THE IMPACT OF URBAN RENEWAL AND GENTRIFICATION ON URBAN FABRIC: THREE CASES IN TURKEY

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ABSTRACT

Since the 1980s, the urban restructuration process has had important effects on cities. One of these is the transformation of urban residential space, which includes processes such as urban renewal and gentrification. The aim of this paper is to briefly examine three urban residential transformation processes in Turkey. Two of these are examples of gentrification of two different neighbourhoods in Istanbul, and the third is an example of urban renewal in a neighbourhood in Ankara. The transformation processes in each of these examples have different structures. Related to the characteristics of the processes, their impacts on the cities are different. These differences are evaluated with respect to their impact on the social and spatial structure in these neighbourhoods.

Key words: Residential transformation, urban renewal, gentrification, Turkish cases

INTRODUCTION

It may be asserted that the 1980s marked the starting point of a significant urban restructuration. Together with a shift away from a Fordist mode of production to a post-Fordist production system, the occupational structures began changing. The significance of the service economy increased, leading to an increase in the importance of the professional, administrative and technical occupations. The changes in the economy created social polarisation in terms of income and occupational status. The mass society was converting to a fragmented society. A new middle class emerged: professional people, mostly single, or young couples without children. Their residential choice reflected a different lifestyle, which included a preference for historic inner-city neighbourhoods that were both close to work and to cultural amenities next to the new financial and administrative centres. In part, the changing lifestyles and cultural preferences were expressed through old houses, especially in the inner-city, being bought and refurbished. Changes taking place in communication technology and the creation of an information society began changing the spatial structure of cities as well. While the financial and administrative functions and the producer services moved to the city centre, industrial production decentralised. (Beauregard 1986; Griffith 1995; Ley 1996; Smith 1986).

Parallel to the general changes summarised above and in close association with social polarisation, residential transformation took place in the abandoned and dilapidated old inner-city neighbourhoods through urban renewal and upgrading processes. The residential transformation included both reinvasion and residential revitalisation. Through reinvasion, upper status groups displaced lower status groups in inner-city areas leading to urban renewal and

Table 1. *Characteristics of the gentrification process in several countries.*

Characteristics of the gentrification process	Country										
	England	USA	Canada	Australia	The Netherlands	Mexico	South Africa	Hungary	Finland	France	Spain
Location											
Inner-city close to centre	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Historic centre					✓	✓					
Initiator											
Individuals (spontaneous)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓			✓	
Government	✓				✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Non-governmental organisations									✓		
Starting period											
1960s				✓							
1970s	✓	✓	✓		✓					✓	
1980s						✓		✓	✓		✓
1990s							✓				
New residents											
New middle-class households	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓	
Wealthy households		✓						✓	✓		✓
Artists			✓		✓						
Former residents							✓				

Source: Modified from Uzun 2001, p. 56.

rehabilitation. In residential revitalisation, on the other hand, two processes were witnessed: incumbent upgrading and gentrification. In incumbent upgrading, residents of a neighbourhood expend their money and effort in refurbishing their homes. Through gentrification, middle, and upper middle-income groups move into a neighbourhood, renovate homes and displace the indigeneous residents. Gentrification also involves the expression of socio-cultural preferences in living space, in addition to physical change (Holcomb & Beauregard 1981).

This paper concentrates on three cases of physical and socio-cultural residential transformation achieved through different processes in two different cities, Istanbul and Ankara. The aim is to discuss these different approaches and evaluate their impact on the resulting socio-economic and physical profile in each area. The transformation process in the cases chosen from Istanbul, namely Cihangir and Kuzguncuk, conform more to the terms of the general

definition of gentrification made by Smith (1979) and Ley (1996) respectively. They are also similar to other cases of gentrification in the Western context (Table 1). Both areas are located close to the inner-city centres. There has been a change in both the physical environment and the population composition of the two areas, as they have been partially invaded by higher income and distinct cultural groups. These two neighbourhoods have been chosen for study as they are well known as sites of gentrification.

