is not a neighborhood for adventurers but for those who agree to be Ankara residents. Based on a deep-rooted history that has already been lived in, the nation-capital model seen in many countries worldwide has worked in the opposite way in Ankara. Ankara declared the capital for strategic reasons, and the desire to be new under wartime conditions lacks the image of a historical city. The symbolic capital that the Republican cadres and the intellectuals of that period wanted to create in Ankara had to be supported by a new historiography and the formation of a new urban identity. The organizational model sought for the Bahçelievler Building Cooperative set out with the idea that it would be easier for people who had already established a particular order to adapt to the identity of Ankara. In addition, the first newspaper article written on May 26, 1934, promises much larger square meters and more favorable payment terms for the Bahçelievler houses. A persuasive propaganda campaign was conducted to promote and organize the Bahçelievler Building Cooperative. In this way, the state-supported this cooperative, which was established by a private initiative. To make the state support more permanent, a person from the state was sought to head the cooperative

then. This is an essential point regarding the quality of the Bahçelievler Building Cooperative. Rather than being a movement initiated by the upper echelon of the political regime, this initiative is created by the upper echelon bureaucracy to solve their problems by utilizing the state's opportunities. Civil servants who came to Ankara from other cities and were deprived of their usual privileged lifestyles and social relations wanted to create a new living center. This movement, which started to meet a natural need, later coincided with the urban life envisioned for Ankara by the political regime of the period.

By November of the same year, the propaganda for building cooperatives continued with new articles published in Hakimiyeti Milliye, radio announcements, and the publication of a book compiled by the "Cooperative Society of Turkey" of articles written on building cooperatives. Consequently, a new meeting was held on December 10, 1934, at the People's House with those who wished to join the cooperative. As a result of the meeting, a standard text was prepared on the conditions required to own a house in the Bahçelievler Building Cooperative, the payment method for home ownership, home insurance, details of the proposed board of directors for the cooperative, etc. With 121 founding partners who signed this text and paid 100 Lira to the bank, the foundation of the Bahçelievler Building Cooperative was established. The majority of the founding partners were bureaucrats. This was almost a deliberate choice, as a team that would speed things up in providing urban infrastructure would benefit everyone. Thus, among the cooperative members were names such as Ankara Zoning Director, Ankara Municipality Director of Water Affairs, General Director of Post Telegraph and Telephone, General Director of Publications, etc. Unfortunately, the Bahçelievler Building Cooperative has continued this initiative with fewer partners than it had targeted. The numbers targeted by different names, such as 250 or 1000, have not been reached and will only get 169 members in the future.

In 1935, the propaganda of the Bahçelievler Building Cooperative yielded results. It was included in the party program under the title of housing loans under the heading of the economy at the CHP's 4th Grand Congress. It was stated that the capital in the bank should be spent primarily on building new houses and that initiatives to help

citizens become homeowners would be supported. Thus, the organizational phase seems to have been completed with the support of the state.

4.4.2. Land Acquisition

As mentioned in the previous sections, there was a land speculation problem in Ankara. After any new plan or building was announced, the price of the land they would be built on was uncontrollably rising. This opportunism became a severe obstacle before the Bahçelievler Building Cooperative. Therefore, the board of management of the cooperative started to look for large and cheap land for the Bahçelievler project. However, these qualities could only be found outside the city. Even though it was not the ideal condition for a new neighborhood, it was a necessary move.

During the search for the land on which the project would be built, Abdipaşa Çiftliği was found suitable for the Bahçelievler Building Cooperative. The selected land is close to both Yenişehir and Ulus. It is also close to the Orman Çiftliği sports field, the New Station, and Gençlik Park. Thus, the land selected for the Bahçelievler Project will be close to the old and new city areas. The realization of this project will pave the way for the westward expansion of Ankara.

Before the Abdipaşa Farm was purchased, a few lucky people were informed about the sale. The two most important people were Nevzat Tandoğan, the then Governor and Mayor of Ankara, and Ali Çetinkaya, the Minister of Public Works. Land speculation, one of the reasons for realizing the project that is the subject of this article, was used by the Bahçelievler Building Cooperative to their advantage. Indeed, land prices in the vicinity of Abdipaşa Çiftliği increased exponentially. The increase in land values would help the cooperative obtain cheap loans and increase the value of the members' houses.

4.4.3. Planning Of Bahçelievler Houses

Ulus newspaper organized a survey of six questions to determine the types of houses in the neighborhood to be established after the land purchase. With these questions,

the newspaper wanted to conduct a lifestyle survey by finding people's demands regarding clothing, food, reading, and recreational activities for the new neighborhood to be established. The most important two of these questions were: "Should Officer Neighborhoods be built in the form of garden houses or large apartment buildings?" and "If the garden houses type is chosen, should the gardens of the houses be adjacent to each other or separate?". The majority of the respondents chose the garden houses type and found it appropriate that the gardens of the houses should be separate.

Jansen is one of the experts who responded to these two questions in the survey. According to him, high-rise apartment buildings where people live piled on top of each other evoke "rent barracks." People in Europe live in these conditions and therefore move away from nature. Building houses with gardens is the most appropriate solution for people to live in healthy conditions in touch with nature. In addition, building homes with greens in a contiguous layout would be more economical, and the temperature would be better maintained. These ideas of Jansen were found compatible with the project. He was asked to plan the new neighborhood and the types of houses to be built in it.

Jansen's final plan was completed on January 14, 1936. In the center of the proposed settlement is a center with a school, a market, tennis courts, a swimming pool, and a view terrace. The houses were to be of several types, with adjoining, single, and twin houses planned to be built. Trees would also surround the neighborhood. It has also been reported that infrastructure services such as sewerage, telephone, gas, electricity, and water will be installed during the establishment of the neighborhood. In addition, the Bahçelievler neighborhood would not be an isolated settlement far from the city. Jansen's plan, dated January 14, 1936, aligns with the 1932 city plan. Thus, the way was prepared for the areas between Bahçelievler and Yenişehir to be opened for building construction. Jansen both wanted people to live close to nature in gardens and wanted to build buildings in harmony with the city. The plans are not only formal. The Bahçelievler neighborhood is promoting a new way of life.

Despite the plans of government officials or Jansen, each member of the Bahçelievler Building Cooperative had different expectations of the project, so the house types

changed constantly. In the end, five house types were identified. According to Tekeli and İlkin (1984), citing Karınca magazine, the number of rooms in these houses ranged from 5 to 8, and they were called single, adjoining, or chained. Presented to the public as a social housing project, the Bahçelievler Neighborhood Plan gradually transformed into a neighborhood of luxury housing.

4.4.4. Finance

An overall assessment of how the cooperative obtained external financing is that the cooperative members could use their position at the top of the bureaucracy, particularly the bureaucracy of the banks, to secure all the financing for the enterprise in the form of loans.

4.4.5. Crises

Like many other projects, the Bahçelievler Project has been characterized by a conflict between dreams and reality. In this cooperative, which was established by many people with different views on owning a house, there have been disagreements occasionally. Six people left the board of directors elected for the cooperative. Although all of the members who left had their subjective reasons, it is evident that there were disagreements on various issues.

The most crucial problem has been the legal obstacles to the project. Details such as financing, plans, and house types were ready to construct Bahçelievler Neighborhood. Just as the project was about to become official, there were rumors that the Bahçelievler Building Cooperative's land would disrupt the city due to its distance from the center. In response, when the cooperative was finalizing tender preparations with Emlak Bank, the bank requested that the area where the cooperative would be built be included in the scope of zoning. However, neither the members nor the state has considered it necessary for the Bahçelievler Project to be outside the zoning plan since the land was selected. The delay in construction due to this problem caused by the Ankara Municipality led to disagreements within the cooperative. Thus, some members left the cooperative. Subsequently, the members

who left and some members who had left the board of directors in the past united to form the Güven Cooperative. Güven Cooperative commissioned Elsasser to design the house and neighborhood plan and completed its construction around Kavaklıdere to be delivered in 1937. With the support of Nevzat Tandoğan, the then governor and mayor of Ankara, Güven Cooperative achieved the goal that Bahçelievler Construction Cooperative had been striving for years.

At the time, rumors about the Bahçelievler Building Cooperative and the zoning problem plunged the project into crisis. İsmet İnönü, one of the highest authorities of the state, was consulted for the solution of this problem. The Bahçelievler Building Cooperative, trying to receive state support, also tried to explain their crisis to the public through various broadcasting organizations. According to Tekeli and İlkin (1984), the members of the cooperative were able to obtain official permission for the realization of the project through a final meeting with İsmet İnönü on February 16, 1937, after long efforts. Having overcome the crisis with the decision of the Council of Ministers, the Bahçelievler Building Cooperative convened its Third Annual Congress on March 31, 1937. It announced to its members that the project had entered the tender phase.

4.4.5. The Start of Life in Bahçelievler

The Bahçelievler Building Cooperative's internal disagreements, rumors spread among the public, and problems in obtaining legal permission were reflected in the bidding process. The British and French companies approached the construction of the building but could not agree. At the end of this challenging process, the cooperative negotiated with TİTAŞ, an institution of the Turkish Commercial Bank, and signed the final agreement. In addition, the first regular sewage system in Ankara was installed in Bahçelievler, and construction of the houses began in September 1938. The most necessary social facilities Jansen added to the plan, namely a police station building, six shops, and a primary school with five classrooms, were built. Finally, the number of houses to be built was determined as 169, and the construction was completed and delivered to the homeowners on October 24, 1938 (Tekeli & İlkin, 1984, p.94).

After the construction of the houses was completed, the distribution of the houses was determined by lot and distributed to 169 partners. Thus, Bahçelievler was completed four years after the project was planned. In the foundation years of the Bahçelievler Building Cooperative, 33% of its members were civilian bureaucrats, and 45% were bankers (Tekeli & İlkin, 1984, p.96). As time passed, private sector employees, entrepreneurs, members of parliament, and self-employed individuals were added to this member profile.

After the houses were handed over to the members, the Cooperative's Board of Directors became complacent. It was ineffective in solving problems such as eliminating deficiencies in the houses, landscaping the neighborhood, creating a social environment, and paying the debts of deceased members. One structural, economic, and social problem after another was compounded by the departure of Uzgören, a founding member of the cooperative, from the board of directors, and Bahçelievler Building Cooperative entered a new era. In the 40s, the cooperative continued its social development with a succession of shops, tennis courts, movie theaters, playgrounds, and clubs. In the first ten years after its foundation, Bahçelievler, known as an elite neighborhood of Ankara, created its own "Bahçelili" identity. However, the clubhouse and tennis courts, where collective activities were to be held, were sold because not enough people were coming to the neighborhood. Thus, it was seen that the cooperative spirit of the Bahçelievler Project was not effective among the members. After the members paid off their debts in the 1950s, the cooperative entered a period of rapid dissolution.

4.4.5. The Demise of The Bahçelievler Building Cooperative

The Bahçelievler Project paved the way for home ownership through cooperatives in Turkey, and cooperative movements began in many other cities. By the mid-1940s, there were 50 cooperatives in Turkey. Twenty-two of these were in Ankara. At that time, there were seven cooperatives whose construction was completed: Bahçelievler Building Cooperative, Güven Building Cooperative, Karınca Cooperative, Küçük Evler Building Cooperative, Savings Houses Cooperative, İş Bank Officers Cooperative, and Yurt Building Cooperative. The majority of the completed cooperatives in Ankara were built around Bahçelievler.

Two main factors contributed to the collapse of the Bahçelievler Building Cooperative, a pioneer of cooperatives in Turkey. The first was the transformation of cooperative members from a solidaristic to an individualistic ideal over time. After completing their debts, members became emotionally and financially detached from the cooperative. The land purchased at 2.5 kurus per square meter in 1935, the year of the Bahçelievler Building Cooperative's foundation, had risen to 150-200 liras per square meter by the end of 20 years. This rapid increase in value caused cooperative members to sell their houses quickly. The second factor that accelerated the collapse of the cooperative was the unplanned growth of other cooperative houses built in the Bahçelievler neighborhood. As a result, the population density in the Bahçelievler neighborhood increased rapidly, and the neighborhood's environmental standards declined.

As a result of the accumulation of such factors over the years, the Bahçelievler neighborhood has lost its cooperative character and turned into just another upper middle-class settlement.

4.5. The Transformation of Bahçelievler

The changing political structure of the Republic of Turkey over the years also affected zoning laws, building regulations and population density. In this section, Bahçelievler's transformation will be evaluated by periodizing it according to the city plans prepared for Ankara.

4.5.1. Yücel-Uybadin Plan

Turkey's changing socioeconomic structure has altered people's lifestyles and livelihoods. Rural farmers and livestock keepers' increasingly difficult lives and future concerns have led them to migrate to cities. Instead of a life determined by the seasons, soil fertility, annual crops, and the increase in feed prices, people started to turn to insured jobs that could guarantee their future. Thus, working as a laborer in factories opened in the city or as a civil servant in state institutions has made it more attractive for people to migrate to the city since the 1950s. For this reason, population growth in cities has increased rapidly, contrary to expectations.

Jansen's urban plan for Ankara needed help to meet the needs of the rapidly growing population. Thus, an international competition was organized by the Ankara Municipality in 1955 to prepare a new urban plan. As a result of this competition, the zoning plan designed by Nihat Yücel and Raşit Uybadin won first place, and the project was approved in 1957. The 1957 Yücel-Uybadin Plan, the third plan of Ankara, was influential in constructing Ankara between 1958 and 1968. The most important feature of this plan was planning the Konya-Samsun ring road within Ankara. The developments around the Konya-Samsun highway, which changed the face of the city in many ways, developed unplanned. In addition, the Yücel-Uybadin plan also changed the center of Ankara. According to the plan, Etlik, Yenimahalle, Aydınlıkevler, and Keçiören were located on the northern axis, while Bahçelievler, Çankaya Seyran Bağları, and Balgat neighborhoods were situated on the southern axis.

> During this period, the center of Ankara shifted from Ulus to Yenişehir and Kızılay, while Bahçelievler strengthened its position due to its proximity to the city center. Within the framework of the plan, the city population of 750,000 planned for 30 years later was reached before 1965 (Topaç, 2019, p.69).

In addition, with the District Flooring Regime plan prepared in 1968, the two-story housing texture planned by Jansen for Ankara and the infrastructure services designed accordingly were transformed. Thus, new residential areas from Yeneişehir to Bahçelievler considered the new center, started to be seen. Influenced by factors such as the new storey height regime in Ankara and population growth, house, and land owners thought building high-rise apartment buildings in the newly formed settlements would be more profitable. As a result, the city's residential fabric shifted towards apartmentization, and the Bahçelievler neighborhood began demolishing low-rise houses one by one and converting them into apartment buildings.

> In the 1970s, Bahçelievler was one of the neighborhoods most affected by the new legal regulations, the increase in housing density, and the transformation of the city center during the implementation of the Yücel-Uybadin Plan (Topaç, 2019, p.76).

Thus, apartment buildings began to be seen around the housing texture of Bahçelievler, which consisted of similar houses. In addition to the physical

transformation of the neighborhood, there was also a social transformation. As mentioned above, the members of the Bahçelievler Building Cooperative, consisting of bureaucrats and bankers, formed the founding profiles of the Bahçelievler neighborhood. In the 1970s, with the expansion of the boundaries of Ankara University and Gazi Institute, the student population in Bahçelievler increased. Thus, the cultural and social units of the period, such as cinemas and patisseries, grew in the Bahçelievler neighborhood.

> The people of Bahçelievler, which was affected by the demolition and construction process observed in the old districts of Ankara in general, increased from 8273 in 1950 to 44,600 in 1965 and 55,160 in 1970 (Tekeli and İlkin). Despite these changes, the sense of neighborhood in Bahçelievler was maintained among the locals (Topaç, 2019, p. 82).

4.5.2. 1990 Ankara Master Plan

The Yücel-Uybadin plan became dysfunctional due to the growing population of the city and the unplanned nature of the new zoning regulations. In addition, the plan failed to provide a solution to the increasing squatter settlement in Ankara. The Ministry of Housing and Settlement established the Ankara Metropolitan Area Master Plan Office to address these inadequacies. As a result of years of research in this bureau, the "1990 Ankara Master Plan" was approved in 1982. Unlike the Jansen and Yücel-Uybadin implementation plans, this plan assumed more of a guiding and alternative-creating role.

In the Yücel-Uybadin plan, the city's center was identified as Yenişehir. In the 1980s, the new parliament building and business areas in Kızılay paved the way for the city's new center to be shaped through this area. In these years, the concentration of public institutions and the private sector in Kızılay led to an accumulation in the city's center. One of the main elements shaping the 1990 Ankara Master Plan was concentrating the central administrative units on the Eskişehir Road axis to prevent congestion in the core. Thus, sub-centers were created within the city. One of these sub-centers is Bahçelievler.

According to Topaç (2019), by the end of the 1980s, the functioning of the National Library, the transformation of the Arı cinema into a TRT studio, and the

transformation of Eskişehir road into the center of public institutions changed the socialization and living spaces within Bahçelievler itself. 7th Street became the center of Bahçelievler due to its increased commercial function. The city's general changes and the determination of new reference points in Bahçelievler, in particular, have caused the neighborhood boundaries to expand day by day. During the implementation of the Yücel-Uybadin Plan, the number of multi-storey houses in Bahçelievler gradually increased. Two-story or detached houses were converted into apartment buildings. Thus, the parceling system envisaged by the Bahçelievler Building Cooperative was abandoned and the cooperative's influence on the neighborhood plan almost disappeared. The idealistic plan of Bahçelievler succumbed to the new conditions. The tennis courts, clubhouse and open-air cinema, built in Bahçelievler for the cooperative members to socialize together, were sold and replaced with high-rise apartment buildings. Bahçelievler, where people lived in close relationships and intertwined with each other, transitioned to an order in which apartment buildings restricted personal spaces.

4.5.3. Fragmented Plans

In 1984, the Ankara Metropolitan Area Master Plan Office was closed. In 1986, the METU Department of Urban and Regional Planning prepared the "Ankara 2015 Structural Plan Diagram," which would form the basis of the Urban Transportation Master Plan. This plan was also prepared as a result of the inadequacy of the previous plan. The two main focus points of the Ankara 2015 Structural Plan Diagram were the squatter settlements and the development on Eskişehir Road. To reduce the square meters occupied by squatter settlements, the land plots were increased in storeys, paving the way for the apartment building. In addition, with the successive zoning amnesty laws, Ankara's housing texture became unplanned and irregular. Bahçelievler, like many other parts of the city, was transformed by the "Build-Sell method ."In addition, the rapid construction on the Eskişehir road led to land speculation, and with the new plan, the city entered a period of "planned unplannedness" (Topaç, p. 91, 2019).

Many planning studies were carried out in the 1990s to prevent the rapid and uncontrolled growth of the city. The comprehensive plans were not approved;

piecemeal zoning plans were prepared until the 2000s. In 2007, the 2023 Capital City Master Plan, which takes a more holistic approach to urban planning, was designed to solve the problems experienced in the city. Although the plan set clear targets for the organization and functioning of the city, a solution still needed to be provided on how to implement an organized space. The "2038 Ankara Environmental Plan" prepared in 2017 faced similar problems.

In the 2000s, "urban transformation" influenced housing policies and urban plans. In 2012, the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization enacted "Law No. 6306 on the Transformation of Areas Under Disaster Risk," urban transformation practices were initiated across Turkey. Bahçelievler, whose apartmentization process had been accelerated with all the plans prepared since the 1950s, was once again subjected to urban transformation with this law. Almost all the two-storey and detached houses within the cooperative boundaries were demolished, and multi-story houses were built. Thus, Bahçelievler became a neighborhood centered on 7th Avenue in an area surrounded by universities, the bus terminal AŞTİ, Konya-Eskişehir road, and Anıtkabir. The coffee shops, shops, and bars in Bahçelievler transformed the established neighborhood identity of Bahçelievler into a large entertainment center.

Today, Bahçelievler is home to two different groups. According to Topaç's (2019) research, the student population has increased in Bahçelievler due to its proximity to many reference points in Ankara. In addition, there are also middle-aged and retired people who have been living in the neighborhood for a long time. It is thought that the phenomenon that enables these two groups, whose sense of belonging to the place where they live is different, to live together is altruism. These two groups with different lifestyles, entertainment concepts, socioeconomic status, and perspectives on life have had to adapt to each other.

