

**HISTORIC TOWNS
TOURISM, CONSERVATION, DEVELOPMENT
WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO TURKISH TOWNS**

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ABSTRACT

Tourism is a trend, a popular life style of this century and historic towns are much frequented destinations with 'culture' as part of the tourist experience. Whilst the process of urban conservation has been well established in Western Europe, gentrification, followed by tourist interests, has often been at the cost of the resident community. Many historic towns in Eastern Europe and the Mediterranean region are currently turning to conservation, partly to attract tourism. While large cities can absorb some of the impact, it is often in the smaller towns where community life is disrupted and architectural heritage poorly restored to provide for this growing industry.

The purpose, of this study is to establish a planning and conservation approach to put the needs of the local community first, whereby the *people* of an historic town, their needs and aspirations have to be addressed in the planning process for tourism, conservation and development. To this end: *It is necessary for small and medium sized towns to plan at a local level for the growth of tourists and tourism that will both benefit and protect the community and enable the continuation of their 'heritage' in all aspects.*

The intention is to present a wider understanding of tourism in historic towns through a study of historic towns in Europe and the Mediterranean region, with particular reference to Turkey, and provide practical solutions for the town of Bergama in Western Turkey in the context of economic development and local control and benefit. This study specifically attempts to:

- identify the impacts tourism has on historic towns, both in the West and in the East Mediterranean region,
- suggest planning policies for conservation and tourism development and management for the town of Bergama,
- catalogue and comment on the short falls of current legislation in Turkey and review ways to better facilitate conservation and continuity in fragile historic areas,
- propose Ten Guidelines towards better use of conservation measures by local authorities of historic towns with limited budgets but increasing tourist interest.

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"It somehow seems impossible to believe that in the last twenty or so years the travel industry has been responsible for changing the life of Mediterranean people in a way never equalled by Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar, the Greek philosophers, the Christian Church, nor any single event during more than 2000 years of history "

John Bishop, 1973:101

INTRODUCTION

Preamble

Since the middle of the last century the steady increase in 'leisure time' and communications in the West has resulted in tourism becoming a growth industry and overseas travel to foreign destinations a consumer product. In Tourism 'experience' has become a product that can be marketed, sold and recreated. Natural landscapes, 'historic' buildings, old settlements and urban areas, especially those in favourable climates, have also become the 'products' of this consumerism. Narrow and winding streets, 'authentic' old houses and smart shops have become a marketing tool and many of Europe's historic towns today compete to attract more visitors.

People are travelling to developing countries seeking an 'authentic' or 'lesser' culture, in search of images created through children's encyclopedias, television and travel literature. "Tourist consciousness is motivated by its desire for authentic experiences, and the tourist may believe that he is moving in this direction, but often it is difficult to know for sure if the experience is in fact authentic" (MacCannell, 1976:101). Tourists and their agents in catering for their demands are not only bringing to light the contrast between the affluent and the poor, they may also be seen to be keeping the Third World in its 'primitive' existence to satisfy their own 'authentic' experience, thus imposing double standards and increasing global inequality.

On the other hand, for many developing countries unable to keep up with modern technology, industry or manufacturing and with insufficient agricultural products, tourism is a valuable source of employment and income. Thus the tourist industry with its leisure activity and sense of adventure for the visitor is in fact a substitute for long-term modernisation for the host country. In many Third World situations "...it involves a lot of noise and activity, but at the end of the day, locals have surprisingly little to show for it" (Murphy, 1985:97). Service industries are unstable and rely on other sectors of economic activity to generate the wealth that demands the service.

With world tourism expanding its boundaries, the threat of 'instant' conservation to many towns is also increasing. Easy access to Europe and a long summer season has and continues to make the coastal settlements of Turkey very popular as holiday destinations. Contrary to Western practices, there is little encouragement towards proper urban rehabilitation; this, coupled with a lack of adequate control measures in planning and conservation, can result in either the loss of genuine historic areas to the

ravages of new developments or for a 'developers' approach to conservation as a means of attracting yet more tourists. Much of the historic urban texture of the last centuries has been lost in Turkey. Where tourist interests have 'saved' the architecture, too often cafes, tourist shops and smart restaurants have taken over, once more forcing the residents out.

Intentions

This study will address these issues and provide an insight into some of the problems of conservation and development that are experienced in Bergama, with a view to encouraging stable but managed tourism, urban conservation and planning, and the control of overdevelopment of both. The intention here is to provide a means for **development** that will benefit the **people** who presently live in historic towns and conserve the fabric, thereby defining an understanding of tourism to provide a way in which conservation and integration is possible in favour of both the host and the visitor.

Development is identified with progress and conservation also needs to accommodate change, not just freezing buildings in time. *"Progress has come to be identified with improvement in quantitative indicators; these concern mainly economic processes, seldom social, hardly ever cultural"* (de Kadt, 1990:9). Culture is not a reminiscence of the past, but an essential part of human life within a city. *"We must realise that maintaining structures means maintaining the desirability or continuity of a culture - we are in fact conserving cultures not buildings"* (Rogers, 1982:15). We will try to demonstrate that it is the people and communities living in historic neighbourhoods that create the sought-after 'character', but it is improvements to their immediate needs and 'quality of life' that will be a measure of development.

Communities live and work in cities; as society and employment patterns change so do cities in order to accommodate the change and growth. *"The city is and has always been throughout the ages at the root of our culture, history, arts and traditions. It has been the birth-place of a society in constant evolution"* (Cravatte, 1976:13). Conservation, therefore, can only be part of a continuous process to enhance life giving qualities, ensuring the continuity of a place by providing people with an environment they want to stay in, by *"setting the individual person 'into place' amid the insecurity of the infinite space and time, and relating him or her to a culture"* (Maguire, 1982:23).

The blight of modern cities and the dilemma between old and new are the problem of both Western and Eastern cities. However, in the East there is less understanding of historic continuity and more emphasis on the activity of development and status of the modern (Kuban, 1980:6). With the need to work with tight budgets "*Conservation is the careful planning and management of limited and selected resources. It is a conscious process to control and manipulate change to a minimum - to a rate that ensures the survival of cultural heritage over a long time*" (Fethi, 1993:161).

Conservation is not merely an architectural problem, particularly in the urban context, it is a social issue. The living environment is more than form and geometry, it is about people and communities. "*The consideration of the human living environment cannot be divorced from the considerations of the living society itself*" (Malik, 1993:82-83). Further stressed by Bektaş (1992:1): "*Nothing created by man can be more important than man himself, therefore conservation of buildings without human communities is worthless*".

Tourism has inevitably become a reason for or part of the conservation process. "*Tourism is a Twentieth Century phenomenon. You cannot put it aside. One must accept it as a phenomenon that exists, good or not so good. Millions of people travel. One cannot stop them. They will come, so let them be used as a source for development*" (Kuban, 1978:84). Measured and controlled tourism can generate income for the local community and enable a wider understanding of conservation, but it should not be permitted to totally destroy places, and more importantly communities.

Even though there will always be economic pressures from society, tourism planning that will directly benefit *local* interests and economy, and enable a realistic continuation of heritage, i.e. a lived-in environment and not 'staged culture' is only possible through strong local initiatives, in which ***local governments play a crucial role as controllers and enablers***.

Structure of the Dissertation

Chapter 1 is a brief history of Anatolia and of the Turkish people to illustrate the rich heritage resources of the land and the more recent social changes which identifies the current aspirations for development and the insufficient interest in heritage value. **Chapter 2** outlines the research methods which have been adapted in conducting this study.

Chapter 3 is a comprehensive review of the current conservation practice and understanding in Turkey. Legislation is reviewed and the shortfalls highlighted, particularly in conjunction with tourist developments. The main problems of urban conservation in the tourist areas of Turkey are identified and illustrated through a series of examples.

Chapter 4 is an introduction to Bergama, the major case study for this work. As a background, the Chapter provides a general understanding of urban structure, economy, historic buildings and Conservation Areas within the town. It then sets out to identify the conservation understanding of the people, the shopkeepers and the administrators and their observations, as well as looking at tourist patterns in the town. The objective is to project the elements of conservation towards development that will benefit local residents.

Chapter 5 provides a brief background outlining the growth of tourism into a major world industry and the pressures on local lifestyles, the environment and historic towns alongside the economic benefits provided to the host. The aim is to understand how much of the gain, balanced against the cost, is really benefiting the local communities. Secondly, this Chapter takes a closer look at the situation in the West where well-preserved historic towns are becoming a marketable commodity for the industry than a neighbourhood for the community.

Chapters 6 analyses historic towns in the East, many of which face dilapidation or destruction, the relationship of residents where the market value of historic towns is not as yet discovered. More important, if tourism were to become the only means of salvation, what effects it will have on urban values, the separating of commercial and residential areas and those seeking privacy.

In order to illustrate these trends and to identify the 'key' participants **Chapter 7** reviews the recent past and present situation in York, a well conserved tourist attraction in Western Europe; Granada, a popular Mediterranean city in need of conservation and the Jordanian city of Salt, where tourism is seen as a viable solution for heritage conservation.

Chapter 8 addresses the ways in which conservation in historic towns can benefit the local community within the restrictions of tight resources and also the constructive role

tourism could play in achieving certain levels of conservation, through careful planning and management of visitor patterns and local development objectives. Within these guidelines proposals are put forward for conservation and tourism planning in Bergama. This Chapter also determines the role for the National Government, the people of Bergama, local and outside experts and the private sector. Overall, *the enabling and coordinating role that needs to be played by the local administrative position to set and achieve targets.*

In concluding, this dissertation makes guidelines for action in Bergama, for a conservation and resource understanding at national level and for a more general understanding of conservation and tourism in a development context in small historic towns in the international realm.

Appendices provide further information on:

- Interviews in Bergama,
- 1989 Turkish Conservation Legislation,
- Drawings of historic buildings in Bergama, which could be re-used.

CHAPTER 1
BACKGROUND

*An introduction to Turkey, a changing nation
and the wealth of its architectural heritage*

Introduction

Modern Turkey inhabits the Anatolian peninsula in Asia and Eastern Thrace in Europe. Also known as Asia Minor, the peninsula acts as a bridge between Asia and Europe: East and West. Numerous Anatolian towns have existed for many centuries, inhabited by a host of diverse civilizations. In Ankara, a relatively 'new' capital, the 15th C. *Haci Bayram* Mosque intersects the Roman Temple of Rome and Augustus, which had also been used as a Christian church; the site itself had originally been a Phrygian sanctuary. Today many of these ancient sites, especially those on the Western and Southern coasts, have become major tourist attractions. The Ministry of Culture and Tourism is faced with the immense task of preserving and restoring monuments and urban settlements from many different periods.

This Chapter provides an insight into the archaeological past and historic development of the land which forms the Turkish Republic today and the recent events in history that have led to the founding of the present Republic. Policies and the political atmosphere that are influencing present day decision-making will also be examined. The aim is not a historical narration, but to provide a background on the heritage that is attracting tourists and also the recent changes in society that are influencing conservation.

In 1923 the Turkish Republic was established as a secular democracy and the country changed both in social and economic terms. Since the beginning of this century many things have altered as it has become modernised, and today Turkey is seen as a politically stable country holding an important position in the Middle East, the Balkans and part of the former Soviet Republics. The increase in stability and the international growth in travelling has led to tourism becoming one of the fastest growing sectors in Turkey today. However, the focus has often been on the beaches and favourable climate and not so much the historical wealth and natural beauty.

The first Section is a brief historic outline to place the urban and monumental heritage of Anatolia into perspective. The second Section reviews the social and political changes that have been experienced in the formation of modern Turkey. The aim is to provide a background to the following chapter which will highlight present conservation practice and attitudes towards heritage preservation and its relationship to development.

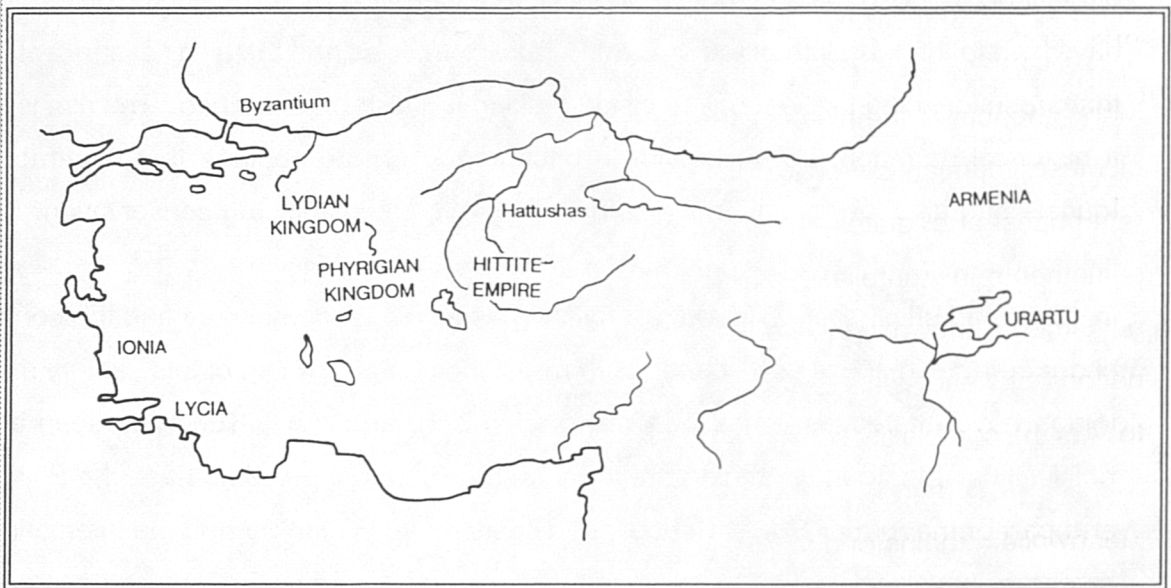


FIGURE 1.1 *Early Civilisations of Anatolia*

1.1 HISTORIC BACKGROUND AND HERITAGE

Ankara was chosen to be the capital of Turkey in 1924, mainly for its strategic position; however, one must note that it is only about 100km away from Hattushash and Gordion¹, the Hittite and Phrygian capitals respectively. "For thousands of years Anatolia has been a seat of empires and a highway for conquering armies and hungry nomads and God-drunk mystics. Cimmerians, Hittites, Phrygians, Lydians, Thracians, Persians, Greeks and a hundred forgotten peoples had all set their seal on the land before the coming of the Romans" (Lewis 1974:210). "There remains, however, the wealth of hidden treasures in Asiatic Turkey of somewhat corresponding periods, of unquestioned richness - in fact, a virgin field" (Mears 1924:179). Undoubtedly these magnificent ruins, monuments and cities are an attraction to many tourists visiting Turkey.

1.1.1 Pre-Turkish Civilisations in Anatolia

Many aspects of the history of Asia Minor are yet to be discovered and many aspects of Mesopotamian history and Biblical references to be unravelled. There are many references and quite a number of discoveries indicating Stone and Bronze Age settlements in Anatolia. Çatalhöyük, in Central Anatolia, is one of the oldest known settlements known in the world. The Hittites, for example, belonged to one of the oldest nations of Near Asia. Excavations in the capital, Hattushash (*Boğazköy*), are bringing to light the complexity this Anatolian civilization and its trade relations with Mesopotamia.

Meanwhile remains of a very strong Greek Civilization are evident throughout Western Anatolia and of the Roman Empire right across the borders². Many important cities were built; some have disappeared without trace or have been lost under years of city-building, while others await discovery and excavation; a few are preserved with the very

¹ The city of King Midas for whom there is a legend that he turned everything into gold and had the ears of a donkey. It is also the city where, it is alleged, Alexander the Great cut a knotted rope.

² The height of Greek civilization on the mainland can be said to be the 4th C. BC, whereas the Hellenistic period, as Greek civilisation was known in Asia Minor, rose to its zenith in the 2nd C. BC and later became part of the Roman Empire.

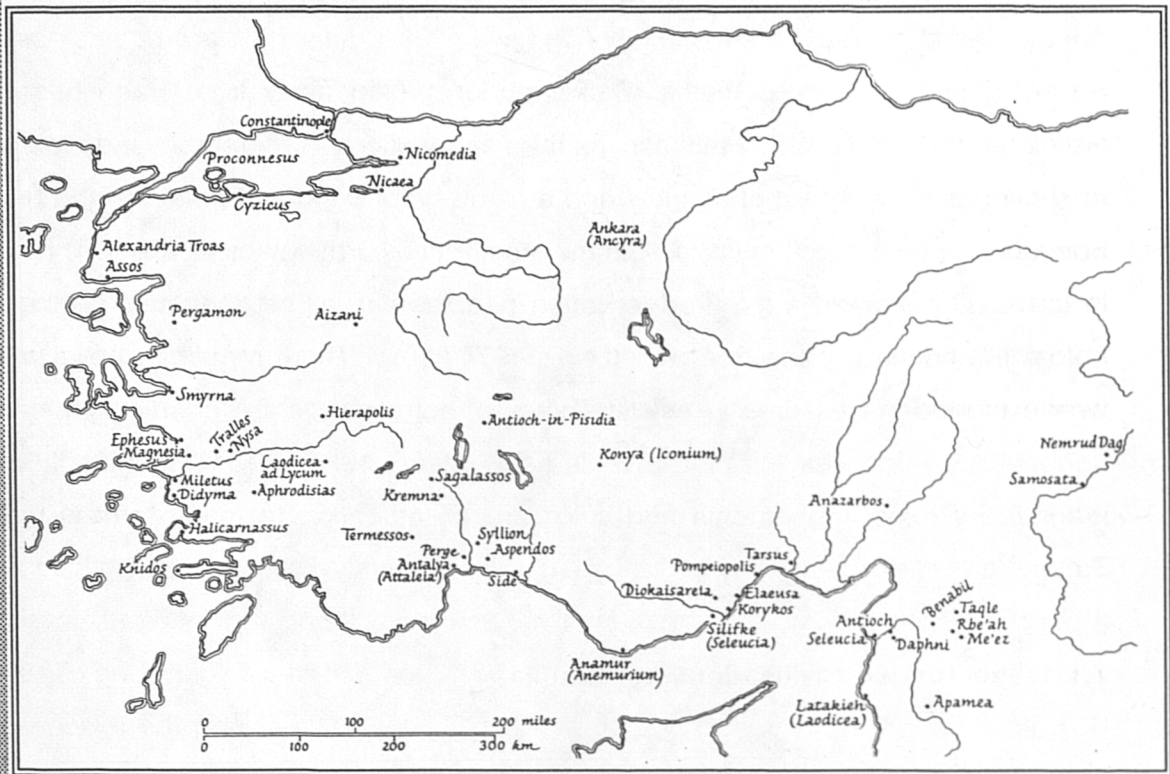


FIGURE 1.2 *Important cities of the Greek and Roman periods in Asia Minor (Ward-Perkins, 1981:16)*

features by which they play an important educational role in contemporary architecture and planning³.

Several settlements have been relatively well preserved and archaeological expeditions are expanding the known boundaries of many and discovering a number of previously unknown cities. The most famous and well preserved include the ancient towns of Troy, Ephesus, Pergamon, Priene, Miletus, Perge and Side. Of the famous Hellenistic temples in Ionia (The Aegean Coast), some such as those in Didyma, Priene, Sardes and Aphrodisias remain, others in Magnesia, Teos and Pergamon have been ruined, but still bear evidence of the skills of their builders.

While the West gradually regressed into a dark age following the fall of the Roman Empire, civilization continued in the East under the Byzantine Empire, with its centre in the city known today as Istanbul. Referred to as the "City of Constantine", Byzantium was founded in the first half of the 7th C. BC and although it was a flourishing city in 600 BC⁴, its popularity and importance in Medieval history was during the millennium it served as the capital and centre of the East Roman / Byzantine Empire. Although the city was looted during the Turkish conquest in 1453, many grand examples of Byzantine Architecture were integrated into the new Ottoman capital.

Central and Eastern Anatolia became important centres in the development of Christianity, such as in Armenia and Georgia. As some of the first Christians escaped the harsh punishments of the then pagan Roman rule, they fled to Central Anatolia where they hid in highly sophisticated underground settlements carved into the rock. The geographic nature of the area encompassed by the *Kızılırmak* river (Cappadocia) is of interesting rock formations, which allowed for these people to build entire cities and many churches into the rocks and hide from their enemies. Today the area is a national park and a World Heritage Site.

³ It is alleged that the first grid plan for a city was discovered by Hippodamus in Miletus. The pattern is evident in Miletus and even more so in Priene, a neighbouring town, built on a south facing slope to make the best of "passive solar heating" (Burke, 1971).

⁴ The city on the Bosphorous and the Golden Horn had become an important trade centre between the Black Sea and the Aegean, sometimes connected to Athens and at other times to Sparta or the Ionian League on the Eastern Aegean shores (MacLagan, 1968).

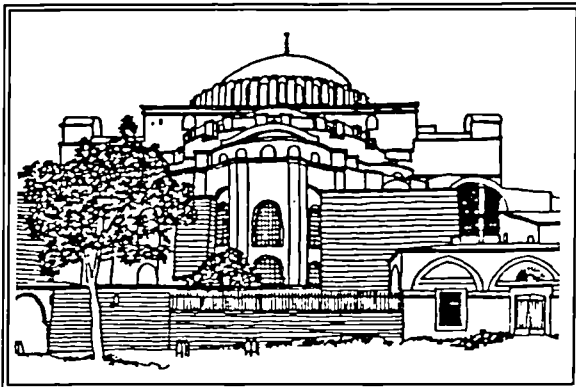


FIGURE 1.3 *Hagia Sophia (drawing by Cengiz Bektaş, 1992:50)*

In the 4th C. AD Georgia became Christian and the Georgian church was established in AD 280⁵, and some Georgian churches remain in the Eastern Black Sea region of Turkey, most in desperate need of attention. "Many of the churches can only be reached on foot or horseback, while the security restrictions of a frontier province discourage visitors. Equally, these same factors tend to discourage protection and conservation" (Cantacuzino, 1975:126). Also in the East, around the present day Kars and Arpaçayi⁶, there were several Armenian Kingdoms in power in the 10th C. Many earlier Armenian churches in the area are of great antiquity and of importance to Early Christianity. The ruins of Ani, their once prosperous capital, can be visited, but very little has been undertaken in way of excavations and restoration, mainly due to its strategic placing with the former Soviet Union. Known as the "city of a thousand and one churches" (Kinross, 1954:70) Ani was the capital of the Bagradit Dynasty. A small number of the churches have survived and Lord Kinross (1954:73) describes one as "a forerunner of the Gothic Cathedral, a hundred years before it appeared in Western Europe"⁷.

The above are just a few of the many monuments that still stand today, enhancing the Anatolian landscape and cities. From the Byzantine era, the jewel is undoubtedly the Hagia Sophia, the basilica church completed for Emperor Justinian in 537⁸; a major attraction in the visitor's otherwise 'oriental' perception of Istanbul. "Though many vicissitudes, and despite some thirty major earthquakes and a number of menacing fires, the supernal shrine of the Holy Wisdom of God still stands on the rock where it was built over 1400 years ago, a monument to the piety and resolution of the Emperor and the audacious skill of his architects" (MacLagan, 1968:53). The central dome resting on four gigantic pillars has a diameter of 32m, the largest span of its time. Galleries surrounding the central space are supported by 104 columns hewn out of a rich variety of fine marbles. "The design is basically simple, but aesthetically of extreme subtlety"

⁵ The first national Church in the history of Christendom (Cantacuzino, 1975:122).

⁶ The official border dividing Turkey and the former Soviet Union, presently Armenia.

⁷ Armenian craftsmen were well known to Byzantium, mainly due to their fine skill in masonry, so it is quite possible that elements of their more Eastern style of architecture passed on to Europe (Kinross, 1954).

⁸ There is evidence that there was an earlier church on the site, which was destroyed in a riot. Justinian ordered it to be restored and the church was rebuilt to its present day form in six years (MacLagan, 1968).

(MacLagan, 1968:53). The Hagia Sophia is not the only church worthy of mention and there are many others, including the Hagia Irene and Christ of the Chora⁹ churches.

1.1.2 The Selçuk and Ottoman Periods and Influences of Islam

How and when Islam or the Turks¹⁰ arrived in Anatolia is debatable; it is certain though that it was not the same event. There was, however, more than one incident that changed Anatolia into a Muslim and a Turkish Land. The first Turkish people to arrive penetrated into the local population and gradually adopted Christianity. Arab raids on Anatolia around 671 and 716 were the first efforts to spread Islam into Anatolia, also converting the Turks living around the Caspian Sea (Webster, 1939:8).

It was not until the 11th C. that Muslim Turks, the Seljuks of Mesopotamia, defeated the Byzantine army and moved into the central plateau, declaring Konya their capital. The "principle evidence of the Seljuk era - and the most distinctive is the beautiful stamp of delicacy bequeathed to Turkey's Architecture" (Webster, 1939:10). Flourishing in the 12th and 13th centuries, Seljukid buildings were built extensively out of large blocks of cut stone; many have survived remarkably well and a significant number are still being used. Although Konya is home to some of the most famous Seljukid mosques and medrese (Alaadin mosque, Inceminareli, Karatay and Sırçalı medrese), many other towns, including Niğde, Malatya, Kayseri, Diyarbakır, Sivas and Tokat, also have within their city centres magnificent monuments of this period. Seljukid architecture is best defined by its prismatic forms, sturdy stone buildings with ornately carved geometric designs, and especially by the very highly decorated two to three storey monumental entrances. Many different building types were erected, and they introduced some of the first *medreses* (theological colleges) and *caravanserais* to Anatolia. At the time Anatolia was the centre of some of the most important trade routes of Medieval Europe and the *Kervansaray* (caravanserai) were built outside of the major towns, each a day's journey apart on the major routes. When the caravan trade ceased they were often abandoned and, not being in city centre locations, most have fallen to ruins.

⁹ Known as Kariye Cami (Mosque) it has been restored to its former splendour and is a museum of Byzantine mosaics, the most interesting being the original ones of the church.

¹⁰ The Turks are believed to have originated from the Altai mountains north of Mongolia, a range rich in metals, especially iron. Known as good metal workers, they led a rural and quite often a nomadic life in Central Asia and were known as good horsemen and fighters, mainly against their largest enemy, the Chinese.

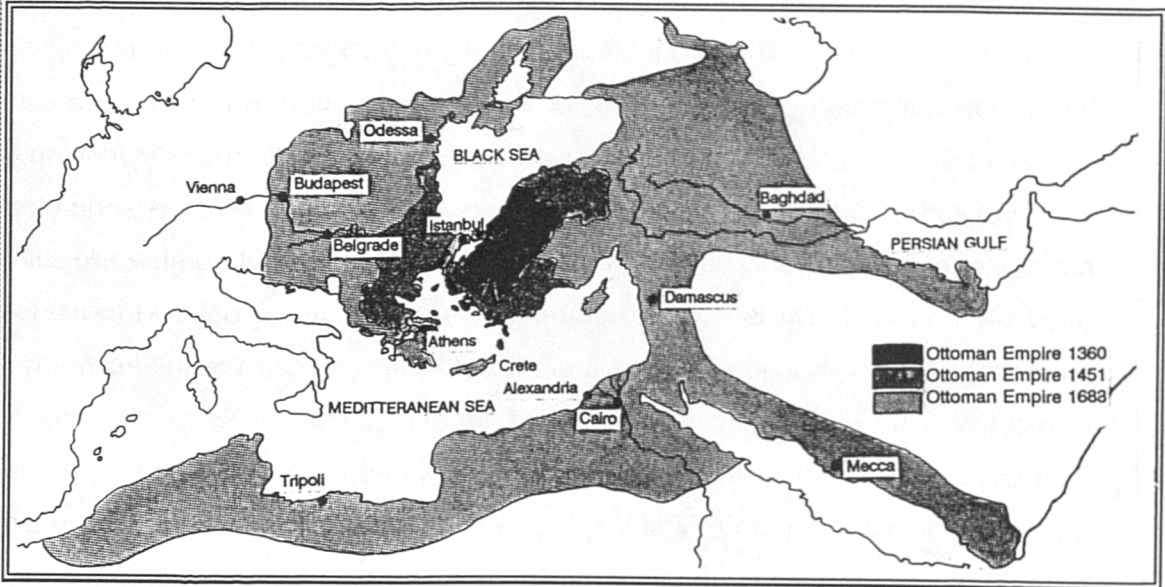


FIGURE 1.4 *The growth of the Ottoman Empire (from Hotham, 1975:42)*

By the end of the 13th C. the Anatolian Selçuk State was replaced by the Osmanli (Ottoman) Sultanate. Iznik, Edirne and Bursa each became the capital as they were captured and monumental architecture, often under Seljukid influence, filled these cities. Originally nomadic people, they had within a century formed an organised and urbanised empire. Not only mosques, but also a number of *medrese* (colleges) and *şifahane* (hospitals) were built to a high standard of architecture. In Bursa a distinct style in architecture, known as Early Ottoman, was evolving. The geometric forms of the Seljuks were replaced by more organic forms and mosque architecture particularly was very experimental, aiming to achieve the largest possible single space in the interior. A commercial centre of a series of *han* (urban caravanserai) and *arasta* (covered shopping areas) promoting the silk and cotton trade was built around the Great Mosque, while mosques and medrese complexes for the Sultans dominated the dramatic slopes of the city.

Historically the most significant event in Ottoman history was the conquest of Istanbul by the Ottoman Sultan, Mehmet the Conqueror in 1453. This not only represented a turning point in Turkish history, but also marked the end of the Eastern Roman Empire and the struggling state of Byzantium still representing it. The city was looted for three days after the siege, but soon restored to its former splendour, this time as Istanbul, the capital city of the Ottoman Empire. A number of churches were converted into mosques, while new ones were commissioned¹¹.

It is true that many of the early mosques built in Istanbul were influenced by Byzantine churches. However, this does not mark the beginning of Ottoman Architecture. "They had behind them a long tradition of Islamic culture, even if they were hostile to its heirs. The Green mosque in Bursa, their capital till 1413, and the Üçserefeli Cami in Adrianople (Edirne) which was their next centre, show clearly the sophistication and beauty of their architecture before it was exposed to the influence of Byzantine Constantinople" (MacLagan, 1968:126).

In the 16th C. Ottoman Architecture reached a peak, known as the Classical period, when Sinan was the chief architect to the Sultan. The number of buildings he actually built is unknown, as most buildings of the period are attributed to him, but his genius and skill as an architect can not be denied. Amongst the numerous mosques, *hamam*

¹¹ At the same time a Greek patriarch was established, to represent the Greek Orthodox community, an establishment that has survived the Empire.

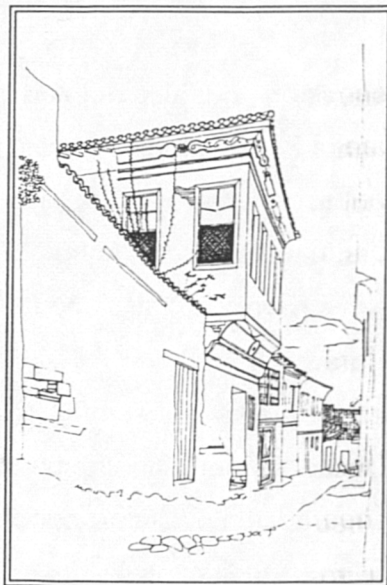
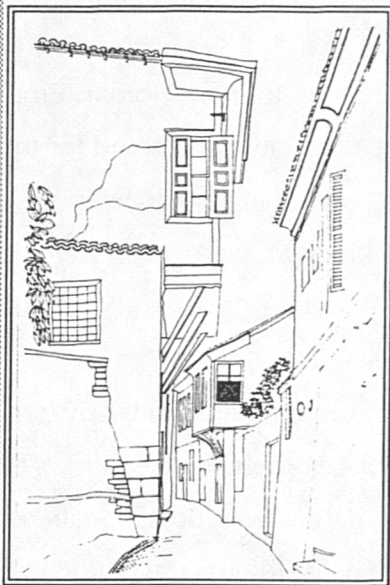


FIGURE 1.5 *Typical streets in an Ottoman town*
(drawings by Bektaş, 1991:27 & 61)

(Turkish baths) and bridges that he designed, the most famous are the *Süleymaniye* Complex¹² and *Şehzade* Mosque in Istanbul, and the *Selimiye* Mosque and Complex in Edirne. Many mosques to this day have been built on the principles and styles laid down by Sinan.

In the later centuries of the Empire, architectural forms were simplified until the 18th and 19th centuries, when Baroque influences from Europe added ornateness to the traditional forms, as well as introducing a new type of architecture for palaces and army barracks. Istanbul remained the 'jewel of the crown', and new and elaborate buildings continued to be built until the end of the Empire. Istanbul has never stopped being a popular travel destination, from 18th C. orientalists to the Hippies in the 1960s. Today it has become a popular 'city-break' city with an 'oriental aura', history, heritage and 'exotic' shopping facilities on offer.

1.1.3 Ottoman Towns and Turkish Vernacular Styles

Ottoman rule and influence spread from the Balkans to the Middle East and to most of North Africa. Ottoman rule brought order and regulation, trade and commercial organisation to many of these places. Unfortunately this, a unique urban heritage and a vernacular tradition, is rapidly disappearing.

Ottoman towns often grew in a concentric manner around a central mosque, medrese and the other related organisations. Connected to this religious, academic and administrative centre, was the economic centre of shopping streets with small shops as well as the *han* and *bedesten* as centres for trade and business. Narrow, winding streets led away from the centre into residential neighbourhoods known as *mahalle*. Enclosed within its own walls, each *mahalle* housed a community of people, either an ethnic or a professional group. Many streets led into cul-de-sacs providing further privacy for the residents.

Unlike the designed and established monuments built in urban centres, the neighbourhoods grew in an organic fashion and the houses were often built of flimsy materials rarely expected to last for more than a generation. Mosques and their

¹² A Complex evolved around a central mosque and included a medrese (University or Theological College), residences for the academics, and public services including a hospital and often a soup kitchen for the poor.

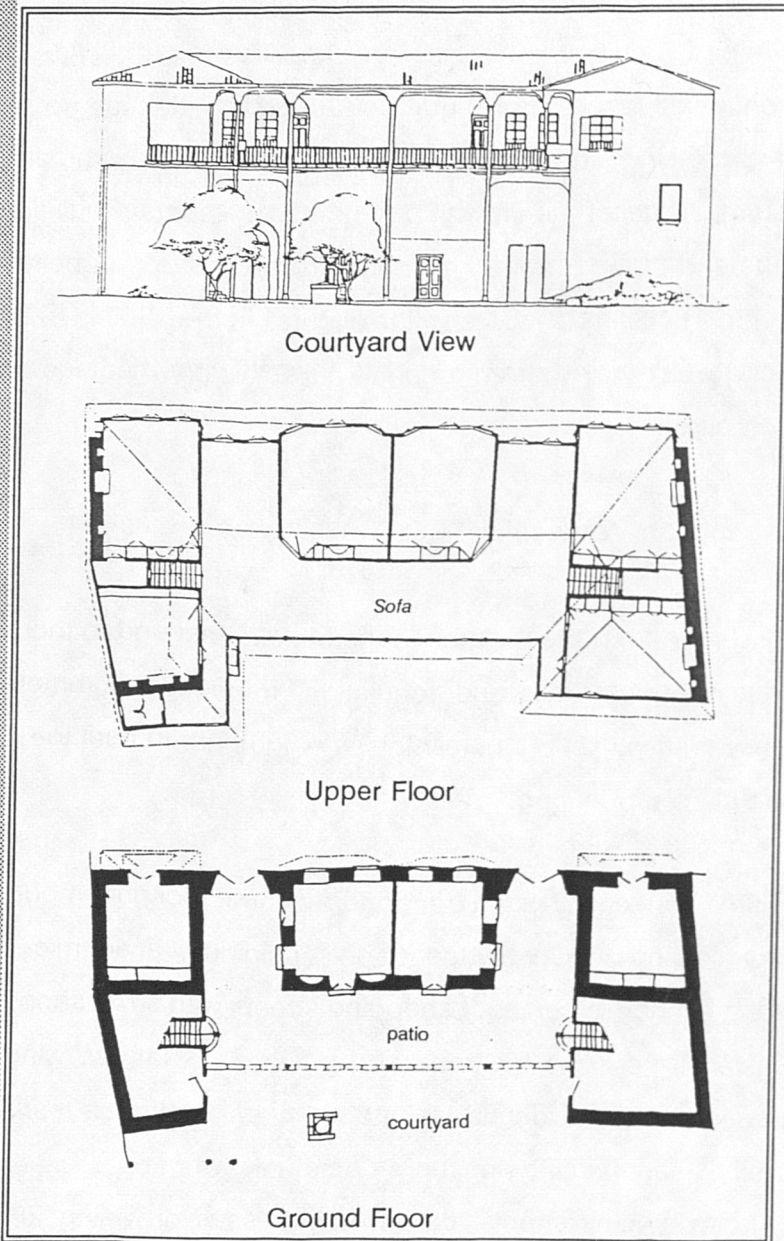


FIGURE 1.6 *Plan and courtyard view of a 19th C. house in Antalya (Bilgen, 1988:56)*

complexes were monuments and houses of God, built out of strong materials, whereas houses were only seen as a form of shelter that could easily be replaced. It is for this reason that vernacular architecture in Turkey does not date further back than the 18th C. and even from that period there are very few examples (Küçükerman, 1985). This also increases the hardships faced in restoring the existing stock.

Although some aspects of the Turkish house resembled Middle Eastern and North African models, the climate in many parts of Turkey is much harsher. Pitched roofs for the rain and snow were an important feature, along with the ornately carved fireplaces in the rooms. Many of the larger houses had separate winter and summer rooms.

On the outside the house was often built with a solid stone ground floor, with a door into the patio and very few openings. The upper floors were timber frame structures with varied infills depending on the region. Unlike some Arabian houses the upper floor had quite a number of windows on the street facade. Although a woman was screened from the street, she had a chance of being part of it; projections provided her with a better outlook and the street with shade. The main living area was the upper floor. All the rooms opened onto a central room known as the *sofa*, which, depending on the climatic region, could have a verandah looking on to the patio. With extended families living in the same house, each room was a family unit in itself, with a fireplace for cooking, divans to sit on, and storage facilities for bedding, which was brought out at night. The patio on the ground floor, partially covered by the upper floor, also provided valuable living space. Many household chores were performed there and it also provided an ideal place for storage and for keeping animals. Animals kept on the ground floor would also help keep the upper floor warm in the winter (see also FIGURE 3.3: Plan of a house in Safranbolu).

As the Empire spread, so did the architecture and an Ottoman vernacular style is still distinctly visible in many Balkan States, including Greece, Bulgaria, Albania and Yugoslavia¹³ In the Middle East and in North Africa too there is a distinct style and neighbourhoods still known as Ottoman. Part of what has come to be known as the Ottoman Vernacular has also been influenced by this diversity of cultures, such as the predominantly Greek styled houses of the western coastal regions.

¹³ This reference is to the geographical area that has been known as Yugoslavia until recently; at the time of writing the situation certain areas is unclear and therefore the author refrains from naming countries.

1.2 THE EMERGENCE OF MODERN TURKEY

1.2.1 Growing European Influences in the 19th century

Following an age of discovery and the Industrial Revolution in Europe, the Ottoman empire was left behind and gradually European domination prevailed in trade and industry. The once famous trade routes no longer passed through the Ottoman lands and many of the peoples forming the Empire were seeking their independence in a surge of nationalism.

The Ottoman Empire was ruled under the strict regime of the Sultan by Islamic law, as it suited him¹⁴. By the 19th C., the rich and prosperous Ottoman Empire had become semi-colonised by an Industrial Europe. While only raw materials could be exported, goods from industrialized European markets were flowing in at cheap prices, completely destroying local manufacturers and the textile and silk industries. Architecture had also taken an inclination towards Western styles. Whilst the Ottoman city plan layouts remained to suit the functions of a closed society, decorative features, particularly on facades, reflected Western influences. German Neoclassicist and Baroque styles became popular on facades but ironically the Beylerbeyi palace was built in an oriental style, then popular in England.

In Istanbul, among the upper classes, there was a notable change towards Western models in education, social life and status. There was a growing cosmopolitan atmosphere, Westernisation was associated with becoming civilised, and the upper classes favoured a European education, mainly in France. Young men returning from Europe started wearing more European style clothes. "But even among the immaculately trousered dandies of the capital, one badge of distinctness had remained - the fez. This headgear, introduced a bare century earlier and fiercely resisted as an infidel innovation, had been adopted and accepted by Muslims in Turkey and in many other countries, and had become the last symbol of Muslim identification"¹⁵ (Lewis,

¹⁴ Attempts to modernise and add a parliament to the system were raised in the 19th century and attempted in a treaty, known as *Tanzimat Fermanı*, in 1839 by Sultan Abdülmecit. Even though modernisation to some degree had been achieved, the Sultan soon overpowered the so called parliament.

¹⁵ Today the fez is still a garment associated with Turks, often at Western fancy dress parties. Cheap replicas of this red hat with a black tassel can be purchased in many tourist bazaars in Istanbul.

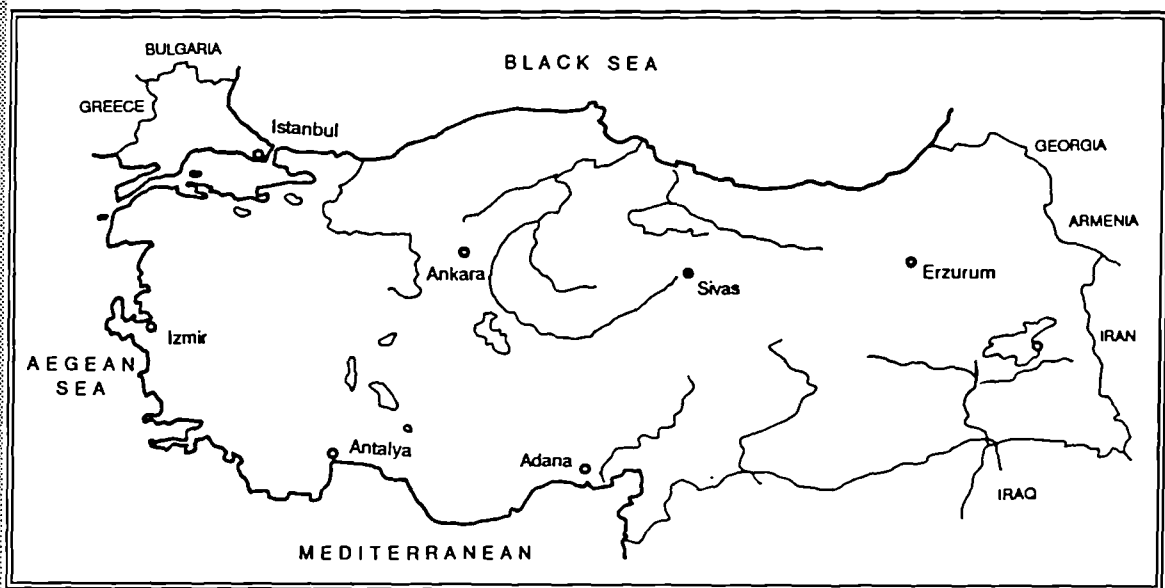


FIGURE 1.7 *Boundaries and important cities of Modern Turkey*

1961:262). Turkish intellectuals had started to question the suppression of women in society and women poets and writers, like Halide Edip Adivar, were gathering support.

However, the architecture, in plan and organisation, still reflected the traditional way. Men and women could not be together in public; even in theatres there were separate sessions for men and women, and on public transport each sat in a separate compartment. In Ottoman society the family could only come together in the home and even then the house was divided into female (*harem*) and male (*selamlık*) quarters.

1.2.2 The Turkey of Kemal Atatürk: Reform, Modernisation and Change

By the end of the first World War, in which the Turks had been obliged to fight alongside the Germans, there was very little unity left in the land. Many of the smaller nations under the Empire, such as Greece and Bulgaria, had declared their independence. The Eastern states had either joined Russia or British Colonialism in the Arab world. The Sultan, a mere puppet of the Allies, agreed for the country to be divided up among them¹⁶. Invasions began in 1919 and so did the journey of Mustafa Kemal into what remained of Turkish Anatolia. Here he gathered together delegates from all the provinces and the principle of Turkish unity in Anatolia was agreed upon. In 1920 they established themselves in Ankara and a war for Independence began.

Anatolia had become very poor during the previous two centuries, and most of the army had been called back to Istanbul. The British, Italians and French decided to withdraw without fighting and the war was fought, mainly against the Greeks, with a strong will to be an independent nation. By 1922 Anatolia was a Turkish land once again and Mustafa Kemal established the Turkish Republic in 1923 with Ankara as the new capital. "No man in modern Turkey ever acquired such a moral ascendancy over his people as did Mustafa Kemal, on whom the name Atatürk (Father of the Turks) was conferred by the Grand National Assembly. He has become the symbol of the renaissance of modern Turkey.

A foundation for the new democracy was established through a series of reforms, including the introduction of a new legal system, adapted from existing European

¹⁶ Greece claimed the Aegean coast, while the French and Italians fought over the Mediterranean. The English were controlling Istanbul and the Russians gave up the deal due to the Revolution.

practices. Urban patterns were changing as a reflection of industrialisation and reforming social and economic standards. Western style clothing was formally introduced as well as a new judicial system, a fresh approach to business and changes to the family structure, in that a man could now only marry one wife and women also had a right to divorce.

But the women had no political or even social rights. Female education had only started in the middle of the 19th C., and that was limited to Istanbul and focused on a small portion of the population. The women of Anatolia had already played a very distinct role in the War of Independence, supporting the army, making and transporting weapons across Anatolia. "This bravery in the war effort awakened courage-conscious Turkish society to the importance of their participation in everyday life, consolidating the intellectual consensus with respect to feminine rights." (Eren 1963:179) In 1924 females had been asked to take their place in society by coming out of the veil. In 1934 women were given the right to vote, earlier than some of their contemporaries in so called 'civilized'¹⁷ countries, and by 1935 the parliament had seventeen female members.

Previously suppressed, the radio was rediscovered and many new and independent publications emerged in the Turkish language, using a new latin script, replacing the Arabic alphabet which was adopted following the acceptance of Islam by the Turks¹⁸. A new educated class had appeared. "Although limited in income, they are compensated by power and prestige. The greater part are subject to a lower middle class existence, but consider itself above the smaller businessman, the individual shopkeeper, whose income is far above that of the civil servant" (Eren, 1963:169).

There was, however, a population problem that remained. The high Greek population in Eastern Thrace and Western Anatolia and the Turkish population in Northern Greece and Greek Macedonia was a serious threat to both newly formed republics amid nationalistic feelings. Following negotiations "a common sense if painful solution" (Price, 1956:139) of exchanging populations was agreed on. For thousands of families it meant a distressing upheaval and uprooting from lands held for generations and starting a new

¹⁷ These include France and Switzerland.

¹⁸ A language reform in 1928 aimed at freeing the language of Arabic and Persian terms, and the Arabic script was replaced with a Latin alphabet. In the Turkish language the vowels are very important because words are formed according to a vocalic harmony. Arabic does not have sufficient vowels for this purpose and this quite often obscured dialectal differences.

life. While 1.5 million Greeks moved back to Greece, 500,000 Turks left Greece for Turkey (Roux, 1991:321). The returning Turkish population were settled in the former Greek villages and quarters.

In the 1920s and 30s urban centres were rapidly growing and changing while Anatolian villages continued their primitive existence, based on 'survival', without any communications to the nearest town, electricity, running water, schools, teachers or health care facilities. In the early Fifties considerable changes started to happen. "The new highway administration fashioned after the federal highway system in the United States, began blasting its way into the remotest corners of the country" (Eren 1963:172). It was not long before the "eternally clear horizons of the Anatolian plateau were, for the first time, blurred by the dust of thousands of trucks, cars and busses" (Eren, 1963:172) carrying modernisation to the remote villages and the villagers to the cities in search of a better life. The acceleration of migration from rural to urban areas following the Second World War¹⁹ led to rapid and uncontrolled growth in many of Turkey's larger cities.

A reflection of social change, outlook and aspirations "The teenagers freely express their views. Women participate in the discussion without fear of flouting the authority of the 'patriarch'. Indeed paternal authoritarianism, although still latent as a principle, has in practice given way to wide latitudes of freedom of action and thought among the various members of the family." (Eren, 1963:161) It is not just the women who have become freer citizens, it is also the men who have gained the freedom of electing and determining the people who are going to rule them. "His sense of social status has altered. Under the homogeneous National republic, all citizens are Turks. And as a Turk he has developed a new social consciousness based on occupation, education and wealth" (Eren, 1963:162). In fact Eren (1963:175) maintains that the perfect traditional has become a rare exception.

All these changes had a direct effect on urban life and, consequently, urban form and structure. With women becoming part of society and also starting to go out freely and work, the need for privacy, particularly in the larger cities, decreased. Modernisation

¹⁹ Turkey did not enter the war, but a serious depression was experienced as the rest of Europe was at war.

brought with it an aspiration for modern living; people were looking at Western models for industry, administration, clothing and for their houses too²⁰.

1.2.3 Post Second World War Developments and Economic Growth

Due to the economic instability of the inter-war years, industrialisation and economic growth can be traced to immediately after this period; also a time of rapid population growth (see TABLE 1.1) and rural migration²¹. A free market economy opening up to European imports and a wish to join the European Community became the goals of the 1982 government, which has led to a commercial opening up to the West and a dynamic market led economy.

Years	1927	1940	1950	1960	1970	1975	1980	1990
Population (millions)	13.65	17.82	20.95	27.76	35.61	40.36	46.00	55.00

TABLE 1.1 *Population growth in Turkey from 1927 to 1990 (Turkish Statistics Institute)*

Industrialization has brought with it a very usual problem; rapid and uncontrolled urbanisation due to a high number of immigrants from rural areas. Squatter developments, or *gecekondular* as they are known, started to appear around many of the larger cities. "They were there; encircling the regular housing zones, inhabiting areas reserved for green uses within an organic framework. The landless and jobless peasants were overwhelmingly migrating and producing their own environment. It was a natural environment evolving with its own physical logic generating its own physical fabric. Since it provided for the cheap labour of economy and voting mass of the political system, it was tolerated as long as there was no threat on private property." (Günay, 1988:37)

²⁰ In the early years of the republic there were two periods of national architectural styles. However, the emphasis was generally on public buildings and national architectural images were portrayed on facades, whilst modern amenities such as elevators were being provided in the buildings.

²¹ While the large towns in Western Turkey continue to grow very rapidly as a result of this immigration, the 1990 census shows that 75% of the population is still a rural one (Turkish Statistical Institute).

Turkey is faced with a number of problems experienced in housing in most Developing countries. The percentage and the poverty of the poor is much higher than that in Developed countries. The poor have no means of buying or renting the available housing; they expect subsidies or decent housing from the public sector. "But when governments try to oblige, the public housing projects that result are invariably built to such high standards to the countrys' resources that the governments can not afford the subsidies required to continue to fulfil the obligation" (Serageldin, 1982:76).

In larger cities, with the pressure for housing, in the past twenty years high rise housing settlements have emerged as the climax of the Westernisation or modernisation process. Considered as an instant solution to the shortage of land, these apartment blocks began to spring up everywhere with little to offer to life styles, culture or climate. Nevertheless, they continue to symbolise modernity and are the only means of home ownership for many.

Meanwhile the historic centres, some of them still thriving until the middle of this century, are fast disappearing under the threat of growth and urban development. Old commercial cores have been replaced several times over, each time with taller business centres. The centre of the new capital, the Kızılay district of Ankara, has been rebuilt three times since the Republic. Historic residential quarters have also suffered; many were demolished in the 1970s to be replaced with apartment houses, others have become slums and transitional zones for rural immigrants like Ulus in Ankara or Zeyrek in Istanbul.

Today even the *smallest settlements in Anatolia* have been provided with electricity and running water, most villages have schools and health centres, and refrigerators, radios, colour televisions and videos have become household items. With television, politics have reached the villages, providing for the people a link with national government. In the smaller towns the pressure for urbanisation has been less and urban growth much slower. Hence, many of the historic characteristics remain and the older ones are still inhabited by a stable population.

Concluding Remarks

The historic heritage of Anatolia is vast and the immense task of protection, conservation, promotion and management of this inheritance is the responsibility of the Turkish Republic today. The importance and value of this heritage is often overlooked in an era of 'modernisation', growth and urban development. Mass tourism, seen as a valuable source of foreign income, on the other hand is attracted to the long coastline of beaches and favourable temperatures. Turkey is being perceived as just another sunny destination on the Mediterranean.

The next Chapter will define the scope and the aims in which this research will be formulated towards developing a strategy for the conservation of this rich and lived in heritage; and further review the possibilities for tourism to become a tool for conservation and urban development.

CHAPTER 2
RESEARCH METHODS

2.1 Scope of the Study

The intention is to present a wider understanding of tourism in historic towns through a study of historic towns in Europe and the Mediterranean region, with particular reference to Turkey, and provide practical solutions for the town of Bergama in Western Turkey in the context of economic development and local control and benefit.

Whilst larger cities are often more able to accommodate the impacts of tourism, it is in the smaller and medium sized historic towns where the pressure is felt. The emphasis of this study is on medium sized towns and therefore examples are drawn from towns that are under tourist influence, and some cases that are not, as a means of comparison. Therefore, there are only limited references to historic quarters in large towns like Istanbul, Ankara or Izmir.

Bergama is a medium sized town in Western Turkey with a tourist interest due to the ruins of the ancient city of Pergamon. The Turkish town is also of historic interest, with a number of Ottoman mosques and monuments as well as the 19th century residential quarters. With Turkey becoming a favoured tourist destination, with 'culture' that is sold with holiday packages, the town of Bergama is receiving more visitors each year. Consequently, there is an increase in the tourist services that are gradually invading the conservation areas. As in many towns the lack of financial and technical support for valuable historic buildings is resulting in them either being very badly repaired, abandoned to dereliction or sold to a developer. However, stricter ruling in conservation areas no longer allows the replacement of an historic building with higher and newer buildings, hence the developers' sights are now mainly turning towards developing tourist facilities in existing historic buildings.

Throughout the dissertation the words 'West' and 'East' will be used generally, denoting the developed European and North American nations, and the less developed nations of the Eastern Mediterranean Region respectively.

2.2 Aims

Within the above identified scope this study intends:

- To identify the impacts tourism has on historic towns, both in the West and in the East Mediterranean region.
- To propose strategy planning policies for conservation and tourism development and management for the town of Bergama
- To catalogue and comment on the short falls of current legislation in Turkey and review ways to better enable conservation and continuity in fragile historic areas.
- To propose more appropriate guidelines towards better use of conservation measures by local authorities of historic towns with limited budgets but increasing tourist interest.

The purpose is to put the needs of the local community first, the *people* of an historic town, their needs and aspirations which have to be addressed in the planning process for tourism, conservation and development. To this end: *It is necessary for small and medium sized towns to plan at a local level for the growth of tourists and tourism that will both benefit and protect the community and enable the continuation of their 'heritage' in all aspects.*

2.3 Study Method

In order to address these issues this study will:

- Review the current conservation legislation, understanding and practice in Turkey
- Study the town of Bergama in detail in order to outline present urban growth and tourism potentials; and identify increasing needs for conservation and development for the local people.
- Present an insight into the tourist industry, its growth potentials and internal power structure; also determine impacts on the environment and host communities.
- Analyze historic town preservation in Europe and determine the influences of local governments and of market forces.
- Explore the relationships of resident communities to urban space in Eastern towns in view of tourist developments.
- Undertake a comparative study of three historic towns: York in England, Granada in Southern Spain and the Jordanian city of Salt, in order to identify the key participants and elements of urban conservation.

- Define ways in which tourism and conservation in historic towns can work together to achieve development benefiting the local community.
- Develop a conservation and tourism strategy plan for Bergama and define the role of the local administration, with a view to formulating guidelines for a wider international context.

The research for each of these sections was carried out as follows:

2.3.1 Review of the Current Conservation Legislation, Understanding and Practice in Turkey

In studying architecture at the Middle East Technical University in Ankara and later working on conservation projects in Turkey, the author is fully aware of the problems that are being faced in current practice. It is the experience and concern of the author on the future of historic towns under the pressure of tourism that has initiated this study.

Although conservation, particularly of urban areas, is a relatively new issue in Turkey, public debate has been gaining momentum over recent years. The increase in conservation areas is forming a triangle of conflict between the officials, the academics and the residents, as will be illustrated in Chapter 3. Much of the information has been very recent and often appeared in both Turkish and foreign journals and the press. Information relating to the Turkish cases, alongside the author's own experience, was researched from the following sources:

- Author's own experience working on projects recording and restoring historic buildings in Turkey¹.
- Detailed study of the Turkish Conservation legislation and reviews and comments on it by Turkish academics and practitioners.
- Numerous visits over the last ten years and field work in towns, both as a student of architecture and later specifically for this research (see Section 3.3).
- Talking to people, including academics², practitioners, students on their work and understanding of conservation and the practical constraints in the field.

¹ Historic core of Antalya in 1986, Hellenistic ruins and pre-Ottoman Mosque in Magnesia (Aydın) in 1987 and restoration project in Pergamon between 1989 and 1993.

² METU and Gazi Universities in Ankara, Istanbul Technical, Mimar Sinan and Yıldız Universities in Istanbul and Dokuz Eylül University in Izmir.

2.3.2 The Study of the town of Bergama

For five summers, beginning in 1989, the author has held the position of site architect for the restoration of the Temple of Trajan, a Roman Temple in ancient Pergamon³. This work has also provided an invaluable opportunity to live in Bergama for a total period of nine months, to develop associations with local residents and establishments, and also follow changes and developments in the town over this period.

The quantitative data was collected from:

- The Municipality of Bergama for population data and also updates on development projects in the town.
- The Bergama Museum provided data on foreign visitor numbers to the ruins.
- Turkish Statistics Institute and Statistical Yearbooks; however, information on Bergama is often grouped under Izmir, therefore specific or precise data was not always available.
- Historic data from the turn of the century was available from several published sources, including Peker, 1992 and Eriş, 1990.

The local Chamber of Trade and Commerce in Bergama was not willing to disclose trade figures and information on businesses for the town. Therefore, information relating to trade patterns in Bergama related in this study is from the authors' own observations and interviews with shopkeepers (see Appendix I).

The urban structure was studied from the following sources:

- In 1890, in "Altertümer von Pergamon", an account of the German archaeological excavations, Alexander Conze wrote a chapter on 'Modern Bergama'. This work has provided an ideal comparative model to understand urban change and growth within the last century. The publication also includes some of the most accurate detailed drawings of much of the monumental architecture, some of which has disappeared since.
- More recently several studies have been carried out in the historic quarters, most notably by Alanyalı (1990) including a comprehensive study of house types in the Greek and Armenian quarters. This study provided information on the physical environment, most notably on house types and condition in the historic quarter

³ The project is undertaken by Prof Klaus Nohlen for the German Archaeological Institute.

and the numbers of properties in each typographical category. For the purposes of this study it was a valuable starting point towards establishing and understanding the residents needs.

- Most of the information on urban structure is the author's own observations between 1989 and 1993, particularly in the field work during the summers of 1991, 1992 and 1993.

Information relating to local views and interests and understanding the people's needs in Bergama was gained as part of an informal study and the result of conversations the author had with the local residents during the field study, invariably as a group discussion of which summaries are provided in Appendix I. Working as an architect on the restoration of the Temple of Trajan enabled the author to spend two months each year living in Bergama, just north of one of the conservation areas. Many of the workers employed on the project live in the Conservation Area; this led to further contacts and a means of meeting others in the area. Additional contacts were made in the historic market area, the newer tourist shops and among traders.

Through these conversations the author was able to establish what the residents thought about living in the historic neighbourhood, how they saw tourists and tourism in Bergama and their understanding of conservation in the context of Bergama and for their own houses or shops. Interviews, conversations and discussions were carried out with four groups:

- Officials in the Municipality and the Museum, who are jointly responsible for preservation and planning in conservation areas.
- Shop keepers and traders in the historic shopping area, *çarşı* and the more recent shops serving tourists.
- Residents living in the conservation area⁴; others that own old houses that are not in a conservation area; and proprietors of the pensions in converted houses.
- Tourists, who stayed in Bergama for at least one night.

⁴ In view of a possible pilot project, further in depth interviews were carried out in the *Büyük Alan* area with in the Conservation Area.

2.3.5 Comparative Study of York, Granada and Salt

The author has been living in York since 1990, and within the city walls since 1991 and therefore much of the observations and contacts have been of a day to day nature. The other two towns in this comparative study were visited once. It was their uniqueness that interested the author to study the implications of tourism further; Granada in that it was a European city with some Islamic design principles in its urban form, but unlike many other Mediterranean towns very limited tourist interest in the historic quarter. Salt, on the other hand is a typical Middle Eastern town, with serious problems of decay, dilapidation and abandonment. The interest in Salt was the fact that the Central Authorities are interested in promoting this small town as a cultural and tourist centre for Jordan.

The York Study was based on:

- An extensive literature survey of the history and of the more recent conservation developments.
- Close contacts and interviews with past and present City Council councillors and planning and conservation officers.
- Interviews with other conservation bodies in the city.
- Numerous formal and informal discussions with officials and residents of York.

For the Granada Study:

- Comprehensive research and literature survey on Andalusia, Granada and in particular the Albaicin historic quarter.
- Granada was visited in 1991, alongside Cordoba and Seville in the region.
- In Granada meeting with conservation architects (Javier Gallego) from the University and again in York in 1993.
- In Seville the Institute of Conservation for Andalusia (Instituto del Patrimonio Historico) was visited and a meeting held with those involved in this new venture (Roman F Casares).
- Discussions with Chairperson of the Spanish Chamber of Architects (Madrid) in 1991 on Spanish conservation policies.

For the Salt Study:

- A literature survey on Salt, including recent reports and a dissertation at IoAAS, York (Fakhoury, 1988).

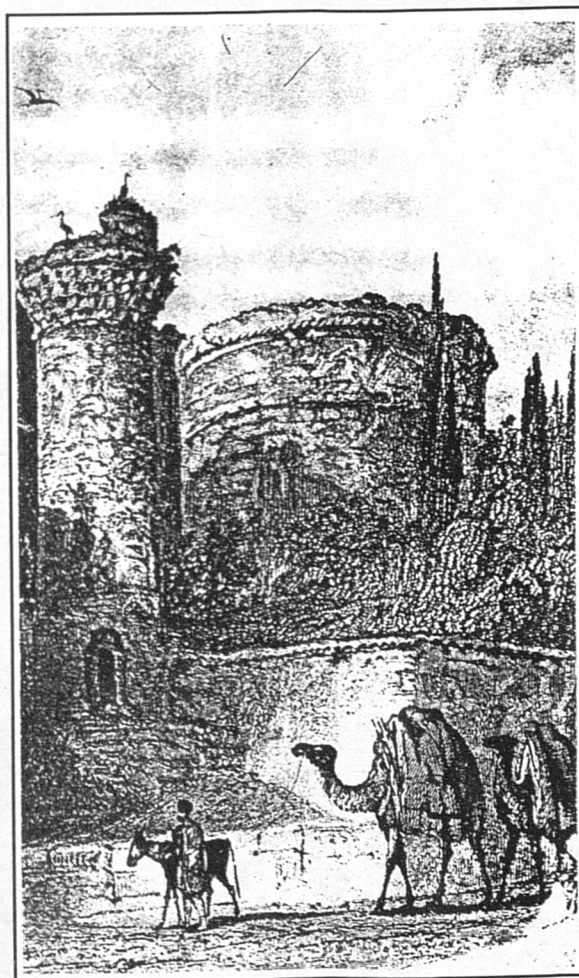
- Discussions with two Jordanian architects involved in preparing reports for conservation in Salt.
- Salt was visited in 1993.
- The visit was followed up with a review of the Royal Society Report, prepared by UK Consultants (Llewelyn-Davies).
- An in depth interview with the UK consultants responsible for the preparation of the report.

2.4 Use of Foreign Words

Where references have been made to building types or terms in the context of Turkey or the Islamic world, the need has arisen to use foreign words in the text which are shown in italics. Where there is a commonly used English equivalent then this has been used, such as Ottoman or mosque. For the less known words and for the names of places and buildings the Turkish word is used in the current Turkish spelling including the letters (ı, ç, ğ, ş, ö, ü) that do not exist in the English alphabet, like in *vakıf* or Kuşadası; unless they are general terms referred to in an Islamic reference where they are given in the currently accepted latin spelling of the arabic word, like *waqf*. A glossary of all terms referred to has been assembled and is presented at the end of the dissertation.

Unless otherwise stated drawings and pictures are by the author.

I



CONTEXT

part I

CHAPTER 3
CONSERVATION AND TOURISM IN TURKEY

CHAPTER 4
BERGAMA URBAN STUDY

CHAPTER 3
***CONSERVATION
AND TOURISM IN TURKEY***

A review of Policy Legislation and Practice

Introduction

Turkey has an extensive treasury of history and architecture, a larger part in desperate need of local as well as national attention, preservation and conservation, with no less than 70,000 historic sites registered to be under the protection of the Directorate General of Antiquities. It is understandably a difficult task to safeguard all sites, and often materials from historic buildings are re-used in new buildings; as Sherban Cantacuzino points out: "One has much sympathy with a country as vast as Turkey and as rich in monuments and antiquities. It can not be easy to determine priorities in matters of conservation" (Cantacuzino 1975:126). Within tight budgets, monuments of Classical Ottoman Architecture and some Classical ruins are being restored, mainly in areas attracting tourists.

However, very important examples of our rich vernacular architecture and historic urban settlements are not only receiving very little attention; they are suffering from deliberate neglect. There are few people who appreciate and see the value of this heritage and even fewer people with the power to speak up or do something. "For our community it is vital that a policy of conservation of unmovable cultural objects includes all the remains of past civilizations on our lands as well as cultural and folkloric heritage relating to all parts of our society including old houses which should be rehabilitated to modern day comforts and continue to be used" (Çeçener, 1992:47).

Whilst being modernised, small towns in Turkey, unlike the larger cities, have not been affected by rapid urbanisation and in-migration. Thus they have preserved qualities of historic value and natural beauty. Those in coastal areas and in proximity to spots of natural and archaeological interest are today experiencing considerable growth in tourist developments. This development may be a means for protection and even conservation of the architectural heritage. However, rapid and uncontrolled building, often supported by government policies, and fast changes exploiting historic facadism are becoming a growing threat to these settlements and their inhabitants.

This Chapter will set out to identify the main 'players' in the conservation process in small towns. The existing conservation policy will be presented, and its short falls discussed with respect to its application in certain cases. The present conservation policy has never been perceived as one single and comprehensive document. Parts are constantly added and changed, often allowing for loopholes in application and

contradiction to parts of planning legislation and to Government support of tourism development.

The aim is to relate the understanding between the owners and users of historic buildings in urban areas, who wish to live in new and modern houses, and the legislative pressure and bureaucracy which does not allow for changes to listed buildings. The insecurity is coupled with a general confusion of laws and responsibilities at national government level and reflected in local administration. This is illustrated in the first Section and through examples in the third Section. The further outstanding issues are the lack of expert advice and the co-ordination of inter-disciplinary work. Where the private sector has been involved this has often been as 'quick profit making developers', rather than a conscious understanding of historic value.

The emphasis will be on the needs of tourism and how this relates to the necessary conservation of buildings to benefit tourism. We will show that with the present situation of confrontation between tourism and conservation, has resulted in the tourist industry destroying some historic towns to meet their own ends.

3.1 POLICY AND LEGISLATION FOR THE PROTECTION OF ANCIENT BUILDINGS

3.1.1 A Brief History of Conservation in Turkey

In Turkey the development of a public consciousness in conservation has come quite late in comparison to much of Europe, and many ideas and policies in this century and the last have been taken from the European experience. Nevertheless, Anatolia has a visible heritage that goes back for 10,000 years that has to be protected, preserved and cared for. During the height of the Ottoman Empire an endowment system, known as *vakıf*, secured the maintenance of the important public buildings. When a mosque or a *medrese* was being funded, money was also made available to build one or several commercial establishments, such as a *hamam* or shops, that could be let. The revenue from the commercial establishments paid for the upkeep of the public buildings. Today all the property belonging to a *vakıf* is managed by the *Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü* (Directorate General of Endowments).

From the 16th C. the Ottoman Empire started developing its connections with the West, often through Mediterranean trade. In the 18th C., due to these strong trade relations, influences of French culture were becoming apparent, particularly among the upper classes, who by the 19th C. were demanding western style buildings to live and work in. This amalgamation of east and west with a view to development conflicted with any form of respect towards the traditional style and hence with conservation. The 19th century was also the period in which many ancient monuments such as the Pergamon Altar, the Halicarnassus Mausoleum and the Parthenon frieze were lost to European Museums¹.

Ahmet Fethi Pasha was probably the first person in the Ottoman Era to collect antiquated military items together for their historic value in a museum at St Irene. Real attempts at conservation, however, were first introduced by Osman Hamdi Bey, an archaeologist trained in Europe, in 1906. Although a policy, known as the *Asar-ı Atika Nizamıyesi*, was fashioned, it was almost impossible to realise the law due to its clashes with the dominant Islamic regime of the time. Islam discouraged the depiction of the

¹ During the last decades of the Ottoman Empire many European archaeologists and scholars had obtained permission to excavate the ancient sites as part of a trade agreement. They were permitted to remove and ship the stones to their own countries as long as gold and other valuables were handed over to the Ottoman Sultan. At the time the ruling classes were not concerned with the historic value of what they referred to as 'old' stones.

human being, which included portraits and statues, thus many of these objects were removed from historic buildings. Nevertheless, this legislation remained in application until 1973.

The new Republic of 1923 continued to look to the west for development and industry, but to Anatolia for cultural identity. However, urbanisation was to be the western model of the 'modern' city and historic areas started to dissolve within rapidly growing cities. The government encouraged the clearing of areas around important monuments, and as a result much historic fabric has been lost in many instances².

In the early years of the Republic, conservation and antiquity had had a very low profile on an agenda aimed at rebuilding a nation. It was only in 1951 that the High Commission for Immovable Historic Property and Monuments (*Gayrimenkul Eski Eserler ve Anıtlar Kurulu*) was formed, initially to supervise the recording of historic buildings. The Commission was a voluntary one and was represented by a number of different professions which met once a month to discuss current problems of conservation and to plan further strategies. The Commission also had the power to grant planning permission for buildings that were closer than 10m to a historic monument. There were no planners on the Commission, but the introduction of Conservation Areas in the 1973 Act proposed that these areas be supervised by planners.

