

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND OUTCOMES OF TRANSFORMATIONS IN  
CITY CENTRES: THE PEDESTRIANISATION OF KADIKOY HISTORIC  
CENTRE

by

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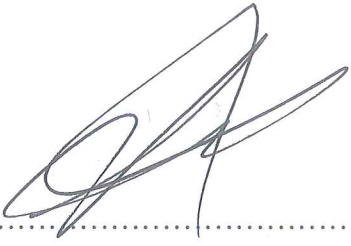
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SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND SPATIAL OUTCOMES OF TRANSFORMATIONS IN CITY  
CENTRES: THE PEDESTRIANISATION OF KADIKÖY HISTORIC CENTER

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## ABSTRACT

### **SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND OUTCOMES OF TRANSFORMATIONS IN CITY CENTRES: The Pedestrianisation of Kadıköy Historic Centre**

The Regeneration Project for Kadıköy Historic Centre began with the pedestrianization of Tellalzade Street in 2004, and then spread to the neighbouring streets. The main hypothesis of this dissertation is that pedestrianisation does not solely mean separating the pedestrian and vehicle traffic, but it also is a practice with significant socio-economic and spatial outcomes. Literature shows that spatial quality of the city centres increases and better designed public spaces are created following pedestrianisation. In the pedestrianised areas, the profitability of the shops and stores/local businesses is increased. Furthermore, the number of consumers and tourists visiting the area rises which results in an increase in the real estate prices around the pedestrianised area. This also causes both social and commercial gentrification. Furthermore, accessibility problems and traffic problems in the neighbouring/nearby streets increase. The increase in the economic success attracts chain stores to the area and causes small-sized businesses to be shut down which results in the loss of the area's authenticity. This dissertation aims to check the validity of the above-stated hypotheses by investigating the post-pedestrianisation social, economic and spatial transformation of Kadıköy Historic Centre.

**Key Words:** Historic City Centre, Kadıköy Historic Centre, Pedestrianization, Urban Regeneration, Urban Renaissance, Commercial Gentrification

## ÖZET

### **KENT MERKEZLERİNDEKİ DÖNÜŞÜMÜN SOSYO - EKONOMİK ve MEKANSAL SONUÇLARI: Kadıköy Tarihi Çarşı Yayalaştırma Örneği**

Kadıköy Tarihi Çarşı Canlandırma Projesi 2004 yılında Tellazade Sokağı'nın yayalaştırılmasıyla başlamış ve daha sonra çevre sokaklara yayılmıştır. Bu tezin ana hipotezi; kent merkezlerinde yayalaştırmanın sadece yaya ve taşıt trafiğini birbirinden ayırmak değil, bunun yanı sıra önemli sosyo-ekonomik ve mekansal sonuçları da olduğunu göstermektedir. Literatürlerde, yayalaştırmadan sonra kent merkezlerinin mekansal kalitesinin arttığından ve daha iyi tasarlanmış kamusal alanın yaratıldığından bahsedilmektedir. Yayalaştırma yapılan yerlerde esnafın/yerel işletmelerin karlılığı artmaktadır. Ayrıca, bölgedeki tüketici ve turist sayısı artış gösterirken bunun bir sonucu olarak yayalaştırılan yerlerde emlak değerleri de yükselmektedir. Bu aynı zamanda hem sosyal hem de ticari açıdan soylulaşmaya (gentrification) neden olmaktadır. Ayrıca yayalaştırma sonucunda, komşu/çevre sokaklara ulaşım problemleri ve trafik sorunu da artmaktadır. Ekonomik başarının artması zincir mağazaları bölgeye çekerken, küçük dükkanların kapanmasına yol açar ve bu olay bölgenin otantikliğinin kaybolmasına neden olmaktadır. Bu tezde yayalaştırma sonrası Kadıköy Tarihi Çarşı'nın sosyal, ekonomik ve mekansal dönüşümü, yukarıda belirtilen varsayımların geçerliliğini test etmek amacıyla incelenecektir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Tarihi Kent Merkezleri, Kadıköy Tarihi Çarşı, Yayalaştırma, Kentsel Dönüşüm, Kentsel Rönesans, Ticari Soylulaşma

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT .....	II
ABSTRACT.....	III
ÖZET .....	IV
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	V
LIST OF FIGURES .....	VIII
LIST OF TABLES .....	XV
LIST OF SYMBOLS/ABBREVIATIONS.....	XVIII
1.INTRODUCTION .....	1
1.1.Aim .....	1
1.2.Scope.....	3
1.3. Hypotheses and propositions .....	3
1.4.Methodology.....	6
2. TRANSFORMATION OF THE CITY CENTRES THROUGHOUT HISTORY AND ITS SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND SPATIAL OUTCOMES.....	7
2.1. BACKGROUND INFORMATION RELATING TO THE TRANSFORMATION OF CITIES AND CITY CENTRES FROM 19 <sup>th</sup> CENTURY TO EARLY 21 <sup>st</sup> CENTURY .....	7
2.2. BACKGROUND INFORMATION ABOUT THE TRANSFORMATION THE CITIES HAVE BEEN GOING THROUGH IN THE 21 <sup>st</sup> CENTURY .....	10
2.3. PROBLEMS FACED BY THE HISTORIC CITY CENTRES AND TRANSFORMATION PRACTICES .....	13
2.3.1. Physical and Functional Insufficiency Problems.....	14
2.3.2. Cultural and Sociological Challenges.....	15
2.3.3. Economic Challenges.....	15
2.3.4. Legal and Administrative Challenges.....	16
2.3.5. Obsolescence. ....	16
2.4. 'PEDESTRIANISATION' AS AN URBAN TRANSFORMATION.....	18
2.4.1. Development of The Pedestrianisation Concept Throughout	

History and The Types of Pedestrianisation .....	20
2.4.2. The Importance of Pedestrians and Pedestrianisation for The Transportation Planning.....	26
2.4.3. Positive Aspects of The Pedestrianisation Activities for the Urban Areas .....	28
2.4.4. The Negative Aspects of The Pedestrianisation Activities.....	31
2.5. THE PEDESTRIANISATION PROJECTS IMPLEMENTED IN THE EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN CITY CENTRES AND THEIR RESULTS .....	34
2.5.1.Essen Pedestrian Zone .....	34
2.5.2. Copenhagen Pedestrian Zone.....	37
2.5.3. Gazi Mustafa Kemal Paşa Boulevard – Denizli .....	42
2.5.4. The Historic Peninsula – Istanbul.....	44
3. TRANSFORMATION OF KADIKÖY HISTORIC CENTRE THROUGHOUT HISTORY AND THE PROJECTS IMPLEMENTED .....	47
3.1. THE LOCATION AND IMPORTANCE OF THE KADIKÖY COUNTY IN ISTANBUL THROUGHOUT HISTORY.....	47
3.1.1. Developmental Process of Kadıköy Historic Centre .....	55
3.2. DESIGNATION OF KADIKÖY HISTORIC CENTRE TO BE A PROTECTED AREA .....	60
3.3. PRACTICES WITHIN AND DEVELOPMENTAL STEPS OF THE PEDESTRIANISATION PROJECT FOR KADIKÖY HISTORIC CENTRE AND THE ACTORS PLAYING A ROLE IN THIS PROCESS: THE MUNICIPALITY OF THE COUNTY OF KADIKÖY, THE FPPECH [ÇEKÜL] AND KADIKÖY HISTORIC CENTRE ASSOCIATION .....	62
3.4. DISTRIBUTION OF THE RETAIL TRADE AND SPECIALISATIONS IN KADIKÖY HISTORIC CENTRE FROM 1980 TO 2014.....	77
4. EVALUATION OF THE FINDINGS OF THE SURVEYS AND INTERVIEWS FOR THE PEDESTRIANISATION PROJECT FOR KADIKÖY HISTORIC CENTRE .....	98
4.1. THE PEDESTRIAN PROFILE OF THE AREA .....	98

4.2. THE COMMENTS ABOUT THE ‘PEDESTRIANISATION OF THE HISTORIC CENTRE’ BASED ON THE PEDESTRIAN SURVEYS ( <i>POSITIVE EFFECTS</i> ).....	105
4.3. THE COMMENTS ABOUT THE ‘PEDESTRIANISATION OF THE HISTORIC CENTRE’ BASED ON THE PEDESTRIAN SURVEYS ( <i>NEGATIVE EFFECTS</i> ) .....	109
4.4. THE PROBLEMS OF THE AREA AND THEIR SOLUTIONS AS STATED BY THE PEDESTRIANS .....	113
4.5. THE SHOPKEEPER PROFILE OF THE AREA .....	116
4.6. THE COMMENTS ABOUT THE ‘PEDESTRIANISATION OF THE HISTORIC CENTRE’ BASED ON THE SHOPKEEPER SURVEYS ( <i>POSITIVE EFFECTS</i> ).....	120
4.7. THE COMMENTS ABOUT THE ‘PEDESTRIANISATION OF THE HISTORIC CENTRE’ BASED ON THE SHOPKEEPER SURVEYS ( <i>NEGATIVE EFFECTS</i> ).....	123
4.8. THE PROBLEMS OF THE AREA AND THE SOLUTIONS AS STATED BY THE SHOPKEEPERS .....	132
4.9. INTERVIEWS .....	137
5.CONCLUSION.....	140
6.REFERENCES .....	154
7. APPENDICES .....	162



## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.	Use of the rooftop in the city of Almere.....	32
Figure 2A.	The old and new pedestrian zone and ring road in the city of Essen .	35
Figure 2B.	The old and new pedestrian zone and ring road in the city of Essen .	35
Figure 3.	The old and new pedestrian zone and commercial strip in the city of Essen .....	36
Figure 4.	The old and new pedestrian zone and commercial strip in the city of Essen .....	36
Figure 5.	Overview of the city of Copenhagen.....	37
Figure 6.	The 6-step pedestrianisation activities between 1962 and 1996.....	38
Figure 7A.	The pedestrian zone along the canal in the city centre of Copenhagen .....	39
Figure 7B.	The pedestrian zone along the canal in the city centre of Copenhagen .....	39
Figure 8A.	Copenhagen City – bike system .....	40
Figure 8B.	Stroget Street – Copenhagen .....	40
Figure 9.	Stroget HighStreet .....	41

Figure 10A. Before the pedestrianisation of Radhuspladsen - Copenhagen .....	41
Figure 10B. After the pedestrianisation of Radhuspladsen - Copenhagen .....	41
Figure 11. The Statue of the Glass Rooster - Denizli .....	43
Figure 12. Main transportation axes of the city .....	44
Figure 13. Map of the Historic Peninsula .....	45
Figure 14A. Divanyolu Main Street - Historic Peninsula.....	47
Figure 14B. Marketplace – Historic Peninsula.....	47
Figure 15. Kadıköy Historic Centre (Ottoman period).....	49
Figure 16. Kadıköy Quay (1857).....	51
Figure 17. Haydarpaşa Train Station (1873).....	51
Figure 18. The location of Kadıköy in Istanbul.....	52
Figure 19. The districts of Kadıköy .....	54
Figure 20. Kadıköy Historic Centre.....	56
Figure 21. Kadıköy Historic Centre throughout history .....	57
Figure 22. An old view from Muvakkithane Street .....	58
Figure 23. The Historic Centre between 1938 and 1939 in the Pervititch Map ..	59

Figure 24.	The Partnership Chart of the Regeneration Project for Kadıköy Historic Centre.....	64
Figure 25.	The Project Management Diagram.....	65
Figure 26.	Strategic Goals Scheme .....	66
Figure 27.	The location and access routes of the Historic Centre Protected Area in Kadıköy .....	67
Figure 28.	Kadıköy Historic Centre Revitalisation Programme.....	69
Figure 29.	Kadıköy Municipality 2005 Work Plan .....	70
Figure 30.	The Regeneration Project for Kadıköy Historic Centre – Restoring the image and themes of the Tellalzade Street - 1.....	71
Figure 31.	The Regeneration Project for Kadıköy Historic Centre – Restoring the image and themes of the Tellalzade Street - 2.....	72
Figure 32.	Kadıköy Historic Centre Floorings.....	74
Figure 33.	Kadıköy Historic Centre Urban Furniture (Yasa Street, 2005).....	74
Figure 34.	Kadıköy Historic Centre after 2005 Spring Cleaning .....	75
Figure 35.	The current borders of the pedestrianized area in Kadıköy Historic Centre – 2014 .....	76
Figure 36.	Kadıköy Historic Centre and the Commercial Strips .....	77
Figure 37.	Land use map issued by the Municipality of the County of Kadıköy in 2004 .....	80

Figure 38.	Land use in 2014 as updated by the author .....	81
Figure 39.	Changes to the street in the area identified by ground floor analysis.	82
Figure 40.	Ground floor analysis of Muvakkithane Street in 2004 .....	83
Figure 41.	Ground floor analysis of Muvakkithane Street in 2014 .....	83
Figure 42.	The changes in the results of the ground floor analysis of Muvakkithane Street.....	83
Figure 43.	Muvakkithane Street 2014.....	84
Figure 44.	Ground floor analysis of Mühürdar Street in 2004.....	85
Figure 45.	Ground floor analysis of Mühürdar Street in 2014.....	85
Figure 46.	The changes in the results of the ground floor analysis of Mühürdar Street.....	85
Figure 47.	Mühürdar Street 2014.....	86
Figure 48.	Ground floor analysis of Tellalzade Street in 2004.....	87
Figure 49.	Ground floor analysis of Tellalzade Street in 2014.....	87
Figure 50.	The changes in the results of the ground floor analysis of Tellalzade Street .....	87
Figure 51.	Tellalzade Street 2012 .....	88
Figure 52.	Ground floor analysis of Serasker Street in 2004.....	89

Figure 53.	Ground floor analysis of Serasker Street in 2014.....	89
Figure 54.	The changes in the results of the ground floor analysis of Serasker Street.....	89
Figure 55.	Serasker Street 2011 .....	90
Figure 56.	Ground floor analysis of Yasa Street in 2004.....	91
Figure 57.	Ground floor analysis of Yasa Street in 2014.....	91
Figure 58.	The Changes in the results of the ground floor analysis of Yasa Street.....	91
Figure 59.	Yasa Street 2011 .....	92
Figure 60.	Ground floor analysis of Üzerlik Street in 2004.....	93
Figure 61.	Ground floor analysis of Üzerlik Street in 2014.....	93
Figure 62.	The changes in the results of the ground floor analysis of Üzerlik Street.....	93
Figure 63.	Ground floor analysis of Körler Street in 2004 .....	95
Figure 64.	Ground floor analysis of Körler Street in 2014 .....	95
Figure 65.	The changes in the results of the ground floor analysis of Körler Street.....	95
Figure 66.	The domestic and foreign chain stores in the area.....	97

Figure 67.	The occupational groups of the pedestrians in the Area.....	99
Figure 68.	The counties in which the visitors of the area live .....	101
Figure 69.	The modes of transport used by the pedestrians to reach the area .....	102
Figure 70.	The pedestrians' purposes of visiting the area.....	103
Figure 71.	The pedestrians' frequency of visiting the Area.....	104
Figure 72.	Figure showing the responses to the item 'The number of domestic and foreign tourists visiting the area increased' evaluated using the Likert method .....	107
Figure 73.	The responses to the question 'Are you content with the 'Yellow Line' for the tables to be put on the streets?' .....	108
Figure 74.	The reasons for the decrease in the number of visitors of the area (Results of the pedestrian survey) .....	111
Figure 75.	Figure created using the Likert method showing the responses to the question 'The car park problems in and around the area increased' based on the pedestrian survey.....	112
Figure 76.	The shopkeepers' responses to the question 'Where do you live?'....	117
Figure 77.	The responses to the question 'How many years have you been operating a business in the area?' .....	1119
Figure 78.	Figure produced using Likert scale showing the shopkeepers' responses to the item 'The sales increased' .....	122

Figure 79.	The responses to the shopkeeper survey question ‘Do you think the post-pedestrianisation number of the visitors increase?’ .....	124
Figure 80.	The reasons stated by the shopkeepers for the decrease in the number of visitors .....	125
Figure 81.	The shopkeepers’ responses to the item ‘Loading/unloading for the shops/stores became harder’ .....	126
Figure 82.	Re-classification of the responses to the questions, evaluated using Likert scale, to represent two separate groups which are the businesses having been operated for 10 years or more and the businesses having been operated for less than 10 years .....	128
Figure 83.	Figure illustrating the responses to the question ‘What are the challenges of the area for you?’ .....	135
Figure 84.	Distribution of shopkeepers’ responses to the question ‘Many old/small-sized businesses were shut down’ .....	139

## LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.	Pedestrianised Areas in the European and Turkish Cities.....	25
Table 2.	The Effect of the Pedestrianisation Activities on Trade in Some Cities	31
Table 3.	Industries in the Central Area in the post-1980 period.....	78
Table 4.	Sex-age distribution of the pedestrians visiting the area.....	98
Table 5.	Detailed tabulation of the respondents responding ‘Other to the question ‘What is your occupation?’ .....	100
Table 6.	Detailed tabulation of the respondents responding ‘Other’ to the question ‘What is your purpose of visiting the area?’ .....	103
Table 7.	The purposes of visiting of the respondents visiting the Area more than once a week .....	104
Table 8.	Comments of the pedestrians about closing of the Historic Centre to vehicle traffic (Positive effects on the area) .....	106
Table 9.	Detailed tabulation of the respondents responding ‘Yes’ to the question ‘Are you content with the “Yellow Lines” for the tables to be put in the streets?’ .....	109
Table 10.	Comments of the pedestrians about closing of Kadıköy Historic Centre to traffic (Negative effects on the area) .....	110
Table 11.	Responses of the pedestrians to the question ‘What do you think the problems of the area are?’ .....	113



Table 12. Responses to the question ‘What should be done to solve the problems?’ .....	115
Table 13. Sex-age distribution of the shopkeepers in the area .....	116
Table 14. Detailed tabulation of the respondents responding ‘Other’ to the question ‘Where do you.....	118
Table 15. The shopkeepers’ of the shopkeepers to the question ‘Which mode(s) of transport do you use to reach the area?’ .....	119
Table 16. The comments of the shopkeepers about closing of the Historic Centre to traffic (Positive effects on the area).....	121
Table 17. The comments of the shopkeepers about closing of the Historic Centre to traffic ( <i>Negative effects on the area</i> ).....	123
Table 18. Re-classification of the responses to the questions, evaluated using Likert scale, to represent two groups which are the businesses having been operated for 10 years or more and the businesses having been operated for less than 10 years .....	127
Table 19. Re-classification of the responses to the questions evaluated using T-test method into two groups as the businesses having been operated for <b>less than 10 years</b> and the businesses having been operated for <b>10 years or more</b> ‘ .....	129
Table 20. Evaluation of the businesses having been operated for <b>less than 10 years</b> and the businesses having been operated for <b>10 years or more</b> using T-test method .....	131

Table 21. The responses of the pedestrians to the question ‘What do you think the problems of the area are?’ .....	133
Table 22. The responses to the question ‘What should be done to solve the problems?’ .....	134
Table 23. Detailed tabulation of the respondents responding ‘Other’ to the question ‘What are the challenges of the area for you as a shopkeeper?’ .....	136
Table 24. The challenges for the cross-questioned shopkeepers responding ‘Yes’ to the question ‘Are you the owner of the shop?’ .....	136
Table 25. The responses to the question ‘Did the Municipality of the County of Kadıköy offer any help to the small-sized businesses having been operated in the area for a long time on the issue of shop rents increased after pedestrianisation?’ .....	137
Table 26. The comparison between Vehicle-oriented Balanced Transportation System and Human-oriented Balanced Transportation System .....	169

## LIST OF SYMBOLS/ABBREVIATIONS

FPPECH: Protection and promotion of environment and cultural heritage.

m<sup>2</sup>: Square meters

# 1.INTRODUCTION

## 1.1. AIM

The purpose of this thesis is to reveal the social, economic, physical and environmental effects of the pedestrianization of historic city centres, used as a tool of regeneration, by illustrating with the example of Kadıköy Historic Centre. Renewal and pedestrianization project for Kadıköy Historic Centre began with the pedestrianization of Tellalzade Street in 2004, and then spread to the neighbouring streets. Within the 10-year period as from the first day of the pedestrianization project, the pedestrian traffic in Kadıköy has remarkably increased. The renewal project caused an increase in the number of nearby shops as well as changes therein. This increase, in turn, rendered the place more attractive, and thus many local chain stores opened in the vicinity. At the same time, however, some businesses were shut down. ‘Kadıköy Historic Centre Association’, founded as a non-governmental organization right after the renewal project was launched, carried out a range of activities relating to transformation of the area as well. Therefore, the renewal project for Kadıköy Historic Centre was realized with the participation of various actors such as the local government, shopkeepers, Turkish Foundation for Protection and Promotion of Environmental and Cultural Heritage (FPPECH [ÇEKÜL]) and non-governmental organizations.

The main hypothesis of this dissertation is that closing the urban areas to traffic which are to be pedestrianised is not a sufficient solution on its own. Pedestrianization is a holistic method which effectively analyzes the pedestrian-vehicle axes, enhances accessibility, places urban design tools in the area and makes one desire to spend time in the area, and particularly, should be interpreted as a versatile approach. Accordingly, pedestrianisation is a practice with significant socio-economic and spatial outcomes. Literature shows that spatial quality of the city centres increases and better designed public spaces are created following pedestrianisation. In the pedestrianised areas, the profitability of the shops and stores/local businesses is increased while the ratio of carbon emission and the number of fatal accidents

and injuries decrease. Furthermore, the number of consumers and tourists visiting the area rises which results in an increase in the real estate prices around the pedestrianised area. Although the pedestrianisation process is discussed by considering these hypotheses correct, pedestrianisation has very significant negative outcomes when carried out without a plan or schedule. Loss of vitality in the pedestrianised area may also result in the economic weakness of the businesses in the vicinity and interruption of the pedestrian flow into the area. Apart from these, in the case that the pedestrianisation is successful, a number of businesses investing the area with vitality, locality/authenticity and identity may be displaced as well. This causes both social and commercial gentrification. As a result, we may see a city centre which hosts national and foreign chain stores, and lost its identity.

The present study also aims to display the importance and necessity of discussing pedestrianisation from a versatile and holistic viewpoint. Within this framework, the pedestrianisation is not purely closing a particular area to traffic. It is a concept which should be addressed in consideration of various aspects such as analysing the positive and negative effects of closing the streets/main streets in the area to traffic, enabling both pedestrian and vehicle accessibility of the area, and providing the existing commercial properties with required services. The pedestrianisation projects designed without a holistic view may also produce some negative outcomes such as accessibility and traffic problems relating to the neighbouring/adjacent streets following pedestrianisation of a particular area, and underdevelopment of the nearby streets as a result of the increased attraction to the pedestrianised area. Therefore, it seems hard for the pedestrianisation practices inconsiderate to the transport relations and accessibility, and bearing no socio-economic, historical, environmental, spatial and aesthetic concerns to achieve success.

This dissertation investigates the post-pedestrianisation social, economic and spatial transformation of Kadıköy Historic Centre to check the validity of the above-stated hypotheses. It aims to have an understanding of how the commercial functions in the central areas have transformed within the process of rapid change, and particularly of transformation and redevelopment, the city centres have been going through.

## 1.2. SCOPE

Part I of this thesis comprises a background information section describing the transformations the cities have gone through since 19<sup>th</sup> century to date. After discussing the problems faced by the historic city centres, this part covers the pedestrianisation concept which is an important tool of transformation practices carried out in the historic city centres. Part II describes the historical background and types of pedestrianisation. It investigates, within the concept of pedestrianisation, the importance of the pedestrians and pedestrianisation for the transportation planning. It identifies the positive and negative aspects of the pedestrianisation practices. Part II then discusses the concept of commercial gentrification which affects the area following pedestrianisation. After describing the previous pedestrianisation projects across Europe and Turkey, the thesis carries on with Part III. This part discusses the position and importance of the County of Kadıköy in the city of Istanbul. It addresses the actors taking a part in the pedestrianisation project for Kadıköy Historic Centre, and then describes the project process and the results thereof. Part IV provides, under the Conclusion chapter, the assessment of the surveys and interviews conducted within the scope of this thesis.

## 1.3. HYPOTHESES AND PROPOSITIONS

The main hypothesis of this dissertation is that the *pedestrianisation* as a tool of urban design is not only a process of separating pedestrians from vehicles but also a process with significant socio-economic and spatial outcomes. Therefore, it seems hard for the pedestrianisation practices inconsiderate to the transport relations and accessibility, and bearing no socio-economic, historical, environmental, spatial and aesthetical concerns to achieve success.

Today local governments in a majority of cities across Europe are trying to renew the historic centres in order to attract more visitors and improve the economic status of the city as a whole. However, this process has negative aspects as well as positive ones. These aspects

should be comprehensively analysed prior to the pedestrianisation practices and implemented in the project. Within this context, the thesis contains general propositions and propositions specific to Kadıköy Historic Centre which are as follows:

### **General Propositions**

- The pedestrianisation projects and practices have a long history, which have been implemented particularly in Germany and across Europe and the United States as from the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the context of the pedestrianisation projects have evolved based on the changing socio-economic and political structure. Today, pedestrianisation practices are carried out within a background occupied by the intercity competition setting and the urban renaissance agenda, and produce unpredicted outcomes distinct from the previous era.
- Within the above-stated framework, the *pedestrianisation* as a tool of urban design is not only a process of separating pedestrians from vehicles but also a process with significant socio-economic and spatial outcomes.
- The pedestrianisation projects inconsiderate to the transport relations and accessibility, and bearing no socio-economic, historical, environmental, spatial and aesthetical concerns have less potential to be successful.
- The pedestrianisation does not simply mean clearing the vehicles out of a particular place. Ignoring the accessibility of other car and pedestrian roads arriving at the street to be pedestrianised and closing only the related street to vehicle traffic produces social, physical and economic results in the long term.
- The pedestrianisation practices carried out disregarding their effects on the neighbouring roads and streets cause traffic problems for the neighbouring/nearby roads leading to the related area. This results in deviations from the benefits aimed for by the pedestrianisation practices, and furthermore, is not sustainable due to the

increased carbon emission associated with the congestion emerging in the secondary roads.

- Inaccessibility of the pedestrianised area causes the interruption of pedestrian flow into the area and economic weakness of the businesses operating in the vicinity.
  
- In the case that the pedestrianisation is successful, a number of small businesses investing the area with vitality, locality/authenticity and identity may be displaced as well. Depending on the increase in real estate prices, both social and commercial gentrification are observed **unless any measures are taken**.
  
- Following pedestrianisation, the retail trade in the area changes not only as a result of the urban design practices but also depending on *the policies of the central government and the local governments*.

### **Area-Specific Propositions**

- Kadıköy Historic Centre has been going through an ongoing gentrification process since 2004 in which it was pedestrianised.
  
- It is believed that both domestic and foreign tourists have moved toward Kadıköy Historic Centre due to the restrictions and prohibitions imposed on the business organisations operating in the food and drink industry in Beyoğlu District of the city of Istanbul.



## 1.4. METHODOLOGY

Within the scope of this thesis, a literature review was carried out by reviewing the master's theses, periodicals such as online and printed resources, and various books relating to the urban transformation and pedestrianisation theories. Following the literature review performed to determine the spatial and socio-economic development of Kadıköy Historic Centre within the historical process, interviews were made with the Kadıköy Municipality, the FPPECH (ÇEKÜL) and Kadıköy Historic Centre Association. Additionally, there are approximately 317 ground floor commercial properties. 100 shopkeepers were interviewed via Kadıköy Historic Centre Association, who agreed to participate in the survey. Furthermore, 398 visitor surveys were conducted in July 2014 on all the streets covered by the pedestrianised area.

The questionnaires aim to get an understating of the physical, social and economic status of the area. And ordinal and interval Likert-type scale was used to prepare the questionnaires. The questionnaires were filled out during face-to-face interviews with the pedestrians and shopkeepers. The questionnaire results were evaluated on SPSS software. Additionally, the land use data pertaining to the year 2004 received from the Kadıköy Municipality was updated. And thus, the 10-year change was investigated.

In Part II, this dissertation provides a framework relating to the conceptual and practical aspects of the pedestrianisation theories and discusses the pedestrianisation projects and outcomes thereof within this framework by illustrating with the examples from Europe and Turkey. Part III deals with the economic, social and spatial changes in County of Kadıköy throughout history and describes the process and implementation of Kadıköy Historic Centre Regeneration Project. Part IV discusses the results of the survey and interviews conducted in the area. Part V includes the results and conclusions.

## **2. TRANSFORMATION OF THE CITY CENTRES THROUGHOUT HISTORY AND ITS SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND SPATIAL OUTCOMES**

### **2.1. BACKGROUND INFORMATION RELATING TO THE TRANSFORMATION OF CITIES AND CITY CENTRES FROM 19<sup>th</sup> CENTURY TO EARLY 21<sup>st</sup> CENTURY**

Since mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, the European cities have been going through a rapid transformation process. With the acceleration brought to the cities by the Industrial Revolution as a consequence of evolving production systems in this period, spatial and socio-economic changes took place. Since the sources like cheap energy, water and coal were close to the city centres, the industry came into the city centres as well. As a result of site selection by the industrial/manufacturing facilities in the city centres, land prices in the central areas dramatically increased upon which these areas were used only for commercial purposes. The need for workforce and housing arose in the city centres hosting these facilities, and therefore, housing zones were established around the industrial area. The zones lacking a great deal of services had become troubled places spreading illness and crime. Accordingly, the first transformation activities were rehabilitation and improvement practices conducted in the neighbourhoods built for housing of the rapidly growing population of the cities which were industrialised in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, and thus became host cities for migrants [1].

The urban slums and decay areas having emerged in the cities which were left with significant damages after the World War II and are of great importance due to their historical heritage led the relevant authorities to be closely engaged in the issue and seek for solutions. Thereupon, the cities were reconstructed and the structures were repaired in the post-war period. Within this process, the poor populations settled in the city centres were intended to be removed therefrom. Particularly, in this period called the “Federal Bulldozer” period in the United States, unsanitary houses inhabited by the working class were demolished (slum clearance), disregarding the conditions and state of the low-income group, and huge blocks were constructed. As a result of all these, the need for regeneration of the problem urban areas

arose. In order to overcome this issue, the states and all affiliate bodies thereof developed various policies, held meetings, issued reports and began renewing their cities [2].

Slum clearance operations and large-scale redevelopment projects in the 1950s caused all the profit raised from the relevant areas to be retained by the high-income groups. This resulted in the failure of other classes to meet their socio-economic needs and caused social unrest. Accordingly, the central and local governments softened their attitudes and policies in the 1960s. Traditional designers were blamed for imposing their own values on the society, and the idea of bottom-up planning emerged [3].

Since the mid-1970, urban decay has been seen in the city centres due to a number of reasons such as overpopulation, economic conditions, changes in manufacturing methods and deindustrialisation. Urban decay due to various factors has led the relevant authorities to seek for solutions to eliminate this decay. It caused social and spatial changes across Europe and the United States. “In this period, apart from the rehabilitation activities, international policies were adopted relating to the protection of cities and cultural heritage, and it was declared that the cultural heritage was the common heritage of humanity and this idea had to be developed and spread” [4].

All in all, post-war transformation activities around the world usually aimed for slum clearance in order to redevelop the destructed and demolished cities.<sup>1</sup> Urban transformation evolved into urban renewal projects generally subsidised by the state and more focusing on housing.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Types of urban transformation practices may be summarised as follows: 1- Revival - Revitalisation: Revival or reanimation of the urban areas going through a process of socio-cultural, economic or physical decay by means of eliminating or replacing the decay factors. 2- Renewal - Renovation: This type of practice aiming for the renewal of urban areas connotes demolishing and reconstructing as well. 3- Regeneration: This means reintroducing the completely destructed, deformed or desolate areas which have therefore become decay areas by regenerating a new fabric or improving the existing one. 4- Rehabilitation: Restoring old urban sites which are seeing deformation but have not yet lost their authenticity with their former states [2].

<sup>2</sup> Some of the definitions given in the academic literature relating to the **urban transformation** concept are as follows: Lexical definition of the term is “taking another form, change in someone’s or

With the economic problems in the 1980s led by globalization, public resources diminished and urban transformation projects took a form other than the former practices after free market economy was adopted and the private sector was involved in the process. Furthermore, large social housing zones built after the World War II were left idle following the removal of the industry from the city centres, and projects were developed for the coastal areas hosting inactivated quays and shipyards.

The cities themselves developed several responses in order to improve their economic competitiveness and deal with urban social problems. These responses typically focus on the fields of recreation, entertainment, cultural and creative sectors, commerce and housing which are intended to contribute to the urban transformation. Another strategy adopted by a range of cities comprises place marketing and place promotion activities contributing to the transformation of the city's image. Although this concept is not a recent one, it became popular in the 1980s as a response to deindustrialisation and the city images having highly degraded within the process. Place marketing and promotion activities and, within the context of ever-challenging intercity competition conditions, investments in the cities aiming for investment buoyancy around a more globalised economic structure enable the display of positive images that will attract tourists and populations. This strategy also enables the cities to attract new income flows based on recreation and tourism. Images opted for the place marketing activities draw a picture of entertainment, mobility and excitement, innovation, creativity and limits, improvement and leadership, and a clean, safe and warm environment. Common tools and strategies used for the place marketing activities, however, consist of

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something's appearance" (The Turkish Language Association Dictionary, 2013). The conceptual definition, however, is "a comprehensive vision and act resolving urban problems and intended to find a permanent solution for the economic, physical, social and environmental conditions of a changed area" [28]. It is a set of actions taken in order to establish sustainability and create a more liveable and sanitary environment in urban slums. Another definition is that it is a set of practices to increase the attractiveness of the old urban areas so that these areas will preserve and see an increase in their economic vitality, and attract foreign investors as well [75]. According to Turok [76], urban transformation is a set of various, sophisticated, and usually vaguely defined actions including several actors and interests. Turok states that the urban transformation can be defined by clarifying all three aspects of it [76]. He says "The urban transformation aims to change the nature of a particular place and involve the community and the other actors who have say in the future of the said place in the process. Depending on the specific problems and the potential of the region, it includes a great variety of objectives and activities intersecting with the state's fundamental functional roles and responsibilities. It has a shareholding/partnership structure usually between different shareholders (partners) although the specific corporate structure of this shareholding/partnership varies."

landscape strategies including the strategies increasing the sales by means of advertisement and promotion, the event-based strategies such as festivals and urban shows and demonstrations, and the principles of urban design and place making. Within the scope of place marketing activities, it is also observed that the ‘branding’ approach has gained a broader use [3].<sup>3</sup>

## **2.2. BACKGROUND INFORMATION ABOUT THE TRANSFORMATION THE CITIES HAVE BEEN GOING THROUGH IN THE 21<sup>ST</sup> CENTURY**

In the 2000s, European cities, particularly in the UK, saw new practices intended for the cities and the city centres. Following the appointment of British architect Richard Rogers as the chair of the Urban Task Force in 1998, UTF issued a report titled ‘Towards an Urban Renaissance’. In this report, they focused on the reasons for the decline the cities were faced with and aimed to produce solutions to trigger transformation therein. Three main trends were revealed within this framework, which were the search for design excellence, the redevelopment of the former industrial sites, and the densely populated urban areas. Three main parameters emerged in the Urban Renaissance policy, which were sustainability, diversity and community [5].

It was emphasized that urban density had to be increased in order to enable the sustainability principle and the Urban Renaissance agenda. Thereupon, increasing the urban density was considered to be a new and rescue solution for regeneration of the economically declining city centres. At this point, the view that the proposed cities with a high density and a compact design would prevent urban sprawl, reduce the pressure on the open areas and the agricultural lands, and serve for the principle of environmental sustainability by reducing traffic congestion and pollution gained importance. The agenda having consequently emerged for the

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<sup>3</sup> ‘Hard branding’ connotes authentic structures and places developed to contribute to a place brand or image while ‘soft branding’ is associated with more abstract qualifications such as innovation, design quality, creativity, or entertainment and excitement through ‘personal’ or ‘event’ branding [8].

city centres was the urban design projects and practices prepared in consideration of various functions and themes, and particularly the pedestrianisation [5].

Urban Renaissance based on the fields of entertainment, culture, retail trade and housing brings some criticism with it. One of these criticisms is that the processes of gentrification, exclusion, and privatisation of the urban area are encouraged. These processes had such an impact that certain social groups were excluded. Most projects based on the industries of recreation, entertainment, culture, trade and housing promoted and encouraged the tendencies to gentrify the city centres and the inner-city slums through trade and housing function [6]. New shopping centres are becoming highly secured and privatised environments, which were formerly used as public spaces, for the wealthy middle-income groups [7]. Furthermore, organisation of the local festivals, commercialisation of the local cultures and exclusion of the community by the urban local governments have also been topics of concern [8].

Exclusion of the social participation processes by the urban transformation projects emerges as an important issue as well. Social groups were affected negatively by the gentrification processes associated with the housing-oriented transformation and could not express their ideas about the new mega-scale project proposals for city centres. Consequently, they had to witness their cultures being stolen or commercialised through cultural festivals and the like by the urban local governments [9]. Additionally, prestige projects and mega projects militate in favour of the city centres instead of rehabilitating the urban slums. Since the power of decision making is retained not by the local independent businesses but by the multinational organisations, renewed city centres have lost their local and regional identities. These cloned, branded and stereotyped city centres have been the typical products of the shopping-oriented transformed areas. The desire to spatially compete for leisure time activities and own the urban reputation through promotional activities like festivals caused the city centres to become uniform and identical areas [10].

Today, the city centres adopt a consumption-oriented development (shopping centres, museums, galleries etc.). Big cities like London, Paris and Amsterdam successfully manage to

keep the manufacturing and consumption industries together in the city centres as they did in the past. However, mid-sized cities become destined to turn their central areas into rent-oriented anonymous centres. This is mainly because the cities are engaged in a war of competition. With this competition pressure, the mid-sized cities feel a continuous need to renew their centres [11]. The most significant distinction between the global cities and the other big cities is that the global cities are an inseparable part of the global economy. The global cities are the projects which can only be realised with the reproduction of the city within the mechanisms of neoliberal production and consumption and the framework of capitalist accumulation processes. These projects comprise spatial and social processes, as well as processes which are political in terms of content and practice [12].<sup>4</sup>

Consequently, it should be noted that each settlement has its own specific features and each city has a unique economy, policy, culture and geography. Therefore, optimisation of the conditions by the local governments is an important issue. Accordingly, the future urban transformation approaches, past experiences and city-scale examples should be taken into consideration, social, economic and physical interdependence of the urban problems should be regarded, and furthermore, previous mistakes should not be repeated.

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<sup>4</sup> From this point of view, Istanbul is making a very good progress to be a global city as well. Global(urban)isation strategies are implemented with the alliance between the state, the capital and the local governments. This can be described as follows [12]:

- a) The segmentation of the city into detached islands through the construction of profit-making fragments of the global urbanization catalogue, such as shopping centres, gated communities, mass housing settlements (THDA [TOKİ]: the Turkish Housing Development Administration), residences, plazas, airports, techno parks, golf courts, cruise harbours.
- b) Rendering lower and middle-income classes 'powerless' in the face of this transformation by means of forced evictions and legal pressure in order to secure the land necessary for the construction of these urban fragments as a result of which social and class-based segregation is conducted alongside spatial segregation.
- c) The production of urban corridors and transportation infrastructures that will facilitate the flow of capital, goods and humans between these fragments of the urban catalogue.

### **2.3. PROBLEMS FACED BY THE HISTORIC CITY CENTRES AND TRANSFORMATION PRACTICES**

With the large-scale renewal operations in the 1950s (the Federal Bulldozer method), post-1980 deindustrialisation movements and post-1990 transformation of the city centres in collaboration between the public and the private sectors, the historic city centres began to deform. Moreover, illegal housing and zoning amnesties made the situation inextricable.