4.6. Bahcelievler Neighborhood in Today's Ankara

Bahçelievler Neighborhood, one of Ankara's well-established and historic neighborhoods, has undergone various transformations over the years. The neighborhood has been a part of Ankara's modernization process, especially since the

early years of the Republic. With the 1957 Yücel-Uybadin Plan, Bahçelievler grew physically, but this growth also brought about some significant changes in the neighborhood's architectural and social fabric. The impact of the Yücel-Uybadin Plan on the neighborhood's development is quite evident. With this plan, the boundaries of Bahçelievler expanded, the density of construction increased and the neighborhood became one of the most important residential areas of modern Ankara. However, during this process, a certain contraction in the neighborhood's architectural and social structure was observed.

Bahçelievler Neighborhood has a unique position compared to other historical districts of Ankara. The neighborhood has been defined neither as a prestigious area nor as a depressed area during the urban transformation process. This dual characteristic is an important factor that distinguishes Bahçelievler from other neighborhoods. In fact, the neighborhood has managed to both preserve the nostalgic atmosphere of old Ankara and keep pace with modernization efforts. For this reason, Bahçelievler stands out as one of the rare neighborhoods in Ankara that offers a combination of historical texture and modern life.

Looking at the spatial development process of Ankara, the city developed in a monocentric structure until the early 1980s. During this period, all social and economic activities were concentrated in the city center, while the surrounding neighborhoods were planned as residential areas. Bahçelievler was also affected by this process and stood out as an important residential area due to its proximity to the city center. However, since the 1980s, new urban needs emerged in Ankara's urban structure due to globalization and the city began to evolve towards a polycentric structure. In addition, as can be seen on the map, Ankara has maintained its monocentric structure by

> “growing in the form of oil stains” in different periods. (Sat, N.A., Üçer Gürel, A.Z. & Varol, Ç., p.100, 2016).

Bahçelievler tried to adapt to these new urban development trends, but failed to realize a radical transformation in its physical and social structure. This has left the

neighborhood connected to the old city center but somewhat isolated from the new development axes.

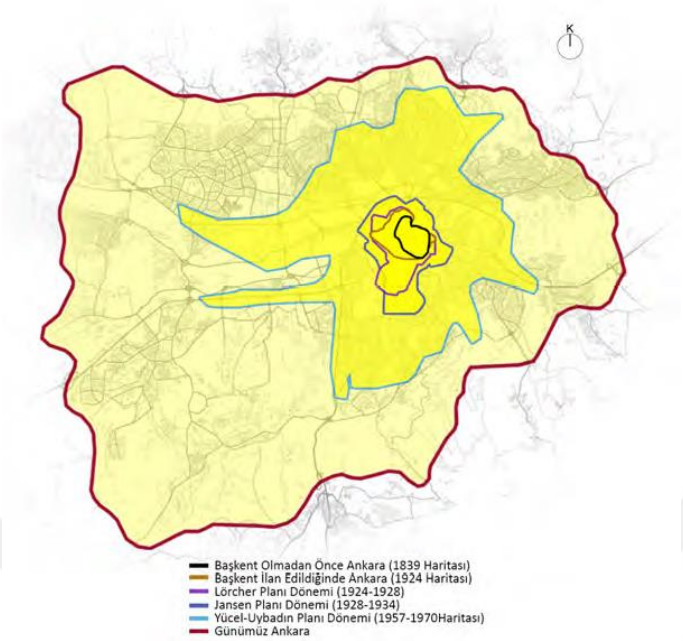

Figure 4. 1. Regional representation of historical periods.[1]

In the 2000s, the expansion of Ankara's urban areas to the west led to the emergence of new spatial configurations in the city. In this process, historical urban elements such as Atatürk Boulevard have also been transformed, making Bahçelievler neighborhood a transition zone between old and new Ankara. While Bahçelievler continues to exist as a neighborhood bearing the traces of the past, it has had difficulty integrating with the new urban fabric. This in-betweenness of the neighborhood has led it to be considered neither part of the old nor the new Ankara. As a result, Bahçelievler Neighborhood today is an in-between settlement that cannot fully realize its physical and social belonging relations.

This in-between status of Bahçelievler is also reflected in the socio-economic structure of the neighborhood. The rise of modern apartment buildings and commercial centers in the neighborhood, in addition to the old buildings that preserve the traditional structure, reveals the diversifying structure of the region.

[1]THE CHANGING MORPHOLOGICAL STRUCTURE OF A REPUBLIC CAPITAL: The Case Of ANKARA (Authors: Melike Boz Günay And Ayşe Sema Kubat

Bahçelievler, where old residential areas and new commercial spaces coexist, has created a microcosm that reflects both the lifestyle of old Ankara and new urban development trends. However, this bidirectional development has prevented the formation of a homogeneous socio-economic structure in the neighborhood. The coexistence of old and new elements creates a sense of disharmony in the neighborhood, which obscures the urban identity of Bahçelievler.

As a result, Bahçelievler Neighborhood stands out as a settlement area that combines Ankara's historical and modern identities, yet fails to fully integrate these two identities. While preserving the traces of the past, Bahçelievler, which played an important role in the modernization process, is still trying to define its place in the spatial and social structure of Ankara. This makes the neighborhood both nostalgic as a part of old Ankara and a transitional area trying to adapt to the dynamic structure of the new Ankara.

4.7. What Should we Understand From the Story of the Bahçelievler Neighborhood?

As we mentioned above, the cycle of capital is the primary indicator in life, especially if you begin something new. Bahçelievler Building Cooperative can be an excellent example of this.

In Bahçelievler Project, the idea's implementation began with the organization phase. Nevzat Uzgören was the mastermind behind the project. As a well-educated person who visited European countries, he was familiar with the idea of cooperative experience. Therefore, he proposed building houses under the cooperative system to solve the housing problem in Ankara in the 1930s. It is no coincidence that the idea for the project came from someone like Nevzat Uzgören, who has a lifetime of education and life experience. Most of his opportunities are due to the social capital he inherited. Thus, he conveyed his vision of Bahçelievler to the influential people of that period. Uzgören shared his understanding of cooperative, with the Ziraat Bank circle, which could be considered the pioneers of cooperative activities in Turkey, and established a team of three or four entrepreneurs. Following the announcement

of the establishment of the Bahçelievler Building Cooperative in the newspapers, the project's founding partners were also people with prestigious positions. Among the 121 founding partners of Bahçelievler Building Cooperative were Ankara Zoning Director, Ankara Municipality Director of Water Affairs, General Director of Post Telegraph and Telephone, and General Director of Publications. Furthermore, social capital leads to the way of finding economic capital. Since cooperative members were in high positions at several banks, finding finance for the construction of houses became easy.

In addition, the founding members of Bahçlievler Building Cooperative are individuals with high cultural capital, considering the Turkey of the 1930s. Most of the members came to the new capital because they were assigned. They brought high cultural elements with them to Ankara. Members who were involved in status-indicating activities such as friend gatherings, parties with drinks, or game nights promised embodied cultural capital for the people who would become members of the Bahçelievler Building Cooperative. In addition, the house types planned by Jansen were increasingly calculated with more rooms and larger square meters. Everyone wanted to live in separate, modern, big houses with gardens and gardens to have an objectified cultural capital. The fact that the members are highly educated people, that they build tennis courts and clubhouses in Bahçelievler Neighborhood according to their unique tastes, and that the houses to be made are getting more and more luxurious have also increased the cultural capital of the project.

The Bahçelievler Building Cooperative's ability to unite people from similar backgrounds and lifestyles was also a result of the sharing of cultural capital. Being part of the cooperative not only made people homeowners, but also included them in a prestigious group. Whether real or imagined, this situation created a common experience because it succeeded in differentiating and organizing this difference.

All the problems experienced during the implementation phase of the Bahçelievler Project stem from the constant conflict between the Bahçelievler Building Cooperative's symbolic capital and other groups' symbolic capital. At the beginning of the project, which gained momentum due to Atatürk's and the CHF government's

support for cooperative activities, it seemed to have secured its symbolic capital. However, this changed over time. As time passed, the Güven Cooperative, which was established due to disagreements among the founding members, completed its legal processes much more quickly and started construction, which was due to the support of Nevzat Tandoğan, the governor of Ankara at the time, for this project. Thus, the symbolic capital of the Güven Cooperative surpassed that of the Bahçelievler Building Cooperative.

During the same period, the Bahçelievler Building Cooperative faced many legal obstacles. The cooperative members, who were not at peace with the Governor of Ankara, had to negotiate with a higher authority, İsmet İnönü, to start construction. As a result of long efforts, the construction of the Bahçelievler Building Cooperative began, but there is an element to be considered here. After Atatürk's death, the Bahçelievler Project, which lost value in its symbolic capital, experienced a crisis despite having the other three types of capital. This is because symbolic capital is the glue between social, cultural, and economic capital. Lacking this binding factor, the Bahçelievler Project experienced long delays.

The variability of symbolic capital is thought to be the most crucial factor that led to the disruption of the capital cycle of the Bahçelievler Project. After the Bahçelievler Project transformed into the Bahçelievler Neighborhood, the changing sociocultural structure and individuals' preferences led to a departure from Nevzat Uzgören's ideal cooperative model. Some cooperative members sold their houses after completing their debts. According to Tekeli and İlkin (1984), the remaining cooperative members gradually moved away from the sense of unity and solidarity and adopted an introverted lifestyle. In addition, as mentioned above, many other cooperative houses were built around the Bahçelievler Neighborhood. Thus, the prestige that made the Bahçelievler Neighborhood special and unique became something that other neighborhoods and people could access.

Despite this kind of negative dynamics undermining the leading role of the cooperative in the formation of a model neighbourhood for the capital of the new Republic, Bahçelievler as a middle class settlement could be considered as a success

in that it played a symbolic and material role in representing the new Republic until recently. Likewise such a symbolic position made Bahçelievler a prestigious and popular quarter of the city targeted by secular middle class residents. Likewise property prices and rent levels were quite high in Bahçeliever compared to the many other residential quarters of the city. However the position of Bahçelievler started to be weaken after 1990s thanks to the sprawl of the city allowing middle and upper income groups move to the new residential areas at the outskirts of the city such as İncek, Çayyolu and Alacaatlı. Likewise older squatter development areas such as Çukurambar and Dikment Valley underwent a process of urban transformation allowing the rise alternative popular new middle class settlement. It would not be unfair to say that Bahçelievler in certain sense failed to respond to these new spatial developments in Ankara and lost some of its symbolic and material status compared to these newly emerging popular neighborhoods. It should also be noted that decline of Bahçelievler is not as dramatic as the decline experienced by some other middle class quarters of the city such as Cebeci and Esat.

CHAPTER 5

THE STORY OF BAHÇELIEVLER THROUGH THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE RESIDENTS OF BAHÇELIEVLER NEIGHBORHOOD

In order to conduct a place attachment study at the local level,the researcher should understand the fact that those who develop such an attachment would need an origin giving meaning to their place. Attachment requires a place and place begs an origin which would provide the place with a narrative. My interviews have shown that in the evulation of participants there was always a process of reactivation of the origin in the construction of an place based identity and attachment. In the case of Bahçeliever, such an origin could be found in the rise of Bahçelievler in the 1930s and 1940s as a residential quarter of the city as a response to the needs of newly emerging middle classes of the new republic. Bahçelievler Housing Cooperative immediately turned to the be the central element of this origin.

First of all, there is an official origin based on concrete evidence that provides a record of the cooperative activities, the status of the founding members, the physical plans commissioned, the appropriations, and the political rivalries during the establishment phase of Bahçelievler Neighborhood. The history of the Bahçelievler neighborhood discussed in the section above covers these topics and provides a general overview. As Turkey underwent a process of nation-building with a new regime and a new capital, the Bahçelievler neighborhood promised a model of life both physically and intellectually.

The other side of the origin story is the narrative of Bahçelievler Neighborhood on which people who call themselves Bahçelilian build their lives and identities. As a matter of fact, the main idea of our research is based on the story people tell. Everyone has their own Bahçelievler, and at this point, belonging to a place ceases to be a static phenomenon.

The official origin story of the Bahçelievler neighborhood, linked to the construction of nation and the urbanization of Ankara, is intertwined with the stories of the people who came here for various reasons. Thus, an accumulation of belongings is formed in which people form their own identities. At this point, each person's perception of Bahçelievler Neighborhood is inspired by both a general and a personal story.

Interviews were conducted with a total of 12 participants, 6 women and 6 men, in order to understand how place attachment is nourished, its causes and how it resists against time or what it has become. In order to interview participants who have experienced life in Bahçelievler Neighborhood at different ages, economic statuses, marital statuses and political periods, interviews were conducted with participants over the age of 50 who have been living here for more than 30 years. In order to ensure the diversity of the economic and social status of the participants, the research population was formed with the snowball technique. One-hour in-depth interviews were conducted with each participant based on open-ended questions.

Before sharing the results of the interviews, the profiles of the 12 participants interviewed are summarized below and the names of the participants have been changed:

1. Hasan (69)

Mr. Hasan was born in Erzincan in 1955 and came to Bahçelievler neighborhood in 1968. His brother was the first to come to Bahçelievler Neighborhood and opened a butcher shop on 7th Street. Mr. Hasan started working in this shop. Since the day he came to Ankara, he has lived in Bahçelievler Neighborhood and worked as a tradesman here. Today, he has given up butchering and runs a white goods store on 3rd Street.

2. Güler (82)

Ms. Güler was born in Istanbul in 1942 and studied at the Austrian High School. She worked as a civil servant in various places until her marriage and did not work after her marriage. When her husband started a poultry farming business, they moved to Ankara and started living in Ümitköy. Then, as their children reached school age,

they wanted them to grow up in better schools and in a nice environment, so they moved to Bahçelievler neighborhood in 1974. Ms. Güler continued to live in Bahçelievler neighborhood after the death of her husband.

3. Meral (67)

Since Ms. Meral's father was a military officer, the family was transferred to Ankara in 1964 after traveling from city to city for years and they lived in Bahçelievler neighborhood for 6-7 years. Then her father was transferred to Erzincan and they moved there. He graduated from Istanbul University with a degree in Political Science and Finance and worked in high positions in a well-known bank for years. After his marriage, he moved back to Ankara in 1982 because his wife was from here. After living in Kurtuluş for many years, in 1993 they moved to Bahçelievler neighborhood, which they liked very much and which they thought was a quality neighborhood.

4. Mehtap (56)

Originally from Zonguldak, Ms. Mehtap graduated from Ankara University, Department of Mathematics in 1985 and lived in a dormitory in Bahçelievler neighborhood. She met her husband at the university and since his family also lived in Bahçelievler neighborhood, they continued to live in this neighborhood after the dormitory. After working at the Social Security Institution for years, she retired.

5. Turgut (69)

Turgut Bey was born in Saraçoğlu neighborhood of Ankara. After working as a civil servant in different libraries for many years, he was appointed as the director of the National Library in 1994. After he started working here, they lived as a family in the lodgings in Bahçelievler Neighborhood for many years. After his retirement, he continued to live in Bahçelievler Neighborhood.

6. Şermin (68)

Ms. Şermin graduated from the Department of French Language Teaching at Gazi University in 1974 and started living in a dormitory in Bahçelievler neighborhood in

the same year. She worked as a literature teacher and now lives in retirement. After her marriage, she lived in Yenimahalle and then moved to Bahçelievler Neighborhood in 1994. Since 1994, he has not left Bahçelievler neighborhood.

7. Ahmet (65)

Originally from Çankırı, Mr. Ahmet was born in Altındağ district of Ankara and periodically traveled to Çankırı in the early years of his life. In 1978, after his father and his brothers took over the Pelikan Patisserie in Bahçelievler Neighborhood, Mr. Ahmet's Bahçelievler Neighborhood story began. Mr. Ahmet, who had been commuting from Altındağ to Bahçelievler Neighborhood for years, decided to quit his education and move to Bahçelievler Neighborhood for good in 1988 to continue his father's profession. Thus, he lived in Bahçelievler Neighborhood both as a shopkeeper and a resident.

8. Ayten (66)

Although Ms. Ayten was born in Ankara, she traveled many places until her high school years because her father was a military officer. In 1972, the year she started high school, they moved to Ankara for good. They started to live here because she studied at Cumhuriyet High School and because of her family's admiration for the Bahçelievler neighborhood. Mrs. Ayten, who was a literature teacher and now lives in retirement, lives with her mother.

9. Fatma (60)

Ms. Fatma was born in Çorum and her family moved to Ankara in 1964 after her father became an congressman. She lived her whole life in Bahçelievler neighborhood. She worked as an English teacher at Alparslan Primary School, lived here after her marriage and continued to live here after her retirement.

10. Nedim (60)

Mr. Nedim was born in Amasya. His father found a job as an apartment clerk in the Bahçelievler neighborhood of Ankara, and the family moved here in 1968. Since

1985, Mr. Nedim has been running a grocery store and has been living in Bahçelievler Neighborhood.

11. Tayfun (64)

Mr. Tayfun was born in Istanbul. Since his father was an officer, they settled in Ankara. They first lived in Cebeci and then moved to Bahçelievler neighborhood in 1963. Mr. Tayfun worked as a shopkeeper and peddler for years. Although he lived in Amasya and Ayrancı neighborhood for a short time after his marriage, Bahçelievler neighborhood was where he stayed for the longest time and where he lived his whole life.

12. Gürcan (60)

Mr. Gürcan was born in Cebeci, Ankara. His parents were teachers and in order to continue their profession in a better environment, they asked to be transferred to schools in Bahçelievler Neighborhood. Upon this, the family moved to Bahçelievler Neighborhood in 1973. Mr. Gürcan is a geological engineer and retired after working in the private sector for many years. Mr. Gürcan has maintained his loyalty to the Bahçelievler Neighborhood, which he met during the years he lived with his family, and has been living in Eser Site since 1993, after establishing his own family.

The data collected in this section is divided into four parts: 1) the participants' own origin stories and the Old Bahçelievler Neighborhood, 2) the current Bahçelievler Neighborhood, 3) how the participants see the future of the Bahçelievler Neighborhood, and finally, 4) the reasons for the participants' continued sense of belonging to the neighborhood despite the changes.

5.1. Everyone has their own Bahçelievler: The Beginning and the Good Old Days

The important starting point of the evaulation of the interviews is the link the participants establish between their own socio-spatial trajectory and the origin story

of Bahçelievler. When it comes to place attachment, each participant needs a unique story of origin. In this way, place belonging becomes concrete and gains more meaning. Although the origin stories of the participants are the product of personal experiences, they tell a social process in terms of the socioeconomic structure of the past, human relations and neighborhood culture.

The origin story of the Bahçelievler Building Cooperative Project can be summarized simply as meeting the housing needs of civil servants coming to Ankara. However, when we look at its deeper meaning, we see that the Bahçelievler Building Cooperative had a mission to create an ideal lifestyle and citizen identity that could be exemplary first for other neighborhoods in Ankara and then for the entire Republic of Turkey. The fact that the founding members of the cooperative were high-level civil servants also determined the profile of the Bahçelievler neighborhood. Over the years, Bahçelievler Neighborhood, where people of similar economic and social status have lived an elite urban life, has created its own legend. Thus, the new residents of the neighborhood have also become part of this myth. During the interviews, it was observed that each participant's connection to the Bahçelievler Neighborhood was established at a different point. This connection was established in relation to the reasons why the participants first came to Bahçelievler Neighborhood. The reasons why the participants came to Bahçelievler Neighborhood are as follows:

- Participants who came to Bahçelievler neighborhood at a young age due to their parents' duty
- Participants who came to Bahçelievler neighborhood as university students to stay in dormitories
- Participants who settled in Bahçelievler Neighborhood to work as tradesmen or in the service sector

Some participants were born into civil servant families and their sense of belonging to Bahçelievler Neighborhood is multi-layered. In the interviews, the first time the participants came to Bahçelievler Neighborhood was when their families were transferred to Ankara. At this point, although the families chose Bahçelievler

Neighborhood because of its proximity to government offices and because it is a quality neighborhood, the participants are outside of this process. For the participants who settled in Bahçelievler Neighborhood at a young age, it was a place where they played freely in the streets and developed strong friendship ties. When the time came for the participants to start their own lives, they chose to stay in Bahçelievler Neighborhood not only because of the bonds established in childhood, but also because of the impression Bahçelievler Neighborhood created for them and others.

