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**APARTMENTALIZATION AND EVERYDAY LIFE:
İZMİR HATAY STREET APARTMENTS (1950-1980)**

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ABSTRACT

APARTMENTALIZATION AND EVERYDAY LIFE: İZMİR HATAY STREET APARTMENTS (1950-1980)

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Apartments emerged in İzmir during the late 19th century with the construction of family/rental apartments. Their numbers increased after the establishment of the Republic when a series of master plans and legal regulations were prepared to rebuild the city. Apartments, which were regarded as the indicators of modern Western lifestyle, were seen as the most appropriate solution to the increasing housing need. Apartments, which were initially the residences of high-income families, became widespread after the 1950s to turn into typical residences of middle-income groups. The apartmentization process affected the residential texture of the city and urban life as well as characteristics of interior spaces. During the 1950s, Hatay Street began to develop as a new residential area, where two-three-story buildings with gardens were gradually replaced by multi-story apartments. The dense and rapid apartmentization on the street caused many environmental, social, and spatial changes that had significant consequences for the everyday lives of the residents. Focusing on Hatay Street, this thesis examines the relationship between the apartmentalization process and everyday life by analyzing both outdoor and indoor spaces.

Key Words: apartmentalization, residential texture, everyday life, apartment life, İzmir, Hatay Street

ÖZ

APARTMANLAŞMA VE GÜNDELİK YAŞAM: İZMİR HATAY CADDESİ APARTMANLARI (1950-1980)

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Haziran 2021

Apartmanlar İzmir'de 19. yüzyılın sonlarında aile/kiralık apartmanların inşasıyla ortaya çıktı. Apartmanların sayısı Cumhuriyet'in ilanının ardından, kentin yeniden inşası için bir dizi imar planı ve yasal düzenleme yapılmasıyla artmaya başladı. Modern batılı yaşam tarzının göstergesi olarak kabul edilen apartmanlar, artan konut ihtiyacına en uygun çözüm olarak görüldü. Başta yüksek gelir grubunun konutu olan apartmanlar, 1950lerde yasal düzenlemeler doğrultusunda yaygınlaşarak orta gelirli ailelerin yaşam alanı haline geldi. Apartmanlaşma süreci kentin konut dokusunu, kentsel yaşamı ve konutların mekânsal özelliklerini etkiledi. 1950'lerden sonra Hatay Caddesi, bahçeli, iki-üç katlı binaların yerini yavaş yavaş çok katlı apartmanların aldığı yeni bir yerleşim bölgesi olarak gelişmeye başladı. Caddede yaşanan hızlı ve yoğun apartmanlaşma çevresel, sosyal ve mekânsal açıdan pek çok değişikliğe neden oldu ve bu değişimler cadde sakinlerinin gündelik yaşamlarında önemli sonuçlar doğurdu. Hatay Caddesi'ne odaklanan bu tez, apartmanlaşma süreci ile gündelik yaşam arasındaki ilişkiyi hem açık hem de kapalı alanları analiz ederek inceliyor.

Anahtar Kelimeler: apartmanlaşma, konut dokusu, gündelik yaşam, apartman yaşamı, İzmir, Hatay Caddesi

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Gliz zcanlı
İzmir, 2021

TEXT OF OATH

I declare and honestly confirm that my study, titled “APARTMENTALIZATION AND EVERYDAY LIFE: İZMİR HATAY STREET APARTMENTS (1950-1980)” and presented as a Master’s Thesis, has been written without applying to any assistance inconsistent with scientific ethics and traditions. I declare, to the best of my knowledge and belief, that all content and ideas drawn directly or indirectly from external sources are indicated in the text and listed in the list of references.

Güliz Özcanlı

Signature

.....

July 1, 2021

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Apartments, which were associated with a European-style life during the Westernization process, were emerged as a new residential type in Turkey during the 19th century. The early examples were constructed by foreign architects and building masters in port cities like İstanbul and İzmir for embassy members, foreign traders, and Levantines (Bozdoğan, 2002, 214; Kıray, 1984; Sey, 1998, 273; Tanyeli, 2004). Apartments and apartment life evolved in different forms and diversified over time (Görgülü, 2016, 167). Uniting several units in a single block became the most suitable solution for the increasing housing need in the major cities following the War of Independence and the establishment of the Turkish Republic. Apartments began to replace older residential typologies, which were variations of independent housing units. They became widespread as a profitable solution in the face of increasing land prices on one hand and as a prestigious symbol of the modern Western lifestyle on the other.

As the third largest city in Turkey, İzmir saw its first apartments in the late 19th century. Early examples were rather scarce and scattered along the Southern shore of the coast. Apartments, which were few in numbers until the 1950s, became the main dwelling form by the 1950s, with the development of reinforced concrete technology and new legal interventions and zoning decisions to meet the housing needs of the increasing population (Terim, 2006) (Appendix 1), when the city began to develop from the shore inwards.

The apartmentalization process, which began with the 1965 Condominium Law, had significant effects on the residential texture of the cities, urban life, and spatial characteristics of the residences. It was clearly integrated with remarkable transformations in everyday life (Bilgin, 2010; Bozdoğan, 2002, 214-215). Hatay Street, which is the focus of this study was opened in the 1950s and played a significant role in the history of large scale and rapid apartmentalization.

1.1. Aim and Scope

The aim of this thesis is to examine the relationship between the apartmentalization process and changes in the everyday life of the residents, focusing on İzmir Hatay Street apartments from the 1950s to the 1980s. Transformations in both the outdoor spaces of the neighborhood and the apartment interiors are taken into account.

The scope of the thesis includes the historical, administrative, and legal changes that affected transformations in the urban texture and the process of apartmentalization.

The contents are grouped under three main chapters entitled: "Housing Developments in İzmir, "The Process of Apartmentalization" and "Everyday Life on Hatay Street ".

Following the introduction, the first chapter, "Housing Developments in İzmir", focuses on the changes in the residential texture of İzmir after the foundation of the Republic in the light of master plans and legal acts. It then investigates the development of Hatay Street to provide the background for the apartmentalization process.

The second chapter "The Process of Apartmentalization" investigates the apartmentalization process of İzmir from an architectural perspective. Beginning by explicating the historical context of İzmir's residential texture, it examines the development of apartments and their spatial characteristics.

The third section, "Everyday Life on Hatay Street", focuses on the relation between the development of Hatay Street and the everyday lives of the residents. Beginning by environmental changes in the neighborhood this section investigates how outdoor life and public activities were affected the apartmentalization process. It then examines apartment life in terms of social relations, design features, and service facilities.

The thesis concludes by further reflections on how the intensive apartmentalization process on Hatay Street affected everyday lives of the early residents and the relevance of this process for the present era.

1.2. Method

This study is supported by primary and secondary sources. Primary sources include semi-structured interviews, site visits, period photographs of the study area, master plans for İzmir, legal acts on housing, and architectural drawings at the related

municipality archives. Secondary sources consist of studies on the apartmentalization process in Turkey, the development of İzmir's residential texture and the development of the Hatay region where Hatay Street (today's İnönü Street) is located.

Site visits, semi-structured interviews, and period photographs played an important role in understanding the environmental changes on Hatay Street and the relationship between the apartmentalization process and everyday lives of the residents. Master plans for İzmir and legal acts of housing also provided information about the development process of the Hatay region and Hatay Street. While architectural drawings of the apartments revealed the spatial characteristics of the period, the spatial practices of the residents, were explained in detail during the interviews.

Seventeen semi-structured interviews which were conducted with the current and former residents who moved to Hatay Street apartments during the 1960s, provided valuable first-hand information on the details of apartment life (Table 1.1.).

Resident	Occupation	Period of residence	Duration (year)
T.Ö.	Teacher (retired)	1962 to date	58
K.Y.	Academician (retired)	1965 to date	55
S.M.	Housewife	1967-1981	14
A.K.	Insurance inspector (retired)	1968 to date	52
Y.P.	Teacher (retired)	1968 to date	52
T.K.	Doctor	1968-1998	30
A.Ü.	Teacher (retired)	1969 to date	51
Ö.Ü.	Housewife	1969 to date	51
B.Ü.	Soldier (retired)	1969 to date	51
C.Ö.	Doctor (retired)	1969 to date	51
I.O.	Teacher (retired)	1969-1989	20
A.B.	Academician (retired)	1970s	5-6
Y.E.	Tradesman (retired)	1970 to date	50
M.P.	Tradesman (retired)	1973 to date	47
M.U.	Architect	1973-1993	20
C.Y.	Architect	1977-1990	13
E.E.	Housewife	1980 to date	40

Table 1.1. List of Interviews

These interviews were framed in the light of such questions as; What kind of changes did you observe on Hatay Street since you moved in? How did these changes affect your everyday life? What are the positive and negative aspects of living in this apartment? How did the layout of the unit affect your everyday life? Did you make any changes in the apartment since you moved in, or would you like to make any? The responses of the interviewees revealed hitherto unknown details about the tight relationship between the built environment and everyday life during the apartmentalization process. As almost all residents emphasized, although the apartments were seen as modern living spaces, the intense construction and population increase in the neighborhood generally had negative consequences for the everyday lives of residents. Therefore, the extroverted and communal lifestyle on Hatay street transformed more introverted one, and residents began to be estranged from each other.

In line with this information, the conceptual framework of this study is informed by studies on the relationship between everyday life, domesticity, and space, which has been critically scrutinized by contemporary theorists and architects. Henri Lefebvre and Michel de Certeau are among the most significant theorists of the everyday (Ebrey, 2016, 161). Their approaches are important for architecture as they focus on everyday life in relation to space. As their arguments clarify, the materiality of space has a significant impact on everyday lives and decisions of inhabitants (Battolla, n.d).

Henri Lefebvre correlates social experience with everyday life and describes everyday as "lived experience" (Upon, 2002, 708; Lefebvre and Levich, 1987, 11). According to him, the latter is related to all activities like leisure, work, family, and private life (Lefebvre and Levich, 1987, 10; Lefebvre, 1991, 97). He also explains that "everyday life is sustenance, clothing, furnishing, homes, neighborhoods, environment..."; and emphasizes that the changes in society, space, and architecture influence everyday life (Lefebvre, 1971, 21; Lefebvre and Levich, 1987, 11). Lefebvre's works have been influential in studies on spatial and material aspects of domesticity. For example, Lilian Chee's definition of domesticity can be associated with Lefebvre's works because Chee links domesticity with materiality and relates domesticity to everyday use objects, furnishing, and household equipment like vacuum cleaners and refrigerators (Chee, 2013, 13).

While Lefebvre explains the fundamental principles guiding an understanding of everyday life, Michel de Certeau took a more specific approach (Blauvelt, 2003).

According to Andrew Blauvelt, de Certeau's observations into the realm of daily practices, or "the 'arts of doing' like walking, talking, reading, dwelling, and cooking were guided by his conviction that despite repressive aspects of society, there exists an element of creative resistance to these structures enacted by ordinary people" (Blauvelt, 2003, 20).

Along similar lines, architect Margaret Crawford explains everyday as an ordinary human experience like communicating, relaxing, shopping, working, moving through city streets and sidewalks. Crawford defines everyday space as the "physical domain of everyday public activity that exists between the defined and identifiable realms of the home, the institution, and the workplace". She also defines everyday public spaces as "a connective tissue that binds everyday lives together" (Crawford, 1999, 9).

There is a considerable amount of academic work that has been done on the sociology and urban aspects of everyday life in Turkey (Çetin, 2019; Gümüş, 2017; Kırış, 2019; Kurtar, 2013; Yılmaz, 2017). However, studies on the relationship between everyday life, domesticity, and architecture are comparatively scarce, especially in the context of apartment life.¹ On the other side, many academic studies have been done on the development of the residential texture and the spread of apartments in Turkey (Batur, Yücel and Fersan, 1979; Bozdoğan, 2002; Bozdoğan and Akçan, 2012; Kıray, 1984; Kıray, 1998; Sey, 1998; Tekeli, 1979; Tekeli, 2010b) as well as İzmir's architecture and the development of its housing texture (Akbayırlı, 2009; Ballice, 2004; Ballice, 2006; Ballice, 2008; Eyüce, 1987; Eyüce, 1999; Özkaban, 2014; Şahin, 1992; Tanyeli, 1992). The development of modern residential architecture and apartments also received attention by such scholars as Belgin Terim (2006) and Deniz Güner (2006). These studies generally focus on the historical, typological, and legal aspects of the residential development of İzmir and not on the environmental and social changes which affected everyday lives of the residents.

¹ Exceptions include the work of such scholars like Tolga Anıdır (2006), Meltem Gürel, (2008, 2009, 2012), Özgür Esra Kahveci (2004), Rüya Kuru (2015) and İlhan Tekeli (2010a). According to the data of the National Thesis Center of the Council of Higher Education (Yükseköğretim Kurulu Ulusal Tez Merkezi), between 1982 and 2017, most of the graduate studies on everyday life in Turkey are conducted in departments of sociology, architecture, and history. Nearly 30% of these theses were in the field of sociology, and 13% in the field of architecture (Çakmakoğlu and Öztürk, 2018).

This study broadens the scope of the work on the development of İzmir's residential texture by analyzing the social and environmental effects of apartmentalization in the light of everyday life studies.



CHAPTER 2

HOUSING DEVELOPMENTS IN İZMİR

The great fire of 1922 destroyed a large part of the building stock, especially the residential areas of İzmir and formed an important starting point for the reconstruction of the city. As the third-largest city in Turkey, İzmir took a leading role in planning considerations (Tanyeli, 1992; Ballice, 2008, 110). With the establishment of the Turkish Republic, planning studies, which started for the reconstruction of the fire area, spread to the whole city, and İzmir was rebuilt according to various policy decisions (Eyüce, 1999; Ballice, 2008, 111; Seymen, 1992). In line with the master plans and legal acts, new residential forms and new residential areas emerged to meet the increased housing needs of the growing population (Appendix 1).

2.1. Residential Developments in Master Plans

As one of Turkey's major cities, İzmir saw one of the earliest planning attempts during the early Republican period (Batur, 2005, 72). Changing plan decisions ran parallel to major changes in Turkey's political and socio-economic history on one hand, and changing approaches to planning in the West on the other (Kaya, 2002, 90). One of the most important events for the urban history of İzmir is the great fire of 1922 which affected approximately 300 hectares of land and placed the rebuilding of İzmir as the most urgent priority for the government (Kopuz, 2016, 60). The first citywide master planning effort of Turkey was prepared for İzmir in 1925 by French planners Rene and Raymond Danger, guided by Henri Prost (Bilsel, 1996, 14).

