

FUNCTIONAL DECLINE IN THE CASE OF
SALIPAZARI, ISTANBUL

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ABSTRACT

FUNCTIONAL DECLINE IN THE CASE OF SALIPAZARI, ISTANBUL

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Urban decline is one of the most important factors dealing with the creation of urban ills and formation of slums in the city centers. This study investigates the roots of urban decline in urban areas. In order to do so, symptoms, types, causes and participant factors dealing with the process of urban decline are investigated. Also functional decline, as one of the most important triggers of urban decline, is introduced and its force that results in low quality of urban places is explored. The scale of participant factors in the process of functional decline is various. These factors are observed from changes in the global political trends and economy till the regulation changes in local scale. Moreover the ways of talking with urban and functional decline, that is classified into four major category of political considerations, economic financing, planning policy and enhancing the quality of places are explored. Finally the forces of urban and functional decline that have lead to low quality of place in the case of Salipazari, Istanbul are examined. As the scale of study area is in the neighborhood scale, the most important concern will be on the low quality of place in exploring decline in this area.

Keywords: city center, neighborhood, urban places, urban decline, functional decline, urban social activities.

ÖZ

İSTANBUL SALIPAZARI ÖRNEĞİNDE İŞLEVSEL BOZULMA

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Kentsel bozulma, kentsel problemlerin ve kent merkezindeki çöküntü alanlarının oluşmasının ele alınmasında en önemli değişkenlerden biridir. Bu çalışmada kentsel alanlarda kentsel bozulma temel nedenleri araştırılmaktadır. Bu amaçla, kentsel bozulmanın belirtileri, çeşitleri, nedenleri ve etkileyen değişkenler incelenmiştir. Tüm bunlarla birlikte, kentsel bozulmanın en önemli tetikleyicilerinden biri olan işlevsel bozulma tanımlanmakta ve düşük nitelikli kentsel alanların oluşmasına yol açması irdelenmektedir. İşlevsel bozulma sürecinde etken olan değişkenler çeşitlilik göstermektedir. Bu değişkenler küresel politik yönelimler ve ekonomiden yerel düzenlemeler kadar olan ölçeklerde gözlemlenmiştir. Bununla birlikte kentsel ve işlevsel bozulmanın ele alınışı politik nedenler, ekonomik yapı, planlama siyasaları ve yerlerin niteliklerinin yükseltilmesi şeklinde dört temel grupta değerlendirilmiştir. Son olarak, İstanbul Salıpazarı'nda düşük nitelikli yerlerin orataya çıkmasına yol açan kentsel ve işlevsel dönüşümler incelenmiştir. Çalışma alanının mahalle ölçeğinde olması nedeni ile yerin düşük nitelikliği bozulmanın ele alınmasında en önemli konu olmuştur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: kent merkezi, mahalle, kentsel yerler, kentsel bozulma, işlevsel bozulma, kentsel sosyal aktiviteler.

To Memory of my Father

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction



Figure 1.1: Kiliç Ali Paşa mosque and Tophane fountain.

“The city is man’s most consistent and on the whole, his most successful attempt to remake the world he lives in more after his heart’s desire. But, if the city is the world which man created, it is the world in which he is henceforth condemned to live. Thus, indirectly, and without any clear sense of the nature of his task, in making the city man has remade himself”.

Robert E. Park

Cities play an essential role in the economic and social growth of a country. Indeed cities are the starting point of civilization. Following the global tendencies towards suburbanization that has started in the USA following the so-called “American dream,” city centers have faced essential and critical changes. The neighborhoods of city centers are in danger of severe decline due to relocation of people towards the suburbs (mainly the upper class). As healthy and dynamic neighborhoods can lead a city to economic and social prosperity, in the same way, deteriorated neighborhoods can lead cities towards decline. Decline could penetrate from neighborhoods to the whole city thus neighborhood revitalization and specifically central areas are important concerns for the state.

Urban decline is a common problem across the world. One of the major issues of urban decline is functional deterioration of urban areas. Functional decline can be defined as the loss of the importance of some functions in particular urban areas through time. It is also one of the most important forces that lead urban areas towards decline. The aim in this thesis is to introduce the

problems of functional decline that neighborhoods and cities can face or encounter in the process of urban decline through analyzing the case of Salıpazarı, Istanbul. The relation between functional decline and urban decline in Salıpazarı will be questioned.

There are several research questions in this thesis. The first question is ‘what is urban decline and what are the most important factors related with creation and resuming of urban decline’? This question is discussed in chapter two. In order to address the problems related with urban decline first its symptoms is discussed then its types and factors related in the process of urban decline is introduced, and finally its causes and reasons are explored. The second question that must be considered is: ‘what is functional decline and what are the determinant factors in this process’? This question is explored in third chapter. In this chapter after a survey on the roots of functional decline, the consequences of functional decline are studied. In the fourth chapter the question of ‘what are the principal factors in dealing with urban and functional decline?’ is debated. In this context four major categories such as political considerations, planning policy, economic financing and enhancing the quality of places are considered. ‘How much and in what extend the contributor elements in the process of functional decline is affected the process of urban decline in Salıpazarı, Istanbul’ is examined in chapter five. And finally a general conclusion about the forces of urban decline and determinant factors of functional decline in this process, and the factors that affect the process of decline in Salıpazarı, Istanbul will be drawn in chapter six.

1.1 The context of the Study (Redevelopment schemes in last century)

During the 20th century, the entire globe witnessed paradigm shifts in the core concept and perception of the world. In the field of urban changes, population growth is not the main factor affecting urban areas anymore, as it was in the industrial revolution period. These days the changes are more spatial and sectoral, originating from the economy of urban areas that leads to the population moving “between or within existing urban area.”¹ These changes lead cities towards some particular approaches of urban redevelopment.

The rapid changes in the shape of the cities (mostly in west) were sparked by the Industrial Revolution. Cities, like other aspects of life, were affected by the industrial revolution. The industrial revolution according to Hobsbawm was “not merely an acceleration of economic growth, but an acceleration growth because of, and through, economic and social transformation.”² As factories were established mostly in the urban areas, immigration from rural areas to the cities began. The urban population increased and cities expanded. Furthermore, improvement in medical sciences and public health mostly in urban areas led to massive population growth and therefore the need for more houses and public facilities increased. Housing demand doubled, and in some areas tripled. Consequently the competition for best location in the city centers started, land prices increased, land use patterns changed and urban development entered in a new phase. Cities saw great competition to attract mobile capital and labor. In the other words market-led processes lead the urban fabric towards a different restructuring (for example in population densities and land-use relations, etc.) As approximately the half of the housing needs were replacement projects³, the issue of urban renewal became one of the important aspects of urban development in this period. From mid-19th century, attentions were turned to the controlling urban growth, and states were trying to control this huge rate of construction and improvements in the urban context (housing standards, removing the slums, etc.) Previously, redevelopment projects, that in those times took the form of renewal, were influenced by market forces in order to respond to the needs of the market and of course to achieve profit, and the state did not have much concern for this issue. Gradually as the century progressed and lesson were learnt, it was decided that renewal and rehousing problems were a public problem and that the state had the responsibility to deal with the urban redevelopment projects. In order to improve social conditions, states gradually started to define some rules in order to control and improve the situation. The state also had to intervene in some areas such as developing urban infrastructure, which private sector was not involved due to its low level of profitability. This infrastructure is not only an inevitable issue for better social conditions, but is also essential for a city’s image in the field of competition between other cities.

¹ Couch, 1990,1.

² Hobsbawm, 1968, 34.

³ In U.K according to Couch, 1990, 8.

States, by utilizing urban renewal plans, tried to enhance the well-being and quality of physical condition of neighborhoods and to increase local economy and consequently employment levels in the cities.

After World War II, due to housing shortages, beside the improvement of housing industry that lead to the formation of large construction firms and industrial mass production and in parallel with the modern movement, there was a shift in new developments and the replacement of housing in overcrowded and slum areas for working class towards high-rise housing. However, after a while the high-rise buildings became the major focus of improvement and clearance because of their weak construction, in situ problems and more specifically due to absence of the sense of belonging⁴.

Another change that happened during the process of urban redevelopment was a greater attention on the quality of housing in the renewal process, or in other words the shift from clearance approach to improvement and rehabilitation of the urban areas. In the past, due to huge demand in housing sector, attention was only on slum housing replacement and building more houses, but gradually the high quality of housing became the priority and as those houses were structurally in a good situation there were no need to demolish and rebuild them and they could remain in a good condition with renovation. Moreover as the worldwide concerns were focused on the problems and the limits of energy recourses, and the vulnerability of civic heritage and natural habitats, gradually the idea of redevelopment gained much more attention. The other important reason for this approach was the social quality of the neighborhoods. As traditional one or two story buildings were replaced with high-rise buildings, the social bond in some neighborhoods disappeared.

As redevelopment issues progressed the question of what factor affected the quality of life in the city centers the most arose. This question was mainly debated during the two decades of 1970s and 1980s and after a number of experiments, actions, projects and research programs involving the city center problem, it was inferred that the most essential problem related with the city center problems is economic problems⁵. It was clear that the economic weakness of slum areas could not be abandoned and it must be solved in the area. In addition, there were other major problems such as social and educational deficiencies in inner cities and increasing racial tensions, mostly arising from immigration. There were some actions and projects designed to address these problems such as investment in social and community-based development projects or funds dedicated to improving the level if education in the slum and inner city areas essentially for children, but main problem, the issue of economic hardship, remained unsolved. It is obvious that the projects and plans that had not predicted economic problems in the city centers were temporary and short term. There was some action toward economic redevelopment and regeneration of city centers mainly to provide more employments for unskilled and semi-skilled workers and then decrease the rate of population loss in the inner city areas. But the main shift was in one the most important policies towards encouraging private sector investment. This movement changed “the nature of partnership from being a central-local government relationship to being partnership to being a public-private sector relationship.”⁶

One of the other significant factors affecting the strategic thought of the cities and the approach to redevelopment (revitalization) approaches, especially in larger cities, was population decrease. In particular, during the 1970s, as more areas were rendered useless by the population decline process, city centers were in danger of facing urban decline and authorities had no choice but to reduce the densities of the urban context. We have to consider that neglecting neighborhoods that have few problems but are in a period of decline at one time can lead to a severe decline, transformation into a slum and the eventual abandonment of the neighborhood. In this situation it is very hard task to revitalize the neighborhood.

⁴ Mostly in U.K.

⁵ Couch, 1990, 44.

⁶ Couch, 1990,46.

In summary, in addition to the improvement in transportation and its physical impact mostly on city centers, changing economic activities from the traditional manufacturing form of production to recent forms of trade and service sector and the economic situation of low income groups that live mostly in the inner city areas, having a huge effect on urban redevelopment plans, there are two other economic reasons that have a great influence on this process. Firstly, the urban context has to be “constantly being reconstructed in order to maintain the efficiency of the capital system, including the maintenance of adequate markets for goods and services”. And the second factor is “the struggle between labor and capital over the distribution of resources”⁷ within a city. All these issues have great interaction and influence over each other, relating with the process of urban redevelopment, and leads it with three distinct approaches⁸. The first one is the market led approach that leads to “adapting urban areas to the changing needs and demands of capital”. The second one is “the form of state social expenditure to ensure social harmony and well-being”. And the third is “the form of state social physical capital investment and state regulation to facilitate profitable private sector property development.”⁹

1.2 General patterns

Regeneration schemes in different areas can take different forms. Authorities do not follow the same defined outline for every locality, yet there are some patterns that every regeneration scheme has to consider. The main factors that participate in the regeneration process shown in figure one are: physical renewal, functional revitalization, social rehabilitation and economic reinforcement. In this account there are two issues of housing problems and strategic context that must also be considered.

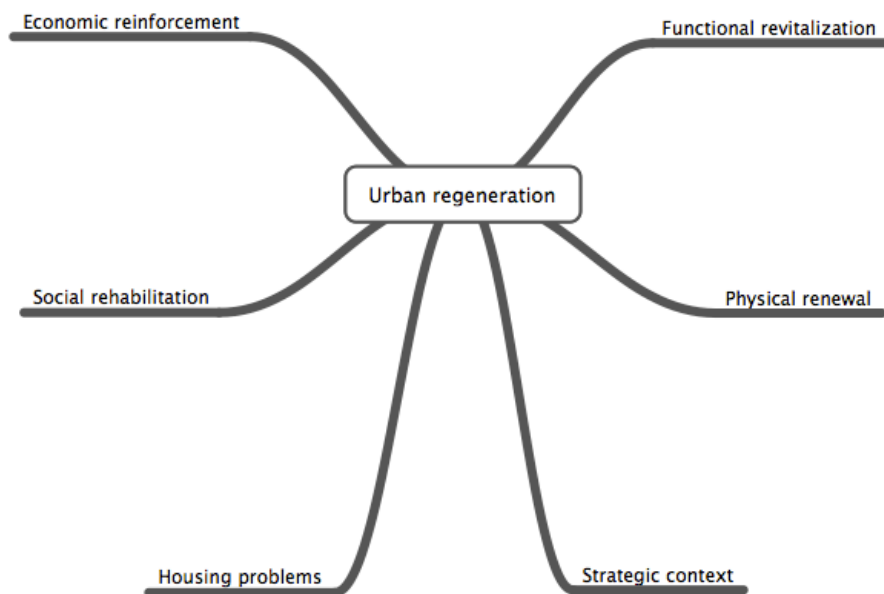


Figure 1.2: The participant factors in the context of urban regeneration. The issue of functional decline is investigated in the category of Functional Revitalization.

1.2.1 Physical renewal (and environmental quality)

The physical and environmental quality of a city and its immediate vicinity is known as an indicator of city’s prosperity and a neighborhood’s livability. Physical renewal is one of the most

⁷ Couch, 1990,47.

⁸ These approaches are relevant issues in Europe and US and in other localities could vary due to local circumstances.

⁹ Couch, 1990,47.

important aspects of urban regeneration and we can observe it in almost all examples of regeneration. In this process the first issue is evaluating existing situation and understanding the potentials and shortages of the existing context (SWOT analysis), then providing schemes in order to improve the condition of area. Physical regeneration can be done at regional, urban and neighborhood scales. It not only includes buildings but also land, urban spaces, the environment, open spaces, services and even telecommunications and transportation infrastructure, all of which are parts of physical stock and the subject of physical regeneration. In dealing with regeneration programs (regional and urban) on a larger scale, somehow the intangible and strategic context is in debate, but in dealing with smaller areas such as neighborhoods mostly physical and tangible aspects of space are in take the main attention. Depending on characteristics and forces that influence each locality, such as regulations, the economic situation of area and funding resources, the solutions vary. In the other words it is a “progression to most suitable approaches rather than succession of different approaches.”¹⁰ Obsolete physical stock, polluted sites, vacant lands, abandoned buildings and decaying city centers are indicators of an economic sunset and poverty in an area. In order to attract investment and labor power to a city and specially to survive in the competitive market these factors have to be eliminated. Land use reclamation, improving transportation capacity, better housing quality, city center revitalization and dissolving congestion problem with better services are the most common solutions. Physical regeneration by its very nature can remove constraints and lead towards changes in an urban area. Flagship projects such as building opportunity areas (London) and leadership organizations such as the European Commission’s Urban Pilot Projects are good examples of this approach. One of the important recent concerns involving physical regeneration is combining it with socio-economic aspects as an integrated process taking into account the impact of information and communication technologies that have affected the shape of the cities, economic activities and social relations¹¹.

1.2.2 Functional revitalization

The other issue that is important in this context is functional decline. Sometimes neighborhoods and even cities, due to the local or global shifts and circumstances, lose their importance, or their “function” and usage within the greater system. The extensive and rapid changes that have happened across the world in recent times have resulted in the situation where some cities have been unable to keep up and have lost their function in the market. Previously having had good relations with the industrial world is not sufficient in order to survive within the new system. Cities have to provide the functions needed in the competitive market in order to maintain and attract moving capital in the global market. It must be taken into account that an inability to quickly adapt to changes is one of the important issues that most urban areas are suffering, and regeneration plans must consider not only the existing demands but also the future functions, needs and changing circumstances of the world (also this issue is a part of strategic context). Also the solutions in order to responding the local shortages must be considered using of course local and global opportunities. This study investigates the roots of decline and its functional problems in urban areas in the process of Functional Revitalization.

1.2.3 Social rehabilitation

Recent developments in telecommunications technology and information advances have made staffing much easier than before¹². Everything is possible through the Internet and virtual space, and the sense of community and togetherness are weakened. The purpose of participation and partnership in the civic activities between people and institutions is to involve people in the social activities and thus strengthening social bonds and the sense of togetherness, belonging and promotion of trust in the community. Research has shown that crime rates and other social injuries have a close relationship with social inter-relationship and bonds among people of a region. Social problems vary in different localities and under different circumstances. However, there are some issues that almost all regeneration schemes have to consider. Like all aspects involving the urban regeneration process, economic decline and unemployment rates are one of the most critical and essential aspects of social problems. Frameworks must take to account different personal

¹⁰ Jeffery and Pounder *et al.*, 2000, 90.

¹¹ Jeffery and Pounder *et al.*, 2000, 97.

¹² Recent means the millennium era regards to former way of life that communication was physical rather than virtual.

characteristics such as age and gender. For example in a region where the majority of people are elderly, public healthcare policies are a major concern, but in the younger communities major attention is given to recreation and sport centers. Schemes must also consider marginal groups such as ethnic minorities. The establishment of community organizations is one essential step towards in creating capacity and social empowerment. In recent years, non-profit organizations have played a vital role dealing with social problems.

1.2.4 Economic reinforcement

As global economy has undergone a major change over the past three decades, the traditional economy that was inherited from industrial revolution is no longer a major source of profit. Consequently cities have had no choice but to change their economic structure in parallel with the global economy. Thus the “development of urban policy over past three decades has been a process of responding to the continually changing nature of a modern economy and its spatial manifestation.”¹³

There are four phases of urban policy changes in the post-war years that have responded to economic decline¹⁴. The first phase was from the mid-1960s until the mid-1970s. During this period, the most essential concern was dealing with families living in deprivation in small areas. “It assumed poverty was a limited problem concentrated in small areas within which a definable anti-social culture could be identified,”¹⁵ and the most important challenge was tackling social problems. The second phase was from the establishment of the 1977 white paper¹⁶ until the early 1980s. During this period, the efforts were made towards improving industrial supply by providing more lands in inner city to economic activities and attracting investment into these areas. This was the beginning of the economic approach to urban regeneration with the launch of Industrial Improvement Areas, Derelict Land and Urban Development Grants and Enterprise Zones. In the third phase that was from early 1980s till 1988, we can observe a transition of management from local authorities to central governments. Central governments helped the private sector to contribute to the urban regeneration process by carrying out two major processes. They encouraged private sector to establish some organizations and agencies such as urban development corporations (UDCs) to participate and introduce new schemes. Parallel with these agencies, they facilitated an environment of partnership between the public and private sector (for example mixed-use commercial projects were one of the partnership projects). The fourth phase was carried out after the publication of a document called Action for Cities in the 1988. During this period, control was returned to local authorities because of a consensus “that the nature of the urban problems varied between different localities and that urban regeneration strategies needed to be developed and owned by the local communities.”¹⁷

There are some principals that help economic vitality. Some of them are as such:

- Similar to the other parts of the urban regeneration, economic regeneration must essentially be a multi-sectorial participatory partnership among national government, local authority, private sector and voluntary agencies.
- Management and leadership control must be in the hands of local authorities under supervision of central government. Local authorities introduce vision and mainstream actions.
- There must be acceptable and continuous investment in infrastructure (such as transportation, economic infrastructures, housing and employment opportunities) to absorb and stimulate private investment.
- Environmental improvement and strong emphasis on local characteristics of a region can attract capital and a work force (mainly skilled) to a region.
- Urban economic policies must continue to be dynamic and responsive to changing circumstances of global economy.

¹³ Noon *et al.*, 2000, 61.

¹⁴ In Britain, Lawless. P, 1988.

¹⁵ Lawless. P, 1988, 532.

¹⁶ Department of environment, 1977.

¹⁷ Noon *et al.*, 2000, 67.

- When needed, providing support grants to decrease entering capital thresholds to the economic activities can encourage them to enter the market (recent crises situation).
- As economies have become globalized, the telecommunication infrastructure, in addition to air and rail hubs, to connect to the national and international market plays vital role¹⁸.

1.2.5 Strategic context

In recent¹⁹ years there has been a large consensus “that a successful urban regeneration scheme is required to be a strategic approach, locally based, multi-sector and multi-agency partnership approach,”²⁰ in order to respond to paradigm shifts currently being experienced across the world. Global, economic and social changes have restructured the obstacles and problems of the cities. Previously projects were ad-hoc undertakings without considering the role of the projects on bigger scale and its relationship with other institutions and urban economy and moreover without having any long-term vision.

Strategic frameworks are usually regional plans that consider local priorities for each locality. It is hard to restrict them to specifics but there are two major rules that each strategic framework must take to account. The first issue is that each strategic framework must be a participatory plan. There must be shared consensus between and within all organizations, institutions, groups, and even individuals that the plan covers. And the second principal is that every strategic plan has to be environmental friendly. Furthermore there are some more features that help the prosperity of the plan. A clear vision is one of the most important characteristics that a strategic plan has to define. Vision covers long-term objectives that a specific region is aiming towards. Also it must take to the account short-term costs and projects. In addition, a strategic framework should:

- use all available resources to achieve a vision;
- take to account the global and national competitiveness in order to achieve a prosperous economy;
- use the potentials and opportunities and overcome weaknesses (according to SWOT analysis);
- create a link between public, private and community institutions;
- make co-ordination between sub-regional, regional, national, international (such as European Union) policies and global circumstances;
- anticipate a monitoring and evaluation system over the affairs and,
- provide a “bridge between top-down and bottom-up approaches”²¹

An urban regeneration strategic plan must also:

- bring added value;
- use and combine different policy instruments and approaches towards the vision;
- clearly integrate the different economic, environmental and social priorities of the regeneration strategy;
- identify the role of public, private and community institutions and their financial contributions;
- Integrate, vertically and horizontally, the policies, activities and resources of those institutions;
- Specify relationship between short, medium and long-term goals; and
- encourage towards a multi-sectorial partnership in understanding, actions and interests²².

1.2.6 Housing

When talking about the quality of life, the first characteristic that comes to the mind is the quality of housing; thus housing is one of most major concerns in urban regeneration schemes. We have to consider that just monolithic houses without enough economic and commercial activities can feel

¹⁸ Noon *et al.*, 2000, 84.

¹⁹ Particularly after 1990s in Europe and U.K.

²⁰ Carter, 2000, 37.

²¹ Carter, 2000, 42.

²² Carter, 2000, 55.

like dormitory accommodation and these areas have the potential to become slum neighborhoods. On the other hand “soul-less commercial districts intimidate the ordinary citizen,”²³ and these areas have a big tendency for crime, especially after finishing working hours. Successful housing projects are an inseparable part of regeneration frameworks, or in better words regeneration without housing means areas without life. Decent housing not only enhances the quality of life but also stimulates physical and economic improvement and attracts investment and labor power too. According to G William, 80 percent of development projects in U.K are related to housing, due to this fact that living space and its quality have a great influence in people’s life.²⁴ Moreover, housing issues are highly connected with reduction of social exclusion and enhancing social integration and welfare. Housing markets are highly affected by demographic changes, immigration patterns and housing quality standards in a particular region. It has to be taken into account that then need for housing has grown in recent years. This phenomenon is not only because of population growth and demographic changes but also due to social changes such as attitudes towards living alone, the decreasing the age of leaving parental home and the increasing divorce rate. It is very hard job to determine accurate housing needs, but there are some essential factors and key concerns related with housing needs and quality of life that is summarized below.

- Housing prices. Without sufficient and efficient housing projects the price of decent housing will raise and this will force poor families into slums and substandard dwellings. Thus in order to maintain prices in a reasonable level housing projects must be predicted taking into account the demand level.
- Mixed use. This issue is one of the key aspects that are recommended in sustainability agendas. Furthermore one of the aspects of quality of living place is its proximity to working areas.
- Joint finance and partnership. This issue not only facilitates the projects but also have psychological effect (if someone has participated in building something it is obvious they will not allow it to be destroyed easily).
- Healthy community is another issue that embraces healthcare, slum clearance, crime rates, security, etc.
- Social amenities
- Recreation spaces and leisure activities
- Transportation and access to road network
- Access to shopping and commercial activities
- Land availability. There is a consensus (mainly in EU) that new urban schemes should no longer take place on greenfield areas. For example in London, by reusing the redundant office building, approximately 50,000 new homes could be created. The main challenge should be the refurbishment of vacant lands such as traditional industrial and surplus commercial lots²⁵.

1.3 Method of the research

This study in the field of its methodology is divided into three major parts. First topic is the core concept or the question that is asked. Second part is the propositions that “involve the formulation of general statements above the empirical world”²⁶. Third and the final one is the research design. In this parts methods and strategies that address the problem towards finding comprehensive solutions are introduced.

The major question that involves the research at the first stage is that why there is a need for Urban Regeneration and what does need this action? Because there is a continues erosion in the fabric and function of urban areas urban decline appears and in order to deal with this problem urban regeneration actions is needed. Consequently other questions that is asked in order to answer the first question are:

What is urban decline? What are its causes and consequences?