“Bahçelievler is the oldest neighborhood in Ankara and I knew it was a neighborhood where quality people lived. That's why we rented a house in Bahçelievler in my father's time.” Meral

“Then I got married and started living in Istanbul. Then I got married and my husband was in Ankara, so I came to Ankara in 1982. When we first came in '82, we lived in Kurtuluş. Then we bought a house in Kolej and lived there until 1993. In 1993 we bought a house in Bahçeli. My son had friends in Bahçelievler and I was used to the Bahçelievler culture, so we moved here. So we have been here for 30 years.” Meral

As can be seen, the reason for Ms. Meral's return to Bahçelievler neighborhood is not simply a nostalgic connection from childhood. Having spent a certain part of her life in another city and in different neighborhoods, Ms. Meral has developed a bond through the culture of Bahçelievler neighborhood. She returned to Bahçelievler neighborhood after a certain period of time because Bahçelievler culture is something that distinguishes her from other people. The Bahçelievler Culture, which she could not recognize in her childhood but which she later felt played a major role in her identity, represents the first link between the historical heritage of the Bahçelievler Neighborhood and the participants' own stories, in the case of Ms. Meral. It is believed that the Bahçelievler Culture on which they developed their identities over the years and the pattern they received from their families were influential in the participants' preference for civil service.

The participants, who came from different cities in Turkey to study and lived in dormitories in Bahçelievler Neighborhood during their university years, initially

lived in Bahçelievler Neighborhood within a very limited space. Within this limited space, a temporary bond was first established because the participants were neither from Bahçelievler nor Ankara, but rather perceived as guests. Over time, Bahçelievler Neighborhood opened the door to a new world for the participants as they encountered other colors and textures within the neighborhood. They experienced their first love, first work experiences, exclusion and adoption here. The participants saw Bahçelievler Neighborhood, the place of their first adulthood, as an example with the profile of the people living here and the lifestyle they led, and developed a permanent belonging through this.

“When there were no state dormitories at university, I stayed in a private dormitory on the corner of 7th Street. At that time, I was attracted by the fact that it was close to the school. Bahçelievler is different, you can't leave when you arrive. There are a few other places like this in Ankara. It's a strange addiction.” Mehtap

“After that, I stayed in a dormitory near the Başkent Teacher's House. I worked and studied at the same time. There was a PTT under the Eser Site, I worked there. The place I worked was close to my dormitory and my school. I was studying at the French department of Gazi Education Institute at the time. At that time Bahçelievler was a place where there were many students. It was a politically troubled place, but I liked it. I worked there for a few years.” Şermin

“I had friends from the department who lived in Bahçelievler. Therefore, I had many reasons to think positively about Bahçelievler.” Şermin

“When I was working at the Bahçelievler post office, I had friends here, then I met my wife, then my daughter went to school here, the good years of my youth were spent here, my friends' student houses, Anıtkabir... I had good times. When you say Bahçelievler, you get excited. I feel like I am talking about an old friend or acquaintance.” Şermin

Bahçelievler Neighborhood, which was a source for the participants when they were just starting to build their lives, provides an answer to the question “How should one live?”.

The ties that artisan participants have established with the Bahçelievler neighborhood are based on serving high-end customers.

“We had solid friendships. They were all of a certain culture. Both my sons studied at Ulubatlı Hasan. It was prestigious to live in Bahceli. Bahçeli was a neighborhood in itself. We knew everyone on the street, very few strangers passed by. We also had a credit book. No one would buy half a kilo or a kilo. Everyone would buy 8-10 kilos of meat. The income level was very high.” Hasan

“When I said, “I live in Bahçelievler,” people would say, “Oh. That means that they also heard... Here, 7th Street has brought Bahçelievler to the forefront. Now a man comes from Istanbul as a customer and directly asks where Bahçelievler is, I tell him it's here. He says where is 7th Street. ... Bahçelievler is known throughout Turkey.” Nedim

When living together with neighborhood residents with more economic and social opportunities was added to the mix, participants saw themselves as shareholders in the symbolic capital heritage that had been accumulated here for years.

Living in Bahçelievler Neighborhood gave people the chance to be a part of a larger and more prestigious structure than themselves. Participants who wanted to better themselves economically, socially or culturally first connected with the legendary origin story of Bahçelievler Neighborhood. They then created their own sense of place by blending it with the personal aspirations and goals they brought to Bahçelievler Neighborhood.

In response to the question “When did you come to Bahçelievler Neighborhood and what were your reasons?”, it was learned that all but one of the participants' fathers had come to Ankara between the 60s and 70s with a civil service assignment or with the desire to start a business. The stories of the participants started with the previous generation's desire to live with respectable people in the decent and quality environment of Bahçelievler Neighborhood. For a family newly arrived in Ankara, establishing a life in the Bahçelievler neighborhood is an act that will elevate their

social status in the city. The neighborhood, which was already inhabited by bureaucrats, high-level civil servants and people who were famous in various fields, started the process of constructing a prestigious identity for the civil servants and shopkeepers who moved here. Participants often live with a sense of gratitude for their family's choice because it has created a strong background for their identity today.

All of the participants were influenced by their families' career choices. While 7 of the 12 participants have held various civil servant positions in the past and are currently retired, the remaining 5 participants are still actively working as tradesmen. In the interviews, the most common response to the question “How would you describe Old Bahçelievler Neighborhood?” was “Civil servant neighborhood”. For this reason, when we look at the occupational distribution in the neighborhood in the past, we see that there is a distinction between civil servants and those who serve them. Apart from this, it is interesting to note that the participants in the interviews described the old days of Bahçelievler Neighborhood as a village where everyone looked alike and knew each other. As a matter of fact, when we evaluate the backgrounds of the participants, it is seen that there are people with different cultures and habits in the neighborhood. Despite this, the reason why everyone has almost a common definition for Bahçelievler Neighborhood is that the residents of the neighborhood have transformed into an ideal Bahçelili in a melting pot over time. Different realities and different identities have been adapted by previous generations to create a common identity. This common identity has given future generations, the participants, both the values that guide their lives and place attachment. Participants who have lived in Bahçelievler Neighborhood for a long time have provided themselves with prestige. Even though the neighborhood has changed in many ways today, there is an effort to convince both themselves and the researcher behind the participants' long stories of the good old days.

Throughout the interviews, participants tried to prove that Bahçelievler Neighborhood offered an ideal life for its residents in the past, and one of the questions they liked to answer the most was “How did people socialize in Bahçelievler in the past? Where were the favorite places?”. Considering that most of

the participants were in their late 50s, it was observed that the streets and cinemas were the favorite places that they could not forget when describing the Bahçelievler neighborhood in the 70s, where they spent their childhood and youth.

“There was the *Dedeman* Cinema. Next to it was the Open Air Cinema. There was the *Arı* Movie Theater, a huge three-story movie theater. We used to go, always with foreign subtitles, but we used to go as children, because there wasn't much cinema or television at that time. We spent our lives in those movie theaters.” Nedim

“In the old days, there weren't as many places to meet and drink beer as there are now. *Figaro* Patisserie. There were patisseries. When we came, movie theaters were very famous. In the 70s, some of the big young people met in patisseries, but mostly on the streets.” Ayten

Cinemas and patisseries, which in the past were a meeting point not only for the residents of the neighborhood but also for the whole of Ankara, were described by the participants as the center of quality entertainment in Bahçelievler Neighborhood. In the past, these venues, which were frequented by foreigners, were a big part of daily life for the residents of the neighborhood. In addition, considering the number of entertainment venues in the city, there is one more feature that shines the identity of being from Bahçelievler Neighborhood, which the participants see as a source of pride.

When the shopkeeper participants, who inevitably take the second place after the civil servants in Bahçelievler Neighborhood, are asked what kind of people their customers are, a different dimension of the neighborhood stands out. Although the shopkeeper participants came to the neighborhood at almost the same time as the participants who came to the neighborhood due to civil service, it was only this group who used concepts such as “adapting and getting used to” the neighborhood.

“There was an order in the apartment. I had thought about it before, but I didn't think about it. I thought about it later, because there were people here who looked down on you. Because people know a little bit about where you come from. One or two things

happened. One of the women who lived below me in the apartment building said to my mother, “This is apartment life, Ms. Sultan”. It was very offensive to me. I didn't do anything. I thought this is normal, we'll get over it, but we did. Afterwards, everyone in the apartment liked us too. Because you have an adaptation process and this process definitely has some difficulties.”Ahmet

The tradesmen participants, who were made to feel that they were different when they first arrived, were discriminated against in different areas and even considered returning to where they came from. Despite this, the participants used a very forgiving language towards the past and their experiences. They even stated that it was natural for them to be discriminated against and that they adapted to the order of the neighborhood over time. Here, the sense of gratitude felt by the participants for being accepted into a higher class and being able to start a new life was identified. Here, in addition to the place attacment as a result of emotional investment, the tradesman-customer relationship and the economic investment of the civil servants, whom they see as the real owners of this place, emerges.

The fact that the participants lived with people with similar professional profiles in the past brought families with similar socioeconomic and cultural values together. Participants living in both lodging houses and three-storey apartment buildings have experienced neighborhood relations that are close enough to destroy the concept of private space. While participants described their past neighborly relations with adjectives such as solidarity, unity and brotherhood, the most prominent emotion observed by us was longing. However, between the lines, there are also stories of nosy neighbors and the constant monitoring of their lives.

“Maybe not the students, but they didn't like the dormitories. Whenever they saw our curtains open, an anonymous letter or an anonymous phone call would come to the director: “The curtain was open in the evening in that window on that floor.” This was very interesting to them. I don't know why, but this was a girls' dormitory and our check-in time was 20 pm. On the weekend it was only 9 o'clock. Even when we tried to do any activity, we would go with our headmistress at night. We would even go to the movies under their supervision. We were strange to them.” Mehtap.

Such stories, which can be defined as interference in private life and can even be seen as neighborhood pressure, were romanticized by the participants during the interviews, even though they were disturbing in the past. As in many types of attachment, dichotomies such as pain-happiness and struggle-adaptation are encountered within the sense of place attachment. The participants' attitudes of covering up mistakes while talking about the past, which they see as their prime time, do not simply stem from a love for the Bahçelievler Neighborhood. These attitudes were also identified as foreshadowing that would justify the discriminatory attitude that the participants sometimes adopt towards the differences in the Bahçelievler Neighborhood today.

One of the main reasons for the preservation of the Bahçelian identity and the maintenance of the place attachment of the people living here is the discriminatory attitude towards foreigners. This attitude has at times played a protective role in the neighborhood, and at other times it has been a factor that has closed the neighborhood to innovations. The participants, who did not want to make any negative comments about the past of Bahçelievler Neighborhood unless specifically asked, were asked “Bahçelievler Neighborhood's political history is also interesting, how were you affected as a shopkeeper during the turbulent times of this region?” and “How were the politically turbulent years of Bahçelievler for those living here? Were the residents of the neighborhood affected by this environment?” to shed light on the neighborhood's past, which they did not want to be remembered. In Turkey, which became politically polarized during the 70s, the organizational building of the Nationalist Movement Party (MHP), which represented right-wing people, and dormitories for male students from various cities in Anatolia, which helped organize right-wing students, started to operate in Bahçelievler Neighborhood, which led to many fights and murders in the neighborhood. Most of the participants stated that the reason for these incidents was “outsiders” and that they did not represent the views of the established residents of the neighborhood. It is thought that the reason why right-wing groups could not gain an established position in the neighborhood is due to the residents' instinct to protect their community and the apolitical and elitist attitude that the neighborhood has maintained for years. In addition, the existence of the Emek Neighborhood, whose borders are intertwined with the Bahçelievler

Neighborhood and where left-wing students and parties were active in the 70s, also failed to polarize the political views of the neighborhood residents. Between the lines of the answers of the participants, who seem to have preferred to stay in the middle between the two political views in the past, it was determined that they remained apolitical in order to protect the prestigious position of the Bahçelievler Neighborhood, and even acted as police officers against “outside powers” as if representing the values of the republic.

“I'm going to talk a little bit about politics. There was the Tokat Student Dormitory behind 7th Street here and they were MHP members. There was also the MHP headquarters here. The back side of 7th Street and 4th Street belonged to the leftists. When we were coming from somewhere at night, they would immediately turn us around. They would ask us if we were rightist or leftist. I would say, “I feed Bahçelievler, I'm the butcher here.” Those were bad days. Both sides were trying to control the area.” Ahmet.

Maintaining the place attacment to the neighborhood also requires resistance to periodically rising and partisan views. In this sense, the participants were able to maintain their own position and the belonging on which they built their identities by thinking that Bahçelievler Neighborhood represents peace, order and family. The prestigious location of the Bahçelievler neighborhood, the elite people living there, the similar lives of the families and the neighborhood relations, as well as the idea on which the neighborhood was founded, helped the neighborhood to survive politically turbulent times. What separates this beginning from concrete indicators and turns it into a myth is the fact that the neighborhood is home to the National Library and Anıtkabir. The National Library, which holds a copy of all publications printed in Turkey since the past and is an important resource for higher education students, is seen as a symbol of wisdom rather than a state institution. In the interviews, the presence of the National Library was frequently mentioned in order to prove that the neighborhood is a “quality place” as it is considered to have educated and researcher visitors, even though it is a place that most of the participants rarely visit. However, the presence of the mausoleum of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the greatest symbol of the Republic of Turkey, in the neighborhood is much more important for the participants.

For the participants, the presence of the mausoleum reveals the idea that they serve a larger concept outside of their own lives. The mausoleum, which outsiders visit only on October 29 or November 10, is part of the participants' daily lives.

“Anıtkabir is also very important. Horses used to come out only on national holidays. In the morning we would hear the horses rattling and we would run to the balcony. An old black pony would pass last. We would watch until it passed. People would flock to the mausoleum and you would wave flags from the balcony. The day before the feast we were notified and told to move our cars off the streets. Holidays are a torment in this way. But on those days, there is a revelry in Bahçelievler. People come to visit and we watch them. This is a very different feeling. It is a day when we welcome guests as a neighborhood.”Mehtap.

Just as the idealistic and obsessive attitude of the cadres who made Ankara the capital was reflected in the establishment of the Bahçelievler Building Cooperative and the construction process of the neighborhood, continuing to live in Bahçelievler Neighborhood has been an indicator of living a life according to the ideals of the republic. The fact that the values of the republic, which were protected by laws and sanctions in the past, gradually took on the dimension of a personal preference became an important part of the participants' sense of belonging to the neighborhood. The fact that Bahçelievler Neighborhood was home to many intellectuals from the world of politics, art and thought in the past has also led to the presentation of place attachment as a social stance. The reason why the participants gave the most detailed explanations not to questions about what Bahçelievler Neighborhood “has become today” or how it “should be”, but to questions about “how it was in the past” is an indication of belonging to the created identity. It has been observed that the participants' attachment to Bahçelievler Neighborhood has turned into one of the ways of coping with the feeling of longing for the old Turkey. In the interviews, it is understood that Bahçelievler Neighborhood is still seen as a rescued area by the participants due to the cultural symbols it contains against everything that has changed.

This origin story, which includes many concepts such as childhood memories, acceptance, monotonous lives, habits, cinemas, high-ranking officials, political

tensions and the protection of the founding values of the republic, constitutes the infrastructure of the participants' evaluation processes of the Bahçelievler Neighborhood today and in the future. As in every origin story, it was observed that the participants sometimes embellished and idealized their stories. While recounting the past, the participants took the attitude that they were telling a fairy tale to the researcher, who is considered to be a stranger to history, politics and the history of Bahçelievler Neighborhood due to his age. Nevertheless, since researching the sense of place attachment is linked to understanding the "perception of place" in the minds of the participants, it is thought that the "real history of Bahçelievler Neighborhood" is relative.

5.2. Disappointments: New Bahcelievler Neighborhood

Bahçelievler Neighborhood has an origin story as well as a sequel. After the origin story, in which the participants were the protagonists, they have been relegated to the role of extras in the "New Bahçelievler Neighborhood" since the 90s. With the new inhabitants of the Bahçelievler neighborhood, new habits and traditions left behind, the participants shifted from an experiencer to an observer. As the social status and traditions that the participants had enjoyed and followed changed one by one, they experienced first a sense of disappointment and then an acceptance.

The first bond that emerged from the intersection of the participants' personal journeys and the symbolic capital of the neighborhood transformed first into an identity of Bahçelili and then into a sense of place attachment to the Bahçelievler Neighborhood. Until the mid-90s, the participants successfully maintained the prestigious Bahçelievler Neighborhood life that they had established but also adapted to. However, the neighborhood profile and lifestyle idealized by the participants changed over time. Thus, the perfect fiction of the initial story began to deteriorate. Although the interviews with the participants do not provide clear data on exactly when and how this disruption took place, the participants' thoughts on the change in Bahçelievler Neighborhood provide us with some clues:

"Especially after Başkent University came here, our neighborhood became very scattered. When Başkent University came, they bought two or three apartments in

each building down below, for example on Akdeniz Street, those apartments are empty now. They are Başkent's, they sold them. It is not clear what will happen tomorrow and the day after tomorrow. The old ones of the neighborhood also sold to them and left." Nedim

"The rents have gone up a lot. Students came.... In the new garden, there are many people who have dogs at home now. It is very difficult to see familiar faces now." Guler

The bond that the participants had formed through the combination of the history of the Bahçelievler neighborhood and their own personal stories has been damaged by the universities established in the neighborhood, the increased public transportation facilities and the cafés that have opened one after another. As we discussed in the theoretical section, belonging to a place is doomed to erode and metamorphose unless it can be reproduced. In Bahçelievler Neighborhood, the places that opened one after another and the neighborhood profile that changed from civil servants to students were not enough for the neighborhood to adapt to the new. One of the most important reasons for this is that even the new buildings constructed in the neighborhood cannot be higher than four storeys, so as not to block the view of Anıtkabir. Thus, Bahçelievler Neighborhood, which is undergoing change from within, is prevented from physical change. Although no questions were asked in the interviews about rent and floor law to support this view, the opinions of the participants between the lines are important:

"People are looking for newer places, let's say for their children. Bahçelievler remains constant. We used to know a banker who sold an apartment in Bahçelievler and bought two apartments in Konutkent. This was then reversed. So places like Yaşamkent and Bağlıca are more popular because they are new. My son also moved to Bağlıca. ... If they had allowed higher construction here, young people would have stayed. After the urban transformation, though, Bahçeli tried to regenerate a bit. ... I wouldn't prefer higher buildings here and neither would my wife." Hasan

"There is nothing you can do anymore. This building is also old. So tomorrow, if someone takes a sample of the concrete of this building, it will be rotten. This time

we will have to vacate this place within 6 months. Now Bahçelievler has turned into a bit of a racket. Now, if you give four floors to a two-story building, why shouldn't the building be renovated? Why shouldn't it be renovated without giving any money or by giving a very small amount of money? And I don't think anyone can prevent this." Ahmet

"The protection of lifestyle in itself still preserves this. If we were not a protected area, I think we would change a lot too. There have been many changes in terms of zoning. All the single-story houses here were demolished. Then there was a second transformation, I can give one floor and make it a duplex, etc. Now this opportunity is completely gone, since no extra floor is given. If you put this place into urban transformation, even if there is a floor right, no one wants it because this beauty will not be there. Surely there are those among us who want it. Maybe 50 out of 216 flats want it. They may think rantally that they should give two flats for one flat. But we don't have such an idea. But there must be a group of people who are greedy. Especially those who do not live here. Those who have a house here and rent it out but live outside... I don't want to see this for the rest of my life." Gürcan

On the one hand, participants state that Bahçelievler Neighborhood has changed socially and culturally and that this change is negative. On the other hand, the fact that the neighborhood has not changed physically enough is also considered negative in the eyes of the participants. From this point of view, it is thought that belonging to a place does not automatically lead to the desire to keep that place intact forever. In order for both the Bahçelievler Neighborhood and its residents to maintain their sense of place, a partial disappearance and reappearance is necessary. Since Bahçelievler Neighborhood has not experienced this controlled extinction, it has remained suspended between the past and the present. Thus, the neighborhood, which could not be socially, culturally and economically transformed, could not reproduce the sense of belonging to place felt by its residents.

While describing the Bahçelievler the most referred words used by participants were students, cafes and crowd. The most striking answers given by the participants to the

question “How would you describe the Bahçelievler neighborhood today?” are as follows:

“Later, due to the proximity of Beşevler campus and other schools, an influx of students started. This neighborhood received migration. Families saw this neighborhood as safe and wanted to rent/buy houses here for their children. It is a safe neighborhood and the people are decent. It is still Bahçelievler. It has become more crowded here than Tunalı.” Hasan.

