



Full Length Review Article

APPLYING GENTRIFICATION PROCESS FOR HISTORICAL TEXTURE OF ARDAKAN CITY, YAZD, IRAN

*Reza Shaker Ardekani and Hamed Akhgar

Master's Degree in Urban and Regional Planning, Science and Research Branch, Islamic Azad University, Tehran, Iran

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ABSTRACT

Urban historical textures are part of the national and cultural heritage of a country that is not only from an aesthetic perspective, continuation of collective memories, but also due to being the residence and living place of millions of people are valuable. However, these textures for economic, social and managerial reasons contain negative characteristics such as image and landscape chaos, lack of proper access, lack of urban facilities and equipment, disturbances in social and economic structure and physical deterioration that lead to evacuation of a large population from these textures. In fact, a main limitation of the historical urban texture, especially in the central parts of cities is getting out of the cycle and economic life of the city. In simple terms, the loss of economic and financial justification causes capital flight from and lack of investment in these areas. One of the interventions to reduce the gap between the amount of capital and investment in historical textures is gentrification which in its framework, renovations, the measures taken and displacement of population has led to the "improvement of the quality of the environment" and "residing of more prosperous classes of society" and consequently, an increase of turnover and the improvement of the texture from the social, economic, cultural, and environmental perspective. But the question is whether the process of renovation of historical urban textures of Iran can be explained in a theoretical framework of gentrification? For this purpose, it has been tried in these pages to use a descriptive - analytical review of documents – library survey, and to introduce this theory and its aspects and this process is explained in the context of Iran's urbanism structure in order to facilitate this theory and reduce problems of the historical texture of Ardakan, and solutions are proposed in micro and macro scales.

INTRODUCTION

According to long urbanization history in Iran, it is clear that in all cities have scattered around country, there are deteriorated neighborhoods, textures and even single-buildings. This is only one kind of deterioration. The other kind is buildings that due to use inappropriate, flimsy or weak materials in construction, in the beginning are considered part of deteriorated texture and in need of restoration and reconstruction. The city of Ardakan is part of those cities that according to its history, has deteriorated neighborhoods and textures which has coincided with the historic texture of the city. In study this texture there are two issues: first, deterioration and other, buildings that historically are valuable and each one demands specific type of restoration: first reconstruction and another restoration, and ultimately, the goal is restoration, identifying and revitalization mentioned neighborhoods, textures and buildings in all aspects

of physical, economic and social, and of course with considering its cultural and historical values. In this article it was tried to use Gentrification theory for development and renovation of the historic texture of Ardakan. The goal of this method is considering the original inhabitants of this texture which has for a long time been the settlement of noble persons of the city and still retains its position among the common people (or the masses). This approach considered longstanding residents who have lived in these neighborhoods and now for some reasons have moved, and it is believed that with local treatments we cannot revitalize these ancient textures. In pages ahead it has been tried to provide solutions for issues and problems of texture to return the original residents and longstanding inhabitants who enjoyed a good fame to the context, and on the other hand to generalize these solutions to other deteriorated textures.

Introducing the historic textures of Ardakan

Ardakan is located in the northern zone of Yazd province and in Ardakan County. It is limited from North and West to

*Corresponding author: Reza Shaker Ardekani

Master's Degree in Urban and Regional Planning, Science and Research Branch, Islamic Azad University, Tehran, Iran

Isfahan province, from East to Tabas County and from South to Bafgh, Meybod and Yazd counties. Ardakan city until early Pahlavi period was not in the main route and the old communication paths were limited to routes to adjacent cities and some of them were passing through farms and gardens too. After the construction of 1930 route (north of country was connected to south), Ardakan was located in the main north-south route. Afterwards, communication routes such as Ardakan - Shahrood, Ardakan - Isfahan, Ardakan - Mashhad and Ardakan - Tehran came into existence. Due to the presence of the Shirkooh Mountains in southwest and the Kharanq Mountains in East, the core of the city was formed in this situation (Shaker Ardekani, 2011). Position of Ardakan city and its historical texture are shown in figures' number 1 to 4.

