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GENTRIFICATION CREATED DURING CONSERVATION PROCESS IN HAMAMÖNÜ AS CULTURAL HERITAGE ZONES

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Abstract

The rehabilitation efforts in Turkey stand on functional differences based on economical benefits. Nevertheless, this approach treats the original characteristics of cultural heritage zones as they are mostly used like theatrical sceneries serving to changing functions. Moreover, the social and cultural aspects are neglected, forcing the unacceptable social change, the gentrification. This process is observed in Ankara-Hamamönü which has been a physical and social deprivation area, a focus of crime before rehabilitation and restoration. The area will be examined and the conclusions covering the latest situation of the past users dispersed in the city, will be given in the paper.

1. INTRODUCTION

Cities that were seen as basic purpose of economic development in Turkey in the 1990s were prepared for neo-liberalism with urban policies, hence the entrepreneurial management mentality was popularized gradually and tried to be legalized. This mentality that central and local administrations undertook jointly was presented as the requirement and the most efficient instrument of prominence at competition among cities which are predicted by the globalization. New legislative and administrative regulations about reconstructing urban space and life became a current issue. In 2000s, with a lot of law amendments that were stated with the targets such as articulation to globalization, accession to European Community, democratization and empowerment of decentralization, rehabilitation of living conditions, city-based law interferences were made rapidly. At the extension of neo-liberal economy, opportunities that real cultural heritage gave to urban rent economy and especially to populist tourism were explored by the capital and the government and they were insistent on unearned income. The effective role and enforcements of the state about reconstructing urban space with a mentality of renewal and transformation during the last ten years and also laws against protection such as Law on Renewal gave acceleration to rent focused income interventions for cultural heritage zones. The essential principles of urban conservation, especially spatial and social integrity of real cultural heritage, are ignored; only economical profit that renewal will provide is considered important [1]. Thus, cultural heritage spaces in Turkey are cocked for investors and they are delivered to market conditions with new functions.

Principally, low-income users are taken out of this system and are obliged to leave their living space. In this case, traditional residential fabric which needs to keep alive as a social value and treasure decomposes as a part of the gentrified urban geography in the social dimension. Following the gentrification, the final users, who are not able to cope with this extra-personal progress financially, are

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exposed to be disenfranchised and displaced, even to be dispossessed. They are also psycho-socially etherized and disassociated from their own past, living space, home, identity, social and any other symbolic connections [2].

In this study, this phenomenon, which continues with the cooperation of central government and municipality in Hamamönü district been inclusive of Hamamönü, Hamamarkası and Kalealtı neighborhoods in the historical city center is discussed in order not to make the same mistakes in conservation zones in the future.

2. THE IMPORTANCE, CONTENT AND FOLLOW-UP OF THIS STUDY

In this study, the relationship between renewal and displacement that continue on fabric of historical and traditional residential areas as an inevitable ending of neo-liberal economy and that are stated as rehabilitation is questioned. Considering the variation of displacement specific to place and according to different conditions, this questioning should be conducted through a field survey. The case study as qualitative research method was used to define and evaluate to gentrification and displacement according to space and time [3, 4, 5] in this study. Although qualitative methods cannot work with a large sample as quantitative methods, one of the most important benefits of using qualitative methods is to make it clear that displacement is a process that is wider, subtle, complex and contradictory. In parallel with this understanding, qualitative methods in this study is supported by quantitative (survey and deep interview) methods to explain the cause-effect relationship in the rehabilitation process and to determine the level of influence of different users from this process. In other words, “place-based qualitative method (s)” and “spatial-oriented quantitative method (s)” are used together according to the possibilities / constraints in the study area [5, 6, 7].

With this approach, Hamamönü district in which demonstrated gentrification and displacement in different stages of the rehabilitation processes at the same time was chosen as the case study area. Hamamönü, opened to tourism and trade by completed restoration interventions, Hamamarkası, started to be displacement by still undergoing restoration practices, and Kalealtı, located between Hamamarkası and the Castle, planned for tourism in pre- application stage have exhibited this rehabilitation process.

