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Pedestrian Territory Using Comparative
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(Turkey)*

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The Identity and Cultural Dimensions of the Iconic Pedestrian Territory Using Comparative Territorialism

Comparison Between Broadway at Times Square, NYC (USA), Las
Ramblas De Barcelona (Spain) and İstiklal Caddesi, Istanbul (Turkey)

Fahad Alhammadi

Thesis Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Geography

Durham University

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Abstract

Comparison Between Broadway at Times Square, NYC (USA), Las Ramblas De Barcelona (Spain) and İstiklal Caddesi, Istanbul (Turkey)

Fahad Alhammadi

Although territory has mainly been used in a political context, this thesis revisits the term to show how it can be multifaceted in a broader geographical context, and used to understand cultural and urban issues. The key argument of the thesis is the conceptualisation of the pedestrian street as a pedestrian territory and the application of this concept to iconic pedestrian streets that are tourism and entertainment destinations with unique historic and locational value, revealing the drivers and powers used to transform such territories in the last few decades as traveling practices of globalisation, neoliberalism and tourism. Theoretically, relationality is used to investigate sociocultural patterns between the pedestrian territories of Las Ramblas, Times Square and İstiklal Avenue and methodologically, comparative territorialism is used to distinguish between human and place cultures and identities.

Both theoretical and empirical findings were used to chronologically track the transformation of these streets to a territories using three key approaches; subjectively use people' sensations, affects, perceptions, expressions and conceptions to define the relationship between the human and non-human through territoriality; thematically draw distinctions between human culture and place culture in creating territorial culture; and analytically reveal the reasons behind this territorial identity, this experiential uniqueness. Three themes emerged; an intensive commercialisation and uneven creation of and simultaneous loss of public space, an opening up of opportunities for tolerance and freedom of expression alongside purposeful law-breaking, and the possibilities and tensions arising from the global/local identity crisis. The research reveals how the money and resources that are poured into pedestrian territories to attract symbolic attention contributes to their iconic status, but risks provoking conflicts on different levels, such as political protests, social tensions, cultural clashes and even major incidents.

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List of Abbreviations and Definitions

Abbreviations

- USA: United States of America
- NYC: New York City, USA
- BCN: Barcelona, Spain
- IST: Istanbul, Turkey
- PSB: Passer-by
- RTL: Retail seller
- PRF: Performer
- KSK: Kiosk seller
- HMS: Homeless

Definitions

- Local: A citizen who's born and raised in the city of research
- Resident: A resident of the city who comes originally from another city/country
- Tourist: A visitor from a foreign country
- Domestic tourist: A visitor from another state/city of the same country
- New Yorker: A local (born and raised) of NYC
- Barcelonan: A local (born and raised) of Barcelona
- Istanbulite: A local (born and raised) of Istanbul

Footnotes

Example for footnote of interviews quotations

NYC	PSB	7	23	Male	Tourist	USA	Topless
Case City	Category of interviewee	Participant serial #	Age (Estimated)	Gender Sexual Identity	Residency status	Country of origin	Description Remarks

Statement of Copyright

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Dedication

For my illiterate mother, Mariam

Who didn't receive education but believed in its importance, and encouraged me to be someone different. Thank you mom for your patience, I love you!

&

For my late grandmother, Fatima

Who passed away while I was doing my fieldwork in Barcelona, the sweetest woman ever, my first inspirer to generosity, creativity and storytelling.

Introduction

This dissertation studies a very vibrant, playful, unpredictable and exciting part of what's called the global city. It zooms in to show that it might be the city, which is global, but a specific part of it that resemble its counterparts around the world without sharing similarities and commonalities between the cities or nations themselves. These pedestrian hubs of entertainment, tourism, commercialism and consumerism gained their fame worldwide and became unique, iconic, special or different from other rest of the city. I explain that this distinction isn't coincidental; but it is a process and I take this to another level of discussion to argue that these aren't just streets, spaces or districts but a different form of urban core, a territory.

Their extravaganza, historic value, popularity, and even image in the media give them a character, draw a boundary around their border, and isolate them from the city and its system to form what I call pedestrian territories. This approach to these spaces opens a new debate in urban and cultural geography and shows the significant value of 'the territory' in the context of the city and urban studies. To reach an academic level of discussion a comparison is essential to show how these territories form in different parts of the world, where the culture, city's system and state shape urban spaces. This research develops a concept, which broadens understanding of the urban from territorial perspective, as the city can have urban and cultural territories and these territories travel around world.

I put three global destinations from very different, distinctive geographical cultures into a conversation with each other to show how they share similarities, and how comparable they are when compared, not just from a city or nation's scale, but also from a smaller scale territory. I show how these pedestrian streets went through characteristic transformation, which made them resemble their counterparts more than the city or the nation where they are situated.

Although territory has been studied in human geography widely, it is been quite often used in political discourses. However, I try to retrieve this concept and to use in in urban and cultural geographical context. This will show another dimension of the territory as an important space within city's boundary that can enhance understanding of the urban and its problems from a different perspective than conventional theories.

This dissertation contributes to the debate on territory by using it for less conflictual, political space, which are pedestrian streets that have been commercialized and become destinations for tourism and entertainment. These spaces as social and cultural significance can isolate themselves from the city to form fun territories, which is a different approach to the term territory if compared to the wider literature that falls often in political science and political geography. Therefore, a territory can be a description for something more than a definition for a political territory, which is charged with ethnic, tribal or public resistance against the nation.

Therefore, this thesis develops the concept 'pedestrian territory' using 'comparative territorialism', rather than a comparative urbanism as it puts these territories in a comparison to look specifically at their inner workings regardless of the whole city or the nation. Comparing smaller enclosed places such as territories with their counterparts in different cultural geographies can expand understanding of a wide range of urban issues. The comparison highlights mobilities of practices and policies, systems such as globalization and neoliberalism from both social and cultural aspects, across cities. This gives us an insight into how these global trends are affecting local issues or giving more freedoms to the person that saves the city from the unwanted.