It was not until the 1960s that the notion of conservation for urban areas was introduced as policy. This was mainly due to the high number of Turks still being educated abroad, returning with an interest for archaeology and theories on conservation. The 1973 Conservation Legislation Act was the first proper and detailed conservation act, which is an indication of how young the concept of conservation is in Turkey. However, this legislation was more concerned with a façadist attitude to urban conservation than one of fabric. As cities were growing, land prices rising and population densities doubling, it became even more improbable to conserve much of the historic fabric in urban areas.

² This too was a European influence from the late 19th C. where "The creation of parks and squares around city landmarks had become a common tendency" (Erder, 1986:98). In fact it was for this reason that the Charter of Venice in 1964 states: "Article 6: The conservation of a monument implies preserving a setting which is not out of scale. Wherever the traditional setting exists, it must be kept" (International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites, ICOMOS, 1964:4).

3.1.2 Agencies for Conservation

i The High Commission for Immovable Historic Property and Monuments

Decentralisation of conservation issues and practice in 1983 has been useful in that it has brought direct involvement back to the people's level, but lack of organisation has created many instances of duality. The role of the High Commission for Immovable Historic Property and Monuments was reduced and 15 new Conservation Councils formed, to work at local level.

The High Commission today consists of eight members who are in high ministerial positions and six other representatives. The role of the Commission is to devise and ensure the implementation of the conservation policy by co-ordinating the local Conservation Councils.

ii The Local Conservation Councils

Each Local Conservation Council consists of six to ten members including architects, planners, archaeologists and historians. These Councils are in charge of listing and de-listing buildings, authorising changes and alterations to Conservation Area Plans and permitting new buildings in Conservation Areas. In providing guidance and recommendations the local Councils are obliged to follow the principles and policy as set down by the Ministry of Culture (Berksun, 1992:28). Each Council has a wide area of interests to cover, from conservation in urban areas to nature conservation, and therefore calls on a wide range of expertise in its members.

A local municipality has to be approached for planning permission and the independent local Conservation Council for conservation area consent. Whilst local authorities are losing control of planning permission in conservation areas, they can change planning regulations in urban conservation areas and the Conservation Councils can only modify them.

Due to these complications, the human factor is divorced from the legislative approach and the system does not support the involvement of the people and local residents in the conservation process. Often compensation and adequate finances to cover personal losses in conservation areas, including the loss of land, say for archaeological

excavations, are not provided causing bitterness against the system. Consequently, public participation or even interest is very little.

iii Trusts and Societies Supporting Conservation

The Directorate General of Endowments (*Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü*) is one of the most important establishments for heritage preservation and support in Turkey. Whilst being a valuable source of information with its archives and records of historic buildings at all levels of importance across the country. The organisation has limited funds for responsive repairs and comprehensive conservation projects. But it is important in its role in promotion and in having a comprehensive record of architectural heritage.

The Touring and Automobile Association of Turkey is one of the most active amenity societies where conservation is concerned. The Association has successfully invested the money it receives from taxes in conservation projects in Istanbul and Safranbolu, restoring large houses to reuse them as hotels or guest houses. These in turn provide revenue for further work and finance some restorations for residential purposes.

Other societies and trusts include Taç Vakfı and the Society for the Preservation of Turkish houses; many are very small and operate in only a limited geographical area or are concerned about a single building. However, their role in the promotion of issues cannot be denied.

3.1.3 The Current Legislation for the Protection of Cultural and Natural Heritage

The legislation reviewed below has been translated from the Turkish original by the author and is a summary of the most recent document, issued by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism³, High Commission for the Protection of Cultural and Natural Property - Decisions of principle⁴ of 1989. Items have been grouped under certain headings that do not occur in the document which has been compiled in the chronological order in which each item was passed. The number of each item, therefore, will only be an indication of its position in the original document (The full document is in Appendix II).

³ In 1992 this ministry was divided up to become two separate Ministries, that of Culture and that of Tourism and Promotion (*Kültür Bakanlığı / Turizm ve Tanıtma Bakanlığı*).

⁴ *Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Yüksek Kurulu İlke Kararları*.

Individually buildings are listed under three categories known as degrees, and urban areas are also categorised in degrees. There are three types of Conservation Areas determined by Turkish Conservation Legislation:

- Urban Conservation Areas (*Kentsel Sit*)
- Archaeological Conservation Areas (*Arkeolojik Sit*)
- Nature Conservation Areas (*Doğal Sit*)

i Defining Criteria for Buildings to be Listed and Conserved

This part of the legislation has been compiled as guidance for buildings that are not already listed as national monuments.

Determining whether old houses should be conserved (4)

The High Commission makes a decision of principle that old houses with architectural quality both outside and inside, including ceiling decorations or intricate carvings, should be preserved. A decision to demolish will come from the local Conservation Council and be initiated by the municipality. This principle can only be a guideline.

Preserving listed government buildings and other competition winners (18)

All government buildings that have been listed and are part of the national heritage, all buildings of the Republican Era (1920s and 30s) and other buildings of value built as a result of a international or national competition are on no account to be demolished.

Preserving housing complexes *Toplu Konut* (26)

If a housing cooperative is a distinct example of a certain period and of certain architectural and educational calibre, the complex should be preserved.

Historic Bridges (13)

Historic bridges are to be preserved even if they have become redundant in favour of a new road system. New and wider roads are not permitted to destroy or intervene with the original structure. Restorations to historic bridges are to be respectful to the original characteristics and permission for the restoration work is to be granted by the Conservation Council.

Old houses, for example, are not under the protection they deserve, as the decision is left to local Conservation Councils and municipalities, where officials can be easily bribed and are very rarely experts who are aware of the architectural and historic significance of individual buildings and urban settlements. Many residents have been known to destroy interior features of old houses they own, so that they can be demolished. This is not surprising, since a developer may have offered to build a 5-6 storey (sometimes even higher) apartment block with modern facilities on the site and in return give the owner two or more flats in exchange for the land.

However, there is notable respect given to National architecture of the 1920s and 30s, as well as to later buildings built as a result of competitions. This in fact is a great show of respect to the architect concerned and coincides with campaigning by groups like Docomomo in Europe.

ii Categories for Listing Buildings

Listing for buildings is determined as Degrees 1, 2, 3 and 4; for archaeological and urban sites is determined as Degrees 1, 2 and 3 and for nature sites as Degrees 1 and 2. Degree 3 of the former and 2 of the latter allow for new building activity to take place with permission from the authorities.

Determining groupings for listed buildings (9)

- ◆ First Degree: Buildings with a high degree of historic and architectural value. They are to be preserved with minimal intervention both inside and outside. Plumbing and other small changes are only to be carried out if they are absolutely vital for the building to continue its life.
- ◆ Second Degree: Only the outside shell is to be preserved, while structural intervention is only possible for the inside.
- ◆ Third Degree: Only the facade is to be retained, while it is possible to build a completely new building behind the original facade, which may be of a different height to the original.
- ◆ Fourth Degree: Historic buildings that are no longer part of a conservation area and can not be preserved in their present location and have to be removed for the safety of the public. Prior to demolition such buildings are to be recorded and where appropriate replaced with a new building at the approval of the Conservation Council.

Advertising panels on listed buildings (8)

Municipalities are to control advertising on Listed Buildings and in Urban Conservation Areas and not permit illuminated facia signs, neon lighting or obtrusive advertising panels. Businesses that require a sign in such areas are to keep it to the minimum possible size and place it on the building with care, so as not to detract from its historic value. Municipalities are to be encouraged to place telephone and other wires underground in Urban Conservation Areas.

Listed buildings that are in danger of collapsing (10)

If a building is a valuable monument, it should not be permitted to collapse. Municipalities are to take care of such buildings and clear them if there is any danger to the public and immediately notify the Conservation Council of the action.

Treatment of the site in the case of loss of a listed building (11)

An enquiry will be carried out if a listed building is lost due to collapse, fire or demolition without Conservation Council approval. On the site a new building will be built only if it is the same height and has the same facade as the original building (from photographic and drawn evidence). In the cases where there is no documentation of the original, a new building may be built within Conservation Council guidelines and only after an enquiry has taken place.

Buildings of no architectural value but with architectural components worthy of conservation (12)

For buildings of historic and cultural interest but of no architectural value. Prior to demolition the local museum will determine all architectural components worthy of conservation and remove them to the museum, and display those which are in good condition.

In a large country that has housed numerous civilisations, Listing is a serious problem, often carried out in a light-hearted way. In many places Listing is done by who ever is available, and not necessarily an expert in the field, such as a classical archaeologist listing Ottoman houses. Listing is often carried out in a very short time period, with some areas receiving very little attention. Constantly changing policies on categories of listing also hinder this enormous but essential first step.

iii Protection of Historic Urban Fabric and 'Conservation Area Plan'

Conservation Areas are a relatively new concept, legally introduced in 1973. However, the 1989 law went further and demanded a plan for each Conservation Area. This plan is known as *Koruma Amaçlı İmar Planı*, roughly translated as a city plan with the aim of conservation, which will be referred to as a Conservation Area Plan in the remainder of this document. Although it may have seemed a good idea at the time, and many such plans were prepared, very few have been taken seriously, never mind been realised. Most of these plans are prepared in Ankara, and some have not even reached the towns. When they do, there is often no trained staff to implement them and in a number of cases they are perceived as a deterrent to the more development oriented town planning activity of the city as a whole. Many plans in the past have never been implemented because they had not been sufficiently detailed at the urban design level.

Preparing Urban Conservation Area Plans *Koruma Amaçlı İmar Planı* (2)

Designated Archaeological, Urban and Natural Conservation Areas are to be taken into account as Conservation Area Plans are being prepared. The planners involved are to seek advice from relevant bodies of the Historic Monuments and Museums Directorate General and the plan is to be submitted to the Ministry High Commission for comments. (Note that this is not for approval).

Points to be considered whilst listing non-movable cultural heritage (3)

For a plan for preservation of a historic building to take into consideration the area and building block. If the immediate surrounding area of a historic building is of no significance, decisions are to be taken on the building alone.

Conservation Areas and Listed Buildings: applications and repairs in the area (5)

All repairs to listed and non-listed buildings in Urban Conservation Areas can only be carried out with Conservation Council approval (in the absence of a Conservation Council, permission is to be granted by the Municipality and the Museum authorities). Guidelines to be followed in repair

work require that replaced rotten wooden elements are in keeping with the original; that facade elements including the plaster work are replaced with the same material and are the same colour as the originals.

The extent of structural intervention will be determined by the Conservation Council, and where a building has recently been changed, the original plan is to be consulted for repair work. The responsibility for supervision in Conservation Areas falls on municipalities if the area is within municipal boundaries and otherwise it is carried out by area governors (*valilik*). Those disobeying the law will be prosecuted by the Government and the local Conservation Council will be informed of the proceedings.

Guidelines for new buildings built in urban conservation areas (6)

For an application on an empty plot of land adjoining a listed building in a Conservation Area that has a Conservation Area Plan, permission is to be sought from the Conservation Council, and for plots not immediately adjoining listed buildings from the municipality, with reference to the Conservation Area Plan. In Conservation Areas for which there is no Conservation Area Plan, facade features, including the size and proportions of doors and windows, colour and roof scape are to be in keeping with the Conservation Area. When the Conservation Council is satisfied with the application, permission for building can be granted by the municipality.

Many Conservation Area Plans have failed to provide overall change to these areas; accomplishments are often only small scale alterations or the restoration of a small number of distinguished houses in a selected area. Only a few, such as the Antalya Plan, have achieved an overall Action Plan for a certain area, including traffic planning, green areas and street furniture. In the last few years a number of local governments including Bursa, Safranbolu and Kütahya have shown some initiative in organising street and plaza scale restorations.

New buildings in conservation areas only follow the given regulation standards of height and dimensions. Very little attention is paid to the surroundings and the scale of architectural details in the area. From a financial point of view a favourite practice is to reconstruct a replica in place of a historic building. Often done with insufficient control, the results are not surprisingly a new concrete building of no significance that has replaced an historic building and 'heritage value'.

Where historic buildings are not in a conservation area, it is quite possible to build a building of a very different scale. Although a number of new buildings since 1980 may be of high architectural quality, they have little or no interaction with the city as a whole. Planning policy and application pulls away from conserving the cultural identity in towns and cities. High rise buildings in older developments are seen as forming an economic balance, the extra storeys compensating for the space lost with the two to three storey

historic buildings in central areas. Unlike Vienna, Prague or Paris, in Turkish cities the cultural and historic values are being ignored in the urbanisation process.

iv Preservation and Provisions for New Buildings For Archaeological Areas

Control in archaeological areas is a major concern in both excavated and unexcavated but potential areas. Known sites have defined borders, are often protected by several watchmen, and the demand for development is controlled in that they are major tourist attractions and therefore a source of income. On the other hand, in the many areas that have not as yet been excavated, it is hard to determine the value of the outcome, but the land needs to be preserved for a future date, when there are sufficient funds for a scientific expedition and also a museum in which to preserve and display the finds in. Until that time, ancient history is safest buried, unless there is a threat caused by a demand for new buildings or damage by treasure hunters.

Archaeological sites are controlled by the museum authorities⁵. For some sites there is a museum in the vicinity and regular control is possible, but others that are off the beaten track and not very close to a museum, are less regularly controlled.

Archaeological Conservation Areas Arkeolojik Sit Alanları (1)

The Ministries' policy is to preserve land, where there is known archaeological evidence, for excavation at a future date.

◆ First Degree Areas: No building or any form of intervention is permitted and this is to be indicated on a city or town plan. Over time, existing buildings in such areas are to be removed to new locations provided by the State. No tree plantation or intervention, including agriculture, is permitted. It is the duty of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism to provide adequate fencing for the boundaries of such areas and to appoint a watchman. The Ministry will also provide information panels.

◆ Second Degree Areas: New buildings are not permitted, but existing ones are not removed. However, repairs to these buildings are to be supervised by museum authorities.

◆ Third Degree Areas: Building is permitted, only with Conservation Council approval and provided that the excavation is supervised by the museum authorities (in the event of any archaeological evidence the Conservation Council has to be informed).

Building in First and Second Degree Archaeological Conservation Areas (21)

With the approval of the Conservation Council, permission may be granted for tourist supporting interventions such as car parks, ticket booths, lavatories and foot paths. With permission from

⁵ These are national museums and come under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism.

the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, a cafe or restaurant may be built as long as the plan is approved by the local Conservation Council.

The importance of Archaeological sites is for most cases a post-tourist realisation. "Tourism is the most immediately evident demonstration of our concern for the past. In Turkey, the arrival of increasing numbers of westerners who had come to tour the Greco-Roman cities (especially Pergamum, Ephesus and Priene on the West coast) must have made the local inhabitants aware that the ruins were highly valued by others (even if for reasons they could not understand). The most popular sites soon acquired an economic value and it became more profitable to act as guides, sell souvenirs or to work for archaeological expeditions, than to demolish potential tourist attractions piecemeal" (Turner & Ash, 1975:133). Today protection is being supported by the Government. There are more archaeologists trained and an increasing support for excavations coupled with preservation and the display of findings. Nevertheless, there is such a wealth of ancient sites and ruins, that it is impossible for the Government funds to adequately stretch to each case. Consequently Government funding is turning from excavation and research to reconstruction and restoration as the main money earners.

Realisation that antiquity was attracting tourists has resulted in over exploitation as well. In 1992 there was serious concern for the fabric of the Greek theatre (1-2 C. AD) at Ephesus, used popularly for open air concerts. Each year the number of concerts had been increasing, attracting singers and groups including Diana Ross, Joan Baez and Ray Charles, as well as an audience of ten thousand people. A concert by Jethro Tull (a relatively loud pop group) in 1991 caused serious damage to the antique fabric through the heavy sound systems, not to mention the lorries that had to drive over antique roads to bring the equipment. In 1992 it was sensibly decided by the Directorate of Antiquities and the Selçuk Museum to limit the concerts to one or two a year, and give priority to classical music concerts. However, in 1993 amongst great controversy, a number of pop concerts were held in the theatre, including one by Sting. Following the July concerts, in August the Austrian team of archaeologists⁶ working in Ephesus closed off the theatre to assess the damage. This one case is an illustration of internal and external politics involved in the protection of cultural property, with the concert organiser being the only one to gain financially.

⁶ The Austrian Institute for Archaeology runs the excavation and restoration work in Ephesus. Ironically they are supported by an Austrian construction company, *Callinger Bau*, which has allegedly caused damage to historic buildings in Vienna and is therefore financing the operation to create a positive public image of care for historic property and its conservation.

While conservation areas are frequently designated in the name of tourist interest, the conservation law in such areas provides no protection from the damage caused by the tourist industry. Archaeological sites, such as Side and Didim's Apollo Temple, are certainly not being protected from the concrete pensions and souvenir shops being built on their ancient foundations and walls. "It is arguable that the conversion of 'historical monuments' and artistic treasures' into tourist sights, robs them of their magic. It is certainly unfortunate that the desire to attract more tourist sometimes leads to injudicious reconstructions." (Turner & Ash, 1975:133) This can be said about early reconstruction work at Side and Ephesus, including several brutalist concrete interventions.

v Nature Conservation

Environmental issues have only recently become important on the conservation agenda. This is mainly due to increased pressure group action, often a reflection of the Green Movement in Western Europe⁷.

Nature Conservation Areas (19)

◆ **First Degree Areas:** Areas with outstanding geographical and natural beauty and originality can only be used for scientific exploration of the environment with no physical intervention. Fire precautions are to be taken and no tree cutting permitted, other than when this is necessary. Litter collection should be provided for and small huts built only for use by wardens and only with the approval of the Conservation Council.

◆ **Second Degree Areas:** They are open to public use but no residential development is permitted. However tourist developments are permitted with consultations from the Directorate Generals for Environment, Tourism and Forestry where applicable and the Ministry of Public Works. Plans for use and access are to be approved by the Conservation Council.

Tree preservation (20)

There are many reasons for the preservation of trees; one of the clauses involves trees which have become a part of an urban environment. Such trees can be protected under "monument tree" status and any new building work around them will require Conservation Council approval.

Several National Parks have been established in specific nature conservation areas and the Forestry Commission controls access to certain forested areas. A national park, including a forest by the seaside, has curbed the mass concrete coastline around

⁷ In 1988/89 pressure from Western 'green' organisations brought attention to the Dalyan area of Fethiye where increased building activity had become a threat to the natural habitation of turtles. This gained momentum and was strongly supported by Turkish Youth Groups. Since, a number of local groups have campaigned for the protection of nature, some with success.

Kuşadası from spreading. There is not a great attempt, however, to conserve nature in and around rapidly growing urban areas or any active protection measures against ever increasing coastal developments.

3.1.4 Summary and Comments

At first glance conservation policies, as outlined above, may look comprehensive, but there are many loopholes and contradictions between different statements, such as guidelines and control mechanisms regulating Conservation Areas and the municipal power over Conservation Area Plans. Turkey has added its name to many international charters including the Charter of Venice. However, application of the principles has not been as forthcoming and laws and legislations, in many areas, are known to contradict these principles.

Whilst the legislation encourages old houses to be preserved and listed, decisions are left to local bodies and there are many opportunities for misconduct, or the removal of interior features by owners to avoid listing.

Other than mosques, which are repaired and maintained for their religious significance, many buildings of the Seljuk and Ottoman periods are not well maintained, if at all. The cities of Istanbul and Bursa are exceptions⁸. But once again it is the tourist interest in these towns that has enabled conservation, protection and maintenance to become a high priority. Where tourist flow is less, particularly in the Eastern regions, many important monuments, including Seljukid *medrese*, are not being looked after. Here is an example of the 'chicken and egg' question about investment in conservation leading to more interest in the well organised sites. For it is not just building maintenance that is important; presentation is equally significant. Where such buildings have been converted into museums, entry fees are too low to cover major repair costs.

Policy looks to be supported by legislation but even in the legislation one rules against the other. An archaeological conservation area does not provide protection for a 19th C. house for example, in fact it strongly supports its demolition.

⁸ Even in the larger cities, conservation is not comprehensive. It is often targeted at the more important monuments and complexes and buildings in the centres that are frequently visited.

Funding for conservation has always been a problem; this also includes a lack of funds to educate the professionals who are to undertake restoration work. It often falls upon architects, very few of whom are trained as conservationists, to do the job. Most often the more delicate and technical points are overlooked, engineering and most importantly the support of specialised craftsmen is not called upon. In reality there are hardly any establishments training these support teams of craftsmen, who will be responsible for the quality and accuracy of the work. In Europe most of this work is carried out by specialist contracts.

Where government money is available for repairs, it is often insufficient for the necessary specialist care and results in buildings being further destroyed in an attempt to strengthen the structure, with no respect to their style or historic qualities. Sadly and wastefully in a country with so much of value, conservation is not as yet seen as a field of expertise; therefore it is not surprising that buildings are being restored by whoever bids for the least amount of money, quite often building speculators and developers. One famous example is the restoration of the Roman amphitheatre in Side by a developer. When the builders completed the job, it became apparent that one row of seats had not been used; by not calling on expert advice the curved ascent of a Roman theatre had not been calculated. Needless to say the same developer was offered a project to restore an 18th C. *han* in Izmir that was fully functioning with workshops. The *han* has been completely demolished and rebuilt to serve the tourist industry (Keleş: 1992:42).

There is also a general lack of adequate funds for formal and informal educational programmes and also for assistance with maintenance of old buildings that are not of obvious national importance. The near total disregard of the two aids to a better realisation of nationally important conservation measures ensures that the developers continue to win in an unfair contest.

3.2 TOURISM IN TURKEY: POLICIES FOR DEVELOPMENT AND PROMOTION

3.2.1 The Early Years; Promotion and Investment

Turkey has a 8,333 km coastline, 1,000 thermal springs and the historic remains of 15 different civilizations, including one of the world's oldest urban settlements at Çatalhöyük. Easy access to Europe and a long summer season has made the coastal settlements very popular as holiday destinations. Other popular sites include Istanbul and Cappadocia.

"The objectives of tourism development in Turkey are to make full use of the economic, social and cultural functions of tourism. At the national level, the most important advantage of this sector is the contribution it makes to the balance of payments and its stimulating effect on other sectors and the economy in general" (ECE, 1976:68). In Turkey too, resources are limited and if misused or exploited they can not be replaced. Tourism was introduced into the five yearly development plans on the basis that it would provide social and economic development.

When tourism development took off in a serious way in the 1970s, most of the investment came from the private sector, with public sector intervention on infrastructure, organisation of land use and development control. Even though there was a strong potential for tourism to develop, the weak economy disabled any large scale investments as well as limiting promotion abroad. Turkey continued to be seen as on the margins of Europe and, this coupled with political instability, deterred the package deals companies, then frequenting Spain and neighbouring Greece. In 1976 the outlook was positive: "With that kind of imaginative approach, its wealth of historic treasure and natural attractions, Turkey should succeed in developing its tourist potential. The next five years will be interesting ones in that respect" (ECE, 1976:69). Again in the same year there was concern that the market so far had been limited to Istanbul. However, Istanbul was also renowned for being dirty and noisy and the Turkish bureaucracy as ineffective; but the people were hospitable and very friendly.

Tourism flow was steady but slow in building up (see TABLE 3.1). "But the popular holiday market, taking its cue from the offerings in the glossy brochures, is unlikely to flood that coast until the package tours are offered. This means development, and that means money of which the Turkish authorities have very little to spare" (The Times,

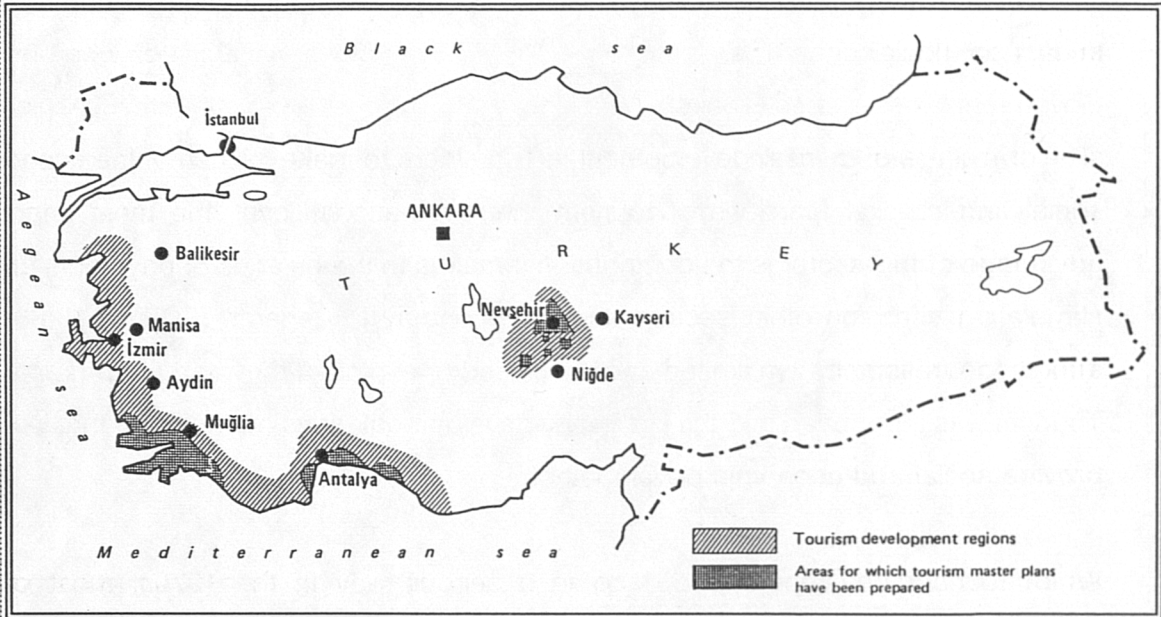


FIGURE 3.1 Map of Tourism Development Regions (ECE, 1976:76)

28.2.76:iv). The article also suggests that Turkey should benefit from other nations' experiences in the process of developing Çeşme, Kuşadası, Alanya and Antalya into popular resorts. Another article of the same year (The Guardian, 21.8.81:25) points out the difficulties in Turkish tourism at the time as: "Difficult communications, erratic electricity supplies, too little investment spread too thinly and too widely"; another concern was the patchy building standards. Nevertheless, the bargain prices were acceptable.

In fact in 1969 concern for environmental protection was exercised, whereby the Government designated Tourism Development Regions, often a 3km coastline, to absorb the mass tourism⁹ and avoid damage to entire coastlines. Two years later in 1971, Cappadocia became a national heritage site, mainly for conservation reasons and the growing threat of decay to the stone fabric. This was supported by UNESCO. However, environmental protection was shortly forgotten when policies in the 1970s turned to significantly increasing tourist numbers.

3.2.2 Rapid Growth in Tourism and Development to Match it

As tourism became a target for economic growth, a number of policies promoting and encouraging tourist development were introduced and many projects were underway. By 1979 Antalya had a modern and big airport, while another was built in Dalaman in the early 80s to serve Fethiye, Marmaris, Bodrum and the South West region. More airports also indicated rapid growth in tourist facilities to satisfy the increased demand. From 1988 onwards a noteworthy increase in tourist numbers, often through European run package tour agencies, has resulted in concrete coasts overnight in some areas.

In 1991 5.3 million people visited Turkey and the 1992 figure was predicted to be over 6.5 million (Kışlalı, 1992:7). This rapid increase in numbers has also brought pressure on the environment and natural resources like water. In the summer months the Mediterranean coast is becoming over populated and polluted. As one journalist relates it: "Nothing is the way it was 1000 years ago, or a year ago often" (Balabanlılar, 1992:12). High rise hotels have been built in the smallest and most secluded fishing villages, including Kalkan and Kaş. Prices have risen above locally acceptable

⁹ In view of the numbers that were visiting Turkey at the time, such zoning was a reasonable suggestion that would not have resulted in overdevelopment or overcrowding.

standards and most of the hotels, pensions, bars and leading shops are owned and run by 'outsiders'.

Years	Foreign Visitors	Revenue (\$ million)
1970	446,000	51
1980	865,000	327
1983	1,623,000	411
1985	2,230,000	1,482
1987	2,468,000	1,721

TABLE 3.1 *Increase in tourist numbers and revenue in Turkey (World Statistics¹⁰)*

An important step was taken in 1986 when the Ministry of Culture and Tourism initiated tourism projects to work jointly with the State Planning Organisation (DPT) and the Tourism Bank, which provided the funding. Whilst emphasis was to be given to language and vocational training for tourist sector employees, there was also an interest in the conservation of heritage, for instance in the support that was given to the Ankara Castle excavations. Other archaeological excavations, restorations and museums were also to be supported. Private investment was attracted to the sector through tax relief, government subsidies and credits. There were plans to organise more international festivals, film presentations, etc. Two national trusts, TÛTAV and TÛGEV¹¹, were founded to play an important role in promotion and training of staff.

A long period of uncertainty in the Middle East followed by the war in the Gulf and then disturbances in the former Yugoslavia resulted in a significant loss of tourists for Turkey in late 1990 and all of 1991. While hotels and resorts in Bodrum and Marmaris on the Aegean coast managed to reach 70-80% capacity at peak times (mainly on Turkish national holidays), capacity on the south coast remained at 30% (Cumhuriyet, 27.6.91:3). Even though prices had been lowered, they were still not favourable to the Turkish tourist, who had also suffered economically from the Gulf War. In Kuşadası, where a boom had been experienced the previous year, 10% of hotels did not even open during

¹⁰ World Economic Data, 1985:174-175; The World in Figures, 1987:265; The Economist Book of Vital World Statistics, 1990:120-123.

¹¹ Türk Tanıtma Vakfı and Türk Geliştirme Vakfı respectively.

the high season and many were up for sale at the end of it (Otan, 1991:11). This was in a way an elimination process of most of the 'pirate' resorts, and the rapid and uncontrolled growth was curbed. Increased complaints from tourists, especially on overpricing, was already creating a bad image for tourism in Turkey. It was also an indication of how much the emphasis had shifted from national to foreign visitors.

3.2.3 Tourism Development with Regards to Conservation

One of the largest threats to conservation areas and historic buildings is the Act, known as *Turizm Teşvik Yasası* passed in March 1982 (Ekinci, 1993a:18), promoting tourism by encouraging developers to build 'tourist' complexes, irrespective of the surrounding area. Only a Ministerial Forum of the ruling political party, has the right to confirm an area as a 'Tourist Area' or a 'Tourist Centre' (*Turizm Bölgeleri, Alanları, Merkezleri*), where the developer has the right to build whatever 'tourist' development he wishes. Moreover, he will obtain government credit to fund the operation as well as tax relief. Due to this legal procedure many natural beauty spots and coastlines have been wantonly destroyed. The internationally renowned Istanbul skyline has become, like so many other famous cities, a collection of high-rise International hotels. Two of these, unbelievably, are actually built in the gardens of priceless Ottoman palaces¹²; both significant examples of our national heritage (Ekinci, 1993a:20). In the centre of Izmir a twenty storey high rise hotel is being built between two 19th C. Greek houses, in a narrow street. Izmir does not need another high hotel in reality, but a 'tourist' purpose was the only way in which this project would be accepted; therefore it is possible that the intention is an office block disguised as a hotel for the present. Prof. Oktay Ekinci refers to this as "urbanisation without identity" (Ekinci, 1992:39).

i Increased Pressure on Coastal Areas and Resulting Environmental Impacts

While there are strong intentions for the tourism sector to grow there is also a growing concern to control the 'concrete coastlines'. One of the greatest reasons for this rapid coastal growth is seen to be the newly built secondary homes. New policies are trying to introduce the idea of co-operatives that will market this wasted space to international tourism in the times of the year they are unused. Both the Aegean and the Mediterranean coasts have reached their full capacity of buildings for the tourist industry.

¹² The Conrad Hotel was built in the gardens of *Yıldız* Palace and Swissotel in the garden of *Dolmabahçe* Palace.

However, there is a very notable decrease in Turkish people using these areas, from 85% in 1983 to 35% in 1991 (Kışlalı, 1992:7). This illustrates that it is tourist developments that are becoming a relatively greater threat than second homes. In many second home developments there is a noticeable move towards quality rather than quantity and most projects are for single or two storey low density settlements, in comparison to the dense high rise tourist establishments.

On the one hand the promotion of tourism development through encouraging private sector investments, the provision of ex-regulation building rights, tax concessions and even by credit towards developing tourist centres, particularly in areas of natural beauty and historic interest, is resulting in concrete coastlines and unsightly hotel buildings.

On the other hand environmental correctness, a popular theme of the 1990s, has also affected Turkish officials. Well preserved natural environments of a certain quality will bring more tourism to Turkey than mass destruction of the natural environment in order to build large scale developments for the crowds. New policies in 1992 introduced environmentally conscious attitudes to tourism. Like many European countries on the Mediterranean a 'blue flag' will be awarded to establishments and coastal areas which have a good environmental quality. Sea water samples will be taken once every two weeks and tested for pollution. 'Green Pine' is a further rating system to be introduced that will determine environmentally friendly establishments. Regular monitoring will award points on the treatment of sewage, rubbish and pollution in both coastal and inland tourist establishments.

ii The Use of Historic Buildings for Tourist Accommodation

In recent years a number of buildings have been restored and converted to be used as tourist accommodation. Most notably these buildings are the *kervansaray* (caravanserai) and *konak* (mansions).

Caravanserai were originally built as lodgings for travellers, merchants and the nobility, therefore re-using them as hotels is in fact retaining their original function. Their form and plan layout is also ideal for use as an hotel in a warm climate. The *Öküz Mehmet*

Paşa caravanserai in Kuşadası¹³ and the *Rûstem Paşa* in Edirne are the most famous, but there are other smaller ones that have also been successfully converted. The upper level chambers are ideally used as guest bedrooms, while the courtyard is the dining area with the chambers off this to house the services. They provide exactly the right atmosphere for the visitor to catch a feeling of the past and to enjoy modern hotel services and at the same time allow a continuing function for the building. Often being structurally stable it is easier for these stone buildings to be restored and accommodated with modern facilities.

It is mainly in Istanbul where large old houses that are no longer used as residences have been converted into small intimate hotels, reflecting the lifestyle of the upper classes in the 19th C. city. Many of these small projects have been realised by the enlightened investment of the Touring and Automobile Association, which are also responsible for running the hotels. Revenue made by the Association is then re-invested in further projects. By this means, houses that would have fallen down due to neglect are saved and restored. Moreover, they are providing 'tourist beds', and thus hopefully reducing the demand for further high rise hotels on the Istanbul skyline. All this is achieved with the *minimum of investment and little or no help from the authorities.*

3.2.4 Summary

Not only is there a threat to the natural and built environment, there is also direct Government support of these so-called 'development' projects, particularly amplified when compared to the *lack of vital resources available for the conservation of buildings.*

Turkey is still experiencing rapid urban growth and this puts great pressure on inner city areas. An increasing trend in second homes on the seaside is increasing the pressure on the smaller seaside towns as well. However, as long as mass tourism developments are supported and even enhanced with the availability of credit, the threat to the natural and the fragile built environment of historic towns will continue. More seriously the loss of these values will also directly reflect as the loss of the much favoured 'quality' tourists.

¹³ Restored and managed by *Club Med* in the 1970s, this became a positive part of tourism in Kuşadası at the time. Restoration of the caravanserai provided accommodation, without detracting from the urban scale of this small port town. However, with its proximity to a major airport and the ruins of Ephesus, in the 1980s Kuşadası has become one of the most exploited coastal areas in the Western Aegean Region.

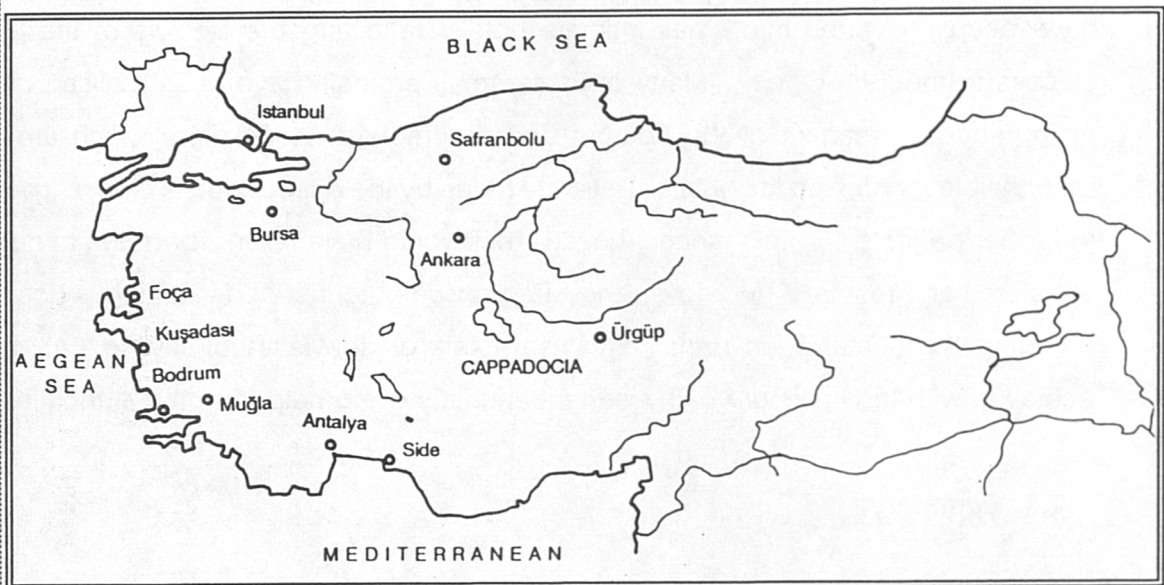


FIGURE 3.2 *Historic towns that will be studied in this section.*

3.3 TOURISM IN HISTORIC TOWNS

Constantly and rapidly growing cities, an increasing demand for housing and the changes in economic, social and cultural life styles all play an important role in understanding urban conservation today. Especially in the larger towns, historic quarters are fast disappearing. In Izmir, most of the 19th century buildings, particularly those on the water front, have been replaced by high rise apartments and offices. While in Ankara, the capital city, the centre has moved on from its historic core, leaving it much as a slum and transition zone for new immigrants.

In many of the small towns, on the other hand, a larger proportion of historic buildings has been preserved and there is continuity of life and tradition in the older quarters. With no other source of funding for their repair they are becoming attractive to the tourist industry and tourism to the local governments. It is not easy to separate conservation from tourism, as the funding of conservation projects and the restoration of monuments have been consequent upon attracting tourist revenue.

In the third five year, Development Plan for 1970-75, two tourism based conservation projects were set up for Muğla and Antalya. For Muğla planning decisions were made on a 1/200,000 scale, determining development and conservation areas. Each of these areas was then studied at a 1/25,000 scale to establish land use patterns and enhance the preservation of regional architecture and urban patterns (ECE, 1976). Tourism played a greater role in the Antalya study, where new developments for the central area were proposed for increased tourist based employment. Regional characteristics and the conservation of the environment were the main factors determining building densities and heights.

For some towns there has been a conscious effort to establish a plan for conservation and development *for* tourism, in other places the process has been rapid and uncontrolled. Whatever the approach, success has been limited, while corruption and lack of control have dominated exploitation. The following examples are of towns which have grown rapidly in the late 80s and early 90s, mainly due to pressures from the tourist industry.

3.3.1 Recreating Streets: Bursa and Istanbul

Taking a small part or street in a historic quarter and completely restoring the houses has become popular, particularly in the tourist areas of Istanbul and Bursa. It is often a row of houses, near an Ottoman monument of interest, that have been totally restored with near perfect, bright and colourful facades to please the tourists. In Bursa a series of brightly coloured houses serve as tourist souvenir shops, while the Istanbul Soğukçeşme Street project was more ambitious. An entire street of houses backing the Topkapı Palace were recorded, demolished and replaced with new buildings with replica facades that are now being used as an hotel, restaurant and library. This was one of the earlier Touring and Automobile Association projects (see COLOUR PLATE 3). On the other hand, the historic peninsula in Istanbul has lost most of its residential heritage, and such a tourist centred approach seems to be the only means by which their protection has been possible. Sadly the entire Zeyrek neighbourhood of wooden houses is rapidly disappearing. A study published in 1982 as a result of a Turkish German partnership examining the area, suggests that the social structure of the area needs to be changed, for conservation to be successful; this approach is only favouring the buildings and not the people in them or the community they form within this neighbourhood (Bektaş, 1992:34)¹⁴.

In some instances, where a street has been isolated and is directly in a tourist location, such an approach may be useful as a museum function or another that is going to utilise it. However, because of the very nature of such an approach, it is creating a replication of a past time and it should in no way be seen as a universal solution to the conservation of historic streets and neighbourhoods in Turkey.

3.3.2 Preserving the Unique Houses and Urban Fabric of Safranbolu

Safranbolu was an important town in the Western Black Sea region. Formerly a trading town on major routes, it prospered and is now famous for its timber framed houses, many of them known as *konak* (mansions).

¹⁴ Like many others before it, this project has not been realised and Zeyrek remains an even more derelict neighbourhood, ironically shielded by Sedad Hakkı Eldem's Aga Khan award winning buildings reflecting the Turkish National style in architecture.

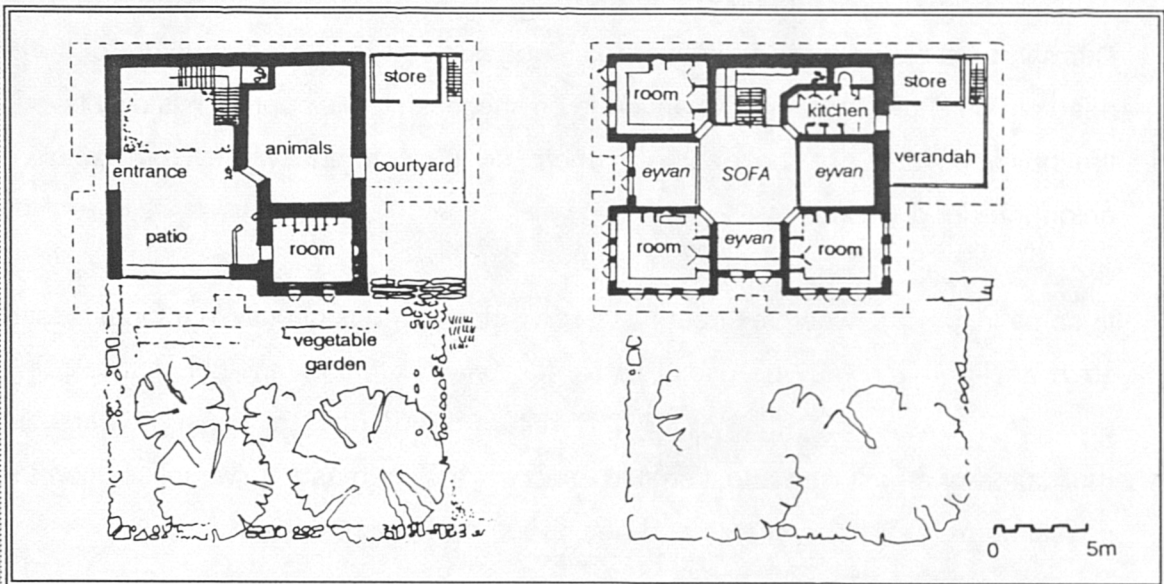


FIGURE 3.3 Ground and First Floor Plan of a Safranbolu House (Aktüre & Şenyapılı, 1976:87)

Following World War I, there was a marked change in the socio-economic activity of the town; when the trade routes became disused and agriculture could no longer sustain the population, two thirds of the population left. In 1938 a steel mill was located in Karabük, 10km to the west. Karabük became the main urban centre with new social classes of engineers, clerks and blue collar workers (Bektaş, 1992:17). By the 70s Safranbolu had become a dormitory town, with new neighbourhoods to support the population growth around the steel mill. The older neighbourhoods with their unique and beautiful large timber framed houses became dilapidated and abandoned, as did many of the old commercial areas.

The entire old city has been declared a Conservation Area, and gradually a conservation plan is being implemented. Again the Turkish Touring and Automobile Association have restored one of the larger houses to become a thirty five bed hotel to serve the tourist industry.

We can say that Safranbolu is one of the most successful approaches to urban conservation, nonetheless the results are only slowly being realised. Even though the inhabitants seem proud and caring of their houses, with the decline in population and family size there is less demand for the predominantly large houses. It is, however, probably a blessing that Safranbolu lies too far away from Istanbul, Ankara or the coast, to be infested with the intellectuals from these towns seeking second and authentic homes or by the mass tourist industry.

3.3.3 Uncontrolled Development and Threats to the Historic Centre of Foça

Until the early 1980s Foça was a small fishing town developed in the 18th and 19th centuries on the west coast of Turkey, north of Izmir. Houses and shops from these periods form the historic core within the city walls, designated a conservation area in 1977. The town adjoins and takes its name from the antique Phokaia, a second degree archaeological conservation area. Foça grew from being a small town of 4,300 inhabitants in 1975 to one of 12,000 in 1990, reaching a figure of 50,000 in the summer season. Since the early 1980s there has been a 700% increase in residential property, mainly due to rapid second residence developments (Özyiğit, 1992:21). This rapid growth has paid no respect to the natural environment and there is a threat to safe pollution levels in the sea water as well.

However, pressure for development, especially in providing second residences on the coast until 1991, led the Municipality to grant building permission without conservation consent and lowered the archaeological site to third degree protection. The Governor¹⁵, part of a non-political institution, ignored the situation and was off hand about his controlling duties. Demolitions in the historic centre followed the 1984 election campaign promise to de-list buildings. Buildings in the Conservation Area that were not listed had no protection at all, and sadly since 1985 many have been replaced with contemporary concrete buildings. This also reflected a well known dilemma, the people wanted new, well maintained and warm houses with modern amenities, while it was a group of academics from Izmir who were concerned about the future of the old town of Foça. They formed a forum, held regular meetings and published stories in local newspapers and journals to increase the pressure for a change of policy.

It is a familiar situation throughout Turkey, where the law is not enforced sufficiently so that it can be overlooked and ignored with no penalty. There is also a duality in the law; there are those connected to the rules governing a Conservation Area and another set of laws attached to the Conservation Area Plan (*Koruma Amaçlı İmar Planı*), in which the former protects against uncontrolled intervention and development but the latter *permits* development within the conservation area.

There is general consent among the academics that, however many laws are laid down, there is a need for public support to save the Conservation Area, which is a much harder process than conserving any individual building. There is a desperate need for more public education and also for funding and grant support for individual buildings. These have to be determined through detailed plans and can not rely on the overall-plan that existed. "It is most important to involve the people of Foça in any plan and to plan a better future for them" (Bilgin, 1992:26).

According to a local Chamber of Architects' report, everyone was on edge including the population, the builders and the Municipality. There are several proposals to the municipality to re-use some of the older buildings as public buildings. "New buildings in the area should be a reflection of 20th century Turkish architecture, not cheap replicas of 19th century houses" (Bilgin, 1992:27). A master plan is underway proposing archaeological conservation areas and a green belt. Another solution put forward was

¹⁵ The Kaymakam, appointed by the State, is a governor of an administrative district.

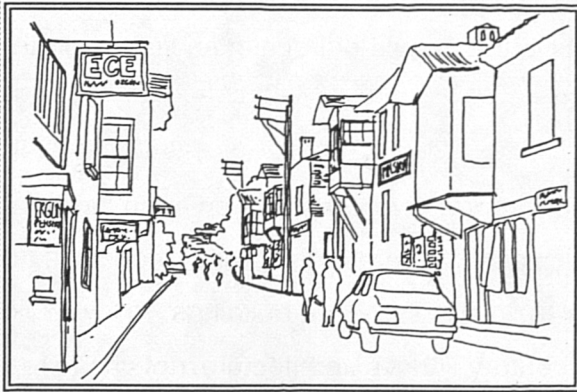


FIGURE 3.4 *The streets of Side have been transformed with tourist attractions*

to increase the tourist potential of the historic core by introducing pensions, souvenir shops, cafes, bars and restaurants (Özyiğit, 1992:21).

From these two comments it is obvious that all those concerned in the conservation of the historic quarter are not in agreement. Bilgin is concerned about the people, proposing to involve and include them in the process. Özyiğit, on the other hand, even though opposed to tourist developments on the coast, is keen to promote conservation for tourism by introducing cafes, pensions and shops as a new function to the quarter. Here he is disregarding the fact that many other historic quarters in coastal cities in Turkey have been ruined for this reason.

Foça is a typical seaside town, a fishing village not so long ago like many others. Political powers and pressure from holiday makers and those that provide for them have also played an important role in what has been happening in Foça. But even among those concerned 'tourism' is seen as a quick and easy solution.

3.3.4 Side, Kuşadası and Bodrum; Popular Tourist Towns of the Coast

There are numerous towns on the West and South coasts of Turkey which are faced with the consequences of overdevelopment due to tourist pressures. First Kuşadası, then Bodrum and Side have all changed from being small harbour towns to being centres for mass tourism. Even Kaş and then Kalkan, small fishing villages, have been exploited as so-called 'quiet spots' on the Mediterranean shore. As they have expanded, more and more small undiscovered fishing villages are being sought.

Side is an important archaeological site on the southern coast of Turkey. A small village had settled amongst the ruins. Plans to relocate the village for archaeological purposes were disputed by local politicians, and as a result the small village has become "in two decades, the most blatant example of the destructive nature of uncontrolled tourism" (Kuban, 1985:54). Already in 1975, "A barrack like hotel and a number of makeshift shacks had appeared on one of its beaches. The Turkish village, built picturesquely in among the ruins, is now full of signs advertising PENSION and DISCOTHEQUES" (Turner & Ash 1975:134). Today the coast is heavily built up with high rise hotel buildings and the 'village' has been transformed into a tourist ghetto of souvenir shops, pensions, bars, discos and restaurants, most of them run by outsiders and not by the villagers themselves.

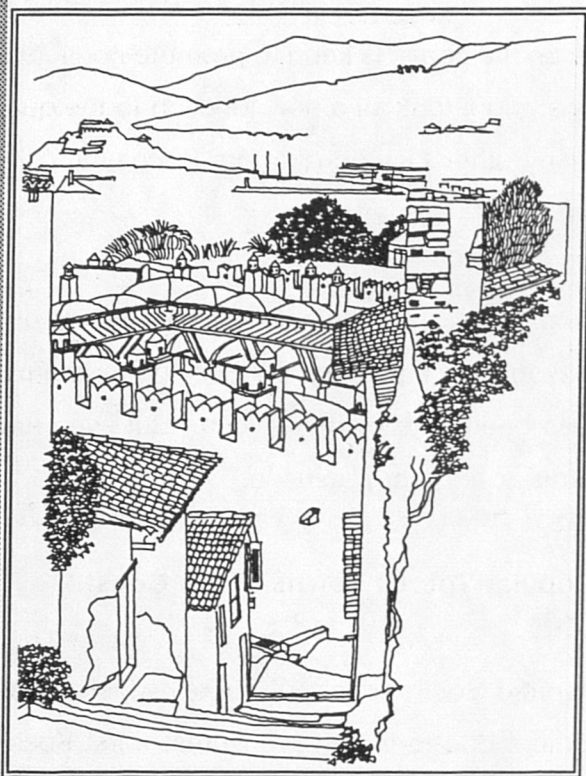


FIGURE 3.5 *Kuşadası: caravanserai
from the neighbourhoods
(by Bektas, 1991:23)*

Kuşadası, probably one of the most popular tourist towns of Turkey, has a historic quarter that is rapidly being damaged from the tourist invasion. The town has been a popular resort for a number of years, being only 17km from the famous Greco-Roman site of Ephesus and also an international harbour. The 18th century neighbourhoods of the old town are situated around the centre and on the hill side that surrounds it.

The original tourist developments were along the coast line providing, initially, campsites and then second homes for holiday makers. The *Öküz Mehmet Paşa* caravanserai in the centre was restored and used as a hotel (see section 3.2.3). In recent years this low-rise growth has been replaced by high rise hotels, funded by Government credit and defying all height and capacity restrictions. Thereafter the tourist functions of the town have grown rapidly and uncontrollably. This pressure is no longer just on the coastal areas, but also in the town centre providing the entertainment and the shopping facilities. From a single cobbled street, the Kuşadası commercial district is rapidly spreading into the historic quarter.

Bodrum, was a small fishing village made famous by a Turkish writer who was exiled there¹⁶. The harbour town, with narrow streets of whitewashed houses huddled around the medieval castle of the Knight Templars, became a "rendezvous for the Turkish intelligentsia" and a fashionable resort town (Kuban, 1985:55). There is a conservation plan for the historic buildings but plans in the 1970s encouraged tourist functions for the houses in the inner city areas (Akçura & Çapar, 1973:10). The policy has been quite strict at times, including the ban of TV aerials. "Just so that the ladies of Istanbul will find it picturesque, the people of Bodrum have to live primitively" argues Cengiz Bektaş (1992:12), an architect. Bodrum has, however, been fully transformed, and today the small town lives entirely for tourism and in the summer months is literally invaded by thousands of people. Even the predominantly Turkish clientele are being replaced by foreign 'package' tourists. The original features that made it unique have completely disappeared.

These situations illustrate the gravity of the situation and the 'rape' of towns in the name of conservation and tourism. The importance of control over individual projects and overall plans is apparent. Many examples are from coastal towns and those in coastal regions, where most tourist concentration has been over the past ten years.

¹⁶ Cevat Şakir Kabaağaçlı, also known as the 'fisherman from Halicarnassus', wrote stories on the Aegean and on Anatolian history.

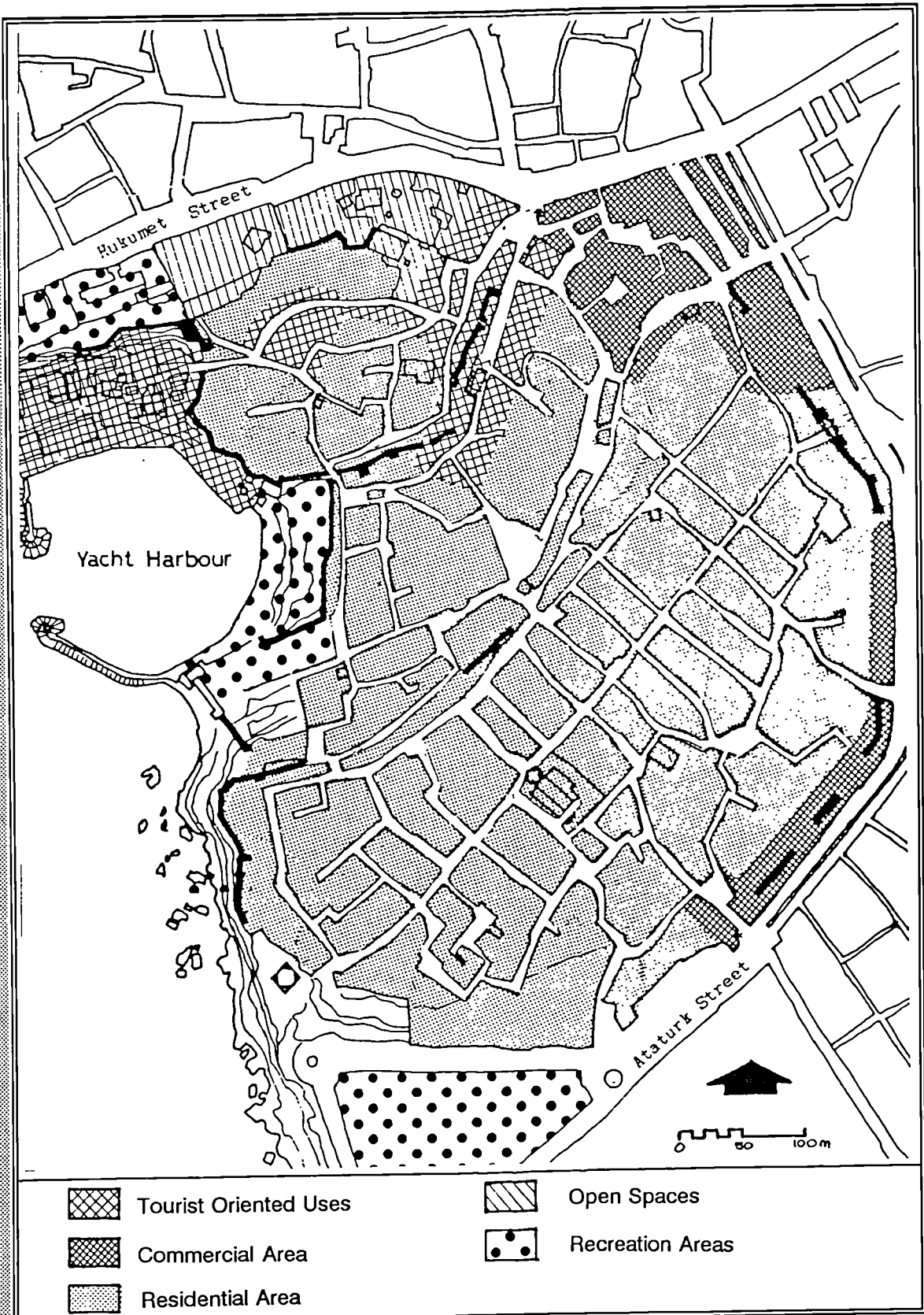


FIGURE 3.6 Historic Quarter of Antalya, Proposed Use Plan (Bilgen, 1988,13)

Nevertheless, the trend is moving inland, with many small towns, such as Ürgüp in Cappadocia, becoming popular tourist centres with a historic 'backdrop'.

3.3.5 Antalya: A Development and Conservation Plan That Failed

Antalya, a prominent port on the southern coast of Turkey, received its fair share of rapid urban development in the 1960s. A new skyline of high rise buildings developed around the historic core, which is protected by the city walls. Like most cities the growth had not been planned and serious traffic and infrastructure problems arose. The historic quarter had been designated a Conservation Area as far back as 1967, and this curbed new building within the walls. The old city surrounded by the city walls forms the residential area and is separated from the old harbour with a steep drop, characteristic of Turkey's Mediterranean coast. The harbour became redundant when a new and modern one was built further along the coast.

In 1973 a plan was initiated aiming at the total rehabilitation of the redundant harbour and some of the larger houses forming the 'back drop' to the harbour. The aim was to create a recreational area using the redundant buildings of the harbour as a marina. Once restored the redundant warehouses and three of the larger houses overlooking the harbour were to become hotels. The intention was to leave the rest of the historic city residential, by focusing the tourist activity to the harbour area. The second stage of the project was to assist residents in restoring or rehabilitating their houses.

The plan was formed by the then Ministry of Culture and Tourism and funded by the Tourism Bank. A team of seven architects and planners worked on the project, and with the backing of the bank the project was rapidly realised. A new infrastructure was provided for the 5.5 hectare area, the harbour was developed into a marina, allowing for small local fishing boats as well. Derelict buildings were converted into shops, a four storey cotton warehouse was gutted and became a medium sized hotel run by the Tourism Bank. Restoration was done immaculately and with great care, as experienced craftsmen worked on many of the projects and the scheme was very receptive to the setting. The whole area was landscaped and an amphi theatre was installed. Restaurants and outdoor cafes provided a capacity for 4,000 people, and parking was provided at the entrance of the harbour. In the second stage, sixteen of the larger houses overlooking the harbour were restored, again with great care in preserving

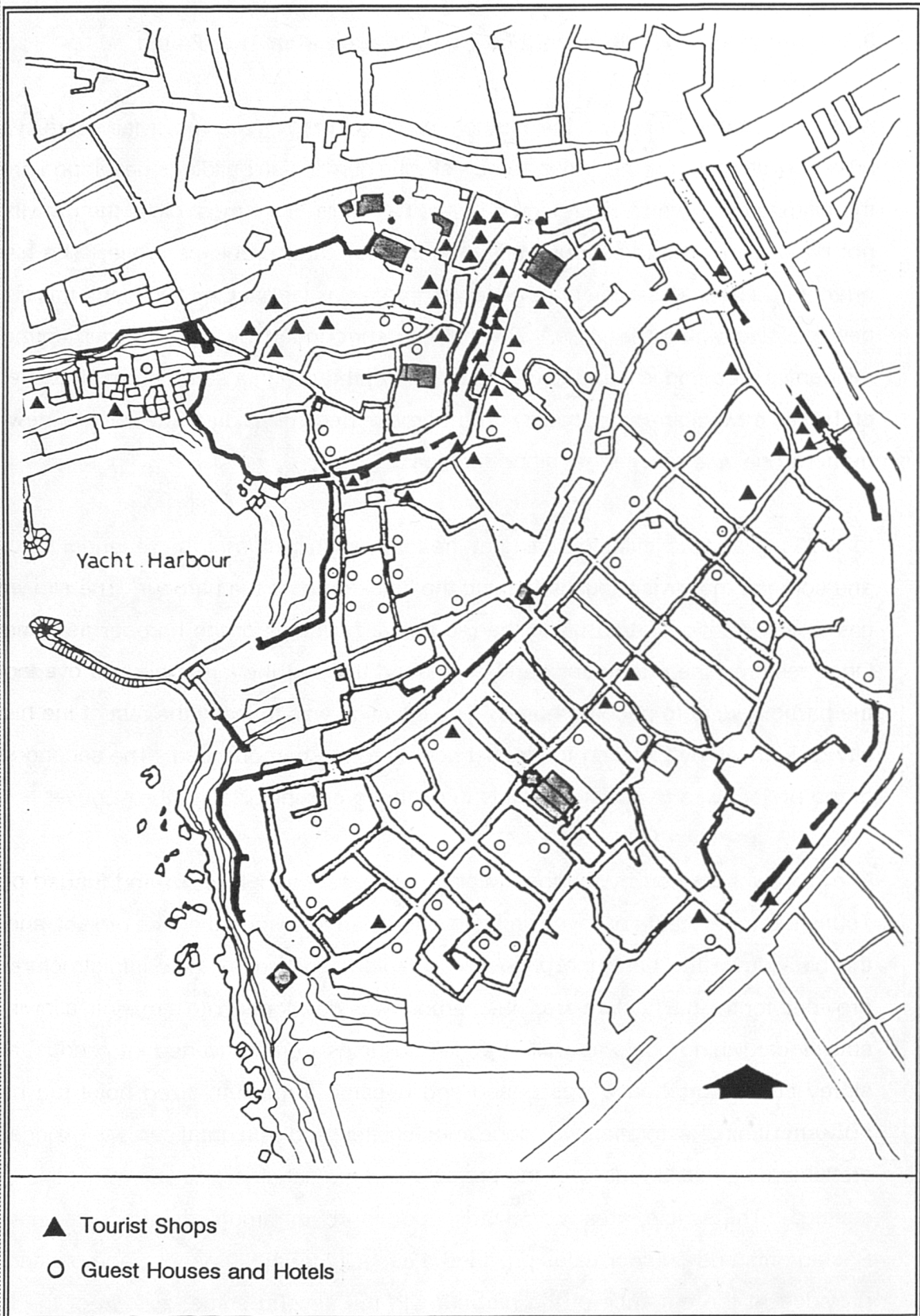


FIGURE 3.7 *Historic Quarter of Antalya, Increased Tourist Uses in 1988*
(Bilgen, 1988,52)

original features. They were also to be used in the interest of tourism, but a second aim was to evoke interest in restoration among residents.

A total of US\$ 4.5 million was spent on the project, including the infrastructure. However, this was balanced by rent from the 36 shops which provided US\$ 30,000 a year and a further US\$ 350,000 income from the hotel, which had cost a total of US\$ 500,000 to restore and refurbish (Güney et al, 1986:39). Critics praised the project and it was awarded a Sedat Simavi award for Architecture and Urban Design, and a 'Golden Apple' by FIJET¹⁷. "The architects responsible for the restoration acted sensibly, without 'fanfare'. They did not beautify, but did prefer a direct expression of local tradition. For the first time in Turkey a comparatively large site of conservation has been restored and renovated" (Kuban, 1985:54). From a social aspect, however, Bektaş (1992) points out that the harbour, which is part of the central focus of the city, has become an upmarket area. Cafes that have replaced local tea houses are too expensive for the residents, particularly the lower income groups living nearby.

The conservation and rehabilitation project became part of the greater Antalya Tourism Development Project initiated in 1977, which aimed to provide high levels of infrastructure and control over tourist facilities. However, these policies were ignored after 1985 and the original project group was dispersed in 1989. The 25,000 beds planned for in 1977, had reached 66,000 in 1992 and Antalya has become just another 'concrete coast' today, with an insufficient infrastructure.

Unfortunately the conservation project also went seriously wrong after 1985, when the funding was stopped and the original group of planners and architects were no longer employed to develop the plan. Kuban (1985) had commented on the strength of the project lying in the fact, "That those responsible for the project were also given full control of its implementation" (Kuban, 1985:54). Although the original town plan had aimed at keeping 75% of the old town residential, this never happened and with the withdrawal of control, houses were being very badly restored and put to use as guesthouses, restaurants and shops (Mercangöz, 1991).

¹⁷ International Federation of Tourism Journalists.

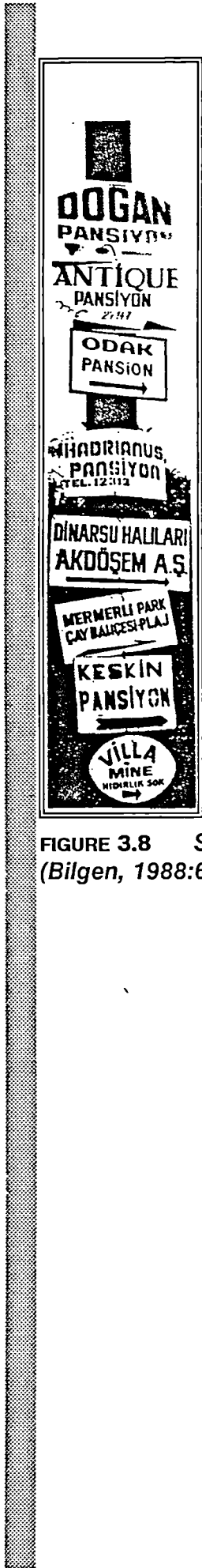


FIGURE 3.8 *Sign posts in Antalya*
(Bilgen, 1988:68)

The site was visited by the author in 1986¹⁸ and 1990. On the first occasion the harbour project was completed, but the residential area remained a neighbourhood with very friendly inhabitants and children playing on the streets. Occasionally a house had been converted into a pension or a shop, but it was still noticeably a living quarter. Many of the houses needed repair and several had been badly restored. Nevertheless, in the heat of the south coast, they were the coolest houses capturing the cool sea breezes on their patios. By 1990, however, the area had changed beyond recognition, many more houses had been converted into pensions or bars, restaurants and carpet shops. The peacefulness had been replaced by shopkeepers shouting to attract tourists (in several different languages), there were even more badly restored buildings and local establishments like the bakeries and tea houses had disappeared. The people who made the historic quarter a living environment had left and a relatively well preserved real asset in 1986 had been totally destroyed in the course of four years.

The intentions in this project have been very good, the architects, planners and economists collaborated, but corruption, political change and the interests of those out to make a quick profit have overpowered a very good project. Also from a financial point of view it could have been successful in that income generated from the harbour would have supported conservation in the residential quarters.

3.3.6 Summary and Conclusions

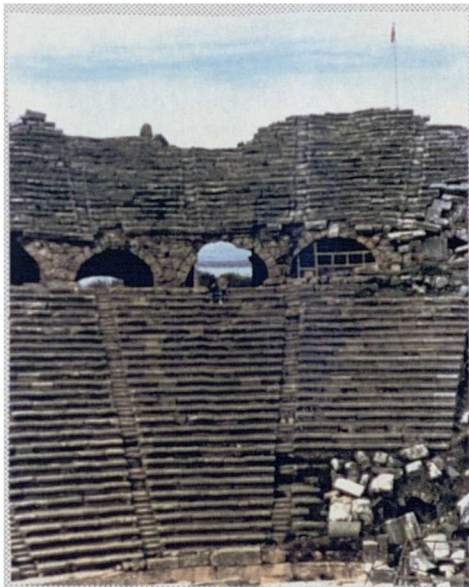
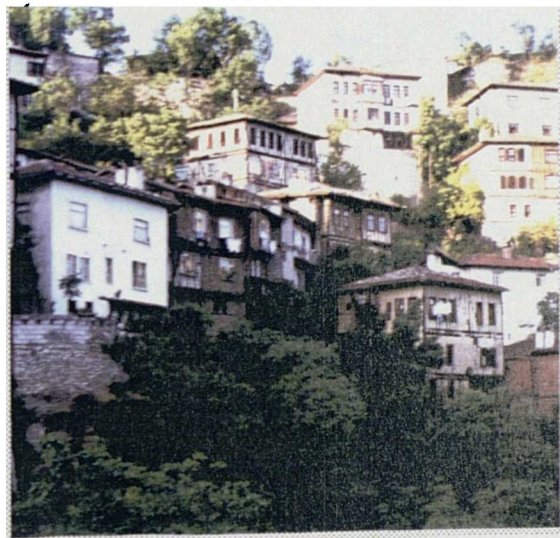
It is important to note that there are several characteristics of Turkish towns and cities that need to be considered when problems of conservation areas are addressed. The Turkish city of the last century has a very organic street pattern, often on a hill side, which makes it very difficult to adapt to motor traffic. Also the buildings are not of a very high quality as they relate to the last two hundred years of the Empire and of a general economic decline, and the houses were often built with low quality materials. Many of these houses were timber for which the technology and the craftsmanship for their repair is rapidly being lost. One reason for this is that timber has become expensive, whereas concrete is locally produced, cheaper and associated with 'new' and 'modern' building technology.

¹⁸ As part of a team surveying houses and street facades in the historic quarter for the Municipality of Antalya, carried out by the Faculty of Architecture, Middle East Technical University.

Conservation is more than ever needed for the remaining historic urban settlements. Where there has been some attempt at conservation, it has often been led by the tourist industry and 'historic quality' that had been preserved for a few more years from the developer, is being destroyed by tourism. A proper understanding of the importance of the built and the natural environment is not as yet established in Turkey. It still depends on a select number of academics who are fighting the cause against a Government that passes policies to make a favourable impression on Europe or to increase tourism revenues. Both culture and Conservation have become too involved with politics both at the local and national levels. Many arguments are not of scientific or academic worth, but of opposite political views and interests.

Referring to mass tourist development in the historic towns of Western and Southern Anatolia: "Tourism is a culture destroying and culture imposing agent. If some buildings are preserved, others destroyed. Small town life is finished. Local manufacture is abandoned. The proportion of the recently built to the surviving in old cities is slowly submerged inside the recently developed areas. Conservation has been reduced to the preservation of a disrupted image" (Kuban, 1985:55).

