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Article

Places of memory and place attachment: A study at the neighborhood scale in Istanbul

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ABSTRACT

Places of memory are often locations where individuals connect with their own life stories. In this respect, places of memory can strengthen people's attachment to place. However, due to various reasons, some places of memory are lost as a result of rapid and wide-ranging transformations in the city, leading to interruptions in the continuity of memory. Beginning with the question, "Do rapid and wide-ranging changes in the city affect individuals' places of memory and place attachment?", this study examines the changes experienced in Istanbul through existing and lost places of memory at the neighborhood scale. Three field studies were conducted in the Kuzguncuk Neighborhood, Küçükyalı District, and Postane Neighborhood, located on the Anatolian side of Istanbul, each with distinct physical and demographic structures related to the sea. A total of 150 respondents, fifty from each area, answered survey questions. Data were analyzed using the SPSS program. The effects of changes triggered by land fill in coastal areas of Istanbul over time have also been observed in the residents' places of memory. The most mentioned places of memory include coastal and sea-related areas, parks and gardens, religious buildings, shopping buildings, educational buildings, transportation buildings, cafes and restaurants, cultural buildings, and accommodation buildings. Significant relationships emerged between place attachment values and variables such as duration of residence, educational status, and employment status, varying across different areas. However, no significant relationship was found between place attachment values and age or gender across the three areas. Among the three areas, the conservation zone of Kuzguncuk experienced the least change and showed the highest place attachment values.

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INTRODUCTION

Places of memory, where memory is preserved and transmitted, provide physical and social continuity alongside the meaning and attachment they have for people. The rapid change in

today's life is also reflected in cities. This change, involving demolition and reconstruction processes, causes many places that are important for the common urban memory and have direct or indirect relations with the events stored in it to be lost, thus interrupting the continuity of the urban memory.

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With regard to urban change, Rapoport (2004) notes that the result of a forced, comprehensive, and rapid change that is unwanted by the public can be disruptive and destructive. Slower changes, which can be called creative adaptation, work better. Some innovations are rejected, while others are adapted and incorporated into the cultural system.

- Do rapid and widespread changes in the city affect individuals' places of memory and place attachment?
- What factors influence individuals' place attachment?
- Are individuals' places of memory they have experienced?

The study, initiated with these questions, aims to reveal the effects of urban changes on places of memory at the neighborhood scale and on residents' place attachment, as well as to examine the factors influencing places of memory and place attachment. To investigate the effects of rapid and profound changes in the city on its residents, the study focuses on changes caused by landfill projects along the coast of Istanbul. According to the study by Uzun & Akyuz (2019), Tuzla and Maltepe are the two districts with the largest coastal landfill areas on the Anatolian side of Istanbul. These two districts together account for 50% of the coastal landfill areas on the Anatolian side. With a landfill area width of 600 meters, the most significant change in the coastline on the Anatolian side has occurred in Maltepe (Uzun & Akyuz, 2019). In light of this data, the study was conducted in neighborhoods located along the coast in the districts of Maltepe and Tuzla, which have the most extensive landfill areas on the Anatolian side. In contrast to Küçükyalı and Postane neighborhoods, which have been subjected to extensive changes, a third area was considered as a control area, and Kuzguncuk neighborhood, a more preserved neighborhood, was selected. In the research, many studies available on memory and place attachment in the fields of environmental psychology, sociology, and architecture were analyzed; however, here memory spaces are discussed from an architectural perspective. Lefebvre (2014), in his work *The Production of Space* that enables us to perceive space as a means of social production, explains space with three interconnected and interactive concepts: spatial practice, representations of space, and spaces of representation. While creating the study, Lefebvre's (2014) Spatial Triad model, which distinguishes the spaces as perceived, designed, and experienced, was utilized, based on the assumption that the places where people live, know their stories, and can find an intersection with their own life stories are included in the collective memory.

Theoretical Background

In this study, which aims to question the change in the city through places of memory, Pierre Nora's perspective on places of memory is in the background. Henri Lefebvre's concept of experienced space was also used while analyzing

the data obtained from the three field studies. Rapoport's view of creative adaptation was also taken into account while analyzing the changes experienced in terms of workspaces. While some innovations are rejected, others are adapted and incorporated into the cultural system (Rapoport, 2004). The changes in the specified neighborhoods have been analyzed in terms of places of memory and place attachment values of the surveyed groups.

Memory and Memory Types

Psychological literature defines memory as a multi-stage process for retaining acquired information, encompassing specific pieces of information or past experiences that can be recalled. Psychological studies highlight a three-layered structure of memory, consisting of sensory memory, short-term memory, and long-term memory. Sensory memory captures stimuli briefly until attention is directed, and those stimuli requiring attention move to short-term memory, which has a limited capacity. Repeated information in short-term memory is transferred to long-term memory (Buttler & Mcmanus, 1998). Long-term memory is divided into episodic memory and semantic memory, distinguished by the terms "remembering" and "knowing." Autobiographical memory, a substructure of episodic memory, involves recalling events from one's life and self. It interacts with and provides information to semantic memory (Gülğöz, 2023).

Memory has been explored across disciplines, with philosopher Bergson (2015) identifying motor mechanisms (habit-based memory) and independent recollections (remembering past events). Social anthropologist Connerton (2019) defines individual, cognitive, and habitual memory. Individual memory, according to Egyptologist Assmann (2018), is shaped by details extracted from social elements. The concept of collective memory recognizes memory as not solely an individual characteristic but collectively determined. Halbwachs (2018) asserts that individual memory requires social reference points, reconstructing the past based on present experiences. Social frameworks, such as family and social classes, contribute to forming individual and collective memory. Collective memory, though subject to change, persists in various spatial elements, from monumental structures to ordinary street names (Basa, 2015). Halbwachs (2018) emphasizes that the strength and duration of collective memory derive from group cohesion, acknowledging individual perspectives within the collective memory.