In the third case, Dikmen, Ankara, the residential transformation was realised through government intervention with an urban renewal project. The aim of the Dikmen Valley Project (DVP) was urban renewal in a squatter settlement and was to keep the original population in its place. The DVP, located in a prominent valley in the city, is the largest renewal project implemented so far in Ankara, and thus, has been chosen for this study.

This paper is in four parts. Explanations of gentrification and urban renewal processes are given in the first part. This is followed by a description of the research methods used in the case studies. The results for each case study are then presented. The concluding section provides a general evaluation of the three cases.

URBAN RENEWAL AND GENTRIFICATION

Along with the ongoing residential transformation processes, urban renewal has been an important issue in the transformation of urban areas. Until the 1960s, urban renewal was interpreted as redevelopment involving the removal of the existing fabric and a change in the general layout of an area by the rearrangement of buildings and roads. Between the 1960s and 1970s, it was based on rehabilitation and renovation in the advanced capitalist countries, and upgrading and self-help in the squatter areas of developing countries.

Starting in the 1980s, urban renewal was evaluated within the context of globalisation and had new dimensions as regeneration and gentrification. As the cities expanded outwards, the inner-city areas became dilapidated and were associated with social, economic and physical problems, such as crime, delinquency and racial conflict. Urban renewal was seen as a response to these problems. Put more simply, it was seen as a physical change, or a change in the use or intensity of the use of land and buildings where the emphasis moved to achieve inner-city gentrification and the conservation of the historical fabric of the environment (Fainstein 1995; Lichfield 1988; Özkan 1998).

On the other hand, the dynamics behind the gentrification process and its variations, according to where gentrification occurs, have been explained in several studies since the 1970s (Badcock 1995; Beauregard 1990; Hamnett 1991; Lees 1996; Ley 1996; Palen & London 1984; Rose 1984; Smith 1996; Smith & Williams 1986; Van Weesep & Musterd 1991; Zukin 1987). In general, the aim of these studies has been to explain the process of the upgrading taking place next to the city centres, and how this trend might spread to the surrounding areas. Gentrification includes a change in the physical structure, but the process has broader impacts. The original inhabitants of the inner areas are liable to be displaced unwillingly. Little thought is given to where they would move afterwards. Most of the time they have to move to poorer residential areas. While their residential relocation is not usually planned beforehand, that of the replacing households is deliberate. Depending on the location of the residential neighbourhood, the gentrifiers may gain better access to urban centres and amenities. In addition, the process as a whole may be spontaneous, piecemeal and unplanned, even though individual moves are usually intentional.

The gentrification process itself has been explained in different ways. The explanations address the why, where, and how of gentrification, and also identify the actors. Approaches to the subject still under discussion can be divided into two general categories. The structuralist Marxist approach, led by Smith (1979), explains gentrification through the concept of a rent gap, which represents the difference between ground rent under present land-use and potential rent under a more profitable use. In Smith's view, the process starts with the decrease in land values in the inner-city. This occurs when over investment in the production sector steers capital towards the more profitable housing sector as in the case of suburbanisation outside the city centres. In its first stage, suburbanisation develops by attracting high-income groups. The concentration of housing investment in suburbia and the neglect of the inner-city results in a devalorisation of the inner-city housing stock. As an outcome of the urban restructuring process of the last three decades, interest in the inner-city housing stock increases. This, in turn, creates a rent gap, and redirects housing investment to the inner-city.

In the individual-oriented humanistic approach, led by Ley (1996), the cultural preferences and demographic characteristics of the gentrifiers are emphasised. Professionalisation of the workforce, changing gender relations within the household and the workplace, and a particular set of meanings for inner-city living are the driving forces behind the process. The gentrifiers are identified as a particular subgroup within the new middle class. They tend to be professionals in the arts and applied arts, the media, teaching, social services, and other public and non-profit sectors. According to Ley,

gentrification has two stages. In the first stage, pioneers, also named as the risk-oblivious group, choose inner-city locations because of their cultural values, lifestyle, and the historical value of the area. In the second stage, another group, also named as the risk-averse group, choose inner-city locations because of the investment opportunities. At the end of the second stage the pioneers may even be displaced by the risk-averse group.