Nevertheless, tourism is not the only factor disrupting life and values in old towns, it is only one of many, including lack of resources for rehabilitation, migration, aspirations to modern living and changes in family and household sizes. But tourism, unlike other factors, holds within itself the capability to provide an understanding of value and a revenue that could contribute to the conservation process. In this context conservation needs to be seen as progressive development and not as one big project.



Ankara: derelict houses in the Ulus district

Ankara: Restored houses in the Citadel (Cityscope, 1993:26)

Antalya (Cityscope, 1993:43)

Wooden houses in Safranbolu

Side theatre, restored by a developer

Street of restored houses in Bursa

COLOUR PLATE 3.1 RECENT RESTORATION PROJECTS IN TURKEY

3.4 EVALUATION AND IDENTIFYING PROBLEMS

3.4.1 Public Understanding of 'Historic Value' and Attitudes to Conservation

Public attitudes are not as yet to the liking of conservationists in Turkey. Many people take very little pride in their heritage but rather aspire to new and modern environments. "Except for a small group of specialists and intellectuals the wooden house is a villain of the Turkish urban scene. For ordinary people they are functionally and aesthetically unsatisfactory. They have lost their traditional prestige and are too often left to decay. The borrowed aesthetic and supposedly contemporary image of the concrete apartment-house took their place in the public mind" (Kuban, 1985:52).

The listing of a building is too often seen as a burden. Many listed buildings are left derelict or used for storage purposes whilst many of the architectural elements are carried away to be used elsewhere or even as fire wood. In too many cases regret is felt that listed buildings cannot be demolished and replaced with brand new business centres, supposedly to increase economic activity. Rehabilitating a building is mistakenly seen as a costly process that cannot be justified by the economic return. In many cases funds for repair are non-existent and buildings are further destroyed to accelerate their collapse. Permission for repair and even for demolition is either sought in an illegal fashion or often overlooked altogether, due to a general lack of control by the authorities.

In addition to these phenomena, there is a strong belief that hidden treasures exist, particularly in the Aegean region, where most of the Greek population fled the country in 1922. Therefore many Greek houses are very unscientifically and often secretly gutted in search of hidden gold or other valuables that may have been left there by previous owners. Unfortunately listing buildings or interest in them by the local museum often heightens the expectations of the treasure hunters. Archaeological sites are also the target of these people and sometimes of more serious international art smugglers. Unwatched sites and ruins are tampered in hope of some valuable findings, often obscuring vital archaeological evidence.

There is a pressing need for public education emphasising the importance of our historic identity and the real value that can accrue through conserving it. The city business lenders as well as the authorities and politicians also need to be made aware

of this. There is a second demand on education in training experts to work in the field, from conservation architects and planners to skilled craftsmen.

3.4.2 Policy Making and Role of the Government

Turkey officially applied to join the European Union in 1988, but has been refused full membership to date. Many policies and development plans, including those on building conservation, have been introduced following European guidelines in an effort to achieve European standards with the intention of making a favourable impression, but it has to be said that in too many cases concerned with conservation issues it remains an impression.

A scheme set up in 1992 under the General Directorate for the Conservation of the Natural Environment, aims at restoring redundant buildings belonging to the government that can then be used to house a number of government organisations. In 1991, 525 such buildings were identified for protection; several of them are still in use as staff accommodation. Under the scheme some redundant buildings will be given new functions, for example in Istanbul an inner city prison has been converted into a cultural centre with an open air cinema. This in a way is a start and a considerably different approach to public building compared to the 'power' building of the 70s and 80s.

Even though Turkey has a concise policy for conservation it is obvious from the examples and the practice that the objectives as stated by the law are not being achieved. Accordingly such an ideal policy of conservation is not workable when it is not supported by economic, cultural and social incentives. The 1992 additions to the existing legislation have imposed an even bigger burden on conservation by centralising the process on a bureaucratic scale, outlawing any academic or scientific contribution as well as public interest, including amenity societies. (Ekinci, 1992). This new proposal is not in accordance with a number of European and International treaties that Turkey has put its name to.

Turkey is a large country with urban growth and development problems and issues and it can be argued that they need to be attended to before adequate money is available for heritage conservation and management. In an attempt to bring some standards to the policy of establishing local Conservation Councils, the Ministry of Culture has to play

the role of overall coordinator and provide for the exchange of information over the regions, through symposia, publications and other smaller group meetings.

A lack of public education on conservation is generally felt. National and cultural implications to Turkish society or history are generally overlooked in the selection for conservation. For the Government it is important to market the restored "product" either as a national entity on the international scene, or merely as income generating in the tourist sector. Consequently many buildings and sites are rapidly destroyed by tourist erosion, with large car parks, coaches producing fumes and generally through uncontrolled development. Lack of appropriate policies and co-operation of the public and Local Authorities at times has led to pragmatic and half-way solutions.

In an effort to boost business again in 1992, Abdülkadir Ateş, the Minister for Tourism, said that it was possible for Turkey to become number one in world tourism. The present growth rate of tourism was high in Turkey, but he was still aiming to increase it as Turkey had the full potential of history and nature. Future policies of the Ministry would include specific controls over investments that would enable Turkey to compete with world standards on tourism, but also benefit the local population; a more equal geographical distribution of wealth and pressure through campaigns advertising the historic and natural beauty of inland areas; making rivers, mountains, lakes, spas, caves available to nature bound tourism and while doing so to conserve and protect cultural and natural heritage (Kışlalı, 1992:7). "Turkey is playing in the first league of world tourism." says Korel Göymen, a Ministry of Tourism official (Cumhuriyet, 14.7.1992:12). Tourism aims to become the third largest sector in Turkey.

Nevertheless, if the Government continues to recognise tourism as a foreign currency opportunity only and encourages any related development, which is often perceived as an increase in beds provided and a growth in hard currency income, environmental costs will continue to be overlooked. As long as laws to promote environmental stability to preserve the natural and built heritage are overlooked by other laws promoting the building of so-called tourist establishments, results will not be reached and heritage will not be saved.

3.4.3 The Contradictory Role of Local Administrative Authorities

Whilst Local Authorities are being given more power in Conservation Areas, some of it contradicting with the authority of the museum, they are also being inundated with complicated and ever changing conservation legislation. Lack of trained staff in the field has often lead Municiplaities either to ignorance of historic areas or for the promotion of redevelopment. Historic value and its importance in the identity of the city is regularly being overlooked, either out of ignorance or deliberately.

Conservationists often see Local Administrations as ignorant and unsupportive of historic conservation. Interests of developers are favoured over historic value or communities living in the historic quarters. Because listing is often seen as detrimental by owners, local authorities have been supporting campaigns in favour of delisting historic buildings, such as in the the case of Foça or even Antalya.

There is desperate need for firmer control in all conservation areas; particularly for borderline situations. This can only be achieved by providing Local Authorities with funds to employ people of adequate knowledge in the field and enable them to make sufficient site visits. The need for control to enable preservation and good quality restoration has been stressed. This is even more important when it comes to the conservation of historic towns.

3.4.4 Professional and Expert Support for Conservation

Conservation is still very new in Turkey with the first real law promulgated in 1973 and a public knowledge of it only in the 1980s. A number of the Schools of Architecture offer a two year MA course in Conservation, and are constantly attracting more students. The participation of the public at the local level, the local authorities and the media is rare, though there are a few groups interested in it, such as some of the work that has been done in Safranbolu¹⁹. Recording of many of the lesser known buildings representing the rapidly disappearing vernacular style has to be undertaken by students, on a voluntary basis. Far too many educated people and local leaders continue to see

¹⁹ Conservation in Safranbolu was mainly initiated by academics in Istanbul. Even though there was no formal plan for involving the residents, much of the work depended on close contacts with owners and most of the project today is run by a locally run office in the town centre.

conservation as a barrier to development. Their argument is that town and city centres are cluttered up with old and useless buildings that prevent the building of bigger, more commercial developments. What they do not realise is that city centres are sacred places for local inhabitants (Cockburn, 1993). In the case of residential buildings, people aspire to 'modern' western style apartments and do not wish to live in damp and cold 'old' houses with expensive maintenance problems.

Apart from deliberate vandalism many buildings of historic importance are being lost due to ignorance or bad restoration practices. Incompatible and wrong materials are being used with no consideration to the original fabric, causing further damage. Each case needs an individual approach, and an overall government policy is not sufficient in solving each case. There is a serious shortage of scientifically trained technical staff, stemming from the lack of conservation training laboratories. This has sometimes resulted in disturbing consequences of untested or unskilled chemical intervention, like stone cleaning that has caused cracks on surfaces. There can be said to be more bad restorations than good ones, while some professionals only 'think' they are doing the right thing (See also Böke, 1990:35 & Özer, 1990:34). This has been particularly evident in stone conservation in Cappadocia.

There is also a need to have inter-professional integrated action planning and implementation mechanisms in the discussions concerning conservation issues. This was somewhat achieved on the earlier national panel. A gulf is forming between architects and planners which is only accentuated through the existing law (Arkon, 1992 & Ekinçi, 1992).

3.4.5 Lack of Private Sector Involvement in Historic Preservation

Even though architects and planners have a large input into tourism development, by building massive building complexes and high-rise hotels, their support and input to conservation has been very limited. In fact in most cases they are in favour of ignoring conservation legislation and the pressure new buildings may be causing on the environment or in fragile historic settlements. Part of this is a reflection of the relationship of the Government with the private sector, firstly by providing credit for new-build projects and secondly by seeing the private sector in the conservation field only as developers. The results so far have been illustrated; there is an increasing number of concrete blocks in fragile areas and developer conservation is closer to destruction.

There is a strong potential for the private sector in conservation and in the development of tourist facilities, including the conversion of redundant buildings into tourist amenities. However, this needs to be in cohesion with the interests of the local population and those of the local administration representing them, and not just exploitation for one person's financial gain.

3.4.6 In Conclusion

Nevertheless, the conservation and rehabilitation of historic urban areas is not solely dependent upon the strictness of the law and Conservation Area legislation governing the sites. There is a need to understand the inhabitants' needs and aspirations and to seek solutions that are acceptable to the local people, that will benefit them and at the same time be feasible. Tourism is an ideal means of pumping business and economic dynamism into an area, but this may prove to be at a social and even economic cost too great for the residents themselves to benefit from. It is debatable whether the values of conservation and so called restoration for the sake of creating an ideal tourist environment play a role in conserving an area, or simply cheapen the architecture and kill the existing urban harmony and texture; therefore:

- Conservation needs to be defined in its aims and approach before 'conservation' purely as a tourist initiative dominates.
- Cultural aspects of conservation need to be maintained through understanding the structure and social patterns of the local community.
- Conservation in any situation will be influenced by economic and political forces which have to be taken on board in the planning phase.
- Proper and controlled planning needs to be emphasised to ensure a holistic approach and less damage to the environment.
- Once priorities have been determined tourism can benefit the restoration of individual buildings, otherwise unused.
- A balance must be struck between the needs of the locals and the growth of tourism.

Bergama, in Western Turkey, also has a well preserved historic quarter that is likely to be damaged by tourism. The following chapter evaluates Bergama as a town, its tourist potential and the condition of the historic quarters. Chapter 8 will outline proposals for a more positive approach to conservation and tourism, through the example of Bergama.

CHAPTER 4
BERGAMA URBAN STUDY

*Urban planning, conservation and development
in a town with increasing tourist demands*

Introduction

Bergama will form the major case study for this part of the research on tourism and urban conservation in Turkey. This Chapter will attempt to study the town of Bergama, in order to identify the elements that make up the city and their historic significance where applicable. The aim is, by investigating existing patterns of tourism, growth and economy in Bergama, to understand the plans for the future, their implications to tourist developments and the future of the town, and thus provide a fresh analysis of the nature and role of the conservation areas. In addition, this study will provide an understanding of the future historic importance of the Turkish city as well as illustrate urban change and planning developments.

Bergama has been selected because it is a small town with a high *potential* for as yet unrealised tourist growth. The ruins of the ancient town of Pergamum situated above and within the town have made it popular with visitors for centuries. However, rapid growth in package tourism has significantly increased numbers since 1986. In Bergama the Urban Conservation Areas have all too often been ignored, but lying off the main road and away from new development programmes, they have been relatively well preserved and what is known as 'the Greek quarter' still has very little modern intervention. However, there has been very little encouragement towards repair, maintenance or restoration within the conservation areas. This potential within the town is as yet undiscovered. There is nevertheless a potential for exploitation equivalent to that experienced by many other towns of the same size and with similar features. This initial study will provide the opportunity to further devise a conservation and development plan for the historic areas, focusing on tourism, that will directly benefit the *residents*.

The first Section provides an historical background to the architectural heritage and the social changes over the past two centuries, that have seen the change from an important centre in antiquity and a large commercial town of the Ottoman era to a smaller agricultural province. The present economy of Bergama, including tourism, will be examined. The second Section is a survey of the physical urban patterns and elements of the town, and the state of the Conservation Areas today. The third Section examines visitor patterns and tourist facilities in Bergama, while the fourth identifies the present understanding of various groups that are concerned in the conservation process of the town.



FIGURE 4.1 *Location map of Bergama and surrounding towns*

4.1 SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND HISTORIC BACKGROUND

4.1.1 Geographical Location and Importance

Situated 100km north of the port city of Izmir on the western coast of Turkey, Bergama lies approximately 20km inland from the Aegean sea. Only a 7km diversion from the Izmir-Istanbul highway and a 20-30km distance from a number of popular seaside resorts has made Bergama easily accessible today. Bergama has held a significant position in Anatolia since the first city was established in the 3rd C. BC. It is this historic wealth, as will be outlined below, that has made it into a 20th century tourist attraction.

4.1.2 Historical Context

i Pergamon to Bergama

Bergama, as it came to be known to the Turks, is the extension of the Greco-Roman city of Pergamon (Pergamum), which dates back to the 3rd C. BC. Pergamon was a prosperous city of the Greek World and capital of the Attalid Empire. The city, built around an Acropolis, was a spectacular fortress boasting the Athena temple, a number of renowned palaces and the famous Pergamon library. Pergamon came under Roman rule in the second century and the Roman city expanded on the Greek core, forming a lower Acropolis, and moving down into the flat land. A noteworthy building of this period is the Red Hall¹.

The mainly defensive architecture was built in the later years of Eastern Roman rule, often known as the Byzantine era. Nevertheless, Bergama became an important centre for early Christianity and recent excavations have revealed the remains of a number of churches and further use of the Red Hall as a basilica in this period.

In 1333, Bergama came under Turkish rule for the first time with the Karasi invasion. The Karasis, one of several principalities following the Seljukid Empire in Anatolia, were only in power for half a century. The Ottoman Principality had been gaining power in Western Anatolia and by the end of the 14th century Bergama had also become part of

¹ A sanctuary/temple built under the patronage of Emperor Hadrian, of which the dedication is unknown, but thought to be to an Egyptian God. It is however one of the two surviving Roman Temples built entirely in brick, the second being in Trier (Germany).

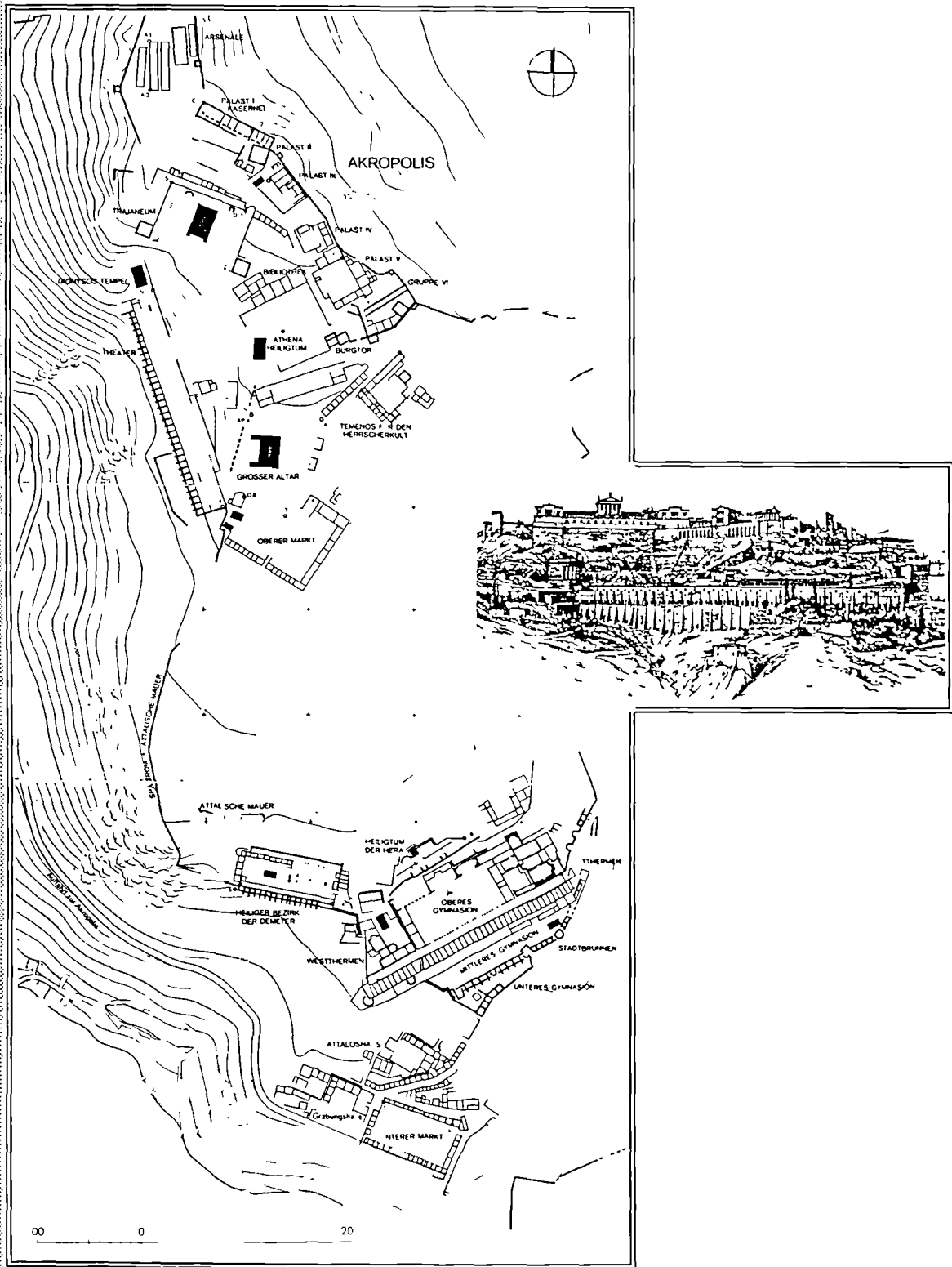


FIGURE 4.2 *Plan of the Pergamon Acropolis (Schlüter & Nohlen, 1973) and inset: view of the Acropolis, reconstruction drawing by R Bohn (Stiller, 1895).*

Ottoman territory. While the Greek and later Byzantine city on the mountain side was regarded as a fortress, the Ottoman town of Bergama was principally established on the flat lands.

The *Selçuk* (Seljuk) Minaret near the *Şadırvan* mosque today is the only building left from the Karasi period. The minaret is a tribute to Seljukid architecture with its brick shaft decorated with glazed tiles in navy, turquoise, pale green and terracotta. An octagonal balcony is supported by stalactite vaults. There is no trace or knowledge of the original mosque. A later mosque, the *Arap Camii*, was demolished in 1930 because it did not possess artistic distinction (Bayatlı, 1956).

In his travels in 1352 Ibn-i Batuda only briefly refers to Bergama and describes the town as being in a very poor state (Batuda, 1939:135). Years of wars and economic decline in the Byzantine era, followed by another uncertain period under Turkish rule, had left Bergama as an insignificant and devastated city. However, it was not to be for long as the Ottomans realised the importance of the city to major trade routes and before the end of the century it had started developing, and in the architecture a new Ottoman style of the period is evident.

While Bergama became one of the significant trading posts of Ottoman Anatolia, its architecture also reflected the wealth and prosperity of the Empire. Even though the products are not as spectacular, rich or overwhelming as the magnificent ones in Bursa, Edirne or Istanbul, they have their own merit and are often of a distinct quality. Our knowledge of the city plan and organisation of the early Ottoman Bergama is limited. However, some of the most distinctive Islamic monuments that have survived were built in this period.

ii The 14th Century, Early Ottoman Rule

The early Ottoman City developed along the river Selinos, and stone bridges over the Selinos and the Bakırçay² were some of the earliest Ottoman constructions. Built in 1384 the *Koyun* (Sheep) Bridge on the Bakırçay river is an important structure of early Ottoman architecture. Two cut stone arches form the narrow passages of the bridge, which also has an inscription on its side. The bridge remained in use until 1982 and has

² The Bakırçay valley is one of the three main fertile plains of the Aegean region and consequently an attraction to settlements in antiquity and the present.

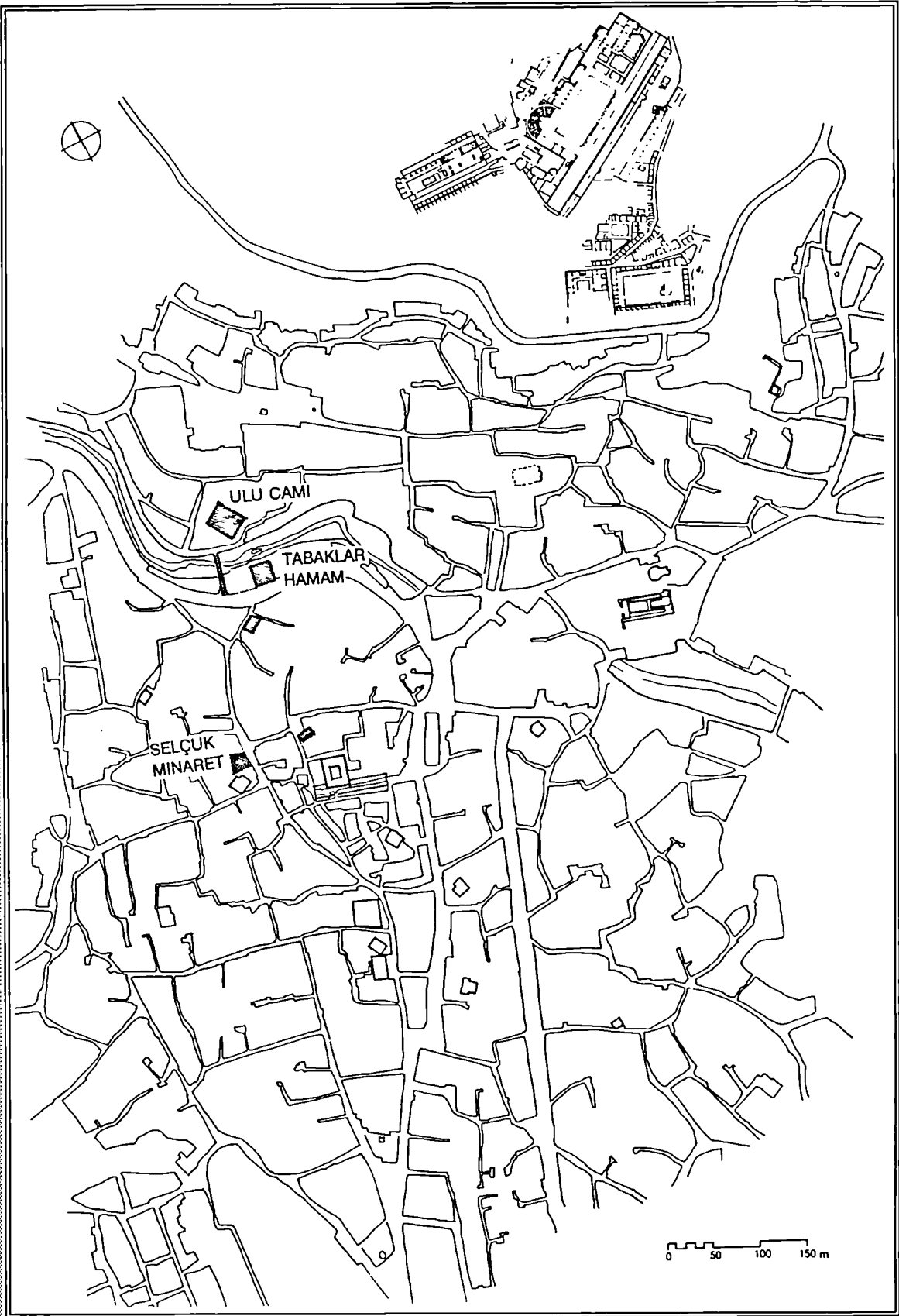


FIGURE 4.3 *Important Buildings in Bergama from the 14th century*

outlived a number of bridges built in much later years (Altınışik, 1982:44). Many buildings continued in the Seljuk tradition, using alternate rows of stone and fired bricks for the walls, delicate but geometric brick cornice patterns around window openings and for the cornice (*kirpi saçak*), and geometric stone carvings for entrances and pendentives of the more important buildings.

Built on the Byzantine and Christian city, the earliest Ottoman buildings were undoubtedly mosques and religious complexes. The Great Mosque, *Ulucami*, built in 1399, is one of only four Great Mosques³ to be built in stone in the Ottoman era but is Seljukid in style. Three of its four walls were built on an antique foundation and the ruins of a nearby Roman Gymnasium provided the building material. Two portals on the west and north are spectacular examples of carved marble, also in the Seljukid style. The interior is simple, with four massive pilasters dividing the inside space into nine separate areas. The central area is covered by three domes on octagonal bases, the central one being slightly higher, which has made it a distinct landmark of Bergama.

A bridge connects the mosque with a *hamam* built on the opposite bank. In ruins today, the *Tabaklar Hamam*, takes its name from the leather trade in the area. It is known to have been a spectacular building, with brick domes supported by ornate marble stalactite structures, before it fell into ruins in the 1842 flood (Bayatlı, 1956). Today only one dome of the derelict building is intact, while most of the marble ornamentation has been lost. A house has been built on part of the building and the rear chambers are gradually sliding into the river. Both the bridge and the mosque are in use today. The mosque has undergone a number of restorations, including those of 1905⁴, and the renewal of the minaret in 1949. In 1991 the Bergama Museum set out a new restoration plan to repair the roof and to reorganise the courtyard (Cumhuriyet, 1.5.92). The mosque serves much of what is still known as the Greek neighbourhood and the bridge connects it to today's city centre.

³ Great mosques are a North African influence on early Ottoman architecture, the largest and most famous being in Bursa, the first capital of the Empire. The large interior area in these mosques is achieved by the grid of columns supporting the roof. Earlier ones were built with wooden columns, four of which still survive in Anatolia today.

⁴ Like many of the restorations at the time this project was also undertaken by Kemal Bey, the then Governor of Bergama.

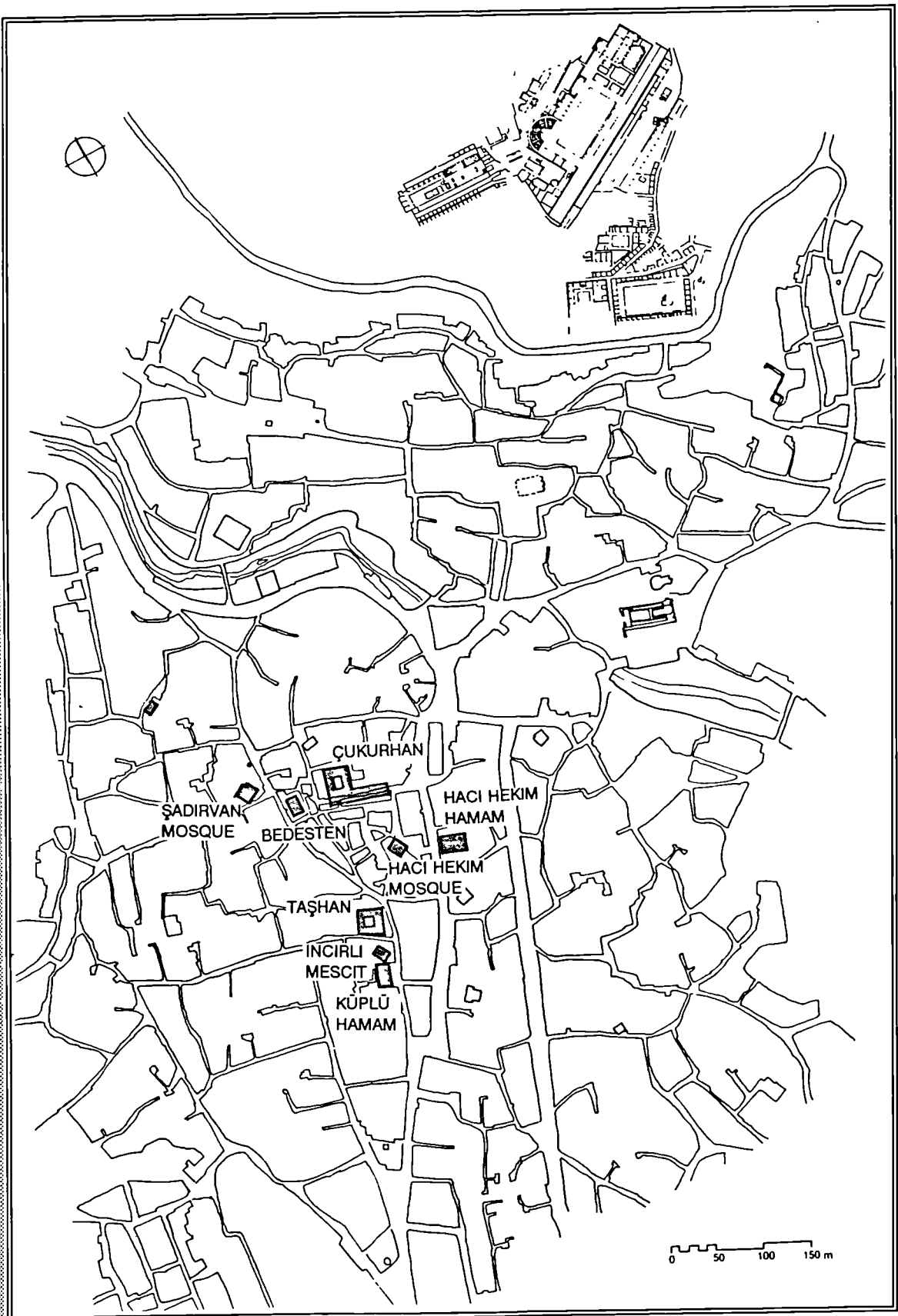


FIGURE 4.4 Buildings from the 15th and 16th centuries in Bergama

Also by the 14th C. many of the Turkish neighbourhoods had been established on the South bank of the river, notably the *Selçuk* neighbourhood.

iii The 15th and 16th Centuries, *Wealth and Prosperity*

Known as the Classical Period in Ottoman architecture, the 15th and 16th centuries followed the conquest of Istanbul and the Empire became wealthier because of the many new lands that were captured. Throughout the 16th C. Bergama remained one of the larger cities of Western Anatolia with over 1000 tax payers (Faroqhi, 1984:25).

One of the earliest buildings of this period is *Çukurhan* and the vaulted shopping area adjoining it. It is a very typical *han* of its time, with a two storey portico surrounding the square courtyard, with a well in the centre. The main building material is small stones alternately used with bricks, but damage caused by earthquakes and fires over the years has meant that most of the original wooden structures have been replaced. However, the *han* continues to be used today and part of the upper floor is used for overnight guests, often on business from the nearby villages. In the early years of this century the *han* was divided among three brothers who inherited it and remains so today. Although there is no longer a vault covering the shopping arcade (*arasta*), small shops continue to occupy the cells, forming one of the most colourful streets of the shopping area, with a number of skilled craftsmen spilling their workshops onto the narrow street. The *han* and *arasta* formed the core of the main shopping area of the town, known as the *çarşı*⁵.

The *Küplü Hamam* has become one of the most famous buildings in Bergama due to the vase after which it was named⁶. The *hamam* forms a complex with *İncirli Mescit*

⁵ The *han* and the remaining cells of the *arasta* are of the few remaining buildings of the 16th C. Most of the buildings forming the *çarşı* today were built in the 18th and 19th centuries.

⁶ The story goes that Hatip Mahmut found three vases full of gold in his field whilst ploughing it. He immediately informed the Sultan in Bursa, who sent his vezir to collect the gold and the vases. Hatip Mahmut was awarded with one of the empty vases and chose the broken one. He also became Hatip Pasha and received a considerable amount of land in the eastern part of Bergama. Around 1427 his sons had the complex built, including the *hamam* in which they housed the vase. The vase became a centre of attraction and was also mentioned in the works of Charles Texier and Prokesch-Osten, two famous 19th C. travellers. Towards the end of the 19th C. the French ambassador offered 12,500 francs for the vase, but the *hamam* still belonged to Hatip Pashas' descendants and they did not wish to part with it. Quite soon after this incident Sultan Mahmut II presented the vase to Louis Philip of France. It is now in the Louvre Museum, while the other two are in the Hagia Sophia (Bayatlı, 1942).

and the *Taşhan*. Behind the *hamam* and the *mescit* is the residence of the family who had the complex built; the *mescit* takes its name from the fig trees in the garden of the house and there had also been a direct link from the house to the *hamam*. This is one of the few Ottoman complexes that remain in Bergama, the *mescit* and the *hamam* are still used and the house (of a more recent date than the complex) remains in the same family. The *hamam* was bought by the municipality and handed to the owner of the *Hacı Hakim Hamam* in 1991. The *han* is the only building which is no longer being used since 1986, when it was closed as a threat to public health.

It can be said that the present day *çarşı* was formed in the area between the two *han*, hence moving the centre of the town away from the riverside developments of the *Ulucami* and *Tabaklar Hamamı*. In fact this corresponds to the first Turkish centre around the *Selçuk* minaret and the *Şadırvanlı* mosque that was built in 1550, to become the main *Çarşı* Mosque⁷.

Much of the historic urban fabric that still exists in Bergama had been established by this period, including the recently acknowledged Conservation Areas and also many other parts of the town. The fruit and vegetable market, as part of the shopping area, has been held in the same place every Monday for more than a hundred years (Conze, 1913).

iv The 17th and 18th Centuries, *Changing patterns of trade*

By the 17th century Bergama was one of the major towns on the Anatolian trade routes and a much bigger town than Izmir (Faroqhi, 1984), to which it is now administratively connected. "Production of cotton can be followed rather closely in the area of Bergama" (Faroqhi, 1984:128) and it was also known that "The Bergama merchants often preferred selling to customers from outside the province, not excluding European traders" (Faroqhi, 1984:128). Many street names in the market area were named after this cotton connection, including *Urgan Sokak* and *İplik Pazarı*⁸. New regulations of the Empire at the time only permitted cotton to be sold in its raw form and no longer as a woven fabric. With increasing trade connections, a number of new *han* were built in this period,

⁷ A *Çarşı* Mosque was one of the most important mosques in the Ottoman City, as it was situated at the centre of the commercial district.

⁸ Standing for 'String Street' and 'Thread Market' respectively.

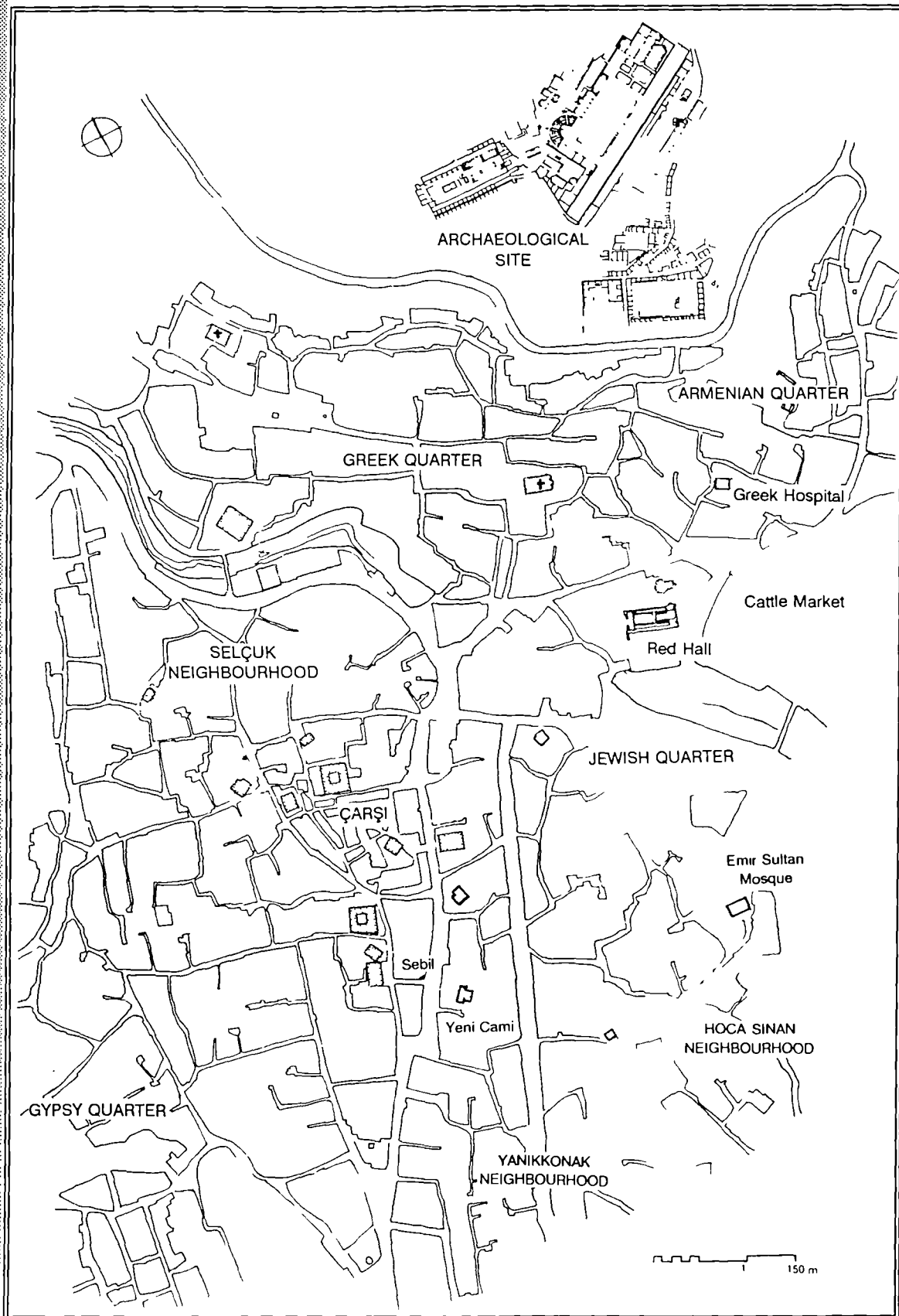


FIGURE 4.5 19th century and early 20th century developments in Bergama

including *Acemhan*, *Bakırhan*, *Müslihan* and *Yazıcıoğluhan*. Although the earlier *han*, *Çukurhan* and *Taşhan* still stand, none of the 17th C. *hans* have survived. Several were demolished and others burnt down in the last century.

In 1742 the *Şeytan* (Devil) Bridge was constructed over the Bakırçay river. This three arched stone bridge, and the inscription with the date of construction on it, was unfortunately demolished in 1935 during a sanitation project (Bayatlı, 1956). The 18th century ended with the 1775 riots known as the Izmir Invasion, marking the start of a period of unrest and change for the city.

v The 19th Century, Social Change

Following two centuries of stability, there were many disturbing incidents in the 19th C. in Bergama. Following the riots at the end of the 18th C. the famous Karaosman family from Manisa started ruling in Bergama. They were an educated family and encouraged and patronised good public architecture. Hence many new buildings were built, among them the New Mosque, *Yeni Cami* in 1814, the *Emir Sultan* Mosque in the 1820s and the famous baroque *sebil*⁹, known as the *Karaosman Sebil* (Bayatlı, 1956).

From the middle of the century a series of disasters brought great sorrow to the town and considerable social movement. First a plague, in 1837, and then a flood in 1842 took many lives, leaving the town with room to accommodate Turkish settlers returning from Europe, as countries like Greece and Bulgaria declared their Independence from the Empire. Disasters, however, were not over as the Great Fire swept the town in 1852, causing serious damage. Several years later riots against industrial development caused further disturbances. Nevertheless there are indications that some economic viability continued as new *han* were built to replace those that had burnt down. *Acemhan* was rebuilt in place of the burnt original, while *Katırhan* in *Istiklal* Square was a new *han*.

Many young men from Bergama fought in the Russian War in 1876, leaving the town once again with no population growth. As the men and the war were lost, more immigrants moved in and many new properties had to be built to accommodate the

⁹ A *sebil* is a water fountain with a small chamber behind or in the centre of it to serve people drinks at certain times of the day. *Sebil* became very popular in the 18th C., especially in Istanbul where they were built after a baroque fashion, in exquisite and ornate marbles.

newcomers. These neighbourhoods were built around the older districts, each with its own centre with a mosque or *mescit*, such as *Hoca Sinan*, *Hatuniye* and *Selimiye*, built in 1884.

In the 19th C. the Greek (Christian) population occupied the area east of the Acropolis, known as *Rum Mahallesi*¹⁰. The 800 Armenians lived on the west of the Acropolis, 250 Jews by the river, while the Muslim inhabitants occupied the flat areas (Bayatlı, 1957:10). Several European travellers have estimated the population of the town to be 8000 in 1816 and 15,000 by the middle of the century (Peker, 1992:23-24)¹¹.

Due to many disasters and the overall poor economical condition of the Empire, monumental, even public architecture was no longer built to its former excellence. However, it is the 18th and 19th C. residential settlements that form many of the historic quarters and the Conservation Area today.

vi Early 20th Century, War and Independence

Like many of the towns of Western Anatolia, Bergama also experienced a three year Greek occupation starting in June 1919. The town fell to the Turks on the 14th September 1922, soon after Izmir, and with the forming of the Turkish Republic in 1923, Bergama came under the political administration of Izmir. In the last two centuries Izmir had grown to become a major port town trading with many Mediterranean ports; much of it is still run by the Jewish and Levantine population of the town.

Many public buildings were lost in the 19th and 20th centuries. The *Arap* and *Emir Sultan* Mosques were demolished and *Abacılar han* burnt down. With the steady decline in trade and changing lifestyles many public buildings became redundant. The *Çınarlı hamam* was sold to a developer who built a shop over half of it. A number of the famous *konaks* (mansions) were also lost in this period.

¹⁰ The Greeks were known as *Rum* to the Turks, the word comes from Roman people, referred to as the Byzantine occupants of Anatolia in the 10th C.

¹¹ All the figures are estimated and cannot be taken as absolutely correct. A census in 1908, which only counted the male population, estimates the total population to be 19-20,000. This was also the last census in which there was a foreign population in Bergama (Peker, 1992:27).

At the time when the foreign population left Bergama, early censuses indicate 15,597 inhabitants in 1923 and 13,868 and 14,837 for 1927 and 1935 respectively. The following table shows the population growth in Bergama since 1935.

Year	Bergama Town	Villages	Total
1935	14,837		
1965	24,121		
1975	29,749		
1985	38,849	56,541	95,300
1990	42,554	58,867	101,421

TABLE 4.1 *Population growth in Bergama from 1935 to 1990 (Source: Turkish Statistics Institute and The Municipality of Bergama).*

Electricity was brought to the town in 1914 (Eriş, 1990:266) by the municipality, changing the nature of small industries. The one-and-a-half-day horse cart journey to Izmir was shortened in the early 1930s with the use of cars. The first car in Bergama was bought by Hacı Mehmet Silahçı in 1925. By 1932 there were 28 private cars and 20 transport vehicles registered with the Municipality (Peker, 1992:92). Trade connections to Izmir were simplified and increased as a result.

4.1.3 Economy and Livelihood

From being an important and thriving commercial centre Bergama reverted to a rural agricultural town in this century. However, the attraction of the ruins has always kept Bergama on travellers' maps and culture and an interest in history has always been very significant to the townspeople.

i Agriculture in the Bakırçay Valley

Based in the centre of the Bakırçay valley, one of the three fertile valleys of the Aegean coast, the land surrounding Bergama is very suitable for agriculture. After the Ottoman invasion Bergama no longer needed a citadel and the population moved into the valleys and started farming.

By 1979, 500 square kilometres of land was being used for agriculture (Eriş, 1990:263), compared to 267 square kilometres in 1925 (Peker, 1925:77). The main products of the area are tobacco, cotton, wheat and other whole grain, pulses, corn, sugar beet and pine nuts. Alongside these major products a wide variety of fruits and vegetables is also grown in the area. Grapes and figs are dried and exported. A new dam, *Kestel Barajı*, completed in 1989, has provided improved irrigation facilities for the area.

Many families who live in Bergama continue to farm in the area, often by moving out to the fields in the summer season when the crops need to be tended. The cotton and tobacco season provides employment as cheap labour for many people in Bergama and from the surrounds¹². Since the city falls within the region of Izmir, statistics are not often produced separately for Bergama and are only available for the overall area¹³.

Pine forests surround part of Bergama and many forest villages depend on wood collecting and pine nuts for their livelihood. Many of the farmers in the area also tend animals, goats and sheep in particular. In the lower valley there are beehives and honey is locally produced.

ii Hand Crafts and Light Industry

At the turn of the century many hand crafts were still thriving in Bergama. However modernisation, technology and mass production coupled with changes in society have outdated many of them. For example, the leather trades, including boot and shoe makers, are getting less as mass produced shoes are becoming a cheaper option; the same is true of the tailors. As motor vehicles are replacing the horse carts, so modern garages are replacing the crafts that serviced horses and locally built wooden carts¹⁴. In the *çarşı* each street served a different trade and different markets were set-up on different days of the week to sell different produce, such as the leather market. Today only the fruit and vegetable and animal markets remain.

¹² Seasonal agricultural work in the arable valleys of Western Anatolia attracts a vast immigrant population from the Eastern regions of the country.

¹³ Figures that may have been available were not disclosed by the local Chamber of Trade and Commerce.

¹⁴ A wide range of crafts thrived in Bergama at the turn of the century, including leather workshops, shoe makers, boot makers, weaving, sweet makers, nut shops, smiths, felt makers, smiths for horseshoes, makers of collars for horse's harness, makers of pack saddles, tinsmiths, small soup restaurants, string makers and women that made pearl necklaces (Peker, 1992).

Traditional industry has involved a considerable amount of cloth weaving, due to the cotton, that is grown as well as carpet and kilim weaving. The carpets and kilims of Bergama are still woven by hand and are very famous. A number of centres have been established for weaving with outlets to sell them to tourists; watching women weave in mock village houses is becoming part of an 'authentic' tourist experience.

Industry has never been the main economic base in Bergama. At the turn of the century there were recorded 10 oil workshops, 3 soap workshops, 8 mills, 4 cotton factories and one flour factory. By 1943, numbers had increased to 4 olive oil, 3 oil and 2 flour factories, an ice and cold drink factory, a number of smaller ateliers producing farming equipment and car parts, as well as 15 leather workshops and 3 weaving workshops. By 1979 there was the textile factory, a main employer, along with 14 oil and 20 olive oil factories and ateliers (Eriş, 1990,267), and evidently very little industry.

For most industrial products Bergama depends on products manufactured in Izmir's industrial zone, 100km to the south. A lack of industry has meant that the environment in and around the town is clean and rapid urban growth tied to industrialisation has not occurred.

iii Dwindling Importance of Commerce to Bergama

Bergama first lost its importance as a trade centre with the opening of the Izmir-Bandırma railway line earlier this century (Peker, 1992:88). Previously goods were brought to the port of Dikili and dispersed inland from Bergama. However, with new rail connections Izmir became a much bigger and important port in the early part of the century. Roles have been reversed as Izmir has grown to become a metropolis and Turkey's second largest harbour, and Bergama has become a provincial town attached to Izmir.

iv Bergama, an Administrative Centre for the Region

Even though administratively Bergama falls in the province of Izmir, it acts as an administrative centre for many of the surrounding villages. Today there are not just the offices of the local council, but also many banks and offices as well as practices set up by accountants, lawyers, architects, doctors and dentists. Consequently, dependence

on Izmir for many of these services is decreasing. The creation of more office centred jobs is also encouraging the educated younger generation to stay in Bergama.

v The Growing Significance of Tourism to the Local Economy

Tourists are certainly not new to Bergama; as Pergamon regained its importance with an interest in the classics in Western Europe, the more adventurous gentlemen on their 'Grand Tour' found their way to Pergamum to visit the ruins. A steady flow of visitors has followed. German excavations in the late 19th century triggered off more interest as the antique city came to light.

The historic site was first spotted in 1676 by Spon Hamilton and then in 1748 by Choiseul de Gauffier, who suggested the site should be excavated. Surveys by Fellows and Texier in the next century revealed very little and the real wealth of the site was discovered by Carl Humann, a German road engineer, in 1865. The first series of excavations on the site were conducted by Carl Humann and Alexander Conze between 1878 and 1886¹⁵. In the pre-Republic period Humann and Conze were permitted to transport their findings back to Germany. The Pergamon Museum, in the former East Berlin, houses a remarkable collection of artifacts and architectural objects from Pergamum, including the famous Altar of Zeus¹⁶. Except for interruptions during war periods, excavations have been and continue to be undertaken by the German Institute of Archaeology. This has provided seasonal work for up to two hundred men, often as labourers from Bergama and the surrounding villages; many are agricultural workers as well.

Ever since the site was discovered many travellers have visited Bergama. In the 1930s NATTA, a foreign owned travel agency in Istanbul, was offering tours to Bergama (Akçura, 1993:59). The archaeological museum was established in 1936 and the first director Osman Bayatlı had the Acropolis road asphalted (Eriş, 1990:315). Strong campaigning by the Mayor of Bergama, Sefa Taşkın, to bring the Altar of Zeus back to

¹⁵ See also Alter Tümer von Pergamon Band I (1913) and Eriş (1990).

¹⁶ The marbles found on the site were rebuilt in the museum in a room 70 yards wide, 40 yards long and 20 yards high, trying to recapture the scale of ancient Pergamon. Competing with the Parthenon friese (the Elgin marbles) in the British Museum at the time, the reconstruction is considered a monument to museology and such a form of presentation would not be adopted today. (Meisler, 1991:78-79)

Turkey in 1990 has also drawn attention to Bergama in recent years, particularly on the national level. Tourism is becoming an important industry for Bergama as tourist levels have risen considerably over the past five years. (See TABLE 4.2)

Bergama has grown considerably over the past twenty years and the centre is not just a centre for the surrounding agricultural community; on the contrary it is a centre for a diverse population of traders, industrialists and the tourist industry. Today many products available in Turkey can be obtained in Bergama, and there is less need to travel to Izmir. However, any dirty manufacturing industry is on a small scale, which has kept the town free of pollution.

4.2 AN ANALYSIS OF URBAN FORM AND STRUCTURE

4.2.1 Streets and Land-use Patterns

For the purpose of this study the town can be divided into several different land use functions: the main street for administrative use, the commercial district with the old market with the new market on either side of the main road, the Greek and Armenian quarters on the hill side and the later Turkish neighbourhoods in the valley. Today new high-rise concrete blocks surround the city on the flat areas and the circumference of the city is growing every year, enhanced with new and wider roads. The Main Street acts as an axis connecting the Izmir road to the Acropolis, cutting through the town. The arteries into the immediate neighbourhoods branch out from the Main Street and so does the *Şadırvanlı Cami Sokak*, forming the backbone of the *çarşı*. From these streets branch out the smaller winding streets and eventually a network of *cul-de-sacs*.

Since 1985 several new roads have been built in and around the town, mainly as connections to other major roads in the area. The first pierced through the Turkish neighbourhoods in the south of the city, running parallel to the main administrative axis. The original road had been a small narrow, winding one, but the new and straight road cut through numerous houses, which have since been repaired. One of the reasons for this new road was to provide easier access to the city centre, which has in fact resulted in increased traffic jams in *Istiklal* Square. This street is also used as the new market place and every Monday hundreds of stalls are set up and the area is then used strictly for pedestrians. A year later a similar action was taken through one of the

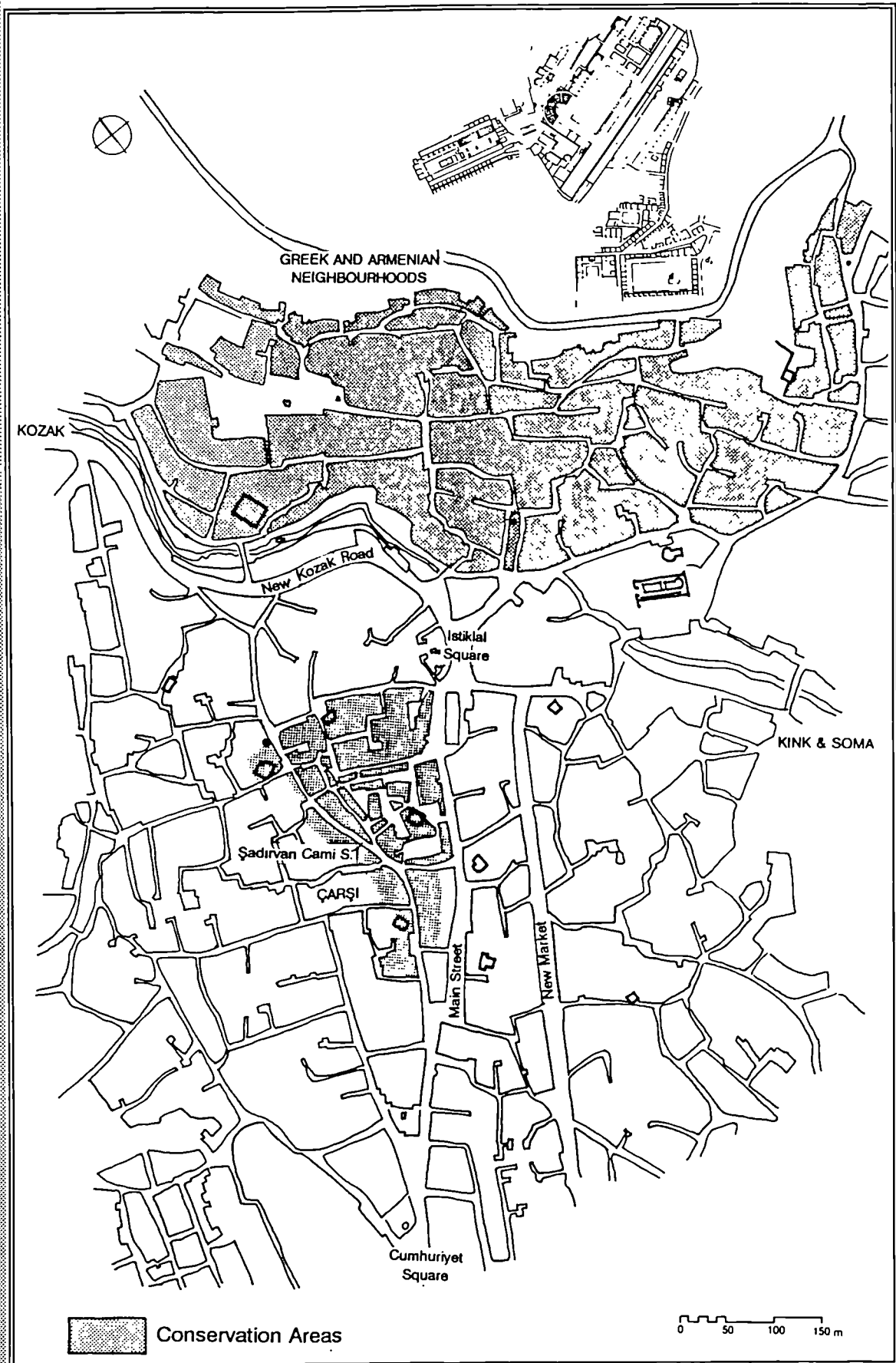


FIGURE 4.6 Present day Bergama, major roads and conservation areas

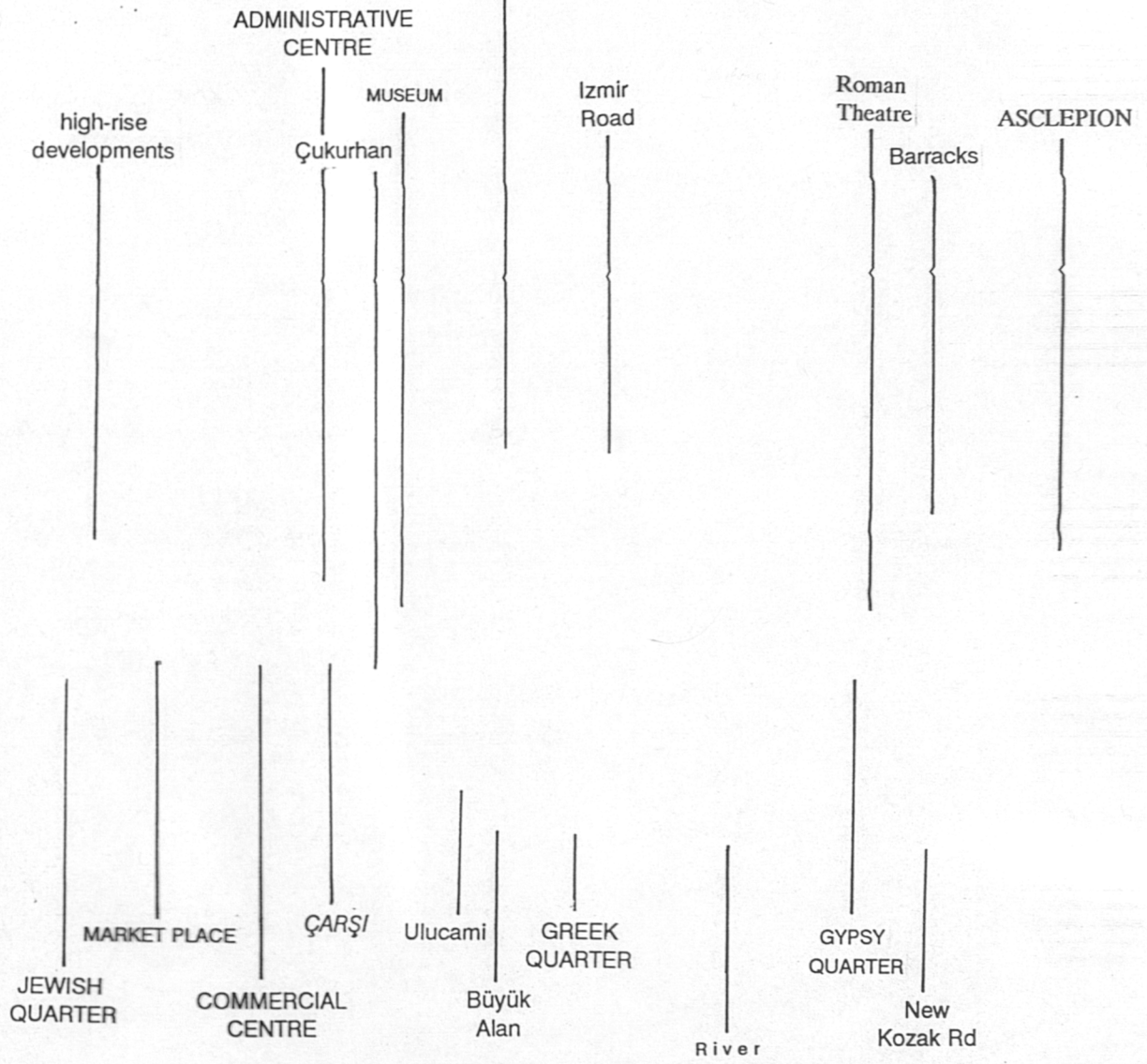
neighbourhoods south of the river, connecting Bergama to Kozak in the north. This road is used by heavy lorries.

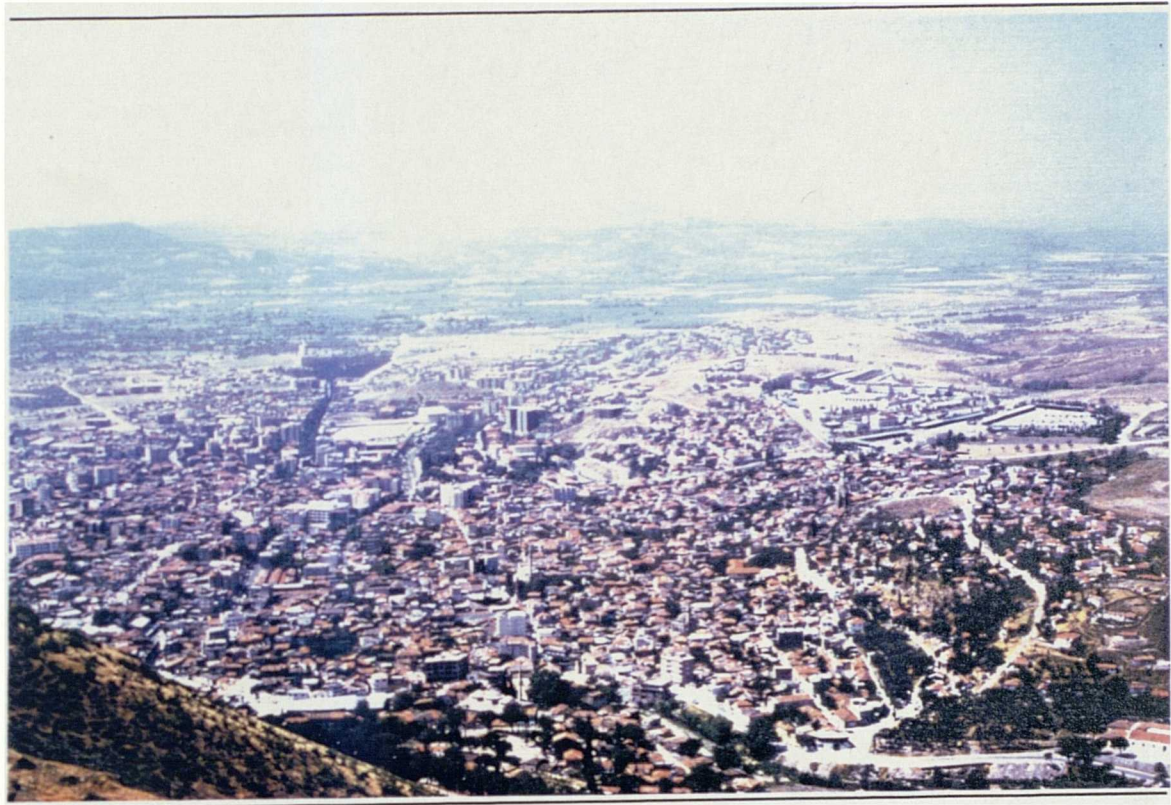
Again houses were cut into, exposing rooms to the street. As the road was asphalted in 1991, the houses were gradually repaired by the owners. Compensation is paid to them when the Government buys the land off them (owners do not have a choice), but this money is not sufficient for buying new property. Hence, many owners chose to repair their houses and accept less accommodation and smaller yards. The third major road, completed in 1992, forms a ring road around the town, diverting heavy traffic from the centre. However, both the new roads in the town pass through the Istiklal Square area to reach the ring-road, which does cause considerable traffic congestion in the centre.

On the road that connects Bergama to the main road running between Izmir and Bergama, and also the main route on which the 'tourist buses' arrive there are a considerable number of specialist tourist outlets that offer a range of carpets, leather wear and onyx items to a large number of customers often arriving by coach. Several hotels and campsites are also in this area. Parking problems in the centre attract visitors to these outside establishments.

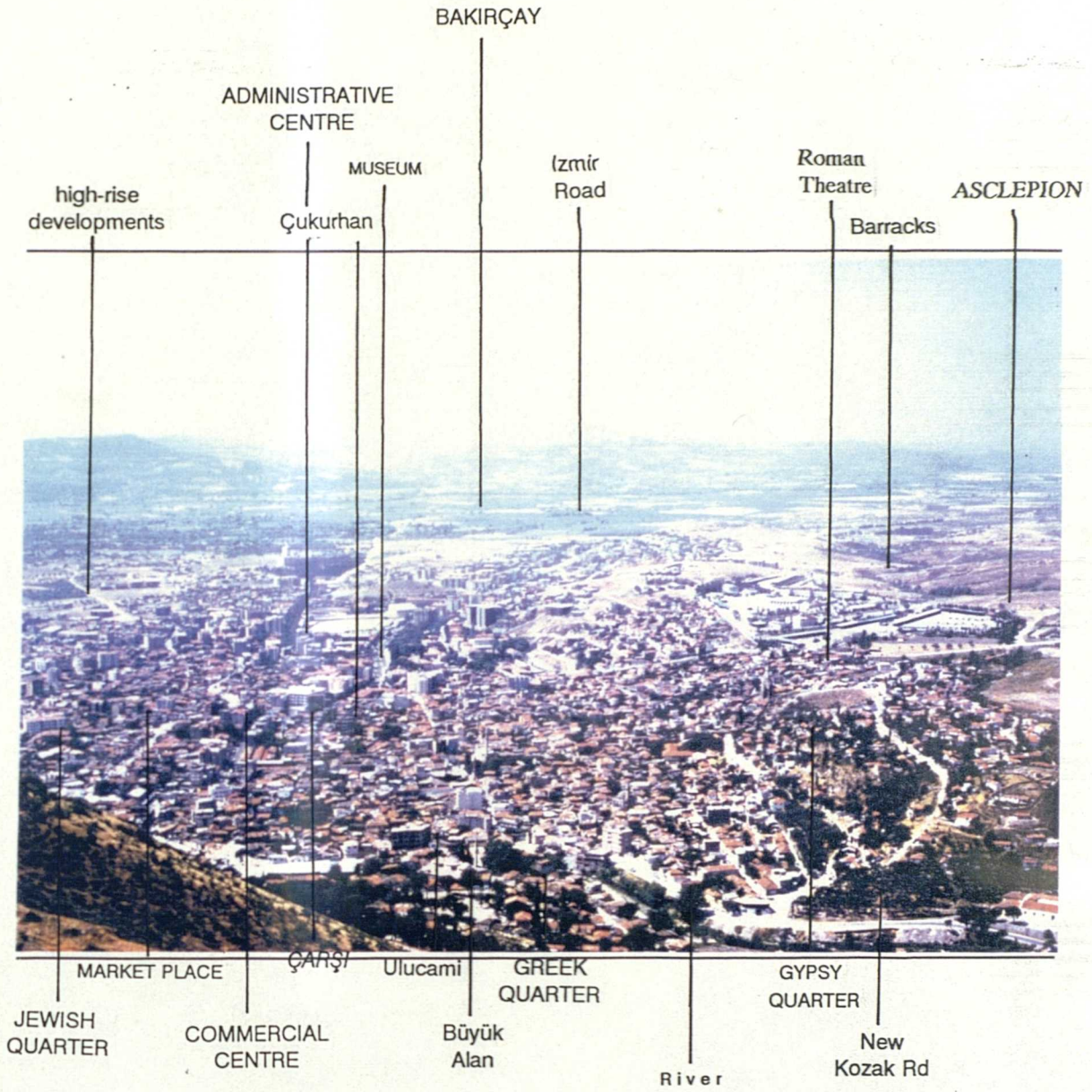
The Main Street forms an axis through Bergama joining the Izmir road to the road up to the Acropolis and can be divided into several activity nodes: the first is Cumhuriyet Square and is a ceremonial centre very close to the municipality and the Governor's quarters. The shopping area starts at this square and continues to the Istiklal Square, where there are several coffee houses, restaurants and beer houses. A couple of department stores, several supermarkets and all the banks are situated on this road; the *çarşı* is to one side of it. Two main roads connecting Bergama to the provincial towns of Kozak in the north and Kınık and Soma in the east join the Main Street in Istiklal Square. The Main Street is the only route leading to the Acropolis, therefore the next stage is dominated by tourist attractions, primarily carpet and antique dealers. This road also leads to the traditional cattle market, held on Mondays. The Monday market is very much an agricultural one, as villagers come down to the town to sell their produce and buy supplies.

BAKIRÇAY





COLOUR PLATE 4.1 BERGAMA AERIAL VIEW FROM ACROPOLIS



COLOUR PLATE 4.1 BERGAMA AERIAL VIEW FROM ACROPOLIS

i The Çarşı: Conservation Area

The çarşı, the main shopping district, is one of the two Conservation Areas and includes a number of listed buildings like the *Selçuk* Minaret, *Şadırvan* Mosque, the *Bedesten*, the *Taşhan* Complex and *Çukurhan*. The *Şadırvan Cami* Street is the backbone of the çarşı, connecting the important buildings like the *Küplü Hamam*, *Taşhan*, the *Bedesten* and *Şadırvan* Mosque with the river bank and the *Ulucami*. The river bank had originally been a leather workshop area. Many of the streets in this area are the old shopping streets flanked with small shops and workshops and are named after the major businesses in the area. Some small businesses still continue the traditional trades, such as leather dealers, shoe makers and sellers, small printers, cloth dealers and tailors.

The old covered bazaar, once the major fish and meat market, has been demolished and replaced with a new building that mainly serves the tourist trade, due to its proximity to the main street. Irregular and small squares shaded by a plane tree, with a small well, provide shopkeepers and passersby with a place to rest. There are several in Bergama and they are a distinct feature of the Ottoman çarşı. Monday is an important day in Bergama, when most of the town is taken over by the traditional market and the town is full of shoppers and producers from nearby villages. The çarşı caters especially for the *Bahçivan pazarı*, the fruit and vegetable market that has been a tradition for the last one hundred years. Every Monday and Friday the small squares are filled with stalls of fresh produce, spices and cheeses.

ii Istiklal Square Retail for Tourism and A Social Focus

The main tourist commercial area is the area around the Red Hall on the way to the Acropolis (see also FIGURE 4.13). Several of the shops have been owned by the same family for over ten years and Bergama has always been famous as a carpet and antiques town, frequented by foreigners living in Turkey and Turkish intellectuals from Izmir and Istanbul.

