

ANALYZING THE STAGES OF URBAN REGENERATION IN KARŞIYAKA THROUGH FAMILY PHOTOGRAPHS

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Abstract

Cities are in constant change, and urban regeneration plays a significant role in changing cities. Although citizens are the major actors and observers of this change, their role is mostly overlooked in macro-historical narrations. The pace of the urban regeneration in particular cities are so fast that this pace has a considerable influence on urban memory. While young citizens have no reminiscent of spaces that exist three decades ago in cities, the elderly dwellers remember them with yearning. Karşıyaka, a district in İzmir, was a town with one-story traditional houses from the 1950s to 1970s. Since the 1970s, Karşıyaka has undergone an urbanization process. Five-story apartment buildings have been built. The population increased with immigration. The city sprawled on the periphery, and squatter housing occurs on the edges of the city. Nowadays, a new urban regeneration trend has started in the city. Five-story buildings built in the 70s are being demolished, and new buildings are made in the same field instead. Squatter houses at the periphery begin to turn into five-story residential blocks with reconstruction permits given by municipality.

Especially for cities that undergo remarkable changes in a short time like Karşıyaka, photographs have become more critical for micro-history and memory. It is a useful source in terms of both being an alternative in historiography and being concrete evidence for facts at the same time. A photograph frames a moment belonging to space and time, which gives information about the history of the physical environment, residential areas, changing structures, and destroyed nature. At the same time, the subject of the photograph could reveal lifestyle, daily practices, and entertainment related to examined space and time. Moreover, it reflects how small dwelling areas are affected by central decisions (Danacıoğlu, 2001, p.90-95).

Therefore, this study is a qualitative inquiry on memories of residents situated in photographs taken in Karşıyaka. It aims at revealing the process of urban regeneration in Karşıyaka, İzmir, from the mid-1960s to the present through oral history and family photographs. The reason why family photographs are chosen to see the change in the city is that panoramic photographs or large-scaled scenes put a distance between the residents and the city, which are two inseparable components. Accordingly, unstructured interviews with subjects of the family photographs were conducted, and their narratives were cross read with academic sources.

Keywords: urban regeneration, memory, photograph, Karşıyaka, İzmir. 7990 words

1. INTRODUCTION

In his book entitled *Historiography in the Twentieth Century: From Scientific Objectivity to the Postmodern Challenge*, Iggers claims that there has been a shift in the attitude of historiography from the 19th to 20th century (1997). According to Iggers, historiography transformed remarkable political events into the societal direction (Iggers, 1997, p.4). In the 19th century, historiography was directed by political and religious events. It comprised of the lives of significant people like rulers, politicians or priests, and events like wars, social movements, or interventions. Common belief in historiography was that history could not be scientific unless a historical document or archive was used. Nevertheless, this attitude leads to a more superficial historiography by writing only significant individuals and events. As a result, daily life and ordinary people, which are the most affected parts from the grand social

events and interventions, are ignored (Danacıoğlu, 2001, p.1-3). Moreover, shared belief in historiography was that history could not be comprised of a direct cause and effect relationship. This statement has changed in the 20th-century historiography. Multiple perspectives gain importance in terms of history. (Iggers, 1997, p.4). In the 20th century, this shift and emergence of micro-history enriched historiography, sources, and form of presentation and revealed the differences in totality (Tekeli, 2007, p.24). Ordinary individuals and their narratives gain importance. New and the soundest method of historiography is the use of macro-history and micro-history together and forming a relationship between both without losing the context and historical knowledge (Stone, 1979).

Although history focused on society, ordinary citizens are still overlooked today. On the other hand, daily life belonging to a time interval could be revealed through ordinary people (Iggers, 1997, p.102). Memory plays a new and essential role in documenting different views in history and examining daily life. Memories are sections of a life that are produced in humans' minds, reflecting on their experiences (Halbwachs, 1992, p.47). They are personal, but at the same time subjective as much as historical documents because the reliability of a historical document depends on the person, government, or position who prepares it.

According to Halbwachs, personal memories are connected to a "collective memory" because a grand event influences a group of people belonging to a culture. However, each member of that group experiences the events distinctively (1992, p.53). In the case of an urban context, all citizens of a city undergo the same historical process in the city with different feelings and narratives and form a collective memory on it. Boyer claims that this collective memory is a component that should be taken into consideration while designing public spaces (1994). It represents many ideas and perspectives from different groups of people belonging to the city. For Boyer, contemporary architectural practices do not consider the public. The main aim of these practices is to pursue creating a picturesque scene that enjoys the user so that the "marketability" of the city increases (Boyer, 1994, p.4). Cities are transformed according to this understanding. On the other hand, spaces in the collective memory of citizens are demolished gradually for the sake of the city's image.

