Research Article

ICONARP
International Journal of Architecture & Planning
Received 05 December 2017; Accepted 12 March 2018
Volume 6, Issue 1, pp: 99-125/Published 25 June 2018
DOI: 10.15320/ICONARP.2018.40 –E-ISSN: 2147-9380

ICONARP

Rural Gentrification in The North Aegean Countryside (Turkey)

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Abstract

This article examines rural gentrification as experienced on the North Aegean coasts of Turkey. The study area chosen is the closest Aegean coast to İstanbul and it attracts attention because of its archeological and mythological values, as well as its natural beauty and vernacular landscape. The most important element determining the rural landscape of the region is olive production. The study is based principally on in-depth interviews with village mukhtars, local people, newcomers, tourism entrepreneurs, and professionals.

While the rural gentrification process in Turkey, a Mediterranean country, shows similarities with the gentrification process in rural areas of developed Western countries, differences can be observed as well. Depopulation in rural areas since 1950s and development of tourism in coastal areas after 1980 has brought about the investment-disinvestment cycle, which is in the rural gentrification theory. It has been observed that in the rural area where tourism facilities have been improved, gentrification occurs in parallel. The migration of middle class to the villages has transformed the traditional land use and rural

Keywords: *Rural gentrification, rural landscape, rural transformation, Adatepe*

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landscape. The newcomers, who are well educated and having a profession, use the houses in the villages as summerhouses. While stone houses unique to the region are purchased and restored, buildings used for agricultural production are transformed into summerhouses or buildings used for tourism. The increase in the demand for new housing threatens the olive groves and increasing real estate prices make it difficult for local people to acquire property in the villages. Reinvestment, social class change and the process of displacement, pointed out in the literature on the rural gentrification, are also observed in the North Aegean countryside. However, the real estate market did not yet play a significant role in the rural gentrification in this area, unlike in developed Western countries. On the other hand, replacement of the agricultural sector by the service sector and change in land use creates post-productive landscape in North Aegean Countryside.

INTRODUCTION

Some urbanites settle in rural areas in order to escape the city's intensive tempo, be alone with nature and lead a calmer and simpler life. Despite the best of intentions, newcomers from cities transform rural settlements. Urban to rural migration and its effects on rural areas are commonly discussed within the framework of the concepts of counterurbanization, suburbanization and rural gentrification. (Cloke, 1985; Weekley, 1988; Van den Berg & Klaassen, 1987; Dean, 1984; Phillips, 1993; Phillips, 2010). Within the process, while the migration to the rural from the city has diversified, the conceptual ground of studies on the subject has expanded and new definitions have emerged through these concepts which interact with each other. While the concept of counterurbanization focuses on changing population and migration rates, the concept of rural gentrification emphasizes class differences and displacement, and has a political component as well (Phillips, 2010). In this study, the physical and social transformation of rural areas of the Northern Aegean region of Western Turkey, is handled within the framework of rural gentrification.

Rural gentrification literature has to a significant extent developed with research that addresses the United Kingdom (Phillips, 1993; Chaney & Sherwood, 2000; Smith D. P., 2002; Phillips, 2004; Phillips, 2007; Stockdale, 2010; Heley, 2010) and United States of America countryside (Ghose, 2004; Friedberger, 1996; Darling, 2005; Walker & Fortmann, 2003; Hines, 2010; Gosnell & Abrams, 2011; Nelson et al, 2010). Researches that discuss gentrification processes in rural areas of other developed countries (Bijker et al., 2012; Guimond & Simard, 2010) and Mediterranean countries (Solana-Solana, 2010) are informative, but are limited in number and point to a significant gap in the literature. The transformation in rural areas of Turkey should, to

DOI: 10.15320/ICONARP.2018.40 – E-ISSN: 2147-9380

a great extent, be discussed within the scope of suburbanization and urban sprawl pressure in metropolitan fringes (Dinçer & Enlil, 2011; Öğdül, 2013a; Çamur & Yenigül, 2009). Regulations on the metropolitan municipalities in 2012 led to a rapid shift of attention to rural areas close to suburban areas and led to an increase in research on rural areas (Öğdül, 2013b; Öğdül & Olgun, 2015; Yaşar et. al., 2016). On the other hand, there are a limited number of studies in Turkey that emphasize the class aspect of rural change (Dinçer & Dinçer, 2005; Tuna & Özbek, 2012; Kurtuluş, 2011; Başaran-Uysal, 2017).

How traditional land use changes with newcomers? According to Darling (2005), changes in land use are a "silent" but quite important indicator to defining of post-productive landscape. Socio-spatial change actually shows how the rural economy has changed. This study aims to contribute to filling two gaps in the literature. The first aim is to underline the existence of urban-rural migration, which is overlooked in the Turkish countryside that struggles with the problems of depopulation and unemployment, and to draw its effects on the countryside into larger discussions about the region. The second objective is to address the deficit in literature in rural gentrification by examining a case outside of Anglo-American regions and to open the door for comparative studies.

In this article, the five small rural settlements (Adatepe, Yeşilyurt, Büyükhusun, Kozlu, Ahmetçe villages) are examined in the North Aegean region. The research is based on individual interviews held in rural settlements and observations made in the field. The first section briefly evaluates the existing literature on rural gentrification. The second section explains the methodology of the study. The third section addresses the history of the case study area, including long-term depopulation and transformation of rural landscape. Furthermore, this section addresses the findings obtained from the field work.

A BRIEF DISCUSSION ON RURAL GENTRIFICATION

The term "gentrification" was first introduced by sociologist Ruth Glass in 1964 to describe both the influx of middle-class newcomers and the physical upgrades they made to "shabby" homes in a working-class neighborhood of London, England (Glass, 1964). Gentrification is a concept that is commonly used to explain the social class changes in urban areas (Smith N., 2002; Davidson & Lees, 2005). While population changes in rural areas were first defined in 1960s and 1970s as rural repopulation, rural regeneration, rural development, and rural renaissance (Phillips, 2005; Phillips, 2009), research which drew attention to the class

dimension of this population change began increasing in the 1980s (Cloke & Thrift, 1987; Cloke & Thrift, 1990; Urry, 1995). Some pioneering studies (Phillips, 1993; Chaney & Sherwood, 2000; Smith & Phillips, 2001; Smith N., 2002) demonstrated that a class change and displacement process which is similar to urban areas is also experienced in rural areas.