Despite the different conceptual types and spatial reflections, such as direct last-resident, exclusionary, direct chain (physical decline of the building or an earlier rent increase, as the like), and its pressure, displacement has common methodological problems (measuring the invisible, lack of accurate local statistics, as the like, see chapter. 4). For this reason, spatial structures of these neighbourhoods, with together on-site inspection and restoration projects, and the results of displacement, with questionnaires applied to end users have been tried to be determined. The questionnaire was created with the questions that related to gentrification and its results, such as reasons for the user to use this district, their socio-economic status and duration of users' life in this area as compared to 2006 which this restoration process started. As the participation of these users is voluntary, the questionnaires were completed with random methods with all volunteers aged 18-65. Deep interviews were made with children on streets and in the school yard, with elderly persons in the courtyard of the mosque, coffee shop, streets and their home. The raw data obtained from the questionnaires results (quantitative) and the spatial structure (qualitative) properties were compared with Statistical Package for the Social Sciences-SPSS program by cross method using Structural Equation Modeling-SEM.

The questionnaire at Hamamönü was carried out only with end users, since the displacements could not be reached for the reason described above. This questionnaire was conducted with commercial operators (from a total of 76 operators to 52 operators with a rate of 90%), their employees (from a total of 201 registered employees to 186 employees with a rate of 92%), and the employees in around the area and patient visitors who used this area mostly for rest and gastronomy on weekdays. At the weekend, this survey was conducted with users who used the area for tourism and worship.

There are 22 buildings (43 %) under restoration and reconstruction, 11 buildings (21,5 %) renovated buildings and 18 non-intervention buildings (35,5 %) in Hamamarkası. The questionnaires were completed with totally 42 persons as end users of using building, 9 persons living in 3 under restoration

and reconstruction building, 15 persons living in 5 renovated building, 22 persons living in 7 non-intervention buildings.

The majority of the 61 housing buildings in Kalearkası (42 buildings) are not used. 28 buildings have already been abandoned also 14 buildings and in a derelict position. 19 of the other houses are used. The questionnaires were conducted with 49 persons as the end users in their home. They accepted all the pollsters as guests to their homes to get help also to discuss own problems about restoration process.

3. LEGITIMACY BASE OF GENTRIFICATION

At neo-liberal reconstruction, urban space-based economic strategies ground the construction of sites which are shaped with new expectation of urban consumer supporting this reconstruction. The state of 2000s in Turkey abandons distribution policies with social purposes and Keynesian demand-based interventions, and tends towards a new reconstruction about spatial-based social policies and entrepreneurship, liberalization and encouragement and supporting of investment partnerships [8, 9, 10, 11, 12]. The crime potential and unhealthy life conditions of the poorest social classes living with multi-part property rights and nominal tenancy statue in old urban collapse areas legalize the renewal in those areas [12, 13] while increasing the acceptability. Preservation based renewal approach, which is defended to be realized in favor of public and society, does not essentially care about the exile of final user from the living area. The urban zones should be renewed and physical areas should be rehabilitated while isolating the population. In fact, gentrification, therefore, the end user's displacement is not expressed, but this is the expected even desired result.

Hence, the result, which is targeted and reached to a large extent with the guiding of state in increasing the marketability of urban zone is the creation of highest level of utilization occasion of new urban actors – Privatization Administration, Housing Development Administration (TOKİ), new professionals, medium-high classes from this re-valued market [7, 10, 14, 15]. In this context, enterprising approaches are shaped with public-private sector partnership, method used is evaluation of unearned income separation in short time and providing of not only physical but economic and social transformation in long time by leaving “unhealthful” population off site, in other words by displacing them. In all projects developed by basing on market, starting point is not public welfare, but it is user expectations of medium and high-income groups and gentrification is adopted as an instrument in recreating the urban space. Therefore, the displacement of final user is legalized with the gentrification which spreads to the immovable cultural heritage areas.

4. METHODOLOGICAL PROBLEMS of DETERMINATION of DISPLACEMENT as THE INVISIBLE of GENTRIFICATION

Displacement which was caused by gentrification in the center of popular social worries, academic and political space, always remained secret behind the gentrification process [16]. According to different gentrification forms that cause displacement in Turkey, gentrification created in historical and traditional residential fabric is considered obligatory for the purpose of protection-sustenance of cultural heritage zones. Displacement of settled people, who are considered as those not deserving to live in cultural heritage zones left out of conservation planning and even duty course of government organizations. This fact is identified as “measuring the invisible” in related literature [17]. However, in related literature, the effects of people who were obliged to leave the space, the invisible focus and depth, and financial analysis of the cost has not become clear yet [6, 12].