²³ Edgar *et al.*, 2000, 153.

²⁴ Edgar *et al.*, 2000, 153.

²⁵ Edgar *et al.*, 2000, 158.

²⁶ Gerring, 2001, 20.

What is functional decline? What are the participant factors in the process of functional decline? In what extent it is involved in creation of urban decline?
What are the ways in order to deal with urban and functional decline?

Main problem starts with erosion. In the first stage let us define the word. In Oxford dictionary it is defined as “the gradual destruction or diminution of something”. In the urban scale, erosion can be both physical and functional and subsequently there are three types erosion from combination of physical and function erosion. In the first type, erosion is in the function or in the activity within the urban context. Here the fabric of urban context is imagined relatively healthy. In the second type, erosion is in the fabric of urban form within relatively active function involving the people who live in that neighborhood. The first two types are classified as “relative erosion”. Finally there is third type of the erosion that is the result of combining physical and functional. This type of erosion is named as “absolute erosion”²⁷.

Hence the other problem is to finding the areas that are in subjected to relative or absolute erosion. Experimental research methods are the main methods in this context. Surveying techniques and collecting data from field are the main methods for identifying the erosion of urban fabric and function. Worn out and abandoned buildings and areas with no or less social activity in the buildings is an indicator of physical deterioration, and economic prosperous of a neighborhood, crime rate, unemployment rate and its residents social interrelationship in urban space is the best indicator of functional erosion in a neighborhood. Economic prosperous can be determined through the taxes amounts that are paid to state. Also crime and unemployment rate can be determined from data derived from state. Questioners about the relation of the residents can determine social interrelationship of the residents within a neighborhood. At all the key concept of the study must have an Internal validity and it must be “truthful representations of the object of the study”²⁸.

In the part of propositions an Interpretive- Historical research method can be helpful in order to observe assumptions, theories, policies, definitions and experiments that exist in literature of study context. Historical accounts have to be coordinated with their space and time and as Collingwood outlines “they must be part of the one historical world”²⁹. They have to be identified, organized and evaluated in an integrated literature surveying process. One of the main characteristics of collected data in this process is its creditability. Triangulation and member check are most important methods to reach such creditability. Triangulation is the process of using variety of data sources, multiple investigators and combination of data collection techniques in order to cross check data to reach a comprehensive interpretation. Furthermore member check focuses on the “checking the data and interpretations with the respondents and groups from whom the data was solicited, a process that goes to the heart of the credibility criterion”³⁰. One of the main problems concerning this issue is social changes and consequently legislation differences in different localities and in different times that reduces the generality of data collected in this process. To overcome this problem naturalistic methods and assumptions can simulate data collected from different case with the existing case. The notion must be determining the problem and comparing it with existing problem and assessing the way towards a comprehensive solution.

One of the important issues in this context is to reach a comprehensive pattern in order to evaluate the case. The most essential characteristic of the pattern is its objectivity. The pattern must be reliable. This means that there must not be differences in the result of the research within the same condition (same society, culture, locality, time, etc.). It is obvious that differences within different condition do not reject the reliability of the pattern. Furthermore the pattern must have external validity that means it must be applicable to the larger area of the context or different localities. The limits of pattern involvement must be determined in order to reach such a general pattern. Most suitable methods in this part are positivist approaches as they focus on the objectivity of such patterns.

²⁷ Habibi & Maghsoudi, 2002, 15.

²⁸ Groat & Wang, 2002, 36.

²⁹ Collingwood, 1956, 246.

³⁰ Groat & Wang, 2002, 38.

Finally the third part is about the methods used in the research design of the study. In this part post positivist and naturalistic approaches and methods are most suitable due to effect of local and social characteristics of vicinity on the design process. This part is more subjective and can change because of shifts in the insight of researcher. In order to better perception of a neighborhood three issues are considered. First is the analysis of natural environment through surveying techniques by using maps, charts, tables, diagrams, etc. (tools). Topographic features, landscape and climate characteristics could be measured in this part. In the second section man made (built) environment will be assessed in order to answer to physical functional characteristics of a neighborhood. Local historical analysis, urban pattern (context) analysis and architectural evaluation of the neighborhood could be investigated through documentary research, morphological analysis and site surveying techniques. And finally the last part is socio-economic characteristics of the neighborhood that could be evaluated by state documentary research, interviews and questionnaires gathered from residents of a neighborhood. Demographic structure of the residents, existing economic activities and employment pattern and current municipality policies could be determined in this part of the survey. In some cases some places can be measured for meeting with residents towards a participatory design process, in which residents plays an inevitable role on their neighborhoods revitalization. But as outlined before the most important element that affects the design process is researcher himself.³¹

The research methods that are introduced above in some cases are merged in each other that are hard to separate the limit between them and outline which part of study is done according them. Furthermore most of researchers do these research methods perhaps without emphasizing on the name of the methods.

In this study the first and second set of methods (question and propositions) have participated in the literature survey related with context of the study and questions that are asked, mostly in chapters one to four. In the end of chapter four a general pattern is introduced in order to evaluate and explore the eras, which are subject of decline. This means that after monitoring and evaluating literature of study context a subjective image is produced (the third phase of methodology), combining external data with internal ideas. And finally in evaluating the case of Salıpazarı, Istanbul this pattern is used in order to evaluate the process of urban decline in study site. This part of the study is more subjective and is formed based the subjective overview of the author. Also in the context of evaluating physical problems using urban design methods, five characteristics that is introduced by Kevin Lynch³², which have the biggest citation in this context, is referred.

The aim of this study is investigating **Functional Disorder** as one of the most important provocative of **Urban Decline**. In order to discuss this first we have to investigate urban decline. According to Bradbury *et al*³³ urban decline is classified into two major types of “descriptive” and “functional” decline. Descriptive decline is the situation which depopulation and economic recession occurs. However this does not means unfavorable situation in that particular area. But if we consider that each urban area basically has its own specific social function, any deterioration in the functional role of the city or a region is called functional decline. In aggregate descriptive decline is in definition but functional decline is more serious. Most of researches on urban decline are addressing descriptive decline. The most important factors that involves the process of decline are: spatial shifts of economy and population, suburbanization and sprawl, global economic changes, political issues, or every reason that lead to depopulation and economic recession.

Then what is participant factors in process of functional decline? This question is not directly addressed in the literature of urban decline and is explored from related materials. Failure of modernism in addressing social aspects of urban areas, dedication of public space just for movement and economic uses, no social and pedestrian activity in streets and public space, developments in new technologies like communication improvements that changed the notion of

³¹ For further information about research methods which are introduced above see Groat & Wang, 2002.

³² Lynch, 1960, 46.

³³ Bradbury *et al.*, 1982, 18.

public space, and Political trends of 20th century like Liberalism and New-liberalism that cause a massive decline in fabric of the public space are the most important triggers in the process of functional decline.

All these factors participate and lead to Low quality of place and placelessness in the western city. But before proceeding to this issue, in the third chapter we have investigated the ways of tackling with urban and functional decline. These ways are discussed in a top-down process that are from the biggest scale that is Political considerations, Planning policy, Economic financing till enhancing the quality of place. But as our example, Salıpazarı, Istanbul, is not in urban scale, perhaps smaller than neighborhood scale, the main concern is on the last topic. After investigating scholars which have discussed this issue and mainly inferred from Allen Jacobs, Donald Appleyard and John Montgomery, a checklist consisted of 12 item is produced in order to investigate the quality of place and functional problems of an area. Also this checklist could help to improve the quality of place in declined areas.

CHAPTER 2

Urban decline

2.1 What is urban decline?

It is a fact that cities inevitably change with time, but the question is - what is the consequences of this change – is it growth or decline? Simply put, urban decline is assumed to be the opposite of urban growth and consequently the causes and effects are counter to each other. When a city loses its population, its economy goes into recession and the political power of the area decreases, it is said that the area is subjected to decline. Decline not only occurs in the urban level but is also sometimes observed in regional and/or national level. In urban areas, it penetrates the fabric of an urban system in one context and like a vicious cycle, deteriorates entire system. Physical obsolescence, the creation of slums, decreasing tax revenues, increasing unemployment and crime rates, racial tension and shrinking urban services are the main indicators of decline. In the west, the urban decline during the Post War era was closely linked with suburbanization. Through rapid mass production of private cars and improvements in transportation technology, not only households but also economic centers moved to the suburbs. Parallel to this urban decline is associated with shifts in the economic activities. The shifts from a traditional industrial economy to a new global competitive market and also emergence of the service sector affected largely the post war industrial cities of Europe and the United States. Urban decline is not simply a new phenomenon limited to some particular regions of world. It can occur in other parts of the world in the future and in some regions it goes unnoticed due to their specific local and economic circumstances.

Cities are a nation's pride, and they are the center of civilization of a country so if governments neglect this issue and urban decline becomes a widespread phenomenon in most cities, a nation structure will be damaged and a decline will emerge in the national level. Also as economic power of a nation usually comes from cities; urban decline will affect not only the national economy, but also social health and well-being of the nation and future generations will be threatened. In this chapter it is tried to investigate the factors that are involved in the process of urban decline. In order to do so first the indicators of urban decline is explored. After wards types of urban decline, levels of decline, the factors that is involved in the context of urban decline and finally its causes will be investigated.

2.2 The Indicators of Urban Decline

The most distinctive indicators of urban decline are depopulation and demographic changes that lead to economic recession, high rates of unemployment, a decrease in tax revenues and a decrease in per-capita income compared to cost of living. These circumstances usually lead to social problems such as increasing crime rate and racial tensions and finally will result to physical obsolescence and abandonment of the urban areas.

Clark observes urban decline as a phenomenon that “is associated with the deconcentration of the population into small towns and rural areas as part of a general process of counter-urbanization ... attributable to processes of demographic changes that are determined by the level of economic development.”³⁴

Demographic changes started in the mid-19th century, which was the heyday of the city and people were migrating from rural areas towards the cities in order to find jobs created in factories following the industrial revolution. Conversely, during the late 1900s, cities lost their population

³⁴ Clark, 1989,4.

and people started to move out to suburbs and small towns, following establishment of the service sector and jobs created by them and of course better quality of life and better local amenities in those areas.³⁵

As labor specialization generally concentrates when a population increases, population decrease can damage to the economic function of a city. More specifically population concentration can make the market more dynamic as the rates of production and consumption increase. Furthermore, when the population is more congested in particular areas, transportation costs decrease. However, these days with improvements in telecommunication and transportation technologies, interaction is much easier.

During post-war years, and mainly in 1970s, most big cities in the United States and Britain experienced population loss. But most of them in late 1980s and 1990s started to have an increase in their populations again. Some scholars believed that it was an “urban renaissance”³⁶. However in a research done by Rappaport, it is shown that this idea couldn’t be attributed to all urban areas. For instance, he argued that in those years that the United States’ national growth was always positive, some cities such as Detroit were always in decline, some such as Dallas were always experiencing growth and third group such as New York could switch between decline and growth³⁷.



Figure 2.1: Abandoned urban area, Camden, New Jersey. ³⁸

There are two types of changes that follow a decline in an area: “self-reinforcing” and “self-limiting” changes. Self-reinforcing changes, such as a vicious cycle, continuously deteriorate that situation and also the resulting conditions lead to severe decline. However, self-limiting changes

³⁵ Increasing car ownership, growth of personal mobility, transportation development, road constructions and telecommunication improvement were the other reasons.

³⁶ Colomb, 2007. Al Nasser, 2001.

³⁷ Rappaport, 2003.

³⁸ Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Camden_NJ_poverty.jpg.

happen only once and the resulted situation does not resume the process of decline such as the forces of initial change. In the better words, after self-limiting shifts, the local system and market can reach a new balance by its own facilities, and could adapt itself to the changes. However, after self-reinforcing shifts, as the effects of the changes continuously deteriorate the circumstances, the local system cannot reach a balance by the means of its own forces, thus external forces (such as governmental aid) are needed to cope with the problem. For example, out-going migration of high and middle-income households is a self-reinforcing process. As they leave an area, the space will open to low-income households to move in, and eventually the situation will get worse. And as the condition gets worse, more households will move out and the situation of the neighborhood deteriorates continuously. Authorities have to deal with these changes immediately before the waves of the unpleasant situation lead to severe changes. Factors such as the decrease in the number of tax payers and the decrease in the services, old houses in the city centers and new construction in the suburbs, cultural tensions in city centers, undesirable situation for firms and industries in the city centers (such as congestion and small lots) and better conditions in suburbs (bigger lots and a proximity relevant needs), decreasing political power of the cities by depopulation, etc. could be classified as self-reinforcing factors. On the other hand, if an area, for example loses its population and workers due to other factors of economic distress, vacant jobs will decrease the unemployment rate and this is a positive situation for people remaining in the area or potential newcomers. Factors such as a decrease in congestion and land prices in city centers after out-going migration of some households could be categorized as self-limiting factors³⁹.

2.3 Types of Decline

Bradbury *et al.* classifies the process of urban decline into two major types, “descriptive” and “functional”. When the population and employment opportunities decrease in a city, decline is descriptive. On the other hand, if we consider that each urban area basically has its own specific social function, any deterioration in the functional role of the city or a region is called “functional decline”⁴⁰. As a decrease in population usually points towards an undesirable situation and/or shows better situation in the vicinity (generally economic) or demonstrates problems in whole system, descriptive decline usually leads to functional decline, however this is not a strict rule and a decrease in the population of an urban area does not always result in a functional decline. For example a decrease in the population of very crowded metropolitan areas mainly in developing countries can have desirable outcome at least over the short-term.

The factors that lead to a functional decline are not same in different localities. Not every factor that damages the social and economic function of an urban area is considered to be a functional decline. But there are some factors that will in every circumstance lead to the deterioration of a situation and can lead to a functional decline in an urban area.

The loss of employment opportunities is one of the major and essential factors of descriptive decline that usually leads to functional decline. As the income levels of households are directly linked with the employment rate of an area, “only under extraordinary circumstances could a decline in an urban area’s total employment be considered beneficial to its residents”⁴¹. Moreover, unemployment usually decreases the amount of tax revenues and effects the production rates of commodities and services. Consequently this urban area become less attractive to its residents and more specifically the city will lose its competitive attractions in comparison with other cities.

Population decrease too, is one of the most important features of descriptive decline that frequently leads to functional decline. As lots of jobs and services are closely related with the size of the population, depopulation will lead to economic recession. Consequently tax revenues will decrease and municipalities have to increase taxes or reduce the level of services offered. Both situations are unfavorable to citizens. The other undesirable feature of severe depopulation is decrease of physical and environmental quality of an urban area. When population loss occurs in large scale, environmental quality of a city will decrease. Vacant buildings make an urban area

³⁹ Bradbury *et al.*, 1982, chapter 9.

⁴⁰ Bradbury *et al.*, 1982, 18.

⁴¹ Bradbury *et al.*, 1982, 23.

undesirable and reduce the attractiveness of the area. Depopulation also decreases the political voice of a city or a region in a state. However, in overcrowded cities, depopulation in its first stages is favorable because congestion and land prices decrease, but if population loss continues, the city will enter to a critical decline process. It is in the nature of a city's function that there is a need for an appropriate population mass in order to continue the economic and social function of a city. One of the important issues that must be noticed in this context is that the indicators of descriptive decline like depopulation, economic recession, etc. do not mean unfavorable situation in an area and these indicators merely do not lead to functional decline. But when the major function of an urban area is disrupted and the quality of place is reduced (despite existence of possible economic and population growth in that area) the functional decline happens. This means that the indicators of descriptive decline are acquired with quantitative research methods (like depopulation), but the indicators of functional decline are obtained with qualitative research methods (like low quality of place).

2.4 Levels of decline

Rappaport divides the factors related to growth and decline in four classifications. According to him; national, regional, metro and local issues are the factors that affect population shifts in cities.⁴²

National factors are the changes in the population of a country. Sometimes depopulation occurs in the national level and we have to consider that if the population growth rate in a country decreases, depopulation in cities is an inevitable outcome. Urban decline in cities is more prominent when nation's population is increasing or at least is in fixed situation. However the consequences of the both are same to cities, but it must be noted that, if a nation's population is growing and parallel with that, cities are shrinking, then decline is absolutely at an urban level and there is something wrong in the structure of the cities. National population shifts depends on two factors: natural population rate and (inward or outward) migration rate. Natural population decrease is due to behavioral shift of a generation. Keeping the natural population in high rates can help a nation to avoid population crisis, but in recent years, in western countries it is observed that, desire to have children is decreasing and the natural increase rate cannot make up for out-going migration in cities and population decreases. Individuals are preferring to remain single or the desire to have children in females has reduced because they wish to concentrate on their careers. Migration to other parts of the world seeking a better life is one of the other reasons that involved in decreasing national population. On the other hand absorbing these people is a technique that lots of countries (for example the United States) do to keep their population growth rate positive. In the other words, states rely on immigrants to replace locals that are not satisfied from existing situation for some reason and prefer to migrate to other parts of metropolitan area or to other states (inward immigration of people from different cultures can also create other social problems). Also, economic crises at national level can affect the economy of the cities and subject the setting to decline.

Geographic or regional factors are another element that affects the population changes in cities. It is the relocation of people from one part of a county to other part of it. Environmental issues such as the desire to live in warmer parts of the United States that lead lots northeast residents to move to southern regions can be one of the reasons. Moving towards the regions that have better economic conditions is another reason to move from one area of a country to another.

The metro factor is the tendency of families to move towards rural areas or small towns, which severely increased during 1970s and 1980s. This factor is one of the most important factors that participated in urban decline process during these two decades. We must consider that if a city is declining and the metropolitan area is in a median situation or growing, we can attribute the decline to the suburbanization process and the pattern that the cities follow in their development process. But if both the city and metropolitan area are declining at the same time, this shows severe decline and distress not only in the city, but also in the metropolitan area. Frequently in the

⁴² Rappaport, 2003, 18.

process of decline, cities that were located in (economically) growing metropolitan areas suffered less than the cities that were located in the areas that were economically shrinking.⁴³

However, the most important factors in dealing with this problem are local factors that include the movement of population from city centers to suburbs and vice-versa. As mentioned before the prevalence in usage of private cars and the construction of highways and developments in transportation infrastructure are not only ways to reach to the city centers, on the other hand is a way to escape from polluted and crowded city centers towards better quality of life and environmental amenities located in the suburbs. Hence, not only high- and middle-income households, but also lots of service sector firms preferred to locate in the suburbs. Moreover, increasing incomes of the middle-class encouraged them to move to suburbs that have better environmental amenities and lower crime rates. Low tax rate in suburbs, bigger lots, lower land prices and better services competing against congested and polluted city centers persuaded middle and upper class (that had enough fiscal power) to leave the city centers for the poor. Moreover, the high quality of housing in the suburbs was another factor and low and moderate-income households couldn't afford the new houses and were excluded from suburbs. We have to consider that, if low-income households move to these areas with the help of subsidies, as they are unable to afford to maintain the standard, the houses will gradually tend towards physical deterioration. Thus as we have low-income households we will subsequently have low-quality houses in the cities.

The other factor that encouraged people to move towards suburbs was better job opportunities in those areas. It is not only service sectors that preferred to locate mostly in the suburbs, but also a number of industrial plants started to move to the suburbs because of more land availability in comparison with city centers and proximity to highways and roads that connects them to the other markets. Improvements in telecommunications technology and the opportunities offered by the internet have made proximity issues much less important, making staffing easier and leading to higher rates of suburbanization.

2.5 Factors involved in the context of decline

2.5.1 Spatial shifts

For Berg *et al.*, urban decline is a part of urban development stages. He introduces these stages as urbanization, ex-urbanization, counter-urbanization and re-urbanization – within this urban decline happens as part of the process of counter-urbanization.⁴⁴ Urbanization is the process in which a population moves from small towns and rural areas towards the cities, and counter-urbanization is the inverse process in which people move from metropolitan areas to suburbs and towns. Urbanization is the heyday of cities and counter-urbanization is the heyday of suburbs, small towns and rural areas. As individuals have great desire to live in suburbs the spatial distribution of a population in a state changes.

2.5.2 Suburbanization and Sprawl

One of the major problems related to urban decline is suburban sprawl as mostly middle-class residents starts to move to suburbs (figure2.2). Sprawl generates two sets of socio-economic problems. The first set of problems, called tangible problems, occur in short period of time following the sprawl. They include issues such as: traffic congestion; air pollution; large scale absorption of open space⁴⁵; and service and labor shortages in the suburban areas. These problems are generally temporary problems that can be solved after a period of time. But the other set of problems, which tend to linger for longer amounts of time than the first problems and are more permanent, are intangible problems. As the middle and higher-classes move towards suburbs, poor households will remain in the city centers and city will divide between poor and wealthy households. The concentration of poverty in the one part of a city generates sever socio-economic problems that threatens well-being of society not only at the time, but also in the future. The creation of slums, decreasing educational level in schools, high crime rates and economic

⁴³ Bradbury *et al.*, 1982,59 &138.

⁴⁴ Berg *et al.*, 1982.

⁴⁵ Downs, 1999, 956.

bankruptcy are result of this problem. Due to these problems, urban sprawl is one of the most important concerns of the authorities. We can't escape from sprawl by making laws that prevent people moving towards the suburbs. Such a measure will encourage them to totally move to the other parts of the region or country. In this situation the regulations must be carried out in entire nation, not just in some particular regions.



Figure 2.2: Suburbanization (above) against urban decline (below) in Detroit. ⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Source: top [<http://forum.skyscraperpage.com/showthread.php?t=121589&page=2>] and bottom [http://helmofthepublicrealm.com/2012/01/19/city_urban_agriculture_design/]

2.5.3 Economic problems and global forces

The most distinctive feature of economic decline is unemployment, which directly affects the well-being and the dynamism of a society. Economic problems dealing with urban decline can be classified in three categories.

The first is the outcome of changes in larger scale at national or global economic levels. The pattern of economic activities changed as the global economy influenced by specific circumstances (such as oil crises) started to de-industrialize and cities, the main centers of traditional industry, suffered the biggest loss in this transition towards a post-industrial economy. Manufacturing industries lost their market (especially in the secondary sector)⁴⁷, their goods lost appeal in new markets and these industries had to adapt themselves to new trends. Consequently their size diminished and jobs were lost. Lang names this situation as “mono-structured” industrial regions and argues that if a region’s economy is mono-structured, that region will not be resilient against the waves of changes. He summarizes the economic causes of decline into three parts: “industrial restructuring in pursuit of maximizing returns including deindustrialization, globalization and economic concentration as the forces of economic structural change, and the problems of adapting to new demands of economic activities and factor constraints.”⁴⁸

The second problem was changes in the modes of economic activities. The service sector was created in parallel with the shrinking of manufacturing activities - we can observe a huge boom in the development of this sector. In addition, the remaining manufacturing industries started to become much more mechanized, and the demand for human power in the production lines decreased. The unemployed had no option other than accepting the new job opportunities created by service sector.



Figure 2.3: An abandoned industrial plant. NoMa, Washington, D.C. ⁴⁹

And finally the third trend is the place of these new jobs or changes in the location of economic activities. Unlike manufacturing industries, which are usually concentrated in city centers, the new sector was scattered across the entire metropolitan area. By moving the people to suburbs, lots of the economic activities and services moved to suburbs too, in order to better serve these people. Furthermore as those immigrants often had high incomes, services concentrated much more in these areas. In summary, as a corresponding cycle, spatial shifts in geography of population forced economic activities to change their location and therefore the distribution of the jobs too changed

⁴⁷ Secondary or Industrial sector. For additional information see: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Economic_sector]

⁴⁸ Lang, 2005, 4.

⁴⁹ Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Uline_Ice_Company_Plant.jpg.

towards suburbs and vice versa. Yet these forces had not same outcomes in different localities even in the same countries. Local factors and circumstances play vital role in economic situation of different areas that we can observe some growth in the period of decline even in manufacturing industry especially in the marginal areas.

2.5.4 political issues

One of the factors that play a very important role in the orientation of decline in cities is political decisions. Some scholars believe that some failures in the political decisions accelerated the speed of the urban decline (figure 2.4). Clark criticizes the reforms in the authority of the political power of localities in the 1970s and 80s that lead to reduction in the power of cities as local units and consequently services in the cities declined seriously.



Figure 2.4: Place of the People, Bucharest, Romania. According to Cox (Cox, 2005, 7) thousands of homes and churches in downtown Bucharest were torn down in order to construct this building (that is third largest building in the world) and boulevard leading to it and calls this "planning based devastation"⁵⁰.

For example, in the UK before the changes that took place in 1974, there was a town-county administration system. The administrations and authorities of cities and countryside were different. There was also a high number of centers responsible for administration, thus achieving a common consensus was extremely difficult. Additionally, some districts were too small, in area or population, to respond to the development functions or problems that arose from the changes. When the geography of population changed and people started to move from cities to suburbs, the

⁵⁰ Source: <http://www.bucharest-life.com/bucharest/palace-of-parliament>

balance and cohesion of town and county councils was lost, and they couldn't operate as well as before. In 1969, the HMSO commission released a document that proposed changes in the scale of the authority boundaries. According to these changes, authorities of urban areas and countryside would merge to operate, as a whole often in cities, and localities would be managed in a city-region system. These regions weren't to be too small in order to be able to respond the needs, or too big to be able to be managed properly. Moreover fundamental responsibilities (such planning) in one region had to be allocated to one authority⁵¹. However these changes did were not resisted for so long and with the return of a conservative government, lots of major authority and important affairs in metropolitan areas were assigned to the central government. Thus the power of cities and local authorities, as the main provider of local services, was diminished (especially their financial recourses were limited), and equally local services have experienced a serious decline in cities. These changes reduced the power of cities, even less than traditional mode, when boundaries were tightly aligned⁵².