Places of Memory

According to Nora (2006), places of memory are important meeting places with historical, ethnographic, psychological, political, and eternal dimensions. Places of memory in a city where memory is preserved and transmitted provide physical and social continuity with the meaning and attachment they have for people. Place provides the

conditions for the preservation of our memories, the formation, and representation of common thought. With social place, communities can form their own identities, and in the absence of social place, a community lacks the basis to form its identity. Memory always exists together with perception, movement, and space (Özaloğlu, 2017). According to Nora (2006), just as history is connected to events, memory is connected to places. He said that the main reason for the existence of the places of memory is to stop time, to prevent forgetting, to determine the status of objects, to immortalize death, to make the intangible tangible. The sense of continuity is rooted in space (Nora, 2006).

Public spaces with historical testimonies are places where collective urban memory is more concentrated, depending on the strength and fluidity of their transmission. Spaces where social bonds can be established can form points of resistance in front of urban transformations (Basa, 2015). Lefebvre's (2014) Spatial Triad model mentioned earlier enables us to perceive space as a means of social production, by explaining it with three interconnected and interactive concepts: spatial practice, representations of space, and spaces of representation. Spatial practice creates a society's own space. It tightly combines everyday reality and urban reality within the perceived space. We can discover the spatial practice of a society by deciphering space. Modern spatial practice can be defined by the everyday life of a low-income tenant living in the city. Representations of space, that is, conceived space, is the space of scientific artists who identify what is experienced and perceived with what is designed. Spaces of representation, the space lived through the images and symbols that accompany the space, that is, the spaces of the inhabitants, the spaces of the users, are the spaces that are dominated and exposed (Lefebvre, 2014).

Table 1 summarizes Lefebvre's (2014) approach to the production of space. In the study, Lefebvre's process of perceiving, designing and experiencing space as a social production was utilized. It is accepted that the places where people live, know their stories, and can catch an intersection with their own life stories are included in the collective memory. The question of whether the places of memory in the collective memory are the places that people experience was sought to be answered. In terms of places of memory, the situation of experiencing the space was investigated.

Table 1. Henri Lefebvre Spatial Triad

Spatial Triad		
Perceived Space	Physical Space	Spatial Practice
Conceived Space	Mental Space	Representations of Space
Lived Space	Social Space	Spaces of Representation

Place Attachment

Place attachment can be explained as individuals establishing an emotional relationship with a place and feeling a connection to it. In the field studies conducted, it is seen that people establish bonds with the houses and the neighborhoods they live in, with the places they visit for recreational purposes, landscapes, forests, lakes, wild nature, or summerhouses (Lewicka, 2010). Studies in the field of social sciences have yielded different findings reflecting the relationship between the changing dimensions of place and place attachment. Research shows that the concept of place attachment does not only describe the emotional relationship established with places but how the concept of place attachment differs according to changing scales of place should be taken into account (Göregenli, 2018).

In a study conducted by Göregenli (1997) to determine the elements of place attachment and place identity, she asked open-ended questions to young people and asked them to write an essay about their "favorite place." By analyzing the texts obtained through content analysis, 20 factors determining young people's attachment to place were identified. These factors are listed as characteristics of place, activities, togetherness, expressing ideas, relaxation, pleasure-pleasure, dialectical attributions towards place, personalization, remembering the past, attributions towards self, secrecy, privacy, escape from social pressures, belonging, control, self-identification, freedom of expression, anonymity, security, rootedness-permanence, habit-familiarity-knowing, intellectual needs, acceptance-gaining respect.

Lewicka (2010), creating a version of the place attachment scale used in her studies, utilized a list consisting of 12 positive and 12 negative items in a survey. Participants made choices from the place attachment scale in terms of the apartment building, flat/detached building, neighborhood, and city they live in. The score achieved is the difference between the number of positive and negative items selected. The resulting number is between -12 (extremely negative feelings about place) and +12 (extremely positive feelings). The place attachment scale used by Lewicka (2010) in Table 2 was used in the field studies.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND CASE STUDY

In a review of the literature, studies in the fields of environmental psychology, sociology, and architecture were examined. In the case studies, demographic information of the participants, places of memory in their neighborhoods, their experiences of these, and their attachment to their neighborhoods were investigated. A version of the place attachment scale used in Maria Lewicka's studies was utilized as a place attachment scale. Survey participants were also asked about their place of birth, length of residence in their neighborhoods and also in Istanbul, and where they felt they were from. Data obtained from the field studies are compared.

Table 2. Items of the place attachment scale used by Lewicka (2010)

I like this place.	I don't like this place.
I defend it when somebody criticizes it.	I agree with its critics.
I miss it when I am not here.	I leave this place with pleasure.
I have influence over its affairs.	I don't want to be involved in its affairs
I belong here.	I don't belong here.
It is a part of myself	I feel uprooted here.
I want to be involved in what is going on here.	I have no influence over its affairs.
I am proud of this place.	I am ashamed of this place.
I feel secure here.	I feel at risk here.
I am rooted here.	I feel foreign here.
I know this place very well.	I don't know much about this place.
I would not like to move out from here.	I would like to move out.

The case study was conducted in Küçükaly and Postane neighborhoods, which had undergone extensive changes, and as a control group, in the preserved area of Kuzguncuk, unlike these two areas. Demographic information of participants, existing and lost places of memory in their neighborhoods, and their place attachment to their neighborhoods were investigated. A survey was conducted with a total of 150 participants, 50 from each area—Küçükaly district, Kuzguncuk neighborhood, and Postane neighborhood. Individuals over the age of 18 residing in the areas were reached out to, while those not residing in the areas and minors were not included in the sample. Additionally, face-to-face interviews were conducted with 7 individuals regarding their living areas.

Participants were asked 14 questions, including demographic questions, to gather information about their sense of belonging. To learn about their sense of belonging, information such as their birthplaces, duration of residence in their neighborhoods and in Istanbul, and how they identify themselves geographically were collected. The average place attachment values obtained for the three neighborhoods were compared to each other and to the changes they had undergone. The relationship between participants' sense of belonging and their attachment values was examined. Following methods from existing literature, Hidalgo & Hernandez (2001) and Lewicka (2010), whether there was a significant relationship between attachment values and participants' gender, age, duration of residence, employment status, and educational status was investigated. To achieve this, the obtained values from the survey were first examined for normal distribution using SPSS software. Since the data did not show a normal distribution, Spearman Brown analysis was conducted using the SPSS program.