With the rapid growth of the cities, the following emerge in the historic city fabrics and centres [13]:

- “Planning activities aiming not to protect but even to demolish are carried out.
- Within the scope of these plans, the traditional urban fabrics are demolished for the purpose of speculation, and floor areas and heights contradicting the said urban fabric as well as new buildings and structures nonconforming with the environment emerge.
- The former planning activities are discontinued upon a decision of protected area, whereas the traditional city fabrics and the historic city centres become neglected, unprotected, obsolete, and desolate slum areas due to the insufficient protective planning and practices.
- Traffic and parking problems due to ever-growing building and population density.
- Following abandoning of the traditional city fabrics by the real estate owners, the social transformation in these areas faces such aspects as squatting and slums.”

During the post-1950s rapid urbanisation period, most cities saw unplanned urbanisation due to the problems relating to the historic city fabrics having emerged in the process of preparing protection plans, and at the same time, historic environments were renewed under the cover of development and modernisation. Higher storeys and taller buildings have destroyed the majority of the traditional historic city fabrics [14].



All these problems can be classified as physical and functional insufficiency problems, cultural and sociological problems, economic problems and legal problems.

### **2.3.1. Physical and Functional Insufficiency Problems**

It is observed that daily physical living conditions in the historic residential areas containing a heritage to be protected are becoming harder day by day. The most important problem for these areas urban functions fail to work properly and in coordination with each other in the historic city fabrics. Community facilities such as transportation and technical infrastructure cannot keep up with the population growth. These areas which cannot be renewed due to their historic features, respond to the technology and needs of the period they were built, but are insufficient today become desolate and dead areas in the city centres. Furthermore, big problems are faced with for the protection of the architectural and monumental works and structures in the historic areas. Due to the lack of protection activities, these works and structures are either damaged or lost. Accordingly, the historic areas and places are damaged by both forces of the nature such as earthquakes, fires, water etc. and man-made factors such as motor vehicle emissions, vibration, arson and abandoning. Redevelopments in the physical space can be summarised as follows [15]:

- Increased number of storeys of the existing households;
- The backyards filled with new construction sites;
- Increased land prices;
- Smaller parcels;
- Loss of the initial functions of the historic structures and introduction of new uses thereof;
- Narrower sides;
- Insufficient infrastructure; and
- Increased number of storeys.

### **2.3.2. Cultural and Sociological Challenges**

Memories, culture and heritage of a society or individuals are the fundamentals of a civilisation. Cultural change takes place through adaptation, and one adapts to the natural environment in time. The level of satisfaction provided by the conventional solution methods changes depending on the changes in the existing conditions. As new requirements emerge, new models to meet these requirements are sought for. All societies around the world generally change either rapidly or slowly. Change and continuity may seem to be opposite concepts, but in fact the cultures guarantee their continuity by adapting to the changing conditions. The environment an individual lives in should be able to transfer the symbols and traces of the history so that s/he socialises healthily. Individuals having socialised by living in an environment bearing the traces of the past can easily get the concept of cultural continuity and have an understanding of the past, i.e. historical consciousness [16]. The historic environment is an important value that reinforces the social relations of the community and establishes a harmonised interaction between the individual and his/her environment with the help of the human-scale places and the continuity effect in terms of environmental use and social balance [15].

### **2.3.3. Economic Challenges**

The conservation of the historic environment is an activity which is in the public weal and enables the historical continuity and helps the nations protect their historical consciousness. The tall buildings nonconforming with the traditional fabric of the cities which have emerged as a result of the mass production brought about by the industrial revolution in the 1980s have destroyed the architectural character in the historic fabric.

Economic outputs of the renewal and conservation activities for the historic environment can be summarised as follows [16]:

- In order for the renewal and restoration activities take place with individuals' decisions and within the frame work of the rules of the market economy, the expected income from the investment should exceed the cost of investment.

- As the individuals will prefer the more profitable option, it is less likely to perform the renewal activities in the form of restoration since building or constructing a structure anew always seems more profitable than repairing an existing and old one.
- The presence of the external economies, the external costs and the factors making it hard for the individuals to act in coordination may hamper the renewal within the framework of the market rules.
- The rules of the market economy may require the slums to be left as they are.

#### **2.3.4. Legal and Administrative Challenges**

Laws are the primary tools of conservation. Conservation decisions made under the applicable laws are one of the important means of protection. Legal challenges have two aspects [17];

- Enactment, and
- Implementation

The enactment phase of a law is usually carried out without any problems. As for the implementation phase, however, the desired level cannot be achieved at all. This stems from a variety of reasons. These reasons include the failure of the state, in practice, to make a sufficient number of qualified personnel available in the conservation-effective organisations such as municipalities and conservation boards. They also include the reasons that the existing personnel do not have any fields of expertise or focus on a single field of expertise, and the implementation phase is distorted by politicisation thereof. In addition to the above reasons, the implementation challenges cover the problems that the people fail to participate in the implementation phase due to lack of support to and trust in the state, to have a word in the decision-making mechanism, and to fulfil its roles and responsibilities, and lastly, the implementation problems arising out of the interorganisational conflict [18].

#### **2.3.5. Obsolescence**

When a certificate of occupancy and/or use permit is issued for a particular building, then that building is usually in a good condition in terms of its functional requirements. It will also be built to the contemporary standards of building construction. Its relationship with its

function and environment is determined depending on its location as well. Nevertheless, as the building ages over time and the world around it changes, it becomes obsolescent and, from time to time, even totally useless. Before initiating the regeneration activities for the building stocks in the historic urban quarters, the economic and physical reasons for obsolescence in the quarter should be understood first. Moreover, legislation on the conservation of the historic sites may sometimes restrict the rehabilitation and new development therein. Therefore, if there are lots of registered historic buildings in a particular area which have become harder to renew due to the recent prohibitions, this area automatically turns into an urban quarter of decay. Eventually, this obsolescence of the quarter and highly restrictive rules of zoning law thereon prevent the quarter from being renewed to yield a reasonable return. Obsolescence has several interrelated dimensions. Some of them relate to the attributes of the building and their functions while some others are associated with the area as a whole. For each dimension, the degree of obsolescence will not be uniform for any one building or area. These dimensions are as follows [19]:

**Functional obsolescence:** A building should be adaptable to the present conditions so that it will not be functionally obsolescent. For example, an old building without lifts, air conditioning or central heating should have a sufficient area for these facilities in order to be adapted to the modern conditions. If the building is inadequate to accommodate these facilities, it becomes obsolescent [19]. Functional obsolescence may also arise from the attributes of the area. For instance, there may be inadequate parking in the narrow streets built before the invention of the modern car.

**Image Obsolescence:** Perception is of vital importance for image obsolescence. For instance, noisy city centres with traffic congestion are perceived negatively by the people and they do not want to visit these areas. Perceptions, however, can change over time. In the immediate post-war period, older buildings were demolished to build new ones latter of which attracted people while historic buildings are becoming more desirable today [19].

**Legal and Official Obsolescence:** Upon introduction of new regulations (e.g. on health, safety, fire etc.) by the municipality for the buildings to comply with, old buildings become legally obsolete if they fail to adapt these regulations. Additionally, a building experiences physical, functional – and sometimes – image obsolescence if and when an official decision of road building, road widening or road redevelopment is issued for a particular area [19].

**Locational Obsolescence:** Before constructing a building, the first thing to be considered is its accessibility to the functional activities. If a building, for example, is close to the transport infrastructure or the market, then the value of the building is increased. The factories were moved to peripheral sites in order to improve the intercity trade. This also occurs with the movement of business centres within the same city. The introduction of modern building codes from the 1900s, for example, encouraged the rebuilding of downtown areas. In Europe this rebuilding was largely done *in situ*. In America, however, it was found easier for the downtown area to migrate to a new location [19].

**Financial Obsolescence:** The investment required by the renovation of old buildings and historic areas exceeds the one required by a new area or building. Constructing a new building is therefore an attractive and profitable investment. As this sector which is in a financial competition due to the presence of empty areas to build in and the low cost of constructing a new building ignores restoration, the old buildings become obsolescent [19].

#### **2.4. 'PEDESTRIANISATION' AS AN URBAN TRANSFORMATION**

With the rapid growth of the cities, the functions of the city centres progressively change. This continuous change led traffic congestion and environmental pollution in the city centres and reduced the economic, social and physical attractiveness of the city centres. New trade centres established in the suburban areas also played an important role in the decline of interest in the city centres. Eventually, all these changes negatively affected the appearance and vitality of the city centres. This situation of the city centres became an important issue for the local government across America and Europe from the 1960s and the 1970s. As a method

to respond all these problems, the first *pedestrianisation* practices were adopted by Germany [20].

In the 1970s, the Columbia University (New York) Centre for Urban and Environmental Research conducted a comprehensive study on traffic-free zones (pedestrian precincts). This study showed that the interest in the pedestrian commercial strips (corridors/axes) progressively increased. In the early 1980s, more than 100 pedestrian commercial strips developed in America while this number was over 10 in Canada [21]. This trend having emerged in the post-World War II period in the USA was inspired by the early shopping arcades of the Medieval and European cities. The earliest prototypes were the ones in the West German cities of Kiel, Kassel, Essen and Cologne. In 1960, 35 German cities had pedestrian commercial strips while the number of cities with pedestrian commercial strips was 63 in Germany. Rather than resting upon any urban planning theory, the earliest examples of pedestrianisation emerged as a response to the traffic congestion hindering shopping in the narrow streets [20].

Featuring sophisticated attributes, this period has a significant impact on the pedestrian commercial strips. The number of pedestrian commercial strips has been observed to rise to 214 in 1973, to 370 in 1977 and to approximately 800 in 1985. With the increase in the number of the pedestrian commercial strips, the lengths of these corridors have increased as well. The average corridor length was 646 metres in the 1960, whereas it reached 2185 metres in 1973. Apart from differences in length, there was also a physical variety among the pedestrian zones. In 1975, for example, of 164 towns and cities, 141 pedestrian commercial strips had networked pedestrian ways while the other 23 had disconnected pedestrian zones in various districts. Moreover, the majority of these pedestrian zones are located in the urban trade centres [20].

### 2.4.1. Development of The Pedestrianisation Concept Throughout History and The Types of Pedestrianisation

As a tool of urban design, the *pedestrianisation* does not simply mean separating the pedestrian and vehicle zones, but it also plays a significant role in reconstruction of the city centres due to its spatial, socio-economic and environmental effects. Brambillo-Longo states that ‘the pedestrian zones are the inner-city pedestrian priority zones. They are distinguished from the pedestrian streets by their non-linearity. The pedestrian zones are the inner-city areas freed from vehicle traffic and pedestrianised depending on their urban functionalities, e.g. protection zones for the immovable cultural and natural property, shopping and ceremony areas, and resting, entertainment and education zones etc.’ [22]. Furthermore, pedestrianisation may be defined as the planning and design attempts to make a city walkable. The pedestrianised urban areas may also be described as the pedestrian-only zones, i.e. freed from vehicle traffic, in the urban quarters with the highest density of pedestrians, or the highest number of functions that may cause pedestrian density [23].

Gehl and Gemzoe [24] classify the phases the city centres have gone through depending on transportation throughout history as follows:

- ***Traditional City:*** Cities with the balanced co-existence of the meeting places, market places and traffic (the period between the medieval period and the Industrial Revolution [19<sup>th</sup> century] – pre-mechanisation period).
- ***Invaded City:*** Cities with centres with a high density of vehicle traffic which have ignored the other uses upon the increase in the number of automobiles, and most of which is prevailed by car parks (1850-1920: Steam engine/train/tram/bicycle period)
- ***Abandoned City:*** Cities with centres lacking of the public space and public life (1920-1950: Metro-Bus-Car period).
- ***Re-conquered City:*** Cities with new centres being the focus of special efforts to enable a balanced use with the balanced co-existence of the meeting places, market places and a dense traffic.(post-1980 and 1990 period).

In the traditional cities, the prototypes of regulations on the pedestrian movements were built around the rules established by Hippodamus of Miletus (around 500 BC). We see these prototype works in the cities of Piraeus, Miletus and Rhodes. The transportation plans established based on these rules prioritised and aimed for the meeting of the pedestrians' requirements with the help of a thoroughfare system which we call "grid plan" today comprising the streets running to each other at right angles approximately every 100 steps [25]. By the medieval period, however, an organic urban fabric with human-oriented thoroughfares emerged in the cities. This organic fabric and the streets were interconnected by the squares and various networks of roads [26].

The idea of interconnecting the transportation axes with the use of straight lines emerged in the Baroque age in Rome between the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. Furthermore, pedestrian safety and comfort were fully achieved at the formal level in the Renaissance and Baroque periods. In the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, pedestrian traffic predominated the geometrical plans. Pedestrian-only arcades were built in this period. These arcades whose earliest examples were in France were spread to the whole Europe in the later periods. The primary objective of these purpose-built thoroughfares was to separate the pedestrians from the non-pedestrian traffic and protect them from bad weather. The shopping precincts built under these arcades helped the people interact and communicate [27].

In the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, however, the roads and streets lost their traditional character and began resigning themselves to vehicles with the rapid industrial development. Transportation gradually became a challenge for big cities. While, in the past, the pedestrians could walk through the cities in comfort and safety without any restrictions or demarcations, the transportation was divided into two distinct routes as the road and the pavement in this period [27]. From the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, the American and British landscape architects resolved to collaborate to separate the pedestrian and vehicle traffic. The first example of such practice was seen in London in the glazed pedestrian zones between the passageways leading the pedestrians to the railways and retail zones [28].



By the 20<sup>th</sup> century, land and air transport prevailed the transportation industry. In this period, land transport provided the city dwellers with remarkable opportunities in terms of “speed” and “comfort”. Consequently, the “automobile” was now considered to be “the best mode of transport” [26]. The trams and bicycles heavily used in transportation gave place to the automobile by the 20<sup>th</sup> century, which triggered the change in the cities. And by the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the pedestrians could not find any place for themselves due to the rapidly growing motorisation. In this period, totally or partially car-free pedestrian ways were designed in the cities in order to prevent the problems caused by the vehicles in the cities, and particularly in the city centres. Furthermore, activities preventing the vehicles from passing through the city centres were carried out as well [29].

In the post-World War II period, the automobile went beyond being a vehicle used only by the high-income group and became the means of transport for the working class. Consequently, the place of the pedestrians in the traffic progressively decreased. While the public spaces and buildings were once the integrated parts of the spatial systematic, they were disconnected by the vehicle roads. 30% – 40% of the total area in the city centres was allocated to car parks [30]. With the construction of wide highway networks, a remarkable increase was seen in bus and truck use. The presence of the pedestrians in the areas was totally ignored. As a result of this process, individualism came to prominence. Furthermore, the increased length of home to work travel caused new problems to emerge [26]. Automobiles enabled the people to get away from the challenges of the city centres and move to suburbs which have lower land prices, provide a simpler life, and are less populated. This resulted in the emergence of the city centres described by Gehl and Gemzoe [24] under the title of ‘*invaded city*’ which has been invaded by cars and car parks.

Upon the removal of public spaces and public life from the city centres (*abandoned city*), which coincides with particularly the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, traffic problems were realised in both American and European cities. Accordingly, “pedestrian-vehicle separation and pedestrianisation” emerged as a new concept of urban design and practices thereof were initiated. This new approach took the pedestrians into consideration as much as the vehicles.

With the improvement of this new concept, traffic density was lowered in certain roads as well [27].

The first pedestrianisation of the main streets and streets was realised in 1926 in the Limbecker Strasse, the city of Essen, Germany. Germany is in the leading position for pedestrianisation all around the world. This process did not progress at the same speed across Europe. Pedestrianisation activities popularised after the World War II became a part of the reconstruction and redevelopment activities in the city centres damaged by the war [31]. As well as being related to urban renewal, the pedestrianisation activities having increased after the 1950s were adopted as a method to solve the environmental problems caused by increased traffic congestion in the narrow streets of the historic city centres. With the introduction of social, commercial and cultural reinforcements to these pedestrian zones over time, the pedestrianisation was observed to drive the social and economic development and vitalisation of the city centres. In the 1970s, Europeans adopted the method of separating the pedestrian and vehicle traffic more and more, and they began building liveable pedestrian zones restricted to heavy vehicle traffic or completely lacking of any vehicles in many cities. With the help of these pedestrianisation projects, urban spaces were created where the people could meet a variety of their requirements, i.e. physical, social and economic. As a result of this reconstruction, Gehl and Gemzoe's [24] '*re-conquered cities*' emerged. Moreover, the transportation infrastructure in and around the historic city centres was re-organised to preserve the existing historic core, and thus the transit traffic was moved from the centre to the periphery through the ring road encircling the historic core [32].

There are three forms of pedestrianisation which are *permanent pedestrianisation*, *temporary pedestrianisation* and *partial pedestrianisation* [33]. Permanent pedestrianisation had predominated the other two until 1970. Site selection is of vital importance for a successful permanent pedestrianisation. The factors increasing the possibility of success of pedestrianisation in a particular area include the area's being a historic centre, being located within the central business area, and proximity to the places to socialise in, e.g. universities [34]. By the 1970s, a range of permanent pedestrianisation projects failed to achieve success as they ignored these aspects. After this period, the pedestrianisation activities had to take the

form of building the roads and streets shared by pedestrians and vehicles. Therefore, the year 1970 is considered a milestone in the history of pedestrianisation [35]. The common feature of the pedestrian projects in this period is that they were usually conducted in a street within the historic fabric, or in front of the cathedrals. Their main purpose was to preserve and maintain the historic heritage [27].

In the 1980s, the re-urbanisation movement, i.e. movement of the people back to the urban areas, took the whole Europe by storm (see Table 1). Inner-city neighbourhoods were opted for as residential areas, and discussions arose as to the inefficient use of the most valuable urban land by the vehicles. On the other hand, a great many actions or measures were unfortunately ignored in this period as they meant re-questioning the motor vehicle traffic. The unawareness of the transportation problems posed for the cities by the effective mechanisms in the traffic system led to many misestimations as well [26].<sup>5</sup> With the emergence of the “sustainability” concept coined and described in the World Commission on Environment and Development (the Brundtland Commission) in 1987, however, the idea of designing cities which are more environment-friendly, and the concept of consciousness were focused on. By the 1990s, in the 1996 conference of the OECD the “sustainable transportation” was defined, and the objectives and methods were determined under the titles of accessibility, human and society, environmental quality, and economic benefits [36].

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<sup>5</sup> Pedestrianisation is the right solution to regenerate the city centres. A group called the Project for Public Spaces [73] carrying out studies relating to the pedestrian zones states that 10 focal points should be determined for a successful public space. According to this view, for example, the presence of a park in a city centre in which one can have a good time may render the place attractive. However, the presence of 10 focal points in this park such as decorative pools, light fittings, cafes and shops etc. renders the place even more attractive. Furthermore, if the street leads to a library, then the user variety will increase. There should be multiple places like this with 10 focal points in a city. Thus, the city dwellers can enjoy the nearest one. And this, in turn, makes the city more liveable.

**Table 1:** Pedestrianised Areas in the European and Turkish Cities

Source: [22], as updated by the author.

Name/Location of the Example	Implementation Year	Width	Area
La Rambla/Barselona	1960	30mx2km	
Kopenhagen/Stroge	1962	2.5m	100,000 m <sup>2</sup>
Mineapolis Nikotte Mall	1965		16 blocks
Dusseldorf	1967	9mx440m	
Munich	1970	800mx22m	
Gotenburg	1970	2.7kmx15m	
Essen	1971	900mx2,3km	
Newcastle	1971	265mx21m	
Vienna	1971	15mx1,5km	
Cologne	1972	1.1kmx10m	
Leeds	1972	1.2kmx10m	
Siena	1975		90,000 m <sup>2</sup>
Woonerf	1976	2.8mx2km	
Asakihawa	1976	20m	
Santa Monica	1980		53,000 m <sup>2</sup>
Strasbourg	1965	3.5	
New York Broadway Plaza	2005	18m	
<b>Turkish Examples</b>		<b>Width</b>	<b>Area</b>
Eskişehir	2003	302m	
Konya Zafer Alanı	2005	23m	
<b>Istanbul Examples</b>		<b>Width</b>	<b>Area</b>
İstiklal Street	1990	15km	
Nurosmaniye Street	1991	175m	
Bahariye Street	1992	663m	
Marmara Street	2003	517m	
The French Steps	2004	65m	
Talimhane District	2004		25.000 m <sup>2</sup>
Eminönü Pedestrian Zone	2008		22.488 m <sup>2</sup>

### Modern pedestrianisation Activities in the European City Centres

One of the most frequent transformation interventions in the mid-sized European city centres is the separation of modes of transport. This can be defined as the pedestrianisation of the streets and squares. The pedestrianisation first begins with a small area latter of which gradually expands. Copenhagen is a good example (see p. 34). The logic behind the transportation system in the pedestrianised areas is as follows: The visitors come to nearby zones around the pedestrianised area, and in these zones, park their cars in the multi-storey car

parks all of which have a direct connection to the pedestrianised area. Furthermore, there are closed, open and semi-closed places in the pedestrianised area. This makes it easy to provide services to the visitors in any weather. Several blocks in Bullring, Birmingham were completely turned into a shopping precinct. Accordingly, the streets were sheltered by glass roofs. These practices are important for creating places suitable for any weather [11].

The second step involves the improvement of the pedestrian surfaces, vegetation arrangement, and public spaces. These interventions are usually made as a requirement of the pedestrianisation. Special street furniture is designed for the area to attract more people. In this context, Frank Josel states, “wrinkles are removed, the skin is tightened, i.e. the area has plastic surgery. Yet despite all these efforts and expensive procedures, not all of them turn out to be convincing and successful enough” [11].

The last step introduces the necessity of the signs displaying the maps of the area. Thus, we can see in the map where we are and reach our destination sooner. Safety is of vital importance for the area. Turning a public space into a CCTV-monitored area gives the visitors the feeling and confidence that they are safe in the area [11].

#### **2.4.2. The Importance of Pedestrians and Pedestrianisation For The Transportation Planning**

Camillo Sitte states, “streets should only serve the relations of the humans, and they are not artworks by any means as they cannot be comprehended. Comprehension can only occur through the plan. The road acquires different meanings only in different periods of time and as long as people move and live on them; the people comprehend the orders and pictures of varying values as long as they live and move [36].

Kevin Lynch [37], however, sees the paths (streets and any other means of land transport by which people travel) from an urban point of view. He defines the paths as ‘the areas in which the dwellers live and move along out of random habits’. Having expressed that the first element the pops into one’s mind about the cities were the streets, Jane Jacobs [38] associate the interestingness of a city’s streets with the city itself. She argues that boring streets must lead to a negative judgement for the whole city as well. By establishing associations between the increased number of public spaces and the more liveable cities, Jacobs also points out that the true owners of the cities are the pedestrians. Supported by the economic, social and physical data, a variety of transportation models and approaches have recently been developed which aim to find solutions for the transportation policies and the land use [36]. The main determinants of the transportation planning activities in an urban area can be summarised as the land use, population projections, economic indicators and assumptions.<sup>6</sup>

Recently, there have been ongoing studies which, rather than putting up with the social results of the recent unsanitary living conditions in the cities (e.g. traffic congestion, environmental pollution, air pollution, health, and safety), reveal the reasons for these conditions and problems. Furthermore, rapidly progressing planning and engineering activities are also under way to improve the use of non-motorised vehicles and make the people re-discover walking. Across the world, various local, regional and even national authorities highlight and focus on the necessity that the investment programmes prioritise the building of quality and safe pedestrian and cycling zones and environments, and the creation of the projects and programmes to build the required infrastructure for these zones and environments [36].

The local initiatives funded under the Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act and the Clean Air Act focused on the projects and programmes promoting the pedestrian mobility

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<sup>6</sup> Although the reflection of the transportation models upon the urban area has been evaluated depending on the currency and reliability of the database, it also had to compete with the dynamic conditions of the planning practices. With the urban development, efforts were made to stretch the transportation modelling projects created using mathematical data based on the travel costs, land use and population projections. The scientific discussions still exist today on “Forecasting Planning Variables” accepted as the main data in modelling. The independent variables such as population, level of income, ownership of car and household in the cities that can be inputs for the transportation models should include the main year the model was implemented and the long-term forecasts as well. Independent evaluation of the extensively studied data depends on the choice of transportation model [36].

and bicycle use in the surface transportation. The large-scale investment projects transformed the national-, regional- and local-level transportation planning approaches to improve and encourage the non-motorised means of transportation in order to reduce the life-threatening air pollution and create healthy environments. In 1975 Michael Replogle carried out a study sponsored by the 'Environmental Protection Fund' under the relevant laws of the United States of America, which investigated the effects of the pedestrian and bicycle factors on the regional transportation plans [36].

### 2.4.3. Positive Aspects of The Pedestrianisation Activities For The Urban Areas

The benefits of the pedestrianisation activities vary depending on the project location. Some pedestrianisation activities provide benefits to only the area they are carried in while some others become tools affecting the whole city or even the country which invest the relevant city with an identity [25]. Additionally, the study by Sandahl and Lindh [39] on Sweden revealed that the attractiveness of the city centres significantly increased with *pedestrianisation* latter of which in turn *increased the accessibility*. Furthermore, the pedestrianisation mostly increases the quality of the urban area and the public spaces created as a result thereof are qualified. With the effect created by these factors, the business organisations in the affected streets see an increase in their profit margins. As the pedestrianised city centres become more popular, the real estate prices rise in the vicinity as well. This increase in the real estate prices results in the commercial gentrification. Furthermore, the post-pedestrianisation change in the retail trade in the area is determined depending not only on the urban design activities but also on the policies of the central and local governments. It follows that, the benefits of pedestrianisation can be studied in a variety of dimensions which roughly are:

- Environmental benefits
- Social benefits
- Economic benefits

**Environmental Benefits:** The pedestrianisation activities significantly reduce the air, noise and visual pollution in and around the pedestrian zone. These practices remove the vehicle

traffic from the related area to stop the environmental pollution caused by cars. Thus, the area becomes more healthy and safer for the pedestrians. Another environmental contribution of the pedestrianisation is that it helps the physical image of the area be improved. Total environmental renewal enhances the physical and visual quality of the place with the help of new arrangements and functions for the pedestrians. If a pedestrianised area has a historic fabric, then the pedestrianisation preserves and protects the heritage and any other value of the area. As well as helping create a safe pedestrian travelling network, the pedestrianisation also enables the control and direction of the traffic around this network. It also reduces the use of vehicles in the city centres, and furthermore, it helps the movement of the pedestrians develop in a safe and secure environment. Thus, it encourages the people to walk and contributes to the health positively [14].

**Social Benefits:** As well as their contribution to the individuals, the pedestrianised urban areas also help the formation of the social life and create social consciousness. The pedestrian zones in which people gather, interact with each other and strengthen their social connections, and cultural exchange takes place, become an attraction for the cities and help the urban life vitalised [23].

According to Suher et al., the social benefits are divided into two groups which are individual-level and social-level benefits.

**Individual-level benefits;**

- The migration from rural to urban areas in our country caused an identity of “new urbanite” emerge particularly in the big cities. These persons are in the process of becoming accustomed to the urban life. Orientation policies help these new urbanites “become full urbanites”. This new urbanite observes and adopts the urban life more easily due to pedestrianisation. The pedestrianisation helps this new urbanite having migrated from rural areas to the city adapt to the “new urban lifestyle”. Furthermore, it supports the individual-society relationship.
- Designing and placing lanes for activities such as walking and cycling in the pedestrianised streets encourage the dwellers to walk and do sports, and thus positively affects the health.
- The functions meeting the social needs of the individual thanks to pedestrianisation cause living city centres to be born. The continuous flow of people through these areas during the day helps the individuals feel safe.



**Society-level benefits;**

- The pedestrianisation helps reduce the problems relating to the motor vehicles (traffic accidents, traffic burden on the traffic police and the courts, and the like).
- The pedestrianised areas are used as meeting points for the national events addressing all individuals such as political rallies.
- The pedestrianisation introduces new areas in the streets where the city dwellers meet, interact and socialise, a common social consciousness is created, and the idea of conserving and protecting the environmental and cultural components of the society is injected.
- Good pedestrianisation addresses all sections of the society (e.g. educated, uneducated, young, old, poor, rich etc.). With this aspect of gathering people together, the pedestrian zones, as the places to create a common urban culture, bring substantial benefits to the city.
- It is an important implementation tool to control the urban land prices.
- Attracting more people to use the street, it helps the safety of the area improve.

**Economic Benefits:** As well as increasing and vitalising the shopping and retail trade, the shops and retail stores in the pedestrianised area also enhance the environmental quality and increase the value of the vicinity, and thus new investors are attracted to the area which increases the economic value of the area [23]. Furthermore, the pedestrianisation reduces the investment costs. Re-organising all the roads and streets in a city according to the vehicle traffic is a factor increasing the infrastructure investment costs. In the pedestrian zones the streets are built to have a load-bearing capacity of  $90 \text{ kg/m}^2$ , and furthermore, pedestrian streets that can carry a maximum 7.5 ton vehicle are built in the city centres. Therefore, the investment in the roads and streets is minimised. Instead of paving all the roads and streets of a city to carry vehicles weighing 10 tons or more, building pedestrian streets with a low load-bearing capacity and a width (min. 155 cm) directly proportional to the pedestrian density produces a substantial economic benefit [40]. See Table 2. Additionally, since access to the area is by public transport, the use of private cars is reduced and the fuel, repair and parking expenditures are decreased.

**Table 2:** The Effect of the Pedestrianisation Activities on Trade in Some Cities**Source:** [41], as updated by the author.

CITY	CHANGE IN THE SALES IN THE COMMERCIAL FUNCTION (Increase %)
Atchison, Kansas, the USA	18
Hamburg, Germany	70
Hereford, UK	10-15
Kalamazoo, Michigan, the USA	15
London, Carnaby street, UK	81% of the shops/retail stores
Ponoma, California, the USA	16
Cologne, Germany	25-35
Essen, Germany	Stagnation followed by a 15%-35% increase
Vienna, Austria	20

#### 2.4.4. The Negative Aspects of The Pedestrianisation Activities

As well as positive aspects, the pedestrianisation also has negative aspects. It is usually inevitable that the small-scale businesses in the pedestrianised areas are displaced (commercial gentrification). As a matter of fact, if the pedestrianisation project achieves success, the real estate prices rise, and the small businesses fail to keep up with this price boom. Thus, they are replaced by the chain stores which can pay the increased rents. All in all, despite the increased sales, the small businesses have to leave the area as they cannot afford the increased rental prices. This puts the shopkeepers in the area in a difficult situation. Consequently, losing their originality and authenticity, these areas become cloned/identical centres. There have been criticisms that the city centres have been turned into monotype cash machines. Moreover, another important problem is that the community in the city centres lack protection [11].

We can summarise three actions to take in order to solve these problems, and the results of these actions as follows [11]:

- 1) Each and every design activity by the architects or the designers is actually a social intervention. When this intervention takes place, its effects transcend its boundaries. The designers/planners should be aware of this. Additionally, they should adopt creative and innovative methods in their designs. The city of Almere, for example, may seem to be an ordinary shopping-oriented place at first glance; however, it is a result of an approach that allows different functions to lie on each other. A raised pedestrian zone over the shopping area was created which allows the pedestrians to use the roof. The ground floor was left open to the vehicle traffic, and yet it was ver well connected to the pedestrian zones. See Figure 1 [11].



**Figure 1:** Use of the rooftop in the city of Almere [42]

- 2) By nature, a particular environment has an identity. What the designers are supposed to do is just strengthen this identity. Instead of interventions in a limited area exclusive of the other parts of a city, the activities which are all-inclusive should be in place [11]

- 3) Local entrepreneurs usually opt for the partial interventions. Despite being partial, these practices may affect larger areas as well. Their strength depends on the acceptance of the designs by the community. Thus, the designs should take the community into consideration [11].

In addition to all these, another challenge brought by the pedestrianisation is the increase in the real estate prices which is directly proportional to the increase in the quality of the pedestrianised areas. Within this context, where a comprehensive urban design project is not prepared and implemented, the side streets leading to the pedestrian zone suffer from traffic congestion. Furthermore, as a pedestrianised area becomes more popular, the streets off this area cannot develop.

### **Commercial Gentrification**

In the 1970s, the transformation in the industrialised countries had significant effects on the places in the city centres. The city centres became the focal point of redevelopment as a result of the change of the production methods in the global economy. Within this redevelopment period, the residential areas in the old city centres and the vicinity thereof went through a heavy physical and functional renewal and, in turn, a social renewal. Therefore, the concept of “gentrification” became one of the most important dimensions of this urban redevelopment [43]. Conceptualised in 1963 by the sociologist Ruth Glass, the gentrification in its broadest sense means a process involving the renewal of the old places in the historic and old city centres or, if necessary, demolition followed by reconstruction thereof [44].<sup>7</sup> Yet it would be wrong to interpret the gentrification as a population change caused merely by the rehabilitation of the residential areas. Today, the “gentrification” suggests a more comprehensive social transformation process. In other words, it means rehabilitating the urban areas by both preserving the existing functions thereof and re-functionalising them with various interventions. What should be pointed out here is that the former users from the low-income group are excluded and forced to abandon the related areas. From this point of view,

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<sup>7</sup> Neil Smith [6] also defines this process as, “The re-conquest and renewal, by the private sector capital or the middle class resident buyers and tenants, of the areas in the city centres previously disposed of after being abandoned by the middle class and now inhabited by the poor and the working class”. The gentrification process operates through the movement of the market to use the land as efficiently and profitably as possible. The actors supporting the gentrification are the persons who are trying to maximise their benefits.

the “gentrification”, one of the most visible spatial outcomes of the global redevelopment, seems to be a class project which to some extent means re-conquering or recovering the city centres [43].

The gentrification is now not a practice affecting merely the residential areas. On the contrary, it affects the renewed area socially, economically and spatially. The change to the trade in the area to meet the consumption requirements of the high-income group is called “commercial gentrification”. The change in the spatial attributes in the city centre affects the shop owners in the vicinity. With the popularisation of the area, the introduction of both domestic and foreign chain stores and the increased shop rents cause the shopkeepers to be displaced. The commercial gentrification is more common in the developed western countries. It is even more common among the Indian and Chinese groups across Europe and the USA. Therefore, the small shops and stores owned by these groups are outcompeted by the big international retail chain stores and eventually shut down. Having concluded in her study on Toronto’s three west-central neighbourhoods (which are at different levels of commercial gentrification), Rankin [45] proposes the following to overcome the issues:

- Municipalities can retain some of the shops and stores during and after the gentrification process, and employ the old businesses with low rents in order to preserve the traditional fabric of the area.
- Individual independent retailers can form cooperatives to counter the entrance of the global companies into the area.
- The visitors can show sensitivity and shop at local independently owned stores.

## **2.5. THE PEDESTRIANISATION PROJECTS IMPLEMENTED IN THE EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN CITY CENTRES AND THEIR RESULTS**

### **2.5.1. Essen Pedestrian Zone**

The pedestrianisation activities in the city of Essen are one of their first examples in Germany. Within the scope of this project, an area 2300 m long and 900 m wide was





**Figure 3:** The old and new pedestrian zone [33]



**Figure 4:** Commercial strip in the city of Essen [25]

### 2.5.2. Copenhagen Pedestrian Zone

The pedestrianisation activities in the city of Copenhagen made the city one of the most important pedestrian cities in the world. These activities have been carried out gradually from 1960 to 1990. The project achieved success and became an exemplary project for Europe. The urban designers made the required arrangements to enhance the quality of the street life and preserved the authentic, narrow medieval street structure of the area [27]. Following the pedestrianisation of ‘Stroget’, one of the High Streets of Copenhagen, the urban designers have been converting the city from a vehicle-oriented city to a pedestrian-friendly one following a long line of small steps for 40 years. Although the retailers and shopkeepers first opposed these activities for fear that the sales will lower, the area developing and evolving day by day promoted people to walk along [24]. See Figure 5.



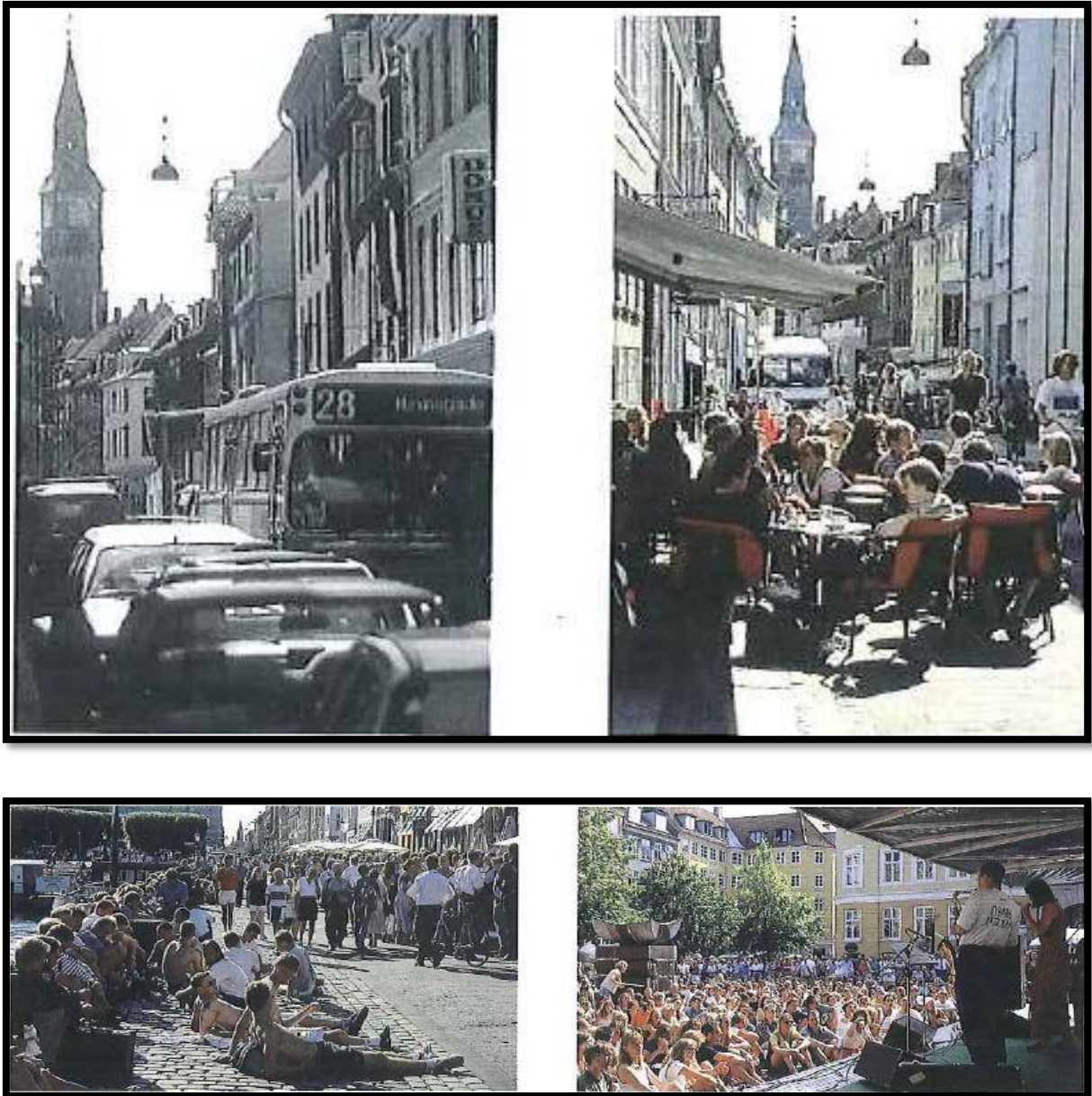
**Figure 5:** Overview of the city of Copenhagen [24]



The car-free zones in Copenhagen have increased both in number and size. These zones covering 15,800 m<sup>2</sup> in 1962 reached a total area of 100,000 m<sup>2</sup> in 1996. Many significant activities and projects were carried out in 1968, 1986 and 1995. The car-free zones in Copenhagen have developed over time [22]. See Figure 6, Figure 7A and Figure 7B.