Gentrification is examined via two different approaches; the production and consumption theory sides (Phillips, 2009; Phillips, 2004; Stockdale, 2010; Guimod & Simard, 2010). Production theory explains the process with a Marxist approach by focusing on alteration of production methods and economic structure. The fall in workforce in the agricultural and industrial sectors and the increase in employment in the service sector is a major indicator of the post-productive economy (Walker & Fortmann, 2003; Darling, 2005; Gosnell & Abrams, 2011; Phillips, 2009). According to production theory state-led gentrification via planning decisions and housing policies play a significant role in both rural and urban communities. Another common feature is the active role assumed by the private sector in the gentrification process, through the activities of developers, realtors and financiers (Smith, 1979; Phillips, 2004; Phillips, 2005; Phillips, 2007; Phillips, 2009; Ghose, 2004; Darling, 2005; Chaney & Sherwood, 2000; Stockdale, 2010).

The basic components of a gentrification process are (1) reinvestment of capital, (2) social upgrading of locale by incoming high-income groups, (3) landscape change, and (4) direct or indirect displacement of low-income groups (Davidson & Lees, 2005). In rural areas, homes and other structures built for an agricultural economy lost value over time as agricultural production decreased, but present an opportunity to gain value through new investments. In this process (Darling, 2005), explained by Neil Smith's “rent gap” theory (1979, 1987), houses, local service buildings (schools, post offices, railway stations, churches) and other structures (barns, stables, cottages) are become profitable for reinvestment when the “gap” between current and potential use is reached. Upon purchase by new owners or developers, the structures are refurbished and turned into housing (Phillips, 2009; Phillips, 2005; Phillips, 2004). In fact, the gentrification process can be seen as a flow of capital rather than merely a population movement (Smith, 1979; Phillips, 2009).

The consumption theory focuses on consumption and population change in rural and urban areas; individual preferences and consumption demands of gentrifiers as well as culture stays in the center of research (Guimond & Simard, 2010; Stockdale, 2010). Rural gentrification is described as consumption of nature by

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wealthy households, along with their importation of urban amenities to rural areas- in other words, the changing of the consumption habits in rural areas (Gosnell & Abrams, 2011). The settlement patterns in rural areas re-shape depending on the preferences of newcomers (Ghose, 2004; Grabbatin et al. 2011; Walker & Fortmann, 2003). Preferences such as single detached homes on extensive grounds, isolation from the village center, proximity to water, or having a view change the traditional development patterns (Ghose, 2004). Developers divide existing field plots into smaller pieces and sell them at a profit, further causing the land use pattern to change, private property ownership to increase and open spaces and agricultural lands to decrease (Walker & Fortmann, 2003). The enclosure of large lands and increase in gated communities further changes the natural vegetation and even affect the local economy (Hurley et al., 2008; Grabbatin et al., 2011). This alteration in traditional land use is both a result of the post-productive economy, as newcomers alter the rural landscape, and its trigger on the other hand, as the new settlement patterns begin to resemble typical suburban neighborhoods and attract further investment and newcomers.

Conflicts between old production styles and new activities emerge as struggles between local people and newcomers in rural. Conflicts occur between local people and newcomers on matters of the changing identity of the community, increasing privatization of resources, housing affordability and environmental conservation (Walker & Fortmann, 2003; Ghose, 2004; Gosnell & Abrams, 2011). Phillips (2009) argues that the new middle class has colonized rural areas and established a r. Well educated, wealthy and politically active newcomers affect the rural housing market and planning system (Phillips, 2009). Walker & Fortmann (2003) and Darling (2005) reveal the conflicts between newcomers and long-time residents particularly in the protection and planning of natural resources. On the other hand, Gosnell & Abrams (2011) point to the fact that politically active newcomers can have a positive impact on conservation of natural resources and cultural heritage.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The aim of this paper is to set out evidence of gentrification through analysis of transformation in Turkey's Northern Aegean countryside. The five villages (Adatepe, Yeşilyurt, Büyükhusun, Ahmetçe and Kozlu) chosen as the case study area are located in the south of Çanakkale Province along Edremit Gulf (Figure 1).