At determination, in the same saying measuring of results of displacement that goes on in historical and traditional residential fabric of Hamamönü, there are problems that are common or differ according to every phase of the process and both two methods. In this study, the reason of following the quantitative method that depends on current spatial situation and utilization type is encountering with problems that cannot be negotiated in qualitative method. These problems are shortly explained below in order to

remark the importance of having knowledge about especially background of application and because it is directive in following the same process in Turkey in another field.

Rehabilitation after displacement (Hamamönü);

- Not official statistical specific data that belong to displaced people,
- No reliable knowledge that people who are not displaced give about the displaced people,
- Not having the records of disadvantaged groups such as homeless, addicts in National Address Database, non-documenting the existence of the displaced groups due to the fact that people who live out of their homes such as prisoner, soldier, students are not registered in their corporate address, abstention of headmen and law enforcement officials about this subject,
- New settlements of displaced people are not known (in Turkey in address-based population registration system, only residence place becomes clear, a record about the address in change of abode is not kept.)
- Dispossessed group cannot be followed –because of the confidentiality of land registers).

Mysteries at the stage of rehabilitation where displacement is started (Hamamarkası);

- Awareness and expectations of all actors (local management, investors, citizens etc.),
- Manner of freeholders, their economic potential that may be included in the process,
- Process and operations of property change,
- Reconciliation forms, choices that are presented to settlers and freeholders,
- The form of leaving the space of the end user (financial obligation, applicant, legal sanctions etc.).

Displacement- pre- application (Kalealtı);

- The expectation of decision-makers about rehabilitation especially functional change,
- Nonexistent of statistical knowledge about socio-cultural and economical structure of users,
- Nonbeing or suppression of formal documents about conversion of space that is basis of rehabilitation into crime focus,
- Non-documenting of the claim about that low-income (casual laborer, retiree) and marginal section (immigrant, addict, occupant etc.) destroy or spirit away the real cultural heritage.
- Limited information that belongs to the own disciplines of some academics who are informed about the application,
- The necessities of the users are not known, because participation into intervention decision and/or process –with legal foundations- cannot be provided.

5. GENTRIFICATION AND DISPLACEMENT BEHIND REHABILITATION / RENOVATION IN ANKARA-HAMAMÖNÜ

In Turkey, in last 20 years gentrification and displacement through reconstruction and rehabilitation have entered into application in cultural heritage zones with the support of amendment in the conservation legislation. This practice, which started in the 2000s in Hamamönü, which is located in the southeast of the historical city center of Ankara, continues towards Kalealtı (Figure 1). Social and spatial values of this traditional and historical urban pattern and results of this process that deny these values are explained below.

