

ASSESSING THE CHANGE IN AYVALIK AS HERITAGE PLACE
REASONS, MOTIVATIONS, RESULTS

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ABSTRACT

ASSESSING THE CHANGE IN AYVALIK AS HERITAGE PLACE REASONS, MOTIVATIONS, RESULTS

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Cultural heritage which is a set of values inherited from past, is a dynamic concept that progress, develop and adapted in time. Cultural heritage that is constituted with the dynamic relationship between place and people, needs to be enhanced holistically to conserve whole intrinsic value within heritage places. Recently, in parallel with the global trend, heritage places have started to generate more attraction in Turkey. Particularly, historic buildings and quarters in cities have been gradually gaining more popularity in society. Thereupon, this growing interest put pressure on heritage places in cities. Since, historic urban areas subjected to rapid change which is stimulated by conservation activities undertaken.

In a similar manner, Ayvalık has gained popularity in short time and engaged in a rapid change. Rapid changes pose threat to the local character of heritage places in

city, tangible and intangible values among that place. Regarding the irreversible damages on cultural heritage, it is needed to understand the underlying reasons and mechanism stimulated interest towards historic environment and lead to changes. In this research, it is aimed to observe the process of change in Ayvalık and to assess the underlying dynamics and results of the change. Main consideration of this research is to understand the formation of change and assess the dynamics that leads to rapid change threatening local values. In order to evaluate the change, qualitative research has been conducted and by means of in-depth interviews conducted by newcomers and local agents underlying dynamics on individual basis, reasons and motivations have been analyzed.

Keywords: Heritage Place, Urban Conservation, Socio-spatial Change, Ayvalık

ÖZ

KÜLTÜREL MİRAS ALANI OLARAK AYVALIK'TAKİ DEĞİŞİMİN DEĞERLENDİRİLMESİ NEDENLER, MOTİVASYONLAR, SONUÇLAR

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Kültürel miras geçmişten gelen değerler bütünü olarak bugün içerisinde var olur ve gelişmeye devam eder. İnsan ve mekan arasındaki dinamik ilişki sonucu oluşan kültürel miras alanları bugün bir bütün olarak ele alınmakta, kendine özgü değerleri ile birlikte korunmaktadır. Son zamanlarda, global eğilime benzer şekilde, Türkiye'de miras alanları yoğun ilgi görmektedir. Özellikle kentlerdeki tarihi yapılar ve tarihi yaşam alanları popülerlik kazanmaktadır. Tarihi dokuya yönelik artan bu yoğun ilgi kentlerdeki miras alanlarına baskı oluşturmaktadır. Koruma müdahaleleri ile başlayan aktiviteler tarihi kentlerde hızlı değişimi tetiklemektedir. Benzer şekilde Ayvalık kültür miras alanı kısa süre içerisinde popülerlik kazanmış ve hızlı bir değişim içerisine girmiştir. Hızlı değişim, özellikle kentin yerel

karakterine zarar vermekte, somut ve somut olmayan deęerlerini tehdit etmektedir. Bu türden geri döndürülemez zararları göz önüne alarak, deęişime sebep olan yoğun ilginin altındaki sebeplerin ve deęişimin dinamiklerin analiz edilmesi gerekmektedir. Bu çalışma kapsamında, Ayvalık'taki deęişim sürecinin incelenmesi, deęişimin altında yatan sebepler ve sonuçların deęerlendirilmesi amaçlanmıştır. Özellikle deęişimin oluşumu göz önüne alınarak, yerel deęerleri tehdit eden hızlı deęişimin altındaki sebepler incelenmiştir. Bu bağlamda, Ayvalık kültür miras alanı üzerinde durulmuş, deęişimin tarihsel geçmişi ele alınmıştır. Koruma politikaları ve plan kararları incelenmiş, deęişim sürecinde etkisi tartışılmıştır. Dışarıdan gelen ilgi ve yerel dinamiklerin analiz edilebilmesi için nitel çalışma yürütölmüş, yeni gelenler ve yerel aktörler ile yapılan derinlemesine görüşmeler kapsamında deęişimin dinamikleri, nedenler ve motivasyonlar incelenmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Miras Alanı, Kentsel Koruma, Sosyo-mekansal deęişim, Ayvalık

To my beloved family

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CHAPTER I

1. INTRODUCTION

Cultural heritage inherited from past generations indicates the ways of former livings and creates a bond from past to today. As Ashworth put it, “heritage can be viewed as a process whereby objects, events, sites, performances and personalities, derived from the past, are transformed into experiences in and for the present” (Ashworth, 2013).

Therefore, along with their importance of being evidence to the past, they have other tangible and intangible representations of values such as symbolic, spiritual, aesthetic, social, economic etc which are required to be maintained to the next generations. Jokilehto even states that “furthermore, the preservation of the cultural heritage now covers the non-physical cultural heritage, which includes the signs and symbols passed on by oral transmission, artistic and literary forms of expression, languages, ways of life, myths, beliefs and rituals, value systems and traditional knowledge and know-how” (Jokilehto, 2005). Social and cultural components are considered as a whole along with the physical fabric constitute heritage place. By providing traces of the past generations through the cultural properties, heritage places enhance understanding of cultural identity and provide sense of belonging.

Cultural heritage is a dynamic concept that progress, develop and adapted in time in accordance with the dynamic relationship between place and people. So heritage places are defined as “constantly being renewed and enriched” (Jokilehto, 2005). Historic cities, as heritage places embody wide range of cultural properties and values which remained from the past and utilized in contemporary conditions that lead to continued change. As Fairclough (2001) stated that “the majority of the

historic environment is in everyday use, and this means accepting that a consequence of continued use is continued change". Utilization benefits the most from the dynamic relationship between place and community while using it in its own historic, cultural and natural context. Then, the fate of heritage places is determined by the interpretations and people's perceptions to cultural properties. Perception of society, which is created by the attributed values on cultural heritage places, intrinsically generates tendency to conserve. Besides this, today, along with the international agreements, protective measures and tools such as legislative controls, heritage designations and plans, give shape to heritage places under the terms of modern world.

Twentieth century is stated as a period in which social and economic restructuring place pressure on built environment (Sassen, 2001). Recently, the restructuring is leading a growing interest on heritage places. Today historic cities become attractive with their distinctive features and turning into a place for investment, living, working and tourism (Ashworth & Tumbridge, 2000). Intense attraction places huge pressure on the historic cities by creating rapid changes, endangering the distinctive features. Correspondingly, rapid changes pose high threats to the heritage places. The progress and development of changes in heritage places may vary from case to case and are induced by different reasons and motivations. However, the process of change eventually results in loss of locality and intrinsic values of cultural heritage places.

In parallel with the global trend, historic built environment in cities and towns has started to generate more attraction in Turkey as well. Perception to heritage places have changed and conservation of cultural built heritage begin to receive more recognition. People have been more enthusiastic about consuming heritage places in historic cities recently. Subsequently, with the rise of tourism activities, heritage places have become a valuable asset for investments and source for local and regional development. Thus, cultural built environment in cities have been gradually gaining more popularity in society. While historic buildings had been subjected to desolation and destruction before, recently they have been appreciated and

refunctioned rapidly. Growth of interest on heritage places brings about dramatic changes in historic cities.

Heritage places in historic cities subjected to rapid changes encounter problems. At first glance, conservation and refunctioning activities can be assumed as just a subject for conservation of historical assets and only result in physical changes. Nevertheless, such implementations cause social and economic impacts as well.

Ayvalık as a historic town, which is located in Aegean Coast, attracts great attention recently. With its historical background Ayvalık has various tangible and intangible values among its cultural heritage. In particular characteristic architectural fabric with distinctive features constructed by local techniques create outstanding image which result in becoming “indispensable target of tourism as a cultural heritage” (Dinçer & Dinçer, 2005). Apart from the historic built heritage, Ayvalık also have industrial and cultural landscape, arising from traditional olive oil products and traditional lifestyle that stimulate attention. Growing interest on Ayvalık and developing of tourism activities in historic center, as well, result in before mentioned rapid changes. For a while now, Ayvalık has been experiencing a change which is coming with a great interest among out-of-towners on intrinsic values such as natural assets, tangible and intangible cultural values specific to the region. It is overserved that the change in Ayvalık is oriented with conservation activities conducted by the out-of-towners which is induced by growing appreciation and interest on historic buildings. In recent years, Ayvalık has become home for newcomers, who have recently settled into Ayvalık by reusing historic buildings. Ultimately Ayvalık’s popularity increased in short time contributing the rapid change of the place.

Newcomers’ motivations and reasons determine their attitude towards cultural built heritage which stimulate conservation activities and refunctioning of historic buildings. Newcomers, who intend to own a historic buildings and undertake conservation projects, have initiated, a kind of, gentrification process in Ayvalık. Apart from those who renovate buildings to live in, there are also another group of

people investing in historic buildings for commercial uses. Commercial uses of historic buildings such as café, restaurant, hotel, gallery, etc., can be expressed as adaptive reuses that have started to be seen in the town. Currently, utilization of historic buildings is mostly appreciated by service sector in accordance with the rising tourism activities (Figure 1.1).



Figure 1.1 Utilization of historic buildings by service sector with the rising tourism activities

In addition to these, it is also observed that well-known brand chains, even global ones, have started to be apparent in the commercial center of the town in recent years (Figure 1.2). Capital investments both on historic buildings and region give hint about the new economic activities which are occurring recently. Eventually it is a process of economic concentration on region through using of historic buildings by generating service sector and real estate trade.



Figure 1.2 Well-known brand chains appeared in the commercial center of the town

Interest, which becomes intense on cultural built heritage, is in evidence that leads to transformation of settled profile. By the change of profile, utilization of historic buildings-historic environment has also been modified. Therefore, transformation of social and cultural structure is seen through the refunctioning of historic buildings in terms of restaurants, cafes, hotels, galleries, salerooms of art crafts, etc.

Growing interest towards heritage place have many positive impacts considering economic contributions, however, there are many drawbacks which leads to loss of values among town. For instances, rising conservation practices may facilitate the conservation of historic fabric, however it leads to changes in local fabric and user profile. And also, as Ashworth (1998) claims that conservation practices, regarding renovation and refunction of the buildings, may lead to disappear of distinct identity of places. Economic structure has been transformed in town by the rising commercialism. Local character faces the danger of disappearing in line with the

overconsuming of historic assets (Strange, 1997). Through the private enterprises, utilization of heritage place as medium for marketing would result in loss of distinctive character of Ayvalık. Buildings which are originally built as living unit, industrial space or depot replaced by luxury dwellings, hotels, cafes, restaurants, galleries and workplace, etc. may create standardization. Furthermore, by creating places through the use of historic buildings, consumption is encouraged in parallel with changing local structure (Graham, 2002).

Regarding the rapid changes which pose threat to the local character of Ayvalık, by damaging the tangible and intangible values among that place, it should be noted that change in heritage places is needed to be managed by enhancing the knowledge about dynamics behind the process. In order to develop proper tools and implementations on managing changes occurred in heritage places, the underlying reasons and mechanisms which stimulate interest towards historic environment are needed to be analyzed. Therefore, a deeper understanding of interpretation and perception of involving actors is needed, related to conservation of historic buildings and heritage places.

1.1. Aim and Scope of the Thesis

In this research, it is aimed to elaborate the changes regarding the growing interest on cultural built heritage in Ayvalık and lay emphasis on the underlying dynamics. It is important to conduct this research in order to understand change considering its damage on local life and on the intrinsic values of heritage place. In order to carry this study, main objectives are identified as; to evaluate the underlying dynamics of changes with their pressing factors and to assess the evolution of the change and the path of the process in the heritage place.

Within the scope of this research, Ayvalık historic city center has been selected as field of study. Cunda has been excluded, however, impacts of activities taken place in Cunda have been taken in consideration. Change in Ayvalık is investigated in the context of rising conservation activities that lead to transformation of social, cultural, economic and physical structures along with the functional changes in the

heritage places. To understand the change, conservation interventions, functional changes and mobility in estate sale market have been analyzed in the course of site surveys. Data related to conservation interventions, functional changes and real estate sale is collected throughout the historic city center of Ayvalık. In order to elaborate the change deeply, two study area have been selected (Figure, 1.3). Study areas have been designated according to their location in Ayvalık which are considered as important that situated around the two important axis in the city. The Study Area I is located around the 13. Nisan Street which had been the main axis that ensure the connection between İzmir and Ayvalık, before the seaside road (Ataturk Boulevard) was constructed. The other Study Area is selected since it is one of the vertical axis that link the 13 Nisan Street to the seaside. The locational importance of the study areas is mentioned in the section titled as “Location and General Characteristics of Ayvalık”. Apart from the importance arising from their location, selected areas have been designated by taking into consideration of the phase of change which is newly occurred in the study areas. In order to analyze the change properly, study areas are selected due to the fact that they are identified as currently in state of change.

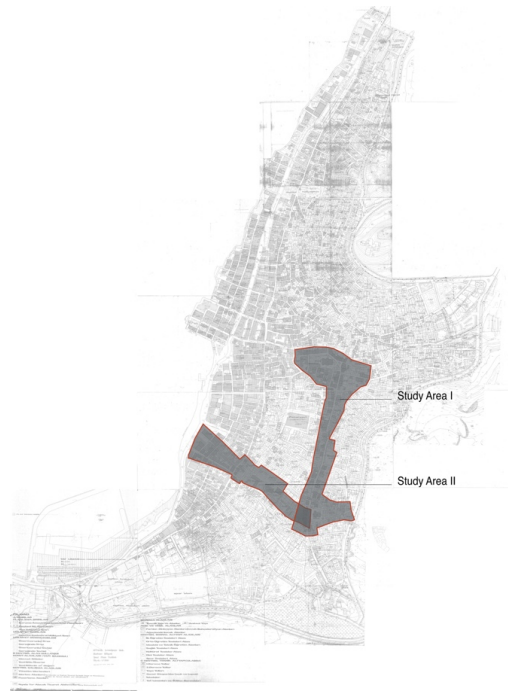


Figure 1.3 Selected Study Areas

Factors that contribute these changes are analyzed. Considering these factors, different actors may be responsible for the initiation and evolution of changes. Plan decisions, political attitude, institutional framework, local dynamics, socio-cultural structure and perceptions of different actors, in terms of rulers, professionals, local authorities, private enterprisers, inhabitants, etc. are playing important roles in the process of changes in the heritage places. Moreover, attitudes towards historic built environment among the key actors, taken main role in the changes, may vary from person to person regarding socio-cultural financial, symbolic or emotional reasons, as well.

In this study we mainly focus on newcomers' behavioral motives, choices, motivations on individual basis and impacts of their decisions regarding the heritage place. This research evaluated newcomers' motivations on individual basis while engaging in activities and conservation of historic built environment in Ayvalık. We mainly investigate the perceptions of newcomers and their interpretations and attached values are examined in this context. By investigating the impact of newcomers' activities in the cultural built heritage, we particularly aim to analyze the relation between changes and individual attempts. Despite the fact that interviews conducted with newcomers involved a limited groups of people, interviewees are designated as to represent a specific group of people in Ayvalık which let us gather information about different aspects and show situation from different perspectives. Interviewees are not determined according to the study areas. Zoning of the places that interviewees choose to live and work was not considered within the scope of this study. Yet, newcomers providing that live and work in Ayvalık historic city center, were invited to take part in the study.

In addition, local dynamics and developments are analyzed. Development and planning history of Ayvalık explained so as to highlight the historical background of conservation. Legislation on conservation examined in order to understand the impacts on attitude towards conservation in historical context. Change in the attitude towards conservation of heritage place are discussed to find the breaking points that

stimulate changes. Historical background of change has been investigated in order to understand the breaking points in detailed.

Also local people play important role in the process, but within the scope of this thesis, we have not considered locals' participation on the change. On the other hand, dynamics are explored according to the information received by means of local agents in order to understand the process of change. Local agents who take part in and witness to the process of change were invited to involve in the study. Local agents are selected according to their role in the process. Considering the importance of political perspective and the role of local politics, mayor of the Ayvalık would have been invited to the study. However, within the scope of this study it could not be accomplished. Finally, at the end of this thesis we try to highlight the formation of the change with the findings of the research.

1.2. Method and Methodology of the Thesis

To achieve the aim of the research, information on evolution of change in heritage place of Ayvalık collected from different sources. Data used in this research has been gathered through combination of different works such as in-depth interviews, on-site observations and context analysis. First, changes in Ayvalık are examined in the context of conservation interventions, functional changes and mobility in estate sale market which is claimed to be generated with the rising interest. In order to derive information regarding the rising interest on Ayvalık, emerging pattern of change and causal relationships between different act of newcomers are tried to be understood by following qualitative methods through the site surveys. Apart from the data produced through site-surveys, previous studies have been used in the course of research. In order to analyze and interpret the data gathered from different resources and site-surveys, the academic literature on the issue of conservation of built heritage was examined. By gathering data from site-surveys, in-depth interviews, academic publications, online sources, newspapers, magazines and previous studies on Ayvalık, important inferences are aimed to be made within the scope of this thesis.

Table 1.1 Formation of information from sources in the thesis

Sources		Content
Publications and related studies		- Related literature on functional, economic and social changes in heritage places and conservation of heritage places
Previous research and documents on Ayvalık		- General characteristics, historical development of Ayvalık
Plan and documents		- Planning and conservation activities in Ayvalık
Online sources, newspapers and magazines		- Interest on built heritage and activities carried in Ayvalık
Studio projects conducted by the 2015-2016 CONS 507, 2005-2006 REST 507		- Knowledge about local character, change and information on Study Area I
Site survey analysis	Observation on change occurring throughout the historic city center	- Conservation interventions, functional changes of buildings, mobility in real-estate sale market
	Observation on change in the selected study areas	- Differences between March 2016 and October 2016 regarding the conservation interventions, functional changes, mobility in real-estate sale market
In-depth interviews with newcomers	Owners of ateliers	- Attitudes towards heritage place, individual concerns and motivations, personal choices
	Owners of hotels	- Attitudes towards heritage place, individual concerns and motivations, personal choices
	Owners of café	- Attitudes towards heritage place, individual concerns and motivations, personal choices
In-depth interviews with local agents	Mukhtars	- Background of change, attitudes towards heritage place, perspective of locals, involvement of locals in change
	Architects	- Attitudes towards heritage place, choices of newcomers, conservation interventions undertaken by newcomers
	Real estate agents	- Attitudes towards heritage place, choices of newcomers, mobility in real estate market, perspective of locals, involvement of locals in change
	Owners of local coffee shops	- Background of change, attitudes towards heritage place, perspective of locals, involvement of locals in change

With the aim of understanding the social, economic and structural dynamics behind the emerging pattern on changes occurred recently in historic center of Ayvalık, site-survey has been conducted in two-stages. In the first stage, a survey in historic center of Ayvalık has been carried out between 3rd and 7th of March 2016 in order to gather data on spatial and physical changes. Conservation interventions, functional changes of buildings and mobility in estate real estate market have been investigated and identified by means of observations. Through the first part of the site survey, on-site observations have been used to enhance the knowledge about the stage of changes. Gathered data is demonstrated by mapping and visual materials. Following the data collected from the first site survey, the studio project conducted by the 2015-2016 CONS 507 - Planning and Design in Urban Conservation Studio is used as one of the main source in order to reinforce our findings and enhance the knowledge about local character. Apart from this, output of the studio project conducted in the course of REST507 Design in Restoration in 2005 is referred.

In the second stage of the site survey, in-depth interviews have been accomplished. During the site-survey, key actors in process were interviewed in face to face meetings arranged between 20th and 27th of October 2016.

The research consisting of two site surveys, conducted in seven months, may not enable us to build well-structured sociological analysis but provide a detailed understanding of situational condition. In addition to this with the intent of revealing physical changes in settlements generated, in seven months between first and second part of the fieldwork, on two main axis selected, and differences between March 2016 and October 2016 is compared. Even though comparison of changes between seven months apart two site surveys is not enough to establish every aspects of the change, it should be stated that this study focused on the change occurred in seven months time period.

In this regard the second survey has been designed by taking into account four groups, in terms of newcomers, architects, real estate agents and mukhtars¹, with the aim of conducting in-depth interviews. Questionnaire is categorized according to the respondents' roles in the process of change. Questions of interviews which target to gather information related to individual concerns and collective behavior behind the changes were set according to the roles of participations.

Group of newcomers, involved in changes in Ayvalık, are designated with regard to their roles in the process of refunctioning of historical buildings and conservation activities in terms of owners of ateliers, hotels and cafés. Newcomers and main actors taken part in changes of Ayvalık were invited to be involved in survey in order to see individual motivations and attitudes. Local participation is also important in the process of changes, however, locals are excluded within the scope of this study. However, architects, mukhtars, and real estate agents, as local agents regarding their roles as witnesses and assistants, were interviewed to reinforce the data derived from newcomers' responses. So that newcomers' involvement on change is not established only by their own perspective of themselves but with the perspective of local agents serving them. Furthermore, local agents also expressed the perspective of locals, their attitude towards built heritage and their involvement in change.

In addition to these six groups, two owners of the local coffeehouses were invited to participate as local agents, who follow the changes thoroughly. In total, thirty-four people participated in research consisting of six different groups according to their role taken part in the process. However, two interviews were not included in analysis due to the lack of information given by respondents.

¹ mukhtar is the headman who is responsible for the administrative duties in the districts (mahalle).

Through the in-depth interviews, newcomers have been questioned about their experiences, motivations behind conservation activities and their choices to live in Ayvalık. Motives and breaking points of the process of change in Ayvalık's social and economic structuring are investigated. In order to comprehend the impact of newcomers' activities on change, semi-structural interviews were prepared (Bryman, 2008).

1.3. Structure of the Thesis

This study consists of seven chapter. In the introduction chapter, definition on heritage and importance of conservation of heritage places are given. In pursuit of this, problem statement, aim and scope, methodology and structure of thesis are defined. Following introduction, changes in heritage places are defined in the second chapter. Approaches to the changes in historic urban areas are examined and discussions on gentrification term are presented. In this context, functional changes, economic changes and social changes occurred in heritage places are investigated. By presenting the social and economic changes in heritage places dangers and threatens of the process are tried to be emphasized.

In the third chapter, historical background of administrative and legislative framework on conservation is presented. Along with this, current legal framework in Turkey is explained. Fourth chapter is devoted to the Ayvalık. In this chapter, brief look on historical background of the region is analyzed. Firstly, history of settlement and development of city structure are investigated in order to understand the importance of the city history and the historical values of Ayvalık. Apart from this, planning history of town and development of settlement are analyzed so as to enhance information regarding the growing tendency of town. Dynamics behind the development of settlement is tried to be understood to provide relation between conservation and development in historical context. Beside this, conservation plans are investigated and the impact of policy decisions regarding to the historic environment in Ayvalık is given. Development of settlement and planning history are analyzed to understand whether there is a relation between changes in heritage place and plan decisions or not. Information about planning history and conservation

plans is tried to be demonstrated by visual documents. And finally, change in attitude toward historic built environment in Ayvalık are examined in historical context.

In chapter five, site survey analysis is presented in three sections. At first, based upon the observation obtained throughout the first part of the site-survey, general information about current state of changes is tried to be demonstrated. Changes are observed here in three topics in terms of conservation interventions, adaptive reuses and mobility in estate sale market. In pursuit of this introduction of the analysis generated from the first part of field work, as seen in the first section, data gathered from in-depth interviews, is presented and evaluated in second and third sections which are titled as “emerging pattern of socio cultural and economic restructuring” and “mediating factors”. In the second section, newcomers’ profile is analyzed deeply. Within this section, we benefited from previous researches and studies to reinforce our findings. Next, behavioral motives of newcomers are analyzed. In this part, data related to the newcomers are observed separately according to their activities as owners of ateliers, hotels and cafes. Respondents’ individual choices related to their attempts are presented. Within this section, common points are tried to be detected and behavioral differences are compared. In addition to this, socio economic profile of newcomers is tried to be given. In the third section, mediating factors in terms of motivations which stimulate people to start to live in Ayvalık and engage in activities, are given in two different subsections. Firstly, sociocultural concerns of newcomers are explained in details. In this section, individual motivations on social and cultural context are investigated. Moreover, growing interest on cultural built heritage and relative values attributed to the historic built environment are discussed in detail. And then economic rationalities behind their attempts are analyzed and discussed.

In the chapter six, discussion on site survey findings is conducted. Causal relationships between newcomers’ attempts and events are presented and discussed. In order to present the organizational pattern of change, self-organization framework is used and pattern formation in change is tried to be discussed. And finally, in

concluding remarks, based on the findings of research, impacts of newcomers' interpretations and perceptions to historic built environment and motivations on individual basis are deliberated. Impacts of change in terms of positive and negative outcomes of growing interest of newcomers, are briefly discussed. Suggestions and further remarks for the further research are given.

CHAPTER 2

2. CHANGES IN HERITAGE PLACE

In this chapter, it is aimed to explore the related literature and perspectives on changes in heritage places. Changes in historic urban places as cultural heritage places and the literature's approach in this change are discussed in this chapter. As Jokilehto (2005) states that “the situation of the cultural heritage has deteriorated during recent years as a result of industrialization, rapid urbanization, the increase in atmospheric pollution, various climatic factors and mass tourism. In addition, many examples of the non-physical heritage are dying out because of the disruption of economic structures and rapid changes in lifestyles”. Here the main emphasis is on the change of heritage places due to economic, social and cultural restructuring. In order to understand the changes occurred in heritage places, conservation of historic buildings, firstly brief look on physical changes, then social changes and economic changes generated in.

As long as heritage places are considered as only physical fabric, they are subjected to change by means of physical effects like industrialization, urbanization, tourism, etc. Conserved areas or buildings, in other words restructured historic fabrics, provide increased benefits to users by means of enhanced historicity and the physical appearance which attract attention (Graham, 2002). On the one part, reuse of historic buildings means bringing them to life, on the other hand it generates economic vitality. However, undertaken conservation interventions bring about forceful transformations in physical social and economic structures in the place (Sampaio, 2007). This transformation is entitled as gentrification by some of the scholars like Sampaio stating that gentrification is a term to define displacement of indigenous people with the help of conservation activities (Sampaio, 2007).

Gentrification term was first coined in 1960's to define the transformation of inner city which means converting working class living area to a middle class area by the middle-class uses. In time, gentrification term has been approached and discussed in different context and defined differently in several studies (Hamnett, 1991; Smith, 1996; Zukin, 1989). As Sassen (2001, 261) states, "gentrification was initially understood as rehabilitation of decaying or low-income housing by middle-class outsiders in central cities. In the late 1970s, a broader conceptualization of the process began to emerge, and by the early 1980s, new scholarship had developed a far broader meaning of gentrification, linking with process of spatial, economic, and social restructuring. Gentrification emerged as a visible spatial component of this transformation". However, these different types of gentrification definitions have something in common that "socioeconomic and indeed cultural transformation due to middle-class colonization" (Lees, et.al, 2008).

Gentrification is seen as inevitable result of revitalization of historic urban areas which have deteriorated and experienced obsolescence (Tiesdell et al., 1996). Tiesdell et. al (1996) claims that "unless the existing buildings are vacant, there will usually be element of displacement and gentrification, because as an area is revitalized it begins to experience higher property value uses and attracts users willing to and able to pay higher rents". Therefore, it is possible to state that changes due to physical transformation brings about economic and social change. In this context, first physical and functional changes are observed and then economic restructuring and social changes are discussed in the following sections.

2.1. Physical-Functional Change

Reuse of historic fabric through the needs of contemporary usages, is a frequently subject of conservation and planning researches. Before attempting to explain reusing of historic urban quarters, obsolescence of historic buildings should be mentioned. Lichfield (1988) explains obsolescence by mismatch between the service provided by buildings and the emerging needs in contemporary world. Revitalization mediate to solve this mismatch which may be derived from its

economic activities by using obsolete fabric (Tiesdell et al., 1996). Through revitalization process, obsolete fabric is aimed to use for adaptive reuses in parallel with contemporary requirements. Refurbishment, conversion and redevelopment by demolishing are given as modes of physical revitalization (Tiesdell et al., 1996).

However, recognition of conservation did not develop on a sudden and many people had a tendency to leave their old houses. Image obsolescence is one of the important reason of the abandoning historic quarters which is a result of perception towards buildings' image. With the changing trends and technologies, historic buildings are seen less suitable according to needs of modern way of life. In other words, these buildings may not be suitable in perception of modern image (Tiesdell et al., 1996).

Growing interest have brought about a dramatic change in heritage places especially in historic cities since the conservation of historic urban fabric has started to be used for economic profits, aesthetic and touristic reasons. Historic buildings are adopted according to the contemporary requirements. These requirements are taken shape by the utilization of buildings such as loft houses, restaurants, cafes, hotels galleries etc.

In terms of economic activity, conversion of historic buildings for a new use is taken as “functional restructuring”, on the other hand operating of existing usages in more efficient way is given as “functional regeneration”. Rehabilitation of historic buildings involves “restoration, refurbishment and conversion” processes approached here functional restructuring of buildings along with the social and cultural restructuring (Tiesdell et al., 1996)

However, only physical intervention may result in unsustainable revitalization in historic quarters. Therefore, according to Tiesdell et al (1996) process of revitalization of historical quarters should involve economic and social structure along with the physical structure. Physical intervention which only focus on historic fabric lead to change in social and cultural character of historic quarters along with the functional changes (Tiesdell et al., 1996). As Tiesdell et al (1996, 42) stated,

“unless the buildings are empty, restructuring also entails the displacement of existing functions and users”.

