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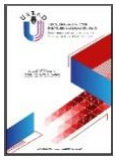

CHANGES IN NEIGHBOURHOODS NEAR URBAN TRANSFORMATION AREAS: IZMIR (TURKEY) EXAMPLE

KENTSEL DÖNÜŞÜM ALANLARININ YAKINLARINDAKİ MAHALLELERDE DEĞİŞİMLER: İZMİR (TÜRKİYE) ÖRNEĞİ

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Öz: Bir mahallenin kentsel dönüşüm bölgesinin yakınlarında yer alması onun konut yapılı çevresinde de fiziksel ve sosyal değişimlere neden olur. Bugüne kadar birçok kentsel ve sosyal araştırmacı mahallelerdeki kentsel dönüşüm öncesi ve sonrasındaki değişiklikleri incelemiştir. Ancak, çok azı dönüşümün komşu mahalleler üzerindeki etkilerini incelemiştir. Bu çalışmanın amacı, Yalı Mahallesi'nde (İzmir, Türkiye) bu tür bir etkiyle yaşanan değişimleri incelemektir. Yöntem, 7 yıl boyunca katılımcı gözlemi, zamansal fotoğraf karşılaştırmasını ve sakinlerle görüşmeleri içerir. Yapılı çevredeki fiziksel ve morfolojik değişikliklerle ilgili bulgular, bir veya iki katlı evlerden 5-7 katlı dairelere, yeni caddelere, kamusal alanlara, tesislere ve yeni ulaşım türlerine geçişleri göstermektedir. Mahalle sakinlerinin bakış açıları ve günlük yaşamlarına ilişkin bulgular, hem bazı alışkanlıkları (örneğin, apartmanların balkonlarında halı yıkamak ve hayvan beslemek ev bahçelerine ve teraslarına göre daha zorlaşır) ve komşularla ilişkileri sürdürmenin zorluklarını hem de "yeni yaşamın" avantajlarını (örneğin, yeni binaların fiziksel dayanıklılığı ve iyileştirilmiş ısıtma sistemleri) içermektedir. Karar vericilere, fiziksel ortamda değişiklik yaparken dönüşen mahallelerde ve yakınlarında yaşayanları, onların günlük yaşam pratiklerini ve sosyal süreçleri göz önünde bulundurmaları ve tüm mahallenin tek seferde dönüştürülmesi yerine aşamalı değişiklikleri tercih etmeleri önerilir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Konut Yapılı Çevresi, Mahalle, Katılımcı Gözlem, Fotoğraf Karşılaştırma, Kentsel Dönüşüm

Abstract: The location of a neighbourhood near an urban transformation zone causes physical and social changes in its housing-built environment. To date, many urban and social researchers have examined changes in neighbourhoods before and after urban transformation. However, few have studied the effects of transformation on nearby neighbourhoods. The purpose of this study is to examine changes in this kind of effect in Yalı Quarter (İzmir, Turkey). The methodology includes participant observation for 7 years, temporal photograph comparison, and interviews with residents. The findings on physical and morphological changes in the built environment show the changes from one or two-storey houses to 5-7-storey apartments, new streets, public spaces, facilities, and new modes of transportation. The findings on the perspectives and daily lives of neighbourhood residents include both the difficulties of sustaining some habits (e.g., washing carpets and feeding animals become more difficult in balconies of apartments than terraced roofs and house gardens) and relationships with neighbours and the advantages of "new life" (e.g., physical durability of the new buildings and improved heating systems). The decision-makers are recommended to consider the people living in the transforming and nearby neighbourhoods, their daily life practices, and social processes while making changes in the physical environment and to prefer gradual changes rather than the transformation of the whole neighbourhood at once.

Keywords: Housing Built Environment, Neighbourhood, Participant Observation, Photograph Comparison, Urban Transformation

1. INTRODUCTION

Either planned or unplanned, a change in a neighbourhood affects the life there. Urban planning decisions affect various groups in a city by changing the transportation systems, land uses, and major investments. Changes and interventions in any part of cities affect their near environs mostly. For instance, a gentrification project and a process of compulsory relocation of the residents in a neighbourhood change the social structure of the adjacent neighbourhoods. Changes in the housing-built environment in neighbourhoods are more visible in the cities that continue to transform than the cities that have completed their transformation. İzmir (Turkey) is one of these transforming cities and thus it is an accurate case area in this study on neighbourhood changes near urban transformation areas.

Piecemeal changes in neighbourhoods in line with planning decisions may be in building heights and types, open space sizes and qualities, parking alternatives, and pedestrian and cycling arrangements. Different people perceive and respond to neighbourhood changes differently depending on their circumstances and experiences and the impacts of the change on them (Aitken, 1992; Bashir and Flint, 2010). While some people appreciate and take the advantage of them, some others cannot adapt and thus decide to move to other districts. Indeed, neighbourhood satisfaction itself is complex and affected by several environmental and socio-demographic variables and individuals' perceptions (Lu, 1999; Vera-Toscano and Ateca-Amestoy, 2007). When the changes in the built environment affect the housing prices highly, moving becomes the only chance for some low-income groups. Changes in neighbourhoods might be positive if it contributes to the quality of life and facilitates a productive activity; however, they might be costly for some groups such as the elderly or the immobile (Aitken 1992). Changes in neighbourhoods are critical and their effects are higher when they are larger and more proximate (Aitken, 1992).

Urban transformation and renewal decisions have impacts on socio-cultural, economic, and physical environment (Forouhar and Forouhar, 2020). Changes in the population density, morphology, built environment, and spatial relationships between buildings and open spaces affect the people living in a neighbourhood (Racine, 2018). Changes in the housing type also affect the habits, daily lives, relations, and perceptions of the residents in the neighbourhoods (Ryan and Hoff, 2010; Eranil Demirli et al., 2015; Pojani and Buka, 2015; Borsuk and Eroglu, 2020). Başıbüyük case study in İstanbul (Karaman, 2013) and Kadifekale case study in İzmir (Eranil Demirli et al., 2015) are two Turkish studies that describe economic

impacts and changes in residents' everyday lives that are caused by urban renewal. Change in neighbourhood satisfaction is another effect of urban renewal, as seen in the example from California (Ryan and Hoff, 2010). Also, urban renewal affects the sense of belonging, especially for older adults, as addressed in the Netherlands example (Lager et al., 2013). Another case study found the negative impact of the increase in density and height in the built environment on social cohesion in Tirana, Albania (Pojani and Buka, 2015). An example from Iran found significant effect on the decline in the quality of life of the residents (Forouhar and Forouhar, 2020). There are also positive economic effects that are geographically uneven, as proved in the case study on the effects of industrial redevelopment project on its neighbourhood in Hong Kong (Tang and Wong, 2021).

