

Urban protection and renewal dilemma: İzmir Mezarlıkbaşı

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Abstract

At the beginning of the 21st century, efforts to preserve cultural heritage in historical settlements is a highly problematic and multi-faceted issue in Turkey. Although conservation legislation dates back to 60 years ago, heritage conservation has not been internalized and accepted in the wider part of society, and, has not established a sound political foundation. On the other, however, there is also a lack of integrated land-use planning and management.

The purpose of this study is to present the difficulties of dealing with the conservation, renewal, and regeneration for heritage areas in the historic core of İzmir, *Mezarlıkbaşı-Kemeraltı*, as well as to discuss the intrinsic physical qualities, dynamic characters and diversity of community groups with a view of new spatial agenda. The objective of the study is therefore twofold: 1) documentation of the physical characteristics and values for understanding the place; 2) to evaluate incorporating integrated strategic planning and management approach pointing the need for incorporating, leadership, partnership, integration and inclusion as a policy guideline for the safeguarding the heritage area. Our findings show that the Municipality of İzmir has made a significant attempt as TARKEM's leadership position, which has succeeded in attracting national and international interest in *Kemeraltı* and creating opportunities for the future, but partnership (operation), management (structure) and inclusion (its processes) still lack. Community groups are not seen as part of the planning activities and planning has been remote, fragmented and exclusively missing an integrated planning management approach.

Keywords

Safeguarding cultural heritage, Conservation planning and legislation, A strategic management of cultural heritage, Policy guideline for management of cultural heritage.

1. Introduction

The conservation efforts of the historical environment to prevent the social, economic and cultural values of society from disappearing, along with the distinctive physical architecture, are under tremendous pressure from the social, demographic, and economic conditions of today. This requires coherent economic and social development policies that take historic core areas into account at all planning levels (Valetta Principles, 2011).

Parallel to the developments across the world, our country's efforts to develop and implement planning legislation on the protection of cultural heritage dates back 60 years. However, sufficient public participation and the development of related political mechanisms have not been achieved in the preservation of immovable cultural assets. Despite the ongoing regulations, and newly enacted conservation laws that target not only the major monuments but many other conservation areas, sites, and internationally supported conservation efforts, it cannot be claimed that conservation of immovable cultural assets is well planned and managed. Besides, the conservation attempts face a wide range of complex problems including rapid urbanization and openness to the world market due to the massive liberalization and efforts to articulate the global economy.

Moreover, there is a contrast in the nation's land-use planning system that generally encourages development, while conservation plans impose heavy restrictions and constraints upon development. Although the conservation plan is compulsory for the declared site areas, the general planning philosophy of the nation in the historical course has always been in favour of development, and in increasing and redistributing rights that rise from development (Tekeli, 1991). Furthermore, the inhabitants of the historic core areas are generally low income and have limited enabling capacity and resources to overcome the complex procedures of conservation activities. Financial and administrative implementations regarding conservation present problems.

As Turkey has opened to the world order and been interacting with the

world economy, the intense commodification of the housing and land market has resulted in a construction boom and never-ending construction facilities in Turkish cities (Erol, 2019: 732). Over the last 10 years, the field of construction has become the chief sector playing role in the country's economy (Yeldan, 2018). Massive construction activities, at the same time, create negative externalities and eventually endanger the preservation of historic core areas. The socio-spatial configuration of the big cities including İzmir has impacted most of these developments.

The city of İzmir, after İstanbul and Ankara, seems to be subjected to all these discussions. *Kemeraltı*, the historic center of İzmir, is listed as an urban and archaeological site, and also as a renewal site (Figure 1). İzmir Metropolitan Area Municipality has been leading the conservation and regeneration implementations in the site, which is approximately 248 hectares (Tekeli, 2015). In this study, a section of the mentioned site, *Mezarlıkbaşı*, is focused on considering the major commercial axis as the center of the study area and the need for intervention diversification. The key aim is to define the preservation problems of *Mezarlıkbaşı*, *Kemeraltı* with its legal, administrative, physical, and socio-cultural aspects; and to present principles for the solution of related problems. The challenge of conservation along with regeneration typically requires a new approach in planning that highlights a series of guiding policy principles, leadership, partnership, integration, and inclusion (Gallent et al., 2006) that feed into the 'place-making' of historical conservation and regeneration in the historical core areas. The implementation process regarding conservation and regeneration should be better planned. The principals indicated above will improve the management of the preservation process. As a methodology, we use these guiding principles to evaluate historic *Kemeraltı's* conservation planning. We also take into consideration different actors of the process (Gallent et al., 2006: 185). For this, the paper follows a field research approach and uses a variety of qualitative techniques, i.e. in-depth interviews with the actors involved in

Table 1. Legal & institutional structure of heritage conservation.

| Legal Arrangement | Scope | Content | Jurisdictions | Institutional Structure |
|--|---|--|--|---|
| Conservation of Cultural and Natural Beings (Statute 2863 / 21.07.1983) | Conservation plan (<i>Koruma Amaçlı İmar Planı</i>) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Preparation of a document that sets out the heritage value of a place and develops policies to guide its conservation, future use and development. | Ministry of Culture ILBANK A.Ş. (former Bank of Provinces, <i>İller Bankası</i>) | Supreme Council of Immobile Historical Assets Cultural and Natural Assets Regional Conservation Council Supreme Council of Conservation |
| Conservation of Cultural and Natural Beings (renewing and some addition of the Law 2863) (Statute 5226 / 14.07.2004) | Conservation plan | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Buffer zone taken into account Cultural and historical values must be preserved in accord with <i>sustainability</i> Extensive studies, analysis Plans to address not only the conservation of <i>physical</i> environments, but also <i>cultural, social and economic dimensions</i> Rehabilitation and renewal and their related projects Providing collaborative planning models, financial, organization and management models for the planning; New concepts such as "management area", and "management plan" Participatory management model New financial devices for private owners; Hierarchical and integrated planning | Ministry of Culture and Tourism Greater Area Municipalities Province's Special Administration Local Authorities (with the permission of Ministry) | Cultural & Natural Assets Regional Conservation Council KUDEP (Conservation, Implementation and Supervision Bureau) KUDEP KUDEP |
| The Law of Restoring and Protecting the Eroded Historical and Cultural Assets and for keeping them Alive (Statute 386 / 18.06.2005) | Designation of the renewal areas which are formerly declared conservation site by the Regional conservation council | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> In the Law how to reconcile conservation and renewal processes are not defined clearly Renewal and conservation is not adequately defined under which conditions these two different strategies reconcile. | Local Authorities | Renewal Council |
| The Law of the establishment of the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization (Statute 648 / 08.08.2011) | | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The two different ministries, Ministry of Environment and Minis. Reconstruction & Housing were merged into one under the rubric of Ministry of Environment & Urbanization. The natural conservation areas, Natural Assets, National Sites and Special Natural Conservation areas were abolished under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Culture & Tourism. The Ministry of Environment & Urbanization is totally responsible of declaring and conserving of the natural assets. | Ministry of Environment and Urbanization | Council of Natural Assets' Conservation (<i>Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Genel Müdürlüğü</i>) |
| Transformation of the Areas under the Risk of the Disasters (Statute 6306 / 31.06.2012) | | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Declaration and planning of the Urban Transformation areas under the risk of the disasters | Ministry of Environment and Urbanization | |