The rent gap theory mainly considers the gentrification process on the supply side. On the other hand, by the humanistic approach the demand side of the gentrification process is considered. These two basic approaches might be considered together. At the initial stages of the gentrification process the risk-oblivious group helps with the creation of a rent gap unintentionally. As the rent gap increases, the risk-averse group moves to the area subject to gentrification. Therefore these two approaches might be considered as complimentary theories explaining the gentrification process (Clark 1994; Uzun 2001).

RESEARCH APPROACH

As the largest city in Turkey, with respect to population size, scale of economic activity, and the extent of its hinterland, Istanbul has maintained its importance as an economic, social and cultural centre throughout the centuries. The economic restructuring process of the 1980s affected the whole city both profoundly and rapidly, with the inner-city becoming socially and spatially segregated. The highest income groups prefer to move out to the periphery. There they live in luxurious enclaves that are well protected and inaccessible to the rest of the city. Middle-income groups are also trying to move out of the city, seeking alternatives in housing co-operatives and mass housing estates. On the other hand, squatter residents are faced with the effects of the increasing costs of living in the urban fringe. Meanwhile, certain sections of the inner-city are being gentrified.

The information about the two gentrified neighbourhoods, Cihangir and Kuzguncuk, used in this paper is based on a field survey of these neighbourhoods, in which a total of 191 questionnaires were conducted through face-to-face interviews in 1999 (Uzun 2001). At this point it should be noted that at present, formal statistical data enabling a study of gentrification in Istanbul based on a comparison through time does not exist. In the absence of systematic data on the demographic and physical characteristics of the neighbourhoods, a basis for drawing a random sample from the survey area was unavailable. Instead, a quota-sampling method had to be used. This sample was based on preliminary interviews, a review of written and visual material available, and visual surveys. For data collection, three methods were utilised. The first consisted of the collection and analysis of written and visual material related to the survey area. Although documents about the historical development of the neighbourhoods do exist, there is limited data on their present socio-economic and cultural states. Therefore, the second method utilised was to collect data through interviewing key informants. The third method was to conduct a sample survey among the gentrified population. In this paper, the data collected through both surveys and interviewing key informants together with the literature on these two neighbourhoods and Istanbul, are utilised.

As the capital of Turkey, Ankara displayed a pattern of growth shared with other Turkish cities. After the foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923, one of the basic planning issues was the elevation of Ankara, a modest town in Anatolia, to the status of capital city, involving the transfer of the capital city's functions from Istanbul to Ankara. Following the planned growth in the first years of the Republic, the city, surrounded by squatter houses from the 1950s onwards, grew rapidly. Starting in the 1970s, improvements in transport technology enabled higher and middle-income groups, squeezed into high-density inner areas, to move into peripheral housing areas. Thus, the extension of the city along the main axes began and developed with the addition of high-income suburban neighbourhoods. The squatter housing neighbourhoods, originally built on physical thresholds such as valley bottoms, sloping hillsides and the like, and located as near as possible to the Central Business District (CBD) of the city and the main transport axes, were now surrounded by the extended city (Altaban 1997; Şenyapılı 1997). Within the context of the urban restructuring process of the last 30 years,
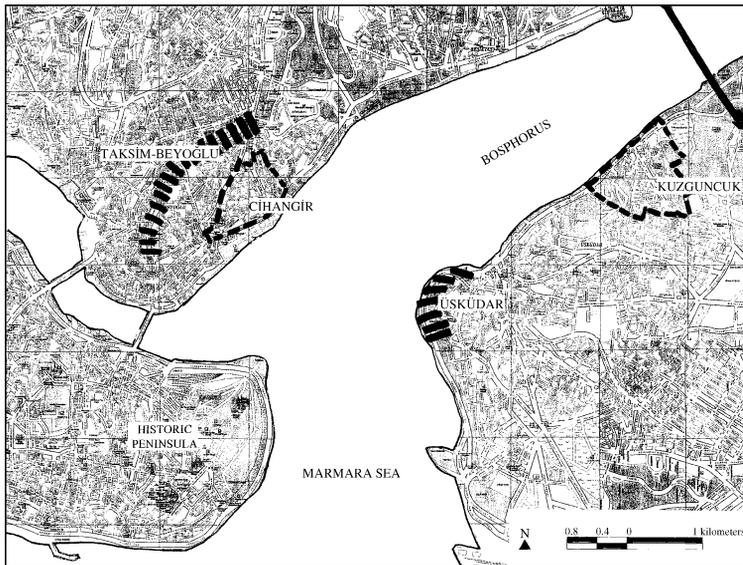
Figure 1. *The central part of Istanbul and location of Cihangir and Kuzguncuk.*

