Megaron, Vol. 20, No. 1, pp. 52–70, March 2025

Megaron
https://megaron.yildiz.edu.tr - https://megaronjournal.com
DOI: https://doi.org/10.14744/megaron.2025.55476

Article

Socio-spatial dynamics of class habitus: Reproduction of the middle class in Kozyatağı neighborhood

Başak BÜLBÜL AKIN[1*], Asuman TÜRKÜN[2]

[1]Department of Political Science and Public Administration, Marmara University Faculty of Political Science, İstanbul, Türkiye
[2]Department of Urban and Regional Planning, Yıldız Technical University Faculty of Architecture, İstanbul, Türkiye

ARTICLE INFO

Article history
Received: 18 December 2024
Revised: 13 February 2025
Accepted: 14 February 2025

Key words:
Bourdieu's habitus and capital; critical realism; Kozyatağı neighborhood; middle class fractions; parcel-based urban transformation.

ABSTRACT

This study examines the interaction between class and space, focusing on the mechanisms of "harmony and continuity" in the Kozyatağı neighborhood, where traditional and new middle classes coexist. The research aims to explore how class fractions and spatial practices contribute to the reproduction and transformation of urban space. Instead of focusing on large-scale, rapidly developing transformation areas, the study investigates the process of gradual, parcel-based urban transformation in a middle-class neighborhood, with a particular emphasis on socio-spatial continuity and change mechanisms, and the impact of urban transformation activities on these mechanisms. A qualitative research approach is adopted, utilizing semi-structured in-depth interviews with 45 participants, ethnographic observations, and data analysis with the MAXQDA software. The software supports a reflexive approach in discovering mechanisms and analyzing data, taking the researcher's position into account. The study is structured around three key scales: macro (broader socio-economic developments and urban transformation processes), district (common socio-cultural characteristics in Kadıköy), and local (neighborhood dynamics specific to Kozyatağı). Findings indicate that spatial continuity is sustained through common values, perception-taste-thought patterns, and social relations formed between class fractions at the district and local levels. The perceived class habitus of space significantly shapes residential location choices and mobility patterns. However, external conditions such as the economic crisis, the pandemic, and the earthquake have disrupted local dynamics, undermining class reproduction mechanisms and triggering intra-class conflicts. The study combines critical realism and Bourdieu's theoretical framework to contribute to the field of urban planning by addressing the coexistence practices of different class fractions and the external interventions affecting these practices.

Cite this article as: Bülbül Akın, B., Türkün, A. (2025). Socio-spatial dynamics of class habitus: Reproduction of the middle class in Kozyatağı neighborhood. Megaron;20(1):52–70.

INTRODUCTION

Urban space, beyond being a mere physical area, is conceived as a concrete reflection of social structures and class relations. In the 21st century, space is analyzed not only through economic dimensions but also in its social, cultural, and political aspects. In this context, space is discussed as an arena where class similarities, inequalities, power dynamics, and class struggles are formed. Within this context, the literature emphasizes the role of space in reproducing and transforming class relations, with a particular focus on the impacts of capitalism and neoliberal processes on spatial

***Corresponding author**
*E-mail adres: basak.bulbul@marmara.edu.tr

This manuscript is produced from a doctoral dissertation.

Published by Yıldız Technical University, İstanbul, Türkiye
This is an open access article under the CC BY-NC license (http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/).

dynamics (Harvey, 1997; Giddens, 1999; Harvey, 2008; Harvey, 2012; Castells, 2014; Lefebvre, 2014; Harvey, 2016). The dialectical relationship between class and space reveals how space reproduces class, while class in turn shapes space. Examining this process of reproduction requires a deeper understanding of the conditions under which social classes sustain their existence, as well as the mechanisms, structures, and causalities through which they coexist, live together and maintain a sense of social order. Therefore, the internal relations that determine the harmony and continuity or crisis and transformation of space and class is crucial for urban studies.

This study examines the mechanisms that facilitate the reproduction of class space through Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, capital, and field, within the theoretical framework of critical realism. It discusses how the socio-spatial continuity and change of similarities and differences between intra-class fractions shape class space. Critical realism is used as the philosophical foundation of the study and to guide the methodology. Bourdieu's sociological approach and conceptual framework, which are considered closely related to this theory, help us understand the interactions between different class fractions through daily life practices, lifestyles, consumption habits, patterns of taste and perception, and preferences in residential areas. Thus, space emerges as a domain where social class habitus can coexist based on class similarities and differences, where different class fractions can create interwoven practices in a harmonious manner, yet also where conflicts between these classes can be observed.

This study aims to explore how the traditional and new middle classes collectively construct their residential areas, how mechanisms of intra-class cohesion operate, and how these mechanisms may transform into conflict through various externalities. In this context, the study focuses on the location and historical development process of Kozyatağı Neighborhood, emphasizing its role as a buffer zone between lower and upper-class settlements in a middle-class neighborhood. The impact of urban transformation activities that began after 2000 and their changing structure on the mechanisms of cohesion and continuity in the neighborhood are critically examined. The factors influencing these mechanisms are analyzed at three different scales: macro, district, and local. The dynamics at the district and local levels are specific to the place and contribute to the production of cohesion and continuity conditions. In this regard, class similarities, the transmission of habitus, and preferences in residential location affect the interactions, while the presence of traditional middle-class residents and local tradespeople reproduce the social relationships and networks that sustain the neighborhood's culture. However, in recent years, urban transformation processes shaped by macro-level developments such as the economic crisis, the pandemic, and earthquakes have altered the social pattern of the neighborhood, leading to social inequalities and socio-spatial segregation. The study investigates how the internal and external dynamics at different scales (macro, district, neighborhood) jointly shape class space. It seeks to answer questions regarding how class habitus is formed in space, how class is reproduced through interaction with space, how intra-class differentiations alter space, and how different class fractions establish relationships with one another through space. In this context, the study aims to establish a bridge between the theoretical approaches of social sciences and the field of urban planning by considering them together in class-based spatial analyses.

In the literature, middle-class settlements in Turkey are addressed in two main areas: the spatial configurations created with the rise of upper-class residential areas and luxury housing projects, and the emergence of the conservative middle class[1]. This study, however, focuses on the incremental transformation processes of middle-class habitus and space through parcel-based, piecemeal transformation activities in a middle-class neighborhood that includes different class fractions. It highlights the transformative role of space on class, examining how space gradually reshapes the middle class over time.

Conceptual and Theoretical Framework: Critical Realism and Bourdieu

In this study, critical realism is employed as both a philosophy and a research methodology, and used as a meta-theory, in order to ground Pierre Bourdieu's conceptual and theoretical approach, particularly as discussed in his work Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste (2015). This approach is explored in detail to highlight its practical implications in field studies. In this context, integrating critical realism with Bourdieu's framework is believed to strengthen both the theoretical and practical dimensions of the study. This combination allows for a more effective exploration of the subject, as it enables the two dimensions to complement each other throughout the research process.

Critical realism emerged in the 1930s as a critique of the dominant positivist approach to the philosophy of science in the social sciences (Danermark, et al., 2018). The philosophical foundation of critical realism is based on the works of Bhaskar (1998, 2008, 2011). Particularly in the field of human geography, studies have explored what critical realism might mean in practice. One of the key figures representing these approaches is Sayer (2019) (Erendil, 1998). Sayer engaged in a search for a methodology to reflect the ontological and epistemological framework of critical realism onto the practice of social sciences, emphasizing the importance of the relationship between methodology and theory, as well as conceptualization (Pratt, 1994).

Bhaskar is concerned with ontological and epistemological issues regarding the nature of reality and how we acquire knowledge about it. By emphasizing the relationship between scientific knowledge and existence, he argues that reality cannot be determined by knowledge and that it possesses a transcendental nature. He asserts that reality exists, but that understanding, perception, and conditions in cognitive processes lead to its variability. From this standpoint, Bhaskar contributes to critical realism through his approach to the "structure-agent" debate (Pratt, 1994). He argues that individuals often reproduce social structures unconsciously during their intentional activities, and sometimes even transform them[2]. Thus, while individuals' actions affect social structures, they are simultaneously shaped by these structures (Tekeli, 1994; Erendil, 1998; Bhaskar, 2011). Society exists independently of individuals and constitutes a prerequisite for individual action; however, the conditions for society's existence are also contingent upon individuals' reproduction of social structures and practices. In this way, as individuals reproduce the conditions of production, society becomes both the medium and the outcome of this activity (Sayer, 2019).

Critical realism approaches the relationship between individuals and society as a dynamic, mutually influential whole, while also seeking a practical and methodological framework to transcend dualities such as subject-object, thought-action, mental-material, knowledge-practice, theoretical-empirical, and qualitative-quantitative (Sayer, 2019). Similarly, Bourdieu, in his work, attempts to develop a framework of thought that addresses these dualities (Wacquant, 2007; Calhoun, 2007; Bourdieu, 2013). Sayer (2019) argues that the relationship between everyday life and practical knowledge is contingent upon historical, spatial, and social conditions, which are in a constant state of flux. Therefore, the reality he describes is not absolute but context-dependent. The validity and accuracy of knowledge are assessed in relation to its social context. For this reason, he proposes the use of the concept of "practical adequacy" rather than "truth" (Sayer, 1993; Sayer, 2019).

Critical realism's approach to "practice" views the individual as an agent who performs actions and generates meaning, while defining social structures as an internally connected set of objects and practices. Although transformations are difficult, objective conditions, mechanisms, and the meanings and practices that constitute them undergo changes over time (Sayer, 2019). Social practices are influenced by the differences in the meaning structures of the agents and interact with their practices. These differences are shaped by the conceptual tools used and social relationships. In social relations, agents interact based on mutually alterable shared understandings, which affect perception and learning processes, steering individuals to think through specific sets of concepts (Sayer, 2019). This approach of critical realism bears similarities to Bourdieu's concept of "habitus" and his action theory approach, used to explain the structure-agent relationship. Bourdieu argues that most actions are not based on a rational choice model but rather involve learned adaptation to familiar conditions. Through the concept of habitus, Bourdieu emphasizes that individuals possess patterns derived from their past experiences, capital, and social positions, which shape their perceptions, thinking, and ways of acting. Habitus is not genetically transmitted but acquired, forming the foundation of most practices. It materializes as lasting dispositions within the body, is reproduced within social positions, and varies depending on the type and volume of capital held in specific fields, shaping actions through the internalization of externalities. Through their habitus and game sensibilities, individuals both reproduce and are reproduced by social structures and classes (Bourdieu, 1986; Bourdieu, 1987; Bourdieu, 2006; Bourdieu, 2013; Bourdieu, 2014; Bourdieu, 2015). In this context, social space is an area defined by the quantity of capital embedded in distances within it. It describes relationships such as proximity, similarity, distance, and discord among groups, and determines the likelihood of groups genuinely coexisting (Bourdieu, 2013). Bourdieu's concept of social space becomes visible through spatial space, revealing the dynamics of similarity, difference, harmony, and conflict in class-based spaces. Moreover, Bourdieu does not passively position individuals; he argues that individuals also have the potential to transform these structures. Thus, he advocates for a "structural constructivism" that bridges the duality between the agent and structure through the externalization of the internal and the internalization of the external (Cresswell, 2002; Bourdieu, 2013; Bourdieu, 2016; Jourdain & Naulin, 2016).