As mentioned above, Bahçelievler Neighborhood, which has been home to bureaucrats and civil servants and their nuclear families for many years, has been a settlement where people look alike and which contains elements of high culture. As time passed and urban transformation decisions were taken, the “original owners” of Bahçelievler Neighborhood started to sell their houses to developers or rent them to others. This decision was motivated by the residents' desire to move to stairless houses due to their age and health problems, and to move closer to their children. Those who replaced those who left were mostly students and general practitioners working in nearby hospitals. The Bahçelievler neighborhood, which was built in the past with prestigious, educated and nuclear families, has been transformed in line with the lifestyles of its new residents. Patisseries and cinemas, which represented the entertainment concept of the participants /previous generation, have been replaced by cafes over time. So much so that 7th Street has literally turned into a street of cafes.

“We complain about that. 7th Street is very lively and beautiful, but in the past, when we used to go up to 7th Street, we used to drink our coffee/tea and there were boutiques, patisseries, we had many things to meet our needs. Now they have all closed down one by one. Cafes and kebab shops. Mostly cafes. Those kinds of things happened. I mean, I wish there weren't so many of them. I wish it was the way it used to be. There was no need for so many cafes.” Ayten.

In the interviews, while the participants made neutral statements about Yeni Bahçelievler neighborhood and its student residents, between the lines they showed

that they were uncomfortable with the fact that these people changed the family environment, neighborhood relations and entertainment they were used to. Based on the narratives of the participants, it was learned that the students, who do not have the means to rent on their own, live in apartments with at least 3 people, that there is a lot of activity in these apartments in the evenings due to school hours, that they have many visitors and that they do not feel the need to communicate with their neighbors. In many ways, the participants, who are used to living with people who are predictable and similar to themselves, have difficulty adapting to the new order. The main reason for this is the loss of prestige of the Bahçelievler Neighborhood of the past, where they built their identities and place attachment. The definition of living a good life has changed. Everyone now has their own routine and lifestyle, and living in Bahçelievler Mahallesi no longer meets any standard. Bahçelievler Neighborhood has become an ordinary settlement where anyone can buy and consume, with dozens of newly opened cafes catering to the crowds.

In a world where change is absolute, national belonging, professional choices, identities and the stability of bilateral relationships are fluid. Local attachments are also tested in these circumstances. When the participants were asked the question "How do you see the change in Bahçelievler Neighborhood?", although they acknowledged that change is inevitable, they also added that they have encountered many negative consequences. The neighborhood has ceased to be a place of belonging where families live regularly and maintain their habits as in the past, and has become the address of temporary students and weekend visitors. Maintaining place attachment in the new Bahçelievler Neighborhood could only be sustained by the participants developing a elective belonging. During the interviews, it was observed that the participants tried to be exposed to the new as little as possible by avoiding using 7th Street, which constitutes the main axis of Bahçelievler Neighborhood, and by conducting their business in the side streets at quiet hours.

"Also, I don't go out on 7th Street much at crowded times... I don't like it when there are young people driving fast and showing off on 7th Street. Otherwise... After all, I see Turkey in some changes." Ayten.

“Sometimes when there is a crowd on 7th Street, maybe I will call it a riot, but maybe young people are doing something cheerful and loud... But I don't go out much.” Ayten.

Apart from this, the new residents and visitors of Bahçelievler Neighborhood, which is described as “like a village” where they have lived in safety for years, are people that the participants do not want to deal with because they do not belong here, do not fit here and are seen as low profile.

The reason why the participants limit themselves both physically and socially in the new Bahçelievler neighborhood is not only because they disapprove of the new. Fully adapting to the new and mingling with them means the commoditization of the Bahçelian identity that made them privileged in the past. Considering that place belonging is a great protector and creator of the identities we construct, it needs to be transformed into a elective belonging. Participants updated their belonging by maintaining ties with places, streets and neighbors that reminded them of the good old days of Bahçelievler Neighborhood. Thus, the new and the old are separated by both physical and spiritual boundaries within the neighborhood.

In the interviews with the participants, it was learned that the demographics of the Bahçelievler Neighborhood are gathered at two extremes in line with the boundaries drawn.

“Nowadays there is either a very young population or a very old population. The middle aged goes to Ümitköy, Çayyolu or Bağlıca... There are either young or old. Unfortunately, the middle aged does not live here.” Tayfun.

Such a large generation gap between the old and the new makes it difficult to live together. The concepts idealized by the participants who define themselves as “elderly” in Bahçelievler Neighborhood are collective life, solidarity, middle-upper class family structure and neighborhood relations that destroy private space. In addition, students and young people idealize Bahçelievler Neighborhood because of the presence of cafes suitable for spending time and working remotely, and its

proximity to the city center, universities and the metro route. As expected, the relationship between these two groups with different desires and expectations in Bahçelievler Neighborhood is on a spectrum between neutral and negative. The answers to the question “What is the relationship between the new and the old in Bahçelievler?” confirm this:

“...the old neighbor and the new neighbor do not get along. There is a noise problem in the houses here. Even when you walk, you can disturb the people below you. Buildings are problematic in terms of structure. There is also a parking problem. For this reason, the new and the old sometimes clash.” Ahmet.

“Before, we used to know everyone from here to the top (refers to the growth direction of Bahçelievle neighborhood). They would come, I am this person's child or that person's father, I knew them personally. But now I don't know anyone. There is no socializing, no socializing. Since there are new settlers here, they use it like a hotel, they go to work in the morning and don't even say hello. You know what I mean? It's not something we are used to, it wasn't like this before. In the past, everyone used to know each other, they would say hello, they would say hello, they would invite each other to their weddings, unfortunately that is not the case now. You see that a bride has come next door to the apartment you live in, you don't know, you don't even know.” Nedim.

In addition to the use of space and neighborhood relations, it has been determined that there are very few residents who “live a family life” and that the spending habits of the elderly and the young are different. This situation affects the lives of shopkeeper participants the most.

“Students are of no use to us. They don't buy new machines. They buy second-hand and cheap things. The old people get their old machines repaired, they don't buy new ones. Look, no one has come to the shop for an hour. Even the new houses here are bought by students.” Hasan.

The fact that the desires and expectations of these two groups living in the Bahçelievler Neighborhood, which has an unusual demographic, differ in most

respects but converge at some points prevents the Bahçelievler Neighborhood from being renewed in a way that preserves the prestige of the past and responds to the needs of its inhabitants. Despite this, there are neighborhood associations within the neighborhood that aim to fuse the new and the old, share needs and re-establish neighborhood attachment. Participants expressed their satisfaction with the existence of these associations. Nevertheless, the members of the associations, who are trying to reveal the authentic side of Bahçelievler Neighborhood and even to gentrify it like Nişantaşı, Bebek and Balat in Istanbul, face problems arising from both physical and personal ambitions.

“We meet some friends and have tea. There is an association. We are struggling. For example, we want to close 7th Street one day a week. Tradesmen don't want it. Maybe it will be nice. Like Istiklal Street. Last year we identified the old trees here and gave them plaques. Then we identified the houses of celebrities living in Bahçelievler and gave them plaques. There is a house, for example, one of the old houses. An old lady who has no one lives there. We ask her to donate this place to us and make it a museum. She refuses. These kinds of things make me happy.” Tayfun.

The understanding of the preservation of the neighborhood by associations, association members and participants who try to preserve the past of Bahçelievler Neighborhood is confusing. The demolition of the three-storey building known as Market Place in 2022, which was established in the early 80s and met the neighborhood's needs for shopping, mechanics, haberdashery and parking for many years, was mostly the result of the efforts of former neighborhood residents. This building has served the neighborhood in many ways and is important as it has been a meeting point for Bahçelians for years. Although it is not as important as Anıtkabir or the National Library, it is one of the trademarks of the neighborhood. Despite this, when the participants were asked the question “What do you think about the demolition of the market place?”, it was learned that 11 out of 12 people approached this structure very negatively and were happy that it was demolished.

“There hasn't been a proper marketplace for years. That filthy building has now been demolished. It was a disgraceful building.” Tayfun.

“People with bad habits have been haunting it for the last 10 years. It is a secluded place. The police come but there is no control. It was like a public restroom.” Turgut.

“I was in favor of demolishing this place. Why? Now it belonged to Ankara Metropalitan Municipality. The municipality turned a blind eye to them.” Ahmet.

“I wanted it to be demolished because the building was very old. It was not well maintained. It was a place where it was not clear who came and went. There was no control both physically and physically. That's why I liked it to be demolished.” Ayten.

As it is seen, the renewal demands of the participants, whose sense of place is based on the past and unchanging spaces, are sometimes directed towards destroying some of the things of the past. Underlying this idea is the fact that the participants secretly want Bahçelievler Neighborhood to host better masses and return to its old “clean” days. Giving up buildings that they think look bad and do not remind them of the “good old days” is not seen as a problem for the participants. At this point, it is observed that elective belonging re-enters the scene and dynamizes the sense of place attachment.

Similar to the example of the marketplace, participants' opinions on the floor law implemented in Bahçelievler Neighborhood in order not to block the view of Anıtkabir are also important in terms of seeing the variable side of place attachment. Although the participants miss the old houses, past residents' profile, neighborhood relations and entertainment concept of Bahçelievler Neighborhood, they think that some changes should be made in order for the neighborhood to return to the glorious days of the past. Although it is known that these changes will disrupt the authentic structure of Bahçelievler Neighborhood, it is thought that they will lead to the resurgence of the characteristic features of Bahçelievler Neighborhood such as popularity, prestige and respectability. Thus, the participants' identities as Bahçelians will also gain value again. One participant's two contrasting statements about the physical changes in Bahçelievler Neighborhood throughout the interview illustrate the confusion created by the elective belonging observed among the participants:

“They didn't give floors here because of Anıtkabir. For this reason, Bahçeleivler could not renew itself. Therefore, young people moved to the renewed neighborhoods. They are right too, of course. If higher construction was allowed here, young people would have stayed. After the urban transformation, Bahçeli tried to renew itself a bit.” Hasan.

“I wouldn't prefer higher buildings here, and neither would my wife.” Hasan.

The fact that the participants gave contradictory explanations during the interviews shows that place attachment is not a personal feeling. Just because people write their own stories does not mean that they do not need approval. The concept of place attachment is not only the result of an inner journey. In order to sustain this feeling, it needs to be fed with various elements at certain intervals. Thus, people feel the need to make physical and moral sacrifices from the old Bahçelievler neighborhood they love and miss. The reason for this is to prevent the identity they have created from losing value.

All stories begin with many unknowns, character descriptions, landscape descriptions and unbridled excitement. For this reason, the origin stories of many civilizations throughout history are grandiose and are told as a source of pride. The reader reaches the climax in the very first chapters. From this point on, a downhill slide awaits the reader. As the story progresses, readers face change. The character's flaws, mistakes, aspirations and acceptance are revealed. The bright colors of the initial story gradually fade. Exciting dreams meet reality. Thus the reader begins to prepare himself for a predictable ending.

When asked about the Bahçelievler Neighborhood of today, the participants, too, departed from the fantasies of the past and maintained a realistic narrative of the new Bahçelievler Neighborhood. Participants who described the past Bahçelievler Neighborhood in exaggerated and literary sentences gave less detailed and shorter answers to questions about the current Bahçelievler Neighborhood. It is the beginning of the end of a chapter in which the participants, who have been the main characters of the Bahçelievler neighborhood for many years, are gradually out of the story and turn into readers or extras.

5.3. The Future of Bahçelievler Neighborhood: A Story of Failure to Reproduce

As Bahçelievler neighborhood is an old settlement, it has witnessed different political and cultural changes in Turkey. From the past to the present, it was observed that most of the participants were unable to reproduce their place attachment as they were unable to reproduce their capital. Many physical, economic and social reasons for the inability to reproduce place attachment have been mentioned in the sections above. In addition to these, when the participants were asked about the future of Bahçelievler Neighborhood and their children's attachment to Bahçelievler, it was found that place attachment could not be transferred. The lifestyle and expectations of the second generation, who are seen as the future of Bahçelievler Neighborhood and who were born and raised in this neighborhood, are different from those of the participants. The children of the participants mostly choose relatively new settlements in Ankara such as Bağlıca, Çayyolu and İncek. This is because the new generation wants to live in newer houses and in residential areas with more free space and parking lots. Bahçelievler Neighborhood, where the participants thought that they had made long-term investments both emotionally and economically in the past, has lost its attractiveness due to traffic density and lack of urban transformation. Bahçelievler Neighborhood, where the participants preferred to stay due to their emotional and spatial attachment, has become a place that holds good memories for the next generation, but is not preferred as a place to live. Today, settlements that are seen as a source of economic, social and cultural prestige have changed. As a natural consequence of this process, the place belonging to Bahçelievler Neighborhood has turned into an antique item that the participants own but no one else can make sense of. It is predicted that such place belonging will disappear after a generation. This is not only related to the Bahçelievler Neighborhood's failed urban transformation, zoning problems or the right to flats. It is also related to the fact that concepts such as republican values, neighborhood relations and solidarity, which the participants identify with the neighborhood, have lost their meaning in an increasingly individualized world and new generations do not attach as much importance to the concept of place belonging as they used to. As political views, economic conditions and identities have changed rapidly, place belonging has also changed its meaning and form. The participants' desire to continue living in the place where they were

born has a meaning such as preserving a stable life. However, the new generation does not have an environment where they can rely on nostalgic ties or economic consistency in a rapidly changing world. In this uncertainty, adaptability has become the most important characteristic of the new generation. Throughout our interviews, participants seem to have accepted this change in the Bahçelievler neighborhood, Ankara and Turkey. Acknowledging that their children have different dreams and expectations from them, the majority of the participants stated that the Bahçelievler Neighborhood, to which they have strong ties, does not promise a suitable life for their own children. It is interesting that they seem so reluctant to transfer their belonging to a place they love so much. The fact that the participants, who maintained an emotional attitude throughout the interviews, quickly rationalized when it came to the future of Bahçeleivler Neighborhood and their own children's future was considered by us as an acceptance of defeat. The participants, who had secretly wanted to stay in Bahçelievler neighborhood for generations, not only had to accept today's Bahçelievler but also surrendered to its future. Thus, place belonging continues to be worn on the chest like a medallion, but it represents an old victory that only a very small group of people can remember: The legendary Bahcelian identity. This identity, now almost forgotten, will become an urban legend in the future.

Considering the age range of the participants (55-80), it is understood that all of them lived through childhood, youth and young-adulthood in Turkey in the 70s and 80s. During this period, Bahçelievler Neighborhood was recognized as an ideal residential area in terms of “a good life”, “a respectable career” and “a good family” as described above. High-ranking civil servants, bureaucrats and tradesmen living here have led a life that is approved and even admired by others simply because they live in Bahçelievler Neighborhood. The fact that the participants, who had positive prejudices before settling in the neighborhood, achieved the life they desired also led to a change in their self-identity. All the positive physical and cultural characteristics of the Bahçelievler Neighborhood have been passed on to the participants who identify themselves as Bahçelian. Thus, being from Bahçelievler Neighborhood has become an important part of their identity. Participants who built a place attachment on this have accessed a source of prestige that is risk-free and acceptable to

everyone. Bahçelievler Neighborhood, which for many years has been the primary address for people who want to live in a better environment and with quality neighbors, has changed over time. With this change, the place attachment felt by the participants has transformed from a socially sanctioned phenomenon to an increasingly personalized attachment. This is because Bahçelievler neighborhood has not been able to transform itself like Ayrancı and Gaziosmanpaşa in Ankara or Bebek and Nişantaşı in Istanbul. The new population of Bahçelievler Neighborhood, which could not preserve its authentic form and lost both its physical and cultural brand by undergoing many urban transformations, did not maintain the sense of place attachment of previous generations. With changing needs and life views, belonging to a neighborhood has moved out of the category of necessity. The reason for this is that the new generation has to build a life with economic choices that will make their lives easier. Due to the socio-economic crisis in the world and in Turkey, where it has become impossible to buy property, belonging to a place has become a luxury rather than a necessity.

In order to understand the transmission of place attachment, the question “Do your children feel as Bahçelian as you do?” was asked to 7 out of the 12 participants and 7 of them briefly answered no. Since it was thought that this issue would open a door for the transmission of place attachment, the participants were pressed by asking the question “Why didn't your children prefer to stay in Bahçelievler Neighborhood?”. The children of 7 participants either live in other neighborhoods of Ankara or in other cities. The remaining respondents live with their children for many reasons, primarily economic, and believe that their children are just as Bahçelians as they are. For this reason, we focused on the answers of the 7 participants who were considered to be the most realistic.

“They don't like it here. They go to better neighborhoods. My son moved to Bağlıca because of his wife.” Hasan.

“Their criteria are different. ... They live in Beytepe. They are renting right now, but if they buy a house, they are looking for a house in Bilkent. I ask them to come to Bahçeli and they say, 'Mommy, there is no playground for the children, there is no

parking lot for our car and it is very congested." They are used to the hills of Beytepe. They like it that way, but I am a centrist.” Şermin.

“Youth is different. You sit here and there are all kinds of opportunities. Young people go to 100th Yıl, Çayyolu, etc. instead of going to the place at their fingertips. My daughter does the same.” Gürcan.

Participants' children have different expectations from life. The expectations of the new generation to settle in places where there is less traffic, where they can pay less rent, where the need for private space is met and where there is parking space is explained by the participants in a very realistic manner. When it comes to their children's preferences, the participants showed a state of acceptance. The participants, who think that there is no new generation to whom they will pass on their sense of place and that it is inappropriate to reproach them on this issue, do not mourn a lost war. At least they did not show this during the interviews.

In addition, the participants were asked the question “Why didn't you want your children to become shopkeepers?”, considering that the fact that the economic relationship that the shopkeeper participants established with Bahçelievler Neighborhood was not passed on to their children would show another face of place attachment. The answer is an important example of the participants' inability to transfer their dreams and thus their place attachment due to life circumstances.

“It was very different then. It's very different now... Why did I come here (Bahçelievler)? I came for the children. I wanted my children to reach the level of the people here. If these children had approached the bakery, they would have become shopkeepers... We made this decision so that these children would have a better life.” Ahmet.

Participants who stated that they were aware of the physical problems such as traffic problems, parking lot mafia, small apartments and occupation of shops caused by the lack of renovation in Bahçelievler Neighborhood, gave rational explanations about the future and life choices of their own children, while they gave highly emotional

and non-utilitarian answers to the question “What made you stay in Bahçelievler Neighborhood?”:

“When you are young, you need more money to survive. You have more material needs. But after a certain age you realize that material things don't mean much. After you put your life in a certain order, your needs become more spiritual. Spiritual, humanitarian and republican values.” Meral.

“For the reasons I have explained. I mean, we saw neighborhood and friendship here. We experienced bittersweet memories here. And these are the factors that make you experienced. After becoming experienced, people are always looking for something... They want to be close to what they have experienced before. As I said before, I tried Manavgat District for 2 years, it was a disaster...” Tayfun.

When it comes to issues that nurture their sense of belonging to a place, participants again emphasize humanitarian and social values. Nevertheless, it is an accepted fact for them that they cannot see the reflections of these thoughts in their own children.

Is the re-transformation of place belonging only hindered by the changing needs of new generations? When the participants were asked about the reasons for the departure of their former neighbors, they did not differ from the reasons for their children's departure. Nevertheless, when participants were asked triggering questions such as “Which neighborhoods did those who moved out of Bahçelievler mostly prefer?” and “Are those who moved out of Bahçelievler neighborhood satisfied?”, emotions similar to reproach and pity were observed in their attitudes.

“Some people went to Bağlıca or Çayyolu. They mostly went to places where the houses were nice but far away. One of my friends in Bağlıca went to a beautiful detached house called American Houses, but he couldn't get used to it for a year or two. He always kept his eyes here. He wondered if he should buy a house here. But at that time they couldn't sell the house in Bağlıca and buy a house in Bahçeli. Anyway, then they got used to it. Most of the people who go there complain about the lack of neighborhood.” Fatma.

“They are not happy at all. They come here often. Our acquaintances who live in Çayyolu and Batıkent say they can't do anything there and they often come to Bahçelievler. Their houses are beautiful but they have nothing to do there. Those who leave here look for this place, but those who come here don't look for where they came from. I didn't go because I was going to look for it.” Turgut.

“I know people who go to the new parts of the city... People who live in housing estates... There are even people who have two or three-story houses around Gölbaşı. When they come, they come with a nostalgic feeling because they have lived in Bahçelievler for almost as long as I have. If there is a shopkeeper still standing there, they are happy. Do they miss the place where they used to live, the old days or the life in Bahçelievler neighborhood? I don't know.” Fatma.