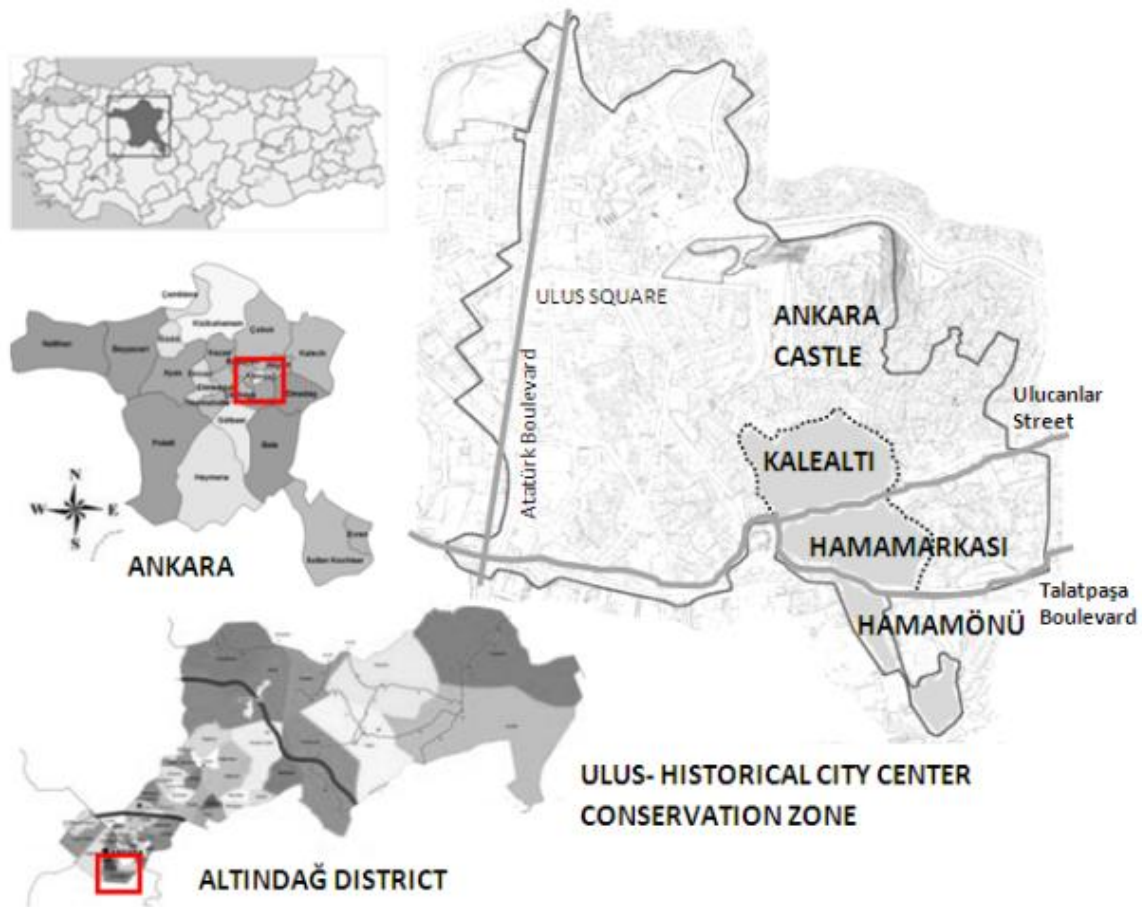


Figure 1. Regional and urban location of Ankara-Hamamönü Cultural Heritage Zone

5.1. Original Values That Needs to be Conserved and the Historic Background

The case study area is the evidence of passing to open city (out of walls) and the space forming force of the social welfare buildings in the Ottoman Period. Although Ankara has a considerable historic background the settlement searched, date back towards the midst of 15th century, with İmâret-i Karacabey District composed with a mosque, trench and Turkish bath (hamam) sponsored by Celalettin Karacabey the Governor of Anatolia around 1427. Karacabey Bath gave its name to this district. The name “Hamamönü” was given to the area in front of the bath and the name “Hamamarkası” to the part behind [18, 19].

In the 16th century, Ankara city consisted of two parts as the Castle (up side) and City (down side) [20]. Kalealtı and Hamamönü bordered with the commercial center of the city formed with a lots of inn, open and closed markets. Muslim handicraftsmen lived with their families occupied with angora wool (sof) production at home-looms.

In 19th Century, with the downfall of the Ottoman Empire, the city lost its economic power, so Hamamönü and its environment lost its significance as housing and work field. This district was burned partially in 1881 and completely in 1917 [21]. Buildings to be protected date back to this century. Ankara connected to the Ottoman capital in 1892 via the railway, shifting the administrative and trade center towards the train station [22] and Hamamönü zone deprived because of being distant. However, since there is not enough housing in the city, Hamamönü hosted, new bureaucrats, ambassadors, artists, and Mehmet Akif Ersoy, the author of the Turkish National Anthem, during the years of Liberty War and foundation of the Republic.

In the first period of the Republic, during the capital reconstruction period of Ankara as the new capital city, “modern” and “traditional” disintegration became sharp and Hamamönü remained as a big but traditional residential area between the old city centre and new city (Yenişehir). Owing to the fact that City of Ankara was planned on the axis between old (north) and new (south) cities, Hamamönü is left to its fates [23]. With the radical decisions of the first governments in multi-party system in 1950s, two boulevards at east-west axis with high-rise apartment blocks on them crashed the traditional fabric. In the same period, when slum zones enrolled around of Castle depending on the migrations from villages, medium and high-income groups moved into new-modern districts either by selling or renting their houses to low-income groups or immigrants. Hamamönü is cultural identity space and memory city of Ankara as defining (courtyards and organic streets, exterior-sofa type low-rise houses, social welfare buildings such as mosques and baths) the Ottoman city structure in the neighborhood scale, and witnessing the planned / unplanned urbanization process of the Republic period [24].

