Challenge of identity in the urban transformation process: The case of Celiktepe, Istanbul

Elmira Ayşe GÜR¹, Nasim HEİDARİ²
¹ elmiragur@itu.edu.tr • Department of Architecture, Faculty of Architecture, Istanbul Technical University, Istanbul, Turkey
² nassimheidari66@gmail.com • Graduate School of Science, Engineering and Technology, Istanbul Technical University, Istanbul, Turkey

Abstract

Urban identity as a continuous but shifting notion is a subject of many arguments due to globalization, particularly in the context of the urban transformation, which has taken place around the world with the aim of increasing the quality of urban life. Each urban transformation project had some successes and failures. Some of these failures have been caused by the loss of the sense of place and urban identity. The main aim of this article is to reveal the components of urban identity regarding physical, environmental and social dimensions, to provide measurements of these elements, and to evaluate the achievements and failures through the Celiktepe urban transformation process. Celiktepe informal settlement is a neighborhood in Kagithane district, which is located on the European side of Istanbul and has been experiencing drastic changes for various reasons over a long time. In order to understand these changes, the effects of physical changes in the district's socio-cultural structure and the impacts of urban transformation on the urban identity, place attachment, satisfaction and quality of life of local residents have been investigated. In this article a literature review, an observational study, and a survey have been carried out in the region for collecting data to analyze the urban transformation in the Celiktepe informal settlement. It has been found that there is a direct interaction between the urban transformation process and changes in urban identity and its components.

Keywords

Urban transformation, Urban identity, Social identity, Physical identity, Place attachment, Celiktepe.

1. Introduction

One of the controversial issues of cities that has been created along with cities' globalization process is urban transformation. It is defined as the changing process of cities and every settlement to enhance the quality of space, which needs time due to changes in texture. The general aims of urban transformation are improving the quality of life, increasing livability, boosting the economy and providing a suitable situation so that the city can cope with other cities in national and global scale (Iveynat, 2008). In addition to historical and geographical location, cities are modified in relation to their social structure, and economic and political ties. These changes are not only physical; they even contain dynamic systems like urban identity. The concept of urban identity can be evaluated in the context of urbanization and globalization due to urban transformation and its influences. In this concept, changes have been done by protecting the regions' original features and uniqueness with an effort to adapt it to contemporary living conditions.

Therefore Celiktepe region in Istanbul is deemed an interesting case to examine the change of urban identity caused by urban transformation. Celiktepe, a district of Istanbul on the European side is one of the instances, which referring to that the spatio-temporal connection emerged and transformed during the whole of its history and in the shift from industrialization to post-industrialization can be disclosed. The multi-layered structure of this urban area is a component of this process, and today it is not possible to distinguish one layer from another. The physical changes in the district caused different types of housing in the region. Moreover, each house type requires its settlement and social structure.

The main aim of this article is to represent the components of urban identity due to the physical, environmental and social dimensions in context of the urban transformation process specifically via the example of Celiktepe. Moreover, the success and failure factors of Celiktepe's urban transformation process will be evaluated and measured in the paper. Therefore, the study answers the questions: (1) what is the effect of physical changes in a district's socio-cultural structure; (2) how urban transformation influences the urban identity; and (3) how urban transformation affected the place attachment, satisfaction and quality of life of local communities.

2. A general look at the urban transformation phenomenon

All activities that try to improve the quality of urban life and social welfare are known as urban transformation. Since urban areas have deterioration and decay processes in their physical settings, urban transformation has been admitted to overcome such challenges, while targeting urban changes through livable places (Bosselmann, 2008). Addressing such needs, such operations covering urban transformation may offer new fields of opportunity. It can be said that urban transformation is the science of changing a city's form. Since cities are sophisticated and vital systems, these changes provoke several kinds of differences in every feature of a city, and changes are not only in the physical, social and economic factors. Even though they have common goals, because of focusing on various aspects, they have been appointed by different terms. This process occurs in various regions of a city with different aims and approaches.

All projects require various interventions. Renewal, rehabilitation, redevelopment, regeneration are types of urban transformation methods based of the needs of the area. Physical, political, cultural, economic and social changes are various dimensions of urban transformation projects. These methods have been named and classified according to the degree of focus on the above mentioned dimensions (Iveynat, 2008). Accordingly, creating a city, which causes a high quality of daily life experience and livability, is an art. Therefore, designers take into account user's intellectual backgrounds, ideals, interests and their decisions depend on societal structures. Cities change and develop in relation with their residents and their choices and movements. So, physical variations in artificial environments are not only architectural,

functional or technical; they also have a wide, multi-dimensional phenomenon and improve the deterioration and destruction of urban areas. It includes all aspects of residents' life, and is influenced by a community's identity, demographic features, and ecologic, economic and social values, as well as residents' comfort levels. Urban transformation has a laminated structure and variety aspects and interests. In the meantime, physical changes are its core (Gustavsson & Elander, 2015). When a non-integrated approach occurred in urban transformation projects, some echoic unpleasant outcomes like damaging houses and declining environment have been expected (Alkiser, Dulgeroglu-Yuksel, & Pulat-Gokmen, 2009). Losing and changing the identity and sense of a place are other adverse effects of this process.

2.1. Policies towards urban transformation in Turkey

In every country, the historical background and the social, political and economic changes have a significant role in the city structure and its shifts. Turkey has experienced a great deal of changes in its population, geographical expansion, and urban structures over the last two decades. Turkey is a country that has undergone urban transformation in its squatter settlements for the first time due to migration, urbanization and economical changes (Danis, 2010; Duyar-Kienast, 2005). In this way, they want to reduce migrations to urban areas and control the widespread urban growth. Therefore, the world urbanism movement has been adopted. Regeneration of existing urban areas that completed physical or sociological life is more attractive and more respectful because of: redistribution of population in major cities; preventing the centralization of facilities only in major cities; decreasing the high population density in major cities, and avoiding an increase in land and housing are some urban policies in back of the Turkey's urban transformation projects budgets (Zamani & Arefi, 2013).