The concept of "causality" in critical realism also bears significant parallels with Bourdieu's approach. Bhaskar addresses reality on three levels: the real (causal mechanisms), the actual (events), and the empirical (experiences). The empirical domain encompasses experiences and meanings, while the actual domain includes the events that occur in reality. The real domain, on the other hand, involves the structures and causal mechanisms that generate these events (Bhaskar, 1998; Bhaskar, 2008; Türkün Erendil, 2000; Bhaskar, 2011). This approach shifts the focus from events themselves to the structures and mechanisms that produce them. Causality, in this framework, refers not to abstract cause-and-effect relationships between events, but rather to the forces and mechanisms that generate objects or relationships. These forces are connected not only to objects and individuals but also to social structures. The relationship between objects and causal forces is necessary/intrinsic, while the relationship between objects and conditions is contingent/external (Danermark et al., 2018; Sayer, 2019). Bhaskar argues that structures and generative mechanisms should be analyzed as "tendencies". Agents

possess the tendencies of the class to which they belong, and thus distinguish what belongs to that class (Bhaskar, 2008). In this context, critical realism's understanding of causality aligns with Bourdieu's approach to social position, distinction, and tendencies.

Critical realism forms the philosophical foundation of this study, while Bourdieu's concepts concretize this philosophy. Although Bourdieu did not directly establish a relationship between class reproduction and space[3], within the framework of critical realism, the trio of "habitus-capital-field" provides a crucial tool for understanding the development and transformation of small-scale settlements. This approach serves as a guide for asking the right questions to uncover the implicit meanings and mechanisms within spatial studies. Moreover, the research designs and methodological approaches they offer are expected to facilitate the integration of philosophy, theory, and practice in fieldwork. The next section will discuss the adopted methodological approach, based on this conceptual framework.

METHODOLOGY

In social sciences, theory, unlike in the natural sciences, cannot predict contingent relationships solely based on theoretical inferences. Instead, abstract theories and concrete research are considered together. Theoretical inferences about the internal relationships and causal forces at the abstract level are validated through exploratory empirical research at the concrete level (Sayer, 2019). In social sciences, generalization is often made through empirical induction; however, this approach provides a limited understanding of social structures. Critical realism, on the other hand, emphasizes the importance of "abduction" and "retroductive reasoning" processes for understanding the conditions of existence and causal mechanisms of social phenomena. Abduction involves moving from singular instances to general concepts and linking them to broader social structures. Retroductive reasoning, in turn, involves conceptualizing social structures and relations based on empirical observations. These processes reveal the conditions of action and thought of agents, as well as the underlying social structures and relationships (Pratt, 1994; Danermark et al., 2018).

The positivist approach in the social sciences associates causality with regularities between events, typically relying on quantitative methods. In contrast, critical realism emphasizes the causal powers behind these regularities, which are rooted in social relations and the objects that generate them and focuses on qualitative methods to understand social objects and relationships (Sayer, 2019). However, this does not mean that only qualitative methods should be used in social sciences. Both approaches offer distinct contributions depending on the research question and the internal or external relationships of the object being studied. According to Sayer (2019), in Harre's distinction between extensive and intensive research designs, extensive studies typically aim to examine the entire population, with common characteristics being identified through a representative sample. In this research design, descriptive and inferential statistics, surveys, and census techniques are commonly used, and potential causal relationships are often overlooked. In contrast, intensive research methods aim to explore the characteristics of typical members of a community, unveiling structural relationships and interactions. This research design primarily employs qualitative techniques such as participant observation, interviews, and structural-causal analysis. Rather than competing, extensive and intensive methods complement each other, and thus, their combined use is of significant importance (Pratt, 1994; Sayer, 2019).

In the context of this research, causality is sought within regularities; however, these regularities are not treated as universal and immutable laws. The aim of this study is to uncover the underlying mechanisms behind certain regularities and to examine how these mechanisms shape social reproduction under conditions of change. In other words, the relationship between continuity and change, shaped by internal mechanisms and external influences, is explored through the case of a small-scale urban settlement. In this context, taxonomic classes are defined, where individuals share similar causal forces (Sayer, 2019), and the combination of extensive and intensive research designs is adopted as the methodological approach in this study[4].

In this study, a qualitative research method was employed, adopting an exploratory, descriptive, and interpretative approach. Between January and June 2024, semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted with 45 participants using open-ended questionnaires in the Kozyatağı Neighborhood. The interview sample was determined through convenience and snowball sampling methods, with the assistance of field observations and physical structure analysis[5]. The aim was to question perceptions of space and class in a broader context by interviewing a diverse range of actors, including residential users, business owners, real estate agents, construction companies, and the neighborhood headman. The data were analyzed using the MAXQDA Software. The program has been used as a tool to facilitate the identification of patterns within the data and the explanation of the underlying causes of these patterns. In particular, when analyzing large and complex qualitative data, it provides significant support to the researcher in discovering patterns of comparison, similarities and differences, internal dynamics, implicit meanings, causalities, and relationships thus exceeding the cognitive limits of the human mind. The process of categorizing qualitative data, constructing themes, interpreting and meaning-making these themes, and conducting in-depth analysis enables the researcher to examine and organize

the data systematically. In this way, it aids in uncovering the causal mechanisms and structures targeted by critical realism's intensive research design. While the program allows for both quantitative and qualitative analyses, it can also be used as a tool for the researcher to comprehensively address their data. Furthermore, such software is believed to enhance the explanatory power of the findings obtained through fieldwork, strengthening the relationship between theory and practice and helping them mutually inform one another[6] (Buracademy, 2024).

This program enables the researcher to analyze the data systematically while also allowing them to actively incorporate their intuitive approach and theoretical knowledge during the stages of coding and theme development, making it possible for the researcher to participate actively in the process. In this context, MAXQDA, unlike content analysis, allows the researcher to integrate the insights, observations, and perceptions gained during the fieldwork into the analysis process. The researcher can systematically record their thoughts and comments noted during and immediately after interviews, by revisiting the interviews and applying them to the coding and thematic stages. This information can then be integrated into the analysis through the program (Buracademy, 2024). In this way, the researcher's subjective experiences can contribute to the analysis. In this context, reflexive thematic analysis is considered as an integral part of the methodology[7].

At this point in the study, an ethnographic approach has been adopted, and semi-participant observation has been utilized to collect qualitative data[8]. The methodological structure of the study incorporates reflexivity[9], a process where the researcher continually questions their position and relationship with the object of study, as emphasized by Bourdieu. In this process, subjectivity is used as a research tool, with the researcher being aware of how their social position, knowledge, values, and biases influence the interpretation of data throughout the research process. Qualitative data were categorized and relationships were explored through codes and themes developed by the researcher, who combined both subjective insights and objectivity from the interviews, integrating theoretical and practical knowledge. In this context, the interviews were first transcribed, and potential codes and points of attention were recorded in a digital environment (on a Word document). All the data obtained were then transferred to the program. Subsequently, all the texts from the interviews were re-read through the program, and during this process, the initial coding work was carried out. After the coding was completed, all the codes were reviewed, and the interview excerpts under each code were re-examined. Meaningful patterns between the codes were identified, and specific codes were associated with each other. Thus, the codes that were related were grouped under specific clusters and listed under a common theme. After this stage, the visual analysis tools provided by the program (such as code clouds, code-theory models, etc.) were utilized, and causal relationships were explored in detail[10].

Critical realism, Bourdieu's approach, and reflexive thematic analysis together present a research design that integrates both theoretical and practical components, complementing each other. This approach brings together philosophy, theory, methodology, and practice, transforming the research into a holistic narrative. In the following section, the location and historical development of the study area, Kozyatağı Neighborhood, will be briefly presented.

The Location and Historical Development of Kozyatağı Neighborhood

Kozyatağı Neighborhood is located in the Kadıköy District of İstanbul. To the north, it is bordered by the D-100 Highway and the İçerenköy Neighborhood of Ataşehir District, which is separated by this road. To the east lies the Bostancı Neighborhood, while to the south, it is bordered by Şemsettin Günaltay Street (Minibus Street) and the Suadiye Neighborhood, which is also separated by this road. To the west, Kozyatağı is bordered by the 19 Mayıs Neighborhood, with which it is commonly referred to as a single district (Figure 1).

The location of the neighborhood, when considered alongside the surrounding transportation corridors, serves as a significant indicator of class-based spatial dynamics. The boundaries of class-based spaces and, consequently, the gradations in housing prices, can be traced along three major transportation axes that divide the Kadıköy area along the east-west axis. The area between the coastal road and Bağdat Street, as well as the section between Bağdat Street and the railway, is characterized by upper-class residential areas. The region between the railway and the D-100 highway is home to middle and upper-middle-class settlements, while the area to the north of the D-100 highway predominantly features lower-middle and working-class residences (Kadıköy Municipality Academy, 2023). In other words, these axes segment the urban space into three distinct zones, each of which refers to different socio-economic residential areas. In this context, Kozyatağı Neighborhood is situated as a middle-class settlement between the other two zones, exhibiting characteristics of both, and serving as a transitional area that facilitates a gradual shift between the socio-spatial differences of the two adjacent regions.

When examining the historical development of the neighborhood, it is evident that until the 1970s, the area had a rural character, surrounded by agricultural land and walnut orchards. The region was named "Kozyatağı" due to the density of walnut trees. During this period, the area was characterized by low-density, garden-based, 1-2 storey wooden structures primarily used as summer residences. These buildings, typically unoccupied during the winter

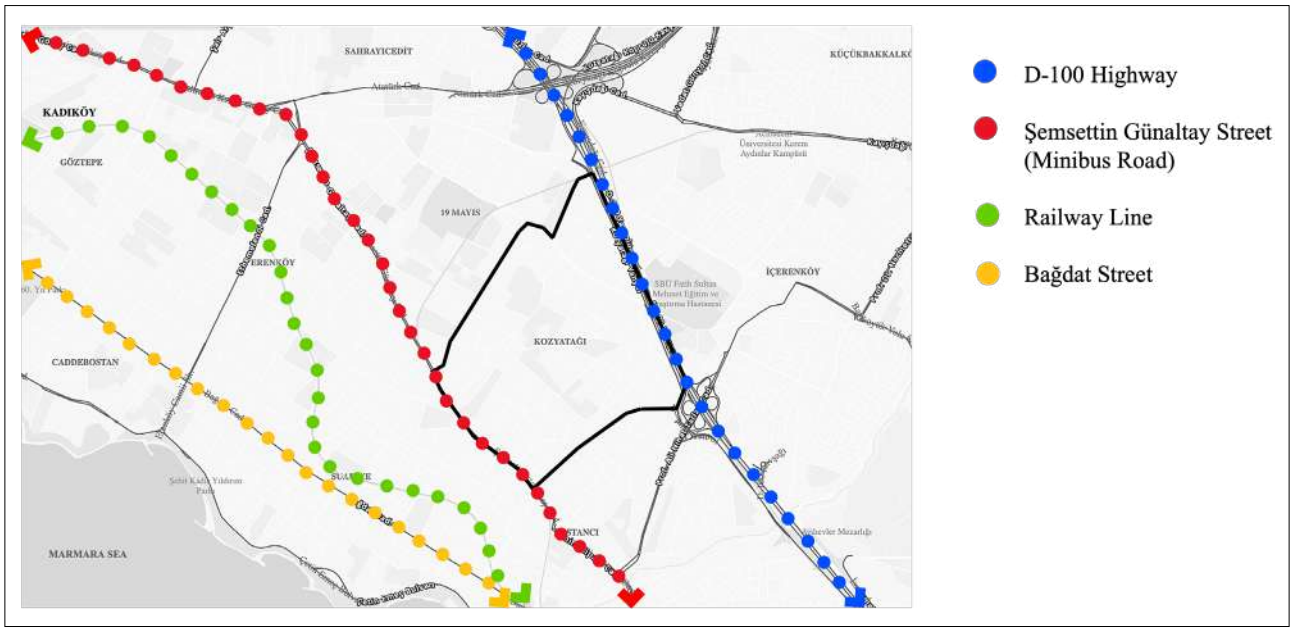

Figure 1. The Location of Kozyatağı Neighborhood and Key Transportation Corridors.

months, were used in the summer and the area was recognized as a holiday retreat. Additionally, between 1950 and 1970, the first examples of mass housing built through cooperatives were also observed (Femir, Akozan & Yapanar, 1952) (Figure 2).