In this paper, a memory study is conducted to analyze urban regeneration and its effects on residents in Karşıyaka. The district of Karşıyaka is chosen as the focus of this study because Karşıyaka has a rapid urbanization process. The city is in constant change, and residents are going through an adaptation process in this transformation. The settlement in Karşıyaka district emerged much later than the city center of İzmir. Until the 19th century, any kind of urban development did not take place in the district. The first settlement started in the second half of the 19th century with a Turkish village in the Soğukkuyu neighborhood. Attention to the district increased due to the draining swamp in the region. Railways built between 1860 and 1865, land reclamation on the seaside, and ferry service starting in 1884 were the developments that grew the district. Until proclamation in 1923, Karşıyaka was considered as a summer resort. After 1923, it became a town, and then, it was declared as a district in 1954. In the 1970s, first apartment buildings were constructed in the district. District sprawled on the periphery due to increasing immigration, and squatter houses began to be seen on the periphery (Sormaykan, 2008). Nowadays, a new urban regeneration trend has started in the city. Five-story buildings built in the 70s are started to be demolished, and new buildings are made in the same field instead. Squatter houses at the periphery begin to turn into five-story residential blocks with reconstruction permits given by municipality.

In this paper, the urban regeneration process and adaptation of the residents are analyzed through family photographs. Especially for the cities that undergo remarkable changes in a short time like Karşıyaka, photographs have become more critical for historical micro-history and memory. According to Depeli, "social memory" and "biographic narrative" could be reflected by family photographs (2015, p.37). From this point of view, by looking at family photographs, both effects of urban transformation on residents and changing practices could be extracted from personal interviews with the subjects of photographs as it is conducted in this study. Moreover, Edwards and Hart expressed in their book entitled *Photographs, Objects, Histories: On the Materiality of Images* that "Photographs are both images and physical objects that exist in time and space and thus in social and cultural experience." (2004, p.1). Hence, physically it is a useful source in terms of both being an alternative in historiography and being concrete evidence for facts. According to O'Callaghan, urban images lead to a relationship between "epistemology of research practices" and "evolving spatial processes" by displaying an understanding of culture, various phases in urban context, and capital flow (2011, p.102). As a result, a photograph could display information about the history of the physical environment, residential areas, changing structures, and destroyed nature. At the same time, in terms of social, cultural aspects, taken scenes were mostly included special moments for families to worth framing as a memory because a photographic film was expensive, and one film consisted of 36 photographs. By a scene, the subject of the photograph could reveal micro-history concerning examined space and time. Furthermore, most importantly, it could reflect how small dwelling areas could be affected by central decisions (Danacıoğlu, 2001, p.90-95).

2. METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH AND DATA GATHERING

This study constitutes a relationship between oral history, memory, urban regeneration, and photography. Therefore, a qualitative research strategy is followed. The study aims to reveal the process of rapid urban regeneration in Karşıyaka and the reflection of macro-scale decisions into micro-history through photographs and photograph related narratives. Hence, data is collected in three ways: literature review, photographs, and

interviews. A literature review has been conducted to clarify micro-history through Iggers, Danacıoğlu, and Tekeli, memory through Halbwachs and Boyer, and importance on photograph through Depeli, O'Callaghan, Edwards, and Hart. Following this, a relationship is built among these three concepts. Moreover, the literature review is used in describing macro-scale decisions affecting urban regeneration in Turkey, and consequently, its impacts on Karşıyaka district on micro-scale. Participants' narratives in the interviews were cross read with literature review. In order to analyze and cross read participants' narratives, political decisions concerning urban development, newspaper reports, architectural academic sources, and municipal archives were benefited. As a result, the micro-history of residents was intertwined with the macro-history of urban development in Turkey. Literature review also provides a triangulation for the data obtained by interviews and photographs. Each method has its weaknesses in terms of an aspect, and triangulation reduces those weaknesses by methods' compensating each other (Webb et al., 1966, p.3). The literature review becomes a bridge between a range of methods together to strengthen the data and research proposal (Hannington and Martin, 2012, p.188). By triangulation, both the reliability of participants' narratives is verified, and subjective components like their ideas, perspectives, and life history enrich the study. Denzin defines triangulation as "*buttress findings*" because different data, investigators, theories, or methodologies support the reliability of the qualitative (1970, p.270-295). Therefore, this method makes obtained data sounder by looking from different perspectives (Martin and Hannington, 2012, p.188).

The data from photographs and interviews were gathered simultaneously. Family photographs with background of the city were found with the snowball technique. In other words, every interviewee referred to a relative of his/her own with probably suitable photographs for the study. At the end of the research, 19 photographs have been reached, and five families were interviewed. During the interview, families were asked open-ended questions related to photographs. Photographs were used as both visual data and verbal data by triggering the memory of residents during the interviews. Hence, the first question to the interviewees was the narrative of the photograph. Then, their explanations were enriched through questions about the context of the time, daily life, notable events, change in practices, and the built environment. Eight participants' narratives were conveyed in this study. In terms of ethical concern, their consent for publishing their photographs and transcribing interviews were taken. Three participants requested hiding their names, so their initials were used instead of their names.