Studying these spaces as territories adds a significant value to geography and urban research as it makes a different use of territory as a cultural and urban space not just political. This helps us look at urban issues from a small-scale angle not from a city or nation scale. Therefore, the city can be divided to different spaces; neighbourhoods, zones, districts, spaces, streets and territories. Moreover, this thesis helps compare specific spaces of the city, in this case territories, with their counterparts without comparing the cities, as the territories can share similar intergovernmental laws, exceptional rules than the city, different polices and even socio-cultural identity which offers something different. So, when these territories are put into a conversation with each other we can learn how a smaller system can form within the city, which has exceptions and exemptions from what applies on the city. This rationale can improve and create different urban policies that can be used only in these territories when they move around using urban mobilities through global systems such as globalization, neoliberalism and so on.

This dissertation tries to answer these main questions:

1. How can we study the pedestrian street as a territory within the city?
2. How can we compare smaller territories in the city with their counterparts in different geographies using comparison?
3. What is the identity and culture of the pedestrian territory?

This dissertation uses 3 case studies to examine this theoretical and conceptual work; Broadway at Times Square (NYC, USA), Las Ramblas (Barcelona, Spain) and İstiklal Caddesi/Avenue (Istanbul, Turkey). The rationale behind the selection relies strongly on cultural and geographic distinctions, which try to see how these different local cultures are influenced by globalization and urban mobilities. They have been researched using multi-sited ethnography as the primary method.



Figure 0-1 Broadway @ Times Square, NYC, by author, March 2015



Figure 0-2 Las Ramblas, Barcelona, by author, June 2015



Figure 0-3 İstiklal Avenue, Istanbul, by author, September 2015

This dissertation is divided into 8 chapters, which cover an array of theories, methods, cases and findings. Chapter 1 bases the theory of pedestrian territory by studying the pedestrian street and its revolution, the territory and its definitions and then combining both and defining the concept pedestrian territory.

Chapter 2 uses comparative research and comparative urbanism approaches, theories and methods to generate a new comparative concept called comparative territorialism which is the concept to be used when comparing territories or enclosed spaces within a city with its counterpart. The second section of chapter 2 is dedicated to taking this concept into practice and showing the challenges and findings of conducting a comparative research using this concept; discussing the methods, tools and general reflections on the methodology and ethnography.

Chapter 3 is a contextual and historical chapter, which focused on the formation of the territory in these 3 cases, which I call the process of penetration, which is highlighted by the characteristic revitalisation. This chapter shows how the politico-economic powers were used to sanitize, gentrify, commercialize and touristify the streets solving socio-economic problems, which created socio-cultural productions. It is the upgrading of the pedestrian street to a territory.

Chapter 4 shows the process of territorialisation, which resembles the occupation process of a new land. This chapter explains the steps, phases and powers used to occupy the street and turn it to a separate and independent territory. I focus on the concept of replacement as displacement of the unwanted and pedestrianisation, which is a replacement process, pedestrians replacing cars. However, there are other occupants of the space, which maximized the commercial spaces vertically and horizontally, and materialized the aesthetics of the territory to create a new outfit that hides the original face of the street.

Chapter 5 illustrates the findings of the fieldwork from two perspectives. First, pedestrians as demographics illustrating the small quantitative part I use in this thesis, that shows the categories or participants and other information related to their presence in the territory. Second, I show how these pedestrians or participants experienced and sensed the territory. I talk about their reason of visiting the territory and importance of its location and then how they sense it using multi-sensuous analysis.

Chapter 6 delves more into the human experience of these pedestrians within the territory to show their perceptions, expressions and conceptions. The perceptions are of the territory and the perceptions of the self using literature on affects and atmosphere. The expressions focus on the performers who lead the entertainment aspect of the territory, which can be at some points controversial. The conceptions are those related to the public opinion and

reactions towards these expressions, which can be against some cultural and social norms and offensive to some cultures. The chapter shows many interesting opinions of various groups within the territory's boundaries. It shows another level through which people experiences and deep understandings of the everyday life in these territories.

Chapter 7 uses the previous findings to draw the dimensions of this territorial culture, which is divided, by two main sections; place culture and human culture. As I argue that there's an overlap between two different cultures in these territories, which are ruled by a thematic power and rely on entertainment to hide internal conflicts. The place culture consists of visual, atmosphere and consumption cultures. While the culture of humans is another side of the coin of diversity, it is somehow combining opposites together in the same place, insiders and outsiders, heterogeneity and homogeneity which all seem to be a 'wow' experience on the surface, but cause many challenges and clashes internally.

Chapter 8 takes culture to another level to identify the identity of the territory, as they are quite often called global or cosmopolitan spaces, but I argue in this chapter that it has a different identity using figural visuals and people opinions. This chapter shows how people identified the territory in the global context, compared to the surroundings and the those unique and iconic representations of the territory, which can be related to the local culture or global culture or some times a characteristic of the territory itself.

Chapter 1: The Pedestrian Territory

1.1 Introduction

Pedestrianised streets vary in nature from narrow local ones to touristic and global ones. In this chapter I argue that there is a new form of pedestrian street, which is of a different and more 'territorial' nature than an ordinary street. This chapter will work through what the pedestrian street is and what a territory is and how the pedestrian street can be a territory. To start the discussion we need to understand that not every pedestrian street is a territory, and that there are elements and powers that turn the street into a territory, not in the political sense, but as a new space that is created by socio-economic changes derived from globalization, and the consequent mobility of urban policy and practices. To begin, we can say that the pedestrian territory is a pedestrian street that has been upgraded from a route between places to a global destination and a touristic venue in itself, comprised of a themed social and cultural territory that is distinct from the rest of the city. I'm modelling a specific type of pedestrian street which has been globalized, commercialized, touristified and so on, which needs a large scale pedestrian street or area to qualify as a territory, and does not include cobblestone pedestrian streets in smaller towns.