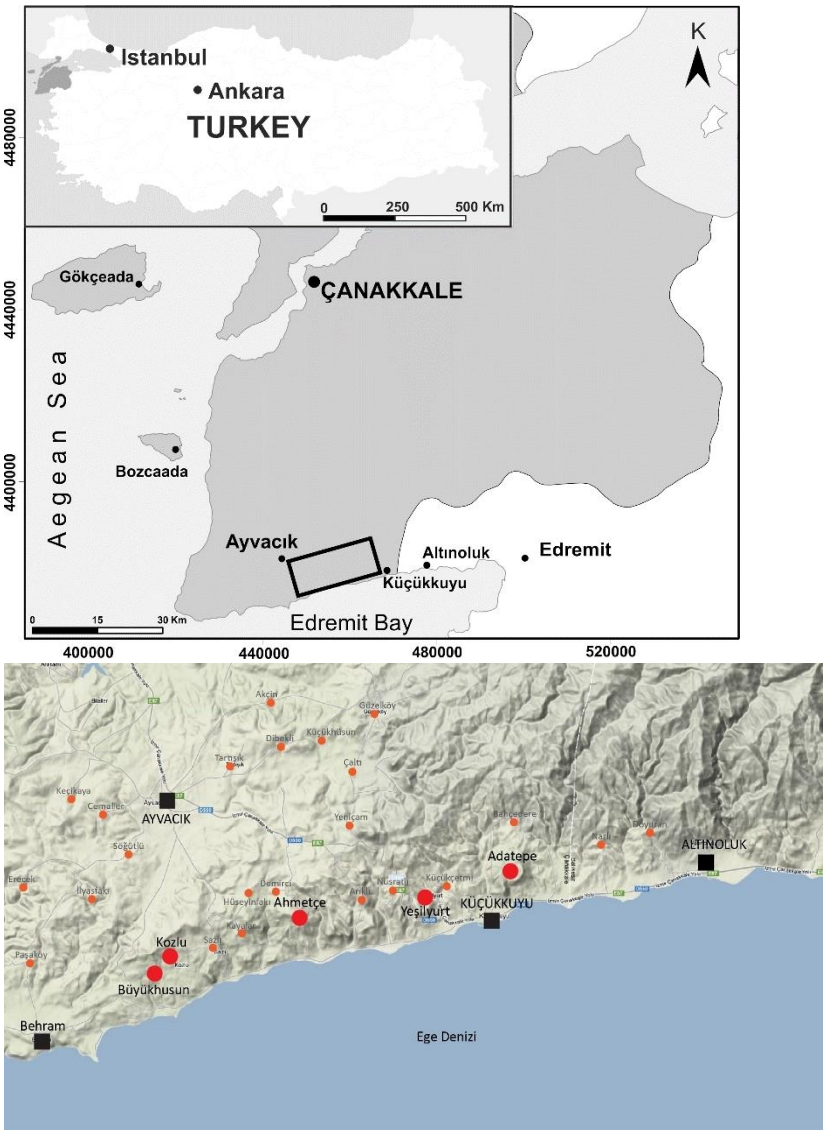

Figure 1. Location of Çanakkale Province and case study area

With this research, it is analyzed that the historical background of the region and the sectoral change in the region in order to explain the lack of disinvestment and the new investment cycle that led to the gentrification process. How has the new investment process to the rural settlements begun? Which actors have been involved in this process? Who are the new settlers in the countryside? Is it possible to define the newcomers as middle-class? The study is based on in-depth individual interviews made with individuals who are highly affected by or have been instrumental in the rural gentrification process. Individual interviews were made with village mukhtars, local people (residents born in these villages), newcomers and new entrepreneurs in the village (if any could be found). In addition, two architects who practice design in these villages and one official from the Çanakkale Special Provincial Administration[1] were interviewed. Forty-five face to face interviews were made in total. The interviews were numbered from 1 to 45 in the order of performance. A significant part of the

[1] "Special provincial administration" means a public entity having administrative and financial autonomy which is established to meet the common local needs of the people in the province and whose decision-making body is elected by voters;" (Article 3-a Law On Special Provincial Administration, 2005). Special provincial administration is the authority for planning and building in rural areas (in the areas outside the municipal boundaries).

DOI: 10.15320/ICONARP.2018.40 – E-ISSN: 2147-9380

fieldwork was conducted in the summer of 2011. Table 1 demonstrates distribution of interviews conducted in villages and groups.

Table 1. Distribution of interviews conducted in villages and groups

Villages	Mukhtar	Local people	Newcomer	Entrepreneur	Professional	Total
Adatepe	1	1	1	2	-	5
Yeşilyurt	1	3	1	2	-	7
Büyükhusun	1	8	3	1	-	13
Kozlu	1	6	2	0	-	9
Ahmetçe	1	6	1	0	-	8
Total	5	24	8	5	3	45

The absence of adequate official data on the countryside at the village scale was the most difficult challenge encountered in the research. Official data related to employment and migration is available on a district level, but no detailed data is kept regarding villages. While official population data is provided, it does not account for seasonal residency. According to official records (TSI, 2011), a total of 1800 people live in five villages where the study was conducted (Table 3 and Figure 3). The number of new families and local families were acquired from records in the office of the muhktar (Table 3).

How the preferences of newcomers affect land use decisions and rural landscape? The change in rural landscape has also been accepted as an important indicator of the existence of rural gentrification. Transformation of the rural landscape, building refurbishments and new house typologies were considered on the basis of observation. Data obtained as a result of individual interviews and observations were divided into four categories and evaluated; (1) new investment- depopulation, a circuit of disinvestment and investment, conservation decisions, development of tourism sector, the flow of capital; (2) class change– newcomers' socioeconomic profile and motivation to relocate; (3) displacement– increase in real estate prices and accessibility of local families to housing, the number of new residents and local families; (4) change in rural landscape– development of the service sector, refurbishment, restoration, new housing demands, alteration in demographic structure, demand of infrastructure, use of natural resources.

RURAL GENTRIFICATION EVIDENCES IN THE CASE STUDY AREA

Rural Characteristics and Depopulation

The rural settlements in this countryside date back to ancient times. Homer mentions Adatepe under the name "Gargara" in the Iliad Epic. Mount Ida is the mountain of Zeus, god of gods in Greek Mythology, and Zeus commanded the Trojan War from the Zeus Altar, located today in Adatepe Village (Karaata, 2008; Özarar, 2008). Written sources demonstrate that the village itself in Adatepe has been countinuously occupied since 15th century (Karaata, 2008). Yeşilyurt village (formerly known as Büyük Çetmi- Big Çetmi), which is one of the villages examined, was established by the Chepni (Özarar, 2008). Chepni, which was one of the Oghuz tribes, settled in the region in 10th century when the Turks settled in Anatolia (Atabay, 2008). Greeks, Turkmen and Yuruks were made to reside in the region during the Ottoman era. In the photographs below are the examples from the traditional villages of the research area (Figure 2).

Figure 2. A view of traditional pattern from Adatepe (a), Büyükhusun (b), Kozlu (c) and Yeşilyurt (d)

The case study villages are situated at the altitude where olive groves end and forests begin, on the hillside a few kilometers inland from the sea. Olive production has been the most important (and nearly only) income source in the region since the Ottoman Empire. The fact that olive is an industrial product allows the local community to have economic accumulation. Small peasant ownership within olive-based production is widespread in the region and household effort is used intensively in olive production. However, local production is no longer as high as it once was.