3. ANALYSIS OF URBAN REGENERATION IN KARŞIYAKA

Photographs in the study represented concrete evidences belonging to the time interval between 1966 and 2016. Subjects of the photographs have lived in Karşıyaka for more than thirty years. They witnessed rapid urban regeneration in Karşıyaka and problems that it brought. These problems are extracted from the categorization of narratives. Categories are defined as the formation of dense residential fabric, the loss of historical texture, insufficiency of recreational and open spaces, and construction of a squatter housing region at the periphery. In the formation of dense residential fabric, transformation in two main boulevards of the district, Bahriye Üçok Boulevard, and Ordu Boulevard, was examined through objectives of Şeker, Karakuş, and H. family. Özlem Şeker and Fahriye Karakuş, aged 47 and 66, have been in the same apartment block in front of Bahriye Üçok Boulevard since the late 1970s. They have photographs taken from balconies of their apartment flat, revealing the process of transformation of residential fabric. In the same time interval, H.H. and G.B., aged 85 and 47, had a photograph taken in front of their one-story house in Ordu Boulevard, which was a side street at that time. To investigate the loss of historical texture in Karşıyaka, Zübeyde Hanım Road is entreated because the road contained remarkable examples of traditional buildings dated back to the 19th century. Since it is the main road of Karşıyaka in the 1970s, H.H. had a promenade through the road in their sons' circumcision feast, and they took several photographs throughout the road. In the insufficiency of recreational and open spaces of Karşıyaka, three places are handled: a funfair, a stadium, and the coastal band. Significance of these places for citizens, change in ceremonies, and entertainment culture was documented and analyzed through photographs of Özlem Şeker, Fahriye Karakuş, and A.S., Hayriye and Ali Alkışlar, aged 37, 67 and 69. For the construction of a squatter housing region, Naldöken Neighborhood, where received domestic migration in the 1970s, was viewed through Alkışlar family's photographs from the region. (Figure 1)



Figure 1. Location and angles of the photographs

3.1. Formation of Dense Residential Fabric

Residential fabric in Izmir was comprised of two or three-story detached buildings within a garden until the 1950s (Altun, 2011, p.26). Apartment blocks as a typology started to be seen after the 1950s, while two or three-story villas were built rarely in these years. The turning point that transformed the residential urban texture and gave today's shape to the city was the introduction of Flat Ownership Law in 1965. According to this law, each flat in an apartment was defined as an independent section (Sormaykan, 2008, p.46). Whereas one large family owned the whole building before, today, one individual was able to own a flat inside of the building through this law. In this way, flat owners could have separate deeds. The ability to sell each flat in an apartment building brought more profit than before, and constructing multiple story residential was encouraged since it is profitable. As a result, empty fields suitable for housing were utilized as residential blocks. For fields that the number of stories is increased in development right, single-story detached buildings were demolished, and high apartments with many flats were built in the same plot (Sormaykan, 2008, p.47). An increase in the number of apartments and population caused the insufficiency of infrastructure in these regions.

In the first place, it was thought that the law would serve as a solution to the housing deficit. Municipalities worked for the public to own a house by providing affordable field with the support of Real Estate Bank (Sormaykan, 2008, p.46). In addition to municipalities, several people belonged to a union, or an institution came together and established cooperatives to have apartments built and own an apartment flat. Nevertheless, by the Flat Ownership Law, rapid urbanization emerged in the whole country, and also in Karşıyaka. The condition made the 1951 development plan invalid because of dense and uncontrolled structuring (Sormaykan, 2008, p.47). Consequently, urban texture has started to change immediately. Dense residential fabric arose as an architectural problem in the district. Besides, easy accessibility to material and building technology in the 1980s increased the pace of urbanization process in country-wide as another turning point. Due to the housing deficit caused by increasing population from 1975 to 1984, the municipality continued to construction services after 1986. This process has been grown apace until the 2000s. (Sayar and Sormaykan, 2009, p.1).

Karşıyaka is a patch that reflects the overall view of urban transformation in Turkey. A series of photographs and narratives indicate changes in the residential fabric in the region and the impacts of macro decisions on the residents as micro-scale. Mrs. Karakuş has a series of photographs taken from her balcony in Emek Apartment, showing the change of surrounding area. Emek Apartment was one of the first apartment buildings in the neighborhood. Mrs.