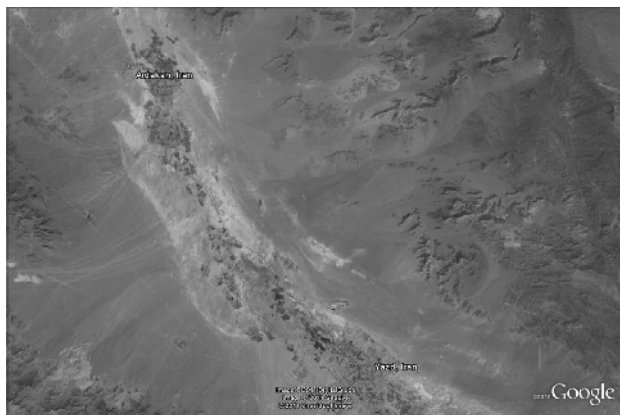


Figure 1. General layout of Ardakan city from Yazd
Source: Google Earth

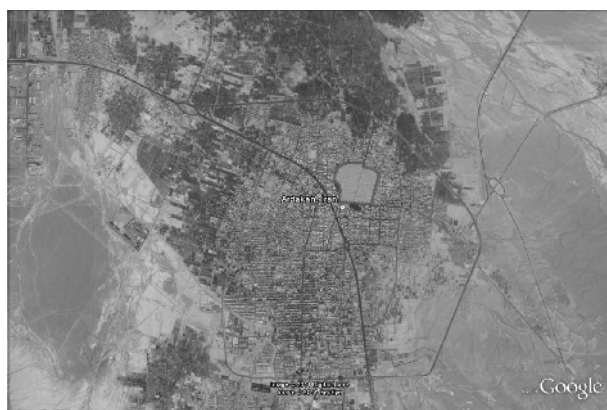


Figure 2. General layout of historical texture in Ardakan
Source: Google Earth



Source: Google Earth

Figure 3. general layout of historical texture from surrounding area



Source: Google Earth

Figure 4. View of historical texture of Ardakan city

In historical books, the name of Ardakan in pre-Islamic and even early Islamic centuries isn't mentioned. Ayati writes in the History of Yazd: "It is supposed that Ardakan either wasn't there before Islam or was not important, but considering that Ardakan is in an adjacency of Aqda and Meybod, it must precede them" (Ayati, 1938, 138). Ardakan was established in the early Islamic centuries after drying of "Saveh Sea" and becoming favorable for agriculture, and probably at least two seasonal rivers in this region flew: one of them was passing from east to west alongside current "Zardok" and the other from south to north in the middle of present place of Ardakan city. The original inhabitants of the region, who were apparently from neighboring towns, settled along these two rivers and probably "Zardok" has been the first residential setting of them. In the pass of time, "Zardok" was evacuated and its residents settled in the current place of Ardakan. Date and reasons of this change are not properly clear. Some people consider the flowing of fresh water in Ardakan and drying of the Qanats of "Zardok" as reasons for this migration. The river which flew from south to north passed along the city castle which later was named "Castle Square". Furthermore, against the current place of "koshk-e-no" (new castle), a bridge was built over the river and until a few years ago, was known as "sare-e-pol" (over the bridge). After drying of the river, to have access to water, in the western side of the castle, people dug a shallow well which was called "Charkhab Square". Over time, after drying up of the springs, people were forced to build Qanats (Sepehri Ardakani, 1995).

Generally, expansion stages of Ardakan were as follows: residents of "Zardok" village (that is located 10 kms north of Ardakan), left their village and for unknown reasons, settled in the place of "Castle Square". At first, they built a residential castle and settled in. After a while, the region comes out of castle form, and a rural situation appeared. Due to population increase and migration to this area, texture in north ended in "Zirdeh" (lower village) mosque and in south to "Baladeh" (upper village) Square. In the third stage, due to population increase and development, texture removed from a rural situation, and dominant urban elements were made. In this stage, with formation of schools, mosques, baths, water storages and caravanserais, and the market alongside each other, the texture transformed from a rural situation to urban form. In fourth step, the current historical texture was formed. Last Date of fencing is not clear completely. Probably, the fourth stage and the city's defensive wall was created in late

Table 1. General Characteristics

Cases	Collected features
The formation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The texture under the study is formed in a relatively good position with acceptable and desirable slope and access.
Evolution and growth of texture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The primary structure of the texture is around the sixth century after Islam. The texture under the study grew and developed in different periods. The most development is related to the Pahlavi period.
Introducing studied texture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The texture under the study is located in the central district of the city.
Neighborhoods	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The texture under the study includes 12 neighborhoods.
Valuable units	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In the texture under the study, there are more than a hundred valuable spaces, which are important from the viewpoint of history, architecture and tourism. In the target texture, there are valuable axes and precious historical collections.

Source: Research Institute of buildings and historic and cultural textures, 2002

Table 2. Characteristics of management structure

Cases	Collected features
The deciding agents	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The deciding agents include public, semi-public and private sectors.
Documents and tools for system of decision-making	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The most important documents are guide plan of Ardakan, master plan of Ardakan and regional plan of Yazd. Studies have been done by improvement and renovation organization of old texture and Yazd Cultural Heritage and Tourism Organization in micro level sporadically. Law and specific regulations concerning the texture have not been developed.

Source: Kalantari Khalilabad and Aqasafary, 2009

Table 3. Characteristics of geographical structure

Cases	Collected features
Seismicity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The area located in the range of low relative risk and there is no serious fault.
Weather	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The area weather is warm and dry
Slope	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The area is located in relatively good condition of slope.

Source: Consulting Engineers Arse, 2001

Table 4. Characteristics of social structure

Cases	Collected features
Social structure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Population growth rate in studied texture is negative while in the upper levels is positive (-1.76 to 2.45 percent). Considering age structure, population of studied texture is older than the other upper levels. Population sex ratio in studied texture is 106.3 and in Ardakan city is 107.2. The largest number of population in studied texture is in the age group of 10 – 14 years and in Ardakan city is also in the same age group. Population Sex ratio in studied texture is increasing and In Ardakan city is growing too. Family size of studied texture is 3.7 people and in Ardakan city is 4.68 people. Literacy of six year olds and more in the studied texture is 63 percent and in Ardakan city is 79.5 percent. Total number of immigrants entering the texture, were 1229 people. While people leaving the texture were 2110. Thus, in total 881 people were removed from the texture (during 1996 - 2006). Having family facilities among households of the studied texture is lower than Ardakan city. Education level of heads of households in studied texture is lower than education level of heads of households in Ardakan city.

Source: writer, prepared according to:

- 1- Information of Statistic Center of Iran in 1996 and 2006
- 2- Census of Population and Housing of Ardakan County in 1996 and 2006

Table 5. Characteristics of economic structure

Cases	Collected features
Price of land	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Land price in the studied texture is much lower than Ardakan city. Lands located in the Main Street, are much more expensive than other parts of the texture. The value of the buildings affected by the value of land and other factors such as type of usage of the construction, quality and life of buildings.
Economic structure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Unemployment rate in the studied texture is much higher than the average of unemployment rate in the whole city. Working-age population in the studied texture as compared with the whole city is higher. Dependency burden in the studied texture is higher than the whole city. Percentage of employees in the service sector as compared with other parts is very high and even as compared with the city is higher. Growth rate of workers in the studied texture is -0.44 percent and in Ardakan city is 5.84 percent. Number of employees in private sector in the studied texture is 80 percent and in Ardakan city is 76.9 percent. Workshop activity in the studied texture of the city is in the field of handicrafts.