The Danger – Prost plan was based on modern design approaches. As urban historian Candaş Bilsel explains, "the zoning, low densities, 'hygiene,' new functions, equipment and wide green spaces it implemented have prioritized urban aesthetics in the design of its classical composition in the tradition of Beaux-Arts" (Bilsel, 1996, 17). In accordance with the municipality's demands, Danger and Prost suggested a regular symmetrical composition with a pattern of diagonal boulevards in contrast to the irregular site of the old districts destroyed by the fire. They also suggested building a

business and administration center and residential areas in the fire zone (Bilsel, 1996, 17; Bilsel, 2009, 13). Besides the reconstruction of fire areas in the plan, suggestions concerning the whole of the city were made, such as shifting the port to the north, arranging the industrial zone, a station linking railway lines, and new residential areas to reduce the density. Following the "garden-city" model, one to four-floor structures were planned in gauges in the designated residential areas (Bilsel, 2009, 12). The Danger – Prost plan could not be implemented before the 1930s due to financial problems.

The plan was revised by the İzmir Municipality Science Committee with the guidance of German urbanist Hermann Jansen in 1933, which emphasized the development of residential areas, the new business district, and the creation of large green areas. The design bore the marks of Western cities with their 'boulevards,' 'promenades' and public parks (Bilsel, 1996, 19). Kültürpark, a major open area in central İzmir was planned to be surrounded by residential districts for upper-income groups, consisting of two – three story buildings with gardens (Figure 2.1) (Bilsel, 2009, 14).² Although many revisions and proposals were made after the Danger – Prost plan, the latter is important in terms of forming the basic pattern of the city center the traces of which can still be seen today (Can, 2010).

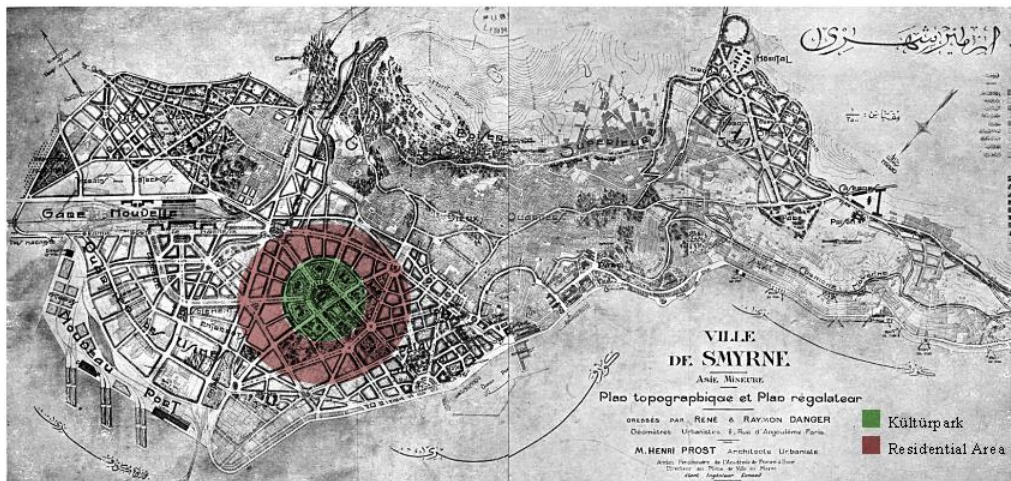


Figure 2.1. Danger and Prost’s plan for İzmir, 1925 (Martinidis, 2001, 22, estimated residential areas are marked by the author)

² Two-three-story modernist residences with gardens were built on the roads leading to Alsancak for upper-income groups. These residences (cubic houses), which represent the residential architecture of the period and are perceived as the prestige element of the "western and secular lifestyle" (Özkaban, 2014, 86).

In the mid –1930s, the need to prepare a new plan for İzmir became apparent. The Danger – Prost plan and its subsequent revisions were further modified by the Municipality of İzmir to extend the city’s borders. The municipality called for the collaboration of Le Corbusier, one of the founders of modern architecture, and signed a contract with him in 1938. However, the architect could not come to İzmir until 1948 due to the outbreak of WWII. Following his investigations, he submitted a proposal consisting of a report and twenty- two plans (Bilsel, 1996; Bilsel, 1999).

Le Corbusier developed his plan along the zoning principles of CIAM with separate commercial, residential, and business areas (Figure 2.2). He proposed the revision of the layout of the city, with the separation of vehicular and pedestrian traffic, new residential areas in Hatay and administrative and cultural buildings in Konak (Can, 2010, 185). Large residential areas were placed mainly on the slopes to the south of the existing built-up area.

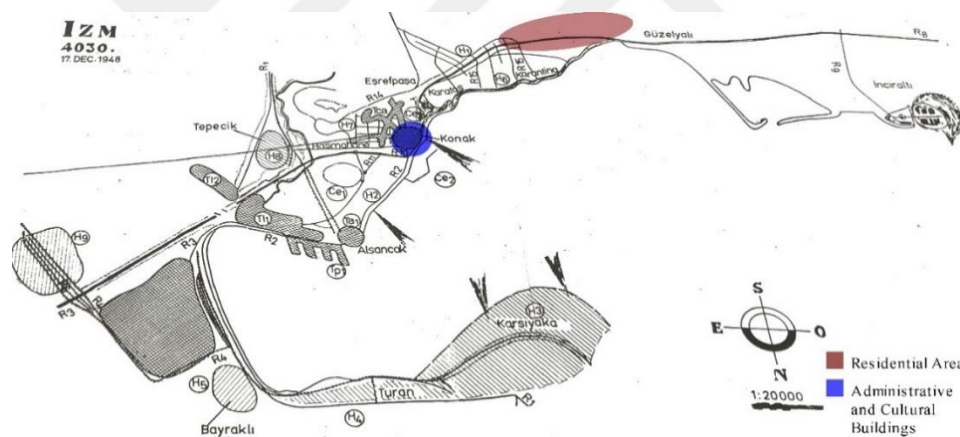


Figure 2.2. Le Corbusier’s plan proposal, 1948 (Bilsel, 1999, 14, estimated residential and administrative areas are marked by the author)

Le Corbusier proposed an average density of 350 to 400 inhabitants per hectare in the new residential areas. He projected two basic types of dwelling units (logis) according to the natural and seismic conditions of İzmir. The dwelling groups (groupes de logis) are elevated on pilotis within green areas (Figure 2.3). Public open land is left in its natural state without any leveling to preserve the 'picturesque qualities' of the site. Dwellings (logis) are served by pedestrian roads (Figures 2.4). Public services like schools, meeting halls, youth clubs, and shopping centers are evenly distributed in the residential areas (Bilsel, 1996, 23).

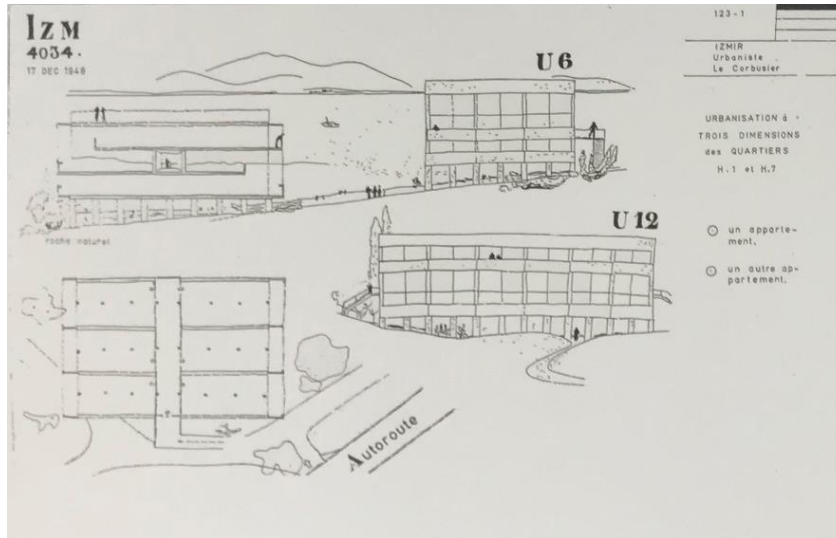


Figure 2.3. Le Corbusier's residential area proposal (Groupes de logis), 1948 (İzmir Metropolitan Municipality 150th anniversary exhibition, 2019)

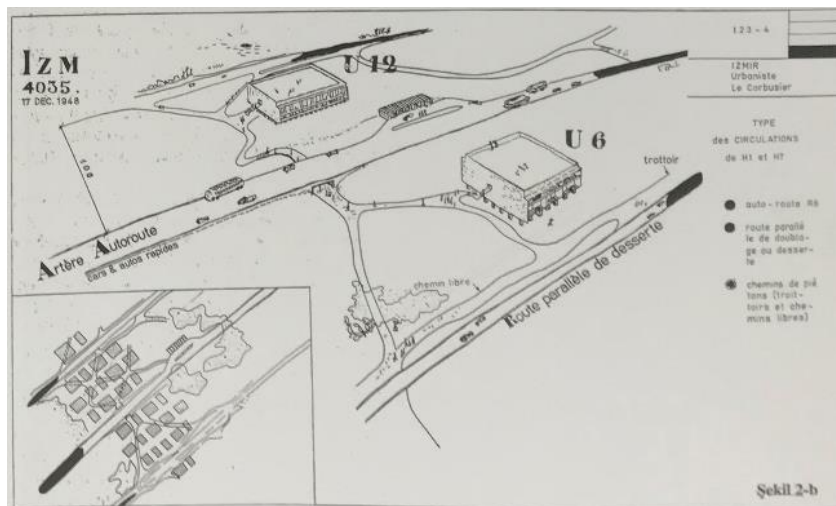


Figure 2.4. Settlement pattern of 'logis' groups, motorways, and pedestrian paths, 1948 (İzmir Metropolitan Municipality 150th anniversary exhibition, 2019)

A new artery (today's İnönü Street) connected residential areas to the city center. In addition to the new residential areas, Le Corbusier proposed a high-rise business center in Alsancak. The administrative center and a cultural center that would also consist of high-rise buildings (including a new town hall building) would be placed near Konak. (Bilsel, 1996, 23). The plan was not implemented as it did not meet the expectations of the municipality but some of Le Corbusier's ideas were used in later plans.³

³ The 'tabula rasa' attitude which disregarded the historical part of the city and the fact that it completely ignored land ownership issues in the settlement scheme proposed for the new development areas rendered this plan impractical (Bilsel, 1999). In the 1950s, Kemal Ahmet Arû, Gündüz Özdeş and Emin Canpolat divided the city into functional regions as Le Corbusier did.

In 1951 an international urban design competition was launched by the Bank of Municipal Services (İller Bankası) for a new master plan. Turkish architect-planners Kemal Ahmet Arû, Emin Canpolat and Gündüz Özdeş's proposal received the first prize. According to the new plan, and following Le Corbusier's proposal, the city would be divided into functional regions. Based on detailed surveys and analysis, it was more realistic and practical than Le Corbusier's plan, as it marked future development areas for the city. The plan became operative in 1953 (Figure 2.5) (Can, 2010).

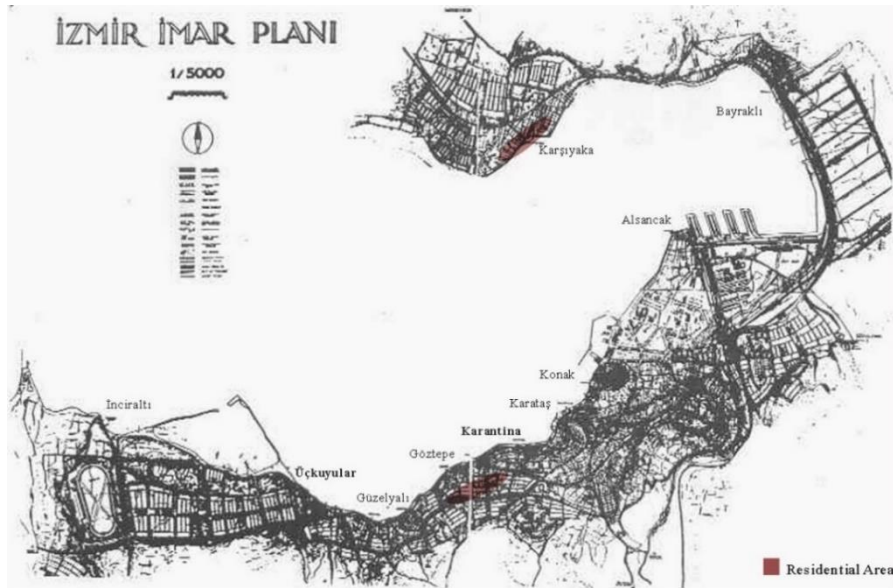


Figure 2.5. Aru's plan for İzmir, 1953 (Bilsel, 2009, 16, estimated residential areas are marked by the author)

In this plan, the slopy area extending from Karataş to Üçkuyular would mark the main development area of the city. Hatay Street (today's İnönü Street), the main artery of the proposed residential area (Hatay region), consists of long and narrow building plots parallel to the slope lines and green corridors extending to the sea (Bilsel, 2009, 16). Hatay was connected to the city center by Varyant road (Kaya, 2002). The west of Karşıyaka was proposed as a second axis of development. Lower-density, three-four-story houses on the main arteries were proposed in this region. Workers' neighborhoods, which were separated from industrial areas by green bands, were planned in Bayraklı and south of Tepecik. One of the most important decisions of the Aru plan for İzmir is the preservation of the historical commercial center in Kemeraltı (Bilsel, 2009, 16). Arû's plan proved to be insufficient in a short time due to rapid population increase (Appendix 1). Demands for high-intensity buildings made it

impossible to implement the proposal for green areas and, slum neighborhoods proliferated (Bilsel, 2009, 17).

In 1957, İzmir Municipality invited Swiss architect and planner Albert Bodmer to revise the plan. (Can, 2010; Kaya, 2002). Bodmer was given the task to design the undeveloped lands, to make decisions on green areas and slum neighborhoods. Although his plan was not implemented and the Aru plan remained in practice until the end of the 1970s, land-use decisions of the Bodmer plan were mostly realized through revisions of the Aru plan and remained intact in further planning decisions. As a result of rapid urbanization in the 1950s, the need for a new plan emerged which would include the outskirts of the existing city (Kaya, 2002).