This new phenomenon occurs as a result of politico-economic interventions through gentrification to create a new entertainment and touristic venue. In my case it is the pedestrian territory that uses the assets of a zone in the city, which has a rich and historic value. This transition revives the past, opens the space to tourism and foreign investors and regenerates the space to become a destination, hub and melting pot in the city, in which local and global cultures and markets intersect. This 'pedestrian territory' situates itself in the gentrified entertainment district, creating a cultural and urban phenomenon that becomes a hub for residents and a destination for visitors.

To explain this emergent form, I work through three themes. First, the meaning of the pedestrian street, second the definition of territory from different perspectives and third the merging of both the pedestrian street and the territory to develop the concept of pedestrian territory. There is much written on territory in geography, but the literature predominantly sees territory as a political concept and spatial form, rather than as a social, cultural or even entertainment space. Studying the pedestrian street using territory as a

concept from urban and cultural geography sheds light on numerous commonalities that bind these two terms together and opens a discussion on the city and its spaces; suggesting studying a city as an accumulation of spaces, neighbourhoods, territories, streets and so on.

Pedestrianisation of streets changes the nature of the place and initiates new culture and activities; this attempt can be seen as the start of the territorial form. This starts to separate this space from the surroundings over time to form a new territory, which distinguishes itself from city's system, and in these celebrated global streets, possibly even the nation state. This creates a territory of assemblages that consists of different layers that can be; political, as a venue for freedom and exceptional regulations; economic, as an open market and consumption of human/non-human objects; social, as liberal and secular place; cultural as representation of local culture in a global form, creating a distinctive identity. This transformation can be understood using a comparative method described in the next chapter, as these urban practices travel around through globalization processes.

1.2 The Pedestrian Street

While both the pedestrian street and territories became more popular in their modern forms due to political and economic changes, it was in the aftermath of WW2 that modern pedestrian streets first occurred in Europe, precisely in Germany, as a way of improving transport, environment and the safety of pedestrians in cities. Whilst in retail districts, pedestrianisation can refer to the old oriental bazaars such as 'Mercator Trajani' in Rome (Uhlig, 1979), this was revisited and recovered in modern planning to help upgrade of walking as "an activity of pleasure and recreation" (Kärrholm, 2012, p. 40; Urry, 2012, pp. 50–53) which can be practiced by all social classes and best practiced in specified closed zones for pedestrians without vehicles.

Germany was the leading player in pedestrianisation and was an influential role model for American cities, and leading adopters in other parts of Europe, like those in Norwich and Reading in Britain, which began to pedestrianize their 'high streets', to emulate German traffic-free streets (Kärrholm, 2012). Planners like Hass-Klau (Hass-Klau, 1990) praised pedestrianisation as a healer of city problems. This led to the popularity of pedestrian streets across Europe; so the 1000 pedestrian streets city centres of German cities and towns (Hass-Klau, 1990) inspired more than 2000 in Great Britain, according to Roberts

(1990). "Although the form of pedestrianisation schemes has differed because of different historical, cultural and political environments, most have been established to reduce automobile congestion in city centres, to stabilize downtown commercial activity, to make city centre more pedestrian-friendly, and to facilitate the preservation of historical buildings and districts" (Yuen and Chor, 1998, p. 226). It is therefore an obvious reason that pedestrianisation was connected to closed or distinguished zones, which have a specific theme like downtowns or old-towns, that are iconic, distinctive and have a territorial system and a feeling of distinction that could be reinforced with a 'pedestrian only' character.

Pedestrian streets take different forms and shapes or even different terms around the world. In Europe there are usually called pedestrian streets, precincts or zones depending on the limitation of vehicular access and number of streets pedestrianized. In the US, they are classified as pedestrian areas, pedestrian malls, and pedestrian-oriented areas. The difference is that pedestrian areas have time restrictions over vehicular access, pedestrian-oriented areas, limit cars using one-way streets, etc. while 'pedestrian malls' are pedestrian areas, but 'mall' in the US refers to excessively commercial or shopping pedestrian streets, which enhance mixed-uses (Pojani, 2005).

Pedestrianisation has never been a separate project; it has always been part of a bigger city plan, like gentrification, downtown revitalization or retail developments, which "house a continuous promenade of primarily small, locally owned street-oriented shops (Robertson, 1993, p. 365). There are different pedestrianisation schemes in Europe and the United States has been conducted by other researchers (Brambilla and Longo, 1977; Contini, 1969; Hass-Klau, 1990; Roberts, 1990; Rubenstein, 1978; Wolfe, 1962) or even studies on Asian pedestrian streets which are related primarily to transport considerations, unlike those in the United States and Europe where pedestrian streets are used as an "urban renewal strategy to combat city centre deterioration caused by suburbanization and war" (Yuen and Chor, 1998, p. 226).

One of the biggest challenges pedestrianisation faced is safety, as the lack of it discourage people desire to walk especially families with children who would choose safe places to hangout (Pojani, 2005; Untermann, 1987). This dedication of an urban space to pedestrians and banning of cars using urban policies and special regulations and restrictions is the first

element of its territorial nature, that distinguishes it from the surroundings areas, demarcates it with specific uses and users and sometimes a different temporal regime.

