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REVIEW PAPER

## A systematic literature review on community relocation in the historic urban contexts

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### ABSTRACT

Community relocation could be voluntary or forced, but such change in the composition of inhabitants can endanger the historic urban context and its cultural significance. So, finding the answer to these questions is crucial: What are the main factors for relocation in historic urban contexts, and are these areas affected differently? This paper presented and discussed the results of a systematic literature review of international English-language publications. Databases such as Scopus, ICOMOS Open Archive, and UNESCO digital library were investigated to reveal the main factors for community relocation in the historic urban contexts. Results revealed a frequent focus in metropolitan regions and major cities worldwide between 1987 and 2021. The multiplicity of non-environmental relocation factors was also noticeable. Despite the commonalities of factors for community relocation worldwide, the type and effect of the relocation differed between the historic urban context and other urban contexts. The interaction of two main factors, namely economics and policies, was found to affect the process of community relocation in the historic urban context the most. Forced relocation was more predominant than voluntary relocation in historic urban contexts. However, the existing relations between internal and external factors that drive relocation must be further investigated. This research identified and charted how the local community relocation in historic urban contexts that are reflected in scholars' publications. It also defined a theoretical framework on the factors of community relocation in these contexts and their interrelation, which is vital for both urban and heritage studies as well as planning practices.

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## INTRODUCTION

The relationship between the local community and cultural heritage, tangible and intangible, is fundamental to conserve the historic urban context. The relocation and/or exodus of communities have proven to contribute to decreased care and investment (Evans and Grosicki, 2017; Hollander et al., 2018), and degradation and abandonment (Ryberg-Webster, 2016; Tintèra et al., 2018), which can lead to urban decline. In urban literature, the urban decline is often associated with reduced population and decreased quality in the city, especially in neighbourhoods (Hollander, 2013). The impact of this phenomenon is assumed to be more destructive in historic urban contexts, as these are areas inhabited over centuries, where the bonds between man and environment grew in consolidation. Varied international charters, conventions, and recommendations such as the European Charter of the Architectural Heritage, 1975, HUL 2011 and Burra Charter, emphasize the importance of heritage conservation, tangible and intangible, to the sustainability of communities in historic urban contexts. Although the relocation of communities is noted to occur more frequently in historic urban contexts (Abastante et al., 2020), seldom is the research focused on revealing and discussing its factors (Xie and Batunova, 2019). Yet, when timely identified, the factors can be tackled and the relocation or exodus of communities prevented, and resources could be spent differently (Ryberg-Webster and Ashley, 2018). The relocation of communities concerns their change in residence, which can either be voluntary or involuntary. Involuntary relocation occurs by force (Goetz, 2002; Hatch, 2021), while voluntary mobility is the household's choice (Hatch, 2021). But when it occurs in a historic urban context, its impacts could be long-lasting and destructive for both the communities and heritage conservation, as their values are often interdependent. By means of a systematic literature review, this article seeks to recognize the factors of population relocation in historic urban contexts and their possible differences from other urban contexts. Additionally, this study wants to recognize how this phenomenon has been investigated. Although various countries have differences in social and economic conditions, are there any commonalities among the relocation factors in the historic urban contexts? So, the paper is structured as follows: First, the research method

is introduced. Second, the outcomes are explained in two separate sections. The first section presents the chronological, geographical, demographic, and methodological distribution of research evidence. The second section deduces a theoretical framework, defining the factors of community relocation and their relations. For this purpose, the results from the literature review are purposely integrated and put out of context to facilitate theory development. This study has been carried out in Isfahan, Iran in 2021.

## METHODOLOGY

This research applied the qualitative method to perform a systematic literature review, taking as samples the publications available in the Scopus database, ICOMOS Open Archive, and UNESCO digital library until 2021. The publications were selected based on the use of keywords: "relocation", "neglect", "urban decline", "depopulation", "shrinkage", and "vacant" in either title, abstract, or keywords. By means of the snowball method, other publications referenced by these publications were also included in this literature review. Overall, 476 publications were identified, containing journal articles, book chapters, articles in conference proceedings, and workshop reports. The screening protocol, inclusion/exclusion criteria, and the process of its application are further detailed in the PRISMA diagram (Moher et al., 2009) (Fig. 1). Finally, 84 publications were selected for review and categorized, making use of Mendeley.

## RESULTS

### A. Overview of studies on Community Relocation in Historic Urban Context

In the first step of the analysis, the results are presented over time and place. There is growing attention to communities' relocation in historic urban contexts, particularly after 2014, summing up to a total of 67% publications (56 out of 84). The U.S studies are more constant, while European is more recent and intensive (Fig. 2). Asian studies are more scattered but present. The cities taken as case studies are mostly located in North America (36%) and Europe (33%), followed by Asia (19%) (Fig. 3). Particularly, Philadelphia (USA), Cleveland (USA), Lisbon (Portugal), Venice (Italy), and Istanbul (Turkey) have been chosen more as a case study in research evidence. Worth noting that in all research evidence,