Previous studies on urban transformation and renewal related to neighbourhood changes are searched from various scientific databases. The number of articles indexed in the Web of Science Core Collection, published after 2012 and found in these searches are more than the number of the articles before 2012 (Figure 1). The search with keywords "neighbourhood change urban transformation" is compared in this figure with the search with keywords "neighbourhood change urban renewal" from the same database. The first one is resulted in a total of 428 documents, whereas the second one is resulted 215 documents. Among them, document type is selected as "article" and the search found 377 items. Their research area were urban studies (127 articles), geography (104 articles), environmental sciences & ecology (99 articles), public administration (64 articles), and other fields. Their geographic distribution showed that most of the articles (79) were from USA and followed by England (36 articles), Turkey (35 articles), Peoples Republic of China (31), Spain (31), and other countries. Titles and abstracts of these results were screened. The search is renewed by adding keywords "near", "nearby", "surrounding", "threshold", and "neighbouring", separately. The related articles did not exactly match this study; they included changes in neighbourhoods after urban renewal, but not focus on their effects on nearby neighbourhoods. The most related articles examine the effects of renewal of an industrial area on nearby housing (Tang and Wong, 2021), the changes in crime rates near remediation of vacant lots (Kondo et al., 2018), the functional transformations in the surroundings of the high-rise residential buildings (Oruc et al., 2017), and changes in land prices along a revitalized and pedestrianized main street and surrounding neighbourhoods (Dokmeci et al., 2007).

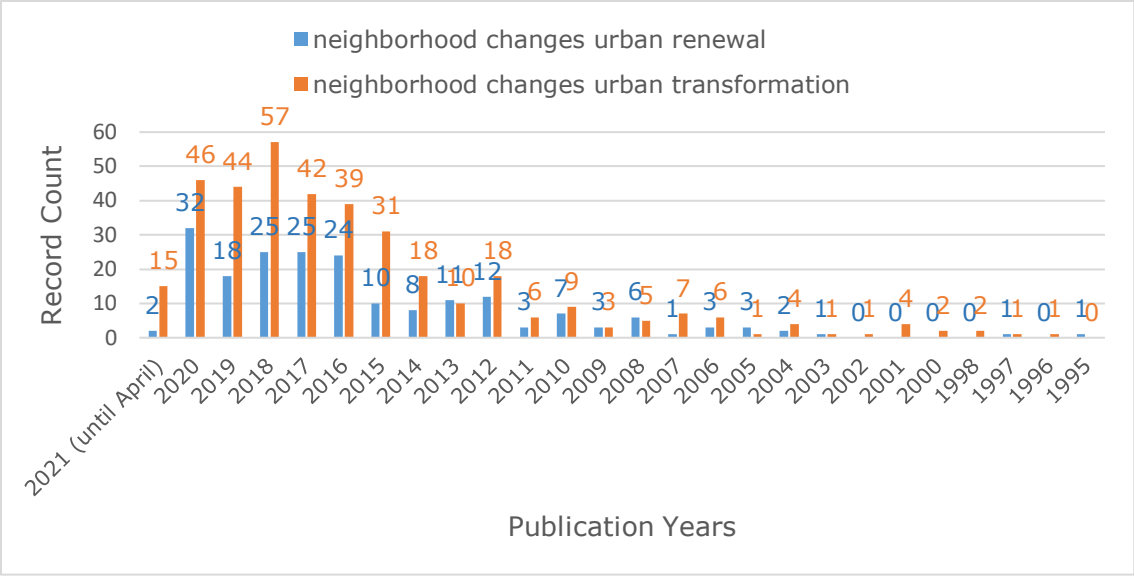

Figure 1: The number of articles found with related keywords in the Web of Science Core Collection

To date, there has been little attention to the neighbourhoods next to urban transformation zones as seen in the literature survey results above. Studies have evaluated the changes in housing and neighbourhood conditions of the residents of urban transformation districts (Altınörs Çırak and Yörür, 2006; Ryan and Hoff, 2010; Coulson, Fox et al., 2011; Eranil Demirli, Tuna et al., 2015; Cin and Egercioğlu, 2016). However, there is a need for studies focusing on the quarters neighbouring these zones. This study aims at filling this gap and emphasizing the effects of urban transformation on its neighbouring housing-built environments. People with similar characteristics to the relocated groups are still living in adjacent quarters. It is expected that the near environs would face changes contingent on the transformation. This reason inspired this research. Focusing on an example of Yalı Quarter in İzmir, Turkey, the research question tries to find out what the physical and spatial changes in these built environments are and how the daily lives and social relationships of people living there have changed. Here, the spatial "changes" in urban transformation zones are officially decided, organized, and implemented by the responsible institutions, whereas the spatial "changes" in the neighbourhoods near the urban transformation zones are mostly piecemeal transforming with the personal attempts of the landowners in line with the decisions in development plans. This study focuses on an ongoing neighbourhood change and observes the process during its change to provide insights for both practitioners and academics, especially those concerning social and spatial characteristics of neighbourhoods.

This study considers both physical and morphological attributes and social issues including relationships and the daily lives of people in a changing neighbourhood. The reason is that neighbourhood change is directly related to both objective and subjective variables. Objective variables include physical components such as the condition of housing, trash, graffiti, traffic, parking conditions, proximity to public transportation and social services, amount of green space, vacant lands and architecture, and economic composition such as homeownership, public housing, property values, employment and education (Lu, 1999; Adriaanse, 2007; Nicotera, 2007; Mohit and Nazyddah, 2011; Kaba, 2017). Subjective measures include social composition, household characteristics and social processes including neighbouring, civic participation, and social networks (Lu, 1999; Vera-Toscano and Ateca-Amestoy, 2007; Nicotera, 2007; Mohit and Nazyddah, 2011; Kaba, 2017; Gosse et al., 2016). These attributes affect the satisfaction levels of the residents (Lu, 1999; Vera-Toscano and Ateca-Amestoy, 2007; Permentier et al., 2011) and affect how they perceive their neighbourhoods (Gosse et al., 2016).

Methods of studies exploring the objective measures include the photo-elicitation method (Cannuscio et al., 2009; van Auken et al., 2010) and using "before" and "after" photographs (Coulson et al., 2011; Chow et al., 2014), street-level photographs (Cannuscio et al., 2009; Naik et al., 2017), and photo simulation techniques (Kuo et al., 1998) that enable measuring the physical and visual changes in neighbourhoods, visual temporal image analysis mostly based on remotely sensed data and aerial photos while analysing changes in large scales (Ursu et al., 2016; Amini Parsa and Salehi, 2016). Methods of studies exploring the community perceptions of neighbourhood change and measuring satisfaction include interviews with residents (Kural, 2017; Aitken, 1992), telephone surveys (Gosse et al., 2016), and fieldwork observation (Kural, 2017; Cannuscio et al., 2009). Some studies used analytical processes such as housing survey-based multivariate and statistical analysis (Adriaanse, 2007; Ryan and Hoff, 2010; Mohit and Nazyddah, 2011). Studies mentioned the limitations of previous works based on quantitative indicators (i.e. Bashir and Flint, 2010) and emphasized the need for a deep understanding of how people perceive and respond to neighbourhood changes (Aitken, 1992). The case study and ethnography are considered as methods that provide deeper insights than many other measures of neighbourhoods (Nicotera, 2007). In line with these suggestions of previous scholars, this study uses a variety of research techniques including participant observation, temporal photograph

comparison, and interviews with residents as detailed in the following section.