the management of the conservation process. Area survey and historical research are the techniques that have been combined. In-depth interviews with the community groups, which are partly or not included in the İzmir-History Project, are realized to learn the opinions for the preservation of immovable cultural assets. The paper attempts to discuss the need and applicability of the integrated planning and management for the safeguarding heritage areas in the historic area of İzmir, *Kemeraltı*, first addressing the challenges of conservation planning and related legislation and then allowing an evaluation of the policy guideline for better management of conservation and regeneration. The methodology includes site surveys taken in the fall of 2014, and in-depth interviews conducted in the fall of 2016 and the spring of 2018.

1.1. Planning, regulations and practice

In between the 1920s and 1970s¹, the dominant idea of preserving historic assets was mainly formed by individual effort. The Amsterdam Declaration (1975) emphasized the urban site conservation concept. The Law on Old Monuments of Turkey dated 1973 (No: 1710) introduced the urban conservation site concept. This law was followed by another law specific to conservation in 1983 (No: 2863).

The Law dated 2004 and numbered 5226 emphasizes the planning of financial and managerial aspects of conservation².

In the 2000s, the concept of urban transformation was given the privilege. As a result of the cooperation of local governments with the private sector, new legal orders were considered (Anlı & Osmay, 2007). The law numbered 5366 dated 2005 promoted urban renewal in urban conservation sites.

Despite all these arrangements, Turkey's conservation issues are becoming more complicated, and solutions are often criticized, and away from the definition of contemporary conservation. In addition to the difficulties of preserving, surviving, and transferring the rich historical, cultural, and natural values of the nation, the problems are more complicated by recent legal changes (Table 1). Moreover, the renewal examples introduced after the new regulations are aimed at accelerating and disseminating the reproduction processes that see the safeguarding of the cultural heritage as an obstacle to development. For these reasons, our job as planners and architects will be to develop new strategies to tackle intransigence, disputes, and tensions and thus develop a new strategy that will lead to social reconciliation, where solutions to regeneration and urban transformation can be integrated into the safeguarding cultural heritage problematic.

1.2. Physical structure of the Historic *Kemeraltı* Area

The studied site is within the borders of the historic center of İzmir, *Kemeraltı* (Figure 1, Figure 2); around the commercial axis of *Anafartalar* Street, and

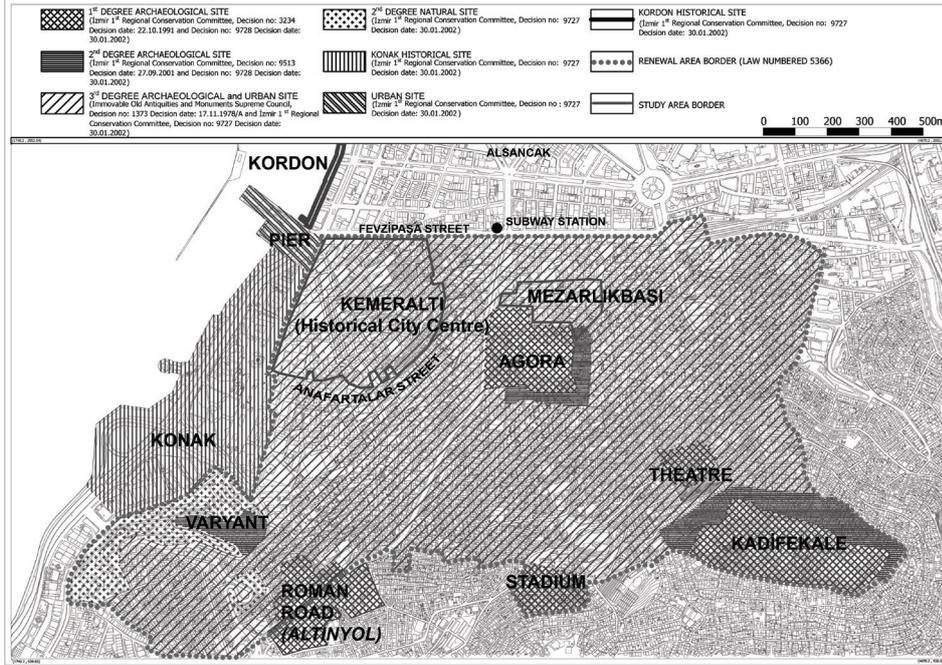


Figure 1. Kemeraltı and its environs: Listed site renewal area relations in Kemeraltı and its nearby areas.

bordered between *İkiçeşmelik* (*Eşrefpaşa*) Street and *Hatuniye* Mosque, and includes nine building blocks of which five are at the north and four are at the south of the axis. The area juxtaposes the antique Roman Agora at its south.

1.3. Historical evaluation

The studied site acted as the gate of the commercial center, especially for the caravans coming from the north and east until the turn of the 16th century. It also included the Muslim graveyard. Because İzmir became an international trade center in the 17th century, *Mezarlıkbaşı* became a vibrant commercial center (Temizkan & Akan, 2013). *Karakadı* (Lüks) Bath, mentioned in the travelogue of *Evliya Çelebi*, is the oldest building of the studied site (Figure 3).

In the 18th century, *Çavez*, one of the former Jewish neighborhoods, grew eastward into the study area. A traditional bazaar has also entered into the interior. The Muslim cemetery has shrunk in parallel with the rise in urban density. The grave of 1708-9, which was found in the new shop structure in 360 island, 22 parcel, is an indication of the continuity of the cemetery function during this period (Figure 4).