DOI: 10.15320/ICONARP.2018.40 – E-ISSN: 2147-9380

The problem of rural to urban migration experienced throughout Turkey has also affected this region to a significant extent. Olive-based industry and olive oil production shifted to other centers following 1950 in the region. This was partly a result of urbanization and industrialization policies pursued by the Turkish government, as well as the fact that marine transportation has lost its importance with the construction of highways. The mukhtar of Ahmetçe village narrates initiation of the migration and the events that followed; "... Ahmetçe is a rich village with abundant olive groves. It was one of the most populated settlements in the region in 1940s. In these years, it had a school, health centre and a post office. Our sewage system was constructed 100 years ago… They used to come to reap olives from the villages in the vicinity as seasonal workers. In 1950s, the village started to disperse. First of all, the wealthy and notable people of the village went to İstanbul..." (interview).

Tourism activities began to increase in the region in the 1970s. During these years, recognition of the region was boosted by the fact that the ancient city of Assos (Behramkale) became a tourism destination, use of coastal settlements such as Küçükkuyu and Altınoluk for summer purposes increased, and became preferred by the retired people for permanent settlement (Aksoy, 2008). Currently, usage of hotels, pensions, restaurants and camps have also increased, as well as use of the summer houses on the coastline. Summerhouses are the main factor that triggers urbanization and drives the rural population to the more urbanized areas of the coastline. Construction and service sectors have created a field of employment for local people with the improved tourism and urbanization. Young men in the village began working seasonally in construction and transportation jobs. In the 1970-1980s, migration from villages to the urban areas in the vicinity –Küçükkuyu, Altınoluk, Ayvacık, Edremit, Çanakkale- increased because of new job opportunities and demand for a better social infrastructure. Interviews reveal that during these years, villagers sold their olive groves, especially on the coastline, and bought houses from the surrounding cities. In addition, the fall in the young population and the fact that only the elderly remain in villages are presented as important problems by interviewees. Population change of rural settlements from 1970-2016 is seen in Figure 3.

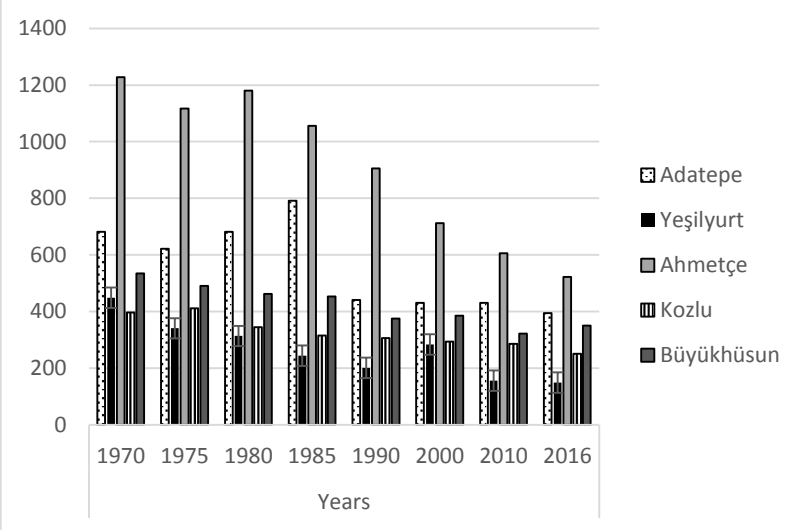

Figure 3. The population change in the case study area (1970-2016) (TSI, 2017)

The depopulation process has had two significant impacts on the transformation of rural landscape. Firstly, agricultural production tools, which have lost their importance, were disposed of more easily. Secondly, it caused technical and social infrastructure facilities in rural areas to be reduced. According to the mukhtar of Ahmetçe village, the villagers' selling of their property is a new behaviour: "In our times, selling houses or fields were disgraceful. It used to be something shameful. Villagers would wear torn trousers but still would not sell their properties. Now, young people are not interested in cultivation and have no connection with fields or villages. They can easily sell even their father's houses …" (interview).

As the population of villages decreased, social infrastructure investments such as education and health were abandoned, and the financial sources required for restoration of technical infrastructure investments such as road, water and sewage were restricted. The social institutions in the villages, such as primary schools and health centers, are not used any more. Beginning in the 1950s but felt more intensively in 1980s, the rural areas of Turkey's Northern Aegean seems to have reached the stage of depreciation and lack of investment which is emphasized in the rural gentrification literature (Phillips, 2009; Darling, 2005) as coinciding with depopulation and ageing of population.

How Did Began Repopulation And New İnvestment Period?

Adatepe and Yeşilyurt, which are the first villages inhabited significantly by newcomers, have considerable amount of touristic activities, the highest level of external recognition and high real estate values. The first group to arrive at Adatepe consisted of artists, writers and academicians in the mid-1980s. The group, which can be described as the "national elite", and

DOI: 10.15320/ICONARP.2018.40 – E-ISSN: 2147-9380

movie-makers who used Adatepe as movie set, played a significant role in recognition of this rural area .

It can be said that this small pioneering groups caused the awareness about Adatepe to increase, and they have contributed to the preservation of the village as a conservation site. Adatepe was announced as an "urban conservation area" and was taken under preservation in 1989 because of its vernacular architectural value. Some areas around Adatepe were designated as natural protected areas and archaeological protected areas. Some houses in Yeşilyurt village and three olive oil factories on Küçükkuyu coast were taken under protection in 1999. We can say that there is a close relationship between the gentrification process and the conservation decisions in Adatepe (Başaran-Uysal, 2017). The renovation and the restoration of the ancient houses made of hewn stone had become an expensive and bureaucratic process which the villagers could not afford. In addition, the decree for preservation had increased the attraction of the village, and the demand for hewn stone houses increased because the construction of new buildings was not allowed within the limits of the village. Thus, the empty and "valueless" buildings which were abandoned by the villagers a long time ago were bought by the newcomers.