In 1957, a new Planning Act (İmar Yasası) was invoked, and the central authority took over the control of the physical development of cities from local authorities. With this law, master plans of metropolitan cities would be prepared by the Metropolitan Planning Offices under the control of the Ministry of Development and Settlement (İmar ve İskan Bakanlığı) (Kaya, 2002). As part of these developments, the Ministry established a Metropolitan Planning Office (İzmir Metropolitan Planlama Bürosu) in İzmir in 1965 (Arkon and Gülerman, 1995).

In 1973, a 1/25000 scale Metropolitan Master Plan was prepared by the İzmir Metropolitan Planning Office. This plan proposed "a rational and comprehensive approach based on detailed analyses and projections" (Can, 2010, 185). Unlike other plans, it covered the whole metropolitan area and the surrounding settlements (Arkon and Gülerman, 1995, 14). In this master plan, the Şemikler-Aliğa axis on the north and the Karabağlar-Cumaovası (Menderes) axis on the south were proposed as industrial areas. The western axis of the city, Narlıdere-Urta-Seferihisar, was proposed as a housing area (Güner, 2006, 131). However, the plan failed to provide a control mechanism for the linear development, which was proposed (Arkon and Gülerman, 1995).⁴

The İzmir Metropolitan Planning Office was closed in 1984. A development law was put into effect the following year, whereby municipalities commissioned the

⁴ Other difficulties in implementing this plan are "financial problems, lack of sufficient analytical work, and inaccurate population projections" (Kaya, 2002). Besides, public investments were not realized due to "ownership rights, unfinished cadastral maps of the suggested development areas, and delays in preparing 1/5000 and 1/1000 scale implementation plans" led to the spontaneous use of former plans (Arkon and Gülerman, 1995; Can, 2010, 185).

preparation of a 1/5000 Master Development Plan and a 1/1000 Development Implementation Plan. As a result, İzmir Metropolitan Municipality developed a new master plan in 1989 through revisions of previous plans (Arkon and Gülerman, 1995, 19). With the 1989 master plan, a land parcel of 160 hectares to the west of Güzelbahçe and of 30 hectares to the south and southeast of Balçova were allocated to residential use (Kaya, 2002, 175). However, this plan was cancelled in 2002 due to urban development problems (Penpecioglu, 2012, 162).

To sum up, master plans and revisions since the foundation of the Republic included several different suggestions for residential areas. Despite all the changes that have been made, most of the central parts of the city were built according to the 1955 master plan until 2002 due to shortcomings in planning strategies (Kaya, 2002, 172; Ercan, 2007).

2.2. Administration of the Housing Problem

After the establishment of the Turkish Republic, a series of codes and regulations were issued on civil servants' housing, squatting, cooperative housing, mass housing, and zoning. This period can be examined under three consecutive time frames: 1923-1950, 1950-1980, and 1980- 2000s.

After the foundation of the Turkish Republic, housing shortage emerged as a pressing problem throughout the country. In the early years of the Republic, investments were mostly made in Ankara and budget allocations remained insufficient for İzmir and other Anatolian cities due to the great economic crisis of 1929 and the WWII (Batur, 1998, 210; Ballice, 2006, 385, Sey, 1998; Sey, 2005, 160).

During this period, various laws were introduced to help in the government's limited construction investments. Arrangements were made to provide planned developments for the civil servants to become homeowners by means of cooperatives. The Civil Servants Cooperative Law (Memur Kooperatifi Yasası) was enacted in 1925. In 1926, the Real Estate and Orphans Bank (Emlak ve Eytam Bankası) was founded and resources to finance housing cooperatives were supported by the government (Sey, 1998, 275; Sey, 2005,162).

Following the establishment of the Real Estate and Orphans Bank, with the opening of the Turkish Cooperative Institution (Türk Kooperatifçilik Kurumu) in 1931, the

cooperative system became increasingly widespread (Sey, 1998, 275-276; Ballice, 2006, 98). The most significant decision taken to include the state in the production of apartments and housing was the establishment of the Real Estate Bank Construction Limited Company (Emlak Bank Yapı Ltd. Şti.) in April 1937 under the Real Estate and Orphans Bank (Görgülü, 2016, 170). In this way, necessary credit assistance was provided to the prospective residents. The municipality's efforts to allocate low-cost land to cooperatives in 1948-1949 also supported this solution, and many cooperative houses were rapidly built in the late 1940s (Cengizkan, 2000, 76-80; Cengizkan, 2009; Koç, 2001).⁵

The 1950s represents a new era in Turkey, in both economic and political terms, with the introduction of the multi-party system and the implementation of liberal economic policies. Due to migration from rural areas housing shortage emerged in major cities, like İstanbul, Ankara, and İzmir (Appendix 1) (Sey, 1998, 285; Şenyapılı, 1981; Tekeli, 2016, 18).⁶ During the 1950s, attempts were made to solve this problem through state sponsored residential developments in slum prevention areas and the houses produced by the Cooperatives and the Real Estate Bank (Görgülü, 2016, 171).

Several laws were enforced to solve the increasing housing problem in this period. The first was the 1946 Real Estate and Credit Bank Law (Emlak Kredi Bankası Kanunu) and the 1948 Building Construction Promotion Law (Bina Yapımı Teşviki Kanunu) (Cantürk, 2016, 3; Sey, 1998, 285-286). As a result, significant changes took place at the urban scale, which considerably affected the housing texture in Turkey in general and in İzmir in particular. Cities started to grow rapidly in an unplanned manner and houses with gardens were gradually replaced by multi-story apartments.

The early apartments were owned by single families, and they were referred as family apartments. Each unit was occupied by members of the same extended family or

⁵ These were built to meet the housing needs of civil servant families whose number increased to the city with the Civil Servant Housing Law (Memur Mesken Yasası) enacted in 1944 (Sey; 1998); Central Bank Members Cooperative (Merkez Bankası Mensupları Kooperatifi) (1947), Municipal Officials Building Cooperative (Belediye Memurları Yapı Kooperatifi) (1948), Railways Cooperative (Demiryolları Kooperatifi) (1948), Gündoğdu Bahçelievler Building Cooperative (Gündoğdu Bahçelievler Yapı Kooperatifi) (1949), Güzel İzmir Bahçelievler Building Cooperative (Güzel İzmir Bahçelievler Yapı Kooperatifi) (1951), İzmir Municipality Eshot Workers Bahçelievler Cooperative (İzmir Belediyesi Eshot İşçileri Bahçelievler Kooperatifi) (1953), İzmir Courthouse Cooperative (İzmir Adliyeciler Kooperatifi -Hâkimevleri) (1954) (Özkaban, 2014, 89).

⁶ With the rapid and unplanned urbanization after WWII, especially in the 1950s, the housing shortage reached critical proportions. The aggregate growth in the urban population, which had been 20.1% between 1940-1950, jumped to 80.2% in the following decade due to the migrations from rural to urban areas (Sey, 2005, 170).

rented by a non-family member as a rental unit. In the 1950s saw a new development whereby individual units began to be rented or sold to non-family members.⁷ The 1965 Condominium Law started a new period in the housing development history when individual units could be bought and sold independently. It fostered the build-sell (yap-sat) model in the housing industry which enabled the construction of apartments with a small capital because the construction expenses could be met by pre-selling the apartments (Gürel, 2007, 82; Gürel, 2009, 718). This model submitted the housing sector to market forces.⁸ Henceforth, high rise apartments became the new norm in residential development. Rapid urbanization and the subsequent uncontrolled spread of slum neighborhoods increased the need for housing for middle and low-income groups, hence the need for mass housing projects. Also, in the development plans that entered the constitution in 1961, a number of decisions were taken on zoning and housing to meet the increasing need for housing, regulate cooperatives, slums, and the build-sell system (Kuban, 1985, 71-72).⁹

The 1980s saw government intervention in the housing sector, and waves of rise and fall in slum development. Besides, in the 1980s, the solution to the housing problem was seen in mass housing (Cantürk, 2016; Sey, 1998, 296). Mass housing funds and cooperative loans started to be provided by the government in the same period and economic and rapid housing production was supplied by means of prototypical plans. Zoning decisions were made to increase the number of housing units to overcome the shortage (Sey, 1998, 298; Tekeli, 2010b). From that perspective, the most important event of the 1980s was the enactment of the 1984 Mass Housing Law (Toplu Konut Yasası), which aimed to find a solution to the squatting problem in the big cities, and the establishment of Mass Housing Administration (Toplu Konut İdaresi - TOKİ) in 1984 (Erman, 2016; Çavuşoğlu, 2016, 140; Sey, 1998, 296-297). In order to mobilize

⁷ Legal arrangements to permit individual ownership of apartments were initiated in 1948, then the 1954 Code legitimized apartment ownership. Finally, unit-based property ownership in apartments became legal with the 1965 Condominium Law (also referred to as the Condominium Act or Legislation; Kat Mülkiyet Kanunu) (Ballice, 2008, 140; Gürel, 2007).

⁸ For a detailed analysis see Ayşe Öncü's (1988) article "The Politics of the Urban Land Market in Turkey: 1950-1980".

⁹ The build-sell system, also seen in other locations, allowed the construction of low capital apartments. In exchange for flats, the contractor took the property from the owner. The expenses of the construction were met by the pre-selling of the flats. While this model offered affordable housing in crowded cities, there were some negative effects as well. The historical urban fabric, as well as the houses and low-rise apartments of the 1930s and 1940s, were removed to maximize profits, vertical density was increased, and weak construction techniques and low-quality materials were used (Gürel, 2009, 718; Kuban, 1985; Yücel, 1983).

the housing market and accelerate the plan approval processes, the authority to approve the plans was given to local governments in 1985 (Ballice, 2006, 194).

Since the 2000s, urban transformation projects have been the most significant phenomena in terms of urbanization and housing policies. Extensive urban transformation projects have been initiated for various reasons such as earthquake resistance, rehabilitation of slums, and restoration of historical areas after the Marmara Earthquake in 1999 (Cantürk, 2016). Besides, with increasing urban land values, the new apartments built as the outcome of urban transformation projects in the central areas of the city have become prestige residences (Görgülü, 2016, 177). As a result, the speed gained by the housing construction market with long-term lending opportunities and urban transformation projects threatens the pre-1980s housing stock of İzmir (Özkaban, 2014, 99).

To summarize, the search for new forms of housing is inseparable from İzmir's modernization process on one hand and pressing needs of the growing population on the other (Özkaban, 2014, 98). In this process, a series of laws were issued regarding housing needs, and different residential types ranging from build-sell system apartments, and cooperatives, to mass housing projects were built.

2.3. Development of Hatay Street

The foundations of Hatay Street (today's İnönü Street) go back to the late 19th century when the city was under Halil Rıfat Pasha's governorship (1889-1891). During this period, a new road was opened starting from Halil Rıfat Street and Değirmendağı, extending from the upper part of the city to Göztepe (Ballice, 2006, 49; Yücel, 2012, 25) (Figure 2.6.). Hence the upper parts of the city were connected to the city center and immigrants from Crete, Balkans, Caucasia, and Crimea were settled in this region (around today's Hatay neighborhood) (İlçemiz, 2017).

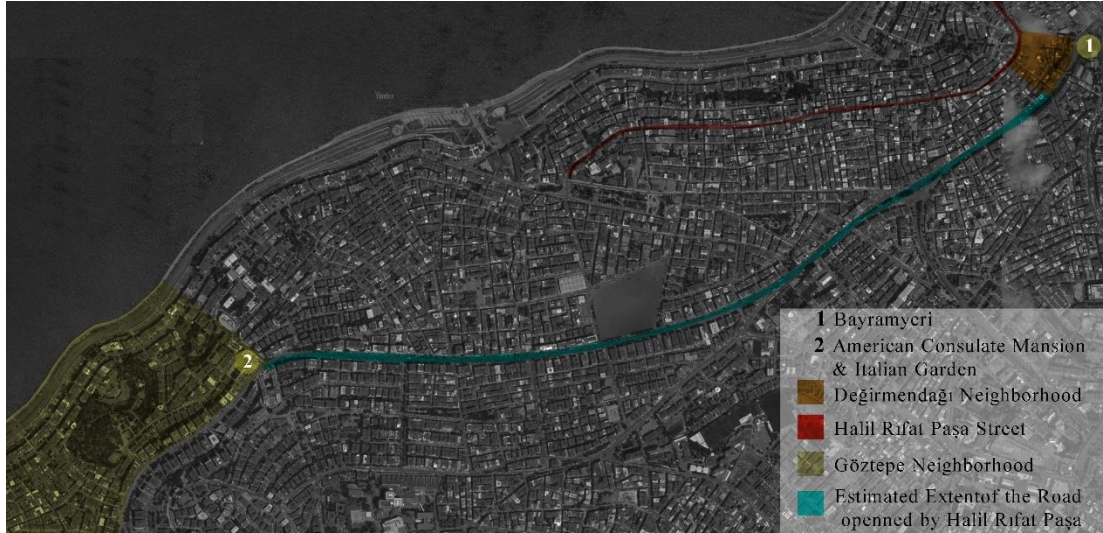


Figure 2.6. Estimated extent of the road opened by Halil Rifat Paşa (Yandex Map image marked by the author)

This road underwent many changes until today, as it turned to be one of the busiest streets in İzmir. Until the late 1930s Hatay Street was called Mısırlı Street. Then, it was renamed as Hatay Street when the Hatay province was joined to the Turkish territory (1936-1939). The name was changed again to İnönü Street in the 1990s (Çetin, 2019; Güner, 2006). Today's İnönü Street, which was a narrow, unstabilized road at first, was developed to become a stabilized wide street in time and extended from Bayramyeri to Üçkuyular (Figure 2.7.).