In the second half of the 19th centu-



Figure 2. A look towards of Kadife Kale (the Velvet Castle) from the studied site (revised from the photo of İzmir Greater Area Municipality Archive).

ry, as the Ottoman Empire declined, Muslims and Jews were obliged to leave the Balkans, Caucasia and Crimea: a big number of the population settled in İzmir (Sepetçioğlu, 2013: 120-128). Many Muslim and non-Muslim groups preferred to move to İzmir by the commercial significance of the city and the increase in the number of production facilities. The reflections of the related increase in urban density can be seen in *Mezarlıkbaşı* in the form of renovations and additions. *Hasan Hoca* Mosque was erected in 1831. The bath juxta-

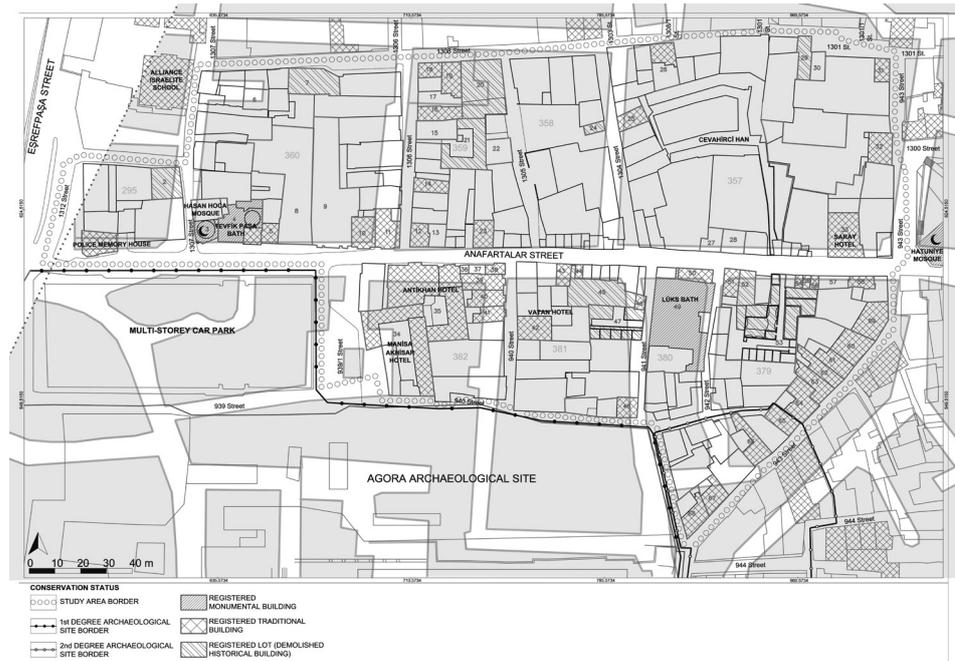


Figure 3. The studied site overlapped with the Waterlines Map dated 1900 - 1905 (APİKAM, 2015: sheet 3, part 10 - 11).



Figure 4. The historic gravestone within a new building (360 island, 22 parcel).

posing it and known as *Tevfik Paşa*, a notable of the era, is also thought to be a cultural asset of this era³. The old police headquarters could have been constructed following the widening of *İkiçeşmelik* Street during the governorship of Mayor *Fehmi Paşa*, in between 1893 and 1895⁴. At the northwest of the borders of the study area, the remains of the modern Jewish school of the era, Alliance Israelite, can still be

observed⁵. The majority of the historical buildings in the site date back to the late 19th and early 20th century (Figure 5), with their modest scale, contiguous order defining rows, Neoclassical style, and double-shelled walls. In the 19th century, additions to the voids at the center of building blocks existing structures were mostly in the form of annexes, which led to insanitary conditions, unserviceable areas, and restriction of open areas (Figure 6). It is recorded that Turkish families started living in mass houses (*yahudihanes*) in this period (Pullukçuoğlu Yapucu, 2013: 159-180). The owner of the *Cevahirci Khan*, originally a family house, in block 357, lot 9, was a Muslim⁶. *Manisa-Akhisar Hotel* and block 381, lot 14 are evaluated as probable family houses since they are organized around central courtyards which can be reached through the narrow passages from *Anafartalar Street*.

From the proclamation of the Republic to the 1950s (Figure 5, Figure 6, Figure 7), traditional commercial activities, the entrance of horse-drawn wagons to khans, settlement of low-income immigrants arriving with the population exchange of 1922 had all continued (Kerimoğlu, 2013: 217-226; Pullukçuoğlu Yapucu, 2013: 159-180). Small hotels, old family houses, and individual houses converted into

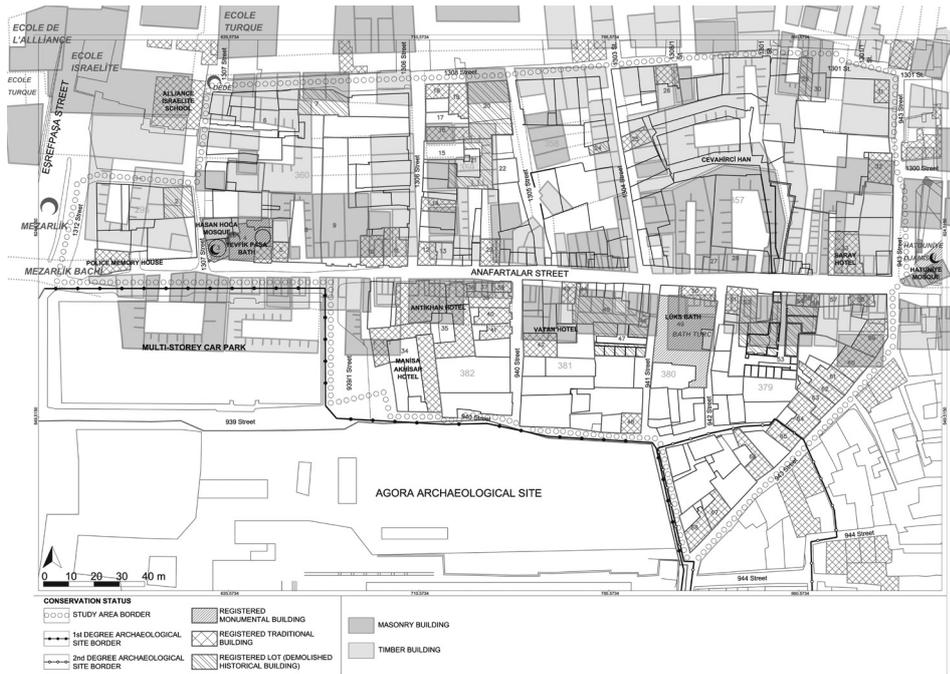


Figure 5. Study area in the map of Pervititch dated 1923 (Atay, 1998: 137, 145).