The protection decision rendered for Adatepe and Yeşilyurt was effective in recognition of the village and attracting interest of tourism investors. Conservation of vernacular architecture was seen as an important advantage for tourism professionals. It has been observed that in rural areas where tourism facilities have been improved, gentrification occurs in parallel (Hines, 2010; Darling, 2005; Gosnell and Abrams, 2011; Guimod and Simard, 2010). Existing structures were restored not only for the purpose of marketing homes to middle- and upper-middle income group at high prices, but also to market the experience of living in rural areas to tourists by using them for tourism functions (Phillips, 2009). The tourism investments and gentrification have developed simultaneously in Adatepe and Yeşilyurt. When boutique hotels entered into service at Adatepe and Yeşilyurt in the mid-1990s, the changes in the rural landscape accelerated. In 1997, a building which was used for educational purposes in the past (Hünnap Han) was restored and transformed into a boutique hotel in Adatepe. This process continued with the openings of a café, a restaurant and a souvenir stand. In this same period, the first boutique hotel in Yeşilyurt was opened by a return-migrated lawyer and in the following years, the number of luxury boutique hotels, restaurants and cafes increased rapidly. Below (Figure 4) are the examples from the tourism places.

[2] Feyzi Tuna´s "Kuyucakli Yusuf (Yusuf from Kuyucak)" (1985), Engin Ayca´s "Bez Bebek (Rag Baby)" (1987) and Bilge Olgac´s "Ipekce" (1987) movies were shot in Adatepe village and its vicinity. Engin Ayca is a director born in Edremit, and an important female Turkish director, Bilge Olgac, is one of the first notable people who settled in Adatepe. The other movies using Adatepe and Yeşilyurt as a movie set are Çetin İnanç's „Devlerin Öcü (Revenge of the Giants)" (1969) and Ömer Kavur´s „Karsilasma (Encounter)" (2003). In addition, Orhan Aksoy´s movie "Hasanboğuldu (Hasan Drowned)" (1990) was shot in the rural area which is protected today as Kaz Mountain National Park and played a significant role in outside recognition of the region. In 2012, 16 short films were shot by young Turkish and Greek artists under the sponsorship of Istanbul Digital Culture and Arts Foundation under the title "Stories of Northern Aegean". The filmmakers conducted their workshop in Adatepe (Web site of Sondakika). There is a website about the movies shot in Adatepe and the artists living in village (Web site of Adatapekoyu).

Figure 4. Tourism places in Adatepe (a) (b), Büyükhusun (c), Yeşilyurt (d)

In 2000s, Adatepe and Yeşilyurt had become more popular nationwide. In 2001, an entrepreneur who moved to Adatepe from İstanbul transformed an old soap factory into an olive oil museum in Küçükkuyu and began using the brand "Adatepe" for the products manufactured (Boynudelik, 2008). In the same year, "Adatepe Taşmektep (stone school) Summer Activities" began being held; these activities were influenced by the school of philosophy Aristotle had established in Assos, issues regarding arts and philosophy were discussed in this school (web site of Taş Mektep). On the other hand, Adatepe and Yeşilyurt villages gained popularity and were exposed to domestic tourist flow after exposure from TV series.[3]

[3] A part of "Yılan Hikayesi (Endless Story)" in 2000 and the whole "Karadağlar (Black Mountains)" in 2010 were shot in the rural areas of Adatepe and Yeşilyurt. As soon as "Karadağlar" was released, Adatepe and Yeşilyurt became frequent destinations of domestic tourist groups.

A female scholar summarizes the change of Adatepe: "One of our friends working as a tourist guide brought us in this village for the first time. We rented a house in 1993; then we bought a stable and turned it into a house with a simple restoration. … There was no social or physical alteration when we came to Adatepe. I can say that transformation began with Taş Mektep. It became very popular for the first 2-3 years. [TV] Series shot there increased its popularity further…" (interview).

Büyükhusun village has the highest newcomer household rate after Adatepe, became known due to its coverage in national and international media after the architect Han Tümertekin won the Ağa Han Architecture Award (web site for Arkiv) with the B2 house he constructed in Büyükhusun in 2004. Tourism activities have not yet been very developed in Büyükhusun, Ahmetçe and Kozlu, but it is observed that some pioneer initiatives have started.

DOI: 10.15320/ICONARP.2018.40 – E-ISSN: 2147-9380

Rural studies (Phillips, 2004; Phillips, 2009; Ghose, 2004; Darling, 2005; Chaney & Sherwood, 2000) indicate that the real estate sector (developers, realtors and financiers) play a significant role in rural gentrification in UK and USA countryside. However, in this rural, no professional service has yet emerged in real estate purchase, sale and rental that would compare to Anglo-American real estate firms (or even large Turkish cities). Even though there are not any systematic advertisement campaigns related to houses in this rural area, there are various activities and investments that increase the popularity of the villages. A process where life in rural areas is romanticized and marketed, which is observed frequently in Western examples, is not observed in the study area. In generally, mukhtars manage the purchase and sale processes in the villages informally to a great extent. When you wander the streets and alleys in villages, it is possible to see many 'for sale' flyers and get in touch directly with a property owner. Some examples from these flyers are seen below (Figure 5). In addition to this, local real estate agencies in nearby cities carry out purchase and sale transactions as well. However, these local offices are quite small individual enterprises compared with the real estate agencies in metropolitan areas.

a b

Figure 5. Sale flyers in Adatepe (a) and Büyükhusun (b)

The fact that real estate agency and developer services are not sufficiently developed and the marketing and sales processes are carried out by local actors reveals lack of a large real estate market. On the other hand, the house prices in these villages are generally high for a rural area. House price ranges in the villages can be seen in Table 2. House values vary depending on factors such as whether they are traditional stone construction, whether the structure is restored, their garden size and their sea view. In addition to high housing values, limited number of houses and restrictions on the settlement in the countryside are the main reasons of immaturity of the real estate sector.