Consequently, walking is a result and another element, which increases in safe and clean environments and creates an atmosphere that encourages social interaction, verbal communication, and a better experience of a place and its human and non-human aspects in a car-free zone, pleasing both adults and children (Eubank-Ahrens, 1987; Ohlenschlager, 1990). So we can support the notion of walking as a cultural activity where activities occur in different settings as functions of the culture or its rules (Rapoport, 1987).

Therefore these pedestrian spaces create a new culture and identity, which differs from the surroundings and therefore, it, draws a territorial aspect of the street. They do as the arcades of the nineteenth century did, cultivating new subjects, see and be seen, public figures and walking and seeing practices. Those territories aligned materials, bodies and subjects creating the tropic figures that Susan Buck-Morss (1986) characterized as the grisette and prostitute, the Flâneur and the Sandwichman along with new pleasures of walking and seeing. So, the modern closing of the street to traffic creates pedestrian territory that opens the doors for more, or different, people and an environment which encourages social practices, cultural activities and vents which don't exist in normal sidewalks or streets. This new themed of space can over time create a totally different atmosphere, which becomes slowly separated from the rest of the surroundings and the city with the help of tourism, open market, real-estate and transport enhancement.

1.3 The Territory

Territory is a generic term, which has been used in different contexts, starting with its biological context to political ones. While 'the territory' was usually referred to as the outer limit of the city (Elden, 2013), the territory can be a part of the city now, as cities have expanded since Roman times, spreading over the agricultural land surrounding them (Elden, 2013). We can see in this section what a territory means, forms and how can we use it with the pedestrians streets.

There's a long discussion on territory in the literature, whether from a biological, political or geographical aspect. The focus in this thesis is on the geographical discourse and its relation to the pedestrian street to show the intersections of the two terms. Elden (2013) wrote a

major work on the concept and history of territory over different centuries. In modern days the territory can be seen from a Foucauldian perspective as a 'geographical notion', which is controlled by 'juridico-political' power (Foucault, 2007). I argue that the notion of power controlling a land can apply to other geographic places outside political discourse, when a character or power of market, culture or people control the land or even seductive power. Elden sees the territory is more than land and terrain; it is the unity of power as terrain with land. While Saskia Sassen (2006) looks at territory from a global economic perspective as "assemblages, which examines what she calls medieval, modern and global state assemblages through an interrogation of the interrelation of three key terms - 'territory', 'authority' and 'rights', conjoined as 'TAR' (Elden, 2010, p. 808).

If we look at the territory from a biological and political perspectives we can see that its power can vary in relation to land, it is "relationship between culture and environment: desert peoples, mountain peoples, forest people" (Painter, 2010, p. 1091). Extending this logic we can diversify the terminology to develop the concept of entertainment territory, shopping or commercial territory, or even a pedestrian territory. When Sassen (2006) describes it as TAR (territory, authority and rights) we can see pedestrians claiming rights and authority over the territory or space. This creates what Painter (2010) describes in biological context of territory as aggressive and defensive behaviours, we can apply this on the pedestrians as between protesters and police, illegal sellers and municipal agents, LGBTQ people and religious or conservatives, and other social and cultural behaviours that occur exclusively in this territory. It doesn't mean that the surroundings or other cultures or factors don't feed into it; the pedestrian territory is indeed an accumulation of various cultures due to the diversity of the territory.

Despite the common use of a territory in political geography as a political term charged with conflicts between the space and the state, there are other aspects of a territory, which can be expanded, diversified and understood from a cultural and urban geography. Therefore, pedestrian territories, unlike political territories, have no intrinsic political conflict with the state; it is actually in favour of the state, since it is a space that stretches from the spatial extent of the state and its governmental jurisdiction, as these territories are areas controlled by a certain power tightly bound to the notion of authority (Foucault, 1980a). However, this authority doesn't conflict with state sovereignty over the space, but people's

hegemony and rights over the territory to acquire more social and cultural authority rather than political sovereignty.

Therefore, the “boundaries of the pedestrian space demarcate the limits of territorial authority” (Delaney, 2005a, p. 36), which implies pedestrians’ activities, performers, stores, activities and events besides the theme and objects of the physical environment. The territorial authority can be both, convergent within the same territory, like pedestrianisation, rules and activities, and penetrative, directly and indirectly, to the surrounding areas in different forms and shapes such as the type of uses, retails, or even to accommodate and shelter those people who belong to the territories.

1.4 The Pedestrian Territory

The pedestrian street becomes a territory when certain requirements are met, but to understand the dimensions of this intersection, I situate the pedestrian street in terms of different disciplinary discourses to show how a territory is defined outside political geographic terms to help understand the pedestrian territory as an urban and cultural space. As mentioned previously, this is a particular sort of a pedestrian street, which becomes a territory that creates a ludic, playful, or even liminal public realm (Stevens, 2007).

The pedestrian territory can be understood from an anthropological perspective, through Barth’s work as the territories are “bounded spaces defined by and defining aspects of identity and difference that condition differential access and involve defence or the dynamics of power and authority” (1969, p. 15). Therefore, labelling and categorizing pedestrian territories using ordinary urban terms such as shopping streets, public spaces, wide sidewalks, or restricted zones, etc., limits the power and authority to the functional and physical perspective, ignoring the power of the people and the pedestrians to change the meaning and nature of a space so designated. This significant difference changes the culture and identity of the pedestrian street, even its nature from a street to a territory, as territories are networks of heterogeneous human and non-human actors (Latour, 2005) that can’t be separated.