Karakuş was a dweller of Emek Apartment, who had resided there for 16 years. At first, she mentioned about the construction of their house. Mrs. Karakuş expresses how they owned a flat and benefited from cooperative system and credits provided by the government in the late 1970s:

“At some time, a law about cooperative house building was introduced. Sometimes, workers gathered and became a cooperative, and they could buy a field and build a house. In this one, workers of Sümerbank factory established a cooperation and bought this field that the apartment was constructed. Of course, with the membership fee, they finished the building in a normal process. Then, they moved to the apartment altogether. In that process, they cast lots for the flats. If you picked a front flat, you paid a betterment fee because flats in the front were better. Those who picked the flats at the back paid less. At that time, this bank called Real Estate Bank gave credits with the help of the government. It does not exist today, right? The residents were able to have houses in this way. Residents were workers in the factory, so they decided to put the name of the apartment as Emek (Labor) Apartment. Since all of them similarly had the houses, they had something in common. Their relationship was like a relative relationship because children of each resident married there. Their children grew up there. Their husbands died there, and women got all alone by themselves. All of them experienced the same processes in the same ages. They supported each other. They had bittersweet days. They were strongly connected.”

When the photographs of Mrs. Karakuş are examined, the day her daughter A.S. started to school in 1989 was photographed in Figure 2. In the background of the photograph, it could be seen that both one-story and five-story structures are situated together in the city. Moreover, an apartment block in construction was observed in the background of Figure 2. The construction was finished in one year, according to the photograph taken in 1990 in Figure 3. Since the side façade has no opening, it was understood that another residential unit would be attached to this facade. In 1993, A.S. grew up, and she, her sister and mother posed in the same place (Figure 4). In this photograph, one-story house that was seen in former photographs of A.S. was demolished. Instead, a five-story block was being constructed again. Photograph in 1998 from Figure 5 shows A.S.'s sister Bilge Karakuş in the same spot. In the background, the construction in the former photograph was finished. One year later, a new construction near the building started, and the rough structure of the building seemed finished when Bilge Karakuş started the school in the photograph taken in 1999 (Figure 6).



Figure 2. A.S. started to the school in 1989.



Figure 3. A.S. prepared for national celebrations in school in 1990.



Figure 4. A.S., Mrs. Karakuş and Bilge Karakuş in their balcony in 1993.

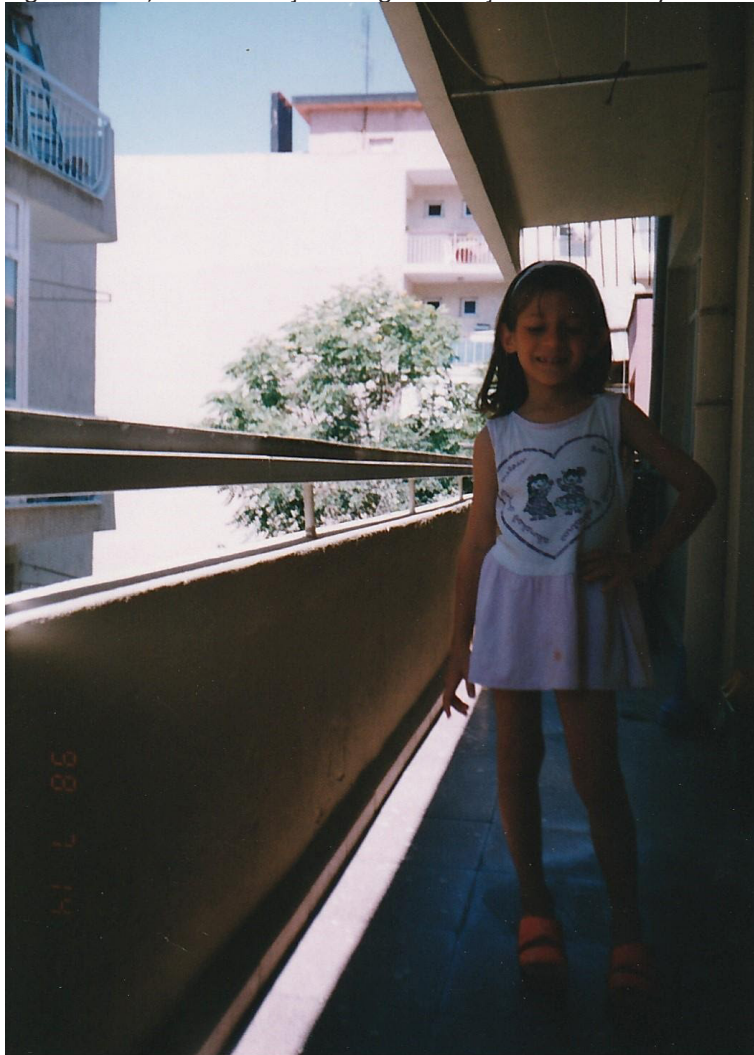


Figure 5. Bilge Karakuş in the balcony in 1998.



Figure 6. Bilge Karakuş started to the school in 1999.