Table 2. House values in the villages (Compiled from individual interviews (July 2011) and internet real estate websites (November 2012)).

	Adatepe	Yeşilyurt	Büyükhusun	Kozlu	Ahmetçe
House value range (Euro)	110 000 – 370 000	110 000 – 750 000	65 000 – 130 000	85 000 – 470 000	45 000 – 110 000

Motivation and Socioeconomic Profile of Newcomers

In urban areas, living preferences of gentrifiers revolve around consumption and cultural activities found near city centers, including proximity to business districts, nightlife, shopping and service facilities (Zukin, 1987). On the other hand, "rural idyll" or "proximity to the wildness" are cited as the most important motivators for migration to rural areas. The appeal of rural landscapes, clean air, more green areas, peaceful living or reasonable living costs are the primary reasons for gentrifiers who come to rural areas (Ghose, 2004; Nelson et al. 2010; Smith & Phillips, 2001; Heley, 2010; Bijker et al., 2012). The North Aegean region generally attracts attention because of its climatic and natural characteristics, along with its vernacular landscape. All of the interviewees stated that proximity to İstanbul did not play a role in selection of the region, and that even transportation to the region was difficult. The fact that this region has a temperate climate in both summer and winter, and it is much cooler during summer when compared to other Mediterranean coasts, are important reasons of preference. Hurley and Arı (2011) also say that the microclimate of the region is an important motivator for new settlers in Edremit Gulf.

The newcomer families mostly come from İstanbul. While lesser in number, citizens from the European Countries also settle in this rural area.[4] The foreigners prefer respectively Büyükhusun, Ahmetçe and Yeşilyurt Villages more. In 2011, there were a total of 1156 households in five villages, 219 of which were newcomers. Approximately 30 households out of 219 (13.6%) were foreign citizens. Because of its geopolitical position, properties are not allowed to be sold to the foreigners in the province of Çanakkale.[5] Even though distances to international airports and restrictions on property sales, the number of foreign settlers is remarkable.

[4] also Austria, the Netherlands, France, Italy, US and Russian citizens. The figures given in here are from oral statements of the mukhtars and only cover foreign household numbers. Exactly who owned the property was not inquired.

[5] Under Cabinet Decree No 2007/11672, which was accepted on the 2nd of June 2007, The Foreigners can not acquire property in The Anatolian Part of the Dardanelles and Gallipoli Peninsula.

DOI: 10.15320/ICONARP.2018.40 – E-ISSN: 2147-9380

Although gentrifiers are described as the "middle class" in both rural and urban areas, family structure is distinctly different. While urban gentrifiers are defined as variously young, single, dual income no kids, single-parents (Chaney & Sherwood, 2000; Nelson et. al., 2010; Ghose, 2004), those who prefer rural areas are mostly retired, summerhouse vacationers, those who are looking for new job opportunities (Ghose, 2004; Phillips, 2009; Darling, 2005; Solana-Solana, 2010; Stockdale, 2010). Furthermore, the motivation to raise children under perceived safer and healthier environment, which is seen in rural areas of developed Western countries (Ghose, 2004; Spencer, 1997; Phillips, 2004; Chaney & Sherwood, 2000), does not apply to the Northern Aegean countryside. This rural area lacks social infrastructure facilities (such as schools and sports) that are convenient for families with children to stay permanently. For this reason, only couples without children, or those whose children already live separately, decide to stay here permanently. The newcomers use their houses mostly in summer months. There are also families who spend the first six months of the year, and even a few who reside year-round. On the other hand, all of the interviewees expressed the desire to stay permanently once their children completed their education or they retire. Short term uses for tourism purposes, later turning into permanent stays, could also come true in this region, as was identified by Darling (2005) during gentrification process of Adriondack Park.

With the demand for increased restorations and a larger consumer market for services, gentrification creates new jobs in the construction (including skilled restoration), real estate and tourism sectors (Darling, 2005; Stockdale, 2010; Hires, 2010; Guimod and Simard, 2010). There is also a new group of settlers who would like to take advantage of job opportunities offered by the region and its gentrification, who run cafeterias and restaurants, work in real estate sector, or manufacture olives or olive oil. Whichever groups they belong to, all newcomers are well educated, have professions, are middle-aged or older individuals or couples.

Displacement of Local People and Agricultural Production

The development of tourism and the increase in popularity for visitors has led to the rise of real estate prices in Adatepe and Yeşilyurt. Especially in Adatepe, houses were turned into investment tools and changed owners two or three times. The popularization of the villages and the increase in real estate values has affected the newcomers profile and village preferences. While some villagers prefer to wait for selling property, a small group decides to establish an enterprise such as tea garden, pension. As

a result of the popularization of Adatepe, some of the new settlers from the first generation left the village, while some of them sold their houses in Adatepe and moved to villages in surrounding areas. In the other three villages where the field study was conducted (Büyükhusun, Ahmetçe, Kozlu), the process of changing ownership of properties began after 2000. The popularity provided by Adatepe and Yeşilyurt has led the newcomers to the region, but the high house prices and tourism activities caused the nearby villages to be preferred instead. Lees (2003) defines the seizure of the settlements by the upper income group again, in which the gentrification process have been experienced before, as supergentrification. Based on this conceptual approach, it is understood that after 2000, supergentrification process has been experienced in Adatepe as well.

When the villages are evaluated in terms of number of newcomers, the highest number of houses bought by families is located in Adatepe, followed by Büyükhusun and Ahmetçe villages. Below (Table 3), you can see the local family and newcomer family number in the villages. In this research, newcomer household rate is evaluated within the total number of households. Ahmetçe village has the highest number of households and the lowest rate of newcomer household (8%). Even though Adatepe village has the lowest number of households, it has the highest newcomer household rate (73%). It can be said that there is an inverse proportion between the local population living in these villages and the number of newcomers. This outcome points out that the agricultural production continues and the local people save their property for a longer time in the villages where the local population is high. On the other hand, the rates of villagers and newcomers show that location preferences of newcomers are more determinative. Adatepe and Yeşilyurt villages which are preferred by newcomers at a higher rate, are the most popular villages at nationwide.