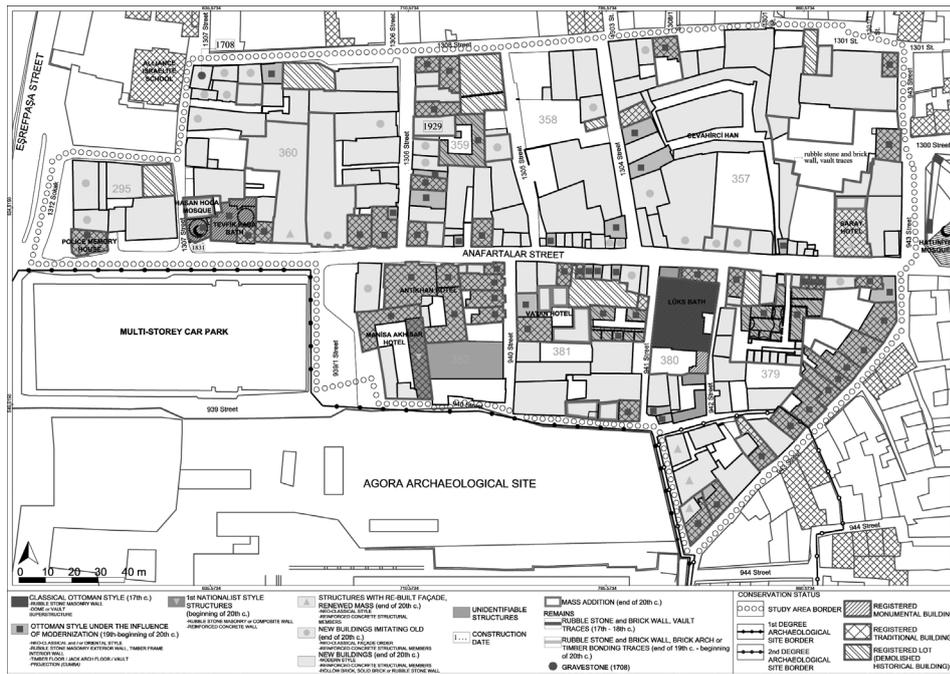


Figure 6. Classification of buildings according to their architectural styles.

hotels (e.g. *Vatan Hotel*) might have functioned not only for accommodation but also for communication necessary for local commercial activities, e.g. messaging, transport of small packages. About fifty percent of these hotels accepted customers from a specific settlement in the hinterland of İzmir (Kiray, 1972: 69-74). In the study area, reinforced concrete houses

for bachelors were evaluated as structures to accommodate workers in the area and the immediate vicinity (block 360, lot 18; block 359, lot 16; block 380, lot 1; block 381, lot 28; block 379, lots 9, 10 and 37).

After the Jewish population's migration to Israel in 1946, commercial activities have spread to the Jewish neighborhoods in the south of the his-

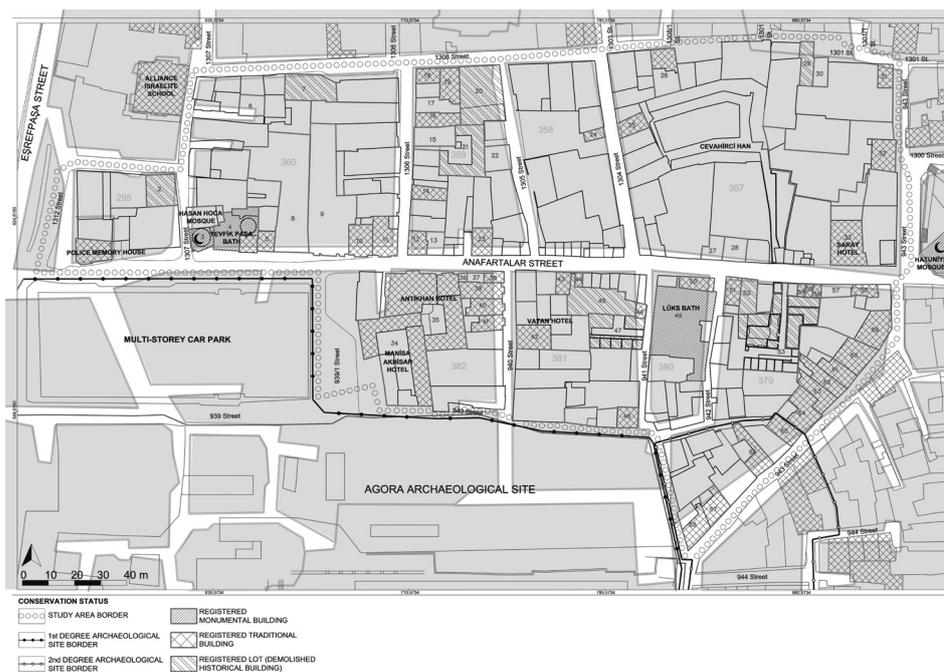


Figure 7. The study area in the map dated 1941 (İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, 1941: sheet 8).

torical center (Kıray, 1972: 94-96). The old *Cevahirci* Khan was demolished and a reinforced concrete workshop was built, and the family dwellings at the south of the center were abandoned or demolished during this era.

1.4. Conservation state

The entire studied site is 1st degree urban site. The southeastern portion juxtaposing the antique agora is 2nd degree, and the rest is 3rd degree archaeological site. The total number of lots in the studied site is 181, while the number of listed lots is 68. Twenty-three of the listed lots have lost their buildings totally or partially. Three of these have been used as car parks, seven of them have building ruins; new buildings have been erected on thirteen of them. Three of the historic buildings on the listed lots are monuments, while forty-two of them are listed as commercial buildings.

2. Materials and method

A Conservation Plan should encompass the many different aspects of heritage interest attached to a place, defined as values, which are historic, scientific, aesthetic, social, economic, and finally ecological where they occur as part of the place. The Plan

should cover every aspect of the cultural significance of the place and must aim to encompass those aspects of the place that identify local values (Kerr, 2000). For these reasons the study first documented the physical characteristics of the site and values attached to the place. This section includes both the extensive areal study and then the mapping of all that information gathered from the field research. For this part the following studies presented in the study: Topographic condition and transportation; Functions of the building and the current land use; Structural system and material usage; and finally Morphologic characteristics.

In the second part of the analysis our aim mainly depends upon the evaluation of the strategic and integrated approach which involves not only spatial planning but also social and economic policy within a management framework. In this context, a strategic approach and action guide proposal will be proposed to highlight the potentials of the strategic planning of the study area⁷.