Source: writer, prepared according to:

- 1- Information and field survey in 2011
- 2- Census of Population and Housing in 1996 and 2006

Table 6. Characteristics of physical structure

Cases	Collected features
Housing and Building	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Growth rate of the number of residential units in the studied texture is much lower than Ardakan. • Foundation area ratio to total buildings area in the historical texture is 61.85 percent. • One floor units in the studied texture are 83.4 percent, and other units are 16.6 percent. • 79.69 percent of the residential buildings were made from mud-brick and 20.31 percent from brick and iron or other materials. • 55.1 percent of the residential buildings in the studied texture are more than 60 years old and 28.8 percent are between 55 and 30 years old. • 67.63 percent of units are newly built and can be maintained. 25.52 percent repaired and 6.85 percent are tumbledown buildings.
Densities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Household density in residential units in the city is 1.04 and in the studied texture is 1.03. • Density of people in household in Ardakan is 4.68 people and in the studied texture is 3.65 people. • Density of people in residential units in the studied texture is 3.74 people. • Density of rooms in residential units in Ardakan city is 4.51 rooms and in the studied texture is 3.8 rooms. • Density of people in room, in Ardakan is 1.08 people and in the studied texture are 1 people.
Land use	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • About 63 percent of land use in the studied texture is residential, 0.76 percent educational, 2.93 percent commercial, 0.25 percent green space, 32.68 percent pathways, 0.37 percent administrative and 1.37 percent open space.

Source: writer, prepared according to Information and field survey in 2011

Table 7. Analysis of management structure problems

General field	Problems	Problems description	Causes problems
Management structure	Multiplicity of affecting agencies involved in decision making.	Now several official agencies involved simultaneously in the historical texture in decision-making and planning; such as: Ardakan city council, Municipality of Ardakan, Improvement and Renovation Organization, Cultural Heritage Organization, Housing and Urban Development Organization, Urbanism Council of Yazd Province and the General Governor of Yazd Province.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Existence of deteriorated buildings in the historical texture and under the custody of different trustees. • Lack of clear boundaries of authority and responsibility of each of these organizations. • Lack of clear policy on dealing with the historical texture.
	Expansion problems of the texture	Due to overlapping of the historical texture with deteriorated texture of Ardakan and diversity and extent of problems which exist in this zone, relevant authorities are not completely aware of these issues.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of separation of the deteriorated buildings and valuable buildings. • Absence of comprehensive research in on the studied texture. • Weakness of urban management.
	Lack of authority of the improvement and renovation organization of historical texture	The improvement and renovation organization of the historical texture of Ardakan which is in the first management level of the deteriorated texture depends on the Municipality in structure and especially in composition of its board of directors and actually acts in the field and the direction set by the Municipality.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Structure and composition of the board of decision making organizations are attached to and dependent on the municipality of Ardakan. • None of the authorities live in the studied texture and as a result lack of interaction with the residents and their problems. • Lack of qualified manpower in mentioned organization.
	Lack of documentation and tools for decision making	In upper plans, the historical texture has not been studied.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of specific rules and regulations. • Lack of experienced consultants on historical texture. • Lack of sense of occasion and sensitivity for the subject by approving authorities of the plans.

Source: writer, prepared according to Information and field survey in 2011

safavid period because the fence was there in the period of Nader Shah Afshar and also it was restored and reconstructed in Qajar period by order of Hussein Kashi. In fact, the historical texture of Ardakan City in this stage is completed and closed. After this stage, the city was expanded and developed outside of this range. The biggest development outside the fence was made after 1959 (in 1959, street-making in the texture begins) (Research Institute of buildings and historical and cultural textures, 2002). Other features of the historic fabric of Ardakan city in brief are presented in tables' number 1 to 6.

Problem expression

According to the study of the present situation and presented characteristics from the studied texture, the roots of the issues and problems of historical texture of Ardakan city have been found and presented separately in management, social, economic, physical and nature and geographical structure in tables' number 7 to 10. After presenting issues, causes and roots

of each problem and micro-problems are listed. In addition to the above-mentioned, it seems that the most important reasons for the exhaustion of the historical textures of Iran in past years, regardless of the problems and roots of Territorial Spatial Planning, have been these cases:

- Lack of attention of planners and urban planners to the unused capacity of former urban areas and lack of priority in inner city development, and settling the overflow crowd in mentioned areas.
- Attached and detached urban development policies and thus creating strong competitors as the "north" for the old part of the city.
- Despite the legal obligations and imposing renovation taxes, lack of investment from municipalities and urban service providers in order to improve network access and improve urban facilities and infrastructures of old and deteriorated texture of cities. As a result, physical and structural mismatch of old texture with modern living

conditions. And especially no solution of traffic and rescuers inside old, central and occasionally middle urban areas.

- Lack of interaction and consensus and a common definition in order to take rational policy to keep efficiency of valuable historical, cultural and architectural, and in one word "heritage" units as the focus of renovation of old, deteriorated and inefficient urban textures; and lack of proper prioritization of values, has been caused by lack of mobility and due to disagreements many improvements and renovation projects have been stopped or there is no incentive to create new projects.
- Absence of effective national commitment for development and renovation of old, deteriorated and inefficient urban textures and lack of priority in the macro planning and annual budgeting.

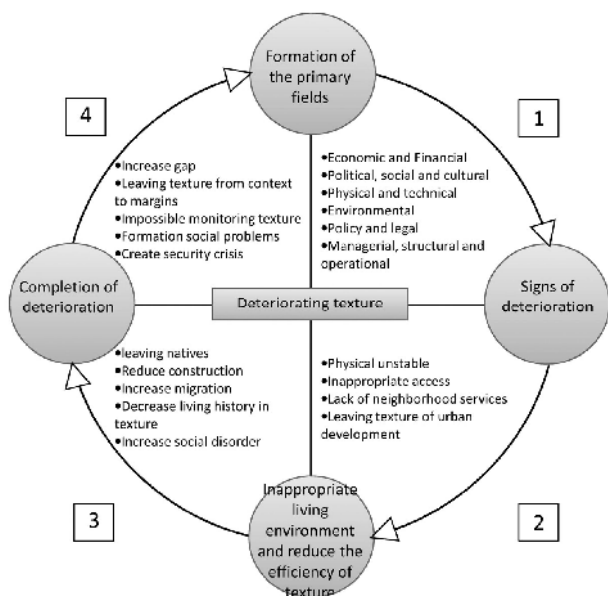
Common to all these factors can be found in flight investment, due to the lack of economic justification for investment activities within the historical context and out of the city's economic life cycle. Therefore we can seek the root cause of deterioration in Territorial Spatial Planning issues and philosophy of the City. When the operation and development strategy of each city is identified, its fields of development can be found easily. Each section of the city that has got necessary economic potential and investment will attract prosperous and powerful individuals and institutions. Presence of powerful individuals and institutions will cause physical development and strengthening of the region. It is very simple and concrete. Every time a resistant and stable house is abandoned, before long the dust of deterioration appears in the face of it. Creating competing investment spaces, is a fatal blow to the existing configuration space. Due to the withdrawal of capital and investment, little by little people with economic power leave the region. The most important factor of preventing deterioration are people with economic power, they are replaced by the lower classes that don't have any financial power for repairing, maintenance and retrofitting (Aeeni, 2009). In addition to the above, other factors can be involved in reducing value and quality of the urban textures that can be depicted as a deterioration- making cycle (Figure 5).