DOI: 10.15320/ICONARP.2018.40 – E-ISSN: 2147-9380

Table 3. The number of local and newcomer households

Villages	2011 population *	Total number of households **	Local Households**	Newcomer Households **	newcomer household rate
Adatepe	423	82	22	60	%73
Yeşilyurt	166	154	125	29	%19
Büyükhusun	337	140	90	50	%35
Kozlu	267	130	100	30	%23
Ahmetçe	607	650	600	50	%8
Total	1800	1156	937	219	%18

* TSI, 2011
** Mukhtars oral answers (July, 2011).

The villagers point out that they are happy with the rise in real estate values, but there are not any house or olive grove sales between villagers, and it is not possible for villagers to pay these prices. The rural families who migrate to cities (the small cities close to these villages) mostly continue olive production through their elderly parents who stay in the village and return to their villages at harvest time. Elderly parents whose families migrated to urban settlements and nearby cities on the coast carry out the maintenance of their olive grove during the whole year by themselves. The rise in house values has particularly caused these families who do not permanently live in the village to sell their houses. Another group of people who were affected by the rise in real estate prices were young people. It became impossible for young people who got married to buy house or lands from their villages. Büyükhusun village administration has set aside and an area which belonged to the treasury before to be developed for young people to purchase the property. When a young man from the village gets married, he can buy land from this area if he pays a subsidized market value (it is equal to 1/20 of the market value). In order to benefit from this right, the man who is to get married must not already have land or a house in the village, and he has to live in the village permanently (interview).[6]

[6] This method was developed by the village administration in order to encourage young people to stay in the village. During the field research, this land belonged to the Treasury, which was subdivided and was defined as a village development area, was an empty lot. However, mukhtar stated that despite this encouragement, young people did not want to stay in the village.

Transformation of Land Use

According to Boyle (2008) a visible indicator of the impact of the urban preferences on rural life is without a doubt the effect on the vernacular and rural landscape. In these villages, the rural landscape, which has been shaped by olive production for centuries and created by the different cultures, is being reshaped with newcomers. Rural production is one of the important components of rural landscape and change in population changes rural production and consumption patterns. In other words, the

agricultural production declines and the role of the tourism sector grow in the countryside economy. In addition, newcomers bring urban consumption habits and urban amenity together with them (Gosnell & Abrams, 2011).

These rural settlements established on slopes to the sea, almost every house faces the view. The villages are grouped around a small square and they have a traditional pattern. The streets are designed to be narrow, curved and appropriate for pedestrian walks. It is hard for the cars to move within the village and find empty spaces to park. The need of parking for cars and tour buses due to new residents and tourism activity has become one of the most important problems of the villages. Closely spaced settlement prevents both the olive groves from being replaced with housing and the subdivision of land, and decreases technical infrastructure costs. The newcomers' demand of house with garden outside the village brings along the division of agricultural land and the transformation of the traditional settlement structure. Furthermore, community solidarity is still important among local people in rural production economies, and living together allows for this. With new residents, a dual social structure emerged in the villages and the traditional neighbour relations weakened. These changes in social and cultural setting of the villages negatively affect the social solidarity and cooperation culture that is important for agricultural production.

In the rural settlements surveyed, the change in land use preferences is clearly visible. This change can be summarized under five headings; (i) single house out of the village, (ii) new house in the traditional pattern (iii) the demand of restoration and renovation (iv) the transformation of the buildings related to agricultural production into a house or moving them out of the village, (v) increase in the demand of urban infrastructure.

In the villages other than Adatepe (because Adatepe has a decision on urban conservation area), there are new settlers who purchase houses inside the village, but it is more common for new residents to move outside the settlement area into new villas with large gardens, high walls and pools. Since the parcels inside the current settlement pattern are rather small, the demand for new homes that encroach on the olive groves outside of the settlement area is rising. Another reason why housing demands are outside of the settlement area is newcomers do not want to be in the village where traditional rural life is maintained (interview). Even though there are many empty houses in Ahmetçe and Kozlu villages, newcomers prefer the houses and lands that are on the border or outside of the settlement area. You will find some

DOI: 10.15320/ICONARP.2018.40 – E-ISSN: 2147-9380

examples of the new houses in the Figure 6, and refurbished houses.

Figure 6. New houses in Kozlu (a) and Yeşilyurt (b)

Figure 7. A refurbished house from Adatepe (a) and Ahmetçe (b)

Generally, the newcomers are sensible about conservation of the vernacular landscape. However, houses designed for rural life needed to be modernized and made more comfortable. One of the architects conducting restorations in Adatepe describes local architecture as follows; the houses are made of hewn stone and they consist of two stories and a garden. Every house has one storied outhouse and a corral or a barn for the animals, which are located at the garden edge. The kitchen, toilet and bathroom connected to the main building and they are located in the garden close to the main building. The roof of the spaces reserved for kitchens-storehouses-pantries are used for food drying in summer time (Erten, 2008: 21). This traditional house type has characteristics that do not conform to modern life style. Kitchen, toilet and bathroom are outside of the house. The barn and cellar in the garden became non-functional places for urbanites. For this reason, the first physical intervention made on houses is to move kitchen, bathroom and toilet facilities inside the house (interview).

One of the most important indicators of change in land use is the change in the function of the buildings related to agricultural production. The change in land use, which Phillips (2005; 2004; 2009) defined as a "barn conversion", is an important indicator of rural gentrification. Phillips points out (2005), the service

buildings, especially schools and agricultural production structures (olive oil plant, barn, sheep pen) which are common properties of the village, have changed their function. While the education buildings in Adatepe started to be used in tourism activity, the barns, sheep pens and warehouses converted into houses. Another land use change that shows the presence of the barn conversion is the move of barns and sheep pens out of the village.