In the early 1970s, the neighborhood retained its rural identity, characterized by a dominant fabric of mostly single-storey, detached houses with gardens. However, the Condominium Law in 1965 and the 1/5.000 scale Bostancı-Erenköy Area Development Plan in 1972 paved the way for the construction of apartment buildings, increasing the density of the area (İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality Department of City Planning, n.d.). Furthermore, with the opening of the Bosphorus Bridge and the surrounding ring road in 1973, Kadıköy began to emerge as an attractive residential area. With the zoning renovation that took place in Kadıköy in the same year, the construction conditions in the neighborhood were increased by up to 10 times (Gök & Çıtak, 2021).

In the late 1970s and 1980s, the neighborhood experienced a period of rapid construction with infrastructure improvements, cooperative development, and mass housing projects. With the amendments made to the Condominium Law with Law No. 2814 dated 1983, it was made possible to sell housing before the construction process was completed; with Law No. 2982 dated 1984, zoning regulations were made in the area, and new investments were encouraged through certain exemptions. However, as observed in the maps of the neighborhood's transformation in Figure 3 and noted in the

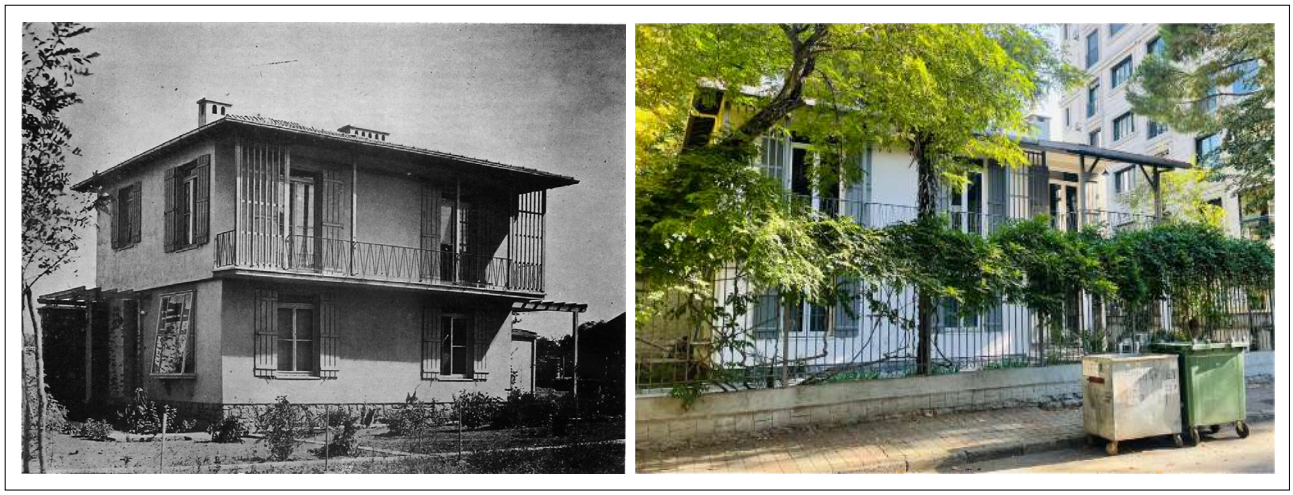

Figure 2. Şenesenevler Housing Cooperative Residential Example–1950s/2024 (Left image, Femir, Akozan & Yapanar, 1952; Right image, researcher's archive, 2024).

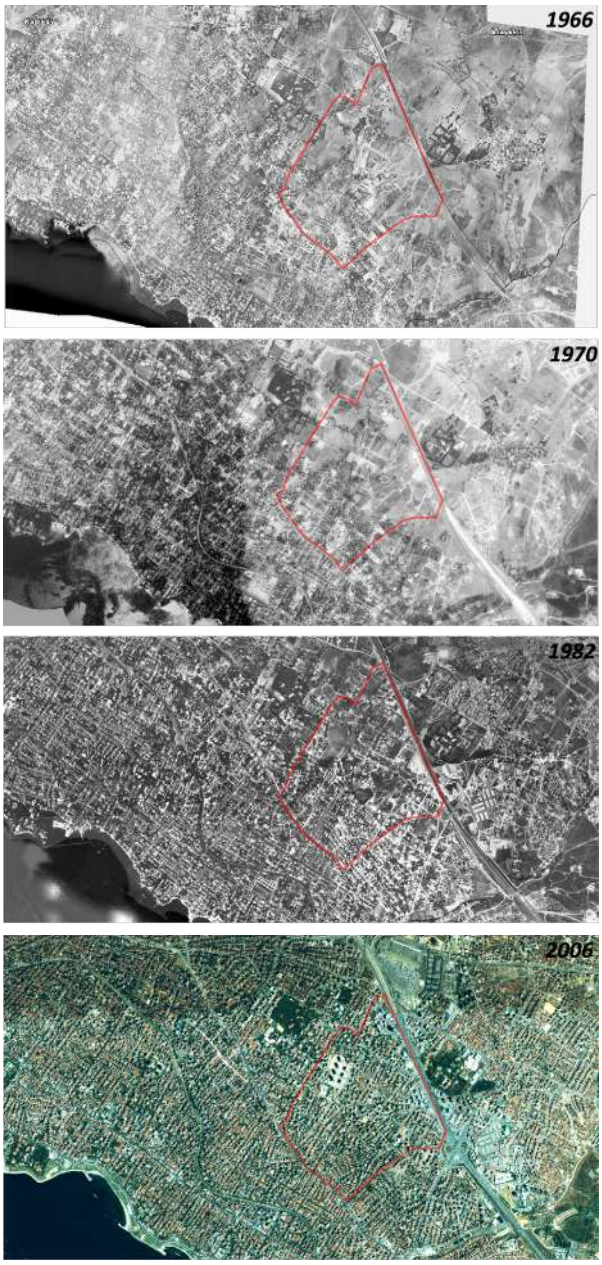

Figure 3. The Transformation of Kozyatağı Neighborhood from 1966 to 2006 (İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality, 2024).

interviews, agricultural land has rapidly been converted into residential areas. The neighborhood's historical mansions began to be demolished and replaced by high-rise apartment buildings. Additionally, mass housing projects carried out through cooperatives played a pivotal role in shaping the residential fabric of the area during the 1980s. However, in 1989, with the operationalization of the Kozyatağı junction and its connection to the highway, the region witnessed a concentration of office and commercial spaces due to the transportation advantages it provided (İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality, 2009).

Based on observations made as a neighborhood resident and interviews conducted, the 1990s marked a period of intensified mass housing projects in the neighborhood. During this time, high-rise, gated, and secure residential complexes were constructed, leading to an increase in the area's urbanization. In the interviews, it is noted that the most significant turning point in the transformation of the neighborhood fabric in Kozyatağı after the 1970s and 1980s was the urban transformation process following the 1999 Marmara Earthquake (Figure 3). The legal framework for urban transformation was first introduced in 2004, and the Urban Transformation and Development Law Draft was prepared in 2005 (Mimarizm, 2007). With the enactment of the Law No. 6306 on the Transformation of Areas under Disaster Risk in 2012, rapid identification of risky structures was carried out, leading to an increase in transformation activities (Kadıköy Municipality Academy, 2023).

Neighborhoods like Kozyatağı, which are representative of middle-class communities, function as "buffer zones" both spatially and socially, creating transitional spaces between the lower and upper classes. These neighborhoods accommodate the living practices and spatial demands of both traditional and new middle classes, while undergoing transformations through urban transformation processes. At the same time, new residents moving into the neighborhood become part of the emerging new middle class; the class similarities and spatial codes guide these two distinct class fractions towards developing certain practices of cohabitation. The next section will explore the "mechanisms of harmony and continuity" that emerge as the old and new middle classes share the same space.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This section addresses the "mechanisms of harmony and continuity" that emerge as the traditional and new middle classes share the same space, and discusses the results of the interviews and observations conducted in the field. In this context, based on the data obtained, the similarities between class fractions are initially presented through the concepts of habitus and capital. To understand the similarities and differences in the economic, cultural, and social capitals of the traditional and new middle classes, findings related to demographic structures, lifestyles, consumption habits, spatial demands, daily life practices, and social relationships are interpreted. The perceived class habitus and shared values of Kadıköy District and Kozyatağı Neighborhood, which influence the location preferences of new middle-class residents introduced by urban transformation processes, are examined, along with the neighborhood-specific spatial characteristics and existing social structures at the neighborhood scale. While discussing the role of the neighborhood's former residents and local businesses in the reproduction of class,

the study also investigates the mechanisms that enable the harmonious coexistence and socio-spatial continuity of these former residents with the new settlers and businesses introduced by urban transformation. These mechanisms are explored in the context of how they are influenced by urban interventions shaped by national/international macro-level developments, and how they impact the class habitus and class space. In this context, under this heading, the focus is on the transmission of class habitus and the class similarities, the impact of class and spatial perception on the decision-making process of residential location, and the relationship between the continuity of commercial enterprises and neighborhood culture. The mechanisms of harmony and continuity presented by the relationship between class and space are questioned. During this inquiry, while examining how class similarities at the neighborhood and district levels contribute to the reproduction of these mechanisms, the negative impacts of macro-level developments are also discussed.

Class Similarities and Transferred Habitus

Demographic changes in Turkey, including the rise in the elderly population and the decline in fertility and mortality rates, are particularly evident in the Kadıköy district. Kozyatağı, a prominent neighborhood within Kadıköy, reflects these demographic trends, exhibiting a diverse age structure that includes not only a significant elderly population but also middle-aged (25-64 years), young adult (15-24 years), and child (under 14 years) groups (Kadıköy Municipality Academy, 2023). A clear relationship exists between the neighborhood's demographic composition and its spatial characteristics. For instance, areas with a high concentration of children are typically found near residential complexes, while the elderly and long-term shopkeepers are concentrated along Kaya Sultan Street and its surrounding areas, where the traditional urban pattern prevails[11] (Kadıköy Municipality Academy, 2023).