We can conclude that the conventional conservation planning and project approach is insufficient for the current conservation problems

and rarely reflect the needs of the multi-layered dimension of conservation and regeneration issues. The examination and analysis of the historical, physical, and socio-economic functions of conservation together with regeneration point out that better management of the field is a prerequisite. Heritage care work should be focused on *Kemeraltı* at national and international levels. Public working and living in the site, and interest groups should be able to work together and share responsibility. A model balancing conservation of cultural asset values together with land uses desired by the interest groups should be developed. The public living and working in the site should be provided reliable consultation. Transparency of the process should be achieved through meetings, workshops, exhibitions, etc.

The principals indicated above provide an approximate guide for better management and action. By doing so this paper follows a field research approach and uses a variety of qualitative techniques, i.e. in-depth interviews with the actors involved in the management of the conservation process. In the interview, we preferred to include actors such as people living in the area, community groups, and TARKEM as the project's leadership role in the conservation process in *Kemeraltı* to detect the complex problems that threaten the cultural continuity as well as determination of development potentials. İzmir's Metropolitan Municipality and İzmir History Project are also considered as the stakeholders and the evaluation of the İzmir History project is included in the study.

In the fall of 2016 and the spring of 2018, in-depth interviews were conducted with local residents and TARKEM officials involved in heritage management and community groups.

3. Physical characteristics

3.1. Topographic condition and transportation

The southeastern portion of the site includes the skirt of *Kadife Kale* (Velvet-Castle⁸). The other portions are all flat. The major axes of the city, *Fevzi-paşa*, and *İkiçeşmelik* Streets are at the north and west of the studied site, re-

Table 2. Main questions used during the in-depth interviews.

- Do they think they'll be displaced by the implementation of the project?
- What do you think are the problems of *Kemeraltı*?
- Do you intend to leave the field?
- Where does he prefer to live if he wants to go?
- Have we ever heard of İzmir history project?
- Have you attended project meetings?
- Have you had a chance to convey your feedback?
- How do you describe your relationships with Syrian migrants?
- Do they provide labor?

spectively (Figure 1). The site is easily accessible from the subway station on *Fevzipaşa* Street. It is also within walking distance to the contemporary commercial center, *Konak*, and the Republican development zone, *Alsancak*.

3.2. Functions of the building and the current land use

Presently the dominant function in the field is the production and wholesale of textile products (~ 25000 m²). They are mainly concentrated in the northern islands. The retail sales units (~ 13000 m²) are concentrated on the ground floors on *Anafartalar* Street. Public functions in the area are bath (1017 m²), mosque (183 m²), 'mufti-ship building' (360 m²), museum (117 m²), and 'reeves office' (18.5 m²).

Accommodation function (~10000 m²) is represented with single dwellings concentrated in the southeast of the area; it consists of bachelor houses in the northeast and southeast of the area. In the area, there are hotels that concentrate on *Anafartalar* Street.

There are about 12500 m² unused lots, some are used only as basements (~5900 m²), and some (~2000 m²) are used as garbage dumps.

3.3. Structural system and material usage

In historic buildings (66/204), four different wall systems are present: masonry, timber frame, shelled (masonry exterior, timber frame interior) and reinforced concrete frame (Figure 6). In three monuments (*Kara Kadı* and *Tevfik Paşa* Baths, *Hasan Hoca* Mosque) and two building ruins (block 357, lots 5 and 71; block 379, lots 37 and 9), dome and vault superstructure, and rubble stone walls are

observed. In historic buildings with accommodation, commerce, and originally headquarters functions, the interior walls are timber frame with mud-brick or rubble stone-brick infill; while the exteriors are double-shelled or totally masonry (61/66). The *cumbas* (projections) are out of timber, supported with iron brackets installed into the exterior facades. The floors are out of timber originally. Only in a single building, jack arch floor system is observed (*Manisa-Akhisar* Hotel, northern portion). In two buildings, rubble stone-brick exterior walls have been united with reinforced concrete column-beam-floor system (2/66, *Manisa-Akhisar* Hotel, eastern portion; block 380, lot 1). The new buildings are constructed using reinforced concrete with hollow brick infill.

3.4. Morphologic characteristics

New multi-storied buildings (4-7 stories) are at the north of the studied site, while maximum three stories are present in the south. When immovable cultural assets are grouped according to stylistic qualities, a Classical Ottoman monument (*Kara Kadi* Bath), an indefinite building ruin (block 357, lots 5 and 71), an Ottoman gravestone (block 360, lot 22); 63 buildings (*Hasan Hoca* Mosque, *Tevfik Paşa* Bath, houses and commercial buildings) and three building ruins in Neoclassical style, one building in orientalist style (the old headquarters/police memory house today), one building in First Nationalist Style of the early Republican Era (*Manisa-Akhisar* Hotel, eastern portion) are present. Modernist style is dominant in the new buildings (115/204), but replication of historic styles is also possible (23/204).

4. Conservation planning process of the historic Kemeraltı area

The Department of City and Regional Planning of Dokuz Eylül University had developed the existing Conservation Plan of the *Kemeraltı* area in 2000 (Zeybek Çetin, 2012: 80-81). In 2005, the revision plan of the conservation plan was approved. In the plan, in *Kemeraltı* area as a whole, the ways of possible contributions by

all actors to the planning process were defined (Aydoğan & Ecemiş Kılıç, 2009). The planning work including *Mezarlıkbaşı*, namely, 2nd phase, 1st region, 1/1000 scale plan, was completed in 2009 by İzmir Metropolitan and *Konak* Municipalities (Zeybek Çetin, 2012: 87).

In 2007, *Kemeraltı* was declared as a renewal site within the frame of the new law numbered 5366. The related intervention program including various projects was approved in 2008 (IMM & KM, 2008: VI). To guide the developments in *Kemeraltı* Renewal Site, İzmir Metropolitan Municipality had brought to discussion İzmir-History Project; a participation platform was established including primarily the bureaucrats of the Municipality; and a conservation-regeneration strategy was developed for the historical urban center (Tekeli, 2015: 68-69). The organization model proposed at the report of İzmir-History Project, Design Strategy Report has similarities with the model proposed for the management of listed sites (Madran and Özgönül, 2005: 95-99): the coordination of the Municipality of İzmir and *Konak* (*sub-region*) Municipality was realized; related non-governmental organizations, universities, public institutions, construction firms and representatives of the inhabitants of the site were brought together to discuss the regeneration strategies.

The intervention program of 2008 approved after the declaration of *Kemeraltı* as a renewal site accepted *Kemeraltı* as a slum area (IMM & KM, 2008: 1). In turn, social and economic development, and preservation of cultural assets were targeted. İzmir-History project has re-evaluated this intervention program (IMM & KM, 2009: 131; Tekeli, 2015: 94-95), and renewal projects have been prepared for each sub-region of the site⁹.