There is a focal point to the area, the Roman Red Hall, an impressive red brick temple that has been floodlit since August 1993. Coffeehouses and restaurants in the adjoining Istiklal Square make it a popular area at night. The problem that remains is the newly widened road that passes through the area. The aim for attracting more tourist coaches

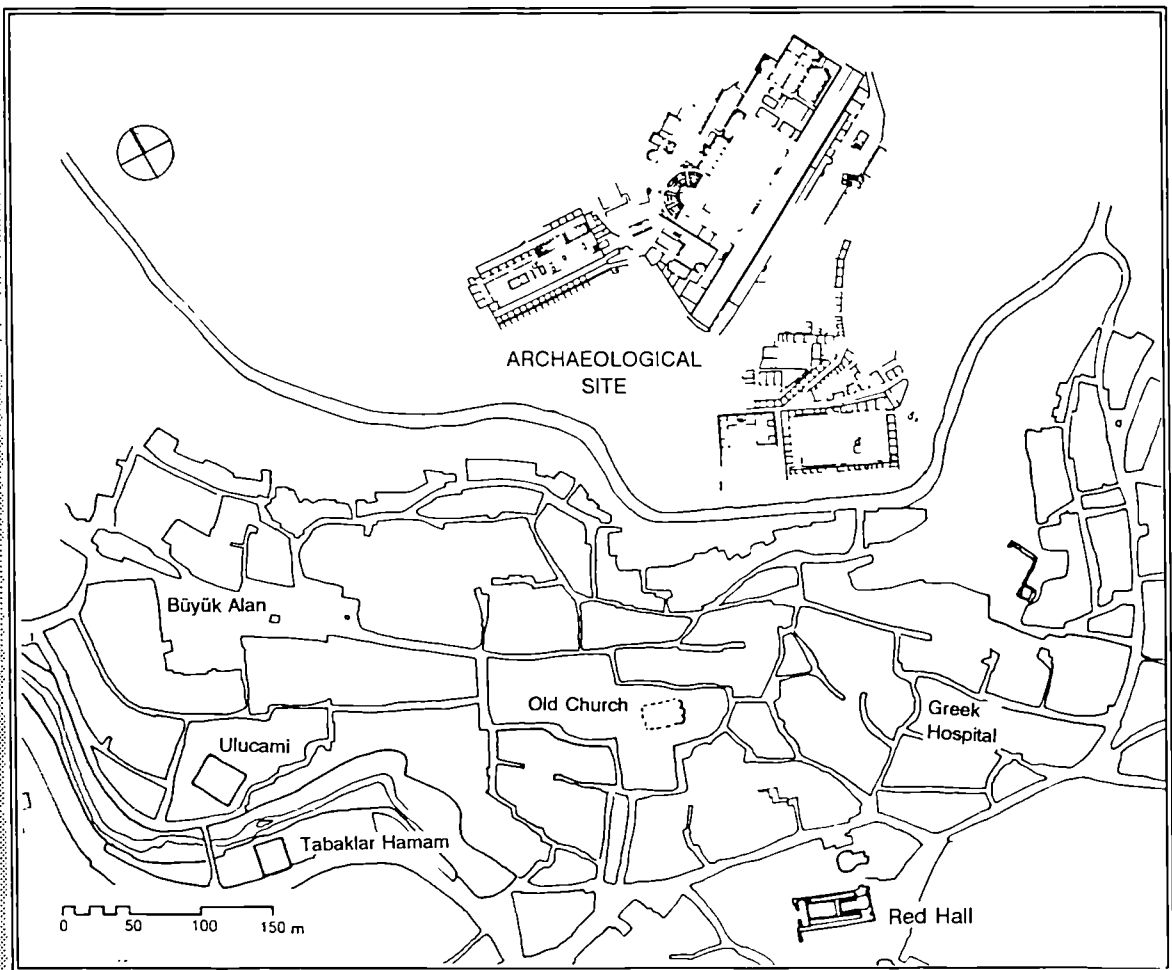


FIGURE 4.8 *The Former Greek and Armenian Neighbourhoods*

has been achieved with consequent noise, dust and pollution to the locals, particularly the businesses on the road, who do not depend on these tours for their trade.

There have been several attempts to establish souvenir shops in the town, but with very little success. The first is the 'Covered Bazaar' on the Main Street and the second a group of shops built opposite the museum in 1990. The former does very little business and half of the shops are empty whilst the latter has converted its function to a beer garden, which is popular with locals and tourists alike.

iii The Greek and Armenian Neighbourhoods: Conservation Area

Built on the side of the hill, north of the river Selinos, the Greek and Armenian quarters are the oldest of the residential areas. Narrow streets lead up from the town and the riverside into the neighbourhoods. The Acropolis road cuts through the eastern part of the Armenian neighbourhood, but generally circumscribes the area. This road forms a boundary between the town and the archaeological remains of Pergamum, a first degree Archaeological Conservation Area.

Narrow parallel streets follow the contour lines and are connected by steep winding streets and occasionally steps. *Cul-de-sacs*, leading off from the streets, have developed in the organic growth of the area. There is one uncommonly large open space in the western section, known as Büyük Alan (Large Square) or Domuz Alanı (Pig Square); it is the site of a Roman Gymnasium, the stones of which were used to build the Ulucami just below. The houses on the west side of the square are built on a series of vaulted chambers from the old Roman structure.

Most of the houses in the area are Greek in style and the oldest date known is 1813. Other houses are either in the Turkish traditional style and or newer single storey brick and concrete structures. The remnants of several churches, a bath house and a hospital are also in the area. Many of Bergama's famous water fountains can be found in this part of the town, the oldest dating back to 1742 (Alanyalı, 1991:34). There are also several churches in the area; one lies in ruins behind the Large Square and another visible until 1970 (Alanyalı, 1993:2) has been replaced by the 14 Eylül primary school. The former Greek hospital was also used as a school, but today lies abandoned and derelict.

Interviews revealed that residents in the older quarters value their neighbours, cheap rents, proximity to the town centre and the availability of safe play spaces for children (see Appendix I). The collaboration and support network is of utmost importance, especially in poorer communities. There is a serious maintenance problem, and owners are frequently taking measures, without consultation, to improve the condition of their properties. When houses are repaired, this is often with the assistance of friends and neighbours and not hired labour.

In Bergama too, there is now a demand for higher comfort conditions. People do not want to go outside to the bathroom or to any other room. This is a problem with the smaller Turkish type houses rather than the Greek houses. The Greek houses have high ceilings and considerable sized rooms. In several cases where the owners themselves have repaired their houses they have closed up a verandah and use it as a closed communal space onto which the other rooms open. This is also a practical means of conserving heat and a stove in this space will heat the surrounding rooms as well.

New additions are usually *ad-hoc* and economical, very rarely with permission, the sole aim being to make life in these big houses more bearable. In almost every street there are houses that have been totally abandoned. Conservation Area ruling does not allow for new houses to be built other than under strict control. In cases where there are family disputes over ownership for example, houses are frequently left to collapse.

iv Other Historic Neighbourhoods

The Jewish population had settled on the east side of the Main Street, opposite the *çarşı*. Better trade connections through the port of Izmir meant that the Jewish population left Bergama at the beginning of the century. Today there is very little left of this area that falls within the commercial district. Many of the houses are either derelict or used for storage purposes; this included the Synagogue until 1992. Now under protection, but with no money available for its restoration, the building is in gradual decline¹⁷.

¹⁷ The ornately decorated wooden ceiling of the Synagogue is on the verge of collapse mainly due to the irresponsible use of the interior as an animal stall and depot by a very jolly, but rather ignorant whole grain dealer. In 1992 it came under the protection of the Bergama Museum and is no longer occupied.

The Turkish neighbourhoods developed around the town centre. Even though both of these areas were disturbed by the new roads, they are considerably private. Several new apartment buildings have appeared in parts, as there is no conservation area ruling. Most of the smaller and average sized houses are occupied and the larger houses (*konak*) have often been divided up into smaller units among those who have inherited them.

The oldest and once probably the richest neighbourhood starts from behind the *Taşhan* Complex in the *çarşı*. Being in close proximity to the commercial centre it had become an area for the Ottoman ruling class and many of the distinguished Turkish houses can still be found in this neighbourhood. The area leads up as far as *Viran kapı*, part of the Roman theatre, where the Gypsy neighbourhood begins.

The other central neighbourhood, *Selçuk mahallesi*, is a small island with modest houses to the north of *çarşı* leading up to the river, where it has been cut through by the new road. There is the 15th century *Ansarlı* Mosque in the centre to the neighbourhood on the only road that crosses right through it. Access to most houses is through a *cul-de-sac* leading off the roads that surround the area. Several of the late 19th century neighbourhoods lie to the west and follow the river and the contours of the land.

A second concentration of Turkish neighbourhoods is found to the east of the main street and to the south of the Jewish quarter. They include the *Yanık konak* and *Hoca Sinan* neighbourhoods with several distinguished houses and ornate drinking fountains.

A traditional gypsy culture, with many horses and violinists, continues from *Viran kapı* to the Asclepion, part of the Greco-Roman heritage in Bergama. The existence of the 17th C. Laleli Mosque is an indication of earlier neighbourhoods from which the street pattern has evolved. Today many of the houses are very simple and often very run down. An old olive oil workshop built around a courtyard has been converted into one or two bedroom housing units. This is also an indication of how poor the area is and it is often only the small or run down accommodation which is affordable.

The residential areas, unlike the commercial areas, depending on their position, have either been totally replaced by concrete apartment blocks or they are gradually being abandoned by the inhabitants. In places stricter conservation ruling has deterred the

practice of replacing old houses with new 6-7 storey blocks, but has not directly enabled their conservation either.

4.2.2 Buildings Used for Public and Commercial Uses

Historic buildings in this section can be studied in three groups. The first group is Religious buildings, which also comprise the monumental architecture. Hence, they are often regularly maintained and used for their religious function. The second group is the public buildings of the Ottoman town including the *hamam*, which at the time could be found in most neighbourhoods. After 1923, however, former public buildings lost their functional importance and many have fallen into disuse and dereliction. The third group, the Ottoman commercial centres, have continued to hold their city centre location, but this has often meant that they have been built over as a result of rapid industrialisation, growth and change in the consumer market.

I Religious Buildings

Throughout the Empire the mosque and its associated complex was the establishment, since all law and order was directed and controlled by this institution. The *vakıf* was an important establishment of the Ottoman town, an endowment that provided for the maintenance of the mosque and other important buildings connected to it. In the *vakıf* system money donated to build a mosque would partly be used to build commercial establishments, which would provide revenue to support the maintenance and running of a mosque, college (*medrese*) or hospital. Today the mosque is only a religious establishment and cities and their centres have been built up with many new buildings to house the new administrative functions, including those of the municipalities, education authorities, law courts, police headquarters and many new schools. Municipalities and private funds have continued to support repair works in many mosques, though this is often seen as renewal, and earlier this century many were stripped of their original features in such modernisation exercises.

Many of the most important mosques are on the Main Street and the commercial centre. The Ulucami is the only mosque north of the river as it was built in the area that later became a Greek settlement. A Greek document refers to the mosque as St. Sophie (Kampaitah, 1982:map). The two *çarşı* mosques are the Şadırvan mosque next to the Selçuk minaret on the Şadırvan Cami Street, and the Hacı Hakim mosque on the Main

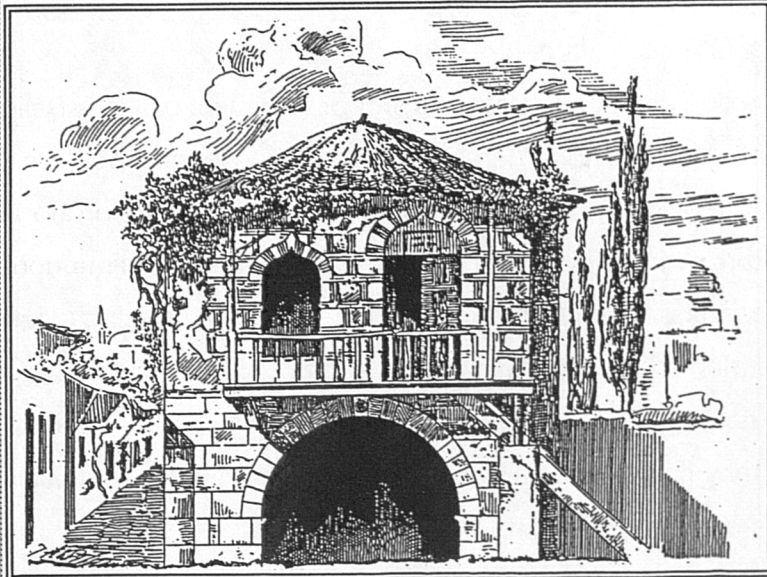


FIGURE 4.9 *Mescidaltı Mescit in the çarşı (drawing by Conze, 1913:346)*

Street. Other significant mosques on the Main Street include the *Kulaksız*, *Yeni* and *Kurşunlu* mosques. Both the *Taşhan* Complex and the *Şadırvan* Mosque were known to have associated *medrese*, but these have long disappeared (Bayatlı, 1956).

There are also three *mescit* within the *çarşı*. The *İncirli mescit* is the oldest and is part of the *Taşhan* Complex, *Lonca mescidi* is on the northern boundaries of area and *Mescidaltı mescit* in the centre. Forming part of the urban fabric this *mescit* is architecturally very interesting as it is raised on four arches, the lower level was then used for ablution purposes. Today the *mescit* has been abandoned and the underneath converted into a small restaurant (*lokanta*).

There are references to a number of churches in the Greek and Armenian quarters and a synagogue in the Jewish quarter. As there is only a predominantly Muslim population today only the mosques have been maintained. Most of the 19th and early 20th C. Turkish neighbourhoods were built around a mosque or a *mescit*. This group includes the *Ansarlı*, *Laleli* and *Selimiye* mosques and the *Hatuniye*, *Kulahbaş*, *Harputlu* and *Parmaklı mescits*, all used as neighbourhood mosques today.

ii Public Buildings

The only type of public building that remains from the Ottoman era in Bergama is the *hamam*. Even they have lost their importance as most houses have had modern bathrooms installed. Today there are still two that function, *Hacı Hakim Hamam* on the Main Street and the *Küplü Hamam* on the *Şadırvan Cami* street. Two others, the 14th C. *Tabaklar Hamamı* opposite the *Ulucami* and the 18th C. *Çınarlı Hamam* in the *çarşı* are in ruins, the latter was incorporated into a shop in 1956. Both of the working *hamam* can cater for all the demand and are often under-used. With stricter working schedules people can no longer spend as much time in a *hamam* either. Visiting a *hamam* is still considered by men to be a social activity, particularly in the winter. But they are not frequented as they used to be and money made from running a *hamam* very rarely stretches to cover extensive maintenance demands.

Küplü Hamam is the oldest *hamam* in Bergama, built in 1427 (Bayatlı, 1947). A dome that collapsed in the 19th C. has been replaced and the first chamber redecorated early this century. It is in use for men only and no longer offers a day a week for women. The *Hacı Hakim Hamam* was built with the mosque of the same name in the 16th C.

and is a double *hamam* with two identical halves for men and women. The men's entrance is from the Main Street and this part of the *hamam* has recently been restored and is in use today. The women's section was entered through a side entrance and is no longer used or maintained. Today both these *hamam* are run by the same person.

iii Commercial Buildings

Commercial change has been successfully integrated into the centre of Bergama. Some outlets continue traditional retail patterns, while others have developed and modernised and some offer completely new merchandise, such as televisions. Change is being absorbed into the area and many shops and businesses continue to be owned by the sons of the previous owners. Therefore much of the community atmosphere, trust and the understanding of using the shared open spaces remains.

The *Bedesten* is the only closed Ottoman shopping area of its kind left in Bergama. On the *Şadırvan Cami* Street, this six-bayed brick building was once used for the sale of valuable items, most probably cloth in the case of Bergama. Each bay is covered with a dome and the building would have been locked up at night. There is a row of small shops in front of it, one of which forms the entrance to the building. Today it is used by a wholesaler and is in reasonably good condition and a distinct landmark in the roof scape of the *çarşı*.

The two oldest *han* in Bergama are also the two that survive today, though the 15th C. *Taşhan* is almost in ruins. *Çukurhan*, however, still holds an important place in the Bergama *çarşı*. Today it is divided into three parts that function separately and are accessed from different streets.

Although there were a great many *han* built in the 17th C. and then in the 19th C., very few of them remain. Of the 17th C. buildings *Bakırhan* was sold and *Yazıcıoğluhan* demolished. *Acemhan* was rebuilt after a fire in the 19th C. but has since been replaced with a modern office block. Many others, including *Katırhan*, *Pamukhan* and *Paşaoğluhan* have been lost. Part of the *Hafız Selim han* remains in Istiklal Square and *Limoncuhan*, which had been a fish and meat market, has been replaced with the new covered 'tourist' bazaar.

The Ottoman *arasta* comprises narrow streets flanked with shops and workshops, often grouping similar trades together. Streets were commonly named after the function of the shops in them and this is still true of some of the streets in the *çarşı*. Small shops flank narrow streets in the central area, in some cases older shops have been replaced, but the pattern remains and quite often the same function is also carried on.

4.2.3 Residential Uses and the Traditional Vernacular¹⁸

There are varying forms in the vernacular styles in Bergama; many are Greek type housing, especially seen among the houses on the hill side, namely the Greek and Armenian neighbourhoods. However, among them are also a considerable number of houses in the Turkish vernacular style with timber frame structures, adobe and brick infills and projections. Likewise there are also Greek style houses in the Turkish neighbourhoods. This is a reflection of good relations between the different groups and the origin and training of the builders or craftsmen who built the houses.

I Greek Houses

The term 'Greek House' (*Rum Evi*) has become part of the architectural terminology in the Aegean region of Turkey¹⁹. From the second half of the 19th century up until the War of Independence in 1920, Greek communities existed in most towns of Western Anatolia and Thrace, often in separate neighbourhoods alongside Armenian and Jewish ones. Naturally, they developed their own style in the vernacular, particularly in the Izmir area. The best surviving examples in Turkey can be seen in Izmir, Ayvalik and Bergama. Unlike Izmir and Ayvalik, in Bergama the entire Greek neighbourhood survives and is an active residential area of the town.

Greek houses are often very different in style, form and materials from the traditional Turkish houses. They were built in the classical style, often from stone or brick and were decorated with fine plaster mouldings. Even though the entrance is a grand one

¹⁸ Very limited information is available about this area, much of the typology was provided by Serhat Alanyalı, who carried out a survey of the Greek and Armenian neighbourhoods in 1990/91 for her MA dissertation, which is not as yet published. The remaining information is from studies carried out by the author and Annemarie Schinz.

¹⁹ Also seen in northern Greece and the Greek islands, particularly in Lesbos; this type of house is also known as 'island type' (Eldem, 1984:75).

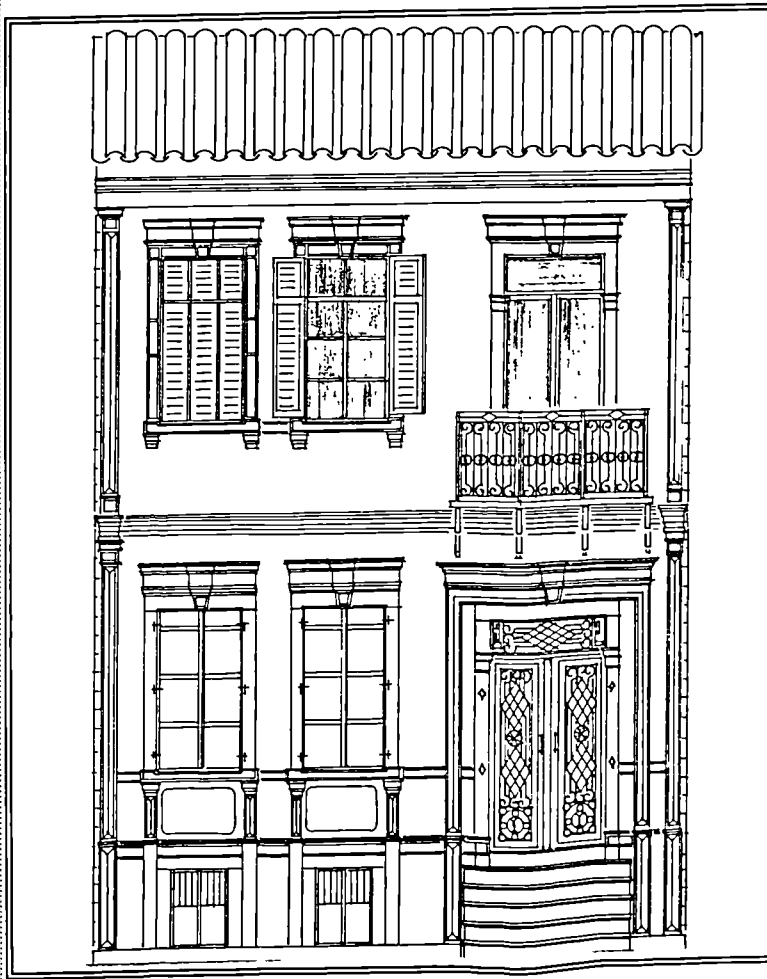


FIGURE 4.10 *Front elevation of a typical Greek House (drawing by Alanyalı, 1991)*

it is not necessarily central, as the formal facade is not strictly symmetrical. Steps lead up to the front door above the basement level. Some houses are single and some two storeyed. They were usually built in tight neighbourhoods, side by side, with quite large back yards using about 30% of the land. The street facade became the most ornamental elevation of the house, intended to make a distinct impression on the street. In Bergama, especially among the single storey houses, twin houses²⁰ can be seen.

Doors and doorways are the most distinctive feature of many houses. A splendid exterior entrance space is created with a deep and high niche, with decorated plasterwork on the ceiling. Both door and window cornices are of cut stone and on the doors the upper part of the stone frame forms an arch ending with an elaborate keystone. The doors are double winged and of ornately decorated iron-work. The door knockers, made from brass or iron, have become quite famous, often in the form of a bird or a hand holding a ball or two small sticks. Today they have become collectors' items. The window frames are sometimes with a straight top, sometimes with a curve and occasionally with both. The openings are relatively large compared to those of the traditional Turkish house, and dominate the facade.

Almost all of the two storeyed houses have a balcony or a projection about 90 x 180 cm or smaller. The original iron work patterns of the balustrades and the consoles are very impressive. In Bergama there are no houses with their original projections. The predominantly gabled and four sided hipped roofs are often overlaid in Ottoman tiles²¹. A cornice on a parapet wall with horizontal mouldings terminates the building with the roof instead of the eaves, typical of Turkish houses of the region.

The ornate patterns of the outside are often reflected into the inside, as the door opens on to a central space from which all the other rooms are reached. The staircase to the second storey is also in this hall. The main reception and living rooms are often in the front of the house, either at ground level or on the first floor where they open on to the balcony. The bedrooms open on to a second hall upstairs, similar to the entrance. The kitchen and bathroom are also on ground level at the back of the house, the latter in the

²⁰ 'Twin house' is a local term for two houses built together as a mirror image, such as semi-detached houses.

²¹ Baked clay half round tiles that have been popularly used in many Islamic countries and in the Mediterranean region are referred to as 'Ottoman tiles' as opposed to modern machine made tiles.

back patio. The ceilings are relatively high, reaching 3 m (10 ft) even in the smallest houses, often with plaster mouldings and rosettes. The floor is usually covered with coloured stone tiles (20 x 20 cm) forming a pattern in the entrance hall and the kitchen. The living rooms and bedrooms have wooden floors.

ii Turkish Houses

What is known as the 'Turkish house' in Bergama can be divided into several categories. The first is the large *konak* (mansion), often near the centre, built for the governing or leading merchant families of the last century. The second comprises the moderately sized houses in the traditional Turkish style which can be seen in most parts of the town, including the Greek neighbourhoods. A third group is the smaller and less pretentious single-storey, white washed and flat roof house forming the more recent, turn of the century Turkish neighbourhoods.

Traditional Turkish houses in Bergama are very similar to houses of the Aegean region, with a timber frame construction. Big, but often simple wooden doors open into a courtyard which houses a number of small rooms for animals, storage and sometimes for cooking. An outside privy is often in the furthest corner to the house. The Greek neighbourhood is quite tightly built up so there was very little room for expansion in these small patios. In most houses there are living rooms on the ground floor as well as the first floor, all opening on to a communal *sofa* (central space), which often faces the patio. Unlike the Greek houses in many of these houses the ceilings are low. The upstairs rooms have a projection on to the street, to add more space to the house as well as provide a better view for the women who would have sat there behind a trellis.

While the ground floor is often built from cut stone or rubble, the upper floor is generally a wood and adobe structure making them less sturdy than the stone or brick Greek houses. Windows in 2/1 proportion, doors and shutters are all made out of wood as well as many of the columns supporting the first floor *sofa*.

The *konak* uses the same plan of rooms opening on to an open *sofa*, often like a balcony. However it is bigger in scale and invariably has a much bigger courtyard (in some cases allowing for horse carriages to enter) and more rooms, including separate summer and winter quarters. The woodwork in these houses is often much more ornate and the ceilings the products of a master craftsman. Floral designs in rich colours adorn

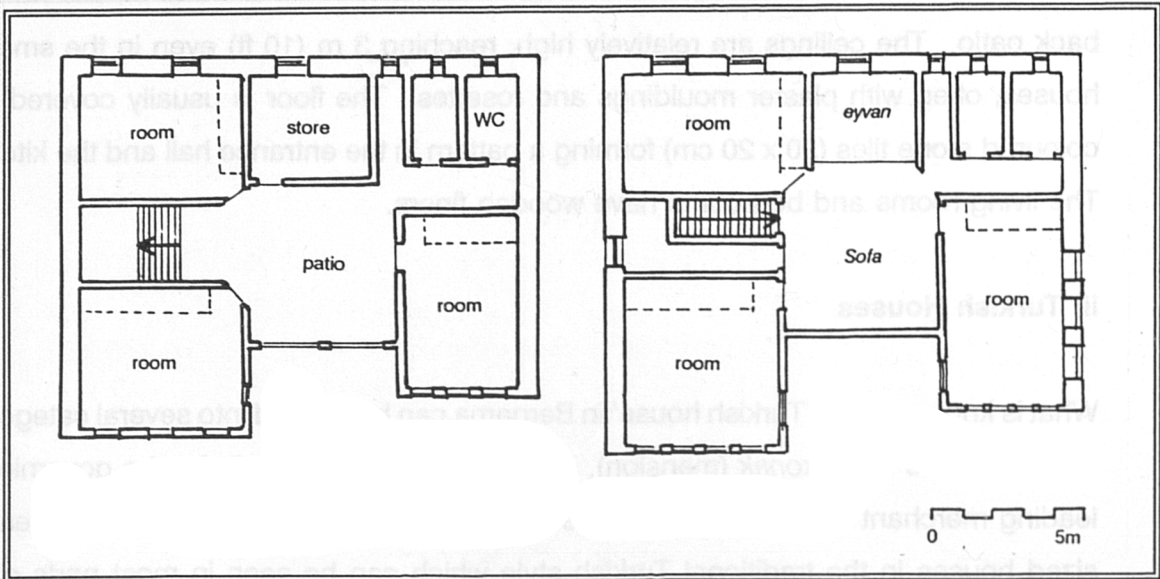
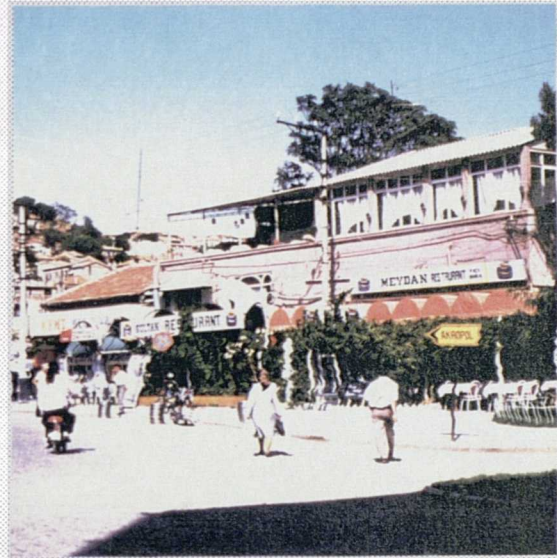


FIGURE 4.11 *Ground and first floor plan of the Hacı Mustafa Ağa Residence (from Bayatlı, 1956:55)*

the decorative woodwork. Private *hamam* were also a popular feature in these houses. The Mehmet Bey residence with a notable stone cut entrance, the Mustafa Ağa, Hacı Rıza and Bayatlı houses are some of the most renowned.

Although the houses in the newer neighbourhoods are much simpler they have much bigger courtyards, often full of greenery but with high walls to the street. Privacy had been one of the major concerns when these areas were being planned and small dead end streets were intentional and common practice. It was often members of the same family who lived on a dead end street. Therefore it was easy to detect a stranger and when there was an outside threat the street could be blocked off (Peker, 1992:39). While a considerable number of the houses in the Greek neighbourhood are unoccupied, there are very few vacancies in these areas, which are very close to the centre.

The Greek and Turkish type houses can be said to be carrying the traces of two different cultures, but they have adapted details from one another, as the communities have lived together over several centuries. It is quite normal for a house to look Greek in style from the outside, but have a perfect Turkish interior. Many upper floors were ruined during the War of Independence and the Turkish inhabitants settling into the areas after the war added new Turkish style upper floors, reflecting the custom and traditions of the new owners.



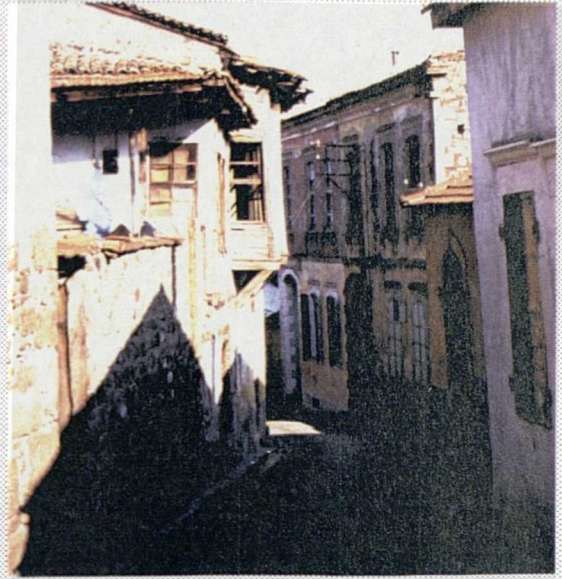
Traditional shop in the çarşı

Tourist shop near Istiklal Square

'Athena Pension' converted from a Greek house

Restaurants on Istiklal Square

Çukurhan in the çarşı



Houses on Büyük Alan in the Greek quarter

Turkish style house with owners new additions

Dede Sokak and other houses in the Greek and Armenian quarters

4.3 VISITOR PATTERNS AND PROVISIONS FOR TOURISM IN BERGAMA

Bergama is a small town with concentrated tourist interest in the ruins of the ancient Pergamon. The town itself reflects the remains of a prosperous trading post of the Ottoman Empire. The scale, the style and character created by the Ottoman architecture is one of the major aspects that offers the visitor a 'quality' of place. Bergama is no longer the important city it was in past centuries, but it is a modern and growing town, and historic fabric in the town is in need of appreciation and conservation in order to survive. Even though people continue to inhabit them, there is a strong element of decay in a majority of the old buildings. The historic quality of Bergama is very rarely portrayed in guide books and often proves to be a pleasant surprise to visitors: an insight into a lifestyle and urban pattern now lost in industrialised cities and the overcrowded, mundane tourist ridden beach resorts.

4.3.1 Visitor Patterns

Bergama is not a centre for sun and sea tourism in Turkey, but attracts a regular flow of visitors to the ruins of the ancient Pergamon. A major increase in numbers was experienced after 1987, in parallel with tourist growth in Turkey. Information is on the number of tourists that visit the town; this is provided by the museum and is largely based on their annual ticket sales to foreign visitors²².

The foreign visitors that come to Bergama can roughly be divided into two groups, organised tours and private groups. Alongside there is an increasing number of Turkish visitors to the ruins, often people on holiday in the coastal areas.

²² These figures assume that all the foreign visitors who visit Bergama also visit the ruins. This is probably true as the ruins are the main reason people come to Bergama. The museum has a two-tier ticket system distinguishing between Turkish and foreign visitors. Tickets are cheaper for Turkish citizens to encourage an interest in the local heritage.

Years	Numbers of Tourists	Increase over previous year	% increase
1982	186,869		
1983	194,455	7,559	4.0%
1984	211,431	16,976	8.7%
1985	238,305	26,874	12.7%
1986	238,382	77	0.1%
1987	340,566	102,184	42.9%
1988	408,971	68,405	20.1%
1989	412,900	3,929	0.9%
1990	444,266	31,366	7.6%
1991	501,000	56,734	12.8%
1992	588,000	87,000	17.4%

TABLE 4.2 Increase in numbers of tourists visiting Bergama (Bergama Museum).

Organised day tours²³ may bring more tourists in numbers, but they are the most superficial, the most distracting of visitors to Bergama. The environmental impact on nature and the town is the greatest, as coaches drive through the centre, including part of the Conservation Area, with up to forty coaches passing through the centre of town in one day. Private deals with tour operators result in guided tours being ended out of Bergama in shops or restaurants especially set up on the outskirts to deal with large numbers at a time. Unfortunately, many of these establishments are owned and run by outsiders, rather than by local residents.

²³ Tourists on holiday on the west coast of Turkey ranging from Ayvalık, north of Bergama to Kuşadası in the south are offered a visit to Pergamum as a day trip organised by their travel agency, hotel or independent operator. These groups are mainly Western European, German, Italian, English or Spanish; however, there is an increasing number of Japanese. Other groups include people on holiday on the Greek island of Lesbos arriving on a day trip to Turkey at the port of Ayvalık. As an added attraction, day trips to mainland Turkey, only an hour's distance from the island, are offered by the tour operators. Tours from cruise ships calling in at the port of Dikili or Ayvalık also frequent Bergama. They are often American tourists touring the Aegean or the Mediterranean. However, they form only 1-2% of the tourists that visit Bergama (Turkish Statistical Institute).

Each year there are more tourist coaches arriving in Bergama, mainly an extension of 'culture' offered in coastal package holiday deals. These groups very rarely benefit the town or commerce within it, but have an impact on the environment. These groups can not be ignored or eliminated from the tourist patterns, but the impacts need to be reduced in order to safeguard tourism which is necessary for the town. One option is to direct coaches and lorries to the ring road and only permit cars into the town centre. Local handcraft and souvenir shops at the two sights, the Acropolis and the Asclepion, also need to be encouraged as they provide local employment.

The second type of tourists are those in private groups, sometimes families travelling by car from Europe, often camping, but spending more than a day, and using the accommodation in the town, or just outside, which tends to provide easier access for cars. This trend has lessened due to the war situation in the former Yugoslavia, however people are still travelling by ferry from Italy or preferring air travel and car rental on arrival. There is also another group: younger tourists, travelling individually or in small groups, often roughing it with rucksacks. They form the biggest clientele for the cheap pensions in the town.

Individuals, families and small groups are more flexible than people on organised tours and tend to spend at least one night in Bergama. They are seen as the most important customers for local businesses providing tourist services, from carpet shops to local restaurants and grocers. Travelling alone, these tourists benefit more from what the town has to offer, an insight into a lifestyle, opportunities to meet people and also benefit from cheaper prices in shops, hotels and restaurants; the advantage of a wider choice, without paying commission to tour operators and guides. Those visiting the town on a Monday have the added advantage of experiencing the weekly market.

For the case of Bergama, and also for many other small towns, it can be said that the tourists who value being there and meeting the people are those who will benefit the community most. It is at this level that there will be an exchange of ideas and cultural values without one group patronising the other. There is a general belief that wealthy tourists need to be attracted to spend more money. Spain, for example, is now aiming to market for these groups. But could a town like Bergama provide a suitable complex to suit the needs of 'five star hotel' guests, without damaging the intimate environment? Because Bergama is not on the coast, the sun and sea attraction will continue to be

greater, with culture and history as an additional interest rather than a longer stay holiday destination.

Like the rest of the Turkish coastal areas, the tourist season in Bergama is limited to the summer months from June till September. Even though there will be visitors to the ruins all the year round, very few spend the night in the town. Therefore all tourist facilities need to revert back to local use for the greater part of the year. Most pensions and some of the tourist shops close down completely. The centrally located Bergama Pension continues as a restaurant all the year round. However, exciting and profitable tourism may seem in the summer season, almost all businesses in Bergama depend on local patrons as well.

Bergama is a pleasant town that can be explored on foot and even the ancient ruins are in walking distance from the town. This, coupled with good and reasonably priced shopping facilities and restaurants, makes it attractive to the middle income travellers and also the younger budget travellers. Thus, it is advisable that tourist development plans work towards the needs and appreciation of these groups.

4.3.2 Tourist Facilities and Standards

There has been a stable number of hotels and one campsite since the early 1980s²⁴. Many of them are slightly out of town on the main road, with good parking facilities, providing for tour groups, and with carpet shops and mock villages; but have very little contact with the city itself. With increasing demands for beds in town, especially for the rucksack tourist arriving on the local bus network, four old houses near the centre have been converted into pensions by the owners. There are several other pensions in the centre, and around the bus station²⁵.

In some cases former Greek houses are ideal for conversion into pensions, there are three large and a small one that have been converted in this manner. They are the 'Bergama', 'Athena' and 'Nike' pensions, as well as the 'Kilim Pension', run as a side

²⁴ While tourist numbers in Turkey and in Bergama have been increasing since 1987, the patterns of day tours are changing. The aim of seeing more places in shorter time periods is reducing the time at each destination point and therefore the prospect of an overnight stay.

²⁵ A number of pensions have appeared in the area around the bus station in recent years, but their quality and popularity has been variable.

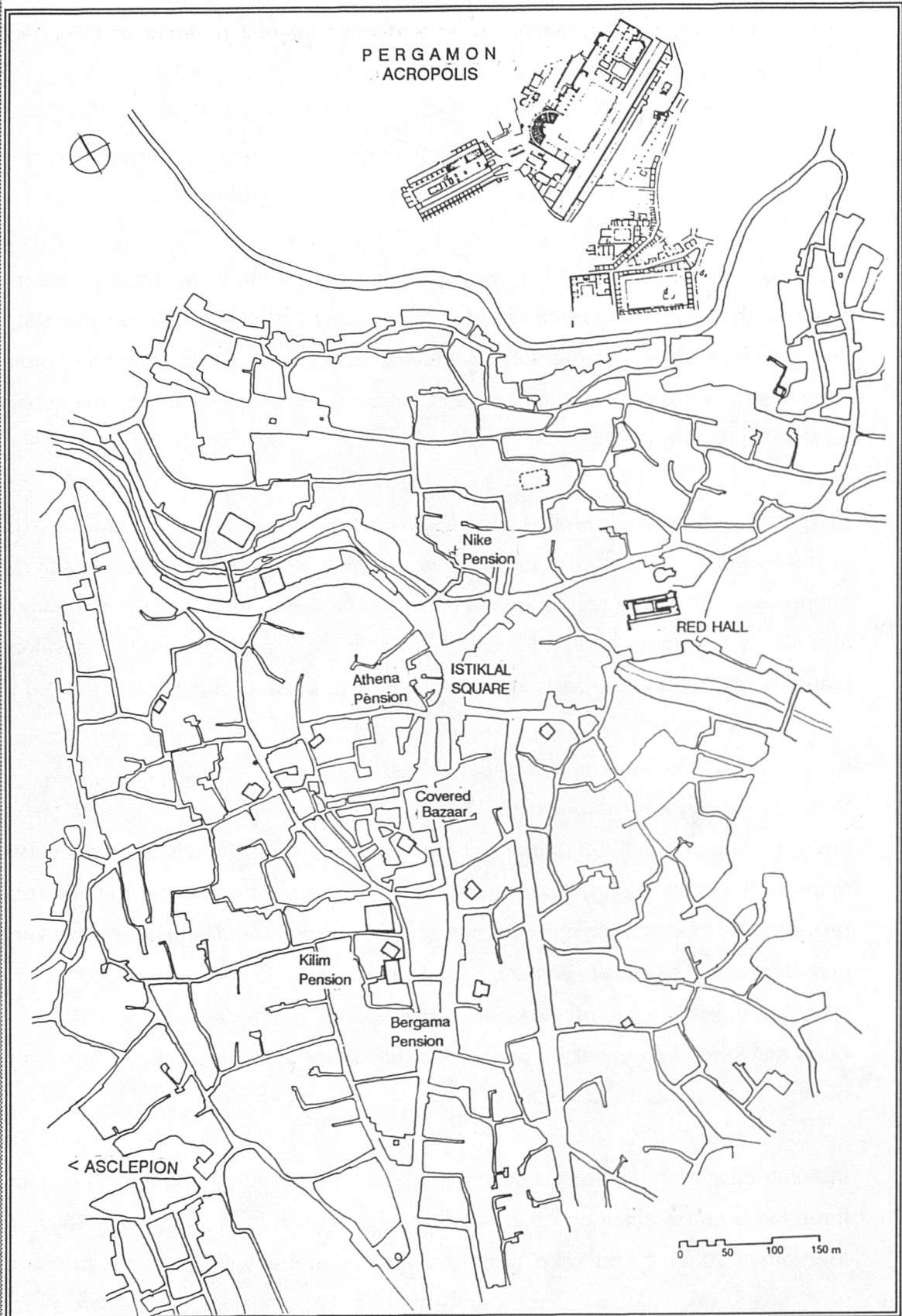


FIGURE 4.12 *Tourist attractions and facilities in Bergama*

business by a local carpet dealer. Their proximity to the town centre and the pleasant atmosphere the courtyards provide has made them very popular with tourists travelling to Bergama on the public transport network²⁶. Clean but simple rooms, peaceful surroundings and the distinctive features have won these pensions favourable mention in guidebooks.

Situated on the Main Street, Bergama Pension is the oldest and offers a relatively quiet courtyard and large rooms with modern amenities in the two stone houses that surround the courtyard. A central location and a pleasant atmosphere, including the traditional furnishings in parts, makes it an interesting and out of the ordinary place to stay. Halfway down a cul-de-sac in the central Turkish neighbourhood, the Athena Pension, is a well converted Greek house; it does, however, border on the boundaries of privacy in a residential area. The Nike Pension is in one of the lower streets of the Greek neighbourhood. Painted bright blue by the owner it is impossible for tourists to miss it. The interior has not been altered and the large and modestly furnished 4-5 bed rooms accommodate groups or families. A large courtyard with a variety of flowers provides a quiet and peaceful environment. Unlike the other two, this pension is situated within the residential neighbourhood.

Until 1990 many of the restaurants were situated in the Istiklal Square; since then there has been a greater spread towards the bus station. However *Istiklal* Square continues to provide the social centre for tourists and locals, and during the summer months restaurants and pubs are open to late hours. Situated within the commercial district no disturbance is caused to local inhabitants.

The old commercial centre, *çarşı*, is an attraction to the more interested group of visitors, but not as a souvenir opening. Further, there are a good collection of antique and carpet dealers of an established quality. The neighbourhood offers a pedestrian scale and a pleasant setting for interested explorers. At present it can be said there is an ideal balance between the locals and the tourists, but this balance has to be maintained within the context of tourism development. The objective is to encourage visitors who value the qualities, and not spoil the attractiveness of the town, and where possible enhance it.

²⁶ Public transport is very efficient in Turkey, and Bergama is well connected by a coach and minibus network to number of important cities and others on the coast.

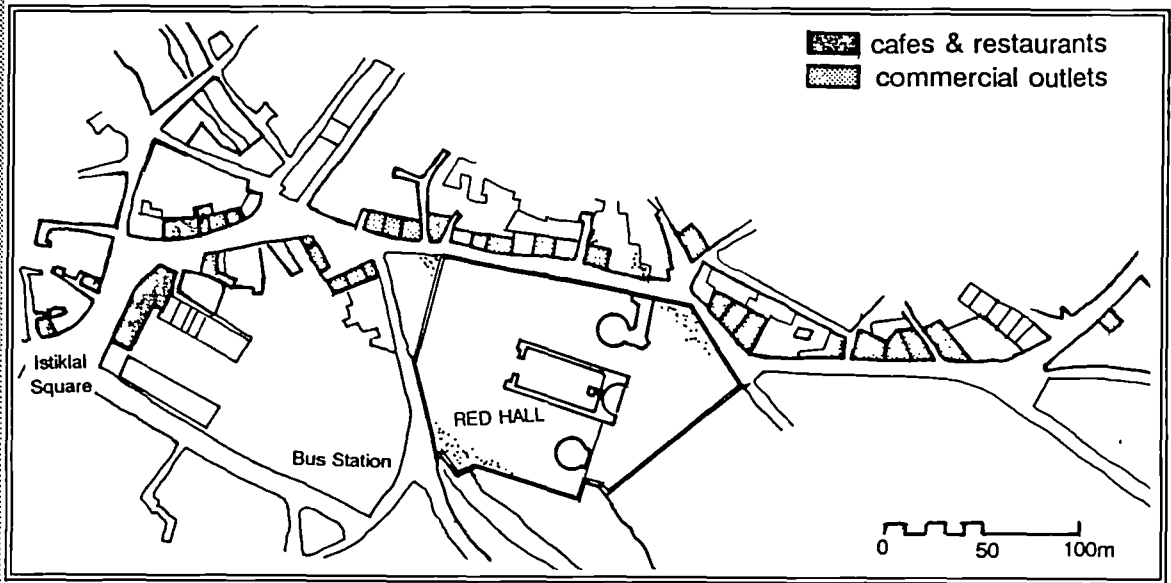


FIGURE 4.13 *Tourist shops and social facilities around the Red Hall and Istiklal Square area.*

There are around twenty carpet and antique dealers in the town itself²⁷. A second square, after *Istiklal* Square towards the Acropolis, is the main domain of these shops, and several occupy 19th century Greek shops or houses. Their numbers have been constant since 1991, with the exception of three having expanded into second shops. Today these traders have developed international trade connections, travel abroad regularly and have telephone and fax lines.

The first carpet shop to be built out of accordance with the historic area is on Dede Sokak in the residential area. Shops built in 1991, opposite the museum on the main road, with the intention of selling souvenirs were gradually converted into beer houses, providing outside seating in a pleasant communal courtyard.

4.3.3 Local Interaction and Involvement

Much of the historic area, like most of Bergama, falls beyond the boundaries of mass tourism. However, for tourists walking up to the ruins the neighbourhoods are added interest and a transition from the centre to the impressive site of Pergamon. Tourists on foot catch a glance of local life and the locals, in particular the children, welcome interest as long as it is within the limits of decency and respect. The interest shown in the architecture is inducing pride in the built environment among the locals and some surprise as well. Interested tourists are often led to more impressive houses of relatives or neighbours.

The historic quarters do contain a wealth of architecture; moreover there is a certain character resulting from urban texture and 'quality of life'. It is this quality that needs to be maintained and allowed to grow more than the need to restore each facade to please passers by²⁸.

²⁷ This study deliberately excludes those solely serving the tour groups on the outskirts of the town.

²⁸ Strict concern to save architecture continues to be the focal point in the Turkish conservation movement (see Chapter 3), and even among the handful of conservationists, very few express an interest in the human character of neighbourhoods.

4.4 URBAN PLANNING AND CONSERVATION

This section will identify the role and attitudes of the various user and provider groups in Bergama. Much of the information has been gained through a series of informal interviews during 1991, 1992 and 1993. The interviews are outlined in Appendix I.

4.4.1 Developing a Conservation Culture: Availability and Access to Expertise

With the existence of stone quarries in the area and a tradition for stone architecture, the region is still known to have good stone masons, though it is fast becoming a dying craft in modern Turkey. This is also evident through a number of conservation or restoration projects in Bergama. However, unlike their European counterparts, stone masons in Turkey no longer carry much prestige and there is no organisation or guild that supports them. Many are classed as skilled building workers and often work conditions are no better than those of labourers. Consequently there is less interest in learning the craft amongst the younger generations.

Parts of the ruins of the ancient Pergamon have been restored over the years, some projects being more successful than others. This restoration has often been dependent on the money available and responsibility for the contract. Conservation work carried out by developers has often been cheap and of a bad quality, such as the haphazard concrete efforts at the main theatre, for which there was a good project that was never controlled. Stone carved replacement seating rows in the Asclepion theatre restoration, on the other hand, are part of a very successful conservation project.

The most notable project is the restoration of the Temple of Trajan by the German Archaeological Institute²⁹. The work completed in 1993, commenced in 1976 following an initial preparatory period from 1973 (Nohlen, 1992:84). Work has been carried out for five to six months each summer and employed local craftsmen and labour. A considerable number of stone masons were trained on the building site and several have been called on to work at major restoration projects in Istanbul. It is not purely stone masonry that they have learnt, they have been trained specifically in the conservation of stone and have a strong understanding of heritage, conservation and

²⁹ Under Professor Klaus Nohlen.

protection, although this attitude is mainly for monuments, rather than for urban areas³⁰.

In 1991 the municipality undertook a project to restore a Greek building next door to the new municipality buildings. The aim was to use the building as a public library and local craftsmen and labourers were employed on the building. The conservation project has been successful, but the municipality now intend to use it as a 'research centre' for scholars coming to do research on Bergama³¹. Consequently the building, instead of providing a useful service to the residents, will be isolated from them and probably very rarely used. At present most of the literature available on Bergama is housed in libraries in Istanbul or Berlin or with the German Expedition in Bergama, who welcome scholars anyway.

There is a project by the Municipality for one of the larger houses on Büyük Alan, to be turned into a guest house, designed by conservation architect Cengiz Bektaş. It is intended to include a small cafeteria for the guests. This will be a useful way for an otherwise unused building to be used and also introduces conservation into the area. Where there are occupiers, however, attention needs to be towards improving their housing standards within their financial means.

4.4.2 The Residents in the Historic Neighbourhoods

Residents in the older quarters value their neighbours, safety of neighbourhood, availability of safe play spaces for children, cheap rents, proximity to town centre, centrality. Older generations are more attached to their environment and properties. The younger generations, whilst aspiring to better living conditions and modern houses, do value the neighbourhood qualities of the Greek quarter; this was particularly apparent in *Büyük Alan*. The collaboration and support network is of utmost importance, especially in poorer communities.

However, growing maintenance problems and aspirations to newer and more modern houses is a major reason for people leaving the area. Historic value is not appreciated,, but the scale and availability of open spaces are. A number of owners have refurbished

³⁰ Most of the stone masons from Bergama live in the historic quarters.

³¹ Interview with Özcan Durmaz in August 1993.

their houses, often without expert advice or permission from the authorities. Nevertheless, this has enabled them to continue living in the neighbourhood.

A second group of users are the tourists, mainly those who choose to stay in Bergama and spend one or more nights in the town. They value the accessible scale of the town, the rich and varied historic interests as well as the non-tourist prices for good food and simple accommodation, often in a pension converted from a old house.

4.4.3 Opportunities for Private Initiatives

The traditional *çarşı* continues to thrive and is popular with both foreign and Turkish travellers in the present functions it offers. Many of the shop units date back to the last century, some are even older, and are in need of repair and maintenance. Again, most work has been private initiatives, not involving the authorities. Several of the larger buildings that would need major restoration work are also privately owned.

Most of the tourist interest shops are also in historic buildings. There is a growing awareness of historic value among the shopkeepers and good business will encourage them to expand, with the possibility of using other abandoned historic buildings.

Several local residents have converted large houses into pensions and tourist accommodation. It must be recognised, however, that there is a certain limit to the amount of space that is needed for accommodation and the boundaries of privacy in the residential areas need to be respected.

4.4.4 Local Administration

The municipality, led by an elected mayor (a Social Democrat politician) is aiming at producing a positive image for the town of Bergama. Much of the new building work has concentrated on the main road, but to a certain extent this has also included parks and landscaping. Historic neighbourhoods, off the beaten track, have often been ignored. Although the Mayor claims to be interested in the areas and aware of the problems³², very little action has been taken to improve such environments. This also

³² Interview with the Mayor, Sefa Taşkın in July 1991.

involves the museum, as they are responsible for listing buildings, but can not offer financial assistance to owners.

As well as building new roads in recent years there have also been attempts to increase the quality of the urban areas, through new paving programmes and a number of new parks. Most of these green areas lie on the main road running through Bergama. The largest, Böblingen Park, has been repaved and reorganised; tall trees and well kept lawns provide a favourite spot for residents especially on summer evenings. Following demolitions around the Red Hall in 1991, new green plots with paved paths and concrete seating were introduced to the area in 1992. One favoured park just before the Cumhuriyet Square has, however, been replaced with an additional building for the Municipality.

Several Conservation Areas have been designated in the town and the latest review in 1991 succeeded in extending the boundaries. The main residential conservation area covers the former Greek and Armenian neighbourhoods on the hill side. Some areas of the turn of the century Turkish neighbourhoods, as well as the Ottoman bazaar and shopping streets around the Çukurhan, are also now Conservation areas. The Greek and Armenian neighbourhoods form the largest Conservation Area, which starts from the North of the river Selinos and meets the boundaries of the Archaeological site (following the 1991 revisions). Clearance around the Red Hall in 1991 resulted in the demolition of a number of Greek houses that fell outside the boundaries of the Conservation Area. Under law they fell into an Archaeological Conservation Area, which provided no protection for 19th century domestic architecture.

Early in 1991 a "Conservation Area Plan", prepared in Ankara, was accepted³³ by the Izmir Municipality and the local Commission for the Protection of Natural and Cultural Heritage, representing the Ministry of Culture. The plan aims at conserving the historic context of the city of Bergama and to bring under specific protection buildings of historic and artistic merit. Stricter control was to be imposed on repairs to existing buildings in these areas and the building of new ones (Milliyet, 1.4.92). The level of ignorance of the plan, even of its existence, in the Municipality, is a strong indication that the plan was prepared without local consultation.

³³ In December 1992, the Municipality of Bergama did not have a copy, or could even claim to have seen a copy of such a document.

This also reflects the poor level of communication between national and local levels. Local Governments and Museums are burdened with legislation, most of which is either ignored or tailored to suit their own political ambitions and benefits.

In 1991 the Municipality started work on a restoration project; a Greek style house off the main road is being restored for use as a public library. This can be thought of as compensation for the seven-storey new Municipality building built next door, which resulted in the demolition of several old houses, including the famous *Mehmet Bey Konak*³⁴, built in 1801 (Altınışik, 1982:25).

The Municipality is aware of the historic wealth and some aspects are vigorously promoted. Many cultural events directed towards the local population as well as drawing on international interests has brought attention to the town. A nationwide campaign initiated by the Mayor of Bergama demanding the return of the Pergamon Altar to Bergama, put the city on the map again.

In Conclusion

Chapter 3 has outlined in detail the Turkish legislation for the preservation and conservation of urban heritage. Current trends in restoration and promotion in towns that have become popular to the tourist industry have also been highlighted. Presently Bergama is a medium sized and growing town with a wealth of historic sites, buildings and quarters that are relatively well preserved. The quarters continue to be inhabited by the original residents and there is a strong community understanding of the Conservation Areas. Undoubtedly, as a reflection of tourist growth in Turkey, Bergama is becoming attractive to the industry. However, while mass tourism imposes environmental pressure, individual travellers are increasingly becoming a means of local economic gain and historic understanding. Therefore:

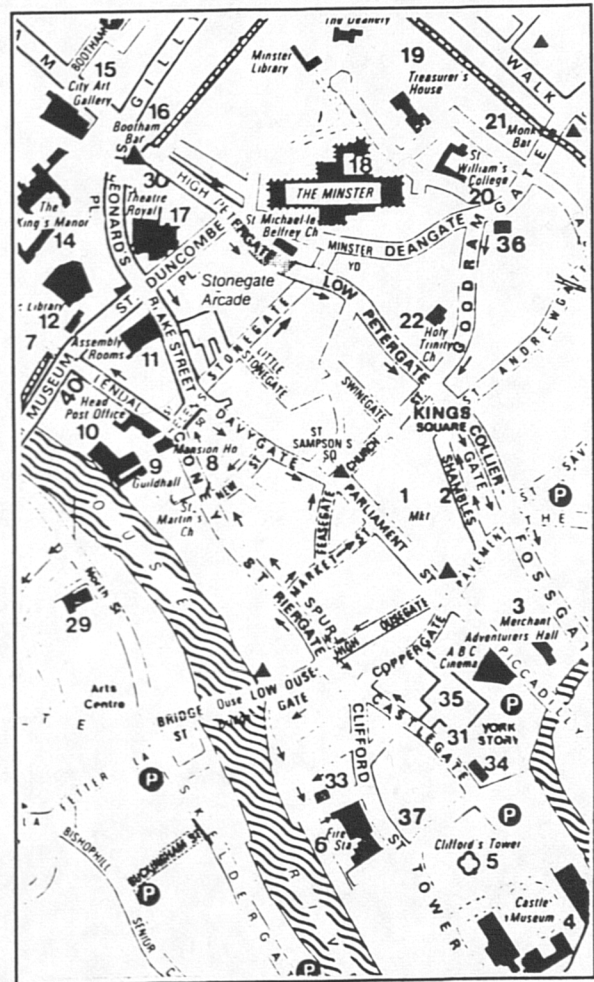
- The residents of Bergama and their requirements should be a recognised priority in conservation planning.
- Conservation needs to be defined in its aims and approach before conservation tied to tourist industry initiatives only has taken over. A balance needs to be struck between the needs of the locals and the growth of tourism.

³⁴ Bayatlı (1956) mentions this house (*konak*) to be one of the most noteworthy of the 19th century in Bergama.

- Cultural aspects of conservation need to be maintained through understanding the structure and social patterns of the local community.
- Proper and controlled planning needs to be emphasised to ensure a holistic approach and less damage to the environment.
- Once priorities have been determined tourism can benefit the restoration of individual buildings, otherwise unused. There are a number of redundant buildings in Bergama that could be used for tourist purposes, including the *Taşhan*, in the *çarşı*, the Greek Hospital in the Greek neighbourhood and the old *Kız Lisesi* building in the centre.
- Conservation in any situation will be influenced by economic and political forces, which have to be taken on board in the planning phase. *The Municipality of Bergama plays a very important role in the process, as tourism development and any conservation exercise will only be possible with their interest and support.*

Chapter Eight proposes a Conservation Strategy Plan to address the needs of the people and urban growth as well as to enable conservation and development with an understanding of the tourism growth. The plan will explore the means in which the older quarters could develop into better living environments for their residents; how tourism could be encouraged as a source of local income, while avoiding the fate of other towns that have been 'invaded' by the mass tourist industry; identify ways in which the private and public sector investment could contribute to the process, and determine the role that has to be played by the local government as an enabler in the implementation of the process.

II



TOURISM IN TOWNS

part II

CHAPTER 5
*TOURISM AND
THE MARKETING OF WESTERN TOWNS*

CHAPTER 6
UNDERSTANDING EASTERN TOWNS

CHAPTER 5
***TOURISM AND THE
MARKETING OF HISTORIC TOWNS***

*Understanding this growing industry and identifying the impacts
on historic towns and their residents*

Introduction

The previous chapters have identified some aspects of conservation needs in Turkey and in Bergama in connection with the expected substantial growth in tourism. This Chapter sets out to understand the patterns of tourism today, how the industry operates and how it could look in the future. The focus will be on tourism in historic towns and quarters, particularly in Western Europe where the conservation movement has been effective in providing for tourist demands.

Tourism today has moved from the educational values it held in the last century¹, towards entertainment as its prime motivation. For this reason, and for its proximity to tourist generating Northern Europe, the Mediterranean coast has become a very popular destination; starting with the Spanish Coast, the Algarve and the Balearic Islands, this trend has spread to Italy, Greece, Turkey, Cyprus and North African destinations, such as Morocco and Tunisia. All these coastal regions offer a long and sunny summer season, beaches and water sports alongside history and heritage for those who are interested. For these values many small coastal towns have been established as resorts, exploited and even ruined.

The intention is to provide an insight into tourism as an industry and to understand the means by which the natural and built environments and communities benefit from or are threatened by tourism. Often the most extreme examples are in the Far East and in the Pacific Region; these will be cited where necessary, but the emphasis will be on the Mediterranean region for the scope of this study. The main concerns are grouped under the broad headings of Places (environment) and People (communities and culture), but in most cases the issues are linked and overlaps have been inevitable.

It is known that there are serious environmental threats as a consequence of tourism; however, the focus here will again be primarily on its effects on historic towns and cities. With Western society becoming one of leisure and seeking attractions to visit, historic towns and quarters, especially in Western Europe, have become elements of tourist interest. Many cities contain historic quarters that are being made attractive to the crowds invading them every weekend. This chapter will look at patterns of conservation

¹ The Grand Tour, for example, was an important part of a young gentleman's education.

in Western historic towns which are under constantly increasing pressure to become tourist products and marketable commodities.

In Europe it was often the interest and campaigning of the ordinary local people that triggered off action into conservation by local authorities and planned legislation by national bodies. A long standing interest in conservation (even though monumental in most cases) reflected in urban areas has resulted in the field becoming one of expertise. Today historic town local authorities invariably employ conservation officers or other personnel trained in this field, who can provide advice and backup to proposed improvement projects. The private sector also plays an important role and as tourist and commercial interests take over many historic centres, their power and that of market forces over the interest of the residents is becoming apparent.

Especially in Western Europe, where weekend breaks are the flavour of the season and historic cities are considerable in number, competition is high. Cities are taking marketing very seriously and every year there are new items added to the list of attractions and facilities. It can be said that it is no longer the historic *quality that is the attraction*, but the 'marketing powers of the producer'. Urban areas, once living environments and neighbourhoods which survived the Industrial Revolution, may be falling victim to a new industry.

This Chapter is in four Sections. The first outlines the present trends of the tourist industry and the second is a brief introduction to today's 'historic towns' and aims to understand their development and highlight some relevant characteristics brought by industrialisation. The third Section examines the urban conservation movement in Europe, from mass destruction to make way for new developments in the Fifties and Sixties to the very protective conservationist attitudes of the Eighties. The fourth Section evaluates the results of these conservation programmes, the gentrification of cities and the role of the tourist industry in promoting the creation of idealised picturesque settings. Even though some other towns are sited, the main emphasis here is on Western Europe, where not only most of the urban heritage is very well conserved, but where there is also a common interest in heritage and a desire to travel to historic places, coupled with the wealth to allow this.

5.1 THE WORLD TRAVEL INDUSTRY

Tourism is a basic and desirable human activity of travel and contact with other cultures and communities. The following definition by Swiss Professors Hunziker and Krapf is the one adapted by AIEST, the International Association of Experts in Tourism: "Tourism is the sum of the phenomena and relationships arising from the travel and stay of non residents, in as far as they do not have permanent residence and are not connected with any earning activity" (Burkart & Medlik, 1974:40). Tourism is not always a purely leisure based activity and quite often has a political and social significance.

There are several reasons for people to travel; some holidays are for physical relaxation, some are the social activity of visiting friends and relatives, and others educational. Business activities also account for a fair amount of travel. Whatever the reason for this free movement, travel and destinations have become consumer products and tourism a major industry. "Tourism is not called an industry by accident. Like steel and computers, it needs management, capital investment, manpower training and all the other activities associated with a major, competitive industry" (Turner & Ash, 1975:113). Today in Europe it is the largest single industry (Stuart, 1989:2).

5.1.1 Western Domination of an Expanding Market

Most tourism is generated and monitored by the Developed World, with the US, Germany, Japan and the UK leading the market, contributing to half the world's total tourist expenditure (Erlet, 1991:10). The West is also responsible for the development of world tourism through its agencies, operators and airlines. Therefore, decision making, co-ordination, destinations and profits also belong to the West. Each year tourism from the West looks towards widening its horizons and discovering new and more exotic destinations. In the second half of this century tourism has become a world-wide phenomenon and most countries are competing for their share in the market.

For the Developing Nations income from tourism is seen as a very welcome source of 'hard cash' and becomes a powerful tool for 'development'. However, with determination for growth, infrastructure and, moreover, social and environmental costs, are frequently overlooked. At the national level, the benefits of foreign tourism as a major export cannot be denied. For example, tourism finances accounted for 40% of Kenya's and 34% of Nepal's export earnings in 1988 (Erlet, 1991:2).

When the growth of tourism is rapid and not planned for, then the impacts will also be sudden, unexpected and thus greater. The Gambia, for example, experienced a 63.6% increase in numbers between 1981 and 1985 (Erlet, 1991:9). Czechoslovakia had just emerged from a socialist regime when it was invaded by an unexpected number of tourists in 1990². The infrastructure was insufficient, accommodation facilities too few and traffic problems and overcrowding became serious issues, primarily because authorities were not given a chance to plan for tourism (Hall, 1990). This is the case for many former communist countries that have changed their political direction in recent years. While Western visitors are invading in an attempt to capture the 'unspoilt' and benefit from the cheaper prices, the hosts are faced with Western demands and expectations of higher standards as well as environmental pressure.

Patterns of strong divisions between East and West or Developed and Developing continue to exist in tourism and its development and the element of exploitation, particularly of the 'lesser culture', in reality the poorer people, is prominent. In Hawaii, the local and indigenous culture has been completely destroyed to make way for tourist investments. Local traditions and livelihoods have been disregarded or exploited as families are evicted to make way for further tourist facilities. Paradise for some is resulting in the extinction of native Hawaiians and of nature; "tourism is a plague" says one (Patterson, 1992:4).

There is also the danger that the notion of Western tourists being rich, will lead to price increases or double pricing, which will be hard on the locals. Tourists become dehumanised objects of economic gain and any social interaction between the host and the guest faces the danger of being lost.

The World Tourism Organisation aims to establish a 'Tourism Information Exchange Centre' in order to help developing countries develop their tourism. Considering these nations will have other industries also in need of development, tourist generating nations will need to participate very closely in such a programme.

² Five times the number that had been received in 1989 (Hall, 1990).

	<i>Experience</i>	<i>Demands</i>	<i>Destination impacts</i>
<i>Interactional models</i>			
<i>Cohen (1972):</i>			
Non-institutionalized traveler	Drifter	Search for exotic and strange environment	Little because of small numbers
	Explorer	Arrange own trip and try to get off the beaten track	Local facilities sufficient and contact with residents high
Institutionalized traveler	Individual mass tourist	Arrangements made through tourist agency to popular destinations	Growing commercialization and specialization as demand grows
	Organized mass tourist	Search for familiar, travel in the security of own "environmental bubble" and guided tour	Development of "artificial" facilities, growth of foreign investment, reduced local control
<i>Smith (1977b):</i>			
	Explorer	Quest for discovery and desire to interact with hosts	Easy to accommodate in terms of numbers, acceptance of local norms
	Elite	Tour of unusual places, using pre-arranged native facilities	Small in number and easily adapted into surrounding environments
	Off-beat	Get away from the crowds	Minor because willing to put up with simple accommodation and service
	Unusual	Occasional side trips to explore more isolated area or undertake more risky activity	Temporary destinations can be simple but support base needs to have full range of services
	Incipient mass	Travel as individuals or small groups; seeking combination of amenities and authenticity	Numbers increasing as destination becomes popular; growing demand for services and facilities
	Mass	Middle-class income and values leads to development of a "tourist bubble"	Tourism now a major industry, little interaction with local people beyond commercial links
	Charter	Search for relaxation and good times in a new but familiar environment	Massive arrivals; to avoid complaints hotels and facilities standardized to western tastes
<i>Cognitive-normative models</i>			
<i>Plog (1972):</i>			
	Allocentric	Adventuresome and individual exploration	Small in number, board with local residents
	Mid-centric	Individual travel to areas with facilities and growing reputation	Increased commercialization of visitor-host relationship
	Psychocentric	Organized package holiday to "popular" destinations	Large-scale business, with facilities similar to visitors' home area
<i>Cohen (1979a):</i>			
Modern pilgrimage	Existential	Leave world of everyday life and practicality to escape to "elective center" for spiritual sustenance	Few participants who are absorbed into community, little impact on local life
	Experimental	Quest for alternative lifestyle and to engage in authentic life of others	Assimilated into destination areas because of small numbers and desires
	Experiential	Look for meaning in life of others, enjoyment of authenticity	Some impact as destination provides accommodation and facilities to "show" local culture
Search for pleasure	Diversionary	Escape from boredom and routine of everyday existence; therapy which makes alienation endurable	Mass tourism with large demand for recreation and leisure facilities; large impact because of numbers and commercialization
	Recreational	Trip as entertainment, relaxation to restore physical and mental powers	Artificial pleasure environment created; major impact on local lifestyles

FIGURE 5.1 *Tourist typologies (Murphy, 1985:6)*

5.1.2 Tourists: explaining their behaviour and identifying 'types'

A tourist is "a temporarily leisured person who voluntarily visits a place away from home for the purpose of experiencing a change" (Smith, 1978:55). The word 'tourist' often implies a stereotype, mainly because these individuals gain a collective identity whilst travelling in a group. The 'tourist' has recently become a field of interest for anthropologists and sociologists, and a number of studies have been published on their behaviour patterns, both as individuals and collectively. Part of the travelling experience involves undertaking activities that are not part of daily life at home and also encountering new places. "The average tourist is a collector of places, and his appetite increases as his collection grows" (McCannell, 1976:13).

Visitors in their interests can roughly be divided into two broad groups: the explorers and the charter tourists (See also Smith, 1978 and Murphy, 1985)³. Those in the first group are intellectually stimulated in their travels and have a greater interaction with the places they visit, whereas those in the second group are visually stimulated and tend to travel in large groups seeking guide book images. We would like to identify these two groups as travellers and tourists.

The travellers are the bold explorers. They want to discover new places and find out about life in other communities. Mainly for these reasons they go to relatively unknown or 'exotic' places and try to avoid peak travelling times and crowds, often travelling individually or in limited groups. They could be said to make fewer demands of the host society and do not often cause great changes to it. They may be more appreciated in the remote communities and the money they leave is welcomed as a side income. The long term benefits of travelling are also evident in continued interaction and understanding between host and guest cultures, where the travellers are there because they appreciate and value the host culture and heritage, and will therefore promote it on returning. It is often this type of traveller that is the first to discover a place or an area and may consequently initiate an interest for the wider industry.

Once a place has been completely discovered by the developer, the tour operator and the guide book industry, then the crowds will have enough courage to invade. The

³ There are a number of ways in which tourists have been classified. Murphy (1985) favours the two groups, whereas Smith (1978) enters a critical discussion on interaction, defining tourist in seven groups ranging from the explorer to the charter tourist (see Figure 5.1).

mass or charter tourists demand higher comfort and amenity standards and seek security through pre-arranged and pre-paid places. They are not brave like the travellers and a hidden fear of foreign places, people and food is apparent. They travel in large groups on package holidays to known and popular destinations, demanding all their home comforts.