On the other hand, tourism-led and culture-led revitalization of historic quarters are another important topic in conservation planning of historic quarters. Thus, cultural value of historic fabric becomes important for the revitalization process. Cultural value may give rise to economic value and also contribute to the production of other goods and services such as “in advertising, in tourism, in stimulating modern artists, architects, and musicians to create new works” (Throsby, 1999). This accelerates the tourism-led or culture-led revitalization in historic quarters. However, this process is oriented by economic profit which may push heritage places into background and just focus on economic gatherings.

2.2. Economic Change

Commercial use of historic buildings stimulates conservation activities. The impact of attraction of historic environment on tourism has been experiencing as economic restructuring. In parallel with the investment on conservation activities, rising interest in historical buildings has resulted in increase in estate sales and changes in historical quarters of cities. Smith (1996) explains this type of behavior as reinvestment of capital on urban center. Zukin (1989) also approaches to the changes in inner city, which was discussed in the concept of loft living in old industrial area, as urban restructuring that induced by capital movement rather than just focusing on the cultural dynamics.

Interest towards historic buildings give rise to the investments on region which leads to increase in the buildings’ real estate values, and manipulation in real estate markets. As Zukin (1989) mentioned while making a synthesis of culture and capital motive in gentrification process, “cultural validation helps valorize their housing investment and activism on behalf of historic property eases the transition, for some of them, into semi-professional and part time real estate development”. While newcomers are investing on their prospect alternative life, they make investments on historic buildings which has also have real estate value. Their attempts contribute

to the increase in interest on historic buildings. Growing interest and rising mobility in real estate market lead to increase in values of properties. And this creates “opportunity space” (Pendlebury et al., 2004) for those who are seeking profit by using real estate values of historic buildings. This means, interest of newcomers stimulates them to invest on historic built environment which implicitly turns them into agents of economic change. Considering all of these, newcomers’ identification with conservation activities and refunction of old buildings should be examined in economic context as well.

Rising activities in heritage place attract more private enterprises who regard historic environment as opportunity space to make an investment and stimulate more investments in pursuit of their activities. This shows that entrepreneurial behavior which is mainly affected by economic rationalities impacts on economic structure in town, historic built environment and people who are living there. Particularly, entrepreneurial behavior of newcomers contributes to increase in value of built environment through their investment by generating more attention and create change in local economic conditions either (Harvey, 1989). These changes come into sight with the increase in economic value of buildings. Increase in prices of historic buildings is mainly connected with the consideration of buildings as an investment tool along with the rising interest (Larkham, 2014). And also through the changing process, real estate speculators becoming part of gentrification by “buying, converting and selling”.

“In all instances the mechanism is similar: building owners and other landlords seek to increase or maximize their profits by trying to attract higher value uses and/or tenants able to pay higher rents” (Tiesdell et al., 1996). And also rising activities in heritage place, attracts high value sector into the area, and displace lower income shoppers (Pendlebury et al., 2004). And this place high pressure to the tenants located in the area who may force to displace. This kind of manner increases real estate values resulting a social change in the neighbourhood due to purchasing power of the people. Therefore, physical enhancement and economic restructuring create displacement and disempowerment in heritage places.

2.3. Social Change

Social change is termed in gentrification when existing users and uses replaced by new adapted reuses in line with needs of high income people. Displacements in the process of restructuring is core evidence of gentrification process. It is mostly described as historic quarters located in inner city transformed into middle and high income people places gradually. As Lees, Slater and Wyly (2008) stated, “gentrification or ‘gentry-fication’ means the replacement of an existing population by gentry”. Appleyard (1979) also defines gentrification as “middle or upper class invasion of a lower class neighborhood”.

During the gentrification process, inhabits are transformed by newcomers, and landowners voluntarily or involuntarily leave their dwellings, poorer renters are displaced (Smith, 1996). In the research related to changes in heritage places in terms of regeneration of historic towns, the role of upper and middle class in changes of historic quarters is affirmed (Pendlebury, 2013; Tiesdell et al., 1996). Besides, in gentrification literature it is also seen that middle and upper class people play important role in the transformation process (Butler, 1997; Smith, 1996; Zukin, 1987, 1989).

Local indigenous attitude towards historic buildings have taken shape by the rise of interest from outsiders. Their awareness of the value of dwellings has gradually risen and given shape to the changes. However, as Murzin-Kupisz (2013) mentioned, “if the local community does not have sufficient knowledge, skills or capital to launch heritage related tourism business, it may benefit to some extent from jobs created in the hospitality sector, but the lion’s share of the profits will go to externally based owners of hospitality establishments”. This situation lead to urgent need for social conservation. By this reason, maintaining of social structure along with the historic fabric has been becoming important issue (Appleyard, 1979). Rising attraction in region leads to dissolvment of locality.

In this context, using historic buildings and consumption evolving in parallel with restructuring town life constraint identity through the cultural symbols which give

shape to daily life in line with the newcomers' demands. New emerged social community and the social life that have been developed around these new facilities, is different than before. As Marcuse (1985). state that "both abandonment and gentrification are linked directly to changes in the city's economy, which have produced a dramatic increase in the economic polarization of the population". Considering the purchasing power of low income groups, adaptive reuse of historic buildings may not involve locals. New emerged cafes and restaurants founded in repaired and refunctioned buildings may only appeal to those who have high purchasing power. Hence, it would be stated that the process of transformation of social and cultural structure compose of both rising activities among newcomers and the exclusion of locals from the new emerged places.

CHAPTER 3

3. ADMINISTRATIVE AND LEGAL FRAMEWORK ON CONSERVATION IN TURKEY

In this chapter we focus on historical development of administrative and legal framework in Turkey. By doing so, it is aimed to understand timing and tempo of causalities and determination in between critical and important changes in legal and administrative framework related to the heritage conservation and the development of city in parallel with conservation experiences. This is considered as necessary in order to clarify the underlying dynamics of development conservation perception in Ayvalık and reasons of changes generated recently.

3.1. Historical Development of Legislation on Conservation

Till the 1950's the conservation legislation and administrative framework in Turkey have not been developed in Turkey. The first law concerning conservation of historical urban areas in Turkey was the last Ancient Monument Regulation (Asar-ı Atika Nizannamesi) which had been regulated in 1906 by Ottoman Empire, adopted by Turkish Republic (Şahin Güçhan & Kurul, 2009). This regulation, which had been first devised to rule archeological excavations and procedures related with it, mainly focused on the conservation of artefacts and monuments (Dinçer, 2011). Until 1973 when the first legislation arranged by Republic, Ancient Monument Regulation had remained in force (Madran & Özgönül, 2005) which is implemented by the Supreme Council of Historical Assets and Monuments (Dinçer, 2011). During this term, conservation attitude concerned only with individual buildings or artefacts. However, since the beginning of 1950's the rising development idea has caused a pressure on existing built environment. In many cities in Turkey destruction of historic urban fabric has happened in parallel with "development

attitude” (Güçhan and Kurul, 2009, 27). The notion of development had the meaning of new development on urban land in terms of construction. Besides this, inhabitants chose to leave the historic urban quarters and moved into new development areas which caused degeneration, deterioration and destruction of historic built environment in cities (Dinçer, 2011). During this process, most of the important cultural and natural properties have been lost countrywide since urban tissue has not been considered to preserve in those years as similar with the general understanding in the world.

In 1951, High Council for Historic Real Estate and Monuments established by law. High Council was the first institution which had the decision making power with autonomous structure in Turkey (Madran & Özgönül, 2005). Following this, with the regulation of Act No 1710 in 1973, conservation focus has started to shift from the artefacts to the sites (Aktüre, 2003). Also it was the first time that new perceptions to conservation with holistic approaches have been introduced (Dinçer, 2011). According to the Act No 1710, decisions related to designation and repair assigned to the High Council, and development plans were imposed obligation of taken approval of High Council. For the first time, “site” and “conservation area” definitions have been made with this regulation which was the most important development in conservation history in Turkey. Apart from this, financial and technical support for the cost of maintenance has been mentioned for the first time (Madran & Özgönül, 2005). However, turning point happened by the Declaration of Amsterdam in 1975, and scope of conservation shifted at urban scale in international level (Jokilehto, 1999). Apart from the shifting on scale of conservation, this declaration pointed out legal and administrative framework which based on integrated conservation attitude consisting of administrative, legal, financial and technical support (Şahin Güçhan & Kurul, 2009). And also, social factors in conservation areas were recognized not in legislative but in practice. Following these new perspectives, conservation legislation and interventions were taken into consideration in Turkey in line with internationally agreed standards.

However, with the political shift in Turkey, main changes in conservation legislation

has been applied in 1980's. In 1983 localization in conservation has been initiated with the Act No 2863 the Law on the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Assets. Following this shift, High Council was replaced by High Council for Conservation of Cultural and Natural Heritage and Regional Councils. In this way, while decision making mechanism was assigned to the High Council, control mechanism was distributed to the Regional Councils which made it more accessible by providing local services (Dinçer, 2011). Apart from the institutional change, conservation became a concern for urban planning with this Act and for the first time "Conservation Development Plan" was defined.

In 2000's legislation framework has been changed and set the stage for new conservation practices. In 2004 the Law on the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Assets was amended by the enactment of the Act No 5226 and some of the articles in Law have been changed according to the No 5226. Especially regulations related to the providing grants for repairs of properties have been arranged. Along with the rearrangement of financial resources, institutional changes and new establishments occurred. Hereunder, offices for Conservation, Implementation and Inspection of Properties in Historical Areas (KUDEB) have begun to be established within the municipalities. These offices, who provide experts in the field of conservation, serve by supervising projects and conservation practices (Dinçer, 2011). As a result of the all these changes in administrative framework and legislations related to conservation, recognition to conservation of historic properties has transformed. In line with this shift, conservation of historic buildings became an attractive sector and using of heritage places became valuable. Accelerating understanding of importance of conservation paves the way to rise in interest towards reuse of historic buildings and may motivate people to undertake conservation projects. However, current legal framework and stages of architectural conservation should be taken into consideration while examining the attitudes and motivations behind conservation of historic properties. Bearing in mind the complex process of architectural conservation, current legislation in Turkey is needed to be briefly introduced in order to understand the challenge of owning a historic building and enter into obligation.

3.2.Current Legal Framework and Stages of Architectural Conservation

In the main document regulating the conservation proceedings and activities titled as “Law on the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Property” Act No 2863, renewal of historical areas is described and responsibilities related to the maintaining process specified. According to this specification, although registered buildings are embraced as public good and conserved for the public weal, private owners of historical buildings are obligated to maintain them which is indicated as “users of cultural and natural property to be protected shall be obliged to maintain, repair and restore these in line with the principles defined in this Law and undertake the related expenses” in the paragraph 3 of article 14 in Act No 2863 (Act No: 2863 Law on the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Property). This obligation brings about the issues of technical, bureaucratic and financial enforcements which turn conservation into challenge to cope with it.

In the case of the need to comprehensive repair, preparation of a conservation project is a mandatory regulation including architectural survey (rölöve), graphic restitution (restitüsyon) and restoration project conducted by a professional architect which is described in the principle Decree No: 660 generated by the Superior Council for Conservation of Cultural and Natural Property 660 Nolu İlke Kararı (1999). After preparation of those projects, approval of the Regional Council for Conservation which is finalized by taking approval of Ministry of Tourism (Bilgin Altınöz, et. al., 2011), should be obtained in order to initiate the architectural and technical process. Therefore, it is possible to state that comprehensive repair of a historical building is quite lengthy process in comparison with reparation of an ordinary building. Considering all these stages of conservation project which should be accomplished in coordinated with schedule of application requirements, conservation projects may be regarded as deterrent and challenging process especially those who do not attach any value to the historic properties. Beyond the preparation of the project and technical hardness related to it, owners have to get through the long bureaucratic process before the execution of the conservation project. The long process of the paper works that need to be undertaken by the

private owners in tandem with architect, may seem deterrent and lead to conservation project perceived as insuperable when the related expense in substantial amount is also taken into account. Private owners of the historical buildings have to manage with the financial expense coming along with the costs of preparation and execution of conservation project and application to the council.

Nevertheless, technical and financial support is provided if deemed appropriate by The Ministry of Culture and Tourism following the application and approval process. Under the title of “aid for repair of immovable cultural property and contribution fee”, assistance providing for conservation, maintenance and repair of cultural property is briefly mentioned. According to the principles related to the aid which is specified in detailed in the “regulation on the contribution fee for the conservation of immovable cultural property” and “regulation on aid and assistance in the repair of immovable cultural property” (Act No: 2863 Law on the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Property) for the preparation of the projects 50.000TL, for the execution of the projects 70% of the total expense which should not exceed the 200.000TL are supplied by the Ministry. In addition to this, owners can apply for the loans provided by the Mass Housing Development Administration (TOKI).

However, considerable amount of the grants and loans given by Ministry and TOKI is provided after assurance of the completed project. This means, owners have to allocate huge amount of the expenses from their own sources until the end of the project which may take between 3 or 4 years to finalize. On the other hand, tax privilege, in terms of exemptions from various taxes and reductions in income tax in the case of commercial use, coming with the enactment of the Law No. 5225 in 2004 titled as “Law on the Encouragement of Cultural Investments and Initiatives” can be considered as indirect financial supporting which aim to encourage people to invest in conservation projects (Law No. 5225, Law on the Encouragement of Cultural Investments and Initiatives).

CHAPTER 4

4. THE HERITAGE PLACE FACING CHANGE; AYVALIK

This chapter aims to reveal a brief look on Ayvalık in order to enhance the knowledge about historic and cultural assets of the region and specific characteristics of the historic city. In order to understand the importance of the historic and cultural assets, historical background of Ayvalık is presented. Besides, it aims to understand the development of settlement and planning history in order to gain knowledge about conservation background of Ayvalık. Following this, changes in attitude towards historic built environment in Ayvalık city center is examined since previous attitudes historic environment have significant impacts on changes in Ayvalık. In this context, this chapter first introduces Ayvalık and focus on location and general characteristics of Ayvalık. The following section provides a brief look on historical background of Ayvalık. And then, next section reveals the development of settlement and planning history. The fourth section presents physical properties and buildings types and characteristics in Ayvalık. And the final section gives a brief history of the changes in attitude towards cultural heritage in Ayvalık.

4.1. Location and General Characteristics of Ayvalık

4.1.1. Geography and Natural Characteristics of Region

Ayvalık is a coastal town, which is located on the northwestern Aegean coast of Turkey (Figure 4.1). Ayvalık, as one of the provinces of Balıkesir, is bordered by Burhaniye in the north-east, Bergama in the east and Dikili in the south-east.

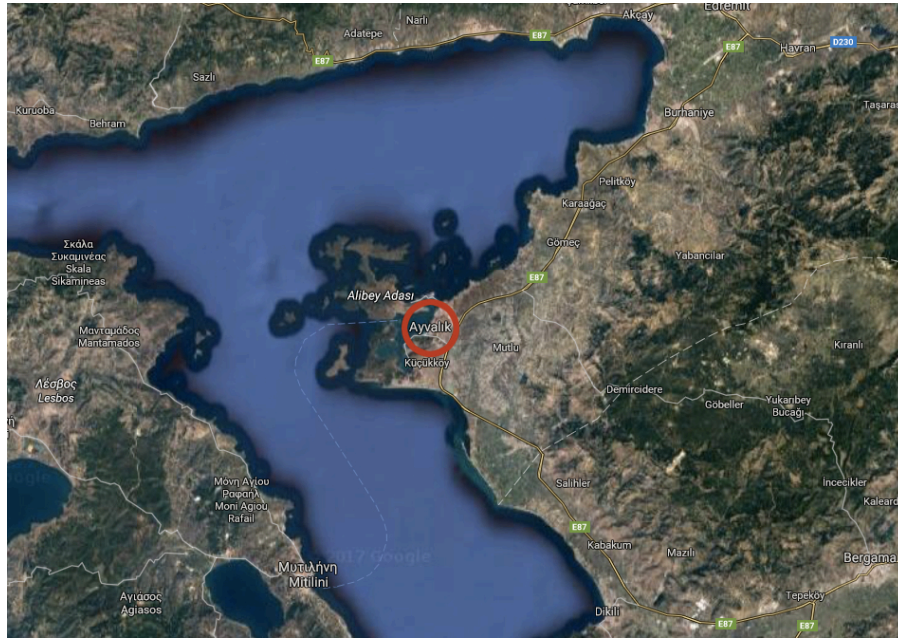


Figure 4.1: Location of Ayvalık

Ayvalık locates in a unique geography which is surrounded by pine and olive tree hills on the east, inner sea on the west and Kaz Mountains and Gömeç plain on the north. And also it is surrounded by Ayvalık Islands, which define an inner sea by composing of 22 different islands including Cunda (also called as Alibey) Island, and facing the Greek Island of Lesbos. Natural structure of the region composed of islands, hills, bays, coves peninsulas and straits create a natural harbor in the region (UNESCO, 2017).

Regarding the geographical characteristics of Ayvalık, there is a wide variety of natural assets. Especially, Ayvalık is recalled with endemic species specific to the northern Aegean Region. Besides, Ayvalık hosts huge amount of olive groves covering approximately 41.3% of the region (UNESCO, 2017) which provides raw materials for the industrial production of town, such as olive oil, soap, etc. Distinctive features of the olive, which is specific to the region, makes the produced olive-oil important and unique (UNESCO, 2017). It is stated that olive groves, that cover approximately 13.200 ha, create the important part of the natural environment in the region (UNESCO, 2017). Apart from this, fertile soil and climate

characteristics contribute to be rich in other agricultural production. Besides the endemic species to the region and olive groves, Ayvalık is rich in marine species, as well.

4.1.2. Characteristics of the Settlement; Physical Properties and Architectural Features



Figure 4.2 General view of the settlement

In the historic city center of Ayvalık there is a rich variety of structures which have been mostly from the 19th century (UNESCO, 2017). The settlement of Ayvalık has been developed in a linear urban form in the south-north axis. The street pattern of the city is laid in the grid plan formation which is taken shape irregularly in line with the topography (UNESCO, 2017).

Commercial center of the city is located in the coastline along with the industrial core. Commercial and industrial zone, are composed of administrative, commercial and industrial buildings which have been mainly built as factories and workshops served as olive-oil and soap production-sale places. By the construction of the Ataturk Boulevard which is the main transportation artery of the city, some part of the production and trade zone has been separated (UNESCO, 2017). While in the north trade and production zone has been left in the east part of the road, in the south they are reunited with urban tissue.



Figure 4.3 Views from the seaside

In the south-east of the city center, depots region, which is composed of historic depots and factories, is located. The commercial core and depots region are followed by residential zone in the east, which is bordered by pine forest as natural threshold. In the residential zone it is seen that settlement has been developed around the churches that create important nodes constituted the core of the residential quarters. For example, Taksiyarhis Church as one of the oldest and biggest church in the town located in the core of the settlement. Residential zone has been extended around the Church and taken shape an organic form. In the east part of the Church residential area stretches towards Sakarya hill. In the south, residential area consisting of old buildings is followed by the new constructions and villas. New buildings extend over Çamlık region in the south.

There are four main axis in the city apart from the constructed seaside road, Ataturk Boulevard. Two of them 13 Nisan Street and Barbaros Boulevard is laid in parallel with the coastline, the other two of them cut vertical to the settlement which provide connection between sea and the inner neighborhoods. 13 Nisan Street had carried importance before the Ataturk Boulevard has been constructed since it had provided the main link between İzmir and Ayvalık. There was important workshops along the street. However, after the construction of seaside road, 13 Nisan Street has lost its importance and stayed behind. Important components of the residential fabric are remarked as churches, schools, houses, shops, workshops and local coffee shops in the historic city. Considering the impacts on the development of residential area,

churches are important components of the settlement as mentioned before. Seven churches have remained to the present day in the city center. Currently, four of them, which have been converted to mosques, are in use. Taksiyarhis Church mentioned above has been renovated and converted to the museum (Figure 4.4)



Figure 4.4 Taksiyarhis Church (source: wikipedia)

Also, one of the churches which is known as Phaneromeni or Hagiasma is privately owned which has been used for olive-oil production for a while. Another important church known as Hagia Triada is in severe situation due to the fact that it was used as storage in the past (UNESCO, 2017) (Figure, 4.5).



Figure 4.5 Hagia Triada Church

Apart from the converted churches, only historic mosque that is known as Hamidiye Mosque is remained from the 1895. Mosque has neoclassical features in line with the 19th century architectural characteristics (UNESCO, 2017). Schools are another component of residential fabric in Ayvalık. School buildings, which are stone masonry and one-meter-high over the ground single storied buildings, have been built as attached to churches which make them located in the core of the quarters (UNESCO, 2017) (Figure 4.6).



Figure 4.6 School building

Ayvalık Houses are giving a unique character to Ayvalık, constructing the most important residential fabric in the settlement which also define the narrow streets in urban. Ayvalık Houses are one, two or three floored buildings usually built in row formation facing towards the street as narrow building lots. A courtyard and/or a garden is a part of every building, placed in the backside of building lot. Stone masonry facades of the buildings are embellished with fine cut stone blocks specially on the building corners, window and door jambs and floor mouldings. Facades are made with a local stone named “Sarımsak Taşı” (UNESCO, 2017).



Figure 4.7 Narrow streets defining by Ayvalık Houses

Almost all of the houses have been built in 19th century, which have all features of Mediterranean and Aegean traditional architecture (UNESCO, 2017). While having the features of the Neo Classical Architecture, with their glorious narrow facades these houses are the essence of traditional architecture in Ayvalık (Figure 4.8).



Figure 4.8 Examples for Ayvalık Houses

Another important features in the urban fabric are the industrial buildings in the city (Figure 4.9). Buildings used as production space or depots for industrial products are categorized as factories, workshops and depots. As distinction features of the olive oil factories, brick chimneys has importance for the urban identity of Ayvalık. Although majority of the chimneys has currently been severe condition, most of them has remained today.



Figure 4.9 Examples for industrial buildings; factories and depots

4.2. Brief Look on Historic Background of Ayvalık and Surroundings

Historical background of the settlements in the region dates back to the ancient times. In written sources, it is pointed that there were three settlements in the region, which was the agricultural hinterland of the Mytilene, as Nasos, Pordoselini and Chalkis on the island of Moschonisi, known as Cunda currently. In these periods, the islands around Ayvalık (Kydonies) including Moschonisi, called as Hekatonnesoi (Psarros, 2004). As the inhabitants of the region was under attack of pirates, they scattered and chose to settle far away from the coastline. And this resulted in abandoned of these settlements in the 6th century (Psarros, 2004).

Since the ancient times, this region was home to settlements of different population. Yet, in written sources it is stated that the town became host for mixed population of Greek-Christian and Muslim around 1500's (Bayraktar, 1998; Psarros, 2004). When Mohammed the Conqueror conquered the Mytilene in 1462, existed

settlement was destroyed. However, thereafter town was rebuilt by the old Greek inhabitants and Muslim colonists (Psarros, 2004). Psarros claims that inhabitants had collaborated with pirates since the older times so as to carry booty to the heartland of Anatolia. It is stated that Kydonies was built alongside the beach by people from Lesbos who use region as a pier in order to transmit swags from mainland to the smugglers (Psarros, 2004). According to the Psarros, this landing stage was located in the center of town where is currently Ataturk statue existing.

According to the sources, on the hill above town of Greek and Muslim population, copse of quince trees was existed. And it is claimed that these quince trees gave the town its name 'Kydonies' in Greek and 'Ayvalık' in Turkish, both of means "place of Quince trees" (Psarros, 2004; Yorulmaz, 1997).

During the 18th century, olive production is the main economic power of the town which is the result of rising demand on olive oil. And development of Ayvalık based on olive production. In this period Ayvalık was under rule of Ottoman Empire in which Christians and Muslims was living together, yet majority consisted of Christians. However, in 1773 the privileges for Ayvalık, which is gained by the effort of Ioannis Oikonomos, are given by Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca (Yorulmaz, 1997). Following the treaty, Muslim population forced to relocate surrounding villages. On the other hand, with the privileges secured for Ayvalık, development of town accelerated. And Ayvalık became an important industrial center based on the olive production. Likewise, new classes emerged in town who specialized on producing, trade and marine. Through this process, education started to develop in town which is in particular seen from the founding of the academies and libraries. The foundation of Academy of Kydonies in 1803 is considered the initiation of becoming the most important center of education of its time in the region. And also the Academy of Kydonies and printing-press of town are seen as the base of dynamic cultural activities in Ayvalık (Şahin Güçhan, 2009). During this term, Ayvalık, Cunda and Küçükköy, which is a neighbor village of Ayvalık city center, were rapidly growth (Figure 4.2).

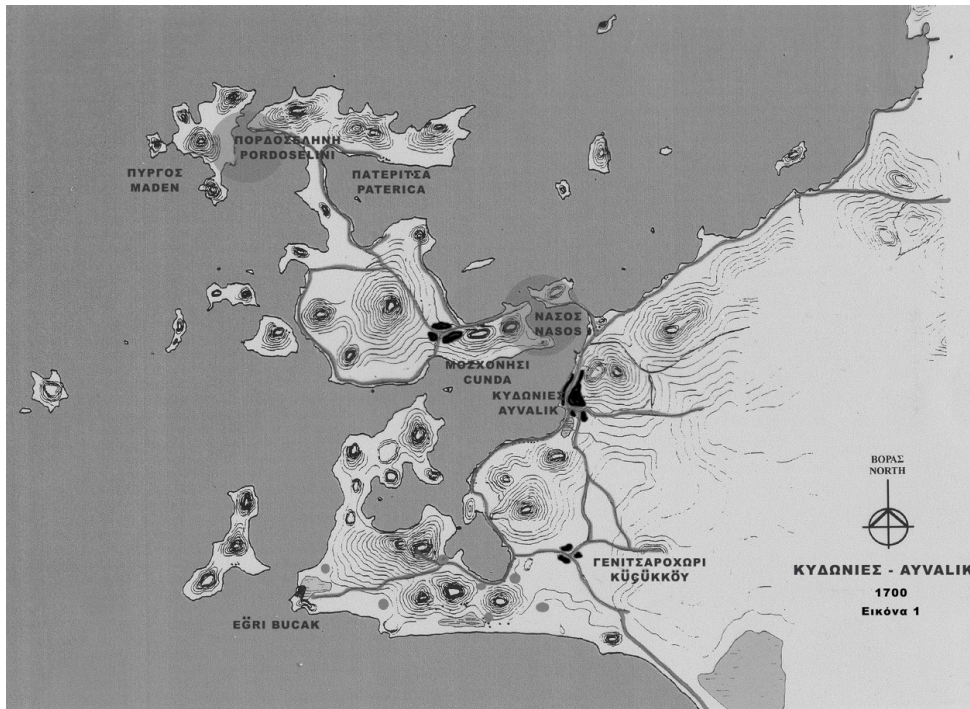


Figure 4.10: Ayvalık region in 18th century (Psarros, 2004)

However, the impact of Greek Revolution on Ayvalık was devastating. Through the suppress of the rebellion, inhabits got damaged and left city. As a result of Greek Revolution, Cunda, Ayvalık and Küçükköy were destroyed. Yet, after ten years, in 1832, by the decisions of Sultan, 20.000 inhabits returned to the Ayvalık. And these three settlements were rebuilt by those who had to abandon Ayvalık. During the reconstruction, the rebuilt city's coastline shifted 100-200 meters to the west since the ruins of destroyed buildings which had been massed into the sea (Psarros, 2004).

Following the administrative reforms in 1856, the development of Ayvalık gained momentum. Increase in population resulted in the growth of settlement. By the rising of building activities, urban areas developed in north-south direction and new neighborhood were established (Figure 4.3) in this period. From the 1870's Neoclassicism has started to be seen in architectural activities in Ayvalık which is similar with Balkans and Asia Minor. Most of the buildings such as churches, schools and houses, which have still remained standing, was built in neoclassical style(Psarros, 2004).