2. METHOD

Focusing on life in a changing neighbourhood, this research tries to answer two sub-questions: (i) what are the changes in the physical environment? (ii) how do various residents approach these changes that affect their daily lives? To answer these questions, two main (temporal photograph comparison and participant observation) and one supportive (interviews with residents) methods of data collection are used in this study. The collected data via these methods include both physical characteristics of the neighbourhood such as building sizes and heights, land uses, and transportation modes, and determinations on social issues and perspectives of residents. They are evaluated in two main themes directly related to the sub-questions: physical and morphological changes in the built environment and perceptions and daily lives of residents in the changing neighbourhood.

The case study area in Yalı Quarter (Figure 2) provides an example of a piecemeal changing neighbourhood next to an officially and completely transformed sending zone. The residents of the neighbourhood next to the selected area were relocated to another quarter named Zübeyde Hanım. The case study area is located near Mavişehir which is subjected to a transformation to a prestigious neighbourhood with an increase in gated communities near its environs (Kaba, 2017).

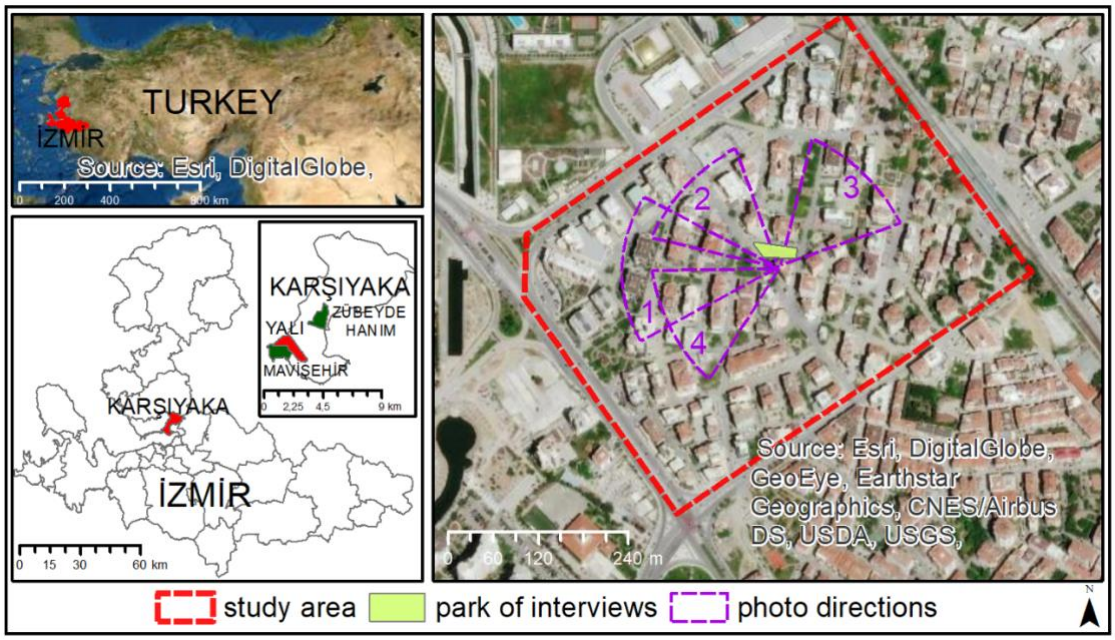

Figure 2: Location of the Study Area (produced by the author by using Esri base maps)

Temporal photograph comparison in the case study area covers three scales: i) periphery of the study area, ii) the study area, and iii) photo-taking point. The first one is a comparison of the aerial views from Google Earth belonging to the periphery of the study area from 2004, 2011, and 2017. This scale included the main changes in the neighbours of the study area which affect the changes in the study area. These years are selected because the first one shows the neighbouring officially renewed zone before its renewal, the second one is the first year of the suburban railway investment and the beginning of the participant observation, and finally, the third one is the first year of the tramway investment, the end of the participant observation, and the year that the interviews of this research are performed. The second scale ("study area" in Figure 2) includes the study area between an officially renewed zone in the northwest, a suburban railway in the northeast, a tramway in the southwest, and a road extended with planning decisions in the southeast. In this scale, ruined, existing and new buildings, and existing and new parks are determined. The first two scales of analysis mainly focus on physical and morphological changes in the neighbourhood. Tools of Geographic Information Systems utilized in these analyses are geo-referencing of the Google Earth views from the years of 2004, 2011, and 2017, digitizing the buildings and parks, and querying the statistics of these polygons. Another method in detecting the physical changes is taking photographs of the neighbourhood. On the third scale, the photo-taking point is located on the 6th floor of the building in the middle of the study area where the author lived for 7 years as a participant-observer. The author took photographs of the study area in a systematic sequence for 7 years from 4 directions of the building for collecting data about the changes in the 3rd dimension. The critical ethical point considered in this technique is the privacy of the individuals and houses. It was in the form of capturing the scenes open to the public.

This research used the participant observation method. The reason of selecting this method is that it is one of the qualitative research methods enabling the researcher to see through others' eyes and to gain a foothold on social reality (Bryman, 2012: 432). This method is used in a recent study on commercial gentrification by its author who has a residence near the studied neighbourhood (Riely, 2020). An unstructured interviewing technique is used in this current research with a reason that is based on two statements of Bryman (2012: 424, 498) that (i) participant-observers conduct interviews in the course of their investigations and that (ii) interviewing may be used "in tandem with another qualitative method". Generic purposive sampling is used in interviews with 5 residents meeting

the predefined criteria in relevance to the research questions. Generic purposive sampling is a method which is conducted purposively without a necessity to generate theory and a method in which participants are selected by using criteria concerning the cases addressing the research questions (Bryman, 2012). The criteria for the respondents in this study are i) living in this neighbourhood (within the study area boundaries) since at least 2011 and being variously affected by the changes), ii) living with their family and having a child. The former criterion is based on the assumption that various impact levels and experiences influence the perceptions about neighbourhood change (Aitken, 1992; Bashir and Flint, 2010). Therefore, this research selects interview respondents from various lived experiences with various impact levels from the changes (Table 1). The latter criterion is related to the assumption that neighbourhood relations are high in such people living with their families rather than singles (Ürküt, 1998). The author conducted interviews in a playground in the middle of the study area to maximize the possible encountering of these groups. The sample size is intentionally limited because the interview method in this study is a supportive method to the participant observation and it is used to validate the findings of participant observation. Besides, this study does not have the aim of generalization.

Table 1: Interview Respondents

Interview Respondents	Levels of Being Affected from the Changes in their Housing Built Environment
A, female, aged 36	She lives in an old two-storey house with a garden. It will be demolished and a new apartment will be constructed to its area and the nearby lot. She will move to a new flat in the same location.
E, male, aged 66	He lives in an old one-storey house with a garden. It will be demolished for the widening of the street. He will move to another location.
Y, male, aged 60	He lives in an old apartment. It will possibly not be demolished soon. He will stay there.
C, female, aged 62	She lives in a new apartment. She was the land owner of an old house with a garden and worked with a contractor to construct a new apartment with 7 floors in the same location. She will stay there. She has another flat for rent in this apartment.
K, male, aged 44	He lives in a new apartment. He is a tenant. He will possibly stay here until buying a house.