**Figure 6:** The 6-step pedestrianisation activities between 1962 and 1996 [24]



**Figure 7A and Figure 7B:** The pedestrian zone along the canal in the city centre of Copenhagen [24]

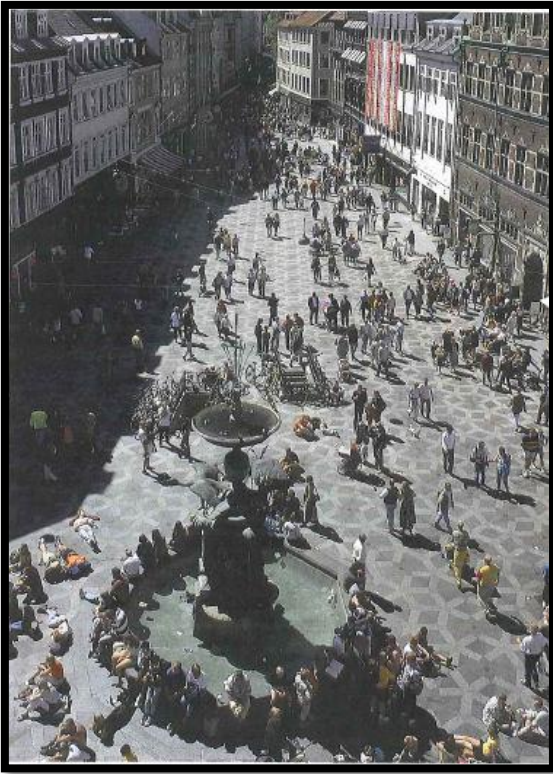
The factors playing a role in the success of these pedestrianisation activities in Copenhagen are as follows:

- (1) Pedestrianisation of the streets: The historic High Street of the city was pedestrianised in 1962. With success achieved, the pedestrian-only streets and the pedestrian-priority streets open to low-speed vehicle use were connected to this High Street over the course of the years.
- (2) Reducing the traffic and car parks: Car parks were reduced by 2% to 3% each year to reduce the traffic density in the city centre.

- (3) Converting the car parks into public spaces: The emptied car parks were redeveloped into public spaces such as green areas, squares etc.
- (4) Preserving the density in the city centre: The climate weather was arranged to be less windy and softer compared to the other parts of Copenhagen by preserving the density in the city centre.
- (5) Human-scale environment: The reasonable and moderate scale and street network of the city aim to allow the users to have a good time and enjoy the historic fabric.
- (6) Residential use in the centre: Use of the residents enlightened at night and creating a flow of people was encouraged in the city centre.
- (7) Encouraging the students: The students who have an active lifestyle were encouraged to accommodate in the city centre.
- (8) Arranging for the weather: The city centre was arranged for any weather. While the activities and places like open-air cafes, squares and street performers attract people in the summer, the visitors are allowed to enjoy the winter with the help of heated benches and street heaters.
- (9) Encouraging the use of bicycles: Bicycles were promoted to be the primary and prevailing means of transport in the city. The vehicle roads were re-arranged for the cyclers and cycling lanes and parking lots were designed. Today 34% of the home-to-work travel is by bicycle in Copenhagen.
- (10) Bicycle hiring: 110 bicycles in the city centre are available to rent for only Kent \$2.50 which can be taken back upon returning the bike to the parking stand [25]. See Figure 8A and Figure 8B.



**Figure 8A and Figure 8B:** City-bike system and Stroget Street – Copenhagen [24]



**Figure 9:** Stroget HighStreet [24]

Following the multi-step and planned pedestrianisation of the Stroget High Street in Copenhagen, the pedestrian zones in the city have increased six times from 1962 to 1996. Now Copenhagen hosts more than 5.000 cafes and seating/sitting areas. See Figure 9. Although it was assumed that the social life will be restricted by the weather conditions of Denmark, the number of open-air cafes progressively increased. The vivid period which is supposed to last only for the summer, i.e. maximum 3 to 4 months, extends from April to November thanks to these cafes [24].

The number of people who use the city centre for recreation purposes has increased four times as much as the Figures before the 1970s. Stroget Street and other pedestrian zones in Copenhagen can be visited at night as well. The shops and stores in these areas are not allowed to turn their lights off during the night-time. Therefore, the pedestrian zone becomes safe at night as well [24]. See Figure 10A and Figure 10B.



**Figure 10A and Figure 10B:** Copenhagen before and after the pedestrianisation of Radhuspladsen [24]

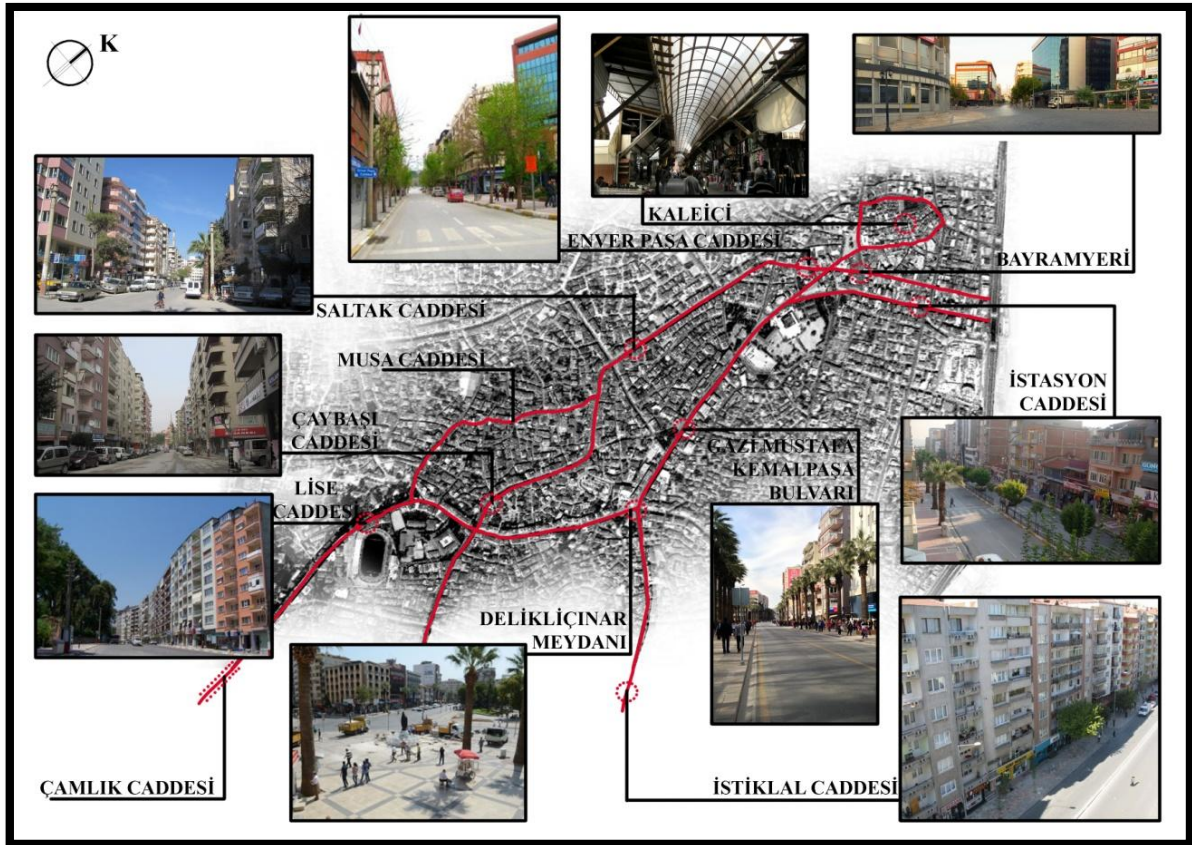
### 2.5.3. Gazi Mustafa Kemal Paşa Boulevard – Denizli

The Municipality of the City of Denizli viewed the area as a whole and, in order to build a ‘square’ which suits the name of the place (*lit.* Veteran Mustafa Kemal Pasha) in this area located in the city centre, closed the Gazi Mustafa Kemal Paşa Boulevard to traffic in December 2010 based on the Transportation Master Plan prepared by Pamukkale University. Thus, Pamukkale University aimed to turn Delikliçınar into a square and a pedestrian zone [46].

Based on the Transportation Master Plan, the decision for pedestrianisation was issued for the area in 2011. Upon this decision, the Gazi Mustafa Kemal Paşa Boulevard was restricted to the private vehicle traffic. The pedestrian streets reached a width of 4 m while the vehicle road which was open to the single-lane public transport was widened to be 8 m. In order to reduce the traffic burden of the city, Turex company brought Metrobüs (Bus Rapid Transit [BRT] in Turkey) service specially for the city of Denizli in 2004. In order to invest the area with a symbolic image, a glass statute of rooster was placed in the Delikliçınar square which is the endpoint of the pedestrianised area. See Figure 11. Çaybaşı Street, Halk Street and Saltak Street were proposed as alternative streets to share the burden of the pedestrianised street. See Figure 12. However, these streets failed to carry the burden of the Gazi Mustafa Paşa Boulevard in the urban flow chart. Furthermore, it was found that the traffic congestion in these alternative roads and the ring roads turned into one-way ring roads made it difficult to reach the central area. Following the pedestrianisation, no interventions, except for the minor ones, were made to render the place more accessible and liveable. The pedestrianisation of the High Street of the city caused commercial activities in the strip to lose vitality. It thus follows from the above that the pedestrianisation is not necessarily merely closing a street to traffic but it also is solving the transportation and accessibility problems in and around the pedestrian zone [46].



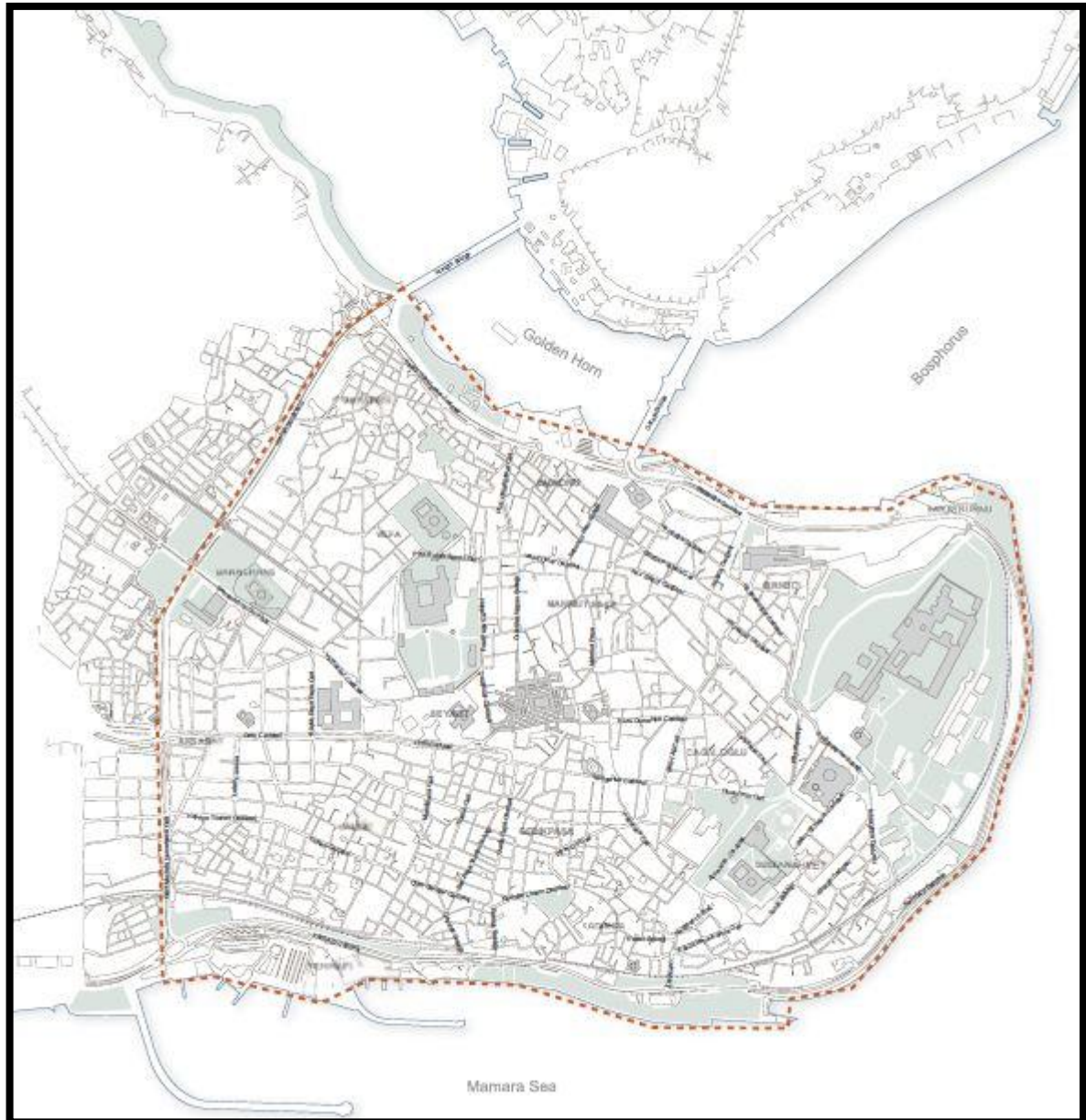
**Figure 11:** The Statue of the Glass Rooster [47]



**Figure 12:** Main transportation axes of the city [46]

#### 2.5.4. The Historic Peninsula – Istanbul

In June 2010, Embarq Turkey invited Gehl Architects to conduct a study in Istanbul titled “Public Spaces and Social Life”. The scope of this study was to outline and map the existing potentials and challenges in the Historic Peninsula and to investigate the social life in the certain parts of the area. See Figure 13.

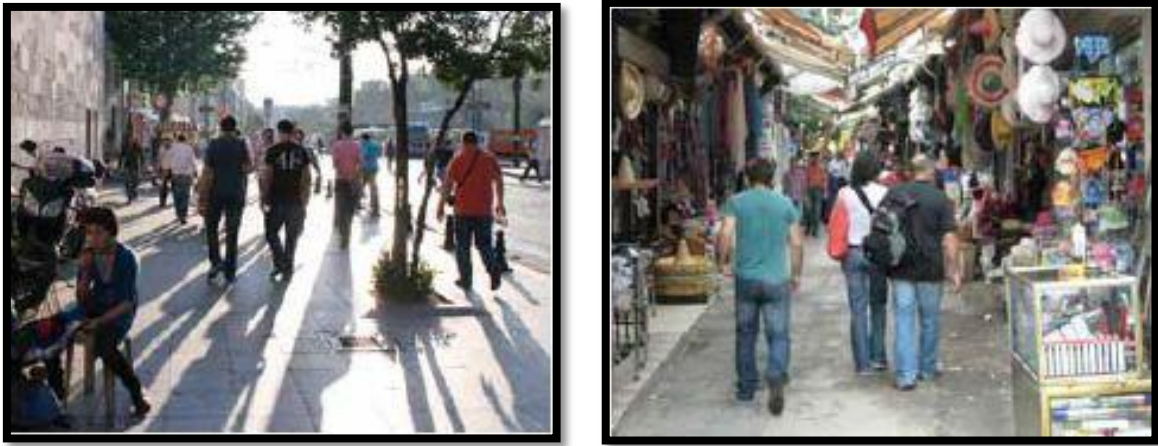


**Figure 13:** The Map of the Historic Peninsula [48]

Gehl Architects developed a methodology for the study “Public Spaces and Social Life” which can be adopted for different contexts and be a good example for other studies. They aimed to initiate a process that will enhance the urban quality, to create human-oriented cities by making the people more visible in order to form a basis for the strategies of enhancing urban quality, and to focus on the social life. The results of the study can be summarised as follows [48]:



- **Backbone of the Historic City:** Within the scope of the pedestrianisation project for the Historic Peninsula, the Divan Yolu High Street was allocated exclusively to the pedestrians and public transport which resulted in a visible improvement and a street with a calmer traffic. However, the designers continued to see the street as a transit thoroughfare and did not provide much resting space, and thus ignored the leisure time/entertainment aspect of the street. This High Street passing by the Sultanahmet (Blue Mosque) Square and running at the Golden Horn has a weak connection to the seaside, and it cannot be experienced as a part of a wider network. See Figure 14A and Figure 14B.
- **Urban Fabric Revitalised:** A high quality pedestrian network requires simple, nice-to-travel and consistent routes providing thoroughfares to the main touristic places and interconnecting the different parts of the city. The northward and southward sideways of the Divan Yolu High Street usually seem weak and hard to access. The existing infrastructure has few routes which can be used and understood, and serve as a part of a general network capable of leading the people around the peninsula. Thus, the visitors suffer from the lack of connections providing easy access to some amenities of the city and cannot enjoy the potential of these places.
- **Weak Connections:** The Historic Peninsula has very large areas with mono-functional commercial activities. Being a highly crowded area during the day, the Grand Bazaar takes another form at night as it is practically abandoned until daylight. When there are less “eyes” in the roads and streets, the actual and perceived risk of crime rises. All in all, people keep away from these popular roads and streets after the Grand Bazaar is closed. This results in the limitation of the pedestrian flow at night to the areas near tramway and the vicinities of the favourable places like Sultanahmet (Blue Mosque) and the nearby restaurants.
- **Lack of Connections to the Seaside:** With the magnificent view and clean air it has to offer, the walking zone at the seaside is a strong entertainment and leisure time alternative to the crowded and noisy city centre. Due to the effect caused by the busy vehicle roads and streets encircling the peninsula, however, people usually – and incorrectly – conclude that the coastal area is isolated from the pedestrian network.
- **Critical Walking Distance:** The studies showed that most people find it reasonable to walk up to 1 km use the car parks in a city. And the majority of people say that if the route is attractive, interesting and high quality, they would be pleased to walk more than 1 km.
- **Challenges for the Pedestrians:** A comfortable an easy travel requires an area where the pedestrians can walk freely without being disturbed or interrupted by the physical factors, parked cars, traffic or other people. The ongoing pedestrianisation process of the Historic Peninsula has calmed the traffic in many streets and roads within the selected area; however, a lot of roads and streets are still suffering from the negative results of the vehicle traffic priority.



**Figure 14A and Figure 14B:** Divanyolu Main Street and Marketplace – Historic Peninsula [48]

### **3. TRANSFORMATION OF KADIKÖY HISTORIC CENTRE THROUGHOUT HISTORY AND THE PROJECTS IMPLEMENTED**

#### **3.1. THE LOCATION AND IMPORTANCE OF THE KADIKÖY COUNTY IN ISTANBUL THROUGHOUT HISTORY**

The research shows that the oldest settlement in Istanbul is Fikirtepe, Kadıköy. The excavations revealed lots of antiquities here. It is known that a trade colony the Phoenicians called Harhadon lay in Fikirtepe around 1,000 BC. Opposite this initial settlement later emerged another settlement called Chalcedon between Cape Moda (Moda Burnu) and Yoğurtçu District. In some sources Chalcedon is introduced as a Phoenician village which was an extension of Harhadon, whereas some others state that it was a Greek colony. First conquered by the Persians and the Athenians, the region was conquered by Britannia in 133 BC and then by Mithradates VI of Pontus. Eventually, the city was taken over by the Roman Empire in 74 BC (Encyclopaedia of Istanbul [49]). With the Byzantine reign, the importance of Chalcedon significantly increased when compared to the other settlements of the time. However, the region failed to flourish since the Byzantine Empire was later founded and established in Sarayburnu (Seraglio Point). The region lying opposite Sarayburnu between Khrysopolis (modern Üsküdar) and Nicomedia (modern İzmit) was called Chalcedon. The

county sitting along the coastal line between Bostancı and Selimiye Headland and extending to Çamlıca district by covering Selimiye, Doğancılar, Haydarpaşa and Söğütluçeşme districts was called "Old Chalcedon" while the districts Yoğurtçu, Moda, Kızıltoprak, Feneryolu, Göztepe, Erenköy and Bostancı were collectively called "New Chalcedon". There were many religious institutions in the region which was inhabited by a lot of clergymen as well. Due to this aspect, Chalcedon was considered to be an important and famous diocese. Furthermore, Byzantine Empire established its commercial relations with the eastern civilisations via Chalcedon. Goods coming from the eastern lands were sold in Chalcedonian marketplaces. The Chalcedonians always lived under the threat of war due to the geopolitical importance of their land. Thus, Chalcedon had a strong military [50]. No physical property or heritage of the medieval Chalcedon which was the centre of the region exists today [49].

### **Ottoman period**

When Mehmed the Conqueror (Mehmed II) conquered Istanbul (then Constantinople), Kadıköy was a township settled around the place what we call Kadıköy Historic Centre today. The Rum people (Byzantine Greeks) most of whom were farmers or fishermen dominated the population in Kadıköy. This did not change for a long time even after the Ottoman reign. The first Turk neighbourhoods emerged following the completion of Osman Ağa Mosque and İskele Mosque [50]. After being appointed to the Office of Qadi of Istanbul City, Hızır Beg, one of the scholars of his time, was given the Village of Meteris as an executive compensation. Thereupon, Chalcedon was re-named after Qadi Hızır Beg as "Kadıköy" (*lit.* 'village of the qadi') [51]. See Figure 15.



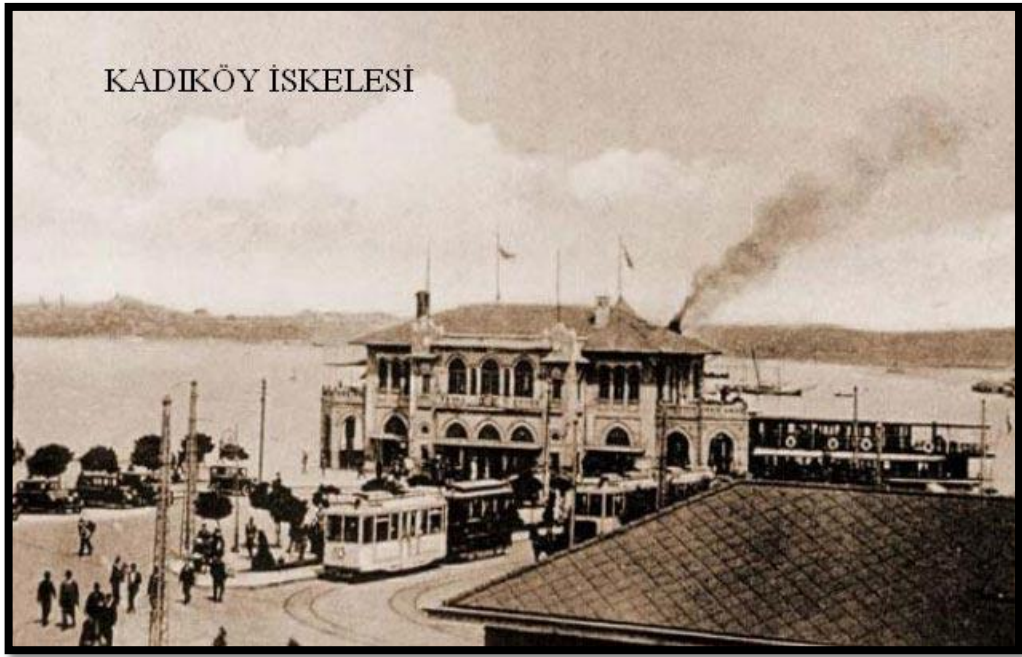
**Figure 15:** Kadıköy Historic Centre (Ottoman period) [52]

In the late 16<sup>th</sup> century, Murad III attempted to increase Kadıköy's population. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Kadıköy and its vicinities saw a period their importance as recreation areas increased, particularly during Tulip Period. In this period, Armenians began moving to Kadıköy of which population comprised Rums and Turks. It is seen that the neighbourhoods around the Quay and Historic Centre preserved their sizes in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. In the second half of this century, two important events took place which would affect the development of Kadıköy. One of them was the regular and periodic boat service initiated in 1857. See Figure 16. The other one was the opening of Haydarpaşa - İzmit railway in 1873. See Figure 17. The boat services strengthened the relations with the overseas suburbs such as Üsküdar, Kadıköy, Adalar (Princes Islands) and Bosphorus (also spelled Bosphorus) villages. While these places had previously been visited during summertime, they became all-year settlements with the introduction of the ship transport. The railway enabled the settlements sitting along it to

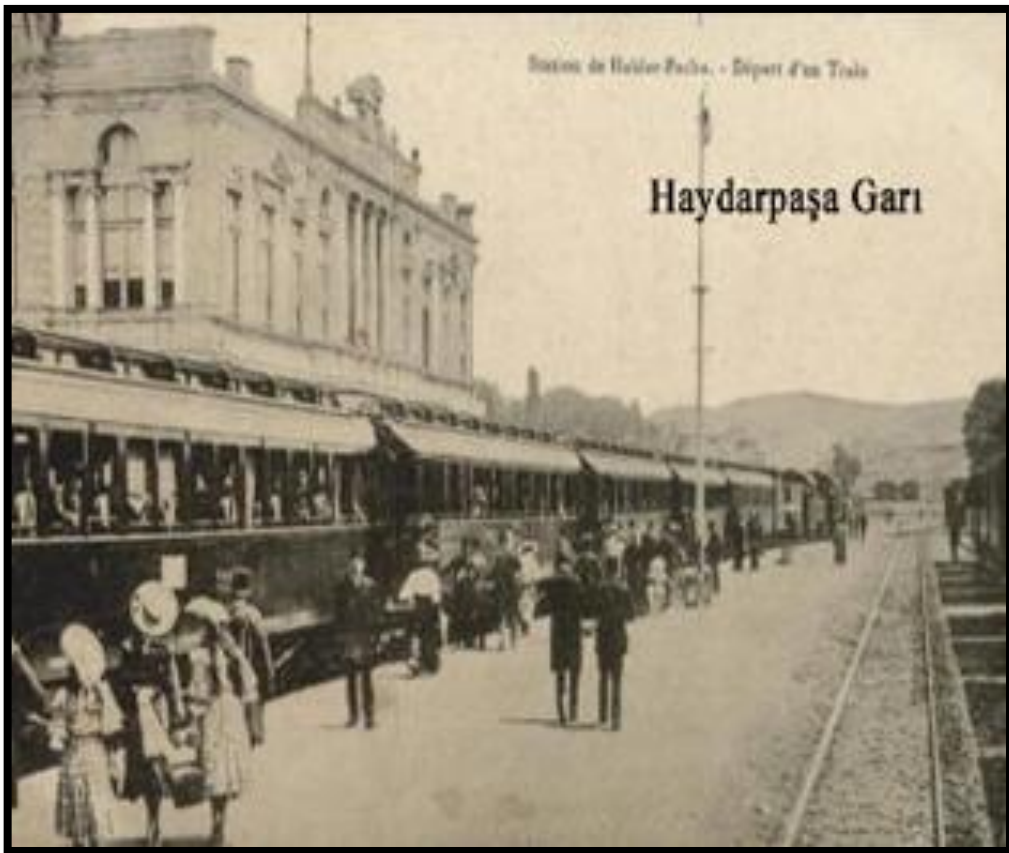
expand and increased the connection between the centre and the coastal settlements and villages lying toward the County of Pendik. Thus, Kadıköy possessed its own hinterland, and the resorts around the railway stations became permanent settlements over time. Following these developments, the number of neighbourhoods in Kadıköy which had previously been four reached seven. A severe fire in Kadıköy caused a huge destruction in the region in 1860. 250 buildings and structures in the centre burnt to the ground. In the aftermath of the fire, 'grid plan' model was adopted and implemented which had not been seen anywhere else in Istanbul. The aim was to attain a contemporary urban form. Therefore, the area was re-shaped with the linear streets occasionally 8 – 10 m wide and the squares in the central area formed by cutting the edges of the building blocks. Due to such attributes, Kadıköy had been an elite pre-World War I residential area largely inhabited by non-Muslims, Levantines and middle- to high-income groups. As well as the modest neighbourhoods of Yeldeğirmeni and Hasanpaşa, the bourgeois lifestyle in Bahariye, Moda and other wealthy districts beyond, and in the mansions helped Kadıköy receive a substantial amount of public services. The important developments in Kadıköy in this period are as follows:

- Introduction of town gas with the building of Hasanpaşa Gas Works in 1892;
- Tap water in 1894; and
- Electricity in 1928 (Encyclopaedia of Istanbul [49])

No significant spatial changes took place in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.



**Figure 16:** Kadıköy Quay (1857) [53]



**Figure 17:** Haydarpaşa Train Station (1873) [54]

### Post-republican Era

On 23<sup>rd</sup> March 1930, Kadıköy became a county with two districts, i.e. Erenköy and Kızıltoprak. The early period of this era did not differ much from the Ottoman period. Until the 1950s, Kadıköy had been called a ‘resort’ inhabited by both the moderate social class and the high society. With the freedom brought by the new Turkish Republic, the coastal areas of Kadıköy, namely Moda, Fenerbahçe, Caddebostan and Suadiye, emerged as much favoured and well-known beaches. Having started to lose its popularity in the 1970s with the increased sea pollution, this beach culture came to an end with the land reclamation works in the mid-1980s [49]. See Figure 18.



**Figure 18:** The location of Kadıköy in Istanbul [55]

One of the hallmarks of the 1950s is the Menderes operations. Despite their prevalence in the European Side, these operations affected Kadıköy as well. Within the framework of these operations, many landscaping activities were carried out in Kadıköy such as a range of roadworks and road widening activities.<sup>8</sup> In this period, Kadıköy Square was renewed as well.

<sup>8</sup> Roadworks planned for Kadıköy – Bostancı line are as follows: Üsküdar-Karacaahmet-Kurbağalıdere Road, Bağdat High Street, Kadıköy-Altıyol, Kadıköy-Duwardibi-Üsküdar Road, Kadıköy-Moda Coast Road, Moda-Kalamış-Fenerbahçe Coast Road, Fenerbahçe-Çiftehavuzlar-Caddebostan Coast Road, Kızıltoprak-İçerenköy Road, Merdivenköy-Uzunçayır-Kısıklı-Beylerbeyi Road, Çamlıca-Acıbadem-Kadıköy Road, Kadıköy-Koşuyolu, Merdivenköy-Kısıklı Road, Göztepe-Erenköy-Merdivenköy Road. These roads could not be fully renewed.

The building blocks in the area were demolished, and thus the squares were widened. A project including roads with traffic islands/medians, car parks, and green areas was planned. This project proposing the renewal of the existing quay building and re-arranging the existing wholesale food market as the new bus station prioritised the vehicle traffic. Thus, it suggested that the ferryboat quay and vehicle waiting zones be organised and arranged [49].

While the whole Turkey had a static urban construction in the 1940s, Kadıköy saw a period when the wooden mansions in the suburbs of Kadıköy were redeveloped into concrete villas. This redevelopment period lasted until the mid-1960s. Having comprised a small downtown area and quay square in the 1960s, Kadıköy then expanded along the Altıyol-Bahariye-Moda axis. From 1950 to 1980, Kadıköy, Altıyol, Bahariye and Bağdat High Street were highlighted as shopping strips, particularly for Ready-Made Garments. Furthermore, downtown Kadıköy had been a district hosting the entertainment and food industry such as restaurants, cafes, patisseries, cinemas and theatres until 1980. This made Kadıköy the second most important centre in the Asian Side [56].

In 1980<sup>9</sup>, the most prominent shopping zones were in the counties of Kadıköy and Üsküdar. In the post-1980 period, however, Kadıköy became the centre of shopping and retail trade with the largest and most prestigious hinterland. The shopping strips and zones of Kadıköy cover an extensive area beginning from Kadıköy Quay to Fenerbahçe and Bostancı through Altıyol, Bahariye, Moda and Bağdat High Street, and from Kadıköy to Kozyatağı along Hasanpaşa strip. Bağdat High Street was the most important commercial strip of Kadıköy. This High Street which developed in the 1960s, gradually became a hallmark of prestige,

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*Particularly, the construction of cost roads could only be initiated in the 1980s. A great majority of the planned roadworks are widening and asphaltting works (Encyclopaedia of Istanbul[49].*

<sup>9</sup> *The 1980s is the period when Turkey saw transformation in almost all areas. This transformation first took place in the economic and political structure, and then spread to physical space by affecting the social structure. The post-1980 change in Turkey was quite a sudden and radical one. The economic policies implemented in the late 1970s increased the tension between the social strata, and the problems overlapped, and with the effects of the global economic crisis, lay the basis for the 1980 coup d'état in Turkey. In the post-coup period, while Turkey had been going through a process of economic mobility and opening to foreign countries, rest of the world was discussing "globalisation". In this period where goods and capital circulation was accelerated by the new technologies and the countries across the world began to get closer to each other, the cities and regions took on new meanings and roles. Several cities and regions became more important with globalisation while several others lost their significance and attributes or characteristics [56].*



maintained its development until 1980, and was enriched by the foreign retail chain stores with the entrance of the foreign capital into Turkey and adoption of free market economy model in 1980 had been important until the 1990s [56]. See Figure 19.



**Figure 19:** The districts of Kadıköy [57]

Another shopping area of Kadıköy is the Fenerbahçe – Kalamış strip between Kızıltoprak and coast road junction. In the late 1980s, Fenerbahçe Park and Marina were built in Fenerbahçe. In the 1990s when the 2<sup>nd</sup> Ring Road was completed and Kozyatağı thoroughfares were opened, subcentres hosting office buildings emerged in the vicinities of Kozyatağı and in Söğütlüçeşme. In 1992, redevelopment of Fenerbahçe Peninsula into a recreation area, opening of a shopping centre, and the Marina invested the Fenerbahçe Peninsula with a recreational identity. Thus, Fenerbahçe became the recreation area for the community in

Kadıköy where they went for a picnic, walked around and got some fresh air. Moda regained its significance with the opening of Fenerbahçe-Bostancı road and maintained its recreational identity which it had particularly in the early 1960s. With the opening of the Bosphorus Bridge (the First Bridge) in 1973, Ziverbey connection road started to become an active route. In this period, the region developed in terms of residential areas as well. Furthermore, as the industrial organisations in, for example, Göztepe or the manufacturing premises on the Ankara Highway, this axis has become more and more important [56].

Kadıköy has been a residential area largely inhabited by the middle- and high-income groups of Istanbul. It can be said that it still preserves this attribute it has gained in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Although the original bourgeois lifestyle which had existed until the 1950s has not reached us, Kadıköy is still one of the significant counties of Istanbul hosting the people who prefer an urban lifestyle.

### **3.1.1. Developmental Process of Kadıköy Historic Centre**

Kadıköy Historic Centre, one of the oldest shopping precincts of Kadıköy, covered the area between the seaward side of the Bahariye High Street extending from Altıyol to Bahariye and the uphill of the Kadıköy Quay Square, which is the vicinities of Osmanağa Mosque which sits on the left side of the Söğütlüçeşme Street running from Altıyol at the Kadıköy Square [58]. See Figure 20.

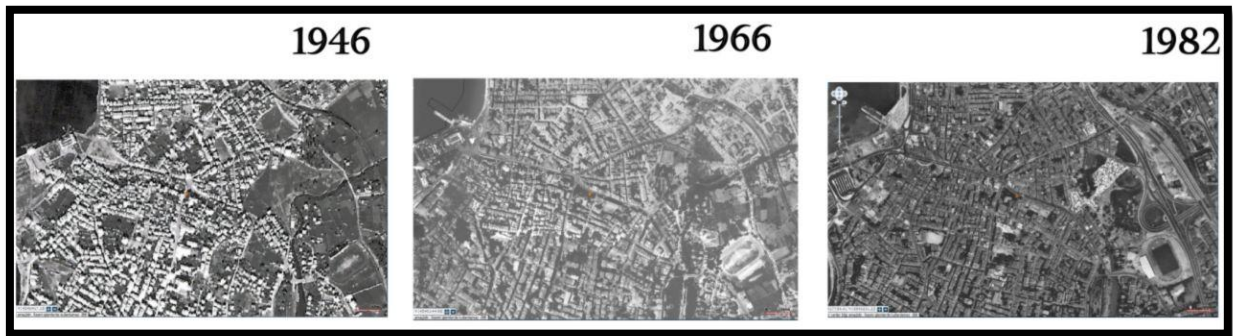


**Figure 20:** Kadıköy Historic Centre [59]

The settlement which was the first centre of Kadıköy and developed as a village around the modern Central Area comprised a few hundred households. The community predominated by the Rum population was largely involved in farming and fishing. The area which failed to develop in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries became an active place in the 17<sup>th</sup> century with the building of the Osmanağa Mosque in 1612 funded by Osman Agha. In this period, the first Turk neighbourhoods emerged around the mosque [49].

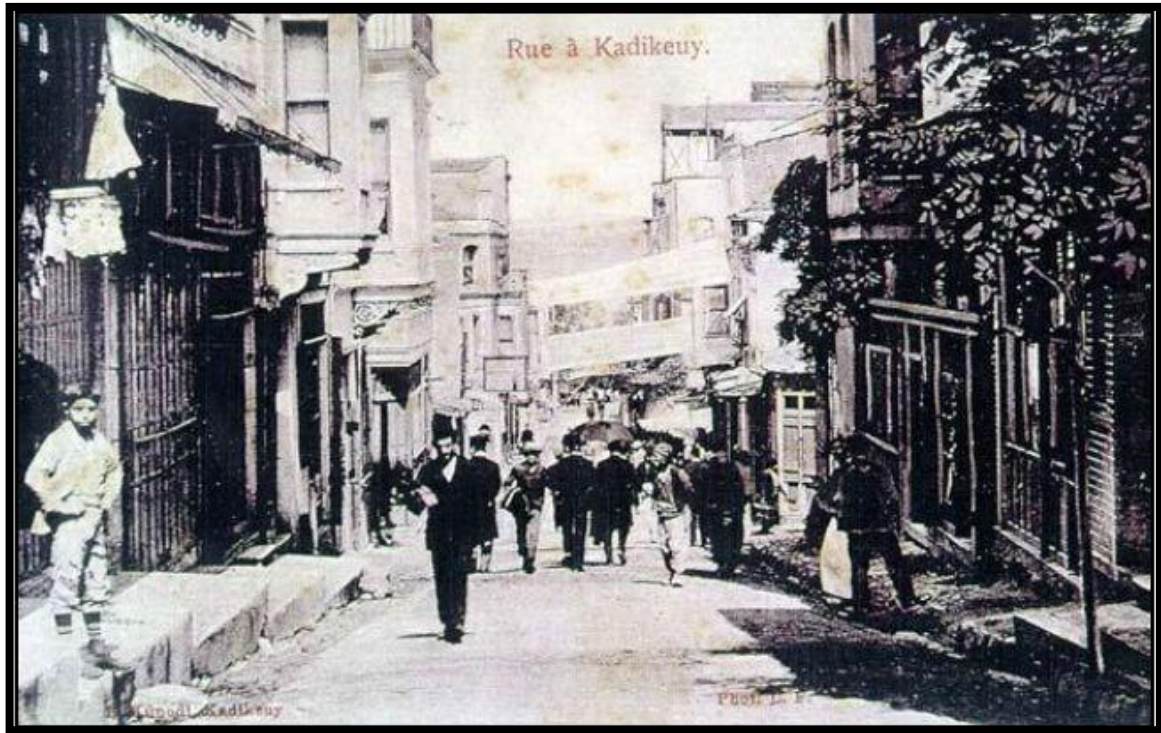
In the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, small building blocks emerged in the area around Osmanağa and İskele Mosques, and Rum and Armenian Churches. These blocks were surrounded by vineyards, gardens and melon fields. Mühürdar Vineyards (Vineyards of the Private Secretary) were then the vineyards formed by order of Ahmet Efendi, the Private Secretary of Moldavancı Ali Pasha who was then the Grand Pasha of Mustafa III. These grand vineyards

were of significant importance for the region. Mühürdar Street which was an important commercial strip in the Central Area was named after these vineyards [60].



**Figure 21:** Kadıköy Historic Centre throughout history [61]

By the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Kadıköy had expanded. The Historic Centre became the downtown area in this period. It is known that the Osmanağa Neighbourhood covering the Historic Centre hosted 882 households and 290 shops and stores in this period. The fires in Kadıköy after 1860 caused severe damages in the Central Area hosting wooden buildings. Nearly 250 buildings were burnt down to the ground by the Great Fire. From the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, non-Muslims and Levantines began to predominate the population in Moda and Central Area. This enabled a different physical structure to emerge [49]. See Figure 21. The non-Muslims from the middle- and high-income groups brought their culture to the area. This resulted in an original and authentic commercial structure. In these districts shared by separate ethnic and religious groups, buildings of which ground floors were used as shops and the upper floors as households were constructed. Although the majority of the buildings of this period were 2 to 3-storey buildings, some buildings might be 4 to 5 storeys high. The buildings of this period had bay windows, eaves, window jambs and oriel windows. Thus, buildings with separate and specific features emerged and reached us [50]. See Figure 22.