This demographic distribution is closely linked to ongoing urban transformation processes, with new residents exhibiting different demographic profiles compared to the former residents. A clear disparity is observed between the elderly, retired civil servants who constitute a majority of the former residents, and the younger, white-collar professionals who have recently moved into the neighborhood. Additionally, a relationship can be observed between property ownership and life cycle stages. New homeowners are predominantly individuals aged 50 and above, with established savings, whereas renters tend to be younger, either single or young married couples, with/without children.

The neighborhood's high proportion of children reflects the preferences of young families who have moved into newly constructed buildings as a result of urban transformation. This trend is consistent with the neighborhood's social amenities. Notably, all levels of education facilities are within accessible distances (Kadıköy Municipality Academy, 2023). Interviews conducted with residents indicate that compared to other districts, the quality of education in the area is highly regarded. Residents describe the neighborhood using terms such as "educated, cultured, refined, elite, polite, high-quality and conscious" (Figure 4). The cultural capital shaped within families, influenced by education and the living environment, plays a significant role in reproducing class habitus (Bourdieu, 2013; Bourdieu, 2015). In this context, the preference for sending children to schools in neighborhoods with similar social profiles represents a key element in maintaining class habitus and the continuity of class-based spaces.

The presence of migrant groups in the neighborhood serves as a significant indicator for understanding the demographic composition of both the old and new residents. Interviews indicated that the neighborhood hosts a limited number of migrant residents. Due to the high concentration of elderly and children, the presence of migrants from Turkic states, who provide daily or residential care services, was also noted. Additionally, families from Russia, Ukraine, and Iran have been reported to choose the neighborhood for homeownership. However, it was emphasized that these migrant groups share social, cultural, and economic characteristics similar to those of the neighborhood's residents, which has facilitated their integration into the area. In contrast, a small number of migrants from Syria and other Arab countries were unable to settle in the neighborhood and left within a short period. In other words, the class and spatial structure of the neighborhood attracts and accepts migrant groups with similar class backgrounds, while excluding those who do not fit, thereby maintaining its homogeneous structure. This pattern is also applicable to Turkish citizens. Interviews indicated that new residents tend to prefer living in areas with a "familiar or similar culture," and it was emphasized that lower-income groups or diverse ethnic groups are unlikely to live in the neighborhood. Moreover, it was pointed out that there is no concentration of residents from specific regions within Turkey, and that the neighborhood lacks strong regional affiliations or ties. Consequently, the continuity of the neighborhood's homogeneous class structure is shaped within the context of habitus and capital.

> "For example, the Syrians have filled the area. They're in every district. They couldn't settle here. They came, but they left just like they came. ... There are Russians. And they, I mean, they live well. Their socio-economic level is high, so they live comfortably. The living conditions are also the same as there. It's a quiet place. I mean, there's transportation here 24/7, it's very central. It's very close to the street, very close to the beach. Very close to the E-5, that's why. They're making great use of it." (Shopkeeper, Interview-23)

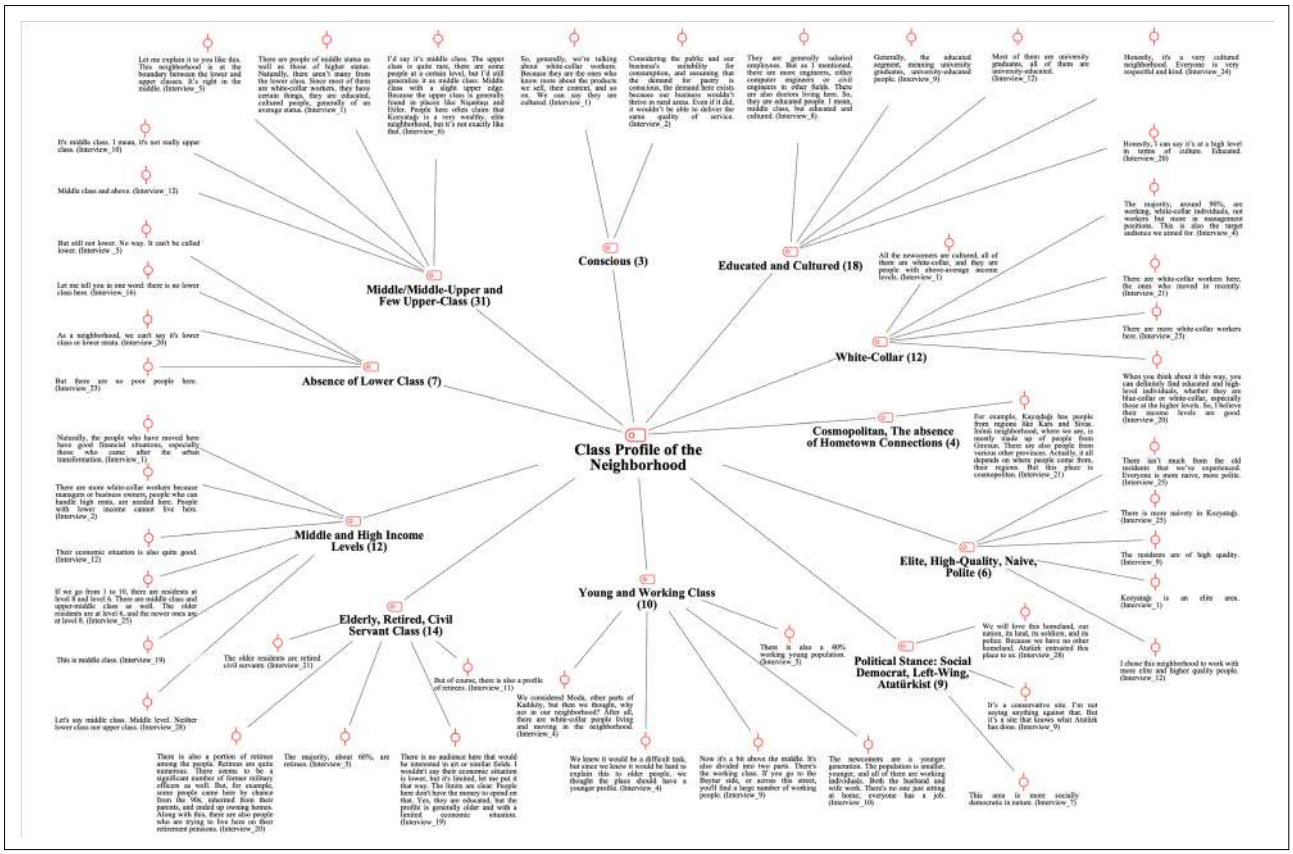

Figure 4. Class Profile in the Neighborhood (Code-Theory Model).

> "For example, Kayserians have always gone to Erenköy. We don't have that in our neighborhood. Look, in Bostancı, there are people from Malatya. We don't have that here. That's why we're uncomfortable. They come to us asking, 'Do you have associations?' We don't have an association like that. We don't have this hometown connection. For us, everyone's from the same place." (Neighborhood Headman, Interview-1)

> "I think like this, the shopkeepers or the people here aren't from the same origin or anything. For example, in some places, it's only people from the Black Sea, or only people from Sivas. Here, everyone is different. From different places. This is not a hometown neighborhood." (Resident, Interview-4)

The relationship between the demographic structure and space is understood through the economic, cultural, social, and symbolic capital possessed by residents, as well as the similarities and differences in the volumes of these capitals. According to the Kadıköy 2030 Current Status Report (2023), Kadıköy surpasses the İstanbul average in terms of education levels, with the highest number of graduates in higher education, undergraduate, graduate, and doctoral programs among İstanbul's districts. Kozyatağı, on the other hand, is defined as a neighborhood predominantly inhabited by middle-income groups (Kadıköy Municipality Academy, 2023). This study examines Kozyatağı as a middle-class neighborhood characterized by high education levels and middle to upper-middle income groups, hosting different class fractions, namely the traditional (old) and new middle classes.

Interviews revealed that the cohesion between old and new residents is largely facilitated by class similarities. The class profile of the neighborhood is commonly described using terms such as "educated," "middle to high-income," and "cultured." The concept of culture was addressed in three distinct ways: First, it was associated with education, with both groups being characterized as predominantly educated. Second, in the context of artistic and intellectual activities, it was noted that older residents refrained from participation due to economic reasons, while newer residents were disengaged due to a lack of interest. An interesting observation was made regarding the recent increase in ceramic workshops and art courses. The neighborhood head mentioned the opening of new ceramic workshops, but no particular emphasis was placed on this growth. Similarly, in other interviews, despite noting the increase in the number of ceramic workshops, these businesses were not generally recalled when asked about new enterprises in the area. Spatial observations further support this pattern, although the number of ceramic workshops and art courses

has increased, there is a noticeable lack of awareness and demand for this expansion. Interview with the owner of a ceramic workshop revealed that the participation of neighborhood residents in cultural activities is limited, with such events generally attracting participants from outside the neighborhood. Furthermore, it was observed that despite the high educational level of the younger generation, their cultural engagement has not developed sufficiently. This suggests that the cultural offerings, such as ceramic workshops, do not fully meet the expectations of the new middle class in practice.

On the other hand, the increasing number of gyms post-pandemic reflects the health-oriented physical activities pursued by white-collar young professionals, particularly those suffering from posture issues due to hybrid working conditions. Gym owners highlighted that participation in these activities is driven by health concerns and is not perceived as a cultural status symbol, especially when compared to similar neighborhoods like Suadiye. While the neighborhood residents are considered to have high cultural capital, taking into account their educational levels and social relationships, the area is still classified as a middle-class neighborhood in terms of economic capital. As a result, it was observed that there is a conscious preference for participation in physical activities, while interest in cultural events is limited, and the anticipated demand for cultural activities in the neighborhood has not materialized. In this context, the neighborhood's appeal to businesses offering such activities cannot be explained solely by cultural preferences; lower rental prices compared to neighboring areas also emerge as an important economic consideration.

Thirdly, it was observed that communication patterns in social life reflect cultural differences, with the older residents being more culturally endowed, while the newer residents, despite their higher educational levels, are culturally lacking. The older residents have strengthened their cultural and social capital, particularly through their education in village institutes and strong neighborhood ties. The neighborhood leader emphasized this cultural capital by stating, "My elderly residents grew up in the Village Institutes," highlighting the significant contribution of these educational institutions to the neighborhood's cultural capital. The cultural capital of the older residents is shaped not only by education but also by neighborhood relationships and the continuity of neighborhood culture. The traditional middle class transfers their cultural capital to the new middle class through everyday social interactions, thus producing a shared class habitus, despite the formation of different class fractions. This situation demonstrates the interaction between cultural and social capital. Although the habitus and capital of the old and new middle class differ, common factors such as education enable harmonious coexistence within the same neighborhood and facilitate the formation of a specific class habitus.