Istanbul is Turkey's core of these changes. They affected the quality of life in a negative way and changed the city to a multi-central metropolis. Physical structure, function and geography can be counted as different factors of urban destruction for these high-populated areas. Urgent actions are needed to accommodate these people and immediate accommodation demands require settlements with sufficient technical and social infrastructure (Eren, 2014; Gur & Dülgeroğlu-Yuksel, 2011). In Istanbul attempt has been made to coordinate global changes with urban transformation projects. Majority of the urban transformation projects are categorized into two groups: projects for squatter settlements and projects for under earthquake risk areas. Istanbul has witnessed both of these types in various regions. A look at the summary on the history of the interventions shows that the urban transformation foundations were based years ago. The roots refer to Henri Prost's studies and planning in Istanbul between 1936-1948. After that, Istanbul's urban shape has been defined by three major growth waves in the recent century. These growth waves occurred in the 1950-1960s, at the beginning of the 1980s and 2000s. In order, they related to industrialization, liberalization and integration of Turkish economy through global markets.

Because of enhancing life costs in Istanbul, jobs with low income, and migration from rural to urban, both the squatters and other populations are increasing and open spaces are decreasing. As a result, there are not enough open spaces to respond to housing needs. Besides adequate housing, the big problem of migrants who come to urban areas is to improve their life quality. The lack of financial resources and skills does not let them find good jobs, so a primary shelter on a vacant land seems their only chance to own a home; this event develops squatter settlements as a social unfavorable (Gur & Dulgeroğlu-Yuksel, 2011). These unplanned areas directly affected the image of the city, and in the same time social and place identity of the district.

3. Urban transformation and identity as a component of social sustainability

Identity is a sense of belonging that

interconnects people and connects them to place over time. It is a very loose and elusive concept. It is conducted and connected by sociological and psychological elements in various ways. This sense is neither reducible and permanent nor changeable and variable. It is a process, which was produced through history by human activities. On the other hand, the environment is a broad concept. In addition to its physical, psychological, architectural, religious and social aspects, its meanings change in relation to location and scales (Aly, 2011). Sustainability is a multi-dimensional phenomenon that can be defined from various perspectives. Sustainable urban society is related to the relationship between economy, society and the environment. So, reaching a sustainable community is related to having a sustainable building and environment. Place-based operations for reconnecting and conciliating with space are developed by social mobilization; it is an essential component of community and sustainability. Figure 1 displays the components and relationships of sustainable identity and urban identity.

Some scientists define social sustainability as a personal code of conduct that needs to be achieved in an equitable, inclusive and prudent manner. Throsby (1995) cited social sustainability defined as a group of relations, orientations, activities and opinions that work as the main activities of every community and has transmits intergenerationally. A community life's sustainability is determined by social identity and environmental quality. The socio-cultural identity of people is built on images of a consumer society and evolution of a wage labor society. It is an excellent adaptation of sustainable development and sustainable livelihood.

Public services and taxation are efficient tools for making identity. Social identity is the core awareness structure of people to prompt everyday life. Studies have shown that harm to physical space brings harm to social identity. A generation of identity is a pressing member of social action, through the identification of actors involved in the conflict, the activation of relying on relationships among them and the formation of connections linking events from different periods (Farida, 2014).

3.1. Social and place related significance of urban identity

Identity is in direct relation with a city's character. This character is obtained through time of objects and places. These places have an essence, an atmosphere and character that distinguish them from others. The surrounding environment refers to various items. It is directly changed through everyday choices of its user's. The natural environment, climate, to-
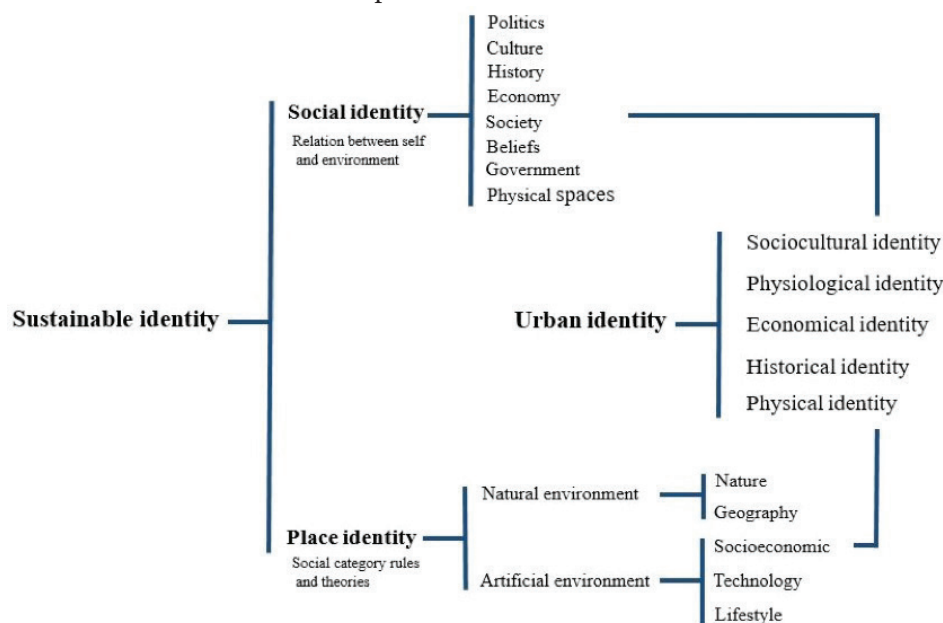

Figure 1. Components of urban identity and sustainable identity, adapted from (Aly, 2011; Torabi & Brahman, 2013).

pography and landscape are the contexts of urban identity. In addition to the natural environment, economy and politics, the social environment by its psychological and cultural dimensions describes the notion of urban identity. In this way, people and their communication in the context of local lifestyle, history, language, religion, ethnicity, family structure, residence type, communication pattern, privacy, density, education level, and so forth play a significant role. The identity process is in direct relation with the settlement. Therefore, the environment has a notable role on identity and the process of urban identity is formed in the togetherness of natural and cultural values. It can be evaluated in the scope of socio-economical, socio-cultural, physical environment and imaginary elements (Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996; Aly, 2011). There are two holistic approaches to urban identity with different emphases. In one approach, aesthetics and physical elements in the natural and artificial context are emphasized. In the other approach, the focus is on the social notion of place and identity; considering the activities, functions, and perception of place beyond its physical aspects describing the urban identity notion (Goličnik Marušić & Nikšič, 2012). Social identity as a component of urban identity is a sense of attachment, attention and pride that exists from man's knowledge in a variety of social memberships. It is a type of identity, which branches from belonging to or dependent on particular groups such as ethnic, religious, nationals (Aly, 2011; Farida, 2014). This theory tries to recognize group belonging and intergroup connections in terms of the qualities that define a group. It refers to the self-concept resulting from our belonging to social groups. Social and cultural principles play an important role in determining group characteristics, social and place identity of the residents. Cultural differences affect the attachment level of different cultures. The consequences of changes in social identity have concluded that reinvestment, physical change, enhancement in social profile by new residents, displacement of the poor income group in a direct or indi-

rect way. The state axes process starts in public bodies with control and correspondence to a period occurring in the area (Islam, 2009).