İzmir-History Project is based on its law planning strategies numbered as 5366, known as the law of renewal. It attempts to define a municipal approach for urban transformation project content development. The project is supposed to act as a pilot work that will guide similar issues including conflicts over conservation-regeneration.

Touristic and cultural activities are underlined for regeneration purposes.

4.1. In-depth interviews with the stakeholders

Kemeraltı area is in constant decay economically, physically, and demographically due to many central activities relocating to the new city center (*Alsancak*) and loss of manufacturing activities. Medium-high income homeowners have also left the area and relocated to newly constructed residential areas such as *Karataş-Göztepe*. All these developments have caused a major transformation of the area, and the physical, economic, and demographic decay have continued since then. Despite all the conservation efforts the study area's deprivation and destitute is continuing and for these reasons, the dynamics which cause physical, economic, social, and environmental decay can be understood fully. To prevent the ongoing collapse and slummization of the area, not only preservation but also regeneration, and economic revival is required. We detected a large number of abandoned houses, a rising number of tenants and low-income groups settled increasingly in the area, however, their presence cannot be easily interpreted as the problem, they can be consequences. And recently, the large wave of immigrants from Syria¹⁰ is another factor that should be taken into account for all conservation-regeneration activities in the *Kemeraltı*. Syrian visitors have settled in the area because of the locational advantages of the center, low rents, and availability of the refugee association in the area¹¹. This community will not participate in conservation since the permanency of their occupancy is not clear. Their budgets are limited. In addition, they are not familiar with the language and the laws of the country.

The immigration from Syria in particular and all the mobility of the immigration which takes place all around the world are the trademarks of globalization and accompanied by the political conflicts, invasions, and rising inequalities. While the problem has to be solved globally, it is still placed on the back of governments in the host countries. The upper-scale policies

both global and national should be generated for the Syrian visitors. Their temporary situation makes it difficult that they might be considered as part of long-term solutions and take a stance as a stakeholder in any conservation activities. We realized that Syrian migrants were never mentioned in İzmir-History Project and that they were not seen as one of the components of the project. However, ignoring migrants is not the solution, the Municipality must first work on them, even work with them together for the project.

In an interview, the president¹² of the 'Syrian Refugees Solidarity Association' said that all the newcomers appreciate the area's central location and job opportunities. Recently 12 shopping units have opened after having the commercial licenses eased with the legal regulation and tax exemption to open and sustain commercial units. Besides this, a majority of the refugees work for various textile manufacturing units in or around the area with very low income. Therefore, policies related to Syrian migrants are needed to be developed, official institutions should produce solutions accordingly and ensure their inclusion in the project processes. However, their inclusion is not easy, for this reason as a non-governmental body, the 'Syrian Refugees Solidarity Association' may be considered as the representative of the immigrants in collaboration with the Municipality to handle all negotiation activities.

In an interview, the president of the İzmir Historic *Kemeraltı* Craftsmen Association¹³ (*İzmir Tarihi Kemeraltı Esnafı Derneği*), presented the problems facing the historic bazaar. The confrontation between the shopping malls built all over the city center and the historic bazaar is a well-known fact that the shopping malls attract an increasing number of customers and tenants whereas historic bazaars have generally been faced with a lower amount of potential customers.

The president added that with the advent of the İzmir-History Projects, some progress obtained; peddlers were not allowed into the area, control of goods and services in and out of the area was established banning the trucks

to enter the area. Moreover, there are 12,000 registered shopkeepers and almost 65,000 employees in the Historic *Kemeraltı* area. This magnitude cannot be ignored for urban governance. The social interaction and diversity in the area offer a very intrinsic quality, which cannot be easily found elsewhere. The head of the association is pleased to see that the potential offered by the area is appreciated by local bodies and the İzmir-History has been initiated. He also indicated that the TARKEM¹⁴, which was established as a real estate investment trust, would convert the area into a horizontal shopping mall, but the shopkeepers did not accept becoming part of it at the beginning. However, the scope of TARKEM was changed as it interacted with the other actors of the İzmir-History Project. So, it evolved into a *Kemeraltı* Craftsmen Association, and the shopkeepers decided to become part of it so that they can have a voice in the Directorial Board.

The last interview for this study was conducted with TARKEM¹⁵. They indicated that the problem for the İzmir-History Project stemmed from the inconsistency between the project and the conventional Conservation Plan. Another problem is the existence of the many unlicensed buildings in the area. In the time interval after our interview, it was observed that TARKEM became more and more responsible for conservation activities at the site, giving way to differentiation from its initial task definitions. The company involuntarily engaged in the leadership of the negotiation process. It carries out its activities widely ranging from the promotion of the project to the coordination of civil society organizations and dealing with the problems of tradesmen in the field. However, the artisans in the study area do not have enough information about the İzmir-History Project. Leadership, rather than private investors, is vital to push the project into urban political agenda, gain popularity and community involvement.

Lastly, we conducted causal, daily interviews with the shopkeepers, employees of the hotels and manufacturing units, local people, etc. Their com-

mon complaints converged into the one fact about the loss of clients and decrease in the vitality as compared to 50 years ago. The loss of population coincided with the decrease of their profit margins and difficulty to sustain their workplace in *Kemeraltı*. Very few of them have information about the ongoing project for the area.

5. Critical evaluation of the conservation, regeneration and a pathway to integrated management

A general evaluation of the cultural heritage of the area, with its historical, scientific, aesthetic, economic and social values, indicates that the study area has always been a significant part of the commercial life of the city since the establishment of the İzmir around Velvet Castle. *Mezarlıkbaşı* area, as the living heritage of İzmir's vibrant commercial activities since the 17th century, with monuments such as public baths, mosques on *Anafartalar* Street, must be preserved, renovated for future generations.

Historic structures, such as homes, family houses (*cortejos*), hotels, police station, etc., were developed between the 19th century and the turn of the 20th century. All of these physical structures have authentic, architectural, historic, and documentary values, while at the same time being vital representations of the 19th-20th century architecture and urban pattern that must be well recorded, maintained, and preserved.

5.1. Project leadership

The Municipality of İzmir has shown its determination in solving the preservation problems of *Kemeraltı* with its various plans and management strategies. Different actors have come together for creating solutions. Nevertheless, satisfactory development could not be achieved so far.

TARKEM¹⁶ (Historical *Kemeraltı* Construction Investment Trade Inc.) was established to increase investments in *Kemeraltı* in 2012. It is a private-public organization, including various governmental and non-governmental organizations of the city.