the transformation of the large-scale squatter neighbourhoods remaining on prominent elements of the extending city now became a problem for the local municipalities.

The information on the residents of the DVP area is based on 248 interviews undertaken in the area, in the summer of 1995 (Dündar 1997), these interviews were held in the newly built housing units in the area. Initially, field research was based on settlement characteristics of the project and then preliminary interviews were conducted with the residents. Three different questionnaires were prepared, for the original owner-occupiers, for tenants, and for new owners. The field research was not limited to the questionnaire results. In addition, open-ended interviews were conducted, written and visual data was examined, and all the lawsuits initiated against the project were analysed. In this paper, the results of the survey, which encompasses only 178 original owner-occupiers, are cited and supported with literature from the project.

GENTRIFICATION IN CİHANGİR

Cihangir, next to the Taksim-Beyoğlu Central Business District (CBD) of the city, is located on a hill with a panoramic view of the entrance to

the Bosphorus, with the historic peninsula and Üsküdar on the opposite shore, one of the best views in Istanbul (Figure 1).

Settlement in Cihangir dates back to the fifteenth century when Cihangir was a residential area where Christians and Jews lived. As in other old neighbourhoods of Istanbul, outside the city's historic peninsula, Cihangir was also a place where most inhabitants were non-Muslim until the mid-twentieth century. The construction of apartment buildings and stone houses at the end of the nineteenth century and in the first quarter of the twentieth century turned Cihangir into a dense residential neighbourhood. From the 1930s through to the 1950s, Cihangir was still a neighbourhood with a mixed population, but through time, it lost its mixed social character. Following the Second World War and after the foundation of the State of Israel, most of the non-Muslim population of Jewish origin emigrated out of Turkey. Gentrification in Cihangir does not have a clear-cut beginning; no date or event marks the starting point of the process. Initially, by the end of the 1980s, it was hard to distinguish the gentrifying trend from the ordinary maintenance and renovation activities taking place there.

Parallel to the transformation process in the city in the 1980s, the Taksim-Beyoğlu CBD,

started to regain its importance as a commercial and entertainment centre, which was lost in the 1970s when the CBD shifted towards the West, and responded to new consumption patterns. The transformation of the old business centre once more had an effect on adjacent Cihangir, and by the end of the 1980s, demand for dwellings in the neighbourhood started to increase. The appeal of the area was due to its view and proximity to the city centre. At first, artists and intellectuals showed a special interest in Cihangir because of its nostalgic ambiance and historic buildings. Cihangir became popular among artists, academics and writers in the 1990s, where individuals undertook most of the renovation activities. As the area became more popular in the 1990s, the population started to change rapidly, with the area being invaded by residents of a higher socio-economic and cultural status (Üstdiken 1993; Elmas 1999).