With the reproduction of class, the social, cultural, and ideological identity of space is also reshaped, thereby preserving the character of the neighborhood. Interviews highlighted the continuity of class space through the transmission of habitus. First, it was noted that individuals' actions are shaped not only by formal education but also by the social and cultural opportunities provided by their living environment, referred to as "environmental education." This form of education determines individuals' social behaviors and their adaptation to the environment. For example, it was observed that the respectful attitudes of building caretakers in social interactions were influenced by the residents of the neighborhood, which contributed to making class differences in the neighborhood livable. Second, the charitable and experience-sharing approaches of the older residents towards lower-class tradespeople were emphasized. This approach helps tradespeople establish a sense of belonging within the neighborhood, while also encouraging them to develop a similar habitus by sharing the thought patterns of the residents. Third, the transmission of neighborhood culture from older residents to newer ones through daily life and social interactions plays a significant role in maintaining a harmonious living environment. Despite challenges such as the pandemic and economic crises, it was observed that neighborhood ties have persisted, particularly when compared to other residential areas in İstanbul. Finally, it was noted that individuals who are perceived as "not belonging" to the neighborhood face difficulties in terms of social connections, communication opportunities, and access to services, which leads to their gradual exclusion from the space.

> "It's already known. I mean, the places to live in İstanbul are pretty much set. And here's the thing, if you don't belong here, you just end up leaving on your own. This place pushes you out. You want to leave. Because you can't find friends, you can't find a community, you can't find people to talk to. You can't find the products you want. What happens then? You leave. ... These neighborhoods don't change. Certain places don't change. You can't change Suadiye or Erenköy anyway. Because you don't have the power. I mean, there are rich people who go there, and those who became rich later. It doesn't change. You have no choice. Either you'll leave and choose a place that suits you, or you'll adapt to them. It's not like, these places don't change." (Shopkeeper, Interview-22)

> "...They're not the type to intervene and try to change things here, to make it the way they want. The ones who do, leave. After a while, they can't take it anymore. Either they're excluded from the building, or it's like a self-cleaning process for the neighborhood. Just like the sea cleans itself. I mean, after a certain point, you explode.

> Someone becomes a nuisance, they make noise, they're disruptive. They'll tell you, 'Don't do it,' 'don't do it three times,' 'don't do it four times.' If they're a tenant, they'll go to the landlord and say, 'Hey, either give your tenant a warning, or kick them out.' Or if they're the landlord, they'll deal with it in the building meeting. It starts with the building, and things get sorted out." (Shopkeeper, Interview-23)

Class habitus, within Bourdieu's conceptual framework, refers to the ways individuals think and act, shaped by their social position and living environment (Bourdieu, 2013; Bourdieu, 2015). In interviews, the forms of personal freedom and expressions of difference, which are integral parts of class habitus, were discussed in relation to the liberal atmosphere offered by Kadıköy and Kozyatağı Neighborhood. However, it was noted that this freedom is constrained by the neighborhood's cultural norms, and individuals may face exclusion if their actions conflict with the community's social values, or they may choose to leave the neighborhood voluntarily. This dynamic occurs through the neighborhood's internal social control mechanisms, which compel individuals to adapt to the neighborhood's culture.

Kadıköy is also characterized by ideological tendencies such as "Republican, Atatürkist, social democratic, and left-leaning" orientations, which are supported by local election results and observations of the area. In this context, the relatively harmonious relationship between old and new residents, as well as the lack of discomfort from the older residents regarding the newcomers, can be attributed to the agreement between these two factions under the umbrella of "secularism." Neighborhood residents, in this sense, create an invisible alliance and a shared language, with secularism forming a rational basis for their residential choices. Thus, political identity, which is part of the habitus, is also reproduced through the space itself (Figure 5).

> "For example, now, of course, due to the increasing pressures on certain aspects of life in our country, whether accepted or not, places like Kadıköy and Beşiktaş are preferred by the new generation because they believe they can express themselves more freely there. I think that's the case. In other words, when choosing a neighborhood, if possible, people take that into consideration. ... There is a specific profile of people here. It's a solidified profile. I think it doesn't change easily. ... Let me tell you something really funny. Now, my son went to Oxford for an MBA. He stayed there for about a year and a half. Students from all over the world. Then, a married couple, either Chinese or Japanese—I'm not sure—after returning here to İstanbul, they booked a hotel around Taksim. They were in touch with my son and wanted to meet. He happily agreed. He says, 'I'll show you the Asian Side, Bağdat Avenue.' As they were walking on Bağdat Avenue, they were looking around, and they said, 'There are so many tourists here.' They thought the people walking around were tourists. They asked, 'Aren't these tourists?' because of their more modern clothing and styles. My son said, 'No, they are Turkish.' They were surprised. Where we come from, it's not like that; it's more about wearing a headscarf. Even the women wearing headscarves on Bağdat Avenue offer a completely different visual experience. It's not like Eminönü." (Shopkeeper, Interview 11)
>
> "When my daughter was still in high school, ideologically, I enrolled her in the Atatürkist Thought Association in Kadıköy to expose her to some ideas and enrich her at that age. She was 14 years old. As she started attending the Atatürkist Thought Association, of course, some ideas began to form. ... I don't have friendships with people who have issues with the secular segment. That's my criterion for Atatürkism." (Resident, Interview 8)
>
> "I lean towards the left-wing view. My life experiences, my background... There's also an inclination that comes from my family. ... For the news, I watch Halk TV and follow Sözcü. I don't leave the house in the morning without reading the Sözcü newspaper." (Resident, Interview 2)

The Influence of Class and Spatial Perception on Residential Location and Mobility

The preservation of neighborhood culture and neighborly relationships, particularly among the older residents, emerges as a key dynamic that sustains the traditional pattern and authenticity of the neighborhood. The continuation of this tradition is viewed as a significant factor in the new middle class's decision to settle in the area. Moreover, perceptions of safety and tranquility in the neighborhood also serve as important motivations for residential choice. In interviews, the safety of the neighborhood is frequently emphasized, and this is addressed in three distinct ways. First, the neighborhood's class structure is linked to its sense of safety, with the respectful and cultured demeanor of its residents creating a secure environment. New businesses perceive the neighborhood as peaceful, welcoming, and culturally rich, and they are drawn to the area due to the relatively affordable rent compared to nearby Bağdat Street. Second, the ability of commercial establishments to leave goods outside without concerns for security is seen as an indicator of the neighborhood's resilience against external threats. Third, safety is also considered in the context of seismic risk and the neighborhood's geological conditions. The low-risk profile of the area and its preparedness for potential earthquakes are cited as factors that attract residents. Therefore, the perception of safety, tranquility, and authenticity in the neighborhood plays a pivotal role in attracting middle-class fractions that will further reproduce this class space.

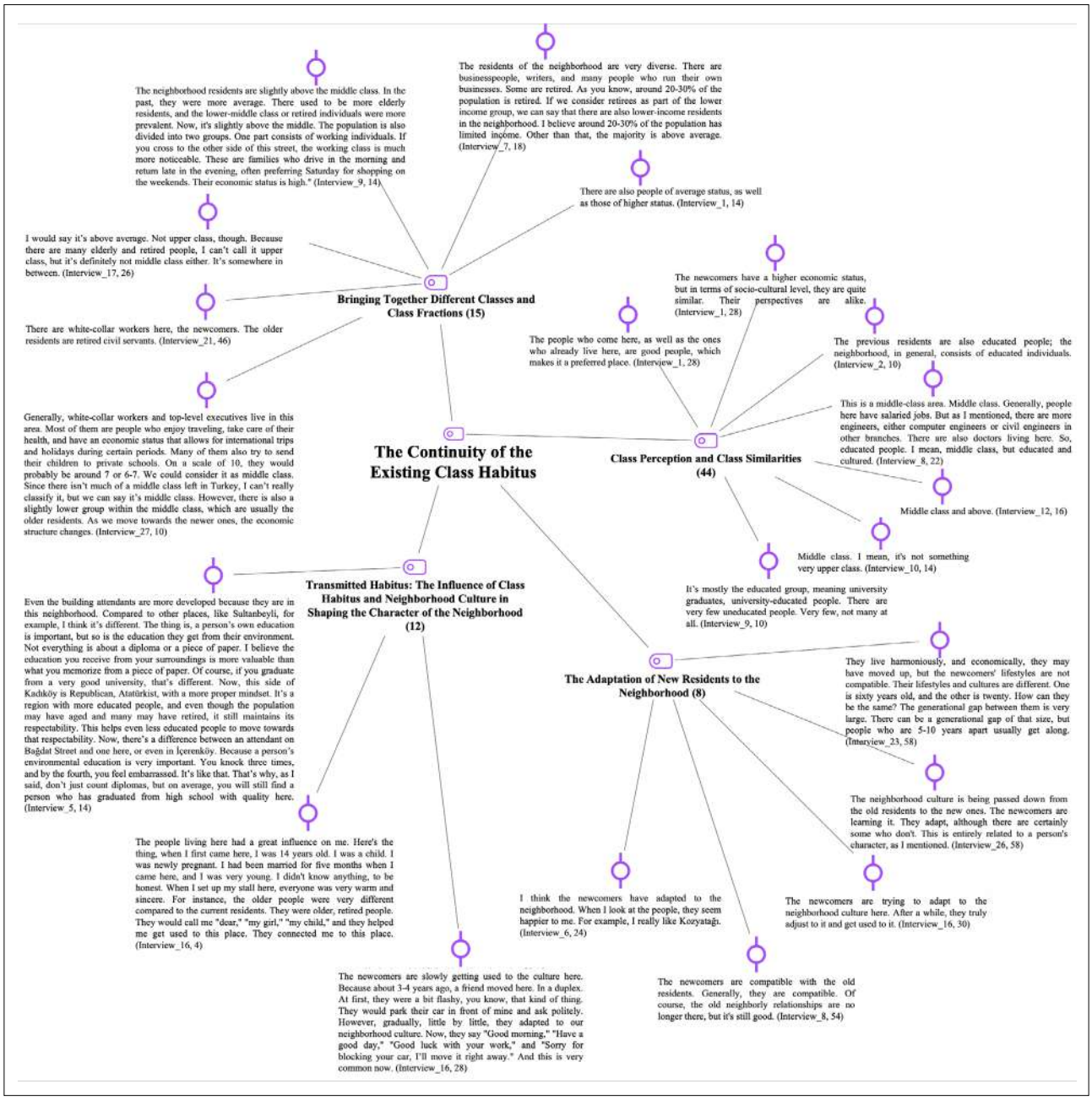

Figure 5. Codes and Interviews Referencing the Continuity and Harmony of the Existing Class Habitus (Code-Theory Model).

The class perception of the neighborhood significantly influences residential choice preferences. Kadıköy is often described as a "liberated zone," offering an attractive living space for individuals with similar class characteristics. The class habitus of Kadıköy, along with its social, cultural, and economic capital, lifestyle, and ideological stance, emerges as key determinants in residential selection. Compared to neighboring districts such as Suadiye, Erenköy, and Göztepe, Kadıköy is favored for its more affordable rental prices.