As can be seen, the questions asked to analyze the place belonging of the participants, which triggered them both positively and negatively, were about the past. It was observed that the participants, who were indifferent to the young people's lack of belonging to Bahçelievler Neighborhood, secretly enjoyed the regrets of their former neighbors. The participants, who see themselves as true Bahçelians, have remained loyal to Bahçelievler Neighborhood despite all the changes and problems. While living in the neighborhood is getting harder day by day, their identity is losing value, and their place attachment is fraying, former neighbors who regret leaving the neighborhood meet the participants' need for approval. Like many concepts, place attachment can be sustained as long as it is approved by others.

Having lived for many years in a neighborhood that represented cultural hegemony, quality, prestige and a good life, it is more difficult than it seems for the participants to adapt to today's Bahçelievler Neighborhood. Participants who have realized themselves in many ways have to adapt to a new game, new players and new rules in the new Bahçelievler neighborhood. While the learning process is challenging enough, over the years, the sense of belonging to the place that they carry within themselves is also diminishing as neighbors pass away or move away. In such a situation, the answers to the question “Where do you see Bahçelievler Neighborhood in 10 years?”, which was asked in order to find out the participants' thoughts about

the future they envision for Bahçelievler Neighborhood, are dominated by a feeling of acceptance of the situation.

“The old Bahçelievler does not stay. New people will come. Still, Bahçelievler will continue. Bahçelievler is trying to stand a little more. We still have the Republican People's Party (CHP) here.” Hasan.

“Change will continue, there is no stopping it. All of these remaining houses will change. They are all leaving. Of course, in addition to them, three or five more families come to each house from outside. The population will necessarily increase. ... Now, I feel like in this change, it will preserve its original foundation. I guess I want it to be like that, I don't know.” Fatma.

In Bahçelievler Neighborhood, which could not be transformed both physically and culturally, participants based their place attachment on the good days of the past. Bahçelievler Neighborhood, in which they made both emotional and economic investments in the past, has succumbed to change and failed to meet the participants' expectations for the future, despite their persistent belonging and loyalty.

5.4. Remaining From Bahcelievler Neighborhood: Place Attachment

As a result of the research on the history of the neighborhood, theoretical literature and interviews, we are left with the question of what has been produced in Bahçelievler Neighborhood despite all this? As discussed in the sections above, many things have changed in Bahçelievler Neighborhood such as the neighborhood profile, family type, economic status, entertainment concept, neighborhood relations, building types, public and private spaces. Participants have also transformed from decision-makers into a group of witnesses to change over time. However, the most important element of the Bahçelievler neighborhood that has been preserved, albeit with difficulty, is the identity of Bahçelian. Bahçelievler, which represented an exemplary settlement, an ideal lifestyle and the modern urban Turkish citizen when it was founded in the 1940s, represented a decent environment where bureaucrats, artists and politicians preferred to live during the 1950s and 1960s, and a conflict

zone as a result of political polarization in the 1970s. Then, from the late 1980s to the present day, it has been remembered as a historical neighborhood that has been subjected to physical and cultural change rather than being a part of it. Although the Bahçelievler neighborhood has changed, the identity of Bahçelian represents home for the participants. While the existence of monumental buildings such as Anıtkabir and the National Library, which have survived from the past to the present, constitutes a concrete basis for the participants who embrace the values of the Republic, the fact that Bahçelievler Neighborhood is still known as a safe and quality neighborhood by outsiders enables the participants to preserve their symbolic capital. In this way, place belonging, which cannot be reproduced but is an important part of our participants' lives, preserves itself through metamorphosis.

Bahçelievler Neighborhood, in Ankara, the capital of the Republic of Turkey, has formed an origin story through the official history written by Bahçelievler Construction Cooperative and the stories written by participants. Since its inception, Bahçelievler has undergone physical and cultural transformations, and today it has moved away from the mythology it created itself. Due to economic and political conditions, the neighborhood has become a real, imperfect and chaotic settlement. It was felt that the transformation of the neighborhood could not be adequately understood with new residents or those who had chosen to leave. Especially when it comes to exploring a concept like place attachment, where tangible and intangible reasons intertwine, interviewing participants who have developed a kind of obsession with the neighborhood was deemed useful at this point. In addition, the fact that the concept of place attachment has ceased to be an important identity feature for new generations has determined the participant profile of our research. Participants over 50 years of age who have been living in Bahçelievler Neighborhood for more than 30 years are thought to be an important source for us to understand the concept of place attachment.

Throughout the interviews, participants were asked about their motivation for moving to the neighborhood, their old and new neighbors, the neighborhood's past, present and future, the changes it has undergone and its political position. Most of the participants created a narrative of Bahçelievler Neighborhood in a chronological

manner and based on concrete elements about their neighborhood, which they knew very well. The answers provided us with an insight into what it means to belong to a place. On the other hand, the only question that the participants were asked to answer without thinking, leaving all their concrete reasons aside, was “What does Bahçelievler mean to you?”. The participants, who had maintained a cautious demeanor throughout the entire interview, thinking and fearing the researcher's judgment of them, responded to this question by succumbing to their emotions:,

“For me, Bahçelievler represents the Republic. People live with their roots. If you don't have roots, you drift. You act inconsistently.” Meral.

“From what I gathered from this conversation, we love Bahçelievler very much. I can say “life” in one word. With this interview, I understood better that I and my children belong here. I realized that life here is better. So it helped.” Ahmet.

“It's a way of life, it's happiness, it's feeling good, it's saying sorry when you step on your foot in the supermarket.” Turgut.

“For a while we wondered whether we should leave Bahçelievler, but my wife is so attached to this place. When the apartment building next to ours was demolished, I felt that I was also attached to this place with the sadness I felt. Because this time it is our apartment building's turn. I felt that because most of the apartments around us started to be demolished due to urban transformation. Negotiations have also started with our apartment building. When you lose something, you become more emotional. I feel like the bond I had with Bahçelievler is breaking, and I feel like the bond I had with Ankara is also breaking. I will be very sad if I leave here one day.” Mehtap.

“Bahçelievler is life itself. I was not born here, but I love living here and I believe I will live here for the rest of my life. Bahçelievler is important for me. Life is vibrant here. People are beautiful and good. That's how I see it. In my opinion, all the people living here are good.” Turgut.

“My youth, my memories, my freedom... All this gives me happiness. I came here when I was 19 or 20 years old and today I'm 70. I've been gone from time to time,

but I've always been here. Atilla İlhan says “you” wherever I go, and I go back to Bahçelievler wherever I go.” Şermin.

“My youth, my childhood, my family, my mother, my father, my children, my first family, my current family, all my memories, everything. All my experiences. My memories of being a student, my friends, my wife and friends. It is so vast that everything is here. I've lived everything here. Everything is here in its fullness, for better or for worse... I never thought that if I leave Bahçelievler, I would be here.” Fatma.

“Bahçelievler means my childhood for me. My workplace, my parents, my everything.” Nedim.

The expressions used by the participants in defining their own Bahçelievler neighborhood show that the sense of place attachment they feel has become a very personal part of who they are. From the beginning of the interviews, the expressions defining place attachment followed a flow from the communal to the personal, albeit with various fluctuations along a line extending from the past to the future. Participants who acquired socially approved identities and statuses by moving to Bahçelievler Neighborhood built their place attachment on concrete elements. As the world and Turkey changed, the prestigious position of the participants lost its meaning over time. The Bahçelievler neighborhood has not been able to recreate the glory days of the past, both physically and culturally. It has neither become a slum like Cebeci or Yenimahalle, nor a center of attraction like Ayrancı or Gaziosmanpaşa. Bahçelievler Neighborhood has turned into an in-between settlement thanks to the Anıtkabir, the National Library, the 3rd generation coffee shops that have opened one after another and the loyal neighborhood residents. Under these conditions, the place attachment of the few remaining former neighborhood residents is defined as a sense of belonging that is neither a legacy to be passed on to someone else nor a feeling that is useful in terms of the opportunities it provides. Participants' sense of place has become a consolation that they know will disappear after a generation, but which they cling to in order to preserve the identities they have constructed.

CHAPTER 6

EVALUATION

The questions asked in the interviews conducted under this heading are re-evaluated by taking into account the identity, past, present, changes and the preserved identity of the Bahçelievler neighborhood. In this evaluation, the theoretical background described in Chapter 2 is used to understand the reasons behind the place attacment of the residents of Bahçelievler Neighborhood and how it has been preserved over the years.

6.1. What Participants Brought to Bahçelievler

During the interviews, it was learned that 8 people are not from Ankara and that all of these people came to Ankara because of their families' or their spouses' civil servant duties. The remaining 4 people from Ankara work as shopkeepers. Thus, we can basically divide the participants into two categories: Civil servants and the tradesmen who serve them.

1.1. **Civil Servants**: During the interviews, it was found that most residents have a military or civil servant background. After their families or spouses were assigned to Ankara due to their duties, people decided that Bahçelievler was a good place to live, considering that it was decent, calm and home to quality people. The fact that there were schools in the neighborhood, which were considered to provide good education, and that many artists, intellectuals and politicians lived in the neighborhood helped people decide that living in Bahçelievler was the right decision. In addition, in the 1960s and 1970s, Bahçelievler's detached houses with gardens and low-rise apartment buildings were

attractive to civil servants who wanted to live here because the neighborhood reminded them of a village, despite being so close to the city center. Bahçelievler was like a commune with quaint gardens and similar houses lined up side by side, all with similar family structures, which offered a dream to the new residents.

For civil servant families who make an economic investment and buy or rent a house in Bahçelievler, finding a roof over their heads is not their only goal. In the interviews, it is understood that the Bahçelievler neighborhood was chosen by the families willingly and that they even pushed their economic conditions for this purpose. It is a fact that being a civil servant in Turkey in the 1960s and 70s put people at the top of Maslow's pyramid of needs. For this reason, when people decide to live in a place, they have the chance to put forward various demands about who they want to live with and under what conditions. These families from various parts of Anatolia made various decisions with the idea that they could accumulate both social capital and cultural capital in Ankara. In particular, the possibility of interacting with similar families or famous people living in this neighborhood made them dream of a Bahçelievler where they could develop their social capital. Bahçelievler, which was thought to be inhabited by high-level people, encouraged the new civil servant families to become members of a new class. A new place means a new beginning and a new identity. For this reason, making the decision to live in this neighborhood was seen as the first and most important step in getting one step closer to the life they dreamed of.

As explained above, most of the participants living in the habitus of a civil servant have continued their family's habits, life view and occupational preferences. For this reason, although they represent the 2nd generation in Bahçelievler, they do not separate themselves from the first generation that came here. In addition to sharing their habitus, they have also inherited their capital.

1.2. Tradesmen: Among the participants interviewed were residents of Bahçelievler neighborhoods who work as butchers, white goods sellers, grocers and pastry shop owners. The families of these people migrated from rural areas to the city between 1960 and 1970 in order to find work and thus acquire economic capital. In addition to serving the civil servants, who make up the majority of the neighborhood, as a business owner or apartment clerk in Bahçelievler, they have gained access to many layers of the neighborhood by starting to live in the neighborhood. Some of the participants engaged in tradesmanship came from villages in nearby cities, while others were born in the suburbs of Ankara. The priorities of the first generation of tradesmen and servants who came to Bahçelievler to work were not to adapt to the habitus, but to acquire economic capital. However, the second-generation participants we interviewed had a different struggle to adapt to the habitus because they chose Bahçelievler as their home and could no longer resemble their families.

While the second generation, who prefer to work as tradesmen instead of pursuing an academic career, follow the path of their families in this sense, they differ from their families in terms of their adaptation to the civil servant habitus in Bahçelievler. The most important reason why they are trying to make their social and cultural capital similar to that of their civil servant families in order to become Bahçelievlerites is that they are discriminated against. As a matter of fact, the participants have indirectly expressed the discrimination they experience due to the relationship of gratitude they have established with Bahçelievler and the civil servants whom they see as its original owners. In fact, they do not like the way they were when they first came to Bahçelievler and tolerate this discrimination. The tradesmen participants, who are no longer different from any civil servant family, still live with the ghosts of the past and pay their social capital debts to the civil servants whom they see as their benefactors. Although social capital accumulates through exchange, the power imbalance between

the giver and the receiver creates debts that do not exist. It is thought that this sense of gratitude is one of the most important elements that trigger the place attachment of the tradesmen participants.

6.2. The Past Life of Bahçelievler

Participants were asked a number of questions about the past of the Bahçelievler neighborhood to understand who lived there, what life was like and what relations between people were like. On average, the period that the participants defined as the past Bahçeli covers the late 1960s and 1970s.

6.2.1. Bahçelievler Neighborhood and Residents Profile in the Past

People who moved to Bahçelievler neighborhood did not only bring their belongings with them. In fact, they also brought their habits, lifestyles, traditions and political views in their suitcases. As a matter of fact, as mentioned above, the participants were divided into two groups as civil servants and tradesmen according to the way they came and their professions. However, this distinction disappeared over time and a common habitus was formed. More precisely, the feeling of belonging to a community gave people a very strong reason to believe in a common way of living, a common style of definition and similar judgments. The habitus created collectively by people has melted individual differences. Thus, a profile of Bahçelili and a model of Bahçelievler lifestyle was formed.

The Bahçelievler neighborhood in the late 1960s and 70s was described by the participants as an idealized example of a Modern Turkish neighborhood that maintained a cooperative spirit, as in the story told in Chapter 1. Inhabited mostly by high-level civil servants and high-ranking military officers, the neighborhood is composed of nuclear families with similar economic conditions and values. According to the conditions of that day, the income level of civil servant families, who were considered lucky compared to other families in Turkey, was also high. Thus, it is thought that the residents of the neighborhood generally met their basic needs and had a lot of economic capital left to realize themselves. In support of this

idea, it is stated that there are many bakeries and movie theaters in Bahçelievler Neighborhood. In addition, the fact that well-known people from the arts and politics such as Safiye Ayla, Zülfü Livaneli, Aydın Tansel, Suna Kan, Fakir Baykurt, and Emin Çölaşan live in the neighborhood is evidence that Bahçelievler Neighborhood is a very livable place for the participants. Participants stated that Bahçelievler Neighborhood is not a cosmopolitan place, despite the fact that it has a high-level neighborhood profile. Bahçelievler, where an well-educated neighborhood profile is repeatedly emphasized, is described by the participants as village-like, humble, safe, charming and solidaristic. The past life of Bahçelievler, where everyone is similar and knows each other, is described by the participants as a Smurf Village.

Tradesmen participants with large families that fall outside the core civil servant family idealized in the habitus of Bahçelievler were discriminated against on the grounds that they did not fit into apartment life. In addition, it was implied by their neighbors that they did not fit the profile of Bahçelievler Neighborhood due to their appearance and educational level. The issue here is not which lifestyle came first in Bahçelievler Neighborhood. The main reason why a lifestyle is idealized is related to what is considered acceptable by society. The ghost of the Bahçelievler Cooperative, built in accordance with the lifestyle idealized by the modern Republic of Turkey, determined what was right years ago. The families of civil servants, which are fed by this historical indoctrination and constitute the majority, have also aimed to dissolve all differences within themselves. In order to adapt to others and become one of them, participants from different backgrounds and lifestyles stated that they quickly adapted to others. Being a rich merchant or a butcher who does a lot of business alone did not help people in the process of adapting to the established habitus. As Bourdieu points out, thinking that people can achieve social success in this way would lead us into the quagmire of economism. People who define themselves as the artisans of Bahçelievler Neighborhood have changed their human relations and lifestyles after they started living here. It is the social and cultural capital they have accumulated that makes them Bahçelians. Neighborly relations, pastry shop meetings, home visits, lifestyles, clothing styles, leisure time activities, and the presence of a television in the house have defined what it means to be a Bahçelian. Thanks to the invisible borders that bring a different dimension to the geographical

boundaries of the neighborhood, Bahçelievler Neighborhood has been able to keep itself pure for a long time like a Smurf Village.

6.2.2. Neighborhood Relations

In Bahçelievler Neighborhood, where similar people live, old neighborhood relations are remembered with longing. Families living in lodgings, apartments and housing estates meet more than once a day, especially among women. In these types of interactions, where physical distance has narrowed considerably, residents have established very close relationships with their neighbors, first within their own apartments and then with their neighbors living in neighboring apartments. The level of intimacy of these relationships made it possible for neighbors to intervene in each other's lives. So much so that situations such as controlling which house receives guests, knowing which neighbor comes home at what time, and monitoring all the movements of young people have emerged. Participants attributed such incidents to the fact that their neighbors liked them too much and described such relationships in which the concept of boundary was violated without complaint. It was also learned that participants who lived in a dormitory in Bahçelievler Neighborhood during their university years were spied on by neighbors and complained to the dormitory director for not closing the curtains in their rooms. In a neighborhood where everyone leads similar lifestyles, the perspective towards students who lived in the past was described as suspicious and controlling. On the other hand, participants who have been working as shopkeepers in Bahçelievler Neighborhood for a long time stated that their customers who live in the neighborhood leave their house keys with them and even pick up the children of neighborhood residents from the school bus.

Participants romanticized the neighborly relations established in Bahçelievler Neighborhood, where people live as a commune. Even tradesmen who represent a different profile in Bahçelievler Neighborhood were included in this relationship network. In order to preserve the identity of Bahçelian, people have built a closed-circuit social capital cycle within themselves. Neighborhood residents reinforced their sense of belonging with a sense of trust. The trust and tranquility built has turned the Bahçelievler Neighborhood, which ostensibly consists of nuclear families,

into a big family. The family is considered as an element that will facilitate a person's access to all forms of capital with the opportunities it creates within itself. For this reason, all outsiders who might threaten this resource are labeled as dangerous. This environment, where the boundaries of the concept of family are blurred, will be occupied by many foreigners in the future.

6.2.3. Political Views

The increasing political polarization in Turkey, especially in the 1970s, also affected the Bahçelievler Neighborhood. Participants stated that in the 70s, provincial private dormitories were opened on many streets of Bahçelievler Neighborhood for male students from nearby provinces such as Tokat and Nevşehir, and that the students here were right-wing. In addition, the headquarters of the Nationalist Movement Party, which represented one end of the political polarization, was also located in Bahçelievler Neighborhood, making the entire campus a center for right-wing people. Residents of the neighborhood stated that they were stopped countless times by many people who did not live in the neighborhood at the time, questioned about their political views and harassed. Not only adults, but also participants who were high school students at the time stated that they were subjected to violence because of the political views represented by the high school they attended. Inferring from the participants' narratives, there are two main reasons why right-wing foreigners, who are trying to create their own liberated zones, are unable to stay in the neighborhood. First of all, the residents of the neighborhood were exclusionary towards this group, just like other foreigners. In the interviews, the fact that the participants saw themselves and the residents of the neighborhood within the social democrat-left line increased the effect of the exclusionary attitude adopted to protect the neighborhood. Secondly, the fact that Emek Neighborhood, whose borders are intertwined with Bahçelievler Neighborhood, is a settlement where left-wing students and people are in the majority, has cornered right-wing foreigners. For a certain period of time, the foreigners, who were responsible for many bloody incidents and the deaths of many young people, had to withdraw from the neighborhood. All of the participants who thought that the identity of Bahçelievler Neighborhood was damaged due to these incidents in the past described these events in a very negative way.

While the residents of the Bahçelievler neighborhood did not refrain from controlling outsiders in the area they thought belonged to them, they did not accept a foreigner's aspiration for this control. The residents of the Bahçelievler neighborhood, who insist on being both the master and the police of the world they have built, have entered a protectionist mode by closing in on themselves in the field of politics, as in all interventions from the outside. Opposed to all political actions that disrupt the big family order and undermine the accumulation of social capital that regulates people's relations, the residents of the neighborhood have gathered under the unity of republican values. The history of Ankara, the values idealized by the Bahçelievler Cooperative, and the physical proximity of the neighborhood to Anıtkabir defined the residents of the Bahçelievler neighborhood as the referees of a game. In the tense political environment of the past, the Bahçelievler Neighborhood protected the habitus they created by adhering to republican values by likening it to a sacred space.