According to the survey results of 1999, the average household size and the average number of children per household were found to be close to the urban averages (Uzun 2001). Most households consisted of nuclear families. Most household heads and their spouses were born in Istanbul or in other urban centres of Turkey and had moved to Cihangir or had been living in Istanbul for several generations. The ratio of university graduates in Cihangir rose to 45.2%. More than half of all sampled households and their spouses spoke a foreign language and more than half of the employed households in the sample were artists or professionals. Some 31% of the population sampled declared that they watched art programmes on television, more than half read a newspaper every day. Interest in art is another indicator of the cultural profile of the population. In Cihangir, 7.1% of the households collected valuable art objects, such as paintings or antiques. In the process, the physical appearance of the nineteenth-century apartment houses were conserved as prestigious residences, and their inner spaces were redecorated (Figure 2). The new apartment houses that were built attempted to

Figure 2. *Facades of nineteenth-century apartment houses that are kept in their original form.*

catch the main design elements of the nine-teenth century in their structural appearance, despite the desire for profit maximisation.

The gentrification process in Cihangir was a slow one and proceeded at market conjuncture. The process gained velocity when entrepreneurs, sensing the demand and motivated by rising rents, followed the artists entering this favourably located area, accessible to urban centres and offering a view of the Bosphorus. Thus, this spatial transformation gained an investment dimension. The gentrification process was realised by independent actors, responding to the growing attraction of the area, proceeding on an individual basis. The area was invaded by a cultured group, followed by small-scale investors oriented by market conditions, all attracted by the location. The resulting increases in prices and cost of living in the area led to the further attraction effect of the high-income groups and to a pushing out effect on the existing residents in the area.

There has been no government intervention, except the declaration of a district, including Cihangir, as a protection zone by the Protection Law of Cultural and Natural Assets, in 1994. One of the aims of this law is to identify, register and protect properties of historical value. It prohibits construction in historic buildings unless permission has been granted by the local councils (Gedik 1997). Therefore this law limited construction in Cihangir and helped with the protection of nineteenth-century apartment houses that survived until 1994 in the area. Spatial transformation has been observed in inner residence spaces and reflected only in conservation of some of the old tissue. The environment is somewhat neglected in the process. Only recently, under the influence of rising urban property values, one of which is the conservation of historical heritage, the residents have become more conscious of environmental values, and with the efforts of the Cihangir Beautification Foundation, established in 1995.

GENTRIFICATION IN KUZGUNCUK

The settlement in Kuzguncuk, located by the Bosphorus on the Anatolian side of the city, also dates back to the fifteenth century (see Figure 1). The settlement is located inside a valley opening to the shore. The backbone of the settlement is İcadiye Street, which begins by the shore, runs inland passing through the valley, and climbs the slopes to the southeast, connecting most other streets within the neighbourhood.

The social space of Istanbul in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was structured around ethnic communities. In most of the neighbourhoods, the inhabitants had the same ethnic and religious background, where Kuzguncuk was an exception. It was known as the first Jewish settlement on the Anatolian side. It was also a settlement where the non-Muslim and Muslim population lived together for many years in a close and easy-going relationship. This continued until the mid-twentieth century. The out-migration of the non-Muslim population started at the end of the First World War. First, some Armenians moved away from Kuzguncuk. After the Second World War, and the foundation of the State of Israel, Greeks, Jews, and Armenians began to sell their houses; they either moved to other neighbourhoods in Istanbul, or out of the country (Akın 1993). The socio-cultural profile of Kuzguncuk in the late 1950s and early 1960s displayed a rural migrant population taking over the area from the original settlers.

Since the changes in Kuzguncuk were well documented, it was possible to determine the beginnings of gentrification. The transformation in Kuzguncuk began with the commitment of architect-author, Cengiz Bektaş, to the upgrading of the neighbourhood and flourished under his influence. It began in 1979, when he bought an old house in the neighbourhood and started to live there after upgrading it. He is a well-known architect in Turkish urban and professional circles. His fame rests not only on his architectural achievements but also on his books, his writings and talks on culture and conservation. Besides, his quest for a synthesis of the cultural past of society with contemporary cultural traits in the preservation of the environment has a very important effect in Kuzguncuk. By the time he moved to the neighbourhood, he was already a well-known and influential personality.