The older residents reflect a traditional middle class composed of educated, cultured retired civil servants and small-scale shopkeepers, while the newer residents are generally higher-income white-collar workers. While the older residents are more vulnerable to the rising housing prices, the new residents are more adaptable, with rising demand driving up prices accordingly. This trend has accelerated spatial changes, particularly through urban transformation initiatives, and has led to the establishment of businesses catering to new lifestyles (e.g., cafes, organic product stores, supermarkets, restaurants, pet-related businesses, gyms, online grocery warehouses, etc.). The continuity and adaptation of the older residents in the neighborhood are shaped within the context of their economic capital[12] and the opportunities provided by

the space. In Kozyatağı, the distribution of old and new businesses reflects the needs of different class fractions: older businesses are concentrated along Kaya Sultan Street, while newer businesses are located on Hilmi Paşa Street and Şakacı Street. The distinct separation of old/new axes, along with the recognized/perceived identities attributed to these locations by the neighborhood, enables residents to access the businesses, products, and social environments that meet their specific demands.

Moreover, the presence of local businesses that meet the daily needs of the older residents facilitates the continuation of local and closed-off ways of life. Commercial relationships within the neighborhood are intertwined with social connections, supported by flexible payment terms and credit systems, which in turn promote harmony and cultural continuity. Thus, the high accessibility and class similarities offered by the neighborhood make it possible for different fractions to coexist harmoniously, without conflict (Figure 6).

A key factor influencing residential choice is the neighborhood's location and accessibility. According to the Kadıköy 2030 Current Status Report (2023), industrial sectors are concentrated along the D-100 highway and Bağdat Avenue corridors. The metro stations within the neighborhood boundaries (M4 and M8) and their connections to public transportation systems direct the concentration of activity towards the D-100 highway, the Minibüs Road, and Bağdat Avenue, thereby channeling social life away from the neighborhood core. This spatial configuration contributes to the preservation of the neighborhood's social pattern by limiting the entry of sectoral activities into the residential area, thus mitigating the influx of external populations. While there are some ventures in the food and beverage sector, these businesses typically serve the local residents and do not attract customers from outside the neighborhood.

The high concentration of elderly residents and lower economic levels within the neighborhood also restrict demand for new businesses. While the accessibility of Kozyatağı, in terms of transport connections, remains a significant factor influencing both residential and commercial location choices, high rental prices and low demand have led to the failure and closure of new businesses. The high investment value and rental returns in the housing market, on the other hand, have accelerated the pace of transformation in the residential sector. As a result, changes in the business environment occur at a slower pace, whereas rapid transformation in the housing market is contributing to emerging housing issues.

The Relationship Between the Continuity of Commercial Enterprises and Neighborhood Culture

The actions of social classes are shaped in accordance with their habitus, and this process is reproduced through individuals' lifestyles, tastes, and preferences, which in turn manifest in everyday life practices (Jourdain & Naulin, 2016). In this study, it is observed that the mechanisms of the reproduction of the middle class are directly related to the everyday life practices and spatial uses within the neighborhood. The forms of social and

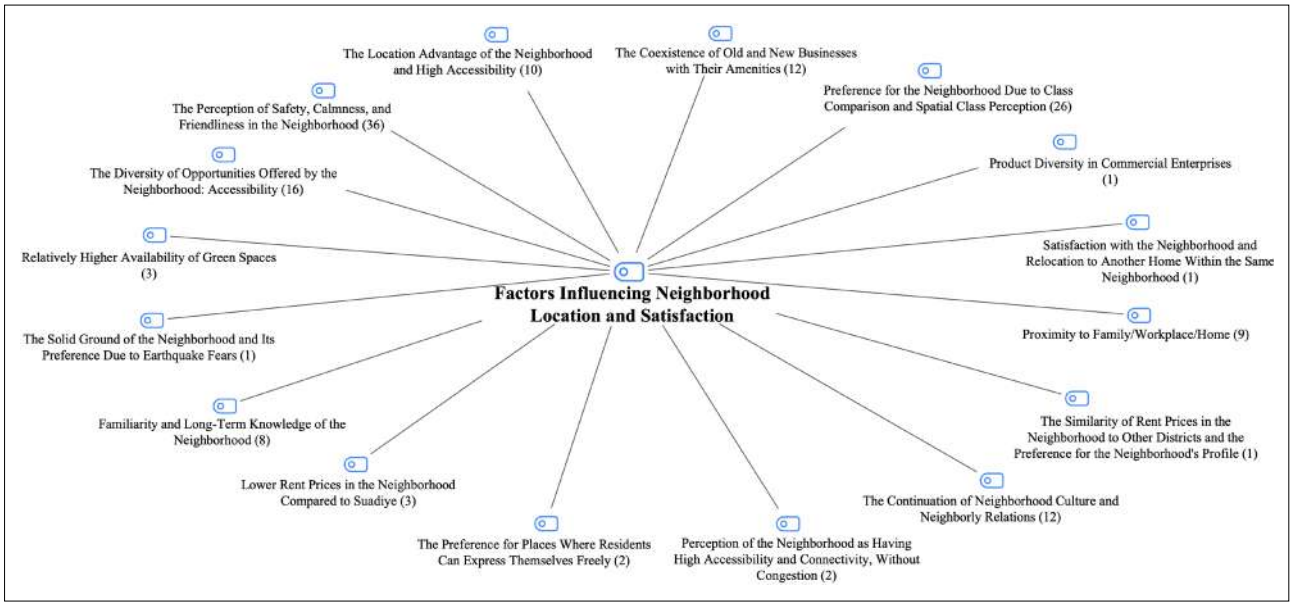

Figure 6. Factors Influencing Neighborhood Location and Satisfaction (Code-Theory Model).

cultural engagement by traditional middle-class residents demonstrate that local businesses play a significant role in maintaining social networks within the neighborhood. Interviews revealed that older residents regularly gather in affordable, long-established local businesses (e.g., bakeries and patisseries) and take advantage of the neighborhood's proximity to the coastline to organize walks and social gatherings along the shore. These gatherings typically take place in public spaces, minimizing financial burden. The end of the pandemic has further reinforced this outdoor meeting culture within the neighborhood. Additionally, retired men have been observed congregating in specific hours at older establishments to maintain their neighborhood ties. Older residents actively participate in the cultural transmission of the neighborhood by patronizing both old and new businesses, while excluding businesses that do not align with the local culture, thus preserving the neighborhood's social order. Not only elderly and retired individuals, but also their children and grandchildren benefit from these traditional establishments. This dynamic exemplifies the relationship between space and habitus. New generations, shaped by the social and cultural codes of the neighborhood from childhood, develop similar patterns of space usage. However, demographic changes, technological developments, and shifts in social relationships position the new generation between old and new lifestyles. In addition to the traditional businesses, meetings are also held in new-generation cafes, further strengthening social bonds within the community.

Interviews revealed that the strong neighborhood relationships among local shopkeepers are sustained not only through the bonds established over the years between the old businesses themselves, but also through the mentorship, support, and cultural transmission provided by these older establishments to the newer ones. Social connections and networks function as a key mechanism ensuring the continuity of businesses within the area. Furthermore, these relationships are also grounded in economic foundations. The use of social media by new businesses to attract customers increases the potential customer base for the neighborhood, thus fostering a sense of alignment and cooperation between businesses operating within the same space.

Interviews with commercial business owners highlighted that the owners of older shops have been particularly sensitive to rent increases in the neighborhood. During the pandemic, many shop owners, who were unable to operate, refrained from collecting rent and instead strengthened social relationships, developing local solutions to the challenges faced within the community.

> "Here's the thing, I think we are at an advantage. It's a bit related to mutual relationships. Our landlord supported us a lot. Even during the pandemic, he didn't take rent from us, even though he's only known us for a short time. With those incredibly inflated prices, thank God, we didn't get caught up in it." (Shopkeeper, Interview-25)

> "Old shop owners are more sensitive." (Shopkeeper, Interview-4)

> "...since the business owners are older, they know that it's not just about the shop rent, so they are a bit more sensitive." (Shopkeeper, Interview-1)

The strategy employed by the older shopkeepers to maintain rent increases at reasonable levels was also noted as a means to ensure regular rent payments and protect their economic income. This approach has helped regulate the relationship between property owners and tenants, securing the continuity of businesses and slowing down the pace of change. Moreover, the fact that many older property owners own multiple properties has enhanced their sense of economic security, enabling them to adopt a more critical approach during crises. This situation is directly related to the capacity of middle-class residents to devise strategies through property ownership.

Furthermore, three key factors contributing to the persistence of older businesses were identified. First, the predominance of families with children among the new residents, coupled with the high number of schools and daycare centers in the area, attracts middle and upper-middle-class families to the neighborhood. This dynamic helps ensure the continuity of traditional small businesses with lower competition, such as stationery store, ice cream parlour, haberdashery. Second, the higher income levels of new residents mean that they are less affected by price increases, allowing businesses like tailors and grocery stores to continue their operations. Third, older businesses are responding to the demands of new residents by diversifying their product offerings and adapting their sales strategies. For example, pharmacies are increasingly offering over-the-counter (OTC) and dermocosmetic products, while grocery stores are expanding their product range to function more like local markets.

In this context, while there are multiple reasons for the continued existence of old commercial enterprises in the neighborhood, it can be observed that their survival fundamentally depends on three conditions. The first is that existing local networks, social relationships, and neighborhood culture serve as a protective shield for the old commercial enterprises; the old shopkeepers, especially those serving the traditional middle-class residents, are preferred and preserved. The second is that the higher economic capital of the new middle-class residents, compared to the previous ones, enables old shopkeepers to reflect the rising costs of products/services in their offerings. The third is that the old shopkeepers, who are more vulnerable to changing conditions and increasing

rent prices, develop strategies such as increasing product diversity and reducing employment (Figure 7).

The ongoing urban transformation processes within the study area, shaped by macro-scale developments such as the economic crisis, the pandemic, and the earthquake, have begun to progress in a manner that dismantles the class-based similarities and mechanisms of harmony and continuity outlined thus far. Interviews indicate that the new middle-class residents moving into the neighborhood, with their higher economic capital, are able to afford market-oriented housing offerings, unlike the traditional middle-class residents. Due to high rents, former residents and shopkeepers are reported to have left the area, resulting in a shift in the class structure of the neighborhood. When this situation is analyzed in conjunction with Bourdieu's understanding of structural constructivism (Bourdieu, 2013; Bourdieu, 2016) and critical realism's internal and external causal forces (Sayer, 2019; Danermark et al., 2018), the internal mechanisms that reveal class habitus shape individuals' actions and produce collective values and practices of cohabitation. In this study, the actions and thoughts of the neighborhood residents, based on their habitus and social position derived from their capital, are made visible on the space, while reproducing the class structure at both the district and neighborhood levels. On the other hand, the external mechanisms discussed in this study as macro-scale developments, although not determining the actions of the agent, condition and limit these actions. In other words, the actions of the agent are shaped not only by internal mechanisms but also by the surrounding social structures (externalities).

CONCLUSION AND EVALUATION

The uniqueness of Kozyatağı neighborhood is shaped by local dynamics that facilitate the harmonious coexistence of different class fractions, as well as mechanisms that ensure the continuity of the space. However, this uniqueness also manifests as a tangible reflection of the varying lifestyles, consumption habits, and class characteristics within the space. To understand the distinguishing features of Kozyatağı from other neighborhoods in Kadıköy, it is essential to examine three key mechanisms that govern continuity/change and harmony/conflict within the neighborhood: **the macro scale, the district level, and the local scale** (Figure 8).