On the other hand Downs argues that, growth related problems and land market failures (especially in the United States), not merely sprawl, generates urban decline and we can observe urban decline even in the compact urban areas⁵³. Usually higher fees in the suburbs can restrict some people from moving to these regions; however, those from low income groups can also not afford to live in these areas. Usually the housing market offers cheaper houses in the far areas of city center, but in the countries like United States, the problem is reversed and the costs of living in the suburbs is higher than the city center, which is why poverty concentrates in the city centers. There are some alternatives or tactics to prevent sprawl and consequently decline, such as constructing high density housing for workers in the suburbs and making their jobs near to this area to combine wealth level in the suburbs, or more rational land use plans and anti-sprawl policies, etc. However, the best way to tackle this problem is regenerating the city centers and enhancing quality of life in these areas. In this situation the middle class will gradually return and enjoy the advantages of living in city centers.

Lang comments, "if we define neighborhoods as declining, then, as a self-fulfilling prophecy, they will decline"⁵⁴. The nature of definition is that if we "define the situation as real, (it will be) real in its consequences"⁵⁵. One of the authors that claimed, urban policy caused urban decline and called it "Planned Abandonment" is John T. Metzger (2000). He criticized "neighborhood life-cycle theories" that were formulated by the government, to classify neighborhoods in order to intervene in any of their issues. In this process neighborhoods were classified at certain stages (mainly five) that start with healthy and new neighborhoods in a good physical condition, with minimum social and racial tensions, a low density and with residents that frequently have a high income. But slowly these circumstances change throughout the time and physical obsolescence happens, incomes and the level of education decrease, congestion and rental housing increases and as upper income families move out replaced by lower-income and large numbers African-American families leading to racial and social tensions.⁵⁶ The United States government creates these classifications in order to introduce policies to be implemented in neighborhoods. By the means of these classifications people and economic activities would be informed in which neighborhood for example conservation would take place, in which rehabilitation and in which renewal is going to be carried out. This method also showed the risk of investment in different neighborhoods. As most of the declined areas were single industrial areas or neighborhoods without any commercial functions, renewal programs suggested mixed use and multi-functional schemes for these areas.⁵⁷ Demolition and rebuilding new high rise areas with lots of commercial centers was very profitable policy for both public and private sectors, and in order to accelerate the evacuation of these areas,

⁵¹ HMSO, 1969.

⁵² Clark, 1989, 93.

⁵³ Downs, 1999, 961.

⁵⁴ Lang, 2000, 1.

⁵⁵ Thomas, 1928, 31.

⁵⁶ RERC, 1975.

⁵⁷ RERC, 1953.

federal and public aides were cancelled to these areas. Gale Cincotta⁵⁸ outlines that “What for so long has been considered a natural phenomenon— change in neighborhoods, deteriorating cities— are not natural. It’s a plan and somebody’s making a lot of money out of changing neighborhoods.”⁵⁹ These neighborhoods were redlined, and financial institutions were not eager to grant any loans to these areas, furthermore the private sector also does not want to invest in these areas anymore. Following the completion of a renewal project the majority of former residents remain and social problems resume. In this case applying a pervasive racial distribution program following renewal could minimize tensions. At first glance redlining and greenlining theory may seem useful, with policies that allow cities to renew its declined neighborhoods, but Metzger argued that not only does this policy not make any improvement in the condition of declining areas, but it also worsens the situation and doesn’t let any built-in rehabilitation programs and eventually leads these areas towards creation of slums⁶⁰. Urban rioting in 1966 and federal housing scandals in 1968, convinced U.S government to revise its strategy of redlining and replacing it with triage planning theory. Triage is a medical-military term that separated injured people into three groups. First group is the people how have injured seriously and medical intervention does not make any difference in their health and they will die eventually. Second, is the group that their injuries are superficial and they will live anyway. But the third group is the most important group and needs immediate medical intervention; otherwise they will die without medical help. In the urban policy too, triage planning targets federal help to the areas that are in the first stages of decline. Although this theory doesn’t state any neighborhood is a risky area, but the problem of declined areas are still not solved. Metzger criticizes life-cycle theory in some aspects. In economic perspective he believes that government use “life-cycle theory with triage (planning) to depress land values and accelerate the abandonment of privately owned property in neighborhoods marked for decline”⁶¹, they then own them and carry out renewal programs and sell them to people with higher income and this cycle is always repeated. In the social aspect, life-cycle theory equates the increase in the number of African Americans families in an area equal to decline of that neighborhood “unless white middle-class residents choose to move back”⁶² again. In the better words decline is assessed and attributed to demographic changes, instead of investing the roots and reasons that lead some specific districts toward these changes. “The neighborhood life-cycle theory and triage planning have undermined the system by accommodating the discriminatory consequences of racial infiltration and the trends of urban housing abandonment. This has accelerated disinvestment in low-income and minority neighborhoods, exacerbating disparities in wealth, the wasteful consumption and desertion of urban land, and outward suburban sprawl.”⁶³ The NHS⁶⁴ in 1989 introduced a “full-cycle lending model” that in this system community organization had the basic role in the allocation of loans towards achieving community-based development. But again in early 1990s triage planning became the alternative one, because community-based development was in conflict with the theory of public choice and the market cannot be limited to obey some specific organizations. In fact the struggle between these policies does not end with the history of cities, but the fact is that active community organizations have fundamental role in this process and they can convince public and private institutions that specific neighborhoods are still viable. Indeed they can play the role of the observer and the give a political voice to low-income people and help them assert their rights.

Conversely Anthony Downs (2000) believes that a decline at a neighborhood scale is because of low income of its residents. He claims that the life-cycle theory has nothing to do with race, but as lots of neighborhoods that African Americans were living in were involved with the acts dealing with decline, many people were misled that it is due to racial discrimination. However, Downs claims that it was just an economic issue. After 1940, lots of poor workers that mainly were African Americans, due to their financial situation and lack of jobs in south of United States,

⁵⁸ Co-founder of National people’s action in Chicago [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gale_Cincotta]

⁵⁹ Herbers, 1972, 29.

⁶⁰ Metzger, 2000, 16.

⁶¹ Metzger, 2000, 20.

⁶² Metzger, 2000, 24.

⁶³ Metzger, 2000, 31.

⁶⁴ Neighborhood Housing Service.

moved to the northern areas and as their economic situation weren't good and due to the racial tensions existed those days, they settled in areas that were experiencing decline or had the potential. The unwillingness of whites to live in the same as neighborhoods African American prevented them for living dispersed all over cities and the communities became concentrated in some specific areas. After a law that prohibited racial restriction in the United States African Americans started to move to adjacent areas. Their movement was accelerated by the withdrawal of whites from their neighborhoods and space was opened for African Americans. But as they didn't have enough economic power to maintain middle-class housing codes, deterioration penetrated to these areas too. Downs denies Metzger's theory that credit allocation could solve the problem and adds that a general increase in income level of residents could revive the situation rather than the allocation of credit and subsidies to these areas. He adds that such subsidies were not available in from the early 1940s to the 1960, but even if we suppose that the credits in the form of loans had been possible at that time, the main problem is the repayment. As the loans were large, low-income households couldn't afford them. But he accepts that redlining limited the allocation of credit to these areas even for middle class households, who could afford the loans, or prevented the private sector and businesses from investing in these areas. He adds that the immigration of high-income groups in addition to the increasing of incomes are crucial factors to improve the quality of neighborhoods and prevent the progression of decline. In addition, the taxpayers are not just the people who live in declining areas, most of them live in other areas and clearly city councils, with the idea that money put into declining areas could be wasted, couldn't inject lots of money into these areas. Downs does not accept Metzger's idea that developers deliberately encourage abandonment of specific neighborhoods. He believes that excess construction in suburban areas that occurred mainly after mid-1960s resulted in the migration of many middle-income households towards the suburbs, leaving city center vacant. Furthermore he adds that renewal programs increased the quality of life in the most areas.⁶⁵

2.6 Reasons and Causes of Decline

Beauregard, discusses that urban decline is “an open-ended and entangled public discourse” that is not only specific to recent eras but has been a general problem of cities for more than a century.⁶⁶ However, today our attitudes and perspectives have changed, and we have experience larger amounts of stress because of this problem. He states that the notion and causes of urban decline are not specific and we can't count them directly. Moreover usually there is no consensus about its forces between theorists. He introduces urban decline “as a dynamic matrix of meanings, an elusive rhetorical structure that entraps all sorts of notions related to the fate of the cities and, more broadly, of the nation.”⁶⁷ For him population and employment loss are the consequences of urban decline not its causes. He adds that, when a city is undesirable for its residents to live in, and for external capital to be invested in that city, that city is in the process of urban decline. However, “just because a city has fewer residents and fewer jobs does not mean that it is experiencing decline; the issue is the composition of changes, their pace, and the resultant distribution of costs and benefits”⁶⁸. There have been lots of cities in history that have lost population and employment but resisted against decline. Also vice versa – there have been cities that have had increases in their population and employment rates, but urban problems have severely affected their fabric and social life. For Beauregard urban decline is a “social problem” and its dynamics are more profound than simply population and employment loss. The dynamics of decline are rooted in the social, political, economic and environmental relations of each region. Even different critics can observe different reasons for a decline in particular region.

In one sense, decline is an inevitable part of a capitalism system. It comes to a vacant and of course potential land, utilizes it, builds upon it, uses it and eventually leaves as a collapse. Then it is the time for a new development or in other words, new investment and profit. When core cities are in decline, growth is somewhere else outside the cities. This shift is towards development that ruins the cities. In the same way as cities that were used by capitalism to gain profit and then left, suburbs can also be the victims of this cycle in the next stages. This situation in named as market

⁶⁵ Downs, 2000,46.

⁶⁶ Beauregard, 1993, 34&35.

⁶⁷ Beauregard, 1993, 36.

⁶⁸ Beauregard, 1993, 37.

failure or consumer sovereignty. In addition, as people are tied to their jobs they are unable to freely choose where they live and will settle where they can find appropriate employment. This demonstrates how aspects of a city can be dictated by the movements of the market.

In another perspective, decline is necessary for redemption of a civilization. Imagine if there weren't any lies, the concept of truth would be meaningless. "Because urban decline is an ever present possibility, growth becomes even more significant and progress even more apparent."⁶⁹ Decline is the starting point on the path towards urban redemption. In this way, cities that are unable to resume their social and more specifically economic function, have to redevelop and sustain their structure, otherwise they will suffer abandonment⁷⁰.

Sometimes, urban decline is observed as a kind of transformation that is inevitable in the process of urban development. When spatial changes combine with structural erosion of physical part of the urban area, if the city cannot adapt itself to changes, then urban decline will deteriorate the structure, and this will particularly damage the social function of the city. Politicians, city planners and even residents have to get accustomed to the fact that these days economic changes can occur rapidly and if a city wants to avoid decline, it similarly has to adapt rapidly. In the past, cities with traditional industrial base lost their market in the global economy and entered to decline. Today the problem is more complicated and cities have to compete on a global level to attract investment.

Another perspective states, "Urban decline is the unintentional consequence of national or sectoral planning policies"⁷¹. Bourne outlines that sectoral policies closely linked with financial issues have great spatial effects on the shape of cities and even land-use plans⁷².

Clark introduces decline as a socioeconomic process that varies in each urban area based on their "life-cycle" stage. For example large industrial-based cities of western developed countries suffered bigger damages from decline than for example large developing cities in the third world.⁷³

Ahlbrandt and Brophy attribute decline to "socioeconomic changes resulting from resident turnover (race, income, percent homeowners and changes in household composition), as well as changes in the number of households that is, changes in the real estate market and in the levels of public and private investment"⁷⁴. With this perspective, when the situation in an area gets worse (for any reason) and population outmigration starts the demand in the housing market decreases and consequently the land prices fall. This situation, as a self-reinforcing factor, increases investment risks and creates an undesirable environment for people and an economy to remain in or move to the area. Actually "neighborhood decline is disinvestment process. It occurs within a given housing submarket because that location no longer offers competitive housing choices. Consumers can find preferable housing opportunities and investors can earn higher rates of return in other neighborhoods."⁷⁵

Cox claims that attributing decline to the factors such as demographic changes and African-American migration to core cities are not completely fair and these factors have the least effect on decline of cities in United States. He argues that the main incentive of decline is urban planning policies as allocated "nearly all urban growth over the past four decades to the suburban areas"⁷⁶ and "urban renewal and urban freeway construction" that he calls them "planning based devastation"⁷⁷ as the construction of freeways diminished the quality of city center neighborhoods and renewal projects didn't address the problems properly.

⁶⁹ Beauregard, 1993, 283.

⁷⁰ Berry, 1975, 184.

⁷¹ Clark, 1989, 38.

⁷² Bourne, 1981.

⁷³ Clark, 1989, 4.

⁷⁴ Ahlbrandt & Brophy, 1975,10.

⁷⁵ Ahlbrandt & Brophy, 1975,34.

⁷⁶ Cox, 2005, 1.

⁷⁷ Cox, 2005, 7.

2.7 Conclusion

As mentioned before, the most important ills of cities, like depopulation, creation of slums, social problems, racial exclusion, economic deterioration, sprawl, traffic, physical obsolescence, etc. are consequences of urban decline. These problems reduce a city's political voice in the state and this is why this issue is very important for politicians. Moreover the reasons and causes of decline are very widespread and different in different localities and time. "The most useful perspective is to view decline as a consequence of long-term geographical redundancy. Cities have quite simply lost their locational appeal. Urban decline reflects the collective perception of individuals and entrepreneurs that cities are no longer the most attractive place in which to live and do business."⁷⁸

Although urban decline is a fundamental concern in urban politics, the whole of society, at all levels shoulder the responsibility of dealing with urban decline. It isn't simply a problem of a neighborhood, or a race, or a particular group. It is a shared concern. It is a threat that endangers well-being and future of a civilization. Hence there must be a control on market in order to avoid more failures. Non-profit institutions and non-governmental organizations play a vital role in both enlightening politicians and people and caring out schemas against urban decline.

In this chapter it was tried to introduce urban decline and the most important factors related with creation and resuming it in the literature of urban decline in order to investigate the functional decline (in the next chapter). In aggregate urban decline is one of major forces that risks the well-being of cities, and at the same time this threat is a motive to cities towards dealing with the urban unrests. One of the most important factors dealing with urban decline is functional disorders that cities face in the process of urban decline. Hence investigating the roots of functional decline could assist in understanding the forces of urban decline.

⁷⁸ Clark, 1989, 126.

CHAPTER 3

Functional decline

Functional change is the idea that civic infrastructures continue to age as times passes and consequently they will need redevelopment in order to renew their physical condition and maintain their functionality. However the question is why can some urban areas resist against this trend and continue to be functional while some can't and experience decline. The key point in this issue is resuming the function of the area in order to prevent decline. When the function of an urban area continues and the system works properly, even if its infrastructure faces severe erosion, the area itself will be able to renew itself by the means of its forces (particularly in the economic terms). But if an area's function is lost, then the area itself will not be able to deal with the problems such as physical erosion and as time passes deterioration will penetrate to the fabric of urban area. This is what we call "functional decline." In the other words functional decline is any disorder in the function of an urban area.

In this chapter it will be tried to introduce the notions and principles, which have major role in creation of functional problems in urban areas that could lead to urban decline. The issues involved in this process are tightly merged in each other and some times it is hard to distinguish the border between them. Hence in some parts the materials that have discussed in one part could have close relationship with other parts. Other issue that must be outlined here is the fact that the factors discussed in the process of functional decline have not the same outcome in different localities.

3.1 The roots of functional disorder

During the post war years the modern movement failed to respond to the issues that we are dealing with today. This is understandable up to a point, because during that time the circumstances of severe demand for reconstruction of that destroyed by war or problems of competition during the cold war period, they could only respond to the issues faced at the time. But the problem is that even the recent urban movements, such as *new urbanism*, *everyday urbanism* or *post-urbanism* have failed to respond to the paradigms like urban decline and sustainability. Among these approaches everyday- and post-urbanism are not concerned with the problems of urban decline and its consequences such as suburbanization, sprawl, climatic and ecological changes that mostly occur in the cities. Only new urbanism expresses these issues in its literature and goals, but according to Klebaugh, as the practitioners of new urbanism are land developers and the private sector, this movement too has failed to respond its own goals.⁷⁹

The other issue related with the sharp change of urban form is the shift in the fashion of design and modes of development in the post-industrial city. "Mobility and communication have increasingly dominated public space, which has consequently lost much of its cultural meaning and human purpose"⁸⁰. Before the invention of the automobile, the world was perceived just in the district that could be traveled by foot. The local identity was in the scale of neighborhood. However, with the invention and prevalence of private cars, the distance that could be traveled within one day increased and subsequently the human's district expanded and perceived identity increased to the scale of metropolis. The prevalence of private cars also needed more transportation networks and this shift had a huge effect on the form of the cities. Two types of disorders are observed in this

⁷⁹ Klebaugh, 2008, 111.

⁸⁰ Trancik, 1986, 64.

shift. First are the old cities that were designed just for pedestrians. With introduction of the automobile into these cities and its neighborhoods, the look of streets changed. The calms streets that were used by citizens for social activities were replaced with congested streets that cars were parked in the every part of them.

The second type of disorders was in cities or the parts of the old cities that has been recently constructed. In order to avoiding the first problem, this time these cities were designed solely for automobiles. This time factors such as space needed for people, energy and land efficiency and sustainable thought were neglected. Unlike the compact patterns of the old cities, new cities (especially those in the United States) that did not have historical roots of compact city are horizontal and massively expanded across the landscape.⁸¹ But does the idea of dense cities run in opposition to the development of urban areas and economic progression? Here we can observe a paradox in the size of the cities. Of course there is a big difference in size of a city that for example has a population of 500,000 and a metropolis that has more than 5 million residents. The problem is not the size itself; it is the size regards to its residents. For example one of the major problems of metropolitan urban areas is vacant in-between spaces that usually are observed in each metropolis (figure 3.1).



Figure 3.1 Empty in-between space in Çukurambar, Ankara.

Loukatou-sideris introduces cracks in the fabric of urban areas as “gaps in the urban form ... and fractured discontinuities encountered in the physical and social context of (most) American cities” that destroys the harmony of urban form.⁸² Cracks are created by every action that limits the pedestrian activity and promotes car-oriented activity, by vacant areas between suburbs and city centers or industrial plants and depots, by each mono-functional activity that dies in the evening or in a particular time and leaves the space empty and unused, by each gated area or community that is allocated to some particular group, by skyscrapers that encourages activities above ground and lessens the amount of activity taking place in the streets and parks, etc. and by crowded and congested connection networks such as highways and railroad, etc. that “often acts as barriers

⁸¹ Sennett, 1990, 48.

⁸² Loukatou-sideris, 1996, 91.

rather than connectors, separating and marginalizing whole neighborhoods.”⁸³ These empty spaces not only destroy the continuity and harmony of the urban form and the compactness of the city, but also have a negative effect on the pattern of the urban space usage and promote individualism rather than collectivism. For instance fragmented subdivision growth forces everyone use automobiles and even if someone wants to walk or cycle, they will essentially be coerced into using a car.

Trancik defines lost space as urban spaces that the social interaction and communal relationship of people in these spaces is reduced or omitted. For example it could be a “leftover unstructured landscape at the base of high-rise towers... surface parking lots that ring the urban core (of the cities)... no-man’s-lands along the edges of freeways... and abandoned waterfronts, train yards, vacant military sites, and industrial complexes,”⁸⁴ etc. He introduces five causes that participate in the creation of lost space. The first factor, as discussed earlier, is the huge dependency of people on the automobiles. It is not possible to get rid of automobiles from the cities, but it must be considered that urbanity and social life must not be scarified. There is the idea that the more land that is being designated for roads and automobiles, the more social gaps between people will emerge.⁸⁵

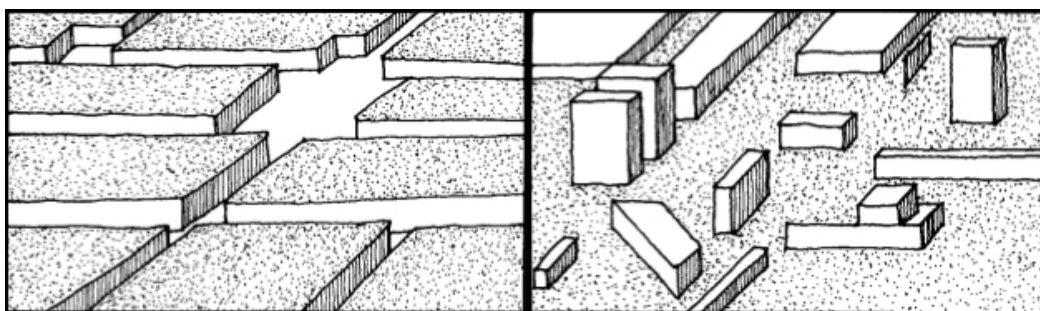


Figure 3.2: Traditional city form versus Modern city form and gaps in the urban form (high and low level of ground coverage)⁸⁶.

The second factor that he mentions is the advent of the modern movement in architecture and urban design. As one of its principals is free standing buildings in the landscape, this movement neglected the street and urban spaces and the activities that must take place in order to retain the social function of them (figure 3.2). He argues that designers influenced by the modern movement “abandoned principles of urbanism and the human dimension of outdoor space ... [and neglected the] close connection between life inside the buildings and activity on the street”⁸⁷. The third factor that he outlines is “zoning policies and urban renewal projects” that were carried out in 1950s and 1960s in order to deal with urban problems of that era. He introduces these policies and projects as a “misguided response” to urban decline.⁸⁸ Zoning policies separated the functions (for example separated working and living spaces) and renewal projects collapsed the social life of the neighborhoods replacing them with superblocs that had no connection with their surrounding and after a period of time the former ills emerged even more intensely. Superblocks also ruined the spatial harmony of the neighborhoods and in some cases they remained empty. He claims, “both zoning and urban renewal substituted functional for spatial order and failed to recognize the importance of spatial order to social function”⁸⁹. The next issue in this context is the massive privatization of public space that not only allocated urban spaces for private interests, but also ruined the unity of urban spaces. “The city becomes a showplace for the private ego at the expense of public realm”⁹⁰ as each corporation tries to enter its image into the public psyche. And the final

⁸³ Loukatou-sideris, 1996, 92.

⁸⁴ Trancik, 1986,64.

⁸⁵ Trancik, 1986,65.

⁸⁶ Source: Trancik, 1986, 68.

⁸⁷ Trancik, 1986,65.

⁸⁸ Trancik, 1986,66.

⁸⁹ Trancik, 1986,67.

⁹⁰ Trancik, 1986,67.

issue that Trancik introduces is changes in the land uses after a period of time that lead to abandonment of an area as the functions located there (for example industrial or military facilities) moved out or shut down⁹¹.

Clay introduces the differences in the form of built environment as “breaks” and defines them as “abrupt visible switch in the direction and/or the design of streets, especially where the pattern shifts diagonally”⁹². This happens when the fashion of design or thought behind the design of urban form have changed throughout the time (especially in US cities). “Sharp breaks tend to occur at the edge of central business district, as though the energies which produced the first city have now exhausted themselves.”⁹³ The most troublesome feature related to breaks is the boundaries of distinct patterns that clash together under extraordinary conditions and the breaks have positive or neutral outcomes (figure 3.3).