Existing places of memory in the three areas were grouped according to their functions. Changes in the areas through lost places of memory were analyzed. Istanbul has 39

districts, twenty-five on the European side and 14 on the Anatolian side. The field studies were conducted in Maltepe, Üsküdar, and Tuzla districts on the Anatolian side. The selected areas are the coastal areas of these districts. Figure 1 shows the districts of Istanbul and case study areas.

Küçükaly in Maltepe District

Maltepe is located on the Marmara Sea coast of Istanbul. The part of the coastal road within the borders of Maltepe District was filled in 1980 and 2013. Küçükaly neighborhood is one of the areas most affected by the landfill on the Marmara Sea.

The images in Figure 2 show the changes that occurred on the Küçükaly coast over a period of 47 years. The relationship of Küçükaly residents with the sea has changed due to the landfills and the coastal road built on them. In the case studies, the researchers asked questions to the participants to learn about both existing and lost places of memory.

As seen in Table 3, in 144 responses received from fifty people, 44 different places were named. 20.8% of the responses were grouped as responses related to the sea and coast. Sixteen percent of the respondents answered

**Figure 1.** Map of Istanbul districts.

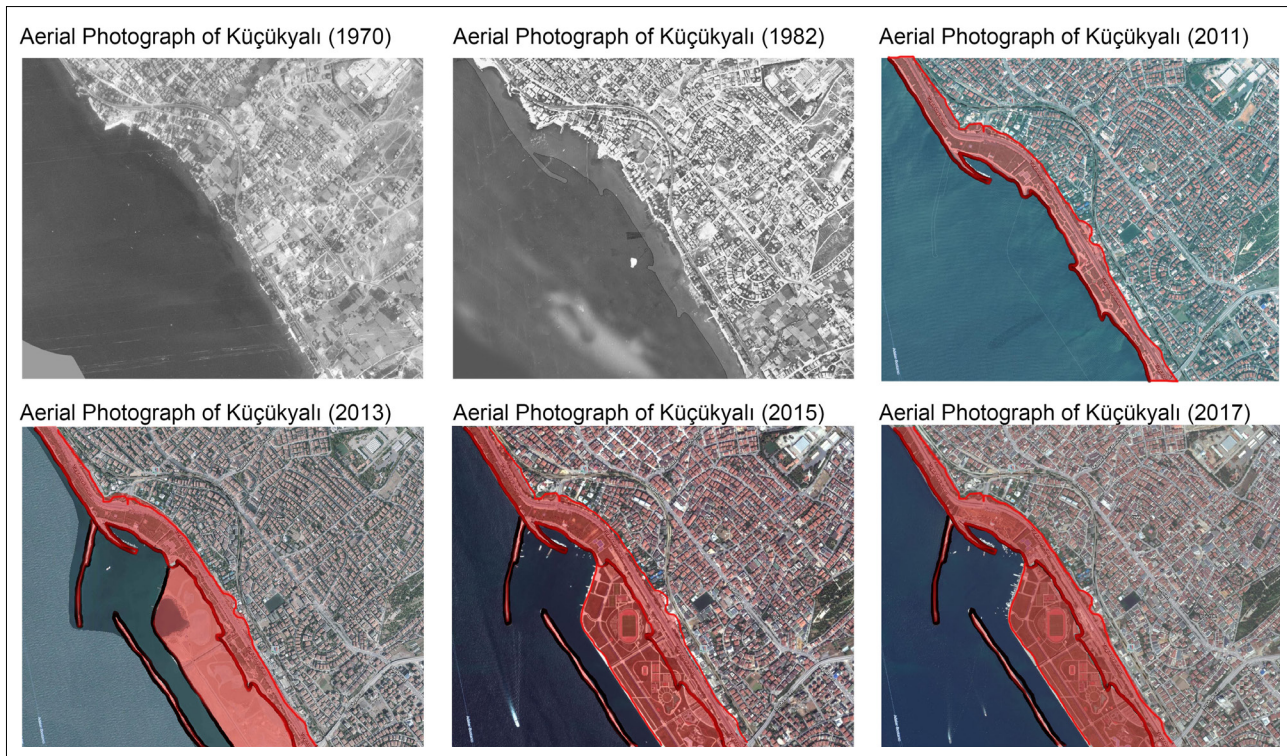


Figure 2. The change in Küçükaly coastal in 47 years. (Coastal fill areas were marked in red). (İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2022).

this question as "Archaeopark" or "The Cave." Küçükaly Archaeopark is located in the Çınar neighborhood of Küçükaly, in an area hidden among the dense building texture. The archaeological site, which includes the Satyros Monastery, built in the Byzantine period between 866-877 AD, is exhibited in its natural environment. No detailed study had been carried out in the area until the 2000s. The local people were not informed about this cultural heritage. The site remained idle. It was named "The Cave" by the residents of the neighborhood and continued to exist as

an area where children played. In the early 2000s, detailed archaeological excavations and research were carried out. Küçükaly Archeopark was mentioned by residents over the age of 40 as a place where they used to play when they were children. The excavation house and visitor center established in the area aim to inform and involve the local community in the process. Figures 3 and 4 show the current state of the excavation site. The local people, who have lived in Küçükaly for years and have experienced the site, have



Figure 3. The current state of the excavation site of Satyros Monastery.



Figure 4. The excavation site of Satyros Monastery and the minaret of the mosque on the adjacent parcel and the excavation house/visitor center on the opposite side.