One of the important affairs for breaking this vicious circle and removing deterioration dust from them is bringing back the original, native and propertied inhabitants of the textures that for above mentioned reasons have moved out of historical areas. Since these groups and individuals are the most important factors in preventing urban texture deterioration, with their return the lost economic – social vitality of texture will return and slowly opportunities for investment and cash flow in texture happens. In this study, return rich and wealthy people to texture, called gentrification that in following, its dimensions and domains will be described in detail.

Urban renovation and gentrification

Providing a comprehensive definition of urban renovation to show the complexity of the issues involved, is not easy. Urban literature, often without any definition, use terms such as Regeneration, Urban Revitalization, Gentrification, Neighborhood Renewal, Rehabilitation and Renovation. In this issue "urban renovation" generally means the process used to change the urban environment. Urban renovation is often referred to as the process through which the urban environment is changed. According to Francois Laisent and Gulgonen from the Institute of Architecture and Urban Studies and Research in Paris, the city is an open phenomenon which means that the city is always in a process of continuous change. Urban form in a specific period can be viewed as a temporary condition between past and future. Hence the various interpretations of the city is obtained, which sees it as a living organism (Francois Laisent & Gulgonen, 1997). Experts participating in the seminar on urban renovation held in August 1958 "Dnag": all agreed that the goal of urban renovation is changing urban environment and creating new life through re-adjustment of existing spaces, to meet present and future needs of residents. They believe that the main goal of urban renovation is: applying the fundamental principles that lead to revitalization of some or all urban structural parts which nowadays are not in accordance with the functions defined for them (Miller, 1959). Existing literature about the effects of urban renovation is divided into two categories. The first category considers these effects as positive due to the replacement of the middle class with the poor and low class. This literature mainly refers to the phenomenon of gentrifying. The second category regards these effects as negative because of social impacts.

The first group seeks to encourage economic growth within urban areas and encourage more affluent people to settle in renovated deteriorated areas by improving the physical environment (Rezai, 2009; Shaker Ardekani & et al, 2014). For them it stands to reason that the benefits of economic growth from the renovated areas will gradually do well to the less privileged classes who are the traditional inhabitants of the deteriorated areas. On the other hand the second group will reason that opportunities and resources should be directly available to less privileged and disadvantaged groups. Anyway, the strategies used in the reconstruction and restructuring within the cities, generally in Western cities, are very similar. But practical aspects can vary in case of facing the real social, political, economic and historical issues. For creating a new and attractive image for the city center, it is necessary to encourage middle to high social groups to move to the renovated areas and settle there. A very well-known process of urban revival in Western cities is called "gentrification" that changes the



Source: Andalib, 2010

Figure 5. The model of formation and continuation of various deteriorated textures

Table 8. Analysis of social and economic structure problems

General field	Problems	Problems description	Causes problems
Social and economic structure	Gradual reduction of texture population	Population growth rate was negative in this region between 1996 and 2006. In addition, people migrated from these neighborhoods to other parts of the city or other cities resulting in an increasing reduction in the population of this area.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reduction of the social acceptability of living in the texture neighborhoods. • Reduction of the acceptability of living in neighborhoods due to lack of building's resistance against earthquakes. • Lack or shortage of adequate urban facilities and services. • Existence of many ruined and abandoned spaces in the texture. • Increasing insecurity in the texture due to increasing untenable urban spaces.
	Heterogeneity in social structure and the presence of non-native people in the texture	Due to low housing Price and rental rates in this texture, non-native people have been living in this area.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Existence of grave differences between housing price and rent in the texture and the town. • Immigration of native inhabitants and replacement with non-native immigrants.
	Lack of social participation	Changes in values and culture, leading to changes in demographic - social structure and neighborly relations have been reduced.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Living of non-native people with different cultures in the texture. • Reduction of social relations. • Inhabitants' disappointment from mentioned organizations. • Low level of education and culture. • Heterogeneity in the age pyramid and therefore, high number of the elderly in the texture.
	Low-income residents	Low-income residents form the economic structure of the texture. So, the highest number of households have average incomes between 150\$ to 250\$.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of economic justification for trade and service activities in the area. • Lack of prosperity of traditional workshops in the texture. • Low level of education and professional skills of residents. • The average age of texture residents is higher than the city.
Lack of governmental and private investment	Government has focused most welfare facilities, educational services, health, administrative and tourism in the city streets and boulevards are away from deteriorated texture.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of adequate and efficient infrastructure facilities. • Lack or shortage of awareness about historical values in texture. • Added value of real estate in texture is lower than Ardakan city. • Lower social desirability for private investment. 	