Natural structures of the district like topography, climate, vegetation, and natural structures like economic and political structure, culture, lifestyle, social experience, value systems, human relations, production techniques and materials, are all factors discriminating characteristics of various areas (Tas & Tas, 2014). In the book "Place and Placelessness" Relph (1976, p. 45) mentions: "People's identity of and with the place is place identity, which allows a place to be differentiated from other locations. Moreover, it has three components: the place physical setting; its activities, situations, and events; along with the individual and group meanings constructed through people's experience and intention by paying attention to that place". Place identity is a substructure of self-identity; it refers to a set of typically accepted perceptions, sensations and connections to the physical environment and belonging to the person's living place. That becomes the infrastructure of the self. It lets the person identify a new environment's properties related to a person's environmental past, and cultivate a sense of familiarity, environment establishment, safety, and control. In this way, the place is an essential component of personal identity, and place identity changes as physical and social environment changes. Place identity is an essential part of the person's whole identity. The sense of place is related to the type and quality of the communication between the newcomers and the place where they live. It is combined with place identity. They often demonstrate feelings rooted in, connected with, or belonging to a site (Lattanzi Shutika, 2012).

3.2. Physical and social impacts of identity loss through transformation

The relationship between healing environment, well-being, and place identity has a principle role in maintaining and developing identification of neighborhood and it is one of the main aims of the urban transformation projects. In this way, architectural landmarks

and streets are important visible signs, which minister to raise people's sense of identity, awareness, and loyalty to a place (Eranil Demirli, Tuna Ultav, et al., 2015). Since cities are appraising physical, social, economic and cultural dynamics, identity is shaped by a variety of factors specific for each district.

Changing the demographic and socio-economic structure of an area as a result of urban transformation projects makes changes on the district's identity. According to these changes the settlers' sense of belonging and place attachment can be decrease, and they can lost their vitality, livability, and sense of place. It can enhances their displacement sense.

Physical environment, demography, social system, high-end services have impacts on residents' identity, place attachment and satisfaction. High-quality places can be described as places where residents can connect to, can feel attached, remind and miss it. As a result of new urban transformation projects and with the high density in cities, the users' satisfaction, their connection to the place and communication, all of them cause the reduction in their quality of life.

The sense of place is a notion that has been affected by the urban transformation process. It is a complete mix of physical forms, activities, and meanings. It can separate from the people who create and use them. Public memorials are perspectives that make memories alive through the physical presentation in public areas (Ujang & Zakariya, 2015). Memory sites are connected to their environment and are multi-user and alive all the time. They are not separated from urban life and

everyday life, they information about a district's background. They have high potential to affect positively the social memory and urban identity (Maree, Gurler and Ozer, 2013). They are places for cultural productions and exchange, a place to negotiate problems and subjects and a place to build society and values (Hernández, 2012). Locals mostly developed these public open spaces.

Place identity has an intrinsic interest and relation to place attachment. Some researchers believe that place attachment is a component of place identity. Some others consider both of them as dimensions of a bigger concept, like the sense of place. At last, some propose place attachment as a complex form which has been created by mixing the factors like identity, dependence on the place and social bonds as it can be seen in figure 2 (Hernández, Carmen Hidalgo, Salazar-Laplace, & Hess, 2007).

The subsequent effects of identity loss in the urban transformation process are changes in place attachment, satisfaction, quality of life and the affordability sense of residents.

3.2.1. Place attachment in relation to changes

Casakin, Hernández and Ruiz (2015) mention that the emotional connection between a person and his/her life's region is named place attachment. It causes feelings of comfort and safety and tends to remain in that location for a long time. Place attachment is a complex phenomenon as it merges several factors like identity, dependence on the place and social bonds. It includes interactions of effect and emotion, knowledge, and acceptance,
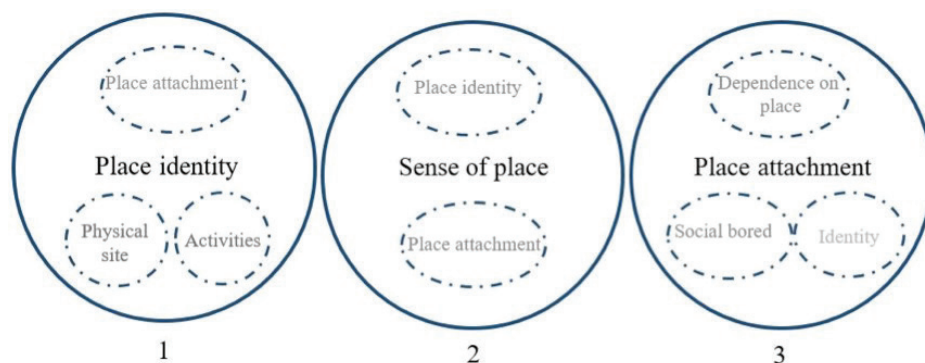

Figure 2. *The relationship between place attachment and place identity, adapted from (Hernández et al., 2007).*

behavior and actions about a place. It has an associate role in development, maintenance, and protection of person/group identity or culture (Low & Altman, 1992). Characteristics of user groups in the scope of their role, culture and social level affect the place attachment degree of different socio-cultural characteristics.

Dwelling in a place for a long time and life-cycle stage, residents' place of birth, their participation in social activities and celebrations with local people considerably increase the sense of belonging the place. So, the length of residence and property ownership affect the relationship between a person and a place in an inescapable way as experiences with a place lead to more place attachment. It has a direct relation to place attachment and identity. Spending more time in an area allows residents to interact and communicate with their social network (Altman, 1992; Hummon, 1992; Casakin, Hernández et al., 2015). Any change in the urban transformation process makes a difference in the physical and social structure and the user's sense of place.