Interviews with residents allow researchers to understand insiders' points of view (Nicotera, 2007). Structured and unstructured interviews involve a series of open-ended or closed-ended questions to measure subjective elements of neighbourhoods including social networks, processes, and perceptions (Nicotera, 2007). The technique in this study

involves face-to-face unstructured interviews with open-ended questions asking their perceptions and experiences of the changes in the built environment around their house, their criticisms on the disadvantages of living in such a changing neighbourhood, their social and daily practices which they can sustain despite the physical changes, and the new habits they gained. The interviews are performed in May 2017 and took approximately 30 minutes.

3. FINDINGS OF THE CASE STUDY

The study area is located in Yalı Quarter of the Karşıyaka District in İzmir, Turkey (Figure 2). İzmir is the third biggest city in the country with its population of 4,279,677 (Turkstat, 2017). The city is "changing" with the increase in skyscrapers in the "New City Centre" in Bayraklı, large projects of energy, industry, housing and shopping malls, new transportation investments including tramway, motorway tunnels, new routes of public sea transportation, and an increase the length of suburban Light Rail Transit (LRT), and an increase in migration to the city. Like the other cities facing problems of migration in the country, İzmir has been subjected to the urban transformation projects especially increased with the legal implementation tools since the 2000s (Tezcan and Zengin Çelik, 2017).

Karşıyaka is located on the northern coast of the Gulf of İzmir. It has a population of 342,062 in 2017 (Turkstat, 2017). Transformation factors of the district are the increase in the number of apartment blocks, zoning amnesty regulations especially in 1985, establishment of an industrial zone in 1990, construction of Mavişehir mass housing units in 1995, freeway in 2007, urban plan decisions including several renewal projects and parcel-based transformation implementations (Zengin Çelik and Çilingir, 2017; Kıldiş, 2006).

The case study in this paper includes three scales as detailed in the method part. The first one is the periphery of the study area including gated communities in the west, Şemikler, and Atakent in the east, a freeway in the north, and a coast in the south (Figure 3). The second one is the study area including 237,360 m2 of the area of Yalı Quarter (Figure 2). The third scale includes a photo-taking point in an apartment. The interviews are conducted in the park and the photos of the neighbourhood are taken on the 6th floor of the apartment from the four directions shown in Figure 2.

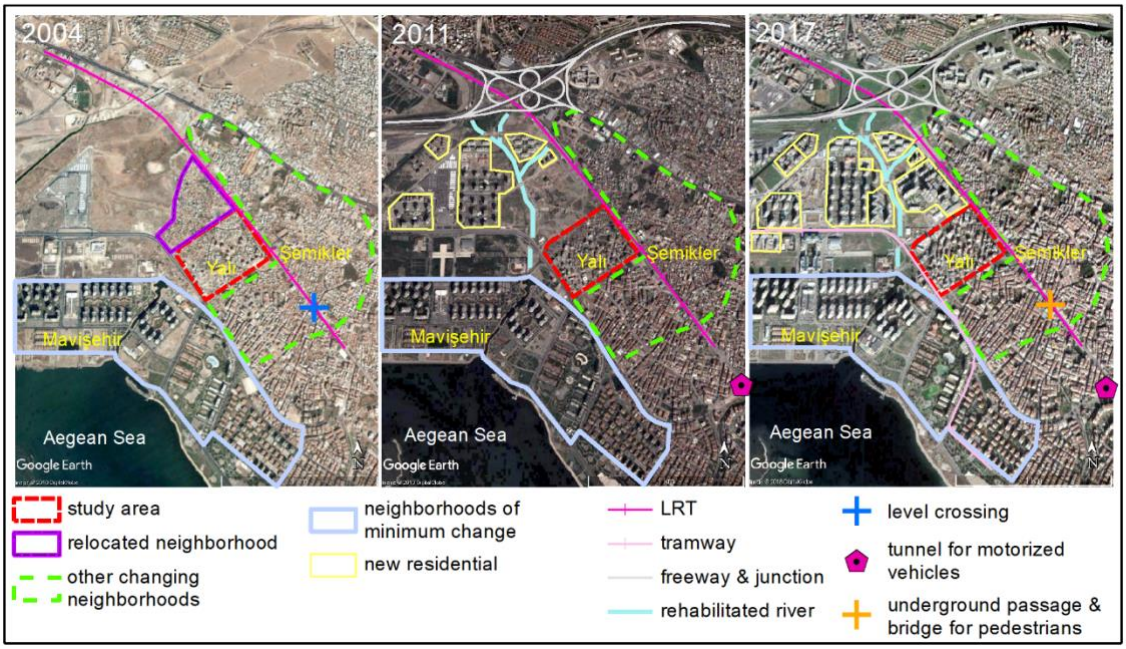

Figure 3: The comparison of the aerial views belonging to the periphery of the study area from 2004, 2011, and 2017 (produced by the author by using Google Earth images)

3.1. Physical and Morphological Changes in the Built Environment: Views of the Neighbourhood Change

The comparison of aerial views from Google Earth belonging to the periphery of the study area from 2004, 2011, and 2017 (Figure 3) presents the changes affecting the housing types and characteristics of the neighbourhood. One of the main changes in the area is "clearance" in the urban transformation zone shown in Figure 3 as a "relocated neighbourhood". Giving a reason for overcrowding, 808 old and low-quality dwelling units of squatters were demolished, and the people living there including Romani residents and migrants from eastern Turkey were relocated to 808 units of new apartments built by the Housing Development Administration of Turkey (TOKİ) in Zübeyde Hanım Quarter in 2006 (Kural, 2017; Kıldiş, 2006; Karşıyaka, 2019). The effect of this transformation is seen as the increase in the new residential units especially in the northern and western parts of this zone (Figure 3). Also, there are parcel-based transformations in the study area and the other changing neighbourhoods in the eastern and partly southern part. Relatively less changing neighbourhoods are the residential areas located on the coast.

Transportation-related changes include the suburban LRT line, new roads, and the tramway. The railways' line in the study area was used for just interurban transportation before the end of 2010, and it is used for both interurban and suburban public transportation afterward. There was a level crossing before this implementation. One of the main roads is closed

after the suburban LRT, and a tunnel for motorized vehicles is located approximately 700m far from the previous location of the crossing. An underground passage and a bridge for pedestrians are located in the previous location of the crossing. According to an article in a local newspaper, many residents and the "head person" ("muhtar" in Turkish, a selected public officer) of Yalı Quarter continue to complain about the distance of the tunnel for motorized vehicles and the railway line dividing the old district into two zones (YeniAsır, 2019). Besides, there was no tramway line in the district before 2017. It replaced the "shared taxis" in the same line to the ports and commercial centre of Karşıyaka. This decision is faced temporary public opposition.