When the overall view is examined, empty fields and one-story buildings were replaced with apartment blocks with five floors in a short time as ten years. In this process, Emek Apartment stuck in the middle of the buildings, and the silhouette of the city changed rapidly and dramatically. A.S., daughter of Mrs. Karakuş, mentions about the process and how the density of residential area affected their daily life in the interview:

“There was only our apartment in the area. At first, the one at the corner was built. Its sides were filled. Then, those buildings at the back started to be built. It can be seen from photographs, too. We sat in the house by closing the curtains. We used to spend a long time on the balcony. Then, we started not to because the buildings were so close that people could see inside of our house. We were having dinners in the balcony, and then we started to have our meals in the living room. The balcony was long and narrow, so you see them face to face while sitting. That is not nice.”

Besides, Ö.Şeker describes the pace of change in her interview:

“Normally, it was a small street. How many times it had changed before it became the boulevard! Normally, the road was not going through the railway. It was a very narrow street with some groceries and bakeries. Then there was some expansion with the demolition of those houses, but when the road opened, the boulevard meets the train track. The houses that coincide with that boulevard were destroyed... I got married at that time. When my husband and I came to the district, we would see everything had changed again, and we would be surprised how fast it was. One day we came from Kırklareli, and we got off in Soğukuyu to walk home. We were suddenly surprised because of the buildings under construction. It is because when we first came here, ours was the only apartment. We came to our apartment by looking carefully. When we had guests who come from other provinces, for example, they would either call from somewhere, pick themselves up, or take 5-6 tours to find the house. There has been an extreme change. It has continued rapidly until recently.”

Building the main boulevards in the city contributed to the transformation of the residential buildings. Ordu Street could be given as an example of this situation. Urban regeneration did not affect this area until the boulevard was constructed, while the opening of the boulevard leads to urban regeneration in the neighborhood quickly. At

first, due to rapid constructions, the existing street became insufficient and narrow for the city. Thus, new streets were added, and names of all streets were switched with numbers due to increase in streets. Name of Ordu (Army) Street also was altered to 1831st Street in order to manage increasing number of streets. Later, due to the necessity of new roads, 1831st Street was enlarged and named as Gün Sazak Boulevard in the 1980s (Sormaykan, 2008, p.50-52).

Nevertheless, local people still use the name of Ordu Street for the boulevard. As it is seen in Figure 7 and 8, there were one-story houses with gardens in 1977, and there is no high rise building in the street. Photographs in Figure 7 were framed in a garden of a house near Ordu Street in 1977. The owner of the photograph, G.B., tells the transformation process stemmed from the boulevard:

“This place is the garden of our house in which we were born. It was approximately 2500 square meters. The field belonged to my aunt and my father in common. My aunt’s house and our house were inside the same garden. There was a range of fruit trees in this garden. Then my father made it an enjoyable place by adding pools, lighting, and plants. Our childhood passed here. We would not go out much. Instead, we played here with my brothers. In 1977, my brothers had a circumcision feast. My father cared about this ceremony a lot. He hired people for demonstrations. My mother made me this dress by herself when my brothers wore ceremonial clothes. I think I am a little bit grouchy here, and I have been crying just before the photo was taken. When development rights comes to the region, my father and my aunt gave their field to a contractor in 1990-91. Two blocks could be built since the rest of the field was taken for the roads passing from our land. Parks were made on the field, too. Then, it transformed into today’s shape. This block was finished in 1997. We lived in a house for rent until it was completed and we moved here in 1997 to our flat in our apartment.”



Figure 7. G.B. in her house’s garden in 1977



Figure 8. H.H. in Ordu Street in 1977

Sprawl of development to peripheries of the city, high density in a residential area, and decline in green areas at the city center leads citizens to have secondary residences on rural and coastal peripheries of the city (Altun, 2011, p.26; Velibeyoğlu, 2004, p.75). In relation with secondary housing experience, G.B. and her father H.H. mentions about their adaptation period for the transformation of their houses and built environment in their interview:

“My father could not get used to the apartment easily after that enormous garden because every evening, especially summer nights, my father would come to this garden and refresh himself. Of course, he lived his life in this garden. While we were staying in the house for rent, he would escape in this garden. The contractor had not started the construction then yet. He had a rough time. Then, he had to accept it. You accept it if it is your own property. He still likes gardening, so he tries to practice this in our summer house.”



Figure 9. A View of Emek Apartment Today



Figure 10. A View of Ordu Street Today

Today, both the neighborhoods around Emek Apartment and Ordu Street contain dense five-story apartment blocks as well as the rest of Karşıyaka through the Flat Ownership Law and development plans of the city (Figure 9 and Figure 10). All the low story buildings were demolished in the scope of urban regeneration and replaced with apartment blocks. Recently, residential blocks built in the 70s have started to be demolished and reconstructed without changing the height due to new urban regeneration in situ. During these reconstructions, any solution to density and distance between buildings is not presented or applied. Consequently, it can be said that rapid

transformation that started in the 1960s is continuing.