Source: writer, prepared according to Information and field survey in 2011

Table 9. Analysis of physical structure problems

General field	Problems	Problems description	Causes problems
Physical structure	Buildings deterioration	Since most of the texture buildings are made of mud-brick, 84.2 percent of the area is in need of renovation and restoration and the remaining 15.8 percent is not problem-free.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High antiquity of the buildings in the texture. • Application of low durability and frail materials in the buildings. • Negligence and disinterest to the tradition of continuing restoration and rehabilitation of buildings.
	Lower quality of buildings	55.1 percent of the residential buildings in the studied texture are more than 60 years old and 28.8 percent are between 55 and 30 years old.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of earthquake-resistance. • Lack of appropriate access. • Lack of appropriate infrastructure. • Existence of small and inefficient rooms and spaces. • Foundation-free buildings. • Existence of mischievous animals and insects amidst the less durable mud-brick materials. • Undesirable landscapes of abandoned and ruined spaces in an adjacency of the units. • Lack of resistance and corrosion of materials. • Heterogeneity in the image of texture. • Heterogeneity of the old residential space with modern life. • Change of public culture and undesirability of the old houses. • Low height of the walls and rooms of the old houses. • Existence of health services and kitchen outside of the main construction in old houses. • Discontinuity of spaces in old buildings with central courtyards.
	Shortage of educational spaces, general welfare and lower quality of provided services	From total area of deteriorated texture, 0.08 percent is service spaces, 0.37 percent administrative spaces, 0.76 percent educational spaces and 0.25 percent green space and the remaining per capita is also low.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Low public and urban service per capita. • Inefficiency of facilities, networks and urban services. • Inefficient accesses. • Incompatible Workshops in the texture. • Weakness of urban management.

Source: writer, prepared according to Information and field survey in 2011

Table 10. Analysis of geographical structure problems

General field	Problems	Problems description	Causes problems
Geographical structure	Erosion of mud-brick buildings by natural factors	According to lower stability of the texture buildings, natural factors such as wind, sand storm, rain, etc. easily lead to collapse, cracking or scratch of the buildings.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wind and storms with sand grains. • Atmospheric precipitation. • Rapid and intense air temperature difference in day and night and in different seasons.

Source: writer, prepared according to Information and field survey in 2011

physical and social nature of the neighborhood (Seyedian, 2008) Gentrification is a process occurring in certain inner city areas whereby old, substandard housing is bought, modernized and occupied by middle class and wealthy families. The process is well demonstrated in inner London district such as Chelsea, Fulham and Islington, which have become much sought after and expensive residential locations. Gentrification is probably triggered by the survival of once elegant, but rundown housing and by locational advantages such as ready access to city centre employment and services. It is also probably helped by the availability of improvement grants. Once started, the process is no doubt sustained by the perceived social prestige derived from living in such fashionable areas. Gentrification represents an interesting reversal of the normal "filtering" process in that it involves a social upgrading of obsolescent residential areas (Seifoddini, 2006). The purpose in this process is promoting economic activities and social structure by replacing the upper social and economic classes with former inhabitants of the restructured area of central part of the city. Gentrification requires a fundamental change in the image of the slums by creating, protecting and promoting an attractive residential image. There are different approaches to the importance, mechanism, and reasons of gentrification. As an ideology, gentrification is considered the potential for social and economic promotion of the city. However its evident connection with capitalism and land speculation has been criticized. Gentrification requires the movement of capital and population. The return of capital depends on maintaining the attractiveness of areas for progressive and high-class people.

Theory background

It is said the 80's is the beginning of extensive urban renovation. With the change of production from Fordism to post Fordism, the change in job structures is happened. The importance of service economy Increased and led to an increase in the importance of administrative, technical and professional jobs. Changes in the economy, led to social polarization in income and job. Integrated community became more pieces community. A new middle class was formed: Professional people were mostly singles or young couples without children. Their living environment reflects their choice of lifestyle that includes their priority for the urban historic neighborhood that is near work, cultural facilities and commercial and administrative centers. Changing in lifestyle and cultural preferences is reflected to some extent, in buying and rebuilding old houses especially inside of the city. Changes in communications technology and formation of informational society have changed the spatial structure of the cities. With transferring commercial, administrative and productive services to the downtown, industrial centers were moved to the sidelines (Beauregard, 1986; Ley, 1996; Smith, 1986). Gentrification originates in the word Gentry that comes from old French gentries which meant aristocracy.

A sociologist called Ruth Glass in 1964 for the first time used this term to describe the process of replacement of the affluent people with low-income people and workers living in neighborhoods."Center of prevention and fight against the diseases of America" has interpreted the gentrification as the "increasing the value of urban neighborhoods". Gentrification is a change in an area of the city that follows the movement of the dwellers to lower city neighborhoods. These changes often result in the transformation of culture and identity in neighborhood. Gentrification can occur by investment by the state or local groups in urban deteriorated textures. These activities cause an increase in property prices and consequently the state income by the increase in taxes. This process contains a "human cost" for low-income residents of these neighborhoods. The rent increase will scatter the residents of these neighborhoods, because on the one hand they will understand that housing is too much for them to afford and on the other hand increased real estate taxes, often forces households to sell their homes and move to cheaper neighborhoods. With these descriptions and explanations, gentrification has three conditions:

- Displacement of original residents.
- Increasing the physical quality of neighborhoods particularly in housing.
- Changing the identity of the neighborhood.

Gentrification is defined with coordination and synchronization with four processes:

1. Resettlement and social focus. Replacement of a group of residents with a group of higher rank class.
2. Transformation in the physical environment (buildings), which indicates some aesthetic dimensions and emergence of new services.
3. Community and gathering of some people with a common culture and lifestyle or at least with common preferences in consumption related to their social class.
4. Re-suggestion of the economic value of the property that is a business opportunity for construction industry and often it is considered a consequence of private property of the domestic property (Warde, 1991).