"New" land uses in the periphery of the study area are hospitals, schools, and their complementary commercial uses such as stationery shops and pharmacies. The new hotel, colleges, and private nursery schools are the indicators of the increase in the income of the neighbourhood residents. There is also an increase in cafes, restaurants, supermarkets, and hair salons in the area. Meanwhile, the number of car wash services is decreased. The social and technical infrastructure is improved with the new local amenities and new public spaces including an urban park and recreation centre covering 88000 m2 of the area and inspired by Hyde Park of London (İzmir, 2019), Centre for Healthy Aging, Universal Children's Museum and Theme Park, and Community Centre (recently used as Counselling Centre for Women).

The buildings and parks are digitized by using the aerial views from Google Earth belonging to 2011 and 2017 (Figure 4) for detecting the main changes for comparison of the study area. The "ruined buildings" shown in this map are the buildings seen in the 2011 aerial view, but not existing in the 2017 aerial view. The vice versa is named in the map as the "new buildings". The legend item for "existing buildings" shows the buildings seen in both years. According to the digitized data of the aerial views, the average building size in the study area is 159 m2 in 2011 and it is 313 in 2017. Inversely, the total number of buildings decreases from 253 to 186 as expected.

Figure 4: The comparison of the changes in buildings and parks in the study area

There are 134 ruined buildings and 67 new buildings between 2011-2017 years (Table 2). The smallest ruined building is 20 m2 whereas the smallest new building is 106 m2, except the newly built electrical infrastructure building covering 43 m2 of area. The number of new buildings (67) is almost half of the number of the existing buildings (119); however, their total area (26686 m2) approximates the total area of the existing ones (27131 m2). Besides, the numbers of the existing and new parks are the same (4), but the total area of new parks (2445 m2) is not as much as half of the total area of the existing parks (6615 m2).

Table 2: Statistics of the buildings and parks in the study area

	Number	Average Area	Min Area	Max Area	Total Area
Ruined buildings	134	89	20	208	11887
Existing buildings	119	228	19	1452	27131
New buildings	67	398	43 (but 106)	1682	26686
Existing parks	4	1654	750	3189	6615
New parks	4	611	321	909	2445

The comparison of the photographs from the four directions (presented by purple dashed lines in Figure 4) of the 6th floor of an apartment shows that building heights and sizes in 2011 are smaller than

those in 2017 (Figures 5 and 6). They increased from one or two storeys to 5-7-storeys. In addition to the new buildings on the old locations of ruined buildings, there are new buildings constructed in the vacant lands of 2011 (Figure 6).

Figure 5: The comparison of the photos from 2011 and 2017 in photo direction 1

There are new parks and new streets in the spaces created by the demolition of some buildings (Figures 5 and 7). In the foreground of Figure 5, there is an old building existing in a new park and waiting to be demolished.

Figure 6: Comparison of the photos from 2011 and 2017 in photo direction 2

The floor areas of the dwelling units are increased by constructing an apartment in the area of two or three smaller houses (Figures 7 and 8). The street size remains the same (as seen in Figure 8) despite the increase in the heights of the dwelling units. The ability to get sunlight is limited in some dwelling units because of this density decision. The increasing population in the area causes an increase in the on-street parking because the sizes of the parking lots of new buildings are below the need.

Figure 7: Comparison of the photos from 2011 and 2017 in photo direction 3

Figure 8: Comparison of the photos from 2011, 2013, and 2017 in photo direction 4

The height difference between old and new buildings was creating a surrounding effect in the open spaces in the flat terraced roofs of the old buildings. Not surprisingly, these flat roofs are replaced with gable and hip roofs of the apartments (Figure 8). Many trees are also lost in the private gardens of the ruined buildings (Figure 8); however, there are recently planted saplings in the public parks (Figure 6).

3.2. Perspectives and Daily Lives of Residents: Views from the Neighbourhood and Views on the Neighbourhood Change

As a participant-observer and a resident of Yalı Quarter, it is possible to encounter a variety of people living in the neighbourhood during its period of change. It is usual to see people with various income levels in a park at the same time. Luxury cars and poor horse carts parking in the same street is also not strange in this neighbourhood. Indeed, it is not surprising in such a mixture of housing units including both luxury apartment blocks with swimming pools in their exclusive gardens and houses with roofs repaired by using plastic materials collected from public waste containers.

With the effect of the neighbouring urban transportation next to the study area, increasing physical and spatial changes in the neighbourhood

affected social processes, relationships, and daily experiences to some extent. There are clues of the decrease in the sense of familiarity in the neighbourhood. The female interviewees (A & C) explained the reason that the increase in the number of residents living in the neighbourhood makes it difficult to know neighbours. Also, there are difficulties in sustaining some daily habits. For example, washing carpets, drying "tarhana" (a dried mixture of yogurt, vegetables, and flour to be used for making soup) and other vegetables, planting herbs and vegetables, and feeding animals become more difficult in balconies of apartments than terraced roofs and house gardens.

There are also social processes, relationships, and daily experiences sustaining despite the changes in the built environment. For instance, Y, the male respondent aged 60 from an old apartment, tells that his son aged 36 helps his old and handicapped neighbours by carrying their shopping bags. C, the female respondent living in a new apartment aged 62, sustains her attitudes toward her neighbours by delivering desserts to their doors and visiting and celebrating them on special days such as baby births and funerals. She offers "ashure" (also known as Noah's pudding, a traditional dessert in Turkey made of grains, fruits, and nuts, mostly prepared and shared on the Day of Ashura which is a religious commemoration day), halva, and "lokma" (a kind of fried dough) in holy days. Similarly, E, the male respondent aged 66, and his wife living in an old house, give some neighbours from new apartments tarhana which they prepared and dried on their terraced roof. Besides, it is observed that they give cakes and chocolates to the children on the playground.

Another remaining social practice in the streets of the neighbourhood is the celebration of some events such as circumcision and weddings. Residents gather in the streets and vacant lots with their neighbours, relatives, and friends, and have fun. They usually organize parties with drums and shawms, and dance (i.e. the photo on the left in Figure 9). C, the female respondent living in a new apartment aged 62, celebrated a part of the circumcision of her grandson in the garden.

Figure 9: Examples from the various uses of public space in the study area

Besides these musical activities on certain days, there are also Romani families performing belly dances and singing songs on ordinary days. As seen in the photo in the middle of Figure 9, they put a piece of carpet on the grass of the park and use the space for socializing and having fun. However, K, the male respondent living in a new apartment aged 44, complains about the loud music activities continuing to late hours in the evenings when his baby tries to sleep.

Public open spaces and parks in the study area are actively used especially by children, women, and old people. The neighbours meet each other and chat there. There are both singles reading books and groups of people talking to each other. There are both pets with collars and uncontrolled animals. The photo on the right in Figure 9 shows stray horses in the park. Y, the male respondent aged 60 from an old apartment, says that they are used to see these horses there.