3.2. The Loss of Historical Texture

Karşıyaka had a traditional historical texture with civil architecture examples dated back to the 19th and 20th centuries. These examples have unique architectural characteristics. They are built according to traditional structural systems made of timber stud and masonry infill with a timber bay window. This original historical texture has undergone a transformation period together with changes in the social structure after the foundation of the Republic. Urbanization that starts after the 1950s formed a pressure on historical texture. An increase in population by domestic migrations, lack of housing, and relatedly profit-driven development in the area resulted in the disappearance in historical building examples (Özkan, 2006, p.4). Zübeyde Hanım Road has gone through an exemplary transformation. It was the main road of Karşıyaka until the 1980s, which contains remarkable traditional houses on two sides. That maximum height in the area was determined as four-story in the 1951 development plan fastened this transformation (Özkan, 2006, p.125). Also, the opening of boulevards that crosses through Zübeyde Hanım Street caused loss of organic historical texture (Özkan, 2006, p.134). In Figures 11 and 12, transformation in historical texture on the road could be observed together with the concrete apartment blocks. The photograph was taken during the parade of H.H.'s sons' circumcision feast in 1977.

A conservation plan of İzmir did not exist until the 1950s. Until the introduction of the Law of Historical Artifacts Number 1710 in 1973, civil architecture examples were not regarded as registered buildings in the scope of conservation and preservation strategies (Özkan, 2006, p.160). Moreover, several failures in preservation occurred after the 1990s. Therefore, few of these buildings manage to stand today. Some of those buildings that exist today were documented and registered buildings. Some of them wait to be registered. Restored buildings are in use, while several buildings are decaying (Özkan, 2006, p.162). At present, historical buildings are stuck between five-story apartment blocks, as can be seen in Figure 13.



Figure 11. The parade of H.H.'s sons' circumcision feast in Zübeyde Hanım Road in 1977



Figure 12. The parade of H.H.'s sons' circumcision feast in Zübeyde Hanım Road in 1977



Figure 13. A view from Zübeyde Hanım Road today

3.3. Insufficiency of Recreational and Open Spaces

As a result of rapid urbanization, another problem that occurred in the city was a decrease in green and open areas in the city center. Open areas were seen profitable places for residential construction. Besides, although allowed building height was increased from four-story to nine-story gradually by the municipal council in the process of urbanization, urban equipment, and social facilities was not increased compared to the rising density of housing (Kıldıř, 2006, p.16-17). Towards the 1990s, voids in the city were filled gradually, and today they are insufficient to meet the recreational needs of inhabitants in İzmir (Karadağ, 1998, p.162; Altun, 2011, p.26). Impacts of these decisions also could be observed in Karşıyaka's recreational and open spaces.

The transformation of funfair could be shown as one of the examples. The funfair was in a valuable place since it was at the connection of Atatürk Boulevard and Girne Boulevard, which are grand boulevards at the center. The funfair was replaced with Funfair Suites, which is three apartment blocks with shops on the ground floor. A part of the field was left as a park. An underground car park was constructed under the park. In Figures 14 and 15, the old funfair in Karşıyaka is displayed. The owner of the photographs, Mrs. Karakuş and A.S., explains the story of urban profit in the area:

"We went there frequently. In the past, funfair was located all along the road. It was enormous. It covered the whole corner. There were Ferris wheel, a big swing, something like a gondola, bumper cars, and little roller coaster... In winter, except for holidays, it would be closed. Only, in the summertime it was constantly open. In time, they built a wedding hall on the front side, called: Müzikhol. It was used for both wedding ceremonies and conferences, but funfair was renovated and became smaller after then. They removed bigger amusement machines. Müzikhol consists of two or three halls and an open hall for summer at the back. When it was built, the funfair shrank, but people would go there anyway. In the last years of the funfair, the number of amusement machines decreased. There were machines for five or six-year-old child. Then, slowly they removed all the machines. At last, as we see, funfair suites were built, and a small park was made. Funfair disappeared."

The place is still named as funfair by local people. The name of the bus stop in front of the area is 'funfair'. After a few generations, the fact that there was a funfair in this area will be forgotten. Nevertheless, it is evident that the funfair takes place in urban memory. A.S. expressed her ideas about the transformation of funfair:

"It could have been a green space. There are already lots of buildings around, but they made it because it is profitable. There is a small park as a green space, but that was not necessary. It was good to have a social or entertainment space. I mean, are there any places like that around here? Not in Karşıyaka. Everywhere in Karşıyaka is made of concrete. At least, it was a place to have fresh air. I wish it stayed, but of course, building an apartment block makes more money."