Table 3. Percentages of existing places of memory in Küçükalyalı

Existing places of memory	Percentage %
Coast	17.4%
Archaeopark/The Cave	16.0%
50th Anniversary Park	5.6%
Hilltown Mall	4.9%
My School	4.9%
Adnan Kahveci Park	4.2%
Railway station	4.2%
Bazaar	3.5%
Mosque	2.8%
Tunnel	2.8%
Center of Küçükalyalı	2.8%
Patisserie / Bakery	2.8%
Çamlık	2.1%
Fish Market	1.4%
Healthcare Center	1.4%
Atatürk Park	1.4%
İdealtepe	1.4%
Kılavuz Çayırı Street	1.4%
Nida park	1.4%
Park	1.4%
Altıntepe	0.7%
Bağdat Street	0.7%
Old Turkish Bath	0.7%
Old railway crossing	0.7%
Old beaches	0.7%
Neighborhood	0.7%
Marmaray	0.7%
Metro	0.7%
Migros	0.7%
Mopaş Market	0.7%
Soccer field	0.7%
White House	0.7%
63 Bus stop	0.7%
Passages	0.7%
Church	0.7%
Street Market	0.7%
Seascape	0.7%
Sani Malaz Park	0.7%
Starbucks	0.7%
Single storey houses with garden	0.7%
Old Police Station	0.7%
Temple of Virgins	0.7%
Çınar Neighbourhood	0.7%
Türk Telekom	0.7%

been trying to follow the process of the site, which they have called "The Cave" since their childhood.

In response to the question "When you think of Küçükalyalı, which 3 buildings or places that are currently in Küçükalyalı come to mind?", approximately 5% of the respondents mentioned the schools they attended. In addition, 5% of the participants, who have been living in Küçükalyalı for an average of 18 years, wrote the name of the shopping center that was built 4 years ago. The reflection of the change in the neighborhood on places of memory was also observed.

The analysis of Table 4 shows that 30 different answers were given to the question asked. Among the places that have been lost due to the landfill on the beach and the coastal road built on it, Çamlık Beach, Lido Beach, and Yalı Park

Table 4. Percentages of lost places of memory in Küçükalyalı

Lost places of memory	Percentage %
Çamlık Beach/ Cafe	10.2%
Lido Beach	8.5%
Old Beaches	6.8%
Yalı Park	3.4%
Beach	1.7%
63 Movie Theater	6.8%
İpek Movie Theater	5.1%
Summer movie theater	3.4%
İhya Movie Theater	1.7%
Highways Housing / Directorate	8.5%
Single storey houses with garden	8.5%
Old Turkish Bath	3.4%
Ulusoy	3.4%
Is Bankası Apartments	1.7%
Old Railway crossing	1.7%
Köşk Apartment	1.7%
Küçükalyalı Bazaar	1.7%
Küçükalyalı Center Primary School	1.7%
Cafe AgitBey	1.7%
Warehouse of Efes Pilsen	1.7%
Old mosque by the coast	1.7%
Children's park on the beach	1.7%
Grocery	1.7%
Trees	1.7%
Covered bazaar next to the medical center	1.7%
Soccer field	1.7%
The vacant lot where we used to play ball on Akalın Street	1.7%
Old İgdaş	1.7%
Old Kızılay	1.7%
Yeşilçam Cafe	1.7%



Figure 5. Küçükyalı coastal land fill road Çamlık locality. (With red hidden lines for old coast line).

are mentioned by 23.8% of the participants. Figure 5 shows the coastal landfill road near the old Çamlık Beach area.

A total of 17% of the responses mentioned the 63 Movie Theater, İhya Movie Theater, İpek Movie Theater and summer movie theaters that used to exist in Küçükyalı.

Participants also emphasized the change in the construction in the neighborhood. 8.5% of the participants mentioned the single-storey houses with gardens that used to exist in the neighborhood. These garden houses have been transformed into 3-4 storey apartment buildings with the change. In addition, 8.5% of the respondents mentioned the old Directorate of Highways and its lodgings. A multi-storey bazaar-office-residential complex is being built on the site of the former Highways Lodgings.

Kuzguncuk in Üsküdar District

Üsküdar is one of the most important and oldest settlements on the eastern shore of the Bosphorus. Kuzguncuk is a neighborhood of Üsküdar and a historical and natural protected area. When aerial photographs of Kuzguncuk are analyzed, the results of the area being a protected area can be seen. There is no major change that can be detected in the aerial photographs of 1970 and 2020 in Figure 6.

Looking at the Pervititch map in Figure 6, it is understood that the area is well preserved.

In the examination of Kuzguncuk, it is observed that the changes are related to the function of the buildings. Functional changes in recent years can be summarized as the transformation of existing buildings into cafes and restaurants.

When we look at the responses to the question in Table 5, 38 different places or locations were named in 148 responses received from fifty people. 23.7% of the responses were grouped as being related to the sea.

14.2% of the responses were for the Church, 13.5% were for the Bostan, 6.8% were for the Pier, 6.1% were for İsmet Baba Restaurant, 5.4% were for Çınaraltı, and 5.4% were for the Mosque. Kuzguncuk Bostan, shown in Figure 7, is an area where the people of Kuzguncuk can plant crops in the areas allocated to them, sit outdoors, and socialize. Public events are also organized here at certain times of the year.

Çınaraltı in Figure 8 is an important area for the locals, with a fountain on one side and Çınaraltı Café and İsmet Baba Restaurant on the other side, where you can breathe the Bosphorus air and watch the Bosphorus view. When the answers to the question listed in Table 6 are examined, 22 different answers are observed.

A total of 25% mentioned the names of small shopkeepers or craftsmen who are no longer operational in the neighborhood. Analysis of the responses shows that the shoe repair shop, tailor, haberdashery, bakery, and grocery store were mentioned. Those shops that closed down were mostly converted into cafes. Figures 9 and 10 show how it has become difficult to walk on Kuzguncuk sidewalks as cafes put tables and chairs on the sidewalks.

Since this neighborhood is a protected area, the physical changes of the buildings are under control. The changes experienced in recent years have been in the form of renovations at the building scale and functional changes.