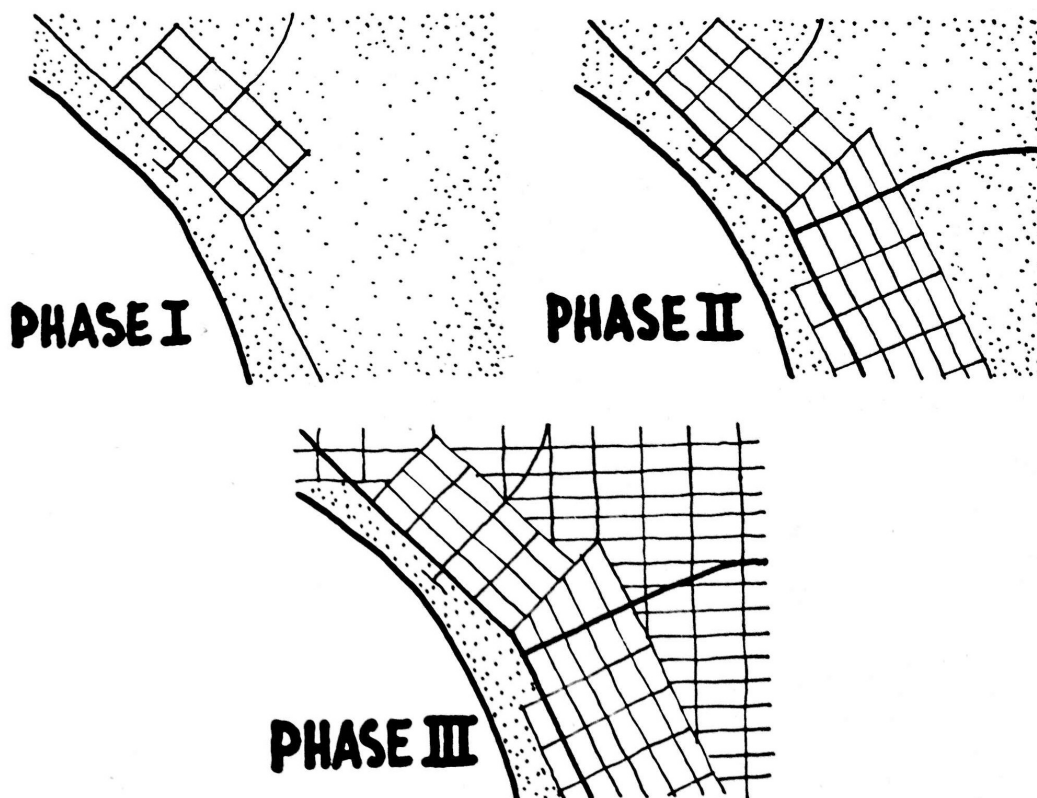


Figure 3.3: Three phases of urban development and breaks in the boundaries.⁹⁴

Apart from the fashion of urban development in post-industrial era, the shifts are related to the development of new technologies and industries and usage of them in daily life. According to Castells (1991) it is a transition from “industrial” to “informational” era. If we consider the virtual space provided by telecommunications technologies as a public space,⁹⁵ as such communication has become more popular it has replaced real tangible urban (public) spaces and the urban form has reshaped according to this transition. In the other words the spatiality of human activities, which formerly were just physical (actual) activities and needed physical movement in the geography, has now gained a virtual face independent from spatial concerns. The replacement of the compacted urban form that facilitates the need for face-to-face contact with a scattered urban form that provides individualized remote living environment is partially due to this phenomenon.⁹⁶

⁹¹ Trancik, 1986,67.

⁹² Clay, 1973, 42.

⁹³ Clay, 1973, 44.

⁹⁴ Source: Clay, 1973, 46.

⁹⁵ Low & Smith, 2006, 3.

⁹⁶ See Mitchell, 1995.

Here another issue arises, which is: are these changes leading the cities towards an absolute “placelessness” and is our world changing into a completely virtual one? The answer is negative. According to Kotkin if the Internet, telecommunication and transportation technologies allow people to “live anywhere, or at least chose from a multiplicity of places, the question of where to locate becomes increasingly contingent on the peculiar attributes of any given location.”⁹⁷ Hence the quality of places and uniqueness of localities gains a superior importance. However, these technologies somehow reduce the physical movement of the people, but do not remove them totally.

Another question that emerges in this challenge is whether the right to decide where to live is just an individual decision. We have to consider that although an individual may have the right to choose where they live, it has social and communal consequences. This subject is the critical issue that has been neglected in shaping the post-industrial city, as in the liberal democracy of late 1900s this right is considered absolutely private. This issue highlights the role of public sector and political regulations that have great significance in defining public sphere and the quality of public space and constructed environment. But sometimes the regulations also have a negative effect on the quality of urban spaces. For examples after attacks on New York on September 11, 2001 lots of restrictions in the use of public space were applied due to safety and security. These restrictions have a considerable negative effect on the quality of public space. But Mitchell argued that restrictions in the usage and low quality of public spaces in the recent era are not just due to new anti-terrorism regulations. He argues that these regulations have its routes in the former “urban public space ills” and were not absolutely “the threat of terrorist attack but rather the fear of inappropriate users (such as) the homeless, drug dealers, loitering youth .etc.”⁹⁸

Political trends affected by recent socio-economic forces had a great influence on changing the new functions of public places and quality of the constructed environment. Liberalism (and subsequently neo-liberalism), the major outline of the 20th century, caused a massive decline in the fabric of public space, as its focus was mostly on individualism and limitless freedom of market and private sector as well as limiting the powers of states and public sector. These forces lead the societies towards individualization, our lives become more individualized and decline penetrated into public realm.⁹⁹ Moreover, as many elements of public space are possessed privately, property rights regulations in states have huge role on the quality of public space. By massive privatization of land and creation of “universal private property”, public spaces were used simply to make a profit, and if the quality was an issue, it too was a matter of profit. The public places are not managed according to public will and are controlled for desire of the owners towards gaining more profit. Extreme privatization of cities destroys the public life and social places.

In one perspective, the changes are related to the changing concept of “public spaces” in the different eras. Somehow these differentiations are not a matter of failure in a particular era, it is a matter of time and of course worldviews in a specific time. Until the mid-1900s, public spaces were more local and the local geography was the important part of political power, because economy and power were frequently a local issue. But with the emergence of globalization after the world wars and the development of the new trends of a global economy, the local geography place more importance in the global space. Within this transition, borders and regulations of public sphere, as well as spatiality of public space has changed. In the other words, as the scale of human activities has extended; the relations of human activities and public sphere have changed too. The new relations of globalism severed the bond between space and geography, thus the recent public places are homogenized.

Llewelyn criticizes the market components that only consider products rather than the processes and quality of an area. He argues that each means of development, especially economic and industrial, must be towards the long-term well-being of humans and at an urban level in order to

⁹⁷ Kotkin, 2001, 6.

⁹⁸ Mitchell, 2003, 2.

⁹⁹ Low & Smith, 2006,1.

create livable and high quality places.¹⁰⁰ Hence the forces of states and public sector gain an outstanding importance for the sake of controlling market towards collective well-being, not only in the present, but also in the future.

In other sense these issues have their roots in the way political decisions and regulations are carried out in the legislation process of each countries constitutional law. This is best illustrated with an example. Assume two countries have two different worldviews, one that is managed by the system of capitalism and the forces of capital accumulation, and the other a socialist system through a pervasive social justice and equality. In the first country similar to the USA, almost everything is in the hands of capital owners and following the American dream even technological and social progressions are driven by profit. It is in the nature of capitalism. It will works towards its own interests through development and progression for its own benefit, and it is through this process that it contributes to society. Even if the capacity for consumption is low in the society, deprivation will be produced in order to create high rates of consumption. In these countries technological and economic development is outstanding, but the notion behind this progression is the pressure that is on the shoulders of the system's workers (worker here is defined as all the people except the capital owners). In order to put into practice new ideas each element work it hardest towards any possible innovation that is useful in this system. But there are some people that are unable tolerate the pressure and fall out of the system. Here capitalist states have less support for these people because if other people observe that when someone can't do their job properly and is fired, they are supported by the government they will not work their hardest either. In these countries unemployment rates will never fall under certain levels (usually five percent) and immigrant attraction policies are in place because everyone has to feel the risk of losing their job to those ready to fill your position at a moment's notice. The rate of development is outstanding in every sector due to this system of pressure and profit, but there are lots of social ills and inequalities and scarcities in this supposed land of plenty. The resulting unrest will become apparent in the community and the need for policing and severe control of the public realm is one of the outcomes.

On the other side are the countries that have a pervasive social insurance system. In these countries the economic development is not like capitalist countries and will not take precedent over the social well-being of the community and consequently social disorder will be much lower than in capitalist countries. In the strategic context of policy making, people have to be informed and then decide what they want to possess. Increased economic progression or outstanding social justice.

Mitchell even goes beyond these phenomena (the problem of property-less people, ethno-ethnic and gender) and emphasizes the "collective right to the city". The problem "is not from the disorderly behaviors of homeless people... but rather from the steady erosion of the ideal of the public, of the collective, and steady promotion of private, rather than democratic, control of space as the solution to perceived social problems."¹⁰¹ With this point of view the market controls the spaces of its profit and allocates that to a group of people in order to gain profit. Thus the space is not public anymore.

Hence we can observe that the notion behind the control of existing public places or in design of new urban spaces more than their social function is the function of security, consumption and profit in the most countries. These restrictions lead to features such as gated communities and bedroom housing projects, dead public spaces (for example barren plazas)¹⁰², festival market places (generally on a coastline)¹⁰³ and finally the homogenized public spaces that lead to reduction in quality of urban places. In these spaces people are no longer free and their motions are planned and controlled tightly.

David Harvey has an important perspective on this issue, which is that "we change ourselves by changing our world and vice versa" but he outlines that in recent times, more than our influence on

¹⁰⁰ Llewelyn, 2000, 10.

¹⁰¹ Mitchell, 2003, 137.

¹⁰² Sennett, 1992,12.

¹⁰³ Mitchell, 2003, 138.

the city, “the city makes us. [How] Can I live in Los Angeles without becoming a frustrated motorist?”¹⁰⁴ These days market forces shape our life, lead it and when it wants, changes it to other modes. In order to avoid this process without the public sector’s control, everyone has share his perspective and people must gather and form groups and oppose the status quo. Only with the force of majority can people control market forces and participate in political sphere, otherwise “the freer the market the greater inequalities and the grater monopoly power”¹⁰⁵ will shape every second of our lives.

3.2 Low quality of places

In the context of functional problems of cities, low quality of places is a major problem. As the quality of places which are located in the areas facing urban decline, in majority of cases are low, and the causes that lead to low quality of places are as same as the participant factors in the process of functional decline, investigating the causes and forces of low quality of places, could be helpful in this context.

One of the problems associated with the low quality of places in the cities is that states and policy makers do not consider the benefit for whole society. Their focus is to achieving success just in some sectors. However the focus should be towards creating a viable and successful coherent whole, rather than powerful but fragmented parts. This issue requires that the goals of collective well-being and urban design principals towards creating high quality places must be in the first priority of states. We can observe that in the past (not in the majority of cases) other priorities such as economic development of some associations and companies or highway construction due to solving transportation problems of minority of people who live in the suburbs and sacrificing the needs of the majority was in the priority of the policy makers. States must notice that the success of one project or sector does not prior to the failure of the whole system. In the better words, according to Lang the public sector must be the representative of all people, not just in the hands of private sector and some huge corporations¹⁰⁶. Moreover they must take into account that political regulations in order to standardize one field, have to possess an overall advantage, not damaging whole system for standardizing one field, such as the criticisms of traffic and highway design standards that ruined the urbanity in some American cities¹⁰⁷. Here we have to consider that the problem is not neglecting the traffic standards, the issue is to finding a reasonable solution to have both reasonable traffic standards and livable urban areas.

Jacobs and Appleyard place great emphasis on “livable streets and neighborhoods”, the quality of urban places, on the public life of the cities and design for community. They criticize the codes that is carried out mostly in US cities in the name of “health and safety, such as the widths of roads and automobile lane and parking standards”, etc. For them these actions “actually prevent or ruin urbanity”¹⁰⁸. As the greatest influence on the form of the today cities was by the modern movement derived from CIAM and Ebenezer Howard’s garden city thoughts they introduce some problems of the cities and urban design process in early and mid-1990s.

Despite the huge improvement in the quality of built environment standards in the modern era the surrounding environments are still of poor quality (pollution, noise, etc.). The scale of cities is too large and they continue to grow. This scale is leaves people feeling overwhelmed and disconnected people, thus they have no control on their environment. The public life in cities is lost due to privatization of life, which comes from prevalence of private cars and the emphasis of the market and consumer society on the individualism. Crime in the cities is an outcome of vast individualism in the modern city. High crime rates in the streets results in a “closed defended islands with blank windowless facades surrounded by wastelands of parking lots and fast moving traffic”¹⁰⁹. Affluence, cheap oil and suburban land (and of course no control on them) have worked separate the places of different activities such as living, working, shopping and recreation from

¹⁰⁴ Harvey, 2003, 939.

¹⁰⁵ Harvey, 2003, 940.

¹⁰⁶ Lang, 2005, 381.

¹⁰⁷ Jacobs & Appleyard, 1987, 112.

¹⁰⁸ Jacobs & Appleyard, 1987, 112.

¹⁰⁹ Jacobs & Appleyard, 1987, 114.

each other and we can observe a huge sprawl and fragmentation in forms of the cities. This fragmentation too has had a negative effect on the public environment. As lifestyles have changed, historic areas have in general become less attractive to the residents of a city. This has led to the low profitability of these places and they are gradually forgotten in the collective memories of people. Conversely, some historic places have remained profitable due to tourism, however these are gradually destroyed due to over use. The vast growth of cities will also lead to the neglect or destruction of historic, natural and constructed heritage.

Attention and concern is not placed on creating sensible and livable places for both public and private life and our cities have become meaningless places to their residents. Placelessness is one of the important reasons that individuals do not wish to take part in community life. Inequality is a widespread characteristic of American cities. In its search for profit, market sovereignty has separated the places of rich and poor and social inequality is destructing the city landscape.

The environment has to be managed towards livability. People must be encouraged to participate in the public activities and decisions taken on a neighborhood level. This action will give the sense of identity to people and will strengthen the bond between citizens and their neighborhoods. Furthermore people will care about their environment and will not abandon or let others to destroy their habitat, because of the energy they have spent on it.

However, cities must not be extremely uniform and without variety. A city has to provide pleasure and joy for all residents and must provide opportunities to experience new things and feelings on a neighborhood scale. Public life needs to be strengthened. People must not exclude from any area and from special activities. Everything must be made available for everyone and importantly, the segregation of the rich and poor must be avoided.

The characteristics of good urban areas has been debated of social theorists and scholars throughout the history. An overall evaluation about a good area is that it must comprise three qualities of the social bond between people that creates collective memories and shared values (bonds between people or between people and places), emotional ties and experiences that create nostalgia (bound with place) and economic criteria.¹¹⁰ Every place that fails to include one of these issues will fail to create good quality in that particular place. There has been a lot of criticism in the recent era that the components of globalization have severely limited the use of places in order to simply exploit its economic value and utilize the space as a location. Arefi determines non-place and placelessness as most important ills of recent urban spaces and nominates them as byproducts of areas that are shaped because of “loss of proper connection between places and the loss of meaning”¹¹¹ in the urban space. The term non-place, coined by Webber, refers to places that accessibility is prior to proximity. “As accessibility becomes further freed from propinquity, cohabitation of territorial place... is becoming less important to the maintenance of social communities”¹¹². In the pre-modern city as proximity was the first point of communication, community bonds were not simply restricted to members of the community, but also there were also strong bonds between the group and their habitat or physical environment. To put it better, groups were formed based on their spatial distributions. But today “spatial distribution is not crucial determinant of membership in a professional societies, but interaction is”¹¹³. Hence in non-places only the economic quality of the area is considered. This leads to the diminish sense of belonging to the group of people and places at the same time.

These days non-place urban realm is a common feature of urban areas, as opposed to having a sense of place. Demolition of meaning and the loss of and identity in the places will lead to this phenomena. It is a product of the commodification of space in the modern era and standardization of places in a period of globalism. It is not only about the standardization of physical environment, but also is about the sameness and a change in the idea of consumption, people’s attitudes and activities and shifts in the public values in the capitalist metropolis. Pre-modern communities built

¹¹⁰ Agnew & Duncan, 1989, 2.

¹¹¹ Arefi, 1999, 179.

¹¹² Webber, 1964, 109.

¹¹³ Webber, 1964, 110.

their environment not only due to the need for proximity, but also based on their shared religious and/or mythical beliefs, because they were the same values that everyone had. However, with the invention of rationality, modernity and capital flow of globalization, these thoughts and values lost their importance. Unfortunately we can observe non-places urban realm almost everywhere in the cities. Frequent placelessness can be observed in areas where social relationships have not been created or are weak. Crowded connector roads and highways whose only function is connecting areas due to their high capacity for vehicle traffic and high noise and emission pollution, even the areas around them under extraordinary circumstances are favorable as social places (figure 3.4). Gated communities can perhaps be used as a social area, but as they are not open for all can't be nominated as public social places. Gaps in urban form, politically policed areas and every mono-functional area, also are other examples.



Figure 3.4: Non-places (above) and placeless urban realm in suburbs (below)¹¹⁴.

Relph translates placelessness as areas that lack meaning, diversity, uniqueness, intentional depth and more specifically identity and instead “providing possibilities only for commonplace and mediocre experience.”¹¹⁵ With one perspective this problem is an inevitable issue. As the need for a constructed environment following the industrial revolution and with growth of the population in the cities increased, mass production became the common approach to dealing with the shortage of housing. Moreover as the construction techniques and materials become universal, places are

¹¹⁴ Source: <http://gdma.wordpress.com/non-places-photoshoot-ii/#>
<http://emergenturbanism.com/2008/06/15/the-emergence-of-a-sense-of-place>

¹¹⁵ Relph, 1976, 79.

similar with each other¹¹⁶. Before in pre-modern world every place has its own characteristic, local material and atmosphere but today everywhere is similar. In other words as the needs, tools and possibilities of humans have changed, and a return to the ways of the past is unreasonable, the outcome of today's facilities are recent places and placeless urban realm is unavoidable feature¹¹⁷. But the other perspective, apart from homogeneity that is created to answer the recent needs, criticizes the loss of identity and sameness of meaning not only in the places, but also in activities and even in the feelings and the way of thinking.¹¹⁸ "Identity is a basic feature of our experience of places which both influences and is influenced by [those] experiences"¹¹⁹. It is the identity that gives a place the meaning and characteristics. Of course these days due to extent of human's activity and territory the concepts in many areas remain the same, but the important issue is identifying differences in same contexts. According to Heidegger "everywhere, wherever and however we are related to being of every kind, identity makes its claim upon us."¹²⁰ Thus a widespread intentional approach towards sensible place making and "revival of man's sense of place"¹²¹ is needed. Designing places with identity and meaning and enhancing the quality of places is one of significant concerns that designers and planners try to solve. Relph outlines that in order to achieve an identity in places each area has to incorporate three elements of landscape (nature and built environment), people (and their activity) and meaning in their activities linked to that location in a different way or intensity.¹²²

3.3 The function of new technologies

It is in the nature of new technologies that with them will emerge new ways of life along with a better quality of life. Older ways of life will become obsolete and less attractive. The real estate market and housing sector also obey this rule. As the urban lands are not possessed with single institution or agency, the job of observing balance between old estate and new constructions will not be taken to the account properly. Although there is a need in the market with private sector building suburban houses and people buying them, it is not real demand. This means that in almost all developed countries when people move to suburban newly built areas due to their high quality of living and new technologies located in those areas, some houses and neighborhoods in the old area of city remain empty. Thus the demand in these areas diminishes and consequently the prices will decrease and decline will become apparent. However "if a single agency owned both old and new units, it would restrict production of new ones (houses) to maintain the consumer acceptability and value of the older ones"¹²³. Here again the importance of public sector and the issue that states must consider the whole of society (mostly the people that can't afford to move into newly built areas and stay in declined areas) is highlighted as a controlling agency. Unfortunately as long as states are controlled by capital owners, they will consider their interest rather than people's well-being, and again if there will be a progression or improvement towards better condition, it will be a matter of profit rather than community. However this phenomenon is not like the other industry in which the rise of new technologies it is inevitable that older technologies are replaced, and the owner of the old technology has to rethink it. Urban decline has severe social outcomes that permeates into the body of society and if not dealt with in due time will eventually affect the well-being of whole society, including the capital owners. The forces are divided into four groups in the process of change. The first group is that of the real estate developers, who construct new areas and have no concern for the outcomes. The second group is people who seek a new way of life and are maybe not informed about its consequences. The third one is the public sector that in the majority of cases supports the developers and also does not keep the public informed in order to maintain the power, instead of social and communal well-being. And finally the fourth group is the people that are unable to afford the new technologies and remain using the old ones. This process has its costs, especially social ones, which someone has to pay. But who is going to pay this cost? Capital owners, the public sector, people who use new

¹¹⁶ Ellul, 1964, 423.

¹¹⁷ Relph, 1976, 144.

¹¹⁸ Tocqueville, 1945, 240.

¹¹⁹ Relph, 1976, 45.

¹²⁰ Heidegger, 1969, 26.

¹²¹ Grant, 1969, 139.

¹²² Relph, 1976, 48.

¹²³ Downs, 1979, 464.

technologies and move into the suburbs or the people that stay in the declining areas? Usually the burden is on the shoulders of the vulnerable cortex (the fourth group).

3.4 A glance towards future

The 20th century witnessed paradigm shifts that challenged the very notions and definitions of some particular assumptions and the way of life. These shifts also changed the function of the elements that were serving the cities and changes in these functions made some ripples in the fabric of urban areas. Hargroves and Smith attribute the changes to the shifts and development of activities that take place in the various era of time. They introduce these changes as “waves of innovations” that affect and change the shape of the cities. According to them after the waves of iron, steam power, electricity, oil and the internet, the sixth wave, which is simultaneous and exhausted by concurrence of expensive oil, environmental contamination and climate change, is developments of the new technologies related to renewable, more sustainable and more environmentally friendly ways of producing energy (figure 3.5).¹²⁴ These changes not only provide new types of technology, but also introduce a new layout and infrastructure that affects the way of life, the spatial distribution of the people and activities and the shape of the cities. In the same way as the spread of the cars parallel with availability of cheap oil and invention of Internet and telecommunication technologies lead to low densities and sprawl, the new technologies (and of course restrictions in some energy resources) will be “the beginning of a new era of recourse productivity and investment in a new series of sustainability technologies related to renewables and distributed, small scale, water, energy, and waste systems ... which are more local and require less fuel to distribute¹²⁵.”

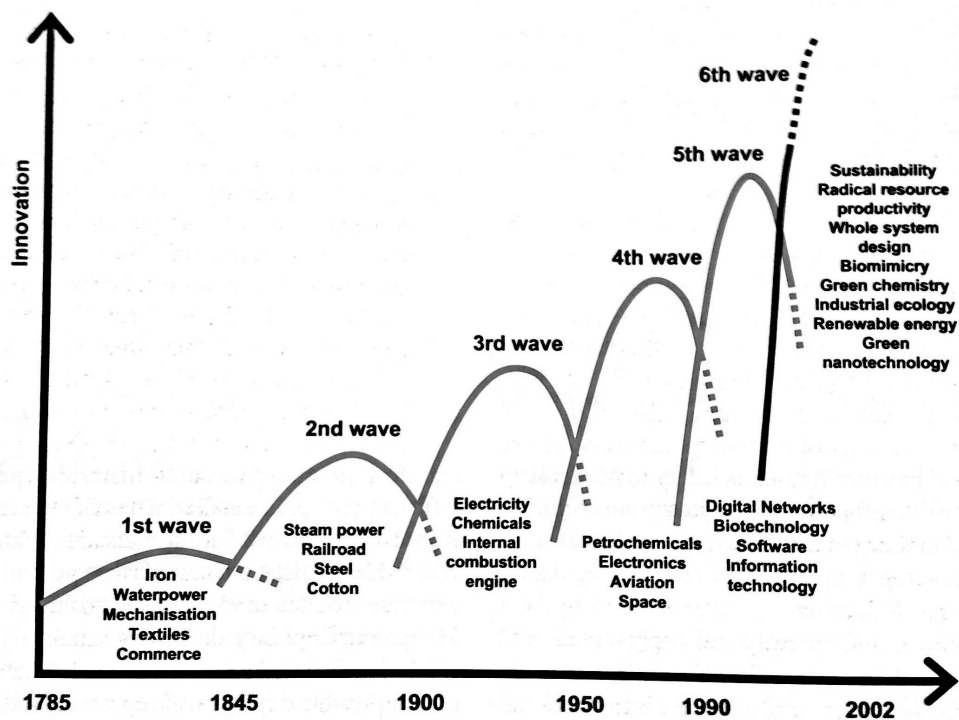


Figure 3.5: The wave of changes.¹²⁶

Newman *et al* suggest these shifts will be an opportunity towards achieving more resilient cities. They introduce four scenarios for post peak-oil era. The first and most pessimistic scenario forecasted is the “collapse scenario”. Some authors,¹²⁷ comment that with the end of the era of cheap oil era a panic period will start and lots of urban and especially suburban areas will lose a

¹²⁴ Hargroves & Smith, 2005.

¹²⁵ Newman *et al*, 2009, 53.

¹²⁶ Source: Newman *et al*, 2009, 53.

¹²⁷ Lankshear & Cameron, IPCC or Holmgren, ASPO, (2007).

massive amounts of population and activities. The second scenario is “ruralized city.” On this overview people will gather in rural areas which have more space in order to solve problems individually and at a rural scale. The third scenario is “divide city,” in which powerful and wealthy parts of the society will gather and shape some eco-enclave self-sufficient gated communities, and other poorer parts of city will fight for breath outside of these gated areas in the rural areas. And finally the last scenario is the “resilient city” scenario that “occurs when the access and alternate forms of fuel and buildings in eco-enclaves that were the province of wealthy in the divided city scenario are provided for all.”¹²⁸ The city form will change to a polycentric urban form in which all (daily) functions are provided in the centers and connection between centers is provided by green mass rapid transit modes. In the resilient city every action must be towards sustainability and the efficiency of energy recourses and natural habitats.