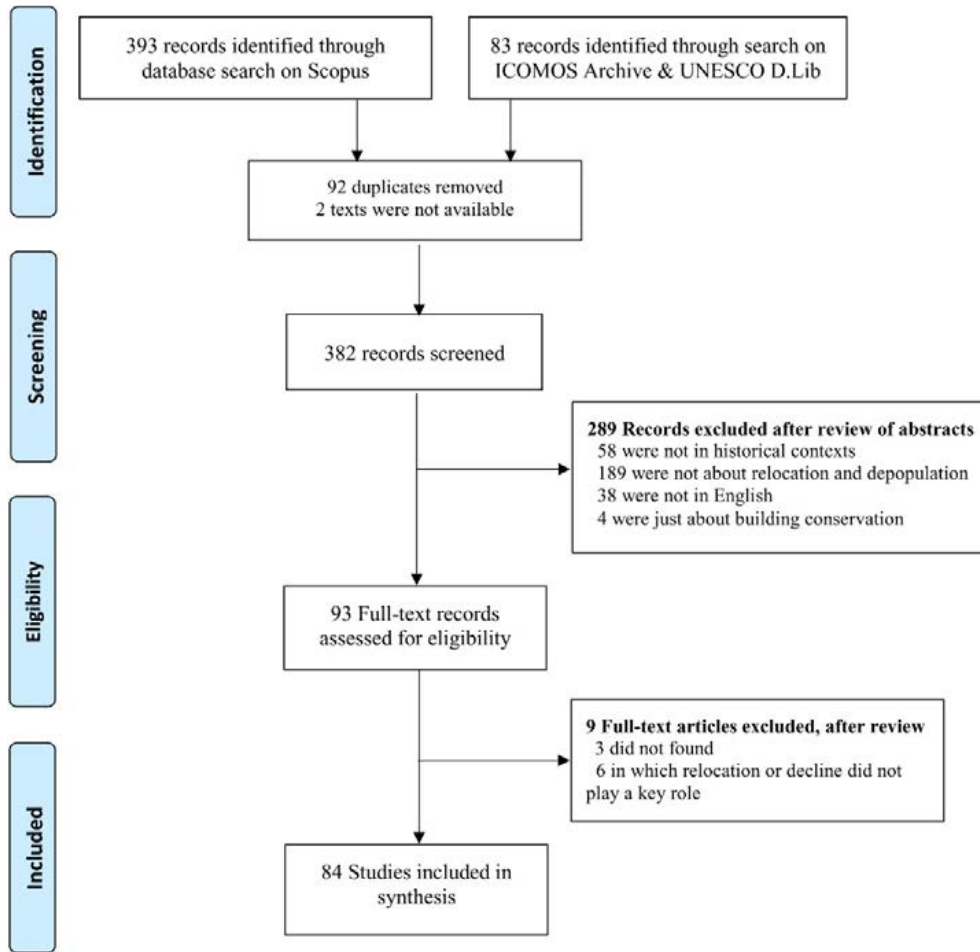


Fig. 1: PRISMA diagram of the literature search and final inclusion of publications

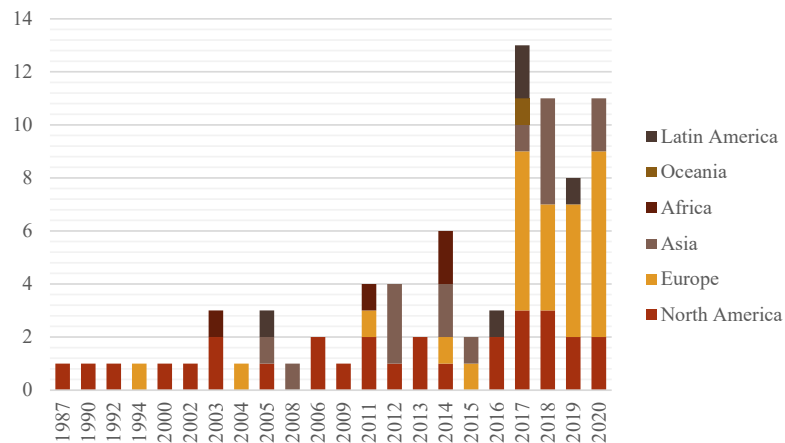


Fig. 2: Matching the place and time of the case studies



Fig. 3: Geographical distribution of case studies. Every orange dot represents a location.

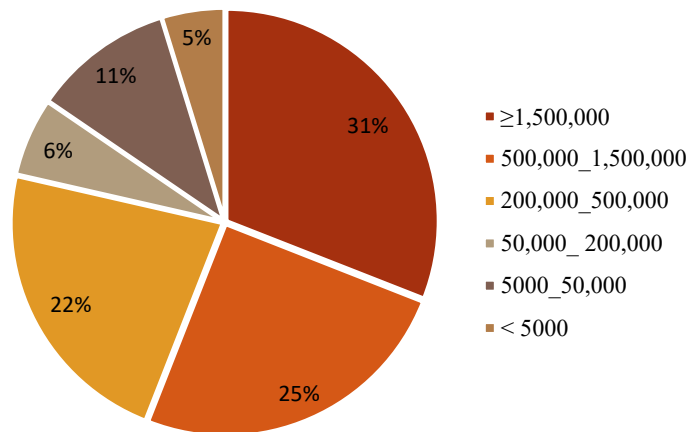


Fig. 4: Distribution of the publications concerning population statistics (Each case's population was brought from the country's national institute of statistics or United Nations data)

relocation has occurred during the 20th and/or 21st centuries.