5.2. Rehabilitation/ Renewal Process and Legal Foundations

The conservation decision of the Ankara historical city center was given at the level of single monuments in 1972, conservation area (184 hectares) settled in 1980. Hamamönü, Hamamarkası and Kalealtı districts covering an area of 21.8 hectares named totally as Hamamönü (Figure 1, 2).

In 1985 and 1986, even though, the Cultural and Natural Properties Conservation Board of Ankara changed the boundaries of urban conservation zone, this boundaries in Hamamönü have not been changed until now. This Board approved Conservation - Sustainability- Rehabilitation Aiming Plan of the Old Fabric in 2005 prepared by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. In this plan, included Hamamönü and been still in force today, four different decision zones are determined that Rehabilitation Interferences, Reconstruction Areas, New Project Areas, Comprehensive Transformation Projects (and/or Areas). With projects on behalf of rehabilitation, prepared with reference to the dated 2005 conservation plan, for the different zone, functional transformations such as restaurants, cafes, daily trade, hostel and traditional trade were suitable as in Hamamönü.

Thus, according to the rehabilitation projects, interventions initiated with different scales and methods in all zones of Hamamönü in 2006, have been continuing. Transferring of 12% of property taxes to for the conservation on of cultural properties since 2004 in Turkey, gave acceleration to restoration works in Hamamönü.

In public project areas in Hamamönü, renewal and clearance to create non-original open areas as Hacettepe Park, Hamamönü Square, regeneration in new construction suitable for pattern (Handicrafts, Culture and Art Centers Building, and the like), repair-maintenance, consolidation, restoration to preserve public building (Karacabey Mosque and Bath, Tacettin Mosque, Sarı Kadı Mosque, and the like) and reconstruction in single building and street rehabilitation, also face-lifting for low-rent value and multi-shareholder ownership areas were preferred (Figure 2).