Now the question is, if we outline that the cities have to be flexible and have to adapt themselves to the future changes, what are the predictions for future? Some authors forecast that with beginning of the era of peak-oil and increases in the price of oil and natural gas due to shortages some significant changes will take place. Also there are anticipations about the limitations in the usage of carbon-based fossil fuels due to peak climate and biological crises in the form of global warming and its consequences. Now the question is that apart from the peak oil era’s consequences on the global economy that is severely reliant on fossil fuels and in that era resources will be changed, what are the spatial impacts of oil crash on the cities? One of the changes will be in the source of electric energy as the end point of energy consumption. Many developed countries have changed the source of energy for the heating and cooling of households to the electricity derived from renewable energy recourses (due to their lesser impact on the environment). The remaining countries in particular developing ones will change their household energy modes particularly from gas-based to electricity as the efficiency of fossil fuels will reduce in tandem with their price. The other major changes will be in the modes of transportation. This issue can be divided in two fields of long and short journeys. Long journeys may become too expensive and/or impossible to lots of people to go on. At the same time the cost of lighterage and transportation of commodities will increase so many products, particularly agriculture and dairy products which need quick aerial transportation will become inefficient to transport. This issue may lead to the end of globalism and birth of new era of localism in which lots of quotidian goods have to be produced locally. In the field of short-term transportation some scholars¹²⁹ discuss that post-peak oil era will be a return to compact city form as the means of transportation that are mostly fossil-fuel based and expensive, meaning travels within urban region in order to work or food will reduce. Regulations towards maintaining compactness in the city must be made because the sprawl and scattered urban form has a direct proportion with high petroleum fuel consumption and carbon emission. Other opinions hold that market forces will again intervene and new technologies will lead to spread of electric and hybrid cars and in replace traditional fossil-fuel cars the problem of the issues caused by short journeys will be solved. Perhaps during the first stages of transition some households will move from suburbs to city centers and this issue will lead to compactness of urban areas, but gradually as new technologies will become cheaper, the outcome will be same¹³⁰.

3.5 Conclusion

The failure of modernism in addressing functional needs of the urban areas especially after emergence of world’s new relations and global world, lead to some functional problems in the city centers. As outlined earlier in order to adapt with rapid changes in the global market cities must be flexible and adaptable.

Urban spaces in most cities are sacrificed in order to provide some infrastructures needed by some technologies. The function of new technologies is inevitable and it is not claimed that they must be prevented from human’s life. But their usage must not kill the urban space and the social activities in the urban places. For example each connector path that just is used for circulation of cars,

¹²⁸ Newman *et al*, 2009, 51.

¹²⁹ Breheny, 1997.

¹³⁰ Here we must consider that the electricity that will be consumed in electric automobiles must produced from renewable recourses other wise the outcome will be the same or even worse.

produces lost space and placelessness will become the dominant feature. However the social function of streets at least in neighborhood scale must be preserved or revitalized.

Other problem that is observed in this context is that due to some specific function of some marginal areas, cities have expanded extensively towards the suburbs. This issue not only results in loss of harmony in the cities and the creation of gaps in the fabric of urban areas, but also will lead to some functional problems in city centers. Also the creation of cracks in the cities is partially is due to this issue. Moreover cracks are the out come of political and planning decisions that must be revised in order to mending the cracks.

Mono-functional areas are introduced as one of the major troublesome features in context of functional decline and they must be prevented in the planning policy. Also it will be better to the adjacent functions to have a close relationship with each other.

The concept of public space for modern man is not what is perceived in the past. This issue with the fact that these days connectivity is prior to proximity has affected the urban space and the notions like placeless urban realm and lost space is produced. Authorities must encourage people towards social activities by the means of various policies and tactics and must strengthen the physical aspect of contact by making or revitalizing public places that contains social activities. Moreover the concepts like control and safety must not affect the function of places and the social activity, which continue in the places.

Apart from theories about what will take place in future and predictions about the peak oil era and its consequences, as a sensible density of population, activities and functions in urban areas can provide and maintain urbanity, observing such a density and avoiding sprawl could help the cities from facing functional problems and eventually decline.

In this chapter it was tried to introduce notions, which participate in creation and resuming urban decline. In aggregate every functional change that face an urban area the problems that discussed in this chapter, which lead to functional disorder, and urban decline must be prevented. These changes have a vast domain from international shifts in policy and economy till change in local regulations even in the scale of neighborhood. According to most of scholars which have argued this issue, resuming social activities beside economic activities in urban places and preventing dedication of one area just for one function could help to dealing with functional decline. However dealing with functional decline does not limit just to these issues and have a huge domain that will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4

How to Deal with Urban and Functional Decline

It was mentioned before that physical erosion is an unavoidable characteristic of urban areas. However, physical erosion always doesn't lead to urban decline. So what is the key item in order to prevent urban decline. The experiment has shown that as long as an urban area can continue its economic function, to a certain level, it could continue its civic function and prevent decline¹³¹. However this on its own is not sufficient, and in order to continue the economic function and maintain a civic function, other parts and functions of an urban area must work properly. For example if an urban area isn't able to provide a sufficient population and loses its demographic function, though it might have good economic health, it will face severe problems.

Keeping the natural population at high level can help states and cities avoid depopulation. In recent years, some western countries that failed to increase their natural population rate have tried create an artificial population growth by attracting immigrants from Third World countries, especially Asian countries, in order to counter depopulation of city centers.

In this chapter it is tried to investigate the ways that could cease the process of urban and especially functional decline. The process of dealing with urban decline varies from its largest scale like the governmental interventions in national level, till the interventions that people themselves do in the form of reconstruction and revitalizing their built environments by their own facilities. These ways are categorized into four major categories of political considerations, planning policy, economic financing and enhancing the quality of places in a top-down approach.

4.1 Political considerations

Governmental interventions in order to stop decline have a vast domain that starts from political consideration and regulation changes (like code reinforcement, tax rebates, economic subsidies, etc.) till physical intervention (like all kinds of urban redevelopment projects).

The first step in the process of tackling decline is political considerations and regulation changes in declining areas. This issue has two sides. Today the importance of urban decline is apparent, due to former experiences, and to begin with the regulations must be legislated in such a way as to prevent the occurrence of decline and provide a good situation for sectors to develop and resume economic activities without negatively affecting the population, especially the poor. The second step is in the beginning stages of decline, where the economy is still functioning and only some high-income households are moving out. In this situation, authorities can create some auxiliary regulations that encourage the private sector and people themselves to strength the economy and revitalize the built environment. Code enforcing rules, preventing pervasive civic expanding and enforcing the financial and economic market of neighborhoods can be categorized in the first type, and establishing new civic infrastructures in order to maintain land prices, allocating mortgages and economic loans, tax rebates and providing housing rehabilitation projects could categorized in the second type of political regulations.

It is obvious that improvement in the infrastructure of each area will increase the tendency of the people to live in and to entrepreneurs to invest in those areas. For example it is observed that more resources allocated to southern and western states in United States in 1970s and 1980s lead to

¹³¹ This issue is also apparent on a regional and national scale in every era.

more economic development in these areas in comparison to northeastern states that have fewer recourses. This issue resulted in the immigration of people from northern to southern states.¹³² It must be considered that the development of infrastructures in both suburbs and city centers must be equal. This issue must not be misunderstood that we recommend no new investment in the new areas and sectors. On the contrary, new developments will lead to a better economic situation that will reduce the probability of decline. However development of new areas and trends must not be at the expense of ruining other regions. In other words, suburban development must not be the dominant type of urban development and the costs regards to gains must be reasonable. This issue not only has a large impact on a regional scale, but can also be observed at a metropolitan scale. For instance, more investments in the suburbs have led to moving people from city centers and the depopulation of central neighborhoods (in steady population growth). Furthermore during the process of gentrification (that usually is done following urban decline) investment in city center infrastructures must be more than the suburbs and they must be reinforced and renewed by modern technologies in order to attract people.

Healthy economic situations and positive population growth is a key item that usually prevents decline. If an area has a decent population level and a decent amount of economic activities, even if structures are old and physically deteriorated, the community can maintain its vibrancy. In other words positive economic and population growth can prevent an area from becoming a slum even if there is no outstanding modern civic infrastructure and local amenities or services (figure 4.1).



Figure 4.1: Resuming economic function could cease decline. The two pictures at left are Tabriz Bazar (marketplace) and the two in the right are Yazd Bazar. As it is observed Tabriz Bazar as could resume its economic function still is alive despite the neglecting in some parts and some period of time, but Yazd Bazar is abandoned and needs external aids in order to prevent physical deteriorations.¹³³

Due to reasons discussed previously and due to the fact that economic depression and depopulation are the main triggers of urban decline, tackling these two dilemmas not only has to be done by the local authorities, but also should be the concern of central government in allocating

¹³² Muller, 1981, 38.

¹³³ Source: <http://www.flickr.com/photos/30354401@N06/3408725375/>
http://www.fotopedia.com/wiki/Tabriz_Bazaar#!/items/flickr-33223740
<http://iran-gard.ir/yazd/>
<http://www.panoramio.com/photo/32691590>

of resources.¹³⁴ Once again, it must be stressed that authorities have to tackle decline in its very early stages. However much that costs, it is the best time to deal with. But if it is neglected and decline penetrates in the social context of the area and abandonment becomes a widespread phenomenon, it is very hard to deal with it and it will be much more expensive than before.¹³⁵ Thus central government has to monitor the regions, cities and even a neighborhood's population and economic conditions and if there is a problem observed in an area, its roots must be discovered and dealt with. However the problem is not as simple as this. Aside from the government's central budget allocation, which is based on other strategies that sometimes trigger urban decline, each party that manages the government will attempt to invest more in the areas when its votes come from, rather than the areas that really need the funds.

With this perspective, the longer a particular political system (in representative democracy) is in power, the more unequal investment in different parts of a state will become. For example, improvements in rural areas and limiting the cities budget in the UK during 1980s were attributed to the Conservative party due to their core voters being in rural areas.¹³⁶ Today's political thinking offers two set of solution to this problem, or a combination of both. First is the regional system of managing. Under this system, the state is divided into smaller autonomous parts that make decisions about the way and destination of investment. Moreover, state subsidies have to be divided based on the population of each region and the size of the region¹³⁷ (apart from special, more urgent situations). The second option is a participatory management system instead of representative. In this system, the government is an institution that is not attached to any party, hasn't any allegiance to any specific side, and simply implements policy. More specifically the policies have to be legislated by the people themselves. As mentioned before a combination of both attitudes could be more practical.

The concern of planning and urban policy must be the revitalization of the economic, physical and social function of a declining area or neighborhoods that are moving towards decline in parallel with the construction of new areas and establishing new trends. One of the main problems in dealing with urban planning policy in the states is fragmented and numerous agencies involved in the issue that usually reach a common result is a very hard and a long task. Experiences have shown that one single agency could reach to a fixed result very easily. However if one agency is dealing with the problem, the risk of neglecting other areas increases. This issue too returns to the political regulation type of each region. It could be practical for each area's planning institution to be in the hands of one local major agency, taking into account the smaller parts. Moreover an objective observant agency (usually states) must control the plans in order to prevent further failures and achieve the collective well-being (not partial and sectoral). Overall local authorities could understand and tackle problems much more easily. In addition, local services could be better understood and carried out by local authorities.

As an alternative to tackling urban decline and consequences generated by decline, Clark suggests that "expanding the boundaries of the cities ... and changing the areal scope of the city"¹³⁸ could reverse the situation. After industrial revolution cities grew rapidly and the infrastructure required for industry and economic activities were centered in the city. However, during the post-war years, rural areas too provided the infrastructures (such as sufficient roads and labor). Additionally, developments in telecommunications technologies, and the mechanization of the industries in addition to limited development spaces and tightly bound borders, small lots, congestion, etc. in the cities, persuaded industries and economic activities to move towards rural areas, and consequently people seeking the jobs provided by them migrated towards these areas. Expanding the borders of the cities will enable cities to offer the qualities that they previously have been

¹³⁴ For example types of governmental aids are: revenue sharing, block grants, contingent categorical program, annual negotiated agreements, menu approach and tax-base sharing (Bradbury *et al.*, 1982, 267).

¹³⁵ Ahlbrandt & Brophy, 1975,1.

¹³⁶ Clark, 1989, 105.

¹³⁷ Allocation of capital in the states is one most important debates in the countries that still there is a grate debate on it and no absolute consensus on the issue.

¹³⁸ Clark, 1989, 140.

unable to provide. Thus economic activities, instead of moving totally, could change their position within the borders of a city and the city can enjoy their functions. But expanding the limits of a city to a metropolitan scale will increase the risk of sprawl. Hence the scattered development in the metropolitan areas must be controlled. Moreover, expanding the limits of cities will make a region grow coherently. In the tight boundaries some areas have, the local superiorities would grow more and which have less local advantages will lead to decline, even in close proximities. However, with bigger boundaries regions will have more or less equal spatial advantages. David Rusk in his “elastic cities” theory also proved this issue. In his overview, cites that could merge with their suburban areas (in the United States) suffered less in the fields of economic recession, poverty and social tensions.¹³⁹

It must be noticed that tackling urban decline isn’t possible by the actions of only one particular area or agency. The process must be undertaken coherently at all levels throughout a state or at least in a region. This means that urban decline must be one of the priorities of states with a long-term and continuous process. Also not only the means of public sector, but also the forces of private sector are key issues in the investment in the inner city areas.

Clark outlines that the advent and emersion of urban decline was a motive in cities to deal with the unrest of the industrial city. He adds that this issue encouraged the change of planning policy to in the scale of authority and shifted the area of management from the city to the urban level.¹⁴⁰ Bradbury *et al* introduces “annexation and metropolitan government”¹⁴¹ as an alternative to tackling decline. By the means of this shift, not only the size of the cities grew and could attract bigger economies, but also the resources and the tax rates of municipalities increase, meaning that they can offer better services and infrastructure.

Unemployment is one of the stimulus forces of decline and its reduction can stop the progression of decline. As many unemployed people in deprived neighborhoods are unskilled workers, and they are unable to find appropriate jobs even after legalizing economic programs, creating jobs for unskilled workers is a vital issue. Two types of strategies can be undertaken in order to deal with this problem. The first strategy is creating the jobs in those areas that need low-level of skills. But because in current times much labor is mechanized and entrepreneurs do not favor an unskilled workforce due to its high costs and low level of efficiency, in addition to the fact that low-skilled workers have low wages, the second strategy that is the free training and educational programs for unskilled workers appears to be a better solution.

The main reason for workers having a low level of skills can be found in low educational level in the public schools. As deprived households are unable to afford private schools in order to prevented continuing low level of skills in the deprived neighborhoods, the government must provide an excellent education service and infrastructure in the areas that are declining. Furthermore, states must try to provide good educational services in each neighborhood in order to prevent the decrease in educational levels in declined areas. If the total number of students in an area is low or for any reason providing such a prominent education system is not possible to authorities, educational aids for deprived households, could solve the problem to a certain extent. A concentration of schools with children that whose educational expectation is low is an unpleasant situation that must be tackled in the process of decline. The low quality of education in schools is a powerful provocative that force households to move to areas that have a better quality of education. But at the same time, better schools in the city centers could attract people to live in there. Thus states must prepare better schools in city centers in order to both prevent people from moving out and attracting them to move in.

Socioeconomic segregation and a concentration of poverty in an area is the most undesirable feature of urban decline. It is a fact that excluding households that are mainly middle and higher income class from moving towards areas that have better housing qualities and environmental amenities is neither a desirable action (because it is against freedom of market and diminishes the

¹³⁹ Rusk, 1995, 16.

¹⁴⁰ Clark, 1989, 143.

¹⁴¹ Bradbury *et al*, 1982, 272.

quality of urban areas) nor is possible. The most important issue related with socioeconomic problems is poverty, racial, ethnic and religious divisions among communities. Of course economic differences will remain and is necessary in an urban system, but there must be a limit both in the size and intensity of it in order to avoid poverty. The problem of racial, ethnic and religious segregation must be solved by education programs and enhancing people's civic culture (especially in schools). However, in current times, in order to maintain and strengthen the national bond among people and to obtain some specific goals, in some countries, this issue is neglected.

4.2 Planning policy

In the field of planning policy urban decline is the outcome of short-term policies that include absence of strategic vision and lack of public sector monitoring that resulted in the low quality of urban public places. Giddens proposes finding a third way (or ways), after practicing two ways of socialism and neo-liberalism that failed to operate properly, in order to prevent more failures in the field of planning policy. The third way is a reasonable point between the first two that provides both goals of economic growth, which the first way (socialism) failed to provide and the social equality that the second way (neo-liberalism) was unable to bring.¹⁴²

The social impact of political decisions and urban schemes must be investigated and examined very attentively. Loukaitou-Sideris complains not only that the ignorance of urban designers about their role in the direction of decision making, but also about the existing condition that "the socio-economic and political forces shape the physical form of the cities and it is often beyond the grasp and responsibility of urban designer and mostly political and economic power determines what will get built, where and who will benefit from it."¹⁴³ She mentions, "today, more than ever, design needs a sense of direction... [towards] not only a search for a new style... but rather it should be guided by the realization that urban design can become a responsible agent for the reconstruction of the city form, the creation of human environment for all and the mending of the cracks."¹⁴⁴ She suggests some normative principals that must be considered in the decision making process. The first issue is collaborative design and empowering the people who are going to use the product by allowing their participation in the process of design. In this situation the probability of neglecting the user's well-being and expectations will be minimized. Furthermore the residents, if participating in the process of design or changes that are going to take place in their neighborhood, will feel a stronger sense of belonging to their neighborhood. Referring to Mera¹⁴⁵, Loukaitou-Sideris divides the clients into two groups of "nominal" and "substantive" (actual) client and complains about the situation that in majority of cases, instead of "respecting the needs of substantive client" the expectations of the nominal client is prioritized.¹⁴⁶ However, as the second group will eventually use the places, their needs and expectations must be taken into account. Moreover, the design outcome must be real and based on the actual needs of the people, rather than simply imitating for example past nostalgic items of European cities in order to create nice areas.

The other aspect is the standardization and theming that the modernism movement has produced and even post-modernism has been unable to erode the standardization that leads to homogenization of urban places. "Studies have long indicated that the use and perception of space dramatically alters for different groups, owing to socio-cultural distinctions, gender, age, race and income differences, and life-cycle stages."¹⁴⁷ Subsequently, the needs of actual users and the values of the society must be perceived by a design authority in order to designing a place for particular people in each locality not universal spaces for all. The next issue is the fragmentation of public realm that is done in the cities in order to maintaining safety and prevent crime. Loukaitou-Sideris argues that public spaces instead of separating people from each other must provide the opportunity of face-to-face contact. "Design elements should emphasize and reinforce

¹⁴² Giddens, 2001, 2.

¹⁴³ Loukaitou-Sideris, 1996, 97.

¹⁴⁴ Loukaitou-Sideris, 1996, 98.

¹⁴⁵ Koichi Mera, 1967.

¹⁴⁶ Loukaitou-Sideris, 1996, 98.

¹⁴⁷ Loukaitou-Sideris, 1996, 99.

the bonds of public space to the rest of the urban structure... and become connectors rather than buffers between areas”¹⁴⁸.

And the final factor is the rigidity of urban form that is not capable of accommodating new functions that emerge over time. Urban form must be flexible in order to adapt to changes. “We need urban designs which create building forms capable of serving varying programs, structures that can be easily altered, spaces amenable to reuse, adaption and transformation.”¹⁴⁹

One of the biggest problems in the topic of planning policy is loss of harmony and uniformity in the modern city that creates gaps in the urban space. Developers, in order to creating unique and distinct buildings, try to over emphasize on the technology and artistic feature of the buildings and the context is neglected. However the spaces between buildings that create urban places is much more important than particular buildings. Trancik argues that as recent buildings each represents itself without any unity with its surroundings and the scale between them is giant and irrelevant, the spaces aren't the place of social interaction. These spaces are transformed into lost space. He claims that the modern movement has destroyed social activity in the urban spaces, and scales of places have become massive and irrelevant. In order to deal with the issue of lost spaces, a collective framework must be prepared in establishing and constructing spaces, and private developers should follow the codes in order to maintain the quality of public places instead of concentrating on the individual building and character.¹⁵⁰ In other words, the context of total urban space and collective social activity must take priority over the image of individual space or building.

The other issue that is/were in the topic of debates related with urban decline is “ neighborhood life cycle theory”. Some scholars (Ahlbrandt and Brophy) believe that “neighborhood life cycle theory” is not accurate and all neighborhoods do not obey that formula. Furthermore in some cases as life cycle theory has determined a specific outline towards decline, as a self motivated prophecy, neighborhoods is derived towards decline. Forecasting that all neighborhoods will end to decline, not only don't help, but also sometimes deteriorate the natural process. Moreover as the reason of decline in life cycle theory is introduced as loss of economic fertility that leads to unfavorable situation for both people and capital owners and eventually will end to abandonment of neighborhoods, if the economic downturn is prevented, then decline will prevented too¹⁵¹.

4.3 Economic financing

Every policy that is carried out in the process of dealing with decline has to consider that it must not reduce the employment rate and population in urban areas. It must be noticed that employment is a key item that usually attracts population and vice versa, unemployment leads to sever urban problems.

In order to cease the progression of decline states try to inject money into a market or implement specific economic regulations (such as tax rebates) to revive declining economic conditions and enhance the quality of built environment. Financing could convince the private sector to invest in a neighborhood and reverse the situation. Investment of private sector in the market also will create jobs and increase tax revenues, leading to better services.

As landlords and homeowners in a neighborhood can be negatively affected by the process of decline, in the same way they can be affected positively from enhancing and revitalizing the quality of built environment. In the case of landlords, they must ensure that their investment will have a positive effect on their income and will have positive added value. States must persuade not only landlords, but also the property owners and institutions to invest in an area by eliminating the uncertainty and investment risk. But homeowners not only have a monetary investment on their homes as real estate, but also they have a huge psychological interest and concern on their physical

¹⁴⁸ Loukaitou-Sideris, 1996, 100.

¹⁴⁹ Loukaitou-Sideris, 1996, 101.

¹⁵⁰ Trancik, 1986, 69.

¹⁵¹ Ahlbrandt & Brophy, 1975, 7.

environment.¹⁵² Homeowners do not show enthusiasm to move out from their neighborhood due to the bonds that have been created. Thus they will be eager to invest to their physical environment not only due to its added value, but also because of its social outcomes. However informing and persuading them by local government and orienting their investment, in addition to ensuring them that the area will not be the subject of unpleasant situation, could enhance the amount of the invest. For example constructing a significant public building in an area, which is in the first stages of decline, can persuade the homeowners and landlords to invest in their own property.

People and institutions that work for people's well-being have a significant role in negotiating and pushing the public sector towards investing in an area, as the public sector is the most essential institution to determining and orienting the changes within a city. Ahlbrandt and Brophy outlines that in order to tackle with decline "the psychology of investors must be altered. This necessitates the intervention of public sector through higher level of investment and improved delivery of services. In addition, programs may be required to lower the risk to financial institutions for extending credit in declining inner-city neighborhoods."¹⁵³ However, this is not enough in order to cease decline. In the issue of economic decisions and investments that target the regions and metropolitan areas with a view of tackling decline, Bradbury *et al* believe that the acts and resources that directly target deprived households and the poor on a small scale, could sometimes have better outcomes. They provide an example that tax reductions that are done in order to empowering economic base of a region, in the first stage will affect the entrepreneurs and capital owner rather than deprived families¹⁵⁴. On the other hand the disadvantage of these aids is that the poor will get used to these aids and will lose the motivation for progression. It is more practical that the aids provide the situation suitable for deprived households to enter to the economic activities (indirect assistant) such as job creation, education and training programs and developing mass and cheap transportation infrastructure. However if it is be done in a direct way, it must target the households that can't actually work, in the form of social services or even cash subsidies. It is observed that even when the total unemployment rate in countries is low, in the deprived areas and slums unemployment is high.¹⁵⁵ Therefore creating jobs in these areas is one of the essential programs that must be carried out.

The most important driver of urban decline is poverty and low income of households. If households have enough income, apparently they would invest in order to enhance the quality of their living standards and subsequently the quality of built environment will be enhanced. At the same rate, also the landlords will gain more and will be eager to invest on their property. Hence the most effective way of dealing with decline is enhancing the income rate of its residents by providing economic activities (and persuading high-income households to move in). This issue can be clarified with an example. Suppose a neighborhood is in decline and the vast majority of its residents are low-income households. Then the local authority starts a massive renewal project in order to deal with decline. Consequently the land and rent prices will be enhanced and low-income households will be unable to afford rents and have to move to other neighborhoods, which will perhaps be in a worse situation, or poverty will permeates to the other neighborhoods, and the renewed neighborhood will become an area of high-income households. But if government invests in economic trends in the area targeting low-income people and the income rates increase, perhaps it may not have outstanding physical outcomes over the short-term, but in the long-term it will alter the situation. Moreover when the income level of households in a neighborhood is high, private financial institution will also be more eager to give mortgages to residents of the neighborhood. Hence it is observed that renewal actions (without aiming at any particular group of people or any alternative for residents) are the final intervention type that can be done in the process of dealing with decline. Unless the area hasn't been abandoned it is not proposed because it increases the land prices and rents and not only does it not eradicate poverty, but it also changes the location of it and scatters it to other areas of the city. Renewal issues might perhaps improves the physical condition of a particular area but does not solve the roots of the problem (figure 4.2).