In the history of the Bahçelievler Neighborhood, it was observed that the participants developed place attachment in a Bourdiuean sense. The participants not only made a good economic investment by moving to a “quality neighborhood”. Bahçelievler Neighborhood, which is likened to a decent village life where similar people live together, has created a social capital that the participants can benefit from. The presence of well-known figures in the fields of politics, cinema, music and journalism, as well as the presence of popular entertainment venues such as cinemas, pastry shops, parks and sports complexes that were popular in Ankara in the 70s, indirectly provided the residents of Bahçelievler neighborhood with cultural capital. In addition to the combination of all these types of capital, the fact that foreigners defined Bahçelievler Neighborhood and its residents as special, gave the participants prestige, that is, symbolic capital. Developing a place attachment to the Bahçelievler Neighborhood, which contributed to the lives of the participants in many ways with the types of capital it offered, is a very logical decision at this point. As an identity feature that facilitated their lives and distinguished them from others, being from Bahçelian created a strong sense of belonging to the neighborhood. In short, it is thought that the attachment that the participants felt to the neighborhood in the past years was related to their belonging to their social status.

6.3. New Bahçelievler Neighborhood and The Change

While trying to understand the story and the reasons behind the participants' place attacment, it was observed that they distinguished between the old and the new Bahçelievler Neighborhood. The new Bahçelievler was described as something that was endured for the sake of the old Bahçelievler Neighborhood. It is interesting that when the words “old” and “new” are not mentioned in the questions about Bahçelievler Neighborhood, the participants automatically talk about the past years of the neighborhood and the profile of the residents who used to live there. The participants' sense of belonging to the old Bahçelievler Neighborhood and not embracing any of its current characteristics brings to mind Savage's concept of elective belonging. In contrast to psychological approaches that think we copy all the behaviors and habits around us through exposure during our identity construction and sociological approaches that think we form our selves under the influence of certain social conditions, Savage gives the individual a elective role in determining who they are.

Having lived in Bahçelievler Neighborhood for years and accumulated economic, social and cultural capital in order to be permanent in both space and place, neighborhood residents have adapted to the established habitus. In this way, the residents of the neighborhood who are Bahçelili have been able to use this identity in many different areas in the past. Thanks to their identity as Bahçelians, residents had good neighbors, the possibility of meeting celebrities, good cinemas, parks, a quality social environment and solidarity. Over the years, just like the Bahçelievler neighborhood, the adjectives offered by the Bahçelili identity have changed. In the new Bahçelievler neighborhood, the residents of the neighborhood, whose place attacment was formed according to the conditions of the old neighborhood, began to separate some concepts from others and to maintain their place attacment on a narrower ground.

6.3.1. New Bahçelievler Neighborhood and Resident Profile

Bahçelievler Neighborhood has seen an influx of students due to the many universities and dormitories located nearby. In the interviews with the participants,

the new profile of people in Bahçelievler Neighborhood was categorized into two age groups: young people and the elderly. Due to its proximity to universities, socializing spaces, the city center and the metro, students rent houses in Bahçelievler Neighborhood with several people. The other side of the neighborhood is represented by the elderly population who do not want to break their old habits, live alone or with a partner, and whose children have moved elsewhere. Bahçelievler Neighborhood has been reshaped according to the needs and desires of students who have more power to change. The cafes and fast food chains opened on 7th Avenue and 3rd Avenue attract more students to the neighborhood and shrink the living space of the old Bahçelians living here. For one group, the Bahçelievler neighborhood has become a favorite, but for many others it represents a place in decline. Bahçelievler Neighborhood, which used to represent families, high ranking people and orderly life, now represents transient students and a bustling life. The inhabitants of Bahçelievler Neighborhood, who have lived as a commune for many years, are confronted with many visitors and concepts they do not understand.

Apart from students, general practitioners who rented or rented a house in Bahçelievler Neighborhood due to the nearby hospitals were viewed positively by the participants. As a matter of fact, this is not a situation that the residents of the neighborhood are completely satisfied with because the majority of these general practitioners are single and live alone. For this reason, the desired Bahçelievler Neighborhood profile cannot be found.

6.3.2. Neighborhood Relations

One of the things that the participants miss most about the past is the neighborly relations they used to have. New residents of Bahçelievler neighborhood are criticized for using their houses as hotels and not being close to their neighbors. Neighbors who are met more than once a day and relationships strengthened by a network of solidarity have not survived because people no longer have to accumulate their social capital in this way. Human relationships, which in the past required manual time and effort, are developing more rapidly today. The residents of the old Bahçelievler Neighborhood, who have accumulated cultural capital through time and

effort, as well as courtesy and etiquette, do not describe the new as “different” but as “bad”. This is because the social and cultural capital that residents of the old neighborhood imagined would increase in value has lost value over time. Instead of admitting defeat to the new, participants tried to prove the new residents are wrong during the interviews. While admitting defeat is not easy for anyone, it is much more difficult for participants who were once both economically and socially privileged. For the participants, accepting defeat represents the loss of their rights. Accepting that the identities they have gained through Bahçelievler Neighborhood are no longer valid and that the order and people have changed would fundamentally shake the place attachment to Bahçelievler Neighborhood. For this reason, a safe space is created by remembering past neighborhood relations and good neighbors who are no longer alive.

In Bahçelievler Neighborhood, change has occurred both physically and intellectually. However, it was the ideas that brought about the physical change and the physical reasons that brought about the change in ideas. In other words, the causes of change have intertwined.

Bahçelievler neighborhood has been subjected to urban transformation 3 times throughout its history. The detached houses with gardens that distinguished it from other neighborhoods in the 1930s were either sold to others or converted into apartment buildings by their owners in the 60s in order to generate more income. Due to the fact that Bahçelievler Neighborhood surrounds Anıtkabir, these apartment buildings, which were no higher than 3 floors, were demolished one by one in the 90s and replaced by new apartment buildings. From the first plans of the Bahçelievler Cooperative, the detached houses, which were planned to be spacious and multi-roomed, were built in accordance with the purchasing power and family structures of its members. As the Bahçelievler neighborhood's civil servant residents became poorer and their purchasing power decreased day by day, they downsized their lifestyles and started to live in apartments. The fate of the neighborhood residents' economic capital, which they had difficulty protecting against the rising cost of living, was also reflected in the social and cultural sphere. The new neighbors that came with apartmentization included not only the families of civil servants, but

also students, young people, singles and many other groups in Bahçelievler Neighborhood. Today, 7th Street and 3rd Street, known as Café Street, offer a quiet environment for those who work remotely, while also serving as a major entertainment venue for underage youth and young adults who prefer alcohol-free environments. The game and its rules, established by the similar people of Bahçelevler neighborhood around a common goal, have changed. The rights and wrongs that have ruled the neighborhood for many years have been changed by the new residents of the Bahçelievler neighborhood. So much so that new fields and rules specific to many different players have been defined in the neighborhood.

In the changing Bahçelievler Neighborhood, many problems have emerged with the increasing population. The continuous growth of shops and cafes in violation of zoning laws has led to a chaotic process of physical change in the Bahçelievler neighborhood. In addition to traffic and parking problems that undermine participants' nostalgic sense of place, sidewalks and streets have become unfavorable for pedestrians. Disappointment was observed among the participants who knew that they could not prevent the change in the neighborhood and tried to live with the problems it brought. The inability to preserve the historical texture of Bahçelievler Neighborhood and its exposure to uncontrolled urban transformation have desensitized some of the neighborhood residents. In fact, instead of taking steps to protect Bahçelievler Neighborhood, these participants were involved in the process of deterioration of the neighborhood's unique texture. The demolition of the Market Place, which has many memories for each of the residents of the neighborhood and has a functional place in their daily lives, was described as the right decision by many participants. Apart from this, there are also participants who see the floor law in Bahçelievler Neighborhood as a major obstacle to the neighborhood's renewal. For this reason, the participants consider it natural that their own children are not sufficiently Bahcelians and justify their living elsewhere.

So why do the respondents who criticize the New Bahçelievler Neighborhood in every sense and have a great longing for the old neighborhood continue to live in Bahçelievler Neighborhood?

Although the participants did not approve of the new Bahçelievler neighborhood, they stated that they could not move elsewhere because of their memories and habits. In addition, the majority of the participants also stated that they had the opportunity to move to other neighborhoods and newer houses, but they refused to do so. The reasons stated by the participants during the interviews for staying in Bahçelievler Neighborhood constitute the tip of the iceberg. The inability of the values they believed in, the habits they had acquired and the forms of capital they had accumulated to adapt to today's world has put the participants into a process of silent mourning. In an environment where Bahçelievler Neighborhood could not be transformed for physical, political and economic reasons, the participants could not transform themselves.

Neighborhood has been built on this safe ground for years. Today, this safe ground has almost disappeared. Each new generation that comes to Bahçelievler Neighborhood to live or have fun is moving away from its history, expressions and prestigious identity. Thus, the participants do not find an heir to pass on their cultural and social capital. In addition, it was also stated that many former residents of Bahçelievler Neighborhood moved to neighborhoods such as Ümitköy and Çayyolu due to the convenience of parking, the demand for a quiet place and the desire to live in a new house. Considering all these, it is clear that the participants have lost blood in many ways. The participants, who are unable to preserve their lives due to the negative picture drawn above, are at least trying to preserve their identities within the small group that recognizes them and provides them with a little symbolic capital.

The new Bahçelievler Neighborhood has changed physically, culturally, in terms of the socioeconomic status of its new residents, neighborhood relations, visitors and entertainment. The forms of capital and prestige that the participants gained from the previous Bahçelievler Neighborhood have lost value with this change. The place belonging of the participants, who constructed in a Bourdieuan way thanks to the benefits it brought, has also changed shape. The participants, who accepted the Bahçelievler Neighborhood with all its positive and negative characteristics in the past and made it a part of their identity, have today downsized both in terms of their belonging to the neighborhood and the physical space they live in. In this process,

the participants' sense of belonging to their neighborhood has evolved from a Bourdieu perspective definition to Savage's elective belonging. In the past, when even living in Bahçelievler Neighborhood was prestigious, the participants embraced their neighborhood as a whole due to the validity of their Bahçelian identity in many areas. As the neighborhood became more crowded and underwent many physical transformations, participants tended to narrow their living spaces, avoiding 7th Street and 3rd Street, and embracing the neighborhood's side streets and unchanging spaces (Bulka Pastry Shop, Pelikan Pastry Shop, Fishmongers and parks with few visitors). As can be seen, Bahçelievler Neighborhood has not only not been physically and culturally transformed, but also has not been transformed in terms of place attachment. The main reason for this shrinkage is the participants' inability to pass on their identity as Bahçelians and their sense of belonging to Bahçelievler Neighborhood to their children. This situation should not be seen as a personal failure of the participants, but as a result of a social change. In the changing Turkey, it is not mandatory for the new generation to develop a sense of belonging in order to prove themselves and achieve a status. In today's society, where change is rapid and drastic in every field, the ability to adapt to unexpected conditions comes to the fore instead of establishing permanent ties.

In the interviews, it was observed that the participants' expectations from the New Bahçelievler Neighborhood were to strengthen their identity and sense of belonging to the neighborhood with their own children. Participants who could not convince their own children to live in the Bahçelievler Neighborhood avoided showing their defeat and insisted that their children's decisions were justified. Upon the disappointment experienced by the participants, they did not find the new residents of the neighborhood equivalent to their own lifestyles, so they imprisoned themselves in the past. Thus, within a selected area, the participants are able to live by preserving the exchange value of the forms of capital they have accumulated since the past and their identity as Bahçelians. Bourdieu's capital theory, which states that people's preferences are based on certain social norms, has turned into an exchange that participants can only maintain in their own safe spaces due to the change. For this reason, the belonging of former Bahcelians in Yeni Bahcelievler Neighborhood is defined by Savage's selective belonging.

6.4. Protected Identity of Bahçelievler Neighborhood

Despite the changes that the Bahçelievler Neighborhood has undergone, the participants are still able to identify themselves as Bahçelili and maintain their sense of belonging to their neighborhood because of the official and unofficial history of the Bahçelievler Neighborhood. Participants have formed a selective belonging by first looking at the physical structures that have survived from the official historical narrative and the values they symbolize, and then by drawing on the personal stories they have written with the capital accumulation provided to them by the neighborhood while constructing their own identities.

First of all, two of the most important symbolic places in Bahçelievler Neighborhood have stood the test of time. These are Anıtkabir and the National Library.

Especially the presence of Anıtkabir has an important place in terms of preventing physical changes in the neighborhood. Participants think that the reason why the new apartment buildings are 3 or 4 storeys high is due to a zoning policy implemented in order not to block the view of Anıtkabir. Among the old neighborhoods that have surrendered themselves to high-rise apartment buildings, Bahçelievler Neighborhood's low-rise apartment buildings and the old trees around them make the neighborhood special. The partial preservation of a physical structure similar to the past has given residents a reason to concretize their sense of place. Just as Anıtkabir is the guardian of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the most important figure of the Republic of Turkey, Bahçelievler Neighborhood is the guardian of Anıtkabir. Participants see themselves as the hosts of Anıtkabir, which is visited by visitors from all over Turkey on national holidays and special occasions. During the interviews, it was observed that the participants were proud to be close to such a structure. As a neighborhood that is home to Anıtkabir, Bahçelievler Neighborhood is also considered to be a representation of republican values. The ideals of the Bahçelievler Building Cooperative, which was started with the approval of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, who is seen by many as the founder of Modern Turkey, are tried to be maintained by participants who are aware of their own history or who are unfamiliar with this history. Even though the ideals that were expected to be realized have mostly faded,

the participants place themselves in a more republican position compared to other neighborhoods with the presence of Anıtkabir. The identity that a symbolic place gives to all participants and the neighborhood creates a lasting place attachment. Staying in Bahçelievler Neighborhood, loving it despite everything and mourning the good old days of the neighborhood symbolize the protection of republican values for the participants. In this sense, the participants sanctified the Bahçelievler Neighborhood by attaching it to a value above their own lives.

The National Library is one of the concrete expressions of the identity of the residents of Bahçelievler neighborhood. The library, which holds a copy of every written work published in Turkey, is not only of national and cultural significance. It is also a meeting or recipe point for many Ankara residents. In the past, the civil servants who worked here lived in lodgings in the Bahçelievler neighborhood. As a prestigious institution of the state, the National Library further increased the symbolic capital of the Bahçelievler neighborhood. Bahçelievler Neighborhood, which has been home to high-level state officials and state institutions for decades, starting with the first members of the Bahçelievler Building Cooperative, has established its values with a state mind that is seen as superior to everything else. The state mind referred to here does not represent any government or political view, but rather the individual and family ideals of the founding cadre of the republic. Anıtkabir and the National Library, two important buildings that have remained intact since the Bahçelievler Neighborhood's past, contributed significantly to the participants' elective place attachment. Apart from these buildings, Bahçelievler Neighborhood, which has been subjected to many urban transformations and cultural changes, has limited the elements that the participants can connect to. Participants who created their own small Bahçelievler Neighborhood were able to preserve the place attachment they had by limiting the elements to which they would develop attachment. It is thought that without this limitation, they would lose the space where the forms of capital they have left still retain their exchange value.

Uncovering the main reasons for belonging to the Bahçelievler Neighborhood, which the respondents created with their own experiences and perspectives, was the most difficult part for the researcher to explain. The reason for this is that the question

“What does Bahçelievler mean to you?”, which was asked to the participants and revealed highly subjective data, had to be evaluated objectively. The participants who defined Bahçelievler Neighborhood with their childhood, youth, families, memories, happiness and pain may be considered to have made only emotional investments in the neighborhood if only their answers to this question are evaluated. As a matter of fact, if the research were to be concluded with only the answers given to this question, considering the geographical and psychological studies on place attachment to date, it could be assumed that place attachment is built entirely on a sense of nostalgia.

However, during the interviews, it was learned that both civil servants and shopkeepers came to Bahçelievler Neighborhood for a better life, a higher socioeconomic status, to be able to send their children to prestigious schools, to have a quality social environment, to acquire a profitable property and to be able to serve upscale customers. In addition to the social, cultural and economic capital that Bahçelievler Neighborhood has provided to the participants for many years, just living in this neighborhood has provided them with a prestigious identity in the past. Thus, it is revealed that the participants also made rational investments by relying on the promises of Bahçelievler Neighborhood, in other words, they developed a Bourdieu perspective place attachment in the past.

The fact that the participants' capital accumulations, which were useful in the past, have lost their value in the Bahçelievler Neighborhood, which is now cosmopolitanized, home to different identities and redesigned according to different needs, has turned place belonging into a more personal choice. This personal choice brings Savage's concept of selective belonging into play. In order to preserve their identities, participants have redefined their place attachment through selected historical buildings and their symbolic meanings, as well as former Bahcelians with whom they can continue to exchange forms of capital accumulated in the past. The word “redefine” here should not be confused with the word “recycle” because the participants' place attacment has been downsized and its lifespan is limited to the lifespan of the participants.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

As a result of the literature review, our own inferences, physical and theoretical limitations in the preparation phase of our research, Bahçelievler Neighborhood, which we determined as the research universe, was determined as an ideal settlement to examine place belonging. However, the process of place attachment is an output of social and personal processes, that is, in the final analysis, it is a human product. In this sense, although place attachment may seem like an artificial process, it is defined as a compulsory process because it is created out of a need. In this sense, it includes many social and personal elements in its formation process, forcing the researcher to make definite judgments.

Based on the research on the history of Bahçelievler Neighborhood, the following outputs were obtained from interviews with participants over the age of 50 and living in Bahçelievler Neighborhood for more than 30 years:

1) The planning period of Bahçelievler Neighborhood coincides with the early years of the Republic of Turkey, that is, the period of nation building. At that time, the founding cadres expected Ankara to set an example for all other cities in terms of urban life, the concept of citizenship and the ideal family. In this sense, Bahçelievler Neighborhood was established with high hopes and was able to reproduce its own identity for a long time.
2) The majority of the participants who settled in Bahçelievler Neighborhood in the late 60s and early 70s were civil servants and some of them were tradesmen. Although some changes started to take place in Bahçelievler Neighborhood in those years, the neighborhood still promised its residents a prestigious life. Detached and three-story apartment buildings with gardens, the fact that famous people from various fields live here, proximity to the city

center, proximity to Anıtkabir, diversity of entertainment venues, and state protection due to the fact that high-level bureaucrats live here distinguish Bahçelievler Neighborhood from other neighborhoods. Although all participants came to the neighborhood for different reasons, their common quest is to build a "better life". Even before the participants moved to the neighborhood, they started to adopt their new identities, which constituted an important origin story for the formation of place attachment.

3) As a result of the literature review on the concept of place attachment and the research conducted on the history of Bahçelievler Neighborhood, it has been determined that place attachment is constructed through an origin story. In interviews with participants, it emerged that their personal stories merged with the origin story of Bahçelievler Neighborhood, and that place attachment was continuously reproduced throughout this process.
4) Realizing that the promise of a better life can only be fully realized through their own efforts, the participants learned the rules, players and codes of conduct of this field. They then began the process of accumulating economic, cultural and social capital in order to become a true Bahçelian. They adapted to the order created by those who came before them. The main process that strengthened the identity of being from Bahçelievler Neighborhood and enabled the participants to benefit from it was the moment when they began to realize that they were envied by foreigners. Thus, the space they initially tried to get used to, the rules of the field and the forms of capital they accumulated little by little have gained meaning. In the field of play where they started as amateurs, they became quarterbacks and the Bahçelievler Neighborhood, with its tangible and intangible features, turned into a habitus that was adopted.
5) Although the participants had been exposed to positive propaganda about the neighborhood before coming to Bahçelievler Neighborhood, they were unaware of what they would encounter when they moved to the neighborhood. The successful outcome of this venture for themselves and their families was primarily seen as a personal victory. However, after the participants transformed Bahçelievler Neighborhood into a habitus, another victory was achieved against others. The protagonist of this process is the

prestige achieved by the participants, and thus they have built their place attachment on the prestigious identity of Bahçeli, which is also approved by others. At this point, place attachment is constructed through a Bourdiuian utilitarianism.