The sites these tourists want to see are those that have been distinguished or are widely advertised. They may be mentioned in every guide book or even be on a matchbox to be popular. It becomes a ritual to see certain places. Dean McCannell (1976) describes a trip to Europe as a pilgrimage, in which one must see Paris, in Paris the Louvre and in the Louvre, the Mona Lisa. This does not mean that there are no other good paintings in the Louvre, good museums in Paris or interesting cities in France. This trend is even more obvious with tours becoming ever more intensive, taking in many destinations in a very limited time. Due to time constraints, popularly recognised 'highlights' are intensively visited and further attractions ignored. Hence travel is becoming intensified instead of becoming diversified to avoid overcrowding in certain areas. This is even more apparent in towns and cities, and world famous cities like Jerusalem are the worst sufferers⁴.

However, many tourists do not like admitting to being part of a archetypal group; even though they usually all want to see the same things, they tend to be annoyed by other tourists 'polluting' the site. "Nothing annoys some tourists more than the presence of other tourists, and the most pretentious and snobbish will not admit to being a tourists at all" (Turner & Ash, 1975:134).

5.1.3 The Significance of Tourism for Economical Change and Job Creation

In 1990, the annual turnover from world tourism had reached 5.9% of world GNP. Over 6.7% of the world capital investment was in the tourist sector and it contributed by over 5.6% to total tax payments (WTTERC, 1992:2). The industry worldwide employed 118 million people in 1990 and it is predicted that if the present recession ends by the end of the 1990s, tourism could create a further 38-55 million jobs (WTTERC, 1992:2). European Community figures for 1985 indicate that there were ten million jobs directly

⁴ As Israel has become a popular holiday destination in the Mediterranean, the overcrowding in Jerusalem has become acute. While authorities would like to diversify tourism, it is inevitable that most visitors to Israel wish to see the 'holy city'.

connected to the tourist industry within the Community (William & Shaw, 1988:32). There is also a vast number of jobs created indirectly through tourism, such as with the building industry involved in constructing new complexes and their associated infrastructure. An increase in the demand for airline seats will also create a wide range of jobs. The table below illustrates growth in tourism output and direct employment since 1987.

Years	1987	1989	1990	1993
Gross Output (Billions US \$)	1,916	2,450	2,901	3,471
Employment (Millions)	101	112	118	127

TABLE 5.1 *Travel and tourism worldwide growth 1987-1993 (WTTERC, 1992:3).*

It is therefore not surprising that tourism is often only perceived as a valuable source for national income and a provider of employment opportunities. "It is a major source of income and employment for individuals in many places deficient in natural resources other than climate or scenery. It makes use of resources, which may not be used otherwise, in particular of unemployed labour in developing countries and regions with few or no alternative sources of employment" (Burkart & Medlik, 1974:v). This is true, but it is the nature of the employment, particularly at local levels, that illustrates the low return to the host community. In their role as facilitators the best jobs and highest economic gains continue to go to the Western developed nations. This is followed by highest incomes and the most high powered jobs, usually in the capital, and other leading cities in the host countries. The destination locations are the last to benefit, with limited foreign income and invariably ill paid service sector job opportunities, while managerial positions are often taken up by outsiders.

Although the new employment opportunities may reduce the amount of migration from an area, they may also in reality be harming the local economy. The comfort of temporary higher wages and the increasing interest in the glamorous world of tourism may well lead to the abandonment of local agriculture or other more stable sources of income. The loss of subsistence agriculture will not only accelerate migration to the cities but subsequently lead to increased imports and rising prices.

In the developing world tourism diversifies the economy and is seen as a cleaner means of earning 'hard foreign cash'. However, the gain is not a direct one and there will be a cost to pay in facilities that are provided, including an otherwise unnecessary increase in foreign imports; thus cancelling out the gain. But instead leading to a status of increasing dependency. The tourist industry will also be demanding new specialist imports, with a danger of adding to ever increasing inflation rates. Providing 'home comforts' for the tourists will unquestionably involve the provision of Western facilities and products; from air conditioning systems to Corn Flakes. In Hawaii, for example, the agricultural areas have been so vastly invaded by the industry that the island now imports pineapples, previously one of their main food products.

Tourism earnings are often calculated from the gross figures of foreign exchange earned, not discounting the imported costs for goods and services or payment towards royalties and shares held by multinationals. Money goes out of the country on expenditure involving imported goods and services, interest on foreign capital, overseas advertising, overseas training of tourism personnel and foreign management salaries (Erlet, 1991:3). There will also be capital expenditure on the building and maintenance of airports, hotels, infrastructure, roads, water supplies, communication systems, etc. All costs that are borne by the poorer host communities, whatever the state of the tourist industry at any one time.

Tourist services are also perishable; if a bed is not sold for a night then it is wasted. Tourism moves in cycles and there is very little guarantee of its continuation at the same levels, as has recently been experienced in the Mediterranean. When a destination becomes popular the operators, with money, want to invest in the area and the local hoteliers welcome it and start creating more space. It is at "this time when the host country has to be very careful with the growth of its tourism" (Josephides, 1992:53). "What is the flavour of the year may not be next season, as Turkey has found out, and governments ignore this characteristic of tourism and its peril" (Stancliffe & Tyler, 1990:3). Too much investment can invariably lead to over-capacity, which in turn leads to fiercer competition and price wars. While the prices go down, so may the clientele, and the destination also makes a name for being overbuilt and 'spoilt'. Once the destination has been flooded by down-market visitors "you start getting ghettos, catering for a particular kind of tourist mentality" (Josephides, 1992:54).

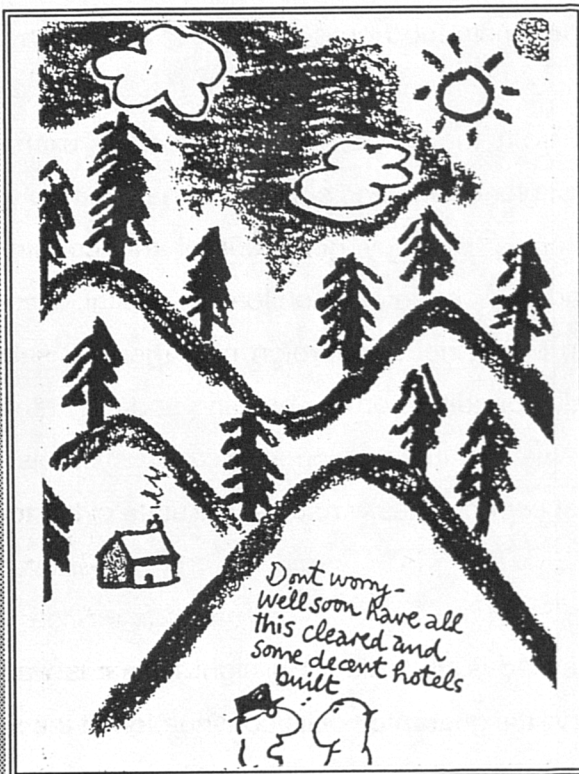


FIGURE 5.2 Front cover of "Tourism" (Young, 1973)

Tourism is very vulnerable, particularly in small island states like Cyprus and Malta, where the economy depends entirely on tourism. But it is the islands that are also most vulnerable to pressure and change, and where impacts may be felt immediately⁵. Kos, a Greek island of 20,000 inhabitants receives 900,000 visitors a year, tourism is a booming industry and "its power has partly wrecked the very environment on which it can further capitalise" (Chelidoni, 1993:5).

5.1.4 The Impact of Tourism on Fragile Environments

There are numerous benefits from tourism, but also a cost that has to be paid by the local inhabitants. However, "there is a saturation level for tourism in a given locality or region and if that level is exceeded, the costs of tourism begin to outweigh the benefits" (Young, 1973:111). "Tourism development carries with it the seeds of its own destruction" (Murphy, 1985:39). The threat of tourism is that it eventually destroys the very thing that makes it. The real loss is mainly to the ordinary people because not only do they lose their income but also because the stable environment and the previous ecological balance has been irreversibly damaged.

Tourism and tourist developments are greedy consumers of the natural environment. Once it has become a tourist attraction, a small or fragile monument is often surrounded with parking facilities, souvenir shops, restaurants, cafes and numerous sign-posts. Although the monument itself may be safeguarded, the surrounding environment is not. Green areas are used up for large hotels and resorts, leisure centres, car parks and airports. Airports in turn will create traffic and noise pollution. Crowds too are becoming a growing danger to the natural balance of nature and to the fabric of historic buildings and settlements.

Tourism tends to impose a larger number of people on an area or monument than it was ever designed for. The Acropolis of Athens is visited by more people in a week now, than ever visited it in a hundred years in antiquity (Art, Sept 1990:64). York Minster alone was visited by 17,132 people a day in 1978 (Lowenthal & Binney, 1981). Congestion is caused in many other cathedrals, including Coventry, Canterbury, Durham and St Paul's in England. The increased number of tour buses, motor traffic

⁵ Malta, for example, has a population of 360,000 and in 1992 just over one million tourists visited this island state (Boissevain, 1993:1). Considering Malta is the most densely populated European country, the pressure of numbers is apparent.

and service vehicles causes traffic jams, as well as disruption and destruction to the historic environment. In the Minoan palace at Knossos, even the restoration work is showing signs of erosion due to numbers. In tourist towns, overcrowding will create more pressure on services and further disrupt local lifestyles.

In the Mediterranean, and other places as well, as coastal land gains value for tourist developments, fertile agricultural land will be expended. This has been widely experienced in Spain and in Portugal's Algarve. This not only increases the host communities dependence on the outside, but also causes ecological imbalance which may lead to soil or land erosion. The agricultural land has been replaced by multistorey hotel buildings, creating concrete coastlines, today associated with down-market mass tourism. Whilst the buildings pollute the coastline the pressure of high numbers threatens sanitation facilities and seawater hygiene, and is often a strain on resources like water and electricity. Particularly in poor but hot countries, both are exploited by the industry at the locals' expense. While imported electricity is freely used for air conditioning systems, water, crucial to agriculture, is being used to fill swimming pools and keep lawns⁶.

Primarily in the Developing World, the laws set down to control development are often overlooked or corrupted in favour of a quick profit. Gain from tourism is measured in GNP (gross national product) that takes no accountability for detrimental environmental costs. Environmental concern has to be part of an integrated development plan and local people need to participate in the development process. The Impacts of tourism on the environment can broadly be identified as:

- change in land-use patterns, reduction of green areas with ecological consequences,
- production of more waste, pollution and the contamination of resources,
- pressure on heritage,
- congestion and overcrowding,
- building of uniform structures, often with no architectural harmony,
- pressure on scarce resources like water, infrastructure and building materials,

⁶ In parts of India, particularly in Goa on the West coast, many fishing communities have been driven off the beaches by developers establishing holiday resorts. Agriculture too has suffered where the new developments have taken up all the available water, making the local irrigation systems useless. In the Seychelles many Mexican and foreign individuals have bought up almost a quarter of the land of the island, including the best land for development on the coastal plateau (de Kadt, 1979:21).

- marine, terrain and climatic change induced by tourism (WTTERC, 1992:4).

With increasing pressure and concern on environmental issues globally, agents and operators are trying to look 'green' and environmentally friendly in their images. Green or Eco-tourism has become a marketing strategy for the agents, and alternative tourism implies a search for an 'unspoilt' destination, which in fact can be more harmful than useful to the environment. Eco-tourism tends to focus on beaches, lakes, forests and the natural environment and less on the people and their culture. Responsible tourism aims at small scale and gradual tourism. However, "its basic ineffectiveness at addressing the problems means that it is in danger of being nicely co-opted by both the tourist and the tourism industry alike in an attempt to salve quality consciences and promote seemingly more conscientious marketing" (Erlet, 1991:18).

Today countries that have recently emerged from a restrictive regime like Albania, with previously no tourist developments, are ideal spots for eco-tourism in its true sense. It will be the understanding and concerned traveller who will choose to frequent that destination, not the tourists seeking higher comfort levels or a certain novelty. The benefits, even though not immediate, will be of greater importance to the host. The market created will be valued by a responsible group of visitors, that will in turn have a higher chance of being revisited. Overcrowding and environmental pollution will be less likely, hence less chance of the devaluation of the destination. In fact, with more places becoming spoilt, their value will increase.

In parallel to the movement towards more sustainable development policies, a popular term of the 1990s, the notion of 'sustainable tourism' has emerged. Sustainable development is concerned with maintaining a more balanced economic growth and conserving natural resources. According to the World Commission on Environment and Development publication, *Our Common Future* (1987:1): "The essential prerequisite of sustainable development is to meet the needs of the present without comprising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs".

In the 1990s tourism, too is going 'green' and developing an 'alternative' side. "Alternative Tourism emphasises avoidance of environmental damage, scaling down, the issue of who benefits, and cultural sensitivity" (de Kadt, 1990:introduction). The understanding of alternative tourism has been used in variety of different situations. However, the aim remains as the rejection of 'normal', 'mass', 'mainstream' tourism,

which is seen as a reflection of the mass consumer society. On the local front, alternative tourism is concerned about large and out of scale tourist developments in favour of local, small scale developments with community involvement. Another term in this reference is 'cultural sustainability' (de Kadt, 1990:5).

There are two arguments for Sustainable Tourism; one is that tourism is here to stay and that it has to be promoted so that it is *sustainable*. The other argument is that sustainable tourism is a 'myth' and that we can only make a choice *between* tourism and the environment. Another argument debates between sustainable tourism, appropriate tourism or altogether banning tourism. "Appropriate' suggests that relationships between tourists and 'native' people are mutually agreeable to both, implying an equality and reciprocity between them" (Rosenthal, 1991:3).

In Europe 'green' issues have become public concern and fare high on the political agendas of developed countries. However strongly issues are lobbied, many small and local developments continue to compete with the wealthy and influential operators from the West.

5.1.5 Tourism and Cultural Identity: interaction versus domination

"Tourism was and continues to be a major contributor to, as well as a manifestation of, a process of cultural invasion" (Helu-Thaman, 1992:8).

Although people go to places to see and experience the 'culture', what they often see is exactly what they want to see, something they believe to be 'authentic', but of very little relevance to the local culture. Religious ceremonies, sacred and important to a community, are being exploited to please crowds and cameras. One may ask if it is ethical to exploit religion and people's beliefs just to please camera carrying crowds. The presented tradition, from local dances to architecture, has in fact become no more than a 'staged culture', created to please the onlookers. While it is a 'tourist' phenomenon to view culture as an object, it is the travellers who tend to understand, respect and be part of the host culture and lifestyle.

As we have said above, too rapid tourist development may cause a serious loss of the local livelihood, particularly in the case of agriculture or fishing. Agriculture suffers from the decrease in cheap and available labour due to the opportunities offered by the

tourist industry, and also from increasing land values in development areas which may lead to the loss of fertile land.

In Kenya and Tanzania, for example, Game Parks for 'preserving' animal species result in the people being moved out, and thus losing their livelihood from resin collecting, farming and animal rearing. These people, known as Maasai, never ate game, so the species had been better protected than they are now from the tourist industry, safari and balloon tours. The Maasai do not gain from tourism either, as they are not directly involved and receive no benefits from the revenue. In many national parks around the world animals are notionally conserved, whilst local agriculture and gathering is not permitted, driving the indigenous population into further poverty (Olerokongo, 1992).

In developing countries tourism is ruled by outside tour operators, who demand that the culture fit in with their timetables and visitor schedules. "Tourism manipulates the tradition and customs of people to make tourist experience more interesting and satisfying" (Negi, 1990:37). If the tourists want to see the local villagers in mud huts using primitive farming methods, that is precisely what the tour operator will demand, even if the society has changed somewhat in its lifestyle and farming methods. In many cases, events, dances and festivals are being performed purely for tourist interests, having lost their original meaning or sequence in the year.

In the early Seventies, when Tanzania was developing a tourism policy, they were strongly against using fake images of their culture. Mr Gordon Fair, involved in the policy making at the time, in a debate on the image Tanzania would portray to the outside, was quoted as follows: "How do you get the tourist to meet the people without them becoming absolutely obnoxious? The people the tourists want to see are usually the most primitive in their most primitive state. These are the people that emerging nations are not likely to want pushed as representatives of their countries, and for a good reason. I'm sure Tanzania wouldn't want a bus load of tourists to descend on a ujamaa (self-reliant) village for a snapshot session. They don't want tourists disturbing their normal way of life. We suggest isolating tourists, ... we've got to set up artificial villages so that the tourists can have something to see when they arrive, and not disturb the people. It may be contrived - it may be fake - it is fake - but it's a lot less aggravation on both sides" (Shivji, 1975:viii).

Many of the enthusiastically advertised destinations hide poverty and hardship behind their tourist image. To some people a holiday is a time of relaxation and leisure, as long as the weather is to their liking and they have all their desired comforts. Advertised as being 'paradise', many Caribbean or Pacific islands have become favoured resorts. Once there, the tourists prefer to stay in the paradises created for them in the resorts, turning a blind eye to the world around them. Turner and Ash (1975) describe a typical "pleasure reserve", as they refer to it, in Haiti. The 'Habitation', a posh and exclusive club boasting members like Mick Jagger, is situated quite close to the island's worst slums. The guests are therefore protected from the 'natives' by a high wall and only presented with an exotic picture of Haitian life, with local staff dressed up to complete the image in this fantasy world. This is another example where the vast contrast between Western affluence and Eastern poverty is exposed to the locals, who have to live in nearby shacks.

Another effect of tourism on society can be termed 'cultural pollution' where the younger generations aspire to all that is brought in by the tourist, ignoring their own values. Sudden exposure to high Western standards in closed communities may lead to the corruption of their indigenous culture, whereby the Western image becomes a status symbol, especially among the young. Western notions of freedom can also affect local family values and structures. The hippies on their 'peace tour' around the world eventually brought only prostitution and drugs to Nepal. The Ladakh Valley has also become a victim of tourists seeking remote and exotic experiences. The younger generation has replaced Tibetan caps and ankle length goadas with jeans, chanting with rock and roll, and a domestic culture with a social one consisting of jazz bars and discos (Negi, 1990).

A further argument is that local crafts, about to be lost, will be revived. However, with mass tourism, the souvenirs are also mass-produced and of a much lesser quality, while the traditional meaning of the art declines. Indigenous arts and crafts have become part of the culture package and often religious items have become mass-produced tourist items. "Thus tourism has encouraged stylised art forms which is only the most tenuous to anything in the traditional culture -the production of pseudo-traditional art form or airport art" (Negi, 1990:30).

The negative impacts of tourism development on local communities can be identified as:

- undermining of cultural practices and traditions,

- loss of agricultural land (or fishing) and livelihood
- mass production of local crafts and religious objects (loss of quality)
- manipulation of traditions, beliefs and ceremonies
- accentuation of the rich visitors against local poverty levels

On the other hand, all the societies that are visited will also be in the process of change, and tourism will not be the only reason for which traditional customs, beliefs and values are being abandoned or altered. Visitors valuing the host culture can play an important role in strengthening relationships and supporting change and development.

5.1.6 Tourism as a Tool for Collaborative Development

Alongside the impacts, often caused by the mass movements, travelling is also an important tool for development and world understanding. Buildings and areas of historic and cultural interest are restored and maintained because of tourism. Archaeological evidence is investigated and preserved, calling on the growth of academic research and professional expertise. A demand for a good environment will encourage its protection. Nations with little interest in the past of other civilisations are now conserving that heritage as well, such as the Greeks conserving Ottoman mosques and the Turks the ancient Greek ruins. "In Turkey, the arrival of increasing numbers of westerners who had come to tour the Greco-Roman cities, especially Pergamon, Ephesus and Priene on the west coast, must have made the inhabitants aware that the ruins were highly valued by others (even for reasons they could not understand). The most popular sites soon acquired an economic value and it became more profitable to act as guides, sell souvenirs or to work for archaeological expeditions, than to demolish piecemeal" (Turner & Ash, 1975:133).

Unlike heavy industries, tourism is a relatively clean industry and can even encourage other clean industries like agriculture and fishing. Nevertheless, this is only possible when the tourism development is not driving people off the land. In areas of severe unemployment, even seasonal work is welcomed. The potential for improved infrastructure, investment and associated economic development planning will increase, as funds are gradually transferred from the richer to the poorer nations, through a better understanding of their needs.

If resources are not exploited, and programmes worked out to benefit the residents, tourism will also introduce better living standards to the hosts. Ideally, the exchange of ideas and building friendships is a contribution to world peace. The benefits of getting to know and understand other people and their cultures could also play a role in reducing racial conflict.

In the Mediterranean, for example, tourism has brought with it integration of peoples and modernisation to some places. While Greece, Spain and Portugal were seen as the fringes of Europe, they have today become an integrated part of it, for which tourism has played an important role. But many mistakes have been made as a result of heavy competition and strong desires for immediate growth, including damage to the environment, quality of water and the exploitation of smaller village and island communities, coastal fishing, agriculture and forestry (see also Josephides, 1992). It is most vital for the future of all Mediterranean tourism that the same mistakes are not repeated in the newer, but more vulnerable destinations, including the North African coast and the Eastern Mediterranean regions.

5.2 TOURISM IN HISTORIC TOWNS

5.2.1 Cities in History: growth, development and change

Origins of many European cities can be traced back as far as Roman times. In every period people added their own fortifications, houses, streets and public buildings to the urban fabric. The Roman grid plan for cities with the two principal axes gave way to a much more organic street and fortification pattern in the Middle Ages. Many adapted small, narrow and winding medieval street patterns. The fall of the Roman Empire had resulted in centuries of violence and uncertainty. Feudalism provided protection within the walled cities and a revival of trade, while the Christian church gained power. City walls surrounded and protected the cities, built on a hill top or riverside, with a church or cathedral in the centre. Later the Renaissance had a great impact on the more important towns, when grand avenues were added, leading to palaces and public squares. By the 17th and 18th centuries, while new quarters were being built outside

some medieval towns⁷, others, such as Paris, did lose their medieval identity as they were redesigned with new avenues and facades.

The next stage in European urban history was the large scale planned towns. The Renaissance brought the 'Grand Manner' to European cities, like Madrid, London and Paris which became large and grand, with wide avenues⁸. Diagonal axes followed, framing distant vistas of palaces, monuments, triumphal arches, commemorative columns and statues. Medieval towns that had lost their importance were spared this classical intervention, to become some of the famous 'historic' towns of this century.

In the 19th century neo-medievalism became a famous architectural style; the main concern, however, was in recreating historic value rather than in conserving. English architects re-introduced 'cottage' architecture and by the end of the century city planning had turned in favour of the medieval characteristics of organic street layouts. Appreciation was and remained to be in the 'picturesque'.

Industrialisation is probably one of the greatest turning points in Western society and urban morphology. The nature of cities changed with the introduction of heavy industry, with smoke and pollution; this was followed by a surge of immigrants from rural areas as the workforces started to transform the cities and accelerated their growth. The products of industry had other effects on the richer classes, who were using the benefits of transportation networks to move out into the cleaner new suburbs and travel more frequently to other towns through railway networks - in a way the start of frequent travel and tourism in Europe.

Until this time in most places the medieval city was able to keep much of its former identity within the city walls. However, when new communication networks considerably increased the size of towns, they left the old city as an often derelict inner area of run down neighbourhoods. The rising middle class professional residents made use of improved transport opportunities and moved out of the centres and into new and spacious suburbs, while immigrant workers moved into tight tenements built for them, or into the abandoned inner cities. There was serious overcrowding and in many cases

⁷ These include the New Town of Edinburgh and the Neustadt of Strasbourg.

⁸ These new 'straight' streets not only promoted public order and speeded up communication, but also added ceremonial characteristics and an axis to the city, reflecting the social ideology and political climate of the time.

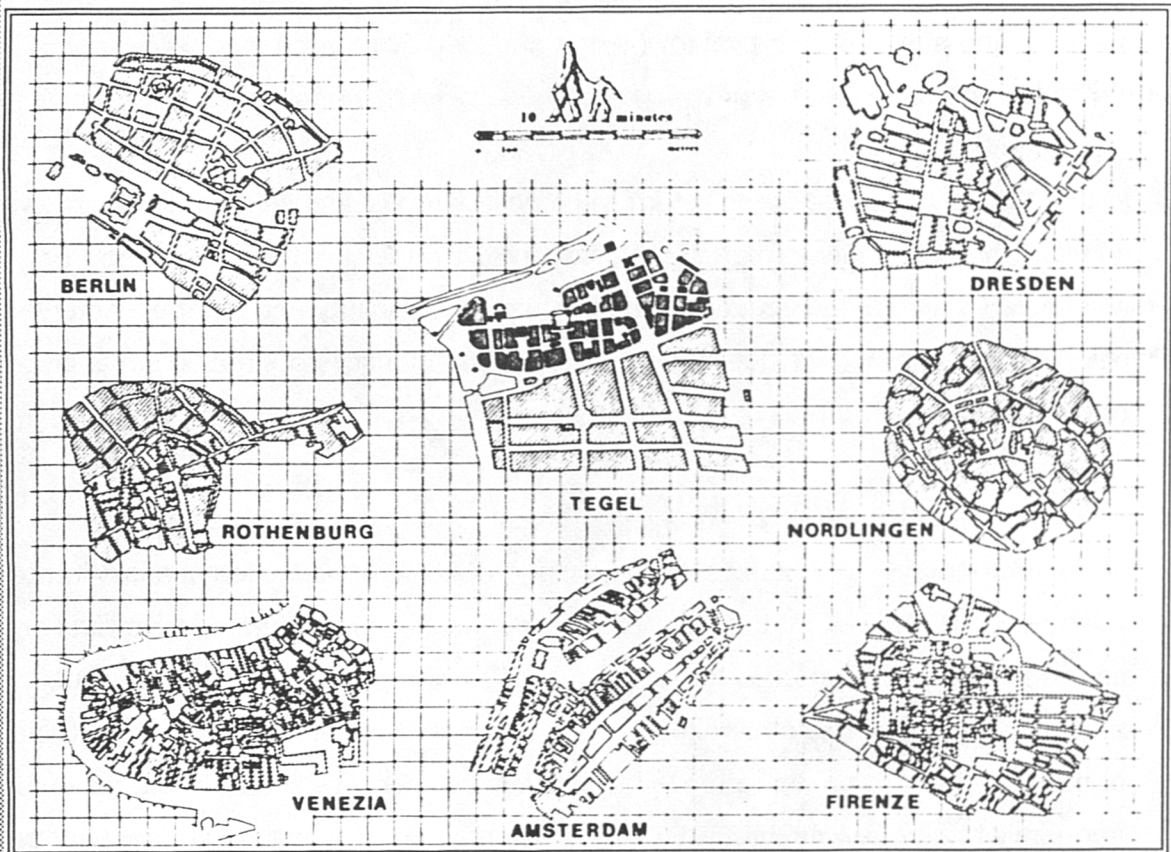


FIGURE 5.3 Historic city centres (Krier in Papadakis, 1984:88)

the continuation of rural farming traditions in the city only added to the unhygienic conditions and constant threat of disease. In the next century these conditions would be the reasons for urban clearance and mass demolitions. After years of stability the historic centres became places of continuous change and by the 20th century many were in the centres of large and constantly growing industrialised and westernised cities; they had become 'transition zones' and slums.

5.2.2 'Historic Value' seen as a Visitor Attraction

An interest in history is not new to Europe and the 18th and 19th centuries saw the Romantic movement, with an interest in the picturesque, initiated in England and led by architects including Nicholas Hawksmoor, John Nash and Sir Gilbert Scott⁹. This interest in historic buildings led to the restoration movement, later known as preservation¹⁰, in the late 19th C¹¹. Even though many elements and approaches to preservation and restoration have changed, the interest in and love of history continues to be popular, particularly as a reaction to rapidly growing urban environments.

It is often the Medieval pattern of urban structure that forms the historic quarters of today and contributes to the sought after values of narrow and picturesque streets. City walls that had protected towns from invasion also protected them from destruction in the 19th and 20th centuries, particularly where new towns were built outside the old city walls, and in a number of places today the medieval city walls determine the Conservation Areas. Hill top views or the quality of a riverside, coupled with the 'charm' of a major

⁹ The 18th C. architect, Nicholas Hawksmoor, respected the old architectural styles of London and designed buildings to harmonise with the existing townscape. The romantic and picturesque movement followed, led by John Nash, in which buildings of every period were highly valued and admired. During the 19th C., in the reign of Queen Victoria, Sir Gilbert Scott became the central figure for his numerous church restorations, not all successful. He was criticized for being too 'authentic' in his approach (Erder, 1986).

¹⁰ John Ruskin in his book "Seven Lamps of Architecture" (1849) criticized the popular 'restoration' process of demolition and rebuilding on a stylistic basis. William Morris, in support of Ruskin's views introduced the 'preservation' movement by establishing the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB).

¹¹ In England the first Bill for the Protection of Historic Monuments was passed in 1882, enabling Government protection of 68 selected monuments. Mainly in London, many buildings were classified, some of which were residential properties. In 1921 a list of classified buildings was published and the buildings came under government protection for alterations or restoration. From 1910 Government grants were made available for repair work and the Town and Country Planning Act of 1947 introduced the first solutions to environmental conservation (Erder, 1986).

cathedral set in the midst of narrow streets lined with 'historic' houses, attract tourists to these towns.

The favoured tourist towns are often important medieval towns that were less exploited by industrialisation, like Winchester, Trier, Granada, Bruges and Perugia. "And yet how many fascinating and often tragic destinies are hidden behind the bland statistics about those cities that went into decline between 1300 and 1800. Many of them, once great centres of influence and power, have become mere tourist sites, providing a journey six, seven or eight centuries back into the past, but deprived of their former might and glory" (Bairoch, 1988:156).

The experience of a medieval town today is often limited to the street pattern and several buildings of that time. The remainder has been added throughout the centuries and open spaces and backyards have been filled in with buildings at times of land shortages. Needless to say the stench and insanitary conditions which accompanied medieval towns are not the sought-after qualities by the tourist in search of a picturesque image of a bygone era. Gerald Burke (1971) describes the conditions of a medieval town: "Waterborne sewerage and sewerage disposal was virtually non-existent, refuse collecting spasmodic and refuse disposal concentrated in a few 'muck hills'. Horses, pigs and chickens roamed the streets. Squalor, dirt, discomfort and disease were the accepted lot of medieval man" (Burke, 1971:62).

5.2.3 Consequences of Increased Tourism in Historic Towns

Historic towns have become part of so-called the heritage industry closely tied to tourism. Tourism can be said to be a two-edged sword for historic towns. It is widely believed that tourism will contribute greatly to the economy of towns. However, there are certain doubts as to whether the local community will also gain. It can not be denied that tourism does bring economic development, both at the regional and national levels, but it can impose heavy costs on the residents. While tourism is a main source of income and may contribute to the costly process of preservation and conservation, large numbers of tourists are imposing a strain on these heritage sites, with the consequent risks to the historic fabric of the town.

Tourism is here to stay: we can only help to manage it more successfully, with the emphasis on tourism and environmental management. "To some, tourism represents

an opportunity - a means of capitalising on the legacy of history - to others, perhaps it may be something of a threat unless it can be managed safely" (Stuart, 1989:1). An important aspect of travel and tourism in promoting peace and development is that it is not a 'smokestack' industry, and with careful planning, can play an important role in providing a more environmentally sound future.

Tourists often destroy the very attractions they have come to visit; some areas even lose their popularity for being 'spoilt' or 'overcrowded'. By 1970 'tourist pollution' in London, Venice and Florence had already reached dangerous levels. On an extremely crowded summer's day in 1987, Venice had to close its causeway to stop people entering the historic town. Even though these world cities were built to welcome visitors, and this may be true of St Marks in Venice or the squares of Bath, they are ultimately vulnerable to over crowding, particularly in the smaller towns such as Bruges, York or Stratford-upon-Avon. Larger cities like London and Paris may have a better capability for absorbing the crowds, though whether this always improves their quality of life is questionable.

In the case of historic buildings and sites the damage is physical as the pressure of numbers will damage in the fabric. Motor traffic also has a serious effect on historic buildings and areas. Fumes do not just blacken surfaces but also cause irreversible damage to stone. In historic areas the damage is to the buildings themselves as narrow streets, tight corners and low overhangs frequently cause accidents. Speed limits are often ignored in these areas, and there is an even more serious threat from large delivery vehicles, particularly when central areas have become commercialised.

For local inhabitants tourism may also mean a decrease in the quality of life. Constant rises in land and property values, spoiled landscapes, pollution, traffic and overcrowding are naturally not very welcome. "The major social cost is frustration and irritation on the part of the relatively small number of British people who are exposed to the brunt of tourist upsurge. ... But even tourists list 'overcrowding' as their single biggest complaint about London" (The Economist, 1977:91). Pressure is felt even more in the smaller places, "In high summer, disaffected residents of York can be spotted wearing anti-tourist badges" (Stancliffe & Tyler, 1990:3).

Increases in land prices in the city centre locations will reduce the possibility of facilities for the inhabitants. Local housing will be constructed further out of town, adding to

transportation costs into the centre, which will only be used seasonally. There will be further demands for accommodation by the temporary staff imported into the city at high season. In the off-season the demand for accommodation will be much less, large hotels in the centres will be working at under-capacity; others may be closed. Local authorities, and hence the inhabitants, will have to bear the burden of unemployment and an underused centre. The profits of tourism are calculated through the profits of major tourist facilities but the costs are not as easy to calculate. In England, for example, "costs are much more difficult to pin down. They include the social penalties borne by those who live or work in Central London or in other big tourist towns like Oxford, Bath, Stratford or Edinburgh" (The Economist, 1977:90).

At a 1973 Council of Europe conference held in Copenhagen, the importance of the exchange of information between tourism and conservation bodies, and proper planning in conservation areas was stressed and a joint committee for the development of a conservation-tourism collaboration proposed. In the conservation of towns it is important "to plan tourist development with due regard to the character and capacity of the locality and interests of its inhabitants" (Dower, 1974:963).

5.3 THE URBAN CONSERVATION MOVEMENT IN WESTERN EUROPE

A growing interest in heritage, which also reflected the notion of 'urban heritage' in the 20th century, combined with nationalistic feelings after the war and the market potential for tourist developments, has identified the 'historic' quality of medieval towns and quarters. Even though some of the conferences and charters that resulted from them are international ones, the action and involvement in the movement towards the conservation of historic towns was predominantly generated in Europe.

5.3.1 Rebuilding War Damage: reflections of National Identity

During the Second World War many European cities were severely damaged due to heavy bombing, especially in Germany and Eastern Europe. After the war it was important for the dignity of these nations to rebuild the national monuments that were lost or severely damaged. As a result many buildings were rebuilt, often from scratch, on the mere evidence of pre-war photographs and drawings. The main emphasis was

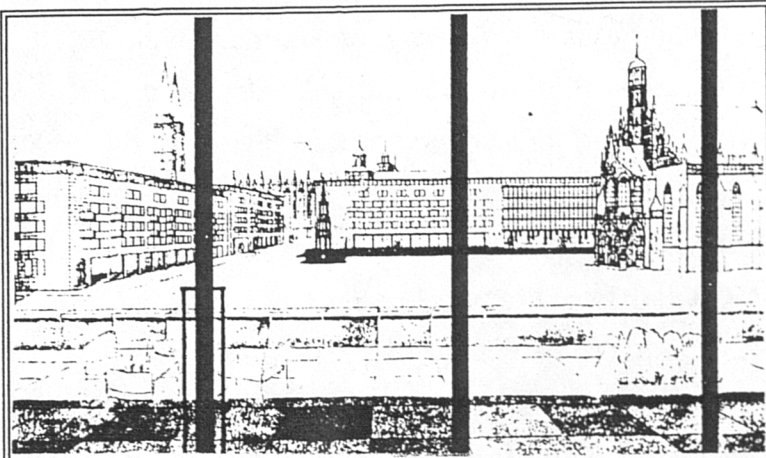


FIGURE 5.4 *Nuremberg: The "Hauptmarkt" 1948 proposal for reconstruction and results of the reconstruction in 1977 (UNESCO, 1980:179)*

on public buildings, or others that looked on to public spaces, and not about people or places to live.

In Nuremberg, in Germany, 90% of the buildings were destroyed during the war. The 1950 basic Plan for Reconstruction required the use of steep roofs and reddish and yellow tones of rendering, features of the 19th century Nuremberg. The central square was completely ruined and even though a 1947/48 competition winner suggested buildings in the modern style, this plan was later abandoned in favour of more traditional facades.

This was a period of promoting national history and values. Historic buildings, particularly those ruined by the enemy, were seen as a reflection of national identity and rebuilt to their former splendour. The nature of the urban environment and the people living in the buildings were of secondary importance.

In the 1990s Europe is once again faced with war damage as a result of civil war and unrest in the former Yugoslavia. The popular tourist-historic cities of Split, Dubrovnik, Sarejevo, Mostar and many others, have been very severely damaged. Rebuilding them following the war will be a new approach to post-war reconstruction in a conservation conscious Europe. The importance of national identity in the context of historic towns will be significant.

5.3.2 'New Developments' for Old Towns

In the 1950s and 1960s the European inner city was no longer the stable middle class area it had once been. City planners encouraged extensive transport networks, suburban growth and the zoning of cities, whereby the commercial centre was distinctively separated from the surrounding residential and industrial zones. The increased transport networks and the emergence of suburbs had drained the population, leaving the inner cities with mixed and unstable populations. Often in the centres of large metropolises increasing property values also accelerated the pressure for demolition and redevelopment. In many cases valuable historic buildings or entire neighbourhoods were demolished in slum clearance and development programmes. Heavy handed renewal schemes paid very little respect to the original scale, lay out and city scape, not to mention the resident community.

A number of the historic quarters that were destroyed in the Second World War were in reality run-down slum areas. Slums in Britain were often the result of 19th century industrialisation. During the years before the war they had been ignored and very little had been done to make them more habitable. In the early 1940s there were several proposals to clear out slums from town centres, including Coventry, where the problem was conveniently solved by German bombing. In 1949 extensive rehabilitation grants were made available, but the general attitude of the 1950s was to demolish and rehouse the people in new tenements, often multi-storey concrete blocks.

Little more than ten years after the war, Britain had become a leading Industrial nation following the practices of modernism, building 'big', 'new' buildings, town centres and roads, often regardless of the historic urban fabric. In the 1960s Local Authorities were specifying 'Improvement Areas' (Balchin, 1987:63) which in fact meant new large scale developments. For Newcastle, the grand plan of 1961 proposed demolition, with the exception of a few buildings regarded as 'masterpieces' in the centre, and the building of new motorways and shopping malls was encouraged. The then Councillor and Chairman of the Planning Committee Dan Smith had a vision of Newcastle as an international city of the future with road networks and high rise buildings. He implemented a number of schemes for what he called the 'New Brasilia' (Architects' Journal, no 28, 1980:62). Fourteen storey blocks decorated with sculptures were built on slum clearance sites, along with a considerable number of shopping centres, often of a very unwelcoming design with very few openings to the outside. "It was this sort of unquestioning belief in the benefits of redevelopment that kept the 1961 grand plan alive so long" (Architects' Journal, no 28, 1980:59). The Newcastle plan was only abandoned after 1975 when growing public and environmental concern combined to curtail finances.

The central area of Brussels had also become a slum by 1967, when the Manhattan Project started. The historic centre was housing a very low income group, including the elderly and relief-dependant foreigners. Nevertheless, these people were attached to the quarter, where they had the necessary social, educational and medical services. Even though they were outcasts to the rest of the society, they lived in the safety of their own tight community. But it was the 1970s, and an 'American style' development was initiated. A massive project, providing housing, jobs, entertainment and shopping facilities was planned - for the higher income groups of course. The existing residents were most likely removed to another slum, as there was very little concern for public

housing at the time. The glamorous Manhattan Project did not live up to expectations either, as it went bankrupt several years later.

In the early 1970s conservationist attitudes were growing and the commissioning of reports by many European governments on their historic towns, marked the beginnings of a new consciousness for urban conservation and a new definition of 'development' in the inner city areas.

5.3.3 Public Awareness and Pressure for Conservation

Even though a strong interest in the protection of historic buildings had been evident since the 19th C. (see also Erder, 1986), it was in the mid 1960s that there was also a growing awareness of the historic value in urban areas. In 1966 the Bath Symposium had concluded with a statement on "principles and practice of active preservation and rehabilitation of groups and areas of buildings of historical or artistic interest" (Council of Europe, 1977:33). The symposium raised architectural and town planning issues, including communications and accessibility, that needed to be solved in order that historic areas were not transformed into lifeless museums. In 1967 in The Hague it was also stressed that town planning schemes should include conservation links and awareness.

On many occasions it was the residents who provoked awareness and fought for the conservation of their historic areas. In England there was the growth of what are known as "amenity societies". A love for history, landscape and the picturesque had evolved in the 19th century when Romanticism became fashionable in Europe, and with it a feeling of responsibility for the environment. In 1846 the first national amenity society was formed in England, when 27 citizens of Sidmouth decided they wanted to improve the place. In the years that followed many more amenity groups were established, including the National Trust¹² and the TCPA¹³, both before the turn of the century.

¹² The National Trust of England was established in 1895 'to act as a Corporation for the holding of lands of natural beauty and sites and house of historic interest to be preserved for the nation's use and enjoyment.' The Trust owns and opens houses to the public, as well as protecting Chapels, wind and water mills, medieval barns, farms and even villages.

¹³ The Town and Country Planning Association, founded in 1899, is Britain's oldest independent voluntary organisation concerned with planning and the environment. The TCPA is committed to improving the environment through effective planning, public participation and sensitive development. It has had a major and enduring influence on the worldwide development of planning policy, law and practice.

of these societies claimed to be the voice of the urban slum dweller, though one does not know if the 'urban slum dweller' himself knew about them.

It was, however, in 1975 that the European Architectural Heritage year brought not only an increased awareness of the built heritage but also encouraged many city authorities to tackle the problems of their historic centres. As a result many pioneering projects were launched. The declaration by the Council of Europe on the occasion states the aim of the Year: "To awaken the interest of the European peoples in their common heritage; to protect and enhance buildings and areas of historic interest; to conserve the character of old towns and villages, and to assure for ancient buildings a living role in contemporary society" (Wood, 1975:1).

Worldwide interests were also awakened and the United Nations, under UNESCO and other bodies, started publishing recommendations on Historic Conservation¹⁴, enhancing conservation of culture and community within the urban context. In 1976 "Recommendations Concerning the Safeguarding and Contemporary Role of Historic Areas", published both in Warsaw and Nairobi, states that: "The conservation of historic towns and urban areas, is understood to mean those steps necessary for the protection, conservation and restoration of such town areas, as well as their development and harmonious adaptation to contemporary life."¹⁵

Local Authorities were responsible for the conservation of the architectural heritage in urban areas, supported by their National Governments; Bologna and Krems became early pilot projects with policies that were to be integrated with conservation set down as:

- the improvement of the architectural environment,
- the improvement of housing conditions,
- the improvement of amenities,
- the controlling of rents so as to enable the broadest possible section of the population to occupy restored housing (Council of Europe, 1977;38).

¹⁴ These include the Venice Charter, the UNESCO Recommendation on the Conservation of Urban and Rural Historic Centres, the Bruges Resolution on the Rehabilitation of Historic Centres, the Amsterdam Declaration and the Charter on the Architectural Heritage adopted by the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe.

¹⁵ Taken from the introduction to the "Charter for the Conservation of Historic Towns and Urban Areas", ICOMOS, 1987.

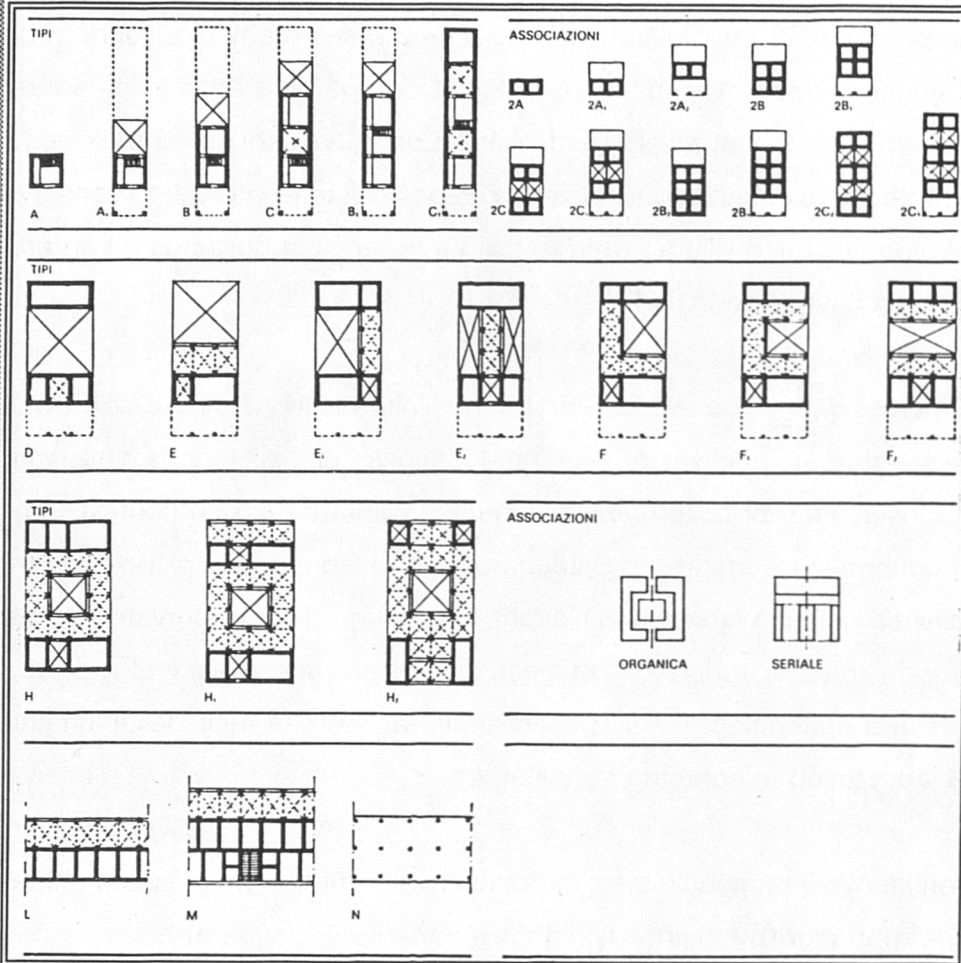


FIGURE 5.5 *Building types survey in Bologna (Bandarin, 1979:180)*

Today, in most of Western Europe's popular historic quarters, the architectural environment has been improved and so have the housing conditions and amenities. However, the final objective of protecting the resident tenant has very rarely been achieved. Bologna is a rare success story.

In Bologna the attitude of the local Socialist leadership was that the city was the property of its inhabitants. Prior to the decision to revitalise the historic centre, 18 Neighbourhood Councils were established of about 30,000 people each. A conservation programme was developed with these Local Councils. A survey of building types and the families living in them was carried out. The City bought up a considerable amount of property, to rehabilitate and use as public housing for the people of the area. Private owners were given repair grants, on the condition that rents remained the same, and the City Council held a right to buy the property before it came on to the market. Although it was an immense task, the long-term result has been that many of the original communities have remained in their revitalised neighbourhoods. Bologna is a well established success story; however Appleyard (1979:28) points out that similar results can be achieved in neighbourhoods "which are not yet the object of large-scale tourism".

While interest, support and campaigning from the public was one of the main steering elements in the Western conservation movement, implementation has often been at the residents' expense. Public interest and pressure groups continue to play a very effective role in challenging local decision making, through campaigning and imposing pressure on national and local authorities.

5.3.4 Citizen's Participation

It is an understanding that "the environment works better if the people who live, work and play in it are actively involved in its creation and management instead of being treated as passive consumers" (Wates & Knevitt, 1987:5). Unfortunately many things are easier without involving the people; the landlords are happier receiving a small amount of rent rather than improving their houses; owner-occupiers can modernise their house through grants; but who listens to the tenants? At best it can become an exercise in democracy of 'learning by doing' in a partnership between Local Government and the citizens. "We must understand citizen participation as part of political and governmental institutions which are complex and shifting, in which strange alliances abound, in which

the motives to participate on all hands are conflicting and far from simple, and in which multiple interpretations are usually possible" (Aina, 1990:5).

"In the deteriorating climate, outside planners and conservationists, who depend on appearance, too easily miss-perceive the concerns of the residents. Conservationists see the need for salvaging the physical heritage, the elegant but decaying facades, the wastelands and the scruffy back-yards, while the residents are concerned about jobs, sanitation, traffic and safe places for children. Cities in some cases, see the population itself as a detriment to the area, particularly new, poor and foreign immigrants" (Appleyard, 1979:30). Old houses often lack indoor toilets and bathrooms, hot water and central heating. Overcrowding due to high rents, cold damp conditions and poverty can make life unbearable for low income families. Many medical problems arise in such areas; the symptoms are remedied, but the causes often overlooked.

Popular participation, once a slogan from the socialist movement, has become a popular attitude adopted by city authorities. Throughout Europe a number of urban renewal schemes have attempted community participation, though only a few were successful. Leading up to and during 1975 many conferences were held by the European Council to discuss the problems of conservation; some of them included community participation on their agenda. In Edinburgh the importance of amenity groups in the process, and the publicity of successful projects was the main issue. While in Bologna it was demonstrated that it was only through public participation that local development could occur. At Krems the theme became the importance of involving all the citizens, not just the home owners, but also the not so privileged tenants and enabling them to remain in the area after rehabilitation. In Strasbourg, France, the 1973 Conservation Plan including 2200 houses, aimed at including a policy to allow for rent allowance so that the residents could continue living there. It is unfortunate that very little in this respect has actually been achieved in the implementation of these objectives in the long period of time since the declaration.

Citizen or Community Participation continues to be a favoured term, very rarely used in the full sense, more often an idea conveniently exported to the Developing World. When citizens groups do emerge they often represent or are represented by a minority of educated people, and may not always be in line with the ideas and thoughts of the majority; they are sometimes members of quasi political groups. In Bamberg, the Bamberg Protection Society organised many walks around the historic city, and outside

Frequently referred to as the 'city of a thousand spires', Prague is one of Europe's most beautiful and best preserved cities, it is also very compact - ideal for strolling on foot. Take a tip from us, work your way from west to east, that way it's downhill!

Explore the 14th Century Alcazar Palace, a maze of small alleyways, then relax on a café terrace with a view of the city. Giralda Tower and the cathedral, while around it wind the picturesque 17th century guild houses, seen at their best in the Grand Place. Take time to stroll around this most beautiful of squares and its atmosphere at one of the sidewalk cafés.

A Brussels can also offer the visitor cobbled streets and a quaint, almost small-town atmosphere. Take a stroll along Las Ramblas and wander into the beautiful gothic quarter with its impressive streets and bustling squares. The old quarter, with its intertwining alleyways hiding medieval houses and a secret around every corner, is a charming old Moorish town with its shops, theatres and fascinating history. Wander around the Old Town and certain streets of Alfama and the Bairro Alto you will find quite simply the most interesting and best preserved cities in the world with streets and lots of beautiful buildings lining the narrow canals.

Art city extraordinaire, Florence is a living museum of the Renaissance and a city of the past. Situated near the Arno, it is a city of the past. Explore the 14th Century Alcazar Palace, a maze of small alleyways, then relax on a café terrace with a view of the city. Giralda Tower and the cathedral, while around it wind the picturesque 17th century guild houses, seen at their best in the Grand Place. Take time to stroll around this most beautiful of squares and its atmosphere at one of the sidewalk cafés.

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The beauty and charm of Venice lies in its architecture, elegant piazzas and meandering canals. The city overflows with a magical atmosphere, its heart lies in the Grand Place. One of the most beautiful squares in the world while the attraction of a leisurely gondola ride along the Grand Canal proves to be eternally popular. Romance is in the air as you wander around the Piazza San Marco.

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FIGURE 5.6 Descriptions of historic towns in recent travel literature

visitors were invited to give various related talks (Harth, 1975:243). Although they all may have been attended by a more professional group of people, the Society put many of its resources into helping the less privileged in restoring their environment.

Nevertheless, many resident communities have been displaced in favour of smarter city centres and further community schemes have failed under market forces. Today historic towns have become gentrified and centres of tourist interests where citizen participation often means the public contributing to decision making for communal spaces, with Local Authorities opening their Planning and Conservation Departments to the public. Some City Councils are now sending all their residents newsletters informing them of the Council's work in the Conservation Area or the residents are consulted on all decisions concerning renewal or changes in the historic centre.

5.4 A GROWING PERCEPTION OF HISTORIC TOWNS AS MARKETABLE ASSETS

Following a year of interest in Architectural Heritage in 1975 many of Europe's historic towns, especially the smaller ones, came under protection and budgets were reorganised to help owners to restore their houses and shops¹⁶. Today, many of Western Europe's old towns are strict Conservation Areas, with laws and regulations protecting the historic fabric and permitting little and only rigorously controlled modern intervention. Most of the work was led and strictly controlled by Local Governments. However, even though they were able to control and regulate the quality and standards of conservation work, they have often been unable to resist the commercial powers of a market economy. As Western society has also become a leisure society, these historic centres have evolved into leisure services, providing picturesque and 'authentic' settings with narrow pedestrianised streets, pleasant cafes and restaurants, small hotels and good shopping facilities.

¹⁶ In England, for example, there were several sources of grants and financial aid for the repair and maintenance of historic buildings. Local Authorities were receiving grants from English Heritage ranging up to 40% of eligible costs from Town Scheme Grants and 25% of eligible Conservation Area Grants. Furthermore, individuals in possession of a listed building could apply to the Secretary of State, the Department of the Environment for a grant to cover a maximum of 50% of all the cost (1953 Historic Buildings and Ancient Buildings Act) and Local Authorities could make grants available to owners of non-listed properties in Conservation Areas (1962 Historic Buildings Act).

5.4.1 Gentrification

What today is referred to as an 'historic quarter' was often a middle-class neighbourhood prior to the Industrial Revolution. With a higher demand to live in the city centres by the professionals, these areas in their rehabilitated and modernised forms have once again become popular among the middle-classes at the expense of the poor, who had been occupying them in their dilapidated states. There are many examples of gentrification; Bruges in Belgium is just one of them.

Campo Marzo, set in the heart of Rome had been considered as a good area to live in by middle-class professionals twenty years ago. As the houses became older and the inner city traffic problems increased, the richer inhabitants moved out to the suburbs. Those who remained have had to live with gradual tourist seepage, leading to smart boutiques taking over the corner stores, while office space was created behind restored facades. It had become a "gay in the day, dead by night area" (Appleyard, 1979). Whilst economic life was growing social life was declining for the residents as more and more 'connoisseurs' were buying up the houses as fashionable second homes.

Venice, a World Heritage site, has always received money to conserve its grand monuments, but never enough to improve the housing, which has serious problems from rising damp. In 1966, a flood drew further attention to the seriousness of Venice's problems. Once again money was made available to restore all the damaged artifacts and for research into avoiding damage from further floods, but nothing was left for the housing. The merchants and the bankers, started to move out to the suburbs as the living conditions became unbearable. Lack of policies for public housing and the almost non-existent grants led to many houses becoming dilapidated or being bought up by the affluent middle-class Europeans and Americans as second or third homes. It took a protest by a group of students, who occupied the buildings until they were allocated to low income families, to educate everyone on this 'unjust' situation. Today if they can find a house they can afford, the Venetians want to live in the old city, however tourist ridden it might be, in the belief that it is only they, the Venetians, that are the true caretakers of Venice (Cessarelli, 1979).

In a capitalist economy conservation brings with it new patterns of ownership. Low rents do not pay for repairs and once repaired the new rents are no longer affordable by the old tenants. Rehousing these people costs too much for most economies. Large

houses can no longer be retained but can be divided up into smaller units. One-bedroom flats, studios and bed-sits often cater for a new set of residents comprising students, young couples and single professionals. The story of the conservation of the "working class" Jordaan area in Amsterdam reflects this process.

Jordaan was always the working class area of Amsterdam, although it was getting older and shabbier each day, as more and more small and dirty industries were taking over the housing. The City Council eventually took action to remove the industries, pedestrianise certain streets, and concentrate commercial activity, hence to gentrify the area. It was a group of professionals and students who decided that Jordaan must be returned to its working class community, where people knew their neighbours and a community spirit existed. To prove their theory they moved into the area, which resulted in the neighbourhood gaining a new image, that of an intellectual community, which "did not use curtains and never spent time talking on street corners" (Appleyard, 1979:235); the working class inhabitants had been alienated.

Historic city centres in both developing countries and in quite a number of European cities are inhabited by immigrant populations. The richer nations of Western Europe in their affluence have been able to import some of their labour force from the neighbouring poorer countries. It cannot be expected that these people will immediately identify with the historic context and the architecture. The social life comes first for them; this may be a means of taking a look at the architectural quality. Inner city areas have become the ideal places for a constantly moving population, living to poverty standards in order to save their earnings and repatriate themselves.

Kreuzberg, in then West Berlin had become a run down area with poor and foreign tenants¹⁷ and a high unemployment rate. Social unrest and protest resulted in a citizens movement in 1987, as a result of which plans were tied in with the then ongoing IBA¹⁸ project and attracted private and public investment. Living standards of "those who were able to stay" improved, as houses were rehabilitated, new parks and gardens created and traffic in the area reduced. As Duwe points out, the original tenants no

¹⁷ By the mid 1980s unemployment had risen to 50% (mainly among youth), 40% of the residents were foreigners and in some schools 80% of the students' mother tongue was not German (Duwe, 1989:61).

¹⁸ Internationale Bau Ausstellung, a building competition held in Berlin in 1988.

longer live in Kreuzberg and "the former students use splendid white tablecloths and silverware for their exquisite dinners" (Duwe, 1989:62).

Bruges had been an important trading city in history, and has preserved many of its medieval qualities, as it was not affected by the Industrial Revolution or the bombing in the war. However, by the early 1970s the historic centre could no longer respond to the demands of the twentieth century's industrialised society and became poverty stricken as one in eight houses lay vacant. However, public uproar prevailed when the City Council started demolishing the old houses, and a scheme was drawn up in 1972 to create a multi-functional city, conserving cultural and aesthetic values within present day functions. The official plan aimed at making the centre attractive to a greater proportion of the population and to achieve this through private initiatives. The City Council pays up to 50% of repair costs on visible parts of listed buildings and 30% for other parts. Around four hundred houses have been restored through this scheme; also, top quality new architecture has been inserted into the empty plots (UNESCO, 1980:44).

The scheme has achieved most of its aims in becoming a modern and continuing town, with the architecture improved to create habitable environments. There has been an interest in the area and the population of the inner city has increased and so have the number of art galleries and smarter boutiques, originally encouraged to boost the local economy. Bruges has become another smart European town with expensive shops and new, richer residents. It is not, therefore, a rehabilitated area for the community who vacated the buildings for the rehabilitation.

5.4.2 Historic Towns being turned into Tourist Stage Sets

It is the case that when the developer takes over the process of conservation the result is often tourist inclined development, turning the historic area into some form of a museum. Small industries are forced out, along with the residents who can no longer afford the increased rents and property values as tourist services take over. Gentrification is followed by tourism, and in some cases even the new middle-class residents are driven out by the tourist services and lack of quiet as the areas become infested with bars and discotheques.

The commercialist trends of the 1980s are evident in the increase in travel and in the commercial, 'shopping' aspect added to every outing, event and attraction. Even Hippy

festivals today are accompanied by hundreds of stalls selling a range of souvenirs and Third World memorabilia. Historic towns are the ideal target for the 'weekend break' culture and shopping outing in a pleasant or even 'quaint' environment. Bath is described as a "retail gold mine" (Pettifer, 1990:4) and, like York and Chester, shopping has become the main activity of the centre.

Although Bruges attracts quite considerable numbers of tourists throughout the year, tourism is considered to be of secondary importance in the planning programme. There is also very little tourist promotion; the city with its waterways, well kept medieval buildings, streets and smart shops seems to be a magnet for tourists anyway. "It has no wish [however] to be considered a kind of urban museum, a cultured 'Disneyland', whose inhabitants act as museum attendants or small stall keepers for visitors who come to steep themselves for a few hours in the somewhat folkloric and decadent atmosphere of an 'art city'" (Van den Abeele, 1975:26). Tourism is said to bring an international and cosmopolitan atmosphere to the town as well as create jobs and enable the continuation of crafts, such as lacework. Nevertheless, there has been tourist pressures on Bruges; overcrowding at certain times, often unconscious vandalism, traffic and parking problems. Some of the larger old houses have been converted into hotels, while others are given new functions to provide higher financial return.

As in Bruges gentrification is often followed by tourism, or tourist interests gentrify the area. Many cities whose citizens have fought for their conservation have little benefit from their city because it has become an element of tourist attraction, catering for the 'outsiders' needs rather than those of its own people. York is also such an example, where commercial interests and tourism have almost taken over the historic centre. Even though it may be regarded as one of the best preserved medieval towns of Europe, and owes much to its residents for being so; it does not always cater for their needs, when grocery shops have been replaced by souvenir shops, and many of the upper floors are no longer used for residential purposes, making it another dead city at night¹⁹. The City of York will be reviewed in Chapter 7, as a case study.

¹⁹ It must be pointed out that even within Europe there are a variety of life styles which have had a significant effect on the way in which historic areas are perceived and are being used. In England, for example, most people expect to live in their own houses and many young couples will invest in suburban houses, whereas in northern Europe there is a larger rental market and a much higher rate of people living in flats; therefore it is more desirable for young couples or single professionals to live the central areas. Unlike England, most students are also expected to find their own accommodation and will favour small flats and studios as well as be more tolerant towards higher noise levels.

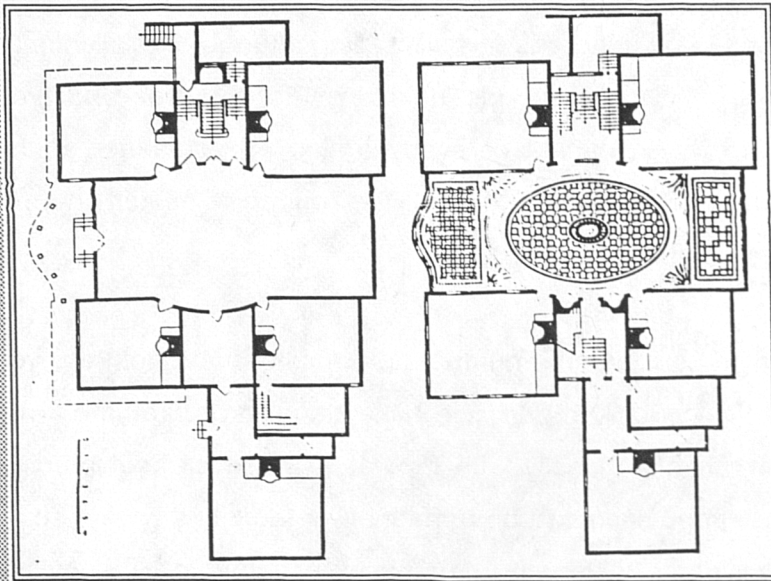


FIGURE 5.7 *Ground and first floor plans of a house in Plovdiv which has been converted into a museum (UNESCO, 1980:61)*

In Bulgaria many houses from the 19th century are used as public buildings and tourism related functions such as guest houses, holiday homes or workshops. It was planned that old cities would be used as scenes for festivals, traditional music and crafts as a means of promoting national culture (UNESCO, 1980:54,66). These policies were applied in the historic centre of Plovdiv, the second largest city of Bulgaria. Even though initially the scheme was discussed with the local inhabitants, in reality it involved moving them to new suburbs. The visual results, nonetheless, are very pleasing, with most of the 19th century mansions having regained their elegance. But the people had gone and the tourists did not stay²⁰. Within a year it was realised that the area was under used; there were too many art galleries, reception rooms and government guest houses reserved for important visitors. The buildings that had previously housed up to three families were now only being used for one third of the year or less. Visited in mid July by the author, the historic quarter lay quiet, apart from a few tourists on one of the main streets and a few affluent locals in the expensive cafes (to Bulgarian standards). However, everyday life continues in some of the areas that surround the core; houses of the same period but of less grandeur have not been restored, and they continue to be inhabited by local citizens, and children still play around in these back streets, while small shops provide for the locals.

In Blagovgrad, the Varosha quarter has also been restored to perfection and is used as a centre to teach children traditional Bulgarian arts and crafts. This is not a profit making organisation, and a poor economy like that of a now democratic Bulgaria has been unable to support it. Even further off the main tourist route than Plovdiv, here too houses that could have been used by people lie empty, awaiting the occasional state visitor and propaganda exercise.

In other cases increased commercialism and the presence of the entertainment industry has driven the residents away. The Plaka district of Athens, for example, became a favoured tourist spot because of its wealth in 19th century vernacular architecture and its proximity to the Acropolis and also to the city centre. In the 1970s many properties were taken over by the commercial and 'aggressive' entertainment industry, selling

²⁰ Bulgaria attracts most of its tourists to the Varna and Bourgas coastal areas. Western visitor numbers have always been low and this has been accentuated by the recession in Western Europe and troubles in the former Yugoslavia. 80% of tourists to Bulgaria utilise package tours and the 'culture' element is very low in the image created with cheap sun, sea and charter flights. Plovdiv, amongst other places, is only offered as an additional leisure activity (Anastassova, 1993).

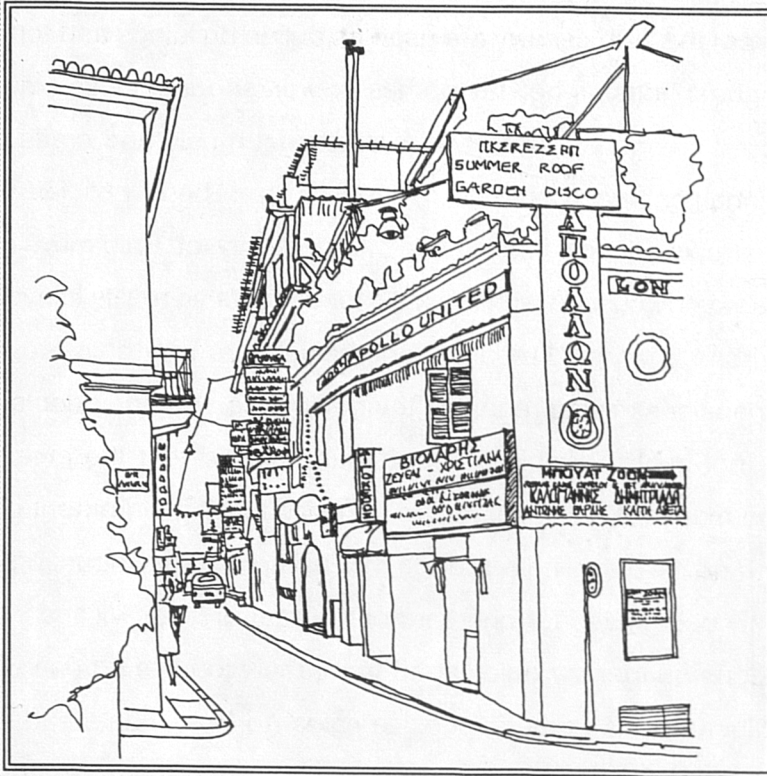


figure 5.8 *Tourist signs overwhelm a street in Athen's Plaka district (from Appleyard, 1979)*

tavernas and picturesque characteristics using amplifiers (UNESCO, 1980:161). The area became renowned as a red light area district and a centre for drug trafficking. Not only were the residents moving out²¹, but even the tourists were appalled by the noise and atmosphere of depravity. By 1979 there was serious concern for the area losing both its attractiveness and all its residents (Zivas, 1979:161). Consequently, with strong campaigning from the remaining residents measures were taken to reverse the trend.

Today many of these historic towns and quarters are competing to attract tourists and many new destinations are appearing in the brochures each year, as former Eastern Block countries are also opening their doors, in the hopes of earning much desired 'hard cash'.

5.4.3 Marketing Heritage and Creating 'Disneyland' Theme Parks

As the old and dirty industries of the 19th century desert the cities, the authorities look towards the new and cleaner industries to replace them: tourism often being at the top of the list. There has to be something in the city to attract the tourists and the knowledge that history and heritage are popular has made many towns reconsider and reinterpret their industrial heritage into a marketable attraction.

Situated in the North of England between Manchester and Leeds, Bradford was another centre for trade and manufacture following the Industrial Revolution. The first mills were opened in the 18th century along with the first bank. In the 19th century there were many more mills, encouraged by the railway, some of them with quite spectacular Victorian facades. However, conditions behind the facades were much different and in an 1846 report on sanitary conditions the Inspector states: "that it is the filthiest town he had visited with little paving and sewerage conveyed by open channels discharging into the beck of the canal basin" (Bradford Council, 1991:2) Healthier mills were built in the later part of the 19th century, like Saltaire and those in the Little Germany area.

Today a slump in the industry has left Bradford with a stock of derelict warehouse buildings, soaring unemployment and a high Asian population. The Authorities have turned to tourism and are trying to market Bradford as an historic town with Asian attractions, in a way 'India away from India'. An annual festival, this time with a German

²¹ Only one third of the houses were inhabited by residents (UNESCO, 1980).

theme, is now held in the heart of Little Germany²², once a merchants' quarter and underused for the rest of the year.

Another alternative is to recreate history to match the demand of tourism, as is often the case in the United States. By adding other attractions like sports, air conditioned hotels, golf courses, a wide range of entertainment opportunities or comprehensive conference facilities, there is also the possibility of ensuring a steady flow of visitors.

Williamsburg, capital of the colony of Virginia in the 18th century, may have been one of the most important centres of American history, but there was very little left of it at the beginning of this century, when Dr W Goodwin, rector of Bruton Parish suggested that it be restored to its former 'glory'. John D Rockefeller Jr, obviously not short of money at the time, agreed to support the project and so work began on what has become, in a sense, the 'Colonial Williamsburg theme park'. The result is 500 so-called historic buildings, 88 of which are partly original. Houses, streets, open spaces and gardens have been repaired, reproduced or recreated on their colonial foundations.

Today Williamsburg is an ideal and well managed tourist spot, with 3000 employees "dedicated to providing a believable experience in American Heritage" (McCaskey, 1975:156), a reception centre, guided tours, a movie theatre and craft shops. Unlike many European examples, the people of Williamsburg (who had never lived in the non-existent colonial houses) continue to live in the area. "All the buildings in Williamsburg's historic area are fully used, lived in daily by people of this century, who conform to the custom of another. They are people living between two centuries and adding life to our outdoor museum" (McCaskey, 1975:156).

Much can be argued about Williamsburg and its reality, but it is certainly attracting numbers as an educational institution on American history, and bringing in good money to its investors, plus any tourist damage that is imposed on the 'new' fabric can easily be repaired or replaced. Convention centres have been added, again without the threat to historic fabric, and space for expansion is not a problem. The result is a very successful financial enterprise supported with golf courses, fitness centres and many other activities under a historic banner.