3.2.2. Place satisfaction in relation to changes

A place satisfaction is the understanding of the gap between residents' expectations, and the reality of their residence, aspirations, and the reality. There are extraordinary evidences that show social satisfaction is affected by people's realization of their environment (Hummon, 1992). Life satisfaction refers to a comprehensive assessment of one's life, and translates satisfaction with relative standard of living or material comforts. Studies have determined that both demographic and physical environment components influence neighborhood relations and satisfaction. They relate to a small size, but well located area that provides quality, access, safety, amenity, and social communication and connectivity through the neighborhood (Pojani & Buka, 2015).

Residents have high satisfaction with larger size and better form of housing. The place and condition of the neighborhood are important factors in resi-

dents' satisfaction. Public facilities and infrastructures determine the degree of life comfort and satisfaction. Social relations, solidarity, and safety are other affective factors. Freedom to choose housing and ownership are other factors that directly increase satisfaction. On the other hand, there are items like household characteristics of age, sex and income status that influence satisfaction in an unclear way.

3.2.3. Quality of life and affordability in relation to changes

Mazlumdar (2003) describes a high-quality place as a place where dwellers can connect to, feel attachment to and identify with. According to this definition, the sense of place is a set of local people's culture, society's perception, psychological well-being, the uniqueness of the place and connection between people and place. Since humanity spends most of its time in buildings as a physical environment, residential environment has a significant role in human well-being. As a result, quality of life is influenced by a wide range including local and general culture, nature, policies, ethnicity, sustainability, transformation, life experience, residents, along with other items (Ozçevik, Sener, et al. 2003; Garcia-Mira, Uzzell et al., 2005). All changes in the social and physical structure of district affect the sense of quality of life.

Affordability of housing is the most important item because it pays particular attention to mental health (Mason, Baker et al. 2013). According to UK policy, when the residents spend less than 30% of their earnings for house, it can be classified as affordable housing (UK Policy definition; Jie & Jiao, 2011). Housing affordability is measured by the cost of the dwelling and the households' income relationship. Now the interaction between housing and location is the criterion for measuring house affordability. The location, its amenities like schools and job availability, welfare and safety are items of affordability. Housing affordability is not an issue for the owners who have already purchased a home, but an issue for the first-time buyers and tenants owners because having a house determines affordability (Gur & Dulgeroğ-

lu-Yuksel, 2011). Housing quality and ownership always influence place attachment and affordability in a positive way.

4. Case study: Çeliktepe, Istanbul
4.1. Methodology

Celiktepe region's socio-cultural and physical aspects have been examined. The motivation is to represent the dependence of urban identity based on the physical, environmental and social dimensions being affected by an urban transformation process in Celiktepe, and to answer the main research question based on the effects of physical changes in the district's socio-cultural structure.

In order to answer this question, the effects of physical changes in the district's socio-cultural structure and the impacts of urban transformation on the urban identity, place attachment, place satisfaction as the parameters of quality of life with in Celiktepe's local residents have been investigated. In order to analyze the urban transformation of Çeliktepe as an informal housing settlement in Istanbul, data, used in this study, is obtained by the literature review, observational study, and survey carried out in the district.

The survey includes questionnaires with eighty local settlements and semi-structure interviews with twenty people who were between seventeen and seventy-five years old. The respondents have been randomly selected from residents who were willing to take part in the research. The survey took place in a period of about five months. The questions were classified; (1) demographic, (2) socio-cultural, (3) socioeconomic, (4) socio-spatial, and (5) physical and environmental features of the urban transformation aspects.

The aim of this survey is to understand the settlement's perception about the changes that happened in the neighborhood over years, and moreover, to find out how physical changes have modified the identity, and the social structure and impact of these changes in residents' place attachment, satisfaction and quality of life feelings.

4.2. Celiktepe and its socio-cultural and physical aspects

Celiktepe is one of Kagithane's quarters, an independent village located in the eastern Marmara region, on the European side of Istanbul. It is one of the high density quarters of Kagithane. Celiktepe is located near the intersection of TEM highway and Buyukdere Street. The district is in the area of Buyukdere Street that has a highly developing process in all periods. As it can be seen in figure 3 this area has a strategic position. There is an invisible border between the quarter structure and the buildings on the edge of the street. They have different anatomy and characteristics. The buildings give a luxury feature and change the function of the area (Yetman, 2013).

The Kagithane tried to change the district into a livable quarter that is alive and dynamic at all hours of the day. To reach these aims and objectives, the project has been designed in three main categories: transformation of squatter regions, transformation of industrial areas, and the third can be listed as transformation of the risky areas (Yetman, 2013).

4.2.1. Socio-cultural aspects of Celiktepe

Kagithane has been formed as a result of the extensive construction activities that occurred in Istanbul before

Figure 3. *The location and quarters of the district (Yetman, 2013).*

1960. Before this date, it was empty farmland. Then it changed into a small village for a long time. It was created by two groups of people - landlords and poor farmers. Part of the landlord's labor need had been provided by the village's poor families, and the other part by seasonal migrants. Most of the

seasonal migrants were from Anatolia. These migrants played a significant role in the 1950s migrate wave. They usually chose the districts that they knew and previously come for work. Its development process started in the 1950s with the initiation of factories on Buyukdere Street and with the occurrence of shantytowns around local industrial institutions. At the same time, parts of Celiktepe village's land were given to some people whose houses and lands had been seized during Istanbul development work in the 1950s. The factory laborers or persons who planned to work in these factories started to live in Celiktepe because of the short distance and lack of accessible transportation and financial problems.

In Henry Prost's master plan the district was designed as an industrial region (Bisel, 1990). These demographic changes started with the first phase of the village to city migration. The 1960s and 1970s were the industrialization years in Turkey; they needed laborers who lived near their work. The labor force migrated to the cities. These changes in the labor geography caused the district to become filled with squatters (Yetman, 2013). Also, in 1970, the Celiktepe IETT garage had been established. It changed the district into a very easily accessible region as it attracted a large number of people to the district. It worked as an event that attracted a large number of people to the district. The last reason for the high rate of migration to the quarter was its closeness to the Levent and Besiktas districts, which are main arteries in Istanbul. Figure 4 shows the photo of the IETT garage at that time.