**Figure 22:** An old view from Muvakkithane Street [62]

One of the major events playing a role in the development of the Historic Centre is the opening of boat services in 1857. Human-powered boats were replaced by steam boats in ship transport after 1857. Thereupon, Kadıköy Historic Centre became an active commercial zone as Kadıköy was one of the boat stops [50].

Kadıköy Historic Centre had been an important area until the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century. From the 1950s, however, social-economic and socio-cultural structure began to change as was the case in many other districts of Istanbul. Ethnic groups (Rums, Armenian, and Levantines) of the community in Kadıköy had to abandon their homes due to various reasons. This resulted in a change in the shopkeeper profile [62]. See Figure 23.



after which it was bought by the same family again. Beyaz Fırın which has been remarkably sustainable for its owners is still operated by this family. In the row opposite “Hacı Bekir” on the Yasa Street extending from Beyaz Fırın to the quay, there is “Baylan Pastanesi” (Baylan Patisserie) operated by the same family as Beyaz Fırın [60]. In this period, the Mühürdar Street became an area largely crowded by bookstores which were one of the sub-industries in the region. After 1980, there were also hardware stores, commercial buildings hosting construction equipments, electronic goods and spare parts dealers, and particularly intercity bus agencies, on the Üsküdar side of the Söğütlüçeşme Street. With the introduction of the foreign capital into Turkey in the 1980s, many shopping centres have changed. Kadıköy Historic Centre is one of these centres as well. International retail chain stores such as McDonald’s and Burger King opened in the area. The opening of shopping centres such as Capitol in Altunizade and Carrefour in Kozyatağı in September 1993 affected the shopping precincts in Kadıköy Historic Centre [52].

Since then, the Historic Centre and its vicinities have gradually lost their economic, physical and historical significance. However, the Municipality of the County of Kadıköy signed a protocol with the Turkish Foundation for Protection and Promotion of Environmental and Cultural Heritage (FPPECH [ÇEKÜL]) to regenerate the area. Thereupon, the renewal activities were started in the area of project within the framework the “Renewal Project for Kadıköy Historic Centre” [58].

### **3.2. DESIGNATION OF KADIKÖY HISTORIC CENTRE TO BE A PROTECTED AREA**

Istanbul which has a special geographical location and had been the capital city of two empires throughout its history of 2,500 years is an important city with natural and historical heritage such as the Historic Peninsula, Golden Horn, Galata, Beyoğlu and the Bosphorus (also spelled Bosphorus). Efforts have been and are made to conserve the area since the 1970s. However, Istanbul has always been the centre of Turkey’s population and financial investments. Thus, the city has been faced with the pressure of change and transformation. The population and investment rush into the city since the 1950s caused it to developed lacking of an appropriate

urban planning and infrastructure. The urgent agenda that emerged with the population exceeding 10 million in the 2000s was the renewal of the city which became a metropolis as a result of this population increase. Apart from the events taking place in the suburbs and threatening the natural heritage, another hallmark of the period is the movement of the capital towards Istanbul's central areas and historic urban fabrics. Designation of the city to be the 'European Capital of Culture' in 2010 fuelled the renewal works as well [64]. Accordingly, for the purposes of the Protection of Cultural and Natural Properties Act (PCNPA), the Regional Boards no. I, II and III for Protection of Cultural and Natural Properties with distinct jurisdictions undertook the conservation of the protected areas and listed natural monuments and features in Istanbul. According to the listing decisions relating to the protected areas retrieved from the archives of the Regional Boards:

- 1975 – There is a protected natural area which is 1 hectare in size within the borders of the County of Kadıköy. This decision was not addressed systematically due to the existing conditions.
- 1979 – There is another protected area in Kadıköy spanning several parcels [64].

13 protected areas across Kadıköy cover a total area of 61.5 hectares. These protected areas are relatively small and multipartite. The protected urban areas of Rasimpaşa and Kadıköy Historic Centre predominate the others in size. Nine protected natural areas scattered across the high-density urban fabric are significantly important. There is an approved Landscape Plan for Protection (LPP) pertaining to the urban protected area; however, there are LPPs for two Grade II protected natural areas and five Grade III protected natural areas [64].

Within this framework, the Commercial and Conversational Plan for Kadıköy was approved with the decision no. 3623 of the Ministry of Culture City of Istanbul Board no. II for the Protection of Cultural and Natural Properties dated 13.09.1991. Accordingly, the Traditional Central Area of Kadıköy hosting many old properties to be protected was designated to be a "protected area" in accordance with the Article 17 of the Decision no. 2863 of the Board for the Protection of Cultural and Natural Properties. Upon the decision of protected area, the 1:500 scale Landscape Plan for Protection no. 5802 dated 13.05.1993 was approved as well [65].



### **3.3. PRACTICES WITHIN AND DEVELOPMENTAL STEPS OF THE PEDESTRIANISATION PROJECT FOR KADIKÖY HISTORIC CENTRE AND THE ACTORS PLAYING A ROLE IN THIS PROCESS: THE MUNICIPALITY OF THE COUNTY OF KADIKÖY, THE FPPECH [ÇEKÜL] AND KADIKÖY HISTORIC CENTRE ASSOCIATION**

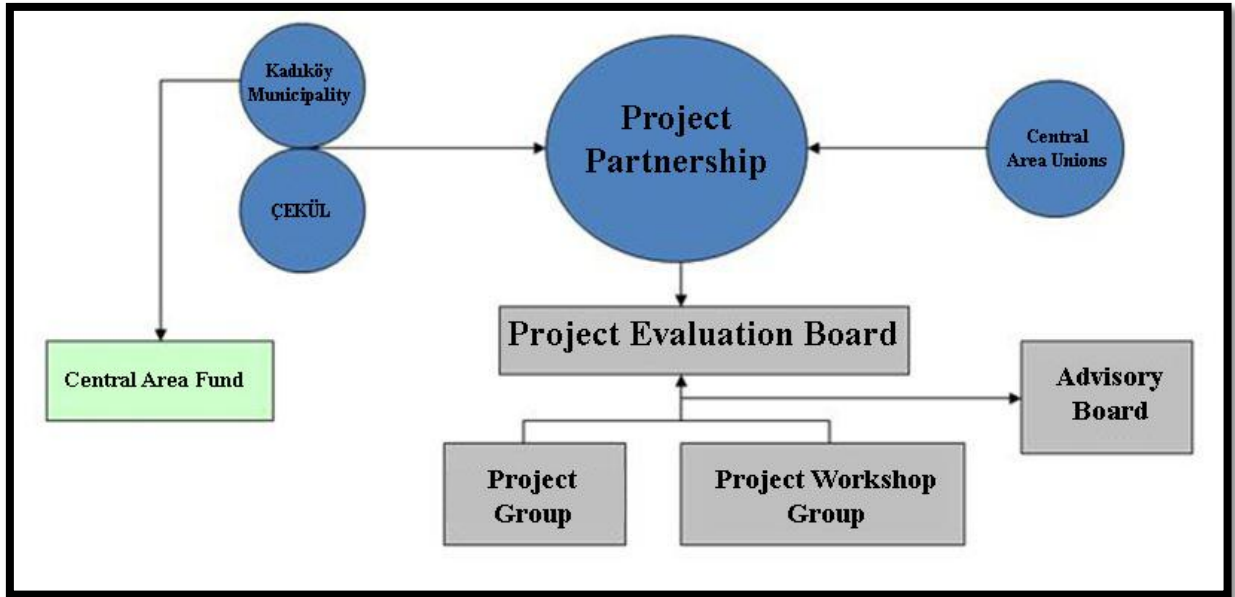
In accordance with the decisions of the Board for the Protection of Cultural and Natural Properties, the Municipality of the County of Kadıköy and the FPPECH (ÇEKÜL) became project partners on 06.10.2004. With the protocol signed upon this partnership, the Regeneration Project for the Historic Centre was launched within the framework of the principle of ‘protecting and maintaining’ the ancient properties and the urban design decisions and resolutions for harmonising the new buildings with the existing historic fabric. Having centred on the Osmanağa Mosque and the church squares, the then current situation of the physical and social structure mainly in the vicinities of the protected area was determined. Furthermore, Kültür University determined the then current situation and performed the observational and structural risk analyses of the buildings in the area. The overall purpose of the Regeneration Project for Kadıköy Historic Centre was to ‘regenerate’ the ‘Historic Centre which had gradually been losing its economic, physical and historic significance’ around new strategies and a new model. The aims of the Project were as follows:

- Restoring the special and distinguished historic image of the Historic Centre;
- Physical designing prioritising the pedestrian rights;
- Conserving the listed buildings by way of restoration and redevelopment;
- Re-organising the urban furniture such as lighting and the like;
- Establishing a safe and secure environment;
- Issuing resolutions on and standardising of the location of the items on the outer sides of the buildings such as signboards, display cases, and HVAC units etc;
- Adding these resolutions and building criteria to the Landscape Plan for Protection as the plan note.

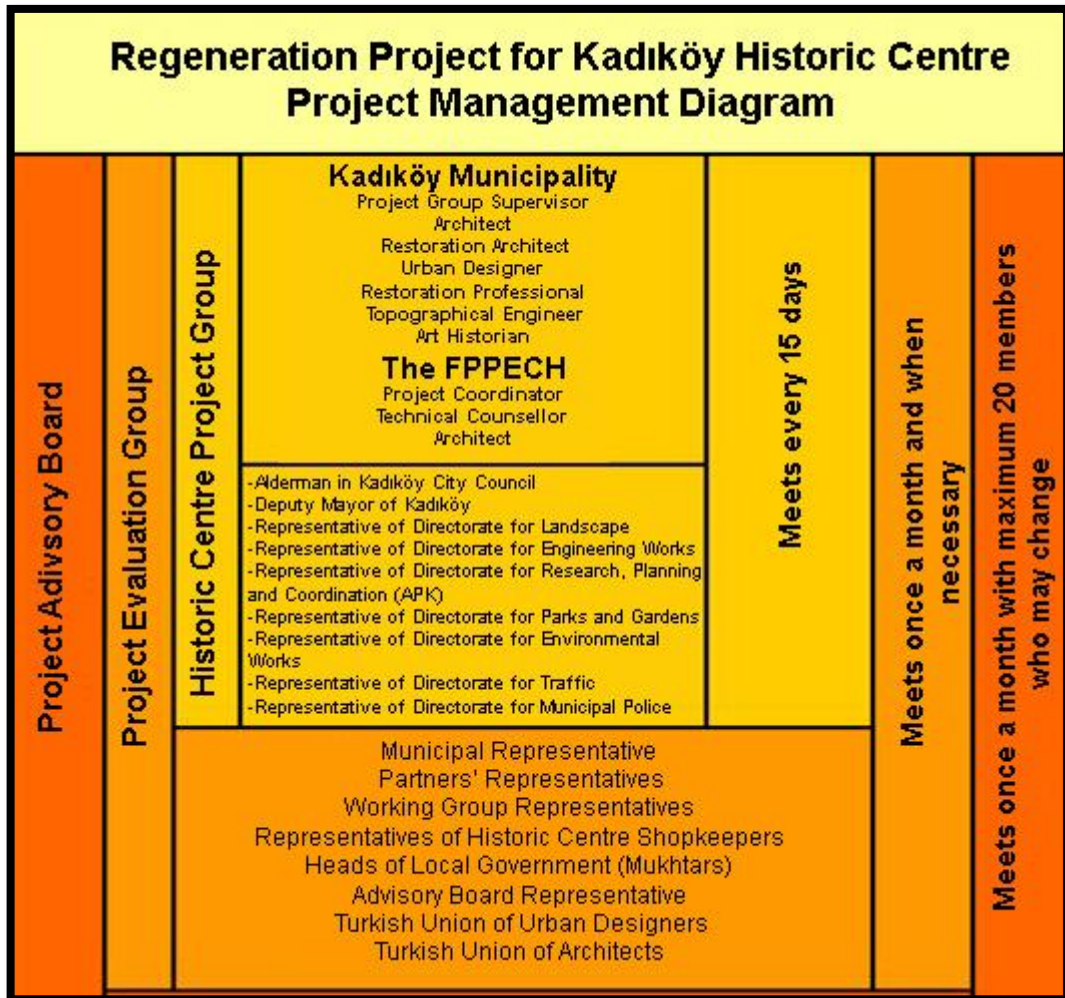
In addition to the partnership between the Municipality of the County of Kadıköy and the FPPECH, a Historic Centre partnership was formed as well. See Figure 24. This partnership aimed to organise the shopkeepers in the Centre and enable them to participate in the project as an actor. Accordingly, the partners of the project comprised the Municipality of the County of Kadıköy, the FPPECH, Historic Centre Organisations (Shopkeepers’ Unions, etc.),

Neighbourhood Mukhtars (*mukhtar*: the head of local government of a village or neighbourhood in Turkey), Professional Associations, and the Advisory Board consisting of the members of various professions (journalists, authors, economists, businessmen etc.). The said project based upon the principle of the partnership between state and non-governmental organisations (NGOs), was created with the participation and collaboration of the private sector.

In order to design the relevant Project, the Municipality of the County of Kadıköy delegated, within the Directorate for Research and Projects Coordination, a project group consisting of professionals who were specialists in their respective fields. The Municipality of the County of Kadıköy collaborated with and operated through its Directorates for Engineering Works, Landscaping and Urban Planning, and Environmental Protection and Control in order to implement the Project. Another objective of the Municipality of the County of Kadıköy was to be in contact with the Advisory Board consisting of specialists from various professions through which these specialists would be able to submit their advice and comments on the development and implementation process of the Project to the Municipality. The public's participation to the implementation process of the Project was predicted to be enabled through Street Committees of Kadıköy Central Area. In addition to all these, Kadıköy Historic Centre Association to and through which the shopkeepers submit and express their complaints and requests was founded in 2007. See Figure 25.



**Figure 24:** The Partnership Chart of the Regeneration Project for Kadıköy Historic Centre [65]



**Figure 25:** The Project Management Diagram [65]

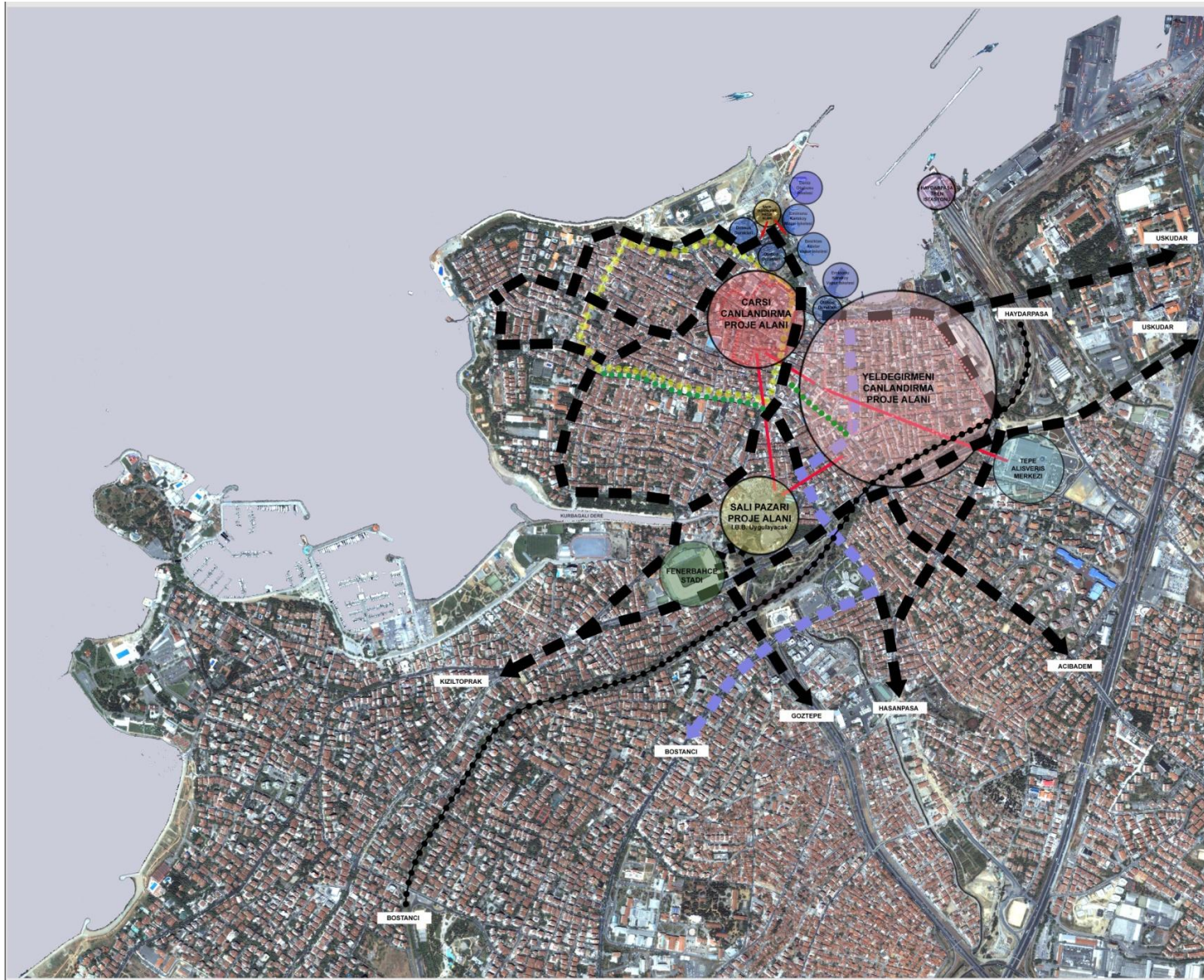
The 'Project Development Fund' was created in order to realise the physical, economic and social investments developed within the scope of the Project. In the early phases of development, a majority of the Project Fund income was planned to be allocated by the Municipality of the County of Kadıköy. However, it was later decided that real estate and signboard taxes collected from the shopkeepers and dwellers of the Central Area were to be transferred to the Fund as an input from public sector. It was prescribed that the exteriors of the buildings were to be painted, and awning, display case and signboard re-arrangements as well as building restoration were to take place, all of which were to be sponsored by the private sector. This fund was planned to expand with the contributions of sponsor companies. Yet another aim was to apply for the EU Funds, establish project workshops, and then employ the trained persons [65].

It was understood that the Historic Centre was important for restoring the aforementioned special and distinguished image thereof, and revitalising the economy of the Central Area as well as creating new associations between the past and modern values. Accordingly, it was decided that being important properties for recreating the image, the monumental buildings such as churches and mosques, the themed streets accommodating fisheries and antique shops, the squares, and the civic buildings preserving and keeping the Central Area together were to be addressed by a holistic project [65].



**Figure 26:** Strategic Goals Scheme [65]

One of the main goals of the Project was to revitalise the economy in the Central Area, preserve and maintain the vitality of the Area, and avoid the risk of desolation it might face with over time. See Figure 26. Accordingly, new regeneration and revitalisation corridors were planned to be created based on the urban relationship between the Central Area and the districts of Hasanpaşa, Yeldeğirmeni and Moda. See Figure 27. [65].

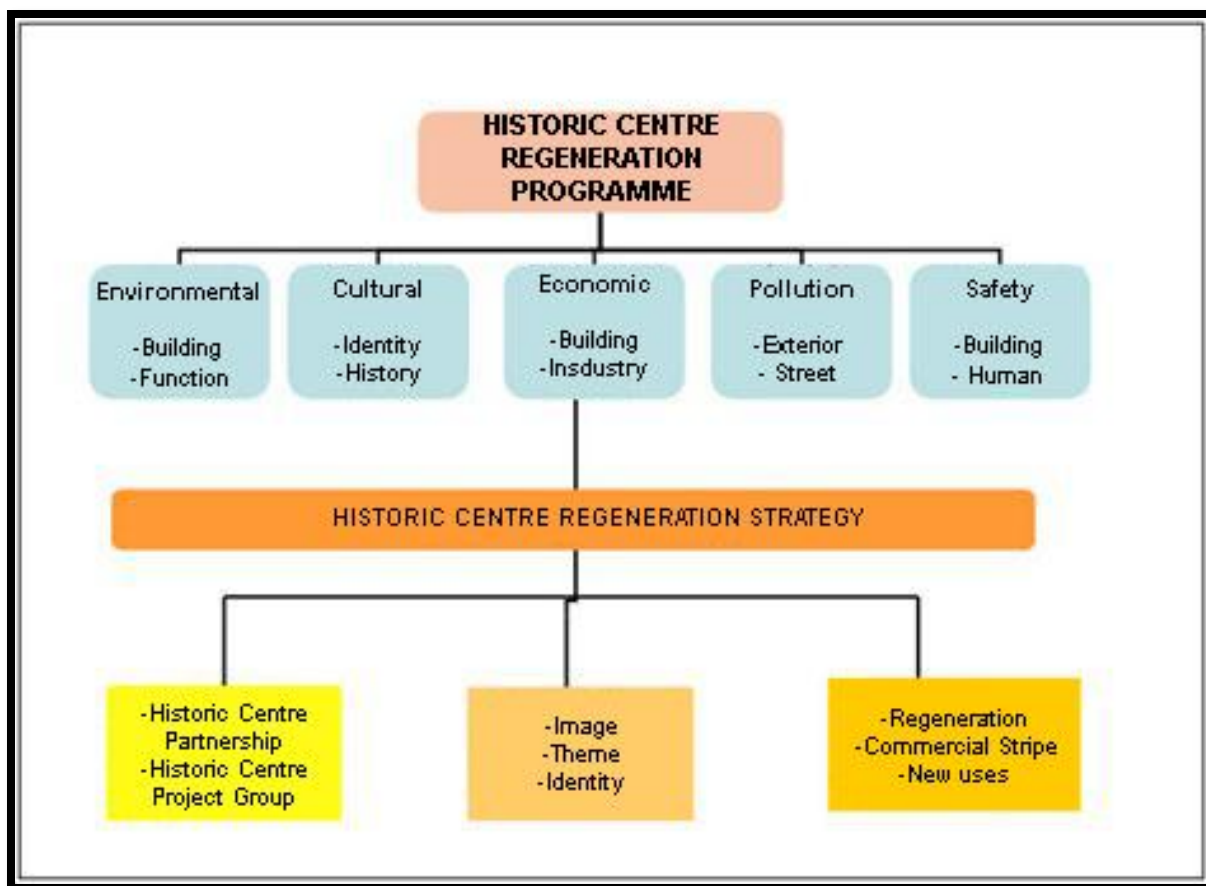


**Figure 27:** The location and access routes of the Historic Centre Protected Area in Kadıköy [65]

Detailed analyses were carried out in the Project Implementation Area. These analyses are as follows:

- Revitalisation Corridors (Aerial photo)
- Interaction Analysis Diagram (Aerial photo)
- Interaction Analysis Diagram (Current map)
- The effects of 1:2,500 scale project proposals on the Central Area (the projects of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality etc.)
- Character analysis of the region (1:1,000)
- Storey height analysis (1:1,000)
- Material analysis for the buildings (1:1,000)
- Transportation (1:1,000)
- Functional analysis of the ground floor (1:1,000)
- General functional analysis (1:1,000)
- Upper floors occupancy or vacancy rates (1:1,000)
- Ownership analysis (1:1,000).

In the light of the analyses in the Project Implementation Area and the project model created, an evaluation meeting with high participation was held on 30.03.2005 to advertise and introduce the Project to the shopkeepers in and dwellers of the Central Area. Kadıköy Historic Centre Association collectively founded by the shopkeepers in the Area participated in the meeting as well. Based on the comments of the shopkeepers and residents, the problems of the Area were determined to be security, pollution, the condition of the building stock, and economy. The meeting concluded that the participants were willing for and approached positively to the Project. See Figure 28.



**Figure 28:** Kadıköy Historic Centre Revitalisation Programme [65]

Within the process of the Regeneration Project for Kadıköy Historic Centre, the project production activities which were divided into various stages continued in the whole Project Implementation Area. See Figure 29. Since the Regeneration Project for Kadıköy Historic Centre was a long-term project, however, it was decided that a pilot street implementation was to be done in order to determine the short-term challenges. In the light of the results of SWOT analysis, it was decided to carry out the initial project and implementation thereof in the Tellalzade Street predominated by the antique shops and having an important image and identity. Pilot street implementation was launched on 29<sup>th</sup> July 2005. See Figure 30 and Figure 31.

The building and exterior rehabilitation activities sponsored by Marshall were initiated within the scope of Spring Cleaning in the Tellalzade Street, which is the Phase I of the Project, and



continued in the other Phases. Additionally, the lighting project of the Tellalzade Street was sponsored by Philips.

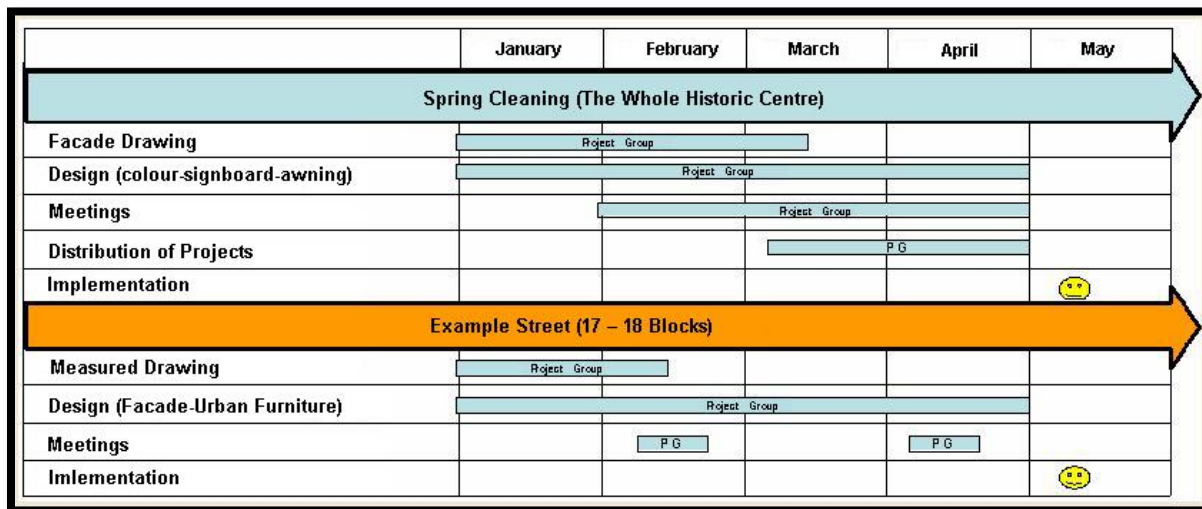
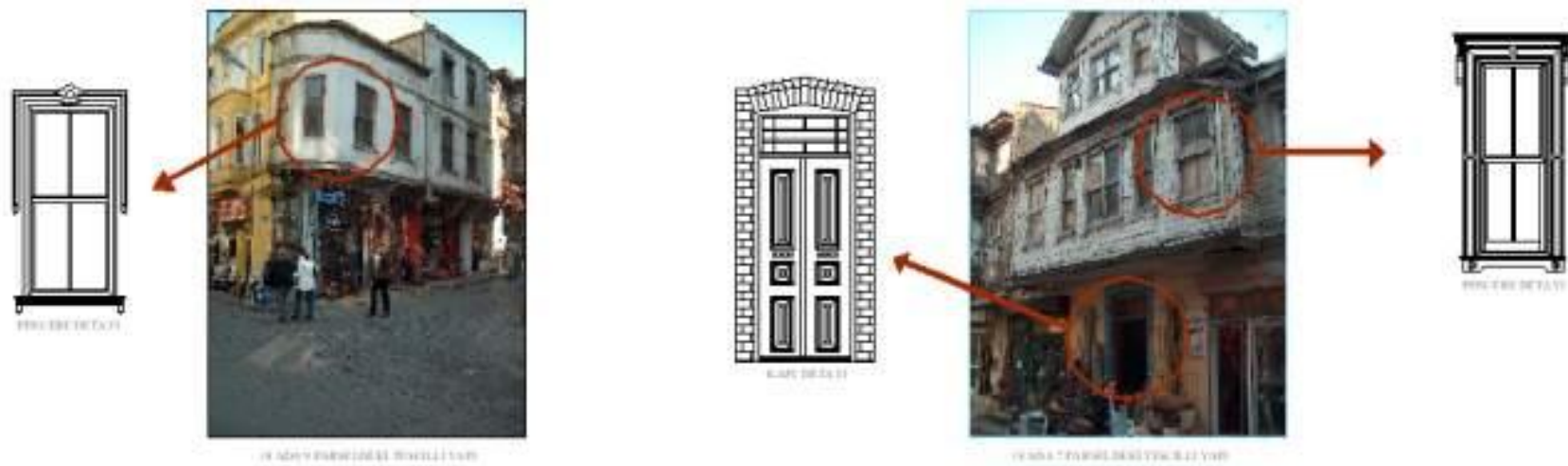


Figure 29: 2005 Work Plan [65]



TELLALZADE SOKAKI VESELERİ OYUNU (SOL CEPHE)



**Figure 30:** The Regeneration Project for Kadıköy Historic Centre – Restoring the image and themes of the Tellalzade Street – 1 [65]



**Figure 31:** The Regeneration Project for Kadıköy Historic Centre – Restoring the image and themes of the Tellalzade Street – 2 [65]

In parallel with the renewal process of the Tellalzade Street, the building stock was restored within the scope of the Project. After the reinforcement and exterior rehabilitation in the restored buildings, the unusable ones were decided to be renewed. The listed buildings were, however, decided to be restored or redeveloped. In this process, new legal rights were exercised.<sup>10</sup> These rights are covered by the Implementing Regulation no. 5366 on the Law concerning Renovative Conservation and Sustainable Use of the Time-worn Historic and Cultural Immovable Assets, and by the Regulations on Delegation of Rights of the Listed Immovable Cultural Assets with Restricted Building Rights and the Immovable Assets in the Protected Areas Thereof whose Building Rights Are Restricted by Landscape Plans for Protection. In accordance with these decisions, civic buildings were analysed and decided to be addressed as the items providing integrity and continuity for the new buildings and the interventions to the exteriors of the existing buildings. The essentials of the Project were the compatibility between the old and new buildings and restoration of the listed buildings in accordance with the principles of the Board Decisions and the Project approvals. It was decided that the building-level interventions within the Project were to be made within the framework of material compatibility. Furthermore, the existing infrastructure and security problems of the Central Area, which required urgent action, were considered the primary focuses of concern, and the church squares, streets, floorings and urban furniture were designed and arranged in accordance with the urban image. See Figure 32 and Figure 33. These laws played a direct or indirect role in the Project [65].

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<sup>10</sup> Metropolitan Municipality Act no. 5216

Municipality Act no. 5215

Provincial Local Authorities Act no. 5302

Protection of Cultural and Natural Assets Act no. 2863

Several Acts as Amended by Act no. 5226

Promotion of Cultural Investments and Entrepreneurships Act no. 5225

Law no. 5228 on Tax Obligation for Cultural and Natural Assets Donations, Subsidies and Expenditures

Law no. 5366 concerning Renovative Conservation and Sustainable Use of the Time-worn Historic and Cultural Immovable Assets

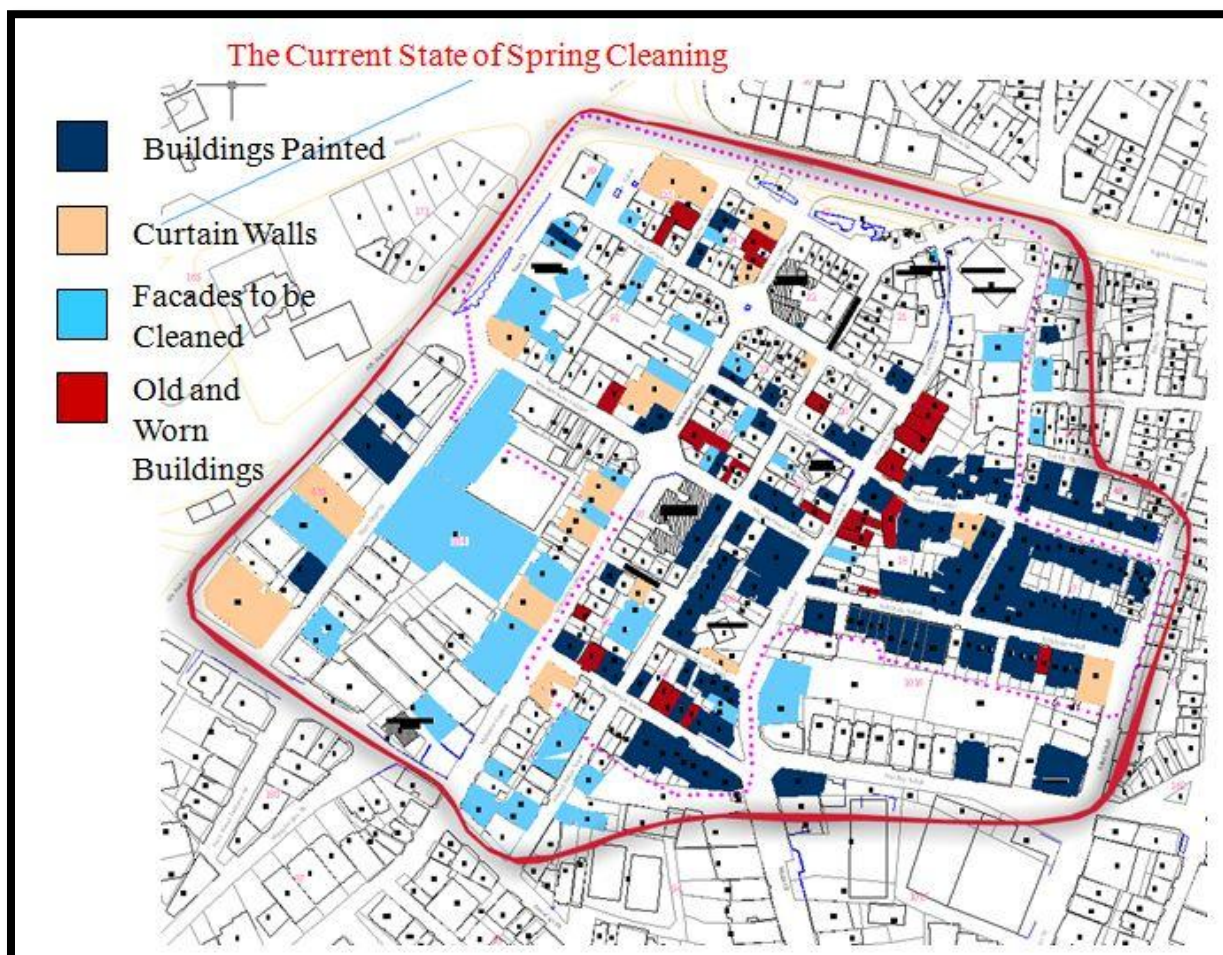


**Figure 32:** Floorings, 2014 [66]



**Figure 33:** Urban Furniture (Yasa Street, 2005) [67]

As the first step of the Project aimed to be completed on 04.02.2007, the buildings on Tellalzade Street, Pavlonya Street, Üzerlik Street and Serasker Main Street were restored in 2005. See Figure 34.



**Figure 34:** The Area following the 2005 Spring Cleaning [65]

In order to enable the sustainability of the Project as per the rules, the Municipality of the County of Kadıköy approved and enacted the Directive on the Management and Implementation of Kadıköy Historic Centre Project on 07.03.2008 with the Decision no. 2008/81. The Area was fully opened in 2009. See Figure 35.

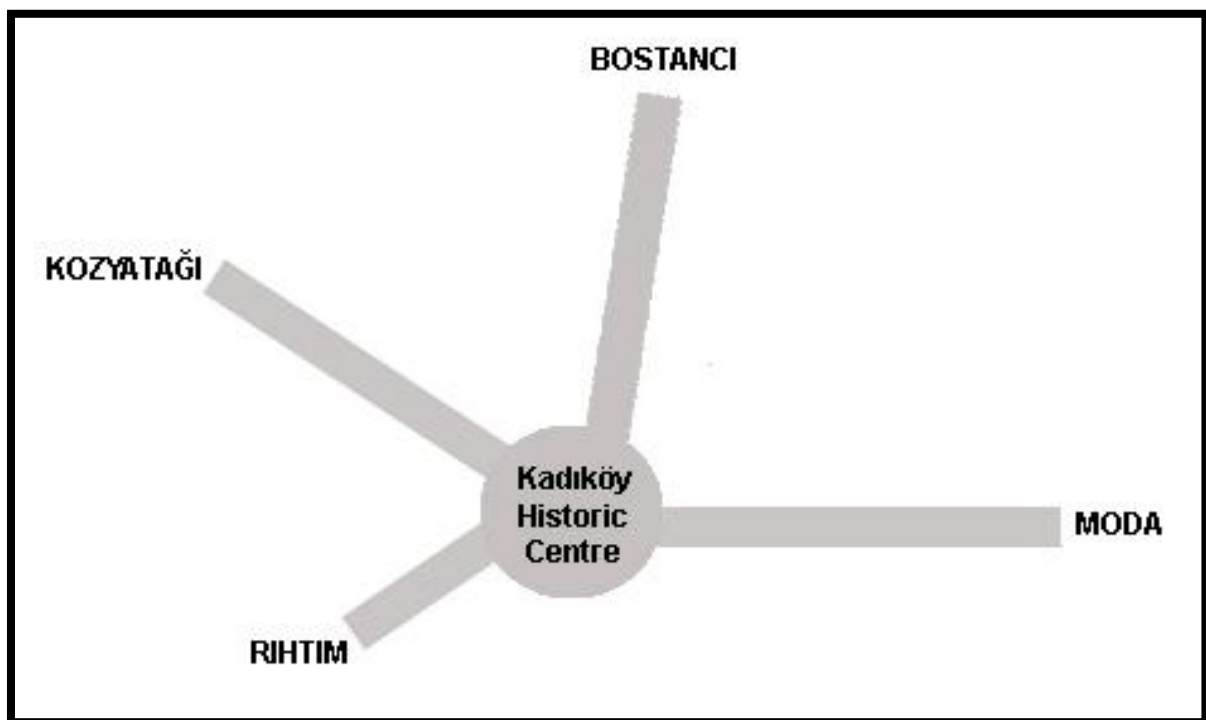


**Figure 35:** The current borders of the pedestrianised area in Kadıköy Historic Centre – 2014

(The dark yellow areas represent the pedestrianised streets) [68]

### 3.4. DISTRIBUTION OF THE RETAIL TRADE AND SPECIALISATIONS IN KADIKÖY HISTORIC CENTRE FROM 1980 TO 2014

Throughout history (1839-1996), though their qualities have changed from time to time, the retail stores in the Historic Centre have survived with their physical structures, the vicinities they were identified with, and the sub-industries thereof. The Central Area of Kadıköy on the Asian Side of Istanbul, for example, has maintained its position for years. However, there have been handovers and renewals in the businesses and functions of the Central Area, and rearrangements in the Area as a whole. The Historic Centres being the starting point, the counties have developed in a circular or linear fashion based on these Centres. On the Asian Side of Istanbul, Kadıköy Historic Centre has been the core of the retail trade zones from which the strips of Altiyol-Bağdat High Street-Bostancı, Kadıköy-Moda, and Kadıköy-Kozyatağı developed linearly [56]. See Figure 36.



**Figure 36:** Kadıköy Historic Centre and the Commercial Strips of Kadıköy [56]



When the shopping zones of Kadıköy are divided into groups, it is seen that the shopping-oriented industries span an extensively large district and each sub-district is predominated by different sub-industries. Another aspect of the retail trade centres of Kadıköy is that they have always, including the post-1980 period, served the upper-middle to high-income groups [58]. See Table 3.