Macro Scale: The first significant factor influencing the transformation of Kozyatağı neighborhood is the impact of broader economic, social, and environmental developments, particularly urban transformation processes, on the local space. Since the early 2000s, accelerated urban regeneration projects in İstanbul have directly affected Kozyatağı, leading to structural transformations within the neighborhood. However, in recent years, the risks associated with the February 6, 2023 earthquake, the ongoing economic crisis, and the pandemic have further reshaped the existing structure of the area. Transformation activities, justified by the earthquake risk, have influenced both the housing market and the social pattern, resulting in significant rent increases and class mobility.

District Level: Another significant factor distinguishing Kozyatağı from other neighborhoods in Kadıköy is the shared characteristics across the district, such as similar class profiles, lifestyles, the ability to live with a sense of freedom and security, and the creation of a common

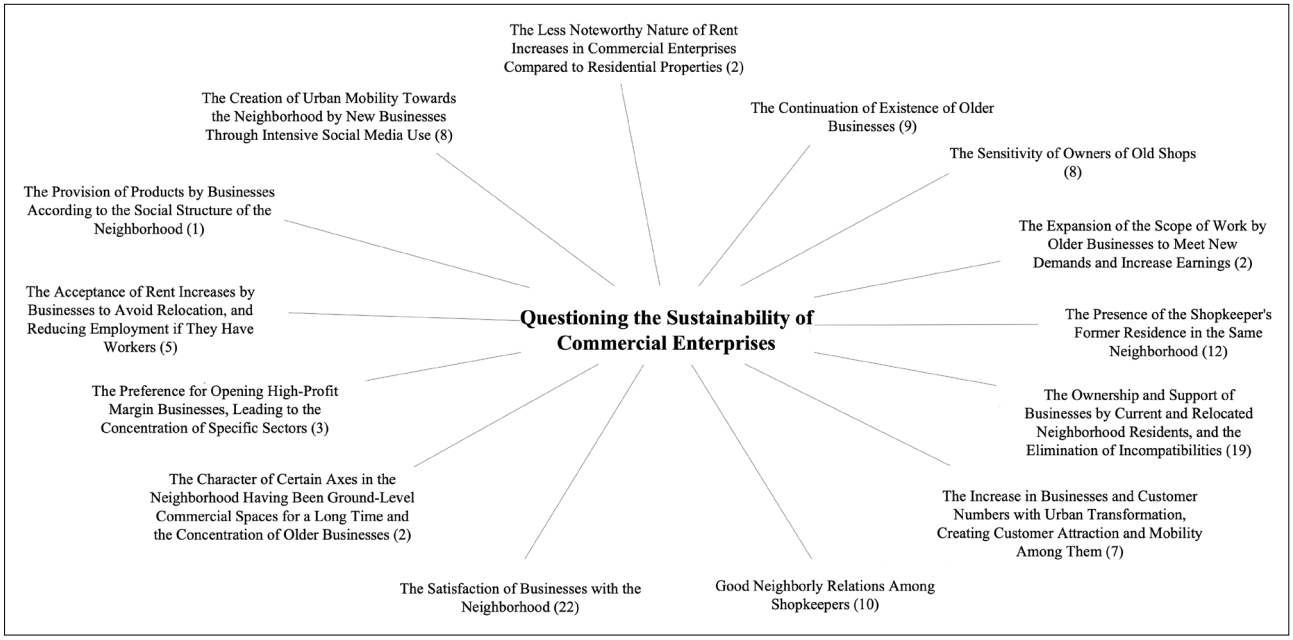

Figure 7. Examination of the Continuity of Commercial Enterprises (Coding and Frequencies).

Figure 8. A Word Cloud Generated Based on the Frequency of All Words Used in Interviews Revealing Mechanisms of Continuity/Change and Adaptation/Conflict.

language under the umbrella of secularism. As a central district, Kadıköy hosts a diverse range of socio-economic classes, and the residents within the neighborhood are typically individuals who share similar social, cultural, and economic capital. This creates an atmosphere that supports the continuity of social relationships in the neighborhood, fostering a shared class habitus and lifestyle. Additionally, the local culture in Kadıköy has developed a common language and value system that ensures residents feel safe and free within their environment.

Local Scale: The unique structural characteristics of Kozyatağı Neighborhood reveal the core dynamics of social cohesion within the area. In this context, the neighborhood functions as a residential area with ground-floor commercial spaces, but it doesn't accommodate elements related to history, culture, or tourism. The neighborhood is characterized by a low seismic risk profile, responding to concerns about residents' safety, making it a low-risk zone. The changes occurring in the area take place gradually on a parcel-by-parcel basis rather than through an overarching transformation. New residents tend to prefer living with individuals who share similar social, cultural, and economic capital, which is similar to that of previous residents. They also perceive the area as more economically viable compared to other districts in Kadıköy. Additionally, the continuity of neighborhood culture and community relationships, which are thought to persist here relative to many other neighborhoods in İstanbul, fosters a sense of "authenticity" within the area. This perception is particularly reinforced by the neighborhood landscape observed in the streets and the presence of green spaces within the neighborhood. Kozyatağı offers a tranquil, calm, and secure atmosphere due to its central location, rich transport connectivity, and proximity to Kadıköy's center and the Suadiye-Bağdat Street, all within walking distance. Moreover, being near multiple transportation modes yet not open to an influx of external population, the neighborhood allows residents to meet their needs and access services without leaving the area. The coexistence of both old and new residents, as well as commercial establishments, enables the area to cater to two distinct class fractions.

In the neighborhood, the first of these three mechanisms defines the conditions for conflict, while the second reveals the dynamics of cohesion. At the local scale, the effects of the first and second mechanisms shape the class habitus and space in accordance with the neighborhood's unique structural characteristics. This triad of mechanisms creates the conditions under which both the class habitus and space are reproduced, establishing the structure that either enables or prevents the coexistence of old and new residents within the same space. In recent years, the slow process of change observed in the 2000s has accelerated and become more fragile. The urban transformation process, justified by the risk of earthquakes, now presents an approach that questions the right to housing on behalf of the traditional middle class. The location-specific dynamics that facilitate the mutual reproduction of class and space are increasingly eroded, particularly under the influence of economic developments and market dominance.

NOTES

[1]For detailed studies on the middle class in the relevant fields, see: Kurtuluş, 2003; Kurtuluş, 2005; Pérouse and Danış, 2005; Kurtuluş et al., 2012; Duman, 2015; Akçaoğlu, 2018; Özet, 2019.

[2]"The Transformational Model of Social Activity (TMSA)", see: (Bhaskar, 1998; Bhaskar, 2011).

[3]For studies that establish a relationship between Bourdieu's approach and space, see: (Arlı and Göker, 2014; Savage, 2014; Wacquant, 2018; Savage, 2020).

[4]In the thesis from which this study is derived, the extensive research design is also addressed. However, within the framework of this article, the findings obtained through extensive research are not presented. Instead, the focus has been directed toward the intensive research design, which is employed to explore the underlying mechanisms through the class structure identified in the extensive research. This methodological approach has been highlighted as a key focus, and its alignment with the theoretical framework has been noted accordingly.

[5]Based on field observations and the analysis of physical structures, the sample selection for interviews with commercial establishments was carried out. In this context, both old and new buildings, as well as the axes where commercial establishments are concentrated, were identified. New functions that have quantitatively increased in the area, in response to the different demands and needs of the traditional and new middle classes, were also detected, and transformations within the commercial establishments were examined. Accordingly, interviews were conducted with traditional and new businesses operating along the identified axes.

[6]The explanations regarding the use of the MAXQDA program encompass three different contexts. The first is that training on this program has been completed. In this context, a 10-session training set titled MAXQDA 2024 Summer School, available through the YouTube channel of Buracademy, a company founded by Burak Varol, a certified MAXQDA trainer, has been completed. The second context is that experience has been gained in analyzing data using the program during and after the training process. Therefore, the explanations are also based on the researcher's own applications of the program. The third context is that coding and categorizing into themes is not a new method for data analysis. Grounded theory in the analysis of qualitative data develops an abstract theory through the coding of data, linking them to each other, and categorizing them into basic categories (open coding, axial coding, selective coding). Therefore, grounded theory analysis, while not directly related to this program, is closely connected to the operational principles of the program. In this regard, the research methodology sources related to this abstraction process have also been guiding in the explanations. For further reference, see: Creswell, 2013; Neuman, 2014; Punch, 2016.

[7]For a detailed study of "reflexive thematic analysis", see: (Braun and Clarke, 2022).

[8]The fact that the author conducting the fieldwork is also a 32-year resident of the neighborhood has enhanced their observational capacity regarding the area. Throughout the fieldwork, the researcher has strived to strike a balance between being both an observer and a participant.

[9]For detailed reading on Bourdieu's approach to reflexivity and the position of the researcher, see: (Wacquant, 2007; Calhoun, 2007).

[10]The thesis from which this study is derived was written in Turkish, and therefore, the interviews, observation notes, and analyses related to the field study were conducted in this language. In this study, visual analyses of the program's outputs and contributions are presented for clarity, but the language of the article differs from the language used in the analyses. This discrepancy is considered one of the limitations of the study.

[11]These conclusions have been derived from the analysis of physical structures and data obtained through interviews, in conjunction with the analyses presented in the Kadıköy Current Status Report.

[12]This study does not address the processes of change and conflict; instead, it focuses on the mechanisms of continuity and harmony. As a result, the importance and outcomes of economic capital in the ongoing process of social and spatial change within the field are not discussed.

ETHICS: There are no ethical issues with the publication of this manuscript.

PEER-REVIEW: Externally peer-reviewed.

CONFLICT OF INTEREST: The authors declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

FINANCIAL DISCLOSURE: The authors declared that this study has received no financial support.

REFERENCES

Akçaoğlu, A. (2018). Zarif ve dinen makbul: Muhafazakâr üst-orta sınıf habitusu [Elegant and religiously acceptable: Conservative upper-middle class habitus] (4th ed.). İletişim.

Arlı, A., & Göker, E. (2014). Kent sosyolojisini Bourdieu ve Wacquant ile düşünmek [Thinking urban sociology

with Bourdieu and Wacquant]. Cogito–Pierre Bourdieu Özel Sayısı, 76, 121–138.

Bhaskar, R. (1998). The possibility of naturalism (3rd ed.). Routledge.

Bhaskar, R. (2008). A realist theory of science. Routledge.

Bhaskar, R. (2011). Reclaiming reality. Routledge.

Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In J. G. Richardson (Ed.), Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education (pp. 241–258). Greenwood Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1987). What makes a social class? On the theoretical and practical existence of groups. Berkeley Journal of Sociology, 32, 1–17.

Bourdieu, P. (2006). Pratik nedenler-Eylem kuramı üzerine [On practical causes-the theory of action] (2nd ed.) (H. Uğur Tanrıöver, Trans.). Hil.