¹⁵² Ahlbrandt & Brophy, 1975, 11.

¹⁵³ Ahlbrandt & Brophy, 1975, 34.

¹⁵⁴ Bradbury *et al*, 1982, 279.

¹⁵⁵ Bradbury *et al*, 1982, 281.



Figure 4.2: Dikmen vadisi, Ankara, before (above) and after (below) renewal projects. The people who were living in the area couldn't afford the codes after renewal projects and have to move to other areas.¹⁵⁶

One of the other factors that could enhance the quality built environment is increasing the housing codes. However it must be considered that increasing housing codes must not be lead to abandonment of the houses. This means that because some buildings are unhealthy for its residents, it must not be evacuated without any further and supplement action. If just the regulations that enhances the codes is carried out and lead to abandonment of structures, much more social problems and unrests will be emerge. Hence the policy that is suggested is that if a code enhancing regulation is passed, subjected households that are unable to meet the codes must be supported by public subsidies.

¹⁵⁶ Source: <http://bianet.org/bianet/toplum/136785-dikmen-vadisi-projesi-simdilik-durdu>
http://farm3.static.flickr.com/2735/4353013261_5dd1d3c1f3.jpg

It must be taken into consideration that simply red-lining the buildings and/or neighborhoods that they are polluted, populated and unhealthy in order to tackle the issues of urban decline without considering any alternative solutions or policies could result in even more severe problems. If the buildings are red-lined and the people are prevented from living in them without increasing the total amount of real estate available, then the revitalization projects will not be profitable for developers and will not take place. Thus it will lead to abandonment of buildings or an area and severe social problems will occur. In the former situation, at least there were people living in the areas and it had some social function. In the case of demolition without constructing new structures in order to preventing social unrest such as gathering homeless people in the abandoned buildings, the area will lose its harmony and continuity (figure 4.3).



Figure 4.3: The lots that demolished in renewal projects and still are vacant. Los Angeles, Bunker Hill. Course: Cox, 2005,9.

4.4 Enhancing the quality of places

As it was mentioned before low quality of urban places is one of the most important reasons that could make functional problems and lead to urban decline and vice versa, if urban decline is because of other reasons, the quality of built environment could descend after a period of time. Hence enhancing the quality of built environment could cease the process of decline. This action mainly could encourage the people to move in and to entrepreneurs to invest in particular areas. Also it could avoid people from moving out.

Lots of scholars have argued about the quality of good places. In aggregate, good urban places must possess a prominent positive mental image and an outstanding sense of place. Lynch clarifies that cities must have a “public environmental image” and this image is the combination and product of three elements of identity, structure and meaning.¹⁵⁷ In his work (the image of the city) he elaborates the notions of structure and identity but he mentions that as defining the meaning is a hard task he neglects to do it. He introduces five items of paths, edges, districts, nodes and landmarks that helps to enhance the imageability and identity of places.¹⁵⁸ But is this enough to make a good place? As mentioned before in recent eras architects and designers have tried to

¹⁵⁷ Lynch, 1960, 8.

¹⁵⁸ Lynch, 1960, 46.

create outstanding buildings and places with sophisticated aesthetic features using prominent technologies and materials to make impressive buildings and places in order to create a unique image in the mind of visitors. Apart from the problem of having no harmony and the loss of coherent context in this topic, The other problem related with applying new construction technologies and materials is that as they are universal techniques that are copied throughout the world and the result is same, places that are similar to each other. In this situation the major intend of designers of creating the image in the minds of the visitors, has not been realized (figure 4.4).



Figure 4.4: Bilbao Guggenheim museum (above) and Los Angeles Walt Disney concert hall.¹⁵⁹ Aren't they similar?

But the most important problem related with this issue is that the image of places is designed for outsiders that visit the places and do not live there permanently. In the other words, designers try to create places that individuals (mostly outsiders) haven't seen before and create unique activity that they haven't not experienced in other places. But what about the residents (insiders)?¹⁶⁰

Distinctiveness in regards to sense of place, are similar concepts, but are different issues. Creating distinctive places for outsiders is an imitation of having sense of place. Most of these areas are

¹⁵⁹ Source: [http://www.kompas.si/gallery/20320/%C5%A1panija%20bilbao%20shutter stock_1055199.jpg](http://www.kompas.si/gallery/20320/%C5%A1panija%20bilbao%20shutter%20stock_1055199.jpg)
<http://www.cityprofile.com/forum/attachments/california/9274-los-angeles-walt-disney-concert-hall.jpg>

¹⁶⁰ The phrases "insider" and "outsiders" is derived from Relph, 1976, 49.

constructed for tourists and in order to gaining profit. Relph introduces placelessness as dominant places of cities (especially American cities) that they are very similar to each other without possessing outstanding local character. In one sense as need for built environment after industrial revelation and population growth has raised and parallel with this issue as the construction techniques and materials have become universal the places are similar to each other. But in the other sense Relph claims that not only techniques and materials, but also activities and even thoughts have been the same¹⁶¹ and places has lost their identity (and sense of place), thus placelessness has become a prevalent feature¹⁶².

The engagement of the people with spaces and their activities make them places and gives the sense of place. How much that the people and their activities in urban places are restricted, the sense of place will be lower. In better words as popularity and commonness (publicity) of a place is higher the sense of place could be strengthened. However just publicity is not enough in order to make powerful sense of place and a social activity between people is of the same importance too. There must be a mental bond between people (mostly residents because they live there) and the places, in addition to a social bond between people, that in time makes common image and experience among people that provides collective memories. As memories occur on places, they are the common element of memories in the society. Collective memories are the DNA of an urban area that remains in time and provides identity for place in the mind of residents. Consequently people care about the place that they have spent a lot of time in and energy on, and which have provided many experiences. Hence the activity that takes place is very important mostly for residents (and notably is not just shopping). According to Carmona *et al* the “sense of place can be considered as a common or collective property resource.”¹⁶³ Individualism provides the culture of having no care about our surrounding. According to Crang, when individuals do not care about their surroundings, placelessness can be observed, because they have no bonds with their surroundings and they do not feel a sense of belonging to their environment.¹⁶⁴ The social activities that create bonds between people and places are vital in order to avoid placelessness. The other issue that must be outlined in this topic is being “a close connection between life inside the buildings and activity on the street”¹⁶⁵. In recent era, everything is happening inside the high-rises and malls and street life has been demolished. It is not claimed that the construction of high-rise buildings and malls must be prevented, but the existence of them must not destroy the social public life in the streets. Moreover it is better that, the functions of inside and the activity outside the building, be related to each other.

As outlined in previous chapter, Jacobs and Appleyard place great emphasis on the quality of urban places, on the public life of the cities and design for community. They have translated these concepts to some tangible structural features that considering these characteristics could lead cities to better livable places. The first quality is “livable streets and neighborhoods” and there must be some codes and standards to achieving this quality. One of the most important characteristics to be considered not only in the first quality, but also in all of them is “reasonable thought” rather than “excessive”. For example toward reaching safety and escape from noise, constructing streets too wide can ruin urbanity¹⁶⁶.

The second quality is a “minimum density”, which must be considered in an urban area in order to reach urbanity. It is in the nature of a city that a minimum number of people are needed to achieve community and public life. Jacobs and Appleyard call this “function of density”. They propose at least “15 dwelling units per acre of land”¹⁶⁷ but not more than 200 people per acre. Reasonable “integration of activities” in a close proximity from each other (distance must be walkable) is the third quality. It is the mix, rather than simply the density of people and uses that brings life to an area. Also it strengthens the social bond and public life in the neighborhood. Type of activities

¹⁶¹ According to Tocqueville, 1945, 240.

¹⁶² Relph, 1976, 79.

¹⁶³ Carmona *et al*, 2010, 123.

¹⁶⁴ Crang, 1998, 112.

¹⁶⁵ Trancik, 1986, 65.

¹⁶⁶ Jacobs & Appleyard, 1987, 117.

¹⁶⁷ Jacobs & Appleyard, 1987, 117.

varies in each locality but living, working, shopping and recreational activities are the vital ones. The fourth one is that the environment must be manmade and buildings have to create spaces between them that can be used for public functions. “In an urban environment, buildings should be arranged in such a way as to define and even enclose public space, rather than sit in space”¹⁶⁸. In order to achieving this issue, distances among the building, taking into account the size of the building, must not be very long. And finally, the fifth quality is that “many different (small scale) buildings and spaces with complex arrangements and relationship are required,”¹⁶⁹ instead of some very large buildings. This characteristic will provide “human scale” in the urban areas and public places will be understood and will be more tangible for the people. Moreover the communal identity of the society will be enhanced and furthermore equality will be provided among the different groups of the people (figure 4.5).

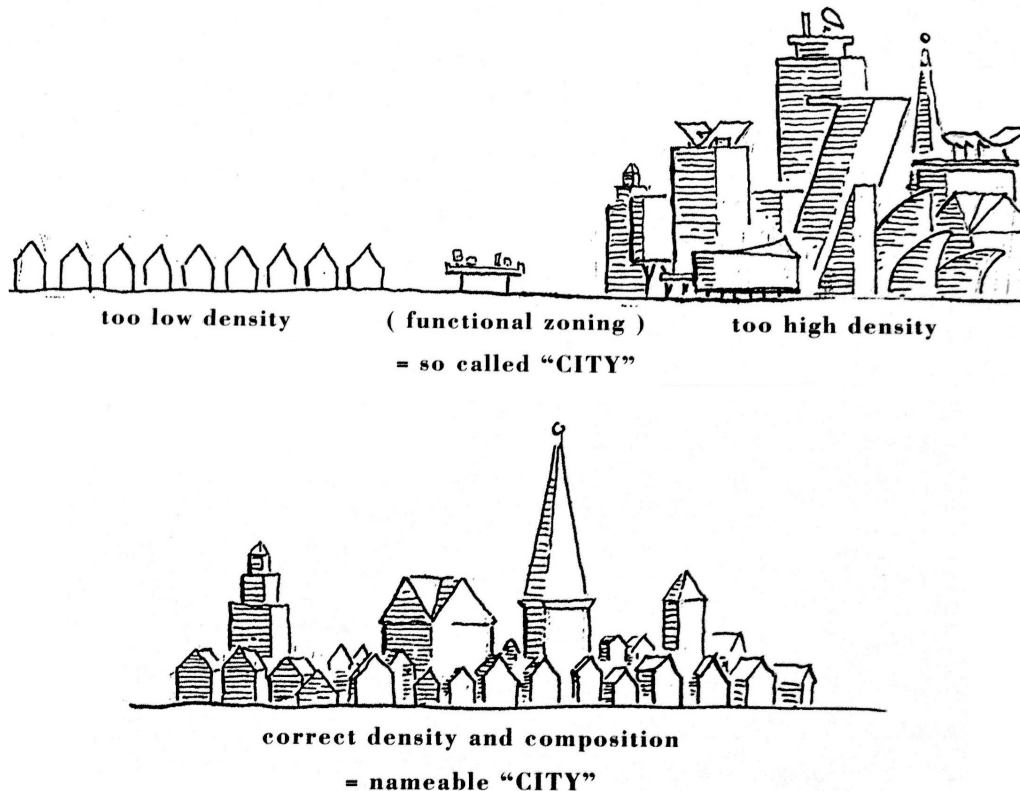


Figure 4.5: Man made environment and some small-scale buildings.¹⁷⁰

However gathering all of these five physical characteristics together is a hard task and in some cases they will contradict each other. Perhaps these themes may not satisfy some people or groups, but we have to consider that their objectives are to provide and promote public life in the neighborhoods and society towards livable and safe neighborhoods and healthier cities.

One of the other scholars that have great emphasis on the good urban places in the cities is John Montgomery¹⁷¹. For creating good urban places in the first step he has introduced the components of urban places. According to him good urban places are resulted from combination of activity, (physical) form and image (meaning)¹⁷² (pic). In the field of activity most important thing is that the majority social, cultural and more specifically economic activities must take place in the public urban spaces and streets. If all the activities occur in the buildings then cities will lose their vitality. Activities have to be rooted in the life of local residents and must affect their life in a

¹⁶⁸ Jacobs & Appleyard, 1987, 118.

¹⁶⁹ Jacobs & Appleyard, 1987, 119.

¹⁷⁰ Krier, 2009, 66.

¹⁷¹ In Making a city: Urbanity, Validity and Urban Design.

¹⁷² Montgomery, 1998, 98.

positive way (mostly in the economic and social aspects). Moreover activity must not be periodic or defined to an era of time. They must take place continuously in urban places in order to maintain the vitality of the neighborhoods. Diversity of the uses, importantly the main uses, is a factor that helps to reach such vitality. The uses must include all people in all ranges and must be in multiple scales and types and especially in a walkable distance. Economic grain and diversity in the scale and type of economic activities will allow all people able to live in the neighborhoods and will provide social integration. Furthermore the flexibility of the cities against the economic crises will be enhanced. In the context of image it must be mentioned that image is different from identity. Identity is the objective characteristic of a place, but image is how individuals perceive it. In the formation of an image not only physical settings and form of the urban area is participated, but also the activity that take place in the place and cultural beliefs and social values, participate a major role in its perception. The other issue that is important in this context is the aspects of the perception and importantly its collective feature. Perception has its roots in individual ideas and communal values and beliefs. Apart from individual ideas that normally are different between people, cultural values could be same due to same acquisition process in a locality. As the cultural values and beliefs are emerged in time and partially are the product of activities and events that occur in that place, the activities that occur in the urban places gain more importance. Activities produce communal memories that are a part of cultural values in an area. Montgomery outlines that due to this memories and meanings that urban places give to a city and society, they are inevitable part of an outstanding urban area¹⁷³. The physical setting is a prerequisite for the formation of a city and therefore a vibrant place. But the point is that the form of the urban area must be in such a way that prepares the best ease and function for its residents. This issue was/is in the debate of scholars and still there is not any accurate answer for it. The major scholar that has got huge citation about his work is Kevin Lynch. In his well-known work¹⁷⁴ he has introduced the physical elements and conditions that good urban forms must possess. As discussed before he introduces five elements of paths, edges, districts, nodes and landmarks that must integrate in such a way that produce unique image for each urban area.

In order to integrating the three elements of activity, image and form to obtain good urban places, also Montgomery recommends some physical conditions that is introduced below¹⁷⁵. The first condition is intensity of activities and functions (especially the main functions including residential), styles, concentration and density, image of neighborhoods and also intensity in ground coverage in order to be self-sustaining and reach urbanity and street life. The issue of density must not be misunderstood with overcrowding. There must be a reasonable amount of public realm, green and water spaces in the cities (but in the urban areas) in order to provide a place for social and cultural activities (this issue is discussed more in the sixth condition). These places are not only the places which provides aesthetic and green townscape for cities, but also could be used as meeting and gathering places for social activities.

The second condition is mixed use of primary activities in in the urban areas. The functions are divided into two groups of primary and secondary uses. Primary are the functions that people come to these places because of the functions. And it is better that the primary functions be more than two. The secondary uses are the functions and activities that are gathered around the primary uses and are nourishing the primary function or nourish from that function. In this context some important issues must be considered. The notion of mixed use is not just putting the uses and functions beside together. Not only the functions must not harm each other but also, they have to work beside together and they must fulfill each other. Furthermore the space that the activities are taking place must be same or must be same in some cases and areas. Preferably they could be in the open public spaces rather than inside the buildings.

This is the fact that functions and needs in the urban areas rapidly change and in the majority of cases life of the structures is more than the life of their functions. Hence the next condition is about the adaptability of urban form. Physical form of the urban areas not only in the accepting new activities, but also in the intensity of activities and their services performs a huge role. For

¹⁷³ Montgomery, 1998, 101.

¹⁷⁴ Lynch, 1960.

¹⁷⁵ The order and the number of conditions are arranged by author.

example a suburban residential area that the transportation is done just by automobile is not an adaptable form, because by starting for example peak oil era and expensive fossil based transportation, there is no choice but abandonment. Or for example after expansion of city and change in the strategic location of the area, due to its suburban physical form, in-built adaptability will be impossible and the form must be replaced. Apart from physical characteristics in the form of the urban areas that must not be designed in same model and type and there must be various physical characteristics (in size, accessibility, etc.), the mixed-use is key item that could strengthen the adaptability. The other issue that is very important in this context is the economic adaptability of urban areas. This topic has a huge domain and still is in debate of the politicians whether the economy must be totally independent or must highly linked to the global market. But if it is linked to the other markets, it must be noticed that the economy with collapse of one market or sector must not be bankrupted totally. Mixed-use areas, not only possess various kinds of physical characteristics due to their multi-functional basis, but also because of their economic diversity, can resist better against the economic crises.

The fourth condition is the human scale and the permeability of city blocks. Scale is the height of buildings regards to the width of the paths and the “relative distance, permeability and the sense of grandeur or intimacy of”¹⁷⁶ urban space between the city blocks. The issue that must be noticed is that the width of the streets regards to the buildings height and the functional characteristic of the area must be designed in such a way that circulation function of the streets must not destroy the street life. This means that if an area possesses tall buildings but narrow paths, as the functions have high congestion, the transportation will need more space and therefore the public life of the streets will be affected negatively. On the other hand if there are wide paths regards the blocks that their traffic is low, the space will remain empty and the vitality of the area will be reduced. The other issue that could be mentioned in the topic of scale is the variety scales in the urban areas. Experiences have shown that urban areas with diverse scales could create better urban places. Furthermore the city blocks must be permeable thus the space for street activities will be increased. For doing this, the number of intersections must be increased and the size of blocks should be reasonable and their length must be short. Here we can observe that as the majority of activities in superblocks happen inside the buildings, they reduce the urbanity of the cities. Thus more little blocks with more junctions and paths are recommended and they will strengthen the permeability of the city blocks and the human scales will be obtained.

The other condition is a fine grain of activities especially economic activities. In the vibrant and good urban places always there are a large amount of small businesses in a walkable distance. These activities not only increase the street life, but also enhance commercial diversity and make place-specific market. This is not to say that the big economic activities must not take place in urban areas, but always a reasonable amount of small businesses and grain activities must take place. One issue that must be considered here is the variety of unit size and grain in the scale of the units both horizontally and vertically. This will make the units suitable for all activities and affordable for all people.

The sixth condition is providing public realm, green and water spaces in the urban areas. Public realm spaces as well as vibrant streets are a key item in achieving good urban areas. These spaces not only provide green spaces that help in the health and filtering of the noise and air, but also provide better townscape views. But their main role is providing meeting places for local activities and customs and moreover recreational space for inhabitants. These spaces are multi functional spaces that could be used for variety of functions both for permanent and occasional uses.

Transportation and solving movement problems are the next condition that must be managed in the urban areas. Today this is a fact that cars are the inseparable part of our life but the transportation system must be in a way that promote least individual car usage and encourage towards public transportation system. But the usage of cars must not destroy the urbanity and urban places of the cities. More over as the problem of sever congested traffic routs, decreases the desirability of the places this problem must be resolved.

¹⁷⁶ Montgomery, 1998, 106.

And finally the eight condition is the architectural and aesthetic image of the urban form. By using these aesthetics like public art works, landmarks, monuments, etc. each locality must attain a unique image and sense of place. But it must be outlined that without social and economic activities in public spaces, no aesthetic feature can not give urbanity to the places.

However the conditions that outlined earlier are very important issues, but it must be outlined that there are some urban areas that lacks some of the conditions but due to particular local situation, could provide good places and vice versa, by gathering all these conditions some urban problems is possible. In designing new urban areas or making redevelopment schemes it is better to notice these conditions. But there are some pre-requisites that these conditions must follow. Each condition that limits these issues has to be fixed. All of them must strengthen the street life and contact in urban places. Here we must notice that there is difference between street and road and vibrant streets will make urban places. In the public spaces social activities and economic transaction are significant issues that must take place. A minimum density and concentration of people and high level of ground coverage is needed to reach urbanity. Pedestrian space and social contact is vital issue. Small-scale economic activities and diversity in time of the activities are the other instance. The other subject that must be noticed here is that, the three elements of activity, form and image must reinforce the existence of each other. If existence of one element limits the other, then the whole system will suffer.

In aggregate, adding all the qualities that Jacobs and Appleyard has introduced with prerequisites and conditions that Montgomery has out lined, a checklist is obtained. In some cases the concepts and conditions that these scholars has introduced are very similar to each other that they have been merged with each other (according to author's point of view). This checklist not only is usable in detecting the areas that have low quality of place (that in the majority of cases are declined), but also could help in order to enhancing high quality of place. This checklist is provided below.

1. **Street life and livable neighborhoods (vitality).** In this section it must be noticed that in order to have street life street have to possess pedestrian space beside the transportation space and neighborhoods in order to possess vitality must have variety of functions including residential.
2. **A minimum density of form and concentration of people.** This item requires high level of ground coverage.
3. **Intensity of activities and functions (vitality)** in order to achieving self-sustaining areas.
4. **Integration of activities and mixed use of functions (diversity).** Also **diversity in the time of activities.**
5. **Social and economic activities in public and shared spaces of activities.**
6. **Multi scale of buildings and spaces and fine grain of activities.** No same pattern of construction and form.
7. **Human scale, manmade environment and permeability of city blocks.** Buildings that create space between each other not sit in the space.
8. **Public realm and green and water space for multi-functional social recreation activities.**
9. **A positive, unique (Architectural and aesthetic) image.**
10. **Better transportation routs.** Transportation must not destroy public and street life of the neighborhoods.
11. **Adaptability of urban form** (mixed use, intensity of activities and multi-scale form).
12. **Reinforcing elements.** All the items must not restrict other items and they must reach to a reasonable point of integration and balance.

4.5 Conclusion

The process of dealing with decline varies in each locality due to its specific culture and local circumstances. But this process could be classified into four major categories that discussed earlier. Every action that is carried on in this process must consider the fact that social function and activities in urban places must resume or be provided in the cases that lack it. It is observed that in majority of cases, which have faced urban decline the social function of urban places, and their role in creating vibrant urban places out of spaces in neglected.

In one perspective decline is the outcome of short-term policy considerations. Political regulations must the long-term outcomes of the policies and more specifically its social outcomes. The major prerequisite of every action is that mostly the low-income households must gain in this process and if it will not, other complementary actions must be provided.

Huge attention in policy must be put to the issue of decline and it must not be neglected. Sometimes problems related with functional decline could hide behind the high natural population growth in a city or region. This does not mean that there isn't any problem and with emergence of new circumstances they will become apparent. This issue is mostly observed in developing countries and the risk of incidence of decline after a period of time exists.

Other important issue that must be considered in the process of dealing decline is that there is no sequences in this process and based on local circumstances the sequence of interventions could change. A comprehensive scheme taking into account all participant factors and of course the local circumstances and opportunities must be provided. However in some cases partial and sectoral interventions, could cease the progression of decline.

In this chapter it was tried to investigate the ways of dealing with decline in a top-down approach. Then a checklist, which could be helpful not only in recognizing the declined areas, but also it could be a way to cease the process of decline. In the next chapter the process of urban decline in the case of Salıpazarı, Istanbul using the provided checklist will be examined.

CHAPTER 5

Investigating the roots of urban and functional decline In Salıpazarı, Istanbul

Salıpazarı has been an important area of Istanbul since the formation of Ottoman Empire, and even before that, due to its advantageous location next to the Bosphorus. It is located in the western (European) part of the Istanbul in Galata (also known as Pera) across the historic peninsula. The symptoms of urban decline, such as run-down structures, abandoned buildings, the poor economic situation of its residents and lack of any decent social activity in this place, despite possessing an advantageous location and existence of major historic buildings, is the reason that this area is selected for this study (figure 5.1,2).

In this chapter after a brief historical overview and introducing the location and current functions of Salıpazarı, the forces of urban and functional decline in Salıpazarı will be investigated and in what extent these forces have participated the creation of decline in Salıpazarı will be evaluated. In the next part the elements of low quality of place, using the checklist provided in previous chapter will be evaluated and finally physical problems related with the area's physical form using the elements introduced by Kevin Lynch¹⁷⁷ will be evaluated.

5.1. Historical overview

Salıpazarı is located in the southern part of the Tophane neighborhood, which is a part of district of Beyoğlu. It is Istanbul's oldest industrial region, and was even active during the Ottoman era. The area is named Tophane (armory), because it was the place that cannons and cannon balls were made.

Unfortunately lots of the Ottoman buildings of this area have not survived and have collapsed for various reasons. The main Tophane building today is used as Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University.¹⁷⁸

The presence of churches, which were built during the Byzantine period, shows that also before the Ottoman Empire there were settlements in this area.

The location of the Topkapi area was very important in Ottoman Empire, as it was the location of the empire's cannon and cannonball factory. Apart from the presence of the factory, its strategic location makes the area important, even today. Following the construction of factory, the Turkish workers of the factory and related industries started to settle down in this district.¹⁷⁹ The construction of different mosques, monuments and building by various rulers of the Ottoman Empire also highlights the importance of this area. Following the construction of Galata Bridge across the Golden Horn in 1845, the Beyoğlu district and consequently the Tophane neighborhood gained much more importance, as the sultan moved to his new palace in Besiktas. Following the construction of the bridge foreign countries also, started to build their embassies in Pera, and thus the workers of the embassies settled down in this area. During the mid-1900s century, and with the new laws that the Ottoman Empire has previously put into power out to modernize the country, with a particular emphasis on Istanbul, swaths of modern functions and building such as Khans (modern office buildings) and bars, were constructed in the city. "Therefore, in addition to Cihangir, this area become an elite finance, bureaucracy, trade residential area with embassies,

¹⁷⁷ Lynch, 1960.