As a result, in 1980 Celiktepe was one of the most important industrial and squatter settlements in Istanbul. The majority of the Celiktepe residents were industry workers. The last urban policy formulation stage was in the mid-1980s; it accents the urban marketing and contests it with the results of neoliberal policies at the same time. Removing the industrialization and transformation process of the district has not been independent of politics of the privatization initiatives. Since the removal of industrialization from the district is a long process which is

Figure 4. *Public transportation station located in the Levent district of Istanbul established by the Istanbul Electric Tramway and Tunnel Operations organization (IETT) (photography by Huseyin Irmak).*

still continuing, the economic conditions of the district are progressing. At the moment, small industries continue their presence in area. Nevertheless, these developments began to decline in the 1990s and entered the period of industrialization in the 2000s. In recent years, the city has developed rapidly. The district has a central location, and it is a very important issue for urban settlements. Therefore, it has required new policies for developing the cities, which are more flexible, advanced and modern. After that, the culture became affiliated with the urban environment and life (Mazumdar, 2003). After the transformation of these industrial areas, some dwellers that were the professional laborers of the factories left the district. They migrated to the districts near the new location of their working places. Urban transformation projects in post industrial economies try to eliminate physical and socio-economic deterioration and to create a positive image of the area. Sometimes these actions make the place more attractive to a group with different socio-economic characteristics and lifestyles. A new field gets a new financial supply and service activities that are in harmony with new dwellers (Belanger & Cameron, 2012). In accordance to all steps of the changes, a new social profile of the residents is added to the district. Newcomer residents of Celiktepe are mostly employees and university students.

4.2.2. Physical aspects of Celiktepe

Housing supplies a physical world that gives information about socio-cultural patterns, traditions and beliefs, rural background, and priorities of the people living in it. In Celiktepe the

poor and the migrants settled around the factories in the district (Yetman, 2013). These migrants needed the low-cost houses, and the government paid no attention to their requirements. They formed new urban areas and informal houses that attach themselves to old city centers. So, they especially who worked in factories occupied the agricultural and empty lands near the factories to respond to their needs and constructing of low-cost and low-quality houses. These houses are the first kind of houses in the district that were called squatter. Squatter areas after the 1984 law that let them progress to four floors quickly changed to high-density apartkondu zones. Apartkondus can be unplanned and illegal (Gur & Dulgeroglu Yuksel, 2011). The quality of life and urban infrastructures and services are low. These actions changed Istanbul into a disproportioned and unplanned city that suffers from traffic problems and lack of the green and socio- cultural areas (Güvenc, 2014). Over time, these squatter regions have obtained a value, construction and housing sector looking for empty lands to answer housing needs, especially in the district's closeness to highways and high potential locations (Danis, 2010). As a result of capitalism and earning more gains and responding and attracting newcomers, lots of the squatter houses or apartkondus started to change to apartment types (Figure 5).

The last type of residence in the district is gated communities. Since the beginning of the concept, gated communities have been defined as a physical privatized zone with limited access that separates the inside from the outside, separated by walls or fences with a guarded gate controlling the movements in and out of the residential area. They are being managed by their own rules and are pretty much independent from the urban services. Gated communities give a new character to the city; they guide users to make a distinction between their living environment and surroundings. Here the social isolation is critical. The aim of gated communities in urban transformation projects is to benefit from the three previous separate blocks to be brought together into one block. The
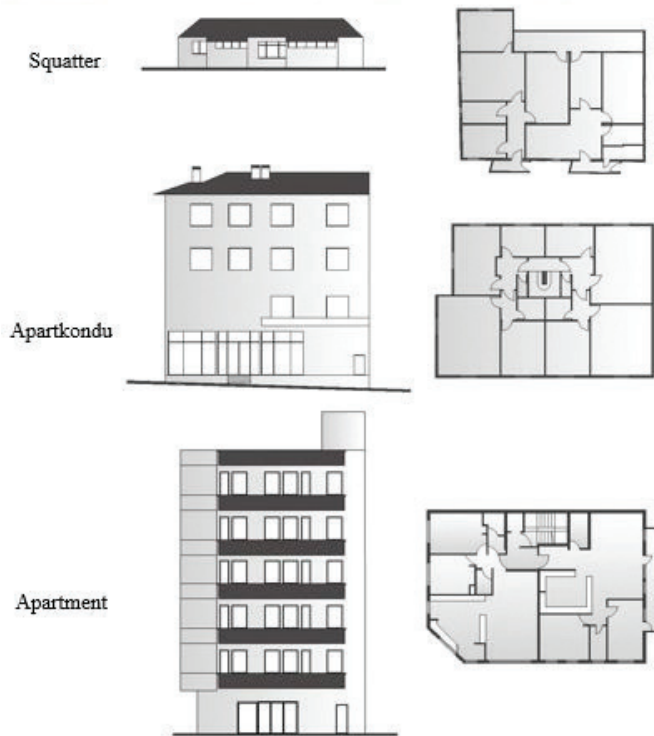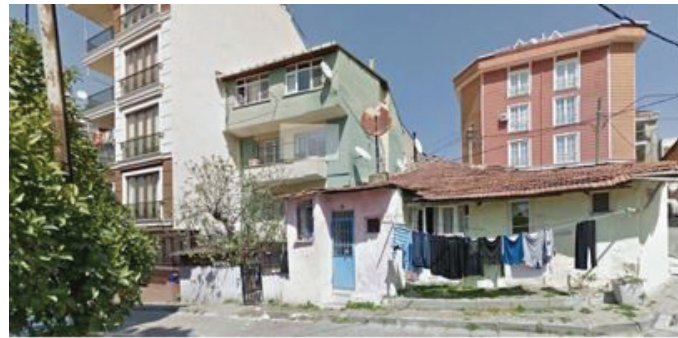
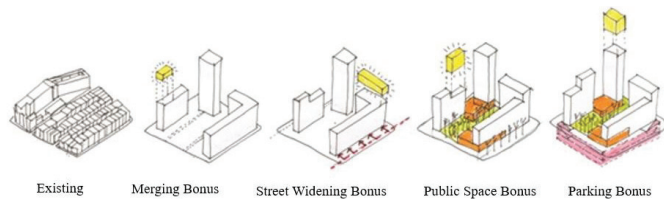

Figure 5. House types in the quarter.