Bourdieu, P. (2013). Seçilmiş metinler [Selected texts] (3rd ed.) (L. Ünsaldı, Trans.). Heretik.

Bourdieu, P. (2014). Simgesel sermaye ve toplumsal sınıflar [Symbolic capital and social classes]. Cogito–Pierre Bourdieu Özel Sayısı, 76, 192–203.

Bourdieu, P. (2015). Ayrım-beğeni yargısının toplumsal eleştirisi [The Social Critique of Judgment of Distinction and Taste] (D. Fırat & G. Berkkurt, Trans.). Heretik.

Bourdieu, P. (2016). Sosyoloji meseleleri [Issues of sociology] (2nd ed.) (F. Öztürk, B. Uçar, M. Gültekin, A. Sümer, Trans.). Heretik.

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2022). Thematic analysis: A practical guide. Sage.

Buracademy. (2024, August). MAXQDA 2024 Yaz Okulu [Video]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLK2F0MAkg7gno3gUxET4UBLksaE7VQV1y

Calhoun, C. (2007). Bourdieu sosyolojisinin ana hatları. [Outline of Bourdieu's sociology] In G. Çeğin, E. Göker, A. Arlı, & Ü. Tatlıcan (Eds.), Hearth and craft: A compilation of Pierre Bourdieu (3rd ed., pp. 77–129). İletişim.

Castells, M. (2014), Kent sınıf iktidar [City class power] (A. Türkün, Trans.). Phoenix.

Cresswell, T. (2002). Bourdieu's geographies: In memorium. Environment and Planning D: Society and Space, 20(4), 379–382. https://doi.org/10.1068/d2004t

Creswell, J. W. (2013). Nitel araştırma yöntemleri: Beş yaklaşıma göre nitel araştırma ve araştırma deseni (M. Bütün & S.B. Demir, Trans.). Siyasal.

Danermark, B., Ekström, M., Jakobsen, L., & Karlsson, J. Ch. (2018). Toplumu açıklamak: Sosyal bilimlerde eleştirel realizm [Explaining society: Critical realism in the social sciences] (Ü. Tatlıcan, Trans.). Phoenix.

Duman, B. (2015). Kentsel dönüşümde riskler ve beklentilere dair ilk tespitler: İstanbul'da bir saha çalışması [Initial determinations on risks and expectations in urban transformation: A field study in İstanbul]. Megaron, 10(3), 410-422.

Erendil, A. (1998). Using critical realist approach in geographical research: An attempt to analyze the transforming nature of production and reproduction in Denizli (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Middle East Technical University).

Femir, H., Akozan, F., & Yapanar, A. (1952). İstanbul Şenesen Evler Yapı Kooperatifi Mahallesi [Şenesen Evler Housing Cooperative Neighborhood in İstanbul]. Arkitekt, 1952(9–10), 167–173.

Giddens, A. (1999). Toplumun kuruluşu [Foundation of the community] (H. Özel, Trans.). Bilim ve Sanat.

Gök, S. F. A., & Çıtak, C. Ç. (2021). Konut politikalarının fiziksel yansımaları: Kadıköy örneği [The physical reflections of housing policies: The case of Kadıköy]. Kocaeli Üniversitesi Mimarlık ve Yaşam Dergisi, 6(1), 165–197. https://doi.org/10.51495/kocaeliummk.890169

Harvey, D. (1997). Postmodernliğin durumu [The state of postmodernity] (S. Savran, Trans.). Metis.

Harvey, D. (2008). Umut mekanları [Places of hope] (Z. Gambetti, Trans.). Metis.

Harvey, D. (2012). Sermayenin sınırları [Limits of capital] (U. Balaban, Trans.). Tan.

Harvey, D. (2016). Kent deneyimi [Urban experience] (E. Soğancılar, Trans.). Sel.

İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality Department of City Planning. (n.d.). Kadıköy Tarihçesi [History of Kadıköy]. Retrieved October 25, 2024 from https://sehirplanlama.ibb.istanbul/kadikoy-tarihcesi/

İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality. (2009). 1/100.000 Ölçekli İstanbul Çevre Düzeni Planı [İstanbul Environmental Plan]. Retrieved December, 3, 2024 from https://sehirplanlama.ibb.istanbul/ust-olcekli-planlar/

İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality. (2024). İstanbul Şehir Haritası [İstanbul City Map]. Retrieved December 7, 2024 from https://sehirharitasiapi.ibb.gov.tr/

Jourdain, A., & Naulin, S. (2016). Pierre Bourdieu'nün kuramı ve sosyolojik kullanımları [Pierre Bourdieu's theory and sociological uses] (Ö. Elitez, Trans.). İletişim.

Kadıköy Municipality Academy. (2023). Kadıköy 2030 Mevcut Durum Raporu [Kadıköy 2030 Current Status Report]. İstanbul: Kadıköy Municipality. Retrieved December 4, 2024 from chrome-extension://efaidnbmnnnibpcajpcglclefindmkaj/https://anlat.kadikoy.bel.tr/kbpanel/Uploads/Files/kadikoy2030_mevcut_durum_raporu.pdf

Kentsel Dönüşüm ve Gelişim Kanunu Tasarısı (2005). [Grand National Assembly Period: 22, Legislative Year: 3, Number: 1/984] from https://www5.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanaklar/TUTANAK/TBMM/d22/c087/tbmm22087111ss0911.pdf

Kurtuluş, H. (2003). Mekânda billurlaşan kentsel kimlikler: İstanbul'da yeni sınıfsal kimlikler ve mekânsal ayrışmanın bazı boyutları [Urban identities crystallized in place: New class identities and some dimensions of spatial segregation in İstanbul]. Doğu-Batı, 6(23), 75-96.

Kurtuluş, H. (Ed.). (2005). İstanbul'da kentsel ayrışma: Mekânsal dönüşümde farklı boyutlar [Urban segregation in Istanbul: Different dimensions of spatial transformation] Bağlam.

Kurtuluş, H., Purkis, S. & Alada, A. (2012). İstanbul'da yeni konut sunum biçimleri ve orta sınıfların sosyo mekansal yeniden inşaası [New housing delivery models in İstanbul and the socio-spatial rebuilding of the middle classes]. Ankara: TÜBİTAK Research Project Report. No. 110K061.

Lefebvre, H. (2014). Mekanın üretimi. [Production of space] (I. Ergüden, Trans.), Sel.

Mimarizm, "Türkiye'de Kentsel Dönüşüme Yönelik Yasal Düzenlemeler" (04.12.2007). https://www.mimarizm.com/makale/turkiye-de-kentsel-donusume-yonelik-yasal-duzenlemeler_113407?sourceId=113405

Neuman, W.L. (2014). Toplumsal araştırma yöntemleri: Nitel ve nicel yaklaşımlar [Social research methods: Qualitative and quantitative approaches] (7rd ed.) (S. Özge, Trans.). Yayınodası.

Özet, İ. (2019). Fatih-Başakşehir: Muhafazakâr mahallede iktidar ve dönüşen habitus [Fatih-Başakşehir: Power and the transforming habitus in a conservative neighborhood] (3rd ed.). İletişim.

Pérouse, J.F. & Danış, D. (2005). Zenginliğin mekânda yeni yansımaları: İstanbul'da güvenlikli siteler [New reflections of wealth in space: Gated communities in İstanbul]. Toplum ve Bilim, 104, 92-123.

Pratt, A. C. (1994). Eleştirel realizm ve toplumbilimsel araştırmalarda pratik anlamları [Critical realism and its practical implications in sociological research]. Toplum ve Bilim, 64–65, 112–128.

Punch, K. F. (2016). Sosyal araştırmalara giriş: Nicel ve nitel araştırmalar [Introduction to social research: Quantitative and qualitative research] (4rd ed.) (D. Bayrak, H. B. Arslan & Z. Akyüz, Trans.). Siyasal.

Savage, M. (2014). Pierre Bourdieu'nün kayıp kent sosyolojisi [Pierre Bourdieu's lost urban sociology]. Cogito – Pierre Bourdieu Özel Sayısı, 76, 106–120.

Savage, M. (2020). Bourdie comes to town: Part II. Int J Urban Reg Res, 45(1), 150–153.

Sayer, A. (1993). Postmodernist thought in geography: A realist view. Antipode, 25(4), 320–344.

Sayer, A. (2019). Sosyal bilimde yöntem: Realist bir yaklaşım [Method in social science: A realist approach] (2nd ed.) (S. Gürses, Trans.). Küre.

T.C. Resmi Gazete (1965). 634 Sayılı Kat Mülkiyeti Kanunu. [Property Ownership Law No. 634] Retrieved January 28, 2025 from https://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/mevzuat?MevzuatNo=634&MevzuatTur=1&MevzuatTertip=5

T.C. Resmi Gazete (1983). 2814 Sayılı 634 Sayılı Kat Mülkiyeti Kanununun Bazı Maddelerinin Değiştirilmesine ve Bu Kanuna Bazı Maddeler Eklenmesine Dair Kanun [Regarding the Amendment of Some Articles of the Property Ownership Law No. 2814 No. 634 and the Addition of Some Articles to this Law] Retrieved January 28, 2025 from https://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/arsiv/18018.pdf

T.C. Resmi Gazete (1984). 2982 Sayılı Konut İnşaatında ve Kalkınmada Öncelikli Yörelerde Yapılacak Yatırımlarda Vergi, Resim ve Harç İstisna ve Muaflıkları Tanınması Hakkında Kanun. Retrieved January 28, 2025 [Law No. 2982 on Granting Tax, Duty, and Fee Exemptions and Privileges for Investments to Be Made in Housing Construction and in Regions with Priority for Development] from https://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/MevzuatMetin/1.5.2982.pdf

T.C. Resmi Gazete (2012). 6306 Sayılı Afet Riski Altındaki Alanların Dönüştürülmesi Hakkında Kanun. [Law No. 6306 on the Transformation of Areas Under Disaster Risk] Retrieved January 28, 2025 from https://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/mevzuat?MevzuatNo=6306&MevzuatTur=1&MevzuatTertip=5

Tekeli, İ. (1994). Demokratik düşüncenin temellendirilmesi ve eleştirel kuram üzerine [Grounding democratic thought and critical theory]. Toplum ve Bilim, 63, 102–121.

Türkün Erendil, A. (2000). Mit ve gerçeklik olarak Denizli üretim ve işgücünün değişen yapısı: Eleştirel kuram açısından bir değerlendirme [Myth and reality of the changing structure of production and labor in Denizli: An evaluation from a critical theory perspective]. Toplum ve Bilim, 86, 91–117.

Wacquant, L. (2007). Pierre Bourdieu: Hayatı, eserleri ve entelektüel gelişimi. [Pierre Bourdieu: His life, works, and intellectual development] In G. Çeğin, E. Göker, A. Arlı, & Ü. Tatlıcan (Eds.), Ocak ve zanaat: Pierre Bourdieu derlemesi (3rd ed.) (pp. 53–76). İletişim.

Wacquant, L. (2018). Bourdieu comes to town: Pertinence, principles, applications. [Hearth and craft: Pierre Bourdieu] Int J Urban Reg Res, 42(1), 90–105.