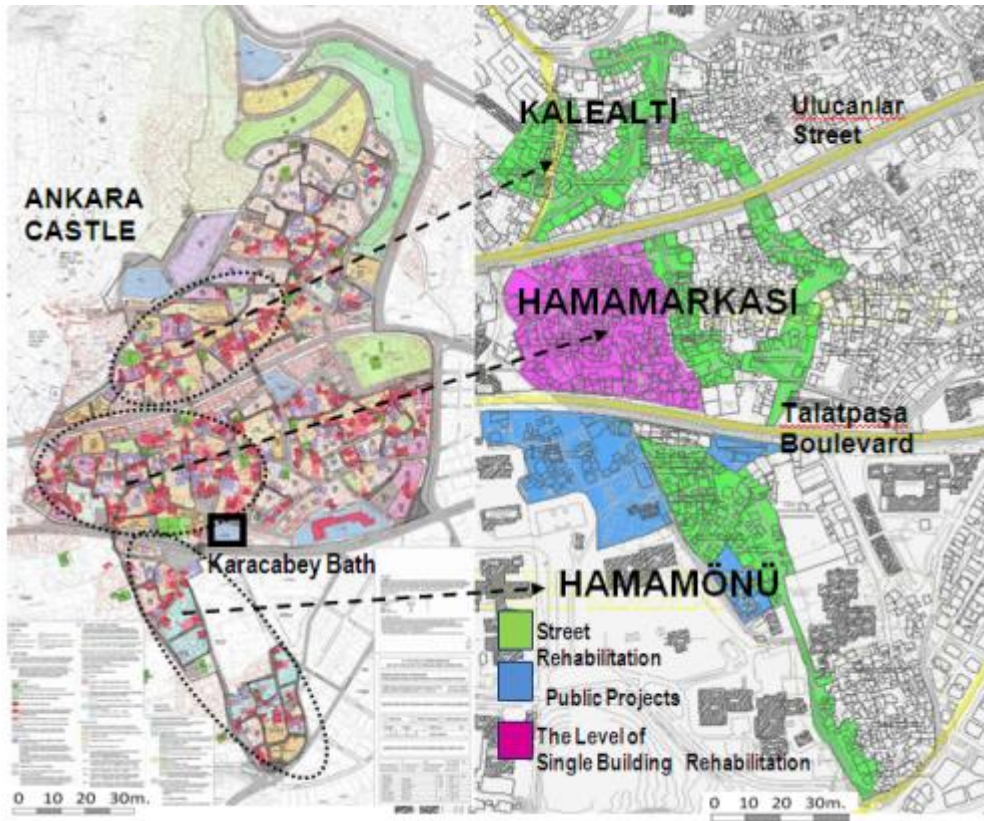


Figure 2. The intervention methods to Hamamönü, Hamamarkası, Kalealtı.

Source: Source: These figures were prepared by the authors on the basis of the dated 2005 conservation plan, street rehabilitation projects and restoration projects of traditional buildings, obtained from Altındağ Municipality Archive, and on-the-spot surveys, observations and examinations.

5.3. Hamamönü the Focus of Tourism and Trade with the New Comers

In Hamamönü, street rehabilitation operations started in 2006 and finished in 2009. In this period, restoration was applied in mosques (Figure 2) and Mehmet Akif Ersoy House. Reconstruction was realized in 90% of the houses particularly registered as cultural property. Functional changes contrary to original features of the buildings were applied denying the restoration principles by this practices. In this period, new imitation structures (Handicrafts Center, Culture and Art Center, Hand-made Products Market, Figure 3) were built to fit the silhouette of the traditional fabric. Hamamönü Fair Grounds that existed in the past and Mehmet Akif Ersoy Park obtained by demolishing traditional residential fabric contradict with the efforts of preservation of the cultural heritage. In 2012, floor discount in the apartments on the two main boulevards (Ulucanlar and Talatpaşa) and surface renewal appropriate for fabric are made. Thus the new traditional fabric is prepared for tourism and trade [22].



Figure 2. Karacabey and Sarı Kadı Mosques

Source: Original



Figure 3. Art Street and Handicrafts Center and Fair (Panayır) Square

Source: Original

Gentrification that is created with rehabilitation and indicators of displacement of end users can be explained as follows:

- The possession of the 87 % of the buildings changed property either by sale or expropriation by the municipality as the first step of gentrification [24, 25].
- Before the rehabilitation, the buildings in Hamamönü were used 67.3% as housing, 32.7% as daily trade space for housing area such as tailor, bakery, grocery store, butcher, as well as the repair and sale of traditional musical instruments. In 2012, 81% of buildings occupied by trade [24] explain that housing users of the past have been displaced at least at this rate.
- By renting to gastronomy at a rate of 67 % after rehabilitation, the user profile changed to middle or high-income groups. The residence turned to touristic commerce. The living period of the end users of the area was 85 % over 30 years [26]. Nowadays, even if the end user has enough financial power, there is not any house to return and live in.

It could not be possible to reach the end users because the announcement of personal addresses is prohibited legally but deep meetings were made with the new comers who used the urban fabric apart after rehabilitation (Figure 4). During the weeks, the new comers are mostly patients of the surrounding hospitals and students using the refreshment places and cafes. On weekends crowded groups visit the area for the purpose of cultural tourism or for praying in the restored mosques.

During the deep meetings with the new comers held in May 2016 it is found out that they consider the end users as destroyers and turn the area to a focus of crime; so they do not deserve to live here and their leaving the space is quite correct.



Figure 4. The end users and new comers in Hamamönü

Source: Original

New arrivals at deep meetings made in May 2015 with both two groups consider that end users destroy this space and turn it to focus of crime, so that they do not deserve to live here and their leaving this space is correct. They notified that the space was urbanized with spatial rehabilitation and providing of safety and so that they learnt the past that the city had and its cultural wealth, they reached the benefit to live, they liked this environment very much and they appreciated the Municipality.