Postane Neighborhood in Tuzla District

Tuzla District is located on the eastern border of Istanbul,

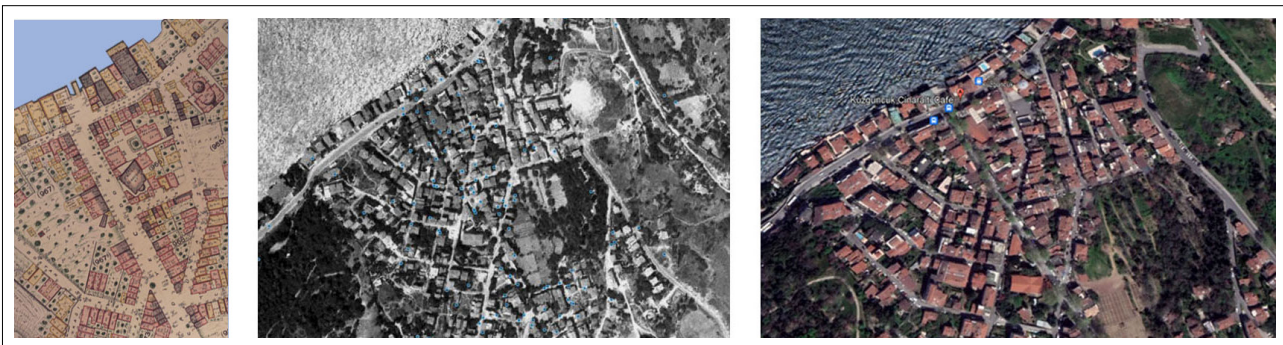
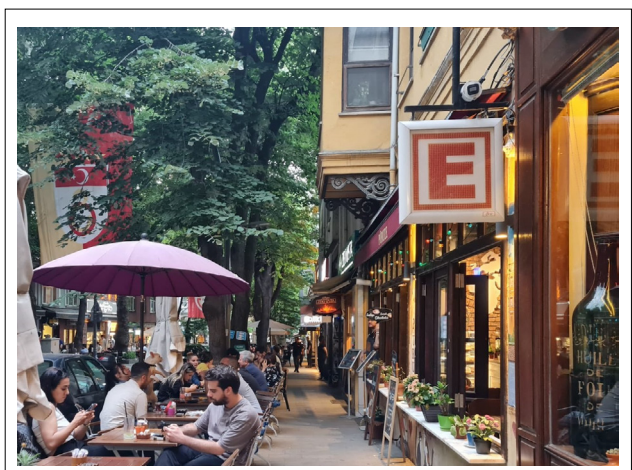


Figure 6. Kuzguncuk pervititch map, 1932 & Kuzguncuk aerial photographs from 1970 and 2020. (Pervititch, 1932).

Table 5. Percentages of existing places of memory in Kuzguncuk

Existing places of memory	Percentage %
Church	14.2%
Bostan (Urban Garden)	13.5%
Pier	6.8%
İsmet Baba Restaurant	6.1%
Çınaraltı	5.4 %
Mosque	5.4 %
Bakery	4.7%
Synagogue	4.7%
İcadiye Street	4.1%
Kuzguncuk Primary school	3.4%
Waterside Mansions	2.7%
Dilim Patisserie	2.7%
Fethi Pasa Grove	2.7%
Coast	2.0%
Nakkastepe	2.0%
Nail Bookshop	2.0%
Old wooden houses	1.4%
Mosque and Church side by side	1.4%
Dere boyu	0.7%
Cafes	2.0 %
Butcher Shop	0.7%
Old PTT (Bureau of Turkish National Post)	0.7%
Sand depot	0.7%
Beşevler	0.7%
Marko Paşa Mansion	0.7%
My home	0.7%
Bosphorus	0.7%
Toys shop	0.7%
The house across from famous chef Refika's shop	0.7%
Greek Church Bell Tower	0.7%
İnebolu Bazaar	0.7%
Simitçi Tahir Street	0.7%
Simotas Apartment	0.7%
Places of worship	0.7%
Soccer field	0.7%
Üryanizade Street	0.7%
Çarşı Street	0.7%
Summer movie theater	0.7%

on the Marmara Sea coast. Tuzla District has a 13 km-long coastline, and Postane Neighborhood is located here. The images in Figure 11 show the change in the Postane coastline over a period of fifty-one years. The relationship of the residents of Postane with the sea has changed due to the landfills.

**Figure 7.** Kuzguncuk Bostan.**Figure 8.** Çınaraltı.**Figure 9.** Shows the tables and chairs placed on the sidewalks by the buildings that have turned into cafes in Kuzguncuk.

Analysis of data in Table 7 shows that 48 different places or locations were mentioned in 148 responses received



Figure 10. Shows the tables and chairs placed on the sidewalks by the buildings that have turned into cafes in Kuzguncuk.

from fifty people.

26.4% of the responses are related to the beach and the coast, 9.5% to Ayazma, and 9.5% to Kalekapı.

Ayazma is an area in the Postane neighborhood that was declared a protected area in 1999. It is an area with centuries-old plane trees where neighborhood residents used to have picnics. When the area faced the threat of housing development, the locals laid claims against it. Kalekapı is also an area where archaeological findings from the late Neolithic period have been unearthed.

As seen in Table 8, in 81 responses received from fifty people, 41 different places or place names were mentioned. When the

Table 6. Percentages of lost places of memory in Kuzguncuk

Lost places of memory	Percentage %
Small shopkeepers	25%
Summer movie theater	9.5%
Old Turkish bath	7.4%
Post office	4%
Military Recruitment Office Building	3.4%
Bostan (Urban Garden)	2.7%
Old houses	2.7%
Police Station	2%
Sand depot	2%
Old coffehouses	2%
Tield Mansion	1.4%
Fountain	1.4%
Ruined waterside mansion	1.4%
Bim Market	0.7%
Gazhane	0.7%
Nersesyan Yermoneyan School	0.7%
Wood storage	0.7%
Bazaar	0.7%
Banks	0.7%
Passage on the seaside road	0.7%
Soccer field	0.7%
Pier	0.7%

responses are analyzed, Ayazma, Ayazma Tea Garden, and Ayazma Wedding Hall were encountered. Ayazma was also given as an answer to the question of the existing places of memory. Though the area called Ayazma continues to exist, it has undergone changes over the years. For this reason,