²² The area is known as Little Germany due to the Eastern European immigrants who traded in the area from the 1860s.

SUMMARY AND REVIEW

While leisure, and travel as part of it, continue to be a lifestyle, historic cities will compete to attract tourists. Historic quality, often highlighted through colourful and flawless facade restorations, accompanied by adequate entertainment facilities, has a high market value for the tourist industry. As industry in the city is losing its importance, tourism as a clean alternative and an easy option for economic gain and employment creation, is favoured high on Local Authorities priorities.

The power behind this vast conservation movement in Europe has been the people, mainly as residents who valued the older quarters or wanted continue living in them. However, improvements have often taken properties away from the residents with a new clientele moving in. Further market forces and the popularity of 'historic' and 'picturesque' images have resulted in the historic quarters becoming frozen in time to benefit the tourist industry in place of the citizens.

National Conservation Acts too, can be traced back to the early part of this century, and Governments are supportive of conservation at all levels and also of the local governments involvement in the process.

The restoration of buildings started in the last century and has become a well established and recognised field of expertise today. Institutions have been set up to provide specialised training at all levels from architects to crafts people. The use of original materials and techniques is widely promoted and most projects are carried out to some degree under expert advice or supervision. The diverse elements of urban conservation, including the human element, are also now being taken on board with 'multi-disciplinary' teams, including sociologists and economists alongside architects and planners.

Even though many larger buildings, stately homes and castles fall into trust or national ownership, properties in towns are predominantly privately owned. Market forces and popularity of an area will dictate the value and the rates that have to be paid. Thus, it is inevitable that tourist interests will attract smarter and more expensive shops, with high profit margins, because those providing basic amenities will not be making sufficient profit to cover rents and taxes on them.

The impacts of the mass tourist industry on destinations, including historic towns, are apparent. Built and natural environments and the communities which inhabit them need to be safeguarded in the conservation process. In historic towns the environment is only real with the continuation of community life and traditions within it. Continuity is the guiding element in conservation. However, there are two factors that need to be taken on board: first that tourism and travel can be beneficial for host communities and the value of tourism for urban conservation cannot be ignored, both financially and also in awakening interest and support. Secondly, the power of local communities and moreover administrations to support, plan, manage and even determine tourism in the area.

Whilst valuable urban heritage is being preserved, the margin for 'continuity', the defining fact of conservation, is decreasing as buildings are being 'frozen' in time to act as a framework for an era of historic shopping centres. *While the importance and power of local government is very apparent, the power of the private sector and market forces also very evident.*

The next chapter will evaluate this process for Eastern towns²³ which are often visited by Western tourists seeking their own images and understanding of culture and heritage. This chapter will focus on the Eastern Mediterranean region and evaluate the impact tourism has on these towns, through understanding physical and social dimensions of conservation and the impacts of travelling and mass tourism. Chapter 7 will further explain these findings through the three examples of York, Granada and Saït.

²³ For the purpose of this study 'Eastern town' will generally denote towns of the Eastern Mediterranean region and the Middle East.



*The central square in Bruges, Belgium
being used as a car park*

*Tourist streets and shops
in Cordoba, Spain*

*Immaculate restoration in the Varosha
quarter in Blagovgrad, Bulgaria*

CHAPTER 6
UNDERSTANDING EASTERN TOWNS

*Determining urban form and lifestyles in historic towns of the
East in view of tourism development*

Introduction

The previous Chapter investigated the urban conservation movement in the West and identified the involvement of the citizens, the national and local authorities, support by experts, and the important role played by the private sector as a result of market forces. This Chapter not only seeks the equivalent trends, but also sets out to understand the effect tourism could have on historic towns in the East.

Cities of the East are often interpreted in the context of being 'Islamic'. This is not true of all Eastern cities and within the Islamic model there is also a vast diversity. However, for the purpose of this study it will be predominantly Islamic cities that will be studied as they make up the cities of the Middle East and North Africa's Mediterranean coast.

The Eastern world has experienced, and in some places, is presently experiencing a Technical Intervention, and rapid and uncontrolled urbanisation prevails in many places. A notable difference from the Western city is that the importance of religion (Islam) in city life has continued until the very recent past and continues to dominate smaller towns. Ideological changes such as the Renaissance or 18th C. Classicism, and even Romanticism, that shaped many of Europe's towns after the Middle Ages, did not occur in the East. Many of the large and industrial towns of the West were only small villages until the Industrial Revolution, but many historic centres were untouched by industrialisation and urbanisation, hence conserving their historic values to a certain extent.

'Eastern' is a very general term and in this text it will be used in the sense that Europe and North America are referred to as the West. However, the focus of this study will be specifically on the predominantly Muslim historic towns of the Eastern Mediterranean Region and the Middle East, because they are similar to Turkish historic towns in both their development and present day conservation problems. It is often the greater towns of the East that are popularly known, such as Istanbul, Baghdad, Cairo or Damascus. Here the emphasis will be on the smaller towns of the coastal regions that are today faced with increasing numbers of tourists seeking an 'oriental' experience, alongside holidays on nearby beaches.

The previous chapters have described the tourist industry and the way in which Western historic towns are being re-marketed as tourist centres. The aim in this Chapter is to

understand the differences and similarities between the Eastern and Western towns in order to determine the implications of such approaches to their conservation and future.

6.1 THE EASTERN 'HISTORIC' TOWN

6.1.1 The 'Islamic' Town, *an ideology*

"Islam never separates beauty from utility, or art from making, as it must have been in the traditional west when art meant *ars* and technology was still related to *techne*" (Nasr, 1980:2).

Even though the Western city is predominantly Christian, it is very rarely referred to as a Christian city in the way in which the Eastern city is referred to as the Islamic city. It is virtually impossible to make a generalisation on Islamic architecture as a whole because there is a variety of styles and forms ranging from Saudi Arabia to Malaysia, through a variety of climatic regions with differing cultural and environmental influences. There is no 'one' Islamic style and not all Islamic architecture was built purely on Islamic principles. In many Islamic countries urban form is a result of belief combined with national identity and local tradition. Political and social implications and interpretations of the time have also had a significant influence on the architecture. Buildings vary throughout the Islamic world, but there are some forms derived from functions relating to the religion that carry through all of them (Hakim, 1986:56). Forms associated with Islam became prototypes, such as the early colonnaded mosques in Mecca and Medina. In fact, it is possible to say that this colonnaded form resembles the Greek Agora in places, similar to the pattern in which Early Christian churches developed from the Roman Basilica.

Whilst Islam spread to many diverse cultures at very different times, the *sharia* - Islamic law - brought certain constraints to city life, including separate male and female zones. Nevertheless the laws were interpreted and implemented differently in each region. "The structure of an Islamic city differs in Iran, in Anatolia, in the Maghreb and other places. There are places in Turkey which are closer in structure to places in the Greek islands, others to those in Syria, and still others to Caucasia than to Islamic cities" (Kuban, 1980:83).

It can be said that some distinguishing differences between Eastern and Western towns are due to differences of thought and ideology. In the East each part of the city is a whole within itself, like a house; but also fits into the street and open space pattern and into the overall whole of the city, reflected as the togetherness of man and his environment within the city of object and subject. There is a rhythm of inside and outside, of light and dark and a unity in ornament and street patterns and a harmonious movement from private to public spaces. This is derived from a strong cultural order and the hierarchy is reflected in the spatial order of the urban form. Islam encourages social togetherness through the links of family to the extended family and then to the neighbourhood. The unity of spaces within the house are an extension of that of the mosque whilst each space is individual and different from the others, like the courtyards of the Alhambra. The *eyvan* of a house is a 'contained' unit, like a house within a house, as the house relates to the neighbourhood and the neighbourhood to the city. There is an element or notion of symmetry in all building types including the house (see also Bianca, 1975 and Khan, 1980).

Even though the Islamic religion was imposed on many areas that were already highly urbanised, Islamic tradition continued the urban tradition and also created a strong urban culture around the Mediterranean. Some of the early large cities of Europe, Cordoba and Seville, became so, under Arab influence. Much of the population that inhabited the Islamic towns came from a nomadic background, such as the Berbers, Bedouins or Turkomans. This movement between nomadic traditions and city life has also reflected on the urban culture.

6.1.2 Ottoman Towns of the Mediterranean Region

The Ottoman Empire was established in Western Anatolia in the 13th C., and the expansion followed the conquest of Istanbul in the 15th C. By the beginning of the 16th C. most of the Eastern Mediterranean region, including the islands, had become Ottoman (See FIGURE 1.4). During colonisation a governor would be sent from Istanbul, but the resident population would remain and continue their own traditions, religion and life style. Naturally influences of Ottoman style and architectural form were passed on to the provinces, but not because they were imposed, rather that the governors were imitated.

With the establishment of the Ottoman Empire in Anatolia the life style of the Anatolian Turks changed to become a more urbanised existence instead of a nomadic one. "Commerce was much stranger to these brave nomads than conquest" (Webster, 1939:12). The Western Anatolian towns followed in form their Byzantine forbearers - chaotic in appearance but with an underlying order. As the city developed in the 15th century the citadel structure was an important element of urban form. An inner castle housed the administrative buildings and the governors and administrators, while the outer castle protected the artisans and upper-class residents. The peasants lived outside the walls and only came into the citadel when there was a danger of invasion. Ottoman towns were invariably built on hill sides which allowed good views and adequate sunlight to all the houses. Each neighbourhood would strictly retain its individual identity. Markets and caravanserai were developed when international trading became an important part of urban livelihood.

Istanbul is an exception among Ottoman towns. The city centre and urban patterns had been developed prior to the Ottoman occupation of 1453. Between 360 and 640 AD Constantinople had become the largest city in the world, an important religious, administrative, industrial and commercial centre of the Byzantine Empire. Although the population fluctuated due the Crusades and the Turkish conquest, Istanbul continued to be the largest city in the world from 1560 to 1600 and from 1700 to 1730, with up to 900,000 inhabitants (Bairoch, 1988). Bursa and Kayseri the next two largest towns of Anatolia at the time, only had populations between 25,000 and 40,000. The change of architectural fashions in Istanbul were reflected in the provinces by homesick governors creating small Istanbuls where they went. Other provincial capitals had about 50,000 inhabitants at the time (Tekeli, 1978) and there was a stable urban population from the 15th and 16th centuries. By the 16th C. the land trade was fully established and port towns such as Antalya, Trabzon and Sinop were growing. Also, a new administrative class of merchants was making an appearance.

In the 16th and 17th centuries, as the Empire was established, the city walls lost their importance as city life moved outside the walls. This is one aspect that differs from its European counterparts where "the citizens crowded within the walls for security. It was a measure of self confidence that their towns spread over the plateau and were defenceless, unless they were frontier cities" (Goodwin, 1992:446). In a way it was the natural growth of the city as a garden which was definitely accentuated in Malatya and

Denizli where most of the population lived in vineyards. The Christian or foreign population often occupied the castle area and the gypsies the outskirts.

Between the 16th and the 19th centuries most of the Middle East and North Africa, except Morocco, had become part of the Ottoman Empire. The occupation was completed by 1574 and from 1830 most of the land was lost. The Empire was more like a commonwealth with a *Vali* (governor) and *Kadı* (judicial authority) for each province appointed by Istanbul, but local and regional governments were left to their own devices on most accounts.

The pre-Ottoman decline in many of these cities was restored by the power of the new Empire as trade became an important element of economy as well as the increasing movement of people. Towns like Cairo, Damascus and Aleppo grew considerably in this period.

Even in the 18th C. many Ottoman towns continued to be pedestrian cities with non-defined land-uses (Tankut, 1975:247). For the Empire it was the start of a serious decline, with European intervention in interior affairs and a confused modernisation process as social institutions remained conservative. European Industrialisation and a period of wars had worsened the economy. In this era of semi-colonisation, trade and industry were now dominated by the West and towns like Izmir became the important ports (Faroqhi, 1984).

6.1.3 Land Use and Urban Form

André Raymond (1984) describes the great cities of the Arab world as being divided into two important sections, the public and the private city. This is true of the urban form of most cities of the Middle East and the Ottoman provinces. The public city is the centre for international economic activity, with a wide street network connecting the centre to the boundaries and open public spaces. The private city is the residential areas forming a concentric pattern from the centre, with an irregular street network and closed neighbourhoods (Raymond, 1984).

Organic formation and growth are the main characteristic of the town. The absence of a geometric land division system has resulted in a network of winding streets and cul-de-sacs. "The organic character was further enriched in the Islamic towns through

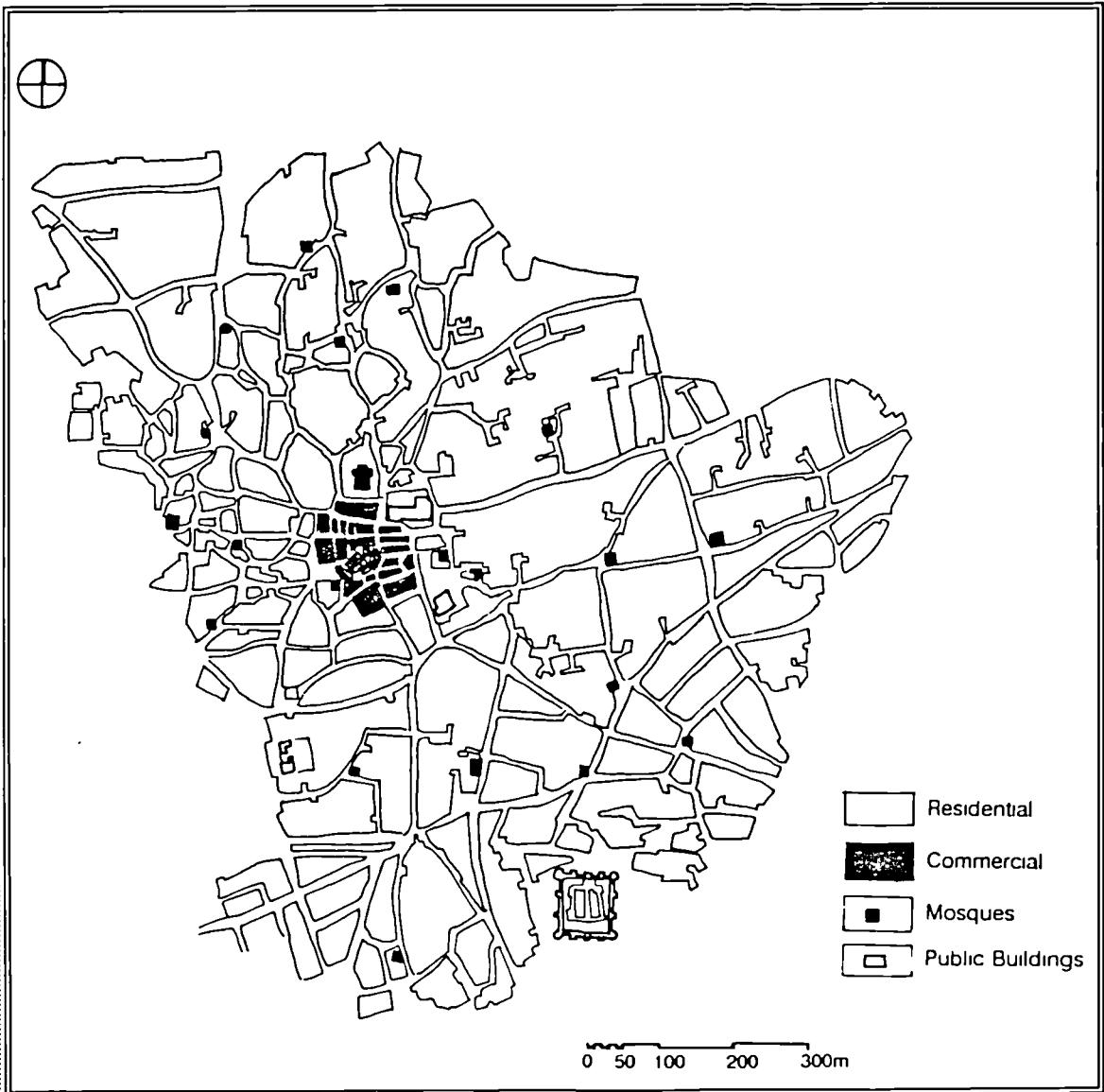


FIGURE 6.1 18th century Çorum, a typical Ottoman town (from Aktüre, 1975:111)

surprise vistas at every corner of the street and every bend of the road, a characteristic which can be identified today as part of the Islamic heritage in human settlement" (Khan, 1980:36). The dwellings of the richer classes followed the prototype forms created for mosques, whereas the poorer ones grew organically with the simple intention of providing shelter. Towns evolved over many years and were a creation of generations of craftsmen, and a diversity of architectural styles. Climate is counteracted in many Islamic buildings and in the city as a whole. Projections, narrow streets and arches shade the streets and water elements in courtyards provide cooler surroundings.

I The Public City

Mosques, regarded as houses of God, were the focal point in city formation, with all the main streets radiating out from them. The main roads from the central mosque lead to the important gates of the city from where the caravans entered. *Hamam, suq, bazaars* and other commercial buildings were grouped around the central mosque. An endowment system known as *vaqf*¹ provided for the maintenance of many important religious and public institutions.

Throughout the Empire the mosque and its associated complex was the establishment, since all law and order was directed and controlled by this institution. The *vakıf* was an endowment that provided for the maintenance of the mosque, and other important buildings connected to it, becoming an important establishment of the Ottoman town. In the *vakıf* system money donated to build a mosque would partly be used to build commercial establishments, which would provide revenue to support the maintenance and running of a mosque, college (*medrese*) or hospital. After 1923, however, the former public buildings lost their functional importance and the support they received through the *vakıf* system. There was also an administrative function of the *vakıf* set out by the person who set up the endowment. Many central institutions under Ottoman rule were run by *vakıf*. The decline in the *vakıf* system has resulted in many maintenance problems². It can be comparable to church ownership in the Christian world. Today, in many parts of the Islamic world, the mosque is only a religious establishment and cities and their centres have been built up with many new buildings to house the new

¹ Meaning endowment it may also be spelt *waqf*. In this text the Turkish spelling *vakıf* will be used when a Turkish example is cited.

² Today they are all under the Directory General of Endowments (*Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü*) as explained in Chapter 3.

administrative functions, including those of the municipalities, education authorities, law courts, police headquarters and many new schools. Municipalities and private funds have continued to support repair works in many mosques, although this is often seen as renewal; earlier this century many were stripped of their original features in such modernisation exercises.

The *medrese*, the university aspect of the City, is also an important element of certain Western cities as well. Connected to the mosque it is not only a theological college, but also the headquarters for the *kadı* and the *müftü*³, the most important legal powers in the town. During the Ottoman colonisation of much of the Islamic world, the *kadı* and *müftü* were appointed from Istanbul by the Sultan.

Because most new houses are fitted with modern bathrooms, the *hamam* is losing its institutional and social significance today. Those that are in operation are often underused even with a growing tourist interest, and many have been closed and left to go to ruin. There is considerable concern for the future of *hamam*, as they were designed to be used with water and there is very little else that they can be used for. In some cases the considerably spacious chambers have been converted for exhibitions, but in many small towns there is no need for such an exhibition space, especially when financial viability is considered.

Following on from the religious centre, the commercial area forms a second centre to the town, from which it can be said that the town is elliptical in form with two centres. The market or bazaar is a linear development unlike the Western central market place. Small cells and colonnaded rooms flank the shopping streets with very little distinction between inside and outside. Open spaces as well as some of the main streets are used for weekly markets. Spontaneous markets were also known to be set up in parts of the residential streets as well. Valuable goods, like gold and precious materials, were sold in the *bedesten*, which also acted as a currency exchange and bank. Built closest to the central mosque in the *suq* quarter, the gates were locked at night to protect the goods.

Suq were often built as a *waqf* to support the central mosque or as a part of a political objective by the prince or governor. The *suq* was a network of narrow streets leading

³ The two authorities responsible for peace and order within the city.

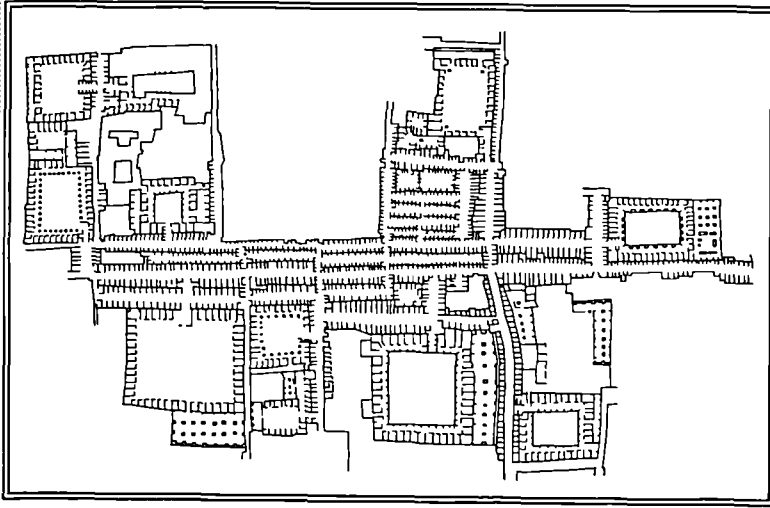


FIGURE 6.2 *Suq area of Aleppo, Syria (Antoniou, 1982:28)*

to the centre, flanked with small shops on either side⁴. The *suq* was not just for shopping but also a place to gather and meet colleagues and friends. The small shops forming the *suq*, known as *dukkan*, were open units, sometimes with storage space upstairs; a stall was set up in front of them and the shutters closed at night. Shops or workshops providing the same service were grouped together in streets. This was part of the strong community organisation of craft guilds. Unlike the Medieval system of guilds, those of the East had a stronger supervisory role and were administered by political authorities. Shopkeepers did not live above their shops as the gates of the *suq* were also locked and guarded at night.

Behind the *suq* start the small narrow streets and the *han*, with their central courtyards. *Hans* were some of the larger buildings of the commercial districts and had certain trading functions. The upper level provided accommodation for the merchants and traders, the lower level was used to store the goods and sometimes animals as well; the courtyard acted as a trading floor where most of the deals were made.

The caravanserai were also built in the courtyard form, with impressive stone walls and monumental gateways. A monumental scale dominated many of them and there were several floors of rooms built into them. Upper floors served as apartments, while the ground level was used for storage and the animals of the caravan.

ii The Private City: neighbourhoods

Labyrinths of streets and cul-de-sacs make up the districts. Each quarter was occupied by a different ethnic, trade or craft group; regulation in this manner makes it stand apart from the Western pattern (Berque, 1980:52). The rich and poor lived together in the neighbourhoods; it was the size and quality of their houses that separated them. But the poorer houses tended to be small replicas of the rich *konak* (mansions). In the Arab world the neighbourhood often takes its name from the main road or artery that leads to it.

Rules of Islam on neighbourly relations formed some of the guidelines in building houses with respect to one's neighbours. Disputes were resolved by the local *kadi*, according to Islamic law. Most important was the right to access, both physically and

⁴ In certain instances these streets followed the previous Greek or Roman street pattern, as in Damascus.

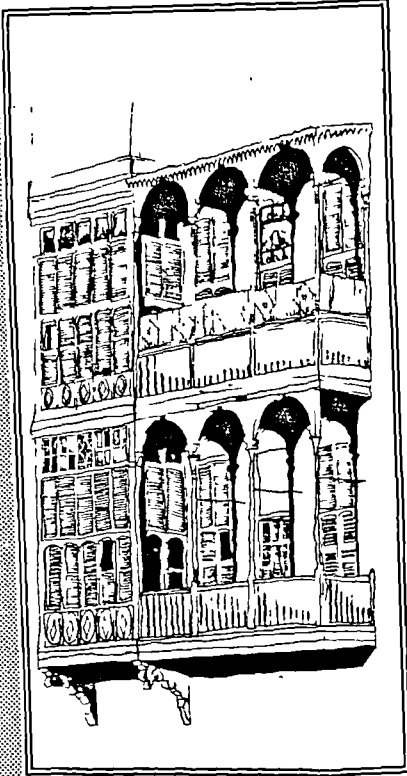


FIGURE 6.3 *Wooden mashrabiya in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia (Antoniou, 1981:56)*

visually, which determined the placement of doors and windows. Many of the guidelines, including the width of each type of street or heights of arches were derived from practical measurements of men on camels or the number of people that used a street.

Climate and privacy were important factors determining the house form. Often ground floors were used in the summer when they were cooler and the *mashrabiya* allowed for cool winds to enter as well as retain privacy. When the size of the extended family changed the house was adapted accordingly. The furnishing in the house was minimal and the concept of individual family units within the whole is strong⁵. "The poor had very few possessions at any one time and the rich were not acquisitive but content with splendid objects meant for daily use" (Goodwin, 1992:430). Wherever possible cooking was done out in the open, therefore in the yard at the ground level.

In North Africa houses were generally closed to the street. Ottoman influence in the 17th and 18th centuries introduced openings protected by ornate *mashrabiya* to the street facades. Eyvan forms in house and balconies, especially those in Egypt, were also an Ottoman influence. The houses of the upper classes had separate harem quarters. In Cairo collective housing known as *rab* had also become popular.

On the Arabian Peninsula, on the other hand, there is an overall uneven development of the town; Ottoman rule accentuated urban centrality with increased trade links. The predominant courtyard houses are similar to earlier Greek courtyard or Roman atrium houses and can be traced to as far back as 2000 BC (Hakim, 1986:95). This form was suitable for the Islamic notion of privacy and appropriate for climatic needs. The outsides of these houses are very plain with very few openings; the decorative elements were commonly on the inside.

Each quarter has a centre with a mosque or a place of worship according to the religion of the inhabitants, *hamam*, *kuran* school and bakery. *Hamam* were also part of residential quarters for hygiene as well as providing a social centre. Larger houses and palaces had their own private *hamam*. "Baths and fountains played a significant role in Ottoman urban development. The baths were an important social institution, where people went not only to wash, but to enjoy a day out with their friends. The ritual of the

⁵ This is reflected on the *medrese* structure, where each student was given a private cell that opened on to the totality of the *medrese*.

weekly visits to the baths was held so sacrosanct, that the failure of a husband to allow his wife to visit the baths or to provide her with the necessary money to do so, was grounds for divorce" (Kayabal, 1992:42).

The walls and gates closed at night and provided security, particularly for ethnic minorities. The upper and middle-classes lived near the centre, while the poor were pushed to the outskirts of the towns. Sometimes the rich built themselves residences outside the city within large gardens. This pattern is similar to residency patterns of Medieval Europe.

Even though the traditional urban pattern may be old, the individual buildings within it are not that old. Due to the "Moslem respect only for the permanence of God, which had inbred habits of building afresh instead of maintenance" (Goodwin, 1992:450), the houses were flimsy and frequently replaced. In Ottoman houses, for example, the walls of the timber framed houses were weak and often economised on the timber, hence they were prone to quick collapse in an earthquake⁶. Even in Istanbul few houses date further back than the 18th century (Goodwin, 1992) and fires were a great threat to the wooden houses. Therefore very few houses in the region date back to before the 18th century and those that have survived for over a century were probably only built to last fifty years. With conservation it can be argued that we are denying this tradition.

6.1.4 Comparing Eastern and Western Towns

In the East social lifestyle has reflected on urban form and in many cases continues to do so. Islamic ideology has played a role in shaping towns, particularly human behaviour and movement within the towns, defining public and private spaces. The order within the city is derived from a public and private distinction, rather than a class one, i.e. a social order as it was in the West.

Historically the Eastern cities of the Middle Ages were not as independent as European towns had become. Conquests, invasions and trade brought a monopoly of political and economic powers. Migratory movements resulted in separate ethnic quarters in towns. Commercial districts were also strictly separated from the living quarters and

⁶ Timber is the commonest building material used in Anatolia. Since it is perishable the life span of the building is limited and consequently there are very few examples left which are over 200 years old (Küçükerman, 1985:23).

locked up at night. This is contrary to Western towns where shopkeepers often lived above their enterprises. More importantly, however, is that whereas Medieval patterns ended in Europe centuries ago, in the East much of this tradition has only recently been disrupted or continues to some extent.

The towns of the East are faced with rapid urbanisation and aspirations to modernity, which pose a serious threat to the future of the older quarters. However, this may be compared with developments in towns like Paris, London or Brussels not so long ago. But there continues a wealth of historic centres in the smaller towns, which are today in desperate need of attention. While Government budgets hardly ever stretch to conservation, some towns are becoming elements of tourist interest.

Particularly for the case of the smaller towns it can be said that:

1. Domestic architecture has been very utilitarian and respondent to climate rather than with any stylistic concern, therefore continuing to grow and change in response to changing family structure and social values.
2. Society has experienced little change and the dominating features of public and private spaces continue to some extent to be part of the communities' concern, and privacy is regarded as important within the strict boundaries of the neighbourhood.

The characteristics and differences as outlined above will play an important role in conservation and in planning for further developments in these settlements. It is possible to deeply discuss the common and differing points. However, what is common to both is the fact that the older and traditional fabric is today being viewed as 'historic'.

6.2 TOWNS AND CITIES TODAY

6.2.1 Technological Intervention and the Growing Metropolis

Today many Developing countries house 70% of the world population, but have only 30% of the world income (Antoniou, 1981:33). Most towns of the Islamic world are also part of the Developing World today and face similar problems of high population increases, often unevenly distributed due to a high rate of rural to urban migration. It has not been possible to support rapid urbanisation with adequate services and infrastructure. In many countries the population is doubling in thirty years, and it can be said that Western industrialisation has not reduced Eastern urbanisation, but just made it poorer. Growth has become a serious threat to fragile heritage sites.

Western colonisation caused significant changes to Eastern towns. Vast new quarters were built for the ruling classes while the bourgeoisie deserted the older quarters to similar neighbourhoods. As many of these people work in the central area, they also wish to live there. The old quarters were then gradually filled with a poorer population, unable to maintain the *building fabric as the densities in these areas were doubling*. It has even been argued that secularity and Westernisation has destroyed the unity of the Islamic town (Nasr, 1980:3). While the European Industrial Revolution diminished the importance of Eastern craft trades, it also imposed foreign trade on the cities, replacing the local industries.

Generated in the large cities, but gradually spreading to the smaller ones, is an aspiration towards Western styles of living. Modern Western styles in architecture have been replicated in the East with no modifications to incorporate local cultural, climatic, heritage or building tradition values. Fazhur R. Khan refers to this attitude as a "barrenness of spirit" and blames it for creating "irrelevant and inefficient" environments (Khan, 1980:32). However inappropriate it may seem it is the reality and cannot be ignored, as in a way it is a reaction to the Western eye wishing to see a lower culture.

Today only a portion of urban dwellers continue the urban life-style patterns for which the quarters were built. As the upper and middle-classes have left the city centre, the larger houses have been divided up by the poor, often reducing the architecture and not always providing the desired levels of privacy, particularly in courtyard houses.

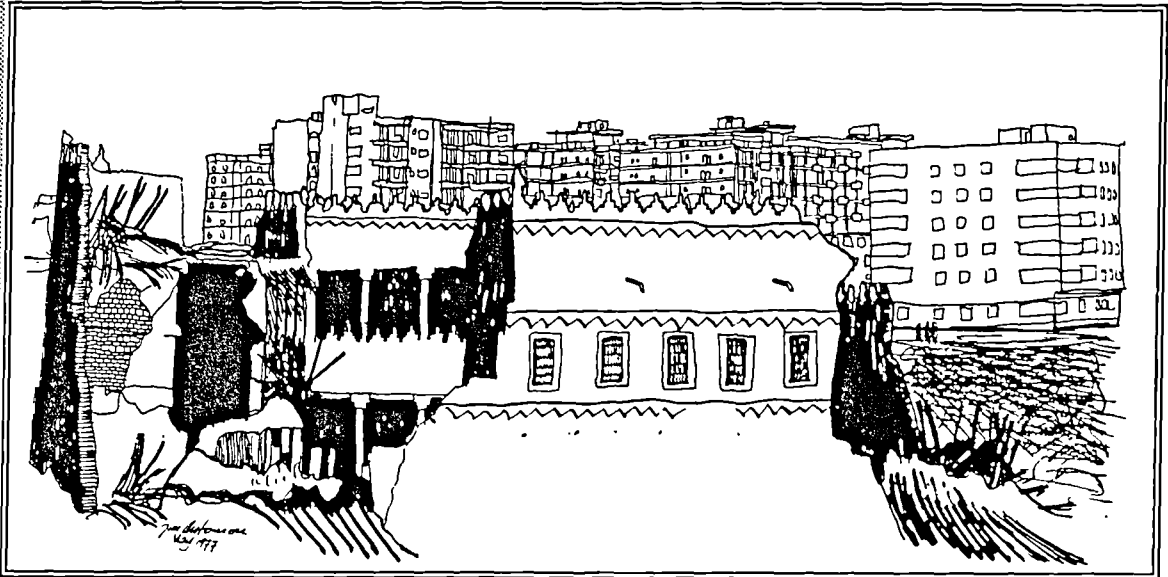


FIGURE 6.4 *Traditional architecture is being replaced by modern apartments in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia (Antoniou, 1981:59)*

Even though monuments are often being cared for and restored "the great bulk of buildings constituted by vernacular architecture are being wantonly destroyed, because their cultural and symbolic, even economic values are not subordinated to the exigencies of new life patterns, to the status of new forms and materials and speculative profits of staggering dimensions" (Kuban, 1980:10). In Istanbul most of the residents are migrants and their attachment to the city or their neighbourhoods is minimal.

In the East, the urban poor live in the inner cities. However, commercial redevelopment, increasing land prices, demands for office space and gentrified housing, is pushing the poor to the outskirts. There are very few public sector policies supporting the low-income groups while the inner-city is becoming increasingly attractive to the higher income groups.

The inner city poverty has different patterns from the slums. It is often the previously middle class areas that have now been taken over by the lower income groups and often divided up into smaller affordable units, often leading to very high occupancy ratios. The rental market is very strong, but not illegal like the squatter settlements.

6.2.2 Inner City Economies, *the informal sector*

The historic commercial areas were composed of small-scale labour intensive family organisations. They were small establishments, easily accessible and the same trades were grouped together, encouraging competition. Production to sale happened in the same area or shop even, requiring very little transport. Street sellers provided innumerable services, whilst the more valuable items were sold closer to the centre. The commercial centres continue to be vibrant economically, ranging from the *suq* with silk merchants to the street vendors. The smaller establishments depended on the inner city network for their business connections.

In Lahore for example, the 19th century walled city houses 500,000 people, often unskilled or semi skilled labourers. A pre-industrial economy and social organisation still dominates urban life while the population is moving towards a postindustrial consumerism of technology. There are serious problems of decay, overcrowding and sanitation. A conservation project has to avoid turning the area into a museum but has to conserve "an entire formal tradition", which is not only inherited but will also need to grow and change (Mumtaz, 1978).

Today the inner-city workshop and small business has to compete with Western mass production and large industry developing on the outskirts of the towns. Changes in trade patterns and the use of more machinery has driven some trade and crafts away from the centre. In the Developing World, however, there continues to be a place for this informal sector, because it requires very little infrastructure or capital to set up and often makes use of recycling waste and provides jobs. There is no need for large-scale deliveries, a major problem in Europe's historic towns, either. There is always a demand for the small shop unit but there are problems with the larger complexes which need more structural attention and are under single ownership. Conservation or development often contradicts the cause: while it becomes unfeasible to include original tenants into redevelopment schemes, zoning completely destroys the small local economy.

6.3 URBAN CONSERVATION AND PLANNING

6.3.1 Historic Conservation

A move towards secular states and Westernisation in the Islamic world may not have reduced the use and importance of mosques, but it has had a dire effect on other religious institutions, including the *medrese* and other public buildings related to Islamic law and city government. Multi-storey office blocks and bigger secular organisations have taken over these roles and social services are no longer related to the mosque. Even though new trade patterns and shopping districts of department stores and supermarkets have been introduced, there continues to be a thriving informal sector occupying the small shops along the narrow streets in the more traditional commercial centre.

The larger buildings, often in the centres, are abandoned and financial support for their conservation has not been forthcoming. Many like the *medrese* and *hamam* are state-owned and often the financial viability of conserving them is overlooked.

Even palaces have become a problem; they can not be left to decay or be vandalised, neither can they be divided up into smaller units. New functions include museums, meeting halls or government offices; however, the modern technology and machinery they introduce may consequently be a threat to the historic fabric. There remains a

dilemma as to how many palaces can be preserved while countries face serious housing shortages.

It is only in the recent past that there has been an overall recognition of historic quarters in view of preserving some of their qualities, or rehabilitating them. "The issues involved in monumental and historic conservation are not strictly speaking those of preserving inner-city neighbourhoods for their residents" (Habitat, 1984:37). The priorities have often been architectural and historic concern achieved through eviction, demolition and disruption to the existing patterns of life and informal economy, and not with any social concern. The majority of projects that are publicised and initiated are often the inner city historic quarters in the larger towns. Most conferences and publications to date have mainly defined the issues or voiced the problems, while action is still pending.

The commercial centres may be vibrant economically, but when there is not sufficient money for maintenance, touristification has become inevitable; by the removal of the dirty, unsightly but the locally needed, in favour of the 'orientally' attractive souvenir markets.

6.3.2 Conservation of Urban Environments

The blight of modern cities and the dilemma between old and new are the problem of both Western and Eastern cities. However, in the East there is a lesser understanding of historic continuity and more emphasis on the status of the modern (Kuban, 1980:6). However, invariably in the smaller towns, where many residents have been born in the area, there continues to be a stable population and social collaboration.

The Islamic city not only contains certain monuments of remarkable quality, but also a "unique pattern of spatial organisation" (Abu Lughod, 1980:64). Street patterns and certain building types are of major importance to the integrity; in some cases new functions have to be sought to maintain them in a contemporary environment. The traditional traffic in the historic quarters is a pedestrian one linking the neighbourhoods with the centre. In many Islamic towns a wheeled vehicle was not used in the town, and the camel was the only transport that entered them. There is no mention of the wagon in Muslim towns of Spain, North Africa and the Middle East (Bairoch, 1988:377). The camel could carry as great a load and one man could manage a number of camels.

Cities were designed for pedestrian movement and the narrow streets are not surprisingly unsuitable for motor traffic.

One of the most important characteristics of the Islamic city was that it was a living city with continuous change and replacement. Order is the definition of the city and disorder that of the crowds that keep the city alive through their movement. Noise is just as important an aspect of this city with the *muezzins'* call five times a day, shopkeepers' competition, street sellers, etc. This spatial organisation can only be preserved if it is functional. Lack of functionality could result in "antiquarian exoticism" (Abu Lughod, 1980).

The quarters of the Islamic city were very functional, including their role in separating male and female zones. An important point to consider while preserving them is whether they will continue to be functional and relate to present day urban problems. Today many of these cities are undergoing serious changes. Conservation has to seriously consider planning, for an ongoing process, while economic change is not necessarily an implication of economic development. Large cities are faced with a growing 'poor' population. Overcrowding has become the consequence of too many people living and working in the central areas⁷.

Typically in the Islamic tradition, the centre of Fez has grown organically and the houses and neighbourhoods are off the main routes, providing privacy. Separate neighbourhoods had housed Jewish and Christian quarters and their doors were closed at night until the 18th century. The *mosques*, *medrese*, *hans* and markets are on the main roads in the central area. The Islamic belief of brotherhood and unity allows for this tight way of living. Nevertheless the population has significantly increased within the walls from 100,000 inhabitants in 1920 to 220,000 in 1970 (Bianca, 1978). Crafts started to disappear and those that continued had very bad working conditions. There was a desperate need for housing in decent conditions while overcrowding was also leading to rivers getting polluted from the sewerage. There continued to be a demand for the old style housing, because people continued to build in that manner spontaneously in the squatter settlements. As a result this case establishes that "the Muslim city model has its place in the modern world, and enables us to find new ways to link tradition to future development" (Bianca, 1978:40).

⁷ This is in some way similar to problems experienced in many European towns as a result of rapid industrialisation.

Projects directed towards the historic quarters have often involved the removal of the poor population in order that the restoration image satisfies the Ministries of Heritage and Tourism. This procedure is seen as merely an issue of providing alternative housing, often in the outskirts, cutting the vital connection to the centre for jobs and the social values and ties. When there is a conscious housing upgrading programme, empty plots and dilapidated buildings are replaced with new houses at higher rents. Moving people out of a central historic area also causes a loss for the inner-city economy and the loss of a fabric built over centuries that will be lost due to a lack of assistance.

6.3.3 Western Solutions for Eastern Towns: how appropriate are they?

Conservation, particularly as it is seen in Western Europe can become an exaggerated concern to keep everything as it is; this is not possible or realistic. Neither is flawless conservation where the results are "Disneyland" like. *Problems perceived by the expert outsider* may not be the problems that are experienced by the inhabitants or a priority to them. Particularly in Developing countries, with pressing demands and low budgets some standards may need to be lowered to achieve results, otherwise conservation will remain a dream and historic heritage continue decaying to extinction.

It must also be noted that aestheticism, historical continuity and materialistic wealth are very European values and may not be values other communities identify with. In other societies symbolic, religious and naturalistic values may be greater reason for conservation (see also Oliver, 1982:3). It is vital to understand peoples' values and standards, which will differ according to the cultural and economic backgrounds of the inhabitants. It is more important to provide adequate bathrooms, if this is the required standard, than glossy new houses which inhabitants may not be able to maintain, or afford to live in.

In Western Europe there has developed a strong network of Conservation bodies and local amenity societies, providing assistance for conservation and also a number of national organisations like English Heritage or the National Trust in England. They range from established national groups to small pressure groups formed to back a certain cause or project. Many amenity societies and smaller pressure groups depend on voluntary time and moreover an acceptance by the authorities. Those in the East often lack this power and respect their Western counterparts maintain. For developing

countries many such groups are still only pioneering. Where there are trusts or amenity groups, they tend to lack the financial backing, power and leverage on conservation. They could, however, play an important role in education and become a vital intermediate element, bridging the differences between the people and the authorities.

In the case of developing countries corruption will play an important role in the amount and size of tourist developments and in the conservation of urban areas; this cannot be ignored or overlooked. Political preference, both on a national and a local level, may dominate and town plans may be prepared to suit the ruling classes. Nonetheless, political influences have to be accepted as part of the planning process.

Conservation, particularly that of urban areas cannot be divorced from political interests as solutions are often only favoured if they are going to win votes. Overall Urban Planning and measures on Conservation Areas are often not considered together, and may even be administered by completely separate state departments. Much depends on which national and local bodies have control. While municipalities overlook building activities in all the areas of a town, it is the Ministry or Department of Antiquities that is responsible for the historic buildings (see also Fethi, 1993). For many of these overworked and underfunded departments, historic buildings are only a name on a protection list rather than a cause for action. Authorities are often only concerned about monuments and sites with tourist appeal, to attract more numbers.

Particularly where urban conservation is concerned there will be constraints to policy implementation in the current market oriented political climate. Consequently much of conservation funding depends on individual owners and occupiers, otherwise funds have to be secured from other sources, and it is quite probable that at this stage tourism is seen as a suitable solution. If the private sector is involved it is often to their own benefit and properties are turned into tourist attractions or commercially viable solutions to the new owner.

In Developing Countries there are many obstacles planning and running conservation programmes. There is often a lack of staff, almost certainly a need for better qualified or expert staff and the resources they need to carry out or even control implementation. Bad administration is a known problem and bureaucracy for the simplest action is common to most places. It is in an effort to avoid a lengthy and expensive process that houses in conservation areas continue to be repaired, changed or demolished without

official consent. Owners and tenants cannot afford the process of applying and waiting for consent and take their own initiative to repair the houses.

6.3.4 Visiting the 'Orient': the idealised tourist experience

There is a distinctively romantic image of travelling to the East or the 'Orient' as it is popularly known. These places are expected to be mystical, with veiled women and men wearing the *fez*, selling exotic items at open stalls and where camels are means of transport. In fact it is almost a 'flying carpet' image created by the film industry. However, this image is strictly for the marketplaces and not for the hotels, which are expected to be 'home away from home', with all the modern comforts and swimming pools.

This can result in the introduction of the cheap souvenir business selling the items the tourists think they want, like the *fez*, creating the sought after 'oriental' image. Once the market function is converted to the tourist industry and not selling the things that the inhabitants need, like televisions even, the informal sector and the economy of the inner city that related to its inhabitants will be lost. As tourist functions spread out from the centre to the neighbourhoods, the inhabitants will also leave the area, or if they are too poor they will be driven out not just for not complying with the tourist image, but also because they can no longer afford to live there. While the centres of large towns, such as Istanbul and Cairo, can absorb the impacts of tourism, the impact is much greater on the smaller towns which have a more traditional way of living.

The 19th century old town of Tunis faced the same problems as many other inner city historic sites. There were many buildings within the quarter worthy of restoration, but there had also been a number of uncontrolled demolitions, and the area was in decline. Today conservation in the area is carried out by the ASM⁸. They have recorded all the buildings within the area, and there have been proposals for some new buildings in the vacant plots; one idea was to build a luxury hotel to catalyse development and renewal. They do, however, aim for renewal that is not going to move the population out of the area, and is going to enhance the existing trade patterns. One project involves a pilot area in which renovated municipal buildings are serving tourist interests, while new residential units have been built to be sold to the public, therefore decreasing

⁸ Association pour la Sauvegarde de la Medina.

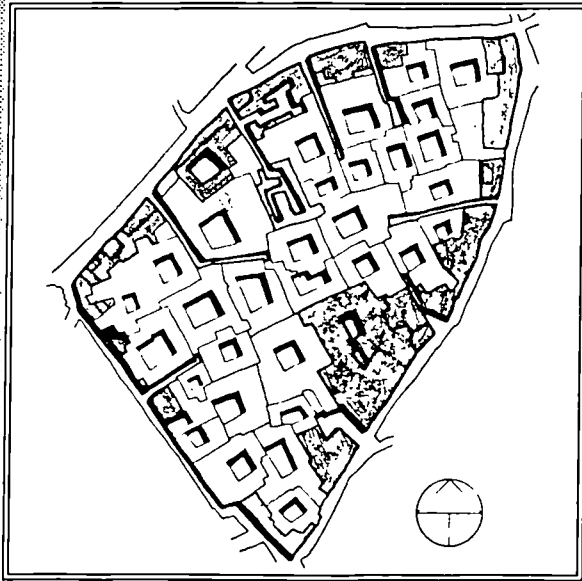


FIGURE 6.5 *City centre of Tunis, Tunisia with private areas shaded (Khan, 1980:33)*

overcrowding in the centre. Other residential municipal buildings are to be restored to be let with low rents. Loans and assistance are to be made available to encourage private and public participation (Serageldin, 1982:84).

Interpretation of the lived-in environment will also vary among different cultures. What is seen as old and dilapidated by a resident may seem very attractive and 'picturesque' to the visitor. For example, there is a romantic image attached to the Turkish house where a texture is created with the flaking plaster revealing the wattle and daub or mud brick in a timber frame structure. This is then combined with the greenery of the garden and the cobbled courtyards. "The taste for decaying mud walls is a Western one, deriving from our passion for the romantic and the picturesque" (Lewcock, 1978:73).

Crowds and noise are predominant characteristics of the Eastern town and the noise of people can only exist in the old quarters where the modern and mechanical noises of the modern town do not overwhelm them. However, high noise levels and crowds are a contrast to the tranquillity sought in the Western historic towns. Or are street sellers, the *muezzin* and crowded bazaars merely part of an 'oriental' experience to the tourist?

On the other hand, the use of large redundant buildings for tourism may be an ideal solution, both for accommodation and for shopping purposes. The tourists have the benefit of a genuine 'oriental' setting, a local monument is restored and community life somewhat protected. The traveller will seek out the markets anyhow and appreciate their qualities, whilst the tourists will have the benefit of the experience, the desired souvenirs and the sought after cafe, all within the safety of a complex.

6.3.5 Planning for the Future: Conservation and Continuity or 'Marketing the Oriental Town'?

In Eastern towns, as a direct reflection of urban form, the need for conservation has to be considered separately for the two different areas, the residential and the commercial. While the older neighbourhoods have either become slums or totally disappeared in the larger cities, in the smaller towns they continue to, exist, develop and grow. However, change may not always be in keeping with strict conservationist attitudes, like unsightly concrete additions which are in fact providing the much desired inside bathroom. There is often no law to protect individual buildings; when there is a Conservation Legislation there is inadequate control and no financial assistance. The commercial centres, on the

whole, continue to thrive economically but are physically decaying. While the smaller units tend to be occupied, the larger ones, like the *han* which are often under single ownership, need serious intervention and investment. Many have been abandoned because they are beyond repair that is feasible to the commercial community.

"With the ending of colonial rule following World War II, many new nations came into being with independent governments all sharing the aim of development in the image of their former colonial rulers" (May, 1989). The countries of the region all want new buildings and development, better infrastructure and facilities for the tourist industry. The townspeople, on the other hand, are concerned with survival with insufficient sewers, lack of water and dependence on the informal sector for housing.

To counteract the lack of professional expertise, it is better to train more local planners than to send in high-fee foreign consultants. It is also important "to provide advice for the specific needs and capabilities of governments, usually within their own tradition, instead of imposing a Western pattern for control and development" (Antoniou, 1981:12).

There is a demand for more pilot projects that are to involve willing residents, existing social organisations and use the existing skills among the people. It is important to understand changes in space usage (Abu-Lughod, 1980). Socio-political implications and those of ownership also need to be assessed. Occupants who have contributed to the process need a long-term rent tenure for the process to benefit them. Many projects will depend on external funding.

The medieval 'historic' town in the West is marketed and overcrowded at times for its picturesque qualities, modern boutiques and smart cafes. For the case of the Eastern town, on the other hand, there is also an element of oriental mystique added to the experience, and there is a greater expectation of a staged culture that involves residents being exploited. There is a duality that the people in these places may be wishing the privacy of their neighbourhoods, but they are not frozen in time to portray the expected image to the visitor - they too want to own televisions.

Conservation, particularly of urban areas, will not necessarily comply with the Western ideas of historic towns and their picturesque qualities, nor will the local populations tolerate tourism in towns in the same manner. While residents are hospitable and welcoming towards guests, when this is exploited by operators and excessive numbers,

they feel their privacy and lifestyle is invaded and become hostile or start seeing tourists purely as an element of economic gain. In poorer economies moving people out of areas has even greater social consequences. Conservation needs to be seen as a means of ecological and economic balance, not the preservation of the 'picturesque'.

SUMMARY AND REVIEW

Urban conservation in a strictly Western sense may not be possible in the East. But there are strengths of the community that could become important elements in achieving continuity, conservation and development. Tourism, inevitably, is a major resource, both in the promotion of historic areas and in financially enabling some work. However, the patterns of urban tourism, the *types and interests of the visitors need to be precisely understood and the pitfalls avoided*. The type of tourism in Western towns today could totally ruin Eastern towns and many of their unique qualities.

Heritage value and a conservation understanding is not visibly evident among the people and many aspire to modern living and Western appearance. However, there is a strong tradition of 'continuity' in that houses are regularly altered, expanded and even replaced. Those that continue living in traditional quarters value the environment and the privacy the urban pattern provides. Conservation needs to respect the residents' needs as well as enable and not hinder continuity.

For local governments conservation is frequently viewed as an extra, a luxury. They want to impress their constituents by building new and grand public buildings. Nevertheless, they are the party in direct contact with local interests and businesses, Chambers of Commerce, etc. They are readily influenced, but are also in a position to influence.

While National Governments are seen to support conservation, this is often only on paper. Interests are in furthering 'Development' and increasing foreign revenue, for which tourism is seen as a prime resource. Heritage, also seen at a national level, concerns monuments and ancient sites and very rarely concerns itself with urban environments and the people who inhabit them.

Expertise in the field is limited and its development often inadequately funded. Most experts will be based in the larger cities, while their expertise is needed in the further removed and smaller settlements as well. The distribution of expertise has its own cost implications.

On the one hand, the private sector, which could afford and support conservation, has very little interest in it. On the other hand, the informal sector which thrives on the tradition form does not have the resources to finance any maintenance. While a grocer in a *suq* may be very content with his small shop, neither he nor his landlord have the resources or the financial interest in maintaining the unit.

While lessons can be learnt from the West all the solutions to conservation are not going to be relevant to the East, as a result of different urban, social, economic and administrative patterns. Tourism, favoured at the national level as a solution to conservation, holds within it the threat of displacement and imagery.

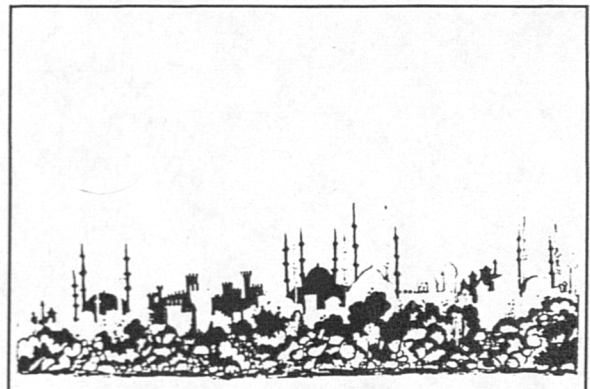
Local administrative power, an important factor in the unity of the traditional town, is being lost. National policies for development not only lead to further loss of heritage, but also overpower the interests of the smaller communities and the economies that support them. *Local Governments have an important role to play as mediator between national and local interests.*

The next Chapter will illustrate some of the differences in conditions and approaches through the examples of York, Granada and Salt. Chapter 8 will propose ten guidelines towards sustainable solutions to urban conservation working together with tourism, but with the aim of providing local residents with better living conditions, rather than re-creating historic centres that are exploited by tourist interests.

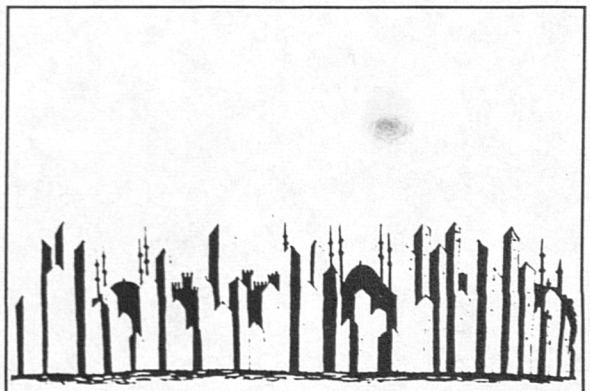
III



T O U R I S M



C O N S E R V A T I O N



D E V E L O P M E N T

part III

CHAPTER 7
THREE CITIES: YORK, GRANADA & SALT

CHAPTER 8
CONSERVATION WORKING WITH TOURISM

CHAPTER 7
THREE CITIES
YORK, GRANADA & SALT

*A comparative study of conservation, tourism and local
development in the three cities*



FIGURE 7.1 *Location Map of the three towns*

Introduction

Following on from the current conservation practice in Turkey and the specific case of Bergama, Chapter 5 tried to illustrate the worldwide impacts that tourism is having on environments and people alike. It also identified the significant changes in Western conservation practice which is moving towards recreating towns for tourists, rather than providing continuity for residents. Chapter 6 has identified a further set of problems in imposing similar attitudes on towns of the East, which could be said to be further behind in the development process, lack adequate funding for historic conservation, and retain urban patterns that not only hold a community together but also call for a high level of domestic privacy. Today these towns, in particular those in the Mediterranean Region, are being exposed to Western expectations of heritage at the cost of the residents' needs being ignored by authorities, often in favour of increasing the tourism potential.

Tourism in certain ways does or can play a significant role in economic regeneration through the conservation process. This Chapter will attempt to illustrate differences in respective conservation policies, planning laws, practice and attitudes, through a study of three cities, with the aim of understanding this relationship in respect of future planning for urban development. It will also further determine the different factors and influences that have played a significant role and identify the degree of involvement of the local administration, the influences of central governments and commitment of local inhabitants to their immediate environment.

The first is the city of York in England, where the old town is immaculately conserved and highly attractive to many tourists. However, the balance between resident and visitor uses are not always even, with overcrowding becoming a major disturbance at certain times of the year as well as the underuse of the centre at night time. However, the start of the conservation movement in the late 1960s with a demand from the residents has resulted in an unmatched degree of sensitive conservation. In the process of achieving such high standards of urban conservation the commitment of the local authority and, moreover, the availability of substantial central government grants have played a very important role.

Neither Granada or Salt have embarked on the urban conservation process as yet. While the famous Alhambra Palace in Granada attracts many visitors each year from the popular coastal regions, on the opposite bank, the Albaicin quarter whilst secluded from

the pressures of mass tourism, is also largely ignored by the authorities and is largely decaying as a result of meagre finances. The increased role of the local authorities in conservation may be an opportunity for a move in public spending from monument preservation to neighbourhood conservation and regeneration.

Salt City, in Jordan, on the other hand, lost its importance in the 1930s with changing trade and administrative patterns. Even though the urban heritage is unique in Jordan, much of it today is decaying due to neglect, ignorance and population movements. There is an urgent need to preserve and conserve this heritage before it is totally lost or destroyed. However, central government proposals towards this purpose are in favour of generating tourist interest, which could entirely transform the area, and dissolve the existing 'character'. To date master planning continues to be the favoured approach in Salt; several comprehensive plans have been completed but very little action has been implemented.

7.1 THE CITY OF YORK: Conservation and Tourism

Situated in the North of England the City of York has for over 2000 years been an important religious and political centre attracting both invaders and visitors. Today, an extremely high quality of historic conservation has been achieved and its medieval characteristics have been well preserved. Conservation in York has become an understanding and public support is in the forefront of all major planning considerations. Even though effective conservation has made York the envy of many towns, there is a noticeable movement towards a somewhat 'Disney' image of its Medieval town. In an admirable attempt to keep the old street patterns, new commercial buildings are designed as a pastiche of past styles thus perhaps 'freezing' the city centre more and more in its past, almost museum like, resulting in a reduced residential and community life in the city centre.

However, the growing importance of *local* control and small 'partnership initiatives' are evident in all parts of the city. Over the past 25 years the city has experienced the start of the conservation movement in the late 1960s to the tourism planning and management initiatives of the 1980s. To this can be added local concern for higher quality jobs with increasing investment in training opportunities for the service sector, and the diversification of the economy by promoting new commercial opportunities

through young business initiatives that encourage the growth and development of small, often self employed businesses.

7.1.1 History and Heritage

The historic qualities of York cannot be disputed and the city has played an important role in history. In AD 71 it was the Roman legionary fortress, Eboracum and later became capital of the province Britannia Inferior. Two central streets, Stonegate and Petergate, were the *cardo* and *decumanis*, and Roman remains can be seen under the Minster and in the Museum Gardens. In the sixth century it was Eoforwic and in the 9th century it became Jorvik, a Viking town, home to the Anglians of south Denmark and north Germany. Part of the Viking town was excavated in the 1970s and has become a major attraction, with the underground 'Jorvik Viking Centre', also supported by an annual Viking Festival each February.

Following the Norman conquest in 1066, Medieval York became an important ecclesiastical centre in the North, with many of the religious Orders present. York Minster was built at this time and the city wall was completed in the 15th century. The city continued growing and changing within the walls. There have been many additions and changes since, but some of the medieval buildings, like the Merchant Adventurers Hall, still remain. Ever since it was built, York Minster, the largest Gothic cathedral in Europe, has been a major visitor attraction. But today so are the narrow winding 'medieval streets' and a wealth of architecture spanning several centuries.

In the 19th C. the introduction of the mainline railway also played an important part in maintaining the importance of York. The city became an important railway centre and the railways a major employer. The National Railway Museum¹ built in the 1970s and recently expanded is an added tourist attraction, alongside many of the other museums. York spends more money per head of population on its museums than any other British city (Wallis, 1971:1518) - an important factor in the tourist business with the unreliable weather in Britain.

¹ This followed the earlier Railway Museum established in the 1950s.

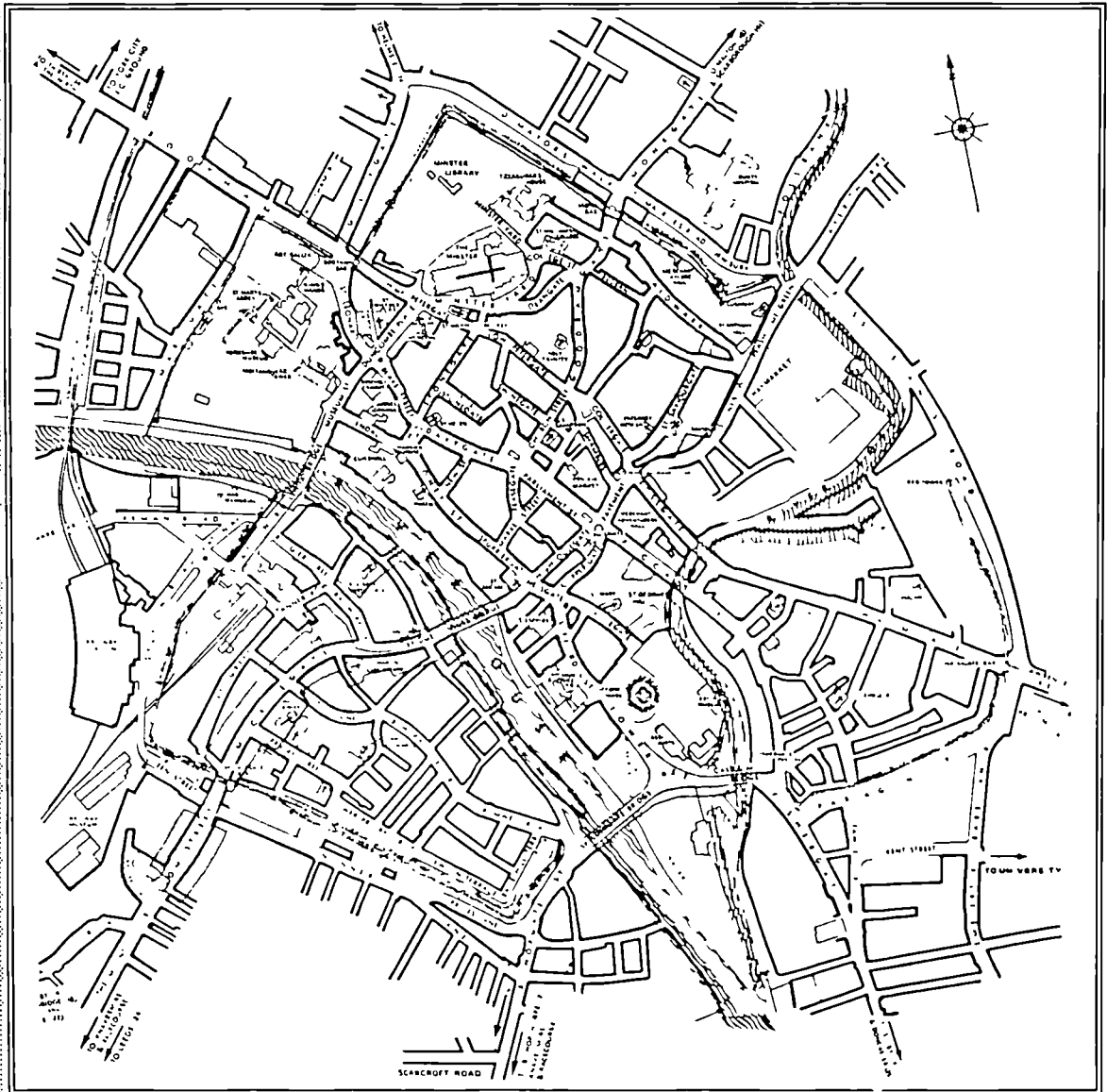


FIGURE 7.2 Central area and city walls of York today (Nuttgens, 1976:117)

7.1.2 Public Interest and the Establishment of a Conservation Culture in York

Today it can be said that York is an ideally conserved historic city; much of this is due to York residents. As in so many cases, planning attitudes in the 1960s were very different. Then there were no defined 'conservation areas' and only a few examples of buildings of any particular period that were being protected and conserved. Modern infills were readily given planning permission and several new concrete buildings commissioned at that time have remained eyesores². But perhaps one day even they will become listed.

Plans for an outer-ring-road much closer to the city had been underway even before the war. In the early 1950s, when demolition and reconstruction was seen as a tool of planning, the idea of a new inner-ring-road, close to the city walls, appeared. This plan was never revised, neither was a draft of the scheme ever presented to the Planning Committee. A Feasibility Report published by the City Engineer in 1967 was the first sign that things were about to happen. In the report the City Council claimed that an inner-ring-road was the key factor to the future of the road network of York. However, building this road would involve the demolition of a number of Georgian properties, principally along Gillygate.

In the early months of 1971 protests from the public had begun, including petitions and informal gatherings, both with and without the Councillors. Towards the end of the year, in October, the 'York 2000' group of concerned citizens was formed and rapidly increased its membership to 9,500 (Cummin, 1972:24). The aim of the group was to raise funds to fight a legal battle against the ring-road by the ordinary residents of York and not through using celebrity names (Cummin, 1972:1).

Parallel to these developments, in 1966 the Minister of Housing and Local Government and City Councils commissioned a report on the historic towns of Bath, Chester, Chichester and York. The Esher study uncovered the assets of the historic town of York and devised methods of *reusing* them and not knocking them down. As a result of this activity, and the Civic Amenities Act of 1967, Local Planning Authorities were able to

² The debate over Stonebow House, an office tower and a colonnaded shopping area and car park below, has never ended in its thirty year history. While some claim it to be one of the few examples of deliberate 'brutalism' in York, others consider it an eyesore (Esher, 1968:223; Wheeler, 1969:1757 and Pevsner, 1972:151).

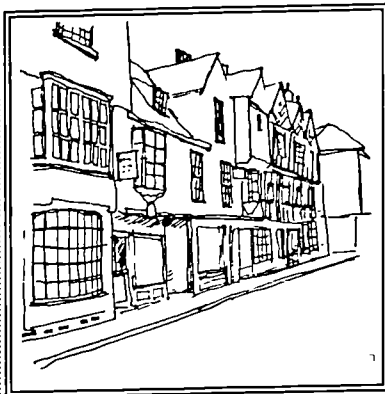


FIGURE 7.3 *An historic street in York*

designate 'Conservation Areas'. The York study by the architect/planner Lord Esher was published as "York; a Study in Conservation"³. Commonly referred to as the Esher Report, it was a detailed study of life, traffic and conservation patterns within the walled city. Lord Esher tried to find alternative solutions to the ring road and the report contained many carefully considered suggestions on new traffic patterns, car parking and pedestrianisation, supported with detailed cost analysis.

In the event the City authorities refused to accept all the recommendations and planning permission was granted for a modern multi-storey office block and a chain store. The Council claimed that the estimated costs in the Report were insufficient and carrying out the proposals would become a heavy burden on the Council and therefore the rate payers. The inhabitants of York, on the other hand, welcomed the Report; three well attended public meetings were held and addressed by Lord Esher. Many local organisations, both old and new⁴, and some leading citizens of the city backed the Plan. This was the turning point. It is largely because of the pressure exerted by the people of York that the inner-ring-road was never built and that the City of York continues to be well preserved today.

Attitudes have changed and today the City Council has a key role in the promotion of conservation policies for the city. Since the 1970s 1500 historic buildings have been restored. A 'Conservation Advisory Panel', chaired by John Shannon, chairman of the local Civic Trust, was established in 1970 (Wallis, 1971:1518). Since then the area within the city walls has become a well managed Conservation Area. The Council now provides assistance and advice on the restoration and repair procedures for York's many historic buildings, as well as assuming a management role for the Conservation Area including streets, squares, pavements, street furniture and trees.

In 1966 an Urban Renewal initiative known as "The Town Scheme" was started. Over £2 million in public grants⁵ was made available, which in turn generated over £10 million from the private sector for the restoration work within the city (York City Council,

³ London, HMSO, 1968.

⁴ They include the Civic Trust, the Georgian Society, consumer groups, the Chamber of Trade, and the University including those in the King's Manor Luncheon Group run by Patrick Nuttgens (Wheeler, 1969).

⁵ York City Council, English Heritage and North Yorkshire County Council were the participating authorities.

1993:1). That scheme has crucially enabled comprehensive and high quality restoration to take place within the city walls and "demonstrated the value of a sustained partnership between Central Government and Local Authorities (York City Council, 1993:1). Action was supported by a number of groups including the York Conservation Trust⁶. The citizens played a very important role in the conservation movement and they continue to be informed on all that is taking place. New projects are publicised through the local media and public meetings are held to discuss applications. The Town Scheme ended in April 1993, and this is an indication that there will be less public money available for individual projects.

Diminishing congregations were a reason why many of the cities churches had become redundant. In response The York Redundant Churches Uses Committee was set up. Consequently many of York's redundant churches have been restored and converted to new uses, including the Arts Centre and the Archaeological Resource Centre, a museum and education centre⁷.

Because of these early conservation successes there is now a continuous stream of new projects proposed; however, in recent years emphasis has been predominantly towards retail outlets. The Coppergate scheme provided department stores, a multi storey car park, smaller shops and the Jorvik Centre, all built round a square reflecting the scale of York. The very recent completion of Stonegate Walk and the Swinegate scheme have provided a series of Victorian style replica shops mainly for specialist outlets catering for the tourist market. The central area around Parliament Street and the main open-air market have also been semi-pedestrianised and repaved. There are strong indications that most new developments are aimed at increasing retail space in the centre and there is a visible policy to blend and retain architectural character; from modern buildings in scale with the urban texture (Coppergate) to pastiche historic look-alikes (Swinegate and Parliament Street).

"York's fate as a collective monument of historic and architectural interest is a matter of primary national concern: it is the English Toledo or even Venice. Hence the interest

⁶ The York Conservation Trust bought up and restored derelict property aiming to encourage people to live within the city walls and also to encourage other owners to restore their buildings (Morrell, 1981). Today, the Trust manages and rents numerous properties in the conservation area.

⁷ The churches of St John's and St Savioire respectively.

in conservation, often carried out to a point, which born Yorkers regard as exaggerated and intrusive; but which they must come to accept as natural and inevitable" (Harvey, 1975:21).

7.1.3 Living within the City Walls

As is reflected in many of the new developments, the city centre has become predominantly commercial and the amount of residential property available is decreasing. However, there are two quality areas within the city walls that are residential. The first is Bishophill, a Victorian development of terraced houses and the second is Aldwark. Following a suggestion in the Esher Report for Aldwark, this derelict industrial area was cleared to allow for new housing projects incorporating several landmarks, including a hall and a church, which have been restored. The project has been very successful and the schemes are architecturally in keeping with other buildings in the Conservation Area; vehicular access and ample car parking have also been provided.