In the 1980s his artist friends, and those associated socially with them followed, buying the old houses in the area, while the original population was pleased to sell them and move on

Figure 3. *Upgraded houses in Kuzguncuk.*

to modern neighbourhoods in the city. Thus, a population exchange began in the area. This exchange, however, slowed in time, as Kuzguncuk became a neighbourhood preferred by architects, artists and writers. This group also began to organise social activities in the neighbourhood, along with upgrading and rehabilitating the built environment with the residents (Figure 3). The newcomers not only succeeded in mobilising residents, making them aware of the value of the environment they lived in, but also succeeded in making an example of the neighbourhood city wide.

In Kuzguncuk, as in Cihangir, the average household size and the average number of children per household were close to the city average. Families were predominantly nuclear and the percentage of Istanbul born and bred households and spouses was higher compared to neighbouring areas (Uzun 2001). Most had moved to Kuzguncuk from other urban centres or had lived in Istanbul for generations. Some 32.1% of the residents of the area were university graduates. The residents had higher levels of proficiency in foreign languages. More than half of the employed households were professionals and traders and had artisan occupations. The percentage of artists was high. About 75.5% of the population sampled read a newspaper every day, and art-based programmes and international television channels were popular and a further 11.3% collected valuable art. The population seemed to prefer to affiliate with art, social and local organisations.

So gentrification in Kuzguncuk was realised more through the existing population consciously conserving the identity of the area and certain urban values rather than through a change of population. Kuzguncuk at present is an example of conservation and gentrification, with its well-protected historical building stock, its clean streets, walls painted by artists, children and residents, and with public gatherings held in the streets. Since the renewal in Kuzguncuk was consciously organised with the consensus of old and new residents, all existing eighteenth-

and nineteenth-century buildings in the neigh-
bourhood could be kept and preserved almost
in their original forms. Part of the original popu-
lation still resides in the area. So, compared
to the case in Cihangir, in Kuzguncuk, under
the leadership of the artist group, the area was
gentrified while displacement of the original
population was limited.

The government contributed to the con-
servation process through legislation, which
prohibited new construction in the area
completely. Kuzguncuk is located in the front-
sight area determined by the Bosphorus Devel-
opment Law passed in 1983. This very specific
legislation aimed to protect the existing skyline
along the shore and the natural environment.
Therefore, it restricted construction in the
front-sight areas and puts limits on construction
in the other zones (Ekinci 1993).

The transformation in Kuzguncuk resulted in
increased public awareness, the public identify-
ing itself with space, the taking of space as a
reference point for identity, the development of
feelings of pride and belonging, the achieve-
ment of social unification, and a conscious con-
servation of the environment. There has been
a positive impact in the city and this case is often
cited as a positive, stimulating example. There
has been a limited transfer of population and
a conservation of the historical fabric of the
buildings has been achieved.

URBAN RENEWAL THROUGH THE DİKMEN VALLEY PROJECT (DVP)

Dikmen Valley was one of the main areas of the
city occupied by squatters, extending in a south-
north direction for 5 km (Figure 4). The valley
is surrounded by high and middle-class hous-
ing in the east and west. The DVP was designed
as an urban renewal and development project
by a private planning company, in co-operation
with the Greater Ankara Municipality and other
district municipalities in Ankara. The aims
were to transform the valley to a recreation area
on a city scale, to create a commercial, cultural
and social urban node that could provide city-
wide service, and to solve the housing problem
of the 1,080 squatters living in about 550 houses
(Figure 5) in the project area with a relocation
model based on self-financing structure and
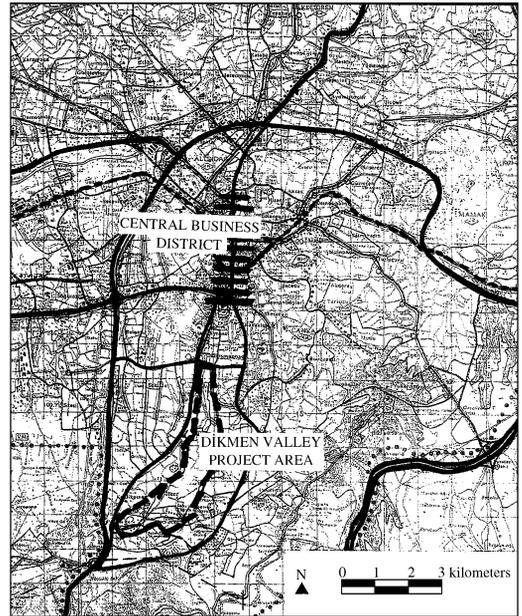participation (Metropol İmar 1994).