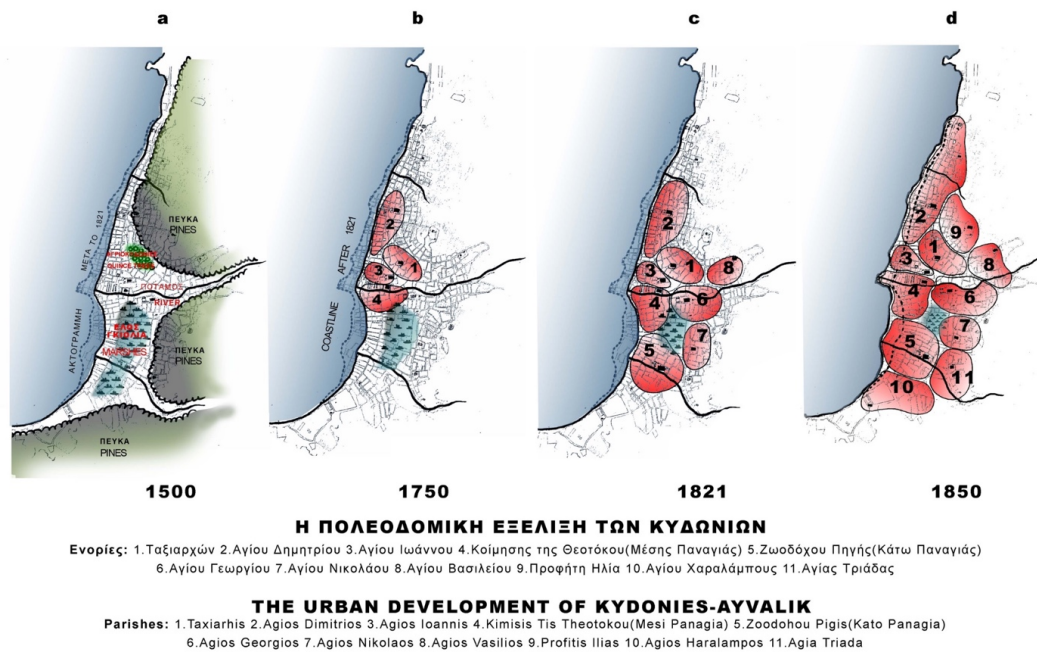


Figure 4.11 Urban Development of Ayvalık (Psarros, 2004)

During this period 1880s in parallel with the economic development coming with the olive oil production, Ayvalık's industrial production became varied as tobacco, viticulture and viniculture, salt refinery and leather industry (Şahin Güçhan, 2009). As a result of this economic prosperity, Ayvalık has grown rapidly which was in particular experienced in commercial and cultural activities throughout the town. Increase in wealth had outstanding impacts on architectural characteristics and daily life and urban pattern of the city (Şahin Güçhan, 2009).

Briefly, during the 18th and 19th centuries, Ayvalık became one of the important city after the ports of Bandırma in the Marmara region and İzmir in the Aegean region with the impact of production and commerce. In the beginning of 20th century Ayvalık was going to develop by having a population of 22 000 inhabitants (Psarros, 2004). However, development was ceased by the First World War, and Ayvalık experienced a dramatic change. During the war most of the Greek inhabitants had to leave Ayvalık. After war ended with the victory of Turkey, in 1923, the Treaty of Lausanne was signed which decided a forced population exchange. The Greek

population in Ayvalık, Cunda and Küçükköy were settled in different part of Greece. At the same time, Muslims who came from Lesbos and Macedonia were settled in buildings abandoned by Greeks in Ayvalık, those who came from Crete were settled in Cunda (Arı, 1994). This forced migration caused crucial problems such as management of the migration process and the distribution of abandoned properties. Apart from this, relocated people among both of the nations suffered from psychological trauma of forced migration. And Ayvalık was the one of the settlement which was the home for migrated people from Greece.

4.3. Development of Ayvalık and Planning History

The development of Ayvalık has been affected by different factors over the years. In line with this, changes generated in city have been stimulated by different reasons and one of the important drivers among them was the planning tools. Considering its historic built environment and cultural importance, Ayvalık has experienced different phase of conservation regulations despite the development pressure coming with rapid urbanization. After foundation of Turkish Republic, development of Ayvalık city has stagnated until the 1940's. From that time Ayvalık has experienced different phase of the control and planning. In 1944, Ayvalık got serious damaged by the earthquake and changes in urban texture have started to be seen (Büken Cantimur, 2011). Following the damage of the earthquake, new buildings were built. It is stated that until the first city plan, which was prepared by the Ministry of Development and Housing but not implemented, general structure of the historic town had been preserved (Şahin Güçhan, 2009). Nevertheless, after the preparation of the development plan in 1948, buildings around the main square were demolished in the process of extension of the pier (Şahin Güçhan, 2009) and general structure of the town center has started to change gradually.

In this period, with the aim of widening of roads, many cities have experienced the demolition of historical buildings in Turkey. Ayvalık is also one of those historic towns in which historic built environment has been teared. In 1950 with the widening of the seaside road and the landfill of seashore, connection between sea has been lost, consequently sea transportation and fishing was gradually disappeared

(Aykaç et. al., 2009). During the construction of main artery, Atatürk Boulevard, many symbolic historical buildings as the Academy were demolished (Şahin Güçhan, 2009). After the initiation of these interventions even most of the functional structures could not be preserved such as power plant and single storey buildings in order to build modern high rise blocks (Şahin Güçhan, 2009, 65).

Between 1950 – 1970, as mentioned in the previous section, historic urban fabric was not recognized to conserve in Turkey. For this reason, there had been no attempt to conserve historical quarters which resulted in demolishing of historic urban structures in Ayvalık, as stated above. In addition to this, most of the reinforced concrete buildings, discordant with traditional texture, were constructed in those years. These are still extant in current city center such as building of İş Bank (Büken Cantimur, 2011). So, the changes in Atatürk Boulevard has started between these years.

It has stated that Ayvalık witnessed with increasing tourism incomes and benefited from the advantages of tourism activities by stimulus of pensions, hotels, clubs and beaches in 1960's (Yorulmaz, 1997, 127). After 1963, Ayvalık was supported by state subsidies in order to increase the coastal tourism. In 1969 Ayvalık was designated as in the coastal region priority areas (Büken Cantimur, 2011). With the rise of demand coming from the tourism activities, there appeared an urgent need for a development plan. Therefore, the second plan of Ayvalık at the scale of 1/1000 has been prepared by Yavuz Taşcı which is supported by the Bank of Provinces (Gülcan, 2013). However, the development plan, which is prepared in 1972, was only implemented in Ali Çetinkaya neighborhood. Yet, proposed new development areas in Cunda and Lale Island was not implemented due to the lack of demand on new buildings (UNESCO, 2017). On the other hand, according to the plan, olive oil factories, which caused pollution of in the town, were removed to the new industrial zone proposed in the plan (UNESCO, 2017). Relocation of the production caused that historic industrial buildings located in the center of the town became nonfunctional and desolated for a long time.

Nevertheless, it is possible to state that despite the demolishing of symbolic historical structures in the town center, conservation measures have been taken relatively early. Ayvalık has been designated as “Natural and Historic Conservation Area”, with the decision of A160, by the High Commission of Ancient Monuments on 19th June of 1976. By the decisions in 1978, the historical city centers of Ayvalık and Cunda have been declared as “historical urban conservation site”. Apart from the urban areas, forests around Ayvalık, appointed as “natural conservation site” (Figure 4.4). In 1978 in the context of conservation decisions registration sheets of the listed buildings have been prepared. As a result of those decisions in the historical center of Ayvalık and Cunda building and development restrictions have taken effect which ensure existing historical pattern remained up to the present. It is seen that, in parallel with the shifting scope of conservation in Turkey, it was the first time historic urban fabric has started to be subject to the conservation regulations in Ayvalık.

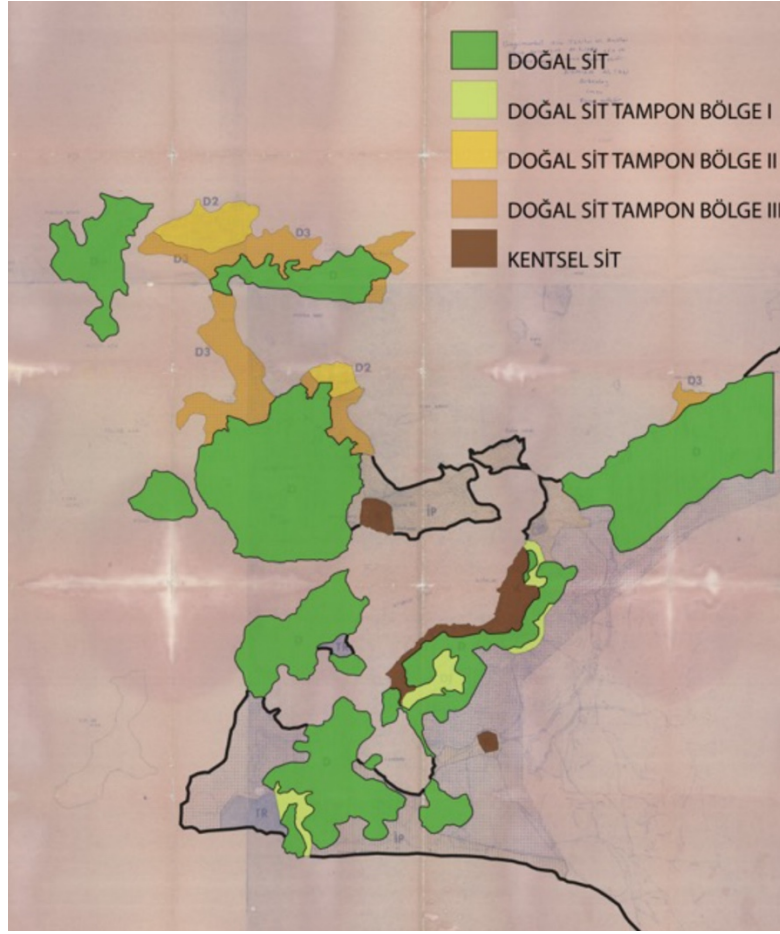


Figure 4.12 Natural and historical urban sites to be preserved in Ayvalık (source: Ayvalık Municipality)

Following the conservation regulations, urban development of Ayvalık has increasingly continued. Figure 5 shows the urban development of Ayvalık and macroform of Ayvalık, Cunda and Küçükköy in 1978. According to this picture, it is seen that city macroform was expanded around historic center which had been designated as conservation area. Regarding the natural and historic thresholds, through the 70's new development sprawled to the south and north along the coastline. And city macroform took the linear form.



Figure 4.13 Urban Macroform in 1978 (Gülcan, 2013)

However, tourism pressure on natural and historical areas has continued to rise. Ministry of Culture has made a search for tourism potential areas in Aegean, Mediterranean, Marmara and Black sea regions and Ayvalık was chosen as one of the twelve suitable center for tourism in 1979 (Büken Cantimur, 2011). After the changes of tourism policy Turkey, development of tourism along the coastline led to increase in number of hotels, pensions and holiday camps of public institutions which lead to rise of the demand for second-home cooperatives along with the housing loan polices of 1980's (Gülcan, 2013). In Ayvalık, second home development caused rapid urbanization and caused pressure in both north and south axis of the town, which created two major districts as Armutçuk and Sarımsaklı. In 1980's rapid urbanization process and rising tourism demands, as well as the restrictions of conservation decisions, created pressure on existing plan and brought about need for new development areas.

In 1982, development plan at 1/5000 scale have been prepared by Baran İdil, which

was supported by the Bank of Provinces. The plan came up with new development areas in north side of the city, outside of the historical urban site. New regions were zoned for construction such as Armutçuk and Sarımsaklı which was added by new proposed places such as Cunda Island, Çamlık Region and Laka Regions over the years (Gülcan, 2013).

In 1983 with the enactment of the Protection of Cultural and Natural Properties Law No2863, Ayvalık was assigned to the Bursa Regional Conservation Council for the Protection of Cultural and Natural Properties. However, it is stated that until the 1990's there was a gap between planning and conservation. And development plans, which had been prepared before, did not concern conservation sites or listed buildings (Şahin Güçhan & Kurul, 2009). In 1991 a new plan started to be prepared in order to overcome deficiencies of the existing plan by the Department of City and Regional Planning of Dokuz Eylül University. Plan was completed in 1994 whose main aim was to protect historical city center of Ayvalık (Uztuğ, 2006). Within the scope of this plan, Ayvalık historical urban site (Ayvalık Kentsel Sit Koruma Amaçlı İmar Planı), Çamlık natural site (Çamlık Yeşil Karakterli Kentsel Sit Koruma Amaçlı İmar Planı) conservation development plan at the scale of 1/1000 and 1/500 have been approved and adopted by the Regional Council for the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Property on 22 January of 1994. Ayvalık historical urban areas conservation plan which has been revised and enhanced several times by the decision of town council, has retained in force since 1994. According to this plan, 1121 historic buildings were listed (Cons507, 2016) (Figure 4.6).

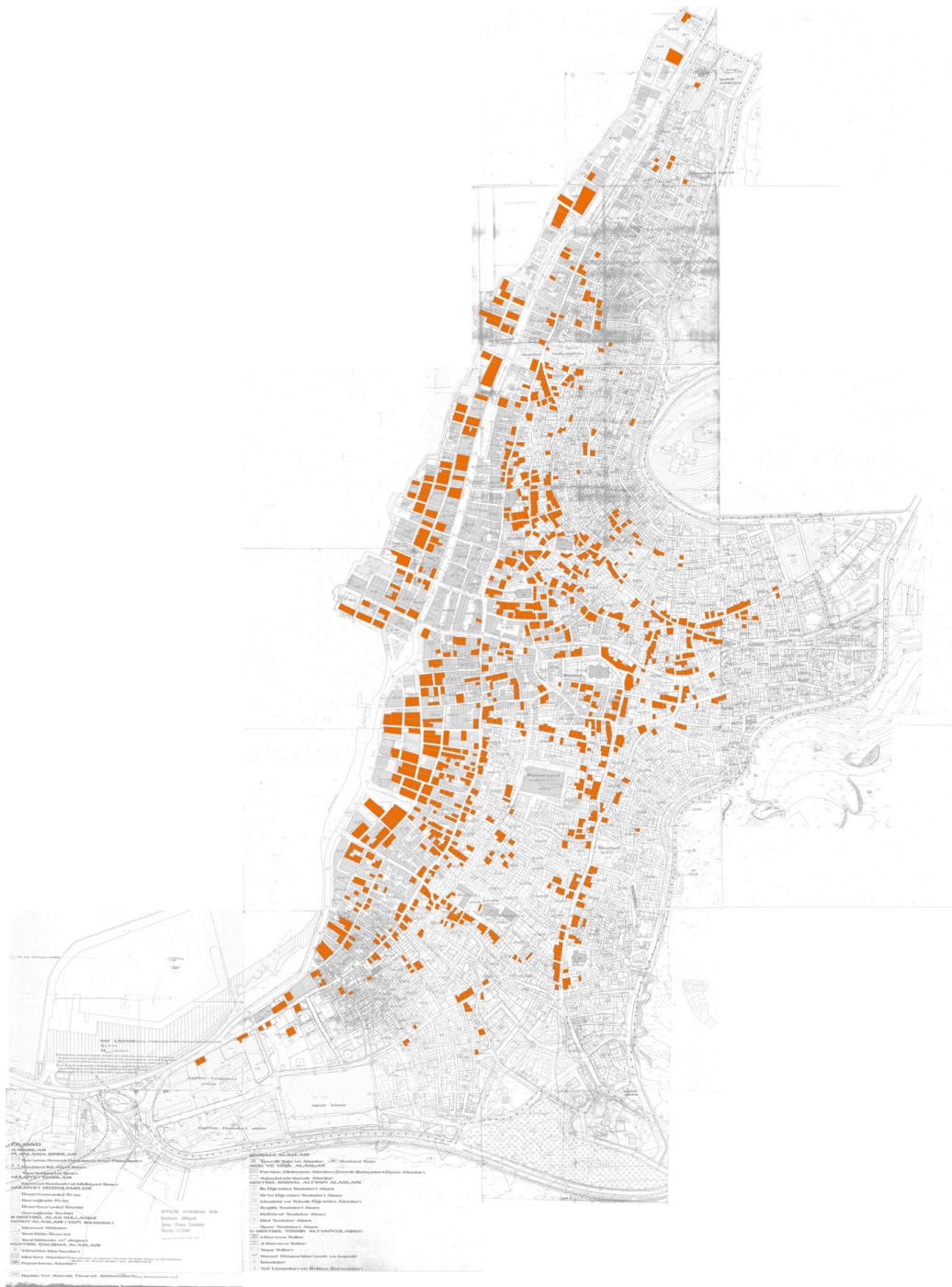


Figure 4.14 Listed buildings in Ayvalık city center

According to this plan central district is determined and identified as commercial, touristic and service area, conservation decisions are taken at building scale, new constructions are restricted by the decisions stated in plan notes and maximum

height and volume of new constructions were limited for the purpose of providing the harmony with historical buildings, comprehensive repair and minor repair projects of registered buildings and adjacent units are determined to be finalized by permission of Bursa Regional Council for Conservation (BKTVKK - Bursa Kltr ve Tabiat Varlıkları Koruma Kurulu) (Cons507, 2016). Apart from decisions at building scale, landfill of the seashore is banned and approval of the conservation council is decided to be obligation for the projects of publicly owned historical buildings (Arı, 2012). Following these, environmental Plan of Edremit Gulf Coastal Zone by the scale of 1/25.000, which is the regional scale plan of Ayvalık, was prepared and approved in 1994 by the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement. This plan has revised several times within years.

Considering the progress of urban development of town and the stages of planning history, Ayvalık can be identified as relatively conserved historic city. Especially, by the designation of conservation areas, urban development has been restrained and controlled which prevented to destruction of historic fabric. By the rising of second home constructions, new emerged districts contributed to relocate the development pressure from historical town center to the periphery. As stated in the previous chapter, regarding the legislation and attitude towards historic built environment in 1970's, conservation plan of Ayvalık has been prepared relatively early in comparison with other cities. Conservation controls and plan decisions related to historic built environment may impose restrictions on private right, and caused local people to leave their dwellings, they provided that historic urban fabric remained today. However, it is seen that conservation of historic buildings has been interpreted as redundant until quite recently, but not any longer. Therefore, in order to understand the underlying dynamics behind rising interest on Ayvalık, changing attitude towards heritage places and historical background of changes are examined in the following section.

4.4. Historical Background of Changes in Ayvalık

Despite the administrative changes in 1970's, new regulations implemented in 1980's and development in conservation perspective among professional and policy

makers, conservation of cultural and natural property has been deemed as redundant for a long while. The most important reason behind this was the obligations and controls coming with conservation legislation, regarded as being an obstacle on development in terms of prohibition of development right. Historic status of building, which is designated by being listed, may depress its real estate value since conservation controls restrict historic buildings' use and prevent development right. Beside this, financial responsibilities arising from the maintaining of the historical buildings among private owners created anger. This is because, if "compliance cost" which is the expenditures required in order to carry out regulatory requirements of conservation projects (Throsby, 1997) is undertaken by individual as owners of property it leads them to rage against conservation idea. In order to understand the tension revealed against to the conservation controls, dilemma between conservation and development must be taken into account. Particularly, little villages and towns located in the west and south coast of Turkey, has experienced this dilemma by the rising of tourism development (Keskinok, 2006). Neither municipalities nor local people were aware of the necessity of conservation while there is a great chance to gain favor from the tourism revenue by developing new areas. For this reason, municipalities approached to conservation decisions as an "obstacle to development" since new construction is restricted and under strict control in conservation sites (Şahin Güçhan & Kurul, 2009).

In Turkey, conservation is considered as limitation to their ownership by private owners, as well (Şahin Güçhan & Kurul, 2009). Despite the aids and inducements, the large part of the compliance cost is generally undertaken by individuals as owners of property in Turkey. In parallel with this, it is seen that conservation measurements, at the beginning, was regarded as prohibition to their free will on their own property by the locals of Ayvalık. Owning an historical buildings became as a punishment according to the owners of property considering the high cost of the maintaining. Owners of listed buildings among low income groups affected negatively by conservation controls since it is hard to manage with process of renovation and undertake the expenses related with it, even if minor repair of the buildings is at issue. After all, mostly it is preferred to repair in an illegal way or sell

and abandon dwellings, inherited from their family, which bring about desolation and deterioration of historic buildings and cause loss of cultural heritage.

On the other hand, conservation of historic buildings and refunction them were not considered as economically valuable, feasible or prestigious activity by middle-upper class (Şahin Güçhan & Kurul, 2009). On the contrary, they were regarded as old and useless structures beside modern buildings. Historical buildings and living in town became obsolescent correspondingly to rising modern images of western lifestyle. As Tiesdell et al. (1996) claim, “the combination of obsolescence and restrictive planning controls induces economic tensions by preventing the maximum return, a reasonable return or -even- any return on the site to be obtained, constraining the change that all cities must go through”. Obsolescence of historic buildings, conservation controls and measures has finally resulted in leaving historical buildings their own fate and abandoning of historical urban quarters. Ayvalık has experienced this abandonment process as a result of rising second home development in region as well. As Şahin Güçhan and Kurul (2009) pointed that modern and western images contributed to dominate cultural attitude in the same period as providing status symbol in middle upper classes. Owners of property among high income groups chose to move other cities or new emerging settlements close to the city center such as Çamlık, Sarımsaklı, Cunda by buying new modern flat or luxury villa instead of dealing with the renovation of buildings.

However, perception to conservation of historic buildings have changed over time in parallel with the changes in value system and so historic buildings become more desirable. In 1990’s recognition of importance of the historical settlements and natural environments has started to gradually rise. It is stated that, nostalgia discourses among new generation and intelligentsia has come to the agenda and historic buildings has started to reutilized in Turkey (Bali, 2002). Hobson approaches this rising interest towards relics as rise of heritage and rediscovery of the past (2004). Meanwhile, gentrification studies reveal the rising interest towards historic buildings, especially in İstanbul (Ergun, 2004; Uzun, 2001). In addition to this, public and political perception to the historical urban environment has affected

positively in favor of historic fabric by the rise of tourism activities. In order to gain more tourism income municipalities gave priority to their historical quarters as distinct from their previous manner. While historical buildings had been recognized as old and challenging in terms of restrictions of conservation legislation, it became economically valuable for local people as well. As Karakul (2011) mentioned “the desire of making money easily in a short time, which is a result of the effects of tourism on value system, accelerates the trend of selling houses to outsiders and the increase in the commercial activities to serve the tourists in the village...”, dwellings has started to be promoted with their historical value by local people.

In a similar manner, in the written literature it is seen that even at the beginning of 90’s historical buildings have been sold as hanging up a sign saying “*Satılık tarihi Rum evi*” (old Rum house for sale) in Ayvalık (Yalçın, 1998). At this point, it is essential to understand the conception of “greek house” in order to comprehend the process of historical environment recognition. As mentioned before with the population exchange, properties belonging to the Rums have been shared by new comers. And it is seen that residual buildings have been always called as “Rum house”. On the other hand, residual buildings have never been exactly assimilated by migrated people due to the sorrow of the forced migration, characterization as other and marked as *gavur*² (infidel). Considering the emotional trauma of immigrant people who did not assign any value to their settlements, low recognition towards conservation of historical buildings can be understandable. Even so, within years, attachment to their dwellings came along with value of family reminiscence. The research, conducted in late 70’s in Foça by Asatekin and Eren (1979) who aimed to evaluate the attitude of local people toward conservation concept and contribution

² According to the Turkish Language Society (TDK), Gavur means “who is not muslim”. Since those, who had forced to migrate to the Anatolia, came later and mostly alienate to the Turkish culture and language, although they are Muslim, they were called and remarked as *gavur* in Turkey.

on it, reveals the situation that will of conservation of their own dwelling among local people was derived from their attachment to family reminiscence, their habitude and commemorative value of dwellings (Asatekin & Eren, 1979). This also indicates that perceptions of people are important in shaping values and attitudes towards historic buildings (Tiesdell et al., 1996).

Despite all, it is seen that Ayvalık has maintained its importance for those who are engage in artistic and cultural activities. As mentioned before, Ayvalık has always been outstanding and important cultural center in history. In similar with its historical context, Ayvalık continued to be remarkable based upon “its history and cultural richness” (Şahin Güçhan et al., 2004). In particular, Ayvalık has been host for artistic and cultural production. Since the 1980’s Ayvalık has been mentioned with several artists who chose to live in Ayvalık and engaged in work related to Ayvalık (Şahin Güçhan et al., 2004; Yorulmaz, 1997). Through several sources and works, it is understood that Ayvalık has been preferred by several famous artists; painters, pianists, actors and actress from Turkish State Theater and eminent persons who have attached to Ayvalık and live in the town for a period of time. Orhan Peker is one of the famous Turkish painters who lived in ayvalık in 1970’s. It is written that he proposed to initiate an international summer academy in Ayvalık (Şahin Güçhan et al., 2004). In the same period Mustafa Rüşhan as important painter lived in Ayvalık as well and seek the traces of Fikret Mualla who is a famous Turkish painter that has lived in Ayvalık in 1930’s. Kamuran Gündemir is one of the famous figure who attached importance to Ayvalık as well. The important Turkish pianist, who also born in Ayvalık, has lived in the town for a time in 1980’s after his retirement (Ayda Bir Ayvalık, 2016). It is possible to state that during this period Ayvalık has attracted attention by the help of various artists and eminent persons who prefer to live in the town in their lifetime. Their impact has been seen afterwards and Ayvalık has became important place for intellectual groups.

In contrast with locals’ perception, in Ayvalık historic buildings have received great deal attention by out-of-towners towards the end of 1990’s. By the means of cultural activities, mobility in regions has been initiated and abandoned buildings have

started to be refunctioned. In those years, Ayvalık became home for intellectuals' activities which were located in historic buildings. In 1997 Harvard Summer School was founded in Cunda in collaboration with Koç University (Hürriyet, 2014). Following the Summer School, Ayvalık has become host for international music events organized by Ayvalık International Music Academy which was founded by Filiz Ali in 1998 (AIMA). Pınar Kür, who has lived in Ayvalık for years, is also mentioned by summer ateliers organized in AIMA in the early 2000's. From these events taken part in Ayvalık and Cunda, it is possible to state that Ayvalık has started to attract attention in 1990's, and interest of out of towners on conservation of historic buildings has started to take shape. Therefore, artists' existence in Ayvalık is seen as the trigger of the change in the town. Following, rising activities among intellectuals is identified as the stimulator of the change in Ayvalık which has stimulate further interests and investment towards town.

However, despite the rising interest on historic buildings, land speculation was not generated in 1990's. During the research, it is mostly stated that historical buildings were sold at reasonable prices, since the knowledge and recognition of renovation and refuction of the historical buildings had not become widespread yet. As a matter of fact, even purchasing of historical dwellings has started in those years, renovation process was deferred. Despite the rising awareness to the historical environment, renovation process has not been regarded as affordable or possible to manage easily. So, refuctioning to historic buildings remained restricted among a cluster of people from intelligentsia. Nevertheless, it did not take a long time to become popular. And in the early 2000s, attitude towards heritage places has started to change as resulting from different reasons, but at most tourism. There was a growing interest on historic environment which has been presented by not only individual interests but also means of media as lifestyle (Pendlebury, 2009).

To start with impact of tourism, "media-mediated tourist gaze" (Urry & Larsen, 1990, 115) should be mentioned in order to understand the changing attitude towards conservation and popularity of historic environment. The power of media, which reach the mass, on manipulate and affect people behavior could not be

underestimated. It is revealed that through the medium of media in terms of TV series, movies, newspapers, books, different tourist destinations have been generated (Urry & Larsen, 1990). In Turkey, in the beginning of 2000's it is witnessed that one of the popular TV series titled as "Asmalı Konak", which was shoot in Kapadokya, stimulate mobility in region and lead to intense interest towards historic buildings (Cumhuriyet, 2003, 17). Scenes from the series attract people to the region and film set became new tourist destination. Apart from the rising popularity of region, it would be deduced that this was the first time that media showed how traditional buildings are used in modern way. After this, renovated and refunctioned historic buildings have started to be used as film studios, and historic quarters of town have more frequently been seen on media. And, eventually media mediates to create desires for historic buildings. Then briefly, it is possible to say that connection between media and the nostalgia of past stimulate the rising interest towards heritage (Hobson, 2004).

Moreover, in line with the global trend, neoliberal policies have started to influence more on urban space in Turkey in the beginning of 2000's. With the development of cultural sector, urban space including heritage places have started to be recognized as an industry (Gibson & Stevenson, 2007). The main emphasis of cultural sector and tourism industry have tended towards conservation. Economic potential of the heritages has been realized and created a shift in policies regarding conservation of historic environment (Pendlebury, 2009). Legal amendments such as restructuring of administrative framework, changes in attitudes in the field of tourism and legislative changes in architectural conservation, called attention to heritage places. Rising authority of municipalities and accelerating financial sources in terms of funding and loans reserved for maintaining historical buildings have contribute to attract more interest in conservation activities (Bilgin Altınöz et al., 2011; Şahin Güçhan & Kurul, 2009). Additionally, changes in legislation regarding the purchase of real estate by foreign nationals also stimulate the renovation and refunctioning of historical buildings.

Also, the recognition of economic potential of heritage became the driving force of

change in attitude towards conservation and use of past. And heritage has started to be used for economic utility (Pendlebury, 2009). Besides, in comparison with the prior attitude towards built heritage, municipalities have started to take advantage of the potential of the heritage areas and cultural values in order to attract investment. After those changes, with the enhancing understanding of importance of the economic revenue, cultural tourism has brought to the agenda in municipal councils, and started to be used in discourses which shows the evidences of entrepreneurial manners (Harvey, 1989). Entrepreneurial manner of local policy makers stimulates the using of cultural properties to gain attraction towards region. One of the main aim behind this manner is improving of regions' competitive position through the promoting of consumption. By using tourism and retirement attraction, money is tried to be brought to the region (Harvey, 1989). As a result of this, conservation of historic urban areas and promoting them gains priorities to attract investment. Therefore, conservation of heritage places and revitalization of historic built environment become an effective tool for place marketing. And with the changes in legal framework local authorities and enterprises have started to play important role in conservation.