Figure 6. Development of gated communities in squatter areas (Goksu & Akalp, 2012).

concept helps to get a higher volume of green area, public buildings, parking lots, and wide streets. It also contributes to create a sustainable living environment.

In addition to investigation of the housing types in the district, studies and comparisons based on the observations, have shown that the slopes of the field in some districts vary throughout the area and are not suitable for service facilities. In the transformation process, this problem is not noticed and there are no changes in this part
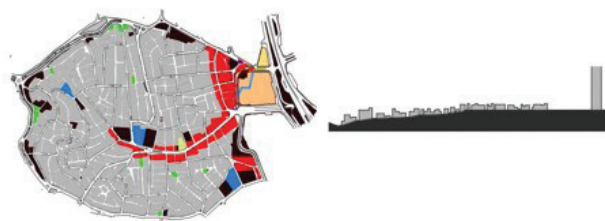
Figure 7. The plan and regional section of Celiktepe (Heidari, 2016; Yetman, 2013).
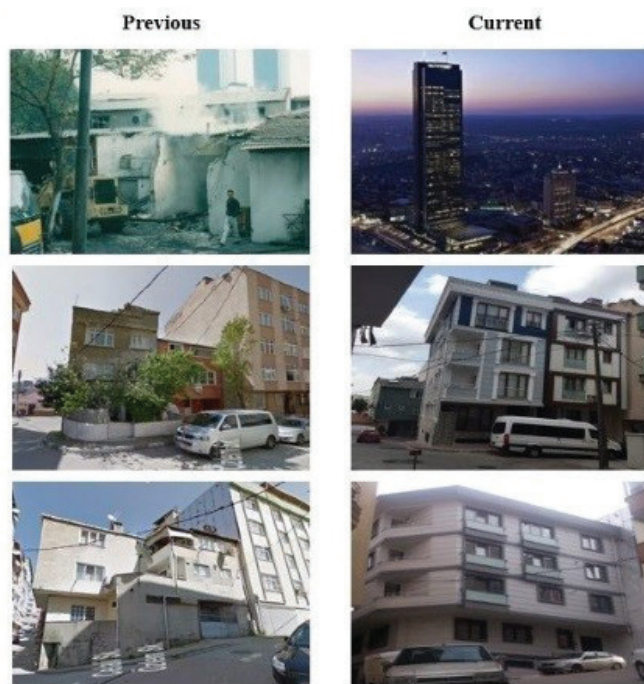

Figure 8. The previous and current positions of some buildings in the district (photography by Huseyin Irmak).

(Terzi & Bolen, 2005). In the transformation process only, there are changes in buildings separately (Figure 6). The trade centers are across the main street of the district and there are not sufficient green areas. Figure 7 shows the plan and section of the district while figure 8 displays some buildings previous and current positions.

4.3. Survey results

In the following section the achievements, losses and variations through the Celiktepe urban transformation process have been evaluated, and the demographic, socio-cultural, socio-economic, socio-spatial, physical and environmental results of the survey have been analyzed. This has been done in order to reveal the dependence of urban identity and sustainability on physical, environmental and social dimensions, and to specify the dependence by means of measurement.

4.3.1. Demographic results of survey

Fifty percent of the volunteers are women. To have a reliable outcome, participants were chosen in the age range of 17 and 75. 54.5% of the volunteers were born in Istanbul, and 75% of these people have lived in Celiktepe since they are born. The majority of the people who are local of the district and are living there for the extended years are from crowded families. The rate of the young people was very high. More than half of the participants are between seventeen and thirty-five years old. They are the group, which is categorized as young and economically active.

4.3.2. Socio-cultural results of survey

Results show that the district's residents are highly educated, and only a few are illiterate. Nearly 40% of the participants have a university degree and about 45% of the inhabitants do not live with their parents. Most of them are university students who live alone or share their homes with their roommates who have recently come to Istanbul. They are new in the quarter, they are temporary residents, and they are living with their friends and relatives.

Figure 9 shows that the district has a vast range of demands for social services, and there is a low level of satisfaction about the neighborhood's social facilities. The majority of the people who were not pleased with the district's social services were newcomers. Settlements believe that these places can help to improve the district's cultural level and places for settlements' connection and communication have been constructed.

About half of the participants have an ordinary sense of satisfaction about the district. Various groups of people categorized for instance by their age, the level of education, personality and many other factors have their own special reasons for the satisfaction level. Some of the locals have a low level of satisfaction because of the recent changes in the district. They think the changes modified the district and the

residents. Newcomers are not happy about being in the district. They express that they do not have the sense of belonging to the new district, and this reduces their satisfaction level (Figure 10).

4.3.3. Socio-economic results of survey

Findings show that more than 60% of the district's population is economically active. They are young or middle-aged individuals who work and have a monthly income. The unemployed group consists of the people who are not in the active economy years or are students and had not started to work yet. The students occupy a big scale of the unemployed group. In accordance to the range of residents' income level, it can conclude that different groups are living in the district. Some of them are needy individuals; about 30% of the settlements are from the lowest income group. Nearly 45% are individuals who are classified as middle-income who earn more than 2000 TL monthly. A large number of this group is newcomers.

The housing market is growing in the district and all the participants agree with the idea that the rents are increasing. These changes dissatisfied the tenants because they indicate that one of the important reasons for choosing Celiktepe was the district's affordable rents. The rents have increased and this process continues.

According to figure 11, it is possible to emphasize that about 40% of the participants do not think that their houses are affordable. Moreover, about 40% believe that it has a middle level of affordability. Only 20% of the volunteers believe that their houses have a standard degree of affordability. The group with high income level is the newcomers. The locals think the price of rents in comparison to their income level are very high.