Figure 4. *The central part of Ankara and location of the DVP area.*

Figure 5. *Squatter houses in the DVP area before the implementation.*

The project started in 1989 and initially, the
inhabitants of the squatter houses were moved
out of the area to temporary residences as
tenants, and their rents were paid by the munic-
ipality. After the demolition of the squatter
houses, small, prefabricated apartment houses
were built for the squatters lining the edges of
the valley, now rearranged as a large green park.
As the first phase of the project was finished,
the squatters moved into their new apartments.
The owners were mostly migrants from inner

Anatolian towns (84.7%) who came to Ankara during 1940 to 1970. Average family size was around four; almost half were graduates of primary school (45.3%) and 5.4% were illiterate. Most owners were retired (44.9%), and most of the active work force was employed in the public sector as salaried employees (18.3%), followed by labourers (12.8%), and 54.7% did not read newspapers (Dündar 1997).

One of the most important aims of the project was to keep the original population in the valley in small-scale, prefabricated housing. These houses now occupy the two edges of the valley extending to the north. The south of the valley has been developed into luxury triplex villas. These two different styles of housing are separated by a 'prestige' bridge (Figures 6 and 7), with expensive stores, flanked by two high-income residential towers on both ends. This residential and commercial bridge complex may have been considered and planned as an integration zone for the two different residential populations, but in fact the opposite happened. Gentrification occurred in the neighbourhoods next to the southern section of the valley, as the luxury villas were occupied by the prestigious rich of the city. The prestige bridge complex, which was expected to integrate the two different populations, failed to fulfil this function, as both residences and shops still remain vacant. The northern prefabricated housing section of the valley remains socially segregated from the luxurious developments in the south. Besides, the middle and higher middle-income groups are located next to the northern section of the valley. The valley thus developed into an area of social segregation and conflict.

Squatter lifestyles remain in the northern section of the valley, with rugs being collectively washed and dried in the streets, women dressing more in the village style, and coming together, drinking tea on the fire escapes. They are not used to the apartment style of life and are not comfortable in small apartments. So, they have moved to peripheral settlements, and tend to leave their residences in time and move elsewhere as soon as they can afford to do so. Land and property prices in the vicinity of the southern section became so high that even the municipality is now paralysed, as it can no longer afford to expropriate property to develop the environment.

Figure 6. *Prestige bridge in front, high-rise luxurious apartment houses at the back.*

Figure 7. *A tower of the prestige bridge on the left and the prefabricated houses on the right.*

Regarding the DVP it can be concluded that, in trying to solve the problems of derelict areas, especially in central locations with partial improvement plans that do not take the social and physical integration with the city into account, and without citizen participation, the project may fall short of creating a sustainable and liveable environment for the original dwellers.

CONCLUSION

The three residential transformation cases examined in this paper had different characters, and therefore different impacts on the social and spatial structure.

In case of Cihangir, the gentrification process initiated spontaneously and market forces stimulated transformation. Because of its location next to the old city centre which regained its importance within the context of the urban regeneration processes of the 1980s and its

reputation as an old prestigious Ottoman and early Republican residential settlement, Cihangir's market attraction increased. The risk-oblivious group defined by Ley's humanistic approach is present in the area and the ongoing structure of gentrification process in this neighbourhood also fits the rent gap theory of Smith. On the other hand, most of the existing nineteenth-century apartment houses in the area are kept in their original form in spite of market forces. This is achieved by government intervention through legislation.