Figure 14. A.S. and Özlem Şeker in Karşıyaka Funfair in 1994



Figure 15. Fahriye Karakuş and Özlem Şeker in Karşıyaka Funfair in 1994



Figure 16. Transformation of funfair into Funfair Suites

Another open space that has altered is the Stadium of Karşıyaka. Construction of the stadium started in 1937. In 1939, it was completed and opened with a football match and wrestling matches. The stadium was continuously improved, and in 1971, it became a stadium with a capacity of 4000 people. Stadium was renovated due to Universiade Olympic Games in 2005. It became a complex with sailing surface, tennis courts, clubhouse, restaurant, and social facilities. Through a law introduced in 2005, the stadium was handed over to Karşıyaka Sports Club costlessly in 2010 (Karagözlü, 2014, p.13). In the stadium, not only matches were played, but also national holidays were celebrated through demonstrations. The photograph in Figure 17 is Özlem Şeker's demonstration with their schoolmates on 19th May of 1988, which is the commemoration of Atatürk, youth, and sports day. When the background of the photograph was reviewed, people sitting inside and outside tribune were watching the show. From this point of view, it could be said that the capacity of the stadium was not enough, but the demonstrations were found significant by citizens. Özlem Şeker tells about memory of the photograph:

"I was at high school then. We made a demonstration on 19th May. At that time, students gathered at school in the morning. Either they would go to the stadium directly, or the celebration would take place in the pier. They would stand in a line near the pier and would walk from the pier to Bostanlı along the seaside, to where students of schools met. Moreover, if we watched the celebration in the stadium, it was not sufficient, so we prefer the pier to watch the parade. Much school would participate in the parade, and their bands would play marches during the walk. It was a visual feast. Whenever national holidays took place, bands, music, colorful clothes, and students singing marches would pass in alleys."

The stadium had not shown a change from 1988 to 1993. However, it was demolished in 2015 with the intent of reconstruction. Recently, the field is abandoned, and its plans are uncertain due to a disagreement between local government and central administration. There are concerns about the field because it is a large empty area in the center of the city.



Figure 17. National Celebrations in Stadium of Karşıyaka in 1988

Changes in coastal line should be examined as a valuable open space for inhabitants of a coastal city. Especially capital flow in the direction from the interior to the seaside in every period and higher rent rate in the seafont leads to a faster and an earlier transformation in coastal band. In the 1980s, the whole coastal lane was covered with high-rise buildings due to easy construction methods and improvement in building technologies while low-rise buildings were removed (Sormaykan, 2008, p.81-232; Ünverdi, 2006, p.20-23). Consequently, dense housing that emerged in the coastal band changed the image and the silhouette of the city irreversibly. The other change in coastal land was land reclamations operated a few times. Land reclamation of the coastal band in Karşıyaka and using gained land as a park acquired currency in the 1950s. Plans about the project were prepared in 1958. In the first plans, the coast would be filled 50 meters. Following the urban development, works for land reclamation continued between 1950 and 1980 (Sormaykan, 2008, p.44-54). In the late 1980s and beginning of the 1990s, the land between pier in Karşıyaka and fishing port and between 75th-year monument and shipyard was enlarged (Bolulu, 2016, p.1). A photograph of the coastal band of Karşıyaka belongs to Ali Alkışlar (Figure18). Mr. Alkışlar was studying in Karşıyaka Boy's High School when the photograph was taken in 1966 and took a photograph with his school friends in the seaside where minibusses departed. Alkışlar mentions about the condition of the seaside in 1966:

"Coastline was, of course, narrower than today. Just a road with two lanes. There was a barrel opposite the pier. A traffic police officer would stand in this barrel. The policeman would direct the traffic, and stop the vehicles for pedestrians taking off the ferry. When you entered the shopping lane, all buildings were one or two-story old buildings. At that time, the coastal band includes single-detached houses. Moreover, of course, the place which is a recreation space with grass and trees today was narrower. They began land reclamation in the 60s. They did it a few times. When this photograph was taken, a part of the coast started to be expanded, so there was not any plant or something else near the coastal band, as you see. There were just these palm trees in the refuge, which also exist today, too. The atmosphere was like I told in Karşıyaka."

The photograph in Figure 19 was framed in 1970 in coastal band. The opposite side of the sea could be observed in this photograph. Owner of the photograph, Hayriye Alkışlar, was present in the procession of her high school on May 19, the commemoration of Atatürk, youth, and sports.

"Back then, there would be a procession of all schools in Karşıyaka. We would pass from the coast to the school with pennants and flags. We would wear special clothes for May 19. Demonstrations would be displayed in the stadium. Procession would take place in the seafont. Even years later, we would take my baby daughter and go to watch the ceremony."

It is controversial whether land reclamation is a successful operation or not; however, traffic flow inevitably affected the practices of inhabitants, especially national days, parades, and demonstrations. Nevertheless, the coastal line is still one of the few open places that people of Karşıyaka can enjoy in their spare time.



Figure 18. Ali Alkışlar on coastal line in Karşıyaka in 1966



Figure 19. Hayriye Alkışlar in coastal line in 1970

3.4. Construction of A Squatter Housing Region at the Periphery

In the 1960s, squatter housing caused by domestic migration appeared as one of the most remarkable urban issues. The population in Karşıyaka increased with domestic migrations starting from the 1950s and continuing to 1970s. Therefore, illegitimate housing started in this period. Due that the need for housing could not be met in the city, legal and dense apartment buildings were seen from the city center to Anadolu Road. In contrast, dense squatter housing was observed on the other side of the same road due to internal immigration. Hence, Anadolu Road is a boundary that divides the city according to income groups (Kıldış, 2006, p.16).