The formation of TARKEM is a very unique and interesting way to resolve the conservation issues of heritage ar-

eas in the Turkish context so its success may give way to new insight and opportunities for heritage conservation in the Nation. The main objective of TARKEM¹⁷ is to establish heritage real estate projects along with cultural heritage services and organizational projects within *Kemeraltı* and surrounding urban renewal area, which were declared in 2007, focusing on needs in the designated area, especially in the areas of collapse, and covering all target groups in the city.

Nevertheless, with the interview with TARKEM¹⁸, we realized that the company has to deal with outside of its initial objectives and original obligations. The organization must include numerous activities, ranging from project financing to organizing civil society organizations, the everyday issues of small shopkeepers and even reconciling the contradictions between the İzmir-History Project and the current conservation plan.

Despite all these challenges, with the attempts of TARKEM¹⁹ *Kemeraltı* area has been included in the Tentative List of UNESCO World Heritage in 2020. This can be taken as an opportunity to obtain more economic return for the future of the heritage area however we think more action should take place.

Another issue should be emphasized that the Municipality's efforts to rebuild and improve the *Kemeraltı* area, in general, are mainly carried out in the historic commercial center (*Hisarönü*) rather than in the entire region. In the *Kemeraltı* area, restoration work is carried out with a strong emphasis in *Hisarönü* on the basis of a single building and the scale of the building's monuments. The areas of *Mezarlıkbaşı* where the field of research is situated are increasingly collapsing and presenting serious problems. Nevertheless, TARKEM seems to have all the skills necessary to be involved in land management in particular and in heritage conservation leadership in general.

5.2. Partnership, integrated management, and inclusion

İzmir Municipality has tried to conserve, rehabilitate, and increase the quality of life in the historic *Kemeraltı* area by employing various planning ef-

forts and projects. A variety of groups such as civil societal associations, investors, universities, NGOs, have all come together to solve the problems and re-created the development potential of the area. However, it remains unclear how effective the İzmir-History projects were. Attention has to be drawn to the relationship between the planning and local dynamics. The modernist planning²⁰ has failed to overcome the in-depth transformational problems of the area. All planning activities to date must be considered unsuccessful to put an end to the region's ongoing physical, social, and economic decline. The İzmir-History projects also directly influenced the transformation.

The project also lacked an inclusive spatial analysis. The resources used and the work of the various contributors for the project and their contributions are important, but no meticulous fieldwork was carried out to create a slogan of 'innovative' and 'make a difference' for the society as a whole. The living heritage of the site is not well documented. Today's traditional trade, intense neighborhood relations, the place in the memories of the people of İzmir, is all lacking. Although the project is in the implementation process, if an urban transformation model to create a change in İzmir is to be stressed, it is a question of how this transformation will be carried out without investigating the socioeconomic characteristics, enabling capacities and resources of the households living in the larger part of the area.

In our interviews, we think that small tradesmen who are carriers of traditional trade need new tools to increase their capacity to direct the project and to influence it. It is unclear how the traditional trade function, which has existed for centuries, will resist increasing business values with limited profit margins after the urban transformation to which the area will be exposed. If it is desired to undertake a transformation without displacement and the traditional trade function is one of the basic elements of the 'living heritage', how the local economic revival will be realized, what resources will be mobilized, this is uncertain.

Table 3. Past problems, conservation planning and project approach.

| <i>Planning at the historic Kemeraltı</i> | <i>Issues / Problems</i> | <i>Municipality's responses</i> |
|--|---|---|
| Lack of integrated management There is insufficient integration between agencies and policy areas | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • İzmir Municipality History Project disrupted the overall nature of the plan and also broke the holistic quality • Project can destroy the Plan's Integrity • Planning / design controversy: Urban design projects independent from the legal Plan | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It means creating a core management team for the conservation and regeneration of <i>Kemeraltı</i> • Long term strategic vision, short term action plans • Action plan, pilot project for various parts taken from the whole <i>Kemeraltı</i> area in accord with Integrated Planning process can help to bridge the gap between Project and Plan duality |
| Planning lacks clear vision | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • İzmir history project lacks a strategic focus • İzmir history projects lacks an integrated management approach • The project excludes the former planning efforts | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All kinds of planning activities and projects related with the collaboration of the integrated management model ensure active involvements of all communities living in the area including Syrian societies • Many commercial activities take place in the area by Syrian visitors and enhanced the area's commercial activities • Syrian Association can involve in the management process |
| It is rather an <i>exclusive</i> process that fails to engage communities and other stakeholders | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Planning is remote, hard to understand and difficult to access • Communities feel detached from the planning process • Lack of partnership, many respondents have no knowledge of the ongoing projects or planning activities | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conservation - regeneration of the historic <i>Kemeraltı</i> and its planning has to work with strategic local partnership to establish mechanism for involvement • Create opportunities to engage more active role and be part of the management process • Partnership will bring people and interest groups together for consensus building |
| Clear leadership | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • TARKEM, as a mediator resolving many problems beyond its scope and objectives • TARKEM carries out its activities in a wide range of ways; civil society organizations, the daily problems of local traders and, unexpectedly, addressing the contradictions between the İzmir - History Project and the Traditional Land - use Plan | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The TARKEM leadership position should be re-designed |
| Active and passive conservation | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Passive conservation:</i> implementation including registration, strict limitations on the rights of the ownership, planning, banning, controlling and punishments | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Active conservation:</i> sharing and participating and collaborating responsibilities and cost of conserving, via directing, supporting, purchasing, transferring, expropriating, planning and projecting and acting where necessary |
| Lack of an inclusive spatial analysis | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tangible as well as intangible values have to be involved and enhanced in the integrated management | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Existence of neighborhood solidarity, cooperation, traditional neighborhood culture • Existence and prevalence of craftsmen solidarity, <i>ahilik</i> • Intangible values should have sustained and maintained • Syrian commercial activities and emerging restaurants can aid to revival of the commercial activities |

Syrian visitors have emerged as a new component of the İzmir-History Project as a result of the country's policies. In this context, the İzmir-History Project needs to be renewed, including them as a component of the area since they have been living there for quite a long time and many of them have opened numerous commercial ventures. Although there are no visible conflicts between the local people and the commercial business owners, their assets are a major concern for the local users and owners of the area. The immigrants' hardships and unfavorable conditions have

forced them to find a solution for their survival and hold on to their daily life in the new country. Therefore, policies related to Syrian migrants should be developed. The official institutions should develop solutions accordingly and ensure that they are incorporated into the project processes. However, their inclusion is not easy because of the Syrians' temporary status. As a non-governmental body, the 'Syrian Refugees Solidarity Association' can be considered as representative of the immigrants in collaboration with the Municipality to participate in the integrated management process.