Accordingly, municipality, non-governmental organizations have involved in the changing process of Ayvalık by organizing and supporting cultural events in line with this entrepreneurial manner. Through this term, it is seen that events such as festivals and cultural events are organized in order to attract interest and conservation projects are supported by municipality of Ayvalık. Olive Harvest Days may be one of the important example of entrepreneurial activities. The first time of Olive harvest festival has been organized by Ayvalık Chamber of Commerce is in 2005 (Ayvalık Hasat Günleri). This organization has been regularly arranged for 11 years and attracted visitors from other cities. In parallel with that in 2000's municipality in Ayvalık has started to involve in refunctioning of depots and old industrial buildings located in the town center (UNESCO, 2017). This entrepreneurial behavior of local agents may attract further interest towards town and lead to changes occurring in Ayvalık as well. Besides this, in the previous study conducted by REST 507 – Design in Restoration Studio, which was held in 2005-

2006, functional changes remarked in the depots region (REST 507, 2005). So it is possible to state that changes in functions of buildings have been seen since the beginning of 2000's.

Along with the projects of municipality and local organizations, well-known people have been taken part in the changing process of Ayvalık. Since the beginning of 2000's it is seen that well-known names such as Muhtar Kent and Halis Komili, who are also from Ayvalık, and recognized families such as Sabancı, Koç, and Boyner, have been mentioned by their interest in region and investment on Ayvalık which have received widespread media attention (Haberler, 2007; Hürriyet, 2008; Yeniasır 2009). In media, it is marked that these names have had summer houses in Ayvalık even before 2000's (Ercan, 2004). Apart from the news related to their interest in Ayvalık and individual investments, there are many cultural events and organization which have been carried out and supported by these names. In the meantime, important monuments and artefacts have been renovated and reused by means of financial and moral support of these families. One of those buildings is the Agios Yannis Church and windmill located in Cunda. Renovation project of these structures was undertaken and supported by Rahmi Koç Museum. The church and windmill have been transformed into cultural center as Sevim - Necdet Kent Library, which was opened in 2007 and has been operated by the Rahmi M. Koç Museology and Culture Foundation since that time (Rahmi M. Koç Müzesi). Following this, renovation project of Ayışığı Monastery which was purchased by Suzan Sabancı Dinçer in 2008, has been heard to be carried out and was finished in 2012. The restoration project and operation of the monuments created a tremendous impression on media, and have stimulated to attract attention towards town (Vatan,2012). In pursuit of this, the restoration project of Taksiyarhis Church located in Cunda has been undertaken by the Rahmi Koç Museum which have been featured in media as well (Tüfekçi Sevinç, 2011). The structure of church has been turned into museum and opened to the public in 2014 that have been operated by the Rahmi M. Koç Museology and Culture Foundation.

Considering all the above mentioned, it is deduced that changes generated in

Ayvalık have been triggered and stimulated by different factors progressed all over the years. Legislative, administrative, economic and socio-cultural changes pave the way for shift in interpretation to conservation of historic built environment in Ayvalık. In line with the rising popularity of heritage places, attitude towards conservation has changed and appreciation to historic built environment has increased. Accordingly, it is seen that in 1980's Ayvalık has been preferred as living place by several artists and eminent persons. Since the 1990's Ayvalık has been playing host for different activities which is organized by different actors such as artists, authors, musicians, academicians, intelligentsia groups and well-known people as well as local agents. However, it is possible to state that in particular out-of-towners have been playing important roles in changing process of Ayvalık along with the rising conservation projects since the beginning of 2000's. In this context, artists existence is identified as trigger factor that initiate the interests. Following activities of intellectual groups, interest of well-known people in the town and conservation activities undertaken by recognized families in Ayvalık have been regarded as to stimulate more attention towards town. Following the above mentioned activities and developments, Ayvalık has been received a great deal of attention and has started to undergo a process of change. Currently, conservation of historical buildings and so refunctioning them is gaining more popularity in Ayvalık. This, on the one hand, results in rising investments in region by the means of using historic built environment and economic development by restructuring of local economy. On the other hand, leads to change in user profile of buildings by the means of sales of historic properties to the out-of towners.

CHAPTER 5

5. SITE SURVEY ANALYSIS

Growing interest on cultural built heritage yield to changes in historic cities as heritage places. By the rising popularity of heritage places attitudes towards conservation have changed, as well. Currently, people show great interest on historic cities and willing to work and live in cultural built heritage by undertaken conservation activities. This intense interest brings about dramatic changes in social fabric and economic structure in historic cities.

In this study Ayvalık as a heritage place is identified in state of rapid changes. There is a growing interest on cultural built heritage in Ayvalık. This growing interest result in rising activities of out of towners in Ayvalık which leads to social transformation that include changes in user profile and displacement of locals, and economic restructuring for a while.

Growing interest in Ayvalık, may originate from different reasons and motivations among actors included in the process. None the less, attitudes towards conservation of historic buildings and perception to heritage places among the key actors, taken main role in the changes, may vary from person to person regarding social, financial, symbolic or emotional reasons, as well. In order to understand the dynamics underlying changes in Ayvalık, these individual motivations and reasons are aimed to be assessed through the site surveys.

In this regard, as mentioned in methodology section, in order to understand the dynamics of changes in Ayvalık and emerging pattern generated by mediating factors in which different actors take part, site survey has been conducted in two

parts. Within the first site survey, changes in Ayvalık are analyzed by means of observations. In course of first site survey, data collected by author by making site analysis. Through this study, conservation interventions, functional changes and mobility in estate real estate market have been investigated. Alongside the data collected by interviews and first site survey, we have benefited from the outputs of other research which is conducted in Ayvalık in March 2016 by CONS 507 - Planning and Design in Urban Conservation Studio to reinforce the findings of the analysis.

In pursuit of the analysis of the first survey, second site survey has been conducted in order to examine the underlying dynamics of change in terms of reasons and motivations on individual basis. Through the in-depth interviews, individual motivations of newcomers, are mainly investigated. In this regard the second survey has been designed by taking the accounts of four groups with the aim of conducting in-depth interviews. Questionnaire is categorized according to the respondents' roles in the process of change in terms of newcomers, architects, real estate agents and mukhtars. Group of newcomers involved in the changes witnessing the city Ayvalık are designated with regard to their roles in the process of refunctioning of historical buildings and conservation activities in terms of owners of atelier, hotels and cafés. Their initiations are distinguished according to behavioral pattern of individuals, interests and timing. To investigate multilayered dynamics of emerging pattern and mediating factors by newcomers, value attributions of each respondent both to historic built environment and to Ayvalık are gathered. Reasons of initiatives and attempts emphasized by respondents are examined thoroughly in the context of mediating factors in changes. In this respect, from the answers by those who run atelier, café and hotel, the general behavioral pattern regarding preference of living in Ayvalık, preference of living/working in historic buildings and initiative manners of new comers are approached. All those mediating factors are suggested that have main impact on social and economic changes generated in Ayvalık.

In addition, architects, mukhtars and real estate agents were interviewed in order to analyze the viewpoint of local agents. On the other hand, we have tried to understand

the relation between increase in architectural conservation activities and the rising property sales. In parallel with the responses of newcomers mentioned above, rising interests is approached from the architects and real estate agents' perspectives. Inductive reasons behind the accelerating property sale among local people in historical quarters are investigated from the comments and stories given by mukhtars and local coffeehouse owners. Considering the findings of the survey, analysis is structured in three sections as given below.

- Motive of changes
- Emerging pattern of socio-spatial and economic restructuring of Ayvalık
- Mediating factors of changes

5.1. Motive of Changes

Through this research it is claimed that rising interest on heritage places and increase in conservation activities of historic buildings have yielded to changes in socio economic structure in line with transformation of the urban environment. Thus before analyzing the motivations that stimulate people to attempt to live in Ayvalık and undertake the conservation projects of historic buildings, it is aimed to enhance knowledge about changes generated in Ayvalık. With this aim, changes taken part in Ayvalık are investigated in view of the fact that the conservation interventions, adaptive reuse and mobility in estate sale market. To understand the changes in historic built environment and real estate sale market data gathered from first and second survey is examined and compared. The observations obtained from first survey, which is conducted in March 2016, are examined in overall picture. To reveal the existing situation considering the components of changes, firstly the buildings which are subjected to the conservation interventions, secondly new emerged adaptive reuse in terms of ateliers, hotels, cafes are specified and thirdly properties on sale are investigated.

In pursuit of the overall analysis, with the aim of understanding the extent of the changes, comparison of the situation between March and October, 2016 is made. Although it is known that there is a short period of time between two site survey to

define changes, it is pursued to analyze differences generated in a period of time. For this purposes two main arteries in Ayvalık have been chosen as study area I, study area II (Figure 5.1). Data derived from two different study areas, in two different times, is compared to show differences generated in seven months, on the two of the main arteries of town.

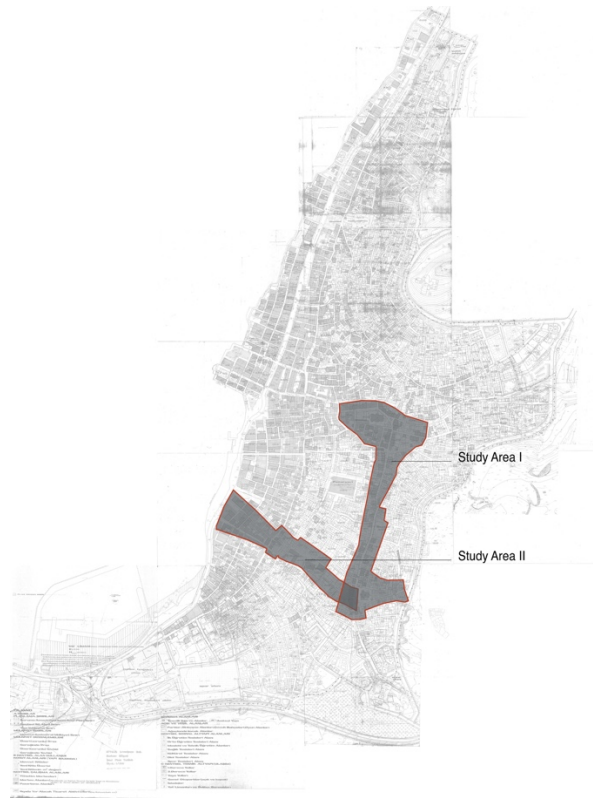


Figure 5.1 Study area I, study area II

Overall findings are indicated in three part; first, buildings, which are appeared as being subjected to the conservation interventions, are given, second, refunctionalized historic buildings in terms of ateliers, hotels and café are indicated in order to understand the present situation of adaptive reuse in Ayvalık, and finally, historic buildings which are on sale are presented with the aim of understanding the mobility in estate sale market in town. This part is supported by the responses given by architects, real estate agents and mukhtars during the in-depth interviews to enhance the knowledge about changes.

5.1.1. Conservation Interventions

In recent years, Ayvalık has experienced rising conservation activities not only restricted in monumental buildings but also all kinds of historic buildings such as dwellings, storehouses, factories, etc. This section aims to reveal the rising conservation activities along with the indication of conservation interventions' undertaken buildings. As mentioned in methodology section, through the site survey, historic buildings, which seems to be underwent repair, are identified. Maintained buildings, which is impossible to know whether conservation interventions were carried out in line with the procedural obligations or not, are marked.

During the site survey, based on responses given by local agents, it is obtained that transformation of the buildings by undertaking conservation interventions, has been noticeably seen in Ayvalık for ten years. Also, it is mainly stated that conservation activities in terms of minor or major repairs of the historic buildings in Ayvalık has increased recently in line with the rising interest in cultural built heritage and movement towards town. During the site survey it is observed that while many of the historic buildings have already been under repaired, conservation projects are increasingly going on (Figure 5.2). And the number of repaired buildings is getting increased day by day (Figure 5.3). However, not a few amount of buildings which has been left desolately, or in use without any comprehensive repair attempt, is still waiting for maintenance.



Figure 5.2 Examples for ongoing conservation projects



Figure 5.3 Examples for the buildings that conservation interventions have been undertaken

Besides, during the in depth interviews it is seen that local agents emphasize the impact of interest among out-of-towners on rising of conservation activities. Although within the scope of this research it is hard to know whether in all the cases conservation projects of historic buildings are carried out by newcomers or not, according to the responses of local agents it is possible to say that buildings mostly purchased and maintained by out-of-towners. Therefore, apart from the rising conservation activities, the impact of rising interest is felt through the increase in estate sale, as well, which is discussed under the title of mobility in real estate sale market.

Throughout the site survey, it is observed that, while some of the maintained buildings was appeared as currently in use, some gave an impression as closed for a time (Figure 5.4). Nevertheless, it is seen that living buildings is less than those which seems as closed. This may be connected with the way of buildings' utilization among out-of-towners, likewise, seasonal usages of buildings which is also stated during the interviews. Another important detail is that, adaptive reuses such as hotels and cafes are mostly seen in conserved buildings. Considering al these mentioned above, perception towards historic buildings and conservation activities are embraced as component of changes in town which evidences social transformation in historic quarter.



Figure 5.4 Examples for the buildings that conservation interventions have been undertaken

Within this context, to understand the amount of undertaken conservation activities in Ayvalık, state of repair of historic buildings is depicted through the first site survey. According to the study conducted in March 2016, building lots are remarked as conservation intervention have been undertaken in Ayvalık. Depicted buildings are revealed in picture given below in figure 5.5. As indicated in picture, conservation activities of historic buildings have been undertaken in Ayvalık in every part of the town center which indicates that interest in historic buildings is not centered upon a specific neighborhood but spread on a large area.

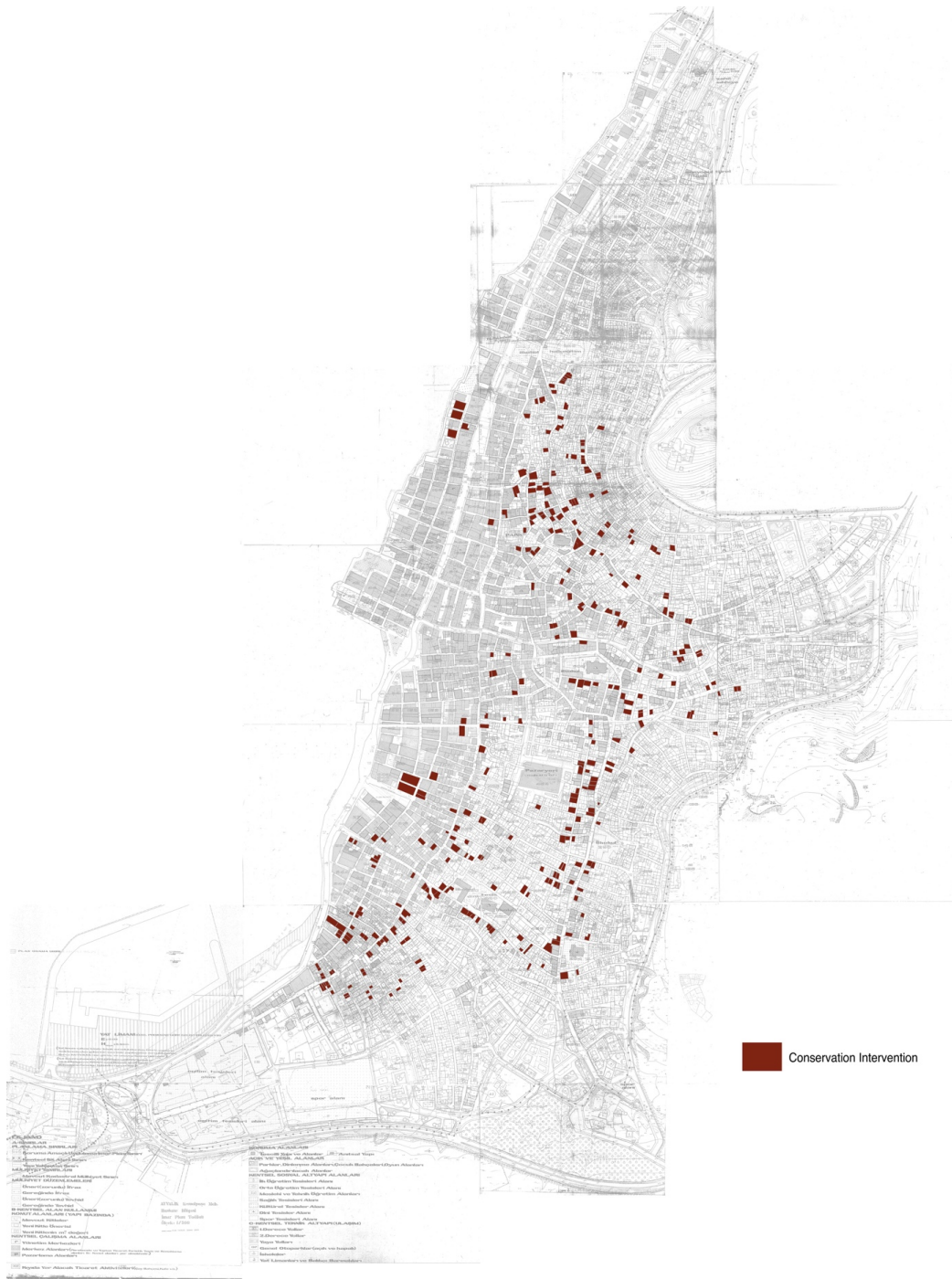


Figure 5.5 Conservation interventions



Figure 5.6 The differences between March and October in conservation interventions - Study Area I



Figure 5.7 The differences between March and October in conservation interventions - Study Area II

In addition to this, to show the fact that how conservation activities are expanding in short time, the comparison between March and October 2016 is made in study areas. As seen from the figure given above, 14 buildings have been repaired in seven months in study area I (Figure 5.6). At the same time, conservation interventions of the 6 buildings have been undertaken in the study area II (Figure 5.7). This shows the rapidity of conservation activities in Ayvalık.

In this regard, during the interviews conducted by architects, demand for conservation projects were asked. According to the responses, average annual conservation project request is around 10-15 per architectural office. And it is again obtained from architects' statements that this demand is getting rising in recent years. It would be deduced from this picture that conserved buildings have been rapidly increasing in Ayvalık in direct proportion of rising interest.

5.1.2. Adaptive Reuse of Historic Buildings

Conservation of the historic buildings, in some cases, has been undertaken with the aim of alternative usages in historic building. Buildings that may originally have been built considering as living space, storehouse, depository or production space, are currently transformed into adapted functions such as hotel, atelier, café, restaurant, bar, art-gallery, salesroom etc. In this research we aimed to obtain ateliers, hotels and cafes as alternative uses seen in Ayvalık to enhance the observation of changing functions of buildings in the town center followed by rising interest on historic buildings.



Figure 5.8 Examples for adaptive reuses

As seen in figure given below, ateliers, hotels and cafes which are identified during the first survey, are remarked (Figure 5.9). It is interesting to see that while hotels and cafes are found in renovated buildings, ateliers' places seem like be in need of repair.

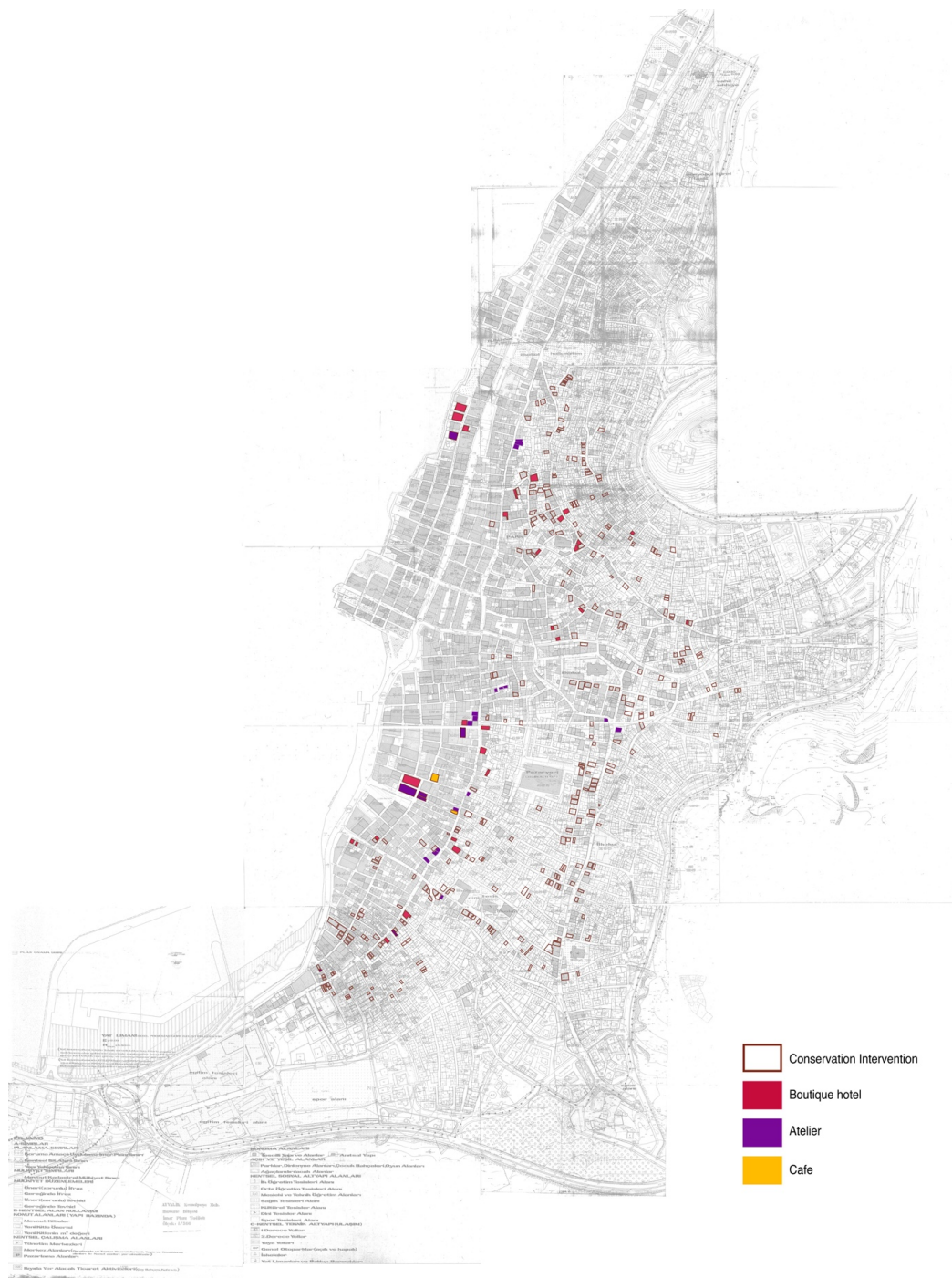


Figure 5.9 Adaptive Reuses, boutique hotel, atelier, cafe

According to the result of site survey, it is recorded that 16 buildings are used as atelier, 28 buildings are adapted for hospitality services and used as boutique hotel or pension. And two buildings are turned into café. Considering this picture, it is possible to say that hotels and, most particularly, cafes are not considerable amount

in Ayvalık so as to mention about a remarkable change. On the other hand, from the results of in-depth interviews given in the following section, it is obtained that cafes were mostly opened in 2016 after the first site survey had been conducted. In addition to that, when the comparison is made between March and October on the basis of study areas, it is seen that three hotels and one café have opened in seven months (Figure 5.10, Figure 5.11). This rapid increase in adaptive reuses of historic buildings makes more visible the change in Ayvalık.



Figure 5.10 Study Area I, adaptive reuses



Figure 5.11 Study Area II, adaptive reuses

In study area I, two buildings which were depicted as repaired in March, turned into café and hotel in October. Another important detail, in this case, one of the repaired buildings which was seen as boutique hotel in October, had been on sale in March. Additionally, conservation interventions of two other buildings have been carried out in the same period and turned into hotel. These details may be given as an example to show the extent of rapid change in Ayvalık. To understand this change from the point of local people, interview was conducted by local coffeehouse located in first study area. During the interview it is stated that for ten years they have run coffeehouse in winter as well while they had chosen to close with the ending of olive harvest, before. The reason is that while out of towners had never stopped by this street and just spend time in seaside before, for a while now they have become concerned with cultural built heritage and started to walk around in historic center, even in dead season. This reveals that interest on cultural built heritage connects

with adaptive new uses all across the historic town. Therefore, developing of service sector, in terms of tourism oriented enterprises, is approached here as component of the change.



Figure 5.12 Examples for adaptive reuses in study areas

5.1.3. Mobility in Real Estate Sale Market

Beside the rising conservation activities, there is another important change which is seen in sales of properties in Ayvalık following rising interest on historic buildings. In recent years, with the growing interest on Ayvalık, it is clearly seen that sales amount of historic buildings have increased. Furthermore, appreciation of historic buildings result increase in values of historic buildings. Despite the fact that values of properties, whether historic or not, have been increasing in Ayvalık, it is obvious that historic characteristics of buildings pushes up the prices. Along with this rising prices, accelerating mobility in estate sale market and real estate manipulation is remarkable. To understand the mechanism of estate sale, buildings on sale and changes in market between March and October are investigated. And also information is gathered from the interviews conducted with real estate agent to comprehend the underlying dynamics behind the rising mobility and values.

To start with, historic buildings for sale are determined. Throughout the historic center of town, historic buildings with a sign saying “property on sale” were depicted in March 2016 (Figure 5.13). During the site survey, it is seen that, a great number of buildings has been on sale. Sales of properties are mostly carried out by real estate agents. However, it is also stated that apart from the real estate agents, inhabitants engage in property sales as well and mediate to the out-of-towners. During the interviews conducted by real estate agents, annual sales of historic buildings is asked. Through their responses, it is deduced that average annual sales is around 15 buildings per real estate office. This shows the intense interest on historic buildings in Ayvalık. Yet it is important to record the rapidity of sales to determine the tempo of changes. Therefore, buildings for sale depicted in March and October are compared.

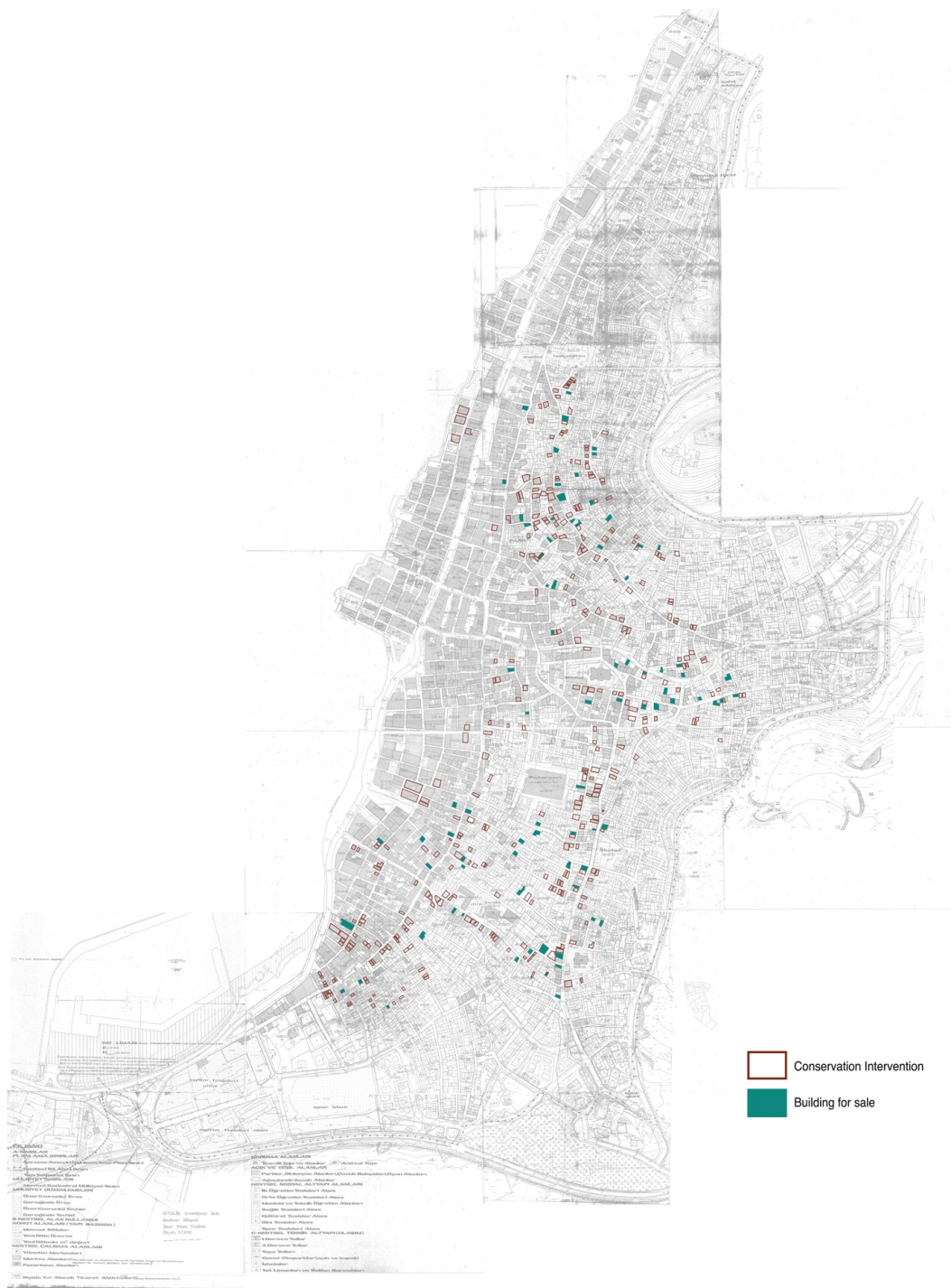


Figure 5.13 Buildings on sale

When the comparison between March and October is made, it is seen that there is a remarkable change in sales of buildings. As seen from the pictures given below (Figure 5.14), while in March the historical building was seen as on sale, in October

it is appeared as not for sale. And it is observed that some conservation interventions of the building have been undertaken in seven months. The examples suchlike to this building indicate that there is a considerable amount of historic buildings have been sold and conservation interventions undertaken in seven months. For instance, in study area I (Figure 5.15), only three buildings which had been on sale in March, were still appeared as on sale in October. While in the second study area (Figure 5.16), it is seen that building had been seen as on sale in March, was not on sale in October. Furthermore, it is observed that new buildings have been put up for sale. This change generated in seven months reveals the tempo of the estate sales. From this picture, it can be deduced that historic buildings change hands rapidly. Moreover, real estate agents confirm the speed of transferring process, either. And it is commonly stated that rising interest on having a building in Ayvalık gives rise to mobility in estate sale market. In addition to this there are also other important factors and dynamics that accelerate the shift in estate sale market.