Even at the time of the Esher Report many upper floors over shops were abandoned or under-used, reducing the resident population. "*Frankly, York has got to get over forty years of rot, before we can restore the city to what it ought to be and induce people to come back and live here in the centre*" (Pace in Wheeler, 1969:1760). The Report suggested possible uses for a number of buildings and possible access to upper floors. Lack of grants for repair, security and problems caused by entering the upper floors through a ground floor shop have discouraged many landlords from rehabilitating them. The decreasing number of grocery stores and increasing fears associated with urban crime also discourage people from living in the centre. Not just politics but also high insurance cover is a strong deterrent; so are today's traffic and parking restrictions.

The City Council views the existence of residential use within the centre an important priority because this "will create activity most periods of the day, and is an essential element of any well balanced City" (Thompson & Georghiou, 1990:2). For this reason the DoE and the Council also supports the Living Over The Shop, LOTS⁸ initiative set up in 1989, that aims to increase residential use above shops in the city centres. High

⁸ The LOTS project, run by Ann Petherick at the University of York was promoted by the National and Town Planning Council and initially funded by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

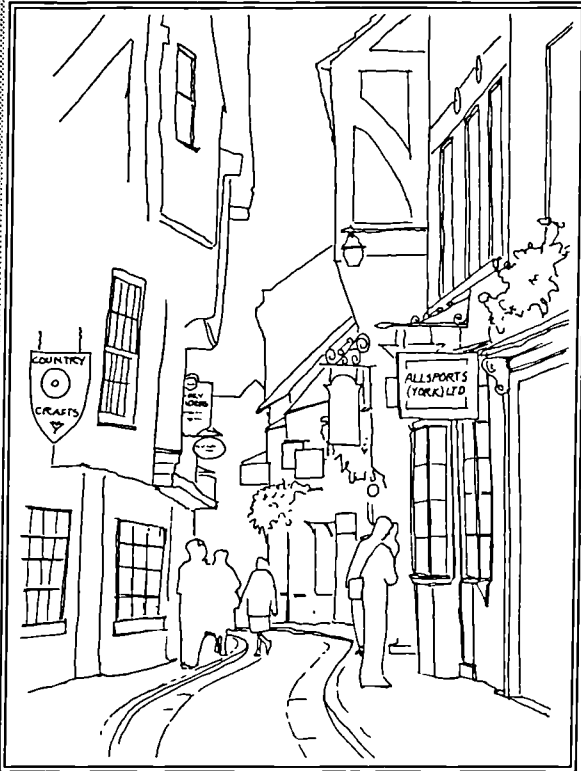


FIGURE 7.4 *There are no longer any butchers on the Shambles, but the 'picturesque' street is very popular with tourists*

property values and restricted parking, as well as the problems of access, have meant that the scheme has been less successful in York than it has been in other towns.

7.1.4 Tourism in York and Planning for the Future

York attracts huge numbers of both foreign and British tourists. Even though the visitors are often the sought-after wealthy tourists, including Americans, Japanese, Australians and British people taking second holidays, they only stay for a very short time. Many only come for the day, as part of a longer holiday or weekend break. Shopping facilities in the centre attract many shoppers from the region, particularly on Saturdays and at certain times of the year. Day trippers tend to contribute to the traffic problems and overcrowding, but do very little for the local economy. It has been calculated that an overnight tourist spends three times as much money as a day visitor per day⁹ (English Tourist Board, 1972:2).

Museums and tourist facilities are constantly being increased and improved. Many conservation organisations have established themselves in York, including the York Archaeological Trust which, under its director Peter Addyman, not only supervises archaeological work in the city but also helps to fund further high quality research and the educational work of the Trust, through the Jorvik Viking Centre, the Archaeological Resource Centre, and most recently, the reconstructed medieval Barley Hall.

While the pressure of traffic in the central area has largely been resolved by pedestrianisation, the parking problem for shoppers has been somewhat eased by 'Park and Ride' schemes, whereby visitors can park their cars outside the city centre and use a regular bus service into town. A minimal fee covers the parking ticket and bus fare. Pedestrianisation of the central area has proved to be very successful¹⁰. From April to September the huge crowds in some streets prove the importance of the scheme and the Council is now trying to increase the hours restricted to traffic.

⁹ Depending on the length of the viist this can then work out to be twelve times as much per person.

¹⁰ Since September 1987 York has become one of Europe's largest pedestrian zones. The city centre is closed to traffic between 11.00am and 4.00pm six days a week. This allows for morning and evening deliveries to the retail outlets, and a comfortable shopping zone for pedestrians.

With a decline in the coal and textile industries of the region, and confectionary and railways in York, tourism has become a major employer. Many of these jobs are not permanent, are at odd hours, do not require many skills and are often poorly paid. Two reports¹¹ commissioned by the Council in 1984 estimated that 85% of jobs in York were tourism related (York Chamber of Trade and Commerce, 1984:23). These studies have led to further research and the Council is committed to looking at ways of improving employment opportunities. They are, like every other city on the UK, trying to attract high skill companies to move to York and also to increase the quality and conditions of tourist sector jobs. The City Council collaborates with the industry.

In 1969 a Department of Tourism was set up within York City Council. In order to decrease the dependency of the industry on the Council, a cooperative, the York Tourist Development Association, sponsored by the local industry, was also founded. The Association promotes tourism and is mainly concerned with the business benefits. In 1984 the phasing out of Council support decreased the effectiveness of its Department of Tourism. In the City this movement was opposed as it would increase visitor frustration and put the industry at risk. Following a one day meeting, the York Chamber of Trade and Commerce suggested: "That a joint venture be established between the City Council and local business interests to mobilize and coordinate the management and promotion of the development of tourism in the city, in a form that will be acceptable to visitors and benefit York residents" (York Chamber of Trade and Commerce, 1984:12). In 1985 a Tourism Services Section, under the York City Council Marketing Division, took on the control and management of tourism.

The decision-making power of local establishments is evident in planning for tourism. Even though most of the management aspects are carried out by the City Council, the power is with the private sector. The Council is now working much better with the Industry for the promotion of better working standards in the service sector. The availability of more trained jobs for locals and also the promotion of small businesses and crafts through a Small Business Scheme are two of the more successful schemes introduced in the past few years.

¹¹ The first, "Tourism's Contribution to Employment in York" was prepared by Dr Barnett at the University of York, and the second "Tourism Related Employment in the York Area" by the Economic Development Unit of York City Council.

Tourism is not seen as the only development target; on the contrary, the City is trying to attract more companies and Government organisations to the City in an effort to increase local employment opportunities that are permanent and will elevate staff levels.

A report by the English Tourist Board, published in 1972, studied the reactions of York citizens to tourism in the city. Then most people felt it was good for business and tourism made public services and the preservation of old buildings possible. The disadvantages were increased traffic congestion, overcrowding in the streets and parking problems. Since then, numbers have continued to increase and in the summer months or Bank holiday weekends the central area is often so congested with pedestrians that it is almost impossible to walk. And as we have mentioned earlier, Stancliffe and Tyler (1990) reported that at the height of the season, York residents can be seen wearing 'anti-tourist' badges (see Chapter 5).

Most shops in York are closed by 6.00pm after which the centre of town is being under-used. We have previously mentioned that there are few inhabitants living in the centre, because not many properties are being made available; added to this there are parking restrictions and insufficient residential shopping outlets. While the lack of housing in the centre can affect security at night, potential dangers are also deterring people from living there. Parking restricted to two hours has also limited the number of restaurants in the central area. So the city, a world example in conservation, is only being selectively and partially used.

In 1971, John Shannon, the long standing chairman of the York Civic Trust, said on the future of the city: "We believe that a city like York ought to be conserved for itself, but if commercial reasons are wanted, I would only add that it has the biggest tourist potential of any city in England and properly handled so that it doesn't become a 'pretty pretty' self-conscious city, the money that will flow from this will more than pay for its conservation" (Wallis, 1971:1515).

The criteria for 'pretty pretty', that John Shannon refers to, can be argued. But are not some of York's Medieval streets becoming images of what the Americans think the 'old country' should look like and shops have so-called authentic names such as 'Ye olde ...' or 'The Cottage ...'. Shopping streets are dominated by souvenir shops, specialist outlets, smart boutiques and china shops; not grocers, butchers or corner shops. Conservation in the city centre is almost complete but such immaculate conservation

may result in the death of the area. Costas Georghiou, the ex-Chief Planning Officer, stresses this for the future development of the city: "The city of York is constantly evolving, as a result of new development, changes in the use of existing buildings and as a result of changing life-styles. A great deal of effort goes into preserving the best of York's architectural heritage, but this has to be balanced against the vital task of ensuring that York can accommodate new development to create employment and new housing - all of which are essential for the city to continue to provide a vibrant economy and high quality of life for its citizens" (York City Council, 1991:foreword).

There have been many attempts to attract longer staying and higher spending visitors; one method adopted was to promote York as being a base to visit the attractions in the surrounding area, including the Moors, Dales, the coast or Leeds. Like other historic cities York also intends to attract more conferences and conventions, as delegates not only stay longer, they are also known to spend more money than the day visitor. Competition is high, as many other cities in England and the region, including Leeds and Bradford, are also promoting themselves as tourist centres offering good accommodation, dining and shopping facilities and promoting the arts. To avoid other places taking over the tourist market York has to keep up its standards, advertise effectively and market sufficiently. It is now certain that York's economy can no longer solely depend on the income from tourism.

7.2 THE ALBAICIN QUARTER OF GRANADA: Tourism but no Conservation

Granada attracts vast numbers of tourists, often only to the Alhambra Palace. Until now heritage interests have focused on tourist interests and not on those of the residents, who are relatively poor. Alongside the architectural attraction of the Alhambra, the Albaicin residential quarter in its unique setting can offer the visitor some feeling of a 'character' and 'lifestyle' still maintained by its residents; the quarter, which has been ignored of late, needs urgent maintenance attention in order to survive. The greater conservation role given to local authorities may change this, but there needs to be serious consideration of the issues surrounding any upgrading investment by the City Council.

However, will this simply result in its eventual gentrification, a new, richer set of residents and an inevitable loss of identity? Here we have identified two common dilemmas faced

by conservators; first, that the recent population are driven out either by increasing rents or by voluntary sale of their renovated homes to realise their new value and second, the quarter becomes flooded by so many tourists as to make life intolerable for the residents. Conservationists have to think about the longer term consequences of their reforming enthusiasms. These lessons have to some extent been learnt in other places, and therefore there is opportunity to avoid repetition.

7.2.1 History and Heritage

Southern Spain, mainly Andalusia, is the only part of Western Europe to be ruled by Asia for over six centuries. Not only is it a European balcony looking over the Orient, but also a fascinating mixture of East and West. Two very different architectures live harmoniously together; the hardy, warlike and massive Christian architecture, reflecting severity and austerity, and the light and ornamental Islamic architecture, harmonising a culture of leisure and the Islamic faith with the Andalusian climate.

On the coast the high mountains of Andalusia sweep down to long sandy beaches, well known to the holiday industry; inland, they hide the once prosperous Moorish cities and a whole series of mountain villages. The towns and villages reflect features and a life style that are unique in Europe and the Islamic world. Even to this day many towns contain the most fascinating old Muslim quarters or *barrios*, as they are known in Spain, of small white washed houses clustered together in narrow, winding streets¹². Although there has not been a Muslim population living in them for several hundred years, the old quarters are like islands of a different world, with many rich features of urban space and tranquillity, often within the modern cities that surround them.

The Arabs and Berbers from North Africa started to invade the Iberian Peninsula in 711 and by 756 the Umayyad Emirate was established with Abd er-Rahman I as the first Emir of Spain. Cordoba, the seat of the Caliph, flourished and became the second largest city in Europe after Constantinople. The first stage of the famous Great Mosque was built twenty years later. By the 13th century the Spanish had regained their freedom in Seville and Cordoba, but it was almost the end of the 15th century before Granada was recaptured. Granada had become a centre for the Nasrids, who had established the Kingdom of Granada between 1238-1492. It was during their reign that

¹² The small villages, often known as the 'frontier' or 'white towns', are a reflection of a past life style and culture.

the renowned and beautiful Alhambra was built, with its sophisticated and interconnecting courts, gardens and palaces. The Alhambra is one of the few surviving examples of Nasrid style architecture, planning and ornamentation, and was used both as a palace and a fortress by a number of rulers, including King Charles V of Spain. The unique and magnificent buildings form an almost magical succession of spaces, with series of vertical elements, moving from the closed courts to the open ordered courtyards of water and have made it a popular tourist attraction.

Following the reconquest, Andalusia continued to be an important centre for Europe; Columbus and many others sailed west from the small Andalusian port of Palos to conquer new and rich lands. The colonisation of Latin America in the 15th and 16th centuries turned Seville and Cadiz into prosperous and lively port towns, bursting with activity, bureaucrats, traders and pirates.

For the uninformed visitor it is surprising to come across a city of Islamic values and features¹³ in what we know as the West today, as many of the street patterns of an Islamic city have remained. Open public spaces and busy streets lead to narrower and calmer alleys which in turn give onto internal patios behind high walls to provide cool seclusion and much valued privacy. In many aspects these quarters are no different from the walled cities of North Africa or historic quarters in some Turkish towns. The Albaicin quarter of Granada is situated on the opposite side of the Darro Gorge to the Alhambra Palace, and was once a Muslim neighbourhood which earned its living by providing for the palace. It had close to 200,000 inhabitants in the 11th century, and about the same today.

¹³ The Muslim craftsmen continued to work for their new Christian patrons. They were known as the *Mudejars*, and provided the style for the 15th century, of twin horseshoe arches, glazed tiles and panels of stars known as the *azulejos*. At the same time the Christian Castilians, who had been working for the Arabs, and were influenced by their lifestyle and traditions, were known as *Mozarabs*. Both groups of artisans continued the influence of Islamic features in Spanish architecture for the first two centuries before it was overtaken by the German Gothic and Italian Renaissance styles.



FIGURE 7.5 Plan of Granada and the Albaicin Quarter (University of Granada)

7.2.2 Conservation Prospects for the Albaicin Quarter

Following the reconquest of Granada the Albaicin quarter remained the Muslim quarter and the small workshops on the ground floors continued to be used by craftsmen. They gained their livelihood from making utilitarian and household objects out of bronze, esparto and wrought iron; alpujarra fabrics, embroidery and lace, the latter often worked by the women. In earlier periods these cottage industry goods were to meet the needs of the Palace. It was only after the uprisings in 1499 and 1568 that the Muslims were finally driven out and the area started to decline, never to reach its former prosperity again. However, most of the crafts continued into the 17th and 18th centuries, but much has been lost in an industrial society, with the exception of crafts that survive through the tourist trade.

Like most Islamic towns, the commercial centre is separated from the residential neighbourhoods. Some of the public buildings from the Muslim city, such as the Zacatin or Alcaicera, the old silk market, was rebuilt in the 19th century. Even today, with the small shops lining narrow passages, and all their goods exhibited outside, it is more like an Islamic bazaar or *suq* than a European shopping arcade, nearly visible in the commercial heart of modern Granada. Granada also had *hamam*, public baths¹⁴, *madrasah*¹⁵, a principle school of theology for the Muslim population and other significant buildings. Some have remained, somewhat different in function, and others have disappeared altogether¹⁶.

The Albaicin is one of the poorer settlements of Granada, and leads to a series of cave dwellings, Sacramento, Granada's poorest neighbourhood. Calvert, a French traveller, writing on the Alhambra in 1890 was already concerned about the rapid loss of Moorish remains. Out migration rather than in migration has saved the old quarter from overcrowding and too unsanitary conditions, but depopulation, in its turn, is leading to more and more houses being abandoned into dilapidation.

¹⁴ Today the Banuelo, the bath house on the Carrera del Darro, by the river that separates the Albaicin from the Alhambra, is the only public bath that remains, other than the one in the Alhambra itself.

¹⁵ The *madrasah*, built in 1348 - 49 first became the Palacio de la Madirza and today the Casa del Cabildo Antiguo. Of the original only a single dome of the octagonal mosque and the shape of the courtyard remains (Goodwin, 1990).

¹⁶ The residence of the Governor Badis Ibn Habus, built in 1070, for example, first became Casa de Galla de Viento and is now a coal exchange, known as Casa del Carbon.

A major slum clearance project towards the end of the last century led to the demolition of quite a number of old houses in the quarter, to build a wide and fashionable avenue, the Gran Via, supposedly just like London's Regent Street. Today these 'new' buildings too are classed as historic, with rich but distinctly European architectural qualities. The Conservation Area starts from the Puerto Elvira, behind the Gran Via and includes the whole Albaicin Quarter, bordered by the Darro Gorge and Sacramento.

The first list of National Monuments appeared in 1860, but the law governing their protection was not passed until 1926¹⁷. The Directorate General of Fine Arts and Archives Technical Office, a Department of the Ministry of Culture, are responsible for the protection and conservation of sites and monuments. However, since 1985, with a decentralisation policy, a growing proportion of the work falls on the Local Authorities. They have the responsibility of enhancing conservation policies in their own areas (Council of Europe, 1985:54). For private buildings it is expected that the owners will finance improvement measures. They are, however, encouraged to do so through tax exemption schemes and some local council grants that are available.

The Government is also promoting "culture for all" (Council of Europe, 1985:56) with the intention of encouraging community interest in their own culture and thus boosting domestic tourism. The Ministry of Transport, Tourism and Communications has been playing an important role in the promotion of 'cultural tourism.' A second scheme has enabled 1% of the cost of all new public buildings sponsored by the State to be spent on the conservation of the nation's heritage; the emphasis, however, is on the monumental, rather than the urban and domestic.

Home owners are under an obligation to keep to the old styles, whilst making alterations to their houses within the Conservation Area. Though a plan for the Conservation Area in Granada was made as recently as 1989, it has not been able to draw on financial assistance; there is little money for building and grants are scarce. Much of the planning work is undertaken by the Department of Architecture at the University of Granada. With more local power there is a growing interest in the historic town, but recent emphasis has been on the preservation of the city walls, and not directly on the urban fabric. Again the emphasis is on the largest visible element in the city.

¹⁷ A second law was passed in 1933, with the exception of several amendments in 1936 and 1955, has been in use until 1984, when the present legislation was introduced (Council of Europe, 1985).

Following the 1985 Decentralisation Act, in 1990 the Instituto del Patrimonio Historico (Andalusian Institute) was formed in Seville, with generous funding. In collaboration with the Departments of Architecture of the Universities, the Institute has embarked upon the laborious task of recording the historic buildings in the two hundred settlements of the region. A visit to the Institute in 1991 revealed that the emphasis was still on monuments rather than urban areas. The money was available for *recording* rather than for rehabilitation and they too have only a limited interest in the urban character of a settlement and even less for a resident community.

7.2.3 The Residents of the Albaicin

Today, on the surface it seems, little has changed, an endless variation of high density streets, providing both neighbourliness and privacy for a close knit community. Even the 30 mosques have, over time, been converted into churches (Gallego, 1985:54). Few buildings from the Muslim occupation remain intact, but the urban form and organic tradition continues. In places the Christian inhabitants have opened up larger windows with gratings and the odd balcony to the street, adding colour with the flowers that fill them. The Christian houses, known as the *casares*, have blended into the neighbourhood; nevertheless they can be distinguished for their not so modest size and regular shapes.

The most treasured feature of the Islamic house, the open internal patio, is still evident, providing a secluded, calm and cool area away from the increasing noise of the street. These small, asymmetrical and often colonnaded courts are today functional cooking and washing areas as well as being decorative; Arab decoration can still be seen in many forms, inside and outside (Gallego, 1985). Most houses in the quarter are brick, adobe or timber framed buildings, lime washed on the outsides; some houses still have timber ceilings inside. Large timber patio doors with heavy metal knockers very similar to those of traditional North African houses, staggered entrances assisting religious privacy, and smaller openings are all indications of the Albaicin's Islamic heritage. These are small features which should command the attention of the conservators.

Due to the steepness and narrowness of many streets, cars have been unable to penetrate into the heart of the Albaicin and the horse continues to be a popular form of transport among the locals. Many of the winding streets lead to well hidden and often irregular squares with fountains and a few seats, forming an informal setting for

neighbourly gatherings on summer evenings. Plaza San Nicolas not only provides one of the best views on to the Alhambra, but is also the scene for lively fiestas. The pedestrian scale of the Albaicin is attractive to the people of Granada. If gentrification were to take place, would these features survive?

Today the area is mainly a home to a lower income group, often labourers, though they are, in many cases these days, the owners. The Albaicin had in the past been used to house the people coming from rural areas, but today immigration in to the city has almost stopped and there is a notable decline in population. Without sufficient funding the houses are often too expensive to maintain, and those who could afford to, have moved out to the newer suburbs.

7.2.4 Tourism and Change

While sun, sea and cheap beer have made Spain's coast line a popular destination, the ravages of mass tourism that have over taken so many coastal towns of the Costa del Sol have not yet spoiled some of the magnificent inland cities. In Jaen, an inland city, many of the buildings in the old Muslim quarter are still intact, whereas in Almeria on the coast, many historic buildings have been replaced by vast tourist developments. Most of Marbella has changed and 10th century buildings still only survive hidden behind the new 'developments'.

There has been a price to pay, both economic and cultural. Most of the tourist development money has been invested in the coastal areas, curbing development in the inland areas. Tourism has introduced many things to Spain, including the bikini, a very controversial issue until the tourist boom in the 1970s. There is a general feeling that tourism "robs Spaniards of their heritage in terms of natural beauty of the country" (Debelius, 1972:v). And a priest complains that the tourists "come for our alcohol rather than our art" (The Economist, April 1974:38). Partly through tourism, from being on the fringes Spain has today become significantly integrated into Europe.

Already the three cities of Granada, Seville and Cordoba are visited regularly by tour buses from the coastal mass tourist destinations. Like many inland attractions of the Mediterranean region, Granada receives a large number of visitors for very short periods. Crowds are 'bussed' into the city to visit mainly the Alhambra Palace and then



FIGURE 7.6 *Dilapidated back-street building in Cordoba*

taken straight back again. There is pressure on services and roads, but very little gain for the local economy.

In Cordoba, for example, the streets of the older quarter around the Great Mosque have been taken over by restaurants and souvenir shops, providing for the day tours and coach parties. While the street scale makes an ideal 'shopping' environment, architectural quality is lost behind the shop fronts and displays. This is in stark contrast to the streets that are not in such proximity to the attraction. Here houses are lived in and a strong neighbourhood atmosphere is apparent in the small and intimate squares. Nevertheless, the properties are generally in need of attention; a stark contrast to the shiny 'new' and often inappropriate finishes given to the tourist streets.

With very little local interest in the urban vernacular styles, there is growing concern among conservationists that the building traditions of the region will be lost due to ignorance and inaction. "The new houses in them are built to the same simple design as the old, and painted the same pure white. Let us hope that, like so much else in the Iberian hinterland, the white walls, red flowers and golden roofs of Andalusia will keep their character and beauty intact" (Seymour-Davies, 1972:513).

7.2.5 Conclusion

Like many other cities of Europe and the Islamic World, the cities of Andalusia are faced with the problem of maintaining their urban heritage. Large parts of the historic quarters still seem safe from an influx of tourists that could result in heavy handed renewal or 'development' schemes. Nevertheless, the old quarters are slowly changing, and what they need most urgently is rehabilitation, re-plumbing, rewiring, damp proofing, modern kitchens and indoor bathrooms. For any of this to happen there is a need to pump money and resources into the area. This could be in the form of grants or tax relief. It is even more important to work with the residents. There is an opportunity to repeat the success of Bologna, rather than create another weekend town for the West European tourist circuit.

7.3 SALT CITY: Is Tourism the only solution for Conservation and Development?

Unlike York and Granada, Salt is as yet not frequented by tourists very regularly, but its historic qualities and the need for income and interest to support the conservation of this historic town may yet turn towards tourism development. Like Granada, there is a loss of population in Salt; to this can be added the growing consciousness of Western values of urban growth and heritage management.

While there is neither local nor external funding available for maintenance of the houses and shops, ambitious plans and proposals commissioned by Central Government authorities are implying large scale master planning towards recreating a 'cultural centre' and more importantly a 'tourist attraction'. Very little of these ambitious plans have been realised on the ground, but it is apparent that the authorities are ignorant of local needs.

7.3.1 Historic Setting and Importance

Salt lies 20km to the east of the Jordan Valley and 30km north-west of Amman, traditionally a trading and market centre with connections to Nablus and Jerusalem. Many civilisations had settled in Salt since the Stone Age, the most recent being the Ottomans in 1812, followed by the Latin and Anglican missions. The city lived its 'Golden Age' from 1890 to 1920, until Amman became the capital in 1921. The trade links, and with them the economic basis of the city, were further disrupted in 1948 and 1967. Many of the famous houses built out of Salt stone followed a Jerusalem style and were built after 1870; Europeans in the 1920s introduced steel and concrete to the architecture. The houses are famous for the craftsmanship of the carved stone, particularly in the decorated doorways and windows. By the 1950s the craftsmanship had also declined. With its rich architectural and urban heritage, Salt is very important in that it is the only city of its kind in Jordan.

Salt is set in a valley with the one to two storey buildings in Salt stone following the natural contours. Originally each house had a view and access, which is being lost with new buildings and extensions. The population is estimated to be 55,000 (Fakhoury, 1987:11) with 15,000 living in the older quarter. However, there is a noticeable decline of population, particularly in the older quarter.

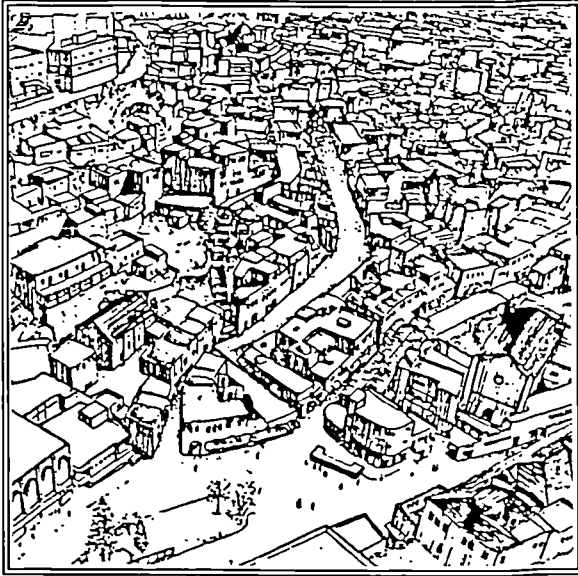


FIGURE 7.7 *Urban form in Salt City*
(Alzobai, 1992:9)

The urban form and characteristics follow the pattern of an Islamic city with residential quarters being separate from the commercial and administrative centres. The neighbourhoods, *mahalla*, part of the terraced development, were grouped on the three slopes around the centre. The Great Mosque and all the Government buildings of the *saha*, administrative centre, were demolished and redeveloped by the Government in the late 1960s, including the *Suq Al-Iskafiah*, demolished to make a wider street and better provisions for vehicular access into the central core. However, most of the commercial district around *Hammam* Street remains, making it an active, lively and a predominantly pedestrian shopping area.

7.3.2 Physical Deterioration and Opportunities for Conservation

Whilst most of the public buildings have been lost, the religious and institutional ones remain. In some cases the condition of the houses is very bad from lack of maintenance and structural failure. Some have lost their character due to alterations and extensions that are not in line with the original or the townscape as a whole.

Many houses are neglected and consequently the building materials are deteriorating, the stone is badly weathered, the external wooden components are rotting, the metal elements are rusting and plasterwork dissolving. Damp and leaking roofs are causing further damage to structures. Alterations and additions in concrete (bathrooms) are common; some houses have new floors or replacement windows, as residents seek to modernise their facades. On the streets the appearance of poles and wires, as well as other obstructions caused by new developments, are noticeable. These could be controlled by the local authority.

Hammam Street is the only *suq* remaining. This commercial core continues to thrive, but the establishments are small and locally based, and therefore may not have the collective power for sensitive growth and expansion, never mind proper maintenance of the shops they inhabit.

New building projects have pulled away from the old business centre, with the increasing pressure for modern standards of commercial development. The pedestrian scale is also being lost with more new roads being introduced, while parking problems are adding to the chaos at street level. Development zones implemented by the Planning Control system are encouraging unsuitable change, such as insensitive land

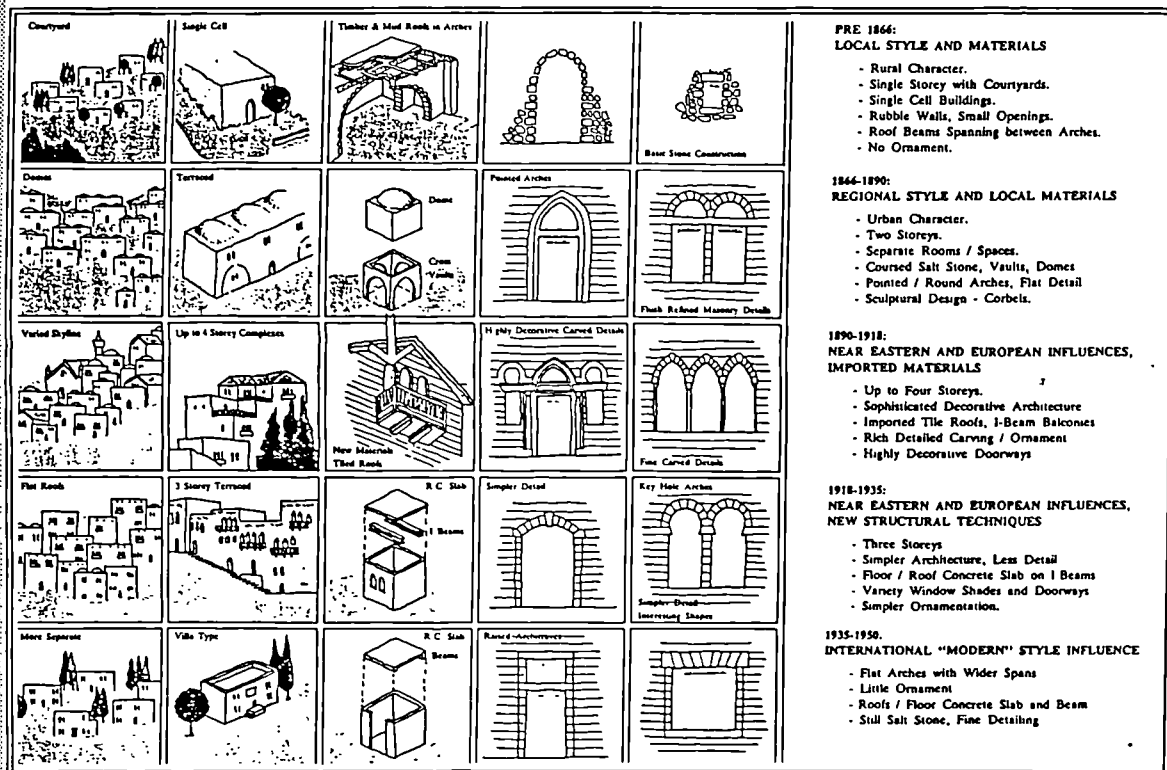


FIGURE 7.8 Salt: architectural characteristics (Alzobai, 1992:6)

division and development. Standard building regulations are not necessarily applicable to Salt. The process for rehabilitation is seen as threefold: stopping the rot, securing the key features and starting revival (Alzoabi, 1992:1).

Stopping the rot will be to the benefit of the residents, allowing for maintenance measures that will make the living environments more habitable. Securing the key features, on the other hand, is an architectural concern and can only be combined with economic revival. The continuity of residents living in the area, with more acceptable living standards, will be a step towards securing historic architectural quality.

7.3.3 The Residents of Salt: Social Change and Ignorance

From being an important town connected to Nablus and Jerusalem, Salt has completely lost its importance and if anything has gained an agricultural and a suburban character, with residents commuting into Amman to work. There are less and less people who are able to live *and* work in the area. Richer owners have abandoned their family houses in Salt in favour of modern villas in Amman. A growing proportion of the inhabitants today are immigrant workers from Egypt. Decreased demand and low rents for both the housing and the commercial outlets could be said to make restoration an uneconomic proposition.

There is a dilemma in that Salt could be made attractive to the richer population who have moved to Amman as a high income second home area; this could ensure investment in and restoration of the houses, but might, if it went too far, destroy the area, making it a 'weekend only' gentrified neighbourhood. Therefore, it is necessary to balance investment into housing and restoration of income generating provision for the lower income groups, many of whom are living in the quarter at present, along with the shops and other services that provide for them in the commercial core.

Whatever the future population trend, Salt is not deserted and there is a resident community keeping the older quarters alive and the commercial centre bustling. With the present rate of decay this valuable asset is in danger and some will inevitably be lost. But is this not better than its *total* destruction by modernisation? Salt is in fact ensured of a bright future if the peace initiative can be made to work, as it lies on the main road between Amman and Jerusalem.

It may be kind of a cultural blindness that conservation is not seen as an asset either at the local or national level by the rich or the poor. But there are some indications that over the next ten years this will change as the idea that the conservation of historic towns can in fact greatly increase the development investment.

7.3.4 Plans and Suggestions for Conservation through Tourism

At present there is neither tourist development nor employment connected with it in the town, but this may be the only means by which there are more employment possibilities created. Salt lies on the road to Nablus and Jerusalem and therefore the possibility of peace in the area may introduce travellers to Salt; but this certainly was not the case at the time the following reports were being prepared.

In 1981 a master plan was drawn up for the area by Consultants defining action zones (Fakhoury, 1987:38). There was, however, no suggestion to promote the traditional street character, but a tourist strategy was proposed for historic conservation by establishing hotels and a tourist village (Fakhoury, 1987:45) - a typical 'top-down' view of tourism and conservation. Tourism is seen as the easy solution to planning in historic towns. In fact the historic value is seen as a solution to tourism and a possibility for more income generation. The residents and shop keepers of the historic centre are totally disowned by the governing authorities. Fortunately, due to reasons including the lack of staff and funds, the project was never realised.

An additional study of the Central Business District of Salt, commissioned by the Salt Development Corporation (a development agency for building restoration), was conducted by the Royal Scientific Society (RSS) of Jordan with UK consultants¹⁸.

This report proposed a strategy for attracting investment to the centre, the town with "a mixture of heritage, charm and tourism potential" (Alzoabi, 1992:1) and tourism is considered an important factor in reviving the economy of Salt. The Salt Development Report points out that "there is a potential for Salt to become the vibrant fashionable cultural heritage city" (RSS, 1991:3). Given its traditional values the town could become

¹⁸ The study was financed jointly by SDC and PETRA Project of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). RSS subcontracted Llewelyn-Davies Planning of London to provide technical advice and consultation (Alzoabi, 1992:12).

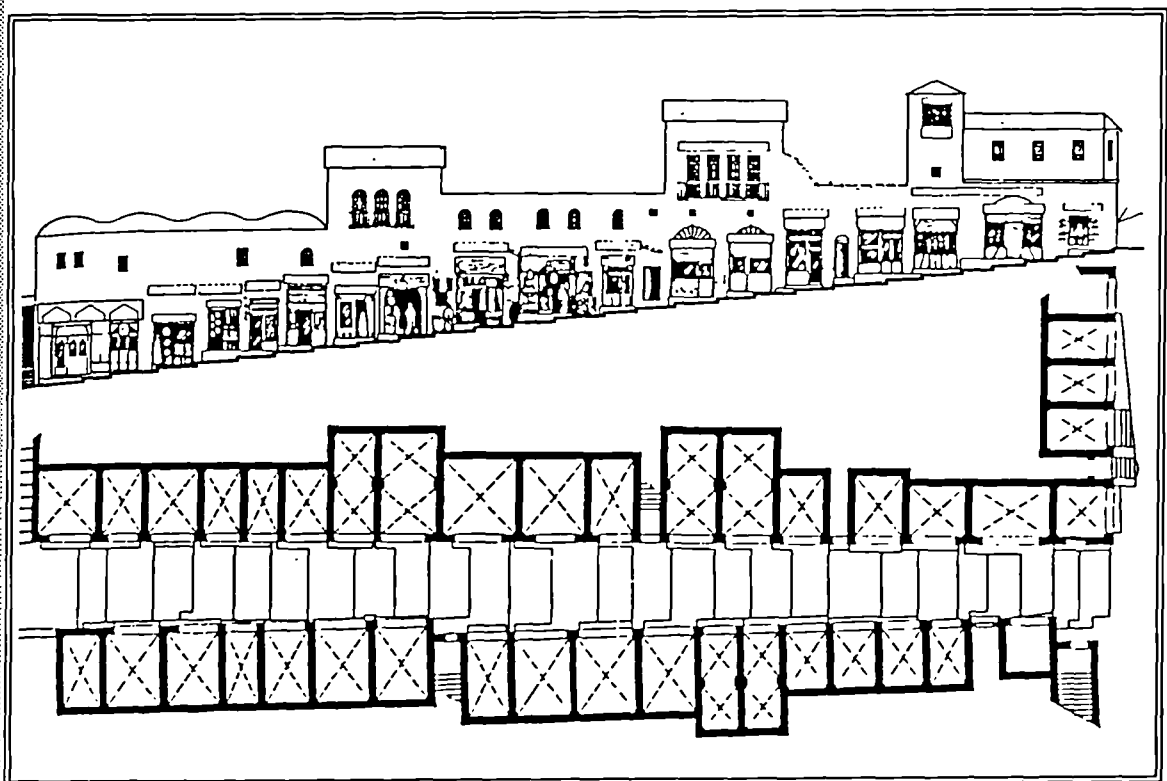


FIGURE 7.9 *A typical suq in Salt, plan and elevation of David Street (Fakhoury, 1987)*

the "cultural centre for Jordan". The reality of Salt is that it is off the main tourist route¹⁹, has a poor residential population, but a significant architectural heritage. It is therefore improbable that there is any likely reason for an initiative to come from within the town to become a 'cultural' centre without all these values being imported and transplanted on to the city, which is in a way a cultural theme park.

Even though the Report claims to be concerned about the future of the residents, it is a European approach to conservation and tourism. Suggestions include the preparation of "'Design Guidelines for Heritage' Booklet" (RSS, 1991), which is of little use if owners are unable to read it or, more significantly, unable to afford to follow the guidelines. Another suggestion is "town trails" (RSS, 1991), which are typical of many Western Historic Towns tourist literature, but may not be in keeping with the urban hierarchy and privacy of an Eastern town.

Other suggestions include the restoration of the Abu Jaber building, formerly a merchant house, to be used as a Heritage Centre. The *suq*, Hammam Street, is a second attraction that is seen as an "attractive old market street where tourists will spend time and money, and to create new workspaces and shops for craftsmen, often trained in the local institutes, who will offer goods of interest for tourists to buy" (RSS, 1991:4.5). Again tourist interests are in the forefront and not the needs of the community, and it is questionable whether the institutional training of craftsmen is a realistic continuation of a tradition or simply a way of forcing something that is outdated on to contemporary society.

How much of Salt will be lost before any coordinated action is taken is unknown, but there are a several restoration projects underway. The approach and plans to date for Salt have either ignored the historic significance or provided no evidence of a strong desire to preserve it and present it as a tourist attraction to a presently non-existent group of tourists. A continuing dispute between those representing the historic importance of Salt to the Central Authorities in Amman and real life at the local level is evident. The seeming lack of any local decision-making apparatus is part of this.

¹⁹ South of Amman to Petra and the Red Sea, East to Jerash and Southwest to the Dead Sea.

7.3.5 Conclusions

For Salt to survive into the next century as a 'living city' "A delicate balance has to be sought, for the ultimate purpose in conserving Salt is to maintain the unique character of the setting *and* provide for the lifestyle of the inhabitants" (Fakhoury, 1987:45, author's emphasis). While it is possible to prepare plans to encompass the whole, implementation on this scale is unlikely and unrealistic. Even in York where money for conservation has often been made available through Government grants and other sources, the conservation process has been a slow and cumulative one and continues to be so. The master plan approach is all too often an end in itself rather than a means for action; large scale economic gain will not come immediately. If it is to come from tourism alone, immediate gain can only be an indication of an unsustainable development. Considering there have been several reports and master plans prepared at great cost, none has been implemented, whereas a small project addressing local needs may already have achieved some success as a starting point.

What is needed is a step-by-step involvement of the people starting small and advancing through participation, the use of local resources, with the *minimum* intervention of external forces. This is a policy of learning-by-doing, building on small expectations and achievements, started wherever there is the most likely chance of succeeding. This way future commitment is built on present experience and built into the local community; the question is, can the central authorities ever delegate this level of local power?

EVALUATION AND CONCLUSIONS

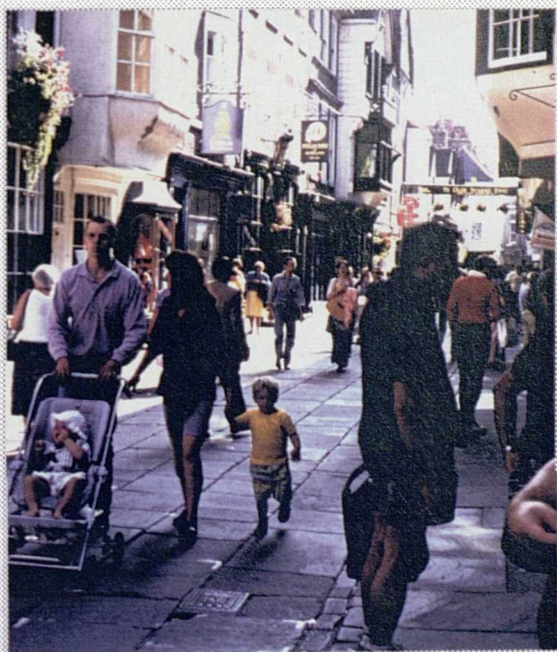
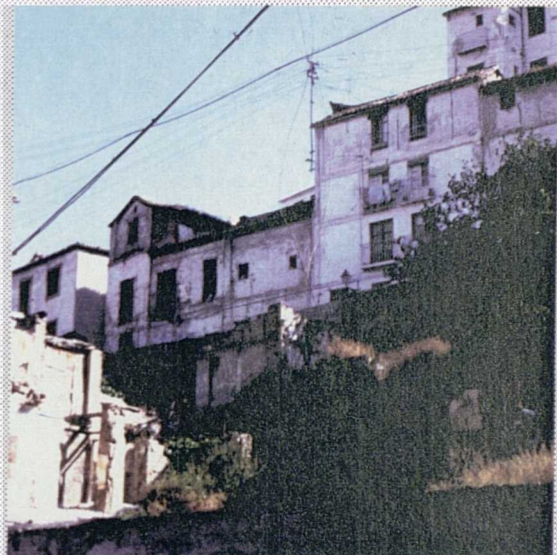
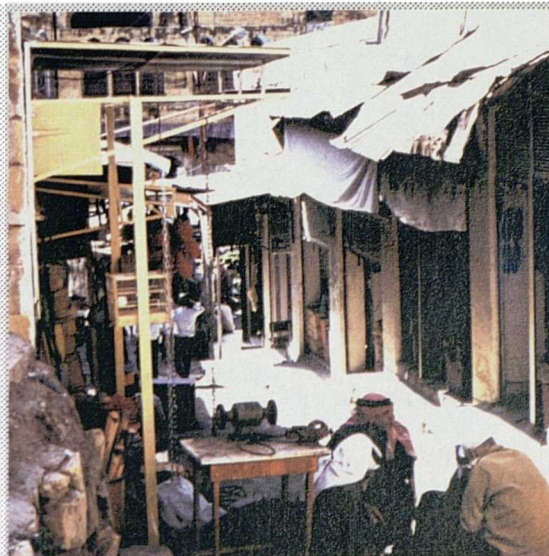
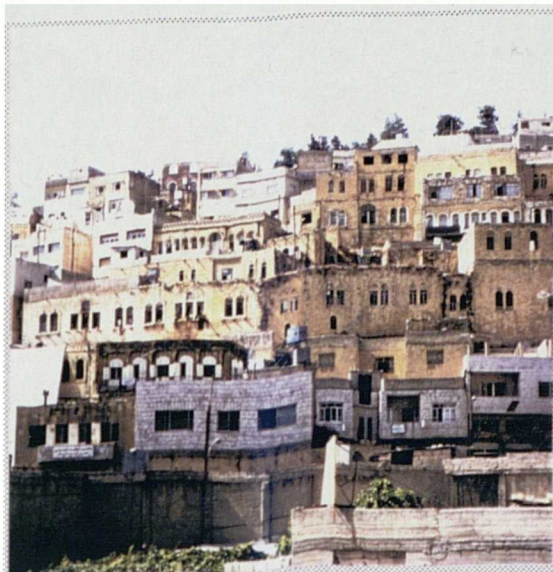
The issues we have raised cannot be directly compared, particularly as they are so far apart economically and culturally speaking. But there are certain common patterns that may unite them and lessons that could be learnt from each individual case. World movement and interest towards urban heritage preservation or, moreover, the very nature of international tourism is promoting historic towns to become idealised settings for increased commercial activity.

Both York and Granada are ruled, as it were, by the values of Western mass tourism. York has little concern to attract more tourists, but the industry has progressed a step further through its policy of raising standards of service by better quality management

of tourist numbers and facilities in the centre. York City Council is more concerned to attract companies to move to York and thus contribute to the greater employment of its citizens. By this means it hopes to attract more business visitors to York. Diversifying tourism in Granada could become a means of reducing pressure on one single spot and extending the period visitors stay. If planned and managed adequately by the city authorities this would be a means of increasing tourist gain and decreasing environmental pressure, as well as enabling the initial steps in conservation in the Albaicin. In Salt there exists a closed, relatively poor and dwindling community, their interests ignored by Central Government who want to use the city as a tourist attraction. Given the plans suggested for tourism as a means of preservation, projects are in danger of preserving architecture, but alienating a community.

All three towns are inland towns and the historic quarters are a main asset for the better management of cultural and historic heritage. While the residents of York are concerned about the conservation of 'their' heritage, the residents of the Albaicin are indifferent to the heritage value. The residents of Salt have very little power to do anything for themselves. Within the policies and plans for conservation *and* development how often are the concerns of residents encountered or taken on board; even York residents have suffered from high rents in the centre and overcrowding at peak times; who cares what will happen to residents in Granada or Salt? Once the community is gone how much of the real 'character' can be or is worth preserving anyway?

National Governments may sometimes be more damaging than they are helpful to local problems and lives. If they impose laws and structure plans then they have to take into account the wishes and participation of the local population. Therefore, the role, involvement and commitment of the Local Governments is perhaps the most important agent in the development process and the local citizens must be agents of conservation. The City Council of York today is concerned for all levels of heritage in the city. In Granada the new role of local government is increasing awareness, but projects continue to be selective. In Salt, however, local authorities do not appear to play a significant role in the decision-making process on issues where health, wealth and growth of the old town are concerned.



Traditional Salt stone and concrete compete in Salt City in Jordan, although this suq remains lively.

Picturesque streets and dereliction in Granada's Albaicin quarter.

Tourists and shoppers fill Stonegate, one of the most popular streets in York.

COLOUR PLATE 7.1 SALT, GRANADA AND YORK

CHAPTER 8
CONSERVATION
WORKING WITH TOURISM

*Ten Guidelines towards tourism management, regeneration and
development in historic towns*

Introduction

Tourism development can be seen as a vicious circle: buildings and environments are protected and restored to encourage tourism; once sought popularity is gained, however, the pressure of numbers may eventually ruin the attraction; with the consequent loss of revenue, the historic environment deteriorates. All over the world, dilapidated historic towns are being hastily restored and facades recreated to accommodate tourist interest coupled with the prospects of commercial gain. But the very activity overwhelms the historic quality and the town becomes a victim of commercial exploitation and changing fashion, declining to a second class tourist attraction with a disbanded population. This has been the experience of Kuşadası and even of Antalya, one of Turkey's best examples of historic conservation (see Chapter 3).

Here we suggest a more controlled development pattern that will support more stable growth for the local population and the associated development of tourism, to gain sustainability and benefit the local community.

The previous chapters have outlined a Western European approach to conservation in historic quarters, with 'technically' balanced intervention and pleasing to the eye facadal preservations that create favourable settings for a higher quality of shopper and tourist alike. It has also been pointed out that this approach has often alienated the people living in the areas. It has been illustrated that tourism in towns is causing:

- a 'Disneyland' approach recreating past times not lived-in heritage,
- gentrification of areas and shopping facilities,
- overdevelopment causing overcrowding with accompanying environmental threat,
- loss of community and physical urban pattern,
- local alienation and loss of privacy, leading to the abandonment of the area.

This is even more serious in Eastern¹ towns where neighbourhoods are purely residential and provide a certain degree of privacy to their inhabitants. It has been argued that an 'idealised' Western model of conservation may not necessarily be

¹ Here Eastern is used in a broad sense for towns of the Eastern Mediterranean Region and of the Middle East, in the same way in which 'Western' is used to imply Western Europe, North America and the developed world.

relevant in the Eastern town context. Social movement, change and the constraints of the economy have to be addressed. Problems that have been identified are:

- inhabitants are often unaware of 'historic value', but desire better living conditions and more modern amenities and services,
- sufficient funds and commitment are not available for urban conservation,
- conservation is becoming isolated from the *people*,
- political preferences and even corruption are unavoidable and often in the forefront of any conservation or planning decision.

There are several reasons for decay and abandonment in old towns - tourism has been indicated to be one of them. The focus of this study has been to understand tourism in historic towns, many of which depend on tourism. However, the unpredictable and unstable nature of the industry makes it very important to plan for a sustainable form of tourism. Consequently it is paramount that the investment of the local community and the development of facilities is ensured and receives the benefits for reinvestment and upgrading.

However, tourism may also become a vital tool in enabling the continuation of historic neighbourhoods as living environments for their inhabitants. The attraction of visiting historic towns and quarters is the certain qualities offered to the visitor, including a lifestyle that is essentially not exploited by crude tourist commercialism. This may be more attractive to the explorer/traveller than the larger tour groups, requiring collective accommodation and services. Travellers appreciating and frequenting towns will provide long term benefits for tourism growth, historic appreciation and appropriate urban development. This will become a cycle; attention to history and the restoration of more buildings and characteristic accommodation facilities, will increase time and therefore money spent by visitors. As a result tourism will become a growth industry that is not simply measured by bed spaces. Generally speaking there will be a balance between the income of the locals and services offered to the visitors.

In Bergama the restoration of key Ottoman monuments will increase the variety and number of attractions, encouraging a longer stay. It is important that initial projects focus on buildings that are going to be used once restored and not become museums of a past time. This wealth of local architecture needs to be promoted. While there is a common understanding of the historic importance of the ancient Pergamon, the more recent Ottoman history and urban values need to be communicated to the residents.

The existing trade patterns need to be enhanced rather than replanned or totally lost, and the quality needs to be maintained. Repair and maintenance and professional intervention needs to be introduced into shop units.

The objective is to enable conservation that is not purely a result of tourist interests; on the contrary one that will benefit the residents, as well as enable the continuation, but also accommodate change within the valued 'lifestyle' and existing urban pattern, of historic towns and quarters. The aim of 'positive urban conservation' combined with economic development, therefore, will be to avoid 'movie set' facade restorations largely benefiting the visitor, in favour of enabling continuity for existing local communities, promoting cultural identity and a living role for the architecture.

The first Section of this Chapter is a series of guidelines illustrating an approach to conservation development that will benefit the resident local community and the constructive role tourism could play in the conservation and continuity of historic towns. The second Section identifies key contributors to the process and outlines the role and expectations of the local administration as enabler in forming partnerships. The third Section tries to illustrate how these recommendations can be achieved and applied to the town of Bergama.

8.1 TEN GUIDELINES FOR CONSERVATION AND TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

1 Conservation for Sustainable Development in Historic Towns and Quarters

Conservation is not a luxury, but a distinctive form of development, in that it can be an economic saving when seen as a means of providing housing, without new building and land costs.

Caring for the environment, 'green architecture' and 'sustainable development' have become favoured terms of the 1990s. The conservation and rehabilitation of old neighbourhoods can also be a hidden means of recycling from reusing materials and buildings to maintaining the informal industry dependent on this process. Abu Lughod suggests that the commercial patterns of the old city will enable them to become centres for recycling: "The open cores surrounded by small storage rooms (i.e. *khans*), offer low cost space for handicraft and recycling operations without interfering with the circulation" (Abu Lughod, 1980:69). Not all benefits of rehabilitating existing property can therefore be measured in hard money terms. The need for clean, healthy and affordable housing in safe neighbourhoods cannot be ignored. "The city must be a healthy and attractive place in which to live, work and visit" (Fowler, 1993:151). Greater comfort and convenience provided to the residents can not always be measured in direct cost and benefit terms and there will also be health benefits in that disease and illness are less likely to occur in healthy, well serviced houses.

- i) Reuse of old buildings will reduce the need for new housing and consequently the widening of the city periphery that often cuts into precious green belt areas.
- ii) Residential accommodation in central areas will reduce the pressure of traffic on roads and demand for transport, hence reduce the threat of pollution.
- iii) Decreasing the number of empty properties and providing a comfortable environment will help reduce crime and violence, making city centres safer and more desirable places to live.
- iv) Less suburban growth and a cleaner environment will help historic towns retain the very qualities attractive to tourists.

2 The Conservation Process must Respect the Priorities of Local People

Conservation of buildings and associated open space are only of real value if they are used by and benefit the local community. Conservation and planning policies and measures from central and local government need to promote the above as economic and social priorities.

Providing for both the local community *and* the tourist industry will be to balance investment, which at the present is often in favour of the latter. Whilst creating images for the visitor in conservation projects, it is often the residents who are ignored. 'Conservation' so often becomes a professional activity isolated from the society that it most affects. The idea that conservation and architecture concerns both buildings *and* people, from the architect and the sociologist, to the lay man and the tenant, is a relatively new but very important idea, or a very old one that has largely been forgotten since the Industrial Revolution.

It is here that a non-professional language has to be developed, that is understood by all, ensuring that everyone can identify with and feel responsible for the environment. There is an important role for the individual in the conservation of his/her environment. It has been argued that "Attachment to historic buildings and town scales is stronger among local residents than among administrators and politicians, whose job it is to oversee environmental matters. In this sense conservation is a popular and non-establishment movement" (Butt, 1988:1).

- i) Experts need to understand the inhabitants and their problems, not base their evaluations on their own perception of the problems.
- ii) Standards and provisions provided in a project have to be easily maintained and practical to the users.
- iii) If necessary, imported and idealised restoration standards need to be lowered depending on the reality of each case and with respect to the priorities of the residents.
- iv) When building owners have to pay for their conservation, their needs have to be taken into account.
- v) With involvement inhabitants do restore, repair and even enlarge their houses. For this they should receive support, advice and assistance and not be discouraged by complicated bureaucracy.

3 Development and Conservation can Inform the resident community of their Cultural Values

An important step in urban conservation lies in the education of the residents.

We have described the duality between East and West. Many Eastern people want 'modernisation' and there is a feeling of being left behind by Western development. Westerners visiting the East on the other hand, are attracted to traditional lifestyles as a reflection of past values that have been lost in many Western societies. Conservation, particularly as it is seen in Western Europe can become an exaggerated concern to keep everything as it is; this is not possible or realistic, in the expansion taking place in a developing economy. An understanding of local heritage will be different for each community, for example the *communal value* of a neighbourhood may be seen as more important than the historic value of an individual building. This local view has to be respected and a compromise reached, where, for instance, the interior is modernised, while at the same time the preservation and Western yearning for the past can be catered for.

- i) It is the role of conservation bodies to awaken and promote interest in rehabilitating the existing urban fabric.
- ii) Professionals must explain to the residents the purpose of the Conservation Area to gain their confidence and support.
- iii) The promotion of architectural and historic values needs a *two way* understanding and communication.
- iv) With growing community awareness of the benefits of conservation, increased involvement will help to ensure action is realised.

4 Relating to the demands of Contemporary Communities and Lifestyles in Historic Town Conservation

To survive as a living entity into the future, buildings, the units within them and the neighbourhoods they form have to be part of a continuing culture with a living function in today's society. Regeneration is about bringing back life or conserving a lifestyle which is transforming within itself, not the remodelling of a past one.

Historic towns were not built for many of today's amenities including electricity and the motor car. Both have had an impact on such areas and their inhabitants. Narrow streets are not ideal for cars and even less so for lorries or tourist buses, which are prone to cause damage to the historic fabric, particularly at tight junctions. Living in the 20th century, people's demands are not just for amenities, such as indoor bathrooms and modern kitchens, but also accessibility and car parking facilities. Generally there are notable changes in social life; for instance families are becoming smaller and incomes can no longer pay for servants or the heating of large and draughty houses. There is a growing concern for personal and property security.

Since the early 1970s in Europe stopping through traffic and introducing pedestrianisation schemes, have been successful, benefiting both shoppers and shop keepers. Vehicular access for the latter is in the early morning and in the evening. There are disadvantages, however; by restricting access, potential residents are deterred living in the centres, particularly with access and parking limitations.

- i) To continue to be attractive to residents old houses need to provide for contemporary living standards.
- ii) Where historic areas are used for residential functions, the overall planning needs to make adequate provision for access and car parking.
- iii) With the commercialisation of historic centres, restricting traffic and parking can provide safer pedestrian areas.

5 Understanding and Enhancing the Values of Historic Towns through Tourism

There is a certain quality of lifestyle that historic towns possess; the physical link with their past provides a continuing tradition of a lived-in environment. This combination, of architectural style and social significance, can give a town centre that distinctive but fragile 'character', which must be handled with care.

'Big' and 'cosmopolitan' cities often provide a variety of entertainment, night life and many levels of comfort, from cheap back street to five star hotels, and consequently the impact of building large hotels is relatively less. It is also true that only a small proportion of the inhabitants will be dependent on tourist income. In a sense, big cities will be more robust to withstand the fluctuations of the tourist industry. But a small historic town often has no such robustness. For them the attractions will include still used old quarters and maybe one or two features and monuments of interest. For some towns it is their location near to areas of natural and historic interest that make them popular. However, their small scale also means they may suffer from pressures created by large numbers of visitors, over concentrated periods. For these reasons the type and scale of development is very significant and can make or ruin the town; great care and sensitivity as well as strict control must be exercised.

- i) They offer human scale and intimacy.
- ii) They are walkable and explorable.
- iii) Light craft-type industries ensure that historic towns can be kept clean and comfortable places to visit.
- iv) They allow for more communication with local people.
- v) The historic value can be enhanced when intervention has been sensitive and minimal.
- vi) All this offers visitors an opportunity to become a temporary *part* of it.
- vii) Accommodation should be through guest houses, that do not elevate the visitor above the local people.
- viii) Tourist income will be felt directly by more people.

6 Planning for Interactive Tourism will benefit local development

A quality based approach to tourism development must determine the types of visitors that are least destructive and most beneficial to the local environment and economy.

One of the main characteristics of tourism is the concentration in certain areas, over specific periods. This must be taken into consideration in planning. It is important for national and local tourist authorities to collaborate in understanding the 'carrying capacity' of an area in order to plan for tourist developments or search for alternatives. The policy is often one of 'saturation', once this point has been reached there is overcrowding and a place may no longer be attractive. There is a danger that the environment will gradually deteriorate in an attempt to provide for increasing numbers. The local population eventually becomes isolated and the commercial revenue drops, and finally the town is likely to be abandoned.

Whilst large numbers impose great pressure on fragile environments, control and management of tourist numbers may be partially dependent on distant national policies. Central Governments, with little experience of the tourist industry, are generally keen to attract as many tourists as possible. The greatest pressure comes from more and more short holiday packages. Bergamo is just such an example; tourist busses charge through the town and there is little or no economic gain, only pollution. In recent years, particularly among countries that have experienced tourist congestion, *quality* (not quantity) tourism is becoming a popular and necessary marketing strategy. Better 'quality' tourists are those that travel in smaller groups, come to stay longer and are more interested in 'integrating' with the local community and their lifestyle.

- i) Small groups staying for longer can be better 'customers' for indigenous local establishments².
- ii) A local atmosphere supported by local attractions will tend to boost the local economy and foster greater human contact.

² There is no single way in which all travellers can be divided into traveller and mass tourist categories good and bad. The intention is to differentiate between the visitors interested in the host land and culture, from those that view travelling as merely a leisure and consumer activity. Here it is apparent that it will be the travellers that are most valued in historic towns because they are looking for a certain lifestyle.

- iii) Planning for tourism will reduce pollution, damage and pressure on the environment.
- iv) With an integrated approach there will be less demand for 'imports' and more value attached to local resources.

7 Interactive Tourism Increasing Heritage Understanding

Greater tourist appreciation and concern, can lead to a deeper local understanding and insight into some of the values of the immediate environment, not necessarily historic.

Conservation is a reflection and accumulation of values placed upon our traditions and culture. Without it "we would all be much poorer, deprived of roots, more uncertain about who we are and who we were" (Fethi, 1993:160). However, lived in surroundings are rarely identified as heritage. "People attach considerable value to aspects of their immediate environment ... which give them a sense of identity and pride of place" (Butt, 1988:1). Each culture has different periods in its history that it favours more than others. Naturally there will be a higher demand to conserve buildings relating to a period of particular national or local significance. Many of the reasons for such preferences are quasi political. Tourism is a means for widening the cultural understanding to include less valued monuments and often overlooked traditional urban environments. But the visitor must guard against becoming an intruder.

- i) Tourist interests can not only encourage the conservation of the less popular buildings, but also generate a greater heritage awareness.
- ii) Visitors that value architecture and heritage can influence their conservation.
- iii) Well conserved buildings that are being used will encourage visitors, paving the way for the sustainable growth and development of tourism.

8 Opportunities to continue existing Trade Patterns

Retaining existing trade patterns in historic towns will allow for continuity of and growth in the urban fabric, rather than a tourist trade 'take over'.

In a market led economy, tourism has emerged as a form of consumerism, as a shopping experience that has become linked to travel. Attractions are either supplemented or even engulfed by commercial outlets, ranging from quality crafts to tacky souvenirs. Trade patterns in historic towns have been changing notably. Small workshops and crafts move out because they can no longer compete with mass production or they are seen as too noisy and dirty to be in central areas of the city. But escalating tourist demand suggests that many staple food outlets such as grocers and butchers are also being replaced with souvenir shops, smart cafes, fast food outlets or specialist retail outlets, isolated from the local inhabitants, *particularly in cases where the visitor is richer than the host*. Accordingly the types of shops serving locals are no longer able to afford the inflated rents³. When increased economic activity is allowed to exceed its capacity then "...the character of the town will be altered - at best compromised and at worst ruined" (Worksett, 1989:2).

- i) In commercial districts, retaining the urban fabric allows the informal tradition and with it the growth and change of crafts within their own environment.
- ii) For the community of a town it is more valuable that crafts develop and change but continue in a natural environment than displayed in purpose built replica 'craft' villages.
- iii) If tradition has died then one would like to think that quality antiques are better than a tacky souvenir industry.
- iv) Shopping needs to be balanced with historic value.
- v) A tourist attraction will undoubtedly encourage commerce, hopefully controlled at a local level.

³ Even in Western examples like York, many shops reflect the buying power of rich visitors or novelty values for weekend shoppers, while the number of butchers and grocers is constantly decreasing.

9 Controlling Tourist Numbers and Movement through Trade Distribution

Commercial activity is an invaluable means of controlling and guiding tourists to certain locations where their needs can be best addressed.

Varying commercial patterns will also determine levels of use and congestion in historic towns. In northern Europe most shops close at 5.30 or 6.00pm, hence without a resident population the centres become dead at night. Whereas in the East or in the Mediterranean region opening times depend on social lifestyles and climatic factors. In many places shops close at midday when the weather is hot and re-open again in the early evening and remain open to later hours depending on demand. Thus the commercial district is occupied for a longer part of the day and many cafes and restaurants will also be integrated into this area for this reason. Consequently shopping will spill into night life and a dead city is avoided. This also supports the argument that residential areas need to be separate in order to provide certain levels of tranquillity and privacy. In the originally residential Plaka district of Athens, for example, residents are leaving the area, because noise levels have become intolerable (UNESCO, 1980:210).

There is an even bigger threat to locals when tourist commercialism enters the distinctly residential quarters of an Eastern town. First, neighbourhoods are not physically formed to accommodate such activity, there are many cul-de-sacs and few communal open spaces. Second, such intervention is intentionally disrespectful of a community's tradition. In the residential quarters, the ground level is used for access, and the upper levels for living; high walls ensure privacy in houses with openings only on the first and second levels. Tourism on the contrary wishes to operate at the ground level to attract and serve customers. Where shops are being opened, they damage the physical fabric by piercing walls. Moreover there is a deliberate intrusion into the privacy of local inhabitants which has been carefully secured through urban patterns and architecture.

- i) There is a need to clearly define commercial areas for tourist interests and to concentrate them. They can then be supported by further amenities and services, such as cafes or restaurants.
- ii) Controlling the shopping in a town may also be a means of controlling numbers, through the reduction of the time tourists spend in a town.

- iii) An under-used tourist facility, on the other hand, may be made attractive with an increase in shopping facilities.
- iv) It is vital for the continuation of communities that privacy is respected where it continues to be valued.

Nevertheless, it is not always that simple to control or reduce commercial outlets, because Local Chambers of Trade and commerce often have good relationships with Municipalities.

10 Reusing Redundant Buildings to support Tourism

Reusing historic buildings not only increases heritage interest, but also ensures that buildings are preserved for active use - not just as dead museums. It is a step towards regeneration, whereby the pressure of building on fragile natural and urban environments is also reduced.

Tourism can be a means by which otherwise redundant public buildings are rehabilitated, like the Spanish *parador*. In 1911, the Spanish State initiated a programme, in which old buildings that were no longer in use were to be restored and used as hotels or guest houses. Popularly known as *parador*, these inns have appeared all over the country, proving the scheme popular. Inevitably there have been a number of problems, such as not all buildings being easily convertible into hostels, especially castles, which often lack sufficient ventilation and day light (European Heritage, 1975:14). Nevertheless, more often than not they have created a harmonious leisure environment for their guests. The conversion of an under-used building, in the town, into a State run hotel, has had a number of advantages; the landscape is not spoiled by a massive tourist development scheme, and the small scale of the *parador* brings direct economic benefits to the smaller towns.

Projects by the Turkish Touring and Automobile Association in Istanbul and Safranbolu are also of this nature; restoring redundant mansions and using them for tourist accommodation. In the Kariye project it was possible for a mansion to be converted into a hotel and smaller units to be restored and rented back to the original tenants. The Touring Club is not a profit making organisation, and therefore it was possible to divert the income from a tourist development towards housing.

There will be opportunities to build new buildings in Conservation Areas, where there are empty plots or buildings that definitely need replacing, including those of no particular historic or artistic value. While the conservation process is adapting old buildings to present lifestyles, the new buildings are an opportunity to provide for the change; on condition that they conform with the accepted and satisfactory environment provided by historic values and cultural continuity. A new building may be an ideal opportunity to house some of the tourist functions for which the existing architecture is not suitable. However, if an empty plot lies within a residential core then it is better for the new building to provide for the neighbourhood, even as further housing if that is the demand.

The use of existing buildings, otherwise derelict, for tourist functions would provide:

- i) a living function for the buildings,
- ii) ensure they were restored,
- iii) save precious environments, both built and natural, from being totally destroyed.
- iv) It is more practical to use centrally located buildings for serving tourists, who wish to be closer to the commercial centre, where bars and cafes are already established, leaving the secluded areas for the residents.

8.2 EMPOWERING LOCAL INSTITUTIONS AND THEIR GREATER INVOLVEMENT

8.2.1 Understanding and Promoting the Importance of Conservation for Future Development

The above guidelines have outlined the importance of the needs of the local community to debate conservation issues and planning for tourism and also the significance of local involvement in planning that will maximise the development potential for the host town. Therefore, it is most important that the local administrative powers should make the crucial decisions; it is their understanding of the local situation that needs to be appreciated to ensure progressive development that is directly linked to conservation. The previous Chapter gave three examples of cities and towns that have attempted to show the important role played by local authorities in conservation, particularly in the case of York, where a partnership of local interest and involvement were of paramount significance.

For any of the above to be possible the local authority has to be interested in development and the potential of conservation. The aims of development planning will then become combined with a type of conservation that will encourage a certain visitor pattern and a better living environment for the residents. The major role for the municipality is in understanding and involving the local community in this process.

Undoubtedly political preference, at the national level, may dominate but town plans can still be prepared to put forward the local priorities. In the case of some developing countries corruption will no doubt play a more or less decisive role in the number and size of tourist developments and in the conservation of urban areas. This factor cannot easily be ignored or overlooked. Nonetheless, what is important is that the strength of local commitment and priority must be placed on the table, even if it is eventually over ruled.

8.2.2 Understanding the Importance of Local Experts and Supporting their Involvement

There are limited resources available to Local Authorities and communities, and therefore it is difficult for them to employ expert staff. It is in an effort to avoid a lengthy and expensive process, that houses in conservation areas must continue to be repaired

by their owners. Changes to structures should draw on local expertise. Owners and tenants who cannot afford the process of applying and waiting for official consent, should be provided with alternative and more efficient means of obtaining permission. The inevitable shortage of official staff can be supplemented by using local conservation society members and through developing partnerships with educational institutions.

- i) Establishing and supporting local conservation associations.
- ii) Calling on local expert advice to maintain a certain quality of conservation.
- iii) Making building and planning courses available so as to train more local experts.

8.2.3 Enabling better interaction and a mutual understanding within the community

The importance of involving the local community in any decision or process which involves their immediate environment has been stressed. A local authority is the first direct contact between the local population and administrative decisions and the laws governing conservation and intervention. Understanding and promoting these interests within the local community is of paramount importance, with the aim of resolving conflicts by compromise between interested parties.

In Turkey, there are no grants available for urban conservation as such, and many of the inhabitants of the area are of lower income groups, and solutions need to be sought within this context. While tourism will increase awareness and provide commercial income, there will be no direct cash benefit or fund to pay for the upgrading of the housing. The intention is not to recreate a 'glossy', 'new' image, but to enable the residents to increase the comfort of their own houses and therefore minimize movement out of the area. However, we are suggesting that more interactive tourism will help to generate a conservation culture and pride in the lived in environment. It is therefore important:

- i) to value and support planning and conservation policies that encourage investment in upgrading the houses of the local residents,
- ii) to encourage links between the local community and expertise in conservation projects.