Despite the diminishing husbandry activities, the present animal shelters in the village cause conflict between newcomers and local people. A 25-year-old female complains about interventions of newcomers: "We had a lot of problems with a family who had recently moved in the village. We have a stable right outside of the village. This family was bothered by the smell and voice of animals, so they complained about us [to the official authorities]. [According to what they claim], the stables had to be at least 500 metres away from the nearest house. They filed a lawsuit against us. I don't know whether there really is such a rule or not…" (interview). Traditionally, animal shelters such as stables and barns are next to houses. However, the newcomers intervene in the traditional life and attempt to establish rules comparable to city ordinances.

Another issue the mukhtars expressed is the need for assistance in increasing the technical infrastructure such as spaces of car park and garbage. As lifestyles in the rural settlements changes, the consumption of fresh water and the quantity and the quality of the domestic waste change. The drinking water problem, which arises every summer, is the issue most frequently stated by the mukhtars and local people. The villagers state that this lack of water is a result of the swimming pools and the irrigation of lawns in the gardens of hotels and villas. The environmental infrastructure of the villages is insufficient, and it cannot meet the increased demand.

CONCLUSIONS

The rural gentrification process in Turkey, a Mediterranean country, shows similarities with the gentrification process in rural areas of developed Western countries. The process of disinvestment that began with depopulation in the 1950s and the reinvestment process that started with the development of tourism since the 1980s created the cycle in the North Aegean countryside which was defined as "rent gap" by Smith (1979, 1987). According to production theory (Phillips, 2004; Phillips, 2005), state led policies and planning decisions have significant role in the rural gentrification process. Tourism and conservation

DOI: 10.15320/ICONARP.2018.40 – E-ISSN: 2147-9380

decisions also play an important role in the reinvestment process in the North Aegean countryside. Since 1990s, the development of tourism infrastructure in the region, the decisions made to protect the local architecture has accelerated the development of the tourism sector in Adatepe and Yesilyurt villages.

It can be said that due to the influence of real estate sector, the Northern Aegean countryside examples are different from the western examples. The researches on Anglo-American examples points out that in addition to states's role in housing policies and investment decisions, also the real estate sector (developers, realtors and financiers) has an effective role in the rural gentrification process. (Phillips, 2004; Phillips, 2005; Phillips, 2009; Ghose, 2004; Darling, 2005). The North Aegean countryside has become very popular with TV series and tourism activities even though there is no professional advertising and marketing. At the beginning, while the mukhtars have intermediary role in real estate purchase and sale(s), since 2000s real estate services have developed in the region.

The population in rural areas does not increase, but the numbers of houses that change owners or are refurbished do increase. Wealthy families who use their houses as summerhouses constitute the majority of newcomers. There are also those who come for additional reasons, such as setting up their own businesses. Whichever group they belong to, all newcomers are well educated and have professions. Due to the inadequacy of education and health services, families with children do not prefer these villages, unlike the Anglo-American examples (Ghose, 2004; Spencer, 1997). The number of converted and renovated houses in the villages and the socioeconomic profile of newcomers points out the existence of the class change, indicated in the gentrification literature (Davidson & Lees, 2005; Zukin, 1987). The real estate values have increased to such an extent that local people could not afford real estate purchase and sale(s). From 2000s, even the supergentrification defined by Lees (2003) has been experienced in Adatepe village. Latterly, tourism investors are taking the place of "newcomers" such as artists, writers, and academicians having cultural and intellectual capital who have first come to Adatepe village.

Transformation of rural landscape is one of the most important indicators of rural gentrification (Boyle, 2008; Ghose, 2004; Darling, 2005; Walker& Fortmann, 2003). The rural landscape is transformed, and natural vegetation mostly olive groves are being destroyed as a result of land demands for new homes in the North Aegean. The preference for detached housing on broad land, outside of the existing built-up areas of villages, transforms the

rural settlement pattern. In addition, as Phillips (2004; 2009) pointed out, "barn conversion" is observed within the traditional settlement pattern, which is also seen in the countryside of Western nations. While animal shelters are turned into houses, common properties of the village assume a tourism function. The change in the countryside creates conflicts between local people and newcomers, such as the use of natural resources, land use, conservation. Middle-class is hegemonic culturally, politically over the local people in the North Aegean countryside overlapping with the definition of Phillips (2009). Well-educated and politically active newcomers are more effective in decisions regarding rural settlements. On the other hand, this effectiveness of the newcomers is particularly positive in terms of conservation of cultural and natural heritage (Gosnell & Abrams, 2011). Newcomers are highly sensitive about the conservation of local architecture and natural resources and they can influence decision-making processes positively through their network of relationships (Başaran-Uysal, 2017).

The change in North Aegean Countryside did not only cause displacement of the local people by the middle class and transformation of the rural landscape, this also restructured the rural economy. The replacement of the agricultural sector by the service sector which is a major indicator of the post-productive economy as Darling (2005) points out is one of the most significant outcomes of the rural gentrification in the region. Depending on the findings of the research, it is expected that the number of new residents who live permanently in the rural area will increase and the effects of change will become more significant.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

This study was supported by Canakkale Onsekiz Mart University, Scientific Research Projects Commission (Project number: 2010/273). The authors of the article are also the project team

A preliminary version of this paper was presented in 2012 at a National Planning Coloquim (8 Kasım Dünya Şehircilik Günü, 36. Kolokyumu), Ankara and published in the proceedings book with the title of "Kırsal Soylulaştırma ve Turizmin Kırsal Yerleşimlere Etkileri: Adatepe ve Yeşilyurt Köyleri".

DOI: 10.15320/ICONARP.2018.40 – E-ISSN: 2147-9380

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DOI: 10.15320/ICONARP.2018.40 – E-ISSN: 2147-9380

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