Figure 5.14 A historic building, a. March 2016 sale sign is visible on the window, b. October 2016 there is no sale sign, conservation interventions undertaken

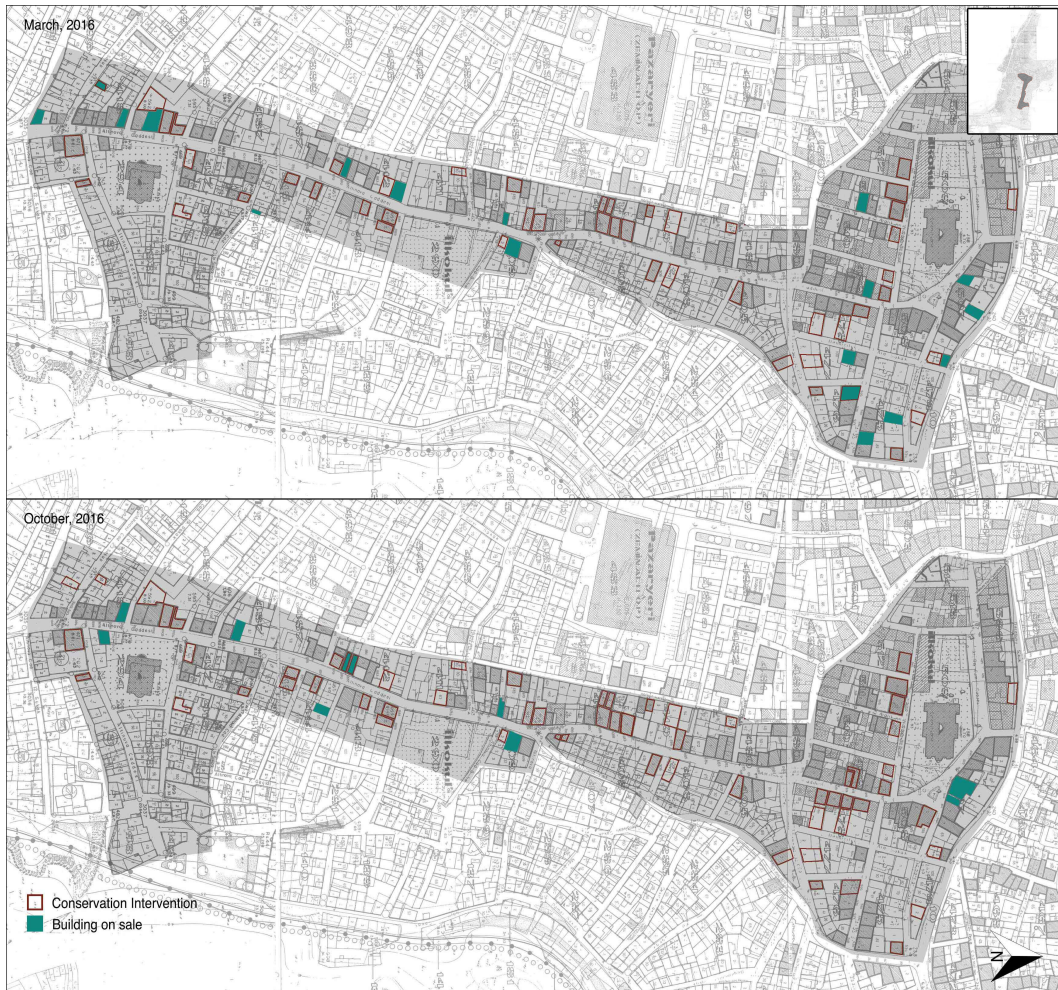


Figure 5.15 Study Area I - Changes in real estate sale



Figure 5.16 Study Area II - Changes in real estate sale

With the aim of understanding the situation in the real estate sale market and dynamics of accelerating sale of historic buildings in Ayvalık, we benefit from the interviews that were conducted by real estate agents. Apart from them, mukhtars and coffeehouse owners also gave important details about the impact of attitudes of local people towards their buildings on rising sales. According to their comments, there has been a great demand for historic buildings among out of towners for ten years. Within this period, buildings have started to be purchased by newcomers and conservation activities have been undertaken. Apparently, rising interest towards historic buildings have caused property values to rise in years. To understand the extent of rise in values of properties, change in prices is asked to the real estate agents. It is striking to see that historic buildings increase in value ten times. One of real estate agents stated that while some historic buildings valued at 20.000TL ten years ago, now, even ruined buildings value at 200.000TL at the lowest price. And

currently, astronomic prices of historic buildings are noticed in Ayvalık. As a reason to this dramatic change in prices, main factors are determined according to the in-depth interviews which are identified as the attitude of local people and the impacts of profit oriented agents in sales.

Locals are taken part in this process by former owners of the properties. They as the owners of buildings make a contribution to this change by selling their property eagerly rather than living in. It is obvious that heightened rents and rising property values encourage locals to sell their property. From the answers given by mukhtars and real estate agents, it is deduced that local people as previous owners of the historical buildings were tended to sell their property and moved on to the new developing residential areas by purchasing two flats in exchange for one historic building. So, the real estate value of historic buildings is becoming important for local people as well.

On the other hand, local people as former homeowners, may have other meaningful reasons to do so. According to the mukhtars, most common issue is the difficulty of undertaken conservation projects. So financial problems of local people among income groups may force them to sell their properties. Considering the difficulties of maintenance of historic building and economic liabilities, for low income people selling their property seems to be preferable. And economic shortages and length of procedural process may be counted as reasons of local people to leave their buildings. Thus, local people have tendency to forsake emotional attachments to their dwellings for the sake of “exchange value” (Logan & Molotch, 1987, 115). Nevertheless, financial difficulties could not be taken as the only reason to sell their properties. Mukhtars also state that problems coming with portion of inheritance is also one of the main reasons to sell their family reminiscence. Younger generations, who inherited historic buildings from their family, tend to sell and share the value. However, lack of appropriation of dwellings and neighborhood would be another reason to sell-out. Locals weak commitment to their heritage lead to lack of sense of belonging and they are likely to abandon their living environment. Throughout the interviews conducted by local agents, it is seen that local people prefer to live in

flat in order to achieve better living conditions. It is mostly because, they do not embrace their buildings anymore considering the hard living conditions arising from old buildings.

But on the other hand, profit oriented agents stimulate the shift in prices. In recent years growing interest in cultural built heritage has transformed and created trade of historic buildings. Through the interviews conducted by real estate agents, it is seen that profit oriented agents seek the lower prices and then sell them at higher prices to make profit. This kind of profit oriented agents provoke prices of historic buildings and stimulate the changes in economic structure. For a while it has been experienced that local people have engaged in trade of historic buildings as well. They purchase historic buildings and, after a short time, sell them to make profit. Or some of them choose not to sell their buildings until higher prices are offered. This kind of manners create real estate manipulation in Ayvalık.

During the interviews, the architects and mukhtars also stated similar intentions of newcomers behind their attempts. And it is appeared that some intends to purchase a historic building by considering as an investment and undertake conservation projects in order to gain more profit. In the present case, while some of the buildings are purchased and then sold immediately, some other are sold after conservation projects are carried out. Likewise, during the site surveys it is observed that some of the historic buildings, which are for sale, appears desolated, some of them are clearly seen that they have already been repaired (Figure 5.17). And also, as exemplified in previous section, lots of buildings whose conservation projects have already been undertaken, are sold and transformed into adaptive reuses such as hotels, pensions in short time period.



Figure 5.17 Examples of the buildings on sale

This is mostly because trading of buildings is approached as easy way to earn money and becoming widespread. For example, one of the owners of the coffeehouse defined the trade of buildings as “piece of cake”. And also he expressed that “if I had money, I would also engage in trade of historic building”. Statements of real estate agents about this issue is interesting as well. During the interview, one of the real estate agents verbalized that they had bought one of the historic buildings two

months ago and then sold it at higher price almost immediately. Therefore, buying cheap and selling high causes gradually increase in values of historic buildings. These examples also prove that historic buildings change hands many times accelerate the mobility in estate sale market in parallel with the real estate manipulation. Shortly, it is possible to claim that apart from the revenues derived from alternative reuses, mobility in Ayvalık has started to attract attention of private enterprises, especially real estate developers and local people who engage in process by making trade of the historic buildings.

5.2. Emerging Pattern of Socio-spatial and Economic Restructuring of Ayvalık

The changing process of Ayvalık refers to a pattern of socio-spatial, cultural and economic restructuring. This “pattern of social and cultural reproduction” (Zukin, 1987) is formed by different components. Although it is difficult to analyze all these components through this research because of a multilayered structure, by conducting the second site survey we aimed to reveal reasons and motivations of newcomers. In Ayvalık there is a new emerging pattern stimulated by different dynamics among newcomers. To enhance the knowledge about these dynamics, that are induced by newcomers, the common characteristics and differentiation aspects of initiators who have recently started to run atelier, hotel or café in Ayvalık, are examined. Thereby, interest on cultural built heritage and impacts of conservation activities undertaken by newcomers which is followed by a number of changes in economic and social structure of the town, are observed in detailed. In this respect, data collected from the second survey was analyzed with the aim of showing the relation between timing, interest, individual choices and behavioral patterns of owners of atelier, hotel and café. To understand the emerging pattern deeply, comments and individual stories of architects, real estate agents and mukhtars are taken to reinforce the analysis and to support the idea suggested.

5.2.1. Sequence of Newcomers

In order to understand this emerging pattern, comparison between years of different initiatives, which are grouped as atelier, hotel and café, is chosen as a starting point of this research. By doing so, it is aimed to reveal that activities of different groups

of newcomers are interrelated. The relation between intents and acts of different groups of newcomers, which is generated by individual motivations, implicitly affects other groups' activities in Ayvalık. To show this, three groups of responses are presented below. According to the data gathered in this context, it is seen that atelier owners have started to live in Ayvalık relatively early than other groups of people. During the in depth interviews made with the owners of the ateliers, it is found that the main tendencies towards having an atelier in Ayvalık seems to arise in the last 4 years (table1). However, three out of five of the owners have settled in Ayvalık before 2010. The starting date of ateliers show a change in percentages and it is seen that just one of the respondents who came to Ayvalık before 2010, have opened his atelier before 2010. In three out of five cases the idea of having an atelier have been first introduced after 2010. On the other hands, two cases show difference by intending to open an atelier in 1998 and 2008.

Table 5.1 Motives of the newcomers/the owners of ateliers

respondents/atelier	the city they have come from	When they settled	Starting date of initiation	When they intended to open an atelier
respondent 1	İstanbul	2004	2004	1998
respondent 2	İstanbul	2006	2012	2012
respondent 3	İstanbul	2011	2008	2008
respondent 4	İstanbul	2009	2014	2010
respondent 5	İstanbul	2012	2013	2012

As an another important detail, it may necessary to note that all of the owners of the ateliers have come from İstanbul as chose to settle down in Ayvalık. In other respect, as a distinct case, one of the respondent who is not owner but manager of ceramic atelier, came from İstanbul and settled in Ayvalık in 2011, after three years of establishing of the atelier. It has stated that the owner of the atelier is now living in New York in order to operate the branch of the brand which reveals that one of the renowned artisanal design brand of ceramic's place of the production is located in the town. This situation can give the hint of the importance of Ayvalık as being part

in creative industry which is mainly based on İstanbul. However recently it is seen that Ayvalık is chosen as an alternative place of origin for artistic production of ceramic which achieved public recognition in a short period. Impacts of this kind of new emerged activities in Ayvalık will be discussed in detail by following sections.

On the other hand, from the table given below, it is seen that all the respondents, who run hotels in Ayvalık, have come from İstanbul and settled in Ayvalık after 2010. Despite the fact that they start to live in Ayvalık after 2010, two out of five of the respondents move to Ayvalık in 2015, the other two out of five move in 2014. This shows that the tendencies are heightening more recently. However, in the two out of the five cases, it is seen that owners of hotels prefer to live in Ayvalık seasonal, and live in İstanbul in winter. But they also stated that in narratives, they are going to settle down in a couple of years. This shows the fact that connection of newcomers with metropolitan life of İstanbul is still alive which may stimulate more attention towards Ayvalık generated by their social networks.

Table 5.2 Motives of the newcomers/the owners of the hotels

Respondents/ hotel	the city they have come from	When they settled	Starting date of initiation	When they intended to run a hotel
respondent 6	İstanbul	2015	2016	2015
respondent 7	İstanbul	2014	2014	2012
respondent 8	İstanbul	2010	2012	2012
respondent 9	İstanbul	2015	2015	2015
respondent 10	İstanbul	2014	2012	2007

Besides, the number of hotels established increases after 2012. Four out of five respondents specify that the idea of running a hotel in Ayvalık was first introduced after 2012. But two respondents state that they have suddenly decided to run a hotel when they saw the buildings. Only one respondent is separated out as deciding to settle in Ayvalık before 2010 and their intention related to running a hotel was first introduced in 2007.

It is interesting that in contrast to the owners of the ateliers and the hotels, according to the answers given by those who runs a café, we can conclude that the trend of having a café in Ayvalık increases most recently. In all of the five cases, the founding of café took place in 2016. İstanbul is again one of the main city from where those people came, except one who came from İzmir. They moved in Ayvalık after 2012 in this case. Two out of five started to live in 2013, the other two out of five in 2015, although, the idea of settling in Ayvalık has been developing since 2010.

Table 5.3 Motives of the newcomers/the owners of the cafés

respondents/cafe	the city they have come from	When they settled	Starting date of initiation	When they intended to run a cafe
respondent 11	İstanbul	2013	2016	2014
respondent 12	İstanbul	2015	2016	2010
respondent 13	İstanbul	2015	2016	2016
respondent 14	İstanbul	2013	2016	2011
respondent 15	İzmir	2012	2016	2015

As seen from the information given above (Table 5.1 - 5.2 - 5.3) settling years of those who were interviewed, have initiated after 2004. However, the trend of living in Ayvalık has been accelerating recently. By examining survey results of the date of start to live, it is seen that atelier owners came and settled in Ayvalık mostly before those who run a hotel or café. It should be underlined that while ateliers started to be seen before 2010, hotels and cafes were founded in Ayvalık after 2012. Especially, the cafes were opened in the 2016 (Figure 5.18). From this result, we can say that the functional changes in historic buildings, in terms of adaptation of buildings for new uses, has generated gradually in parallel with the changing social structure and new demands.

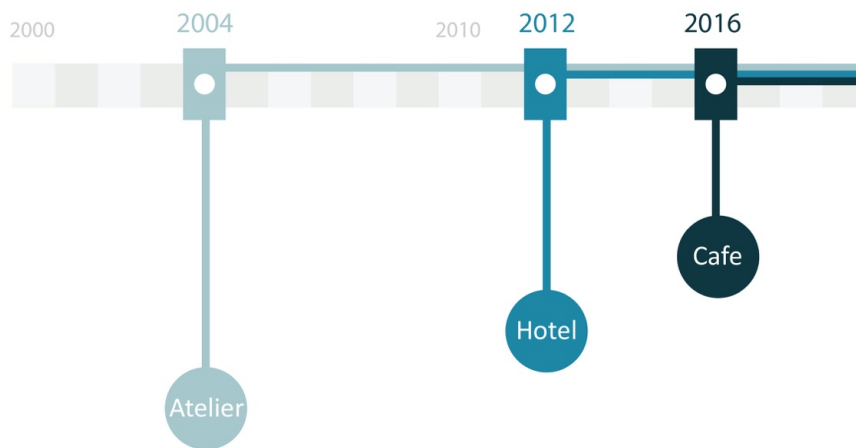


Figure 5.18 Timeline of initiations

From this emerged pattern it can be deduced that first Ayvalık has been noticed and started to be seen one of the alternative places to live. Increase in interest generates more visitors towards town who turn onto historic fabric. Becoming prominent of Ayvalık creates mobility in town center. Then mobility in town attracts more attention and Ayvalık has started to be considered as a convenient place to invest for touristic services and refunctioning of historic buildings as boutique hotels has started. And finally, rising interest and changes in social structure has stimulated new demands for alternative facilities such as cafes and restaurants. With this pattern it can be said that service sector in terms of hotels and cafes have started to be appeared in line with tourism activities and new emerged society's need. The role of service sector in conservation of historic buildings which have a strong effect on changes will be discussed in detail in the following parts. But before this, identification of newcomers is analyzed.

5.2.2. Newcomers' Profile

Another important point in emerging pattern, which should be mentioned before analyzing the mediating factors, is crystallized in the question that "who show interest in heritage place?". To put this in a different way, the rising interests towards Ayvalık is depicted in detail by investigating the newcomers' profile. In order to understand this, the city coming from and profession of newcomers are asked, the

data related to the origins and occupations is supported by narratives taken by real estate agents, architects and mukhtars.

When it is come to the point of origins of newcomers, it is critical that people who decide to live in Ayvalık is heavily from metropolitan cities. According to the data gathered from interviews conducted with those who run atelier, hotel and cafe, the newcomers are from İstanbul with a percentage of 93,33%. As the origin of the newcomers is asked to the mukhtars and architects, seven out of ten stated as “İstanbul”, three out of ten stated “İstanbul and Ankara”. Despite the responses of mukhtars and architects who have stated that most of the new owners are coming from İstanbul and Ankara, table given above show us majority of respondents are from İstanbul, just one respondent is from İzmir. They also mention about other cities as origin of newcomers. Another important detail provided by mukhtars and architects is the interest of foreigners on historic buildings and conservation activities. Then, it can be argued that a great deal of attention comes from all over the country, even from overseas. However, those from İstanbul predominate in Ayvalık. This claim also overlaps with the outcomes of the study conducted by CONS 507 - Planning and Design in Urban Conservation Studio in 2016 (Figure 5.19). As it can be seen in picture below, apart from local people, there is a great number of occupants who are from İstanbul. And this is followed by other towns which are close to Ayvalık. Moreover, in the study area it is seen that one of the occupant from Ireland which proves the interest of foreigners.

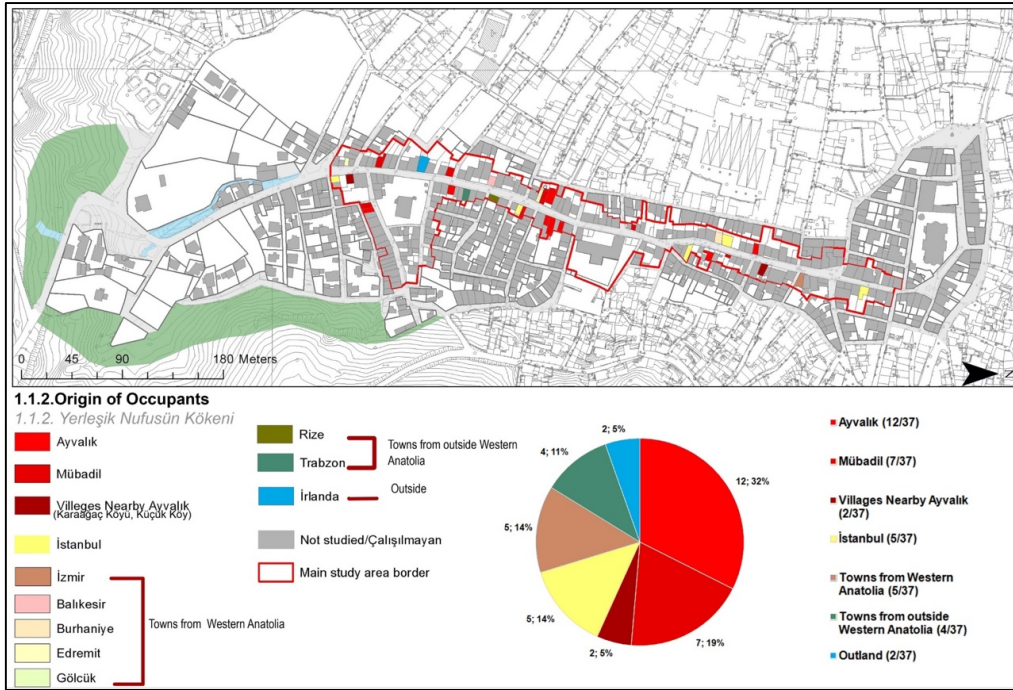


Figure 5.19 Origin of occupants (source: CONS 507 - Planning and Design in Urban Studio)

During the interviews conducted by mukhtars and architects, it is emphasized that there is a remarkable amount of interest among foreigners who are willing to buy a historical building with the aim of living in seasonal. It is appeared that foreigners undertake conservation projects of their buildings and use their dwellings as summer houses. They also asserted that most of the new owners of historic buildings have visited to Ayvalık once in a year for 15 days. Beside that as mentioned before, two respondents among hotel owners are stated that they are living in Ayvalık seasonal, and they prefer to turn back in winter season. Attitudes towards historic buildings as a summer house, in other words using of historic buildings only in summer months has different impacts on changes generated in Ayvalık. Even though, in the sample of this study there is less example of those who chose to buy and live in historic buildings as part of summer activities, using of buildings in the context of summer house makes buildings and streets of town desolated in dead seasons. While seasonal use of historic buildings affects the life in town, traditional buildings remain closed long time are subjected to the deterioration. But from the narratives

it can be deduced that, chosen of Ayvalık as a place of living in all year long is gradually rising.

Apart from the origin of newcomers, in order to understand the socioeconomic motive of new settlers, it is come to the point of economic status and educational level of newcomers. During the in-depth interviews, former occupation and educational background are asked to those who came to Ayvalık as a new place to settle. As it can be seen from the table given below, newcomers compose of the high educated people among upper and middle income groups.

Table 5.4 Former profession of newcomers

Respondents	1	2	3	4	5
Profession	Engineer	Business Administration	Swimming Internee	Graphic Designer	Academician
Respondents	6	7	8	9	10
Profession	Teacher	Notary's Clerk	Ceramic Artist	Textile	Architect
Respondents	11	12	13	14	15
Profession	Academician	Share Dealer	Architect	Teacher	Teacher

Moreover, in order to understand the income status of the newcomers, purchasing power of those, who buy historic buildings and renovate them to live, is asked to the real estate agents and architects. According to the narratives given by them, it is seen that people who have high purchasing power comprise of majority of newcomers. It is also stated that people among upper and middle income groups are their main clients who are willing to buy a historic building and renovate it. According to them, it is subsistent considering the rising prices of buildings and conservation cost.

Therefore, impacts of upper and middle class on change generated in Ayvalık is in accord with global trend.

This situation, on one hand, is clearly related to the hardness of economic liability of renovation process and gradually rising prices of historic buildings (Sampaio, 2007). Under current conditions, it is unlikely to manage with conservation costs only with the support of state subsidies. During the interviews, it is commonly stated that the process of renovation projects requires effort and substantial amount of investment apart from the aids and credits. This may explain displacement of low income people who prefer to sell their buildings followed by change in social structure by the upper and middle income people. On the other hand, it would be deficient argument if we only assert economic difficulties of conservation activities to justify the role of upper and middle income people. Clearly, there are substantial cultural concerns derived from individual and societal needs underlying recognition the historic conservation (Zukin, 1989). The idea of possessing a historic building, maintaining and living in is considered as valuable by a small section of community who appreciate and attach value on historic environment (Pendlebury, 2013). It may be derived from the perception and interpretation of cultural built heritage.

As defined in previous chapter, interest in heritage place and reusing of historic buildings in Ayvalık have started with the intellectuals' mobility in town. It seems that the significance of historic buildings' value has still been embraced by highly educated people. Since emerging pattern in Ayvalık proves that social changes in Ayvalık have been arising from the growing interest among high educated, middle and upper class people. The reason behind their action may vary, however, it is seen that conservation of historic buildings is generally undertaken by this group of people. Therefore, it is possible to state that their interest in Ayvalık and perception to conservation of cultural built heritage give shape to transformation of Ayvalık. For this reason, motivations of newcomers to settle in Ayvalık are taken as important tool which stimulate the changes in town. However, different motivations among newcomers have impacts on the process of change of Ayvalık as mediating factors. In order to understand the reasons of growing interest in Ayvalık and cultural built

heritage, individual motivations of newcomers are discussed in detail under the title of mediating factors.

5.3. Mediating Factors of Changes

Changes in heritage places may arise from different roots and factors which involve various actors'. However, within the scope of this thesis, we focus on the changes in Ayvalık which is induced by newcomers' activities and their individual motivations approached here as mediating factors. Our findings show that, newcomers are induced by different needs and reasons and eventually decided to live in the town. Although, people who want to move in Ayvalık may have different reasons, they eventually contribute to changes in town. Through the site survey, the reasons and purposes on individual basis that motive them to locate in Ayvalık by initiating their activities are tried to be analyzed. In particular their interest on historic built environment is investigated. Motivations of newcomers which stimulate to undertake conservation activities are examined. Thus and so, it is tried to understand why newcomers choose this place, what is alternative for them through their answers. It is seen that individual motivations including sociocultural and economic concerns are affected by different features specific to Ayvalık. Therefore, mediating factors is approached in two part, first sociocultural dimensions are analyzed and discussed, then economic rationalities are investigated.

5.3.1. Sociocultural Dimensions

Through the in-depth interviews it is understood that the common point, which motivates all respondents to settle in Ayvalık, is the need of alternative lifestyle. Searching for an alternative lifestyle creates the backbone of their initiation. Respondents most particularly mention about their motivation that being willing to change their life. By reflecting the importance of the natural, historic and cultural assets of Ayvalık, they advocate their acts. This also stimulates the changes in Ayvalık by creating impacts on their decision related to the conservation of cultural built heritage as well. For this reason, here, we mainly discussed the rising interest on historic built environment. Yet, before the analyzing the interest on cultural built

heritage, it is important to lay emphasis on their need of seeking an alternative lifestyle.

Taking this situation in mind, sociocultural concerns of newcomers is analyzed in two part, first the motivation of “searching for an alternative lifestyle” is embraced, then, “growing interest on historic built environment” is investigated.

Searching for an Alternative Lifestyle

In recent years, living in countryside have started to be considered as an alternative way of life for those who are living in city. From this point of view, Ayvalık is seen as a convenient place to live, in many aspects. Especially, livability of Ayvalık is stated as common by nearly all respondents. They emphasize on the quality of life in town considering the surrounding natural environment, socio-cultural structure and recreation possibilities of Ayvalık. Moreover, in the eyes of respondents, Ayvalık as a “historic little village” has been recognized as providing an alternative lifestyle for those who get bored from metropolitan life and be capable of changing their life standards.

As stated in the section of “emerging pattern of socio-spatial and economic restructuring of Ayvalık”, newcomers are embodied by high educated people especially ones from high income groups. This indicates that the urban change has been generated by means of upper and middle class people who have high purchasing power and able to consider their lifestyle. Besides this, newcomers who prefer to live in town rather than metropolitan cities are heavily from İstanbul. Intense interest among people who ceased to live in İstanbul is seen as obvious in Ayvalık. This may relate to the rising difficulties of living in İstanbul which makes people get tired of sustain. Metropolitan life, described as expensive, relentless, crowded and noisy, forces people to live in a rush and yield to be fed up. Therefore, it is possible to say that people, who want to escape from the congestion in the city, feel the need of alternative way of life. In need of being close to the nature and searching for a quiet life makes people to seek for a new place in countryside. This search calls attention to the town life recently as offering an option to live in better

conditions. Briefly, one of the main reason which stimulates people to live in Ayvalık is shaped by aspiration of experiencing the town life.

Living in Ayvalık is mostly mentioned as healthy, peace and quiet in contrast with everyday experience of metropolitan life by respondents. Especially social fabric of town is specified as reason to live in Ayvalık. It is mainly mentioned social structure and relations in Ayvalık is what they looking for. In comparison with social relations in metropolitan life, social life in Ayvalık is stated as enviable. Apart from the historic and social fabric, Ayvalık and its surrounding environment have remarkably unspoiled nature which makes it attractive. In view of newcomers Ayvalık is associated with its wide variety of natural asset, as well. In particular, Ayvalık differs from other towns since it is located on the Aegean coast, by providing a special connection between sea and natural environment. Moreover, natural environment of the region, likewise forest land near by the town center, which is also designated as natural site to conserve, is given as important assets that Ayvalık have. These assets are mentioned when Ayvalık is compared with İstanbul in which force them to live in concrete jungle. Moreover, climatic condition is given as one of the important reasons of preferences of those in search of alternative place to settle. Climatic conditions specific to the region is stated as ensuring a weather to live in throughout the whole year in town while other coastal towns are solely visited in summer season.