¹⁷⁸ <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tophane>

¹⁷⁹ Gonenc, 2008, 47.

offices, khans, and the nearby mansion of the rich”¹⁸⁰ and Beyoglu area became the place of a modern lifestyle in Istanbul. This era was the heyday of Beyoglu district in which people from various cultures, races and ethnicities lived together without any significant problems¹⁸¹.

Following the fall of the Ottoman Empire and until the end of World War II, Istanbul (similar to other parts of the world) faced a decline for various reasons. Apart from economic stagnation in the world economy, Istanbul and consequently Beyoglu were dealing with other problems. After the founding of the Turkish Republic and the moving of the capital city to Ankara, Istanbul lost its position as the main city of the state and much attention was focused on the construction of Ankara. Moreover, during this period ethnic and racial minorities migrated back to their homelands, and Istanbul and consequently Beyoglu experienced a population explosion. As gradually houses that had been left empty were occupied with immigrants from inner Anatolia seeking better employment the social composition of the neighborhoods changed. Later, and with the creation of a suburban lifestyle and the desire of the high- and middle-income sections of society to live in the suburbs, gradually they moved out from the Beyoglu district leaving behind mainly lower-income households.¹⁸²

The main physical changes in this area took place after 1950s when the mayor of Istanbul, Adnan Menderes started modernization projects. A number of military buildings that left over from the Ottoman Empire (in the area of Tophane) were demolished and the area became important as a port for both trade and tourist ships. However in 1970s the function of trading harbor disappeared and the port is now used as an entrance point for tourists that are arriving on cruise ships.¹⁸³

5.2. The location and function of study area

The Salıpazarı area is adjacent with Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University from the northeast, with Meclis-i Mebusan Street from northwest, Tophane Iskele Street from southwest and linked to sea from the southeast (figure 5.3). Salıpazarı possesses very big amount of historical monuments. As shown in the figure 5.4 Tophane fountain, Tophane castle, Nusretiye mosque and Clock tower have given a very particular atmosphere to the area. Moreover Kiliç Ali Paşa mosque, is located across the Tophane Iskele Street and Tophane-i Amir (former canon and canon ball factory), is placed across the Meclis-i Mebusan Street.

The main function of this area is transiting and talking care of the customs affairs of tourists travelling to Istanbul on cruise ships (figure 5.4). Thus one part of the area is designate as a customs zone. The Istanbul Modern is also located in this area. The majority of buildings are the structures that have formerly been used as offices and warehouses for Turkish maritime organizations, but today in the absence of cargo ships they act only as warehouses.

There are some hookah cafes and restaurants in the southern part of Nusretiye mosque and Tophane castle. The area that is highlighted in yellow in figure 5.4 is the area owned partially by Turkish Maritime Organization and is office buildings, the rest are private properties.

5.3. Urban and functional decline in Salıpazarı

Before starting to investigate the roots and forces of decline in Salıpazarı, it must be mentioned that when introducing urban decline for this area it doesn't mean that Salıpazarı could be classified in the category of urban decline. This issue is because of its little scale that is not in the urban scale. In fact Salıpazarı is less than the even scale of a neighborhood; perhaps in the scale of a parcel. Thus the motive when investigating urban decline in Salıpazarı is introducing the roots and participant elements of decline in the smaller scales and more specifically the roots of functional decline, which it could be better interpretation for this area, due to area's specific functional problems.

¹⁸⁰ Uzun, 2001, 102.

¹⁸¹ <http://www.tarlabasiistanbul.com/2010/10/under-construction-a-stroll-through-toplane/>

¹⁸² Ozkan, 2008, 67.

¹⁸³ Gonenc, 2008, 52.



Figure 5.1 : Location of Salpazan in Istanbul.



Figure 5.2: Salpazan in Tophane.



Figure 5.3: 1- Meclisi-i Mebusan Street. 2- Tophane Iskele Street. 3- Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University.



- 1- Tophane fountain
- 2-Tophane castle
- 3- Nusretiye mosque
- 4- Clock tower
- 5- Kiliç Ali Paşa mosque
- 6- Tophane-i Amir

- Passenger transit buildings
- Warehouse and semi-office buildings
- Modern Art Gallery
- Mixed use of Maritime office buildings and private properties
- Hookah cafes & restaurants

Figure 5.4: Functions and historical monuments.

Hence some of factors that are introduced as the participant factors in the literature of urban decline couldn't be investigated precisely in the case of Salıpazarı due to scale difference (like regional or national demographic changes and unemployment). Actually the features of low quality of place could be better investigated, regards to the scale of the area. But before doing this, in this section it is tried to introduce the elements of urban decline, which could be attributed to Salıpazarı, despite the difference in the scale of the subject.

According to Günay, when a structure or an area is constructed, apparently it is designed and built for functions and needs of that day and with the facilities and circumstances of its current time. After a period of time, its use changes and when new functions are created, its existing physical form may not be sufficient for operation and problems will arise.¹⁸⁴ The site of Salıpazarı experiences this phenomenon. When the area was constructed in 1950s as a large (in comparison to the economics of the time) trade port and a harbor for transit of people and goods, the city wasn't as expanded as it is these days. The idea that someday in the future the city might expand drastically and the area's function might experience an overhaul in the central area was not confronted (rigidity of urban form). Thus with the loss of trade as the main function of the area, it has faced problems in dealing with the empty warehouses, although some have been converted into offices (such as coastal safety management), and one building has been turned into an art gallery.¹⁸⁵

Similar to a number of buildings that were constructed during that era, Salıpazarı was constructed with the principles of the modern movement in which form follows function, and because they were built for coastal trading they are bulky with huge spaces between them in order to provide the ease of transportation of goods in the area. The biggest problem related with the area is not only buildings that don't have an appropriate function in regards to their location and the strategic value of the site, but also the use of the spaces between the buildings in which no decent social activity takes place. The spaces are used for transportation and parking lots (figure 5.5). As outlined in previous passages, the lack of any distinctive social activity in urban spaces is one of the biggest triggers for functional decline. Moreover the activities taking place in buildings do not have a proper relationship with each other i.e. art galleries, the maritime organization and warehouses.



Figure 5.5: The space between buildings is used as parking lots and social activities lacks.

The other distinctive problem related to the area is worn-out and abandoned structures. According to Osmanağaoğlu,¹⁸⁶ the policy decisions made about the area have also contributed to this issue. She mentions that the process of decision making for this area in recent years have been taken too long and subsequently the maritime organizations has had no other choice that to wait for the outcomes. She adds, "We neither ourselves can reconstruct and carry out restoration projects and then use the structures for other uses, nor we can rent them, while waiting for the outcomes of decision making. It seems that the maritime authorities and municipality have had very large

¹⁸⁴ Günay, 1999, 37.

¹⁸⁵ Appendix A.

¹⁸⁶ Mrs. Zafer Osmanağaoğlu is chairwoman of maritime organizations real estate agency.

disagreements about the future of the area”¹⁸⁷ (figure 5.6). Hence the roots of political considerations in the progression of decline in Salıpazarı could be observed.

The reason that private properties have also not developed (on the southeast of the site) is that as the buildings possessed by the maritime organizations are decrepit and the land owners have not show enthusiasm to invest on their property and are waiting to see how the area will be developed. This issue shows that decline could penetrate to adjacent areas or structures, and vice-versa - if there are developments in the physical situation of an area the others will be eager to invest too. Relying to the fact that this area is located in a prosperous economic system, it could be estimated that improvements in the physical condition of structures beside a little revision in the functions of the area, would persuade the private sector and property owners to invest.



Figure 5.6: Worn out warehouses and historic buildings that need restoration actions.

¹⁸⁷ See appendix A.

Discussing about regulation changes in the category of political considerations in order to cease decline, is not appropriate due to the areas little scale. But as the area is possessed by agencies, which are subset of governmental departments, it could be claimed that occasional considerations and additional economic subsidies aiming the process of decline in Salpazarı, could be able to improve the situation and cease the process of decline. In regards to former issues it could be inferred that, decline in Salpazarı partially is attributed to the sort-term policies of planning agencies and loss of any strategic vision for this area.

Also discussing about healthy economic situation and population growth obey the issue of difference in the scale of the topics, but it must be mentioned that as the area is located in the center of a prosperous system, which has a well population growth and possesses successful economic progression, thus the process of decline must be investigated in the area's own forces and couldn't be attributed to the external factors.

One issue that decline in Salpazarı could attributed, is the issue of function of the activities that take place in this area. The activities that take place in Salpazarı do not attract sufficient amount of people, and the space between the functions remains vacant most of the time. The function of warehouse is the most effective item involving this issue. As the majority of buildings of the area are used as warehouses, related spaces and spaces between buildings remains vacant. Perhaps the reason that these spaces are using as parking lots for public and non-public uses is this issue. Also the function of customs area and passenger buildings, transits the passengers and actually no activities happen in this buildings. Passengers just pass through this area. Just the two functions of art gallery and cafes and restaurants absorb people towards themselves. But as shown in the figure 5.7, their territory regards to the extent of the site are very limited. More over their active hours are partially different and do not cover each other. When the art galley is active during the morning, the restaurants are not active as well and when the restaurants are active during the evening the art gallery is closed.



Figure 5.7: The functions that are able to attract people and is usable for public as social activities (art gallery and cafes) occupy just 8.3 percent of the area.

5.4. Assessing the quality of place in Salpazarı

In order to investigate the process of decline and observing the quality of place in the case of Salpazarı it is better to crosscheck the checklist provided in previous chapter. But there are some issues that must be mentioned before starting to evaluate the checklist. The first issue is that evaluating these characteristics is based on the subjective standpoints of the author and could be different from other viewpoints or could be vary based on different emotional experiences of the individuals. The other issue is that sometimes elements definitely couldn't be specified that are observed or neglected. In some cases it could be in neutral position or could exists partially. In order to deal with this problem, the function and role of items in the process of formation of

decline in the case of Salıpazarı is considered. Also they are assessed based on the subjective standpoint of author according to personal experiences and priorities about the positive or negative role of the items in the process of decline in the case of Salıpazarı.

The first item is Street life and livable neighborhoods (vitality). As it is apparent there isn't any residential function in this area. Hence the vitality of area is reduced and discussing about the livability of neighborhood has not a logical sense. But this area is surrounded by residential neighborhoods from north and the west and by attracting people from the adjacent neighborhoods the problem of vitality could be reduced, however in the hours that the activities is closed as there isn't any residential function in the area the loss of vitality will remain. Apart from this shortage, there is not any social and economic activity in the urban space of the area. Indeed there is no activity in the streets of the Salıpazarı. Thus no people will be attracted towards this area and the space remains empty. As there is not any proper activity in the public space of the area, the reason that the vacant space between structures is used as parking lots is partially due to this issue. Also there is no pedestrian space in the area and in the cases that exist it is very limited (figure of next part). If there were any activity in the space, the loss of pedestrian space would make some problems for activities and users.

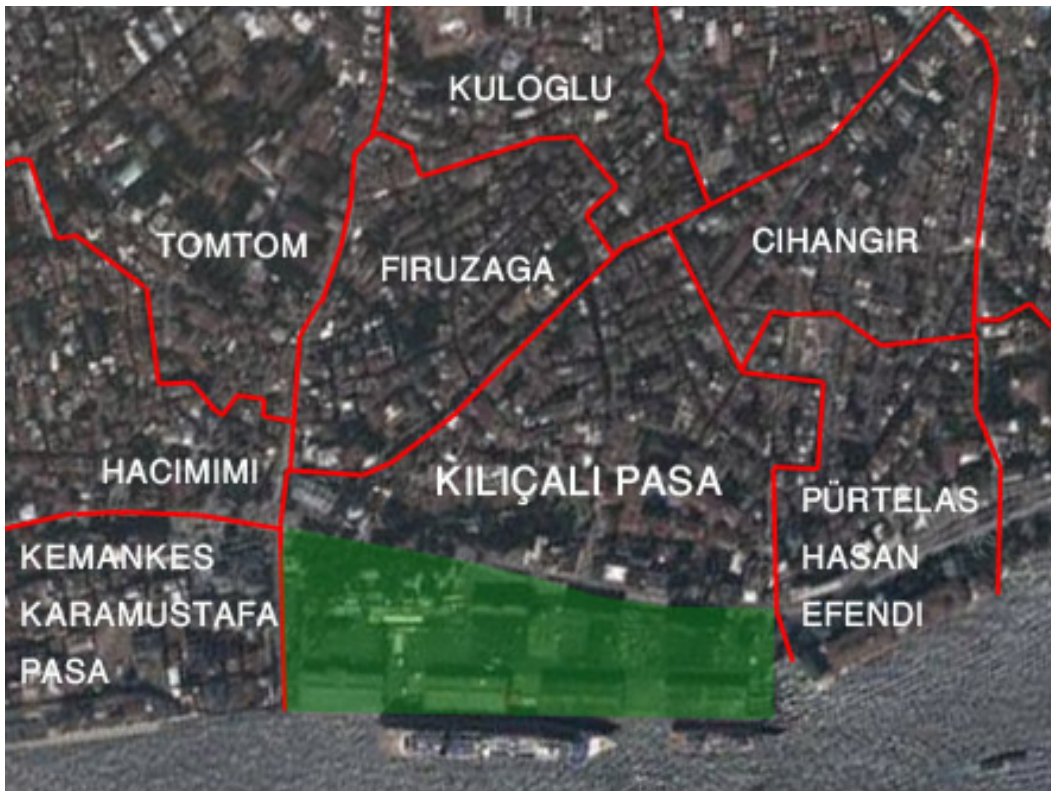


Figure 5.8: Salıpazarı is in the center of neighborhoods that majority of their function are residential, (except Kemankes Karamustafa Pasa neighborhood).

The second item is minimum density of form and concentration of people .This item could be divided into two categories of minimum density of physical form and the minimum concentration of people and activities. The motive behind this thought that there must be a reasonable density of physical structures and high level of ground coverage is providing a reasonable concentration of people and density of activities. In the case of Salıpazarı the first category that is the minimum density of physical form is in neutral situation but the concentration of people and activities is in weak position. The ground coverage however is not in a high level, but also is not in low levels neither. A quick calculation of occupancy level of the land by the buildings shows that the buildings which are constructed for maritime functions, and now are using for transition of the tourists, warehouses, office and art gallery, occupy a little less than one third of the acre. Adding the occupancy rate of the monuments and cafes to this amount, approximately the half of the

Salıpazarı area is occupied by buildings. This rate shows a neutral level of density in Salıpazarı (figure 5.9).



Figure 5.9: The area of acre is $136,687 \text{ m}^2$, and the area occupied by the warehouses, office buildings and art gallery is $41,875 \text{ m}^2$.

Despite the existence of a neutral density in this area, as the functions that are in use in Salıpazarı do not attract large amount of people as well as their difference in running time and the type of the activities, a minimum concentration of people couldn't be observed. For example maritime organization just provide the transition function for arrival tourists by cruise ships and tourists do not stop in the area. The art gallery just occupies one building that lots of activities related with art gallery are carried out inside the building. Moreover the people how visit the art gallery, regards to the extent of the site, are not significant. As cafes active time is in the evening and they concentrated in a little part of Salıpazarı, other parts remain vacant. Furthermore the warehouses, derived from their very function, do not participate in the concentration of people in the site (figure 5.10). In aggregate, the type, time and function of activities are in such ways that do not provide the minimum concentration of people. Hence public spaces and even some buildings remain vacant most of the time.



Figure 5.10: The warehouses and the space between them that are vacant most of the time.

The items of intensity of the activities (third item), integration of them and mixed use of the functions (fourth item) as well as social and economic activities in the public space and shared space of activities (fifth item), however are different issues, but as they represent similar concepts it is better to discuss them together. Existence of port, art gallery, offices, cafes, warehouses and historical monuments have given a variety of uses to this area. But the concept and notion of mixed uses are not just putting the different activities beside each other. They must be integrated with each other in a coherent way, must fulfill each other (socially and economically) and use same urban spaces. In Salıpazarı however the intensity of activities and functions somehow is considered but integration of the functions couldn't be observed. Every function is resuming in its own building and not only has not any shared space and activity with other functions, but also does not related to the other activities. Every function is carried out in its world and the historical monuments are left useless between the functions. Indeed the functions are not appropriate for this area and also to each other. Also the other problem related with the activities in the Salıpazarı area is that the majority of functions are active during the day. When the maritime organizations and art gallery are closed in the evening leave the area vacant. Functions that could be live in the evening could resume the vividness of area in the evenings too. Furthermore not only functions do not take place in the public spaces and they run inside the buildings, but also the public space don not contain any specific social or economic activity. Hence it is observed that despite the existence of intensity of activities in Salıpazarı, due to absence of their integration in the type of the activity and in the space of them, it could be claimed that mixed-use notion is not considered properly. As shown in figure 5.11, in the area, which is highlighted by green, that restaurants, cafes and historic monuments exist, is able to attract people and the activity resumes in public space. The area highlighted by red is the art galley that attracts people but activity resumes inside the building. The area that is highlighted by yellow is customs area that public is banned and the remaining area is open to public, but nothing absorbs people and is left vacant.



Figure 5.11: Just in a little part of the site (highlighted by green) activities resume in public space.

Also the sixth and seventh items are similar issues that could be investigated together. The multi scale and fine grain of the building, spaces and activities, require many small-scale buildings between large buildings and diverse arrangements and regulations between them in order to enhance diversity of the place. But in Salıpazarı no diversity of scales and type or arrangements is observed. All the buildings and spaces between them, except the historical monuments obey from one pattern and scale. Furthermore the historical monuments of the site are closed and no special activity resume in and around them. The area is designed and constructed in the simplest possible way. Large superblocks and wide paths between buildings is the common pattern of modern movement. This issue reduces the diversity of the area. Furthermore the subject of manmade environment taking to account the existence of superblocks is not considered properly in Salıpazarı. Not only the buildings, but also the space between them are not in the scale of human because they were built for easy transportation of goods. In the better words the buildings of

Salıpazarı sit in the space instead of creating space for urban activities between each other (figure 5.12).



Figure 5.12: Same pattern of buildings and superblocks which sit in space.

The other issue that must be briefly discussed in this context is permeability urban form. The permeability of urban form could be categorized onto four major types. The first type is the situation which physical arrangement of urban form is constructed in such a way that is not permeable, mainly for pedestrians. As shown in the figure 5.13, long blocks reduce the permeability of urban form and vice versa shorter blocks as enhances the opportunity of street life.

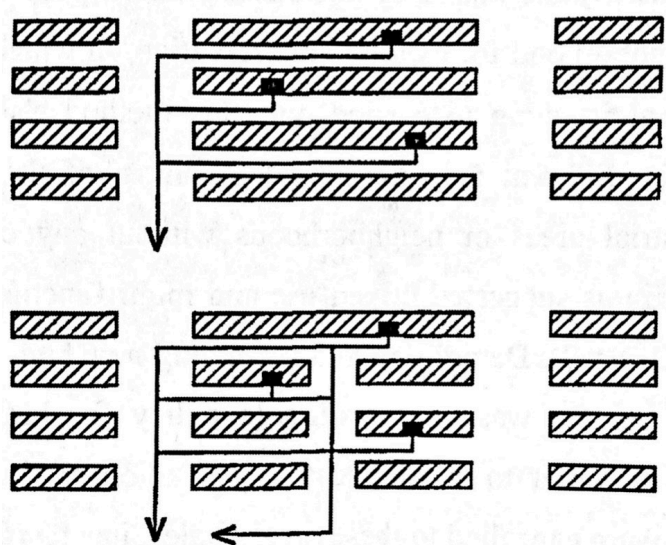


Figure 5.13: Short blocks provide more street life and longer blocks hinder permeability¹⁸⁸.

The other possibility for low level of permeability is restrictions for pedestrians to enter into an area or engage in some kind of activities. For example in Salıpazarı seashore and some areas are closed to public use. The two issues that discussed above are the physical obstacles in the field of permeability. The next two items discuss more on the activity and situation that activity could enhance the level of permeability. The third type of low level of permeability is the absence any proper activity in urban form. In an area that the physical form is designed and constructed in such a way which generate street life and is permeable, absence of activity in the urban spaces, will lead in situation which is equals with low level of permeability. In better words is an urban area does not possess a proper amount of activity, will fail in attracting enough people to create street life

¹⁸⁸ Source: Montgomery, 1998, 108.

despite possessing a permeable urban form. Hence it is observed that permeable urban form is not sufficient in creating street life and activity in urban spaces is its supplement. The other situation that reduces the street life in urban places is disability of activities in attracting people. This situation happens when functions like warehouse is active in an area. As these activities fail to attract sufficient amount of people, street life does not create. Due to existence of superblocks, restrictions for pedestrians, lack of sufficient activities in urban spaces and functions which couldn't attract enough people in the case of Salıpazarı, it is observed that almost all the four category discussed above, participate in the lack of street life and low level of permeability.

The eighth item that is public realm and green and water space is an issue that is better discussable in bigger urban scales, at least neighborhood. Due to this area's little scale this issue is not appropriate to discuss. But as this area is located in sea shore and a park is located near to Salıpazarı it could be claimed that the area possess these items. However it must be outlined that the purpose of public realm spaces are their multi-functional characteristics that must be used for social and recreational activities. In the case of waterfront it is observed that water space is banned for public use and there is no outstanding activities in the public realm spaces (figure 5.11).

In the issue of architectural and unique image it must be mentioned that, however the area possesses an outstanding number of historic monuments but the physical settings that surround the monuments and the condition of monuments isn't arranged in a way that it possess a very distinctive positive image. This issue could attribute to style of that era which Salıpazarı was constructed under those circumstances and the function of the area. But a huge part of this unpleasant situation could be attributed to the authorities that have neglected this area not only in field of repairing and reconstruction worn-out structures, but also in revitalizing and sophisticating the functions. Hence what is observed is an unpleasant image and worn-out structures that most of them are abandoned and the public space which is left unused.



Figure 5.14: The historic buildings that are neglected.

The tenth item that is the issue of transportation, like the case of public realm spaces could be better investigated in bigger scales. Salıpazarı have access to the variety of transportation routs. Zeytinunurnu-Kabataş tramway passes from Meclis-i Mebusan Street located in the northern part of the area, which provides access to historic peninsula and northern parts of the European side of the city. Also Kbataş wharf is adjacent to the area in the northeastern part of the site, which provide access to the Asian part of the city. Also public busses and private public transportation vehicles continuously service in Meclis-i Mebusan Street. Hence it is observed that transportation routs around Salıpazarı are very active. But in the are Salıpazarı it must be mentioned that the elements of transportation, like the parking lots or the transit spaces that is provided arrival tourists and the space needed to circulation of goods for warehouses, occupy a huge space and avoid any

distinctive social activities in the public space. As it is shown in the picture below even the space in front of the Nusretiye mosque, that could be used as an outstanding cultural space is dedicated to parking lots.



Figure 5.15: The transportation elements destroy the urban life and activities.

The eleventh item that is the issue of adaptability could be divided into two categories of adaptability of structures and adaptability of urban form. In the case adaptability of structures as the lots of the structures of maritime organization are huge superblocks with high ceiling; they could be used for variety of functions, so that some of them are transformed to art gallery and offices. But in this field the most important issue is the adaptability of urban form in order to accepting new functions and economic trends as time passes and former functions lose their efficiency. Hence it must be mentioned that as in the form of the area multi-scale structures, grain of the spaces and functions and integration of activities (especially economic), that are the most important characteristics in the context of adaptability, are not considered the area do not possess an adaptable urban form. Despite existence of various kinds of uses and functions in this area, as they have not any proper economic relationship with each other or with national and transnational scale, also the issue of resilience against the crises or adaptability with new trends of economy is not considered here.