6) In a world where change is absolute, the Bahçelievler neighborhood has undergone physical, economic, social and cultural transformations. Gazi University, Başkent University, Faculty of Medicine and Hacettepe University Conservatory were built around the neighborhood. Over time, the establishment of various public transportation networks (Ankaray, Metro and dolmuş services) has facilitated the transportation of outsiders to the neighborhood. Thus, residents of the neighborhood, who moved to houses without stairs due to their advancing age and who moved to houses close to their own children, started renting their houses to students. Groups of students living in an apartment with 2-3 people changed the Bahçelievler Neighborhood's neighborhood profile, which consisted of retired people or nuclear families living off tradesmen. Students and their lifestyles, habits and individuality have brought the participants' dream of Bahçelievler Neighborhood face to face with reality. The participants not only learned the rules of the field they have been living in since the past, but also found themselves as amateur players in a newly established field when they had already become the quarterbacks of this field. As a result, they realized that their economic, social and cultural capital, which had provided them with prestige both in the neighborhood and in Ankara in the past, had no meaning in this new field. In short, the identity that the participants of the Bahçelievler neighborhood had given to themselves and the place attachment they had built upon it have lost their significance in the new Bahçelievler neighborhood and among its new residents.
7) Participants believe that the Bahçelievler Neighborhood has deteriorated due to the influx of foreigners from the outlying neighborhoods due to the schools and nearby metro lines. Cinemas and bakeries, which used to be the main protagonists of families' weekend entertainment in the past, have been replaced by cafes opening every step of the way. In addition to this, participants are unable to establish relationships with the idealized intensity

with the students who live in the flats for a semester or a year instead of the neighbors they have lived with for generations as in the past. What the participants see as deterioration is not the change in the Bahçelievler neighborhood, but the fact that their identities, which until now gave them access to many forms of capital and brought them prestige, no longer have any meaning in the eyes of new generations.

8) Participants who continue to live in Yeni Bahçelievler Neighborhood have shifted from an experiencer to an observer in the new area. Throughout the interviews, the participants showed that they were uncomfortable with the change, but they partially adapted to the conditions. More precisely, they have accepted that they will not be able to regain the prestigious days of the past. They accepted that moving to a new neighborhood and leaving Bahçelievler neighborhood behind was a much more challenging process than continuing to live in new Bahçelievler neighborhood.
9) The most important reason for the participants to stay in Yeni Bahçelievler Neighborhood is that they believe that there is still a small group of "Real Bahcelians" like themselves. Participants have created their own small Bahçelievler neighborhood by living in the side streets, away from 7th Avenue and 3rd Street, which they feel are being invaded by foreigners, and by maintaining their relationships with their old neighbors. Within this small space, the economic, social and cultural capital they have acquired in the past still retains its exchange value. In addition, within this small area, they are still able to partially control the area where they are accustomed to the rules and codes of behavior, and they can live within their own habitus. Participants who once loved Bahçelievler Neighborhood with everything and embraced it as a whole have also downsized their place attachment. One of the most important reasons for this shrinkage is the inability to reproduce the Bahçelievler neighborhood physically and culturally. Bahçelievler Neighborhood has not been able to develop in a way that preserves its authentic structure like Nişantaşı, Balat or Bebek neighborhoods in Istanbul, or Gaziosmanpaşa or Ayrancı neighborhoods in Ankara. Thus, after the physical destruction of Bahçelievler Neighborhood's past, the identity of Bahçelian and the place attachment built upon it were also damaged. In this

situation, the participants experienced Savage's concept of elective belonging by holding on to selected structures such as Anıtkabir, the National Library and Anıtpark, and the limited relationships that allowed them to preserve their identity as Bahçelians. Participants limited their place attachment to a place by electing the structures and relationships where they could still feel themselves and their identities as special.

10) Belonging to a place, which was an outcome of the identity of Bahçelian created in the past in order to gain social recognition, has turned into a defense mechanism supported by the participants in order to sustain their own existence.

In the light of the above findings, we argue that ": When place attachment, which is an output of our social identity construction, cannot be reproduced as a result of changing social, cultural, political and economic conditions, it turns into a defense mechanism that people create to protect their identities." The hypothesis has confirmed itself. A Bourdiuean narrative of place attachment developed for the sake of social utility has been downsized over time into Savage's elective attachment.

As a result of the literature review on place attachment, it has been observed that the concept has been examined geographically, psychologically and sociologically in a static manner. Belonging to a place has been idealized as a love story that progresses in an unending and linear line in which both people have the same level of emotion. However, place attachment, like many other concepts, changes according to the conditions, in other words, it is a dynamic process. In a sense, according to the researcher, place attachment is a mourning process with periods of rise and fall. Today's ruthless, unplanned and consensus-less urban transformations are not only physically destroying many historic neighborhoods. In this process, the death of place attachment, which plays an important role in the construction of identity, adaptation to social life and the maintenance of a culture of solidarity, takes place. In the interviews conducted within the scope of our research, it was observed that the participants have been mourning the death of the Bahçelievler Neighborhood for years and are now in the stage of acceptance.

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APPENDICES

A. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Hızla değişen dünyada mekâna bağlılık, kişisel ve toplumsal aidiyetin dinamik bir ifadesidir. Aile bağlarından sonra en temel aidiyet olan mekâna bağlılık, bireylere kim olduklarını hatırlatır ve yaşam tarzlarını şekillendirir. Ancak bu aidiyet, değişen sosyal, kültürel ve ekonomik koşullarla birlikte sürekli olarak yeniden üretilmelidir. Yeniden üretilemediğinde, mekâna bağlılık, kimliği korumak için bir savunma mekanizmasına dönüşür. Araştırmamızda, Bahçelievler Mahallesi'nde yaşayan ve mekâna bağlılık geliştiren bireyler üzerinden bu kavramın dinamik yapısı incelenmiştir. Bourdiue'nun alan, sermaye ve habitus teorileri ile Savage'ın seçici aidiyet kavramı temel alınarak, mekâna bağlılığın nasıl oluştuğu ve değişen koşullarda nasıl evrildiği analiz edilmiştir. 30 yıldan uzun süredir mahallede yaşayan 12 kişiyle yapılan görüşmeler üzerinden bu süreçler değerlendirilerek, aidiyetin sosyal kimlik üzerindeki etkileri tartışılmıştır.

Mekâna bağlılık, bireylerin yaşadıkları yerlerle kurdukları duygusal, sosyal ve kültürel bağları ifade eden bir kavramdır. Ancak, bu bağlılık her zaman durağan değildir; toplumsal, ekonomik ve kültürel değişimlerle birlikte sürekli yeniden şekillenir. Mekâna bağlılık kavramını üç ana disiplinde – coğrafi, sosyolojik ve psikolojik perspektiflerden incelenmiştir.

Coğrafi açıdan mekâna bağlılık, ilk olarak fiziksel bir yerle kurulan bağ olarak tanımlanır. National Geographic'in kaynaklarına göre, mekân belirli bir konum olarak tanımlanır, ancak mekâna bağlılık kavramını incelediğimizde, topluluk, anılar, duygular ve alışkanlıklarla da ilişkili olduğu görülür. Coğrafyacılar, mekânın sadece fiziksel bir yer olmadığını, aynı zamanda insanlarla kurduğu bağlar aracılığıyla daha derin bir anlam kazandığını belirtirler. Örneğin, Tuan (1974) mekâna bağlılığı

“topofili” kavramıyla açıklar; bu kavram, belirli bir çevreye karşı duyulan yoğun sevgi anlamına gelir. Tuan’a göre, bu sevgi anılar, değişiklikler ve duygularla şekillenir. Ancak bu sevgi her zaman olumlu değildir; insanlar, fiziksel bir çevreye bazen ani ve bağlamsız bir şekilde bağlanabilirler. Tuan, özellikle modern çağda insanların fiziksel dünyayla olan ilişkilerinin kopuk ve zaman zaman istismar edici olduğunu savunur. Çocukların mekânı, nesnel unsurlardan ziyade duygular ve ruh halleriyle hatırladığını belirten Tuan, mekânın kişisel deneyimlerle anlam kazandığını vurgular. Relph (1976) ise mekân ve mekânsızlık kavramlarını tartışır ve bir yerin, bireyler için sadece bir konumdan ibaret olmadığını, içsel ve dışsal etkilerin bir birleşimi olarak ele alınması gerektiğini söyler. Örneğin, bir mahalle, sadece fiziksel sınırlarıyla tanımlanmaz, aynı zamanda o mahallede yaşayan insanların alışkanlıkları ve toplumsal kimlikleriyle de anlam kazanır. Türkiye'deki göç örneklerinde olduğu gibi, insanlar İstanbul gibi büyük şehirlere geldiklerinde kendilerini “Küçük Sivas” gibi topluluklarla tanımlayabilirler. Bu bağlamda, mekâna bağlılık, insanlar eski alışkanlıklarını devam ettirebildiklerinde hızla oluşabilir. Relph, ayrıca insanların yaşadıkları yerle zamanla kurdukları ritüeller ve alışkanlıklar aracılığıyla mekâna bağlılık geliştirdiğini, bu bağlılığın zamanla daha da güçlendiğini belirtir.

Sosyolojik açıdan mekâna bağlılık, insanların yaşadıkları yerlerle kurdukları toplumsal bağlarla açıklanır. Low ve Altman (1992), mekâna bağlılık çalışmalarının başlangıçta coğrafyacılar ve psikologlar tarafından domine edildiğini, ancak sonrasında sosyologların da bu konuya ilgisinin arttığını belirtirler. Mekâna bağlılık, yer değiştirme, aile yapısındaki değişiklikler, suç oranları ve toplumsal gelişim gibi konularla ilişkili olarak incelenir. Sosyologlar, mekâna bağlılığın sadece kişisel anılar ve duygusal deneyimlerle sınırlı olmadığını, aynı zamanda günlük yaşamın ve toplumsal süreçlerin bir parçası olduğunu savunurlar. Low, mekâna bağlılığı açıklarken altı temel faktörden bahseder: soy bağı, kayıp veya yıkım, ekonomik bağlantılar, kozmoloji, hac ve anlatı. İlk faktör olan soy bağı, bir bireyin ailesiyle ya da tarihsel bir bağla ilişkilendirilmiş bir mekâna bağlılık geliştirmesidir. Örneğin, bir kişinin doğup büyüdüğü yerle kurduğu bağ, burada geçirilen kritik dönemler nedeniyle derinleşir. İkinci faktör, bir topluluğun kaybı veya yıkımı ile mekâna bağlılık ilişkisinin yeniden kurulmasıdır. Üçüncü faktör, mülkiyetin ekonomik

bağlamda mekâna bağlılığı artırmasıdır; bir kişi, bir mülkün sahibi olduğunda, o yerle güçlü bir bağ kurabilir. Dördüncü faktör, dini veya spiritüel motivasyonlarla şekillenen kozmolojik bağlılıktır; örneğin, Müslümanlar için Mekke veya Hira Mağarası, kutsal mekânlar olarak görülür. Beşinci faktör hac, altıncı faktör ise anlatıdır; anlatı, bir yerin hikâyesi aracılığıyla o yere bağlılık geliştirme sürecini ifade eder.

Psikoloji alanında, çevresel psikoloji aracılığıyla mekâna bağlılık, bireylerin bir yerle kurdukları duygusal bağlar üzerinden incelenir. Bu bağ, zamanla gelişir ve bireyin kişisel özellikleri, anıları ve sosyal ilişkileriyle şekillenir. Bireyler, belirli bir yerle zaman geçirdiklerinde ve o yerin hikâyesinin bir parçası olduklarında, bu yerle daha güçlü bir bağ geliştirirler. Psikolojik teorilerde mekâna bağlılık, Bowlby'nin bağlanma teorisi ile benzerlikler taşır. Bowlby'ye göre, bebekler bakımverenlerine yakın olduklarında bir güven duygusu geliştirirler ve bu güven, bireyin diğer ilişkilerinde de devam eder. Bu teori, mekâna bağlılıkta da benzer şekilde işleyebilir; insanlar, güvende hissettikleri bir yerle duygusal bir bağ kurarlar. Ayrıca, mekâna bağlılık kavramı bireylerin kimlik gelişimiyle de ilişkilidir. Proshansky, Fabian ve Kaminoff (1983), bireylerin benlik gelişiminde mekânın önemli bir rol oynadığını belirtirler. Bireyler, yaşadıkları yerle kendilerini tanımlar ve bu yerle olan bağlarını anılar, duygular ve değerler aracılığıyla kurarlar. Bu bağlamda mekâna bağlılık, bireyin kendini ve çevresini nasıl algıladığını belirleyen bilişsel süreçlerle ilişkilidir.

Marksist yaklaşım, mekâna bağlılığı, kapitalist üretim ve sermaye birikimi süreçleriyle bağlantılı olarak inceler. Kapitalizm, mekânın anlamını ve bireylerin mekâna bağlılıklarını dönüştürür. David Harvey (1993), kapital birikiminin mekânla ilişkili olduğunu ve kapitalist sistemde yerleşim alanlarının sürekli genişleyerek sermaye biriktirdiğini savunur. Ancak bu genişleme süreci, bazı yerlerin yaşanabilir olmaktan çıkmasına neden olabilir. Harvey, kapitalist sistemin mekânsal genişleme yoluyla sermaye biriktirdiğini, ancak bu süreçte mekâna bağlılığın bir engel haline gelebileceğini belirtir. Bu bağlamda mekâna bağlılık, kapitalist sistemin baskıları altında eriyebilir ve yerini yeni yerleşim alanlarına bırakabilir. Massey (1994), kapitalizmin mekân ve zaman algısını değiştirdiğini ve bu değişimin insanların mekâna bağlılıklarını nasıl etkilediğini tartışır. Kapitalist sistemde bazı mekânlar

daha değerli hale gelirken, diğerleri değersizleşir ve bu durum insanların mekânla olan ilişkilerini yeniden şekillendirir.

Ana akım teoriler haricinde Pierre Bourdieu'nun üçlü metodolojisi, mekâna bağlılığı anlamada önemli bir yaklaşımı temsil etmektedir. Bourdieu, mekâna bağlılığın bireylerin sosyal, kültürel ve ekonomik sermayeleriyle şekillendiğini savunur. Habitus kavramı, bireyin sosyal sınıfı, yaşam tarzı ve çevresiyle kurduğu ilişkiler aracılığıyla şekillenir. Bourdieu'ye göre, bireylerin mekâna bağlılıkları, sermaye birikimleriyle doğrudan ilişkilidir. Bireyler, bir yerle ekonomik, sosyal ve kültürel sermayelerini biriktirerek bağ kurarlar. Mekâna bağlılık, bu sermayelerin birikimi ve korunmasıyla pekişir. Bourdieu, ayrıca mekânın bireylerin kimliklerini nasıl şekillendirdiğini ve bu kimliğin toplumsal olarak nasıl kabul gördüğünü açıklar. Bireyler, belirli bir mekânla olan bağlarını, o mekânda biriktirdikleri sermayeler aracılığıyla toplumsal statülerini güçlendirerek sürdürürler. Mekâna yapılan ekonomik yatırımlar, bireylerin mekâna olan bağlılıklarını güçlendirir ve bu da toplumsal olarak daha güçlü bir aidiyet hissi yaratır. Sonuç olarak, Bourdieu'nun sermaye ve habitus teorileri, mekâna bağlılığın sadece duygusal bir deneyim olmadığını, aynı zamanda toplumsal ve ekonomik bir süreç olduğunu gösterir. Mekâna bağlılık, bireylerin kazançları ve toplumsal konumlarıyla doğrudan ilişkilidir ve bu süreç zamanla yeniden üretilir.

Mekâna bağlılık kavramı, sosyal bilimler ve coğrafya disiplinlerinde geniş çapta araştırılmış bir konudur, ancak her araştırmacının ve takip ettiği ekolün standartlarına göre farklı tanımları bulunmaktadır. Araştırmanın başında, mekân kavramı hem coğrafi olarak hem de sembolik anlamda sınırlandırılmıştır. Çalışma iki yıl içinde tamamlanacağı için, mekân "ev" olarak kabul edilen mahallelerle sınırlandırılmıştır. Bağlılık kavramı ise kimlik inşasının bir nedeni ve sonucu olarak tanımlanmış, kişisel deneyimlere bağlı olarak güçlenebilen veya zayıflayabilen bir duygu olarak ele alınmıştır.

Araştırma alanı olarak Ankara'nın en eski mahallelerinden biri olan Bahçelievler Mahallesi seçilmiştir. Bahçelievler, diğer köklü mahallelerden (Ayrancı, Gaziosmanpaşa, Altındağ, Cebeci, Aydınlıkevler gibi) farklı olarak, günümüzde

belirgin bir kimliğe sahip değildir. Geçmiş ile bugünün değerleri arasında sıkışmış bir mahalle olarak Bahçelievler, ne cazibe merkezi ne de çöküşte olan bir yer olarak değerlendirilmiştir. Bu nedenle, mekâna bağlılığın dinamik yapısını incelemek için uygun bir yer olarak seçilmiştir.

Günümüzün hızlı ve sert değişen koşullarında, yeni nesillerin karşılaştığı politik, sosyal ve ekonomik krizler, onların pratik ve kârlı seçimler yapmasına neden olmuştur. Bu nedenle, araştırmada 18-40 yaş arası bireyler dışlanmış ve 50 yaşın üzerindeki, 30 yıldan uzun süredir Bahçelievler'de yaşayan bireyler hedeflenmiştir. Bu yaş grubunun kimliklerini, sermayelerini ve prestijlerini mahalleye bağlılık yoluyla inşa ettikleri ve yeniden ürettikleri düşünülmektedir. Katılımcı bulma süreci, özellikle Türkiye'deki genel seçimler öncesinde yürütülen araştırma sırasında oldukça zorlu geçmiştir. Seçimlerin yarattığı güvensiz ve kaotik ortam, bireylerin yüz yüze görüşmelere karşı şüpheci yaklaşmalarına neden olmuştur. Toplamda 6 kadın ve 6 erkek olmak üzere 12 kişiyle, kartopu tekniği kullanılarak görüşme yapılabilmiştir. Bazı katılımcılar, görüşme taleplerini ya reddetmiş ya da son anda vazgeçmişlerdir. Araştırmacıya göre, bunun temel nedeni katılımcıların seçim öncesi anketler ve görüşmeler karşısında "siyasi olarak etiketlenme" korkusu yaşamalarıdır. Görüşmeler, katılımcıların kendilerini güvende hissetmeleri ve Bahçelievler Mahallesi'ne dair anılarını ve düşüncelerini tetiklemek amacıyla Bulka Pastanesi ve Pelikan Pastanesi gibi tarihi yerlerde yapılmıştır. Her görüşme yaklaşık bir saat sürmüş ve açık uçlu sorular sorularak derinlemesine görüşmeler gerçekleştirilmiştir. Görüşmeler ses kaydıyla alınmış ve daha sonra araştırmacı tarafından deşifre edilmiştir.

Bahçelievler, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin erken dönemlerinde, özellikle Ankara'nın başkent ilan edilmesiyle birlikte ortaya çıkan konut ve arsa spekülasyonu sorunlarını çözmek amacıyla hayata geçirilmiş bir projedir. Cumhuriyet'in kurucu kadrolarının devlet destekli girişimleriyle inşa edilen Bahçelievler, modern şehircilik anlayışının bir yansıması olarak planlanmıştır. Bu proje, dönemin sosyal, ekonomik ve politik koşulları doğrultusunda şekillenmiştir. Bu projenin ardında o dönemin Ankara'sındaki hızlı nüfus artışı, yüksek kira fiyatları ve özel sermaye eksikliği gibi sorunlar yatmaktadır. Ankara'nın başkent ilan edilmesiyle birlikte, nüfusu hızla

artmış ve bu durum ciddi bir konut krizine yol açmıştır. Devlet, bu sorunlara çözüm olarak Bahçelievler gibi projeleri hayata geçirmiştir. Bahçelievler'in bu dönemde seçilmesinin nedeni, ne cazibe merkezi ne de çöküşte bir bölge olmamasıydı. Bu yüzden, kimlik ve aidiyet bağlamında incelenmesi için ideal bir bölge olarak değerlendirilmiştir. Bahçelievler'in tasarımında, dönemin modern şehircilik anlayışına uygun olarak geniş bahçeli evler ve sosyal alanlar planlanmıştır. Planlama sürecinde, Almanya ve Fransa'daki kooperatifçilik hareketlerinden esinlenilmiştir. Bahçelievler Kooperatifi'nin kurucuları, bürokratlar ve bankacılardan oluşan bir grup girişimciydi. Kooperatif, dönemin Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi tarafından desteklenmiş ve böylece devletin kooperatifçilik politikasının bir ürünü olmuştur. Nevzat Uzgören gibi isimler, Bahçelievler'in planlanmasında önemli roller oynamış ve Avrupa'da gördükleri "bahçeli ev" modeli üzerinden bu projeyi hayata geçirmişlerdir.