This authority of rules offer an extensive freedom which is not necessary legalized, but been passively accepted within this territory, where the pedestrians have hegemonic power over

territory, and where many behaviours and attitudes break social and cultural taboos in different cities, such as visible LGBTQ presence and practices, nudity and different physical appearances, illegal products, black market goods, drugs and alcohol, and other public behaviours that can exclusively be practiced within the territory and are considered illegal, or otherwise against social norms or the local culture. These territorial phenomena are formed by the practices of the people within the territory, who show their territorially enacted and enabled solidarity, identity, resistance, powers and authority, against the state and its laws. They fight against some cultural and social pressures and norms, and try to earn money by taking advantage of the open-market and commodity cultures which loosened the laws and regulations in the territory, keeping in mind that fact that the police and the state can't actually control this dense, touristic, complex and expansive territory.

On the other hand, the pedestrian territory can be defined using sociological perspectives on territories, as "marking the distinctiveness of modernity: for example, individuation and the relationship between the individual and society, urbanization, stratification, and deviance" (Anthony, 1985, p. 13; Delaney, 2005b, p. 46). As territories simplify and clarify something else which could be political authority, social or cultural identity, or even individual autonomy, it can be quite complex and ambiguous aspect of the social life (Delaney, 2005b; Kärrholm, 2012). So, the territory creates a relationship between contradictory pressures in the city in one place by soothing its tensions in an entertainment, social and fun environment.

Therefore this attempt to escape from the city and its norms or pressures makes the existence of the territory essential and viable, as territories are created by cultural forces, or as Delaney elaborates, "cultures create or 'produce' territories" (2005b, p. 11). Therefore "territories are human social creations" (Foucault, 1980b, p. 68). Which is the reason I call it a people's territory or a pedestrian territory, referring to Sack "the attempt by an individual or group to affect, influence, or control people, phenomena, and relationships by delimiting and asserting control over a geographic area" (1986, p. 19). This creates, as Crouch describes, territories which are "limited places where people find some degree of shared cultural identity" (1994, p. 2). I'll show this in the later chapters on territorial culture and identity.

Therefore “the territory is always a material phenomenon but it is the effect of socio-material relations and not an object in itself” (Brighenti, 2010, p. 53). As such these socio-cultural territories aren’t created or planned, but made through actions on and with the use of freedom by the people. Therefore, it shapes and is shaped by collective social and self-consciousness (Delaney, 2005b, p. 12) and by both material and human actors.

The pedestrian territory in psychology, has been described as the connections between territory as ‘inner space’ (of a human) and the ‘territorialisation’ of the external world (Lyman and Scott, 1967), as the pedestrian street itself, or “an evolutionary framework” that regards human territoriality as continuous with non-human territoriality (Delaney, 2005b; Taylor, 1988) which is the material world of the street. For instance Pastalan (1970) thinks it “involves psychological identification with the place, symbolized by attitudes or possessiveness and arrangements of objects in the area” (in Edney, 1976, p. 193). Soja considers it as a “behavioural phenomenon associated with the organization of space into spheres of influences” (1971, p. 19).

There is indeed a difference between human territoriality and the pedestrian territory. The literature around this has been going for decades. It has been seen that territoriality is a result of territory and a territory can’t form from territoriality. Stuart Elden explains that “territoriality in that more recent sense itself needs to be distinguished, as there are at least two conflicting traditions in the use of the term, the first biological and the second social” (2010, p. 801). If we look at Edward Soja’s work (1971, p. 19), he sees ‘territoriality, as a behavioural phenomenon associated with the organization of space into spheres of influence or clearly demarcated territories which are made distinctive and considered at least partially exclusive by their occupants or definers’. While Sack in Human territoriality claims that territoriality is “a basis of power (and) territoriality is a social construct ‘not quite a product’” (1986, p. 1).

I argue that although Elden sees that “territory must be approached as a topic in itself; rather than through territoriality. Indeed, it may well be the case that the notion of ‘territoriality’ with regard to humans can only be appropriately understood through a notion of territory” (Elden, 2010, p. 811), therefore territoriality is the relationship between the territory and the humans, which is a result of the territory and an aspect of it, but not what makes the territory. This will be discussed extensively in the human chapters later on.

From a geographical perspective, literature around pedestrian streets usually looks at them as consumption spaces, streets, shopping streets, etc., but not as territories. In the history of the discipline, “territory was rejected in favour of space because of the latter’s more “mathematical” connotations and the assumption that the use of the term territory implied a commitment to exceptionalism and the impossibility of comparison” (Painter, 2010, p. 1099). While I argue that using territory can rationally ease the comparison with its counterparts around the world in a relational discourse when related to modern spaces that are shaped heavily by globalization and neoliberalism. Social powers and dimensions gather together in a territory as “material elements such as land, functional elements like the control of space, and symbolic dimensions like social identity, the term is used more vaguely to refer at various spatial scales to portions of space that geographers normally label as region, place or locality” (Painter, 2010, p. 1097).

Therefore, the iconic pedestrian streets that are the focus of this thesis can be sensibly described as territories. From an epistemological perspective, the territory is distinguished from space, as the former refers to socialized space, while the later refers to geographical space, which is more of an intellectual construction and is sometimes used to refer to the identity component of any space and put “emphasis on social and individual identity” (Painter, 2010, p. 1099). This is fundamental as these pedestrian territories are unique in their identity, theme, people, and atmosphere that are both human/social and non-human/physical. We’ll see more examples of this in the culture and identity chapters.

Brighenti emphasizes the need to “identify the main characteristics of territory from a relational, ‘processual’ and ‘evental’ perspective, ... not as a physical space” (2010, p. 53). This ties well with Saskia Sassen (2006) who explains territories as a network and an outcome of a complex, heterogeneous composition, or as an assemblage that includes legal, political and economic dimensions. I add here social, cultural and human dimensions, not ignoring that fact that “globalization is increasingly undermining state territoriality, while geographers are busy reaffirming the importance of the ‘territorial factor’ of political modernity” (Brighenti, 2010, p. 54).