There are also new habits that emerged after the urban transformation next to the neighbourhood. One of them is using the parks nearby rather than going to the recreation area in the coast (Interviewee A). Another is walking for shopping in the neighbourhood rather than using a public transport to go to Karşıyaka bazaar for shopping (Interviewee C).

As well as changing and remaining routines of everyday life within the process of transformation, there are future expectations. C, the female respondent living in a new apartment aged 62, notes that the shop on the ground floor of her apartment could not be long-lasting. It is used for various aims such as hair salon and tailor shop. Its tenants have changed many times. Its owner expects a rise in the value after all the constructions are completed and the whole neighbourhood is "vitalized".

4. DISCUSSION

The findings of this study partly support the arguments of the previous literature. The far and near peripheries of the neighbourhoods, especially the public facilities, green spaces, shopping facilities, and the number of parking areas affect residential satisfaction (Aitken, 1992; Adriaanse, 2007; Mohit and Nazyddah, 2011; Permentier et al., 2011; Huang and Du, 2015). C, the female respondent living in a new apartment aged 62, tells that she likes the neighbourhood because she can easily access to the bazaar, bus stop, and train station. She adds that her grandchildren are happy with the changes in the neighbourhood because of the shopping and entertainment facilities nearby. Similarly, K, the male respondent living in a new apartment aged 44, emphasizes that the increase in the amount of these facilities are positive and satisfactory but their escalating effect on rent

prices is bad in his perspective as a "tenant". He also adds that nearby commercial facilities make it difficult to find parking areas and criticizes the inefficient sizes of parking lots of new buildings that make on-street parking the only alternative.

As well as the facilities nearby, three-dimensional changes also affect the people living in a neighbourhood. These are changes in density and population, morphological components, and relationships such as plot subdivision, built framework, and relationships between buildings and roads, plots, or open spaces (Racine, 2018). The increase in the sizes and heights of buildings in the study area presented in the comparison of the photographs supports the views of the respondents expecting them with the changes in the peripheries of the neighbourhood.

Urban transformation next to the studied neighbourhood has affected the satisfaction levels of the people living there. Understanding the attributes of neighbourhood satisfaction contributes to the success of neighbourhood regeneration (Permentier et al., 2011). The physical durability of the new buildings and the possibility of improved heating systems increased the satisfaction levels and the positive approaches to the neighbourhood change in the study area. A, the female respondent aged 36, tells that it is difficult to live in her old house with a coal stove and looks forward to moving to a flat with a heating system based on natural gas. Contacts and relationships with neighbours are also important factors of neighbourhood satisfaction (Lu, 1999; Vera-Toscano and Ateca-Amestoy, 2007; Permentier et al., 2011). Supporting the existing literature, the interview respondents agreed on the value of sustaining positive relationships between neighbours. As stated earlier in the findings part, there are sustaining routines of giving presents and treats to the neighbours and organizing "female home party days" ("altın günü" in Turkish) despite the changing social and physical characteristics. On the other hand, A, the female respondent aged 36, says that "When I move to a flat, I may face complaints of angry neighbours because of the noise of my two naughty children. I heard that it is difficult to have good relationships with neighbours, especially downstairs neighbours". K, the male respondent living in a new apartment aged 44, has complaints about his apartment neighbours who could not adapt to apartment life. He says "They put their trash bags and shoes in front of their doors. It smells bad in the apartment. It is not their houses' private garden; it is a shared place".

Residents are mostly interested in how others assess their neighbourhood (Permentier et al., 2011); therefore, perceived prestige affects residential satisfaction (Lu, 1999; Kaba, 2017). In this study, there

are two competing "perceived reputations" of the neighbourhood. On the one hand, the outsiders know the area with its old image of the Romani District that is transformed. On the other hand, there are attempts to describe the neighbourhood as a part of the nearby "prestigious" district, Mavişehir. Real estates and private training courses are marketing their projects by adding "near Mavişehir" mark. Besides, some pet shops and hair salons name their shops as "Mavişehir" or "blue city" that is the English translation of this word.

Crime rates and security are neighbourhood-level variables in resident satisfaction and perceptions of neighbourhood change (Aitken, 1992; Lu, 1999; Kaba, 2017; Permentier et al., 2011). As reported in the work on urban transformation in Karşıyaka, the renewal process creates disadvantages of an increase in construction machines decreasing pedestrian safety (Zengin Çelik and Çilingir, 2017). The distressed and abandoned houses are associated with less desirability of neighbourhoods (Kuhlmann, 2020). An outsider may worry about security issues in the studied neighbourhood at night, because of the vacant lots, half-ruined buildings, construction sites, stray horses, weak lighting (Figure 10), and other possible determinants of insecurity. Although these attributes might cause prejudgment, the participant observation process of 7 years did not record any insecure events even walking alone at night many times.

Figure 10: Examples from the various disadvantageous conditions in the study area

There is a considerable amount of previous literature reporting the debate that the relocated residents living in one or two-storey houses have adaptation problems to high-rise apartments (Altınörs Çırak and Yörür, 2006; Ryan and Hoff, 2010; Coulson et al., 2011; Eranil Demirli et al., 2015). For instance, relocated residents of an urban transformation project in a case study in İzmir criticize the small size of the balconies in their "new" neighbourhood because of the intense use of outdoor spaces in their previous neighbourhoods where they sit with neighbours in streets, keep domestic animals and store things (Eranil Demirli et al., 2015). Another example is the inability of women to undertake "their prior household necessities" such as carpet cleaning and bread baking in small spaces of

apartments where they resettled (Borsuk and Eroglu, 2020). The experience in the study area of this research presents similar situations. However, the difference in this case study is that the plan in this neighbourhood does not force them to build such buildings; the homeowners here prefer to work with contractors to build higher apartments. C, the female respondent living in a new apartment aged 62, said that "We loved our old house, especially its garden, but we have four flats and rental income now".

The experiences of residents of living elsewhere before and their length of time living in their neighbourhood affect their views on neighbourhood change (Bashir and Flint, 2010; Gosse et al., 2016). The interviewees of this study are selected from the residents of this neighbourhood since at least 2011. The interviewees living in this district before its change said that they would like to continue living there. However, it cannot be generalized in this case study, as the perceptions of neighbourhood change are complex and it is difficult to establish a community view (Bashir and Flint, 2010; Lu, 1999).

5. CONCLUSION

Changes in the neighbourhoods affect not only transformed places but also their peripheries. Besides, changes in the housing-built environments not only transform the physical settings but also affect people living there and their daily practices. The present case study exemplified a changing part of the neighbourhood in a limited piece of time. It frames physical, spatial, and social changes in a limited space with a specific context. Rather than generalizing the perceptions, it underlines the value of individual thoughts on the housing-built environment. Of course, it could not illustrate the big picture of understanding the human dimension in neighbourhood change, but it gives clues of the individual perspectives and experiences from various groups. Possible further studies may comprise broader scales with the guidance of the methodology of this study.