Bahçelievler'in kurulmasıyla birlikte Ankara'nın batıya doğru genişlemesi hızlanmıştır. Ancak, kooperatifin kurulması ve evlerin inşa edilmesi sürecinde birçok kriz yaşanmıştır. Arsa spekülasyonu, yasal engeller ve iç çatışmalar bu süreci yavaşlatmıştır. Bununla birlikte, kooperatif üyeleri arasında çıkan anlaşmazlıklar, bazı üyelerin ayrılıp Güven Kooperatifi'ni kurmasına yol açmıştır. Bu durum, Bahçelievler Kooperatifi'nin planlanan tarihten daha geç tamamlanmasına neden olmuştur.

Bahçelievler'in inşası tamamlandıktan sonra, mahalle hızla büyümüş ve Ankara'nın en prestijli yerleşim bölgelerinden biri haline gelmiştir. Ancak, 1950'lerden itibaren, şehir planlamasındaki değişiklikler ve artan nüfusla birlikte, Bahçelievler de apartmanlaşma sürecine girmiştir. Bu dönüşüm, mahalledeki sosyal yapıyı da etkilemiştir. Öğrenci nüfusunun artması ve apartmanların yaygınlaşması, Bahçelievler'in eski kimliğini kaybetmesine yol açmıştır. Bahçelievler Mahallesi, hem eski Ankara'nın nostaljik izlerini taşıyan hem de modernleşmeye ayak uydurmakta zorlanan bir yerleşim bölgesi olarak kalmıştır. Hem tarihsel dokuyu hem de modern yaşamı bir arada barındıran bu mahalle, zamanla fiziksel ve sosyal yapısındaki değişimlerle "araf"ta bir yerleşim haline gelmiştir.

Araştırmamız boyunca Bahçelievler Mahallesi sakinlerinin gözünden mahalleye olan bağlılığı ve bu bağın nasıl şekillendiğini incelemektedir. Mahalleye olan aidiyet,

katılımcıların kişisel ve toplumsal geçmişlerinden beslenen bir kökene dayandırılmakta ve bu köken, Cumhuriyet'in erken dönemlerinde Bahçelievler Konut Kooperatifi'nin kurulmasıyla şekillenmektedir. Mahallenin fiziksel ve sosyal gelişimi, Cumhuriyet'in yeni bir yaşam biçimi oluşturma çabasıyla doğrudan ilişkilidir. Katılımcıların Bahçelievler'e olan bağlılıkları, mahalleyle kurdukları kişisel ve toplumsal hikâyelere dayanmaktadır. Araştırma kapsamında, 50 yaş üzeri ve 30 yıldan fazla süredir Bahçelievler'de yaşayan 12 kişiyle derinlemesine görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Görüşmelerde, katılımcıların mahalleye olan bağlılıklarının nasıl oluştuğu, geçmişten bugüne nasıl değiştiği ve bu değişimlere karşı nasıl bir direniş gösterdikleri incelenmiştir. Görüşmelerde öne çıkan en önemli unsurlardan biri, katılımcıların Bahçelievler'in geçmişini idealize etmeleri ve mahalleyi bir kimlik inşa aracı olarak görmeleridir.

Katılımcılar, Bahçelievler'in geçmişini, özellikle 1970'ler ve 1980'lerdeki toplumsal ve siyasi atmosferini hatırlarken, bu dönemin mahalledeki komşuluk ilişkilerini ve mahalle kültürünü nasıl şekillendirdiğini vurgulamaktadır. Bahçelievler, bu dönemde bürokratlar, yüksek dereceli memurlar ve ticaretle uğraşanlar için bir prestij alanı olarak görülmüştür. Katılımcılar, mahallenin bir zamanlar elit bir yaşam tarzını temsil ettiğini ve bu kimliğin onları toplumsal olarak nasıl şekillendirdiğini anlatmışlardır. Ancak, 1990'lardan itibaren mahallede başlayan değişimler, Bahçelievler'i eski kimliğinden uzaklaştırmış ve yeni bir sosyal doku ortaya çıkmıştır. Özellikle öğrenci nüfusunun artması, yeni açılan kafeler ve apartmanlaşma süreci, mahalleye olan bağlılıkları zayıflatmış ve eski mahalle sakinlerini bir gözlemci konumuna itmiştir. Katılımcılar, bu değişimlere karşı bir hayal kırıklığı yaşamış ancak aynı zamanda bu durumu kabullenmişlerdir.

Bahçelievler Mahallesi'ne olan bağlılık, katılımcıların geçmişle kurdukları duygusal bağlar aracılığıyla korunmakta, ancak bu bağlılık yeni nesillere aktarılamamaktadır. Mahalle, fiziksel ve sosyal açıdan değişimlere direnç gösterse de, bu direnç mahalleye olan aidiyetin yeniden üretilmesine yeterli olamamış ve mahalle, bir kuşak sonra bu kimliğini yitirme tehlikesiyle karşı karşıya kalmıştır. Katılımcılar, Bahçelievler'in geçmişini özlemle hatırlarken, mahallenin geleceğine dair karamsar bir tablo çizmektedirler.

Araştırma kapsamında, iki ana katılımcı grubu belirlenmiştir: memurlar ve esnaflar. Memurlar genellikle devlet görevi nedeniyle Ankara'ya taşınan ailelerdir. Bu aileler, Bahçelievler'i seçmelerinde hem mahallenin fiziksel özellikleri hem de buradaki sosyal çevrenin etkili olduğunu belirtmişlerdir. 1960'lar ve 1970'lerde Bahçelievler, bahçeli evleri, düşük katlı apartmanları ve entelektüel, sanatçı ve politikacıların yaşadığı sakin, seçkin bir mahalle olarak tanımlanmıştır. Katılımcılar, bu dönemde mahallede yaşayan insanlar arasında güçlü bir sosyal sermaye paylaşımının olduğunu, mahallede oturmanın bir prestij kaynağı haline geldiğini ifade etmişlerdir. Esnaflar ise genellikle kırsal bölgelerden gelmiş ve Bahçelievler'de çalışarak ekonomik sermaye biriktirme amacı güden kişilerdir. Esnafların ilk kuşağı, mahallede memurlara hizmet eden küçük iş sahipleri olarak çalışırken, ikinci kuşak esnaflar Bahçelievler'de yaşamayı bir sosyal sermaye edinme süreci olarak görmüşlerdir. Bu esnaflar, memurlarla benzer bir habitusa uyum sağlamak için çaba sarf etmiş, bu süreçte sosyal sermaye biriktirmiş ve zamanla kendilerini mahalleye daha fazla ait hissetmişlerdir.

1960'lar ve 1970'lerde Bahçelievler, katılımcılar tarafından ideal mahalle olarak tanımlanmış, dayanışma ve komşuluk ilişkilerinin güçlü olduğu bir mahalle olarak anlatılmıştır. Bu dönemde mahallede çoğunlukla yüksek rütbeli devlet memurları ve subaylar yaşamış, aile yapıları nükleer aile modeline uygun, ekonomik olarak refah içinde olan, kültürel olarak iyi eğitimli bireylerden oluşmuştur. Katılımcılar, mahalle yaşamının o dönemde dayanışma ve güven üzerine kurulu olduğunu, herkesin birbirini tanıdığı ve yardım ettiği bir ortamda yaşadıklarını belirtmişlerdir. Mahalledeki sosyal yaşamın merkezinde fırınlar, sinemalar ve parklar gibi kamusal alanlar bulunmuş, bu alanlar mahalle sakinlerinin bir araya geldiği ve sosyalleştiği yerler olmuştur. Ancak, esnaflar ve memurlar arasındaki sosyal farklar zaman zaman ortaya çıkmıştır. Katılımcılar, esnafların ve geniş ailelerin, memur ailelerine kıyasla apartman yaşamına uyum sağlamakta zorlandıklarını, dışlanmış hissedebildiklerini ifade etmişlerdir. Esnaf aileleri mahallede yaşamaya başladıklarında memurlardan gelen dolaylı ayrımcılıkla karşılaştıklarını, görünüşleri, eğitim seviyeleri ve yaşam tarzları nedeniyle mahalle yaşamına tam olarak uyum sağlayamadıklarını belirtmişlerdir. Ancak zamanla bu ayrımlar ortadan kalkmış ve ortak bir habitus oluşmuştur.

1970'lerde Türkiye'de artan siyasi kutuplaşma, Bahçelievler Mahallesi'ni de etkilemiştir. Katılımcılar, bu dönemde mahallede sağ görüşlü öğrencilerin kaldığı yurtların açıldığını, Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi'nin genel merkezinin mahallede bulunmasının, Bahçelievler'in sağ görüşlü insanlar için bir merkez haline gelmesine yol açtığını anlatmışlardır. Bu durum, mahallede gerilimlere yol açmış ve katılımcılar, bu gerginliğin Bahçelievler'in kimliğine zarar verdiğini belirtmişlerdir. Katılımcılar, mahallede sol görüşlü insanların çoğunlukta olduğunu ve bu nedenle sağ görüşlü grupların mahallede kalıcı olamadıklarını dile getirmişlerdir. Bahçelievler sakinleri, bu dönemde mahallelerine dışarıdan gelen ve siyasi görüşleriyle mahallede gerginlik yaratan insanlara karşı korumacı bir tutum sergilemişlerdir. Mahallede, Cumhuriyet değerlerine sıkı sıkıya bağlı bir topluluk kimliği oluşturulmuş ve bu kimliğin mahalleye dışarıdan gelenler tarafından tehdit edilmesi engellenmeye çalışılmıştır.

Katılımcılar, Bahçelievler Mahallesi'nin günümüzdeki durumunu geçmişle kıyaslayarak değerlendirmişlerdir. Günümüz Bahçelievler'i, öğrenci nüfusunun yoğun olduğu, kafelerin ve fast food zincirlerinin arttığı, apartmanlaşmanın ve ticaretin hızlandığı bir mahalle haline gelmiştir. Katılımcılar, özellikle 7. ve 3. Cadde gibi caddelerdeki ticari işletmelerin çoğalmasının, eski Bahçelievler'in huzurlu yapısını bozduğunu, mahalledeki eski sakinlerin yaşam alanlarını daralttığını ifade etmişlerdir. Mahalledeki yeni profilin gençlerden ve yaşlılardan oluştuğu belirtilmiştir. Üniversite öğrencileri, mahallenin merkezindeki eğlence ve sosyal alanlar nedeniyle Bahçelievler'de yaşamayı tercih etmektedir. Öte yandan, yaşlılar ise alışkanlıklarından vazgeçmeyerek mahallede kalmaya devam etmektedir. Ancak, bu iki grup arasında bir kopukluk yaşanmaktadır; yeni nesil, eski Bahçelievler sakinlerinin yaşam tarzını ve sosyal sermaye birikimini paylaşmamaktadır.

Katılımcıların en çok özlem duydukları unsurlardan biri eski komşuluk ilişkileridir. Geçmişte, komşular arasında dayanışma ve sıkı sosyal ilişkiler varken, günümüz Bahçelievler sakinleri evlerini birer "otel" gibi kullanmakta, komşularıyla yakın ilişkiler kurmamaktadırlar. Katılımcılar, yeni sakinlerin, özellikle de öğrencilerin komşuluk ilişkilerine önem vermediğini ve bu durumun eski sosyal yapıyı bozduğunu dile getirmişlerdir. Bu değişim, katılımcıların Bahçelievler'e olan

aidiyetini de etkilemiştir. Eski sakinler, mahalledeki fiziksel ve sosyal değişimlerle başa çıkmakta zorlanmış ve bu değişimlerin kendilerini dışarıda bıraktığını hissetmişlerdir. Mahalleye olan aidiyetleri, daha çok geçmişle olan anılarına ve eski komşularıyla kurdukları sosyal bağlara dayanmaktadır. Bu süreç, katılımcıların mahalleye olan bağlılıklarını dar bir alanda sürdürmelerine neden olmuş, yalnızca mahalledeki bazı eski mekanlarda (örneğin, Bulka Pastanesi ve Pelikan Pastanesi) bu aidiyet hissini korumaya çalışmışlardır.

Mahalledeki fiziksel ve sosyal değişimlere rağmen, bazı sembolik yapılar, Bahçelievler'in kimliğinin korunmasına yardımcı olmuştur. Anıtkabir ve Milli Kütüphane, bu sembolik yapılar arasında yer almakta ve katılımcıların Bahçelievler'le olan bağlarını güçlendirmektedir. Katılımcılar, Anıtkabir'in yakınlığı nedeniyle mahallede yüksek katlı binaların inşa edilmesinin engellendiğini ve bunun da Bahçelievler'in eski dokusunun korunmasına katkıda bulunduğunu belirtmişlerdir. Ayrıca, Cumhuriyet değerlerinin mahallede korunmasının, Bahçelievler'i diğer mahallelerden farklı ve prestijli kıldığı ifade edilmiştir. Katılımcılar, bu sembolik yapılar ve mahalledeki eski sosyal ilişkiler sayesinde mahalleye olan bağlılıklarını korumakta, ancak bu bağlılık giderek daha kişisel bir hale dönüşmektedir. Eski nesil, Bahçelievler'deki kimliğini ve sosyal sermayesini korurken, bu sermayeyi çocuklarına ve yeni nesillere aktarmakta zorlanmaktadır. Bahçelievler'in giderek kozmopolit bir yapıya bürünmesi ve eski sakinlerin sermayelerinin yeni sosyal yapıda değer kaybetmesi, mahalleye olan bağlılığı seçici bir aidiyet haline getirmiştir.

Sonuç bölümünde, Bahçelievler Mahallesi'nde mekâna bağlılık kavramının, bireylerin sosyal kimlik inşasıyla ilişkili bir süreç olduğu ve zaman içinde bu bağlılığın nasıl değiştiği kapsamlı bir şekilde ele alınmıştır. Mahalle, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin erken yıllarında kurulan, modern kent yaşamı ve ideal vatandaşlık kavramlarını temsil eden bir yerleşim alanı olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Mahalle, uzun yıllar boyunca kendi kimliğini yeniden üretebilmiş, bu da sakinlerinin mekâna olan bağlılıklarını güçlendirmiştir. Ancak bu bağlılık, zamanla değişen sosyal, ekonomik ve kültürel koşullarla birlikte dönüşüme uğramıştır.

Bahçelievler'in planlama süreci, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin inşa yıllarına dayanmakta olup, Ankara'nın modern şehircilik anlayışına örnek olması ve ideal bir aile yapısına

sahip vatandaşlar yetiştirme hedefiyle şekillendirilmiştir. Mahallenin kurulmasıyla birlikte, burada yaşayan memurlar ve esnaflar, toplumsal prestij kazanmayı hedeflemişlerdir. Görüşmelerde, katılımcıların Bahçelievler'e taşınmalarının ardında "daha iyi bir yaşam" arayışının yattığı belirtilmiştir. Mahallenin sunduğu sosyal sermaye, kültürel imkanlar ve ekonomik olanaklar, Bahçelievler'i diğer mahallelerden ayıran özellikler olarak öne çıkmıştır. Katılımcılar, mahalleye taşınmadan önce buranın sunduğu olanaklar hakkında bilgi sahibi olduklarını ve taşınmanın, yeni bir kimlik inşa etme sürecinin önemli bir parçası olduğunu vurgulamışlardır.

Mekâna bağlılık, katılımcıların kişisel hikayeleri ile Bahçelievler'in kuruluş hikayesinin birleşimi olarak tanımlanmıştır. Katılımcılar, mahallede geçirdikleri zaman boyunca sosyal, ekonomik ve kültürel sermaye biriktirerek, Bahçelievler'e olan aidiyetlerini güçlendirmişlerdir. Mahallede yaşamaya başladıklarında, burada yaşayan diğer insanlardan gördükleri saygı ve imrenme duygusu, onların mekâna bağlılıklarını pekiştirmiştir. Bahçelievler'in sunduğu sosyal çevre ve olanaklar, katılımcıların toplumsal prestij kazanmalarına yardımcı olmuştur.

Zamanla Bahçelievler, fiziksel, ekonomik, sosyal ve kültürel dönüşümler geçirmiştir. Mahallenin çevresine üniversiteler, hastaneler ve toplu taşıma ağları inşa edilmiş, bu da dışarıdan gelen insanların mahalleye olan erişimini kolaylaştırmıştır. Bu gelişmelerle birlikte, öğrenci nüfusu artmış ve Bahçelievler'in geleneksel nükleer aile yapısı yerini daha farklı demografik profillere bırakmıştır. Öğrencilerin mahalleye yerleşmesi, katılımcıların alıştıkları sosyal düzenin değişmesine yol açmıştır. Katılımcılar, mahallede bir zamanlar biriktirdikleri ekonomik, sosyal ve kültürel sermayenin yeni sakinler arasında artık bir anlam taşımadığını fark etmişlerdir. Katılımcılar, Yeni Bahçelievler'in eski prestijini kaybettiğini, mahalledeki sosyal ve kültürel dokunun bozulduğunu belirtmişlerdir. Öğrencilerin ve dışarıdan gelenlerin artmasıyla birlikte, mahallenin sosyoekonomik yapısı değişmiş, katılımcılar, eski komşuluk ilişkilerinin ve sosyal dayanışmanın zayıfladığını ifade etmişlerdir. Eskiden mahalledeki fırınlar, sinemalar ve sosyal alanlar aileler için birer sosyalleşme noktası iken, günümüzde bu alanlar yerini kafelere ve öğrenci mekanlarına bırakmıştır. Katılımcılar, eski mahalle düzenini ve yaşam tarzını kaybettiklerini, bu durumun kendilerini rahatsız ettiğini belirtmişlerdir.

Bahçelievler'deki bu değişimler, eski sakinlerin mekâna olan bağlılıklarını yeniden değerlendirmelerine yol açmıştır. Katılımcılar, mahalledeki yeni koşullara tamamen uyum sağlamak yerine, mekâna olan bağlılıklarını dar bir alanda sürdürmeye başlamışlardır. Mahallenin merkezi caddelerinde yaşanan değişimlerden rahatsız olan katılımcılar, daha sessiz ve eski Bahçelievler'i hatırlatan yan sokaklarda yaşamayı tercih etmişlerdir. Bu küçük alanda, eskiden biriktirdikleri sosyal, kültürel ve ekonomik sermayelerini korumaya çalışmışlardır. Ayrıca, eski komşularıyla olan ilişkilerini sürdürerek, Bahçelievler kimliklerini muhafaza etmeye devam etmişlerdir.

Bu süreçte, katılımcıların mekâna olan bağlılıkları, Pierre Bourdieu'nun sermaye birikimi kavramından Richard Savage'ın seçici bağlılık kavramına evrilmiştir. Eskiden Bahçelievler'e olan bağlılık, prestij kazanma ve sosyal sermaye biriktirme amacıyla şekillenirken, zamanla bu bağlılık, daha kişisel bir savunma mekanizmasına dönüşmüştür. Katılımcılar, Anıtkabir, Milli Kütüphane gibi sembolik yapılarla olan bağlarını koruyarak, Bahçelievler kimliklerini ve aidiyetlerini sürdürmüşlerdir. Ancak, bu bağlılık artık mahalledeki geniş sosyal çevreye değil, sadece belirli mekanlara ve ilişkilere dayalı bir seçici aidiyet haline gelmiştir. Bahçelievler'deki mekâna bağlılık, sosyal kimlik inşasının bir çıktısı olarak tanımlanmış ve bu bağlılığın yeniden üretilemediği durumlarda, kişisel bir savunma mekanizmasına dönüştüğü sonucuna varılmıştır. Katılımcılar, değişen sosyal, kültürel, ekonomik ve politik koşullar altında mahalle kimliklerini koruyabilmek için bu savunma mekanizmasını geliştirmişlerdir. Bahçelievler'deki mekâna bağlılık, zamanla küçülmüş ve katılımcılar, mahallede sadece seçici olarak belirli mekanlar ve ilişkiler aracılığıyla bu bağlılıklarını sürdürmüşlerdir. Bu bulgular, araştırmanın hipotezini doğrulamış ve mekâna bağlılık kavramının dinamik bir süreç olduğunu göstermiştir. Mekâna bağlılık, sabit ve lineer bir süreç değil, dönemsel iniş çıkışlarla dolu bir yas süreci olarak ele alınmıştır. Bu bağlamda, hızlı ve plansız kentleşme süreçlerinin, sadece fiziksel değil, aynı zamanda sosyal ve kültürel açıdan da mahalle kimliğini ve mekâna olan bağlılığı yok ettiği sonucuna ulaşılmıştır. Katılımcılar, Bahçelievler'in "ölümünü" uzun zamandır kabullenmiş ve mekâna olan bağlılıklarının artık sadece geçmişe dayandığını ifade etmişlerdir.

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Soyadı / Surname : DİRİER
Adı / Name : Deniz
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