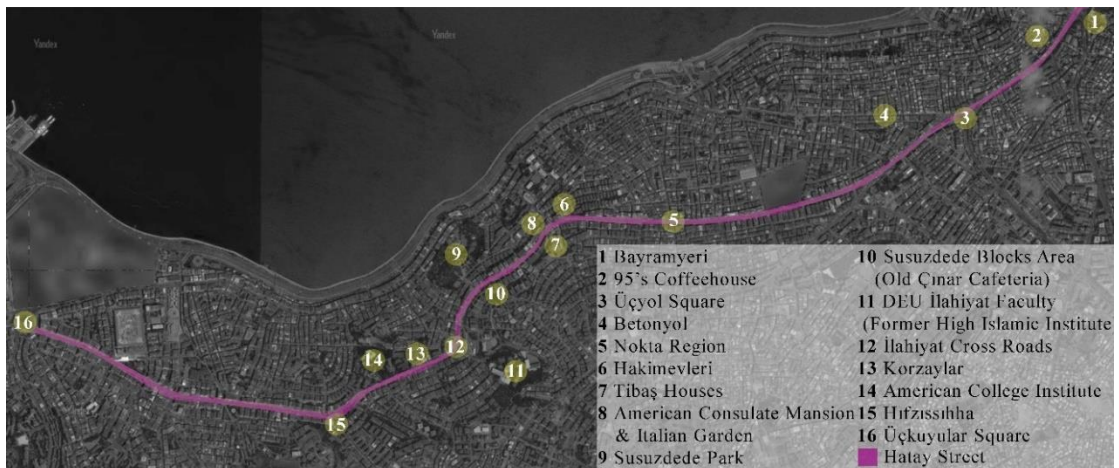


Figure 2.7. Hatay Street (Yandex Map image marked by the author)

Hatay region and Hatay Street were included in almost all of the zoning plans and legal regulations since the 1930s. The foundations of the residential areas around Hatay Street, from Eşrefpaşa to the west, were laid by the Danger and Prost plan (Ballice,

2006, 114). Le Corbusier's 1949 plan too placed new residential areas in Hatay, (Can, 2010, 185). Le Corbusier also proposed a new artery (today's İnönü Street) that connected this residential area to the city center (Bilsel, 1996, 23). Kemal Ahmet Arû, Emin Canpolat, and Gündüz Özdeş's 1951 master plan included residential plots along two sides of Hatay Street, which were separated by green corridors (Bilsel, 2009, 16). The Hatay region was connected to the city center by the Varyant Road (Birleşmiş Milletler Yolu) in the 1950s (Kaya, 2002; Güner, 2006, 127).¹⁰ After Albert Bodmer's 1957 revisions to Aru's plan regarding regional planning to balance population agglomerations, Hatay and its surroundings developed as a new residential area (Akkurt and Özkaban, 2010). New structures on the Hatay Street mostly consisted of multi-story apartments during the 1960s (Figure 2.8.) (Güner, 2006).



Figure 2.8. Hatay Street in the 1940s, and Öncil Apartment by Cavit Ölçer, 1960s (Güner, 2006, 128, marked by the author)

According to Bekir Yurdakul (2011) the road from 95's Coffeeshouse to Bayramyeri and then to Betonyol was called Hatay road (Figure 2.9.).¹¹ Then this road was stabilized and continued until the Nokta region (Figure 2.10.) which was extended in 1960 to the American Consulate (Figure 2.11.). Yurdakul also stated that since the location of the consulate was rocky, it was not possible to cross to the Üçkuyular side (Figure 2.12.). Architect Cavit Ölçer, who spent his childhood in the Hatay neighborhood and who has done many projects on Hatay Street, explained the following in an interview (Ölçer, 1997):

¹⁰ Varyant road (Birleşmiş Milletler Yolu), which was completed in two stages in 1951-1952, destroyed a part of Bahribaba Park and connected Konak Square to Eşrefpaşa, Yukarı Neighborhoods and the newly opened Mısırlı (Hatay) Street from Değirmendağı (Güner, 2006, 127).

¹¹ 95's Coffeeshouse was opened in the 1950s by Mehmet Vasıf Gözükara, who is an old coachman in Halil Rıfat Pasha neighborhood. The name of the Coffeeshouse came from the owner's old phaeton license number.

" Hatay Street ended at today's Üçyol district. Beyond that, there were vegetable orchards and producers' houses, vast areas of cultivated land, extended beyond today's Üçkuyular. Hatay Street, formerly Mısırlı Street, was a stabilized narrow road. Within the master plan of that day, Bahçelievler, Basın Sitesi and Hakimevleri included two-story buildings. Changes in the construction plan which allowed high clearance heights resulted in today's Hatay Street which is occupied with taller and congested buildings. Today, at a time when people become aware of the significance of green spaces, there is no green space left. Besides, the Bahribaba Park in the city center, the English Garden extending from Kız Lisesi in Karataş to Halil Rifat, and the Italian Garden, where the American Consulate was located, the area was filled with dense construction without any green space. The only vacant area of seventy decares opposite Susuzdede is allocated for construction today. Yeşilyurt, which was once seen as a slum area outside the city, has now become a five-story, dense building area. Yesilyurt used to be full of pine trees. Here is the story of Hatay Street."



Figure 2.9. Hatay Street development stage 1: 95's Coffeehouse to Bayramyeri, Bayramyeri to Betonyol 1950s (Yandex Map image marked by the author)



Figure 2.10 Hatay Street development stage 2: After the stabilization work to Nokta Region (Yandex Map image marked by the author)

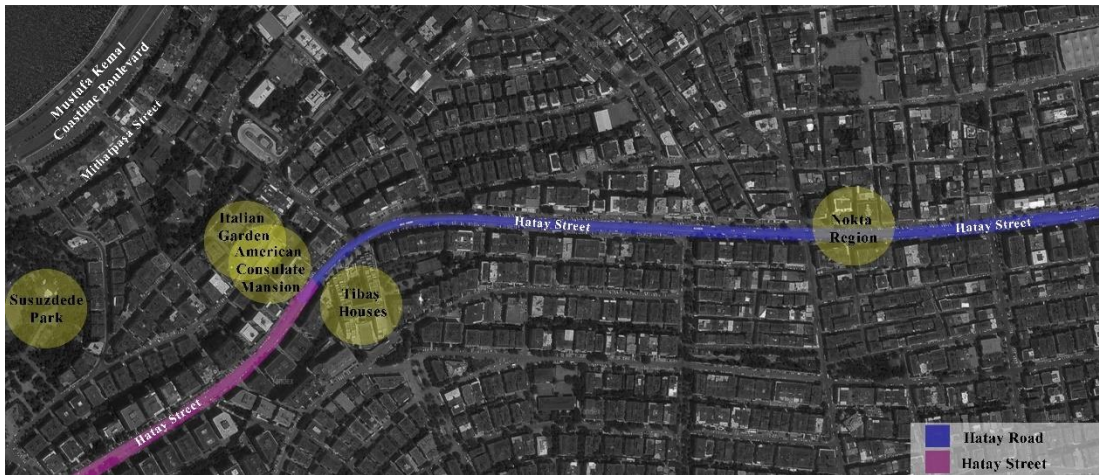


Figure 2.11. Hatay Street development stage 3: Nokta Region to Amerikan Consulate Region 1960s (Yandex Map image marked by the author)



Figure 2.12. Hatay Street development stage 4: Extension to Üçkuyular Region, 1967 (Yandex Map image marked by the author)

As a result of the development of Hatay Street two- and three- story houses with gardens, where mostly middle-income groups lived, were replaced by taller residences after the 1950s. Two laws were critical in the vertical and horizontal expansion of the Hatay region; the Condominium Law of 1965 and the development plan of 1985. With these arrangements, the urban form became very dense as two- and three- story houses were replaced by five-story and even taller build and sell apartments (Yıldız et al., 2018, 124). Between 1962-1972, the new apartments on Hatay Street were built adjacent to each other with no open space between them (Ballice, 2006, 154). Hence, Hatay Street, was lined by multi-story apartments on both sides, and was extended in a straight line to the Üçkuyular region (Figure 2.13) (Çetin, 2019, 32).

Hatay Street saw further residential developments in the mid-1950s by the construction of the İzmir Courthouse Cooperative (İzmir Adliyeciler Kooperatifi-Hâkim Evleri) (1954).¹²

¹² In order to solve the housing problem of civil servant families the first examples of cooperatives were built around Kültürpark (Koç, 2018, 21). Simultaneously cooperative housing activities continued in Karşıyaka and Bostanlı districts as well. Others, such as Health Building Cooperative (Sağlık Yapı Kooperatifi) (1953), İzmir Municipality Eshot Workers Bahçelievler Cooperative (İzmir Belediyesi Eshot İşçileri Bahçelievler Kooperatifi) (1953) and İzmir Courthouse Cooperative (İzmir Adliyeciler Kooperatifi-Hâkim Evleri) (1954) were established in Üçkuyular, Güzelyalı and Hatay districts (Ballice, 2006, 171).



Figure 2.13. Hatay Street in the 1970s (Pinterest, Erhan Çamlıbel Archive)

After the 1950s, apartmentalization continued on Hatay Street, from the American Consulate (Figure 2.14.) to Üçkuyular. First, the vacant areas and detached houses on the seaside of the street were replaced with high-rise apartments (Figure 2.15.), which became widespread with the Condominium Act. Later, high-rise, attached apartments were built on the opposite side of the street. Finally, in the 1990s, the vacant area on the opposite side of Susuzdede was opened for construction (Figure 2.16.), and high-rise, build and sell system apartments were built in this area as well.



Figure 2.14. Italian Garden and American Consulate, 1960s (Çamlıbel, n.d., marked by the author)



Figure 2.15. Italian Garden and American Consulate site, 2020 (Photograph by author, 2020)

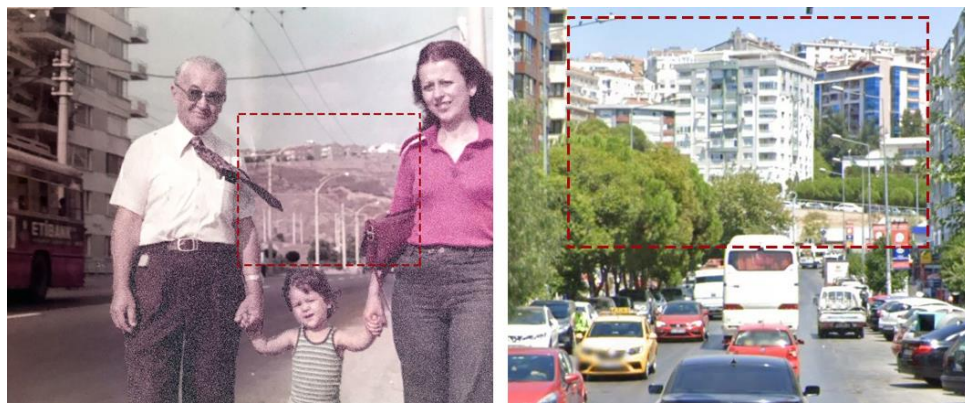


Figure 2.16. Vacant area on the opposite side of Susuzdede, 1975 (Mehmet Parlakyiğit archive, marked by the author), and 2020 (Google maps image, 2020, marked by the author)

CHAPTER 3

THE PROCESS OF APARTMENTALIZATION

The earliest apartments of Turkey appeared in İstanbul during the late Ottoman period and have evolved. After the foundation of the Republic, the new capital Ankara too saw the rise of apartments which symbolized a modern lifestyle (Batur, 2005; Bozdoğan, 2002; Sey, 2005, 160; Tekeli, 2005, 16). Apartment production began in İzmir in the late 19th century, and apartments became almost inevitable in other cities after World War II with the intense need for housing due to rural to urban migration (Batur, 1998, 233). This phenomenon caused land prices to increase rapidly, and apartments provided a solution that allowed more than a single family to share the cost of land. In the final analysis, apartments became widespread as the result of economic necessity rather than architectural choice (Tekeli, 2011).

3.1. Historical Context

İzmir, a small coastal town in the early 16th century, began acquiring a cosmopolitan character due to its development as a port and commercial city after the late 16th century and became the second-largest city of the Ottoman Empire with the economic changes of the early 19th century (Yılmaz and Yetkin, 2002, 51).¹³ The coexistence of different ethnic groups caused the fusion of different cultures, and the cosmopolitan structure was clearly reflected in the residential areas (Ballice, 2004, 42).

İzmir's cosmopolitan structure changed radically due to the great fire in 1922 (Çetintahra and Karataş, 2018). After the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923, İzmir was practically rebuilt, especially considering the residential areas damaged by the fire (Eyüce, 1999; Seymen, 1992; Şahin, 1992). The following account traces the changes in the residential structure of İzmir from the 19th century to the

¹³ Until the last quarter of the 16th century, İzmir was an inland port city and one of the largest vegetable and fruit producers that only shipped goods to İstanbul. In the following decades, it gradually turned into a market city and lost its agricultural identity due to population growth and migration of traders from the surrounding islands. As the port opened to international trade, the city saw the opening of foreign consulates and a rise in its non-muslim population (Yılmaz and Yetkin, 2002).

1980s, to explain the development of apartmentalization considering the broader socio-historical context.

3.1.1. İzmir as a Cosmopolitan City (The Pre-Republican Period)

In the 19th century, the population of İzmir consisted of Greek, Armenian and Jewish minority groups of the Ottoman Empire and Levantine merchants of European origin, as well as Turkish residents (Ballice, 2004, 42). This cosmopolitan structure was clearly reflected in the residential areas. These groups settled in different regions and formed five main districts (Figure 3.1) (Çetintahra and Karataş, 2018, 42). Levantines were the wealthiest group in the city, and their houses and workplaces were located along the coast. Greeks and Armenians lived in the neighborhoods just behind the Levantines, while Jews and Turks lived on the slopes of Kadifekale that extended towards the bay (Ballice, 2004, 42). The coastal part of the city displayed a contemporary European image with a regular settlement pattern reminiscent of developed European cities (Ballice, 2008). Towards the South, this image was replaced by an oriental texture with the domes and minarets of the Muslim community's worship structures (Ballice, 2004, 42). There were also mixed neighborhoods where these communities' lived side by side (Uçar and Uçar, 2013, 2). These differences were manifested in different spatial organizations, materials, and decorative elements in the residential areas. The residential types that have survived until today are classified under three groups by urban historian Eti Akyüz: Turkish houses, Levantine and Greek houses (Chios type houses), and hybrid houses (Akyüz, 1994, 34).



Figure 3.1. Ethnic neighborhoods in İzmir in the 19th century (Yandex Map image marked by the author)

Turkish houses were generally two-story buildings with an outer sofa and a bay window; the lower floors were masonry, the upper floors were wooden carcass (Ballice, 2004, 42; Akyüz, 1994, 34).¹⁴ These houses were mostly located in neighborhoods such as Namazgah, Tilkilik, İkiçeşmelik, and Dönertaş (Çakıcıoğlu, 2006, 83), where they blended into the organic street texture. Their spatial layout was introverted and integrated with the open courtyard, manifesting privacy, and elements such as window lattices. Small windows openings on the ground floor were the architectural indicators of privacy (Akyüz, 1994, 34; Levi, 2003, 55) (Figure 3.2.). The rooms were independent, multifunctional units, which had direct access to each other. Unlike minority houses, service areas were generally in gardens, and each dwelling had a water element like a well, a fountain, and a pool in its garden (Akyüz, 1994, 34).