And finally the last item is reinforcing functions and compatible elements. This item is about how functions are integrated with each other. Before discussing this issue it must be outlined there are three situations when the functions are mixed with each other. The first situation is the functions that have great level of compatibility and they attract each other, because they work better beside together. Generally in this situation functions reach to a reasonable balance of supply and demand even without any distinctive external intervention. The second type, are the functions that originally do not match with each other, due to their different kinds of needs and elements. In this situation if an external force, like state or municipality, provide a scheme and put these opposing functions beside together, the functions will limit each other and finally some or all of them will be damaged. And the third situation is the in-between situation. In this condition the functions in order to reach to a reasonable balance need sophisticated way of integration with each other. In the better words, functions originally and in the ordinary way of integration, do not fit with each other. But in some cases, under specific way of integration or sophisticated physical structures, they could work beside together. Apparently the case of Salıpazarı is not the first condition that the functions work coherently with each other and it must be investigated in the second and third

condition. There are some functions like customs zone and the warehouses that limit the activity of the other possible functions. It must not be misunderstood that our intention is the omitting or replacing the functions (except for the warehouse). The problem with functions arise as they decrease, such as when the area dies in the evening or the urban space lacks proper social activity. More specifically problems occur as the relationships between mixed functions are not a harmonious one, and they simply end up in the same area. The most distinctive feature of the area is its waterfront, which the public is barred from due to transition of passengers and the existence of a customs zone. The dominant function of the area is as a port for cruise ships and as a customs area for passengers has ruined its image. While walking through the area, the roads are divided by fences in such a way as to give the sense of walking at a national border or by a military facility, not at the seashore of a city recognized throughout the world for its historical significance. In the better words the relationship between functions are not sophisticated enough and they are simply putted beside together. For example as shown in figure 5.14, comparing two ports of the Yokohama and Salıpazarı, it is observed that the port of Yokohama is port that apart from its transition function, also possesses some recreational functions and have a great image due to its unique architectural sophistication, but in the case of Salıpazarı, the major function of the area is dominated the other functions and hasn't have an outstanding image, despite possessing natural and historic potentials (even more than Yokohama). Thus it could be claimed that the functions in Salıpazarı, have not reach to a reasonable balance and instead of reinforcing, they limit each other.



Figure 5.16: Port of Istanbul (mono functional) and port of Yokohama (multi functional).

In aggregate as shown in table 5.1 the majority of checklist that was provided in previous chapter, is not observed in Salıpazarı. Hence it is considered that the quality of place in Salıpazarı is low and decline severely has captured the area that not only destroys the urban life of the area, but also affects the adjacent areas.

	Elements	Not Observed	Observed
1.	Street life and livable neighborhoods	X	
2.	A minimum density and concentration of people	X	
3.	Intensity of activities and functions		✓
4.	Integration of activities and mixed use of functions (diversity)	X	
5.	Social and economic activities in public and shared spaces	X	
6.	Multi scale and fine grain of buildings and spaces	X	
7.	Human scale, manmade environment and permeability of city blocks	X	
8.	Public realm, green and water spaces		✓
9.	Positive, unique, aesthetic image	X	
10.	Better transportation routs		✓
11.	Adaptability of urban form	X	
12.	Reinforcing elements	X	

Table 5.1: Just three items are considered in Salıpazarı.

5.5. The physical problems

As it was outlined in the last item of previous part, sometimes functions, which have low level of compatibility, could work beside each other due their specific way integration of elements. On of the authors that has introduced urban elements and his work has got a huge citation in the history urban design is Kevin Lynch's five urban elements (paths, edges, districts, nods and landmarks). In this part it is tried to evaluate these elements in Salıpazarı.

The context of the urban form in Salıpazarı does not match with the pattern of its surrounding and disrupts the continuity of the urban form. Furthermore it lacks harmony in its form and as Jacobs and Appleyard have outlined, instead of creating a sensible space for people they sit in space. However it is considered that the boundaries of different parts and districts of urban areas must be identifiable from each other and they have to possess and create easily identifiable images for the visitor. Salıpazarı possess this characteristic and the visitor might take away a distinct impression, but is this image a positive one? The mental image of an area must be positive and districts must possess different identities in a positive way. Salıpazarı, rather than creating a positive image, will remain in the mind of visitors due to its bulky buildings and fenced boundaries and its negative thematic difference from its surrounding.



Figure 5.17: fenced paths that lack activities.

There is no priority in the paths of the Salıpazarı for pedestrians. For example there is no sidewalk or pavement specific to pedestrians and if there is, it is fenced off. The paths are simply vacant spaces that remain between buildings (figure 5.8). Also there is no special activity in the body of paths to create dynamism or and significance. The paths in the Salıpazarı are not urban places; they are simply the negative spaces between warehouses. Furthermore the scale of paths in comparison to scale of buildings is wide, and this wideness hasn't defined any special activity or characteristic making them identifiable paths. The paths haven't any significant usage and because of this the space is lost in the fabric of paths. Of course when the site were structured as a port for import and export of goods (taking into account the circumstances of the time of construction) the need for vast spaces between building to ease of circulation of goods was reasonable, but today as this function is eliminated and no other activity has been added, this space has become lost space. Also the façades of the buildings do not possess special characteristic to create any particular meaning for the pathways.



Figure 5.18: nodes full of car.

The pathways do not end up at any outstanding features or special activity in order to create prominent nodes. Moreover there is no shift in the direction of paths, no particular start point or end point, no continuity and harmony and no mystery or wonder. They are linked to each other in the simplest form and have made intersections rather than nodes. Intersections as decision making point are not usable, because lots of them are fenced. The nodes do not give the sense of orientation and pedestrians have no choice but to follow the way that fences are created. The nodes in Salıpazarı (like other physical features) do not have any distinctive physical form. They not only have any mixed-use activity, rather don't possess any particular activity and function to make excess visual and functional impression. As intersections possess very vast area they simply just used if not fenced as parking lots not places of gathering (figure5.9). However if they possess another particular activity and function, due to their excellent location (proximity to waterfront and existence of historical monuments), they can possess a very outstanding mental image and sense of place.

Istanbul has one of the outstanding “edges” in the world due to its geographic location. The Bosphorous has defined a prominent edge by dividing the city into two parts. Every one that has traveled to Istanbul will remember the particular image that is produced by that edge. However in the Salıpazarı area the waterfront is fenced and restricted to people, because it is the customs area of cruise ships that come to Istanbul and as the edge is not usable to people, it has lost its significance. In this case instead of restriction of the public from visiting the Salıpazarı waterfront,

the functions could be co-exist, which could provide a unique image, different from other parts of waterfront in Istanbul. However it is considered that the edges must be visually prominent and must be visible, but they must be flexible and smooth, not so rigid like the fenced edges in Salıpazarı (figure 5.11). The edges must be “uniting seams, rather than isolating barriers”¹⁸⁹.



Figure 5.19: fenced edges. (Source: www.yandex.com.tr/)

As mentioned before Salıpazarı possesses a vast range of historical monuments that could be classed as landmarks. But the landmarks are not related or connected to each other with clear paths or are at the start and end point of paths. They are hidden behind the structures and barriers and in some cases aren't in a good shape, such as the clock tower and the former office building of maritime organization. They are not focal or reference points in the urban form and do not participate in the formation of any distinctive activity, node or path. They are standing between the mess of unrelated buildings and activities (figure 5.12). In other words landmarks and historical monuments of Salıpazarı are not part of a coherent urban form and the structural quality of urban form surrounding them do not put any stress on their existence. The total form of the area does not operate as a whole and the arrangement of elements does not create a coherent system with a particular sense of place and positive identity.



Figure 5.20: forgotten landmarks.

¹⁸⁹ Lynch, 1960, 65.

5.6. Conclusion

As discussed previously, the urban decline has its roots in functional disorders that urban areas fail to resume the functions for any reason, the case of Salıpazarı is also the subject of this phenomenon. As the area is a part of a metropolitan area which is successful in terms of economic and demographic progression, symptoms of decline could not be evaluated carefully in this area and are not the topic of decline in this area. Decline in this area is because of functional problems that have arisen due to some specific reasons. It can be observed that following the elimination of function of trading from this area this area has not developed a proper function. Moreover, the added functions have failed to provide a social activity in urban spaces in the site of Salıpazarı. This area not only lacks the housing function, but also the existing functions have no proper relationship between each other, hence the vitality of area is reduced. It is not claimed that the housing function must be added to this area, but the functions that provide social activity in urban spaces must be added in order to fill this vacancy. Apart from area's physical deficiencies discussed in previous parts, the space between the buildings used in order to traffic of the automobiles and as parking lots is the example of placeless urban realm. The majority of functions located in this area (apart from the art gallery) do not fit the strategic location or local potential of the area. Furthermore the physical characteristics that are needed for the main function of the area, as transit area for tourists, are not well designed and do not bring added value to the place, but also destroy the potential appealing of the area. Due to progression and well circumstances in larger system that encompasses the area, decline couldn't be attributed to the failure of larger system and must be explored in the own forces of area. The rigidity of urban form, the strategic location of the former trading port (as a short-term vision), the severe expansion of the city, spatial shifts in the location of economic activities and political disagreements are the major factors contributing to the functional decline in this area. Salıpazarı is an example of the area in which a descriptive decline has become a functional one. The answer to why this area, which is located in the middle a prosperous system, has experienced decline could be the functional shortages and the wrong place of functions in regards to the location of Salıpazarı, in addition to the political considerations. As discussed earlier the majority of elements that participate in creation high quality of place are not considered here (just two from twelve item). With an optimistic perspective, the decline could be turned into an opportunity for Salıpazarı and its residents to transform the area into one that contains a very rich social activity and change it into one of the most important urban areas of Istanbul.

CHAPTER 6

Conclusion

These days the threat of urban decline and as discussed in earlier parts the problem of functional decline, as main provocative of urban decline, is apparent. Not only the authorities and politicians, but also the planners, urban designers and architects must pay a serious attention to this issue. In this study it was tried to investigate the roots of functional disorders in the process of urban decline. In order to do so, first the participant factors of urban decline in the literature were investigated. It was observed that depopulation, economic recession, unemployment, decrease in tax rates and decrease in per-capita income compared to cost of living are the most important indicators of urban decline that leads to low quality of urban places, creation of slums and finally abandonment. Bradbury *et al* classifies urban decline into two category of descriptive and functional decline¹⁹⁰. Descriptive decline is the situation in which the indicators of decline happen. Descriptive decline mostly is definable from an urban areas statistics and necessarily doesn't mean unfavorable situation in an area. On the other hand functional decline is any deterioration in the function of an urban area. Descriptive decline is definable with quantitative research methods, but functional decline is definable by qualitative research methods. Moreover it was observed that decline could happen in national, regional, metro and local scales¹⁹¹.

In summary the most important reasons that participate to the promotion of urban decline are:

- Low population growth
- Unfavorable economic environment
- Erosion of physical setting in city centers
- Aggregation of low-income residents in city centers
- Low quality of schools in city centers
- Mono-functional economic market
- High unemployment rates
- Low income per capita against cost of living
- Low environmental amenities
- High crime rate in city centers
- Less social activities in city centers (recreation, entertainment, etc.)
- Worse and expensive transportation facilities in city centers
- Congested and polluted neighborhoods
- Low quality of life in city centers
- Old housing concentration
- High racial tensions
- Worse urban services in the city centers
- Sever suburban growth
- Low taxes in suburbs
- Chap land in suburbs
- Political disagreements
- Less jobs for low-skilled worker in city centers
- Falling the value of the properties

¹⁹⁰ Bradbury *et al.*, 1982, 18.

¹⁹¹ Rappaport, 2003, 18.

Apart from these issues that are in the literature of urban decline, it has been observed that a large part of the problem related with the acceleration of urban decline is functional disorders and changes in urban areas in addition to general trends in society. They could be classified within the new paradigms and problems that emerged from recent activities and new trends of global economy affecting the shape of life, the emergence of new technologies like telecommunication improvements that changes the shape of communications, shifts in the notion of ideas such as public space that affects the shape of cities, failure of modernism in addressing social aspects of urban areas, dedication of public space just for movement and economic uses, no social and pedestrian activity in streets and public space, and Political trends of 20th century like Liberalism and New-liberalism that cause a massive decline in fabric of the public space by emphasizing on product rather than process, giving no collective right to the city and Massive privatization of public space are the most important triggers in the process of functional decline. In lots of cases (like Salıpazarı) that decline is detected, the roots of functional disorders could be observed. Thus not only in assessing the forces in order to develop new urban areas, but also in redevelopment schemes, the functional role of the area in present time and future in the internal, national and transnational scale and economy must be assessed.

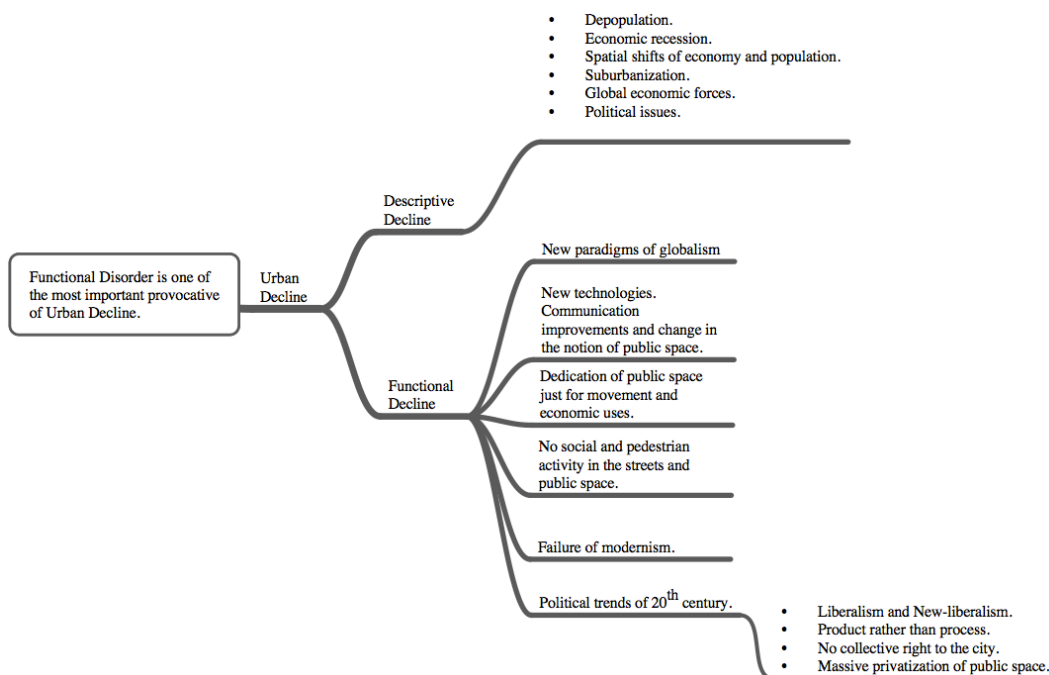


Figure 6.1: The process of urban decline.

If authorities neglect these issues they will lead to low quality of place and placelessness in urban areas. In the fourth chapter the ways of dealing with process of decline are prepared in a top down approach which starts with political considerations, planning policy, economic financing and finishes with enhancing the quality of urban places. In order to examining and assessing the process of decline in the urban areas a checklist provided in last part the chapter. This checklist not only could be used to defining decline, but also could help in enhancing the quality of place in urban areas.

And finally the forces of urban and mainly functional decline is assessed in the process of decline in the case of Salıpazarı, Istanbul. It is observed that however Salıpazarı is not in urban scale but some elements of urban decline like political mismanagement could be has participated in the process of decline in this area. But the elements that are introduced in the process of functional decline are the most important issues in formation of decline in Salıpazarı. The footprint of modernism in dedicating no urban space for social activities, low integration of activities in the urban spaces, low concentration of people and restricting elements in the area are the most important issues.

Before finishing the materials the most important ways of tackling with urban and functional decline are summarized in this part. In order to deal with urban and functional decline, vast range of forces and institutions starting from authorities till individuals play a vital role. Once again it must outlined that problems associated with urban decline is not specific to some specific group of people or is not limited to some parts of the city. These problems are shared concerns that affect the well-being of whole society. The main issues in the process of dealing with decline is listed bellow.

The **social, ethnical and racial segregation** of people must be avoided. More specifically class segregation between rich and poor and concentration poor in an area must be prevented. This issue leads to sever social problems.

The **suburban development must be limited** unless there is huge surplus population growth in the urban areas. Moreover there must be high taxes in the low-density suburban areas in order to avoid intensive sprawl. However this issue leads to separation of the rich from poor in the urban areas. Placing high-density housing units in suburban areas and providing mixed functional activities could solve this issue. Furthermore it could provide better social integration of people. Moreover if authorities limit the suburban development in free lands, private sector does not have any choice but investing in city centers and the old areas in city centers will be revitalized by the means of private sector.

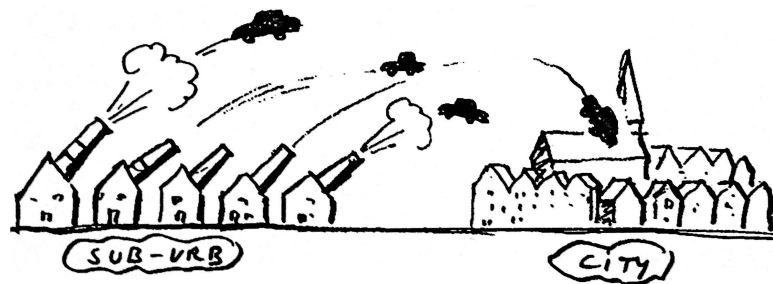


Figure 6.2: “not the car but the suburban home is the deadly weapon”¹⁹².

As neighborhoods in first stage provide housing and living functions, housing problems are one of the most important concerns in the neighborhoods. When new houses are build in suburbs and high-income households move towards suburbs, the demand in suburbs increase and if there isn't any population growth the demand in city centers will decrease. Increasing demand in suburbs is not real if there is a decrease in city centers. Subsequently **increasing active housing demand** or maintaining it in high levels is a key issue in order to prevent decline on city centers.

The **desirability of the neighborhoods** must be enhanced. Ahlbrandt introduces them as location, availability of transportation, quality of life, quality of schools, desirability of neighbors, local amenities and stability (price versus quality)¹⁹³. Each problem in each context must be rooted and solved.

Providing **better urban services** in city centers and **lower taxes** in city center's neighborhoods could avoid from moving towards suburbs and could attract people.

High quality of educational services and better schools in neighborhoods is one of the most important issues that encourage households move to this neighborhoods and prevent from moving out.

Against the suburban type of living that houses is located in the green fields and detached from each other and the living is based on automobiles, city have their civic character that suburbs lack

¹⁹² Krier, 2009, 117.

¹⁹³ Ahlbrandt, 1975, 6.

and lots of people like these characteristics. City centers have to rediscover and revitalize this sense and encourage people to live people in denser urban areas with lots social communal activities. Hence one more time it is outlined that **promoting social activities in urban spaces** and **providing high quality urban places** in city centers is a key item in dealing urban and functional decline.

The spatial shifts of the economy and population must be managed and authorities must consider their consequences. Changes in in the location of economy and population without considering any alternative could lead to decline in subjected areas. This issue is one the most important igniters of decline that was neglected.

The vision of policies must be in such a way that prevent the sprawl and cease urban decline in city centers. The potential outcomes of policies and strategies that take place in the process of dealing decline must not undermine the vision and collective well-being of the community. For example, **enhancing housing codes** is an important political regulation that could enhance the quality of built environment. But it must be considered that the areas and buildings that is the subject of this regulation must not abandon. Moreover subsidies must be provided to the households who couldn't afford the codes in order to prevent from moving out.

The collective low income of households in an area is introduced as one of the most important reasons of urban decline in its literature. Subsequently **enhancing the collective income level of households** in a neighborhood could cease the progression of decline.

It is only people themselves that could negotiate with public institutions and could push them towards investing in an area or prevent them from realizing some policies that could damage to neighborhood. Thus **institutions and societies that work and negotiate for neighborhoods well-being** in each neighborhood must be established.

The functional mix of activities and richness of them in an area makes the area more vivid and the probability of decline will be reduced. For example when one economic sector due to global or local circumstances face some problems, if one area is just concentrated with this activity and other activity does not take place, that area will encounter some problems too.

As mentioned before the roots of placelessness in urban areas are severely linked with the roots of functional decline and could lead to urban decline. Thus the **features of placeless urban realm must be prevented in city centers** and a massive intentional approach towards sensible place making and creating places with identity in central city urban places must carry out. Relph introduces four elements of physical settings, activities, meaning and sense of place that the combination of these elements in each locality in different way and intensity will create identity for each place¹⁹⁴.

As mentioned in second chapter, depopulation, economic sunset, social problems, creation of slums and finally abandonment is the most important ills related with urban decline.

¹⁹⁴ Relph, 1976, 105-6.

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APPENDIX A

Interview with Mrs. Zafer Osmanağaoğlu Chairwoman of maritime organizations real estate agency

Çalışmama ek olarak TÜRKİYE DENİZCİLİK İŞLETMELERİ EMLAK DAİRESİ BAŞKANLIĞINDA; EMLAK DAİRE BAŞKANI SAYIN MİMAR MÜHENDİS Zafer OSMANAĞAOĞLU ile yaptığım röportajı beyan etmek isterim, kendisi çok yoğun bir çalışma temposunda olmasına rağmen beni kabul edip bir kaç konuyu benim ile paylaştılar. İlk olarak bina ve mekanlar hakkında kısacık bir bilgi edindim şöyle ki; yüz bin metre karelik bir alana ihale çalışması olması nedeni ile kiralama imkanı olmadığından bahs ettiler ileriye dönük bir çok proje olduğunu ve bunlardan en önemlisinin Haydarpaşa limanının çok iyi bir kruvaze liman çalışmasının sonucu çeşitli ve fonksiyonel mekanlardan oluşacağını söylediler, ancak şu anda bekleme süresinde olan ve çok fazla ortaya açılmayan bir proje olduğunu belirttiler. Belediye ve T.C Denizcilik Bakanlığının arasındaki fikir farklılığından dolayı bu projenin gerçekleşmesi çok uzun bir zaman aldı, ve bu zamanda binaları ne restore edip kendimiz kullanabildik nede kiraya verme şansımız oldu.

bu bölgelerin halka açık bir mekan olma planı çok eskiden beri vardı,1903 yılında yapılan bu tesisler,1912 yılında yolcu salonu olarak kullanılmak istenmiştir fakat bu proje uzun bir süre rafa kaldırılmıştı.1960-61 yıllarında Nusretiye kışlası yıkılıp yerine antrepo binası inşa edilmiş. maksat yük boşaltma ve bindirme ve Haydarpaşa geçişi müsait kılmaktaydı, fakat daha sonra başka bir proje sunumu ile kruvaze liman çalışması yapılmıştır. 1976 senesine kadar yük depolarına ev sahipliği eden bu binalar, takip eden yılda yük gemilerinin rotası değişmesi sonucu ile boş kalan binaları başka fonksiyonlar ile değerlendirdiler. şu anda sadece cruise gemileri ile gelen Misafirlerin İstanbul'a giriş noktasıdır, ayrıca eski Antrepo binalarının birinde İstanbul Modern Sanat Müzesi ve saat kulesinin çevresindeki Restoran ve kafeler çalıştırılmaktadır ,diğer binaların binaların büyük bir kısmı şu anda depo olarak kullanılıyor ve bazı yerlerinde kısıtlı ofis kullanımında vardır. Örneğin; 1976 senesinde yük gemilerinin gelmemesi sonucu ile kıyı Emniyet Müdürlüğü'nün bu kısımda boş kalan binaların birine taşınmasıdır.

Bu konulara ilave olarak genel bölge binası, rıhtım ve ta galata köprüsünü içeren bölge,20 nolu bina, eski paket pastanesi binası(eski hayvan binası),tamamı tescilli tarihi eser olmaktadır. takip eden yıllarda cephelerine değişiklik ve yapım onarım ile kullanıma açılmışlardı. hiç birinde yıkım ve değişim söz konusu bile olamaz, fakat belirtilen yeni çalışmalarda bazı değişiklikler diğer bölgeler için geçerli, bu projelerden biri Amerikan Pazarının, kaldırılması ve yerine çok büyük bir meydan yapılacağıın konusudur ve bunları takiben Antrepo (İstanbul modern) binası kaldırılacağı söz konusudur.

Karaköy, Tophane, Salıpazarı bölgelerinin tamamen dolgu alanlardan oluştuğunu söylediler ,tarihi eser dışında diğer depo alanlarını restore edip yenilendiğini eklediler, fakat kıyı bölgelerinin kesinlikle yıkılmaya uygun olmadığını, sebebi ise yıkılan yerlere yasal olarak tekrar yapı çalışması olmasının imkanı nerede ise yok gibi olduğunu eklediler.

1926 yılında Konstantin'in ,oluşturduğu planda bu bölgeler vardı, eğer bu konuyu hala proje bazında değerlendirilip ve işleme konulmasını düşünmeye devam edersek 2023 yılında bizi çok farklı bir İstanbul bekler, yapıları ile olacak çalışmaları ile çok değişik bir şehir yapısı oluşturulur. Benim geleceğe yönelik nasıl bir çalışmada olduğunuzu sormama cevap Kendileri hem Mimar mühendis hem de bu meslekte, uzun senedir tecrübeli olmalarından kaynaklanan yetki ile bazı projeler olduğunu fakat bize bahs edebilecekleri kadar açıkta bir düşünce olmadığını eklediler, ama beni kırmayıp kısaca şöyle özetlediler ; artık şehircilik anlayışının yaşama anlayışı olduğunu,

yani mekan ve yaşamın birleştğini vurguladılar, yasalar bile artık ihtiyaçlara bina düzenleniyor. yönetmelikte bu duruma destek olmak için elinden geleni yapıyor.

Artık yeni bir dönem ve yapıya dönüşmek için eski kent dokusunun korunarak yeni yapılar olmasının, ve bu yapıların bazılarının şu anda proje durumunda olduğunu fakat bize açıklayabilecek konumda olmadığımızı söylediler

Kendileri yoğun iş ve zaman trafiği içinde bana 20 dakikalık bir bölüm ayırma lütfunda buldukları için en içten şükranlarımı sunarım.