In addition, considering the endemic life special to the region, Ayvalık provides generous variety of agricultural products which would not be reachable in metropolitan cities that fresh. Healthy and fresh products are remarked as a motivating reason that stimulate them to prefer living in town. And also prices of the products are mentioned as relatively cheap in Ayvalık. Regional cuisine which is linked with the culture of olive oil production among the town, has also stimulating power to attract people. It is again one of the cultural assets specific to the Ayvalık which is considered important by out-of-towners. This also indicates that cultural landscape in Ayvalık in terms of regional cuisine, social fabric, habits and traditions, gain attention along with the built heritage that attract people. Having

all these in mind, it is understandable the fact that Ayvalık is regarded as proposing peaceful life for those who are searching for a convenient place to live after retirement. Besides, it provides also alternative place to keep living as close to the local culture rather than chaos of metropolitan life.

Foremost among these reasons which motivate people to settle in Ayvalık, interest of newcomers on historic built environment is outstanding. On the one part, living or working in a historic building contributes to develop their dream who seeks an alternative lifestyle. On the other hand, their perception to cultural built heritage and conservation activities is induced by different dynamics either. Particularly, intrinsic values of historic buildings in terms of historic importance and aesthetic values, are mainly mentioned by newcomers which motivate them to move into Ayvalık, even to repair historic buildings to live or work in. However, it cannot be said that their motivation of maintaining the historic buildings lack of socio cultural dimensions and economic rationalities. Therefore, we mainly focus on growing interest in historic buildings in terms of relative values mentioned during the interviews, and then, we discuss their motivations directed by social and cultural concerns.

Growing Interest in Historic Built Environment

During the interviews, it is seen that there is a direct connection between newcomers' initiations and growing interest in cultural built heritage in Ayvalık. In this context, rising popularity of historic buildings, which stimulate mobility by motivating people to conserve and refunction historic buildings, is seen as one of the important factor of changes in town. Conservation activities of newcomers who make a huge amount of investment by buying a historic building and carrying out the renovation projects, are taken shape by their purposes. They may renovate buildings based upon personal use or refunction them with their economic reasons which determine the extent of transformation in historic center. In both ways, they attach values to the buildings.

With the aim of understanding the newcomers' interpretation to historic buildings of Ayvalık, the reason of chosen historic buildings for all that liability and

responsibility of renovation process is asked. Through the answers and narratives given by respondents, value appropriations to historic buildings are categorized. From the given answers it is noticed that even though, the dynamics behind the newcomers' initiatives vary person to person, attributed values to the historic buildings have similar roots in common. They mostly tend to express their attachment and feelings to the historic buildings through the value of buildings in terms of historic and aesthetic-architectural values. And also it is understood that these relative values affect their attitudes towards historic buildings by motivating them to invest. In order to reveal the motivating reasons, relative values attached to the buildings by newcomers is investigated.

Clearly, living in historic building and being close to historic fabric is important for newcomers. However, it is interesting that respondents mostly state their emotional attachment to historic fabric of Ayvalık. During the interviews conducted by newcomers, it is mostly stated that “history of town is attracted” or “historic fabric is captivated” to demonstrate their affinity on historic buildings. The pleasing feelings of being in historic buildings is given as a motivation without knowing the reason underlying. Although many respondents barely describe their incentives, it is obvious that enthusiasm of newcomers arising from the idea of living in historic town which leads to rise of conservation activities in Ayvalık. Considering the hardness of interpreting the meaning of their affection towards historic buildings, it is seen that most of the respondents chose to indicate the difference of historic building by making comparison with ordinary one. From the answers given by respondents, it is seen that newcomers have a tendency to refer historic buildings as to “have a character” while ordinary buildings do not. Distinguishing the historic buildings from ordinary buildings is related to its cultural value attributed (Throsby, 1999). As Throsby (Throsby, 2002) defined, “a historic building is not just a building: certainly it has the characteristics of an ‘ordinary’ building as an item of physical capital, but in addition, it has historical and other attributes that an ‘ordinary’ building does not have”. Respondents show tendency to attribute certain values to historic buildings as well.

Considering the age of buildings, newcomers mostly mentioned about historic values of buildings to defend their act of maintaining. In order to defend their preservative behavior, they stated that historic buildings ought to be conserved. It is seen that they are enjoy to be in part of conservation of those buildings and also living in historical environment. However, historic buildings, even though described with its historical characteristic, are not mostly embraced due to its importance arising from its history. Only two respondents emphasized the historic assets and heritage value as the reason of conserving the historic buildings. The rest of them, mostly tended to define their interest on old and ancient things by remarking impression, in order to reflect the reason of chosen historic buildings. Historic buildings are referred as “having a soul” by three of the respondents who may try to reflect their spiritual attachments to the historic buildings. It is also prevalent that respondents express their feelings regarding nostalgia of buildings. This would be verbalized as “sentimental nostalgia” (Hobson, 2004). Nostalgia and attaching importance to the past of the buildings, which is defined as experiencing the memory of antecedents by newcomers, are mostly pointed as motivational reason. That is to say, appreciation of out-of-towners to the historic fabric of the town derived from their sentiments to the ancient things.

Beside the historical value of the buildings, most of the respondents prefer to express their appreciation related to architectural and aesthetic values of historic buildings. During the meetings, they generally lay emphasis on historic fabric and features of buildings which is defined as beautiful and impressive. The beauty of old things is mostly referred and mentioned while they are trying to express why they chose to live in historic buildings. The desire to obtain aesthetically pleasing environment seems to be more important motivation of newcomers rather than its historical importance. And also beyond the architectural importance, aesthetic concerns are seen more common through the respondents. Since, respondents attribute values to historic buildings specified according to their aesthetic tastes. However, aesthetic and architectural values appropriated to the buildings are interrelated.

As Zukin (1987) described, “a generalized appreciation of the material and aesthetic qualities that old buildings and old neighborhoods evoke” is seen in responses of newcomers. As they mention about their attachment to “stone house” and “woodworking” of buildings which appeal to their tastes. Moreover, as observed during the interviews, instead of reinforced concrete ones, living in historic building carries meanings for newcomers. Here, by saying reinforced concrete building, respondents try to mean modern buildings which indicates the differentiation between traditional and modern coming in minds with material of buildings. While modern buildings are underrated by defining as concrete, historic buildings are specified as stone house or mentioned with its wood structure which are aesthetically pleasing according to the respondents. Attractiveness of historic buildings is seen to be described with reference to the lack of attractiveness of ordinary buildings which is stated as “ordinary walls do not have any attraction”. Briefly, value of historic buildings is defined by emphasizing on material of the building.

However, it is understood that aesthetic appreciation of newcomers is shaped by the state of repair of the building and the way of renovate it beside the material and aesthetic quality of architecture. Since, during the meetings with respondents, it is observed that desolated buildings or the dwellings which have not been renovated yet and used by local people, are not considered as aesthetic or delighting to look. Newcomers appreciate aesthetic values of historic buildings as long as renovation of the buildings is undertaken. This situation indicates that rising conservation activities is induced and maintained not only with conservation concerns, but also aesthetic concerns of the newcomers have. The idea of living/working in a renovated building triggers them to own a historic building to conserve. These motives prove that the taste of newcomers and aesthetic concerns, related to their dwellings architectural structure, are playing important role in conservation activities, and vast amount of investment derived from this desire.

Despite all these reasons in terms of historic importance and aesthetic quality of the buildings stated by newcomers, social and cultural concerns, which motivate people,

play important role in newcomers' attempts in Ayvalık. For example, some of the newcomers may have other reasons for entering into this kind of investment, such as taking advantage of "civic pride" (Zukin, 1987) to appreciate and conserve one of the historic buildings. The idea of preserving buildings from deterioration, while it remains desolate, motivate out-of-towners, who regard as responsibility in common with the all aesthetic values attributed to the buildings, to undertake conservation activities. Especially, one respondent's answer is distinct from others since he expressed the reason of choosing historic buildings as important duty. He also added that historic buildings should be conserved and bequeath to the next generations. Rather than the popularity of old things, he especially claimed its importance to maintain them. One of the newcomers also stated that he chose to undertake renovation project of the property he rent, not only for their present enjoyment but also for the future occupiers. He considered his act as civic responsibility. Through these examples it is deduced that, the idea towards preventing the loss of heritage values as long as renovate the buildings, evokes people to undertake this liability. However, this pride not only arises from their proud of preserving the historic building, but also providing employment opportunities by refunctioning buildings for service sector uses. Renovating historic buildings by transforming them to alternative re-uses such as hotels, cafes restaurants, creates job opportunities in town in parallel with the rising tourism activities.

This situation is also related to the economic regeneration coming with conservation activities. Besides, it proves that attributed values mentioned before would be defined as cultural value of historical buildings, on the other hand, values can be derived from "the flow of services" that historic buildings provide (Throsby, 1999, 2002). Cultural value of an historic building is supposed to be separated from its economic value which is not unrelated though (Throsby, 2002). The relation between cultural and economic value of an historic item is that the cultural value of an item may determine and affect the economic value of its which will be addressed in the following part of this section. Yet before, cultural dimension of conservation attitudes is discussed in detailed.

During the interviews, it is observed that the idea of living in Ayvalık is shaped by the influence of social circles as well. Social circle is one of the incentive factors encouraging people to own a historic building and live in Ayvalık. As mentioned before while speaking of the motives of those who have an atelier in town, Ayvalık became home for artistic production places which could be approached as “creative industry” (Ley, 2003). It indicates that Ayvalık is becoming a node in artistic network for whom try to seek alternative places for Istanbul. Yet, the search of an alternative place would not mean to break the social connections with the city. On the contrary it paves the way to attract more attention to the Ayvalık by the means of social networks. In order to sustain their connection and status in their social circles, people tend to move in harmony with others which causes more interest towards town. Indeed, this is not special to the artistic network. In any cases, whether artistic or not, social network plays important role in changing process of Ayvalık. There are certain exceptions, of course; but in general pattern, which is emerging by the motivations of people, newcomers are likely to follow social tendencies.

Especially in one case it is openly stated that their attempt to own a historic building is based upon the experience of their friends who had opened a boutique hotel in Ayvalık before. It is obvious that if one prefers to live in the town and attempt to own a historic building and renovate it, this attempt creates a trigger affect among his/her social groups. And then his/her friends tend to follow same route under the influence of their entourage. This social influence transformed into collective behavior which has a strong relation between class culture (Knox & Pinch, 1982), among a distinct group which is observed to accelerate the movement towards Ayvalık. Therefore, it is possible to claim that there is a pattern formation throughout the changes generated in Ayvalık which is triggered by several factors and stimulated by different motivations including different agents. The impact of trigger factors on creating of collective behavior will be discussed in detail in the following chapter to emphasis on this pattern formation.

To put emphasis on this movement among a distinct group we should turn back to the point of sociocultural pattern emerging in Ayvalık. While discussing the question that who shows interest in heritage place in Ayvalık, it is clearly seen that Ayvalık attracts great attention among highly educated people who have high purchasing power. Besides those who are from creative industry show interest in Ayvalık. The roles of creative industry, cultural production and the impact of their aesthetic sensuousness on gentrification process are mostly discussed (Ley, 2003). In this context, it may be deduced that historic buildings as providing aesthetically pleasing urban places appeal to taste of those who belongs to the limited part of the community among upper and middle class. And also, as a sign of symbolic and cultural power, historic buildings have started to be used in order to enhance social network and reinforce their social identity which again a special concern among middle and upper class people. Therefore, it can be stated that undertaking the conservation of historic building or creating a new place by refunctioning historic buildings have symbolic meanings (Bourdieu, 1989) for newcomers. Helbrecht (2004) also entitles this as "representational" meanings. And she claims that those from creative industry have spatial choices that demonstrate representational meanings (Helbrecht, 2004). In Ayvalık it is seen that newcomers give importance representational value of historic buildings through refunctioning them. As Bourdieu states (Bourdieu, 1989) "social space tends to function as symbolic space, a space of lifestyle and status groups characterized by different lifestyle". Having a historic building and living in it provide a symbolic power which is embraced as a space of lifestyle currently. This would be associated with the "habitus" concept of Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1984). As Zukin (1987) states; "collective residential choices, the amenities that clustered around them, and their generally high educational and occupational status were structured by – and in turn expressed– a distinctive habitus, a class culture and milieu in Bourdieu's (1984) sense". According to the Bourdieu (1984), each people belong to a habitus which is inscribed by their orienting practices tastes and distastes. He emphasizes the importance of symbolic importance of choices in daily practices and claims that daily life is taken shape by their choices. Yet, to examine this relation in detailed, comprehensive sociological investigation should be conducted. Considering the scope of this thesis, it is impossible to assert

that this is a habitus structuring, however, it is likely that owning a renovated building and living in Ayvalık have symbolic meanings for newcomers which would be connected with Bourdieu's concept.

Urry and Larsen (2011) also argue about reflection of this taste of groups in a range of "contemporary cultural symbols and practices" among middle class. These practices comprise of "health foods, real ale, real bread, vegetarianism, nouvelle cuisine, traditional, non-western science and medicine, natural childbirth, wool, lace and cotton rather 'man-made' fibres, antiques rather than 'man-made' reproductions, restored houses/warehouses, jogging, yoga, cycling, mountaineering and fell-walking rather than organized, contrived leisure" (Urry & Larsen, 2011). Although it is hard to demonstrate direct connection through the interviews, it is possible to state that these practices may correspond to the case of Ayvalık with regard to the daily practices and choices of newcomers as far as our observations.

In this context, to create an identity by means of the living in historic buildings or carrying out the conservation project may enhance the changing process in Ayvalık. This process does not only include renovation of buildings, but also differentiation in daily life, and consumption pattern in Ayvalık. Adaptation of historic buildings with the aim of creating café and gallery places indicates that this kind of new demand coming with new emerged social groups. It was also confirmed during the interviews, Ayvalık is seen as a place to serve for social production. In this perspective, old buildings with historical value become a mean for social production generated by highly educated middle upper class people.

In addition to this, aesthetic concerns and preferences towards the historic buildings among people would not only be based on personal tastes and symbolic identity, but connected to economic rationalities coming with adaptation of buildings for commercial usages. As Hobson (2004, 49) states that "the social prestige associated with 'old things' made previously unloved relics into profitable assets: for example, the restoration of old buildings for office use lent and immediate image of tradition and status". An also as Zukin (1987) explains this kind of changes in historic

quarters of cities “connotes both a mode of high status cultural consumption and the colonization of and expanding terrain by economic institutions associated with the service sector”. Impacts of the service sector will be examined in this sense under the title of economic rationalities behind conservation approaches of the newcomers.

5.3.2. Economic Rationalities

During the interviews conducted by owners of hotels, cafes and ateliers, it is observed that in general economic priorities are not mentioned while talking about their initiatives. In the six cases out of fifteen, economic concerns and expectations are clearly defined by newcomers. As it is understood through the interviews conducted by architects, muhktars and real estate agents, vast majority introduce their demand in line with personal benefit intrinsically. Yet, they also stated that many people declare their economic priorities who consider to purchase a historic building with profit oriented aims or as an economic investment. However, through the site surveys it is observed that economic rationalities behind the newcomers’ initiatives differs from case to case according to their field. Although it is hardly stated in interviews by the newcomers, there is a connection between desire of people on cultural heritage place with their economic rationalities. In order to understand the economic dynamics, first newcomers’ motivations are compared, second the role of tourism and service sector is discussed and the newcomers’ approaches to the conservation of historic buildings as a way of investment is examined.

In order to analyze the relation of economic motivations between acts of newcomers, hotels, cafes and ateliers’ responses are analyzed separately and then service sector. To start with, hotel owners, in three cases out of five, stated that they firstly decided to move on Ayvalık and then attempted to open a hotel. In the all cases, running a hotel in Ayvalık are mostly described as delighting for them, while one of them state their initial motivation as “just an intent for investment”. Just one respondent clearly stated that he intended to run a hotel in Ayvalık by considering the economic rationalities. By contrast to the hotel owners, café owners clearly identified their main aim with economic priorities. Just one case differs who describe his main

motivation as enthusiasm of owning a café/restaurant after his retirement. Besides these, only one respondent from those who have an atelier, clearly stated economic prospects behind their initiatives in Ayvalık.

In regard to these responses, it is possible to state that, while those who take part in service sector, have economic rationalities, others are mainly stimulated by socio-cultural concerns. Newcomers who engage in commercial sector act upon their economic concerns that give shape to their attitude towards historic buildings. Considering the economic liability of renovation projects and gradually rising prices of historic buildings, it is important to understand economic extent of the conservation of historic buildings in Ayvalık. As mentioned before, the requirements of conservation projects force people to spend large amount of money and need efforts. As specified in current legal framework and stages of architectural conservation in Turkey, private enterprises are supported by state subsidies in order to maintain heritage which encourage them to invest in historic buildings. Although some of the renovation projects are publicly subsidized, mostly, the significant portion is carried out by private initiatives in “do it yourself manner” (Zukin, 1987). Despite this, renovation of historic buildings may seem profitable from many aspects which stimulate people to undertake all the responsibilities

First of all, dynamics underlying this economic rationality are supported by a new movement from metropolitan life towards a little town. Rising property prices together with urban regeneration projects in İstanbul, make renovation of historical buildings in Ayvalık relatively alternative and valuable for those who think to invest on real estate. Relatively low cost of renovation and refunctioning, at least at the beginning, is seen one of the supportive reason for people to induce their initiative as an idea. This opportunity may propel so many people become “part time developer” (Zukin, 1989) as making investment on historical buildings. Furthermore, by the rising interest towards Ayvalık, use of historic buildings in order to generate income profit is another important motive which stimulate people to invest. Thus, use and interpretation values of historic buildings attract attention of market oriented attempts as well. So tourism potential is used by market oriented

enterprises. Increase in touristic activities in historic quarter of Ayvalık opens new avenue for profit oriented enterprises in terms of service sector.

During the interviews it is also seen that, some of the newcomers who open a café and hotel in Ayvalık had already been in search of carrying out the same initiative in İstanbul, yet, it was not possible because of the economic reasons. As Zukin (1989) stated, while drawing the schema about gentrification process, “gentrifies’ tastes are conditioned by the availability and affordability of older buildings”. In parallel with what Zukin claims, it is observed in Ayvalık that most of the newcomers prefer to purchase a historic building in Ayvalık and renovate it with regard to relatively low cost in comparison with the property values in İstanbul, Bodrum, Alaçatı. Especially tourism industry seeks this opportunity.

In tourism industry, historic attraction is used for the sake of economic profit. Economic benefits of historical environment are embraced by its relation with tourism industry and service sector (Urry, 1995; Urry & Larsen, 2011). Boutique hotels and cafés situated in historical buildings in Ayvalık, is observed in this context. But for this, relation between tourism and historic environment is need to be briefly discussed. “Tourist gaze”, as a conceptualized by Urry (1990), consists of different kinds of gazes which are authorized by different motivations. In heritage tourism, it is seen that the importance of heritage and memory plays important role to motive people to see there. And also “romantic gaze” which provide personal and semi spiritual relationships with the object of the gaze, leads people to want to be there, and pay for it. Picturesque view of built heritage attracts them and facilities located in this environment provide an experience with historic features. Heritage tourism becomes an attempt to make their holiday experience authentic. Since people value historic characters of buildings and want to experience the pleasure of this environment, enterprises tend to locate in historic buildings by renovating them in line with taste of target groups. Historic features of buildings are used in marketing and advertising of hotel services and restaurants. People are looking for an experience in historical environment therefore prefer to take advantage of accommodation services located in historical buildings. Likewise, cafes and

restaurants attract people with the fabric specific to the historic buildings. With this aim, renovation of historic buildings is undertaken according to the particular design perceptions identified by their tastes. Moreover, interior decoration of new emerged places, which is mostly decorated by antiques in line with historic character of building, seems to be determined by this perception. Specific decorative motives accompany to the renovated historic fabrics which appeal to the eye. During the site surveys, it is seen that, adapted buildings which are transformed into cafes and hotels, are renovated in parallel with this manner. Likewise, it is observed that in Ayvalık these buildings are also furnished in a similar manner that creates stylish places (Figure 5.20). So that, through the adaptive reuses in Ayvalık renovated and refurnished buildings are featured in magazines on the subject of decoration and design (Maison Française, 2016).



Figure 5.20 Examples for interiors of refurbished buildings

In parallel with this, social composition of consumers, who are willing to pay for the services provided by means of converted historic buildings, are shaped by created “ambiance” with this stylish perception. Stylish hotels, cafes and restaurants intrinsically designate customer profile since social composition of users depends on production of service sector. It is observed that new emerged places’ customer profiles remain restricted which is identified by pricing policies, as it is all related to who is able to buy this kind of services. Moreover, it is worth to remark that one

of the owners of café, stated that affordability of services provided by tourism sector located in historic quarter of Ayvalık results growing in visitors from all strata. And, she points that if prices were increased in higher level, then it would be possible to have higher quality in social composition of consumers. Thus, it is deduced that new alternative reuses which are marketed with the renovation of buildings mainly aims high income people, which makes locals and low income people exclude from these places at the same time. So, social displacement develops out of the functional and economic changes as well as the changes of user profile. This also indicates that economic and social restructuring are taken form by the investments of newcomers while they contribute to refunction and reuse of buildings.

Services provided by this kind of stylish hotels, cafes and restaurant mediate to increase in consume by using historic environment. When considered from this point of view, it would be questioned whether conservation projects undertaken by meaning for conservation or with the aim of deriving economic benefits. Moreover, architects emphasize the fact that newcomers' attitude towards historic buildings are oriented by their personal desire which are also shaped by economic concerns.

To analyze the relation between newcomers' perception to conservation of historic buildings and their acts, preference of historic buildings and state of repairs are compared and examined with regard to the cases of café, hotel and ateliers. In all cases of hotel owners, it is preferred to have a listed historic building as a place. It is also important to mention that in two out of five cases renovation of the buildings had been carried out before the current owner took over, others have undertaken the conservation projects.

The respondents who run a café in Ayvalık prefer to be tenant instead of owning the building in contrary to the hotel owners. Also there is an interesting point in this case regarding the status of the buildings. Three out of five buildings, which have been transformed into café, are stated as listed historic buildings, however, another two are not listed even they are historic. During the interviews it is observed that this situation is regarded as an opportunity which makes comprehensive repairs easy

without any legal obligations. The conservation interventions are still a remarkable issue in this case. In the two out of five cases, conservation interventions had been undertaken before the owners of the café rented the building. In addition to this, two out of five respondents stated that they preferred to repair the buildings without following legal procedures. Just one of the respondents submitted to the approval of council for renovation project.

On the other hand, none of the respondents, who have an atelier, prefers to undertake comprehensive repair of the building, although the buildings, which are used as atelier place, are historic. By paying no attention to the conservation of the building as owners of ateliers become distinct from the cases of hotel and café. And also, in similar with the café owners, owners of ateliers do not prefer to take the ownership of the building. This may be related to the consideration of atelier as just a temporal workplace.

From this it is deduced that while in cultural and service sector, such as hotels cafés and galleries, using buildings as a medium to promote their services with the character of the building is profitable, for ateliers, buildings mainly serve the purpose of place for production process. It is possible that renovation of the building would seem redundant investment for the owners of an atelier. Taking into account all these, it can be stated that conservation and reusing of historic buildings is taken form by economic concerns as well. Even some of the newcomers act in an entrepreneurial manner towards cultural built heritage.

Considering this situation, it is important to mention the approaches of newcomers to the obligations and financial liabilities of owning a historic building. Throughout the research, it is observed that while maintaining a historic building has started to carry value for people and having an important place for cultural heritage conservation, it is still getting reaction since imposing challenges to the owners. Difficulties of the process of renovation projects and convert the buildings to an alternative use such as boutique hotels, café, restaurant, atelier, art galleries etc., are mostly reflecting by newcomers even if they have the advantage of financial return

generating with the tourism activities. During the interviews, they emphasized the difficulty of great expense of conservation projects. Reaction of newcomers to the conservation controls and obligations who are among to the upper and middle class people is worth to consider. Besides, it is seen that newcomers tend to react to the strict controls of regional council with regard to the conservation rules even they are expressing the importance of historic buildings. In addition to this, architects also stated that some preferred to carry out the repair of the building without any professional architects' consultation after they had faced with the huge amount of expenses of the conservation process. Along these lines, newcomers' complaints prove that attitude towards conservation of historic buildings are affected by their economic priorities. Through the decisions based on conservation intervention of historic buildings and approaches to their attempts, economic concerns come to the surface. By making comparison it is seen that newcomers' attitudes towards cultural built heritage differ according to the relation between their purposes and economic rationalities.

CHAPTER 6

6. DISCUSSION ON SITE SURVEY FINDINGS

To discuss the impacts of the newcomers' motivations and reasons on changing process of Ayvalık, it is important to understand the emerging pattern deeply. Before presenting the site survey analysis, it is mentioned that attention grabbing activities begin with artists' existence in Ayvalık in 1980's which was followed by intellectuals' enterprises in region. Therefore, artists' existence is taken as the main factor which triggered the interest towards Ayvalık.

Following this, with the founding of Harvard Summer School in Cunda in 1997, and establishing Ayvalık International Music Academy in Ayvalık in 1998, Ayvalık has started to gain more recognition in intellectual groups. Even one of the respondent stated she purchased her dwellings which is located in Cunda, when she came for language courses given by Harvard Summer School. Meanwhile, changes in attitude towards historic buildings have started with the rising image of historic buildings in which case coming into view on media through popular TV series. The media mediated rising awareness of historic environment. With the rising recognition of historic buildings, interest on historic quarters have increased. This means, media created stimulation towards conservation activities. Therefore, it is possible to state that all these mentioned above gave rise to the interest towards historic built environment in Ayvalık. This is why they are identified as the catalyst which accelerate the interest.

In pursuit of changes stated above, by the means of amendments in legislation related to conservation activities which was taken part in 2004, drawbacks of renovation project process have been relatively reduced. Particularly, the effect of

this amendment have been felt with respect to the rising financial inducements for renovation projects. People are encouraged to undertake conservation projects which is provided by state subsidies in terms of aids and loans. Also through the tax reductions, alternative usages which are aimed to convert historic buildings for commercial purposes has started to be supported. This entrepreneurial manner of government obviously aimed to stimulate investments and attract private enterprise to make an investment on urban space through historic environment. Impact of changes in legislation on Ayvalık may not be proved in the scope of this thesis. However, it is possible to state that financial inducements have affect perception of people positively. It is clearly seen by the rise of conservation activities in historic quarters after 2004. That is why the amendment of the law is approached here as one of the catalysts which stimulate interest by encouraging people to undertake conservation activities.

Moreover, there is also another aspect regarding well-known people and recognized families of Turkey. These families have investments in urban space of Ayvalık which has attracted attention towards region since the beginnings of 2000's. Investments of these families seem to have a big influence on the changing process of Ayvalık. Renovation projects of the important monuments and transforming them to the cultural centers, which have been undertaken by recognized families and well-known names, are approached here as important progress that attracts attention towards town. These conservation projects undertaken in Cunda island have started to be heard through the media since 2007 by the opening of Sevim - Necdet Kent Library which is operated by the Rahmi M. Koç Museology and Culture Foundation. Subsequently, renovation project of Ayıışığı Monastery which has been undertaken by Suzan Sabancı Dinçer in 2008, has been featured on media. The restoration project has been finished in 2012. In pursuit of this, the restoration project of Taksiyarhis Church in Cunda has been undertaken by the Rahmi Koç Museology and Culture Foundation and the monument has been transformed into the Museum and opened in 2014. All these important cultural centers contribute to stimulate following investment towards region. The impact of these attention-grabbing

activities can be seen in the emerging pattern which is formed by the respondents' motives based on their attitude towards historic buildings.

Through the analysis of the emerging pattern of newcomers, the rising tendency towards living in Ayvalık coincides with the rising news related to these investments of well-known people. From the data gathered from the interviews, it is understood that 3 out of 15 of the respondents start to live in Ayvalık in 2000's, the rest of stated as after 2010. According to this outcome, it can be said that people has started to come to Ayvalık as a new place to live within the last 20 years but the trend of having a place in Ayvalık shows an increase after 2010. This proves that growing interest on Ayvalık and historic built environment have started to be stimulated by the activities of intellectuals in 1990's and through the leading media. Following this, several factors in terms of change in legislation and investments and activities of well-known people, accelerate the attention toward region and conservation activities. As a result of this, Ayvalık gradually gained popularity and growing interest lead to increase in conservation and reuse of historic buildings.