¹⁴ Sofas used resting, gathering, and social activities and used as an access space to the rest of the rooms in Turkish houses. They are named according to their locations like outer sofa, inner sofa, and central sofa (Ak, 2016).

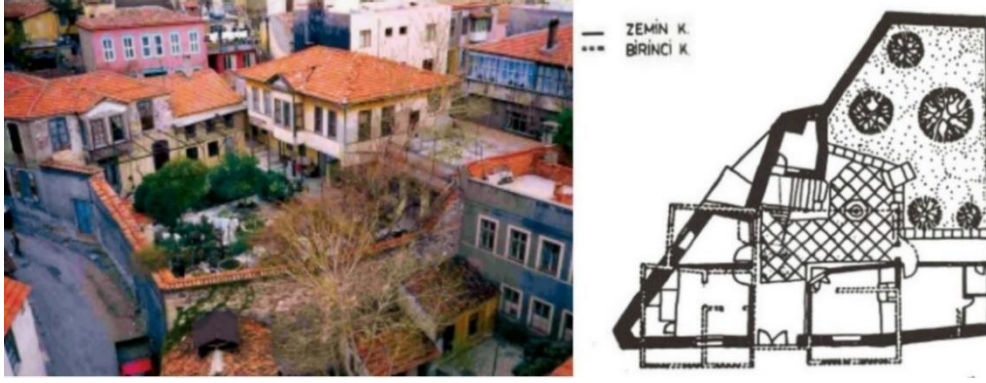


Figure 3.2. 19th century Turkish houses at Tilkilik, and a typical plan (Ballice, 2004, 42; Akyüz, 1994, 33)

Levantine and Greek houses were adjacent structures, generally two-story-high with narrow facades. They had mostly a bay window at the center of the upper floor facade. These dwellings, which used traditional materials like masonry and wood, were similar to each other in terms of their plans and façades and located in Alsancak (Punta), Mithatpaşa Street, Karşıyaka, and Buca (Akyüz, 1994, 34). The lower floors of the houses were used as service spaces while the upper floors contained the living spaces (Çakıcıoğlu, 2006, 83). The basement was used for ventilation and included service spaces, while the ground floor contained the living and service areas. The upper floor spaces were centrally distributed with passages between the bedrooms. The rooms had direct access to each other (Akyüz, 1994, 34), as in Turkish houses in İzmir, which can be interpreted to be the result of the interaction of Levantine-Greek house architecture and Turkish house architecture (Figure 3.3.). Unlike the Turkish houses, these houses usually had side entrances and did not have sofas. Besides, the service areas were not in the garden like Turkish houses, but were connected to it (Akyüz, 1994, 34). Some Levantine houses in İzmir, where middle and upper-income groups lived, are described as "Chios type houses" (Ballice, 2008). These are similar to those on Chios Island with facade elements like stone facing and horizontal and vertical projections (Akyüz, 1994, 34). There were also two-story Levantine mansions in the suburbs of Bornova and Buca where upper-income groups lived, which had big gardens, large balconies, and Classical details (Ballice, 2008; Çakıcıoğlu, 2006, 83) (Figure 3.4.).

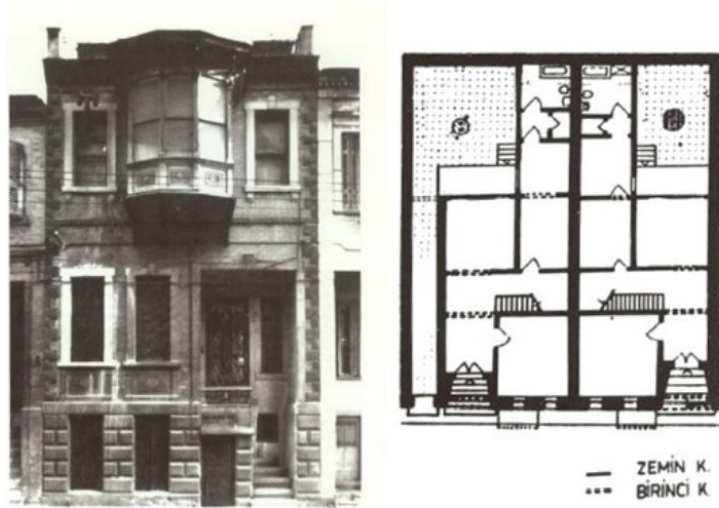


Figure 3.3. A Levantine house at Mithatpaşa Street and a Levantine house plan (Akyüz, 1994, 33)



Figure 3.4. De Jongh Mansion, Buca, late 1800s (Levantine Heritage Foundation archives)

The hybrid houses were formed as a result of the integration of elements from Turkish and Levantine-Greek dwellings, or where the Turks settled after the Levantine users left İzmir and made some additions (Levi, 2003, 55). These semi-masonry structures had a bay window, like Levantine-Greek houses, and they were adorned by neoclassical decorations on the facade. These dwellings were generally rectangular two-story masses with direct access from the street. In these houses, rooms and stairs lead to the hall; on the upper floor, a room, or the hall had a bay window (Figure 3.5.) (Akyüz, 1994, 34). These houses were in Turkish neighborhoods, in the rear parts of Alsancak (Greek neighborhood) and the residential areas of Jews (Kemeraltı, Mezarlıkbaşı, Keçeciler, and Karataş) (Ballice, 2004, 66).



Figure 3.5. Hybrid house plan and street view, late 18th century, Tilkilik Region (Ballice, 2006, 64)

Westernization and modernization policies of the Ottoman Empire after the first quarter of the 19th century visibly affected İzmir, which offered a suitable setting due to the presence of Western minorities (Akkurt, 2004, 33).¹⁵ Levantines and other minority groups, which had a say in the trade and economy of İzmir during this period, were effective not only in the physical and economic development and transformation of the city but also in its social and cultural transformation (Ballice, 2004, 43). Levantines, who had their cafes, balls, carnivals, and Catholic festivals, left an impact on urban life at large (Çakıcıoğlu, 2007, 15). They introduced new public spaces such as casinos, clubs and cafes which were attractive by their libraries, billiard and games facilities, balls, and theaters (Eryeşil and Çıldır, 2020, 37). İzmir saw its first theater and movie houses after the mid-19th century (Eryeşil and Çıldır, 2020). Levantine families, who introduced the so-called Western lifestyle to İzmir, also facilitated transformations in family lives (Ballice, 2008) due to the Westernization policies of the Empire.¹⁶ These changes led to new housing types in İzmir (Tok, Erol, and Terzi,

¹⁵ For classical accounts of the history of Westernization in the Ottoman Empire see the work of Kemal H. Karpat (2008), and Stanford J. Shaw (1976)

¹⁶ In the Turkish family structure, the nuclear family consisting of parents and children has turned into a large family structure after the acceptance of İslam as the state religion (10th century) (Can and Aslan, 2017, 91). During the Ottoman period, while nuclear families were seen in port cities, extended families were dominant in other cities and villages. In the 19th century, the social and family structure started to change with the Tanzimat and Islahat Edicts. The emergence of nationalism as a result of the French Revolution also affected the family structure (Can and Aslan, 2017, 92). After the establishment of the Republic the most significant development affecting family life was the Turkish Civil Code (Türk Medeni Kanunu) which was based on the nuclear family as the norm (1926) (Bozdoğan, 2002, 212-214; Öner, 2011, 126). Furthermore, one of the most important factors in this change is the importance given to industrialization and keeping agricultural production in the background. This situation caused large scale migration from villages to cities (Can and Aslan, 2017, 93). This accelerated the transformation

2015, 3). With the change in family structures, single houses with gardens were gradually replaced by apartments. The latter, which included many units, eventually offered affordable housing solutions in the economic interests of nuclear families (Tok, Erol, and Terzi, 2015, 3). However, most of the buildings built in İzmir at the end of the 19th century to meet the housing need were two-three-story masonry and wooden carcass structures built by foreign masters (Tok, Erol, and Terzi, 2015, 4).¹⁷

A turning point in residential design came in 1890, with the construction of the Anadolu Apartment, by Harsa family of Egyptian origin who had strong relations with Europe. Anadolu Apartment, located on Mithatpaşa Street, was the first of its kind and marked the beginnings of a new residential type (Tok, Erol, and Terzi, 2015, 5). It was built to house the extended family under the same roof but distributed to more than one housing unit. The apartment had two entrances. One block was used by Ahmet Harsa Paşa and his family, and the other by his brother Mustafa Harsa Bey and his family (Tok, Erol, and Terzi, 2015, 14). The four-story and sixteen-unit building was completed in 1905 by its second owner, Mustafa Ragıp Devres (Terim, 2006, 36). Each unit consists of three or four rooms on two sides of the central hall and wet spaces on the third (Figure 3.6) (Erdim, 1992, 78).

from extended to nuclear family structure (Epik, Çiçek, and Altay, 2017).

¹⁷ From the 1850s until the establishment of the Republic, mostly Greek and Armenian masters had a say in the field of architecture. Foreign architects brought from other cities or from abroad actively produce projects for the magnificent Levantine residences and mansions (Ballice, 2006, 77).

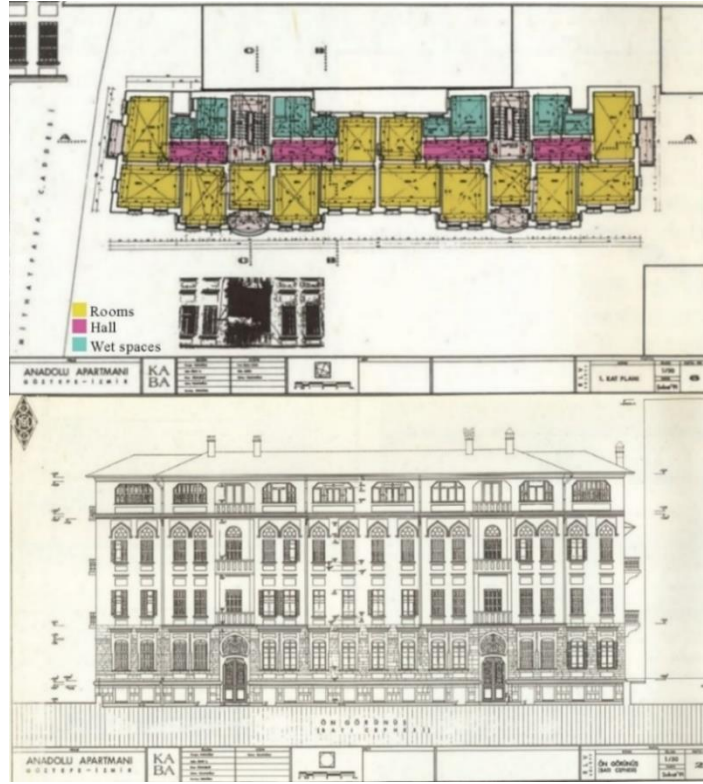


Figure 3.6. Anadolu Apartment, 1890-1905 (Erdim, 1992, marked by the author)

Anadolu Apartment was an indicator of the power and prestige of Ahmet Harsa Pasha and Mustafa Harsa Bey at a time when few people could access necessary materials like iron and cement and a suitable plot to build an apartment. Hence when it was first built, it became one of the most significant landmarks of İzmir on the Konak-Göztepe line (Tok, Erol, and Terzi, 2015, 12), and could compete with the existing mansions in terms of the high social status of its owners.¹⁸ When the building was sold to the Devres family, they rented out units other than their own, but placed great importance to the selection of their tenants (Tok, Erol, and Terzi, 2015, 20).¹⁹ Anadolu Apartment housed high-status, upper-class residents such as pashas, ministers, deputies, merchants, lawyers, and judges (Tok, Erol, and Terzi, 2015, 13).

İzmir’s urban space that was based on ethnic and religious diversity changed radically (Çetintahra and Karataş, 2018) after the great fire of 1922, when the foreign population

¹⁸ According to an interview with Ahmet Mişçi, the only apartment on the Konak- Göztepe line was Anadolu Apartment until the Binnaz Apartment in the Karantina region was built. Besides, the name of the tram stop was "Anadolu" at that time (today known as the Faik Bey bus stop), and people used to say, "There is going to get off at the Apartment!" to get off the tram, because at that time the only place to be understood when "apartment" was called Anadolu Apartment. (Tok, Erol, and Terzi, 2015, 12).

¹⁹ Living in Anadolu Apartment was expensive in that period. The suitors who wanted to rent a unit were automatically eliminated due to high rental charges after which possible candidates were chosen by the building owners (Tok, Erol, and Terzi, 2015, 20).

that kept the economic life alive in İzmir left the city.²⁰ After the fire, the lack of technical staff and building masters required for new construction activities and the population increase in the city due to population exchange further accelerated the housing problem in İzmir (Ballice, 2008).²¹ During this period, wealthy Turkish families living in Beyler Street, Namazgâh, and Tilkilik bought abandoned Levantine houses and empty parcels in the fire area and settled there (Ballice, 2008). Henceforth the scope of this thesis is limited to the study of the changes in the lifestyle and housing types of Turkish families.

3.1.2. Modernization of Residential Life (1923-1950)

With the establishment of the Republic, apartments became the most suitable solution to the increasing housing need. As such, they replaced older residential typologies, which were the outcome of local geographical features and extended family lives within the pre-Republican social structure. In this process, urban texture, urban life, and interior spaces of residences changed in unprecedented ways which went hand in hand with transformations in everyday life (Bilgin, 2010; Bozdoğan, 2002, 214-215). Between 1920 and 1930, some upper-income groups in big cities preferred to move into apartment buildings. If reception of apartments as a symbol Westernization was a major reason for this, another one was the difficulty of maintaining and cleaning older houses and mansions (Gürel, 2007). A modern apartment plan offered a comfort zone with such amenities as centralized heating and elevators (Gürel, 2007). It also had specialized rooms such as living, dining, and sleeping rooms, different than the generic rooms of traditional activities (Batur, 2005, 85-86). Turkish houses accommodating multifunctional. However, the spatial organization of the old Turkish houses was not completely changed. Some spaces, like the sofa were used in apartment plans with significant modifications (Mutdoğan, 2014). In the past, the sofa, was a place for resting, gathering, and social activities in addition to being an access space to the rest of the rooms (Ak, 2016). In apartment plans it was transformed to a large entrance hall

²⁰ The fire started after the liberation of the city from the Greek army and razed approximately 300 hectares at the center of the city (Kopuz, 2016, 60).