On the whole, gentrification is replacement process of the middle class with the working class, increase of property values, Change of physical environment and the emergence of new style of urban life. This process is expanding in many big cities of the West and even in rural areas (Thrift, 1987). The evident sample of gentrification has been mentioned in Sharon Zukin's book, "loft Living" (1988). She described the transformation of Manhattan in New York where the Gypsy style artists converted warehouse space in a garment factory when deindustrialization took place into domestic spaces. This reflects a certain talent and aesthetic taste for the reconstruction of the industrial area and was an inexpensive way to obtain a

residential place in city center. In this way, space and area became "interesting" And since the opening of certain exhibitions and stores were subjected to attention, the place became relatively inhabitable and in some cases, the changes in it were beautiful. That attracted some of the owners and builders who sought profit opportunities in development of residential buildings. At that time a group of wealthy middle class had begun to purchase storehouses and practically they paid more than local housing market for Gypsy style artists' spaces. As a result, the city council of the New York City promulgated that place as the region of the artists so as to protect the artists' community and to maintain the tourist attraction gained. With social progress and improvement of residents, shops and service centers opened that changed the image of the region in less than twenty years. This means the revival of the space of the central part of the city and commercial organizations in the land trade and construction could buy and modify the storehouses for use of the upper-mid class. This result is, among other things, the relationship between capital accumulation and aesthetic taste or lifestyle and a process in which the role of social spaces in urban areas will change over time. Zukin sets framework of her views with the use of concepts such as Harvey, but for the cultural variables in shaping the living areas attaches more validity (Savage and Warde, 1993).

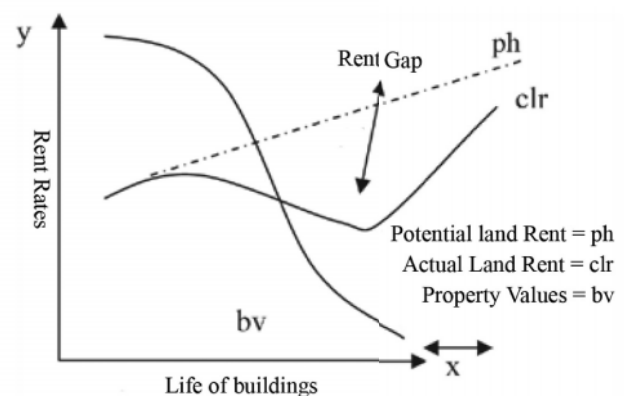
Process and approaches to gentrification

After expressing the theory of gentrification and its background, in this section patterns based on this theory have been described. Neighborhood evolutionary process in which affluent, usually young, households move into and upgrade distressed neighborhoods, with many of the neighborhood's original residents being displaced... It is common for discussions of gentrification also to add a racial dimension to gentrification that follows a well-defined pattern (Bostic and Martin, 2003, Vandergrift, 2006) and is based on the following steps:

1. Suburbia
2. Non institutional investors
3. Property Abandoned
4. Turning point of non capital investment to re-investment
5. Secondary Investors
6. Financial and institutional aid
7. Perspective Along with gentrification, patterns of space use (Rahnema, 1996, Rahnema, 1993).

The process of gentrification is described in different ways. Explanations include why, how, the place of gentrification and identifying the main factors. Approaches to gentrification are still controversial and fall into two categories: Marxist structuralism approach to leadership Smith (1989), which explains gentrification by the rental gap concept that represents the difference between the rental value of the current land use and the potential rental value of land (Figure 6). From Smith's perspective, this process begins with the falling value of land in urban areas. This occurs when a large investment in the construction sector, leads its capital to more efficient housing; such as urban planning outside of urban centers. Focus on housing investment in the countryside and negligence of urban centers leads to decrease of the value of housing in inner city. But the process of urban renovation in the last three decades,

the value of the inner city housing have increased. This in turn causes gap in rent and has led housing capital into urban areas. In the humanistic approach based on Lee (1996), cultural preference and demographic characteristics of gentrification are emphasized. Specialization of labor, changes in the structure of family gender and place of work and specific set of downtown-life meanings, are the driving forces of this process. Gentrifiers are known as a subgroup of the middle-class. They are generally working in a variety of arts and applied arts, media, teaching, social services and other public and nonprofit sectors. According to Lee, the gentrification has two phases. Firstly, the leaders also called risk taking groups select inner-city areas due to cultural values, lifestyle and the value of historical district. The second group which is called the risk aversion group select inner city due to the investment opportunities. At the end of the second stage, the pioneers are replaced by anti-risk groups. Rent gap theory examines the process of gentrification in supply and demand. On the other hand humanistic approach, considers the aspects of demand of this process. These two basic approaches can also be examined together. At primary stages of gentrification process, risk taking group, causes the rental gap unintentionally. With increasing gap in rent, the anti-risk groups visit the mentioned area. Therefore, these two approaches can be complementary theories to explain the process of gentrification (Uzun, 2003). This theory considers a comprehensive systematic and regional (spatial) approach for renovation process of the inner city as essential and does not agree with local, case and ad hoc approaches as well as large-scale renovation projects due to economic and social problems. The approach of this theory is improvement ie multi-purpose and coordinated activities including physical, social, economic and environmental; that cause injecting capital into the local environment and gaining importance and also increase the value of real estate. As a result the ground is prepared for absorption of middle and high income groups, who have higher ability to pay rent. And gradually optional leaving of low-income groups and their replacement by a group of middle-income causes social transformation of neighborhoods.



The maximum rent gap between present and future

Source: Taghvaei & Gholami, 2010

Figure 6. Smith's rent gap theory in explaining the process of gentrification

Gentrification theory is in opposition to the theory of renovation - compulsory leave of Castell and Goddard. Based on Goddard and Castell theory, with extensive renovation projects, high apartments replace the old urban areas and cause forced migration of poor and working class from inner city to

suburbs. One of the benefits of this type of intervention is that large companies benefit instead of middle class and underprivileged. This pattern of destruction from 1970s for humanistic problems and destruction of cultural sources that are becoming more and scarcer was criticized and eventually abandoned. A group believes that the reasons for this phenomenon are not clear, but it is more complex to name a specific factor. But local governments typically promote the development of gentrification. Because investment in neighborhoods, equal collecting taxes. As property value increases, the tax rate goes up (Figure 7).