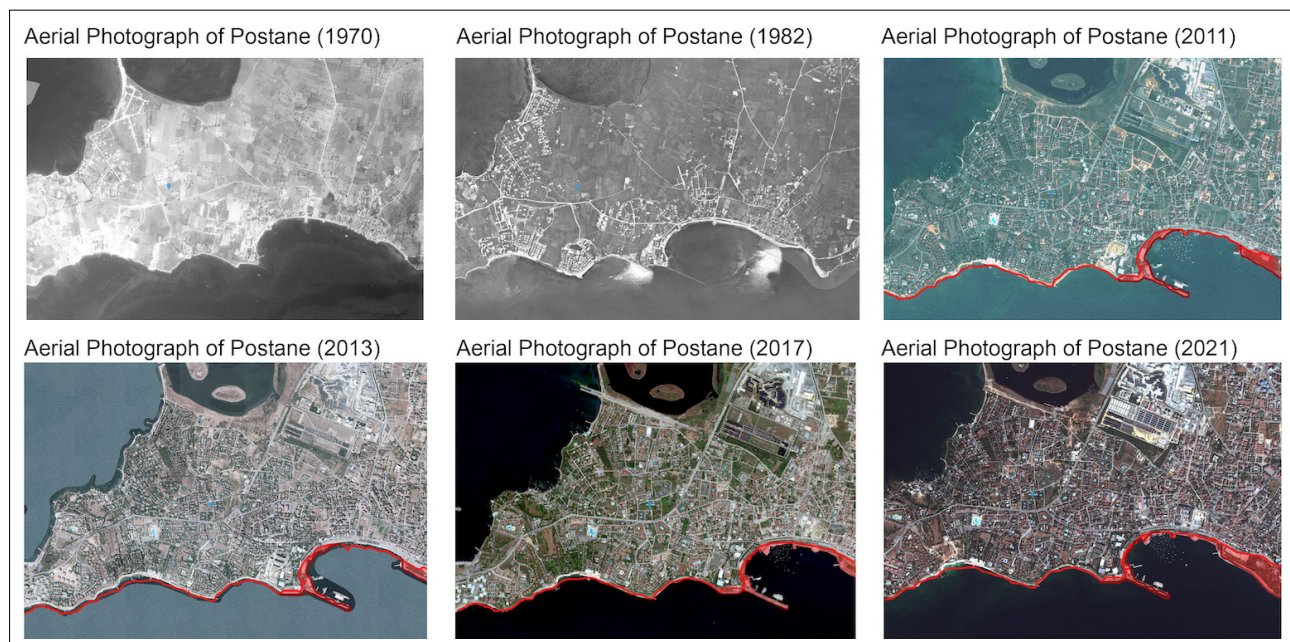


Figure 11. Changes in Postane neighborhood in 51 years. (İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2023)

Table 7. Percentages of existing places of memory in the Postane

Existing places of memory	Percentage %
Mercan	12.2%
Coast	10.8%
Kalekapı	9.5%
Ayazma	9.5%
Fountains	4.7%
Tuzla Port	4.7%
ITU (Istanbul Technical University has a campus there)	4.1%
Rumeli Culture Association	3.4%
Old houses	2.7%
Piri Reis University	2.0%
Haunted mansion/ Garden's of Selami	2.0%
Sultan 1. Ahmet Mosque	2.0%
Arsenal	2.0%
Manastır	2.0%
Sandy Pier	2.0%
Koy içi	1.4%
Tuzla High Scholl	1.4%
Çağrı Bey Primary Scholl	1.4%
Old Turkish Bath	1.4%
Naval Academy	1.4%
Armenian orphanage	1.4%
Farmer's Coffehouse	0.7%
40 Pafta	0.7%
3 Meşeler Area	0.7%
Akbank	0.7%
Atatürk Primary School	0.7%
Çolaklar Fish Restaurant	0.7%
Fish Lake	0.7%
Station	0.7%
Bostan (Urban Garden)	0.7%
By Tahsin Cafe	0.7%
Esentepe	0.7%
Lake	0.7%
Hakan ice cream shop	0.7%
Army Camp	0.7%
Kuyulu Street	0.7%
Marina	0.7%
Organic bazaar	0.7%
Health Center	0.7%
Seaside cafes	0.7%
Sigorta Apartments	0.7%
Tuzla Municipality Social Facility	0.7%
Tuzla bazaar	0.7%
Tuzla Primary Scholl	0.7%
Cafe	0.7%
Tuzla Cemetery	0.7%
Thermal Baths	0.7%
Tuzla Coast	0.7%

Table 8. Percentages of lost places of memory in the Postane

Lost places of memory	Percentage %
Ayazma	6.2%
Ayazma Tea Garden	4.9%
Ayazma Wedding Hall	1.2%
Water Tower/Tank	11.1%
The Burning House/ Selami's garden on the coast	7.4 %
Sand pier	6.2 %
Fountain at Kalekapı	4.9 %
Tuzla Tea Garden	4.9 %
Summer movie theater	3.7%
Kalekapı	2.5%
Farmer's Coffehouse	2.5%
Okra fields	2.5%
Fish Bazaar	2.5%
Adil Restaurant	2.5%
Armenian orphanage	2.5%
Farmlands	2.5%
Fountain	2.5%
Ab-ı Hayat Fountain	1.2 %
Old wooden houses	1.2%
Gardens	1.2%
Vegetable gardens	1.2%
Churches	1.2%
Red wall	1.2%
Cafe of Kubalı	1.2%
Old Tuzla Bazaar	1.2%
Mağfel	1.2%
Manastır Tea Garden	1.2%
Manastır Church	1.2%
Mercan Houses	1.2%
Mezarlık Cape	1.2%
Museum	1.2%
Pide Restaurant	1.2%
Seaside Tea Garden	1.2%
Değirmenaltı	1.2%
Beach	1.2%
Ido Lake	1.2%
Changing restaurants along the coast	1.2%
The venues on the beach	1.2%
Historic Greek Houses	1.2%
Police station	1.2%
Karantina (a building served as a quarantine pace in Ottoman times)	1.2%

Ayazma, Ayazma Tea Garden, and Ayazma Wedding Hall were mentioned by 12.3% of the respondents in total. The Tuzla Rumeli Culture Association, seen in Figure 12, was built in place of the old Ayazma Tea Garden in the neighborhood. In the garden of the Association, ancient plane trees and Byzantine ruins have been preserved and continue to serve



Figure 12. Tuzla Rumeli Culture Association.

the public as a tea garden. The fact that Ayazma is listed as a place of existing memory and as a place of lost memory shows that although the old texture has been lost, memory has been transferred to the present day to some extent.