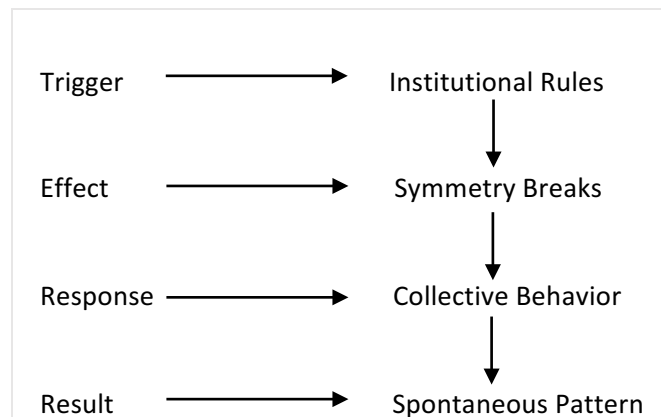
As it is seen, there is a pattern formation in changing process of Ayvalık. This pattern has been emerged spontaneously which is shaped by different agents' activities. It is aimed to discuss this spontaneously emerging pattern under the context of self-organization. Self-organization is primarily used in physics and biology which is associated with complex system thinking. The usage of the term in planning studies is relatively recent, for instance the concept of self-organization is used in the context of urban regeneration to show complexity in transformation of urban space in which different dynamics taken places (Meerkerk et al., 2013; Zhang, Roo, & Dijk, 2015). Applying complexity thinking in planning (Roo & Silva, 2010) provide an alternative perspective as non-linear process of changes in urban space. It is stated that complexity thinking in planning is an important tool in order to understand uncertainty in changes and transformation of urban space.

In planning area, self-organization is drawn on to put an emphasize on nonlinearity and uncertainty in urban development which is affected by decisions taken in the

planning process. Zhang et al. (2015) explore the interdependence between institutional rules and self- organization formation by analyzing their impact on urban transformation. Zhang et al. (2015) describe self-organization as a process that is occurred “as a result of other processes which displays characteristics of pattern formation”. This pattern formation is defined as the outcome of behaviors of individual agents who responds to “conditional change, structural breaks and mismatches between the function and structure in urban system”.

According to Zhang, self-organization process involves spontaneously emerging patterns and unplanned developments (Zhang et al., 2015) which is generated by reactions to the institutional rules. They consider complex and spontaneous process as “the result of a set of institutional rules and autonomous behavior”. Self-organization, by the means of institutional rules, creates symmetry breaks. In parallel with that, interaction of different agents causes “new system behavior” and leads to change in urban areas (Meerkerk et al., 2013). Self-organized behavior caused by independent actions of people interests in historic buildings, unintentionally results in spontaneous pattern formation as a collective outcome. Emerging patterns triggering people and forcing them to adjust according to this stimulation. A nonlinear adjustment behavior causes nonlinear and unpredictable outcomes. Zhang et al. (2005) propose a framework of the self-organization process which is defined in four steps (Table 6.1).

Table 6.1 Framework of the self-organization process (Redrawn after Zhang, et. al, 2015)



This framework is adapted here to indicate the dynamics of the process of change generated in Ayvalık. By the means of self-organization perspective, we aim to show that in the changing process of Ayvalık there is a pattern formation in which collective behavior has occurred as a result of independent actors' react to the trigger. So as to indicate this, following Zhang et al. (2015), we define four steps of self-organization process in the case of Ayvalık (Figure 6.1). The first that is “trigger” step which is realized by the artists existence in Ayvalık. In pursuit of the impact of trigger, there are catalysts in the pattern formation of changes in Ayvalık which are adjusted differently from the defined steps of framework given above. One of them is the rising activities of intellectual groups in Ayvalık that brought in great amount of attention towards town. In parallel this, the media plays important role to stimulate people by making conservation of historical buildings is recognized. Then featuring of historic buildings on media has another catalyst that stimulate the rising interest on conservation and reuse historic buildings. Other one is the amendment of the act related to conservation activities taken place in 2004. Financial inducements mediate to encourage people so as to buy an historic building and carry out renovation. At the same time, there is another catalyst which is took place as renovation of the important monuments in Cunda Island which has been carried out by the recognized families and well-known names. The investments of recognized families contribute to attract attention towards region. These are followed by second step called “effect” that is seen as growing interest on renovation of historic buildings. Effect can be defined as responses of the independent actors towards the trigger factor. This step is characterized by the intense interest on the idea of living in a historic buildings or in historic built environment in Ayvalık. And the third step, which is defined as “response”, is observed as the mobility in Ayvalık which is accompanied by the investments in historic buildings and multitude conservation activities undertaken by out-of-towners in selective area. In other word, trigger factor create interest which is induced by different catalyzers and then stimulate further conservation projects. In the final step, called as “result”, changes in social and cultural structure start to be seen by the transformation of settled profile as a result of activities of out-of-towners.

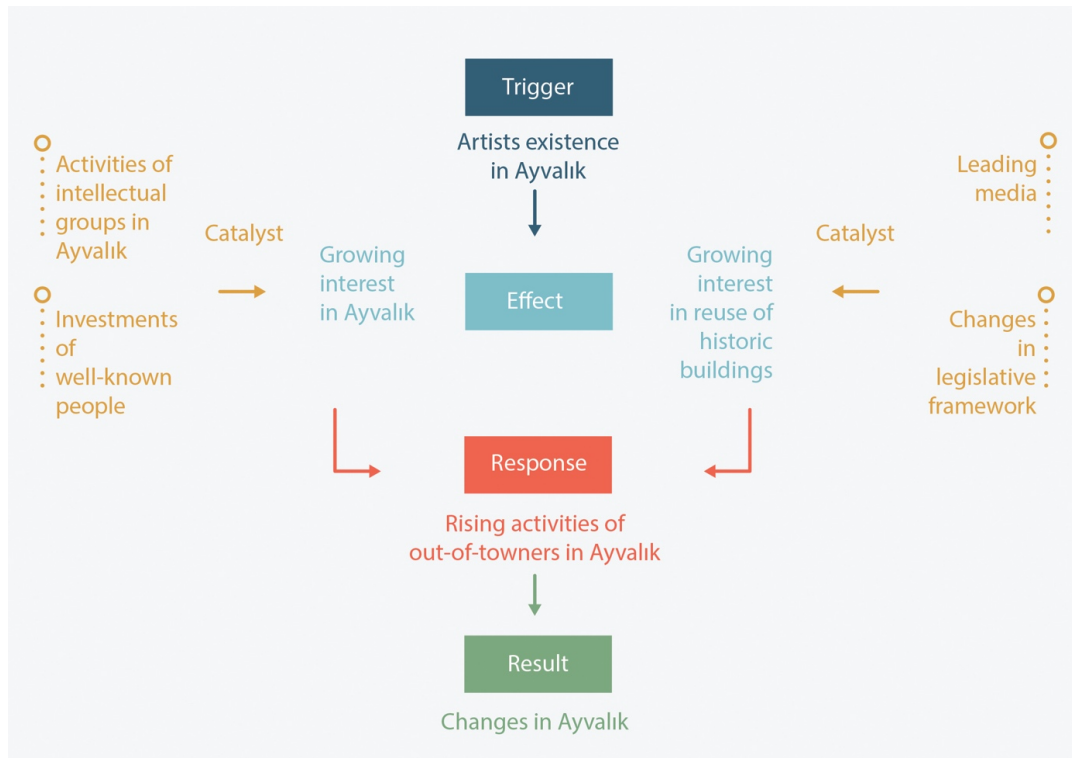


Figure 6.1 Formation of the change in Ayvalık

Briefly, in the case of Ayvalık, there are trigger factor and several catalysts which attract attention of people towards Ayvalık, and encourage them to invest in conservation projects. As a result of this stimulation, interests on Ayvalık have risen. And growing interest towards historic buildings generates collective behavior which leads to changes in economic and social structure of Ayvalık. On the other hand, it is possible to claim that there is a similar pattern formation in the emerging collective behavior. As stated before, several independent actors have vital role in changing process of Ayvalık. Through the site survey, we have examined the motivations and reasons of newcomers who are classified by their attempts such as owners of ateliers, hotels and cafes. Each group of actors taken part in the process have different motivations. Despite the fact that, general interest on historic buildings in Ayvalık has been stimulated by trigger and catalysts, they have been motivated by individual reasons to undertake the conservation activities and to live in Ayvalık, as well. Trigger is approached here as driving force of changes and the

catalysts stimulate the interest. However, personal motivations and individual choices, which are given as the mediating factors, are also playing important roles in the changing process. Through the site survey analysis, it is seen that emerging pattern in Ayvalık is taken shape by different motivations behind their personal decisions.

According to the site survey findings, searching for an alternative lifestyle is the main motivation of the vast majority of newcomers to live in Ayvalık. The idea of living in Ayvalık, which is regarded as providing quiet, genuine and traditional way of life with its cultural and natural assets, is becoming main inductive reason. Thus, it is revealed that newcomers' intentions are mainly affected by their "place specific" interest (Ashworth & Tumbridge, 2000). Then it is possible to say that newcomer's intention to live Ayvalık is derived from their sense of place consisting of "cultural attributes, including common sets of values, attitudes and thus behavior" (Ashworth & Tumbridge, 2000).

Moreover, beside the motivation of living in a little town located in Aegean coastal with its natural and cultural assets, there is a clear relation between newcomers' interest in Ayvalık and its historic built environment. Thereupon, it is understood that enthusiasm of being in Ayvalık and appreciation of historic assets encourage people to settle in town and undertake the responsibility of historic buildings including conservation and maintaining values. However, historic buildings are not only considered as heritage items to conserve but also regarded as a way to satisfy socio-cultural concerns of people. Historic buildings are mostly renovated and used because they convey taste and provide symbolic meanings for those who engage in. It is clearly seen that owning, living or working in a historic building ensure status in their social group. Alongside of the cultural and historic value attached to the historic buildings, prestige value of owning a historic building attract newcomers to live in Ayvalık and undertake conservation activities. However, apart from the historic, cultural and social value, economic value of built heritage and economic rationalities on individual basis play important role in newcomers' decisions on living in Ayvalık. Considering the fact that historic buildings are real estate, people

are approached to historic buildings as commodity to invest with regard to economic value. Therefore, attitudes towards historic buildings are taken shape by their economic profitability as well.

Consequently, it is deduced that living in Ayvalık and engaging in the conservation of historic buildings, on the one hand appeals to taste of newcomers and satisfy their socio-cultural needs, on the other hand opens new avenues for profit generating sector such as service sector through the adaptive reuses for tourism activities. In sum, newcomers' choices on living in Ayvalık and their attitudes toward built heritage are mainly arising from their socio cultural concerns. Subsequently, economic rationalities influence their motives and acts related to the historic built environment.

The impact of these individual motivations and concerns are appeared in different steps of the pattern formation of change which are emerged in parallel with the different group of activities. Changes in Ayvalık which are occurred fragmentarily in parallel with the interest of different actors on historic buildings, are affected by interaction among them. According to the site survey results, newcomers' initiatives have been established in Ayvalık since 2000's. Through the site survey analysis, it is revealed that the first atelier has been appeared in Ayvalık since 2004, and hotels have been established since 2012. Then, café owners launched their cafes in 2016.

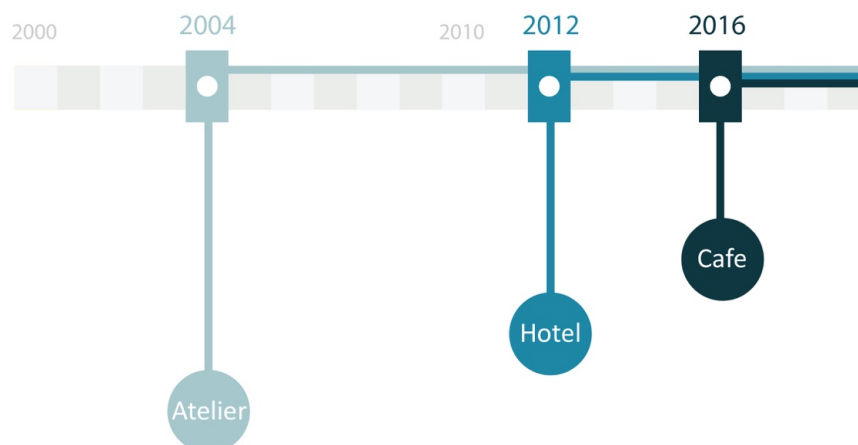


Figure 6.2 Timeline of Initiations

Considering this schema given above it is seen that tendency of having an atelier in Ayvalık is existed before establishing of hotels. Therefore, emerging of ateliers as places for cultural production is taken as initiation of activities considering the sequence of newcomers. This situation shows the fact that Ayvalık has first started to be considered preferable as an alternative place for people. This is followed by the tourism activities. Boutique hotels have been increased in line with the rising interest on historical town center among people coming from outside of the town. To analyze this development in detailed, it is important to understand changing tourism aspect in town. In the case of Ayvalık, as a way of providing an experience in historic building, boutique hotels, who guarantee an authenticity with architectural characteristic features, has started to increase in numbers in years. The rising number of initiation regarded running a hotel in Ayvalık historic town center calls into question of the changing motive of tourism. As it mentioned before, tourism activities in this region tends to orientate people towards sub centers of Ayvalık where the attracting beaches are located. The former understanding of tourism gave shape to the development of Ayvalık, in which case, visits were shaped according to the sea sand sun tourism activities. This affects the reason of second home development and big hotel investments in the sub centers of Ayvalık such as Çamlık, Cunda. Although in the past periods it was the place where visitors passed through for the beaches, now Ayvalık, historic town center is a source of attraction for the tourism activities. Since people have preferred to accommodate in historic city center, demand has risen in service sector. With the rising interest towards historic buildings in town, investment on conservation of buildings which are transformed into boutique hotels have increased.

By the rising activities, Ayvalık has remarked more attention. At the same time, by the means of inducements, rising affordability of conservation activities and growing mobility in town have been interpreted by people as an attractive investment opportunity. And the rising interest stimulate following arrivals by encouraging people to invest on cultural built heritage. Investments on conservation activities with the aim of adaptive reuses for tourism sector leads to stimulate more

interest and more investment gradually. Rising in tourism activities is followed by attracting more attention in the coming years by extension. In parallel with this, social structure in town has started to be changed as well. This creates new demand in social spaces which is shaped by new emerged population. So this correspond to the appearing of cafes in Ayvalık as the latest. Following the establishing hotels, cafés have been appeared in 2016, that also proves the changing process continues increasingly.

Considering all these mentioned above, it is understood that during the changing process, different activities among newcomers are interdependent of each other. And each groups creates an impact on another group of people and lead to new movements towards town. Then, it is possible to state that newcomers adjust their activities through the interactions with other people who also have interest towards town. In this manner, their attitude towards conservation activities generated by imitating each other.

In short, all the steps, which leads to change eventually, take shape as a chain reaction. Rising activities of out-of-towners is not just the effect of the interest on Ayvalık, it is also the cause of further interest through networks. Besides, rising conservation activities which create new places that can be seen as an impulse of more attention. Even though, objectives of the newcomers are not related to the tourism, renovated buildings provide to develop visually attractive townscape and this situation eventually gives rise to attract tourist visits. Rising mobility in town is also another reason of attractiveness of the region. Increase in tourist visits attracts investment towards region. By the rise of touristic interest to the historical town center, Ayvalık would seem to have a rising potential to invest which enhance the refunctioning of historic buildings. Therefore, there is a reciprocal relation between rising interest towards Ayvalık and the rising activities of out-of-towners. As a consequence, the more attraction brings about the more changes in town in terms of social and economic structure.

Last but not least, it is seen that Ayvalık has been experiencing process of change which started after Cunda had. This indicates that change in Cunda stimulated the change in Ayvalık. During this research, we observed rising mobility in Cunda and Ayvalık stimulates more interest on surrounding villages, as well, that have similar historic fabric with Cunda and Ayvalık. For instance, Küçükköy which is located fifteen minutes of travel time away from Ayvalık city center, has started to arouse attention. During the second site survey, we had a chance to visit Küçükköy as well. And it is observed that conservation activities have gradually taken place within the village, which again show indications of change in local structure. Our observations gathered through the site-survey were also supported by comments of locals and newcomers who stated that Küçükköy will turn into brand-new Alaçatı. Likewise, another village located in the east of Ayvalık city center, called Mutluköy, has similar historic characteristics. Mutluköy lately subjected to interest of out-of-towners and it is seen that prices of old depots and buildings in village is gradually rising in line with the trend in Ayvalık. Rising prices of buildings in Mutluköy which is stimulated by the rising interest, again indicates the same sign generated in Ayvalık. Thereupon, it is possible to state that Küçükköy and Mutluköy may be exposed to the same process of change after Cunda and Ayvalık.

CHAPTER 7

7. CONCLUDING REMARKS

In recent years there is a growing interest on heritage places in Turkey, as well as the global trend. Growing interest which is arising from different reasons and motivations among actors, leads to changes in heritage places. People who show interest on the built heritage, stimulate the changes in terms of transformation of social fabric along with the refunctioning of the physical structures and economic restructuring in historic quarters. By reusing of historic buildings and refunctioning them for alternative purposes, those who engage in conservation of historic buildings pave the ways for structural changes in heritage places. In line with the general tendency towards heritage places, Ayvalık has been witnessing a rapid change as a result of the rising interest on region. Following the rising interest on historic built environment in Ayvalık, conservation activities undertaken by out-of-towners accelerated which leads to changes in social fabric in town along with the alternative uses of historic buildings. Apart from the socio cultural structure, economic structure has been transformed by the rising economic mobility in town which is also caused by the rising tourism activities.

Despite the fact that conservation interventions contribute to maintain of historic buildings, growing interest of out-of-towners and new emerged activities may lead to disappear of locality and to loss of tangible and intangible values among Ayvalık. Thus and so, changes generated in social and economic structure in town pose threats to the heritage place in town. Therefore, it is necessary to understand the dynamics of changes occurred in heritage places to developed proper management tools afterwards.

In this regard, with this research it is aimed to be understood the underlying dynamics of growing interest in Ayvalık in order to assess the formation of change generated in heritage place. For this purpose, Ayvalık is approached in the context of heritage place and conservation. Considering this, evaluation of conservation policies and administrative changes are examined to understand the relation between changes and legislative rules related to conservation. Development of city and planning history are observed to enhance the knowledge about historical background. In parallel with this, changes in attitudes towards heritage place in Ayvalık is assessed, following these, site surveys conducted. Throughout the site surveys, physical, social and economic changes occurred in heritage place are investigated. In order to understand the roots of the changes in terms of underlying reasons and individual motivations, newcomers and local agents have been interviewed. During the analysis of the site surveys, attention has been drawn to the changes coming with the interest on historic buildings and conservation activities undertaken by newcomers. Underlying reasons and motivations of newcomers taken part in the changing process which is identified as mediating factors of changes are emphasized. The process of the changes in social and economic structure of Ayvalık in which different agents involved in with variable concerns is examined through the analyzing of these mediating factors. As a result of the analysis, it is seen that main motivation of newcomers to live in Ayvalık is arising from their place specific interest on region and their need for an alternative lifestyle. Along with these common reasons, there is a great impact of interest on built heritage which encourage people to engage in conservation activities. However, appropriation of built heritage derives from different motivations. Yet, the general tendency towards conservation of historic buildings is arising from the individual needs in terms of sociocultural concerns which is followed by economic rationalities.

Considering these motivations among newcomers, it can be said that, there are three groups of people who are undertaken the renovation projects of historic building and have different set of motives and priorities to do so. The first group attaches importance to historical environment and value historic buildings, therefore decide to live there. They are mostly motivated by considerations of use value of historic

buildings. Their perception towards historic buildings and attachments to the fabric induce them to invest in conservation. The underlying reason of why they value historic buildings may vary person to person, but it can be said that they care historic buildings particularly. The second group, on the other hand, carry their economic priorities while they are taking decisions related to conservation of historic buildings. This groups may value of historic buildings as well, however, their decisions are taken shape mainly by their economic rationalities. Generally, functional restructuring, in terms of hotels, café, restaurants, galleries, is occurring by means of this group of people. By contrast, the third groups' perception towards historic buildings is only orientated by their aim of profit seeking. They approach historic buildings only as profitable commodity in line with the rising interest. Historic environment and restoration of historic buildings are regarded as an avenue to gain economic profit by this group of people.

In short, as a result of this research it is deduced that vast majority of newcomers embrace historic built environment and consider historic buildings as an alternative place to live/work with different reasons and motivations which are categorized as sociocultural and economic dimensions. Through the research, it is seen that newcomers' appreciation of Ayvalık is associated with the interpretation of the historic built environment. This proves that newcomers' intentions to move in Ayvalık and their tendency to conserve historic buildings are related to their interpretation of heritage place and their interpretation contributes to increase in conservation activities in Ayvalık. While, lack of appropriation among former owners of historic buildings results in desolation of values in built heritage, by the growing interest of newcomers, historic buildings are appreciated and conserved. This means that rising recognition of the heritage places, whether with sociocultural or economic concerns, is the crucial point to maintain historic buildings. To put it more explicitly; the act of conservation may only possible by establishing of value, in other words, people only attempt to preserve and maintain the things they value (Pendlebury, 2009). At the same time, the act of conservation provides value to the historic properties or environment, by increasing its cultural, social and economic value. However, these cultural, social and economic values which are attributed that

differs person to person, are socially and culturally constructed. Similarly, motivations and perspectives towards conservation of heritage vary in line with these assigned values. Therefore, heritage is considered as fluid phenomenon rather than “fixed static set of objects with fixed meanings” (Avrami, Mason, & Torre, 2000).

Moreover, different social and economic groups in society may have different ideas related to what needs to be conserved and why. Thus, the idea of the maintaining of historic fabric motivate people to undertake conservation projects, on the other hand, there would be another concerns which affect their interpretations related with the heritage. Which means, different groups have different interpretations and motivations towards conservation of cultural properties. So that, perception to heritage places and attitudes towards conservation change accordingly cultural, economic and social concerns. In Ayvalık it is seen that along with the rising interest on heritage places, newcomers who are stimulated by individual motivations provide to maintain cultural properties. So, they contribute to conservation of heritage place.

However, predominance of newcomers in the conservation activities pave the way for changes despite the fact that historical buildings are maintained by their interventions. As their role taken part in process, they gave the historical center of Ayvalık different form in terms of social and economic changes. As mentioned in discussion chapter newcomer’s individual acts which are induced by individual choices and decisions turn into collective behaviors that results in changes. These changes include opportunities and positive impacts on Ayvalık. For instance, by the means of refunctioning of historic buildings, newcomers create economic vitality by making great amount of investments in town. The positive economic impacts of their act would be described as; first, their attempts create job opportunities, second, they generate tourist attraction by rising advertisements and activities, and fourth they make contribution to the local market by attracting more investment. As a consequence, newcomers contribute to the local and regional economy that impact ensure growth and development on local and regional level.

However, rapid changes have negative impacts on heritage places. In fact, negative impacts are likely to overweight positives. While newcomers' interests contribute to maintaining of heritage place and provides economic vitality in town, there is also negative outcomes of changes which are experienced by the invasion of newcomers, land speculation and the commodification of cultural properties. To start with, changes in social structure in town is one of the important impacts as a result of growing interest on historic buildings and conservation activities. Displacement occurs in Ayvalık as a result of the growing activities of newcomers. Besides, heightened rents may force to relocate local people. Moreover, new emerged facilities are likely to be little benefit to local people. Considering the situation of low income people, most of the locals may gain little benefit from this transformation despite the fact that rising service sector provide economic vitality in town. Newcomers are likely to outnumber locals and it is possible to invade their everyday spaces. Considering the rapid changes and growing interest it is possible to state that there is no longer any place for them to live.

Ironically, through the narratives it is understood that some of the newcomers specified their concerns about degeneration of Ayvalık by recent interest of outsiders. This situation would be defined as the invasion of newcomers that result in congestion and leads to loss of local character. For example, in the interviews it is stated that “in the past years there has been no traffic problem and there has been no one in streets, it was quiet” by one of the respondent. And he depicted Ayvalık as “she was unspoiled and untouched before, but not anymore”. With that the respondent added more as now Ayvalık is also overcrowded, spoiled and turning into Bodrum and Alaçatı. One of the owners of local coffeehouses reflected his feelings about this issue as being in fear due to the transformation of Ayvalık. He also added that increase in value of historic buildings, which is coming with intense interest, will reflect badly on daily life. It is important that he correlated interest among out-of-towners with rising prices of daily life activities in Ayvalık. Thus, it is deduced that local people concern about the changes of locality and anxious about social transformation.

Another danger is coming with those who start to live in Ayvalık as dedicated to change locals' way of life. During the interviews it is mostly seen that many of out-of-towners complain about laziness of locals. There is an inconsistency due to the fact that they are generally claiming to run away from rush of metropolitan life, however, they grumble about behavior of local as being at rest. This indicates, though newcomers are attracted by locality and alternative way of life, they have a tendency to change characteristic of town life. It may be deduced that newcomers try to assimilate locals into themselves. In parallel with that, it is seen that newcomers' preferences related to their renovated buildings carry concerns which are developed in line with their accustomed way of life. Newcomers priorities are shaped by their former life standards so that their expectations lead to a rise in transform of Ayvalık. It is because, out-of-towners tend to impose their habits rather than accommodating to the local culture. Eventually their activities, which are arising from their former lifestyle, give shape to the changes and bring about loss of locality. And this gives rise to the process of gentrification in Ayvalık.

There is another point that huge number of tourist and utilization of buildings as summer house creates seasonal demands but on the other hands pose a threat of desolation of town in dead seasons. Another threat is posed by those who attempt to have a historic building unconsciously. Through the in-depth interviews conducted by architects and mukhtars, it is mostly stated that out of towners, who are attracted by the popularity of living in renovated historic building, are not conscious of what they want. It is seen that some of the newcomers are not fully aware of their responsibility by possessing of historic building. And also they do not know the problems involved the process of conservation projects. Even though, they endure the difficulty of maintaining process, it is experienced that many give up the idea of living in historic buildings after they start to live. It is because, they mostly have no knowledge about living in this kind of environment before they settle down. Considering conditions based on the standards of town life and historic buildings as small units with attached buildings in contrast to metropolitan life, people are likely to suffer difficulties of being a stranger to this way of life. This situation eventually results the abandonment of historic buildings and sold out after renovation project

is carried out. And also low recognition of responsibility having a historic building presents a danger regarding the possibility of turning Ayvalık into ghost town when it is lost favor.

On the other hands, economic restructuring in town is another outcome derived from the rising conservation activities undertaken by newcomers. Growing interest and mobility result in rapidity in real estate market which leads to increase in economic values of properties as well. However, along with the newcomers' interest, historic buildings are traded by profit seeking agents and prices of historic buildings are manipulated. Commercial potential is used by both local people and the newcomers who have started to approach to historic buildings as commercial good with an entrepreneurial manner. Hence, rising conservation activities in town contributes to open up an avenue of speculation for both real estate developers and those who own historic buildings which means, rising interest in heritage place stimulates the land speculation in Ayvalık. Therefore, during the changing process, main danger occurs by the commodification of heritage through using of historic fabric with the aim of economic priorities (Hobson, 2004). Commodification of heritage places creates loss of values in parallel with the accelerating consuming (Alsayyad, 2001). In other words, approaching to the heritage from the profit oriented perspective leads to terrible consequences considering local life and historic fabric as well. Besides, by means of commercial activities, cultural heritage is used by the aim of image making and place marketing. By using intrinsic value of historic buildings, people tend to consume heritage which threatens tangible and intangible values of heritage places.

Legislative framework and attitudes of policymakers encourage this kind of tendencies which eventually lead to loss of local values in heritage places. Instead of prioritizing the local values and maintaining of historic buildings, policy makers' main concern is shaped by the economic interests. Other words, governmental attitudes towards historic buildings are mainly taken form by entrepreneurial behavior. Moreover, it is seen that private sector is encouraged to participate in conservation projects in heritage places by state subsidies in terms of grants or tax

exemptions or deductions. With the aim of attract investment through using of urban space, entrepreneurial manner is embraced by local policy makers which is playing important role in changes occurring in heritage place. Relationship between economic development and conservation of historic quarters attract attention of policy makers. And historic environment has started to be used as a part of cultural industries such as tourism, or place marketing (Pendlebury, 2009). Within this direction, in recent years it is seen that main motivation of achieving World Heritage status is assumed to create economic benefit which is based on the assumption of the advertisement of region. Therefore, it can be stated that by the aim of economic utility of heritage places, “instrumentalization of conservation” (Pendlebury, 2009) has been emerged. In Ayvalık this is also experienced in a similar manner. In the course of this research, Ayvalık Industrial Landscape has been inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage Tentative List. While being in the World Heritage List may not represent any meaning for local people, however, local authorities and local agents engaging in the changing process may assign different meanings to the status by considering its power on place marketing. This situation brings into minds that changes in Ayvalık are likely to be continued which pose great threat for local character and values. Therefore, to monitor the change, the local dynamics of Ayvalık should be pursued and surveyed. More importantly, local’s participant and the role of the local property owners/renters in the process should be investigated deeply. The daily life of locals in the town, their perception to the heritage place should be examined to develop new principles and strategies. This would be fruitful topic for further studies and constructive to propose alternative conservation policies.