4.3.4. Socio-spatial results of survey

Findings show that about 70% of the people are in interrelations with one or two quarters or have no relation with their building or neighborhood residents or neighborhood habitats. Most of them communicate with their
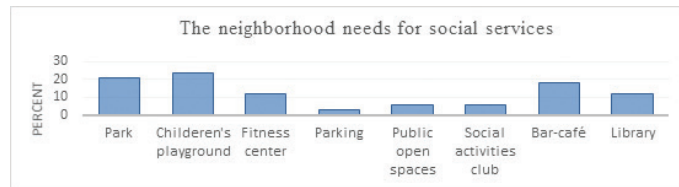

Figure 9. *The neighborhood needs for social services.*

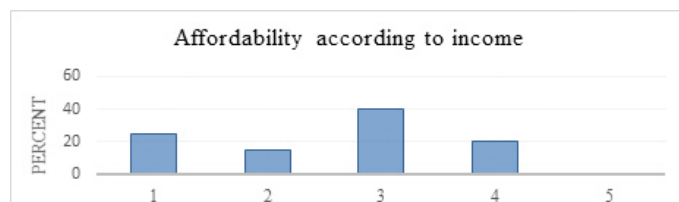*Figure 10.* *Life satisfaction.*

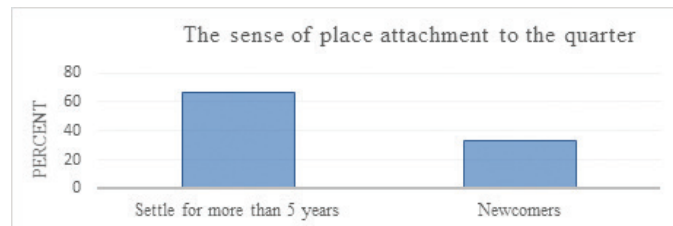*Figure 11.* *Affordability of houses according to the incomes.*

Figure 12. *The place attachment in the quarter.*

neighbors only when there is a problem in the building. They do not have a neighborhood relationship similar to what was in their countries' historical background.

About 55% of the participants have place attachment sense to the neighborhood, and 45% of them do not feel any. They have various reasons for their feelings.

Among 66.5% of the participants who feel attachment are inhabitants who have lived in the quarter for more than five years. Most of these people are locals and have been living for long years. Figure 12 below shows the statistics as a chart.

Figure 13 shows that only 13.5% of the participants think that the quality of life is above the average in the quarter. Moreover, 32.5% of them believe that it is on an average level. It shows independence to the duration in the district in which most of the inhabitants are not pleased with the district's
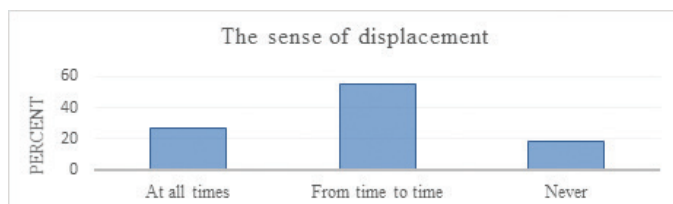
Figure 13. Quality of life in the neighborhood.

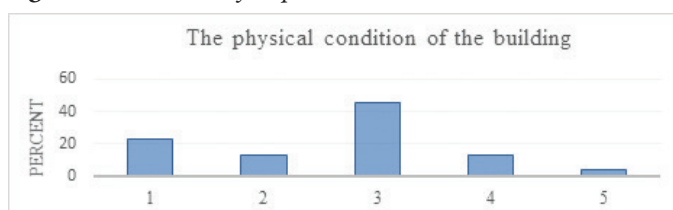

Figure 14. The sense of displacement.

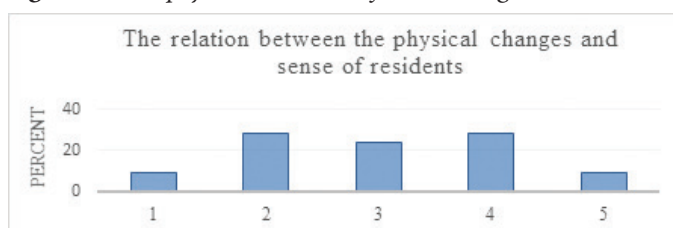*Figure 15. The physical condition of the building.*

Figure 16. The relation between the physical changes and resident's sense in district.

4.3.5. Physical and environmental results of survey

According to the results, more than half of the district's population lives in apartments. Apart from the apartments, there are apartkondus and squatter types of building in the area. According to figure 15, about 45.4% of the participants have an average satisfaction of the building's physical condition. They think the building is acceptable to their needs and do not make any serious problems for them. On the other hand, about 22.7% have a very low level of satisfaction about the physical condition. Most of this group are residents of the buildings older than 21.

About 24% of the participants give grade three to the relation between the physical changes in the district and the sense of residency. Apart from this group, the ratio of the people who give less than three and the persons who give more than three are equal. These results show that the sense of place is a sense related to the belonging and duration of staying in an area. The newcomers do not feel belonging, and they do not have any particular sense for the area and its changes. The newcomers have a positive point of view about changes in the district. They believe these changes enhance the standards of living and the general opinion of the district (Figure 16).

5. General evaluation and conclusion

Over time by globalization and changes in the economy and urbanization, cities started to change and develop. These squatter regions had located in central parts of the cities to have excellent accessibility. It was an attractive subject for urban residents. These areas started to be selected by urban dwellers to inhabit. As noted in other studies, new residences have a better educational level than the original ones, so this creates a gap and social problems between these two groups of residents. In gentrifying areas, new residences do not have much communication with long-term residents (Freeman, 2012; Gur, 2009). It is the result of replacing apartments with squatters and apartkondus; new dwellers are coming in order to settle in this area but there is

life standards. 18% of the volunteers believe that the quality of life in the district is at a terrible level. This group mostly is newcomers who have to settle in the district for a short time.

According to the survey results, about 70% of the volunteers feel they belong to the district. However, 30% do not have any sense of belonging toward the quarter. The majority of this group is newcomers. In this way, 27.2% of the participants always feel displacement in the area. They cannot communicate with the quarter. Despite the sense of belonging, 54.6% of participants feel displacement. This is because of some demands and lack of services. Moreover, 18.2% of the inhabitants feel a strong sense of belonging. They point out that they never think about displacement, mostly they are locals (Figure 14).

not any connection between the locals and newcomers. Although the area has been a high-density region through time, today the population has also increased due to the increase in housing numbers.

The urban identity is in direct connection to the city character that has been obtained through the time of objects and places. Social identity and place identity are main components of urban identity. Moreover; various items such as physical characteristics and activities of users play a significant role in its development. Every change in the cities' physical and social structure makes differences in the urban identity. So, any change in the urban transformation process makes evolution in the physical and social structure of the district. Therefore, these changes affect social and place identity.