The squatter housing region next to Anadolu Road is named Naldöken neighborhood. Since the region was at the periphery thirty years ago, lots of domestic immigrants settled in this region. In 1985-86, reclamation development plans were prepared for the region. The preparation of development plan for a squatter housing region is problematic due to land subdivision in the application and pace of the squatting. These prevent the intention of a planned city (Karadağ, 1998, p.204). Revision in the development plan was done in 1987. Since 1990, the development plan have been carried into practice. In 2000, a multi-story bazaar was constructed below Anadolu road in order to meet citizens' needs, and landscaping has been completed (Güner, 2005, p.5-6).

In the study, Figure 20 shows Anadolu Road and Naldöken neighborhood in 1969. In 1969, Anadolu Road was surrounded by empty fields according to the photograph, while today, those fields are filled with residential units. In the photograph, the left side of the road seemed a dense green space, whereas the right upper side was empty fields with shrubs. This empty field would be the squatter housing region in a few years. The photograph in Figure 21 was taken from the squatter housing region above the road in 1972. Today, the building seen at the background of the second photograph is still standing. It is going to be demolished within the scope of urban regeneration in

Naldöken neighborhood for the next years. Hayriye Alkışlar gives information about the physical and social situation in those photographs:



Figure 20. Sister of Mrs. Alkışlar in 1969



Figure 21. Hayriye Alkışlar in Naldöken neighborhood in 1972

“My father was appointed from Bandırma to İzmir. We lived in Eşrefpaşa, but we came here to go for a walk. We took a photograph on the motorway. Later, my father bought a house right behind this second photograph. We visited my friend in the photograph. My grandmother liked this place a lot. Especially in the night, lights in Karşıyaka would shine and look so beautiful, so they liked it. When they saw the house was in the sale, my father decided to buy the house that my grandmother liked. At that time, they could have bought a house at the center of Karşıyaka, but it was childish, you know. The opposite side of the road was a plum garden. Of course, the one-story buildings were there. On the upper side of the motorway, there were squatter houses. People had just started to settle down the area. It was 1969. People from different places, especially with low-income levels, settled there. In our neighborhood, residents were mostly from Afyon. Moreover, there were people from Urfa, too. This is how we found here because my father is also from Urfa. They came to visit their friends from the same hometown. Then, they decided to buy a house. The neighborhood at that time is not the same as today’s neighborhood. Unlike today, neighbors would visit each other frequently, and they would show concern for each other in those days. People were in solidarity. It was sincere.”

4. CONCLUSION

In this study, urban transformation in Karşıyaka between 1966 and 2016 was examined through family photographs and narratives of these families in the photographs. The photographs and narratives were intertwined with the literature and significant decisions given by authorities, which had an intense impact on cities. When this fifty-year process is reviewed, rapid urbanization in Karşıyaka resulted in four urban problems as the formation of dense housing, loss of historical texture, insufficient recreational and open spaces, and formation of squatter housing region. The material of the research was handled in line with these four issues in this article.

This study is an example of the use of individual memory to enrich information belonging to the city and its transformation. Knowledge, which is limited and away from the focus of ordinary citizens, was expanded by the contribution of individual memories. The study presented ordinary users’ perspectives in the process of urbanization. Family photographs used in the study became remarkable sources of individual memory. They triggered memories of individuals as well as being proof of environmental change. They were taken on important days for the family, so it gave information about both daily life and celebrations in examined spaces. Since the family photographs were not framed for artistic concerns or directing the audience, they became a useful tool in reflective perspectives of ordinary citizens. Also, during the research, family members were encouraged to think about their environment and criticize the changes in the city.

Formation of a collective memory requires citizens to binding themselves to a place in cities. It is possible with personal memories, experiences, sense of belonging to a place. This study includes a group of citizens who are inhabitants of Karşıyaka and have resided there for over thirty years. Each inhabitant has different memories, narratives, and experiences in the city. Nevertheless, urbanization in the city was so fast that the formation of collective memory was restricted to one generation. It could be expressed that amnesia occurred in the collective memory of the city. Before a collective memory is formed, the former layer replaced with a new one in the city. As a result, no value, originality, memory, sense of belonging to the city, authenticity, historical textures, practices of national celebration, or entertainment remains, in which citizens could bind themselves into a place or space. The city still undergoes amnesia through the continuing rapid urbanization process today. As a distinctive feature of this study, collective memory over the city, which is about to be forgotten, is rediscovered through this generation. In planning and design of cities, collective memory should be considered as a design element since demolished place could correspond to memories in citizens’ minds; otherwise, it results in loss of values and attachment to a place and relatively to the city.

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