**Table 3:** Industries in the Central Area in the post-1980 period [58]

Area/District	1 <sup>st</sup> Sub-industry	2 <sup>nd</sup> Sub-industry	3 <sup>rd</sup> Sub-industry	Other Features
Historic Centre	Food (Fishery – Liver House [a restaurant specialised on liver dishes in Turkey])	Bookstore, Stationery	Furniture, White Goods	Serves the upper-middle to high-income groups and the whole Kadıköy

After this period, the agenda that emerged with the opening of Turkey to the foreign capital and adoption of liberal policies in the post-1980 period, particularly from 1990, was investing in the foreign capital. Thereupon, indoor shopping centres were opened in Turkey. An example of this situation is the opening of the French retailer Carrefour in 1993. The domestic large capital owners began investing in this industry when the consumption increased after 1990, the people visited these newly built shopping centres more than expected, and the entrepreneurs realised that it was a profitable investment. Upon the introduction of prominent brands to Turkey, however, some small-sized business owners (e.g. grocery stores, food products retailers, and self-sustaining businesses etc.) opted to join their forces and formed unions in order to be able to compete with the big chain stores. In this period, downtown or out-of-town shopping centres or the places such as renovated shopping zones, cafes, and entertainment locations were considered to be must-see places by the society, whereas the places previously used for the same purposes were qualified as ‘old’ and abandoned to the lower-income group [58].

Kadıköy Historic Centre was faced with this very change in the 1990s. Having declined until 2004, it has come to prominence again with the Regeneration Project. The change in trade and the specialisation data inferred from the land use map issued by the Municipality of the County of Kadıköy in this period will be compared to the ones obtained from the land use determination activities carried out in *July 2014*. See Figures 37, 38 and 39.



**Figure 37:** Land use map issued by the Municipality of the County of Kadıköy in 2004 [65]

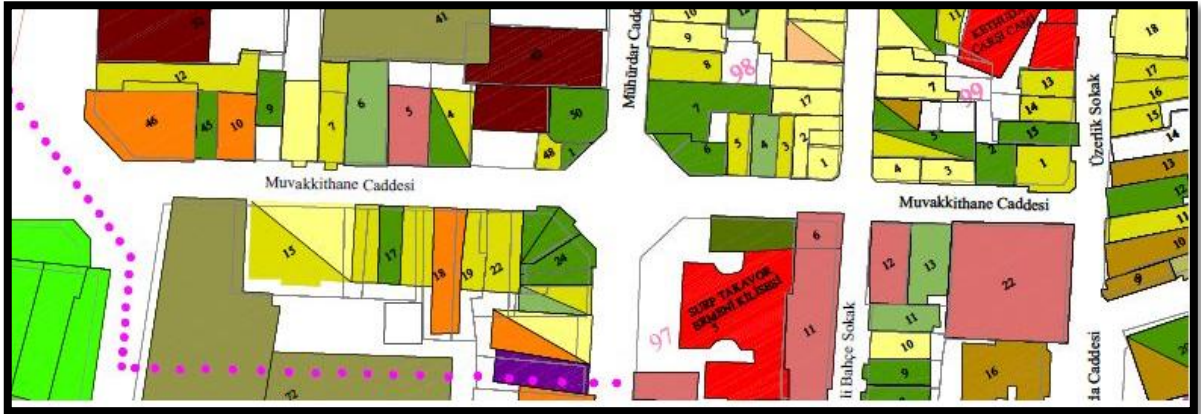
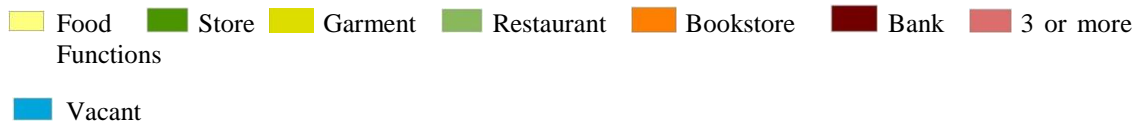


**Figure 38:** Land use in 2014 as updated by the author

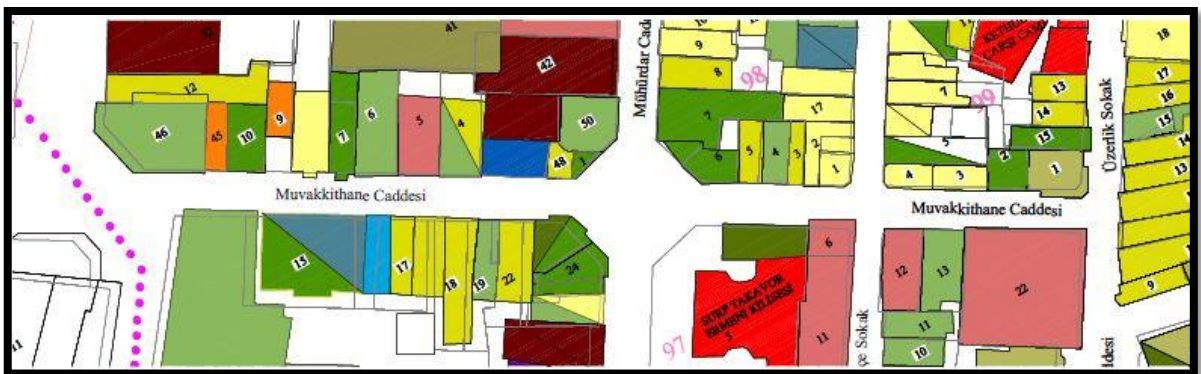


**Figure 39:** The changes to the streets in the area identified by ground floor analysis

### Muvakkithane Street



**Figure 40:** Ground floor analysis of Muvakkithane Street in 2004



**Figure 41:** Ground floor analysis of Muvakkithane Street in 2014



**Figure 42:** The changes in the results of the ground floor analysis of Muvakkithane Street

There has been no dramatic industrial change in the Muvakkithane Street from 2004 to 2014. See Figure 40 and 41. However, this street which is one of the most prominent streets of the Historic Centre began to host lots of foreign brands such as Starbucks, Tschibo, and Swatch etc., and big domestic brands like Koton. Moreover, the bookstores in the street began to be shut down. See Figure 42 and Figure 43.



**Figure 43:** Muvakkithane Street 2014 [66]

### Mühürdar Street

- Food
- Store
- Garment
- Restaurant/Cafe
- Bookstore
- Bank
- Herbalist
- 3 or more Functions
- Vacant



**Figure 44:** Ground floor analysis of Mühürdar Street in 2004



**Figure 45:** Ground floor analysis of Mühürdar Street in 2014



**Figure 46:** The changes in the results of the ground floor analysis of Mühürdar Street



There are coffeehouses and dining places now on the street which was predominated by the retail stores such as bookstores, glassware dealers, photographers and watch stores in 2004. See Figure 44 and Figure 45. Furthermore, there are domestic and foreign food and fashion brands on this street such as Mc Donald's, Burger King, Pizza House, Penti, Flormar and Bambi. See Figure 46 and Figure 47.



**Figure 47:** Mühürdar Street 2014 [66]

### Tellalzade Street

Garment Restaurant/Cafe Store Car Park White Goods/Furniture

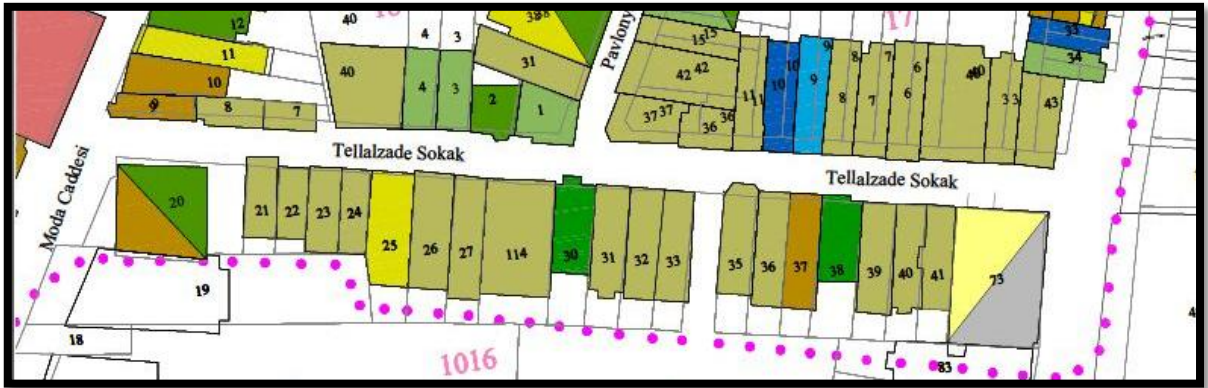


Figure 48: Ground floor analysis of Tellalzade Street in 2004

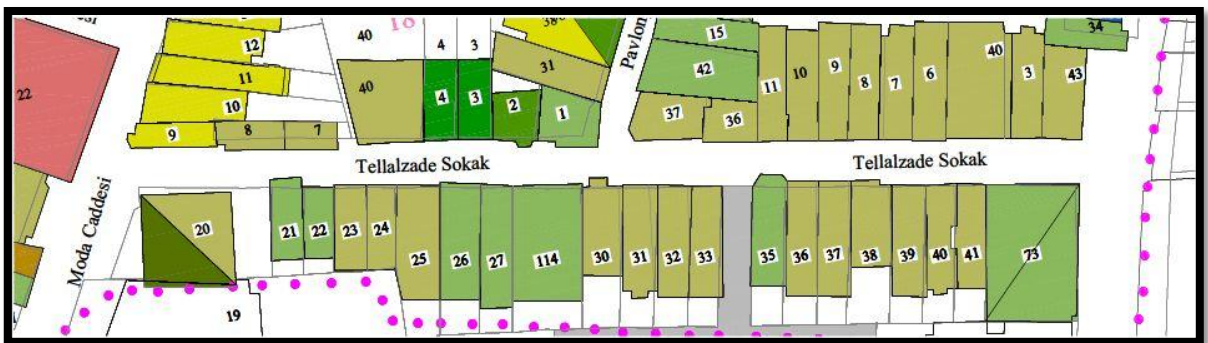


Figure 49: Ground floor analysis of Tellalzade Street in 2014

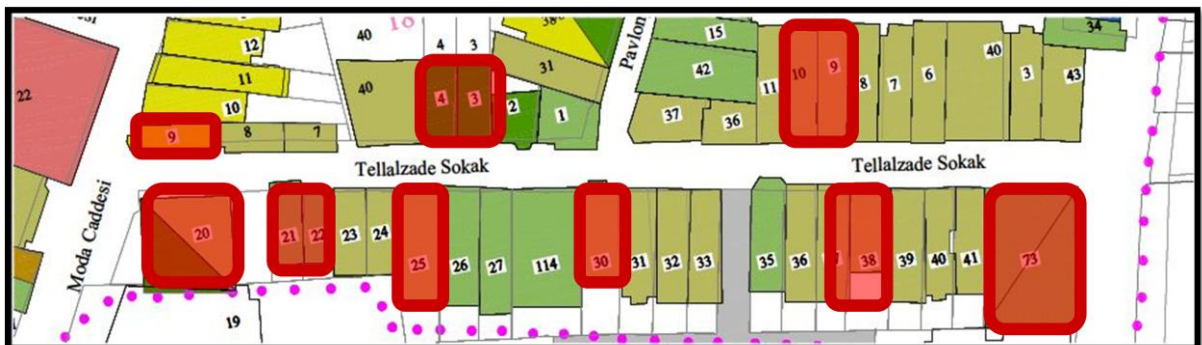


Figure 50: The changes in the results of the ground floor analysis of Tellalzade Street

Tellalzade Street hosting antique shops is one of the important streets for Kadıköy Historic Centre to preserve its identity. See Figure 48 and Figure 49. It is seen that this street has retained its authenticity. Ali Geçgel, Chairman of Kadıköy Historic Centre Association, states that special efforts are under way to protect the special streets in the area. See Figure 50 and Figure 51.



**Figure 51:** Tellalzade Street 2012 [69]

### Serasker Street

Food Restaurant/Cafe White Goods/Furniture 3 or more Functions

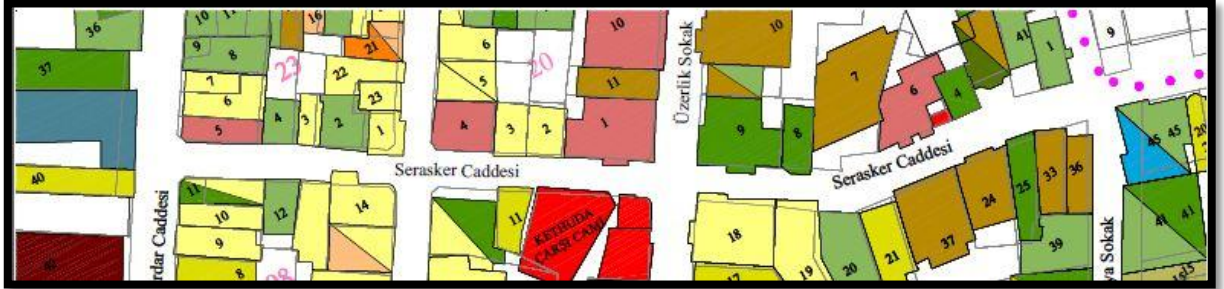


Figure 52: Ground floor analysis of Serasker Street in 2004

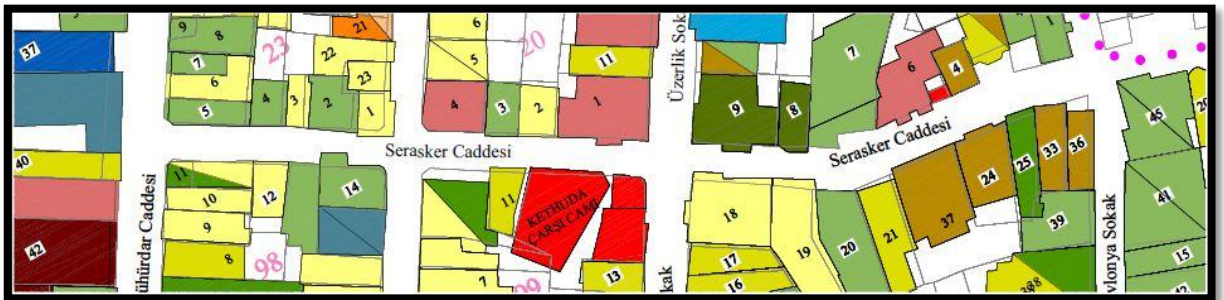


Figure 53: Ground floor analysis of Serasker Street in 2014



Figure 54: The changes in the results of the ground floor analysis of Serasker Street

There were small-sized businesses such as butcher shops, bakeries, white good retailers and furniture dealers on Serasker Street in 2004 while it is predominated by restaurants and cafes. See Figure 52 and Figure 53. However, the white good retailers and furniture dealers survive at the end of the street. See Figure 54 and Figure 55.



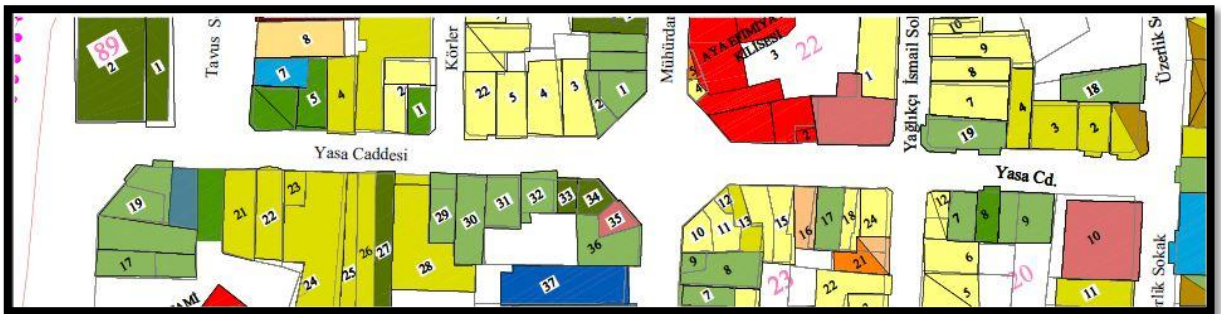
**Figure 55:** Serasker Street 2011 [70]

**Yasa Street**

Garment 
  Food 
  White Goods/Furniture 
  Store 
  3 or more Functions



**Figure 56:** Ground floor analysis of Yasa Street in 2004



**Figure 57:** Ground floor analysis of Yasa Street in 2014



**Figure 58:** The changes in the results of the ground floor analysis of Yasa Street

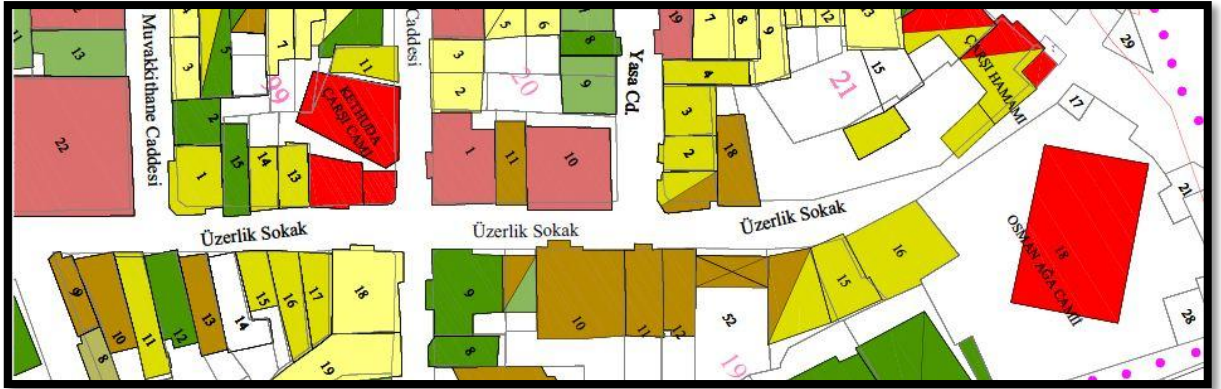
In 2004, there were fragrance stores, optical shops, glassware dealers and markets on the street and many restaurants at the end of the street. There was also one bookstore. See Figure 56 and 57. However, it is clear in 2014 that the industry has been handed over. The street is now predominated by the garment, food and restaurant/cafe industries. See Figure 58 and 59.



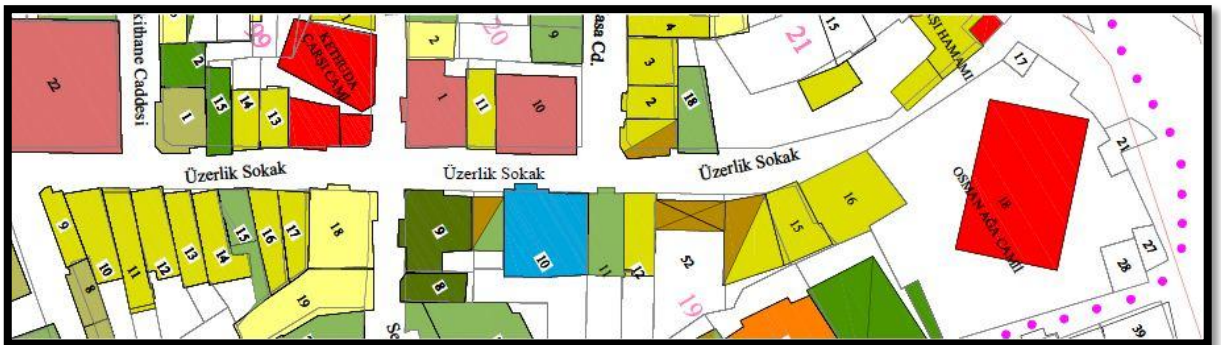
**Figure 59:** Yasa Street 2011 [71]

### Üzerlik Street

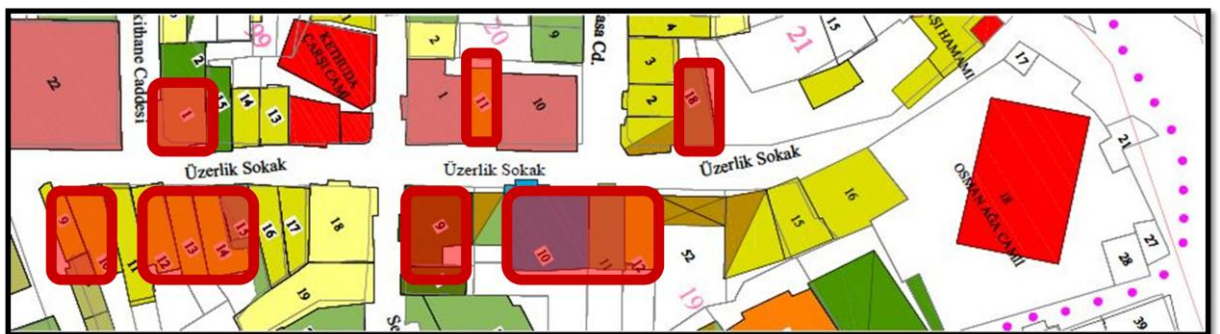
Garment 
  Food 
  White Goods/Furniture 
  3 or more Functions 
  Store 
  Vacant



**Figure 60:** Ground floor analysis of Üzerlik Street in 2004



**Figure 61:** Ground floor analysis of Üzerlik Street in 2014



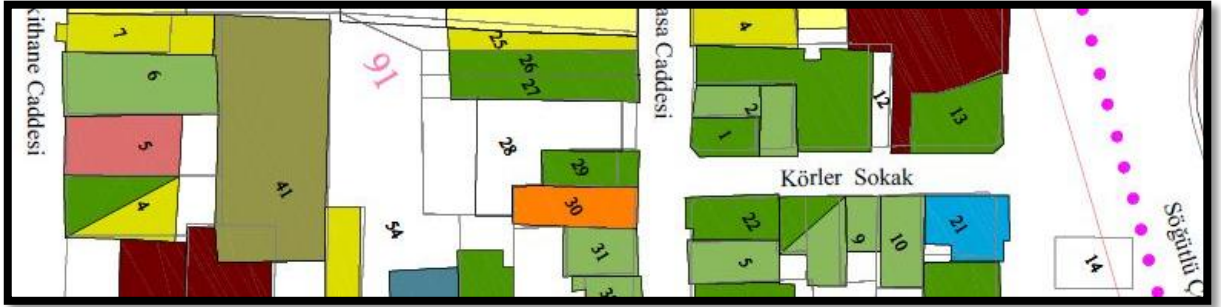
**Figure 62:** The changes in the results of the ground floor analysis of Üzerlik Street



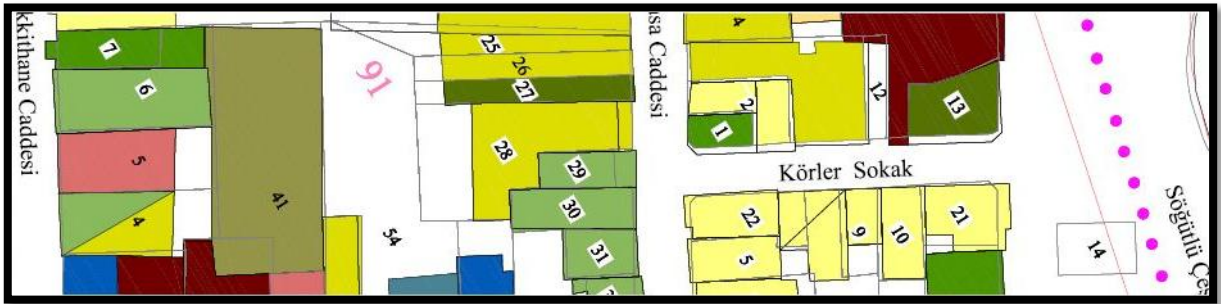
The Üzerlik Street was crowded by the white goods and furniture dealers of which it practically completely lacks now. See Figure 60 and 61. Even though the street predominantly hosts garment industry now, restaurants and few furniture dealers survive as well. See Figure 62.

**Körler Street**

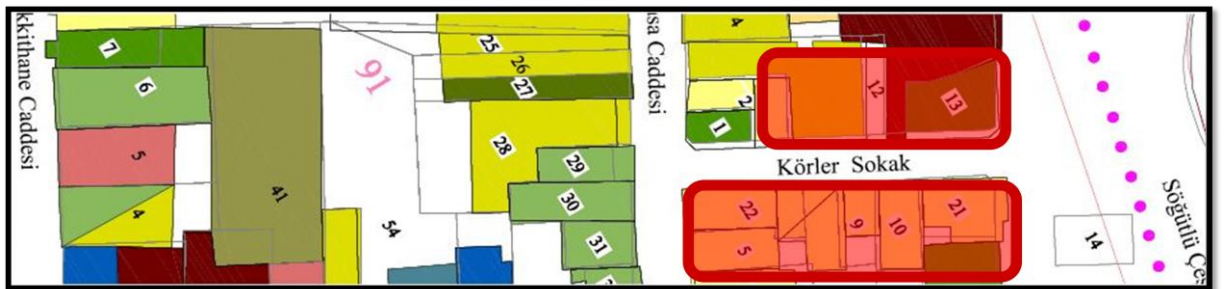
■ Store  
 ■ Restaurant  
 ■ Food  
 ■ Vacant  
 ■ Bank



**Figure 63:** Ground floor analysis of Körler Street in 2004



**Figure 64:** Ground floor analysis of Körler Street in 2014



**Figure 65:** The changes in the results of the ground floor analysis of Körler Street

Of the streets in the area, this street has seen the most dramatic industrial change in the past 10 years. See Figure 63 and 64. There were fragrance stores, optical shops, photographers and restaurants on the street in 2004 while it hosts food industry retailers today. See Figure 65.

It was shown by the above analyses and comparisons that displacement of the small-sized businesses (commercial gentrification) is usually an inevitable outcome for the pedestrianised areas as mentioned above under the title ‘The Negative Aspects of the Pedestrianisation Activities’. Popularisation of a pedestrianised area attracts the famous retail chain stores to the area. Thereupon, the areas which lose their originality and authenticity become cloned/identical centres. See Figure 66.



**Figure 66:** The domestic and foreign chain stores in the area [72]

## 4. EVALUATION OF THE FINDINGS OF THE SURVEYS AND INTERVIEWS FOR THE PEDESTRIANISATION PROJECT FOR KADIKÖY HISTORIC CENTRE

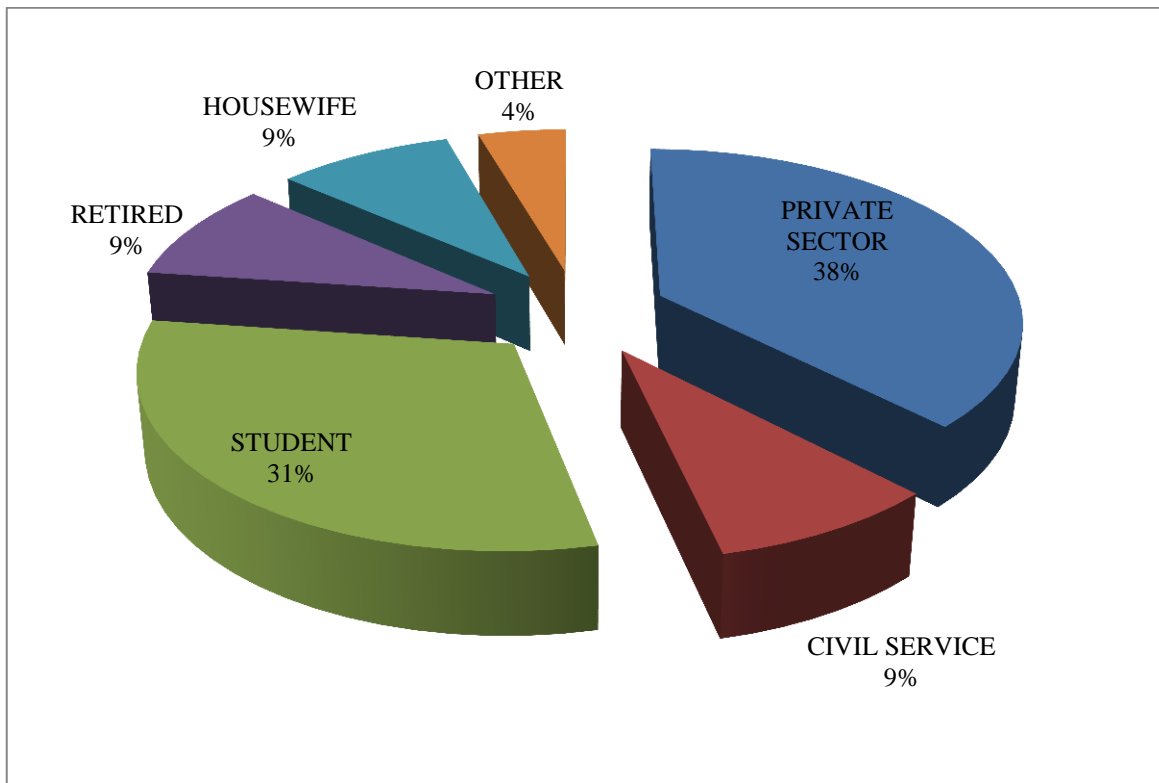
Within the scope of the study, 100 shopkeepers and 398 pedestrians in Kadiköy Historic Centre were surveyed in July 2014. The pedestrian surveys had 17 questions while the shopkeeper surveys consisted of 22 questions. The aim of these questions was to determine the problems, requirements and awareness of the users of the area. Some of the questions were ‘Yes/No’ question while some others were rated from 1 to 5 based on the Likert scale.

### 4.1. THE PEDESTRIAN PROFILE OF THE AREA

Age-sex distributions and occupational groups of the respondent pedestrians are shown in the tables below.

**Table 4:** Sex-age distribution of the pedestrians visiting the area

	MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL
	N	COLUMN %	N	COLUMN %	COLUMN %
From 0 to 9	0	0.00	0	0.00	0.00
From 10 to 19	26	10.97	19	11.80	22.77
From 20 to 29	88	37.13	73	45.34	82.47
From 30 to 39	62	26.16	38	23.60	49.76
From 40 to 49	32	13.50	21	13.04	26.9
From 50 to 59	11	4.64	6	3.73	8.37
From 60 to 69	14	5.91	3	1.86	7.77
70 and over	4	1.69	1	0.62	2.31
<b>Total</b>	<b>237</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>161</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>100.00</b>



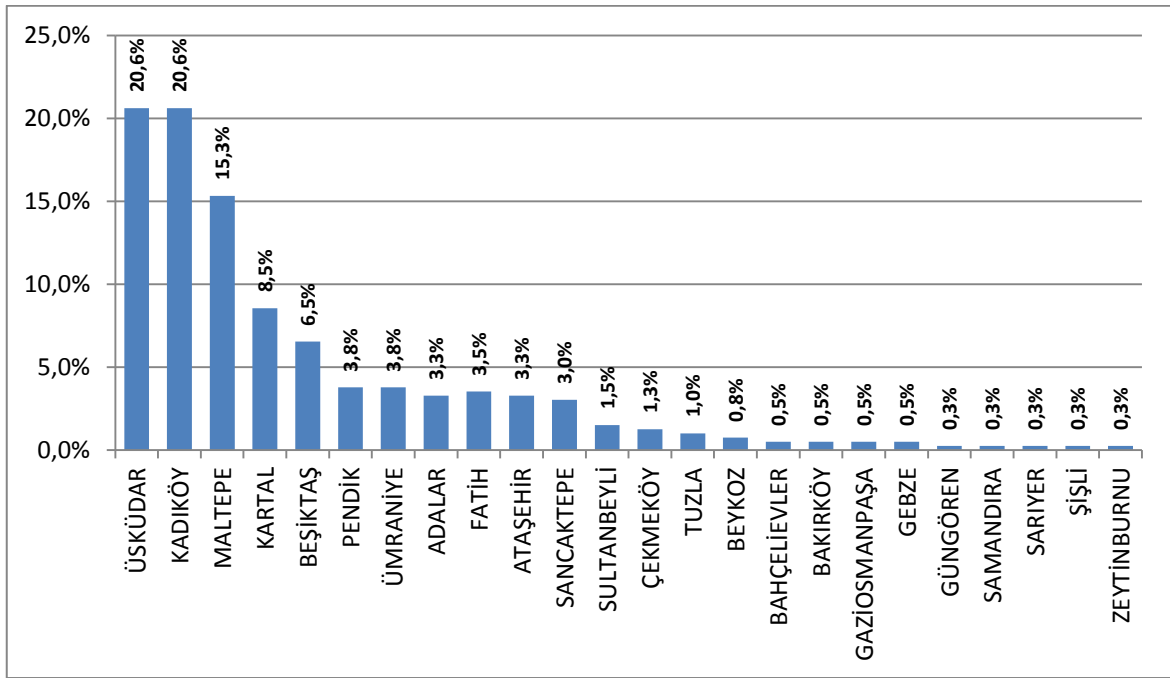
**Figure 67:** The occupational groups of the pedestrians in the Area

As seen in the table and graph above, 82.47% of the pedestrians visiting the area are in the 20-29 age range. This suggests that the Area which was a location mostly for families in the past attracts the youth today as well. Furthermore, 38% of the pedestrians were private sector employees while 31% were students, which is a remarkable ratio. See Figure 67. The detailed tabulation of the pedestrians responding 'Other' corresponding to 4% is given in Table 5.

**Table 5:** Detailed tabulation of the respondents responding ‘Other to the question ‘What is your occupation?’

	<b>N</b>	<b>COLUMN %</b>
BANK PERSONNEL	1	<b>5.56</b>
PHOTOGRAPHER	1	<b>5.56</b>
SECURITY	1	<b>5.56</b>
UNEMPLOYED	4	<b>22.22</b>
CASHIER	1	<b>5.56</b>
MUSICIAN	1	<b>5.56</b>
SELF-EMPLOYED	6	<b>33.33</b>
PLASTERER	1	<b>5.56</b>
SALESPERSON	2	<b>11.11</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>100.00</b>

The responses to the questions ‘Where do you live?’, ‘Which mode(s) of transportation do you use to reach the area?’, ‘What is your purpose of visiting the area?’ and ‘How often do you visit the area?’ reveal the following:

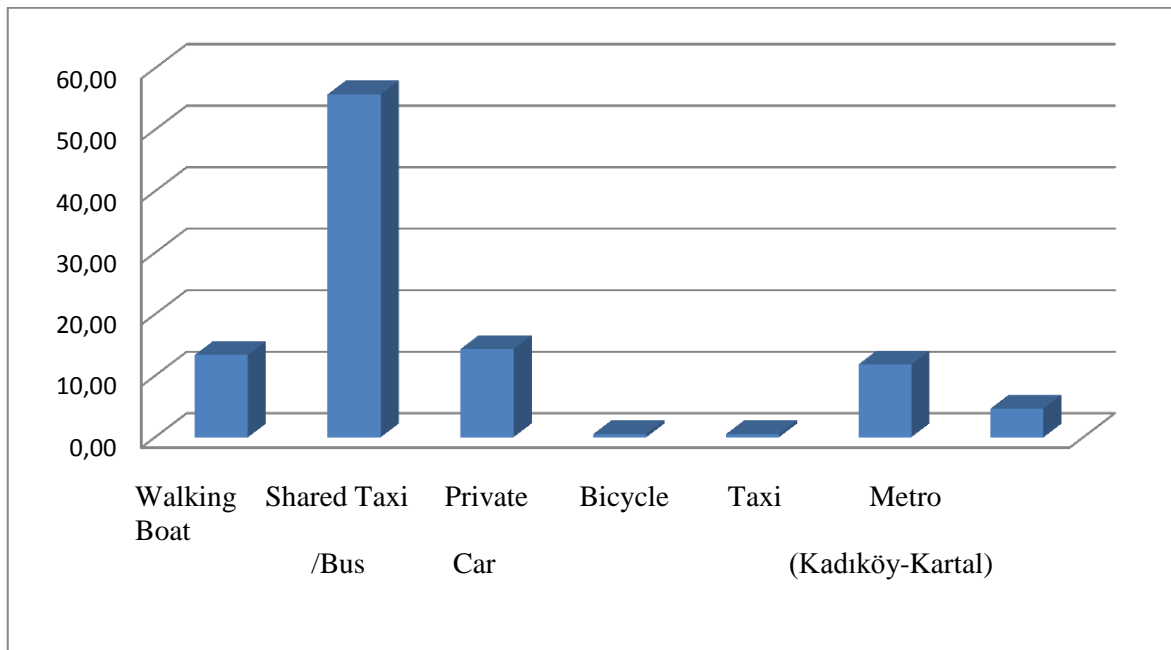


**Figure 68:** The counties in which the visitors of the area live

The great majority of the visitors come from Üsküdar (20.60%) and Kadıköy (20.60%). This shows that Kadıköy Historic Centre mostly attract visitors from the immediate vicinities.

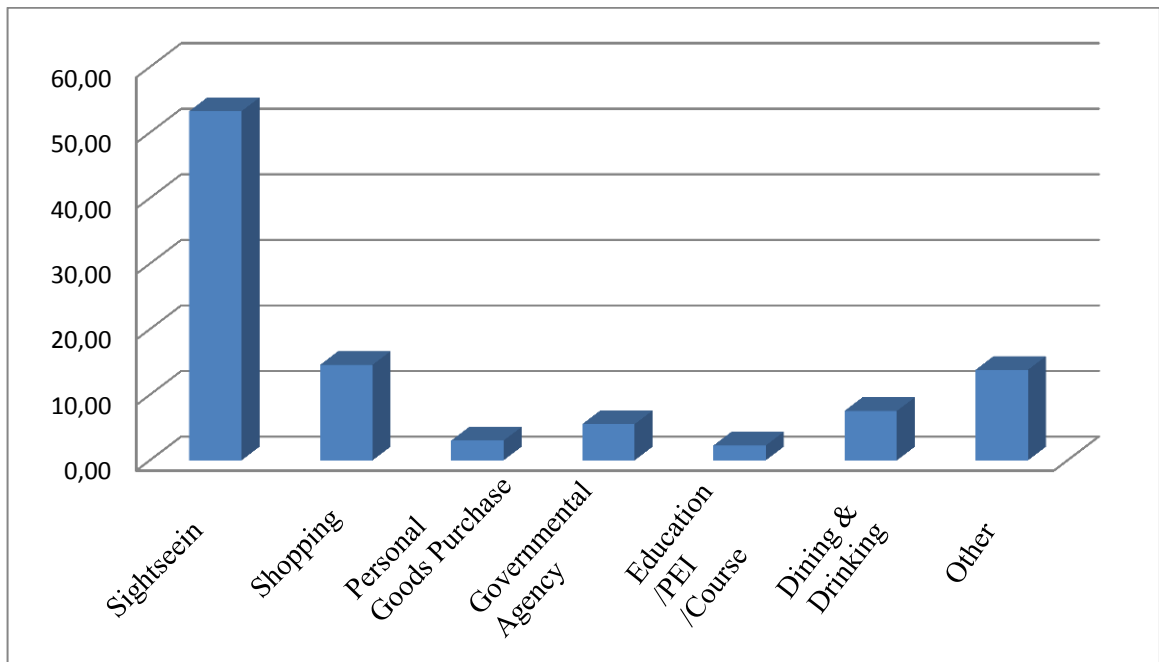
Figure 69 shows the responses to the question ‘Which mode(s) of transportation do you use to reach the Area?’. As shown by the Figure, 60.30% of the visitors take shared taxi or bus to reach the area while 11.81% use private cars, 11.31% walk, and 7.54% take the metro. Although the statement ‘‘The opening of Kartal-Kadıköy metro played a role in the further popularisation of the Area’ was supported in the shopkeeper surveys/interviews, the ratio of metro to the total travels could not exceed 10%.





**Figure 69:** The modes of transport used by the pedestrians to reach the area

The responses of the pedestrians questioned for their purpose of visiting the area are as follows: 53.27% for sightseeing, 14.57% for shopping, 7.54% for dining and drinking, 5.53% for visiting a government agency, 3.02% for personal goods purchase, 9% for education, and 13.82% for other purposes. See Figure 70. Table 6 shows the detailed tabulation of the respondents visiting the area for ‘other’ purposes. It follows from these results that more than half of the respondents visit the area for the purpose of sightseeing. This points out the necessity of rearrangements for pedestrian sightseeing activities (e.g. sitting/seating, resting, watching the view, and other activities etc.) apart from the commercial uses – and concerns.