11.1% of the responses were "Water Tower" or "Water Tank." In research conducted on the internet, it was observed that the residents wrote their memories of the water tower/tank where they waited in line for water.

Another frequently mentioned issue, albeit expressed in different ways, is the pink house and its garden on the seaside before the beach filling. It is called by various names such as "The Pink House," "The Burning Pink House," "The Haunted House," "Pastor's House," and "Selami's Garden" by the locals. 7.4% of the respondents said that the abandoned house, the ownership of which was transferred to the municipality, suffered a fire in 2016.



Figure 13. Shows the change in the Postane coast due to the landfill area and the newly built housing estate.



Figure 14. Shows the change in the Postane coast due to the landfill area and the newly built housing estate.

Figure 13 shows the "City and Population Exchange Museum" built by the municipality in place of the burnt building. Figure 14 shows the housing estate built on the site.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In this study on places of memory and place attachment in the city of Istanbul, a survey was conducted with the residents of Küçükyalı, Kuzguncuk, and Postane. A total of 150 people, fifty people in each of the three areas, responded to the survey questions.

Table 9 presents the demographic information, duration of residence, where they feel they are from, and place attachment values of the participants in the three field studies. 52% of the survey participants living in Küçükyalı stated that they are from Istanbul, while 6% stated that they are from Küçükyalı. Among the survey participants living in Kuzguncuk, 24% stated that they are from Istanbul, and 54% stated that they are from Kuzguncuk. A different response was encountered in Postane. Of the survey participants living in Postane, 28% stated that they are from Istanbul, and 58% said that they are from Tuzla. Belonging to Tuzla District, where Postane is located, emerged with a big difference in the responses. In terms of place attachment values, Kuzguncuk's place attachment value is 6.24; Postane's place attachment value is 5.47; and Küçükyalı's place attachment value is 4.13. The results obtained in terms of place attachment values, changes in the regions, and lost places of memory are consistent with the research hypothesis. In all three areas, there are similarities related to the functions of places of memory. The functions of the places of memory were grouped regardless of the rate of mention in Table 10. An analysis of the functions of places of memory in the three areas revealed similarities. The most frequently mentioned places of memory included

Table 9. Demographic information, duration of residence, where people feel themselves are from and place attachment values of the respondents in the three areas

	Küçükyalı	Kuzguncuk	Postane
Gender %			
Woman	62	38	52
Man	38	62	48
Age			
Average	49	59	46
Standard Deviation	15.962	11.401	10.428
Educational Level (%)			
Primary School	6	10	2
Secondary School	2	12	4
High School	32	36	40
Associate/Bachelor's degree	52	32	38
Postgraduates	8	10	16
Employment Status (%)			
Employee	46	46	64
Unemployed	26	6	20
Retired	28	48	16
Place of birth (%)			
İstanbul	60	18	44
Maltepe/Üsküdar/Tuzla	0	18	24
Küçükyalı/Kuzguncuk/Postane	0	10	2
Duration of residence (year)			
İstanbul	42	50.8	41.5
Küçükyalı/Kuzguncuk/Postane	28.64	43.02	30.44
Where they feel themselves are from (%)			
İstanbul	52	24	28
Maltepe/Üsküdar/Tuzla	0	0	58
Küçükyalı/Kuzguncuk/Postane	6	54	0
Place attachment value	4.13	6.24	5.47

coastal and sea-related areas, parks and gardens, religious buildings, shopping buildings, educational buildings, transportation facilities, cafes and restaurants, cultural buildings, and accommodation facilities.

In Table 11, the rates of the responses to the question "Could you please mark in the columns how often you visit or use the places of memory?" are presented for the three regions.

When the 421 responses given in Table 11 are analysed, it is revealed that 33.6% of the participants experience places of memory very frequently, 23.9% frequently, 22.8% infrequently, and 8.5% very infrequently. Only 8% of the participants indicated that they do not experience any places of memory. When we look at the places of memory that are not experienced, it is seen that these places are religious buildings in the neighborhood. The research is based on Lefebvre's Spatial Triad process of perceiving,

conceived, and experiencing, which enables us to perceive space as a social production, and on the assumption that the places where people live, know their stories, and can catch an intersection with their own life stories are included in the collective memory. The results of the field studies conducted in Küçükyalı, Kuzguncuk, and Postane are in line with this assumption. The gender, age, education level, duration of residence, employment status, and place attachment values of the survey participants in the three areas were primarily examined in the SPSS programme to see whether they were normally distributed. Since the data did not show normal distribution, Spearman Brown analysis was performed.

The correlation analysis for Küçükyalı is shown in Table 12. A significant correlation was found between the values of place attachment and the duration of residence in Küçükyalı.