There are limitations to the methodology of this study. The time-consuming process of the participant observation taking more than 7 years is one of them. It was also difficult in photo analysis to catch the exact angles of view directions, because of the changes in the technologies of the used devices. Another limitation is that the interview results does not represent all the people living there because of the limited sample size and selection criteria of living there at least 2011, being variously affected by the changes, living with their family and having a child. The study presents

the observations in a certain time period that allows a limited understanding of such a complex issue of neighbourhood transformation.

An interesting concluding point is that living in a changing neighbourhood requires a high level of adaptation. It is both difficult and interesting to look for alternative tactics every day; for instance, to look for an alternative parking area or an alternative street without mud caused by the ongoing infrastructure works. The tolerance levels of people affect the residents' attitudes towards the changes. However, the more they find positive improvements in their life quality are the more they accept and adapt to the changes.

In planned built environments, it is expected to create more liveable built environments than the existing irregular development. However, in this case, it is difficult to say that every aspect of the built environment is improved. For instance, the planned street widths could be wider in line with the increase in the heights of the buildings. The parking area is another aspect far from an improvement.

The comparison of physical characteristics showed that life quality is improving in Yalı Quarter. For residents continuing to living there, the increase in housing prices, commercial alternatives, public services, and parks are worth the difficulties during the change, for example, the dust and mud of the constructions. However, not all residents could remain their life in this neighbourhood. As expected, the negative effects of the renewal process including reconstruction full of dust, trucks, and construction vehicles damaging the streets, noise, and visual disamenities are perceived as bad; however, people expect better physical conditions and living environments by the end of this process. The exact satisfaction from the neighbourhood will be understood then.

The lesson from the observed life in Yalı Quarter is that the slow transformation of neighbourhoods may create opportunities to sustain some daily life practices and social processes. Different from the "clearance" of the whole neighbourhood at once, a slowly changing neighbourhood lets people continue offering ashure to their neighbours and drying vegetables in their balconies. Planners and decision-makers are recommended to consider the people living in and around the transformation zones by remembering that it is not only the physical environments that are transformed, but also the lives there. Further research from different cities and countries can contribute to the field of this study by performing various qualitative and quantitative methods.

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GENİŞLETİLMİŞ ÖZET: Bir kentsel dönüşüm kararı yalnızca kendi sınırları içinde bir etki yapmakla kalmaz, aynı zamanda yakınındaki mahalleleri de etkiler. Önceki çalışmalarda kentsel dönüşümün neden olduğu fiziksel ve sosyal değişimler çokça ele alınmış olsa da kentsel dönüşüm alanlarının yakınındaki mahallelerdeki değişimler yeterince incelenmemiştir. Bu çalışma İzmir'deki Yalı Mahallesi'nde bulunan kentsel dönüşüm alanına komşu bir konut yapılı çevresinde fiziksel ve sosyal değişimleri incelemektedir. Çalışmanın yöntemi 7 yıl süren bir katılımcı gözlem, zamansal fotoğraf karşılaştırması ve görüşme tekniklerini içermektedir. Mahalledeki değişimler hem görüntüler hem de görüşler ve deneyimler üzerinden takip edilmiştir. Yıllara göre fiziksel ve morfolojik değişimlerin tespiti için öncelikle Google Earth görüntüleri karşılaştırılmıştır. Yıkılan ve yeni yapılan yapıların konum ve büyüklükleri ile değişen ulaşım ve arazi kullanım türleri ve artan yeşil alanların tespiti yapılmıştır. Ayrıca, belirli noktalardan ve belirli yönlerde farklı yıllarda çekilmiş fotoğraflar kullanılarak 3. boyuttaki değişimler ortaya koyulmuştur. Sosyal değişimlerin anlaşılmasında başarılı bir örnek olarak görülen katılımcı gözlem yönteminin kullanılması araştırmacıya yaşayarak öğrenme fırsatı sağlamıştır. Aynı zamanda bu yöntemi destekleyecek şekilde orada yaşayanların mahalledeki değişimlerle ilgili görüşlerini anlamak amacıyla yüz yüze açık uçlu ve yapılandırılmamış görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Çalışmanın bulguları çalışma alanı olarak seçilen yerde, bitişiğindeki dönüşüm alanındaki gibi tanımlı ve geniş bir alanda yerinden edilme şeklinde gerçekleşen bir kentsel dönüşümden farklı olarak parsel bazında dönüşümlerin yaşandığını göstermiştir. Mahallenin mekansal değişimi yakınlardaki yollardaki değişimler, İzban ve tramvay hatlarının etkileri, okul, sağlıklı yaş alma merkezi, müze ve bölge parkı gibi kullanımların çevrede yer seçmesi, yeni parkların yapılması ve eski yapıların bir bölümünün yıkılıp yerine yeni ve daha yüksek yapıların yapılması şeklindedir. 2006 yılında kentsel dönüşüm alanındaki 808 konutun yıkılması ve orada yaşayanların Zübeyde Hanım Mahallesindeki apartmanlara taşınması sonrası Yalı Mahallesindeki bu dönüşüm alanına komşu olan ve çalışma alanı olarak seçilen alanda da dönüşümler yaşanmıştır. Alanın kuzeydoğusunda Mavişehir yakınında yeni lüks kapalı konut