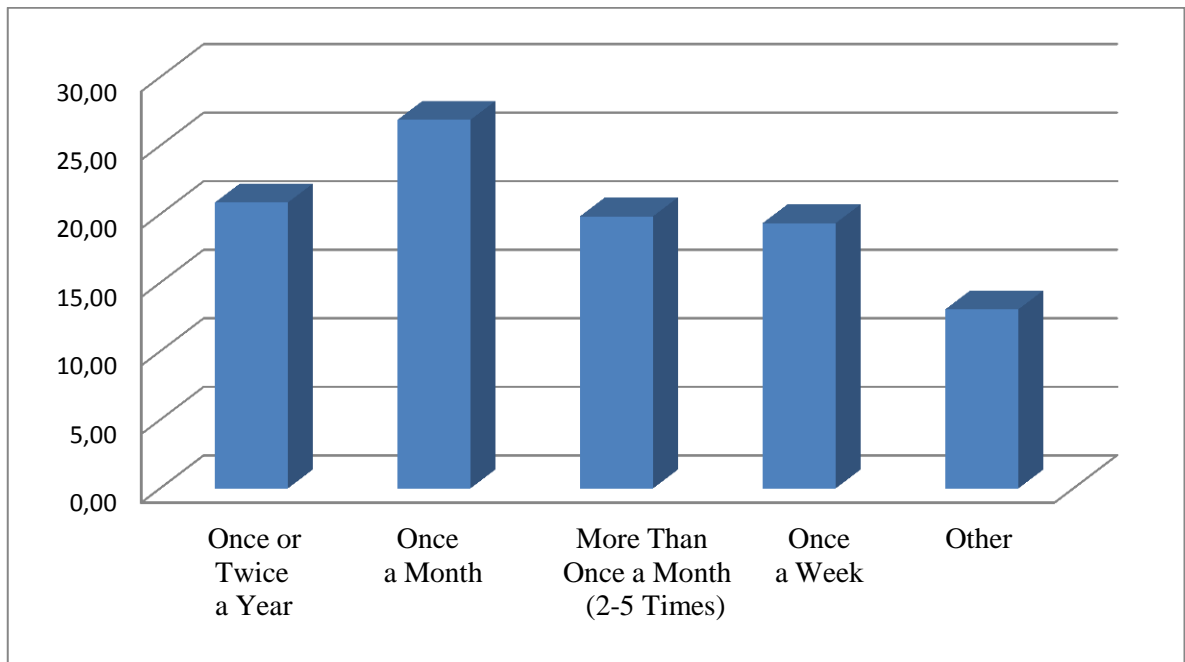


**Figure 70:** The pedestrians' purposes of visiting the area

**Table 6:** Detailed tabulation of the respondents responding 'Other' to the question 'What is your purpose of visiting the area?'

	N	COLUMN %
VISITING RELATIVES	9	16.36
MEETING A FRIEND	13	23.64
BUSINESS FOLLOW-UP	7	12.73
PERSONAL BUSINESS	8	14.55
VISIT	18	32.73
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>100.00</b>

The responses to the question 'How often do you visit the area?' are shown in Figure 71. Accordingly, Table 7 shows the results obtained from the questioning of the purpose(s) for which the respondents visiting the area more than once a week visit Kadıköy Historic Centre. It was also found that 53.85% of the respondents visit the area for the purpose of business follow-up.



**Figure 71:** The pedestrians' frequency of visiting the Area

**Table 7:** The purposes of visiting of the respondents visiting the Area more than once a week

	MORE THAN ONCE A WEEK (FROM 2 TO 5 TIMES)	
	N	COLUMN %
VISITING RELATIVES	4	30.77
MEETING A FRIEND	2	15.38
BUSINESS FOLLOW-UP	7	53.85
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>100.00</b>

Consequently, 82% of the visitors were in the 20-29 age range. Of these visitors, 37% were males and 45% were females. Furthermore, 38% of 398 respondents visiting the area were private sector workers. Another predominating group visiting the area was the students with a ratio of 31%. Most of the visitors lived in Kadıköy (20%) and Üsküdar (20%). 60% of the visitors took the shared taxi or bus to reach the area. The visiting frequency of the

pedestrians was 'once a month' (27%), and 53% of the respondents visited the area for the purpose of 'sightseeing'.

#### **4.2. THE COMMENTS ABOUT THE 'PEDESTRIANISATION OF THE HISTORIC CENTRE' BASED ON THE PEDESTRIAN SURVEYS (*POSITIVE EFFECTS*)**

There should be certain positive effects of the pedestrianisation activities in a particular area. The survey questions aimed to determine these likely positive effects by asking to the pedestrians. The responses to these questions were evaluated using the Likert scale from 1 to 5. Survey results are included in Table 8.

**Table 8:** Comments of the *pedestrians* about closing of the Historic Centre to vehicle traffic (Positive effects on the area)

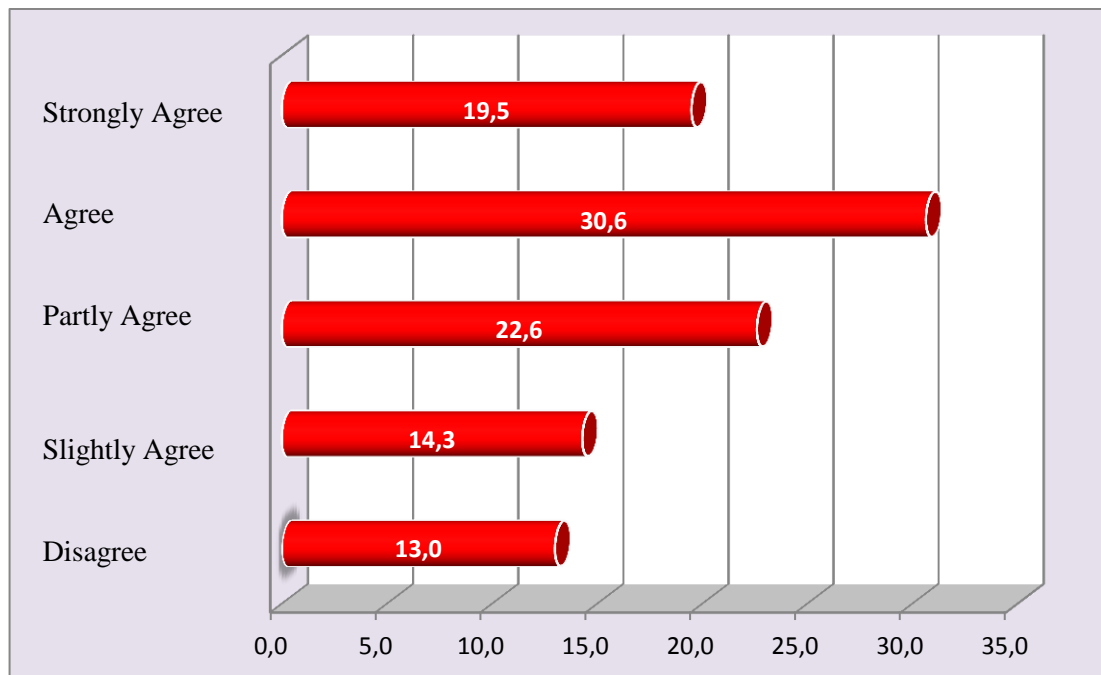
	DISAGREE		SLIGHTLY AGREE		PARTLY AGREE		AGREE		STRONGLY AGREE	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
The area became safer	94	<b>23.9</b>	44	<b>11.2</b>	110	<b>27.9</b>	81	<b>20.6</b>	65	<b>16.5</b>
Residential real estate prices increased	59	<b>15.4</b>	41	<b>10.7</b>	108	<b>28.2</b>	114	<b>29.8</b>	61	<b>15.9</b>
The number of cultural activities increased	64	<b>16.7</b>	42	<b>11.0</b>	119	<b>31.1</b>	94	<b>24.5</b>	64	<b>16.7</b>
The number of domestic and foreign tourists visiting the area increased	50	<b>13.0</b>	55	<b>14.3</b>	87	<b>22.6</b>	118	<b>30.6</b>	75	<b>19.5</b>
The area improved visually and aesthetically	69	<b>17.9</b>	32	<b>8.3</b>	103	<b>26.8</b>	109	<b>28.3</b>	72	<b>18.7</b>
The area became more attractive	63	<b>16.4</b>	44	<b>11.4</b>	100	<b>26.0</b>	106	<b>27.5</b>	72	<b>18.7</b>
The number of restaurants and bars increased	35	<b>9.1</b>	45	<b>11.7</b>	91	<b>23.6</b>	121	<b>31.4</b>	93	<b>24.2</b>
The number of car parks increased	88	<b>23.0</b>	56	<b>14.6</b>	83	<b>21.7</b>	101	<b>26.4</b>	55	<b>14.4</b>
The number of domestic tourists increased	41	<b>10.7</b>	52	<b>13.5</b>	101	<b>26.3</b>	108	<b>28.1</b>	82	<b>21.4</b>
The number of foreign tourists increased	59	<b>15.4</b>	44	<b>11.5</b>	80	<b>20.8</b>	85	<b>22.1</b>	116	<b>30.2</b>

The increase in the safety of an area upon pedestrianisation thereof plays a significant role in making the visitors prefer this area and feel safe and secured in the environment. In the surveys conducted in Kadıköy Historic Centre, 35%<sup>11</sup> of the pedestrians responded ‘partly agree’ and ‘slightly agree’ to the question ‘Did the area become safer?’. Thus, it cannot be said that there was an increase in the safety of the area.

<sup>11</sup> The result obtained from summation of the pedestrians’ responses of *disagree*, *slightly agree* and *agree*.

However, it is an important achievement for Kadıköy that 41.2% of the pedestrians stated that the number of cultural activities in the area increased.<sup>12</sup> Furthermore, 47% of the pedestrians stated that the area improved visually and aesthetically. The conclusion made in the previous Chapter based on the land use map that the number of restaurants and cafes increased was supported by the responses ‘agree’ and ‘strongly agree’ given by 55.6% of the pedestrians to the item ‘The number of restaurants and bars in the area increased’.

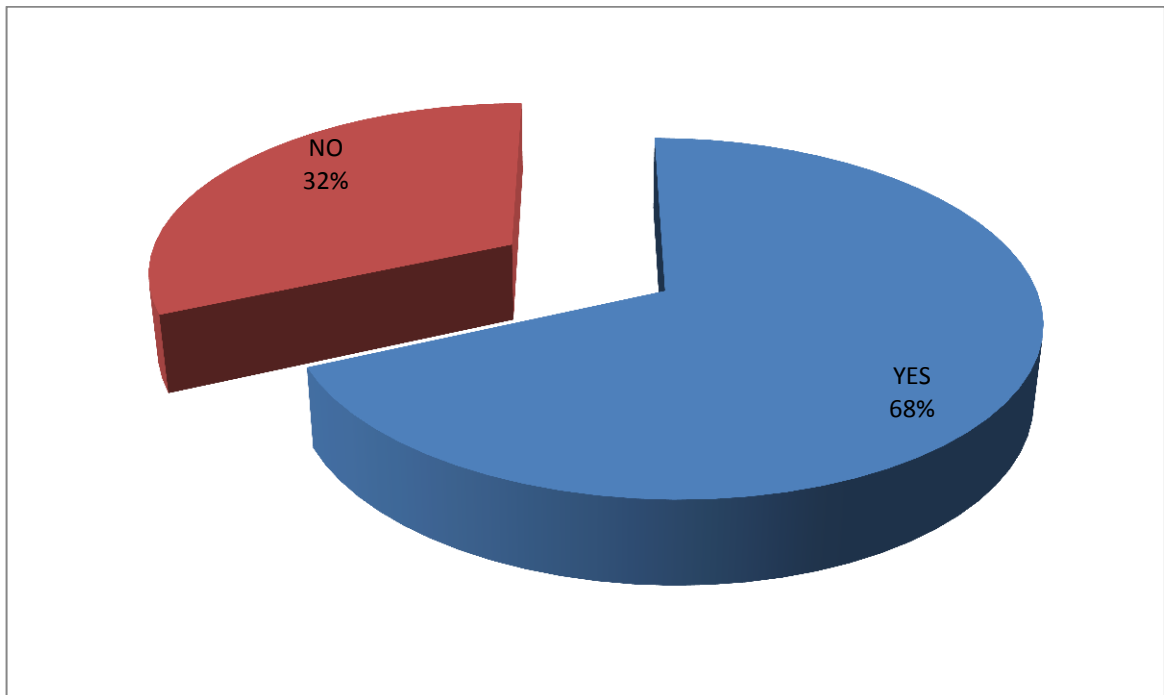
Furthermore, the pedestrian survey results revealed that the number of domestic and foreign tourists visiting the area increased following the pedestrianisation activities in Kadıköy. According to the pedestrians, the reason of this increase was that the travel agencies marked Kadıköy Historic Centre as a safe area. Accordingly, the agencies lead the tourists to this area. See Figure 72.



**Figure 72:** Figure showing the responses to the item ‘The number of domestic and foreign tourists visiting the area increased’ evaluated using the Likert method

<sup>12</sup> The result obtained from summation of the pedestrians’ responses of *agree* and *strongly agree*.

In addition to all these, certain activities were carried out in the area at the request of Kadıköy Historic Centre Association. One of these activities was the restriction on the tables to be put on the streets by restaurants and cafes. Therefore, the ‘Yellow Line’ was introduced to the area with the decision of the Municipality of the County of Kadıköy. The surveys asked the pedestrians ‘Are you content with the “Yellow Line” for the tables to be put on the streets, and why?’. 68% of the pedestrians visiting the area were content with it. See Figure 73 and Table 9. As can be inferred from the data, 45.66% of the pedestrians stated that they could walk freely in and around the area, and 34.10% stated that the area was orderly. This clearly shows that the ‘Yellow Line’ application had favourable results for the pedestrians. This decision of the Municipality for Kadıköy Historic Centre was an important improvement in terms of showing respect to the rights of pedestrians.



**Figure 73:** The responses to the question ‘Are you content with the ‘Yellow Line’ for the tables to be put on the streets?’

**Table 9:** Detailed tabulation of the respondents responding ‘Yes’ to the question ‘Are you content with the “Yellow Lines” for the tables to be put in the streets?’

	<b>N</b>	<b>COLUMN %</b>
THERE IS MORE SPACE NOW	15	<b>8.67</b>
THE LINES SHOULD BE VISIBLE	1	<b>0.58</b>
SHOPPING IS EASIER NOW	6	<b>3.47</b>
GOOD FOR THE DISABLED	2	<b>1.16</b>
ORDERLY	59	<b>34.10</b>
THERE IS NO CHAOS NOW	11	<b>6.36</b>
THE PEDESTRIANS WALK FREELY	79	<b>45.66</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>173</b>	<b>100.00</b>

Consequently, there was no increase in the safety of the area. Furthermore, 46%<sup>13</sup> of the visitors thought that the residential real estate values increased. This is the result of the increase in the area’s popularity upon pedestrianisation thereof. The increase in the number of cultural activities in the area pleased the pedestrians. Therefore, the area which hosted a higher number of cultural activities became more attractive as well. This rise in the level of attraction rendered the area an important location for both domestic and foreign tourists.

#### **4.3. THE COMMENTS ABOUT THE ‘PEDESTRIANISATION OF THE HISTORIC CENTRE’ BASED ON THE PEDESTRIAN SURVEYS (*NEGATIVE EFFECTS*)**

The results of the comments about the pedestrianisation of Kadıköy Historic Centre evaluated using Likert scale are given in the following table.

<sup>13</sup> The result obtained from summation of the pedestrians’ responses of *agree* and *strongly agree*.



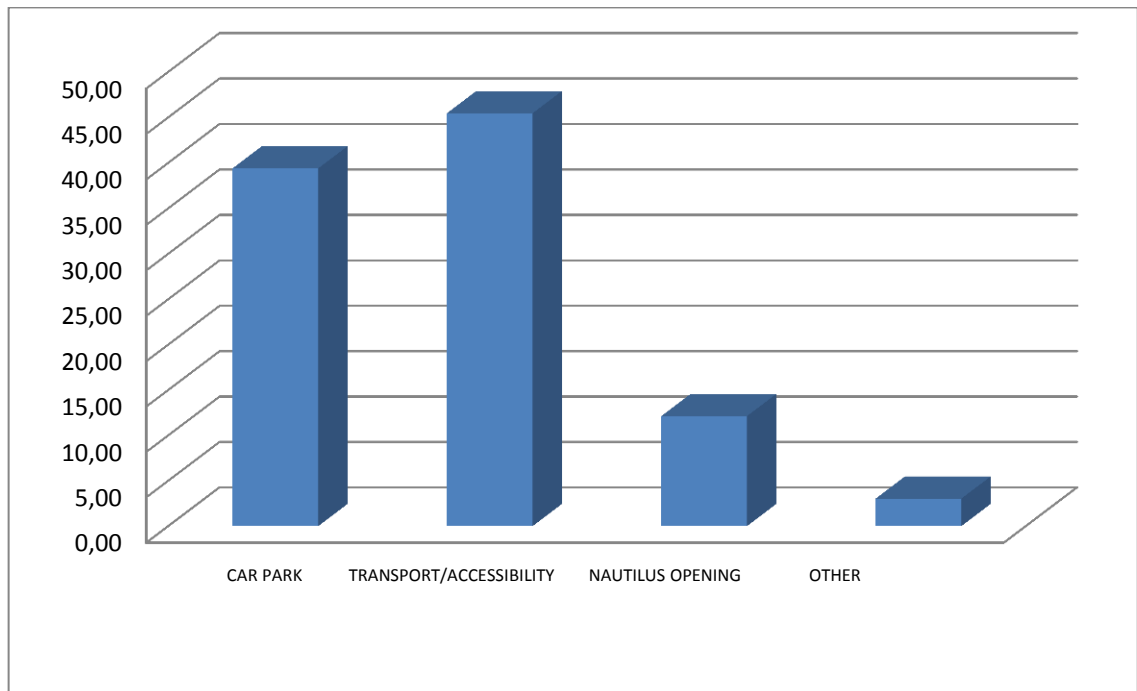
**Table 10:** Comments of the *pedestrians* about closing of Kadıköy Historic Centre to traffic  
(Negative effects on the area)

	DISAGREE		SLIGHTLY AGREE		PARTLY AGREE		AGREE		STRONGLY AGREE	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Traffic problems increased in the nearby streets	83	<b>21.5</b>	46	<b>11.9</b>	75	<b>19.4</b>	74	<b>19.2</b>	108	<b>28.0</b>
Vehicle access/accessibility to the pedestrianised area became harder	83	<b>21.6</b>	34	<b>8.9</b>	109	<b>28.4</b>	86	<b>22.4</b>	72	<b>18.8</b>
Car park problems increased in and around the area	67	<b>17.4</b>	36	<b>9.4</b>	97	<b>25.2</b>	106	<b>27.5</b>	79	<b>20.5</b>
Shop rents increased	63	<b>16.4</b>	35	<b>9.1</b>	104	<b>27.1</b>	101	<b>26.3</b>	81	<b>21.1</b>
Loading/unloading became harder for the shops and stores	57	<b>14.9</b>	37	<b>9.7</b>	93	<b>24.3</b>	109	<b>28.5</b>	86	<b>22.5</b>
Many old/small shops and businesses were shut down	75	<b>19.5</b>	21	<b>5.5</b>	84	<b>21.9</b>	89	<b>23.2</b>	115	<b>29.9</b>

It was stated under the Chapter ‘The Negative Aspects of the Pedestrianisation Activities’ in the foregoing pages that closing a particular area to traffic is not a sufficient solution on its own. It was also stated that the pedestrianisation is associated with the effective analysis of the pedestrian-vehicle axes and improving accessibility, and that it was therefore supposed to be a holistic method requiring to be interpreted as a versatile approach. From this point of view, the statement of 47.2%<sup>14</sup> of the pedestrians, as shown by the survey results, that the traffic problems increased around the area indicated that the pedestrian-vehicle axes could not be analysed well. 41.2% of the pedestrians visiting the area agreed that accessibility of the area declined. Thus, following are the ratios for each response, namely ‘car park problems’, ‘transportation/accessibility problem’, ‘opening of Nautilus Shopping Centre’ and ‘Other’, to the question ‘What is the reason for the decrease in the number of visitors of the area?’ asked at the end of the survey as a separate multiple choice

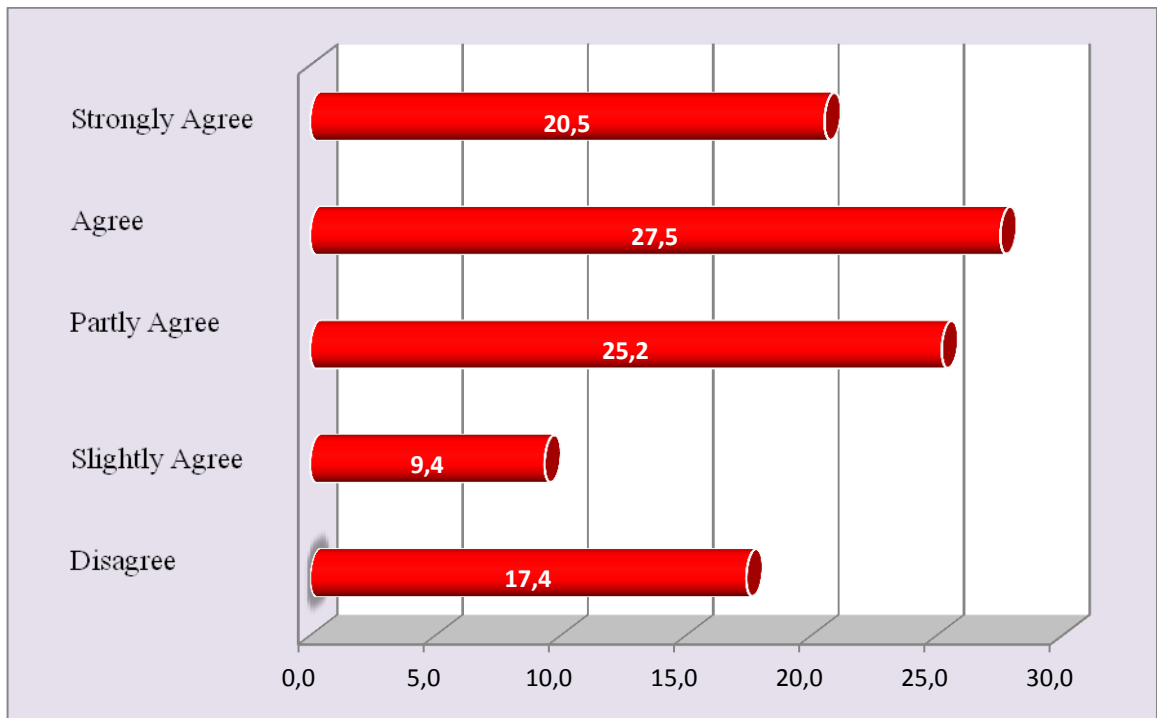
<sup>14</sup> The result obtained from summation of the pedestrians’ responses of *agree* and *strongly agree*.

question. See Figure 74. As seen from Table 10 showing the questions evaluated using the Likert method, this is the proof that the vehicle access to the area became harder.



**Figure 74:** The reasons for the decrease in the number of visitors of the area (Results of the pedestrian survey)

It follows from the responses that a remarkable car park problem existed in the area.



**Figure 75:** Figure created using the Likert method showing the responses to the question ‘The car park problems in and around the area increased’ based on the pedestrian survey

Consequently, efforts were made to determine the probable negative outcomes of the pedestrianisation with the pedestrian survey. The results of the survey showed that traffic problems emerged with the closing of the nearby roads and streets to traffic. Moreover, the pedestrians encountered transportation and accessibility problems. Most of the visitors thought that the car park problems around the area increased.

In addition to all these, 53% of the visitors responded ‘agree’ and ‘strongly agree’ to the item ‘Many small shops and businesses in the area were shut down’, which was an expected result. This suggested that the area was not designed with a holistic view and there was a commercial change in the area.

#### 4.4. THE PROBLEMS OF THE AREA AND THEIR SOLUTIONS AS STATED BY THE PEDESTRIANS

The pedestrian survey questions ‘What do you think the problems of the area are?’ and ‘What should be done to solve these problems?’ were grouped into general items and tangible results were obtained. The data obtained are shown in Tables 11 and 12.

**Table 11:** Responses of the pedestrians to the question ‘What do you think the problems of the area are?’

<b>Responses of the pedestrians to the question ‘What do you think the problems of the area are?’</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>COLUMN %</b>
ENVIRONMENTAL POLLUTION	37	<b>13.45</b>
THE HIGH NUMBER OF BEGGARS	35	<b>12.73</b>
LACK OF ENVIRONMENTAL PLANNING	26	<b>9.45</b>
NO IDEA	25	<b>9.09</b>
NARROW STREETS	22	<b>8.00</b>
CROWDEDNESS	18	<b>6.55</b>
NOISE POLLUTION	15	<b>5.45</b>
PEDLARS	11	<b>4.00</b>
THE EXCESSIVE NUMBER OF CAFES AND RESTAURANTS	10	<b>3.64</b>
FORBIDDEN VEHICLE TRAFFIC	9	<b>3.27</b>
THE HIGH NUMBER OF INDOOR SHOPPING CENTRES	8	<b>2.91</b>
LACK OF SECURITY	8	<b>2.91</b>
CAR PARK PROBLEMS	8	<b>2.91</b>
HEAVY TRAFFIC	8	<b>2.91</b>
SYRIANS <sup>15</sup>	7	<b>2.55</b>
DISOBEDIENCE TO RULES	7	<b>2.55</b>
VERY FEW GREEN AREAS	5	<b>1.82</b>

<sup>15</sup> The responses of the pedestrians were used unchanged in the survey.

NO PROBLEMS	4	<b>1.45</b>
VERY EXPENSIVE PLACES	3	<b>1.09</b>
INSUFFICIENT NUMBER OF ENTERTAINMENT PLACES	3	<b>1.09</b>
LACK OF CONTROL	2	<b>0.73</b>
LANGUAGE MISMATCH	1	<b>0.36</b>
IGNORANCE	1	<b>0.36</b>
IFTAR (BREAKING FAST) LOCATIONS	1	<b>0.36</b>
THE LOW NUMBER OF BOOK FAIRS	1	<b>0.36</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>275</b>	<b>100.00</b>

The responses given to the above question reveal that the pedestrians fail to reach a consensus on the problems of the area. However, the street beggars, the lack of environmental planning and the crowdedness of the increasingly popularised area seem to predominate the others.

**Table 12:** Responses to the question ‘What should be done to solve the problems?’

<b>Responses to the question ‘What should be done to solve the problems?’</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>COLUMN %</b>
MUNICIPAL POLICE SHOULD CARRY OUT CONTROLS	75	<b>30.86</b>
NO IDEA	26	<b>10.70</b>
THE MUNICIPALITY SHOULD WORK WELL	17	<b>7.00</b>
THE SHOPKEEPERS SHOULD RECEIVE TRAINING IN CERTAIN FIELDS	13	<b>5.35</b>
REGULAR CLEANING SHOULD BE DONE	12	<b>4.94</b>
SYRIANS AND BEGGARS SHOULD BE CLEARED FROM THE STREETS	12	<b>4.94</b>
NEW PLACES SHOULD OPEN	11	<b>4.53</b>
THE AREA SHOULD BE WIDENED	10	<b>4.12</b>
THERE SHOULD BE TREES AND GREEN AREAS	10	<b>4.12</b>
THE ROUTES SHOULD BE WIDENED	9	<b>3.70</b>
THE LEVEL OF SECURITY SHOULD BE INCREASED	9	<b>3.70</b>
MORE INDOOR SHOPPING CENTRES SHOULD BE BUILT	7	<b>2.88</b>
NO SOLUTION	6	<b>2.47</b>
THE AREA SHOULD BE GREENED	5	<b>2.06</b>
CLEANING SHOULD BE DONE	4	<b>1.65</b>
THE TRAFFIC PROBLEMS SHOULD BE SOLVED	3	<b>1.23</b>
THE NUMBER OF SITTING/SEATING AREAS SHOULD BE INCREASED	3	<b>1.23</b>
CULTURAL ACTIVITY PLACES SHOULD BE OPENED	3	<b>1.23</b>
THE NUMBER OF CAR ARKS SHOULD BE INCREASED	2	<b>0.82</b>
NO POLITICAL RALLIES SHOULD BE ALLOWED	1	<b>0.41</b>
THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE CHANGED	1	<b>0.41</b>
URBAN TRANSFORMATION SHOULD TAKE PLACE	1	<b>0.41</b>
THE RULES SHOULD BE OBEYED	1	<b>0.41</b>
CERTAIN ROUTES SHOULD BE FREE	1	<b>0.41</b>
THE VEHICLE TRAFFIC SHOULD BE STOPPED	1	<b>0.41</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>243</b>	<b>100.00</b>

The pedestrians think that the Municipality should work harder, the municipal police should do more controls, the area should be widened, the area should be cleared off beggars, and the pedestrianised area should be cleaned in order to solve the abovementioned problems.

#### 4.5. THE SHOPKEEPER PROFILE OF THE AREA

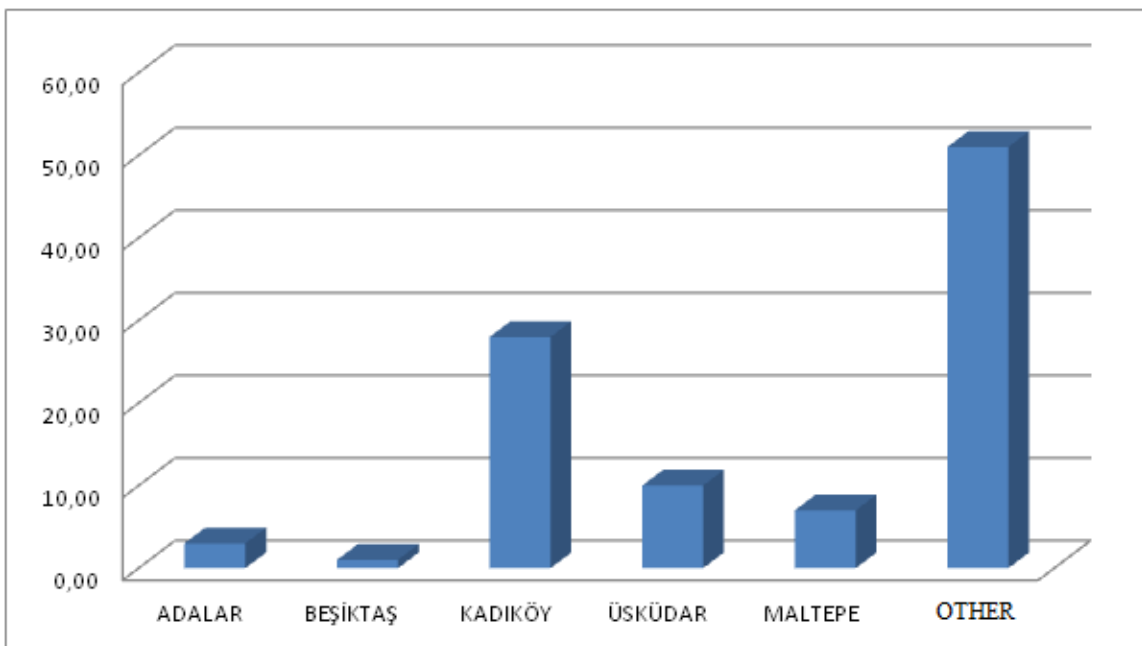
Of approximately 317 shopkeepers in the area, 298 are the members of Kadıköy Historic Centre Association. Upon meeting with Ali Geçgel, the Chairman, 100 member shopkeepers were interviewed. The age-sex distribution and the industries of the respondent shopkeepers are shown by the tables below.

**Table 13:** Sex-age distribution of the shopkeepers in the area

	MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL
	N	COLUMN %	N	COLUMN %	COLUMN %
From 10 to 19	4	4.65	2	14.29	18.94
From 20 to 29	16	18.60	6	42.86	61.46
From 30 to 39	26	30.23	3	21.43	51.66
From 40 to 49	15	17.44	1	7.14	24.58
From 50 to 59	19	22.09	2	14.29	36.38
60 and over	6	6.98	0	0.00	6.98
<b>Total</b>	<b>86</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>100.00</b>

As can be inferred from the tables above, 29% of the shopkeepers are in the 30-39 age range. Additionally, the industrial group distribution shows that 14% of the shopkeepers are in the food industry while 10% are in restaurant industry which is a remarkable ratio.

Figure 76 shows the responses given in the surveys conducted with 100 shopkeepers to the question ‘Where do you live?’. While 51% of the shopkeepers responded ‘Other’, 37% responded ‘Kadıköy’ which was an expected result. Table 15 shows the detailed tabulation of the shopkeepers responding ‘Other’ to the question. Consequently, Ümraniye which is a county close to Kadıköy ranks second with a ratio of 12%.



**Figure 76:** The shopkeepers’ responses to the question ‘Where do you live?’



**Table 14:** Detailed tabulation of the respondents responding ‘Other’ to the question ‘Where do you live?’

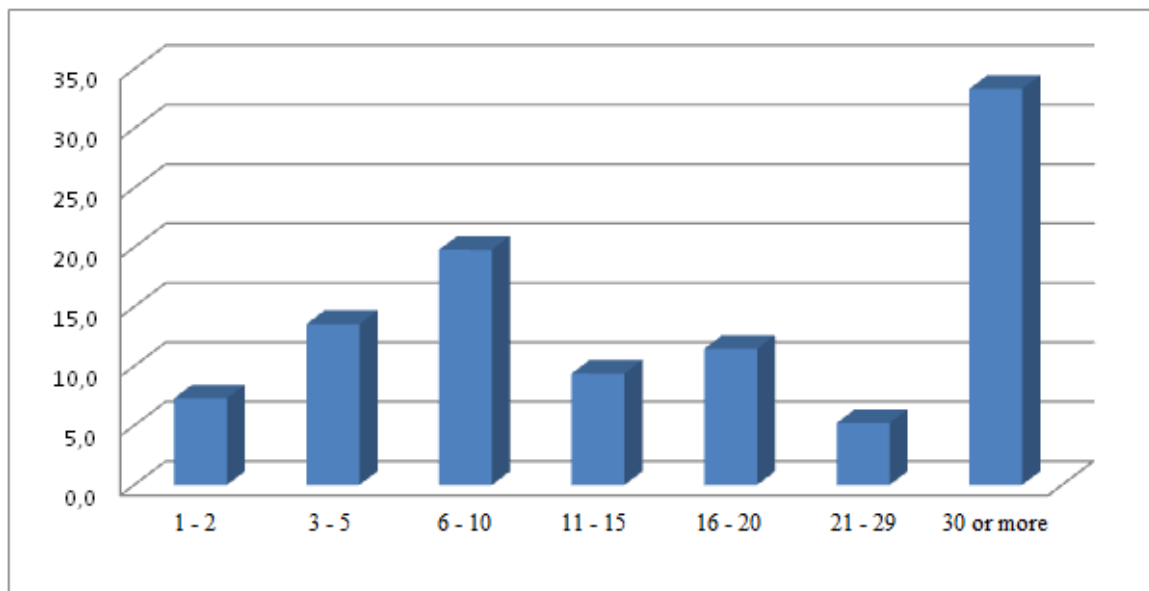
	N	COLUMN %
ADALAR (PRINCES’ ISLANDS)	3	3.00
BEŞİKTAŞ	1	1.00
KADIKÖY (ACIBADEM. BOSTANCI. ERENKÖY. FIKIRTEPE. HASANPAŞA. İÇERNKÖY)	37	37.00
ÜSKÜDAR	10	10.00
MALTEPE (FINDIKLI)	8	8.00
AKSARAY	1	1.00
ATAŞEHİR (KAYIŞDAĞI)	7	7.00
ÇEKMEKÖY	2	2.00
DARICA	1	1.00
GÜNGÖREN	1	1.00
KARTAL	7	7.00
KAYNARCA	1	1.00
KÜÇÜKLÜ	1	1.00
PENDİK	4	4.00
SANCAKTEPE (SARIGAZI)	2	2.00
TUZLA	1	1.00
ÜMRANİYE	12	12.00
YENİLEVENT	1	1.00
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100.00</b>

Additionally, Table 15 shows the responses to the question ‘Which mode(s) of transport do you use to reach the area?’ which investigates by which means the shopkeepers reach the area. The reason 42% of the shopkeepers take the shared taxi or bus and 25% walk to the area is that the shopkeepers in the area live in Kadıköy and the vicinities thereof.

**Table 15:** The shopkeepers' of the shopkeepers to the question 'Which mode(s) of transport do you use to reach the area?'

	N	COLUMN %
WALKING	25	25.00
SHARED TAXI (DOLMUSH)/BUS	42	42.00
PRIVATE CAR	13	13.00
BICYCLE	0	0.00
TAXI	2	2.00
METRO (KADIKÖY-KARTAL)	17	17.00
BOAT	1	1.00
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100.00</b>

Figure 77 shows the responses to the shopkeeper survey question 'How many years have you been operating a business in the area?'.



**Figure 77:** The responses to the question 'How many years have you been operating a business in the area?'.

The businesses having been operated for 30 years or more in the area rank first with a ratio of 33%. With a ratio of 19%, the second highest ranking businesses are the ones having been operated for 6 to 10 years in the area. These striking results clearly show that although the area is predominated by the old businesses, many new businesses have been opened in the area which became more popular upon pedestrianisation.

Consequently, the majority of the shopkeepers are in the 30-39 age range. Of these shopkeepers, 30% are males while 21% were females. The surveys and analyses reveal that the predominating industry in the pedestrianised area is restaurant and cafe business. In this context, the results of the comparison between the 2004 ground floor land use map of the Municipality of the County of Kadıköy and the 2014 ground floor land use map drawn by the author are consistent. This indicates the commercial change in Kadıköy Historic Centre. Additionally, the majority of the shopkeepers in the area come from Kadıköy, Üsküdar, Ümraniye and Maltepe. Therefore, 42% of the shopkeepers take the shared taxi and bus while 25% walk to the area which is a remarkable ratio. The reason the ratio of the shopkeepers walking to the area is this high is that the shopkeepers live in the vicinities of the area. In addition to all this, the businesses having been operated in the area for 30 years or more predominate all the other businesses with a ratio of 33%.

#### **4.6. THE COMMENTS ABOUT THE ‘PEDESTRIANISATION OF THE HISTORIC CENTRE’ BASED ON THE SHOPKEEPER SURVEYS (*POSITIVE EFFECTS*)**

The responses to the questions evaluated using Likert scale reveal that 58%<sup>16</sup> of the shopkeepers state that the area became safer. It can be said that there is a disagreement between the shopkeepers and pedestrians on this issue. However, the shopkeepers and pedestrians agree on the items ‘the number of cultural activities in the area increased’ (51%) and ‘the area improved visually and aesthetically’ (52%).

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<sup>16</sup> The result obtained from summation of the shopkeepers’ responses of *agree* and *strongly agree*.