Table 10. The functions of the places of memory were grouped

Coastal and Sea related spaces	Shopping Buildings	Street, Street, District Names
Beach	Passages	3 Meşeler Area
Adil Restaurant	Patisserie / Bakery	40 Pafta
Ido Lake	Dilim Patisserie	Ayazma
Karantina	İnebolu Bazaar	Esentepe
Mezarlık cape	Butcher Shop	Kovici
Changing restaurants along the coast	Toys shop	Kuyulu Street
The venues on the coast	Migros	Mercan
Old Beaches	Mopuş Market	Altın-tepe
Seaside Tea garden	Bim Market	İdealtepe
Lido Beach	Bazaar	Kılavuz Çayırı Street
Fish Lake	Small shopkeepers	Center of Küçük-yalı
Lake	Grocery	Neighborhood
Marina	Fish Bazaar	Bağdat Street
Coast	Küçük-yalı Bazaar	Beşevler
Seaside cafes	Tuzla bazaar	Çarşı Street
Tuzla Coast	Hilltown Mall	Derc boyu
Bakireler Tapınağı	Hakan ice cream shop	İcadiye Street
Seascape	Organic Bazaar	Nakkastepe
Bosphorus	Fish Market	Simitçi Tahir Street
Yalı Park		Üryanizade Street
		Çınar Neighbourhood
		Kalekapı
		Değirmenaltı
Old Turkish Baths / Spas	Educational Buildings	Transportation Buildings
Thermal Baths	Atatürk Primary School	Sand Pier
	Çağrı Bey Primary Scholl	Old railway crossing
	Piri Reis University	63 Bus stop
Fountains	My School	Marmaray
Abi Hayat Fountain	Kuzguncuk Primary school	Metro
Fountain at Kalekapı	Naval Academy	Railway station
	ITU	Tunnel
	Tuzla Primary Scholl	Pier
	Tuzla High Scholl	Ulusov
	Küçük-yalı Center Primary School	
	Nersesyan Yermönyan School	
Accommodation Buildings	Parks and Gardens, Soccer Fields	Cafes, Restaurants, O. Cof. Houses
Old wooden houses	Bostan	Ayazma Tea Garden
Marko Pasa Mansion	Gardens	Ayazma Wedding Hall
Haunted mansion	Garden of Selami	Cafe
White House	50th Anniversary Park	Farmer's Coffehouse
Armenian orphanage	Adnan Kahveci Park	Çolaklar Fish Restaurant
Sigorta Apartments	Atatürk Park	By Tahsin Cafe
Simotas Apartment	Soccer field	Çamlık Café
Single storey houses&garden	Park	Çınaraltı Café
Waterside Mansions	Sani Malaz Park	Starbucks
Tuzla Port	Fethi Pasa Grove	İsmet Baba Restaron
Nida park	Okra fields	Cafe of Kubalı
My home	Farmlands	Manastır Tea Garden
Mercan Houses	Trees	Cafe AgitBey
Köşk Apartment		Old coffehouses
Tield Mansion		Tuzla Tea Garden
A house burning on the coast	Water Tower/ Depot/ Warehouses	Yeşilçam Cafe
Is Bankası Apartments	Sand depot	Pide restaurant
Highways Housing / Directorate	Warehouse of Efes Pilsen	
	Water Tower/Tank	Health Buildings
	Wood storage	Healthcare Center
		Old Kızılay
Movie theater / Cultural Buildings	Religious Buildings	Police Station, Post Of., Bank B.
Archaeopark	Churches	Old Igdaş
Rumeli Culture Association	Old mosque by the coast	Post office
Tuzla Municipality Social Facility	Sultan 1. Ahmet Mosque	Police Station
Nail Bookshop	Mosque	Military Recruitment Office Building
Summer movie theater	Mosque and Church side by side	Banks
Museum	Places of worship	Old PTT
63 Movie Theater	Greek Church Bell Tower	Old Police Station
İhya Movie Theater	Synagogue	Türk Telekom
İpek Movie Theater	Manastır Church	

Table 11. Ratios of the responses to the question "Could you please mark in the columns the frequency of your presence in or use of the existing places of memory for the three regions?"

	Frequency	Percent
Valid		
very frequently	146	33.6
frequently	104	23.9
infrequently	99	22.8
very infrequently	37	8.5
none	35	8.0
Total	421	96.8
Missing		
System	14	3.2
Total	435	100.0

Table 12. Correlation analysis for Küçükyalı

	Place attachment	Duration of residence
Place attachment		
Correlation Coefficient	1	.346*
Sig. (2-tailed)	.	0.02
N	45	45
Duration of residence		
Correlation Coefficient	.346*	1
Sig. (2-tailed)	0.02	.
N	45	45

Table 13. Correlation analysis for Kuzguncuk.

	Education level	Place attachment
Education level		
Correlation Coefficient	1	.306*
Sig. (2-tailed)	.	0.033
N	49	49
Place attachment		
Correlation Coefficient	.306*	1
Sig. (2-tailed)	0.033	.
N	49	49

Table 13 shows that there is a significant relationship between place attachment values and educational level in Kuzguncuk.

The correlation analysis for the Postane is shown in Table 14. In the Postane, there is a significant relationship between place attachment values and employment status. In all three areas, there is no significant relationship with place attachment values depending on age or gender. When examining the place attachment values across the three study areas, the relationships between place

Table 14. Correlation analysis for Postane.

	Place attachment	Employment status
Place attachment		
Correlation Coefficient	1	-.398**
Sig. (2-tailed)	.	0.005
N	48	48
Employment status		
Correlation Coefficient	-.398**	1
Sig. (2-tailed)	0.005	.
N	48	48

attachment and participants' gender, age, duration of residence, educational status, and employment status were assessed. In each area, significant relationships were observed between place attachment values and duration of residence, educational status, and employment status. Similar to Lewicka's (2010) study, the positive impact of duration of residence on place attachment was measured. Contrary to the findings of Hidalgo & Hernandez (2001), there was no significant relationship or difference between place attachment values and age or gender in any of the three areas.

CONCLUSION

In this study, it is posited that addressing the issues of places of memory and place attachment together at the neighborhood scale in different regions will contribute to the body of research on memory and place attachment. In regions undergoing profound and extensive changes, the loss of places of memory for inhabitants can lead to a diminished sense of place attachment. In contrast, in protected areas with minimal change, the continuity of places of memory is maintained, resulting in higher place attachment among residents. Numerous variables can influence people's attachment to their neighborhoods, making the identification of these variables a complex issue. The study identified the effects of residence duration, educational status, and employment status on place attachment. However, no significant relationship or difference was found concerning age and gender.

When examining the functions of places of memory, similarities have been identified; however, the most significant commonality of these spaces is that they are places experienced by individuals and connected to their personal life stories.

This study aims to take a step towards preserving places of memory and strengthening residents' place attachment, thereby ensuring the continuity of urban memory. In subsequent studies, the creation of memory maps for neighborhoods could facilitate research on memory

transmission at the neighborhood scale. Additionally, to determine individuals' levels of attachment to places of memory, face-to-face interviews with a limited number of participants could be conducted, applying a place attachment scale specifically for places of memory.

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