5.4. People to be displaced while preparing for tourism and trade in Hamamarkası

The results of rehabilitation performed in Hamamönü gave acceleration to the same application to be made in Hamamarkası region more bluffly and rapidly. But, owing to the fact that face-lifting method is applied, the expected commercial boom did not occur. Some residential buildings and illegally constructed shops were destroyed to achieve a square that never existed before with a car park below (Figure 5). Around this square, registered residential buildings re-designed using reconstruction techniques, others imitated them. Tourism, trade and office functions, existed in the new imitation structures. Applications are completed to a large extent (about 70%) (Figure 6).



Figure 5. New Square in Hamamarkası

Source: Original



Figure 6. Hamamarkası

Source: Original

Some new structures (hotel, henna-a traditional celebration among young women- and wedding hall) whose size and functions are contrary to fabric also added. Nowadays about 65% of the structures are not used, 28 % of them are used as residence and 7% of them are used by refreshment cafes, offices and public functions.

Information obtained from the deep meetings made with end users of this area, it is observed that all of them are low-income people and/ or tenants who lived here from 4 to 30 years. Freeholders force them to leave the houses, to start the restoration and re-functioning as commerce. Although about 60% of the users look for a place that is suitable for their budget, they become helpless as they cannot even go to the slum zones, finding that the rents are over their current rents. They (about 18%) wait for taking a share from this space where the economic income will increase, at least expecting new employment opportunities. 12% of them bow to the inevitable. 10% of them do not want to speak with the fear of losing their houses.

New arrival artisans complain about being inactive of their investments because they are waiting for about a year that this place will boom as it has been in Hamamönü. Users of henna and wedding halls

admire this place very much. They stated that the cultural and historical value is important as they are suitable for their own purposes creating a new kind of nostalgia.

In the end, although it is seen that cultural heritage space is saved from being collapsed in the new shape of gentrification, it is proved that the efforts ended as the dispossession and displacement of the end users. Result of the success is accepted as a price to be paid by these people.

5.5. People waiting to be displaced in Kalealtı

The Projects prepared by Altındağ Municipality in the Kalealtı region is now at the starting phase. According to the information obtained from the officials, the process in Hamamönü whose success in urban protection is certified with a lot of national and international prizes will also be operated here. According to the results of the inquiries and survey made in May 2016, it is observed that some of the families living here (62%) have a monthly income below the brink of starvation and some (18%) have monthly incomes below the poverty line. 20% lives with social aids; they do not have financial possibilities to live in this space after rehabilitation. So, the users with living periods over 25 years (54%) and over 15 years (36%) will be snatched from their ownerships and social ties. Users (Figure 7) know that they do not have any choice to change the result and are already looking for new living spaces. But freeholders (46%) hope to take a share from the economic profits of the rehabilitation still carrying the worries about dispossession.



Figure 7. Kalealtı and the end users in there.

Source: Original

Most (82%) of both two groups identify this space as a living space for them, not as a cultural heritage zone to be preserved. Those who evaluate this situation state that users who lack social consciousness and unaware of being urbanized do not deserve to live in such places. They defend the gentrification behind conservation, waiting to reach the unearned income.

6. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

According to reciprocity principle of demand-based approaches of the state; demand is formed with the expectations of high-income consumers. The state enables these expectations to be met by neo-liberal urban policies and it attributes its legitimacy to providing of socio-economic stability. Obligation of providing this stability is associated with economic collapse and increasing rates that is thought to be developed depending on the economic collapse and legitimacy borders of gentrification are drawn with high likability level by the society. This fact becomes widespread in the last ten years in cultural heritage zones where rent profit is high with the possibilities that it presents to cultural tourism and industry. Although sustainability of these places and/or reconciliation about re-urbanization, even assumptions is the point of success, displacement of last user with created gentrification is approved and recognized. Because of the fact that displaced people were excluded and ignored since the beginning of the process, they became invisible with the subjects (such as involvement of assumed focus of crime to the city, life of displaced people in the space where they settled, their effects on resident people and relationships) behind the protection in cultural heritage zones that were kept confidential.

In this study, although invisibles could not be measured because of the results of displacements, information that would evaluate post-displacement about remained people was stored and chance to follow it was already caught. In addition, it is emphasized that in the limited frame of the article, conservation and development in cultural heritage zones prepared for new comers and the gentrification with displacement of the old cannot be reconciled. Social justice could not be secured but it is hoped that it will be directive for further applications.

CONFLICT OF INTEREST

No conflict of interest was declared by the authors.

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