²¹ The agreements following the Lausanne Peace Treaty signed in 1923 between the Republic of Turkey and Greece was followed by a forced migration based on religious background (Tepealti, 2019, 91). The exchange between Muslim and Christian populations caused radical changes in the social structure of İzmir (Ari, 1992; Ballice, 2006, 83).

with the only function of providing access to the rooms (Figure 3.7.) (Batur, 2005, 88; Mutdoğan, 2014).



Figure 3.7. Sofas turned into access halls in apartments of the 1930s (Gökmen, 2011, 14, marked by the author)

In the 1930s, apartments, generally built as "family apartments" to house members of extended families, started to become widespread in Alsancak, Karşıyaka, and Karantina regions (Ballice, 2008). A limited number of apartments were built by high-income residents in the prestigious districts of the city (Figure 3.8.) (Gökmen, 2011, 14). These were generally two- or three-story buildings consisting of flat roofs and rounded balconies. Vertical circulation spaces were emphasized, and continuous window strips or corner windows were used on the facades (Ballice, 2006, 123; Batur, 2005, 88).



Figure 3.8. Apartment locations of İzmir during the 1930s (Yandex Map image marked by the author)

Residential design took on a functionalist logic at that time with the dominant influence of Modern Architecture (Batur, 2005, 87; Vural, 2017, 39). One of the first modern apartments contracted in reinforced concrete was Hasan Nuri Bey Apartment, built as rental house in the Karantina district between 1930 and 1933 by architect Necmettin Emre (Ballice, 2006, 124). There was one unit on each floor of the five-story building. Each unit had a main entrance and a separate service entrance to the kitchen. Besides, each unit was divided into two sections from the entrance hall, separating the bedroom spaces from the reception and service section. The reception & service sections consisted of a guest room, a dining room, a living room, a kitchen and an office, and a toilet, while the bedroom section consisted of bedrooms and a bathroom (Emre, 1933, 273) (Figure 3.9.). In most of the apartments built during this period, it was common to leave a room in the service area as a cellar or servant room.

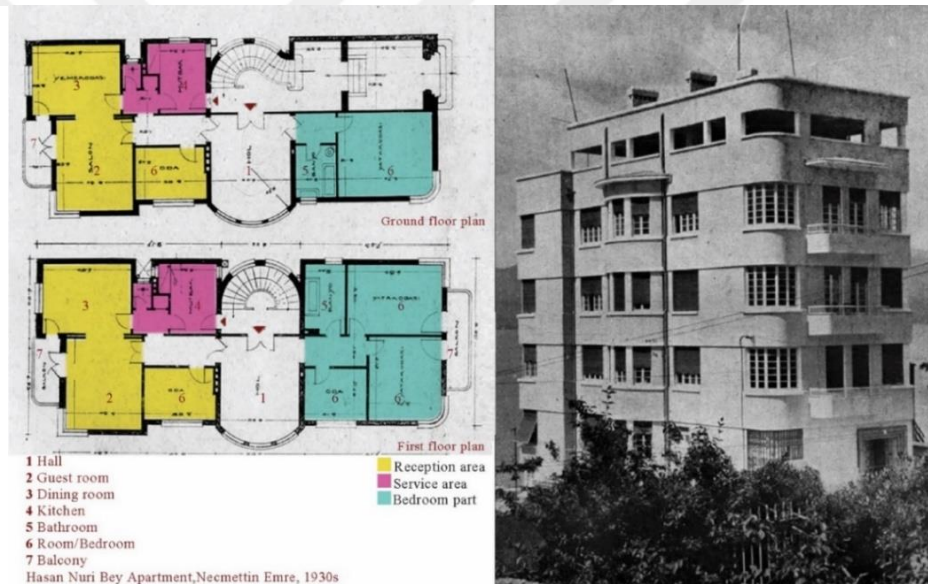


Figure 3.9. Hasan Nuri Bey Apartment, Karantina, Necmettin Emre, 1930s, plan and street view (Necmettin, 1933, marked by the author)

Most of the apartments of the 1930s had one or two units on each floor, depending on the size of the land. The units consisted of rooms opening to a central hall or lined up along a corridor in case of the existence of a central heating system (Batur, 2005, 88; Görgülü, 2016, 170). They had servant rooms and included a second entrance to the kitchen next to the main entrance (Ballice, 2008, 99). Other than the family spaces, there would be a guest room to entertain the guests, which was seen as an indicator of modern living (Özbay, 1999, 6).

Between 1923-1950, intensive housing construction started in the city, especially in the fire zone. However, ambitious approaches did not emerge due to reasons such as the continuation of economic difficulties after the War of Independence, insufficiency of investments, lack of technological means and technical workforce, lack of architects and masters, and limited materials supply (cement and iron and steel shortage) (Ballice, 2008; Sey, 2005, 161). The construction of two-story houses in a garden and three-four-story reinforced concrete family apartments, consisting of independent units, became widespread (Ballice, 2006, 133).

3.2. The Spread of Apartment Buildings (1950-1980)

In the 1950s and 1960s, apartment production increased in İzmir due to a new law enacted in 1965, which allowed individual ownership of units in a single block. This regulation led to an increase in apartment production and enabled affordable residential solutions for middle-income families (Figure 3.10.) (Gürel, 2009, 704). During this period, apartments with rectilinear masses large windows, and undecorated facades proliferated (Gürel, 2009, 704).



Figure 3.10. Residential areas of İzmir during the 1950s (Yandex Map image marked by the author)

The plans of middle-income units gradually became standardized with an average size of four rooms organized by an entrance hall and a corridor (Terim, 2006, 41). The guest room was located on one side of the hall, and wet areas and bedrooms were connected to the hall by a corridor (Figure 3.11.). The guest room was decorated with ornate furniture as it formed the face of the house, and in many instances, one of the other rooms was used as a living room reserved for everyday use (Gökmen, 2011, 14).



Figure 3.11. Tikveşli Apartment, Alsancak, Özcan Özşişman, 1952, plan and street view (Ballice, 2006, 175, marked by the author)

During the 1950s, the maintenance of the apartment spaces, especially the guest room, was seen to reflect the housewife's personality and competency as a homemaker (Gürel, 2009, 709). The guest room was representative of the modern identity and social status of the residents, which was determined by their educational background; the husband's economic power; and the housewife's skills and taste which were displayed by the furnishing and decoration of the unit (Ayata, 1988; Gürel, 2009, 713). In this period, more ornate and luxurious furniture dominated the guest rooms, while living rooms had more functional, comfortable, and simple decoration. Guest rooms were the front stage of the residence and generally closed for everyday use. Elegance was more important than comfort in these rooms. Unlike the guest rooms, the living rooms were decorated according to needs. They were comfortable rooms often furnished with sofas and sofa beds that allowed multi-purpose use. In such cases, while they were used as a room where the family spent their everyday life during the day, they could be used as a bedroom at night (Figure 3.12.).

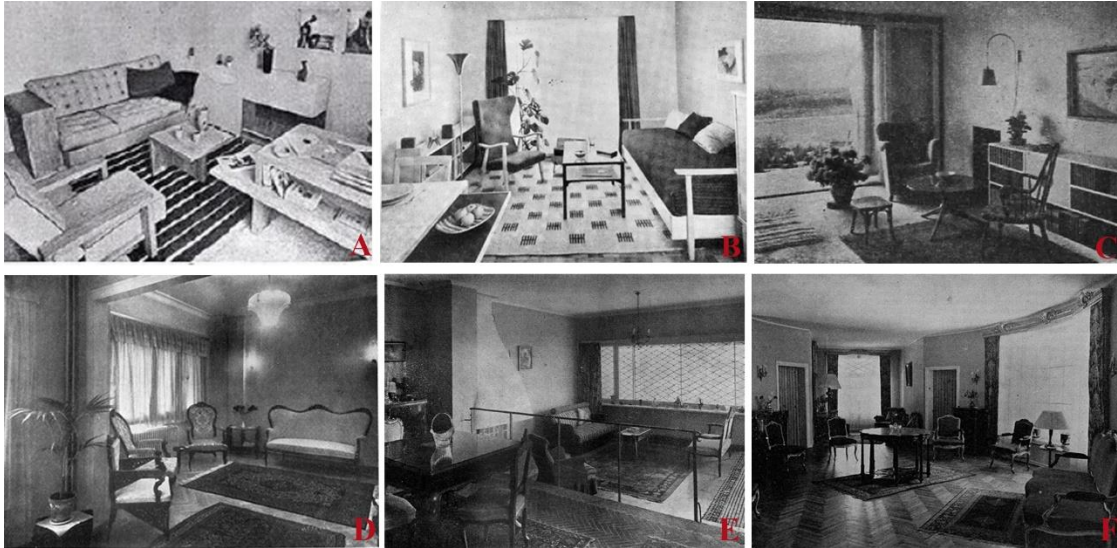


Figure 3.12. Living rooms, A (n.d) (Kaya and Proto, 2016), B (n.d) (Sayar, 1950), C (n.d) (Schütte, 1944) and guest rooms, D (1951) (Aratan, 1951), E (1955) (Bayhan, 1957), F (n.d) (Mortaş, 1936)

In the late 1960s and 1970s, the use of guest rooms in the houses of middle and upper-middle-class families started to decrease, and guest rooms were opened for everyday use (Figure 3.13.). With these changes, living rooms began to acquire other functions, such as children's rooms. The decoration of the former guest rooms began to change from luxurious and ornate furniture to more comfortable furniture suitable for everyday use (Ceyhan, 2002, 72-73).

Concerns for architectural quality rapidly diminished at the end of the 1960s due to the domination of the build-and-sell system which was based on profit motivations. In this period, many apartments, which had an average size of 100-120 square meters, were attached buildings and had a bedroom facing the air shaft (Terim, 2006, 41). Besides, the increased use of electrical household equipment such as washing machines and refrigerators caused a change in planning with the demand for an increase in the area allocated to kitchens and bathrooms (Vural, 2017, 41).²² Yet residences started to become downsized due to the standardization of nuclear family life and the economic demand to have the maximum number of units in small parcels (Terim, 2006, 41).

²² This change is due to the effect of American culture in the social and political context of Turkey which significantly affected everyday lives of middle and upper middle-class families. This topic will be elaborated in the following chapter. For the explanation of the larger socio-political context see the work of Mete Kaan Kaynar (2015).

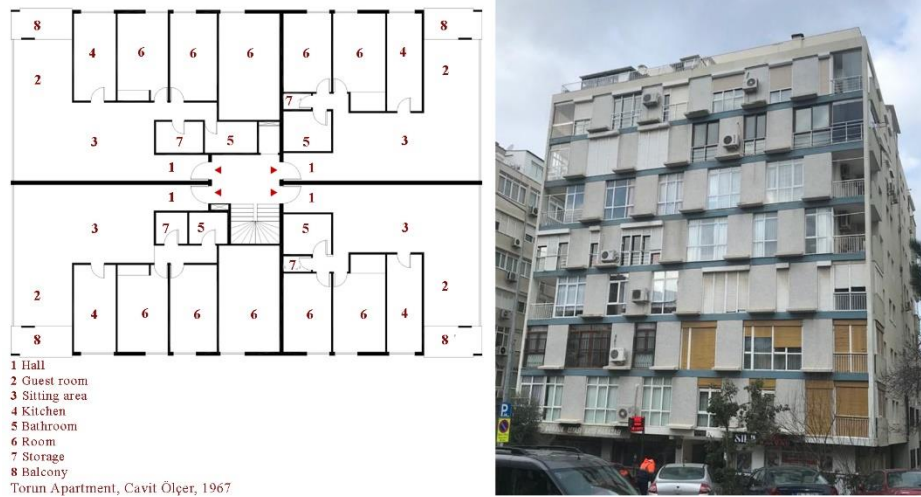


Figure 3.13. Torun Apartment, Hatay Street, Cavit Ölçer, 1967, plan and street view (İzmir Metropolitan Municipality archive, edited by the author)

Since the 1960s, districts such as Karşıyaka, Alsancak, Küçükyalı, Göztepe, and Güzelyalı, which are located on the coast, have generally accommodated upper-income groups. Middle-income settlements are located around these areas and in the old neighborhoods of İzmir including Bayraklı, Bornova, Hatay and Karşıyaka (Güner, 2006, 128; Sözer, 1988, 14). The 1970s saw a different turn in terms of apartmentalization by the construction of social housing districts lead by the municipality due to the increase in the slum areas which is outside the scope of this study (Figure 3.14.).²³

²³ The first slum neighborhoods in Turkey emerged in Ankara in the 1930s and spread all over Turkey after WWII (Tekeli, 2010b, 55; Kıray 1972, 562); this process gained speed and continued until the 2000s (Karadağ and Mirioğlu, 2011, 47). The squatter phenomenon accelerated with increasing migration to urban areas in the 1950s and has become one of Turkey's most important urban problems (Güner and Akyıldız, 2014, 189). For detailed analysis about slum neighborhoods see Mübeccel Kıray (1972 and 1998) and İlhan Tekeli (2010b) works. Mass housing companies started to emerge in the late 1970s to prevent the slum developments. Projects, such as EVKA, İZKENT were launched in İzmir (Türkçü et al., 1996). For a detailed analysis see Hülya Koç's (2001) work on social housing in İzmir.



Figure 3.14. Residential areas of İzmir during the 1960s (Yandex Map image marked by the author)

The urban identity of İzmir continued to change rapidly in the period after the 1980s when the urban population and hence the demand for housing increased (Akbayırlı, 2009, 114) (Appendix 1). However, in the 1980s, the process of apartmentalization lost pace and the perception of apartments as prestige symbols gradually weakened as upper-income families began to prefer to live in detached houses and gated communities. The enactment of the Mass Housing Law in the 1980s and the establishment of the Mass Housing Fund resulted in large capital owners entering the field of housing construction (Gökmen, 2011, 15). Besides, large areas in the urban periphery were opened for construction due to the limited land stock in the central regions. Residences built in these areas were profitable commodities appealing to the upper-income groups rather than meeting the housing needs of the less privileged (Ballice, 2008).

As the above survey illustrates, apartments and their spatial layouts underwent a number of changes since the beginning of the construction of apartment buildings. These changes were largely effected by the socio-cultural and economic and

technological developments of the period. The following chapter focuses on the relationship between apartmentalization and everyday life by means of selected examples on Hatay Street.