It is possible to explain gentrification in Kuzguncuk through the humanistic approach of Ley. The movement was led by a charismatic and effective leader, who was followed by other artists settling in the area. This group can be regarded as the risk-oblivious group. They succeeded in motivating the residents. They achieved an increase in awareness and sensitivity towards preservation and the conservation of the physical environment. Thus, the pioneers are not displaced by the investors. Through legislation the area was preserved and negative effects of market forces in the area were avoided in Kuzguncuk. In other words, government intervention hindered the effect of the rent gap.

In the third case, residential transformation was planned by the government intervention through DVP. Different from the cases in Istanbul, the spatial transformation in the area was remarkable and had a positive visual effect on urban fabric. However, socially, the small-scale prefabricated apartment houses built alongside the valley sides as alternative solutions to squatter houses did not turn out to be suitable for squatter families. The existence of luxurious villas and the twin towers built together with the prefabricated houses, where a semi-rural life style continued, created a dual social structure. The original population, squeezed between increasing living costs in the area and dual social structures, started to leave. They sold or rented their apartments and moved to new squatter housing or low-income apartment housing areas in the periphery. Therefore the transformation problem has shifted to other areas of the city.

It is possible to derive certain conclusions from these three cases, which might be useful in guiding the residential transformation processes currently on the urban agenda.

The transformation processes resulting from activation of market forces, as in the case of Cihangir, may expand in time, also drawing population groups who may be at similar economic but different socio-cultural levels, and thus may result in the failure of the structure of joint social targets and aims. So in the initial stages, transformation remains at an individual household or building level and fails to include the environment. As the transformation continues living standards and living costs increase where more and more value judgements become based on economic criteria in the area. As a result the original population might no longer be able to sustain its existence in this heterogeneous social environment and might leave the area as in Cihangir.

Alternatively, if one of the main objectives of an improvement project is to keep most of the original population in the area and enable them to achieve a transformation process themselves to a certain extent, then the model applied in Kuzguncuk gives the impression that the inclusion of the residents in the project from the very beginning may be the best solution leading to achievement and maintenance of success. This inclusion could be achieved by providing examples that would help to convince, inform and motivate residents and increase their consciousness. In the third case, in the Dikmen Valley, the local government directly controlled the transformation but failed. This was first due to the failure in constructing an organisation that would inform, persuade and motivate the former squatters and enable their participation. As a result, the cultural pressures driving the population out of the area had an especially negative impact on the young squatter generation, pushing them to pessimism and disillusionment.

Second, the development of the DVP, independent from the urban whole, resulted in the failure of the building of efficient connections and interrelations between the valley and other important urban nodes, such as one city centre, focal transportation points, other valley developments, and major residential areas. Therefore social and spatial integration with the city was absent and transformation of the DVP has been realised as a model unique to the area.

Several proposals on residential transformation processes can be made referring to the

cases discussed in this paper. In areas where residential transformation is to be led by market forces, governments should take necessary precautions for the inclusion of the environment in the development process, usually ignored by transformations realised at individual or on a single building basis. In order to accelerate development, including the environment, again a solution may be sought in civic organisations.

In cases where efficient participation of the population is present, transformation will not only be limited by physical tissue but will include the environment as well. This can be achieved with convincing examples and increasing consciousness. Thus, implementation will be more easy and the project will be assimilated and absorbed by the residents. More importantly, it may be possible to create a common sociocultural environment shared by all with reference to spatial development and transformation. Governments can provide the legal framework of rules and regulations for such projects.

When the transformation is realised by the government, the problems faced in the DVP should be avoided. So the project should be developed within the framework of the City's strategic structure plans and participation should not be limited to informing the population on an individual or co-operative basis, but encouragement of the building of civic organisations to lead the project may be more beneficial and efficient. Again, the importance of actual examples should be underlined in environments where public confidence and education levels are comparatively lower.

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