8.2.4 Dealing with Conflicting Central Government and Policies

Overall Urban Planning and measures for Conservation Areas are often not considered together, and may even be administered by completely separate State departments. Much depends on which national and local bodies have control. While municipalities control building activities, it is the Ministry or Department of Antiquities that is responsible for the historic buildings (see also Fethi, 1993). For many of these overworked and underfunded departments, historic buildings are only a name on a protection list rather than a cause for action. Central Authorities tend to be concerned only about monuments and sites with tourist appeal; development is measured by higher numbers.

The mere size of some conservation projects would inevitably depend on outside financial assistance. Ideally this could be in the form of Government credit which is so readily provided for the erection of multi-storey hotel buildings in so-called 'tourism development zones'.

As long as National policy continues to contradict conservation measures and local responsibility for Conservation Areas, historic fabric will be lost to be replaced with oversized tourist developments. It is vital that a single set of defined and comprehensive legislation is set down for the conservation of historic buildings and more importantly for urban areas, which are often a target of conflicting power. The elimination of conflicts and an overseeing power will enable ground work to proceed. While local power does exist in Turkey, the complication of legislation often means that the power is used to destroy rather than conserve and plan for long term growth.

Conflicting national policies and ignorance by local governments forms a major administrative block, even hinderance of the conservation process and lack of planning in tourism development. The citizens' lack of confidence in the authorities stems from heavy and complicated paperwork and known cases of corruption. Consequently this illustrates the power the local authorities have in determining planning procedures and decisions, but also the need to reestablish the confidence of residents. Once the importance of the residents needs has been expressed, any solution can only be possible with a partnership between the local administration and other parties involved.

i) The authorities can be a catalyst in the creation of a conservation culture,

ii) develop tourist trends by supporting the growth of local businesses.

8.2.5 Engaging the Participation of Private Sector through Partnerships

Particularly where urban conservation is concerned there will be constraints to policy implementation in the current market- oriented political climate. Consequently much of conservation funding depends on the individual owners and occupiers, otherwise funds have to be secured from other sources, and it is quite probable that at this stage tourism is seen as a suitable solution. If the private sector is involved it is often to their own benefit that properties are turned into tourist attractions or commercially viable solutions.

The private sector is looked on as a financial provider, but they will only invest when they stand to gain. But with reduced public funds for conservation and a competitive market-led economy there is an important role for the private sector in Bergama and in Turkey:

- i) Involvement in the immediate historic environment.
- ii) Contribute to an improved environment that will increase tourist numbers.
- iii) Invest in certain projects.
- iv) Improve their own built environment, support conservation at home.

8.3 BERGAMA: OPPORTUNITIES FOR CONSERVATION, DEVELOPMENT AND TOURISM GROWTH

8.3.1 The Municipality of Bergama - its role in setting standards for conservation and development

In the particular case of Bergama, it is evident that conservation and tourism promotion are only evident when they directly benefit the ruling classes. The Mayor does show some interest in local history; the big project is far more interesting than the smaller more obvious one, for example, the excavation and restoration of the Roman theatre in the Gypsy quarter, to be used as an open air theatre for concerts⁴. This was his bid at the previous election and he hopes to accomplish it in his second term (if there is one). Whatever happens in terms of conservation, it will be dependent on the way in which the leading political powers react and implement the proposal. Even though conservation is promoted it has been used for tourism and municipal prestige rather than to benefit the local residents. Another example was the demolition, in 1991, of a street of Greek houses in an attempt to clear the view to the 2nd century Red Hall, and create a park around it⁵.

Given the present conditions of the economy and demand for growth and modernisation, it will certainly not be possible to restore all redundant buildings in Bergama, particularly if they are in a very bad condition and there is no feasible function, such as is the case of the *Tabaklar hamam*. The following are, however, some outstanding buildings in Bergama, that could be rehabilitated and reused:

- i) The derelict Greek hospital in the former Greek quarters,
- ii) *Taşhan* in the *çarşı*,
- iii) The former Girls High School, *Kız Lisesi* building in Istiklal Square.

⁴ Interview with Özcan Durmaz, campaign manager for Mayor Sefa Taşkın in the forthcoming local election, in August 1993.

⁵ This has only benefited the carpet and antique dealers in the area as an added attraction and extra display space.

8.3.2 The Provision of Local Expert Advice and Training

We are told that tight public finances do not allow the Municipality to employ conservation architects or experts. However, a project to restore one of the larger Greek houses on Büyük Alan is to be carried out by a renowned Istanbul based conservation architect, Cengiz Bektaş. Any sizeable restoration undertaking, such as the *Taşhan* or the Greek Hospital will need planning and control by experts in the field. There are no local conservation architects, or any architects employed by the Municipality. Such conservation projects can become an opportunity for the Municipality to understand that they 1) need experts and 2) for these experts to work directly with the users.

The municipality not only has the role of controlling the overall development and conservation plan, but also has direct involvement in certain projects. There is also the expertise of the local Museum Authorities. However their role is limited due to a heavy work load and meagre wages. However, Bergama is fortunate to have a museum, and the active role of the experts need to be maximised.

The existence of a conservation culture in Bergama has been detailed in Chapter 4. The existence of conservation projects, even if they have been in a slightly different context, means that there is much local skill and craftsmanship that can be called upon for the building work. In addition, the Ege (Aegean) University in Izmir has a Restoration Department within its Faculty of Architecture, which could provide expert advice and assistance from its staff and students. It would be up to the Municipality in Bergama to approach the Department and forge the links.

8.3.3 Enabling Conservation and Continuity for the Residents

Not all redundant buildings have to serve the tourist industry, particularly residential buildings; if there is a possibility of a domestic function then this needs to be maintained in all circumstances. Large houses are no longer in demand, because family sizes have dwindled and children no longer share with their parents, if they can afford their own house. Many of these houses lie empty in Bergama, often a result of an inheritance dispute. In such cases the Municipality should buy the houses (as they have done with a house on the Square), restore and convert them into smaller units of two or three flats as accommodation for their staff. Both the museum and the municipality are obliged to provide housing for some of their staff and this would mean that the new inhabitants

were not of a different social or economic group to the neighbourhood. Municipal interest in the quarter will also raise awareness and interest among other residents to upgrade their properties.

Most of the older houses, particularly the smaller ones are inhabited and many people do regularly repair or add to them. To encourage this a pilot scheme is suggested involving the residents in a certain area that could in turn lead to further projects in other parts of the Conservation Area (Greek and Armenian neighbourhoods) and the Turkish neighbourhoods. Now open to traffic, most of the roads are of cobble stones construction and in places the road is too steep and there are steps. During the summer of 1993 the Municipality was repaving part of the area, providing access for public transport vehicles and was welcomed by residents. Roads that were damaged or were unmade are being paved with precast concrete elements, in keeping with the existing cobblestones⁶

Büyük Alan is the small residential area that is suggested for a pilot project, as a means of starting action, that will become a rolling programme. Büyük Alan is a well defined square with the houses opening on to it and several cul-de-sacs leading off from it. The houses are mainly small to medium sized, most of which are occupied plus two unoccupied larger houses; a reflection of the general trend in the Conservation Area.

The houses vary in size and services, as do the income levels of the owners, from quite poor to middle income families. Most households in the neighbourhood own televisions, while refrigerators and even washing machines today have become common household appliances. With more electrical appliances there is a need for different room arrangements; washing machines cannot sit outside in the courtyards. Kitchens too have become more advanced and a corner in the courtyard or at the end of the verandah is no longer sufficient. That rooms have been added on or converted into kitchens, shows how residents value the neighbourhood and the safety of the area (see interviews in Appendix I).

The Conservation Area does not allow owners to demolish and build higher apartment houses. Under existing law all owners are obliged to submit their proposals for any changes, though this is not always adhered to because the bureaucratic process is long,

⁶ It must be noted that this is partly an investment prior to the Municipal elections in March 1994.

complicated and expensive. Therefore, many alterations are badly done without consent. However, most are small scale interventions, like plastering, adding extensions or replacing doors and windows, often in unconforming building materials like concrete or metal window frames. It is quite common for this scale of alteration to go undetected by the authorities⁷.

Technically, in most instances, years of paint and plaster need stripping off to see the state of the walls. Wooden ceilings, particularly at ground floor level are often in reasonably good condition and they may need to be repaired, varnished or painted. At the first floor level ceilings are sometimes badly damaged by water from leaking roofs. If the damage is relatively small the roof may be repaired. However, there are cases where beautiful ceilings have been almost completely destroyed. Depending on the remaining evidence or examples in other rooms, a craftsman would probably be able to replicate these ceilings. However, this is an expensive option, with most of the cost falling on the owner. It is clearly more important to provide a sound roof than to delay and repair in anticipation of funds for a more 'perfect' restoration. Therefore in such cases a modern and plain timber ceiling could be built at a lower cost, providing the inhabitants with a usable room.

Concrete is seen as a clean, cheap and sturdy solution, particularly for flat roofs. Residents and builders alike are often unaware that its use will make the interior hotter in the summer and colder in winter. This needs to be demonstrated to inhabitants and alternatives recommended. Flat roofs too, because of temperature extremes are prone to leakage from cracking. The continuation of the traditional pitched timber roof is important and re-roofing is an opportunity to add insulation. With both timber joists and roof tiles there is a further opportunity to re-use materials⁸.

Up to the present time there are no grants available and bank credit will often be too expensive an option for most owners and not available to those on insecure incomes. Therefore, forming a Co-operative may be the only way financially in which repairs can be carried out. New-build co-operatives are very popular in Turkey and the same idea

⁷ The Museum Authorities are responsible for the control of alterations to buildings in the Conservation Area. However, the Museum is understaffed, particularly in summer months, when the alterations are frequently done (see also Appendix I, Interviews with Museum Authorities).

⁸ Timber is more expensive than concrete, but the Ministry of Forestry provides cheap timber for forest villagers as an incentive not to damage the trees. Through the Municipality, it may be able to mediate cheaper rates.

could be adapted for a conservation project. A joint approach would enable cheaper prices for materials, and an opportunity for expert advice to stretch to all projects; as it is not uncommon for co-operatives to be set up by municipalities. Such a project would need to consider:

- i) that each household should determine their immediate needs and then fit these into an overall programme of work, and
- ii) to determine, understand and respect the residents' priorities.

8.3.4 A Role for the Private Sector

It is vital to identify the commercial pattern of tourism, project its growth, and understand the needs and demands for an associated local trading area. The Ottoman *çarşı* area still consists predominantly of local businesses serving the residents. Two rather unsuccessful tourist projects'; the shops across from the museum and the 'Covered Bazaar' on Main Street, are an indication that cheap souvenirs are not popular with tourists that visit Bergama; instead they seek 'quality', not necessarily pricey but original and genuine goods.

The older shopping area, the *çarşı*, is off the main tourist routes and that is one of the reasons it has retained its identity. It is nationally significant, in that it has become a rare example of an intact Ottoman commercial area with very little modern intervention. Many traditional businesses continue with small changes and the area is economically thriving. Because the area has been designated a Conservation Area, there are, however, constraints on the owners on the use of their shops or any alterations they wish to carry out to stay in business. It is strongly suggested that the Red Hall is used as the focal point for specialist tourist outlets, but that the *çarşı* continues to provide for the local businesses (see also FIGURES 4.7 and 4.13). Special attention could be paid to improving the area.

Of the two *hans* in the area, the 14th century *Taşhan* needs serious attention to save it from collapse. Historically, a very significant building, it requires immediate action to be saved from being lost. The very nature of the building would allow for commercial outlets at the ground floor level, public use of the courtyard and further rooms upstairs, which could become offices or even work spaces. Commercial viability of such a project may increase the expectations of the owners of *Çukurhan* to invest in the *han*.

A number of larger old buildings in Bergama are redundant and there are opportunities for restoration and reuse. Several churches have already been demolished, and even though the synagogue is under protection, as there is no longer a Jewish population in Bergama, there is very little prospect of restoration or further use. New functions will also be dependent on the area in which the building is situated. Most importantly, however, is raising funds to achieve such projects and as there are no grants available for conservation, it will either fall on the municipality with a tight budget or will have to be tendered to the private sector. If the private sector are involved then any new function also needs to make their investment financially worthwhile.

The **Greek Hospital** is a derelict building in the Greek quarter that could provide an opportunity to involve the private sector, benefit tourism and the community, such as was the case of the work done by the Touring and Automobile Association in Istanbul (see Chapter 3). Given that Bergama caters for young groups of tourists a youth hostel could provide sought after accommodation and would not encourage more traffic. Such an establishment could be locally run and also benefit several local corner shops, and be easily accessible to the city centre. (Plans of this and other buildings with proposals for their reuse are in Appendix III.)

The old Girls High School, **Kız Lisesi** building lies on a corner between the tourist commercial area and Istiklal Square, with an excellent first floor view of the river basin; ideal for a tourist function. With local private sector initiative it could be reused as a carpet store or workshop for repair work with office space above. The building could be used jointly by several shop owners and they would themselves be able to fund such a project. Of the 22 specialist antique and carpet shops around the Red Hall, 10 occupy old Greek buildings, two of which are houses. However, they tend to hide their historic identity. This could be an asset if correctly presented. They would need to be assisted by expert knowledge of repair to the buildings. Tahsin Bayansal's antique shop, for example, is a noteworthy example of a Greek style shop, but like others, many of the features are hidden from the customer; a corrugated iron sheet closes the view of a fan light and the walls and ceiling are boarded off with chip board to increase display surfaces and provide a work area upstairs. Better space organisation, a mezzanine level that does not block the ceiling and a new roof is all that is required; and unlike the residential areas, the owner has sufficient finances for such an undertaking.

Frequent visits to Italy and Europe have awakened an interest in the historic value of buildings among the shop keepers and there is a growing awareness of the history of their immediate environment. Even though they invariably have the resources for restoration and upgrading, they do not like to get involved in lengthy bureaucracy. The Red Hall, an impressive Roman brick temple provides a significant focal point to the area; it is spotlit at night since August 1993, as a result of campaigning by the shop keepers.

Coffee houses and restaurants in the adjoining Istiklal Square make it a popular and lively area at night. The recently widened road that passes through the area, with the aim of attracting more tourist coaches is causing unnecessary dust and pollution to the locals, particularly the businesses on the road, who do not depend on the tour busses for trade. Directing buses to the ring road will benefit local business, by reducing the impact on the main road and further linking the social and commercial activity.

It has to be said that culture and particularly a local culture has been promoted by the Municipality, through a series of publications on the ancient and also recent history of the town, some written by local historians⁹. The Municipality is open to suggestions and may be interested in conservation work in the historic quarter (see interviews with Taşkın, 1991 and Durmaz, 1993 - Appendix I). Consequently, with the right guidance the Municipality could become a major partner for conservation work on an urban scale.

⁹ Most of the works of Osman Bayatlı, the first Museum Director and also those by Eyüp Eriş and Filiz Peker, both local historians, have been successfully published by the Municipality of Bergama.

CONCLUSIONS

Through the literature survey and more individual case studies this study has tried to identify the impact of tourism experienced in small and medium sized historic towns, both in the West and the East. With the particular example of Bergama and other historic towns that have been affected by tourism in Turkey, the shortfalls in the present legislation have been catalogued and suggestions for their improvement made. In summary, this Chapter has produced Ten Guidelines that can assist local authorities in small historic towns to integrate better tourism and conservation understanding into their planning and development strategies, with the intention of benefiting local residents as well as the tourist trade.

The conservation movement is faced with many conflicting claims including those of culture (identity) and tourism (development). Associated conflicts include:

- i) clash of policies regarding new development and conservation,
- ii) meeting the needs of the tourist culture and those of the local culture,
- iii) Eastern aspiration for modernisation and Western expectations of maintaining the 'old',
- iv) the priorities of the residents and those of the visitors,
- v) the quality aspect of towns over increasing quantities of tourists.

Needless to say, there will continue to be conflicts of interest between the expectations of the tourist industry and those of the local community. It is often believed that preservation has cultural overtones, however, this 'culture' is not necessarily one of the past that is painstakingly preserved or recreated, but a culture of the present that has been built up from the past and is 'living' in the present. Nevertheless, it is often 'images' from the past culture that are promoted as being attractive to tourism.

Communities should never be left with tourism as their main source of income, but rather a seasonal supplement. In the Mediterranean and also in other favoured tourists spots, it has so often been the case that small islands and towns have given up their livelihood and become too dependent on tourism¹⁰. Sustainable growth towards

¹⁰ Many of the Greek islands, others such as Malta and also small agricultural and fishing communities in coastal areas have turned to tourism as a main source of income. Instability within the industry means that a sudden change can be very detrimental to these communities.

development rather than rapid expansion for immediate financial return, should be the aim of balanced local policies.

For many Eastern countries, in a broad sense, 'old' is still associated with 'backwardness' and it is very important that the public, and for that matter the private sector that initiates many of the conservation or non-conservation programmes, are educated to the values of urban heritage and its importance to the communities still living in these areas.

Certainly a most important point is that to be successful, intervention and conservation of the urban heritage have to be realistic in understanding the needs of the people, and not just recreate facades and fake streets that benefit a few over a short period.

Small historic towns need to understand the assets they possess and, with respect to the lifestyle of the community, can develop as a tourist attraction. Discos, bars and a cosmopolitan type of entertainment is offered in large cities and the mass tourist resorts in coastal areas, but many historic towns have other qualities that *make them different* from big cities.

Understanding tourist patterns and therefore investing and providing for the tourist that will benefit the local economy is a vital element in tourism management. This will be a means of ensuring that earned benefits are reinvested in the community. Travellers, explorers and small scale tourism can be integrated rather than imposed and in the long term the local benefits may be greater and, moreover, sustainable.

A commercial balance between local interests and tourist interests needs to be maintained. An overcrowding of tourist shops and elevated prices will not only marginalise the locals but will also drive away the tourists.

The reuse of historic buildings is manifold. A building can be saved from decay and provide a living role and use, thus avoiding further new buildings and environmental pressure, while making maximum use of central locations. Financial viability illustrated in the restoration and revitalisation of one building can encourage others to follow suit. Local ownership and small scale activity will enable local economic involvement and avoid outside impositions, and the export of the benefits.

Conservation needs to be recognised as a field of expertise, whereby bad restoration can become no different than demolishing a building. Provisions have to be made for experts, both in planning for action in an area and in application to individual buildings.

It is often the case that tourism and heritage are controlled by different Government departments and the ensuing clash of planning and development policies against preservation and conservation policies needs to be taken on board. It is very important that there is an overall policy or an understanding that will incorporate tourism *and* conservation, not allow for each to play one against the other.

The aim is to develop a local understanding that historic heritage can enrich the lived in environment. For this a delicate balance has to be achieved between tourism development and conservation priorities. This balance will depend on attitude, support and investment from the local governing powers, both private and public.

Whilst accepting change, tourism as an outside influence should not be the reason for generating uncontrollable differentials in a particular society, over a relatively short period of time. That tourism has brought attention to historic quality cannot be denied, and it can be viewed as a vital tool in enhancing pride in national identity. Integrated tourism increases world understanding and builds bridges over an ever increasing East/West and North/South divide.

appendices

I
INTERVIEWS WITH THE RESIDENTS OF BERGAMA

II
CONSERVATION LEGISLATION IN TURKEY

III
*PUBLIC BUILDINGS
WORTHY OF CONSERVATION IN BERGAMA*

APPENDIX I

INTERVIEWS WITH THE RESIDENTS OF BERGAMA

Introduction

The following is a review of residents and tourists opinions in Bergama. Most of the information about the peoples feelings towards conservation and tourism was gained informally. We were involved in many discussions during the summers of 1991, 1992 and 1993. Those stated are the most outstanding of comments, but friends and neighbours have contributed to each discussion. More statistical surveys have been carried out in the area, but residents have often been sceptical of officials¹. Due to the informal nature of the interviews the aim is not to provide a statistical breakdown, but to provide a viewpoint from Bergama and its residents. Where necessary references to specific interviews have been cited in the main text of the dissertation and the conclusions have been used in shaping discussions for planning and the future of Bergama.

The structure of the interviews is outlined in the table below. However, this is merely a framework and opinions are not strictly in a single area. Owners of local businesses are also residents of the town or the owners of guest houses are both inhabitants of historic houses, but also local businesses.

ADMINISTRATIVE	Mayor of Bergama	Municipal Officials	Ministry of the Interior
	Museum Director	Museum Officials	Ministry of Culture
COMMERCIAL	TOURIST INTERESTS Tourist Shops	CONSERVATION AREAS Local Shops	OTHER
	RESIDENTIAL Pensions and Guest Houses	Residents in the Conservation area	Houses outside the Cons. area
TOURISTS			

TABLE I.1 *Interviews in Bergama*

¹ In particular those carried out by Elbi (1988), Alanyalı (1990) and Pilevarian (1992).

The interviews can be divided into four groups, first the local administration including the Municipality of Bergama and also the Museum in their involvement with the listing of historic buildings; secondly local businesses, mainly those occupying old buildings and those directly involved with the tourists; thirdly the inhabitants of the Conservation Area as well as other residents of Bergama; and finally the tourists who visit Bergama, mainly those that have spent a night in the town.

ADMINISTRATIVE

As it has been outlined in Chapter 3, the Turkish Conservation Legislation allows for both the Municipal and Museum Authorities to be responsible for urban conservation. This also means that policy is governed by two different ministries, that of Culture and that of the Interior. Tourism, on the other hand is governed by the Ministry of Tourism.

The Municipality

In Bergama too, it is evident that conservation and tourism promotion are only apparent when it is directly to benefit interests of the ruling groups. The mayor, for whom it must be said has exercised some positive contributions to Bergama, the impossible is far more interesting than the obvious. In 1990 he initiated a campaign for the return of the Zeus Altar from the Pergamon Museum in Berlin. The campaign continued over several years and gained interest nationwide and abroad, putting Bergama on the map. The local elections in March 1994 may be changing things, but the next proposal he is investigating is the excavation and restoration of the Roman theatre in the Gypsy quarter, to then use as a an open air theatre for concerts. This was his bid for the last election and he hopes to accomplish it in the second term (if there is one).

Whatever happens in means of conservation it will be dependent on the way in which the leading political powers will react to and implement proposals. Even though conservation is promoted it has been used towards tourism and municipal prestige rather than to benefit the residents. For example, in 1991 a street of Greek houses were demolished in an attempt to clear the view to the 2nd century Red Hall. The mayor accepted this as a mistake when challenged, but publicly pushed forward plans for the park.

Nevertheless, culture and particularly local culture has been promoted by the municipality, through a series of publications on the ancient and also recent history of the town, some written by local historians². The municipality is open to suggestions and can be interested in work in conservation work in the historic quarter (Interviews

² Most of the works of Osman Bayatlı, the first museum director and also those by Eyüp Eriş and Filiz Peker, both local historians, have been published by the municipality of Bergama.

with Taşkın, 1991 and Durmaz³, 1993). Consequently, through guidance the municipality could become a partner for conservation on an urban scale and for less prestigious projects.

There is no architect employed by the Municipality. A technical member of staff (*Fen İşleri Müdürü*) is responsible for all building activity undertaken by the Municipality, which is often new buildings or even the demolition of some old houses. However, he has also been involved in the restoration of the library next door to the new Municipality buildings. The plans for restoration were prepared on a voluntary basis by Serhat Alanyalı, a conservation architect from Izmir.

The Museum

The Director of Bergama Museum (Metin Pehlivaner) was interviewed in 1990⁴. He valued the Turkish history of Bergama and in particular the older neighbourhoods, having played an important role in refurbishing a section of the museum on local traditions. He expressed interest in expert assistance to list further buildings. Even though the museum is responsible for the listing of buildings, they can provide no financial assistance for their protection and maintenance (this dilemma is outlined in Chapter 3, in Turkish planning and conservation legislation). The museum also has a role in safeguarding heritage, in a way policing conservation areas and listed buildings to ensure that they are not being damaged or destroyed. However, this aspect of Museum responsibilities was played down in the interview.

Although a classical archaeologist by training the Deputy Director also had an interest in the historic quarters of Bergama, in particular the Greek and Armenian quarters. He has published several studies on the area recording change, mainly of street elements. He emphasised, however, the wide area around Bergama that they are obliged to cover for archaeological evidence, and therefore it is impossible for them to strictly control the historic quarters of Bergama like they would like to. Summer months, when most house owners alter their houses, coincides with the season for archaeological excavations. Hence the museum staff is further stretched with several members being on duty elsewhere.

The Bergama Museum is a small one and there are only five members of staff who are qualified archaeologists, including the Director and Deputy Director. Of the other officials that were also interviewed, two had hardly any interest in the Turkish history of the town. A third interviewed in 1993, on the other hand was very interested in the

³ Özcan Durmaz, the public relations officer, was interviewed in 1992 and 1993 when he was also to become the campaign manager for mayor Sefa Taşkın in the forthcoming local election in March 1994.

⁴ In 1991 he was moved to another museum and was replaced by the director of Izmir Museum on a part time basis. Most of the work for the 1991-93 period was carried out by the deputy director, interviewed in 1991 and 1992.

towns history (he had been posted to Bergama in 1990). He was also concerned for the future of the houses and keen to find solutions that would enable their restoration. He felt that the reason for such dilapidation was that, although the original Greek inhabitants had been an urban population, the Turkish community replacing them in the population exchange were a predominantly rural one, with little respect for urban environments.

COMMERCIAL

The Tourist Commercial Areas

(1) The owner of one of the best preserved Greek shops in this area, started off business with his father who was a copper smith and then became an antiques dealer. Tourism and regular customers built up over years from Turkey and abroad are what his livelihood depends on. He is concerned about protection and conservation of the historic quarter. Nevertheless, his own premises hide all the historic value. The high ceiling is boarded up providing an extra floor for storage and avoiding the debris from the ceiling falling onto the shop floor. The stone walls are also boarded and covered with shelves and displays. A tin roof shading the display windows obstructs the front facade. He may be persuaded to repair the roof and open it up, but the storage problem remains. His interest in historical objects as an antique dealer does not reflect on the building. The business will pass on to his son (4) who also owns a carpet shop in the same street.

(2) A father and son own a carpet shop next door and also a second one opposite the Red Hall, they depend on tourists for trade and are keen to attract them. The son campaigned with the support of other shop keepers for better public toilet facilities and then the flood lighting of the Red Hall. He realises the importance and the centrality the Red Hall provides for the commercial area, particularly at night time when they do most of their business.

(3) Two brothers from Istanbul are the biggest carpet dealers in the town. Specialising in kilims they been trading in Bergama for about 15 years. They own one new and one old building in the commercial zone, but space is never sufficient, particularly for the repair of carpets and kilims, a service in which they specialise.

Both (2) and (3) have successfully built up business relationships with dealers in Italy and elsewhere in Europe and spend the winter exporting. Travel to these countries has increased their appreciation of the historic environment in Bergama, not just the ruins, but also of the town, which they live and work in.

(4) A young carpet dealer, one of several that have set up business in the '90s. Among this younger group there is less appreciation of the environment or of the old buildings



FIGURE I.2 Interviews in the Market Area - Çarşı

they occupy. One (5) has built a modern aluminium shop front on an old building for example.

There are a number of other carpet and antique dealers in the area. Several have opted to move out of town to larger establishments providing for the tour busses. Some of them operate from stage set villages with villagers weaving carpets and kilims, part of the guided tour experience. This does, however, provide employment for the locals and the continuation of Bergama's carpet weaving tradition.

The owner of a souvenir shop (6) opposite the museum said he changed his shop to a beer garden after a year, because interest in souvenirs was little and only seasonal.

The Market Area - Çarşı

(1) A smith with a shop on *Çizmeciler Arastası* (Boot Market), has been working in the area since 1978, when he left University for political reasons, to carry on with his fathers business. They changed the facade of a listed building they owned in the street, without permission from the authorities. The reason for this was the amount of paperwork and money needed to go through the system, and that they would not be allowed to do what they wanted to. Anyway, it was much simpler doing the changes without the authorities, because the municipal and museum control is very little and there is no known record of the original form.

(2) A similar case is a shoe shop on Urgan Sokak. In 1991 the shop keeper voiced his intention of making changes to his shop. He had had the museum authorities visit his premises and under conservation legislation for this listed building, they would not grant permission for the changes. However, a year later the shop did have new windows, very similar to the original ones and interior changes which had removed the existing ceiling to build a new storage area into the roof. The shop continues to do good business and the shop keeper is proud with his 'new' shop, his problems had been resolved and he was able to continue business in the area.

(3) Father and son shirt makers on Iplik Pazarı have been in business in the same small shop for many years and the son will be taking over from the elderly father. They have a very small shop, which is Greek in style. However, the demand for shirts is decreasing as their prices can no longer compete with the market price of mass manufactured shirts. There is a ten year old grandson, but it is dubious whether he will be able to take over the business.

Several of the large textile and material handlers in this square are introducing some ready to wear items. With retail prices for this sector of the market becoming competitive, the demand for tailors is decreasing.

There is a small triangular square formed around a fountain and a plane tree in the heart of the conservation area. Many of the shopkeepers have been in the area for several

generations. There is a very strong feeling of friendship and trust between them; they share the responsibility of keeping the square clean and maintained and they can easily leave their shop open for a neighbour to keep an eye on it.

(4) One shop keeper on *Urgancı Sokak* expressed great interest in Ottoman Architecture, particularly of a tomb he had discovered just outside Bergama. However his interest in the Conservation Area he worked in was less and he had modernised his shoe shop with aluminum window frames and several other modern commodities.

Saraçlar street runs parallel to *Çukurhan* and was originally the *arasta*. The end towards the main street is predominantly gold smiths.

(5) A tailor on *Saraçlar* Street left his trade in 1988 to set up a ready to wear manufacturing business. The old shop is now only of secondary importance compared to his modern retail outlets on the Main Street.

(6) A quilt maker also on this street continues his trade and finds the small unit very comfortable to work in and an ideal setting to exhibit his quilts from.

(7) The owner of the rear section of the *han* continues to run it as an inn for travellers. Profit margins are low with a change in trade patterns and there is not enough left for the maintenance of the building. It is unlikely that the *han* will continue being used in this fashion after his death.

(8) The front half of the *han* opens on to *Saraçlar* Street and has most of the courtyard. this half is more vibrant and the courtyard is used partially as a coffeeshouse and partially as a trading and storage area. Some animals are also brought in at times.

The road that runs between the Administrative centre and the *Şadırvan* Mosque forms the backbone of the *çarşı*.

(9) The *bedesten* is also on this street. The owner has built a clever intervention - a small glazed office into the main brick domed structure. Although he is pleased with the building and respects the history, if the roof were to leak he would be unable to cover the costs of repair.

(10) The proprietor of the modern shop that has replaced the *Çınarlı Hamam*, is not interested in the historic significance of the property, or the ruins of the *hamam* at the back.

The Conservation Area is bounded on the other side by the Main Street. A covered shopping area mainly used by butchers has been replaced by a modern tourist 'Covered Bazaar', however it has not been very popular with tourist or locals.

(11) The owner of one of the bookshops on the Main Street was also interested in historic buildings and their preservation in Bergama, but his interest too was in the Greek and Roman remains rather than the Ottoman heritage. He owned a new shop built in the 1980s.

(12) The owner of the *Haci Hekim Hamam*, inherited it from his father and hopes to pass it onto his son. Today he also owns the *Küplü Hamam*, which the Municipality persuaded him to buy, after it had fallen into their hands. It is no longer possible to run both *hamam* at the same time, due to rising costs of fuel and city water, as well as the diminishing interest from the local community. Tourist interest in the summer adds to the clientele, but is very limited.

Some owners are proud to show their shop as being historic, but this also needed to be practical to their needs and growing/changing businesses. Others are ignorant of historic value and questioned people taking an interest in it. The older businesses have a history to recount about their shops that have been passed down to them from their fathers. Due to the size of their establishments many are financially unable to bear the costs of long winded bureaucracy and conservation approval for changes they wish to do to their shops.

RESIDENTIAL

Pensions in Old Houses

(1) Bergama Pension is the oldest in this group, situated on the Main Street. The owner is proud of the historic quality and has recently reorganised the courtyard emphasising the historic features and used Ottoman elements in the decoration. Several years back when competition from other pensions became serious, it became obvious that tourists were demanding bathrooms in their rooms, but also wanted the historic qualities. This was overcome, because the large size of rooms in Greek houses made it possible to place a bathroom in each of the guest rooms without distracting from the architecture. None of the work has been done with expert advice and sometimes at odds with the Museum authorities. Another problem with a central location is expressed in the scarcity of parking space.

(2) The Athena Pension has followed the same approach and converted one of the larger houses into a pension. The owner realises the historic quality that attracts tourists and therefore has been careful in choosing building materials and elements in fitting with the original features of the house. He also tries to show longer staying guests other historic buildings in Bergama, including a trip to the *hamam*.

(3) Nike Pension, in the Greek quarter, was converted by the owner with very little intervention. The owner and his family continue to live there and atmosphere created



FIGURE I.3 *Interviews in the residential areas and pensions (in bold)*

in the courtyard is a family one. Many guests have returned or sent friends. He is proud of his house, but even more of his garden.

The Greek and Armenian Quarters

(1) A woman living in an old house with her 92 year old father and 27 year old son. They like the house they live in, but all her older children have married and left, several live in Izmir. The son was to be married shortly and she proudly pointed out to the new apartment block he would be moving into.

(2) An elderly couple living nearby in a small house said that whatever was said about modern buildings, they valued the view from their verandah.

(3) Another woman said she saw it as the coolest place in town. Being uphill is the only problem, particularly when walking uphill with shopping, but she appreciates the relationship she has with the neighbours.

(4) A widow living with her daughter in a Greek house, her son has married and left the area. It is a big house for just the two of them. However, they have converted the basement into a flat which they rent out. Although they live in one of the nicer Greek houses with a number of decorative features, they are unable to pay for increasing maintenance costs.

The neighbouring Turkish house is rarely used by its owners.

(5) An elderly couple, he came over with his family from Greece in the exchange. One of their sons also lives in the area (6). They have lived there for so long they couldn't think of living elsewhere, but as they get older the maintenance of the house is becoming an increasing burden.

(6) A young family feel they are used to the lifestyle in the area and feel they are sufficiently comfortable, and would not want to move to a newer house in another part of town.

(7) An elderly woman, her son and his young family inhabit a small single storey house. Even though it is small, they are content because the courtyard is good for the children to safely play in and they do not have to pay any rent.

(8) A newly married couple have recently bought a house. They both come from the neighbourhood and therefore appreciate staying there. The house is small but they have made some additions, paved the courtyard and modernised a bathroom in what seems to be a Roman foundation. The work was done with the help of friends in the neighbourhood.

(9) One family lives in a house, part of which was originally the Greek bathhouse. A circular room with no roof is used as storage space. They did not know what the building had been or had much interest in it. It was cleanly painted and open spaces paved to suit the families needs.

(10) An elderly lady lives alone in a Turkish house. The inside is well maintained and she likes the large courtyard and cool verandah, which one would never get in a modern apartment. But, the younger generation do not understand this.

(11) A taxi driver expressed disappointment that the German Archaeological Excavation had not been in the Greek quarter. He reckoned that the Germans would pay good money for the owners to go and buy new houses in other areas of town.

However, many of the workers working on the excavations live in the quarter and appreciate its proximity. Even though, for having worked many years on the excavations, they have a great respect for ancient history, the same understanding of history does not really exist for their own built environment. They want to provide their families with the best they can.

Büyük Alan

Formerly a Roman Gymnasium, this square is also within the Conservation Area and forms a social forum and particularly on hot summer evenings, when many of the inhabitants sit outside their doors on the square.

(12) On *Terraki Çıkmazı*, a Turkish House is owned by an elderly lady living on her own, but her children also live on the square. On the first floor level the timber frame and brick infill structure is completely exposed and is too ruinous to be inhabited. However, the three to four rooms on the patio level are in a good condition and form the main living quarters, that are sufficient for the single inhabitant. Tourists have shown interest in the house and the old lady has become weary of visitors and intrusions.

(13) The four **row houses** between *Çınarlı Çıkmaz* and *Kale Çeşme Sokak* are all inhabited, three by families with children and a corner one by an elderly lady. This house has a verandah in front of it and had previously served as the coffee house. All four houses have four bedrooms and the two middle ones the facade has been recently plastered with a cement mortar. The inhabitants there had bought the house in 1992 and were unaware of the previous state of the house. The teenage children living in these houses reckon quite a number of tourist come to the square and they find it quite interesting; the inhabitants are happy when tourists like their houses.

(14) The **house with the steps** as it is commonly known on the square is inhabited by a family with three children. The house is well maintained and many of the original features remain, including the wooden door and window elements. Resting on the foundations of a Roman structure there is a very interesting basement integrated into the

typical Greek construction of the house. Both floors of the house are presently being used and the basement is a convenient storage space.

(15) A family rent a small two room house also built on the Roman Gymnasium foundations. They recently added a new kitchen and a new roof. They also have a basement, that is very rarely used but the previous owner had used it for animals, including a cow.

(16) A stone mason lives with his family in a two room house they own on the square. It is a one storey Turkish house in style, with the two rooms and a kitchen opening on to a verandah and a toilet in the courtyard. Maintenance is a problem, the walls are crumbling, the ceiling sagging and the roof leaking. They would like to demolish the house and build a new house of brick with a concrete roof and indoor facilities. They are aware that being in a conservation area they need to have permission to carry out any work on the house.

(17) The sister of the stone mason lives just off the square. When her husband retired they moved back to the area from Izmir, because they valued the neighbours and the environment. They renovated their house and added a new kitchen and bathroom.

(18) The son also lives in the square with his young family. Living in a cheap but acceptable area of town has enabled him to build up business with his taxi, the support of members of the extended family and neighbours cannot be overlooked.

(19) An elderly lady and her daughter live in a two storey Greek house. They no longer use the upper floor because it is too expensive to maintain and heat. The ground floor is in good repair and they are interested in the history of the house, which she grew up in. They have been visited by a Greek man who had been a child in the house before the exchange; they fondly relate his accounts of the house.

The neighbourly and family relationships and support on the square and in the neighbourhoods in general cannot be ignored. There is a serious maintenance problem, and owners are frequently taking measures, without consultation, to improve the condition of their properties.

Large Historic Houses Outside the Conservation Area

(20) Two of these houses were inhabited by old ladies, one was in a much better condition than the other, very discreetly restored by her son. The houses still incorporated many of the original features and woodcarvings; one of them was furnished in the fashion it would have been at the beginning of the century (the antique dealers can not have known about it). In this house the upper floor was still in use, mainly for guests. In the second, the upper floor had been abandoned as the roof leaked; the stairs leading to this floor had also rotted away. An outhouse, originally used as the kitchen had been converted into a small dwelling for the ladies' companion.

(21) The third house was also similar, but had been divided into two houses by a brother and sister. The brother had abandoned his half and it lay as a ruin next to the one occupied by the sister, a widow. Again the upstairs was not in constant use, the terrace was used to dry vegetables and home made pasta for the winter. The married daughter showed no intention of using the house in the future.

(22) The fourth house backing onto the Incirli Mescit is occupied by a younger family, descendants of the family who had the Küplü Hamam built. Since the house falls out of the boundaries of the Conservation Area, they had carried out extensive renovations, to make the house habitable for themselves and their two children. This included roller-blind shutters and aluminium frames as well as extensive glazing of the first floor terrace, unlike the other three houses, the first floor was used as the house proper. However, the wife voiced intentions of moving when the children moved out as the house work and upkeep were very demanding. Her father-in-law had ripped out an old fireplace to avoid the house being listed.

TOURISTS

Again most of the information gathered is not structured interviews with tourists, but a more general view gained from chatting in cafes, shops and at the ruins. The accounts of local shopkeepers and pension owners are also taken into consideration.

The longer staying tourists (i.e. overnight visitors) are either young groups often Northern Europeans or Australians and Italian or German families with cars. They are attracted to the *Roman ruins, the Acropolis, the lower city, the Asclepion and the Red Hall*. They are often unaware of the wealth of Turkish architecture.

A walk up or down from the Acropolis and lower city leads through the Greek quarters, a pleasant discovery for many. Another attraction is the Monday market that takes over most of the central areas and is a very colourful experience, also an opportunity to discover the *çarşı* area. The souvenir trade is quite limited in Bergama and the tourist shops are the more quality carpet and antique shops, which are reasonably priced, often because there are no commissions to be paid to tour operators and guides. All are very welcoming and provide a pleasant way to spend an evening and there is often something for every pocket.

The scale of the town is appreciated by many; the availability of good and again reasonably priced restaurants without the competitive bickering of the seaside resorts, is another favoured aspect. Tourists often come again and stay at the same places. Shopkeepers say they have built up a series of regular customers. A longer stay enables visitors to visit the ruins in the cooler early hours of the day and benefit from cool courtyards of the pensions at mid day, when it is hot.

CONCLUSIONS

Although officials have expressed interest there is very little interaction between the administrative level and the residents in the area, who are very rarely informed of any work carried out.

It is apparent that the older generations are more attached to their environment and properties. The younger generations, whilst aspiring to better living conditions and modern houses, do value the neighbourhood values of the Greek quarter. This was particularly apparent in *Büyük Alan*.

Residents in the older quarters value their neighbours, safety of neighbourhood, availability of safe play spaces for children, cheap rents, proximity to town centre, centrality. The collaboration and support network is of utmost importance, especially in poorer communities.

Tourists value the accessible scale of the town, the rich and varied historic interests as well as the non-tourist prices for good food and simple accommodation.

APPENDIX II

CONSERVATION LEGISLATION IN TURKEY

Introduction

The legislation reviewed below has been translated from the Turkish original by the author and is a summary of the most recent document, Ministry of Culture and Tourism¹, High Commission for the Protection of Cultural and Natural Property - decisions of principle² of 1989.

(1) Archaeological Conservation Areas (*Arkeolojik Sit Alanları*)

The Ministries' policy is to preserve land, where there is known archaeological evidence, for excavation at a future date.

□ First Degree Areas: No building or any form of intervention is permitted and this is to be indicated on a city or town plan. Over time, existing buildings in such areas are to be removed to new locations provided by the State. No tree plantation or intervention, including agriculture is permitted. It is the duty of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism to provide adequate fencing for the boundaries of such areas and to appoint a watchman. The Ministry will also provide information panels.

□ Second Degree Areas: New buildings are not permitted but existing ones are not removed. However, repairs to these buildings are to be supervised by museum authorities.

□ Third Degree Areas: Building is permitted, only with Conservation Council approval and provided that the excavation is supervised by the museum authorities (in the event of any archaeological evidence the Conservation Council has to be informed).

(2) Preparing Urban Conservation Area Plans (*Koruma Amaçlı İmar Planı*)

Designated Archaeological, Urban and Natural Conservation Areas are to be taken into account as Conservation Area Plans are being prepared. The planners involved are to seek advice from relevant bodies of the Historic Monuments and Museums Directorate General and the plan is to be submitted to the Ministry High Commission for comments. (Note that this is not for approval).

(3) Points to be considered whilst listing non-movable cultural heritage

For a plan for preservation of a historic building to consider the area and building block. If the immediate surrounding area of a historic building is of no significance, decisions are to be taken on the building alone.

(4) Determining whether old houses should be conserved

The High Commission makes a decision of principle that old houses with architectural quality both outside and inside, including ceiling decorations or intricate carvings should be preserved. A decision to demolish will come from the local Conservation Council and be initiated by the municipality. This principle can only be a guideline.

¹ In 1992 this ministry was divided up to become two separate Ministries, that of Culture and that of Tourism and Promotion (*Kültür Bakanlığı / Turizm ve Tanıtma Bakanlığı*).

² *Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Yüksek Kurulu İlke Kararları.*

(5) Conservation Areas and Listed Buildings: applications and repairs in the area

All repairs to listed and non-listed buildings in Urban Conservation Areas can only be carried out with Conservation Council approval (in the absence of a Conservation Council, permission is to be granted by the Municipality and the Museum authorities). Guidelines to be followed in repair work require that replaced rotten wooden elements are in keeping with the original; that facade elements including the plaster work are replaced with the same material and are the same colour as the originals.

The degree of structural intervention will be determined by the Conservation Council, and where a building has recently been changed, the original plan is to be consulted for repair work. The responsibility for supervision in Conservation Areas falls on municipalities if the area is within municipal boundaries and otherwise it is carried out by area governors (*valilik*). Those disobeying the law will be prosecuted by the government and the local Conservation Council will be informed of the proceedings.

(6) Guidelines for new buildings built in urban conservation areas

For an application on an empty plot of land adjoining a listed building in a Conservation Area that has a Conservation Area Plan, permission is to be sought from the Conservation Council, and for plots not immediately adjoining listed buildings from the municipality, with reference to the Conservation Area Plan. In Conservation Areas for which there is no Conservation Area Plan, facade features including the size and proportions of doors and windows, colour and roof scape are to be in keeping with the Conservation Area. When the Conservation Council is satisfied with the application, permission for building can be granted by the municipality.

(7) New buildings in the vicinity of cultural and natural property

The building of new buildings (such as cafes, car parks etc) in close vicinity of cultural and natural property, or on the pavements around them, is not permitted. If such building is in the interest of the general public, for local Conservation Councils to be consulted.

(8) Advertising panels on listed buildings

Municipalities are to control advertising in Listed Buildings and in Urban Conservation Areas and not permit illuminated fascia signs, neon lighting or obtrusive advertising panels. Businesses that require a sign in such areas are to keep it to the minimum possible size and place it on the building with care, so as not to detract from its historic value. Municipalities are to be encouraged to place telephone and other wires underground in Urban Conservation Areas.

(9) Determining groupings for listed buildings

□ First Degree: Buildings with a high degree of historic and architectural value. They are to be preserved with minimal intervention both inside and outside. Plumbing and other small changes are only to be carried out if they are absolutely vital for the building to continue its life.

- Second Degree: Only the outside shell is to be preserved, while structural intervention is only possible for the inside.
- Third Degree: Only the facade is to be retained, while it is possible to build a completely new building, behind the original facade, which may be of a different height to the original.
- Fourth Degree: Historic buildings that are no longer part of a conservation area and can not be preserved in their present location and have to be removed for the safety of the public. Prior to demolition such buildings are to be recorded and where appropriate replaced with a new building at the approval of the Conservation Council.

(10) Listed buildings that are in danger of collapsing

If a building is a valuable monument, it should not be permitted to collapse. Municipalities are to take care of such buildings and clear them if there is any danger to the public and immediately notify the Conservation Council of the action.

(11) Treatment of the site in the loss of a listed building

An enquiry will be carried out if a listed building is lost due collapse, fire or demolition without Conservation Council approval. On the site a new building will be built only if it is the same height and has the same facade as the original building (from photographic and drawn evidence). In the cases where there is no documentation of the original, a new building may be built within Conservation Council guidelines and only after an enquiry has taken place.

(12) Buildings of no architectural value but with architectural components worthy of conservation

For buildings of historic and cultural interest but of no architectural value. Prior to demolition the local museum will determine all architectural components worthy of conservation and remove them to the museum, and display those which are in good condition.

(13) Historic Bridges

Historic bridges are to be preserved even if they have become redundant, in favour of a new road system. New and wider roads are not permitted to destroy or intervene with the original structure. Restorations to historic bridges are to be respectful to the original characteristics and permission for the restoration work is to be granted by the Conservation Council.

(14) Information on restored buildings

Following the repair or restoration of a building of monumental interest for an appropriately sized plate to be placed on the building.

(18) Preserving listed government buildings and other competition winners

All government buildings that have been listed and are part of the national heritage, all buildings of the Republican Era (1920s and 30s) and other buildings of value built, as a result of a international or national competition are on no account to be demolished.

(19) Natural Conservation Areas

□ First Degree Areas: Areas with outstanding geographical and natural beauty and originality can only be used for scientific exploration with no physical intervention of the environment. Fire precautions are to be taken and no tree cutting permitted, other than when this is necessary. Litter collection should be provided for and small huts built only for use by wardens and only with the approval of the Conservation Council.

□ Second Degree Areas: They are open to public use but no residential development is permitted. However tourist developments are permitted with consultations from the Directorate Generals for Environment, Tourism and Forestry where applicable and the Ministry of Public Works. Plans for use and access are to be approved by the Conservation Council.

(20) Tree preservation

There are many reasons for the preservation of trees, one of the clauses involves trees which have become a part of an urban environment. Such trees can be protected under "monument tree" status and any new building work around them will require Conservation Council approval.

(21) Building in First and Second Degree Archaeological Conservation Areas

With the approval of the Conservation Council, permission may be granted for tourist supporting interventions such as car parks, ticket booths, lavatories and foot paths. With permission from the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, a cafe or restaurant may be built as long as the plan is approved by the local Conservation Council.

(25) Cemeteries of the Recent Past

For the protection of cemeteries from the recent past the decision will be left to the discretion of local Conservation Councils.

(26) Preserving housing complexes (*Toplu Konut*)

If a housing cooperative is a distinct example of a certain period and of certain architectural and educational calibre, the complex should be preserved.

APPENDIX III

*PUBLIC BUILDINGS
WORTHY OF CONSERVATION IN BERGAMA*

Introduction

In Bergama, like many other historic towns there is a wealth of public buildings of historic value that have been abandoned for various reasons including the lack of maintenance, dilapidation and changing needs. Tourism and its development can be an ideal opportunity to re-use these buildings and provide them with a contemporary and living function.

Given the present conditions of the economy and demand for growth and modernisation, it will certainly not be possible to restore all redundant buildings in Bergama, particularly if they are in a very bad condition and there is no feasible function, such as is the case of the *Tabaklar hamam*. The following are, however, some outstanding buildings in Bergama, that could be rehabilitated and reused:

- i) The derelict Greek hospital in the former Greek quarters,
- ii) *Taşhan* in the *çarşı*,
- iii) The former Girls High School, *Kız Lisesi* building in İstiklal Square.

i The Greek Hospital

The **Greek Hospital** is a derelict building in the Greek quarter that lends an opportunity to involve the private sector, benefit tourism and the community, such as some of the work done by the Touring and Automobile Association in Istanbul (see Chapter 3). There is certainly a need for a new function, as the building no longer lends itself to be a hospital and the second use as a school was also abandoned due to space constraints. Being an individual project, other action in the area is not dependent on it. Set in the historic quarter the needs to discourage motor traffic. Given that Bergama also caters for a young group of tourists a youth hostel could provide sought after accommodation. Such an establishment could benefit the local corner shop but still be easily accessible to the city centre.

The hospital is set in extensive grounds which also include a second building of the same period, but of less architectural qualities, as a single storey pavilion and a concrete toilets built later for the school. There is a water fountain next to the entrance by the second building and a Roman Sarcophagus in the garden.

Funding needs to be carefully considered and the aim should not be to compete with local pensions. There is an initial cost of restoration and running a youth hostel is not the most profitable of businesses either. One solution would be to interest the municipality into putting some money into it, maybe instead of the amphitheatre and the function may be geared towards a guest house or accommodation for the 'researchers' using the restored library/research centre.

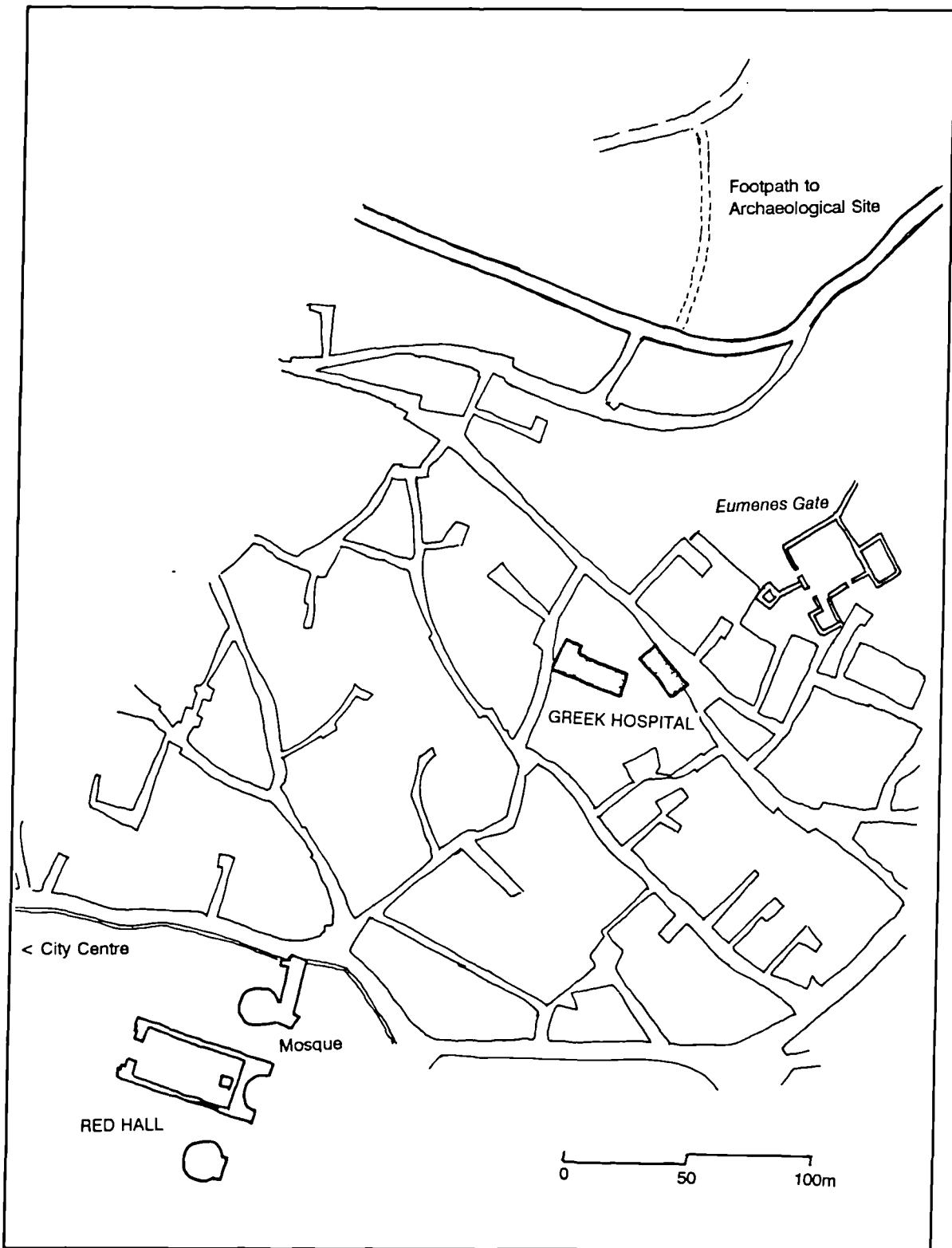


FIGURE III.1 Location of the Greek Hospital in the neighbourhood and in relation to Istikal Square.

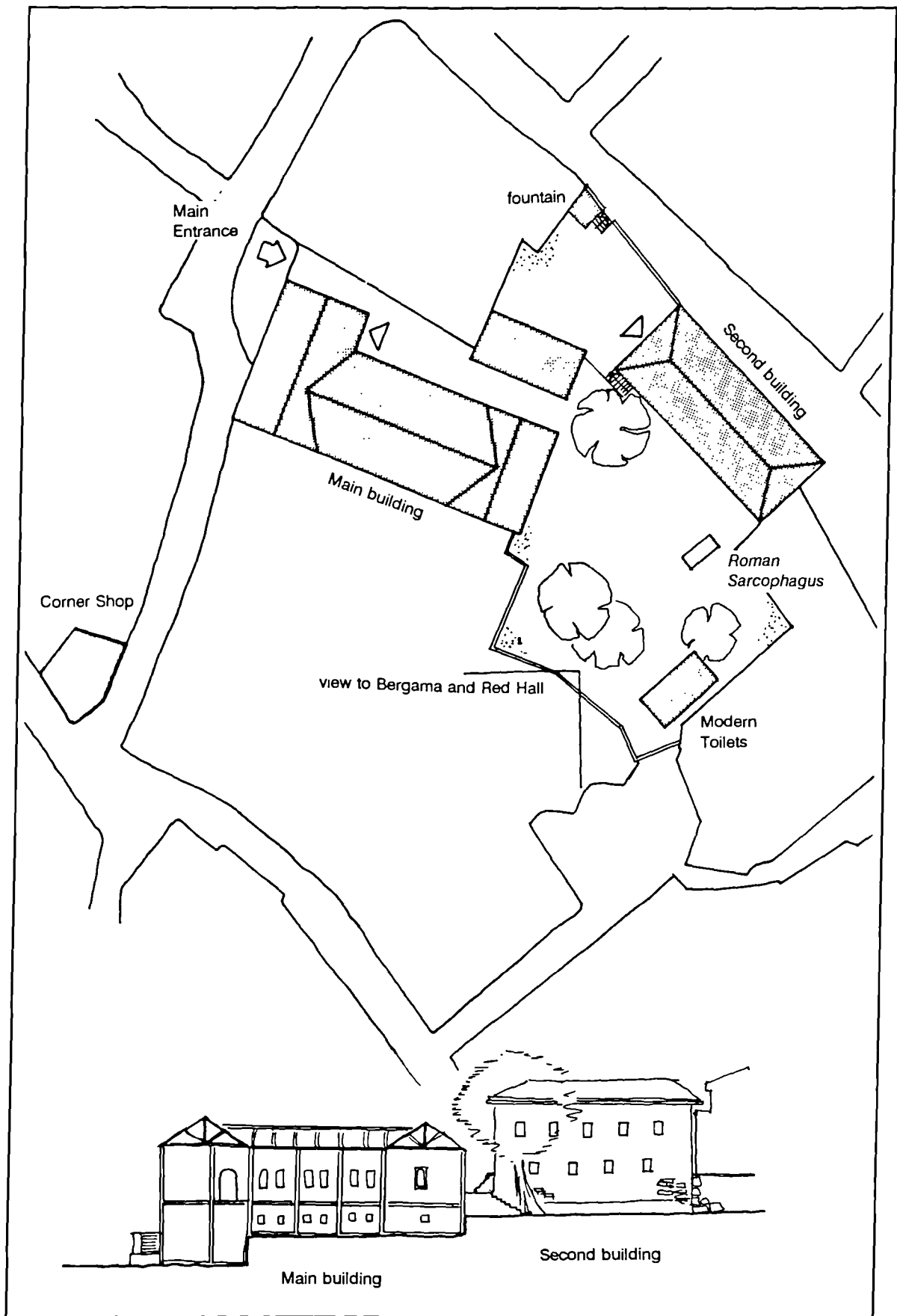


FIGURE III.2 Site layout and sections of the Greek Hospital complex, showing varying levels and views.

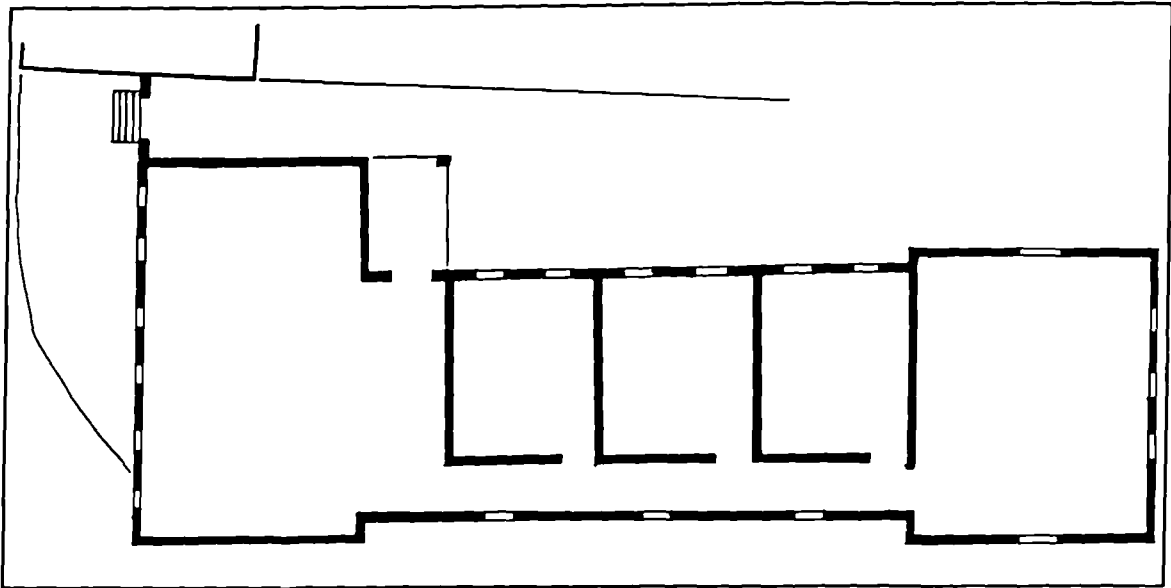


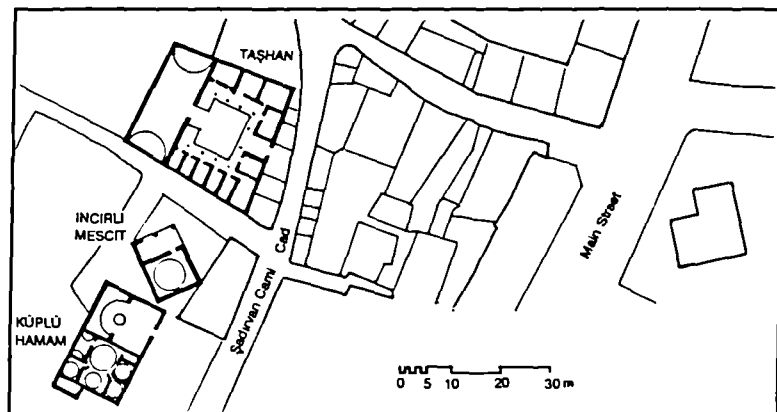
figure III.3 Existing floor plan of main building (scale: 1:200)

The main building is a predominantly brick structure with stone corners, and wooden rafters in the walls. The roof was a wooden beam structure with tiles. The walls both inside and outside were plastered and the plasterwork is ornate around windows and doorways. The corridor floors are tiled and those in the room were wooden floorboards resting on rafters. The building was burnt after it ceased being a school and the roof has completely collapsed and the floorboards as well. However, the debris from the roof has protected the original tiled floor. The window openings remain, but the frames and glass have gone.

ii *Taşhan*

Taşhan was built in 1432, within the complex of *İncirli Mescit* and *Küplü Hamam*. A predominantly stone vaulted structure collapsed structures have been replaced by wood and the today the building has fallen into disuse due to the danger of falling elements. Altışık (1982) refers to the building being used as a hotel, prior to becoming redundant in the mid 1980s.

figure III.4 Location of *Taşhan* in the *çarşı*



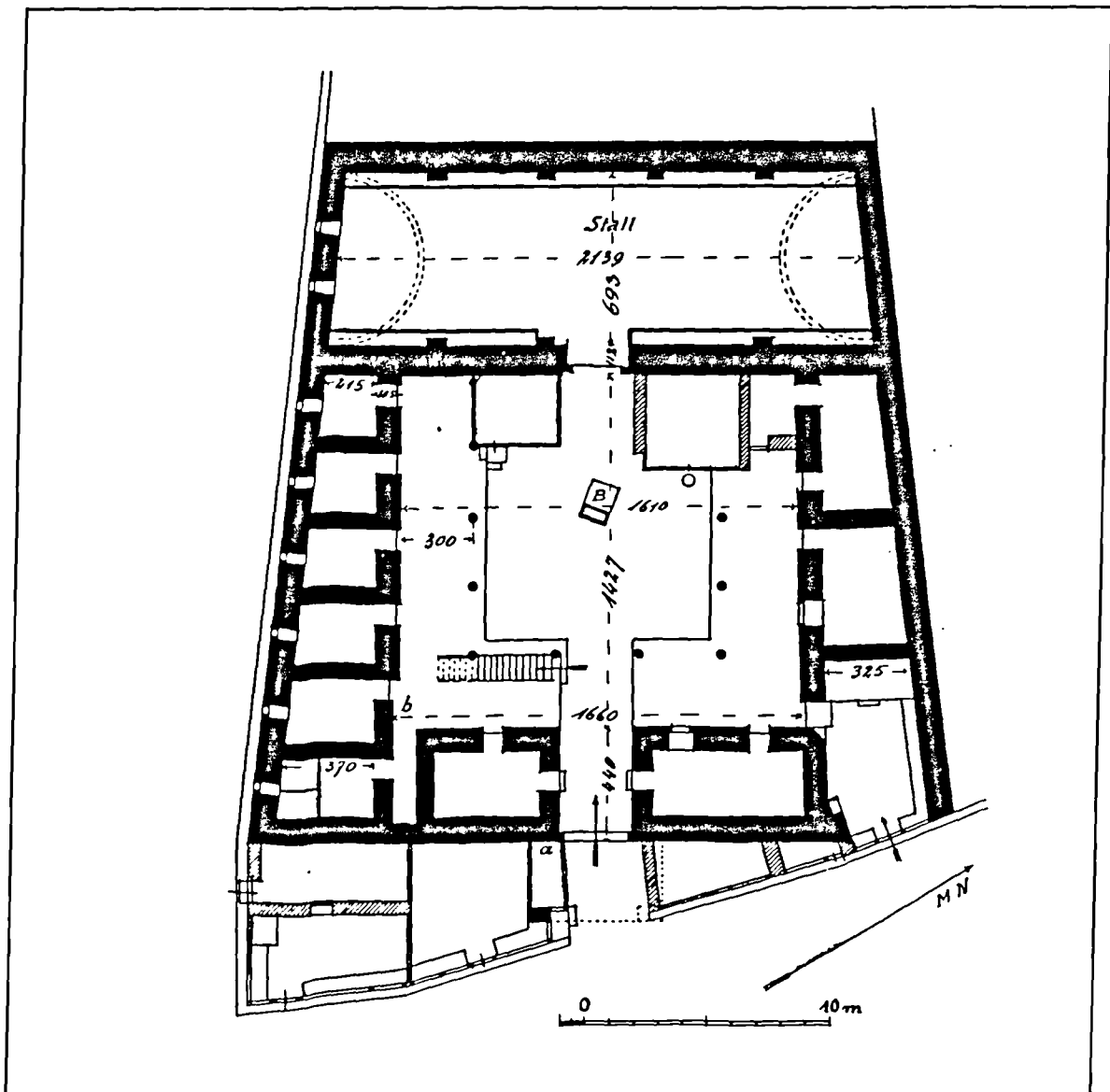


figure III.5 Ground floor plan of Taşhan (from Conze: 1913:77)

Either side of the courtyard on the ground floor are small cells with a single large space, originally for animals, facing the entrance. The upper level, reached by a wooden staircase, contains the chambers used by visiting merchants.

Today the building needs extensive renovation and consolidation. However, the main stone core remains and holds a prominent and accessible position within the *çarşı*. There are opportunities for re-using the building for shops and even for accomdation if this is the demand.

iii The Kz Lisesi Building

The Old Girls High School Building, *Kz Lisesi*, lies on a corner between the tourist commercial area and Istiklal Square, with an excellent first floor view onto the river basin. With local private setor initiative it could be reused as a carpet store and repair workshop with opportunities for much desired administrative space. There is an opportunity for the building to be used jointly by several of the shop owners and they would themselves be able to fund such a project.

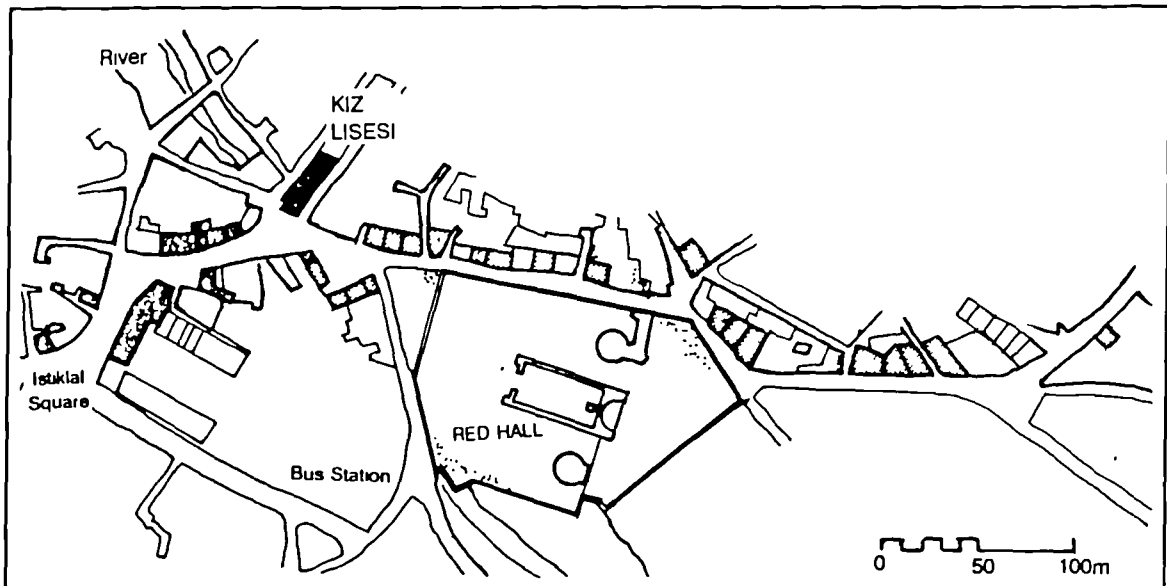


figure III.6 Location plan of the Kz Lisesi Building

Structurally this stone and brick building from the late 18th century is in good condition, many of the details including the cast iron balconies remain. However, rehaillitation would require serious intervention in places and attention to detail in restoring architectural features and in organising an entrance.

figure III.7 View of Kz Lisesi from river



GLOSSARY

ARASTA	Covered market.
BEDESTEN	Domed building usually in the centre of a market area where luxury goods were sold*.
CAMI	Mosque.
ÇARŞI	Market, commercial core.
ÇEŞME	Drinking fountain.
DÜKKAN	Shop.
EYVAN	A vaulted or domed recess open on one side*.
HAMAM	Turkish bath.
HAN	Inn in towns, an urban <i>kervansaray</i> .
HAREM	Place of privacy especially for women, in a home*.
KADI	District judge*.
KERVANSARAY	(Caravanserai) Hostelry, usually beside the highway*.
KONAK	Mansion.
MAHALLE	(or MAHALLA) Neighbourhood.
MEDRESE	(or MADRASAH) theological college.
MESCIT	Small mosque or prayer hall.
MEYDAN	Open space, public square.
MÜFTÜ	Senior Muslim Priest.
SARAY	Palace.
SUQ	Marketplace.
VAKIF	(or WAQF) Endowment.

* from Goodwin, 1992: 458-459.

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