CHAPTER 4

EVERYDAY LIFE ON HATAY STREET

The building stock of Hatay Street consisted of detached houses with gardens and two to three-story cooperative houses during the 1950s. The first apartments on Hatay street were scarcely distributed both spatially and temporally. One of the first multi-story apartments, Petek Apartment, was built in the late 1950s when individual ownership of the units became legal. The number of multi-story apartments, which started to become widespread in the Nokta, Hakimevleri, and Susuzdede regions following the Condominium Law that became legal in 1965, increased gradually in the 1970s, and intensified in the 1980s (Figure 2.7.). Environmental changes and intensive population growth, which went hand in hand with the apartmentalization process on Hatay Street, had significant consequences in the everyday lives of the residents. On one hand, apartments, which were considered to be indicators of modern life, were seen as superior to detached houses which lacked such amenities as central heating and doorkeeping services; on the other hand, population increase and diversification and changes in everyday habits negatively affected social relations, and residential life became increasingly privatized.

4.1. Environmental Changes

The apartmentalization process on Hatay Street resulted in unprecedented environmental changes. Population increase and diversification in the neighborhood, increasing traffic load, and decrease in green areas caused irreversible changes in the physical environment and everyday lives of the inhabitants. The continuity between indoor and outdoor spaces, which were characteristic of the early apartments, gradually eroded at the expense of diminishing outdoor activities. As outdoors turned to be mere means of vehicular and pedestrian transportation, everyday activities were restricted to indoors.

4.1.1. Outdoor Life

Until the 1960s Hatay Street was lined up with single-story houses with gardens with the exception of the American Consulate Mansion integrated with the Italian Garden, and two apartments at its North-Western end (Figure 2.12.). In the following years, only the North-Western side of Hatay Street was lined up with apartments. The other side was a natural habitat with a green mound where sheep used to graze and a pine grove at its skirts (Figure 4.1.). A stream flowed in the vicinity of the High Islamic Institute which was later reclaimed (Figure 2.12.). As one of the former residents, I.O. described the pine grove was used as a recreation area, where families gathered on weekends to spend time with their children and neighbors (Table 1.1.). They had picnics there and enjoyed nature without having to leave their neighborhood. The erasure of the green area in the 1980s due to intense apartmentalization played a significant role in the change in the everyday lives of the street residents and was one of the primary changes in the neighborhood that almost all the interviewees lamented. As Ö.Ü. said, as the area was covered with apartments, it "turned into a concrete mass." Another resident, A.K. stated:

"We used to have picnics with our neighbors there on Sundays. Now there is no such thing. Now forget about having a picnic; you can't even put a single stool and sit over there."

Like I.O. and A.K., almost all the interviewees said they went to this area on the weekends, for a walk or picnic with their families and neighbors.



Figure 4.1. Green area around the High Islamic Institute, 1970s (Mehmet Parlakyiğit archive, marked by the author)

In the 1970s, Çınar Cafeteria was built as the first building at the skirts of this green hilly area on the opposite side of the Dede and Torun Apartments built in the mid-1960s (Figure 2.7.). The cafeteria, which took its name from the large plane trees on the site, began to organize wedding ceremonies during the early 1980s. Ö.Ü. described the cafeteria as "a beautiful place with plane trees." Besides, she said, most of the street residents used to meet there and drink coffee and tea with their neighbors under the plane trees. Some residents even used to organize apartment meetings there. As A.K., who lived in Torun Apartment, fondly recalled:

"There were two plane trees in front of the cafeteria. Then they cut them. I was very sorry about the trees. I think that the plane trees were ornaments of the street when we were young."

However, not all residents had a positive image of the cafeteria as some were not happy about the customer profile. As T.Ö. said, "It [the cafeteria] was not good for us because it was not clear who the customers were. We never went there." The transformation of the cafeteria into a wedding hall negatively affected neighborhood life due to the loud music that played all night long. The situation perpetuated until the replacement of the building and greenery by apartments in the early 1990s.

The low population density on Hatay Street during the 1960s allowed an extroverted lifestyle integrated with nature. For example, as K.Y. recalled people used to take to the street to celebrate Hidrellez.²⁴ As custom required, they lit fires in open spaces and jumped over them. This tradition could not be continued as apartments eventually took over all open spaces. K.Y. confirmed this stating, "Forget about lighting a Hidrellez fire on the street; even walking is not possible now since there are no sidewalks left." Children too suffered from overcrowding as they used to have the opportunity to play on the street until late at night. As I.O. explained, they used to play street games like hide and seek and dodge ball until midnight. Besides, they had an opportunity to learn about natural life in their neighborhood. She said that there was an old house, like a mansion, with lots of fruit trees behind her apartment. Children used to climb the trees

²⁴ Hidrellez is a seasonal festival to celebrate the arrival of spring. Participants make a small model of what they want or write it down on a piece of paper on the night of Hidrellez for their wishes to come true. Although there are regional variations, Hidrellez has been celebrated with magnificent ceremonies in Anatolia, since ancient times (Hidrellez Traditions, n.d.).

and eat mulberries. She explained that they had a chance to learn how to feed chickens and roosters in that garden and went on to say:

"One night, I saw a hedgehog while sitting in front of the apartment. Today it must be seen as a miracle. Do you know where it came from? At that time, the opposite side of the main street was hilly. There was not a single building there."

Neighborhood residents spent leisure time outside of their apartments, sitting in front of the buildings to socialize as the weather permitted. As I.O. said, they even grew vegetables and fruits on the tiny lot just in front of their apartment. Her father used to grow watermelons, melons, apricots, and herbs. She reminisced rather nostalgically:

"He took care of them, from anchor to irrigation, and I would distribute them to the apartment residents. My father would tell me to distribute them to families with babies and children first because he believed that the little ones had priority."

The intense and rapid apartmentalization on Hatay Street apparently affected the pace of life as well. Open-air cinemas and patisseries were popular spots during the 1960s and 1970s.²⁵ As K.Y. and T.Ö. explained in the evenings people would take walks to the Nokta-Renkli region, watch movies, concerts, and various shows in open-air cinemas, and spend time in patisseries. As T.Ö. said, residents used to go to the nearest cinema or choose one of the films shown in the Kent open-air cinema, Renkli open-air cinema, or Hatay Cinema, which were opened in the early 1960s (Figure 4.2.). T.Ö. recalled how the consumption of sunflower seeds were part of the cinema experience in those days:

"In open-air cinemas, everyone would buy sunflower seeds, which were sold in paper cinder. They would eat them and throw the hull on the ground. Cinema personnel cleaned the area after the movie. That was a tradition, everybody used to do it. It seems very strange when you think about it now."

²⁵ İzmir had a lively cinema culture since the beginning of the 20th century. The cinema industry experienced its most popular period in the 1960s, and the number of movie theaters in İzmir increased to over sixty in these years. Besides, since İzmir has a mild climate, the number of open-air cinemas in İzmir began to increase in the second half of the 1960s (Savur, 2017, 155).



Figure 4.2. Cinema and patisserie locations of the 1960s (Yandex map image, marked by the author)

As C.Ö. said, his friend, who lived in the apartment next door to Kent open-air cinema, used to watch movies from their balcony during the 1970s. Unfortunately, as S.M. said, the open-air cinemas in the neighborhood were closed in the late 1970s to be replaced by apartments. Only Hatay Cinema survived until the early 2000s.

As part of the street life, K.Y. also explained that there was a promenade tradition and people used to take walks along the street as an evening activity. This tradition disappeared due to the closure of the open-air cinemas and the increased street population. She said:

"We went to the movies every evening and ate ice cream in the patisseries. There was such a vivid social life on Hatay, but now we go out just for shopping."

To sum up, almost every interviewee said that their everyday life activities began to change, and public life gradually shrunk due to increased construction on the street. During the 1960s and 1970s, everyday life on Hatay Street transformed from an extroverted and communal lifestyle to a fast paced and more introverted one.

4.1.2. Detachment from Outdoors

During the apartmentalization process, Hatay Street saw the separation of apartment residents and the residents of detached houses as two distinct groups. Although this separation did not necessarily constitute a social hierarchy, it clearly marked an identity trait. On one hand, living in an apartment was considered to signify a more modern lifestyle. On the other hand, as I.O. explained, apartment residents seem to have envied the spaciousness of these detach houses. Ö.Ü. recounted that residents of

apartments and detached houses were in touch with each other, and their children played games together. B.Ü., further elaborated on this recalling a childhood memory:

"There were not that many apartments around ours. There were only a couple of single houses with gardens behind our apartment. Believe it or no, when we formed our neighborhood football teams, if there were five children from the houses in one team, there would be five children from the apartments in the other. Even when there were too many children, we would form two teams, the apartment sport, and home sport, and the rest would cheer accordingly."

As, I.O. explained, the houses were sold to contractors in the late 1970s in exchange for units and shops in the apartments that replaced them. K.Y. and Ö.Ü. stated that the rental income from the apartment units was a profitable investment for the house owners (Figure 4.3.).

Increasing population due to apartmentalization resulted in estrangement in social relations between residents. A.Ü. said that people used to greet and engage in polite conversation with each other on the street before the neighborhood got crowded. Y.E. explained the ensuing social estrangement as follows:

"People do not want to get close to each other as before. Over time, the environment has changed, generations have changed, and behavior patterns have also changed".



Figure 4.3. Intense apartmentalization on Hatay Street, 1978 (Mehmet Parlakyiğit archive)

The social structure of the Hatay region, saw further changes at the end of the 1980s, due to urban scale transformations. As T.Ö. explained, in the late 1960s, the population of Hatay Street was relatively homogenous as the area between Hakimevleri and Hıfzıssıhha accommodated middle and upper-middle-income residents (Figure 2.8.). However, unplanned urbanization due to large scale migration radically affected the Hatay region (Çetin, 2019, 27). When the number of apartments increased, their sales price decreased, and the neighborhood began to attract relatively lower-income migrants from other cities.

As T.Ö. and K.Y. explained, diversification in the neighborhood began due to migration as people from different social status moved to the apartments. Apparently, some apartment units began to be rented by the Faculty of Theology students to serve as student houses. The conservative cultural background of the faculty students' did not match the relatively liberal lifestyle of the former residents. As increasing number of units changed hands over time, differences of opinion among apartment residents began to increase. T.Ö. said that decision-making became difficult in the apartment meetings after her neighbors passed away or moved elsewhere. K.Y. also stated that migration damaged the social relations in her apartment because new residents' behaviors began to disturb the peaceful environment of the apartment. K.Y. explained this situation as follows:

"As new people started moving into the apartment, I began to observe new behavior patterns that were not seen in the apartment before. For instance, I do not know if it came from rural culture or not, but people started leaving shoes on their doorstep. When we said that this situation disturbed us, they got upset and began to place more shoes on their doorsteps. They even placed a shoe cabinet in front of their entrance door. "

Former residents also expressed that the street used to be more sophisticated in terms of commercial and social facilities, including cinemas and patisseries. However, due to intense migration new residential areas began to emerge parallel to Hatay Street and the nature of the commercial facilities began to change. K.Y. said, "I think we can connect migration to shops and local cuisines. While walking down the street, it is possible to find something from every culture." She added that the quality of goods changed, and catchpenny products became widespread. To sum up, the Renkli- Nokta axis, which used to be the center of social activities, turned into a shopping strip.

Although these changes on Hatay Street had seemingly negative consequences for almost all residents, some, like A.K. and T.K., stated that there were some positive changes in their everyday lives due to the improvement of shopping and transportation facilities. They explained that not all parts of the street were negatively affected by the changes. T.K. stated that his neighborhood [the Susuzdede Park region] did not see the proliferation of commercial facilities like the Nokta region (Figure 2.12.). He said:

"That was a positive thing for us because our side did not become crowded like the Nokta region. If you ask how all these changes affected my life, it affected me positively because transportation became very easy."

Almost all the residents, who had to walk to Nokta or Göztepe to use public transportation in the past, stated that they had trouble on their way home from the market since they had to carry their shopping bags on the sloped terrain. At the beginning of the 1960s, when Hatay Street was covered with asphalt, minibuses were put into operation between Balçova and Konak and trolleybuses began to provide transportation between Üçkuyular and Alsancak. T.Ö. described the trolleybuses as being "very nice and quiet". She said:

"Hatay Street was silent thanks to the trolleybuses. The street was very quiet when we were in middle school and high school."

Hatay Street was clearly seen as a quiet, calm, clean, and safe neighborhood by former residents. Increasing traffic and the replacement of trolleybuses by buses seem to have damaged the quiet and peaceful environment on the street. As Y.P. said: "Life became restricted as the number of apartments and the volume of traffic increased." Parallel to the increase in the street population, there was a rapid increase in the number of motor vehicles during the 1980s which caused a parking problem on Hatay Street. As K.Y. said, some apartment gardens were turned into parking spaces to solve this problem. As all the interviewees confirmed, cars began to park on the sidewalks due to lack of parking space and made it almost impossible to walk (Figure 4.4.).



Figure 4.4. Hatay Street traffic, 1980s (Fotoğafarla_İZMİR, 2018)

Increasing traffic noise negatively affected everyday lives of the apartment residents. Rooms facing the street and balconies were especially vulnerable in that respect. Some residents said that they enclosed their balconies to stop the noise. T.Ö. explained this situation recalling a childhood memory:

"We used to sit on the balcony in the evenings and watch the cars with my sister. We even played games like; this car is mine, and the other is yours. Cars rarely passed through the street. Later there was such a noise that we could not sit on the balcony or in the living room anymore."

Increased traffic and apartmentalization also affected the neighborhood's air quality as air pollution increased due to exhaust and coal smoke. Y.P. stated that "it started to smell like a train station in the evenings". Besides, residents said that the street was breezier in the early years. They were able to spend the summer days on the balcony without being affected by the heat. T.Ö. said that, they spent summer days on the balcony for years without feeling any need for a summer house. As the number of apartments increased, they formed a wind barrier on the street. I.O., who went to primary school on foot, stated that she was scared by the wind blowing in front of the American Consulate Mansion. She also said that because of her skinny composure her family used to tease her by saying, "be careful not to be flown away by the wind".

To summarize, dense apartmentalization caused the detachment of outdoor life from indoors due to two different reasons. First of all, migration to the neighborhood caused

changes in the social structure. Hatay Street became crowded, and the residents were estranged from each other. Secondly, environmental factors such as traffic, noise, and air pollution, prevented the continuation of outdoor activities, which had been an essential and enjoyable component of their everyday lives.

4.2. Living in an Apartment Building

Apartment life, which clearly had a large impact on the residents in social and spatial terms, had its pros and cons at various different levels at different times. On the positive side the socio-cultural homogeneity of the apartment populations enabled strong neighborly relations which was apparently very important for the residents. They also felt privileged since apartments were seen as a symbol of modern life due to their design features and advanced mechanical and sanitary systems. On the negative side, apartments caused spatial problems due to the insufficient unit sizes.