When comparing publications focused on a specific case study, results revealed that the smaller the population, the fewer the publications (Fig. 4). In fact, 56% of the cities taken as case studies have a population over 500,000, and among them, 31% have a population of over 1.5 million.

Community relocation in historic urban contexts

was not the only term used by scholars. Instead, (population) 'decline' was highly used, followed by urban decline which is related to urban shrinkage (Kitchin and Thrift, 2009; Kaufman, 2012; Hollander *et al.*, 2018; Mínguez *et al.*, 2019; Xie and Batunova, 2019). Terms such as 'depopulation', 'population loss', or 'relocate' directly refer to the change in population (Salvati and De Rosa, 2014; Yakubu *et al.*, 2017; Hollander *et al.*, 2018; Tintěra *et al.*, 2018; Lopes *et*

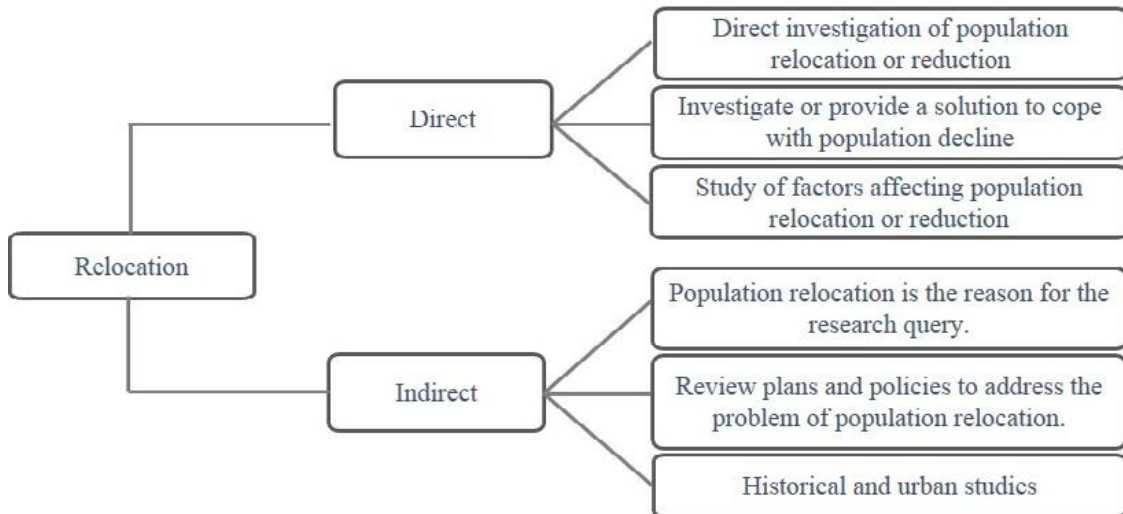


Fig. 5: Categories of addressing community relocation in historic urban contexts

al., 2019; Sampson et al., 2019; Medeiros and van der Zwet, 2020); While, others like ‘abandoned’, derelict’, or ‘vacant’, address its effects and consequences (Davis, 2002; McCabe, 2005; Knowles, 2009; Boussaa, 2014; Huang and Chen, 2014; Appler, 2016; Arslanli et al., 2017; Ryberg-Webster and Kinahan, 2017; Bose, 2018; Fischer and Osterreicher, 2019; Kim and Lee, 2020). Terms such as ‘exodus’ or ‘displace’ were found referenced when addressing forced relocation and describing the type of movement (Xie and Batunova, 2019; Ferreira et al., 2020; Sequera and Nofre, 2020; Torkington and Ribeiro, 2022). Terms such as ‘crowding out’, ‘downgrading’ and ‘deportation’, were the least mentioned among others (Berényi, 1994; Ferreira et al., 2020; Jover and Díaz-Parra, 2020). So literature generally addressed the negative aspects and effects of community relocation. Most case studies (76%) have considered related changes over time. But less than half (44%) have brought up the demographic statistics (Axenov, 2014; Mínguez et al., 2019). Community relocation in publications has been considered in two categories: direct (43%) and indirect (57 %) (Fig. 5). For example, the article by Griffin et al. (2014), which examines the solution to the problem of a declining population, was classified as indirect since the demographic change was mentioned but not researched.

Direct studies have used qualitative, quantitative, and combined research methods. Qualitative methods

ranged from in-depth to semi-in-depth interviews (Burgos-Vigna, 2017; Zanini, 2017; Ryberg-Webster and Ashley, 2018), focused group interviews (Akkar Ercan, 2011), and archival research analysing maps, images, and documents (Bowen, 2003; Phillips et al., 2012; Ng, 2015; Ryberg-Webster, 2016). Quantitative methods ranged from questionnaires (Chen and Yang, 2018), and statistics (Nadalin and Iglori, 2017; Hollander et al., 2018; Ferreira et al., 2020; Kim and Lee, 2020). The mixed method uses a combination of the previous two (Hwang, 2014; Tintéra et al., 2018; Lopes et al., 2019; Mínguez et al., 2019). Also, the process of studies is based on questions, hypotheses, or both. Question-based studies with the mixed method have the largest share of direct studies. No hypothesis-based studies used mixed methods for data collection (Fig. 6).

### B. Typology of community relocation factors in the historic urban context

This section comprehensively introduces the factors that affect community relocation in historic urban contexts. These factors take different forms but are subdivided into two main categories based on their origin: environmental and non-environmental (Table 1).

#### B.1. Environmental Factors

Two environmental factors, namely natural

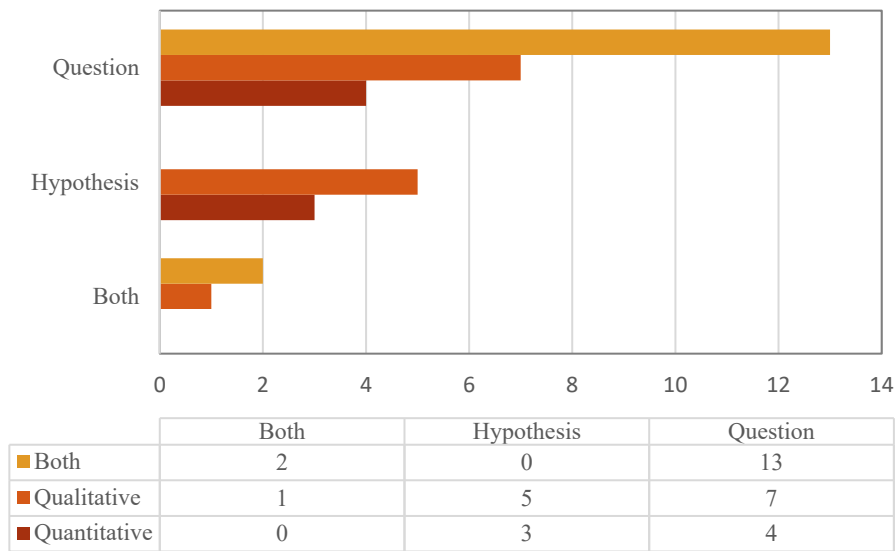


Fig. 6: Comparison of research types and data collection methods in direct studies

disasters and location, have caused population displacement (forced relocation), from historic urban contexts. Hurricanes like Katrina and Rita in New Orleans (Barnett and Beckman, 2006), earthquakes (Baiocchi et al., 2017; Caffio, 2018) and landslides (Yapeng, 2018) are examples of the first factor. The location of the historic ‘Piazzo’ area of Biella has created problems resulting in dissatisfaction among residents and their relocation, mostly due to its access and lack of adaptation to the current lifestyle are the main (Abastante et al., 2020). Despite the effect of environmental factors, local communities and their attachment to cultural heritage are proven to have an undeniable role in keeping the community away from relocation. For example, some residents in Princeville, North Carolina, have been displaced due to several floods. But the deep attachment between the locals and their ancestral legacy powered them to fight against forced relocation. As a result, they returned to their homes after consolidation and reconstruction (Phillips et al., 2012).

**B.2. Non-environmental Factors**

*Economic change:* A significant part of these changes includes financial crises. Financial crises are sometimes the initiator and the major cause of population exodus, and sometimes its aggravator (Abastante et al., 2020), as it has consequences

such as reduced job opportunities (Greenbaum, 1990; Hollander, 2013; Tintěra et al., 2018). Reduction of job opportunities and income will decrease micro-and macro-scale investments, even in building maintenance (Chai and Choi, 2011), and increase poverty in addition to the progression of urban decline. For instance, the Great Depression in the United States has been one of the causes of demographic change in historic neighbourhoods (Ryberg-Webster, 2016). Industrial change, which is a branch of economic change, is effective on population decline in historic urban contexts, especially if this change is related to a transition from production to consumption (Gosling, 1992; Hwang, 2014). Examples include the industrial decline in Youngstown and the relocation of middle-class white households to the surrounding countryside (Morckel, 2017) or the post-industrial urban decline in Philadelphia (Davis, 2002). Change in industrial patterns sometimes leads to rising unemployment, abandoned spaces, and problems in the surrounding neighbourhoods (London, 2003). It has sometimes occurred in the form of deindustrialization in historic urban contexts. For example, the closure of factories and related companies as well as their relocation from the Gongrencun region to the outskirts of Shenyang, China, occurred at the behest of the local government and was intended to reduce pollution

and improve economic conditions. Nevertheless, it destroyed job opportunities and left industrial heritage buildings vacant (Chai and Choi, 2011). In contrast, industrialization attracted people from small cities and villages to large cities (Lung Ping Yee *et al.*, 2005) and set the stage for community replacement.

*Policy:* Political decisions on a national and international scale, which seem to have macro impacts, have an undeniable role in relocating the original inhabitants. International politics, of which war is an outcome, not only have cross-border implications but also internal consequences and conflicts for the countries involved. For example, World War II and its political consequences, such as racial discrimination, the expulsion of Jews, the rise of communists to power, and exile, led to increased migration from the historic city of Budapest (Berényi, 1994; Szívós, 2015). The Arab-Jewish war in Palestine forced almost the entire Arab population to leave the historic city of Jaffa (Aleksandrowicz *et al.*, 2017). So, the effect of some political issues, like the war, on the community relocation from different contexts is the same. Sometimes, gaining independence has had economic consequences and consequently a negative impact on the population of historic areas. In Estonia, for example, after the secession of the Soviet Union and the establishment of independence, the Valga city's industry deteriorated due to the Soviet troops' departure, hence acting as one of the factors that reduced the population of this city (Tintõra *et al.*, 2018). In some cases, despite positive approaches and goals, the domestic policies of governments, such as desegregation and policies to end racial discrimination (Bowen, 2003; Heathcott, 2006; Nix and Weiner, 2011; Spirou *et al.*, 2020) or to change immigration law (Ryberg-Webster, 2019) have led to the displacement of social groups and the emptying of historic sections. It is worth mentioning that many of these communities, such as the black community of Jackson Ward (Bowen, 2003), had adapted to the existing conditions and grown within themselves. But with the change of laws, they lost a significant part of their population, and their economic situation also changed. In the United States, for example, with the change and advancement of civil and legal rights, some educational and employment restrictions were removed, which led to the departure and displacement of the population, especially the youth and the more affluent classes (Longoria and Rogers,

2013). Changes in spending leisure time among the middle and lower classes after the fall of fascism and the privatization and liberalization of the banking system in Portugal in 1984 led to the possibility of rapid local housing expansion on the outskirts of Lisbon and a reduction in the population of the historic urban context (Sequera and Nofre, 2020).

*Development strategies:* urban development strategies and policies are crucial in community relocation from historic urban contexts. In many cases, these strategies, which are often governmental top-down decisions, do not consider local communities (Chen and Yang, 2018). For example, the order to install sprinklers in homes in Seattle led to the eviction of many tenants by landlords and the emptying of homes (Ryberg-Webster, 2019). Also, the permission for home evacuation by a landlord after six months and an increase in tenants displacement in Portugal (Torkington and Ribeiro, 2022), and the unsuccessful experience of urban renewal in the Woodlands (Gillick, 2017) are some examples of inattention to this serious issue. Here, developments leading to the relocation are divided into two main groups:

1: *The development regardless of the historic urban context and its cultural significance:* Examples of this group include urban renewal (Greenbaum, 1990; Gillick, 2017), the threat of demolition of part of the city, like what happened in Treasure Hill, Taipei (Ng, 2015), and the development of other areas regardless of its adverse effects on the historic urban context. The latter, in particular, acts as an incentive to relocate, especially by middle- and upper-income individuals, and to accelerate the decline in the historic centre (Arslanli *et al.*, 2017). The growth of retailing in the modern part and the increase in suburban shopping malls in Boston resulted in the emptying of the historic centre, which was once the retail core of the city (Cutrufo, 2011). In João Pessoa, the city expansion has been followed by new urban centres establishment and gradually reduced the economic influence of the historic primary nucleus (Raony Silva and Donegan, 2019). Suburban development (Gillick, 2017), even the construction of new houses or villas on the outskirts (Boussaa, 2014; Davoodi and Dağlı, 2019), is a factor of community relocation from historic urban contexts. Particularly governmental actions for development regardless of problems in the historic urban context (Clarke and Corten, 2011; D Boussaa, 2014; Kim and Lee,



Table 1: Typology of community relocation factors in the historic urban context

Environmental Factors		Non-environmental Factors							
Natural disasters	Location	Economic change		Policy		Development strategies		Discrimination	Dissatisfaction
		Financial crises	Industrial change	National	International	Regardless of the historic urban context	Concerning the historic urban context		
E.g. Hurricanes	E.g. Difficult access due to location	E.g. Income change	E.g. deindustrialization	E.g. desegregation	E.g. War	E.g. Urban renewal	E.g. Gentrification, Touristification		

2020). In some cases, the negligence in development projects, such as the construction of highways and routes which would pass through the historic urban context or cut off its communication with other sections, caused a vast population displacement or even the stagnation of the historic urban context (Bowen, 2003; Nix and Weiner, 2011; Arslanli *et al.*, 2017; Gillick, 2017; Spirou *et al.*, 2020). Sometimes, convenient location and economic-spatial values of the historic urban context are the factors that create pressure. Since poor communities cannot make the best economic and social use of their land, their neighbourhoods are often the target group for economic development projects (Werkneh, 2017). Some consequences of applying such a policy to San Francisco are rising land and rental prices or rapid development of tourism, leading to the continued exodus of Chinese ethnic groups and the threat to the neighbourhood’s authenticity (Xie and Batunova, 2019). Urban development projects like urban refurbishment (Maher and Haas, 1987) or renewal projects (Keating, 2000), displaced the deprived community in favour of the affluent one. In some cases, the government considers the historic urban context as a source of obstacles to urban development. For example, under the pretext of the population increase and the emergence of social and health problems, they have displaced the community to new houses outside the historic neighbourhood (Queirós and Borges Pereira, 2018). Rising crime rates are other pretexts for destroying some historic urban contexts and in particular residential complexes. So, the active social system that supports the residents is socially and psychologically destroyed. In Techwood, families who lived close to neighbours, friends, and relatives and formed networks of trust and social capital were displaced and could not return after redevelopment (Keating, 2000).

2: *Development aimed at improving the historic urban context:* Some projects to improve, rehabilitate, or develop the historic urban context lead to displacement or increase social pressure. Because regardless of the importance of preserving the social fabric, their focus was to protect the physical one (Ammon, 2018; Yang and Hsu, 2018). In the historic centre of Quito, Ecuador, the implementation of public space recovery policies after its inscription on the UNESCO World Heritage List, led to the expulsion of informal street businesses from the historic urban context (Burgos-Vigna, 2017). The regeneration project in the Harlem area, New York, caused the loss of dignity of people who were forced to leave the community in which they lived (Werkneh, 2017). Even state-led urban development policies in historic Mexico City have pushed up land and housing prices, making it difficult for low-income people to continue living in these areas (López-Morales *et al.*, 2016). Some regeneration and gentrification projects, which are classified as modernization and development policies, have been accompanied by working-class replacement with the middle and upper classes (Akkar Ercan, 2011; Ammon, 2018; Mínguez *et al.*, 2019; Jover and Díaz-Parra, 2020). Gentrification has numerous material and social aspects. But the reduction, relocation, and fragmentation of social groups and the elimination of small businesses, which contribute to society’s intangible heritage, are among the main negative consequences of gentrification in the historic urban context (Atkinson, 2004; Werkneh, 2017; Ammon, 2018). López-Morales *et al.*, (2016) indicate a variety of gentrification projects that have taken place in some Latin American historic centres and have relocated social groups. Axenov (2014) in comparison between post-socialist and western cities, argues that gentrification and social degradation occur in post-socialist cities simultaneously. On the

contrary, the two processes occur successively in Western cities. Since gentrified neighbourhoods are often selected by the residents of the same city for living, not by people of other places (Atkinson, 2004), gentrification projects are more repel the existing population than attract new ones to the city. In many cases, the term touristification is used in conjunction with gentrification. Scholars, such as Zanini (2017), refer to it as tourism gentrification. In some cases, such as Lisbon, the increasing demand for tourist accommodation has led to gentrification (Lopes *et al.*, 2019). Still, others distinguish them. Sequera and Nofre (2020) consider gentrification and touristification as two separate categories with fundamental differences because the type of behaviour and relationship of the tourists in the neighbourhood differs from the people who live in it. Jover and Díaz-Parra (2020) argue that the relationship between gentrification, transnational gentrification, and touristification is dialectic. They claim that tourists and lifestyle migrants are parts of the same phenomenon, but their impact on urban space is different. Gentrification seeks to create a place for the residence of social groups, while touristification looks for commercial and economic goals, and the presence of the community does not make sense (Jover and Díaz-Parra, 2020). It is clear that the target group of gentrification projects has a long-term presence, unlike touristification. So, in the present study, cases concerning tourism gentrification or an increase in tourist demand are classified as touristification. The growth of guesthouses alongside traditional hotel management in cities like Lisbon is considerable, which evidences the increase of touristification in this city. Although the process of establishing guesthouses in the historic centre of Lisbon boosted its economy, rising housing prices have led to the growth of migration from the historic centre. This immigrant group is often the working class and pensioners (Ferreira *et al.*, 2020). Interestingly, in some instances, touristification has even displaced a population that previously inhabited the historic district through gentrification. In Seville, Spain, for example, after 2010, tourism has displaced those residents who replaced the working class in the 1990s through gentrification (Mínguez *et al.*, 2019). In Lisbon, touristification has thwarted the efforts of gentrification and studentification (Sequera and Nofre, 2020). Excessive tourist presence and its

consequences have led to a decrease in the population in varied historic contexts (Dominguez, 2017; Zanini, 2017; Yang and Hsu, 2018; Bertocchi and Visentin, 2019; Grima, 2017). In addition to reducing the number of locals and displacing them, tourism has other effects such as increasing the presence of non-locals, reducing the sense of security and comfort of the residents, increasing noise pollution, increasing the cost of living in the historic centre, increasing housing prices and reducing the number of available houses, decreasing non-tourism-related jobs and abolition of traditional retail and local shops and their replacement by modern restaurants and bars (Mu Zhe and Xinhao Wang, 2012; Ng, 2015; Dominguez, 2017; Zanini, 2017; Bertocchi and Visentin, 2019; Jover and Díaz-Parra, 2020). Even environmental consequences such as pollution of water resources due to population growth and consumption could be regarded as the consequences of touristification (Mu Zhe and Xinhao Wang, 2012). Thus, there is a risk of changing local customs and culture, reducing the residents' sense of belonging, creating dissatisfaction among community members, and losing tangible and intangible heritage. Touristification, as one of the newest methods of development, has political dimensions as well. These include the possibility of attracting transnational capital by local governments and intensifying regional competition between cities (Sequera and Nofre, 2020). The economic profitability of governments is one of the reasons why the stability of local communities in these sectors is not a priority for policymakers. Interestingly, tourism causes the displacement of all three poor, middle, and wealthy classes living in the historic region. This is how an unstable population forces a fixed population to move.

*Discrimination:* Discrimination can come from the policies of governments or people's attitudes. The importance of this becomes even more vivid when we know that race even affects property valuations (Werkneh, 2017). Since historic urban contexts are home to minorities in many cases, displacement due to discrimination is also considerable in these areas. The racist attitudes toward religious or racial minorities (Todeschini, 2003; Toprak *et al.*, 2017) and events such as the White flight in Cleveland (Ryberg-Webster and Ashley, 2018) are examples of human attitudes found researched in literature. Governmental order for the Japanese to leave the Chinese neighbourhood

of Seattle (Ryberg-Webster, 2019), discriminatory treatment by the local federal aid agency of Latin smokers in Ybor and exacerbating the consequences of unemployment there (Greenbaum, 1990), and destruction of public housing belonging to blacks in Harlem that once embodied black culture and art (Werkneh, 2017) are some examples of governmental discriminatory policies. Thus in many cases, the government's discriminatory attitude or the change of discriminatory policies, such as desegregation, have been associated with economic consequences that have caused the community relocation.

*The dissatisfaction of residents:* The feeling of dissatisfaction is the outcome of various factors. Simultaneously, it is a fundamental factor of community displacement in the historic urban context and its acceleration. Not allocating enough portion for the community to comment on the historic urban context, like the impossibility of repairing houses, is an example (Hwang, 2014). Creating new architectural structures in conflict with the historical sector, entry of strangers and cars into the environment, and intensifying the feeling of alienation among residents is another (M. Amin, 2018). This factor is significant because the evidence shows that lack of interest in the living environment is one of the reasons for the reduction of its care and its subsequent abandonment (Heathcott, 2006). Some historic urban contexts, such as the historic centre of Sao Paulo, have failed to prevent the spread of urban problems and consequently have lost their appeal to the community (Nadalin and Iglori, 2017). However, creating a vibrant and dynamic environment or having an attachment to the place, despite the environment's existing difficulties, has prevented relocation (Greenbaum, 1990; Phillips et al., 2012; Kristianova and Jaszczak, 2020).

## DISCUSSION

Environmental factors are general and repeated worldwide. But, the dominance of non-environmental factors is quite explicit. The adaptation of the various factors and the timing of relocation at different points lead us to other common factors behind them: World Wars I and II, which had a direct impact on policies and consequently discrimination, especially in Europe (Berényi, 1994; Szívós, 2015), Post-World War II developments such as urban renewal and the

expansion of suburbanization (Gillick, 2017), historic centres' evacuation and migrating to new areas due to changing lifestyles and standards in the twentieth century and the inconsistency of historic districts with it (Burgos-Vigna, 2017; Zanini, 2017; Abastante et al., 2020; Sequera and Nofre, 2020; Boussaa, 2021), dominance of car use (Gonzalez et al., 2005; Sequera and Nofre, 2020) and inconsistency of access routes to historic areas with this increase of car use (Abastante et al., 2020), increased traffic in historic districts (Arslanli et al., 2017), even the change of commercial transportation systems (London, 2003; Naeem, 2008; Arslanli et al., 2017) and, finally, increasing attention to the physical characteristics of historic cities and their registration in UNESCO from the 1970s onwards had consequences such as touristification (Burgos-Vigna, 2017; Dominguez, 2017; Zanini, 2017; Yang and Hsu, 2018). Such evidence not only reveals the impact of the global community on the historic urban context but also shows the predictability of community relocation, which plays an essential role in urban heritage management. All these indicate the multidimensional nature of this process. Although the extent of relocation factors' impact in historic urban contexts is highly dependent on the characteristics of the context, like culture, geography, or politics, the findings show that relocation factors in historic urban contexts have commonalities worldwide as they have the same sources. The interaction of two main factors in the non-environmental category, namely economic change and policies, affects the process of community relocation and forms its factors in the historic urban context (Fig. 7).

The outcomes of this interrelationship increase the probability of relocation. Income reduction (London, 2003; Tintěra et al., 2018; Abastante et al., 2020), deficiencies in the historic sector and its decreased liveability (Clarke and Corten, 2011; Longoria and Rogers, 2013; Yakubu et al., 2017; Kim and Lee, 2020), the appeal of new development compared with the historic urban context (Gonzalez et al., 2005; Boussaa, 2014; Arslanli et al., 2017; Davoodi and Dağlı, 2019; Abastante et al., 2020), and even policies like gentrification and touristification have no result other than generating dissatisfaction among the community. The feeling that makes people leave this place. These factors

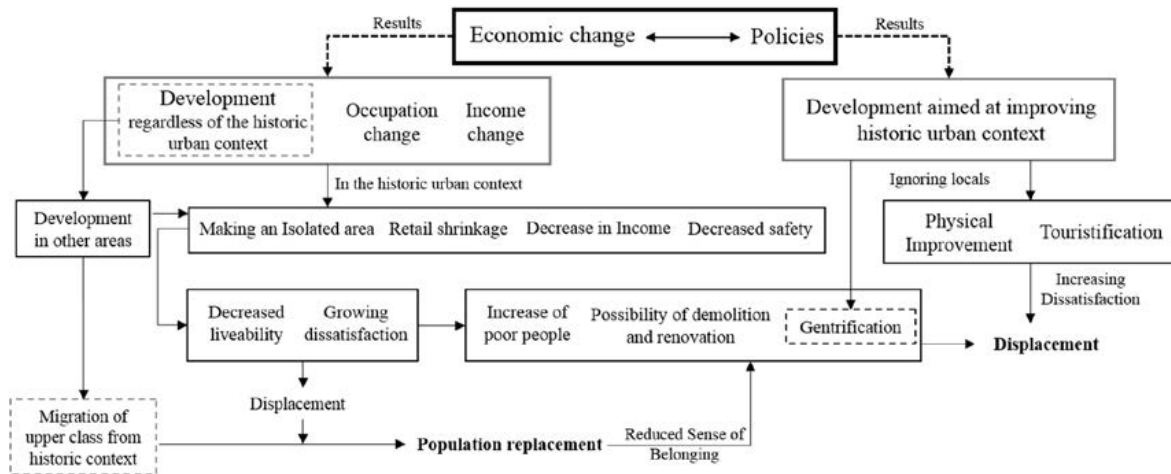


Fig. 7: The modality of interaction between economic change and policies on the relocation of historic urban context community

are generally the result of state decision-making, regardless of the locals and their right to participate (Keating, 2000; Hwang, 2014; López-Morales et al., 2016; Burgos-Vigna, 2017; M. Amin, 2018). While the consequences directly affect them. Population replacement is one of the outcomes of community relocation from a historic urban context. Replacement can happen several times, in an area and for various reasons, such as in the Latin Quarter in Ybor (Greenbaum, 1990). The significant point is that the replacement of different groups leads to a continuous change in the demographic structure of the historic urban context and reduces the sense of belonging. When the weaker strata replace the previous group, the conditions for the following replacement measures, such as gentrification, become more available (Akkar Ercan, 2011; Boussaa, 2014; Toprak et al., 2017). As the inhabitants of historic urban context move, the connections of place that define 'self' and 'community' break down (Phillips et al., 2012). Consequently, in addition to creating deteriorated and abandoned areas, it leads to the elimination of small and local businesses (Greenbaum, 1990; Cutrufo, 2011; Burgos-Vigna, 2017), the destruction of social networks and trust and hence social capital (Keating, 2000; Bowen, 2003; Xie and Batunova, 2019), and the threat to the authenticity and integrity of the historic urban context. The historic urban context is more prone to changes in its inhabitants' composition because of its differences. Besides general relocation factors

(like environmental factors, war, and discrimination), they encounter specific ones. For example, their structural features target them to implement special projects like clean-up and redevelopment. For example, gentrification and tourism not only do not preserve existing communities, but often displace them in favour of another group. The result is nothing but a transformation in the historic urban context's social structure. A comparison between the relocation of different social classes living in historic urban contexts elucidates that the upper classes can more easily change their residence, indicating they have a choice (Gosling, 1992; Akkar Ercan, 2011; Morckel, 2017; Toprak et al., 2017). But it is the poor and vulnerable groups who, even as conditions in the historic urban context improve, are more likely to be displaced and suffer economic, social, and psychological hardship (Atkinson, 2004). For example, tenants are more likely to be forcibly relocated than landlords (Ng, 2015; Chen and Yang, 2018; Torkington and Ribeiro, 2022); however, they are more attached to the place of residence than the owners who do not live there. The continued presence of people near the valuable heritages will generate a sense of belonging and attachment in these residents and thus encourage them to invest in and protect the legacies.

## CONCLUSION

The community relocation, which is often irreversible, threatens the social capital of the cities

and, in return, endangers the authenticity, integrity, and stability in the historic urban context. Although the factors influencing this type of relocation are multidimensional and diverse, they have a joint basis in different studies. The interaction between economic change and policies underlies the evolution of other factors. But the power of social structures and local connections resists displacement. So, future studies should simultaneously consider the context-based and general factors to recognize the relocation mechanism through direct and in-depth research. How and in what process these factors have caused the community relocation has not been investigated. By taking an internal perspective, the role of various contextual factors in this process, such as geography and culture, becomes apparent. In addition, the identification of internal and external forces and confrontation between them, which are less studied, would be investigated. Subsequent research should also examine the practical solutions and seek the best practices in dealing with this problem. The effect of relocation factors on historic urban contexts is different from other urban areas, and the possibility of displacement is more. The relocation of each social class affects community composition and threatens related assets, while maintenance of social cohesion is essential to preserve urban sustainability. Although the upper-class relocation seems voluntary, it often occurs due to deficiencies and problems in the historic urban context and thus forcibly. Additionally, it leads to an increase in low-income households and a decrease in investment in these areas. Some development strategies in historic centres, such as touristification, can displace all the locals regardless of their social class. Displacement, which is involuntary and sometimes encountered by the inhabitants' resistance, leads to loss of social networks, connections between residents, respect for individuals, and a sense of belonging. Undoubtedly, the 'feeling of dissatisfaction' is the significant feeling people experience during displacement from the historic urban context. These issues indicate the importance of considering local people and the effects of policy-making on a micro and macro scale. Given the research evidence and its characteristics, this paper also provides further suggestions for future studies. It is necessary to study this phenomenon on the scale of small-sized cities

and historic villages, as the existing publications have considered major cities appreciably. Statistical and historical information is essential in data collecting, and in-depth studies with qualitative approaches are required. The geographical distribution indicates the need for increased published articles, especially in Asia, Africa, Latin America, and developing countries in general. Additionally, the subsequent research can employ the meta-analysis method for analysing research evidence quantitatively.

#### **AUTHOR CONTRIBUTIONS**

M. Azarnoush performed the literature review, analysed and interpreted the data, and prepared the manuscript text and edition. E. Efsanjary kenari, A. Ghaffari, and A. Pereira Roders compiled the data and manuscript preparation.

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The authors declare no potential conflict of interest regarding the publication of this work. In addition, the ethical issues including plagiarism, informed consent, misconduct, data fabrication and, or falsification, double publication and, or submission, and redundancy have been completely witnessed by the authors.

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#### **ABBREVIATION**

<i>UNESCO</i>	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
<i>ICOMOS</i>	International Council on Monuments and Sites

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