Whether it is called ‘territorial factors’ or ‘universal patterns’ (Whyte, 1980), global pedestrian streets demonstrate strong similarities in terms of volumes, mixture of activities, behaviours, etc., which form a universal pedestrian territory. For instance, Whyte (1980)

studies comparing NYC with other studies performed in Copenhagen, Tokyo, Milan, and Australia, showed how similar patterns occurred in all of these places.

Relationality can be very useful for relating causes and impacts, similarities or parallel phenomena. For instance, the rise of pedestrian streets was strongly related to the rise of shopping malls or department stores in the US, which are another type of territory. As territories are separate spaces from the surroundings, we can see that the pedestrian territory uses an existing place which has a historic value or meanings, while the shopping mall lacks these meaning that might disagree with Augé's (2008) placelessness theory. Augé all too quickly counterposed a form of 'anthropological place' as inhabited in a strong sense with people to whom it has a richly developed and plural set of meanings with a thinly used form of space guided by instrumental relations, often mediated via instructional texts ('no loitering', 'no picnics') and the limited semiotics of branded identities. One of the apogees is the shopping mall, as an enclosed box, with no immediate reference to its surroundings. It is against this background that authors such as John McMorrough (2001) and the other authors of the Harvard Design School for Shopping offer an interesting perspective on how modern shopping malls shape consumption desires into a 'potent and succinct form' which goes back in history to the territories of shopping (Chung and Koolhaas, 2001). In this light the pedestrianized street is not so much a return to the organic life of the street as the movement of the territory of shopping back from the mall into the street. This gives the pedestrian territory more credits in terms of placeness; traces of the history, architecture or the past, if compared to placeless spaces such as shopping malls, airports or theme parks which rely on creating an imaginative world.

So, to understand the pedestrian street we should understand the mall, and other urban phenomena. Thus we can read the pedestrian street as an open-to-air mall, because these pedestrianized streets are post-mall shopping destinations which have gone through heavy gentrification, commercialization, and theming. These are "all forces implied by the logic of shopping – becoming increasingly accepted as strategies to revive the city, the artificial effectively becomes the real" (McMorrough, 2001, pp. 195–202). This explains the reality of pedestrian territories, which also have shopping malls and department stores within their boundaries to merge both experiences and to expand the material and consumption dimensions of the territory.

Therefore, this segues to understand the elements that upgrade a pedestrian street to a territory, the relations and patterns that show commonalities between these pedestrian territories and the role of globalization and the local culture in forming the territory. But to understand these elements from a relational and territorial perspective, it is crucial to identify a strategy on which to base these elements, because territories share similarities and differences and it is important to compare these between territories to understand the global and local aspects of the territory and if it qualifies as a phenomena. Therefore, using a comparative approach can help identify these elements or powers that upgrade the street to a territory, which is the next chapter of this thesis.

The pedestrian territory offers an intensive experience, which overwhelms some and entertains others. The influence of material space is based on the consumption of physical environment and human factors like performers and crowd. It takes the people through a journey of lights and motions, music and noise, ethnicities and languages, foods and smells, take a person to another sensual and sensuous spatial level, which takes time to adapt to, and invade the personal space and penetrate into the inner space of the people within the territory. The pedestrian territory differs from the ordinary pedestrian streets in terms of complexity and multi-layered human territoriality, because it is “characterized by a large number of territorial productions” (Law and Mol, 2001, p. 7). Each production branches to other new territorial productions and complexity increases. It could be “characterized by non-hierarchal relationships among different territorial productions” (Kärrholm, 2012, p. 19) and therefore interrelated to each others, such as the territorial productions expanding horizontally amongst people and actors within the territory which is declassified and public to those who can afford it.

Therefore, the pedestrian territory can be defined preliminarily by using some definitions by (Cowen and Gilbert, 2008, p. 16; Painter, 2010, p. 1097) as:

A bounded pedestrian oriented zone ‘that has had something done to it—it has been acted upon’ by characteristic revitalisation, using politico-economic power to solve socioeconomic problems and create a new themed socio-cultural space that uses entertainment, tourism and neoliberalism as sources for its character, offering more freedoms through liberal and secular agendas to tolerate what other parts of the city can’t.

Therefore, the pedestrian territory, which is 'bounded', directly by pedestrians and their right of way against vehicles, and indirectly by other powers and restrictions the city is imposing on public, so it should be "understood through its relations to those activities we define as territorial: the exercise of territoriality, as territories are spaces which people defend by excluding some activities and by including those which will enhance more precisely what it is in the territory that they want to defend (Cox, 2002, pp. 2–3; Painter, 2010, p. 1097). "Territories, then, are significant cultural artefacts of a rather special kind" (Delaney, 2005b, p. 10) and that what makes them popular, unique in the city, and sometimes an icon of the city or nation.

As the space can't exist without being occupied by social activity (Lefebvre, 1991) we have to understand the pedestrian territory as a human space, a dense space, so people don't really live in a geometric space as in Tuan's 'fields of care' (Tuan, 1977) which results from an emotional attachment between the people and the place. So, the pedestrian territory can use what Thrift (2003a) called a humanistic approach to the multisensory experience of the place (visual, sounds, etc.,) which connect the human body with the space via a relationship. This can be an affect of the atmosphere (Ash and Anderson, 2015) or perhaps the flow of people and the materials of the territory, which relate to John Urry and Tim Cresswell's work on the social and spatial relationships with the materials of the space as mobilities. This relationship connects social and cultural phenomena with other territories of similar significance, such as sexual identities, political protests, or homogenised cultural identities. This segues to the next section, which shows the relationship between the human and the territory through human territoriality.