4.2.1. Spatial Performances

Early apartments on Hatay Street had a relatively homogenous population as they were often populated by residents with the same professional or occupational backgrounds, such as American embassy workers, military officials, and civil servants. During the 1960s, neighborly relations were based on high levels of intimacy, trust, and cooperation. A.B. said that their doors were kept open to each other's visits: "neighbors would visit each other, they would help each other, we would offer meals cooked at home to our neighbors."

Religious festivals offered special occasions for the socialization of neighbors. As I.O. explained close neighbors used to sit and chat at each other's houses until sahur (suhoor) time in Ramadan.²⁶ At other times, game nights were organized among them. As K.Y. said, "Men used to play bridge and women played cooncan in these game meetings." Such habits disappeared over time especially due to the increasing significance of TV entertainments.²⁷ In the 1970s, when television was not yet widespread, neighbors

²⁶ Sahur (Suhoor) is an Islamic term referring to the meal consumed early in the morning by Muslims before fasting, in daylight hours during the Islamic month of Ramadan. Sahur as the morning meal is matched by iftar as the evening meal, during Ramadan, replacing the traditional three meals a day (Collins Dictionary, 2012).

²⁷ In Turkey, the use of mass media started with radio broadcasts in 1927. The first national television broadcast in Turkey was carried out by TRT (Turkish Radio and Television Corporation) in 1968. The 1970s saw the spread of the popularity of TV broadcasts in the cities (Gül, 2009).

used to go to each other's homes in the evenings and watch the programs together since TV sets were not common household items. However, these visits began to disappear as TV sets entered almost every apartment. The increase in the number of television programs and channels negatively affected neighborly relations. As Y.E. stated:

"In the past, people were more intimate. That device, called television, set people apart."

Besides sociality, neighborliness also reinforced mutual help relations. A knock at the door would be sufficient to receive the help needed. As I.O. explained, when they were going to cook the labor-intensive dessert Ashura for example, all the neighbors gathered to help, and the meal would be distributed to all apartment residents. Besides, as T.K. and I.O. said, mothers helped and trusted each other to take care of the children, babysitting them when needed. A.Ü. exemplified by stating:

"When we had a problem or got sick, our neighbors would come to our help even before our relatives heard the news. For example, our neighbor took me to the university exam because my father was on duty that day. Who does that now?"

One of the main reasons for this tightly knit relationship was that families moved simultaneously to the same apartment when construction was completed. This situation was described as "temelden komşuluk" (neighbors from foundations). Besides, as T.Ö. explained, the construction of early apartments were funded jointly by a group of investors of the same social class or profession. I.O. explained:

"Our apartment had almost forty units, but all moved in at the same time when construction finished. Like a small neighborhood... everyone would help each other."

Another factor that affected neighborhood relationships from a gendered perspective was the large proportion of housewives who spent a considerable amount of time at home. As A.Ü. and T.K. explained women in the apartments spent more time with each other than men. Ö.Ü. stated that there were thirty-six units in their apartment, and every day they organized a reception day (kabul günü) with their neighbors. She said:

"There was more intimacy in those days. We could knock on the neighbors' door day or night without a second thought, whenever we needed. Now there

are eight people whom I talk to out of thirty-six units. I do not know anyone. Everyone is working."

Although there were residents who said that they knew all neighbors despite living in a large apartment, there were also those who saw this as a disadvantage. As M.U. explained, although they were not intimate with everyone in their old apartment, the neighborhood was better than today in terms of social relations. C.Y., who moved from a small four-story apartment to a larger one on the street during his secondary school years, said he had difficulty communicating with the children in the new apartment stating that the relations are more formal.

Residents, who have lived on Hatay Street in the 1960s, said that neighborly relations had a great place in their everyday lives. A.Ü. stated that although their unit size began to get too small for them, they did not want to move because their neighbors were very kind, and they had good relations with them.

To summarize, everyday lives of the residents changed, due to changing ownership of the units, the increase in the number of working women, and the increase in the use of technological devices, such as TVs. These changes negatively affected intimate and cooperative neighborly relations as individuals began to live a more introverted lifestyle.

4.2.2. Materiality and Space

Early apartments were considered to be modern living spaces for the middle-income groups. Their architectural characteristics played a large part in this association. These affected everyday lives of the residents, ranging from the viewpoint of their design features to their service facilities.

First of all, the residents repeatedly emphasized their feeling of earthquake safety due to the rocky terrain that their apartment had been built. I.O. stated how confident she felt due to the structural stability of her home. T.Ö. recounted a childhood memory as follows:

"My father would not leave the apartment when there was a big earthquake. Even when we got scared and asked to get out of the apartment, he said, "keep calm and do not go anywhere." He also explained to us that the apartment was built on rocks, and they used plenty of iron in the construction, so the foundation was very solid."

The residents also took pride in the formal features of their apartment. Most façades illustrated period characteristics due to the use of BTB sidings and large glass surfaces.²⁸ K.Y. said that the 1960s apartments were beautiful with their BTB façades (Figure 4.5.). K.Y. lamented the latter's disappearance due to sheathing for energy efficiency of the buildings (Figure 4.6). She explained the change in her apartment as follows:

"Our apartment facade was covered with blue BTB siding. I tried to preserve the façade in alliance with a couple of neighbors; however, the rest of the residents wanted to weatherproof the apartment. So our apartment lost all its character. It would be very nice if the BTB façades were preserved, it would be very different."



Figure 4.5. BTB façade sidings, Hatay Street, early 1970s (Eskimeyen İzmir Fotoğrafları, 2020)

²⁸ BTB is a glass mosaic siding. While it was the most popular siding material preferred by wealthy buildings during the 1960s and 1970 (BTB nedir? - Cam mozaik nedir, ne işe yarar?, 2013).



Figure 4.6. Kuğu Apartment with BTB façade, 2011; Kuğu Apartment after the sheathing work, 2015 (Yandex Map image, marked by the author)

Large glass surfaces which characterized the facades fulfilled a number of functions. While reflecting the impact of Western modern architecture, they also ensured maximum exposure to the sea view. Enabling the apartment units to be spacious and bright, they also caused problems in heating, cooling and cleaning. As C.Y. stated, some apartments used shading elements to reduce the effects of high temperatures during the summer months (Figure 3.13). In time, these large glass surfaces were covered with external PVC blinds both due to security reasons and for reducing the effect of sunlight, and façades began to lose their original architectural characteristics. Early apartments owed their bright and spacious interiors as much to their ceiling heights as to their large windows. However, ceiling heights began to decrease to enable increase in the number of units. As T.Ö. said, "The ceiling-height of my mother's apartment unit was about 2.80 cm, probably 20-25 cm higher than my current apartment unit in Alsancak; it used to give us such a feeling of spaciousness."

The historically advanced mechanical and sanitary systems in the early apartments installed a feeling of luxury and modernity. Depending on the size of the building and the economic status of the owners, these apartments had central heating and hot water systems, elevators, and doorkeepers. As A.Ü. said, these kinds of services were a luxury at that time as residents used to deal with stoves and coal for heating in the detached houses. Central heating and hot water systems in the apartments considerably reduced the everyday workload of the residents. She also explained that upper-income families generally preferred apartments with a central heating system. Some residents, like her grandmother, preferred apartments with stoves because they found centrally

heated units over-heated. T.Ö., who lived in a detached house until the 1960s and dealt with the heating problem, described moving to an apartment unit with a central heating system, hot water, and a doorkeeper as "arriving to civilization."

The socio-spatial status of doorkeepers deserves some attention here. Doorkeepers who were rural migrants, were indispensable members of apartments. Their residences were often located in a cramped space at the basement. They lived with their families, and their wives were often given work as maids to clean the units (Gürel, 2009,176). T.Ö. explained that the doorkeeper collected the garbage and the maintenance fees, cleaned the apartment, and ran the central heating and hot water systems. She also said that he helped in daily household shopping when she did not have enough time or if she needed something urgently. Doorkeepers had good relations with the residents and spent most of their time around the apartment. They kept eye on the visitors entering and leaving the apartment, which created a sense of security for the residents.

At a time when everyday lives were under transformation, the designers' projects and the residents' needs and desires did not necessarily match. This was most apparent in the passage of the tradition from having separate living and guest rooms to a single room that served both purposes. In some cases, although the architect catered for traditional needs, some residents, like K.Y., created a single large living space by combining the guest and living room. In fact, many apartments included a large L-shaped hall, which was marked as a guest and living room in the architectural drawings (Figure 3.13). That new arrangement did not fulfill all residents' needs either. As T.K. explained, they created an extra bedroom by dividing the living room with a separator because they did not have enough space in a two-bedroom unit for a family with three children. As K.Y. and Ö.Ü. explained, although there was not enough room for their children, they continued their lives in apartments by using the space most efficiently. For instance, siblings shared a room as was common in the 1960s and 1970s. As I.O. said, "None of my friends had their own room either. It was not possible in all likelihood." K.Y. explained this situation referring to a childhood memory:

"In the 1960s, in a family of five, every child did not have a separate room or a desk to study. I used to share a room with my two sisters. Two of us slept on the bunk, and the other on the opposite side. Also, I used to study at the kitchen table or sitting on my bed because we did not have a desk in our room. Now I am

staying alone in that unit, and I ask myself; how did we live as a family of five in this unit?"

Apartment units came furnished with necessary equipment like a bathtub, toilet and kitchen cabinets, and residents did not have a variety of options to renovate them. As A.Ü. explained, "there was no construction market like Koçtaş. So, it was not as easy to change the bathtub or something, as it is today." Besides, as I.O. and Y.E. explained, every unit was not fully furnished with electrical household equipment such as washing machines or ovens. As I.O. said, "It may sound cliché, but it was customary to be content with what we had at that time." Therefore, as she explained, they used to go to neighborhood bakeries to bake oven meals and pastries or use cake pans to bake cakes.

As the interviews revealed, living in an apartment had both positive and negative aspects for the early residents. On one hand apartments had better facilities than detached houses, like doorkeepers and central heating systems, and they offered a more convenient everyday life to the residents due to reduced housework. On the other hand, their spatial configuration did not always meet the needs of large families who came from detached houses.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The cultural diversity of İzmir was also reflected in the residential texture since the Ottoman times, as different housing types emerged based on a variety of spatial characteristics, facade designs, and construction materials. The great fire of 1922 resulted in the destruction of a large part of the building stock in the city. After the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923, a series of master plans and legal acts were prepared to solve the city's housing problem, and apartments started to become widespread as a symbol of modern life.

As well documented by scholars of the early republican era, the changes in family structure and the emphasis given to the nuclear family affected the spread of apartment buildings. Apartments started to replace detached houses as extended family structures were replaced by nuclear family ones. Early family apartments allowed extended families to live in different units under the same roof. These apartments were well built because they were associated with the economic power and prestigious social status of those who could afford to build an apartment.

Apartment buildings, which were initially inhabited by high-income families, were latter supported to solve the housing need due to the population increase. Therefore, apartments became the main housing form, and new residential areas began to develop in line with the master plans to solve the housing need of the city. The Hatay region was included in almost all master plans and was developed as a new residential area with the opening of Hatay Street during the 1950s (Ballice, 2006, 114; Bilsel, 2009, 16). The residential and urban texture of the neighborhood began to change due to the legal interventions, and detached houses were gradually replaced by multi-story apartments to provide an affordable housing alternative for middle-income families (Gürel, 2009, 704).

Apartments underwent considerable changes, which related to socio-cultural, economic, and technological developments since the beginning of the apartmentalization process; these changes had significant effects on the everyday lives

of the residents. Initially, apartments served as single-family apartments, where members of extended families lived in different units or rented as a rental unit independent of family ties. This situation changed in the mid-1950s when apartment units began to be rented or sold independently of family ties. During the apartmentalization process, the number of apartments and the number of floors of the apartment buildings gradually increased due to legal developments. The case study of the development of Hatay street apartments reveals the details of the impact of this change on the everyday lives of the residents.

As Henri Lefebvre and Michel de Certeau discussed, everyday life correlates with social life and daily practices, and space is a significant component of this relationship. The apartmentalization process on Hatay Street caused several changes that generally had negative consequences for the everyday lives of residents because these changes began to affect daily life habits. As Lefebvre explained, the changes in society, space, and architecture causes transformations in everyday life (Lefebvre and Levich, 1987, 11). On the one hand, everyday life on Hatay street changed due to the decrease in green areas, increased traffic and air pollution, closure of social activity areas, like cinemas and patisseries, and crowding in the region. As a result, neighborly relations were damaged, public life gradually diminished, and everyday life on Hatay Street transformed from an extroverted and communal lifestyle to a fast-paced and more introverted one. On the other hand, everyday life chores became more convenient with modern facilities such as central heating and water systems and elevators offered by modern apartments. However, build-sell system apartments caused spatial problems due to the insufficient unit sizes, and their spatial configuration did not always meet the needs of large families; the residents tried to construct their everyday lives within the confines of the units with maximum efficiency.

To sum up, even though the apartmentization process caused many negative changes in the everyday lives of residents, the present research clearly shows that apartment life is not necessarily an undesirable phenomenon. Initially, it had many advantages like the provision of service facilities, shared expenses, and stronger social relations. However, overpopulation, unplanned urbanization and increasing density have rendered apartment life largely undesirable.

In conclusion, the findings of this thesis confirm that space and everyday life are mutually interdependent, and their entanglement needs to be understood in relation to

specific socio-historical contexts. This study may contribute to future work on the relation between residential architecture and everyday life from comparative socio-historical perspectives.



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APPENDIX 1 – POPULATION GROWTH IN İZMİR AND IN TURKEY

Census Dates	Population of İzmir	Population growth rate in İzmir (%)	Population of Turkey	Population growth rate in Turkey (%)	Period	Population growth in İzmir	Population growth rate In İzmir (%)
1927	531.579	-	13.648.270	-	1940-1950	128.304	18.4
1935	596.850	14.6	16.158.0180	21.2	1950-1960	295.079	33.0
1950	768.411	14.0	20.947.188	16.3	1960-1970	363.683	29.9
1960	1.063.490	31.1	27.754.820	28.5	1970-1980	549.590	33.1
1980	1.976.763	33.3	44.736.957	23.1	1980-1990	718.007	31.5

(Based on; Kasarcı,1993,248; Peker, 1993, 281)