The article aimed to reveal the components of urban and sustainable identity and to explore the achievements and failures through the Celiktepe urban transformation process. If we evaluate these achievements, losses and variations, socio-cultural, socio-economic, socio-spatial, physical and environmental outcomes of the study, we can underline them in following lines.

1. Socio-economic identity; The rate of young and middle-aged people is high in the district. In between, more than half of the population is individuals who have lived in the district for less then ten years. 55% of the district's population lives with their family elders, and are close to their relatives. They note that they are close to each other because when one migrates to a metropolis then he or she prefers to stay near their relatives. The individuals who do not live with their parents are young couples, university students, and new graduates, or people who come to Istanbul to find a job. Except for the couples, the other group is individuals who have shared their flats with friends, siblings or have stayed with their relatives for an a temporary period.

Surveying the socio-cultural part of the research shows that the number of educated people has increased in comparison to the previous studies. A high rate of this group can be classified as

district newcomers. They require new demands and services. This generation demands spaces for communication, social relations, activities, parks and playgrounds for their children.

By analyzing the results, it is correct to say that changes on the social structure have affected the economy in the district. Newcomers who are from with high income groups changed the average of family earnings in the district. According to the variations in the district, demands for house rent have increased. It has affected the housing market directly and increased the average rent in the area. Newcomers have caused the economic increase.

In accordance to the affordable definition in the literature review, affordability is described as the cost of housing, social income structure, and facilities of the location. Survey findings show that due to the housing costs the neighborhood is more affordable for newcomers than for locals. However, affordability according to the housing cost is a more affected item in the studied area. So, it can be concluded that newcomers have a higher level of affordability in the district, because of a higher standard of income and fewer family members.

2. Socio-cultural identity; Place attachment is described as an emotional connection between a person and the life's region. It is in a direct relation to comfort, safety, and duration in an area. Place attachment develops when the place can be in proper condition to perform their function and social aims (Casakin, Hernández et al., 2015). The study results have supported this idea. Comparing to the newcomers locals feel more well-being about the facilities and social incomes of the area. Newcomers do not have any intimate connection with their neighbors, and they do not wish. They feel no connection to the place and consider it to be temporary. They are generally of the young generations who have chosen this neighborhood due to its proximity to their working place or universities. Place attachment is in a direct relation to the length of residence, ownership and property. So, contrary to the newcomers, the local settlements have a strong relationship with their

neighbors (Heidari, 2016). Their level of place attachment and quality of life senses are greater.

Neighborly relations do not disappear in this district between the locals. Locals have strong relations with each other contrary to the newcomers who do not have any relations with their neighbors. Generally newcomers meet their neighbors just because of the building's problems and fees one time a month in comparison the locals do not need the excuse for meeting. They meet each other two or three times a week. They are pleased with neighbor relations and believe that longtime friendships, sharing happiness and sadness cause this deep relation. The sense of belonging and place attachment in the locals is higher than the newcomers.

Nearly half of the district's houses are old buildings. 25% of residents are local people who got their homes as inheritance. The locals do not have the desire to leave the district. To change their houses, they participate in the transformation process by taking partners for reconstructing their buildings. The district is suitable for their earnings, and they have a powerful sense of belonging to the district. The newcomers mostly live in new buildings, and their buildings in the comparison to their former buildings are not in a better situation. The district is a high-density area, and the buildings do not have high quality. Their reason for preferring Celiktepe was the suitable rent, accessibility, and transportation issues. Newcomers from other districts of Istanbul live in the district with a similar style and quality.

3. Place identity; Physical alternatives in the district are not only structural, functional, or mechanical, they even contain all aspects of resident's life (Gustavsson & Elander, 2015). The findings of this research have supported this theory. They show that physical changes have affected the social structure of the area. The new physical structure of the district worked as an attraction item and invite new settlements. The newcomers have a different social pattern than the locals. In Celiktepe, a previous farmer or laborer structure has been converted to a multiple structure pattern, which consists of workers, employees or students.

Satisfaction is affected by items like living conditions, education, district facilities, and cost of living. Moreover, it is about place identity. According to all of these factors, the urban transformation has changed the satisfaction level of all the inhabitants. About half of the inhabitants have a mean average of satisfaction. Generally, the satisfaction level among the newcomers is lower than the locals. Newcomers do not feel euphoria about them. Results show that place satisfaction affected place attachment directly and indirectly. Researchers believe that greater satisfaction creates stronger place identity.

According to the results, the district's physical conditions have improved through the years. However, the district needs many more civil projects to convert it to an ideal settlement. Lots of public spaces must be provided in the area. To sum up, there is an average level of satisfaction with the area.

The results of the study show that residents are content with urban transformation. They express that it can improve the resistance and quality of their houses. However, this construction is not planned and designed by architects and designers. Newcomers have their own expectations. The environment slowly changes through these needs. New services and functions are added to the area, and shortages of some functions are felt. The physical aspect of the city tried to adapt with residents and answer all the local and newcomer demands. All of these changes have problematized the matter of identity.

As a conclusion, as the fundamental outcome of the recent urbanization processes in Turkey; metropolitan cities and primarily Istanbul face significant challenges, especially on urban transformation. While overcoming these challenges with urban renewal programs, urban settlements should be sustained with their social and cultural circumstances, instead of focusing on physical improvement. Then gaining vibrant urban settlements can be highlighted as the major challenge to be considered in urban transformation. However, urban transformation process in Istanbul may force low income household group to be evicted further

districts of the city.

Urban transformation in Turkey should be revised with long-term development goals, policies and planning strategies. Valuable urban transformation projects, covering such long-term goals may transfer the city itself and inner quarters to the future without damaging or changing the unique sense of space and identity of the city.

Researchers, students can use the research findings of this study that suggest certain directions for further investigations on urban transformation and urban identity. Demands and preferences of local inhabitants of informal settlements should be included in urban transformation process, via participatory approach. Components of urban identity, such as social and place identity, sense of place, sense of displacement, quality of life, place attachment, satisfaction, etc. should have been taken into consideration in planning process. Such approaches and tendencies have to be founded in the key policies and planning tools, by entire stakeholders, like municipalities, architects, and building contractors.

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