1.5 Human Territoriality

Humans and territory can't be separated from each other as each shape, affect and change the behaviour of the other. I explained what the pedestrian territory is, and here I use the pedestrian territory and human territoriality to show the intersection of the human element within the territory's boundaries. The pedestrian territory is the geographic area where a distinctive behaviour, culture, identity and atmosphere occur through the "influence, affect or control" (Sack, 1983, p. 56) of a specific group of people over the space. Sack explains that territoriality is not an object, but a relationship therefore "territoriality is always

socially or humanly constructed” (1983, pp. 58–59) and it doesn’t exist unless a relation of more than one element occurs, a spatial and a social or human, and in this case it is the pedestrians and the territory. There are several elements that shape territoriality as Sack explains, territorial boundary, enforcing control over space, reifying power, the relationship between the controller and the controlled, and so on. Here territoriality acts as a container for the various events by separating “space from things and then recombines them as an assignment of things to places and places to things” (Sack, 1983, pp. 58–59), which therefore makes the pedestrian’s territory a space that belongs to the pedestrians, the humans, through a relationship between humans and territory within a social context. Expanding the concept of the territory to human territoriality is needed to study the social aspect of the pedestrian territory, as it “a set of behaviours that a person (or persons) displays in relation to a physical environment” (Edney, 1974, p. 959).

Human territoriality shows the aspects and relations between the space and human behaviour of dominance, “competition for possession of material goods including land” (Edney, 1974, p. 960). It “provides three basic elements necessary for a healthy life: security (strongest at the centre of a territory), stimulation (strongest at the borders, where defence against outsiders is most likely to occur), and identity (Edney, 1974, p. 961). It even goes to what Lorenz said: “Territorial [behaviour is] the defence of a given area (2005, p. xiii), “primarily against members of their own species” (Lorenz, 2005, p. 3). This happens to “establish boundaries around their physical confines, to lay claim to the space or territory within these boundaries, and to defend it against outsiders” (Edney, 1974, p. 962).

The people within the territory have different objectives, ideologies and interests, but they all want to enjoy the freedom of the territory, which isn’t at the same level as the rest of the city. Edney describes the rest of the city as occupied by a group of people who claim that it is their own place and they will defend it, so this territoriality includes a variety of concepts: “space (fixed or moving), defence, possession, identity, markers, personalization, control, and exclusiveness of use” (1974, p. 962).

To understand the territoriality of pedestrian territory, we need to look at the territory from a human perspective. Altman defines human territoriality as “reactive behaviours including perceptions, use and defence of places, people, objects, and ideas by means of verbal, self-

marker, and environmental prop behaviours in response to the actual or implied presence of others and in response to properties of the environment” (1970, p. 8). Therefore, territoriality “is a phenomenon that links behaviour to geographic places” (Edney, 1974, p. 963). Lyman and Scott (1967) show how the humans act within territoriality through; inner (mental) space, body territory, free territory (socializing area), and public territory which could be the pedestrian territory.

To get closer to the human element within the pedestrian territoriality, we can explain some psychological aspects of territoriality. Lyman and Scott (1967) say it allows personal idiosyncrasy and freedom of action. On the other hand, the connections between territory and privacy have been explored by Pastalan who states, "privacy may constitute a basic form of human territoriality" (1970, p. 88). Later in this chapter we will see how freedoms and privacy are used through the pedestrian territory, which at some points, as Pastalan describes, “facilitates personal autonomy, vital to individuality (to achieve) goals of self-realization; by providing a context for emotional release, self-evaluation, and psychological protection” (Edney, 1974, p. 964). Nevertheless, the territory makes “the individual attempts to organize his [sic] environment so that it maximizes his freedom of choice” (Proshansky *et al.*, 1970, p. 175) in the case of minorities or performers in the pedestrian territory as we will see in later chapters. For many pedestrians the pedestrian territoriality “increase[s] the range of options open to him and maximizes his freedom of choice” (Proshansky *et al.*, 1970, p. 180). Conversely, “crowding is directly related to privacy and territoriality because crowding occurs when the number of people an individual is in contact with is sufficient to prevent him from carrying out some specific behaviour and thereby restricts his freedom of choice” (Proshansky *et al.*, 1970, p. 182).

As these pedestrian territories are usually marked using pedestrian zones, this change or separation of “(e.g., boundary size, shape, or differentiation) tends to change the behaviour” (Edney, 1974, p. 966) and conversely, the change in behaviour like walking patterns, activities and crowd change the physical territory. Therefore, I use here different approaches, concepts and methods to look at the relationship between the territory and the humans using territoriality to emphasize on the relational patterns between pedestrian

territories. In the next sections I delve into ethnographic work to analyse the humans through cognitive analysis using geography, anthropology and psychology.

1.6 Conclusion

In this chapter I tried to take territory from its generic use in political contexts to an urban, social and cultural discourse that helps explain the pedestrian street. I started to explain the evolution of both pedestrian streets and territories to see the commonalities and how the power of people as pedestrians control the geographic space. I went through different definitions of territory to extract layers that explain dimensions of the pedestrian street as not just a street but a territory. We can learn from Cowen and Gilbert (2008, p. 16) and Painter (2010, p. 1097) that a territory is a bounded space that has been acted upon by a sort of power. Therefore, arguing that a territory can be explained outside political geography and political science we can see that terms like authority or TAR (Sassen, 2006), hegemony and juridico-political powers (Foucault, 2007), or identity and belonging (Painter, 2010, p. 1099), can be used to explain urban and socio-cultural phenomenon.

I argue that pedestrian territories are distinct spaces; they are global sites and key social and cultural spaces, which are vital economic nodes in the city. I acknowledge the importance of geographical debates on territory that focus on political geography as a political project (Elden, 2013) but I think we have under-estimated the vital social, cultural and economic roles that territories can play, especially in the city. So diversifying territory to study pedestrian streets as territories seeks to address that by identifying key urban sites in different global urban regions.