sitelerinin arttığı 2004 ve 2011 Google Earth karşılaştırmalarında net olarak görülmektedir. Seçilen çalışma alanında ise kapalı konut sitelerinden farklı olarak Şemikler'dekine benzer şekilde parsel bazında yenilemeler tespit edilmiştir. 2011 ve 2017 arasında sayıca fazla ancak alan olarak küçük konut yapılarından 134 tanesinin yıkılıp yerine 67 adet yeni ve daha büyük binanın yapıldığı gözlenmiştir. 2011 yılında 159 m2 olan ortalama yapı büyüklüğünün 2017 yılında 313 m2ye çıktığı hesaplanmıştır. Alandaki toplam yapı adedi 253'ten 186'ya düşmüştür. Çevrede hastane ve okul gibi kullanımlarla birlikte bunların çevresinde kırtasiye, eczane gibi yer seçimleri ve yeni yeme içme mekanları, kuaförler ve süpermarketler eklendiği ve araba yıkama servislerinin azaldığı görülmüştür. Bir otel, kolejler ve özel anaokullarının burada yer seçmeye başlaması da mahallede yaşayanların gelir durumundaki dönüşümün bir işaretidir. Fotoğraflar üzerinden yapılan karşılaştırma yapı yüksekliklerindeki artışı göstermektedir. 1-2 katlı yapılar yıkılıp yerlerine 5-7 katlı apartmanlar yapılmıştır. Bazı boş alanlar parka dönüştürülmüştür. Yıkılan evlerin bahçelerindeki ağaçların söküldüğü görülürken yeni parklara fidanlar dikildiği gözlenmiştir. Teras olarak kullanılan düz çatıların yerini beşik ve kırma çatılar almıştır. Bu fiziksel değişimler orada yaşayanların sosyal ilişkilerini ve günlük yaşamlarını da etkilemiştir. Görüşmeler sonucu önceden teraslarında halı yıkayan, bitki kurutan, tarhana seren ve tavuk ve koyun gibi hayvanları besleyen insanların müteahhitle anlaşıp evlerini apartmana dönüştürdüklerinde balkonlarında bu alışkanlıkları sürdüremedikleri söylenmiştir. Bazı mahalle sakinlerine göre komşuluk ilişkilerini sürdürmek mümkün olmuştur. Ev ziyaretleri, altın günleri, özel günlerde aşure, helva ve lokma dağıtma gibi alışkanlıkları sürdürebilenler olmuştur. Bahçe ve sokaklarda düğün, nişan gibi kutlamaların sürdüğü ve Roman ailelerin eğlencelerinin yapıldığı gözlenmiştir. Mahalleye yeni taşınan sakinlerin gürültü konusunda zaman zaman şikayetçi oldukları belirtilmiştir. Mahalledeki değişim sürecinde mahallede bir yandan lüks otomobiller bir yandan at arabaları görmek mümkün olmuştur. Yüzme havuzlu apartmanlarla bahçesinde satmak için topladıkları atık malzemeleri biriktiren yoksulların yaşadığı küçük evler birbirine komşu hale gelmiştir. Mahalledeki değişimin olumlu yanları arasında yeni evlerin daha sağlam olduğu, daha kolay ısındığı, alışveriş imkanlarının arttığı sayılırken olumsuz yanları arasında apatman yaşamında çocukların komşuları rahatsız etme çekincesi, özel açık alanlarının dar balkonlarla kısıtlı kalması, mahallenin çocuk oyun alanlarında dolaşan sahipsiz atların çocuklar için yarattığı güvensizlik ve dönüşüm sırasında inşaatların ve yıkılan evlerin yarattığı güvensizlik algısı sayılmıştır. Konut ve arazi değerlerinin artması ev sahipleri için olumlu olduğu ancak kiracıların ve düşük gelir gruplarının burada yaşamaya devam edememe olasılıkları dile getirilmiştir. Mahalledeki parsel bazlı dönüşümün yarattığı bozuk yollar, yaya güvenliğini tehlikeye sokan iş makineleri, inşaat gürültüsü ve toz gibi geçici olumsuz etkilerin sona ereceği ve sürecin tamamlanması ile daha iyi yaşam koşulları getireceğine dair umut sürmektedir. Sonuç olarak, mahalledeki değişimlerin yalnızca fiziksel olmadığı ve orada yaşayanların hayatlarını da etkilediği ve bu nedenle karar vericilerin mahalle sakinlerini ve onların sosyal koşullarını da dikkate almaları gerektiği vurgulanmıştır.

EXTENDED ABSTRACT: An urban transformation decision not only has an impact on its own boundaries, it also affects nearby neighbourhoods. Although the physical and social changes caused by urban transformation have been widely discussed in previous studies, the changes in the neighbourhoods near the urban transformation areas have not been adequately examined. This study examines the physical and social changes in a housing-built environment adjacent to the urban transformation area in Yalı Quarter in İzmir. The method of the study included 7 years of participant observation, temporal photo comparison and interview techniques. The changes in the neighbourhood have been followed through both views and opinions and experiences. In order to detect physical and morphological changes over the years, firstly Google Earth images were compared. The location and size of ruined and new buildings and the changing types of transportation and land use and increasing green areas were determined. In addition, by using photographs taken from certain points and in certain directions in different years, the changes in the 3rd dimension were revealed. The use of participant observation method, which is seen as a successful example in understanding social changes, provided the researcher with the opportunity to learn by experience. At the same time, face-to-face open-ended and unstructured interviews were conducted in order to understand the views of the residents about the changes in the neighbourhood in a way to support this method. The findings of the study showed that the area chosen as the study area had parcel-based transformations, unlike an urban transformation that took place in the form of displacement in a defined and wide area as in the adjacent transformation area. The spatial change of the neighbourhood is in the form of changes in the nearby roads, the effects of Light Rail Transit (LRT) and tramway, the site selection of land uses such as school, healthy aging centre, museum and regional park, the construction of new parks, the demolition of some of the old buildings, and the construction of new and higher structures. In 2006, after the destruction of 808 houses in the urban transformation area and the transfer of the residents to the apartments in Zübeyde Hanım Quarter, transformations were also experienced in the area adjacent to this transformation area in the Yalı Quarter that is selected as the study area. It is clearly seen in the 2004 and 2011 Google Earth image comparisons that new luxury gated communities are increasing near Mavişehir in the northeast of the area. In the selected study area, different from the gated communities, parcel-based renewals similar to the ones in Şemikler have been determined. Between 2011 and 2017, it was observed that 134 of the smaller residential buildings were demolished and replaced by 67 new and larger buildings. It has been calculated that the average building size, which was 159 m2 in 2011, increased to 313 m2 in 2017. The total number of buildings in the area decreased from 253 to 186. It has been observed that with the use of hospitals and schools in the periphery, stationery, pharmacy, new eating and drinking places, hairdressers, and supermarkets have been added and the number of car wash services have decreased. The fact that a hotel, colleges, and private nursery schools have started to be located here is also a sign of the transformation in the income status of the neighbourhood residents. The comparison made through the

photographs shows the increase in building heights. 1-2-storey buildings were demolished and 5-7-storey apartments were built in their places. Some vacant lots have been converted into parks. It was observed that the trees in the gardens of the ruined houses were uprooted and saplings were planted in new parks. Flat roofs used as terraces were replaced by gable and hip roofs. These physical changes have also affected the social relations and daily lives of those living there. As a result of the interviews, it was said that people who used to wash carpets, dry plants, spread "tarhana" and feed animals such as chickens and sheep on their terraces could not continue these habits in their balconies when they agreed with the contractor and converted their houses into apartments. According to some residents, it was possible to maintain neighbourhood relations. There have been those who have maintained the habits of home visits, "female home party days" ("altın günü" in Turkish), and distributing "ashura" halva, and "lokma" on special days. It has been observed that celebrations such as weddings and engagements continue in the gardens and streets, and Roman families have fun. It was stated that residents who have just moved to the neighbourhood have complained from time to time about noise. During the transformation process in the neighbourhood, it was possible to see luxury cars and horse carriages in the neighbourhood. Apartments with swimming pools and small houses where the poor live, who collect the recycling materials in their gardens, are adjacent to each other. Among the positive aspects of the change in the neighbourhood are that the new houses are considered to be more robust, get warmer more easily, and the increase in shopping opportunities, while the negative aspects include the hesitation of children to disturb the neighbours in the apartment life, the restriction of private open areas with narrow balconies, the insecurity created for children by the stray horses wandering in the children's playgrounds and the perception of insecurity created by the construction and demolished houses during the transformation. It was mentioned that the increase in housing and land values is positive for homeowners, but the possibility that tenants and low-income groups may not continue to live here. There remains hope that the temporary adverse effects of parcel-based transformation in the neighbourhood, such as rough roads, construction equipment that endanger pedestrian safety, construction noise and dust, will end and the completion of the process will bring better living conditions. As a result, it was emphasized that the changes in the neighbourhood are not only physical and affect the lives of the residents and therefore decision-makers should take into account the residents and their social conditions.