Source: Shaker Ardekani, 2011

Figure 7. Local government's agreement reason with gentrification

These taxes are used for provision and providing basic urban services such as road maintenance, police and fire stations. This process in addition to improving the texture, causes prevention of discharging, crime prevention, appropriate servicing, providing facilities, strengthening infrastructure, preserving and promoting the identity and values of traditional architecture and urbanism, reducing the per capita cost of living in cities with increasing density, endogenous development and improving the quality of urban image and landscape (Khajeh Deloe, 1997) as well as causing social-economic prosperity for new residents, textures and cities. In addition, it accompanies great added value for national and local government through increasing property taxes (Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia - Gentrification). So, these governments welcome and support gentrification and provide necessary bed for attracting capital and attention of the privileged classes. Most of the new professionals who had moved to the suburbs tend to be located in downtown (Curl, 2002). Professionals and artists are currently looking for large and cheap spaces for their jobs (Zukin, 1988). Also, women pay attention to the downtown due to better access to job opportunities and proximity to public transportation systems. In addition, because many suburbia retirees do not need their large house in suburbs and are more interested in cultural places inside of the city, select these neighborhoods for the rest of their lives.

Preparation process of gentrification for historical textures of Ardakan city

Urban historical textures are parts of the national and cultural legacy of a country that not only in terms of aesthetic, are continuation of collective memories, but also due to being the residence of millions of people, are valuable. However, these textures for economic, social and managerial reasons contain negative characteristics such as image and landscape chaos, lack of proper access, lack of urban facilities and equipment, disturbances in social and economic structure and physical deterioration; that leads to evacuation of large populations of these textures. In fact the main limitation of the historical urban texture, especially in the central parts of cities is getting out of cycle and economic life of city. In simple terms, the loss of economic and financial justification causes capital flight and lack of investment from these areas. But for gentrification of historical texture of Ardakan city which can be named "the acceptability of texture in public opinion" and known as a

synonym of "improving the quality of living environment for residents and citizens", requires a series of goals and strategies for promoting social acceptance of this valuable urban area; goals and strategies that should be properly selected and cover micro and macro scale and in each phase become smaller to account for most of the texture problems if not all of them. Therefore the following purpose can be considered as the ultimate goal to achieve gentrification.

Macro goal

Regenerating and revitalizing planning and reasonable texture discipline, balanced distribution of facilities and services in relation to urban per capita and functions, and as a result proportional distribution of population in this area of city in harmony with the whole city in order to achieve the desired environmental and appropriate spatial - physical structures for residents living in accordance with the cultural - historical - social value of the area. Clearly the above statement is very macro and general which for implementation should be divided into subsection (micro goals) and the strategies and measures should be taken into account for achieving them. The following statements can be scrutinized:

Micro goals

- Stabilization, empowerment and demographic development of texture.
- Preservation of historical value and spatial restoration and their performance.
- Organizing texture from physical, economic, social, cultural, service, health and environmental aspects.

Operational goals

At the lowest level, goals and operational strategies are located which come from micro goals and are quickly applied in the texture. Therefore, the most fundamental action at lowest scale in the texture, is maintaining its original inhabitants, if possible preventing them to migrate out of the texture. In the next step addressing physical, economic, social, cultural, urban service, health and environmental issues of the whole texture is important. Because provides necessary ground and framework to re-establish the dignity of the texture.

Physical

- Reforming roads and access network and enhancing their service
- Providing efficient access routes to various parts of the texture to estimate the minimum required Cavalry access as well as the entering of the vehicles of the urban service equipment to texture to provide at least some access to improve crisis management in the texture.
- Making up for deficit and shortage of urban per capita uses and services in the texture.
- Identifying and separating all the valuable and historical buildings, axes and collections and their buffers in texture and separating different parts of deteriorated and historical parts and referring the affairs to its relevant organizations (Municipality, Cultural Heritage Organization etc).
- Using ruined and abandoned spaces to make up for the deficit of public green space and other urban uses per capita in the texture.

- Construction of affordable residential units with good quality instead of dilapidated and non useful areas.
- Destruction and renovation of old areas with no historical and cultural values.
- Using new techniques of construction with light and resistant structure and promoting its culture.
- Changing the function of buildings that are obsolete, such as water reservoirs, caravanserais, public baths and ... to needed uses and functions in the texture.
- Repairing and restoration of usable buildings that have got at least some strength to live.
- Destruction and renovation of buildings which are economical for recovery and restoration and replacing them with robust and efficient buildings.
- Body-building projects proportional to the texture for creating desirable perspective and image of the streets and squares of texture.

Economic

- Establishment of shopping centers and retail business area in the texture in order to provide needs of residents.
- Economic empowerment of residents by creating jobs for them.
- Training and support in reviving traditional crafts workshops among residents of the texture.
- Creating markets for supply, display and selling handicrafts produced in texture.
- Entrepreneurship for housewives.
- Transferring government and absorbing agencies to prone areas of the texture.
- Providing facilities and certain exemption for investors of service and industry sector of the texture.
- Advertising to enhance fame and popularity of the cities with rich textures (City Branding).
- Changing the historical useless spaces to tourist places.

Above mentioned cases causes money to flow into the texture and increase the circulation of capital in it; and since money and capital in texture is increased demand for living and activity in it becomes more.

Social

- Supporting the establishment of NGO's in texture in order to transmit problems and residents' comments to officials of urban management and their influence in taken decisions.
- Providing facilities and means of research for individuals and families residing in the texture.
- Identifying areas prone to crime and possible elimination of social disorder and crime from the texture

Cultural

- Motivating the stay of the original inhabitants of the texture to reduce immigration from it.
- Imposing penalties and criteria for the owners of dilapidated and inefficient spaces to organize the mentioned spaces.
- Obligating owners to provide a favorable view for their buildings.
- Obligating owners to provide their structural safety and, if necessary, repair and strengthen them.

- Obligating owners to provide health and welfare conditions in standard minimum of the society for their property.
- Holding literacy classes in mosques and religious sites to promote residents' culture.
- Construction of student dormitories or similar usages in texture to non-native people to learn more about the texture and to the original residents and natives to have tolerance toward non-original residents.
- Determining appropriate conditions and facilities for owners who allocate their land to needed Usages.