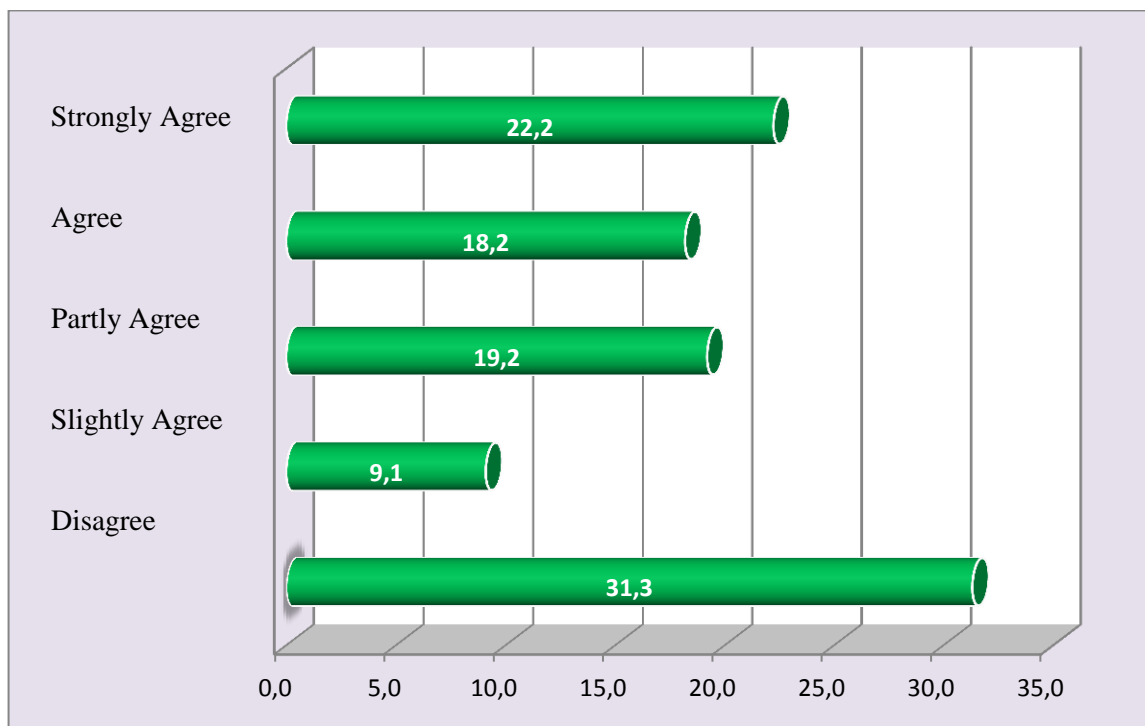
**Table 16:** The comments of the *shopkeepers* about closing of the Historic Centre to traffic  
(Positive effects on the area)

	DISAGREE		SLIGHTLY AGREE		PARTLY AGREE		AGREE		STRONGLY AGREE	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
The area became safer	26	<b>26.0</b>	6	<b>6.0</b>	10	<b>10.0</b>	26	<b>26.0</b>	32	<b>32.0</b>
The residential real estate prices increased	11	<b>11.2</b>	5	<b>5.1</b>	11	<b>11.2</b>	35	<b>35.7</b>	36	<b>36.7</b>
The number of cultural activities in the area increased	24	<b>24.5</b>	7	<b>7.1</b>	16	<b>16.3</b>	21	<b>21.4</b>	30	<b>30.6</b>
The area improved visually and aesthetically	27	<b>27.3</b>	7	<b>7.1</b>	13	<b>13.1</b>	25	<b>25.3</b>	27	<b>27.3</b>
The area became more attractive	22	<b>22.2</b>	4	<b>4.0</b>	17	<b>17.2</b>	23	<b>23.2</b>	33	<b>33.3</b>
The number of restaurants and bars in the area increased	7	<b>7.1</b>	0	<b>0.0</b>	5	<b>5.1</b>	36	<b>36.7</b>	50	<b>51.0</b>
The number of customers increased	21	<b>21.2</b>	9	<b>9.1</b>	16	<b>16.2</b>	27	<b>27.3</b>	26	<b>26.3</b>
The sales increased	31	<b>31.3</b>	9	<b>9.1</b>	19	<b>19.2</b>	18	<b>18.2</b>	22	<b>22.2</b>
The number of car parks increased	49	<b>51.0</b>	12	<b>12.5</b>	9	<b>9.4</b>	7	<b>7.3</b>	19	<b>19.8</b>
The number of domestic tourists increased	16	<b>16.2</b>	6	<b>6.1</b>	21	<b>21.2</b>	21	<b>21.2</b>	35	<b>35.4</b>
The number of foreign tourists increased	9	<b>9.1</b>	2	<b>2.0</b>	17	<b>17.2</b>	32	<b>32.3</b>	39	<b>39.4</b>

It is observed that the shopkeepers find some aspects of the pedestrianisation in Kadıköy Historic Centre are unsuccessful. Table 16 shows that 87.7% of the shopkeepers state that the number of restaurants and bars in the area increased.<sup>17</sup> This is a significant indication of the industrial change in the area.

<sup>17</sup> The result obtained from summation of the shopkeepers' responses of *agree* and *strongly agree* to the item '*The number of restaurants and bars in the area increased*'.

Furthermore, the response ‘sightseeing’ given by 53.27% of the pedestrians to the visitor survey question ‘What is your purpose of visiting the area?’ may be associated with the shopkeepers’ response ‘disagree’ to the item ‘The sales increased’. Therefore, it can be said that the pedestrianisation of the area did not produce much return for the shopkeepers. See Figure 78.



**Figure 78:** Figure produced using Likert scale showing the shopkeepers’ responses to the item ‘The sales increased’

Eventually, the shopkeepers were surveyed in order to determine if the positive effects to be brought about by the pedestrianisation projects as stated in the pedestrian surveys took place. Contrary to the pedestrians, the shopkeepers think that the area became safer. The presence of such a disagreement on the increase in the area’s safety which is one of the important post-pedestrianisation criteria makes it harder to comment on or interpret the issue. However, the shopkeepers and pedestrians agree on the increase in the number of cultural activities in the area. Furthermore, the majority of the shopkeepers (75%) state that the residential real estate prices in the area increased. This suggests that the area became

more attractive. Accordingly, the responses ‘agree’ and ‘strongly agree’ to the item ‘The area became more attractive’, which correspond to a ratio of 56%, clearly show that the area became more popular following pedestrianisation. Additionally, the shopkeepers state that the number of restaurants and bars increased substantially upon pedestrianisation; however, they complain that there was no increase in sales. They also state that the number of car parks did not increase after pedestrianisation. Furthermore, the response ‘sightseeing’ given by the majority of the visitors (53%) to the visitor survey question ‘What is your purpose of visiting the area’ is consistent with the shopkeepers’ collective statement that there was no increase in the sales.

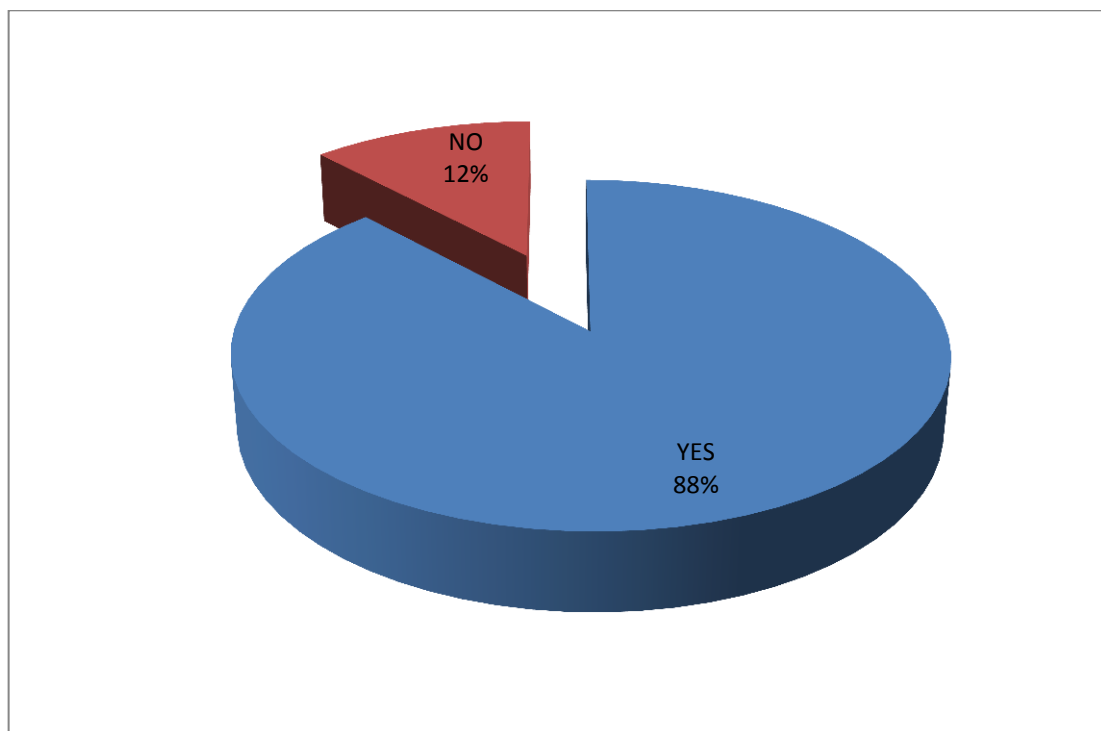
#### 4.7. THE COMMENTS ABOUT THE ‘PEDESTRIANISATION OF THE HISTORIC CENTRE’ BASED ON THE SHOPKEEPER SURVEYS (*NEGATIVE EFFECTS*)

**Table 17:** The comments of the *shopkeepers* about closing of the Historic Centre to traffic (Negative effects on the area)

	DISAGREE		SLIGHTLY AGREE		PARTLY AGREE		AGREE		STRONGLY AGREE	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
The traffic problems in the nearby streets increased	35	35.0	3	3.0	3	3.0	24	24.0	35	35.0
The vehicle access/accessibility to the pedestrianised area became harder	10	10.0	29	29.0	4	4.0	24	24.0	33	33.0
The car park problems in and around the area increased	15	15.2	12	12.1	15	15.2	29	29.3	28	28.3
The shop rents rose	14	14.6	8	8.3	11	11.5	33	34.4	30	31.3
Loading/unloading for the shops became harder	18	18.0	11	11.0	8	8.0	28	28.0	35	35.0
Many old/small shops and businesses were shut down	20	20.2	8	8.1	11	11.1	28	28.3	32	32.3

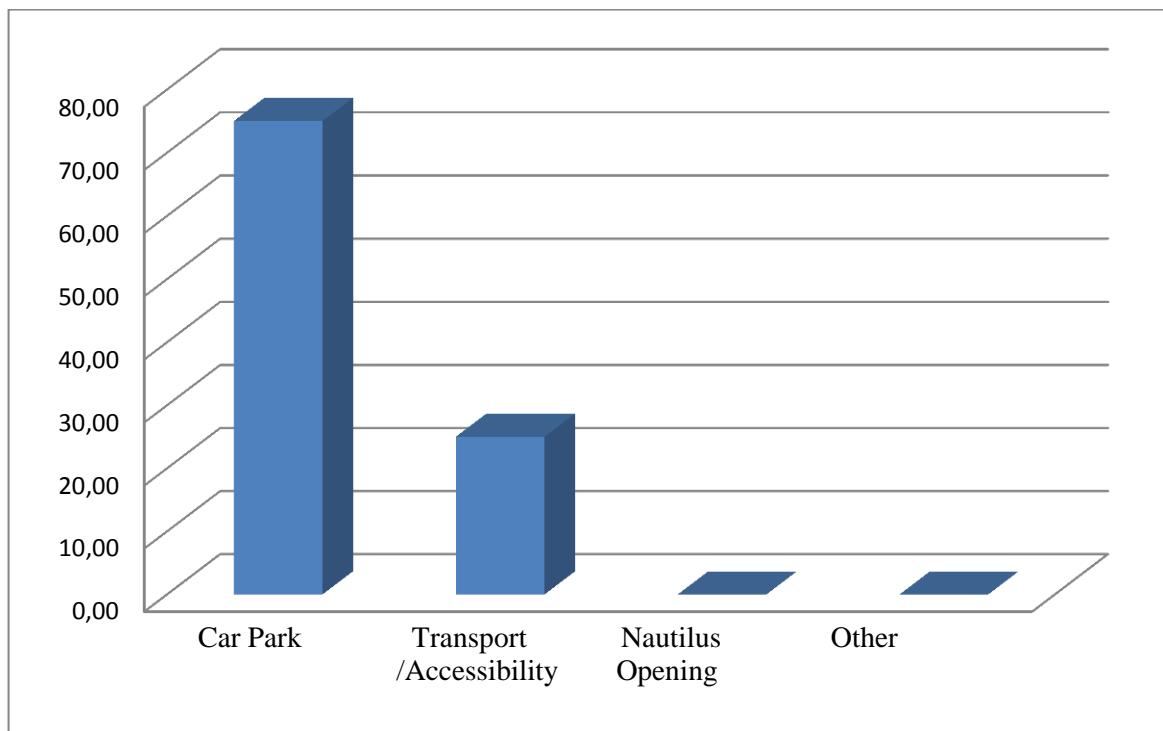
When the pedestrian survey results were presented above, the importance of effective analysis of the pedestrian-vehicle axes in the pedestrianised area and improving the accessibility of the area was discussed. Within this framework, 59% of the shopkeepers state that the traffic problems in the nearby streets increased and 57% state that post-pedestrianisation accessibility of the area declined. It can therefore be said that the pedestrians and the shopkeepers agree upon this issue. Thus, it is clear that the area has some weaknesses relating to this issue.

Additionally, Figure 79 illustrates the responses to the question ‘Do you think the post-pedestrianisation number of the visitors increase?’ which is a ‘Yes/No’ question for which it is distinguished from other questions in the survey which are evaluated using Likert scale.



**Figure 79:** The responses to the shopkeeper survey question ‘Do you think the post-pedestrianisation number of the visitors increase?’

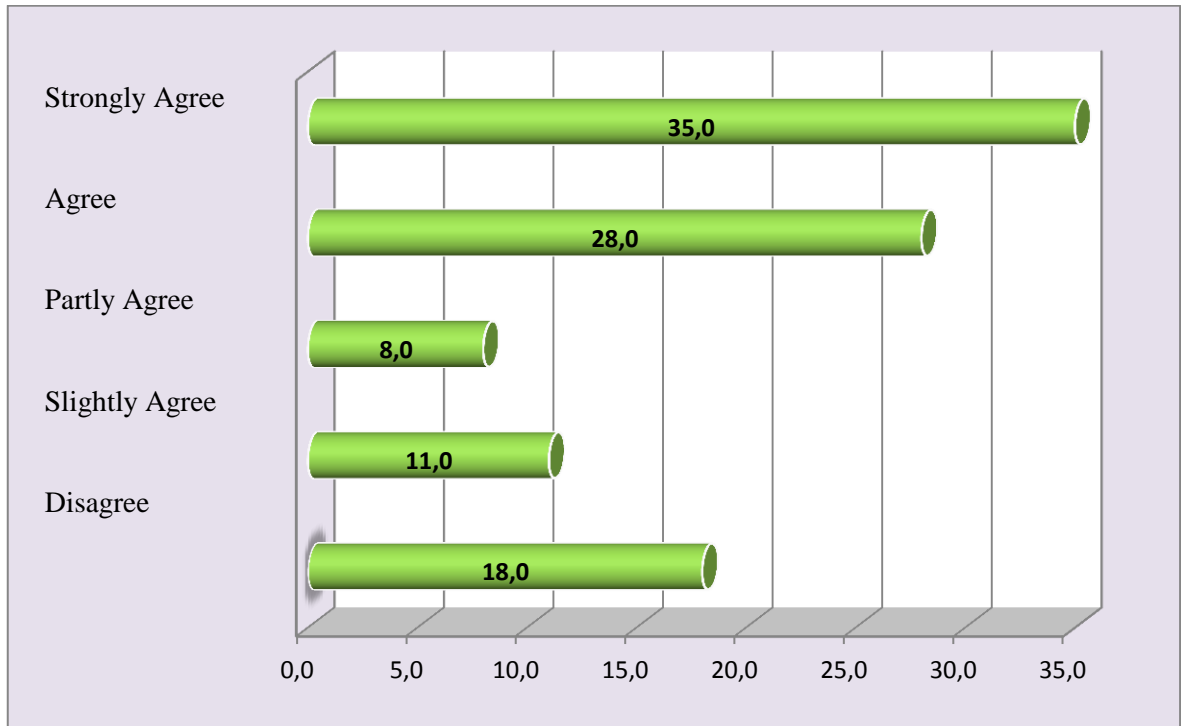
Furthermore, as seen in the Figure above, there was a remarkable increase in the number of visitors following pedestrianisation. **Figure 80 shows the statements used by the shopkeepers responding 'No', who represent 12% of all shopkeepers, to indicate the reason for the decrease in the number of visitors.** Thus, 75% of the respondent shopkeepers state that the reason 'the number of visitors decreased' is 'the car park problems'.



**Figure 80:** The reasons stated by the shopkeepers for the decrease in the number of visitors



Moreover, 63% of the shopkeepers state that loading/unloading for their shops/stores became harder. See Figure 81.



**Figure 81:** The shopkeepers' responses to the item 'Loading/unloading for the shops/stores became harder'

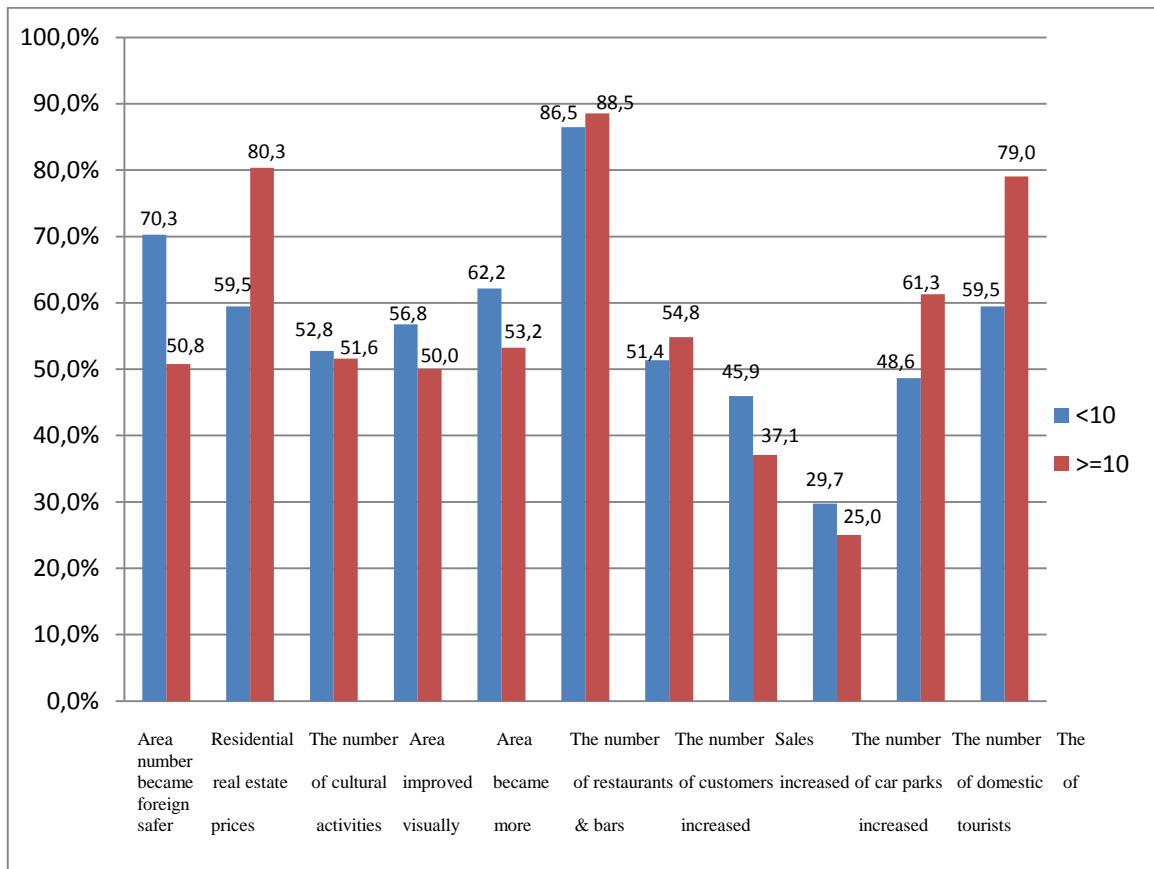
Consequently, traffic became heavier in the nearby streets following pedestrianisation. Furthermore, accessibility of the area declined. The number of car parks in and around the area did not increase after pedestrianisation. Moreover, the majority of the shopkeepers state that the shop rents increased. This is challenging for the shopkeepers as there was no increase in the sales. Furthermore, the shopkeepers state that loading goods for the shops/stores became harder upon pedestrianisation. A great majority of the shopkeepers in Kadıköy Historic Centre state that many old and small-sized businesses were shut down.

In order to determine if there has been a statistically significant difference in the comments and thoughts of the pre- and post-pedestrianisation businesses in the area, the responses

were re-classified and tabulated to represent two separate groups, i.e. the businesses having been operated for **10 years or more** and the businesses having been operated for **less than 10 years**. See Table 18 and Figure 82.

**Table 18:** Re-classification of the responses to the questions, evaluated using Likert scale, to represent two groups which are the businesses having been operated for **10 years or more** and the businesses having been operated for **less than 10 years**

	How long have you been operating a business here?					
	LESS THAN 10 YEARS (%)			10 YEARS OR MORE (%)		
	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree
The area became safer	21.6	8.1	70.3	38.1	11.1	50.8
The residential real estate prices increased	21.6	18.9	59.5	13.1	6.6	80.3
The number of cultural activities in the area increased	27.8	19.4	52.8	33.9	14.5	51.6
The area improved visually and aesthetically	32.4	10.8	56.8	35.5	14.5	50.0
The area became more attractive	24.3	13.5	62.2	27.4	19.4	53.2
The number of restaurants and bars in the area increased	5.4	8.1	86.5	8.2	3.3	88.5
The number of customers increased	35.1	13.5	51.4	27.4	17.7	54.8
The sales increased	27.0	27.0	45.9	48.4	14.5	37.1
The number of car parks increased	62.2	8.1	29.7	65.0	10.0	25.0
The number of domestic tourists increased	24.3	27.0	48.6	21.0	17.7	61.3
The number of foreign tourists increased	16.2	24.3	59.5	8.1	12.9	79.0



**Figure 82:** Re-classification of the responses to the questions, evaluated using Likert scale, to represent two separate groups which are the businesses having been operated for **10 years or more** and the businesses having been operated for **less than 10 years**

As can be seen in Table 18 and Figure 82, the most remarkable disagreement between the businesses having been operated for 10 years or more in the area and the ones having been operated for less than 10 years is on the responses to the item ‘The residential real estate prices increased’. 80% of the businesses having been operated for 10 years or more in the area think that the residential real estate prices increased. For the purpose of further clarification and explanation, the same questions were evaluated using T-test method. See Table 19 and Table 20.

**Table 19:** Re-classification of the responses to the questions evaluated using T-test method into two groups as the businesses having been operated for **less than 10 years** and the businesses having been operated for **10 years or more**

Group Statistics					
	Years	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
The area became safer	<10	<b>37</b>	3.68	1.435	.236
	>=10	<b>63</b>	3.11	1.667	.210
The residential real estate prices increased	<10	<b>37</b>	3.46	1.304	.214
	>=10	<b>61</b>	4.03	1.251	.160
The number of cultural activities in the area increased	<10	<b>36</b>	3.28	1.485	.248
	>=10	<b>62</b>	3.26	1.619	.206
The area improved visually and aesthetically	<10	<b>37</b>	3.24	1.535	.252
	>=10	<b>62</b>	3.15	1.618	.205
The area became more attractive	<10	<b>37</b>	3.46	1.502	.247
	>=10	<b>62</b>	3.39	1.561	.198
The number of restaurants and bars in the area increased	<10	<b>37</b>	4.19	.995	.164
	>=10	<b>61</b>	4.28	1.127	.144
The number of customers increased	<10	<b>37</b>	3.14	1.566	.258
	>=10	<b>62</b>	3.37	1.440	.183
The sales increased	<10	<b>37</b>	3.22	1.456	.239
	>=10	<b>62</b>	2.73	1.601	.203
The number of car parks increased	<10	<b>37</b>	2.49	1.557	.256
	>=10	<b>60</b>	2.20	1.645	.212
The number of domestic tourists increased	<10	<b>37</b>	3.38	1.421	.234
	>=10	<b>62</b>	3.63	1.451	.184
The number of foreign tourists increased	<10	<b>37</b>	3.62	1.401	.230
	>=10	<b>62</b>	4.08	1.060	.135

Independent-Samples T-Test is used to determine if there is any difference in the mean values between two sample groups.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Independent Two-Sample T-Test is used to determine if there is a difference in mean values between two sample groups. These groups have different members. No member in one group should be identical to another in the other group. Independent Two-Sample T-Test is used to determine, for example, the difference between the businesses having been operated for **less than 10 years** in the area and the businesses having been operated for **10 years or more** in the area.

T-test determines if the mean value of one group is significantly different than that of the other group.

$H_0$  = There *is a statistically significant difference* in the responses of the businesses having been operated for less than 10 years and the businesses having been operated for 10 years or more in the area to the items of “The Post-pedestrianisation Condition of the Area”.

$H_1$  = There *is no statistically significant difference* in the responses of the businesses having been operated for less than 10 years and the businesses having been operated for 10 years or more in the area to the items of “The Post-pedestrianisation Condition of the Area”.

Independent Two-Sample Test table shows that the value in the ‘Sig.’ column pertaining to the item **“The residential real estate prices increased”** is 0.035. Since this value is less than 0.05, it can be said that the correlation between the businesses having been operated for less than 10 years in the area and the businesses having been operated for 10 years or more in the area is statistically significant at  $p < 0.05$  level. Upon collective evaluation of the T-test results and mean values of the groups in the Table, hypothesis  $H_0$  was refuted.

**Table 20:** Evaluation of the businesses having been operated for **less than 10 years** and the businesses having been operated for **10 years or more** using T-test method

		<b>Independent Samples Test</b>								
		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
The area became safer	Equal variances assumed	<b>5.137</b>	<b>.026</b>	<b>1.719</b>	<b>98</b>	<b>.089</b>	<b>.565</b>	<b>.328</b>	<b>-.087</b>	<b>1.216</b>
	Equal variances not assumed			<b>1.788</b>	<b>84.760</b>	<b>.077</b>	<b>.565</b>	<b>.316</b>	<b>-.063</b>	<b>1.192</b>
The residential real estate prices increased	Equal variances assumed	<b>1.207</b>	<b>.275</b>	<b>-2.164</b>	<b>96</b>	<b>.033</b>	<b>-.573</b>	<b>.265</b>	<b>-1.099</b>	<b>-.048</b>
	Equal variances not assumed			<b>-2.143</b>	<b>73.666</b>	<b>.035</b>	<b>-.573</b>	<b>.268</b>	<b>-1.107</b>	<b>-.040</b>
The number of cultural activities in the area increased	Equal variances assumed	<b>1.415</b>	<b>.237</b>	<b>.060</b>	<b>96</b>	<b>.952</b>	<b>.020</b>	<b>.329</b>	<b>-.634</b>	<b>.673</b>
	Equal variances not assumed			<b>.061</b>	<b>78.503</b>	<b>.951</b>	<b>.020</b>	<b>.322</b>	<b>-.621</b>	<b>.660</b>
The area improved visually and aesthetically	Equal variances assumed	<b>.366</b>	<b>.547</b>	<b>.297</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>.767</b>	<b>.098</b>	<b>.330</b>	<b>-.557</b>	<b>.753</b>
	Equal variances not assumed			<b>.301</b>	<b>79.060</b>	<b>.764</b>	<b>.098</b>	<b>.325</b>	<b>-.550</b>	<b>.746</b>
The area became more attractive	Equal variances assumed	<b>.369</b>	<b>.545</b>	<b>.226</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>.821</b>	<b>.072</b>	<b>.320</b>	<b>-.562</b>	<b>.707</b>
	Equal variances not assumed			<b>.229</b>	<b>78.218</b>	<b>.820</b>	<b>.072</b>	<b>.317</b>	<b>-.558</b>	<b>.703</b>
The number of restaurants and bars in the area	Equal variances assumed	<b>.431</b>	<b>.513</b>	<b>-.398</b>	<b>96</b>	<b>.692</b>	<b>-.089</b>	<b>.225</b>	<b>-.536</b>	<b>.357</b>
	Equal variances not assumed			<b>-.410</b>	<b>83.485</b>	<b>.683</b>	<b>-.089</b>	<b>.218</b>	<b>-.523</b>	<b>.344</b>

increased	not assumed									
The number of customers increased	Equal variances assumed	.840	.362	-.763	97	.447	-.236	.309	-.849	.378
	Equal variances not assumed			-.747	70.833	.458	-.236	.316	-.866	.394
The sales increased	Equal variances assumed	2.569	.112	1.524	97	.131	.490	.322	-.148	1.129
	Equal variances not assumed			1.562	81.633	.122	.490	.314	-.134	1.115
The number of car parks increased	Equal variances assumed	.418	.519	.850	95	.397	.286	.337	-.382	.955
	Equal variances not assumed			.862	79.604	.392	.286	.333	-.375	.948
The number of domestic tourists increased	Equal variances assumed	.036	.850	-.838	97	.404	-.251	.299	-.844	.343
	Equal variances not assumed			-.842	77.123	.402	-.251	.298	-.843	.342
The number of foreign tourists increased	Equal variances assumed	6.143	.015	-1.844	97	.068	-.459	.249	-.953	.035
	Equal variances not assumed			-1.720	60.628	.091	-.459	.267	-.993	.075

#### **4.8. THE PROBLEMS OF THE AREA AND THE SOLUTIONS AS STATED BY THE SHOPKEEPERS**

The written shopkeeper survey questions ‘What do you think the problems of the area are?’ and ‘What should be done to solve the problems?’ were grouped under general titles. The results are tabulated and graphed below.

**Table 21:** The responses of the pedestrians to the question ‘What do you think the problems of the area are?’

<b>The responses of the pedestrians to the question ‘What do you think the problems of the area are?’</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>COLUMN %</b>
ENVIRONMENTAL POLLUTION	18	<b>18.00</b>
SYRIANS AND BEGGARS <sup>19</sup>	17	<b>17.00</b>
CAR PARK PROBLEMS	9	<b>9.00</b>
NO PROBLEMS	9	<b>9.00</b>
THE AREA IS NARROW	8	<b>8.00</b>
ENVIRONMENTAL DESIGN	7	<b>7.00</b>
INSUFFICIENT LOADING/UNLOADING POINTS	7	<b>7.00</b>
TRAFFIC PROBLEMS	6	<b>6.00</b>
SECURITY PROBLEMS	6	<b>6.00</b>
TABLES OF THE RESTAURANTS	5	<b>5.00</b>
BREACH OF DUTY OF THE MUNICIPAL POLICE	4	<b>4.00</b>
PEDLARS	3	<b>3.00</b>
THE ÜSKÜDAR CENTRAL AREA SHOULD BE MODELLED ON	1	<b>1.00</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100.00</b>

<sup>19</sup> The statements used by the respondents.



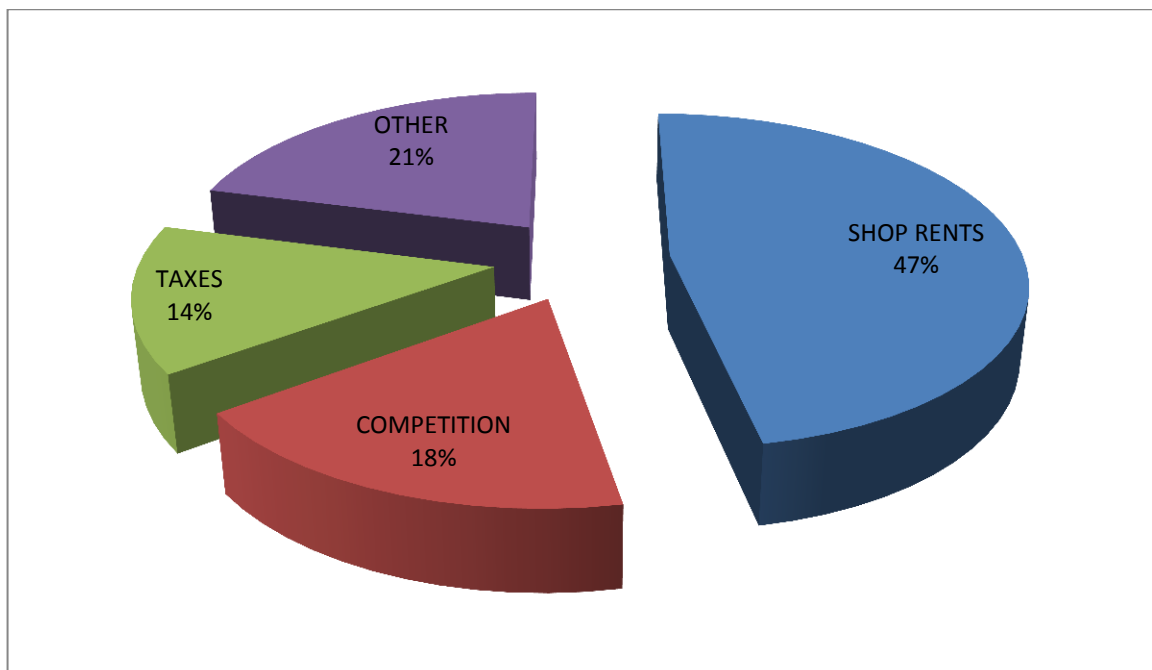
**Table 22:** The responses to the question ‘What should be done to solve the problems?’

<b>The responses to the question ‘What should be done to solve the problems?’</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>COLUMN %</b>
THE MUNICIPAL POLICE SHOULD WORK DULY AND PROPERLY	23	<b>30.26</b>
THE NUMBER OF CONTROLS SHOULD BE INCREASED	10	<b>13.16</b>
MEETINGS SHOULD BE ORGANISED WITH THE SHOPKEEPERS TO COVER THE GAPS	7	<b>9.21</b>
AN ENVIRONMENTAL PLAN SHOULD BE IN PLACE	6	<b>7.89</b>
THE TRAFFIC PROBLEM SHOULD BE SOLVED	4	<b>5.26</b>
NEW CAR PARKS SHOULD BE BUILD	4	<b>5.26</b>
ENVIRONMENTAL CLEANING SHOULD BE DONE	4	<b>5.26</b>
NO SOLUTION	4	<b>5.26</b>
THE SHOPKEEPERS SHOULD OBEY THE RULES	4	<b>5.26</b>
THE SECURITY PROBLEM SHOULD BE SOLVED	4	<b>5.26</b>
PEOPLE SHOULD ACT IN A MORE CIVILISED MANNER	2	<b>2.63</b>
THE ROADS AND STREETS SHOULD BE WIDENED	1	<b>1.32</b>
THE PLACES SERVING ALCOHOL DRINKS SHOULD BE CLOSED	1	<b>1.32</b>
THERE SHOULD BE CERTAIN PERIODS OF TIME WHEN VEHICLE TRAFFIC IS ALLOWED	1	<b>1.32</b>
THE BUILDING BLOCK MODEL SHOULD BE ADOPTED	1	<b>1.32</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>100.00</b>

The results obtained from the responses show that the biggest problem of the area is environmental pollution with a ratio of 18%. See table 21. The shopkeepers find the works and efforts of the Municipality on this issue insufficient. Furthermore, as well as many other counties, Kadıköy is also affected by Istanbul’s being a host city for Syrian immigrants.

Noting that the Syrian beggars sleep on the benches in the area which are not many at all, the shopkeepers also state that they are afraid of glue sniffers they encounter when they open their shops/stores in the early morning. When conducting surveys, it was concluded from the oral interviews with the shopkeepers that the municipal police failed to make their presence felt in the area following pedestrianisation, and thus the number of beggars increased. 30.26% of the shopkeepers state, as a solution of the problem, that the municipal police should work duly and properly. See Table 22.

Furthermore, the responses to the shopkeeper survey question ‘What are the challenges of the area for you as a shopkeeper?’ show that the increase in the brand equity of the area caused the shop rents rise significantly as well. See Figure 83. Moreover, the introduction of the global brands to the area affected the small-sized businesses negatively in terms of competition. Some outcompeted small-sized businesses had to be shut down. Table 23 illustrates the shopkeepers responding ‘Other’ to the above-stated question in detail. Additionally, Table 24 show the challenges faced by the cross-questioned shopkeepers responding ‘Yes’ to the question ‘Are you the owner of the shop?’



**Figure 83:** Graph illustrating the responses to the question ‘What are the challenges of the area for you?’

**Table 23:** Detailed tabulation of the respondents responding ‘Other’ to the question ‘What are the challenges of the area for you as a shopkeeper?’

	N	COLUMN %
DIRTY CENTRAL AREA	1	2.78
ROMANI PEOPLE (GYPSIES)	2	5.56
ROMANI PEOPLE/MUNICIPAL POLICE	1	2.78
GARBAGE/BEGGARS	2	5.56
BEGGARS	1	2.78
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>19.44</b>

**Table 24:** The challenges for the cross-questioned shopkeepers responding ‘Yes’ to the question ‘Are you the owner of the shop?’

	N	COLUMN %
SHOP RENTS	14	38.89
COMPETITION	10	27.78
TAXES	5	13.89
OTHER	7	19.44
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>100.00</b>

Table 25 shows the responses to the question ‘Did the Municipality of the County of Kadıköy offer any help to the small-sized businesses having been operated in the area for a long time on the issue of shop rents increased after pedestrianisation?’ which investigates if the Municipality of the County of Kadıköy supported the pre-pedestrianisation small-sized businesses in the area. It is understood that the Municipality did not offer any help to the shopkeepers 74% of whom responded ‘no’ to this question. Moreover, the oral interviews with the shopkeepers during the surveys revealed that there were various reasons for the increase in the shop rents in the area. Foreign brands open their stores in the Historic Area and do some repair in the stores, yet they leave the Area 3 or 5 months later. These repair works both increase those stores’ values and cause the rents of the other shops and stores in the area rise as well. The reason these brands stay in the area for a short time

is that shop owners collaborate with the brands in order to raise the real estate prices. Eventually, it was revealed that the increase in the real estate prices in the area was an artificial increase caused by the shop owners.

**Table 25:** The responses to the question ‘Did the Municipality of the County of Kadıköy offer any help to the small-sized businesses having been operated in the area for a long time on the issue of shop rents increased after pedestrianisation?’

	COLUMN %
YES	9.00
NO	74.00
NO IDEA	17.00
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>100.00</b>

#### 4.9. INTERVIEWS

The oral interviews with the shopkeepers during the surveys show that the pedestrians and shopkeepers in the area state “*the brand equation of the area increased*”. In the interview in October 2013, Ali Geçgel, Chairman of Kadıköy Historic Area Centre Association, stated,

“One of the most important aspects of the Historic Area is that it hosts 4 mosques and 3 churches all of which were built a considerably long time ago. The Central Area is a mixture of the various cultures of the world. Due to these features, we are striving for the Historic Centre to have a brand equation. We, as the Association, send emails to the travelling agencies shortly before the tourist season begins. In these emails, we declare that ‘there is a place which mixes a wide range of cultures, hosts historic mosques and churches, and the people can feel safe and secure in since it is a central area’. We communicated with the Turkish Ministry of Tourism and Culture as well. Thereupon, in collaboration with the Municipality of the County of Kadıköy, we printed out parchments giving information about the churches, mosques, and other religious institutions in English. Our only aim is to show Kadıköy Historic Centre the appreciation it deserves.”

As can be inferred from the interview, the shopkeepers in the Historic Area make special efforts so that the area has brand equity.

Aynur Arı who has lived in Kadıköy for a long time was interviewed on the restaurants and bars having grown in number in the area. Arı stated the following:

‘Actually, everyone in the area is content with the post-pedestrianisation situation. However, too many pubs were opened in a very short time. It was not like that when we used to live here. In the past, families used to visit the area. But too much alcohol is consumed now since there are too many pubs. Thus, there are always fights in the area. Moreover, the loud music playing until the late night disturbs the dwellers in the households very much. While families used to visit the Historic Area in the past, it is now crowded by the youth. It is their place now.’

The interview with Arı depicts the changes that the area underwent in 10 years. Kadıköy Historic Centre was serving as a family space before pedestrianisation. However, it has become a popular place among the youth which increased the number of cafes and restaurants that are more appealing to the youth.