While *Kemeraltı*'s entry into the list of world heritage sites has enhanced its visibility and appreciation, it would involve local residents who play a key role in turning the region into a more contextual urban strategy, rather than national or global gentrification. To do this, a certain level of control should be given in the management process, as well as the opening of areas to facilitate interaction between citizens. While the status of the Syrian guests is difficult due to their transient status, it is necessary to count those who have lived for a long time in the area and have businesses as the residents of the place.

Finally, the needs of the community of *Kemeraltı* should be better responded in the planning and management work. This includes not only the residents but also the traders. (Table 3).

6. Final remarks

The Metropolitan Municipality of İzmir has long engaged some valuable initiatives for the protection of the heritage area however we think not enough has been done. More action should take place and better alternative ways should be researched. The municipality's desire of being a pioneer with its applications for this site and similar sites is very meaningful. A possible application presenting solutions for the two contradicting interventions, conservation, and regeneration, sounds exciting. The success of the project will depend on a form in which the planning and preservation can meet or contradict the re-enactment requirements.

Municipality of İzmir has long sought alternative ways of attracting developers for the conservation of heritage sites and make investments therefore TARKEM was created. With the attempts of TARKEM *Kemeraltı* area has been included in the UNESCO World Heritage Tentative List. This can be considered as an opportunity to obtain more economic return for the future. TARKEM has played a prominent role, *clear leadership*, in the project very effectively, and has succeeded in drawing both national and international attention to the *Kemeraltı* area and creating opportunities for the future.

The existence of a variety of community groups can be seen as an indis-

pensable part of the diverse way of life in the *Kemeraltı* area. The physical layout of the site together with its historic background and diversity of its living traditions play role in its uniqueness. The area's power stems from its diversity and dynamism which are molding *Kemeraltı*'s socio-spatial temporality. As a result of the in-depth interviews, we discovered that community groups are not seen as part of the planning activities. Planning has to provide a local strategic partnership and constitution of 'vision' or aspiration for the future of the area. The diversity of the presence of various groups has to be considered in the integrated management approach in planning instead of remote, fragmented, and exclusive formal planning or detached project activities. And lastly, present communities should all be regarded as actors of conservation planning since they are all part of the *Kemeraltı* site. Although İzmir Metropolitan Municipality's attempts and efforts are worth mentioning, there is still a lot to accomplish. To do all these things, İzmir must look at its rich history in which many innovations have been accomplished very often.

Endnotes

¹ The first Conservation Law was dated back to 1710, however the conservation legislation in modern sense begin in the 1960s.

² The management plan can be defined as a new system that brings together all the different sectors in the collaborative planning process (Madran and Özgönül, 2005).

³ Although Ürer (2002: 43) dates the building to late 18th-early 19th century; it is not present in the historical maps dating earlier than the 20th century. In this study, the relation with *Tevfik Paşa* who was the elected member of the city of İzmir's General Board in 1912, the intricate relation of the bath lot with the neighboring lots, and the Neoclassical style of the bath are taken into consideration (quoted from Tabak 1997: 81-82). The bath is not present in the historical maps dating earlier than the 20th century.

⁴ The increasing crime rates with the increasing population at the beginning of the 19th century and the beginning

of the 20th century were tried to be controlled by increasing the number of police stations in the city (Tabak, 1997: 56). Kerimoğlu (2013) states that the station in the area is a work of *Rahmi Bey* Period. However, Tabak (1997: 56) did not equate this structure with Rahmi Bey's period. It is an articulated corner structure that combines oriental and neoclassical styles.

⁵ There was a Turkish school at the northwest; and a Jewish orphanage at the northeast of the studied site, as revealed in Bora (1995: 159-162; 2015: 66) and the map of Pervititch. This Turkish school is also available on Saad map of 1876. According to Bora, there should have been two Jewish primary schools in the vicinity.

⁶ The owner was *Cevahircizade Hacı Mehmet Efendi* according to the records of 1890-1908 (Bora, 1995: 37; 2015: 45). The original lot-building relationship can be seen in the map of Pervititch. As learned from the responsible of the new *Cevahirci* Khan, the lot is visited by Israeli tourists interested in seeing their old homes.

⁷ We took this framework from the Gallent's et al. book (2006: 181 - 200) "Planning on the Edge", from the section "Planning Reform and the Spatial Agenda".

⁸ Pagos Mountain in the ancient time.

⁹ E.g., Region of the Synagogues, Regeneration and Development Project (TAMİKAM, 2016).

¹⁰ In accord with the Directorate General of Migration Management, the number of Syrian Refugees staying in 'Temporary Sheltering Centers' is 142,676 and the number of Syrian refugees staying outside of the 'Temporary Sheltering Centers' is 3.501.666. In total officially 3,644,342 Syrian refugees live in Turkey. The real number may be over this number. In İzmir, the number of Syrian Refugees is 142.989, which is about 3,9 % of the total number. This number indicates that substantial amount of refugees live in İzmir (Odatv, 2017; Göç İdaresi Genel Müdürlüğü, 2019).

¹¹ With the help of French based organization, Women and Health Alliance International (WAHA), 'Syrian Refugees Solidarity Associa-

tion' was opened in 2016 at the 1306 Street. Several charity associations and NGOs like *Deniz Feneri Derneği*, Humanitarian Relief Foundation (*İnsani Yardım Vakfı İHH*), and *Cansuyu Yardımlaşma ve Dayanışma Derneği*, also give hand to the Association providing foods, goods and services. A hundred and fifty women refugees have been attending Turkish Courses. There is a gynecologist serving women and children health (WAHA, 2016; İHH, 2016; Deniz Feneri, 2016; Cansuyu, 2016).

¹² Personal communication, January 18, 2017.

¹³ Personal communication, January 11, 2017.

¹⁴ TARKEM, 'Historic *Kemeraltı*, Company of the Construction, Investment and Commerce'.

¹⁵ Personal communication January 25, 2017.

¹⁶ TARKEM is a public-private partnership building and investment company which is 38 percent public, 62 percent private.

¹⁷ <http://www.tarkem.com/kurumsal/hakkimizda/>.

¹⁸ Personal communication January 25, 2017.

¹⁹ <https://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/6471/>.

²⁰ Modernist planning necessitates long term research and analysis which is followed by planning phase and, in the last phase the plan is implemented. The entire process requires long periods of time and excessive bureaucratic sanctions so the project-based approach is preferred because it is more flexible and produce results quickly. However, this project-based approach is criticized due to the loss of its legitimacy (Özdemir, 2003: 394).

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