Urban Services

- Designing appropriate urban networks of facilities and services for texture.
- Giving more support and establishing more amenities and facilities to texture schools.

Health and Environmental

- Reducing pollution and collecting waste and building garbage with residents of the texture partnership and cooperation.
- Health control and services to fight harmful animals and vermin (Shaker Ardekani, 2008).

Clearly these measures will not ever happen spontaneously but require the presence of government as the main driver of development, the largest and the most powerful executive organization in the country (both in terms of expertise and funding). Due to the reasons enumerated above and for the fact that the issues of historical and deteriorated textures are certainly evident to all those involved and in charge and administrators of reform and renovation in the country, But so far any effective action to solve or at least lessen it has not been taken, it Can be realized that the urbanism system of the country needs a basic change in planning approach in national, regional, urban scales, urban design and urban management in order to improves the dysfunctional conditions of the textures. Considering the above points and for preventing further loss of quality and life standards in the texture, preventing the spread of deterioration of the texture, enhancing quality of life and acceptability to live in it, improving the status of the residents from the economic and social aspects such as employment opportunities and income and physical conditions of housing safety and their enjoyment from the urban infrastructure and basic services, changes in Urbanism system of the country, content, method of preparing and implementing urban development plans and creating participation of citizens and especially residents of the texture, as an essential solution and a new approach in preparing and implementing urban development plans are required (Majedi, 2010).

This requires a determination and serious decision to change the system of policymaking of urbanism of country and even modifying urbanism system relationships with other organizations of the country (parliament, the Interior ministry, cultural heritage organizations, municipalities, city and village councils) and most important of all with citizens. In this regard, in macro decision-making and decision-taking of urbanism system (policymaking) of country below changes and reforms will be constructive and effective:

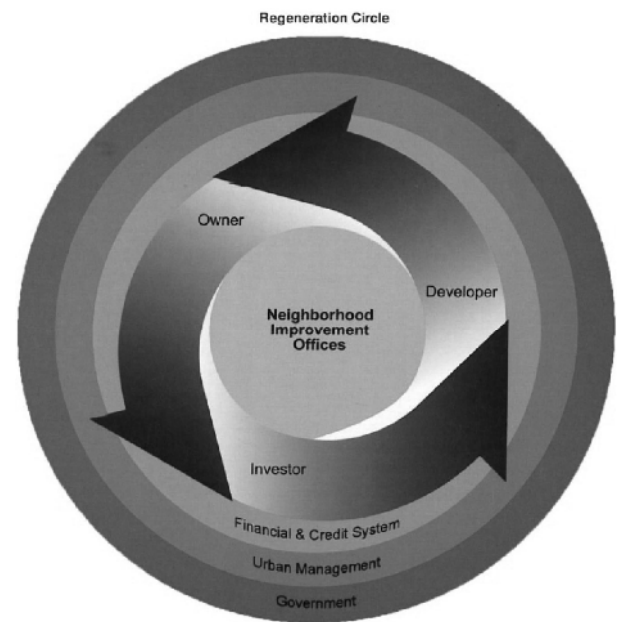
- Determining the way of needed relationship between urban plans from a very large scale to a low scale.
- Proposing and ratification of specific criteria in dealing with deteriorated textures on the basis of type, conditions and amount of deterioration and relying on conditions and amount of providing safety for the residents of the texture in a way to determine and establish an approach and action according to the rules after texture recognition.
- Proposing and ratification of rules based on obligating organizations and agencies related to urban management and intervention in urban affairs to employ specialized personnel and employees in affairs of planning and urban design with an amount of acceptable efficient experience and useful practical and functional background and if possible local to be familiar with and obliged to the culture and traditions of the place.
- Obligating organizations related to urban management to review the experiences of other countries and cities in dealing with the old deteriorated textures and its compatibility with the city texture and determining optimal strategies (Kalantari Khlylabad and Aqasafary, 2009).

Summary and Conclusion

City is a living being. Intervention in the urban textures without considering residents is not possible. Urban renovations that are associated with population displacement often result in irreversible social outcomes. In addition to this, lack of attention to cultural, social and ethnic characteristics of residents in the new construction could indirectly cause the inhabitants to leave the texture. So considering the following cases can largely prevent migration within the city due to the renovation:

- Doing deep social, cultural and economic studies before design.
- Awareness of needs of residents and using their views in the design of housing.
- Applying traditional patterns of housing as far as possible.
- Prevention of forced evictions.
- Seeking participation of the residents in all phases of renovation.

But gentrification of historical textures of Ardakan that for some reasons is now part of the deteriorated textures of the country, in its most elementary definition is "the acceptability of the texture in public opinion" and is a synonym of "improving the quality of living environment for the residents and citizens". It was noted that many issues are involved in the loss of dignity and degradation of environmental quality of the texture: the idea of the inappropriateness of the texture for living and breeding children, weakness and lack of proportionality in distribution of urban infrastructure and services across the city (the weakness of social justice), inappropriate ground for investments and decrease of cash flow and turnover in the texture and ... are only samples of reasons for declining acceptance for living in the texture (that each of the above itself can be cause or effect of other factors). Escaping from this challenge requires a serious determination of the government, the urban authorities and custodians of the renovation and improvement of the urban texture. Clearly it will not take place without involvement and participation of citizens that are the most important and basic groups facing the



Source: Aeeni, 2009

Figure 8. Conceptual model of regeneration and improving quality of life for old and deteriorated texture

deteriorated urban areas. The most important solution and procedure to gentrifying textures that have lost their integrity and dignity is including the role of people in renovation process of urban textures. Reforming the top to bottom structure of Urbanism system of the country, redefinition of the role and position of urban textures renovation plans in the hierarchy of plans from the largest scale to the lowest and compelling the participatory urban plans in the framework of national laws with previous cases listed above (physical, economic, social, cultural, urban service, health and environmental issues of the whole texture) can have an effective role in improving the living quality in the texture and consequently cause acceptability and gentrification. (Figure 8).

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