We have also touched upon the survey responses ‘agree’ and ‘strongly agree’ to the item “*many old/small-sized businesses were shut down*”. In this context, it can be argued that a commercial gentrification has taken place in the area. See Figures 6 and 7. Within this framework, Ali Geçel, Chairman of Kadıköy Historic Centre Association, stated in October 2013,

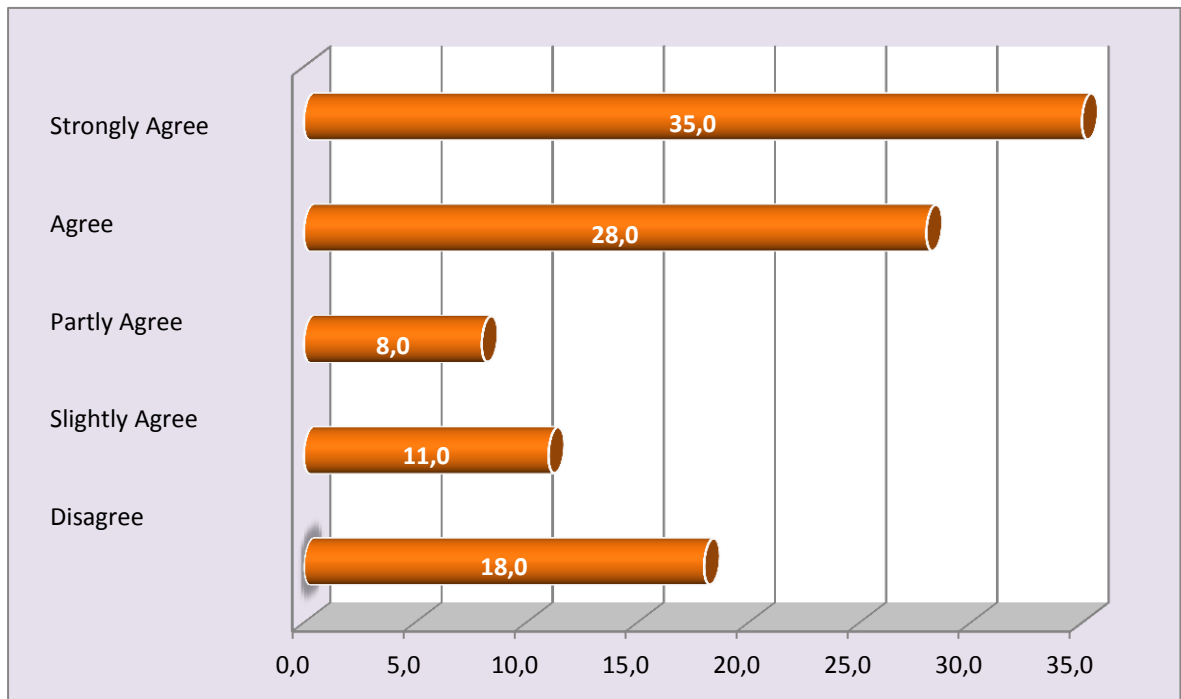
...the pedestrianisation process turned the Central Area into a valuable place. Thanks to the responsibility that has been shouldered by the Municipality of the County of Kadıköy. There were both positive and negative aspects of pedestrianisation. For instance, corporate organisations from different backgrounds opened up branches. It improved the quality of the Centre. But it also caused some hard time for small-sized businesses that gave the Centre its character. That is why we are trying to preserve the small businesses. We are trying to save the fabric of the fisheries street and antique shops street as well as coffeehouses and herbalists.

On the other hand Gökhan Kılınçkırın who worked for the FPPECH during the Regeneration Project for Kadıköy Historic Centre asserted the contrary in an interview in May 2014:

‘We, as the FPPECH, provided consultancy services to the Municipality during that period. The Project Implementation Area was selected by taking the Historic Centre as the focal point and based on the counsel provided by us. Traffic flow and pedestrian areas were selected based on the Transportation Project. Following pedestrianisation, the Historic Centre was revitalised and the original functionalities have retained their positions and the small-sized businesses were protected as the entry of the capital companies into the area has become harder. Small-sized businesses were not replaced by bigger brands. Quite the opposite, small businesses started to grow up.’

However, the result of the survey contradicts with Gökhan Kılınçkiran's statement. See Figure 84.

Importance of preserving the authenticity and the character of historic centres is discussed in the foregoing pages of the present dissertation. In this respect, as Gökhan Kılınçkiran also mentioned, controlling the big chain stores and protecting the small businesses are a necessity for preserving the historic city centres.



**Figure 84:** Distribution of shopkeepers' responses to the question 'Many old/small-sized businesses were shut down'

## 5. CONCLUSION

Cities have gone through physical, economic and social transformations throughout history. However, starting from the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century this transformation process has become both faster and broader. Spatial and socio-economical transformations have emerged due to the changes in the areas of manufacturing system and industrial revolution. Cheap energy and easy access to resources such as water and coal caused the industry to develop within city centres. When industrial/manufacturing sites were selected from city centres, the land prices in those areas rose significantly hence they became available solely for commercial activities. With its commercial functions, a need for labour force and housing became a necessity in city centres, and for that reason, new residential areas were constructed around industrial sites. These areas were not receiving enough public service and they turned into slum areas. The first transformation process began with practices of improvement and rehabilitation conducted in the residential sites built for the provision of housing for the rapidly growing population of the cities which were industrialised in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and became host cities for migrants. Even though these transformation activities were conducted in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, it was the 20<sup>th</sup> century that hosted the transformations in big cities and centres. Following the World War II, slum clearance activities and large-scale redevelopment projects in 1950 caused all the revenue gained therefrom to be retained by the high-income group. This did not provide other groups with social and economic return and caused unrest among society. In this context, the policies and attitudes of the central and local governments were loosening in the 1960s.

Since the mid-1970, urban decay has been seen in the city centres due to a number of reasons such as overpopulation, economic conditions, changes in manufacturing methods and deindustrialisation. Urban decay due to various factors has led the relevant authorities to seek for solutions to eliminate this decay. It caused social and spatial changes across Europe and the United States. In this period, apart from the rehabilitation activities, international policies were adopted relating to the protection of cities and cultural heritage,

and it was declared that the cultural heritage was the common heritage of humanity and this idea had to be developed and spread.

All in all, post-war transformation activities around the world usually aimed for slum clearance in order to redevelop the destructed and demolished cities. Urban transformation evolved into urban renewal projects generally subsidised by the state and more focusing on housing.

With the economic problems in the 1980s led by globalization, public resources diminished and urban transformation projects took a form other than the former practices after free market economy was adopted and the private sector was involved in the process. Furthermore, large social housing zones built after the World War II were left idle following the removal of the industry from the city centres, and projects were developed for the coastal areas hosting inactivated quays and shipyards.

In the competitive environment fuelled by the post-1980 neo-liberal policies, the cities themselves developed several responses in order to improve their economic competitiveness and deal with urban social problems. These responses typically focus on the fields of recreation, entertainment, cultural and creative sectors, commerce and housing which are intended to contribute to the urban transformation. Another strategy adopted by a range of cities comprises place marketing and place promotion activities contributing to the transformation of the city's image. Although this concept is not a recent one, it became popular in the 1980s as a response to deindustrialisation and the city images having highly degraded within the process. Place marketing and promotion activities and, within the context of ever-challenging intercity competition conditions, investments in the cities aiming for investment buoyancy around a more globalised economic structure enable the display of positive images that will attract tourists, investments and populations. This strategy also obliges the cities to attract new income flows based on recreation and tourism. Common tools and strategies used for the place promotion activities, however, consist of landscape strategies including the strategies increasing the sales by means of



advertisement and promotion, the event-based strategies such as festivals and urban shows and demonstrations, and the principles of urban design and place making. Within the scope of place marketing activities, it is also observed that the 'branding' approach has gained a broader use. During the Pedestrianisation Project for Kadıköy Historic Centre, the case study of this dissertation, Kadıköy Historic Centre Association which has been amongst the prominent figures in the process focused on the branding of the area and acted accordingly. Although the agenda of intercity competition was not a triggering factor for the pedestrianisation process of Kadıköy Historic Centre, it could be seen that Kadıköy Historic Centre Association, the representative of private sector, was affected by that agenda and developed strategies accordingly.

The 2000s witnessed new practices intended for cities and city centres across Europe, and the United Kingdom in particular. Urban renaissance was the hard-core agenda of the period and it was seen as a solution for the urban decline. Urban renaissance intends to be successful on three topics: the search for design excellence, the redevelopment of the former industrial sites, and the densely populated urban areas. The trend of densely populated areas, in particular, caused new multi-storey buildings in city centres, i.e. the transformation of residential areas. In this context, urban renaissance actually intends to make interventions in the old city centre. All these interventions aim to revitalize the city centre by means of various themes (festivals, tourism, culture, art, creative activities etc.)

As it was discussed in the foregoing pages of this thesis, today city centres have adopted a consumerism-oriented development approach. However, during this process, a danger called homogenization/standardization has been leaving its mark on these urban practices. It should be kept in mind that the cities are unique in their character and they all have specific economy, policy, culture and geography. Thus, it is important for local authorities to establish the ideal conditions. In this context, future urban transformation approaches should consider the past experiences and urban-scale examples and by doing so the link between social, economic and physical problems would be established.

Pedestrianisation practices, mentioned under Urban Renaissance in the brief outline above, is actually a sub-field application of transformation projects that are intended for more competitive cities. Ergo, it would be appropriate to consider the pedestrianisation projects as a jigsaw of the puzzle. This consideration is also one of the suppositions of this thesis. Therefore, it differs from the pedestrianisation practices of mid-20th century. Pedestrianisation practices of the mid-21<sup>st</sup> century were applications of upper scale urban renaissance/transformation agenda. In other words, post-World War II pedestrianisation practices which occurred in Europe, in the United States and especially in Germany were different from that of today in terms of starting point or emergence reasons. Eventually, projects that are developed under current conjuncture should be approached with their physical, social, economic and cultural aspects altogether.

The post-World War II pedestrianisation practices in the USA were inspired by the early shopping arcades of the Medieval and European cities. The earliest prototypes were the ones in the West German cities of Kiel, Kassel, Essen and Cologne. Rather than resting upon any urban planning theory, the earliest examples of pedestrianisation emerged as a response to the traffic congestion hindering shopping in the narrow streets. However, Germany is the pioneer state in pedestrianisation. Rest of the Europe were lagging behind. Pedestrianisation practices were a part of the renewal of city centres that were affected adversely during the Second World War. After the 1950s, increasing pedestrianisation practices were adopted as a solution for environmental problems that were caused by increasing traffic congestion in the alleys of historic city centres, along with urban renewal practices. With the supplementation of social, commercial and cultural additions to those pedestrian zones, pedestrianisation helped city centres grow and vitalize in a social and economic manner. In the 1970s, the distinction between vehicle and pedestrian traffic was adopted increasingly and in many cities liveable pedestrian areas were established by restricting or prohibiting the vehicle traffic. Thanks to these applications many urban areas were built in city centres where physical, social or economic needs would be fulfilled. Historic city centre and transportation lines around it were reviewed and transit traffic was removed from the centre by establishing a new peripheral ring around it, enabling the centre to be preserved.

As stated in the General Propositions section, pedestrianisation, as a means of urban design, does not only mean the distinction of pedestrian-vehicle spaces. It also plays a key role in renewal of city centres with its spatial, socio-economic and environmental effects. Within this framework, pedestrianisation can also be defined as a plan and a design initiative that intends for walkable cities. Pedestrianised urban spaces are also defined as spaces intended for pedestrians with less or none vehicle traffic where pedestrian population or reasons for it would be abound.

There are three forms of pedestrianisation and these are *permanent pedestrianisation*, *temporary pedestrianisation* and *partial pedestrianisation*. Area selection is of great importance in permanent pedestrianisation in order to be successful. Being in a historic centre, being within the boundaries of central business area, having social complexes, e.g. universities, are some of the important factors for a successful pedestrianisation. Many permanent pedestrianisation projects were unsuccessful in the 1970s as they lacked focus on these factors. Therefore, the year 1970 was a cornerstone for pedestrianisation. During that period, the common trait of pedestrianisation projects was their location within historic centres. They were usually located in historic alleys or in front of cathedrals with the primary focus on protecting and cherishing the historical heritage.

Recent studies focusing on the roots of the unhealthy living standards (e.g. traffic congestion, environmental pollution, air pollution, health and security matters) have been conducted rather than merely living under those circumstances. Moreover, plans and engineering studies are rapidly continuing for the encouragement of motor-free transportation and rediscovering of walking. Authorities across the world, including various local, regional and even national platforms, are focusing on the need of projects and investment programmes regarding the installation of necessary infrastructure and environment for quality and safe pedestrian and bike roads.

Pedestrianisation practices have many positive and negative sides. Within this context, the advantages of pedestrianisation projects would vary depending on the project site. Some

projects are beneficial solely for its own area while some are beneficial for the whole city and help the city develop an identity.

As stated in the Hypotheses section, the quality of urban areas and public spheres usually increases after the pedestrianisation. With these positive effects, profit rate of commercial enterprises in those streets rises. As the popularity of pedestrianised urban centres grow real estate prices therein increase. With the increase in real estate prices, commercial gentrification takes place. Furthermore, as a result of pedestrianisation, alteration of retail trade within the area is shaped not only by the results of urban design applications but also by the policies of central and local authorities. As it can be perceived from the above examples, pedestrianisation should be analysed specifically for its environmental, social and economic aspects.

Being one of the main propositions in this thesis, a problem that can be faced after the pedestrianisation is displacement of small business –commercial gentrification. Thorough studies have been done in Canada and in the United States about this matter. In consequence of studies conducted in three axes (that are in different levels of gentrification) of West Toronto, Rankin (2008) had some suggestions regarding the overcome of difficulties. These suggestions are: retaining some shops during and after gentrification process by municipalities, creating employment for old business with low rentals in order to preserve the traditional form and, within the same context, creating cooperatives consisting of small business to counter the global firms that are trying to open up business in the area. Accordingly, it has been suggested that visitors and customers within the area should be sensitive about choosing the area-specific stores for their shopping. The increasing popularity of the pedestrianised area, as well, attracts the big firms. As a result of this, these areas become cloned/stereotyped without any specific feature. Criticisms arise over city centres concerning that these areas are becoming monotype money centres. Another significant snafu is the insecurity of locals.

In consequence of researches, some of the above mentioned propositions are confirmed in Turkey and abroad. The cases of Essen, Copenhagen, Denizli and Istanbul (Historic

Peninsula) are examined. Especially in Denizli Gazi Mustafa Kemal Paşa Boulevard, closure of the city's most important commercial area with the pedestrianisation project showed an effect resembling a capillary incision in a tissue, i.e. it affected the whole circulation. Project weakened the area and made the area inaccessible. So, pedestrianisation project in Denizli could be considered a failure. The case of Copenhagen, an example abroad, is a success thanks to its holistic view and foreseeing of the possible traffic problems in alleys.

History of Kadıköy, in which the case study of the historic centre of this thesis is located, dates back to Byzantium and more. It was called Chalcedon and was one of the oldest residential areas. With Byzantium dominance it became more important. Most of the Greek population, occupied with farming and fishing, were in Kadıköy. It was the case also during the Ottoman reign. Republican period did not bear too much difference as well. Until the 1950s, Kadıköy was a hideaway for both the modest community and for the high society. Until 1980 it hosted entertainment buildings such as restaurants, cafes, cinemas and theatres. This made Kadıköy the second-most important centre in the Anatolian side. Kadıköy has reserved its character as being a residential area mostly for the middle and high income groups.

It has been ten years till the inception of Kadıköy historic centre project. According to the decision of the Board for Protection of Cultural and Natural Properties, the Municipality of the County of Kadıköy and the FPPECH became project partners on 6<sup>th</sup> October 2004. As part of the protocol of the partnership, the Regeneration Project for Kadıköy Historic Centre as launched. The aim of the project was conservation of historic heritage and a new urban design focusing on the harmony with historic fabric of the centre. Two greatly important structures Osmanağa Mosque and Church Square being in the centre, the physical and social condition of the archaeological site was analysed. Moreover, constructional assessments and risk analyses were made by Kültür University. The general purpose of the project was 'revitalizing' the 'historic centre' with a new model and strategy as it was losing its value economically, physically and culturally. Aside from the partnership between The Municipality of the County of Kadıköy and the FPPECH,

Kadıköy Historic Centre Project Partnership was established. The Municipality of the County of Kadıköy gathered up a team consisting of experts within the body of Directorate of Research Coordination for the design of the project. The Municipality of the County of Kadıköy cooperated with Directorate of Housing, Department of Infrastructure & Construction and Environmental Protection.

Propositions mentioned so far were tried to be analysed by surveys and interviews. The Municipality of the County of Kadıköy and The FPPECH established a partnership for Kadıköy Historic Centre Regeneration Project on 6<sup>th</sup> October 2004. The aim of the project was conservation of historic heritage and a new urban design focusing on the harmony with historic fabric of the centre. Due date of the project was February 4<sup>th</sup>, 2007. First part of the project which consisted of restoration works in Tellalzade St., Pavlonya St., Üzerlik St. and Serasker Street was done in 2005. The area, as a whole, was brought into service in 2009.

Within the scope of this thesis, interviews were done with The Municipality of the County of Kadıköy and The FPPECH and Kadıköy Historic Centre Association. 398 pedestrians were interviewed. Out of a total 317, 100 ground-floor shops, which were members of Kadıköy Historic Centre Association, participated in the survey. Survey was intended to comprehend the physical, social and economic conditions of the area. Ordinal, interval and Likert-type scales were used. Surveys were conducted face to face with both pedestrians and shopkeepers. The results were analysed with SPSS software. Additionally, within the context of land use analysis, changes in commerce and specialization gathered from the land use map of Municipality were compared with the land use statistics of 2014. It can be inferred from the analysis results that the area went through industry-specific changes within ten years of post-pedestrianisation.

Analysis results and comparisons reveal that displacement of the small-sized businesses (commercial gentrification) was usually an inevitable result which was mentioned in the

foregoing pages under the title ‘Negative Aspects of the Pedestrianisation’. As the area became more popular, the famous domestic chain stores were introduced to the area.

As stated above, the surveys conducted within the scope of this research aimed to determine the problems and needs of the Kadıköy Historic Centre and the awareness of its users. The pedestrian surveys had 17 questions while the shopkeeper surveys consisted of 22 questions. Some of the questions were ‘Yes/No’ question while some others were rated from 1 to 5 based on the Likert scale.

Accordingly, the questions in the first part of the survey reveal the pedestrian and shopkeeper profile in the area. The survey results show that 82% of the pedestrians visiting the area are in the 20-29 age range. Of these pedestrians, 37% were males while 45% were females. The Central Area which was a location mostly for families before pedestrianisation attracts the youth today as well. Furthermore, 38% of the pedestrians were private sector employees while 31% were students. The great majority of the visitors come from Üsküdar and Kadıköy. This shows that the Kadıköy Historic Centre mostly attract visitors from the immediate vicinities.

The predominating industry in the pedestrianised area is restaurant and cafe business. In this context, the results of the comparison between the 2004 ground floor land use map of the Municipality of the County of Kadıköy and the 2014 ground floor land use map drawn by the author are consistent. This indicates the commercial change in the Kadıköy Historic Centre. Additionally, the majority of the shopkeepers in the area come from Kadıköy, Üsküdar, Ümraniye and Maltepe. Therefore, 42% of the shopkeepers take the shared taxi and bus while 25% walk to the area, which is a remarkable ratio. The reason the ratio of the shopkeepers walking to the area is this high is that the shopkeepers live in the vicinities of the area. In addition to all this, the businesses having been operated in the area for 30 years or more predominate all the other businesses with a ratio of 33%. Based on this result, it can be said that some of the old businesses survived the commercial gentrification.

In the foregoing pages, the positive aspects of the pedestrianisation were discussed. The pedestrian and shopkeeper survey questions aimed to determine the positive and negative aspects. The pedestrian surveys revealed no increase in the safety of the area. Furthermore, 46%<sup>20</sup> of the visitors think that the residential real estate prices in the area increased. This was caused by the increase in the area's popularity after pedestrianisation. The number of cultural activities in the area increased which pleases the pedestrians in the area. Accordingly, the area which hosted more cultural activities became more attractive as well. As a result, the area became a favourable location for both the domestic and foreign tourists.

Contrary to the pedestrians, the shopkeepers think that the area became safer. The presence of such a disagreement on the increase in the area's safety which is one of the important post-pedestrianisation criteria makes it harder to comment on or interpret the issue. However, the shopkeepers and pedestrians agree on the increase in the number of cultural activities in the area. Furthermore, the majority of the shopkeepers (75%) state that the residential real estate prices in the area increased. This suggests that the area became more attractive. Accordingly, the responses 'agree' and 'strongly agree' to the item 'The area became more attractive', which correspond to a ratio of 56%, clearly show that the area became more popular following pedestrianisation. Additionally, the shopkeepers state that the number of restaurants and bars increased substantially upon pedestrianisation; however, they complain that there was no increase in sales. They also state that the number of car parks did not increase after pedestrianisation.

In the statements in the first part of this dissertation, it was highlighted that merely closing a particular area to traffic is not sufficient on its own for the pedestrianisation activities. Furthermore, it was also stated that the pedestrianisation projects deal with the effective analysis of the pedestrian-vehicle axes, and thus they are supposed to be holistic methods requiring vertical consideration. In this context, the visitor and shopkeeper surveys were conducted to determine the probable positive and negative effects of the pedestrianisation activities. The pedestrian survey results show that traffic problems emerged in the nearby streets following pedestrianisation. Furthermore, the ratios for each response, namely 'car

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<sup>20</sup> Yayaların *katılıyorum* ve *tümüyle katılıyorum* cevaplarının toplanması ile elde edilmiş sonuçlardır.



park problems’, ‘transportation/accessibility problem’, ‘opening of Nautilus Shopping Centre’, to the question ‘What is the reason for the decrease in the number of visitors of the area?’ asked at the end of the survey as a separate multiple choice question are 43%, 56% and 15%, respectively. Thus, the pedestrians encounter transportation and accessibility problems. Most of the visitors think that the car park problems around the area increased.

Moreover, 53% of the visitors responded ‘agree’ and ‘strongly agree’ to the item ‘Many small shops and businesses in the area were shut down’, which was an expected result. This suggested that the area was not designed with a holistic view and there was a commercial change in the area. The shopkeeper survey results, however, show that the traffic became heavier in the nearby streets following pedestrianisation. Furthermore, accessibility of the area declined. The number of car parks in and around the area did not increase after pedestrianisation. Moreover, the majority of the shopkeepers state that the shop rents increased. This is challenging for the shopkeepers as there was no increase in the sales. Furthermore, the shopkeepers state that loading goods for the shops/stores became harder upon pedestrianisation. A great majority of the shopkeepers in the Kadıköy Historic Centre state that many old and small-sized businesses were shut down. In this respect, the contradicting comments and statements of Ali Geçgel, Chairman of the Kadıköy Historic Centre Association, and Gökhan Kılınçkiran, who worked for the FPPECH during the Project, about the shutdown of the old and small-sized businesses in the area they expressed in the interviews conducted within the scope of the Regeneration Project for the Kadıköy Historic Centre were interesting. Geçgel stated that small-sized businesses cannot survive in the area of which brand equity increase day by day, and that they are focusing on this matter to make it end. However, Kılınçkiran states, ‘Within the Central Area Project, the original functionalities have retained their positions and the small-sized businesses were protected as the entry of the capital companies into the area has become harder’. These two comments contradict. As seen in the branding map of the Kadıköy Historic Centre, however, big brands were actually introduced to the area. See Figure 66. Moreover, he argues ‘the small-sized businesses were not replaced by the big brands, but on the contrary the small brands got bigger and protected the small-sized businesses’. On the other hand, the responses to the shopkeeper survey item ‘Many

old/small-sized businesses in the area were shut down' support the arguments of the Kadıköy Historic Centre Association.

The responses to the shopkeeper survey question 'What are the challenges of the area for you as a shopkeeper?' show that 47% of the shopkeepers complain about the increased shop rents. The increase in the brand equity of the area caused the shop rents rise significantly as well. Moreover, the introduction of the domestic chain stores to the area affected the small-sized businesses (18%) negatively in terms of competition. Some outcompeted small-sized businesses had to be shut down.

It is important that the Municipality of the County of Kadıköy offer help to the small-sized businesses in order to avoid such problems after the Project, and protect and maintain the authenticity and identity of the Kadıköy Historic Centre. 74% of the shopkeepers responded 'no' to the question 'Did the Municipality of the County of Kadıköy offer any help to the small-sized businesses having been operated in the area for a long time on the issue of shop rents increased after pedestrianisation?' which investigates if the Municipality of the County of Kadıköy supported the pre-pedestrianisation small-sized businesses in the area. It is therefore understood that the Municipality did not offer any help to the shopkeepers. Moreover, the oral interviews with the shopkeepers during the surveys revealed that there were various reasons for the increase in the shop rents in the area. Foreign brands open their stores in the Historic Area and do some repair in the stores, yet they leave the Area 3 or 5 months later. These repair works both increase those stores' values and cause the rents of the other shops and stores in the area rise as well. The reason these brands stay in the area for a short time is that shop owners collaborate with the brands in order to raise the real estate prices. Eventually, it was revealed that the increase in the real estate prices in the area was an artificial increase caused by the shop owners.

The written shopkeeper survey questions 'What do you think the problems of the area are?' and 'What should be done to solve the problems?' were grouped under general titles. The results obtained from the responses show that the biggest problem of the area is

environmental pollution with a ratio of 18%. The shopkeepers find the works and efforts of the Municipality on this issue insufficient. Furthermore, as well as many other counties, Kadıköy is also affected by Istanbul's being a host city for Syrian immigrants. When conducting surveys, it was concluded from the oral interviews with the shopkeepers that the municipal police failed to make their presence felt in the area following pedestrianisation, and thus the number of beggars increased. The majority of the shopkeepers state, as a solution of the problem, that the municipal police should work duly and properly.

The oral interviews with the shopkeepers during the surveys show that the pedestrians and shopkeepers in the area state that the brand equation of the area increased. In the interview in October 2013, Ali Geçgel, Chairman of the Kadıköy Historic Area Centre Association, touched upon this subject. He stated that the Central Area has a significant mixture of cultures as it hosts mosques and churches, and that the Area will eventually get the long-deserved appreciation with branding. As can be inferred from this interview, they are striving for the Historic Centre to have a brand equation.

In this respect, as stated in the Hypotheses section, the pedestrianisation as a tool of urban design is not only a process of separating pedestrians from vehicles but also a process with significant socio-economic and spatial outcomes. This is apparent in the Regeneration project for the Kadıköy Historic Centre. It seems hard for the pedestrianisation practices inconsiderate to the transport relations and accessibility, and bearing no socio-economic, historical, environmental, spatial and aesthetical concerns to achieve success. When evaluated based on the above hypothesis, transportation to and accessibility of the pedestrianised Central Area became harder. It cannot be argued that the Central Area is successful in this particular respect. The hypothesis 'inaccessibility of the pedestrianised area causes the interruption of pedestrian flow into the area and economic weakness of the businesses operating in the vicinity' cannot be confirmed due to the fact that the majority of the visitors are pedestrians. Despite having several weaknesses, the Regeneration Project for the Kadıköy Historic Centre is a successful project. On the other hand, as stated in the Hypotheses section, in the case that the pedestrianisation is successful, a number of

small businesses investing the area with vitality, locality/authenticity and identity may be displaced as well. Depending on the increase in real estate prices, both social and commercial gentrification are observed *unless any measures are taken*. In this respect, it can be said that the Central Area experienced post-pedestrianisation commercial gentrification.

In conclusion, closing the urban areas to traffic which are to be pedestrianised is not a sufficient solution on its own. As stated in the above pages, the pedestrianization is supposed to be a holistic method which effectively analyzes the pedestrian-vehicle axes, enhances accessibility, places urban design tools in the area and makes one desire to spend time in the area. Thus, it seems hard for the pedestrianisation practices inconsiderate to the transport relations and accessibility, and bearing no socio-economic, historical, environmental, spatial and aesthetical concerns to achieve success. In this respect, the Regeneration Project for the Kadıköy Historic Centre is a project with strengths and weaknesses which yet causes the Historic Centre to be a pedestrian zone hosting a progressively increasing number of domestic and foreign tourists since its strengths outweigh the weaknesses.

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67. Urban Furniture (Yasa Street, 2005)

Kadıköy Belediyesi arşivinden alınan belgeler içinde yer almaktadır.

68. The current borders of the pedestrianised area in Kadıköy Historic Centre – 2014

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## APPENDICE - 1

Survey No:.....

Date:.....

**Yeditepe University Master of Science – Visitor Assessment Survey**

this study is a thesis study within the scope of Master of Science Programme and completely conducted for educational purpose. It aims to specify problems, needs and awareness of visitors of Kadıköy Historic Center. There isn't any right or wrong answer, so please answer sincerely.

Please check the boxes below.

- 1- **Gender:** 1.1-Male  1.2- Female
- 
- 2- **Age:** 2.1- 15-24  2.2- 25-34  2.3- 35-44  2.4- 45-54   
2.5- 55-64  2.6- 65-74  2.7- 75-84  2.8- 85- +
- 
- 3- **Occupation:** 3.1- Private Sector  3.2- Civil Servant  3.3- Student   
3.4- Retiree  3.5- Housewife  3.5- Other  .....
- 
- 4- **County you live in:** 4.1-Adalar  4.2-Beşiktaş  4.3- Fatih   
4.4- Üsküdar  4.5-Maltepe  4.6- Other:  .....
- 
- 5- **Reason of your visit:** 5.1- Pleasure  5.2- Shopping  5.3- Specific equipment supply   
5.4- Government Agency  5.5- Education/Course  5.6- Dining  5.7- Other
- 
- 6- **Frequency of visit:** 6.1- Once-twice per year  6.2- Monthly  6.3- Other   
6.4- More than once a week (2-5 times)  6.5- Weekly
- 
- 7- **Which vehicle do you use for arriving to the area?**  
7.1- On foot  7.2- Bus/Minibus  7.3- Private Car  7.4- Bicycle   
7.5- Taxi  7.6-Metro (Kadıköy/Kartal)  7.7- Sea access
- 
- 8- **Do you think that *visitor* number for the area increased after pedestrianisation?**  
8.1- Yes  8.2- No  8.3- Don't know
- 
- 9- **If the visitor number for the area decreased, what is the reason?**  
9.1- Parking lot shortage  9.2- Transportation/accessability issues  9.3- Opening of Nautilus   
9.4- Other, explain :  .....

**10-After the pedestrianisation of Kadıköy Historic Centre:**

(Please enumerate considering the evaluation below.)

1-Disagree, 2-Slightly Agree, 3-Partially Agree, 4-Agree, 5-Completely Agree

<b>POSITIVE Developments in the Area after Pedestrianisation</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
1. Area's security increased					
2. Property values increased					
3. Cultural activities in the area increased					
4. Domestic and foreign tourist number increased					
5. Area improved visually and aesthetically					
6. Area's attractiveness increased					
7. Food&Beverage places in the area increased					
8. Parking lot number increased					
9. Domestic tourist number increased					
10. Foreign tourist number increased					

**11-After the pedestrianisation of Kadıköy Historic Centre:**

(Please enumerate considering the evaluation below.)

1-Disagree, 2-Slightly Agree, 3-Partially Agree, 4-Agree, 5-Completely Agree

<b>NEGATIVE Developments in the Area after Pedestrianisation</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
1. Traffic problems increased in the streets around the area					
2. Transportation/accessability to the pedestrianised area became difficult					
3. Parking problems in and around the area increased					
4. A lot of old and small scale enterprise in the area closed					
5. Area became crowded					
6. Snatching and theft increased					

**12-Mark the urban design elements(used after pedestrianisation) in the are you liked.**

- |                             |                          |                               |                          |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 12.1-Lighting equipment     | <input type="checkbox"/> | 12.6-Sitting areas, benches   | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 12.2 -Flowers, plants       | <input type="checkbox"/> | 12.7-Afforestation            | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 12.3-Water fountains, pools | <input type="checkbox"/> | 12.8-Statues                  | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 12.4-Floorings              | <input type="checkbox"/> | 12.9-Signboard and billboards | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 12.5-Protection from rain   | <input type="checkbox"/> | 12.10-Restroom,WC             | <input type="checkbox"/> |

**13-Which facilities, listed below, exist in the area for handicapped people?**

- 13.1-Sidewalk heights       13.2- Special parking lots       13.3- Special restrooms/WC
- 13.4- Audible warning for visually challenged people for crossing over
- 13.5- Convenience of ramps and stairs in the area for elderly/handicapped people

**14- Are you happy with "Yellow Line" regulation designated for placing tables to the streets?**

- 14.1- Yes. Explain:  .....
- 14.2- No. Explain:  .....

**15- What problems did domestic and foreign tourists bring to the area according to you?****16-What problems do you think the area has?****17- What is required for solving these problems?**



T.C. YEDİTEPE ÜNİVERSİTESİ

## APPENDICE-2

Survey No:.....

Shop Name:.....

Street Name:.....

Door No:.....

## Yeditepe University Master of Science – Shopkeeper Assessment Survey

This study is a thesis study within the scope of Master of Science Programme and completely conducted for educational purpose. It aims to specify problems, needs and awareness of visitors of Kadıköy Historic Center. There isn't any right or wrong answer, so please answer sincerely.

Please check the boxes below.

1- **Gender:** 1.1-Male  1.2- Female

2- **Age:** 2.1- 15-24  2.2- 25-34  2.3- 35-44  2.4- 45-54   
2.5- 55-64  2.6- 65-74  2.7- 75-84  2.8- 85- +

3- **County you live in:** 3.1-Adalar  3.2-Beşiktaş  3.3- Kadıköy   
3.4- Üsküdar  3.5-Maltepe  3.6- Diğer:.....

4- **Which vehicle do you use for arriving to the area?**

4.1-On foot  4.2-Bus / Minibus  4.3-Private Car  4.4-Bicycle   
4.5- Taxi  4.6-Metro (Kadıköy/Kartal)  4.7- Sea access

5- **Are you the landlord?** 5.1- Yes  5.2-No

6- **Which sector does your shop operate in?**

7- **How many years do you operate a business in this shop?**

7.1- 1-2 years  7.2- 3-5 years  7.3- 6-10 years  7.4- 11-15 years   
7.5-16-20 years  7.6- 21- 29 years  7.7- 30 - +

8- **Which challenges do you face as a shopkeeper?**

8.1-Shop rents  8.2-Competition  8.3-Taxes  8.4-Other  Explain:.....

9- **Are you happy with “Yellow Line” regulation designated for placing tables to the streets?**

9.1- Yes.  Explain:..... 9.2- No.  Explain:.....



**10- After the pedestrianisation of Kadıköy Historic Centre:**  
**(Please enumerate considering the evaluation below.)**

1-Disagree, 2-Slightly Agree, 3-Partially Agree, 4-Agree, 5-Completely Agree

POSITIVE Developments in the Area after Pedestrianisation	1	2	3	4	5
1. Area's security increased					
2. Property values increased					
3. Cultural activities in the area increased					
4. Domestic and foreign tourist number increased					
5. Area improved visually and aesthetically					
6. Food&Beverage places in the area increased					
7. Customer number increased					
8. Sales increased					
9. New chain stores came to the area					
10. Parking lots increased					
11. Domestic tourist number increased					
12. Foreign tourist number increased					

**11- After the pedestrianisation of Kadıköy Historic Centre:**  
**(Please enumerate considering the evaluation below.)**

1-Disagree, 2-Slightly Agree, 3-Partially Agree, 4-Agree, 5-Completely Agree

NEGATIVE Developments in the Area after Pedestrianisation	1	2	3	4	5
1. Traffic problems increased in the streets around the area					
2. Transportation/accessability to the pedestrianised area became difficult					
3. Parking problems in and around the area increased					
4. Shop rents increased.					
5. Equipment transportation became difficult.					
6. A lot of old/small shops and business closed.					

**12- Do you think that visitor number for the area increased after pedestrianisation?**

12.1-Yes  12.2- No

**13- If the visitor number for the area decreased, what is the reason?**

13.1- Parking lot shortage  13.2- Transportation/accessability issues  13.3-Opening of Nautilus

13.4-Other, explain :  .....

**14- Mark the urban design elements(used after pedestrianisation) in the are you liked.**

- |                             |                          |                               |                          |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 14.1-Lighting equipment     | <input type="checkbox"/> | 14.6-Sitting areas, benches   | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 14.2 -Flowers, plants       | <input type="checkbox"/> | 14.7-Afforestation            | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 14.3-Water fountains, pools | <input type="checkbox"/> | 14.8-Statues                  | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 14.4-Floorings              | <input type="checkbox"/> | 14.9-Signboard and billboards | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 14.5-Protection from rain   | <input type="checkbox"/> | 14.10-Restroom,WC             | <input type="checkbox"/> |

**15- Which facilities, listed below, exist in the area for handicapped people ?**

- 15.1- Sidewalk heights
- 15.2- Convenience of ramps and stairs in the area for elderly/handicapped people
- 15.3-Special parking lots
- 15.4-Special restrooms/WC
- 15.5- Audible warning for visually challenged people for crossing over

**16- What problems did domestic and foreign tourists bring to the area according to you?**

**17- Which business was operating in your shop before you and which sector does it operate in ?**

(Sectors are listed in the last page)

**18- Did Kadıköy Municipality support old business in the area after increase in shop rents caused by pedestrianisation? Would you take advantage of that if they offer a support?**

**19- Do you think that some business gain reputation here? Why? Please explain.**

**20- What problems do you think the area has?**

21- What is required for solving these problems?

22- Which changes do you observe in the area in last decade?

---

**NAME SURNAME:**

## APPENDICE -3

**Table 26:** The comparison between Vehicle-oriented Balanced Transportation System and Human-oriented Balanced Transportation System [36]

<b>Factors</b>	<b>Vehicle-oriented Transport Planning Approach</b>	<b>Human-oriented Integrated Transport Planning Approach</b>
Vehicle Ownership	Too many vehicles per person	Moderate number of vehicles per person
Vehicle Use	Too much vehicle use	Moderate level of vehicle use
Land Use and Accessibility	Accessibility as allowed by the roads	Accessibility options through shortcut footpaths (steps, passageways, etc.)
Land Use – Density	Low, far from the city centre	Moderate, close to the city centre
Security Services	The need for highly educated personnel	Need for less personnel
Maintenance and Repair	High-cost and long-term	Low-cost and short-term
Management and Organisation	The need for compliance between the central and local governments due to increased investments	Democratic organisation due to being economic and balanced – civic initiatives
Land Use – Variety	Single-use development fabric	Multiple-use development fabric
Size of the Land Allocated to Transport	The need for large areas, roads and parking lots	The need for mid-sized areas, roads and car parks
Road Design	Vehicle-priority road designs	Pedestrian- and balanced transport-priority road designs
Road Scales	Large and multi-lane roads between the buildings	Small and human-scale roads and buildings
Traffic Speed	Unrestricted traffic speed	Controlled and low traffic speed
Pedestrian Environment	Mostly indoor shopping centres	Mostly car-free streets, public spaces, parks, meeting points, squares, transfer points and BREAKpoints
Route Information Panels	Large-scale route panels, speed and information signs	Human-scale route panels

Environmental Perception	Very low environmental perception due to speed and concentration requirement	Very high environmental perception due to walking and the option for not driving
Energy Consumption	Unlimited energy consumption	Balanced energy consumption
Car Park Requirement	Too many and free car parks and occupied pavements	Paid car parks whose number varies depending on the policies
Infrastructure Investments/Implementation Process	Need for very high investments, and long-term implementation	Economic and short-term small investments
Road Traffic Safety	High crash rates	Low crash rates
Sensitivity to the Natural and Historic Fabric	Very low level of sensitivity Harmed historic and natural fabric	Very high level of sensitivity Rehabilitation of historic and natural fabric
Sensitivity to the Human Rights in Traffic	Highly vehicle-priority	Equal and balanced transportation rights
Time Spent in Traffic	Time spent immobile in the vehicle	Walking, drinking tea on the boat, reading book on the bus, chatting with people
Economically	Very high	The most economic
Social Meetings	Low chance of meeting, planned travels	High chance of meeting, accidental meetings
Quality of Life	Increase in problems	Balanced system with a better quality of life
Land Use Compliance	Need for costly engineering works	Surface-level solutions
Air/Noise Pollution	Very high level of carbon dioxide/high noise	Low level of carbon dioxide/low noise
Health	High stress, immobility-induced medical conditions	A stress-free, healthy life