To sum up, although institutional rules in terms of conservation plans and conservation controls aim to manage with activities, heritage places are subject to the rapid changes which are shaped by different reasons and motivations of actors involving in. Changes in historic quarters should be managed and monitored, however, by the rising interest changes experienced rapidly resulting ungovernable consequences. As seen through the research, breaking points that lead to change eventually are developed independently of conservation controls and plans. This

proves that the policy decisions have a less impact on the change whose formation is defined by self-organization process. Then it is also possible to state that change could not be managed with existing conservation approaches and current plan. Herewith, one of the important issues that should be taken into consideration in conservation planning, is the management of change in heritage places. As Tiesdell et al. stated, “the act of planning in historic quarters is the process of managing change in a sensitive and appropriate manner to preserve the character of the locality while permitting necessary economic change”. Along with the conservation of physical fabric, management and control of this change should comprise in particular the locality and social inclusion. However, heritage professionals; architects and planners, or policy makers tend to ignore what local people think and need while ruling about heritage practices which directly affects locals’ life. Additionally, decisions of conservation plan and legislation related to historical environment yield to regulate locals’ daily life, as well, who are living in that place subject to management and conservation. Existing attitude towards conservation is tend to exclude local communities by ignoring their conditions and rather serve for the change in social and cultural structure in town. Moreover, existing conservation approach and policies in Turkey have a legal regulation compose of only restrictions and prohibitions related to conservation activities. Apart from the fiscal inducements, conservation policies do not include any approach to support locals to participate in conservation. To enhance the recognition of importance in conservation of cultural heritage, relevant policies should be determined which develop a perception aside from the restrictions and prohibitions. In order to encourage locals to be part of the conservation, holistic approach should be established in conservation policies. Apart from the economic support, conservation policies should include integrated conservation perspective which involves conservation of social and cultural structure along with the historic fabric. Therefore, conservation policies should be considered and developed more holistically which integrate social, economic, environmental issues in line with the related urban and political policies.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

KÜLTÜREL MİRAS ALANI OLARAK AYVALIK'TAKİ DEĞİŞİMİN DEĞERLENDİRİLMESİ NEDENLER, MOTİVASYONLAR, SONUÇLAR

Kültürel miras geçmişten gelen değerler bütünü olarak bugün içerisinde var olur ve gelişmeye devam etmektedir. Kültürel miras, geçmişe dair bilgileri açığa vurmakla birlikte, gelecek nesillere aktarılması gereken sembolik, spiritüel, estetik, sosyal, ekonomik, somut ve somut olmayan değerlere sahiptir. Kültürel miras alanları, barındırdıkları değerler ve kültürel varlıklar yoluyla geçmişin izlerini bugüne taşıyarak, kimlik anlayışını ve aidiyet hissini arttırmaktadır.

Kültürel miras insan ve mekan arasındaki dinamik ilişki doğrultusunda zaman içerisinde gelişen, evrilen ve uyarlanan dinamik bir kavramdır. Bu nedenle miras alanları sürekli yenilenen ve zenginleşen yerler olarak tanımlanmaktadır (Jokilehto, 2005). İnsan ve mekan arasındaki dinamik ilişki sonucu oluşan kültürel miras alanları bugün bir bütün olarak ele alınmakta, kendine özgü değerleri ile birlikte korunmaktadır. Tarihi kentler, miras alanı olarak geçmişten gelen ve günümüz şartlarında kullanılan kültürel varlıkları ve değerleri barındırır. Tarihi çevrenin gündelik hayatta/günün koşullarıyla kullanılıyor olması onun sürekli değişmesine sebep olmaktadır. Bu nedenle, tarihi kentlerin ve miras alanlarının kaderi, orada yaşayan toplumun bakış açısına, yaklaşımına, tavrına bağlıdır. Toplumun kültür varlıklarına atfettiği değerler miras alanlarının kullanımına ve korunmasına şekil

vermektedir. Bununla birlikte bugün, koruma politikaları, ilgili plan ve kanunlar, uluslararası tüzük ve deklarasyonlar miras alanlarının kaderini belirlemektedir.

Son zamanlarda, kültürel miras alanları global ölçekte yoğun ilgi görmekte ve kültürel mirasın korunmasına yönelik çalışmalar önem kazanmaktadır. Kendine özgü karakteri ile birlikte tarihi kentler dikkat çekmekte, yaşam alanı, çalışma alanı, turizm ve yatırım için uygun alanlar olarak görülmektedir (Ashworth and Tumbridge, 2000). Küresel eğilime benzer şekilde, Türkiye’de de miras alanlarına artan ilgi dikkat çekmektedir. Son yıllarda miras alanlarına bakış açısı değişmektedir. Özellikle kentlerdeki tarihi yapıları çevre gün geçtikçe daha fazla tanınırlık kazanmakta, koruma müdahaleleri ile kullanıma açılmaktadır. Tarihi yapılar restorasyon, renovasyon, vb koruma süreçlerinden geçtikten sonra yeniden işlevlendirilerek modern koşullarda kullanılmaktadır. Tarihi doku içerisinde oluşan yeni mekanlar miras alanlarının tüketiminin de artmasına sebep olmaktadır. Turizmin de etkisiyle, artan ilgi ile birlikte tarihi kentlerde hareketlilik gözlemlenmektedir. Bugün, miras alanlarındaki tarihi yapılar ve tarihi yaşam alanları popülerlik kazanmaktadır. Bununla beraber, son yıllarda tarihi yapıları çevre yerel ve bölgesel kalkınma için iyi bir kaynak/yatırım alanı olarak görülmektedir. Bu da miras alanlarına olan ilginin artmasına sebep olmaktadır.

Öte yandan, tarihi dokuya yönelik artan bu yoğun ilgi kentlerdeki miras alanlarına baskı yaratmakta, dokunun değişmesine ve kaybolmasına yol açmaktadır. Koruma müdahaleleri ile başlayan aktiviteler tarihi kentlerde hızlı bir değişimi tetiklemektedir. Benzer şekilde Ayvalık kültür miras alanı kısa süre içerisinde popülerlik kazanmış ve hızlı bir değişim içerisine girmiştir. Ayvalık tarihi kent merkezine artan ilgi koruma aktiviteleri ile birlikte kent içinde sosyal ve ekonomik değişimi beraberinde getirmiştir. Hızlı değişim, özellikle kentin yerel karakterine zarar vermekte, somut ve somut olmayan değerlerini tehdit etmektedir. Bu türden geri döndürülemez zararları göz önüne alarak, değişime sebep olan yoğun ilginin altındaki sebeplerin ve değişimin dinamiklerin analiz edilmesi gerekmektedir. Bu çalışma kapsamında, Ayvalık’taki değişim sürecinin incelenmesi, değişimin altında yatan sebep ve sonuçların değerlendirilmesi amaçlanmıştır.

Özellikle deęişimin oluşumu göz önüne alınarak, yerel deęerleri tehdit eden hızlı deęişimin altındaki sebepler incelenmiştir. Bu bağlamda, Ayvalık kültür miras alanı üzerinde durulmuş, ve Ayvalık tarihi kent merkezi alan sınırı olarak çizilmiştir. Cunda deęişimin tarihsel geçmişi ele alınmıştır. Koruma politikaları ve plan kararları incelenmiş, deęişim sürecinde etkisi tartışılmıştır. Dışarıdan gelen ilgi ve yerel dinamiklerin analiz edilebilmesi için nitel çalışma yürütülmüş, yeni gelenler ve yerel aktörler ile yapılan derinlemesine mülakatlar kapsamında deęişimin dinamikleri, nedenler ve motivasyonlar incelenmiştir. Yerel aktörlerin etkisi bu tez kapsamına dahil edilmemiştir. Fakat konunun ve deęişime sebep olan dinamiklerin daha derinlemesine anlaşılabilmesi için özellikle yerel mülk sahiplerinin tercihleri ve tavırlarının sonraki çalışmalarda incelenmesi gerektięi vurgulanmıştır.

Araştırma kapsamı boyunca Ayvalık'taki deęişimi incelemek amacıyla iki saha çalışması düzenlenmiştir. Birinci saha çalışması sırasında yazarın sahada edindięi gözlemlerine dayanan ve çeşitli kaynaklardan toplanan veri, deęişimi incelemek amacıyla incelenmiştir. Bu çalışma boyunca deęişimin boyutu, koruma müdahaleleri, yapıların fonksiyonel deęişikliği ve emlak piyasasındaki deęişim incelenerek analiz edilmiştir. İkinci çalışmada ise, derinlemesine mülakatlar gerçekleştirilmiş, bu süreçte 34 kişi ile görüşülmüştür. Derinlemesine mülakat kapsamında atölye, otel ve kafe sahipleri Ayvalık'a gelip yerleşme kararı alan kişiler olarak "yeni gelenler" başlığı altında görüşmelere davet edilmişlerdir. Bununla birlikte yerel dinamikleri de anlamak amacıyla mahalle muhtarları, mimarlar ve emlakçılar ise yerel aktörlerin temsilcileri olarak görüşmeye davet edilmişlerdir. Yapılan toplam 34 görüşmeden 32'si deęerlendirmeye alınmış, 2 adet görüşme bilgi yetersizliği nedeniyle analiz dışında bırakılmıştır.

Saha çalışmaları dışında, miras alanlarındaki deęişimi anlamak amacıyla literatürde benzer çalışmalar incelenmiştir. Ayvalık'ın yerel dinamikleri ve kültürü hakkında araştırma yapılmış, bu amaçla alanda daha önce yapılan çalışmalardan yararlanılmış ve kaynak olarak kullanılmıştır. Aynı zamanda deęişimin geçmiş dinamiklerini anlamak amacıyla gazete ve dergide çıkan haberler incelenmiş, içerik analizi

yapılmıştır. Yine geçmişte yaşanan değişimin boyutunu anlamak amacıyla yerel aktörlerle yapılan görüşmelerde bilgi elde edilmiştir.

Araştırma giriş bölümü ile birlikte temel olarak yedi bölümden oluşmaktadır. Giriş bölümünün ardından ikinci bölümde miras alanlarında yaşanan değişim konusunda yazındaki örnekler incelenmiştir. Bu kapsamda tarihi yapılarda fonksiyonel değişikliklerle birlikte gelen sosyal ve ekonomik değişim ile ilgili yazındaki tartışmalar ele alınmıştır. Tarihi yapıların artan ilgi ile birlikte yeniden kullanılmaya başlaması tarihi yapıyı çevredeki mülklerin değer artışına sebep olmaktadır. Bu değer artışı, spekülasyon hareketleriyle birlikte o bölgede önemli ekonomik değişiklikler yaratmakta, özellikle düşük gelir grublu mülk sahipleri ve kiracılar için tehlike arz etmektedir. Düşük gelir grupları yavaş yavaş yaşadıkları yeri terk etmekte ve kentin başka bölgelerine gitme eğilimi göstermektedir. Bununla birlikte ekonomik değişiklik ve yeni oluşan mekan sosyal yapının da değişmesine neden olmakta, üst ve orta gelir grubuna ait kişilerin kullanımına geçmektedir. Bu durum diğer bir deyişle üst ve orta gelir grubuna ait kişilerin alt gelir grubunu gönüllü veya gönülsüz yerinden etmesi olarak da açıklanabilir. *Gentrification* (mutenalaştırma) kavramıyla ele alınan bu sosyal ve ekonomik yapı değişimi literatürde çokça ele alınmış olsa bile miras alanlarında yaşanan bu tür değişimin, kültür varlıklarının değerler bütününe verdiği zarar açısından çok fazla incelenmemektedir.

Üçüncü bölümde Türkiye’de kentsel dokunun ve tarihi yapıları alanların korunmasına yönelik idari ve kanuni gelişmeler incelenmiştir. Bu bölümde mevcut koruma planı yaklaşımlarının ve kanuni yaptırımların etkisi tartışılmıştır. Bu bölümde koruma politikalarının gelişimi ve kapsamı ele alınmıştır.

Dördüncü bölümde Ayvalık’a miras alanını oluşturan doğal ve kültürel değerleri daha iyi anlayabilmek amacıyla Ayvalık hakkında araştırma yapılmıştır. Bu bağlamda, Ayvalık’ın genel özellikleri ele alınmış, yerel, kendine özgü, eşsiz kültürel değerleri kısaca açıklanmıştır. Ardından, bugüne gelen miras alanının önemini anlamak adına bölgenin tarihi geçmişi kısaca ele alınmıştır. Bu bölümde kentin tarihsel önemi, gelişimi boyunca Anadolu’da nasıl önemli bir yere sahip

olduğu vurgulanmıştır. Kurtuluş Savaşı ardından yaşanan mübadele döneminin kent hafızası ve kimliği ile birlikte kültürel miras açısından nasıl bir etkisi olduğuna dikkat çekilmiştir. Yine Cumhuriyet sonrası kente yönelik planlama çalışmaları incelenmiş, koruma konusundaki yıllar içerisinde yaşanan gelişmeler araştırılmıştır. Değişime sebep olan etmenler arasında koruma planı kararlarının ve sit alanı dahilindeki yerlerde uygulanan yasal yaptırımların yeri incelenmiştir. Dördüncü bölümde son olarak Ayvalık'ta geçmiş dönemler itibariyle miras alanına yaklaşımın nasıl değiştiği incelenmiş, değişime etki eden kırılma noktaları ortaya çıkarılmaya çalışılmıştır. 1980'li yıllarda Ayvalık'ta yaşamayı tercih eden sanatçı gruplarının varlığının önemi vurgulanmış, değişimi tetikleyen etmen olarak açıklanmıştır. 1990'ların sonunda Ayvalık'ta dikkat çekici etkinliklerin başlaması ve entelektüel grupların Ayvalık'ı yer olarak seçmesi bölgede başlayan değişime etki eden önemli gelişmeler olarak kaydedilmiştir. Yine aynı dönemde medyanın etkisine dikkat çekilmiş, tarihi yapılara yaklaşımın değişiminde medyanın gücü tartışılmıştır. 2000'ler itibariyle başlayan sosyal, ekonomik, politik değişimin Ayvalık'taki etkisi yine bu kapsamda incelenmiştir. İlk olarak 2004 yılında yapılan yasal değişiklikler belirtilmiş, tarihi yapıların korunmasını teşvik etmeye yönelik maddi devlet yardımlarının artmasının toplumda yarattığı pozitif etki tartışılmıştır. Yine aynı dönemde yerel yönetimin ve yerel aktörlerin artan girişimci tavrı incelenmiştir. Bu kapsamda yine aynı dönemde Türkiye'de tanınmış ailelerin ve önemli kişilerin Ayvalık'a ilgisinin yarattığı etki ele alınmıştır. Bu dönemde, Muhtar Kent, Halis Komili gibi önemli kişilerin Ayvalıkla olan ilişkisinin, Sabancı, Koç, Boyner ailelerinin Ayvalık'a olan ilgisinin medyada önemli yer alması dikkat çekmektedir. Bununla birlikte yine bu isimler tarafından Ayvalık bölgesindeki önemli yapıların koruma altına alınıp, restorasyon projelerinin tamamlanması ardından kültür merkezi olarak kullanılmaya başlaması Ayvalık'ın medyada daha fazla yer etmesine sebep olmuş, sıkça duyulur hale gelmesini sağlamıştır. Bu önemli projelerden ilki Sevim Necdet Kent Kütüphanesi olmuştur. Cunda'da bulunan Agios Yannis Kilisesi Koç Vakfı tarafından restore edilerek kütüphaneye çevrilmiş ve 2007 yılında halka açılmıştır. Ardından Suzan Sabancı Dinçer tarafından 2008 yılında alınan Ayıuşı Manastırı'nın restorasyon projesi 2012'de tamamlanmış ve yine medyada geniş yer bulmuştur. Yine aynı dönemde Cunda'daki Taksiyarhis Kilisesi Rahmi Koç Müzesi

tarafından satın alınmış ve restorasyonu 2014 yılında tamamlanmıştır. Kilise bugün müze olarak kullanılmakta ve halkın ziyaretine açılmıştır. Bu dönemde kent dışından gelen ilginin de artışı ile birlikte Ayvalık'ta değişim hızlanmıştır. Bu ilgi kent merkezinde kullanıcı profiline ve yerli halkın yerinden edilmesi sürecini de kapsayan sosyal ve ekonomik değişime sebep olmaktadır.

Ayvalık'a artan ilgi süreç içerisinde yer alan aktörler için farklı sebeplere ve nedenlere dayanmaktadır. Bu değişimi anlamak amacıyla yapılan saha çalışması temel olarak değişimin altında yatan dinamikleri, kişisel motivasyonları ve nedenleri değerlendirmeyi amaçlayarak tasarlanmıştır. Beşinci bölüm kapsamında saha çalışmasında elde edilen veriler üç başlık altında incelenmiştir. İlk bölümde değişim modeli incelenmiş ve kent genelinde koruma müdahalesi yapılan yapılar, fonksiyonel değişiklikler ve emlak piyasasındaki hareketlilik incelenmiştir. Çalışma alanları kapsamında birinci ve ikinci saha çalışması tarihleri arasında yaşanan değişiklik karşılaştırılmıştır. Bu kapsamda koruma müdahalesi yapılan binalar incelenirken dikkat çekici hususlardan ilki koruma altına alınan çoğu binanın kullanımda olmadığıdır. Bu durum çoğu tarihi yapının yazlık ev olarak kullanıldığını doğrulamaktadır. Diğer yandan iki saha çalışması arasındaki fark incelendiğinde I. Çalışma alanında 14 yeni binanın koruma müdahalesi gördüğü, II. Çalışma alanında ise 6 binanın müdahaleden geçtiği tespit edilmiştir. Bununla birlikte tarihi yapıların yeniden kullanım amaçları ve fonksiyonel değişiklikleri incelenirken özellikle otel, atölye ve kafe olarak kullanılan yapılar ele alınmıştır. Bu başlık altında dikkat çekici olan Mart ayında yapılan çalışma boyunca ciddi bir değişimden bahsedemeyizken, Ekim ayında yapılan çalışmada 7 ay içinde açılan yeni işletmeler dikkat çekmiştir. Yine çalışma alanları içerisinde yapılan karşılaştırmada, I. Çalışma alanında 3 otel ve bir kafenin 7 ay içerisinde açıldığı kaydedilmiştir. Mart ayındaki çalışmada koruma müdahalesi gördüğü belirtilen iki yapının Ekim ayında otel ve kafe olarak işletilmeye başlandığı tespit edilmiştir. II. Çalışma alanında ise Mart ayında koruma müdahalesi görmüş olan bir binanın Ekim ayında otel olarak işletildiği belirtilmiştir.

Emlak piyasasındaki hareketliliği anlamak amacıyla yapılan çalışmada ise, yapıların birden fazla kere el değiştirdiği ve spekülasyon fiyat artışların yine bu şekilde gerçekleştiği anlaşılmıştır. Tarihi yapıların ekonomik değerinin nasıl değiştiğini anlamak amacıyla emlakçılarla yapılan görüşmelerde tarihi yapıların 10 yılda 10 kat değerlendirildiği belirtilmiştir. Fiyat artışında özellikle yerli halkın etkisinin büyük olduğu çoğu kez ifade edilmiş, mülk sahiplerinin değer gören evlerini daha yüksek fiyata satma eğiliminde oldukları belirtilmiştir. Bunun dışında, yatırım amacıyla ev alıp satan kişilerin olduğu da ifade edilmektedir. Kazanç elde etmek amacıyla tarihi yapı alıp satan kişi sayısının oldukça yüksek olduğu, yeni gelenlerin, emlakçıların ve hatta yerli halkın yine bu süreçte rol oynadığı belirtilmektedir.

Sosyo-mekansal ve ekonomik yeniden yapılanışı anlamak amacıyla yeni gelenler atölye, otel ve kafe sahipleri olmak üzere derinlemesine mülakatlara davet edilmiştir. Bu amaçla yapılan çalışmada öncelikle yeni gelenlerin nereden geldikleri, geliş tarihleri, Atölye/Otel/Kafe açılış tarihi gibi bilgiler incelenmiştir. Bu kapsamda yeni gelenlerin hangi yıldan itibaren Ayvalık'ta yaşamaya başladığı ve bu hareketin nasıl bir motif yarattığı anlaşılmaya çalışılmıştır. Bu kapsamda yapılan 5 atölye sahibi, 5 otel sahibi, 5 kafe sahibi ile görüşülmüştür.

Bu görüşmeler sonucunda atölye sahiplerinin 2004 yılı itibariyle Ayvalık'a yerleşmeye başladığı anlaşılmıştır. Görüşme yapılan beş atölye sahibinden üçü 2000- 2010 yılları arasında Ayvalık'a yerleşmiş, ikisi 2010 sonrasında Ayvalık'ta yaşamaya başlamıştır. Öte yandan atölye açılış tarihlerine bakıldığında iki atölyenin 2010 öncesi açıldığı üç atölyenin ise 2010 sonrasında açıldığı görülmektedir.

Otel sahipleri ile yapılan görüşmelerde otel sahiplerinin 2010 sonrasında Ayvalık'a yerleştiği anlaşılmıştır. Otel açılış tarihleri ise 2012 sonrasında başlamaktadır. Kafe sahiplerinin Ayvalık'a geliş tarihi sorulduğunda iki kafe sahibinin 2013 yılında, diğer iki kişinin ise 2015'te yerleştiği anlaşılmıştır. Bir kişi ise 2012 yılında Ayvalık'ta yaşamaya başladığını belirtmiştir. Kafelerin açılış tarihi sorulduğunda ise tüm kafelerin 2016 yılında açıldığı öğrenilmiştir.

Elde edilen bu bilgilere bakıldığında ilginç bir sonuç ortaya çıkarmaktadır. Atölyeler 2010 öncesinde Ayvalık'ta görülmeye başlarken, oteller 2012 itibari ile açılmaya başlamıştır, bir önceki bölümde de görüldüğü üzere sayıları hızla artmaya devam etmektedir. Kafeler ise 2016 yılı itibariyle açılmaya başlamıştır. Bu durum tarihi yapılardaki yeni kullanımların değişen sosyal yapı ve oluşan taleple birlikte aşama aşama oluştuğunu göstermektedir. Aynı zamanda servis sektörünün de turistik ilgi doğrultusunda artması da yine bu motif üzerinden okunabilmektedir.

Yeni gelenlerin genel profili incelendiğinde ise, 15 kişiden 14'ünün İstanbul'dan geldiği görülmektedir. Aynı zamanda yeni gelenler sosyoekonomik olarak incelendiğinde yüksek eğitilmiş, orta üst gelir grubuna ait bireyler oldukları anlaşılmaktadır. Bu durum daha önce de bahsedildiği gibi, ilgili yazında da sıkça konu olan üst gelir gruplarının tarihi yapıya olan ilgisi ile örtüşmektedir.

Değişime sebep olan dinamikleri incelediğimiz bu çalışma kapsamında yeni gelenlerin Ayvalık'a yerleşmek ile ilgili motivasyonları ve tarihi yapıya olan yaklaşımları değişime sebep olan aracı faktörler olarak ele alınmıştır. Bu faktörler iki başlık altında incelenmiştir. Yeni gelenlerin kişisel sebepleri ilk olarak sosyokültürel boyutta ele alınmıştır. Yeni gelenler genel olarak alternatif bir yaşam tarzı amacıyla Ayvalık'a yerleştiklerini belirtmişlerdir. Bunda temel sebep büyükşehrin boğucu kalabalığından ve hayat koşullarından kaçmak olarak gösterilirken Ayvalık'ın sahip olduğu özellikler de motive edici sebep olarak sunulmaktadır. Özellikle iklimi, hava koşulları, doğal çevresi, endemik bitki örtüsü ve denizle ilişkisi Ayvalık'ın huzur verici bir yer olarak tanımlanmasına sebep olarak sunulmaktadır.

Bununla birlikte görüşme yapılan kişiler tarihi yapıya olan ilgilerini de genel olarak belirtmişlerdir. Yeni gelenlerin tarihi yapıya bakışı, algısı ve yorumlayışı bu kapsamda incelenmiş, ve görüşmeciler tarafından üstlenilen koruma müdahaleleri bu değer yargıları ile şekillendiği belirtilmiştir. Bu sebeple tarihi bina kullanım sebepleri sorulmuş, zorlu bir süreç olmasına rağmen motive edici sebepler öğrenilmeye çalışılmıştır. Bu bölümde alınan cevapların kişisel olarak değiştiği

görülmüştür. Yine de genel olarak alınan cevaplarda kişilerin yapılar estetik, tarihi ve mimari değerler sebebiyle bağlantı kurdukları anlaşılmıştır. Yine genel olarak bu sebeplerle koruma projeleri için yatırım yaptıkları anlaşılmıştır. Bunlar dışında en önemli olan etmenin ise sosyal network olduğu görülmüştür. Verile cevaplardan sosyal ilişkilerin kişilerin kararlarını etkilediği ve Ayvalık'a ve tarihi yapıyı çevreye duydukları ilginin bu sebeple şekillendiği anlaşılmaktadır. Bu durum özellikle üst ve orta gelir grubuna dahil olan kişilerin seçimleri üzerinden de incelenebilmektedir. Yine sosyal prestij ve statü sembolü haline gelen gündelik hayat seçimleri gibi, tarihi binalar da günümüzde bir anlam taşımakta ve değer haline gelmektedir.

Bununla beraber ekonomik gerçeklikler de yeni gelenleri motive eden en büyük sebeplerden biridir. Ekonomik beklentiler açıkça ifade edilmese bile, genel çerçeveye bakıldığında ekonomik çıkarlar ve gelir elde etme amacıyla açılan işletmeler yine bu yönde bir eğilim olduğunu göstermektedir. Yeni gelenlerin koruma yaklaşımları dahilinde de yine ekonomik gerçeklikler olduğu saha çalışması boyunca anlaşılmıştır.

Kısaca Ayvalık'ta yaşanan değişim süreci ve sebepleri incelendiğinde, bu değişimin herhangi plan ve koruma kararı ile değil, kendiliğinden gerçekleştiği görülmektedir. Bu süreci tanımlamak amacıyla *self-organization* teriminden yararlanılmıştır. Kendi dinamikleri dahilinde gelişen ve oluşan, organik gelişmeleri açıklamaya çalışan "self organization" kavramı kent gelişiminde lineer olmayan etkileri ve belirsizliğe vurgu yapmaktadır. Bu bağlamda Zhang et. al. (2015) kentsel dönüşümde plan kararları ile alınan kararların kentte kendiliğinden gelişen oluşumu tetiklediğini açıklamıştır.

Bu çalışmada Zhang et. al (2015)'in dört etabını tanımlayarak kurduğu kavramı kullanarak Ayvalık'taki değişim sürecinin oluşumundaki dinamikleri göstermek amaçlanmıştır. Bu süreçte etkisi olan aktörler tanımlanırken değişimin başlangıcı olarak 1980'li yıllarda Ayvalık'ta bulunan yıllarda sanatçı grupların etkisi görülmektedir. Sanatçı grupların Ayvalık'taki varlığı değişimi tetikleyen etmen olarak açıklanmaktadır. Ardından 1990'lı yıllarda entelektüel grupların Ayvalık'ta

başlattığı oluşumlar Ayvalık Müzik Akademisi ve Harvard Yaz Okulu yine dikkat çekici etmenler olarak tanımlanmıştır. Aynı yıllarda medyanın etkisi de çok önemlidir. 2000’li yıllara gelindiğinde ise, tanınmış isimlerin ve önemli kişilerin Ayvalık’a ilgisi ve beraberinde gelen restorasyon projeleri ses getirmiş, yine bölgeye olan ilginin artmasına sebep olmuştur. En son olarak da 2004 yılında değişen yasa ile birlikte artan koruma projelerine devlet tarafından verilen hibe ve kredilerin pozitif etkisi olduğu belirtilmiştir. Tüm bu gelişmeler de katalizör olarak tanımlanmıştır. Bu gelişmelerin neden olduğu etki, tarihi yapılara artan ilgi, ve Ayvalık’a artan ilgi olarak tanımlanmıştır. Bu etkinin yarattığı tepki ise Ayvalık dışından gelen kişilerin kent içinde artan etkinlikleri olarak belirtilmiştir. Tüm bunlar da değişimi doğurmaktadır.

Yapılan saha çalışmalarından elde edilen bilgiler de bu oluşumu doğrulamaktadır. Yeni gelenlerin 2000 sonrasında başlaması ve 2010 itibariyle ilginin artması çizilen bu şemanın doğruluğunu kanıtlamaktadır. Artan ilgi ile birlikte gelişen etkinlikler gün geçtikçe daha fazla ilgi yaratmakta ve dışarıdan gelenlerin yarattığı yeni işlevlerin artmasına sebep olmaktadır. Bu şekilde baktığımızda tüm değişimin bir zincir reaksiyon olarak tanımlayabiliriz. artan ilgi daha fazla etkinliğin oluşmasına sebep olurken aynı zamanda oluşan yeni etkinlikler ilginin daha fazla artmasını sağlamaktadır. Bu da değişimin daha hızlı bir şekilde ilerlemesine neden olmaktadır. Bu açıdan baktığımızda Cunda’da başlayan değişimin, Ayvalık’a sıçraması da daha anlaşılır olmaktadır. Bugün yine Ayvalık’a kısa mesafelerde bulunan Küçükköy ve Mutluköy’ün de benzer bir şekilde yakın zamanda değişimin yeni adresi olacağı tahmin edilmektedir.

APPENDIX B: TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Enformatik Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>

YAZARIN

Soyadı : Tuğrul
Adı : Selen
Bölümü : Kentsel Politika Planlaması ve Yerel Yönetimler

TEZİN ADI (İngilizce) : Assessing the Change in Ayvalık as Heritage
Place: Reasons, Motivations, Results

TEZİN TÜRÜ : Yüksek Lisans Doktora

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
3. Tezimden bir bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz.

TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ: