



From pedestrianisation to commercial gentrification: The case of Kadıköy in Istanbul

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ABSTRACT

Through the implementation of pedestrianisation projects, it is possible to create economically competitive and liveable urban areas, while the security and attractiveness of city centres are significantly increased by the improved accessibility provided by these schemes. After pedestrianisation, likely increases in property values can be interpreted positively; on the other hand, pedestrianisation, if necessary precautions are not taken, can also produce unwelcome consequences. When a pedestrianisation scheme achieves success, property prices rise, and small businesses (if they are tenants rather than owners) may fail to keep up with the inevitable rental increases. Despite increased sales, small businesses, many of whom supply distinctive goods or services, may have to leave the area because they cannot afford these increased costs. In this context, the aim of this article is to analyse the economic effects of a pedestrianisation scheme located on the Asian side of Istanbul, in Kadıköy historic centre and retail zone, by focusing on changes in retail structure during the post-pedestrianisation period. The project began in 2004 and was completed in 2009. Research in the area was conducted in 2014, and has a tripartite structure: a before and after land-use analysis to identify changes resulting from the pedestrianisation project, a survey involving pedestrians and shopkeepers, and interviews with the Association of the Retailers of the Kadıköy Historic Centre. Our research has shown that in the case of Kadıköy historic centre, the success of the pedestrianisation scheme has created a dilemma, namely the replacement of many smaller older businesses with domestic and international chain-stores or eating/drinking facilities as a result of increased shop rents, which entail particular problems for the majority of shopkeepers, who are tenants. Consequently, this has begun to introduce homogeneity into a richly diverse mixture of shops. The current situation might become a major problem if those existing shops which maintain the image and identity of the area are substantially displaced by 'outside' retailers who can afford the increased rents. This development is not however an immediate consequence of pedestrianisation, but rather a side-effect of improvements in the local physical environment, and increased economic activity. Awareness of this potential outcome of the pedestrianisation process should therefore oblige planning authorities to take preventive measures to protect the diversity of small individual shops, and hence save the image (and long-term economic future) of the pedestrianised area.

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1. Introduction

In analysing the relation between traffic and pedestrians in its historical context, the classification presented by Gehl and Gemzoe (2000, p. 14) can be quite instructive. In their analysis, the first stage is the 'traditional city' – 'where meeting-place, market-place and traffic continue to co-exist in balance'. The second stage is the 'invaded city' – where car traffic takes control of the city centre and causes public spaces to become relatively *un-walkable* and replete with noise and air

pollution. The third stage is the 'abandoned city', where cities and central areas see their residents flee to the suburbs, while regional shopping centres and low-rise malls emerge as powerful rivals to historic city centres and traditional shopping streets. And in the final potential stage, there is the 're-conquered city' – where efforts are made to create a balance between market-place, traffic space and pedestrians. In a historical context, the balance between pedestrians and traffic was first disrupted by industrialisation in the 19th century, and then this separation was deepened by urban and transport developments in the first half of the 20th century. Significantly, around this time, Modernist architects and planners sought to understand urban space design in terms of the solution of problems entailed by the industrialisation process. Much of their effort was focused upon the design of healthier environments (more sun, space, and greenery, with lower densities in cities), and condoning

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the greater the use of cars in cities by separating pedestrians and routes for powered vehicles to allow more ‘freedom’ to moving traffic (Carmona, Heath, Öc, & Tiesdell, 2003, p. 21, Box 2.1).

In Europe, Germany was the first country to introduce pedestrianisation schemes in 1926 in Essen, while in the USA, at around the same time, the first examples of shopping malls appeared. This idea of attracting customers to car-free environments for shopping was also used by European planners to develop projects such as the Lijnbaan street in Rotterdam and other war-damaged cities, particularly those in West Germany, in the 1950s (Gehl & Gemzoe, 2000, p. 18). By the end of the 1970s, around 500 different pedestrianisation schemes had been realized, or were near completion, in 300 German towns (Hass-Klau, 1993, p. 23). In this period plans mostly involved separating pedestrians and vehicle traffic, and creating pedestrian zones which were off-limits to either heavy vehicle traffic, or in some cases all vehicles (Monheim, 2013). Since the early 1970s, pedestrianisation projects have been successfully incorporated into planning and transportation policies for the re-development of most German city centres (Hass-Klau, 2015, p. 48). Nevertheless, these newly-created pedestrian environments were not without their critics, who focused upon a lack of design creativity, leading to monotony and sameness (ibid, p. 49). Beginning in the 1970s, the idea of ‘traffic calming’ at the heart of the *Woonerf* (living street) concept had its roots in the Netherlands and Germany, and then spread into other parts of Europe in the 1980s and 1990s. In residential areas cyclists and pedestrians share the same thoroughfares and public places without barriers in a *Woonerf*-type street, where speed bumps, distinctive paving, and street-narrowing techniques are used. This idea was later adopted in the UK as the ‘Home Zone’ concept (Jou, 2011, p. 228), and paralleled the significant growth of road markings and the warning signs which exist alongside the contemporary proliferation of ‘street furniture’. Litman, (2014, Table 13) summarizes the advantages of traffic calming measures such as these by listing increased road safety, comfort and mobility for non-motorized traffic, reduced noise and air pollution, and increased property values. The use of trams and light rail systems in large scale pedestrianisation schemes in Germany in the 1970s was also imitated in other parts of Europe, such as France, Norway, and Italy at the beginning of the 21st century, with often larger pedestrianised street networks realized in a number of cases (Hass-Klau, 2015, chp. 8).

Since the early years of this century, a new approach to urban traffic management policy has been adopted by city planners, that of shared space. This, in fact, is not a new phenomenon. It is a return to a characteristic feature of the preindustrial city where pedestrian movements/street activities and wheeled traffic were in balance with each other (Hamilton-Baillie, 2006). This involves not the separation, but the *integration* of those manifestations of urban movement which include motorized traffic, pedestrians, cyclists, and shopping activities. In its implemented form drivers would be obliged to drive more carefully, since all the kerbs, barriers, and signs would be removed, and the traffic-calming effects of critical eye-contact between motorists and pedestrians would be much less easy to escape or avoid (Hamilton-Baillie, 2008).¹

As Wooller et al. (2012, p. 17) noted ‘urban regeneration through pedestrianised spaces’ contributes to a decrease in car-dependency and greater economic activity in historic centres, as well as an increase in physical activity levels. City centres may regain their popularity,

increased visitor numbers, and access to a richer communal life through the implementation of pedestrianisation schemes, which require collaboration between local authorities and other stakeholders (Gehl & Gemzoe, 2000; Monheim, 2013). A successful pedestrianisation scheme requires citizen participation; the optimum allocation of space for all users (including residents, operatives, tourists, and traders); management of public parking facilities; provision of access to public transport; adequate demarcation of spaces for loading and unloading; co-ordination of municipal services such as waste collection; cleaning, security, and maintenance; and finding a solution to the various parking and traffic problems which surround and occasionally intrude upon the pedestrianised area (Sastre, Sastre, Gamo, & Gaztelu, 2013, p. 743). As evidenced by this list, the majority of these requirements rely upon action by the local authorities. It will be necessary, therefore, for the public sector (local and central governments) to assume (and retain) a principal directing role in the implementation and maintenance of pedestrianisation schemes. The responsibilities of the local authorities are not however limited to these requirements. The success of pedestrianisation schemes also depends upon the sustainability of a local cadre of businesses and shops which contribute to the maintenance of authenticity, atmosphere, and identity in these pedestrianised areas. It is universally acknowledged that every single improvement in the built environment tends to drive property values upwards. Therefore, **commercial gentrification/displacement** in pedestrianised areas – as a result of increasing rents – is a phenomenon which needs to be monitored to avoid the potentially unsettling consequences associated with this development.

In this context, the aim of this article is to analyse the economic effects of a pedestrianisation scheme located on the Asian side of Istanbul, in Kadıköy historic centre and retail zone, by focusing on changes in retail structure during the post-pedestrianisation period. The pedestrianised area is the locus of a very important hub for different modes of transportation on the Asian side of the city, including ferries and metro lines to and from Europe, and, of equal importance, remains a conservation area for a rich architectural legacy, which includes many structures in and around this historic market centre.

2. The benefits of pedestrianisation

The advantages of pedestrianisation are various and can be listed in four main categories: health, social, environmental, and economic (Sinnott, Williams, Chatterjee, & Cavill, 2011, p. 12–19). In a recent study, Soni and Soni (2016) systematically analysed these benefits under five main headings, adding transportation as the fifth category (See Table 1).

From the **transportation** point of view, the benefits are improvements in mobility and accessibility; reduction in car use, congestion and parking availability; increase in public transit and non-motorized use; reduction in road accidents and injuries; and increases in levels of service, speed and trip time (Soni & Soni, 2016, pp. 140–142). It has been demonstrated that after pedestrianisation there is a huge decrease in traffic accidents and pedestrian casualties as well as improved travel times for vehicles (Vamberg, 2013). Research has indicated that the attractiveness of city centres has significantly increased with pedestrianisation schemes which provide greater accessibility (Sandahl & Lindh, 1995). Pedestrianisation has also enabled the wider usage of *shopmobility* implementations, which have allowed easier accessibility for disabled persons into town centres (Gant, 2002). Pedestrianisation has therefore acquired a prominent role in ‘returning people to the streets and accessibility issues related to less mobile groups’ (Tallon, 2010, p. 183).

Social benefits involve increases in social interaction and relations, a sense of belonging, responsibility and pride, and increases in security and safety; as well as an improvement in liveability standards (Soni & Soni, 2016, pp. 141–142). Sinnott et al. (2011, p. 8) notes that environments which promote walking also promote social interaction, safety

¹ In 2011, the Exhibition Road in London’s museum quarter, Kensington. The road is 820 m long and is completely freed from the kerbs, traffic signals and barriers, and motorists have to observe a speed limit of only 30 km/h. With this implementation the city officials expect to reduce car traffic into the area by 30% (Massey, 2012). Similarly in Lund, Sweden, Widemarsh Street in Hereford, and Eastgate Street in Chester *shared space* schemes have been successfully implemented (Bettum & Lillebye, 2011). Shared spaces can encourage accessibility, aesthetic appeal, and encourage walking (Wooller et al., 2012).

Table 1
The benefits of pedestrianisation.
Source: [Soni and Soni \(2016\)](#), p. 149, Fig. 5.

Transportation benefits	Social benefits	Environmental benefits	Economic benefits	Health benefits
Mobility & accessibility improvement	Social interaction & relations	Air pollution reduction	Increase in footfall, sales & rent	Unpolluted air intake in respiration
Reduction in car use, congestion & parking need	Sense of belonging, responsibility, & pride	Fuel & land saving	Saving on fuel, land & road infrastructure	Exercise, fat/calories loss & fitness
Increase in public transit and non-motor. Transport use	Increase in security/safety	Noise reduction	Saving on reduced negative externalities	Improvement in metabolism & digestion
Road crashes & injury reduction	Heritage preservation & urban renewal	Micro-climate improvement	Increased improvement	Improve. in nervous & psychological health
Improvement in level of services, speed & trip time	Liveability improvement	Greenery & plantation	Income from public transport users	Cardiovascular & pulmonary fitness

and the 'perceptions of safety'; and 'perceived levels of safety also encourage people to walk more'. Pedestrian schemes contribute to the creation of popular and attractive places characterised by leisure-related facilities for locals and tourists ([Iranmesh, 2008](#)). They can therefore contribute to an improvement in the quality of urban areas and public spaces ([Wooller, Badland, & Schofield, 2012](#); [Hass-Klau, 1993](#)).

Among these social benefits, 'heritage preservation and urban renewal' are also important achievements that may emerge from pedestrianisation schemes ([Soni & Soni, 2016](#), p. 142). From the 1980s onwards, public authorities across the world have developed several responses to improve their historic urban cores and cope with urban social problems² ([Tiesdell, Oc, & Heath, 1996](#)). Consequently, a great majority of projects realized in historic town centres in Europe, Canada and America were based on pedestrianisation schemes, as well as the renovation of historic squares and streets hosting retail and leisure activities (for a wide range of case studies see [Gehl & Gemzoe, 2000](#)). A trans-European example realized through collaboration is an EU-funded (Interreg III) project, the *Spatial Metro*, which was developed with five participating European cities, Norwich and Bristol (UK), Rouen (France), Koblenz (Germany), and Biel/Bienne (Switzerland) in 2005. The aim of the project was to find a 'transnational response to pedestrian mobility and the regeneration of the historic European city centre' ([Hoeven et al., 2008](#)).

Environmental benefits can be listed as a reduction in air and noise pollution, land and fuel saving, micro-climate improvement, greenery and landscaping provisions, and a decrease in the levels of environmental degradation ([Soni & Soni, 2016](#); [European Commission, 2014](#); [Chiquetto, 1997](#)), as well as a reduction in hydrocarbon use, and the emergence of 'pedestrian pockets' ([Iranmesh, 2008](#)).

Health benefits arise from less polluted air intake in respiration, exercise potential, improvements in metabolism, digestion, and neuro-psychological health, and enhanced cardiovascular and pulmonary fitness. ([Soni & Soni, 2016](#), p. 143–144). Research has indicated that 'walking reduces the risk of high blood pressure, strokes and high cholesterol', and in addition helps to reduce or avoid obesity ([Sinnott et al., 2011](#), p. 12). Since the year 2000, the Walk21 Conferences, which have adopted a special focus on the relationship between healthy living and sustainable transportation, have attracted a substantial following consisting of local authorities, non-governmental organisations, and associated groups ([Çubukçu, Hepgüzel, Tumer, & Önder, 2013](#)).

Economic benefits can be found in increased sales and rents, savings on fuel, land and road infrastructure, and reduced negative externalities, as well as increases in employment, and income from public transport users ([Soni & Soni, 2016](#), p. 142–143). Pedestrianisation has

positive impacts on residential property prices ([Cömertler, 2007](#)). According to [Wooller et al. \(2012, p. 13\)](#) a well-developed pedestrianisation scheme is expected to 'improve economic performance, and encourage high-end retail options'. The creation of environmentally-pleasant pedestrianised areas leads to increases in the volume of pedestrian presence and retail turnover ([Soni & Soni, 2016](#); [Hon-Yip, 2014](#)). In the city centre of Exeter (UK), after the implementation of a pedestrianisation scheme, pedestrian footfall increased 20%, accompanied by a £5 increase per square foot in rental prices ([Sinnott et al., 2011](#), p. 18). [Chung \(2011, p. 240\)](#) estimated that after pedestrianisation the rental value of the street increased by 17%. Therefore, it can be concluded that pedestrianisation contributes to the economy of pedestrianised areas by leading to an increase in the volume of sales, turnover received, and property/rental values accrued ([Hass-Klau, 1993](#); [Kumar & Ross, 2006](#); [Wooller et al., 2012](#); [Sinnott et al., 2011](#)).

3. Economic pressures upon local shops in pedestrianised areas in historic centres

Pedestrianisation can have positive outcomes for both the fabric of cities and the lives of their inhabitants. Nevertheless, in some cases, successful pedestrianisation schemes might have side-effects. For example, the increase in value and rents of the commercial property is frequently mentioned as a positive outcome of pedestrianisation schemes³ ([Litman, 2014](#); [Kumar & Ross, 2006](#); [Hass-Klau, 1993](#); [Sinnott et al., 2011](#)). However, such an increase in commercial property values should be interpreted cautiously, since ownership of the premises may not always be held by the shopkeeper. In such cases there will be problems for tenant shopkeepers to keep up with increased rents. Increasing sales and popularity of pedestrianised areas enable shop-owners to ask for high rents because they know that tenants would be willing to pay higher rents if they want to stay. Consequently, in pedestrianised streets only businesses which can afford high rents can afford to stay ([Hon-Yip, 2014](#)). [Rankin \(2008, p. iii\)](#) calls this commercial gentrification, that is, 'processes by which long-established businesses providing products and services to affordable low-income people are leaving... and being replaced by establishments catering to more affluent consumers'.

Unsurprisingly, research has shown that pedestrian flows become denser in pedestrianised areas ([Hass-Klau, 2015; 1993](#)). Parallel to [Hass-Klau's](#) findings, the survey and statistical analysis conducted by [Chau et al. \(2000, p. 1\)](#) showed that 'pedestrian flows are the key factor

² A successful revitalization project which includes pedestrianisation is Dublin's Temple Bar Regeneration Project which embraces creative, cultural and tourist activities ([Montgomery, 1995](#)) and has led to 50,000 people visiting the area on a daily basis ([Fanning, 1999](#)).

³ [Whitehead et al. \(2006, p.4\)](#), admits the positive economic outcomes of pedestrianisation, but on the other hand warns researchers not to reach quick conclusions on retail rents and turnovers after pedestrianisation, because "it was not clear how confounding factors, such as the effects of national and local economies, were isolated in the studies contained in the literature review".

affecting retail unit prices, and that retailers are willing to pay high implicit prices for locational characteristics that are associated with high levels of pedestrian flows'. A larger volume of pedestrian traffic leads to higher shop rents and 'retail rents are determined by the quality and the quantity of pedestrians regardless of the total sales outputs' (Jeong & Kim, 2007, p. 5). Similar results have also been obtained elsewhere. According to Hon-Yip (2014, pp. 72–73) 'full/part-time pedestrian streets get the highest shop rent, followed by traffic calming streets... vehicular streets have the lowest among all street types'. In another vein, Jeong and Kim (2007, p. 6) proved that it is not only the number of customers but also the volume of pedestrians at different times during weekdays and weekends that affect the level of retail rents. When commercially successful companies and/or chains tend to rent shops in popular places, the danger of *sameness* becomes a potential threat as a result of the displacement of small, one-of-a-type, independent retailers (Hickey, 2015; Hon-Yip, 2014). This process also might end up with a reduction in the diversity of shops in the area (Hon-Yip, 2014, pp. 71–72). Moreover, a UK-based organisation, the National Economic Foundation (NEF), has warned of declining diversity in retail business profiles as a result of the growing insertion of chain stores and retail branches along shopping streets in city centres, leading them to become 'clone towns' (NEF 2005, 2010). A NEF Report (2005, p. 1) has described

this change in retail mixture as 'retail spaces once filled with a thriving mix of independent butchers, newsagents, tobacconists, pubs, bookshops, greengrocers and family-owned general stores... becoming filled with faceless supermarket retailers, fast-food chains, and global fashion outlets'.

Nevertheless, it should be emphasized that commercial gentrification is not an inevitable consequence of pedestrianisation initiatives. In some cases, the increased volume of sales might cover the increased rents, enabling shopkeepers to remain in the newly-pedestrianised area. However, in other cases displacement does occur, as a result of the increasing property values and higher rents, as they affect shopping areas with a significant percentage of tenant shopkeepers.

In this context, there are preventive measures that can be adopted by the local authorities. Because, as Rankin (2008, p. 2) correctly suggests 'commercial strips may be recognized as public spaces that must be protected from exclusionary practices commonly associated with rising property values'. In this respect, there are some measures that need to be implemented. For example, as a solution to the invasion of national and multinational chains local authorities can keep affordable rental space for local businesses (NEF, 2005, p. 24). Individual businesses can be supported by encouraging owner-occupancy of businesses, providing technical assistance and favouring such businesses in public

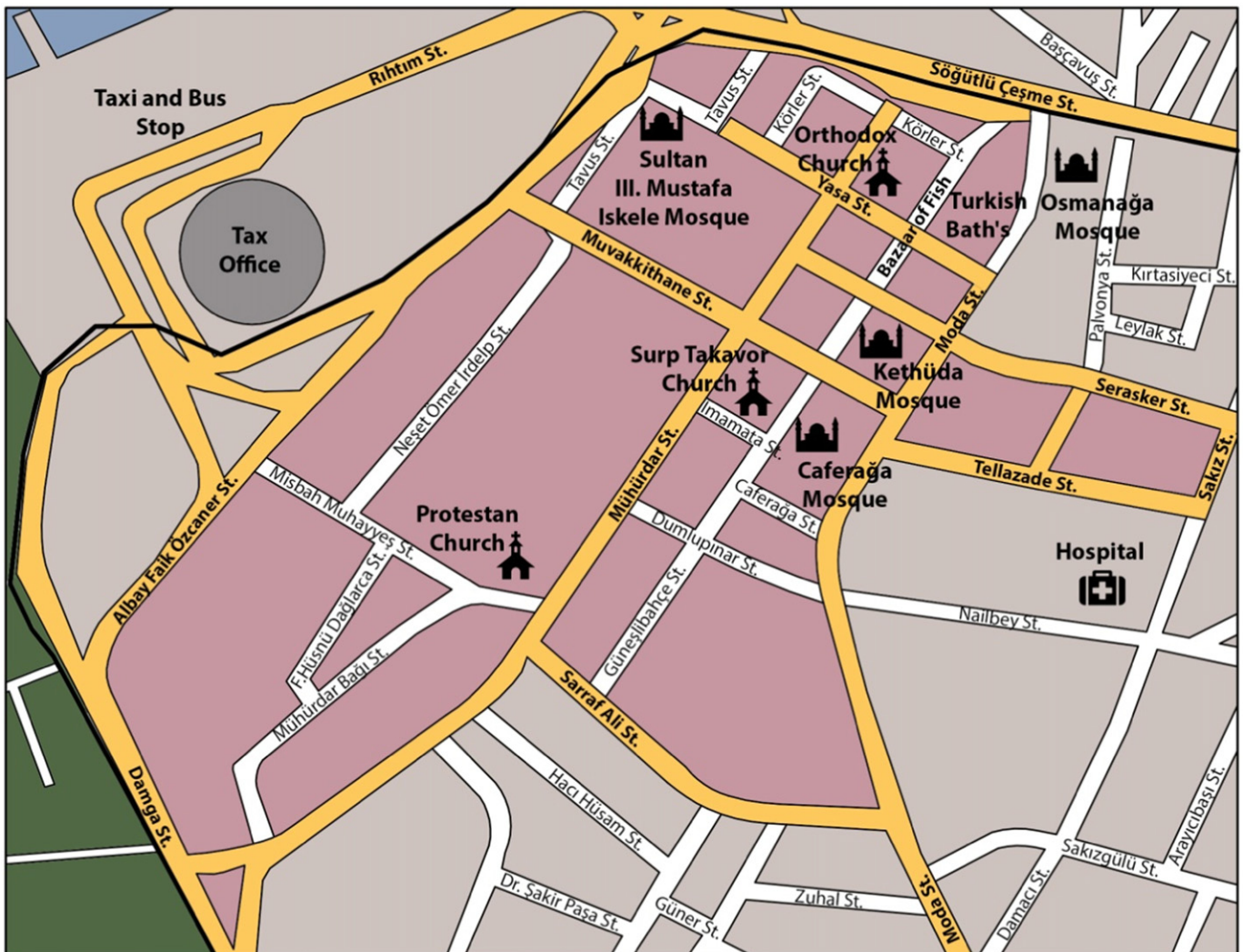


Fig. 1. The current borders of the pedestrianised area in Kadıköy historic centre. (The dark yellow areas represent the pedestrianised streets). Source: Map retrieved from the Association of the Retailers of the Kadıköy Historic Centre.



Fig. 2. Pedestrianised streets in Kadıköy historic centre – 2014.

purchases, implementing zoning practices, using local planning knowledge and forming community trusts (Rankin, 2008, p. 47, Table 5). The NEF (2005, pp. 3–4) proposed that planning permission decisions should be used to protect locally owned shops. Start-ups for small, independent and local shops should be supported; there should be limits on the size of the new shops, and businesses that ‘adopt standardised services, methods of operations, decor, uniforms, architecture, or other features virtually identical to businesses elsewhere’ should be discouraged.

4. The aim of the research and the methodology

Within the scope of this research, the economic side of pedestrianisation has been examined. The area under review was pedestrianised as the part of a wider scheme, the Revitalization of the Historical Centre of Kadıköy. The project was launched under the leadership of the Kadıköy Municipality. As reviewed in the previous sections, the economic success of a pedestrianisation scheme is measured by analysing the increase in sales, pedestrians’ footfall, and residential/commercial property prices (Hass-Klau, 2015, 1993; Sinnett et al., 2011; Cömertler, 2007; Kumar & Ross, 2006). The economic value created by a pedestrianisation scheme is estimated through market surveys and property assessments (Litman, 2014, p. 18, Table 10).

There is a wide range of literature analysing the economic dimension of pedestrianisation. However, surveys which relate retail/shop-mix changes to commercial property rental changes in pedestrianised environments are relatively few (Hon-Yip, 2014; Chau, Pretorius, & Yu, 2000). In this respect, the aim of this study is to shed light on the pedestrianisation project in Kadıköy historic centre and marketplace (KHC), and in particular clarify the specific economic consequences of a changing retail mix in the KHC resulting from rising shop rents.

The survey covers a wide range of questions, from social and physical aspects (such as attractiveness, safety, physical and visual improvements, and user profiles) to economic issues (such as the volume of pedestrians, or sales.). However, the results presented in this article cover only the economic aspects of pedestrianisation in order to stay focused on a single dimension and to remain within manageable limits.

The questions are focused upon two types of users; the shopkeepers (static users), and the pedestrians (mobile users).⁴ While ‘static users include shopkeepers, vendors, residents etc; mobile users are the (pedestrians) who are not tied to a place for regular income and are there as moving entities’ (Ujang, 2012, p. 161). There are also questions which have been directed only to shopkeepers in order to understand the economic success of the pedestrianisation scheme with regard to the volume of sales, tenure structure and rents, etc. In this way it might be possible to offer some suggestions to the municipality that might sustain the success of the project.

The pedestrianisation project was started in 2004 and completed in 2009. Our survey was conducted in 2014, five years later. The research has a tripartite structure: a land use analysis to identify before and after changes of the pedestrianisation project, a survey of pedestrians and shopkeepers, and interviews with two non-profit organisations which were involved in the revitalization project. The original land use analysis was conducted by the Kadıköy Municipality in 2004. Ten years later, in 2014, the authors conducted another land use survey in the same area to understand the changes that had taken place during the preceding decade. In the study, land use in 2004 and 2014, and a table showing quantitative and functional changes in business functions

⁴ The method of classifying users as either *static* or *mobile* was used by Ujang (2012, p.161) to find out about urban identity change in the shopping streets of a city centre.



Fig. 3. Land use of the Kadıköy historic centre and marketplace.
Source: Land use analysis conducted by Kadıköy Municipality in 2004.

are presented. In addition, a third map showing the location of international and national chain stores has been prepared.

Within the project area, the boundaries of which are set by the Kadıköy Municipality, there are 317 commercial properties at the ground floor level. The majority of these are members of the Association of the Retailers of the Kadıköy Historic Centre. Among the retail premises visited in the area, a hundred shops agreed to participate in the survey. In this context, a third of the retail premises (100 shops) were surveyed in July 2014. The questionnaires were filled by face-to-face interviews with the shopkeepers. There are also 398 pedestrian surveys completed.⁵ The survey was conducted on weekdays and at the

weekend, and took place between 09.00 and 19.00 h. In order to distribute surveys equally during the day time, in every hour, only 10 people were surveyed.

The questionnaires were distributed according to the importance of the streets in the pedestrianised area. The ordinal and interval Likert-type scale was used to prepare the questionnaires. In the survey, there are also some open-ended questions. Although the area has become popular with foreign tourists in recent years, only Turkish pedestrians were asked to participate in the survey. In the pedestrian and shopkeeper surveys, the numbers of respondents change for every question, because shopkeepers and pedestrians did not want to answer all the questions, or did not have a response for the questions asked. Therefore, in the figures and tables, the number of answers given for every question is indicated separately. The results were evaluated on the SPSS 20 version. As a third step, two interviews were conducted with the chairman of the Association of the Retailers

⁵ When the size of the universe is unknown, within the limits of ± 0.05 sampling error and 95% confidence interval, at least 384 surveys should be completed (Yazıcıoğlu & Erdoğan, 2004, p.50). In the research, 400 questionnaires were distributed, with 398 completed correctly.

of the Kadıköy Historic Centre, Mr. Ali Gecgel, in August 2014; and Mr. Mehmet Ecevit from the Board of Directors of the same association in November 2016.

5. Pedestrianisation of the Kadıköy historic centre and marketplace

Kadıköy historic centre and marketplace (KHC) has always been an important node for shoppers, passersby and retail activities. During the 19th century, the old marketplace was the centre of the area. From the 1950s, however, social-economic problems began to appear. In the early 2000s, the Kadıköy historic centre and marketplace (retail zone) revitalization project was prepared. In 2004, the Kadıköy Municipality signed a protocol with the ÇEKÜL Foundation to regenerate the historic centre and the marketplace. An evaluation meeting with the shopkeepers and local residents was held in March 2005. Based on inputs from the participants, the problems of the area were identified as security, garbage and litter collection, deteriorating building stock, and economic problems (Kadıköy Municipality's historic centre presentation to the city council).

Therefore the main goals of the project were determined in order to revitalize the economy of the area, to preserve and maintain its vitality, to avoid decline over time, and to overcome the problem of safety. Following these developments, 'The Association of the Retailers of the Kadıköy Historic Centre' was founded. Since the revitalization scheme was a long-term project, it was decided that a pilot street implementation was to be done in order to determine short-term challenges. In the light of the results of a SWOT analysis, it was decided to carry out the initial project and implementation in the Tellalzade Street, which was characterised by a number of antique shops having a recognisable image and identity. (See Fig. 1).

After the project, KHC has become very popular with pedestrians, both locals and foreign tourists. (See Fig. 2) The Kartal-Kadıköy metro line, which opened in 2012, also contributed to the popularity of the area, which had long been an important transport hub for boats and ferries connecting the Asian side of the city with the historical peninsula and business centres in European Istanbul.

6. The findings of the land-use analysis

The KHC has always been a prominent centre for the food and drink industry. Mühürdar is the main street, while Muvakkithane, Tellalzade, Serasker and Yasa are also important thoroughfares. In the context of this research, a map showing land-use in 2004 (maintained by the Kadıköy Municipality), was updated in July 2014. From 2004 to 2014, the range of shop-types changed. A third of the shops (104 out of 317 shops) had changed their functions (See Figs. 3, 4 and Table 2).

As can be observed in Table 2, the majority of the functional retail changes (42 out of 104 shops) took place along the two major streets, Mühürdar (22 shops) and Yasa (20 shops). The changes occurred mostly in the food and beverages sector. Table 2 shows that 45 new restaurants have been opened in KHC. This means that 43% of the shops have become places for eating and drinking. In ten years, ten bookstores were closed down and six of them were re-opened as restaurants.⁶ Similarly, four antique shops have been closed down, three of which were located on the Tellalzade Street, which has long been associated with this type of shop. These were then re-opened as restaurants, as were six other vacant shops in the area.

Land-use analysis reveals that from 2004 to 2014, there was an emerging threat of KHC losing its variety of shops and turning into what the director of the National Economic Foundation (NEF), Andrew Simms, has called a 'clone town', that is 'a place that has had the

individuality of its high street shops replaced by a monochrome strip of global and national chains and could easily be mistaken for dozens of other bland town centres across the country' (NEF Report, 2005, p. 2). Although local shops still dominate the KHC, its authenticity is under threat because of local and international chains moving into the area as a result of its enhanced popularity. Fig. 6 details the presence of national and international chains in the area.

Hon-Yip (2014, p. 79) notes that if the retailers think that the area is becoming an attractive place for tourists, they might re-direct their service provision according to the demands of tourists, rather than locals. In the case of KHC, this type of transformation has been taking place. The area is becoming more attractive for pedestrians, while the composition of shops is changing to become more of an eating/drinking centre characterised by various types of cafe, restaurants (especially those serving *rakı* spirits and fish), and fast-food places.

If necessary precautions are not taken, a commercial displacement, which has already started, is likely to prevail throughout the historical marketplace area (See Fig. 5).

7. The economic consequences of pedestrianisation: survey results and interviews

Successful pedestrianisation schemes are said to increase the volume of passers-by (Kumar & Ross, 2006; Sinnett et al., 2011; Hass-Klau, 2015, 1993). To test the validity of this argument in the case of KHC, local shopkeepers were asked if there was an increase in the number of passers-by (both domestic and foreign) in the area after pedestrianisation. As can be observed in Fig. 6, the shopkeepers agreed that there had been an increased number of pedestrians visiting the area, especially the number of foreign tourists.

7.1. Increased footfall and sales

In pedestrianised areas, the increasing volume of pedestrian footfall in shops also leads to an increase in sales (Monheim, 2013; Kumar & Ross, 2006). In the KHC, the shopkeepers were asked to review their customers' footfall and the volume of sales (See Fig. 7). While more than half of the shopkeepers (53%) agree/totally agree upon the increase in pedestrian footfall in their shop, they are less positive about the increase in volume of sales. Conversely, 40% of the shopkeepers agree/totally agree that there has been an increase in sales, while the other 40% of shopkeepers disagree/slightly agree. A cross-check of retailers, together with their volume of sales, showed that most bookstores and stationery shops, as well as grocery stores, bakeries, tobacco shops, and herbalists claim that there has not been any increase in sales.

7.2. Tenure status and increased rents

The pattern of shop-ownership can be one of the major factors affecting the future of a pedestrianised area, since every physical improvement in a built environment comes to generate in turn local property price increases (See Chung, 2011). In KHC, tenure status was surveyed, and 64% of shopkeepers indicated they were tenants, while the remainder were owners (See Fig. 8). This shows that almost two-thirds of businesses in the area are thereby vulnerable to rent increases.

Shopkeepers were also asked about the difficulties/challenges they faced in the area when operating their businesses. The answers show that increasing shop rents constitute their biggest problem. Rising property prices are a consequence of the increasing popularity of the area (See Fig. 9).

⁶ The remaining four have become a bank, a women/menswear outlet, and two food stores.



Fig. 4. Land use in the Kadıköy historic centre and marketplace.
Source: Land use analysis conducted by the author in 2014.

7.3. Shop closures and commercial displacement

One of the consequences of increasing rental values is the displacement of small shops which have difficulty in affording these increases. In the survey, shopkeepers were asked about the closure of old and small businesses. This issue had already become apparent during the updating of the area's land use map. Answers to this question also confirmed the findings of the land use analysis. Sixty-one percent of the shopkeepers *agree* or *totally agree* about the closures of the old and small businesses (See Fig. 10). This trend did not go unnoticed by pedestrians either, with 53% of this group responding in similar fashion to the majority of local shopkeepers.

In July 2014, a change in item 10 of the *Law of Obligations* made it possible to annul the deeds of shopkeepers who had rented the same shop for more than 10 years. The change was amended at the same time as this survey. Two years later, in 2016, the cheapest shop rent

for the smallest shop in the area increased to US\$1428/€1290 (4000 Turkish Lira),⁷ and for a larger, 100 m² shop, the rent is as high as US\$10,700/€10,000 (30,000 TL) monthly (Karakaş, 2016). The chairman of the Association of the Retailers stated that.

"Only the restaurants can pay these high rents, and the shops which give *colour* to the KHC have been closing down. For ten years, the deeds of the tenants have been (unilaterally) nullified and higher shop rents started to be asked for... The shops which have their places in the culture and collective memory of the city are being replaced by restaurant chains... We invite the shop owners and Kadıköy Municipality to be responsive (to this development)." (Karakaş, 2016).

In this case, the success of the pedestrianisation scheme and the lack of preventive measures during the post-pedestrianisation period caused

⁷ As of April 2016, the exchange rate of US\$1 equals to 2.8 Turkish Lira, and €1 equals to 3.1 TL.

the various small and authentic shops which contributed to the creation of the image of the area to be displaced. In their place domestic/foreign chain stores (refer to Fig. 6) and restaurants moved into the area. Fig. 11

Table 2
Changes in retail goods and services provision (by type of shop) 2004 to 2014.

Streets	number of shops	type of shop 2004	type of shop 2014
Muvakkithane Street	2	bookstore	restaurant
	1	clothing	store
	1	store	restaurant
	3	clothing	restaurant
	1	food	vacant shop
	1	clothing	vacant shop
	1	restaurant	clothing
Total:	10		
Mühürdar Street	2	bookstore	restaurant/cafe
	1	bookstore	store
	1	bookstore	clothing
	2	store	clothing
	1	vacant shop	restaurant
	1	vacant shop	food
	2	store	restaurant
	1	bookstore	bank
	1	clothing	bank
	1	clothing	food
	1	restaurant	herbalist
	1	store	food
	2	3 + functions	food
	1	3 + functions	restaurant
	1	food	restaurant
	1	restaurant	store
	2	restaurant	food
Total:	22		
Tellalzade Street	1	white goods/ furniture	clothing
	4	restaurant/cafe	store
	2	vacant shop	restaurant
	3	antique shop	restaurant
	2	clothing	restaurant
	1	white goods/ furniture	restaurant
	1	carpark	restaurant
Total:	13		
Serasker Street	1	3 + functions	restaurant
	2	food	restaurant
	1	restaurant	white goods/ furniture
Total:	4		
Yasa Street	2	restaurant	store
	1	clothing	store
	2	store	clothing
	1	restaurant	clothing
	6	store	food
	1	restaurant	food
	1	food	restaurant
	1	store	3 + functions
	2	restaurant	store
	1	bookstore	store
	1	store	restaurant
	1	food	restaurant
Total:	20		
Üzerlik Street	1	clothing	restaurant
	1	white goods/ furniture	clothing
	4	white goods/ furniture	store
	1	store	clothing
	1	clothing	store
Total:	8		

Table 2 (continued)

Körler Street	3	restaurant	food
	2	store	restaurant
	3	store	food
	1	vacant shop	food
Total:	9		
Caferağa Mescidi Street	1	restaurant	food
Total:	1		
Pavlonya Street	1	vacant shop	restaurant
	1	antique shop	store
Total:	2		
Yağlıkçı İsmail Street	1	3 + functions	restaurant
	2	food	restaurant
Total:	3		
Tavus Street	1	restaurant	store
	1	food	vacant shop
Total:	2		
Güneşlibahçe Street	2	food	restaurant
	3	store	restaurant
	2	bookstore	restaurant
	1	clothing	restaurant
	1	bank	restaurant
	1	vacant shop	restaurant
Total:	10		
General sum :	104		

shows that 88% of the shopkeepers agree/totally agree that cafes and restaurants are increasing in number in the KHC. This increase is also noticed by the visitors, and 55% of them agree/totally agree.

7.4. Interview results

During the interview with Mr. Mehmet Ecevit from the Board of Directors of the Association of the Retailers of the Kadıköy Historic Centre on November 14, 2016, it was revealed that the area started to be much more popular with pedestrians soon after its pedestrianisation in 2009.⁸ This development spurred entries of many new retailers to conduct business in the KHC, with the assumption that increased popularity would bring higher profits. The emerging demand from the entrepreneurs for retail space to rent consequently created pressure on the traditional, established tenants of this historic retail centre, since owners of shops started to ask for higher rents from their existing tenants.⁹ Therefore, the area became popular soon after its pedestrianisation in 2009; and the change in the Law of Obligation in 2014 created an opportunity for commercial property owners to ask for higher rents. An average 70–80 m² shop rent increased from 5000 TL to 20,000 TL per month. Although new retailers started business with initial enthusiasm in the KHC, and were willing to pay over-the-odds rents, within a short time (mostly after six months) they realized that doing business there had not been profitable enough to compensate for inflated rents. As a consequence, there has been a rapid turnover of ownership in the rented shops.

The KHC's location adjacent to an important hub for various modes of traffic was enhanced after 2012 with a newly opened metro line between Kartal and Kadıköy. However, the increased volume of passersby

⁸ Although the opening of the large Nautilus Shopping Mall in 2002 (two kilometres distant) affected the KHC initially, 3–4 years later the historical centre had seemed to regain its popularity.

⁹ By way of illustration, a traditional coffee and nuts selling shop, Brezilya (Brazil), which opened in 1920, was closed down because the third-generation of family proprietors could not pay the increased rent (from 13,000 TL to 30,000 TL), asked by the property owner. Related news (in Turkish) was broadcast on the CNN-Türk television channel [<http://www.haber24.com/tarihi-kadikoy-carsisi-nda-kiralari-30-bin-tl-yi-bulmasi-esnaf-zorluyor-haberi-1184352>] (accessed 10.10.2016).

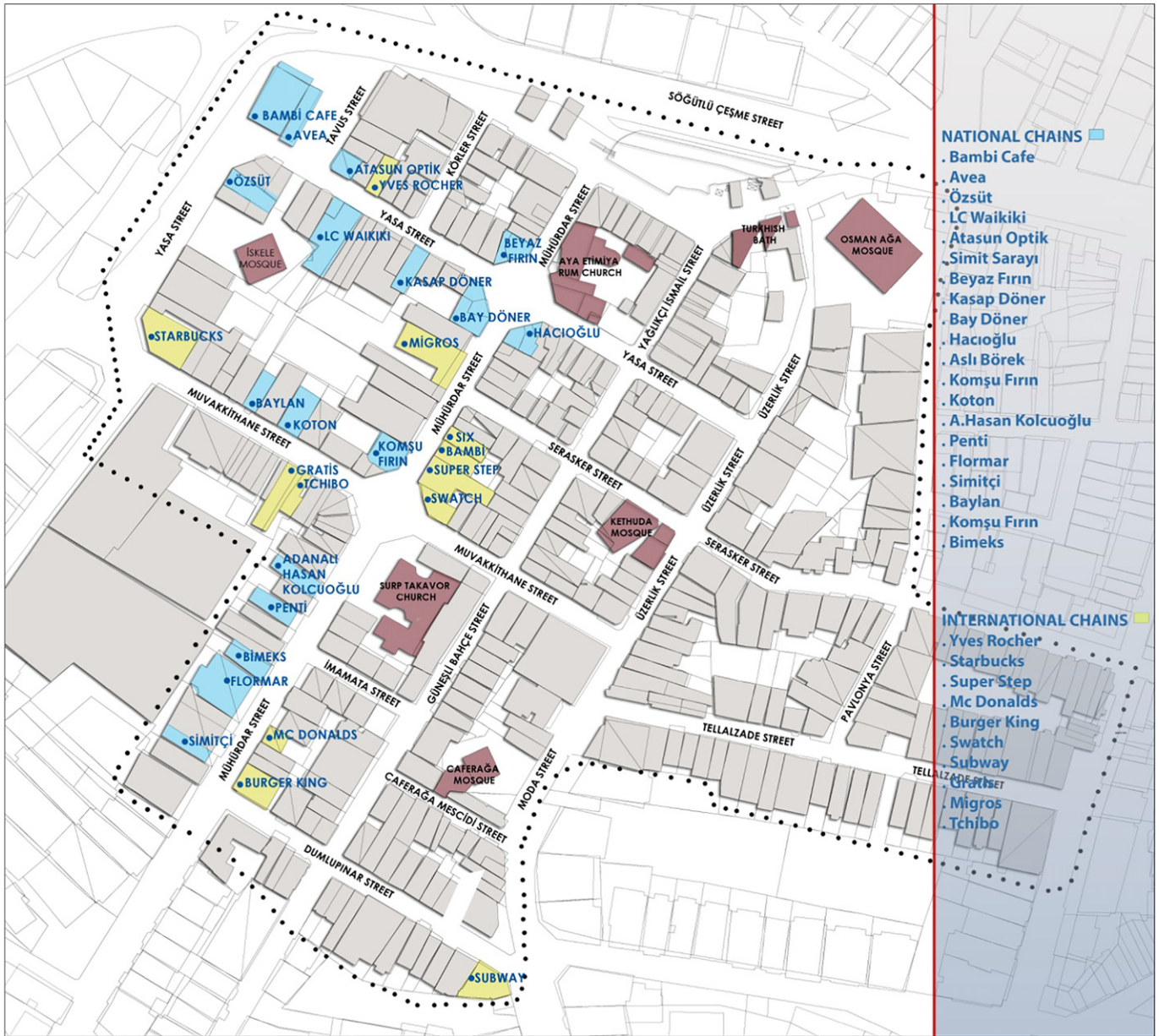


Fig. 5. National and foreign chain stores in KHC, July 2014.

translated itself into profitable business only for certain types of retail outlets, such as cafés, fish-and-*raki* restaurants, and fast-food chains. The shops serving local residents' daily needs, such as butchers, full-service electricians, shoe-repair shops, greengrocers, haberdashers, bakery shops, tailors, and florists have been closing down one after the other.

Another reason for this loss of retail variety is also related to the upward expansion of retailers to the first and second floors of buildings through displacement of pre-existing residents. The buildings which were once hosting the shop owners' families living on top of their shops started to be deserted by them. Consequently, although the area remains very popular with pedestrians, the demand for retail services has changed in line with a larger presence of drinking/eating and dining activities, rather than the provision of daily needs. The area's inadequate parking provision has also discouraged major customers coming by car from other neighbourhoods to shop. Although the KHC is very popular, it is mostly young people who have typically been seen to frequent the area (66% of the pedestrians are between 20 and 39 years-old). Subsequently, with this changing pedestrian profile, more young people

(rather than more age-diverse family groups) have come to affect and determine demand for different types of retail activities.

8. Conclusion

As the literature review has shown there is a large volume of studies focusing upon the benefits of pedestrianisation in health-related, transportation, environmental, social and economic perspectives. The economic indicators measuring the success of pedestrianisation schemes mainly monitor the volume of sales, and changes in commercial and residential property markets (Hass-Klau, 1993, 2015). This research has tried to shed light on the transformation of the historical centre and retail zone of the Kadıköy district on the Asian side of Istanbul after the implementation of a pedestrianisation project, in order to understand its economic outcomes from the shopkeepers' perspectives (either tenant or owner), and the evolution of a new shop-mix.

The pedestrianisation of the KHC shows some similarities as well as differences when compared with other pedestrianisation initiatives established inside and outside Turkey.

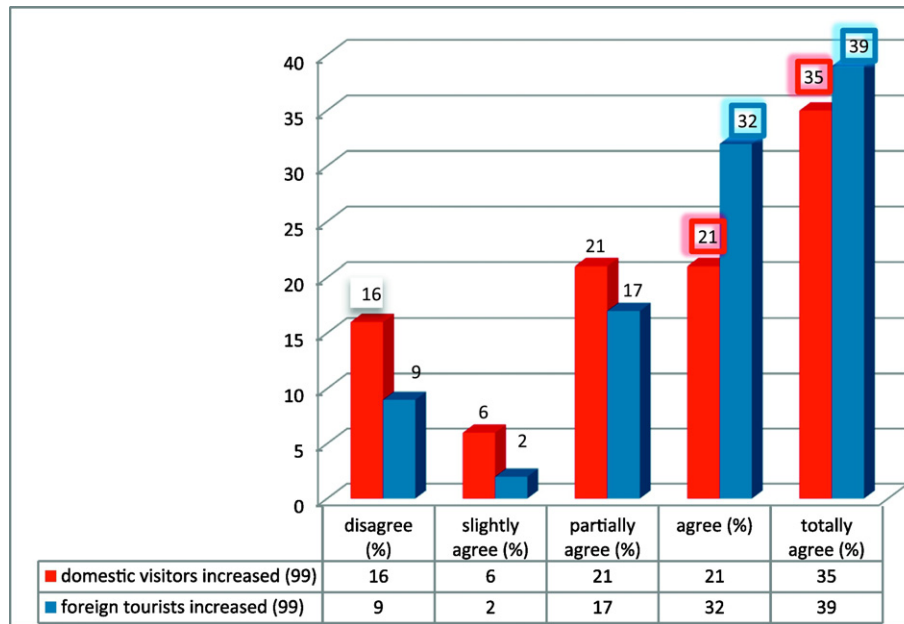


Fig. 6. Shopkeepers' views about the increase in local and foreign visitors, 2014.

Similar to the KHC, a revitalisation of a market/retail-led pedestrianisation scheme was put into effect along the Istiklal Street and its neighbouring areas in the Beyoğlu district of old Istanbul after 1990 (Dökmeci et al., 2007). Within a short time, public-sector revitalisation efforts and interventions spurred private sector investment, leading to a market-led gentrification and commercialization of urban space (Adanali, 2011). In our case, the KHC project was part of a larger revitalization scheme, and the area has always served as an important node for retail outlets and traffic. The local municipality's attempt to revitalize the area revealed retailers' attitudes towards pedestrianisation which were positive from the outset. In this respect, the foundation of the Association of the Retailers of the Kadıköy Historic Centre after pedestrianisation was unique, since in many pedestrianisation projects abroad, some initial discontent among retailers was typical (such as Bangkok as exemplified by Kumar & Ross, 2006; or Ghent in Belgium, European Commission, 2014). This

Association is still an important agent working to promote the area. Both survey results and face-to-face interviews revealed that shopkeepers in the KHC are contented with the realisation of this pedestrianisation initiative. In this respect, the KHC is in line with other similar schemes (see for example, Kumar & Ross, 2006 for Bangkok; Wooller et al., 2012 for Takapuna, Auckland; Sastre et al., 2013 for Valdemoro, Spain). And there has also been further demand from shopkeepers, who are not part of national/international chains, in neighbouring streets of the KHC to be pedestrianised.

Pedestrianisation schemes contribute to the improvement of the built environment through various outcomes, including increased safety and visual attractiveness. These positive effects lead to an increase in the number of pedestrians passing through, and a further increase in the volume of sales. In such cases, the literature review frequently mentions an increase in property/rental values as a positive outcome (Chau et al., 2000, Hon-Yip, 2014). From this point of view, the KHC case differs from

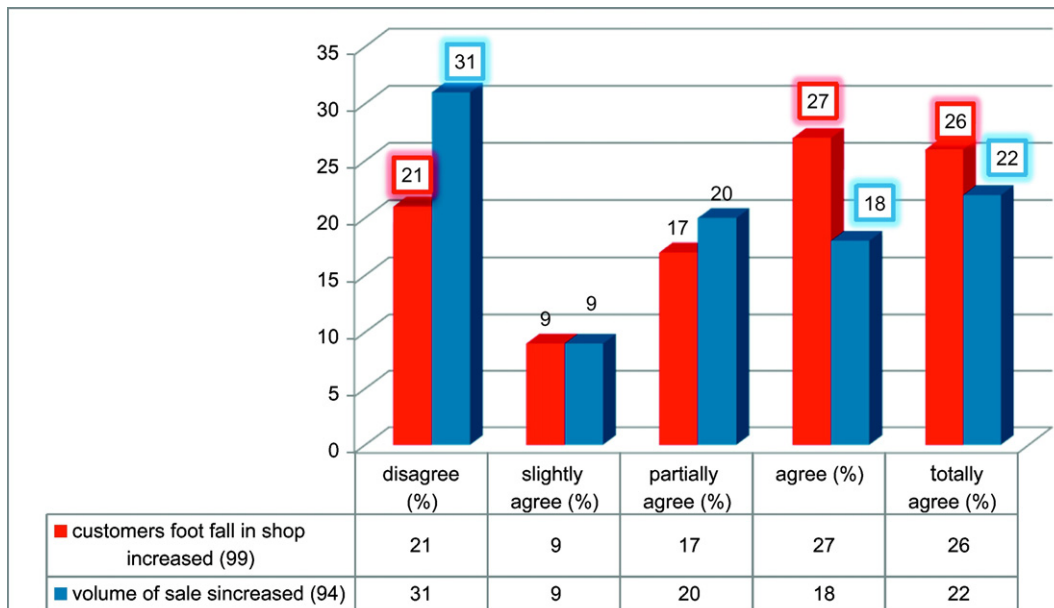


Fig. 7. Shopkeepers' views about customers' footfall in shops and an increase in sales.

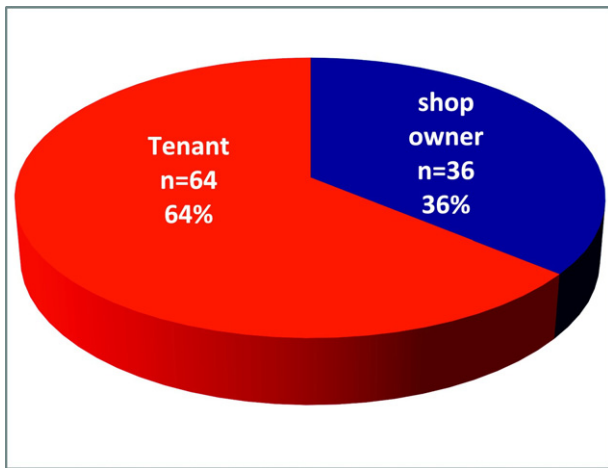


Fig. 8. Tenure status.

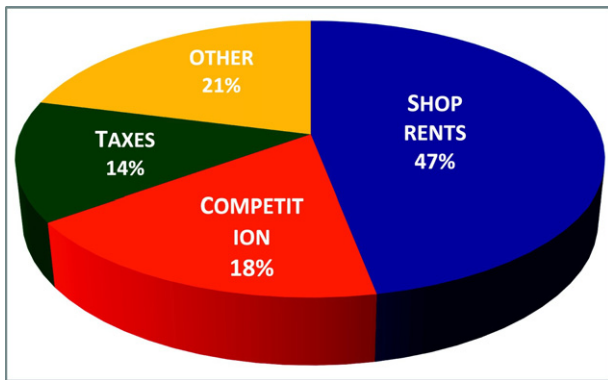


Fig. 9. Shopkeeper responses to the question: 'What are your biggest operational challenges?'

other pedestrianisation examples, as research has shown that the success of this scheme has created a less welcome outcome, that is, the replacement of many smaller older businesses with domestic and international chain-stores, or eating/drinking facilities, as a result of

increased shop rents. The reason lies in the tenure structure; that is, the fact that two-thirds of the shopkeepers are tenants. This has begun to bring homogeneity into a richly diverse mixture of shops. The area is now increasingly characterised by a myriad of restaurants and cafes which are certainly not high-end retail establishments, but often serve many hundreds of customers every day. Furthermore, insufficient provision of parking facilities nearby has also discouraged potential customers from other neighbourhoods to come by car, and then park and shop in the KHC.

The current situation might become a threat if the existing shops which create the image and identity of the area, are substantially displaced by those retailers which can afford the increased rents. Obviously this is not a direct result of pedestrianisation, but a side-effect of the improvement of the physical environment and increasing economic activities. In such cases, a commercial displacement is not (and should not be) an unexpected outcome since even incremental improvements in the built environment increases the value of the property. Therefore, planning authorities should carefully consider preventive measures to protect the diversity of small individual shops which contribute to the maintenance of an authentic image which may be invaluable for such historic centres and their retail zones.

In the KHC, while small, individual shopkeepers have been struggling to keep their businesses as going concerns, the municipality has had no plan to protect local shops which have experienced difficulties regarding the payment of inflated rents. One measure that emerged from our interview with the Association of the Retailers of the Kadıköy Historic Centre is the possibility of controlling business permits. This might indeed be one of the most useful policies to prevent the conversion of the area's image into a mono-functional retail zone, if there is a will to implement restrictions in the licensing of new businesses. An inventory of the retailers along streets could be prepared, with business permits given only to new start-ups in the same retail category. For example, if a florist is closed down in one of the streets of the KHC, instead of giving a license to a restaurant/cafe, the new start-up should be another florist, or some other desirable enterprise. This way, the diversity of retailers might be sustained. Also, family-owned, small size, individual businesses, offering preferred services, might be given local tax exemptions by the municipality. Methods and procedures involved in the assessment of commercial property can also be made to conform with the aim of preventing speculative rent increases.

It can be concluded therefore that in a pedestrianisation scheme there are many factors which need to be considered. Although very

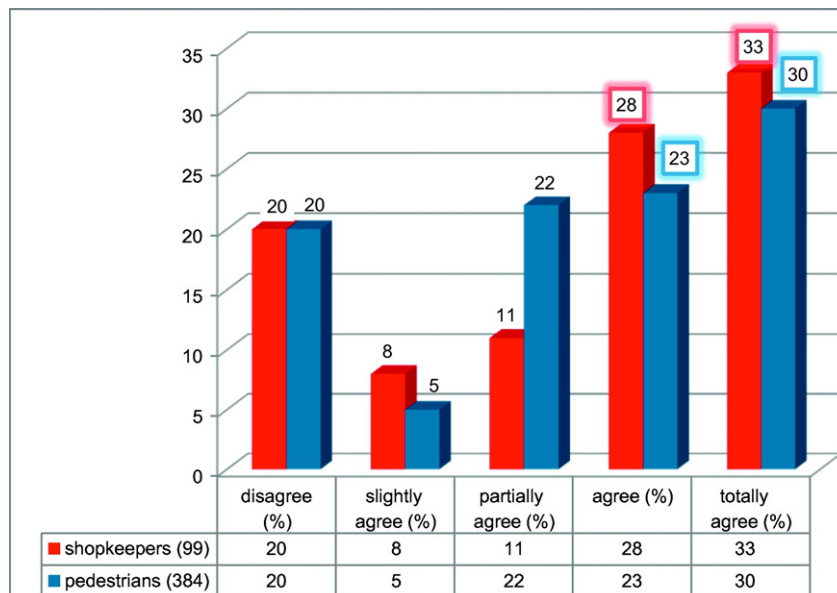


Fig. 10. The responses given to the question 'Have many old/small shops and businesses been shut down'.

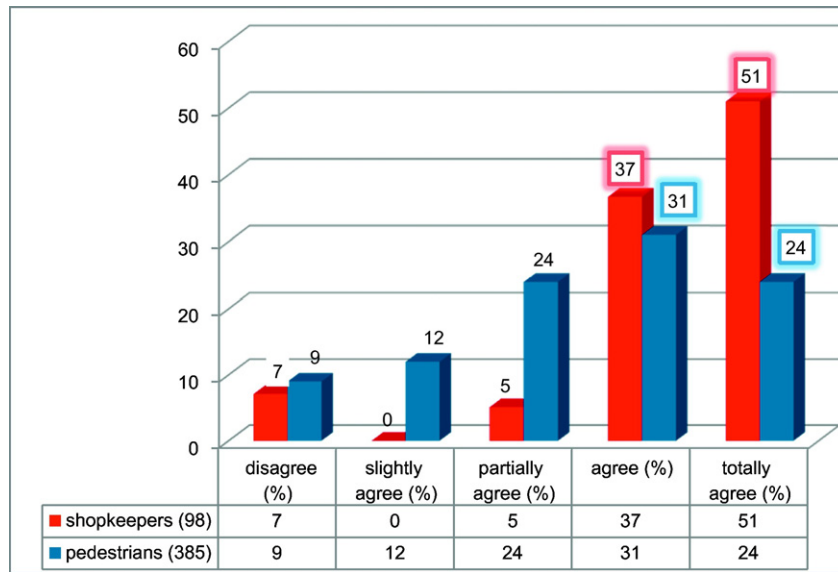


Fig. 11. The responses given to the claim that 'restaurants and cafes numbers are increasing'.

positive results are perceived by interested parties after pedestrianisation schemes are introduced, commercial functions in the pedestrianised areas, together with the dynamics of retailing and the tenure status of commercial properties, may need to be assessed more carefully beforehand. With this in mind, future studies examining pedestrianisation may wish to incorporate more fully these issues in their research agenda. In particular they may wish to highlight the hitherto neglected and unsettling phenomenon of commercial gentrification, and its potentially corrosive effects upon the character and appeal of historic urban retail centres.

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