The upgrade of the pedestrian street to a territory as shown in this chapter can be explained anthropologically, sociologically, psychologically, geographically and indeed epistemologically. We saw that the territory is defined by anthropologists as a boundaries defined by identity and difference which hold power and authority to resist social norms or outsider influences. While it's defined by sociologists as a relationship between individuals and society that creates a contradictory space in the city using cultural forces and human and social creations to form a new identity from that of the city.

Social scientists have varied takes on territory (Anthony, 1985; Brighenti, 2010; Crouch, 1994; Delaney, 2005a; Lyman and Scott, 1967; Pastalan, 1970; Soja, 1971), by some as a

material phenomenon which doesn't create an object but a socio-material phenomenon which I clarify as a shopping, physical, bounded atmosphere. From a psychological perspective they define territory as a connection between the inner space of the body and the external world, similar to the territory and the city or the nation, which forms a distinctive identity with the space and therefore encourage a behavioural phenomenon.

While these rich dimensions of territory have been enriching the term, we see that geographers tend to limit the power of territory or reject it in favour of space to describe such urban spaces within cities. However I tend to be biased to the epistemological argument that the space is a geographical land while territory is a socialized space which carries more meaning and emphasize on the social and individual identity of the space itself and its users. Therefore I extract from these definitions to come up with a new definition for territory using these different layers, dimensions to explain the pedestrian territory in contrast with territory as:

A bounded pedestrian oriented zone 'that has had something done to it—it has been acted upon' by characteristic revitalisation, using politico-economic power to solve socioeconomic problems and create a new themed socio-cultural space that uses entertainment, tourism and neoliberalism as sources for its character, offering more freedoms through liberal and secular agendas to tolerate what other parts of the city wouldn't.

This is how I define the territory in this thesis from a geographical perspective but when the territory is approached from a humanistic approach it connects the territory with the humans, connects the body with the space through territoriality as means of multisensory experience (Thrift, 2003a), emotional attachment (Tuan, 1977) resulting in affects on atmosphere (Ash and Anderson, 2015) as territorial productions, materialistic phenomenon (Urry, 2012). This creates new trends that encourage new and iconic activities such as freedom for sexual identities, political uprising or protests, subcultural identities. These distinctive behaviours, cultures, identities and atmospheres occur through the "influence, affect or control" (Sack, 1983, p. 56) of a specific group of people over the space. Therefore, "territories, then, are significant cultural artefacts of a rather special kind" (Delaney, 2005b, p. 10) and that is what makes them popular, unique in the city, and sometimes an icon of the city or the nation.

These pedestrian territories have characteristics which can be found when using relationality and comparison. I explain that pedestrian territories are assemblages of multi-dimensional patterns that are networked and share some territorial and universal factors with their counterparts. Relationality here helps to define causes, impacts, similarities and differences between each pedestrian territory and its counterparts. Some of these patterns are: 1) it is a place of meaning not placeless like shopping malls, 2) it is separated from the surroundings or the city, 3) they are open air malls which encourage consumption.

As we saw previously, not all pedestrian streets are territories, there are elements that upgrade these streets to territories, and the best way to identify these elements is using comparison to identify complexity of territorial productions. Therefore, I argue that the pedestrian territory needs to be investigated as a space occupied by social activity, and the best way to do so is it use a humanistic approach (Thrift, 2003a) to study the humans and their senses within the territory and this brings us to territoriality as a connection and relationship between the humans and the space. This relationship opens the debate to a larger space experience which includes affects, senses and experiences the atmosphere of the territory generate, using social, spatial and material analysis.

So, as we explained the pedestrian territory, we have to distinguish it from this territoriality or human territoriality. Territories can't exist without being occupied by social activities (Lefebvre, 1991) that need people or humans to occupy which form human territoriality as a medium of understanding the relationship between a space and people.

As we understood from the literature in psychology that territoriality is a behavioural phenomenon, and it's also defined as the relationship between territory and humans which are both results and affects of each other. Sack (1986) sees it as socially/humanly constructed so the human factor is an essential element in forming territoriality, and on the other hand it's formed by combining boundary, control, power, to create this relationship between the land and people which therefore gives meaning to the space.

I argue that this social meaning and human relation to the space is enhanced by the behaviours that people display in relation to a physical environment. This human relationship provides security, stimulation, identity and defence which is clearly demarcated within the pedestrian territory as an outcome of the territory and human relationship, pedestrian territoriality. I argued that the pedestrian territoriality is a behavioural

phenomenon that socially and culturally differs from a city's system. We clearly see the people behaving and expressing within the territory in a different way to that of the city, and sometimes against city's norms and systems. I explained that pedestrian territoriality is an assemblage of behavioural relations and intersections of different territories such as the inner territory of humans (expressions), body territory (senses), free territory (atmosphere), public territory (pedestrian street) and these together generate pedestrian territoriality. The shared characteristics of this collective assemblage provides privacy within the territory, this privacy encourages: individuality, self-realization, emotional release, self-evaluation, protection, and maximize freedom of choice.

Sack (1986) explains it as a relationship between the controller and the controlled which are defined by a boundary, and Edney (1974, p. 959) argues that it's a set of behaviours that a person(s) displays in relation to a physical environment. I take these definitions along with others to define pedestrian territoriality as:

A behavioural relationship between the pedestrian territory (geographical land) and the pedestrians (humans) which is socially and culturally constructed by an assemblage of behavioural relations, powers and intersections of different territories, to create a new territorial culture and identity using demarcated physical space that distinguishes from the city and its system.

To understand how this relationship takes place and acts as a system within territory's boundary, I use the word territorialisation in the next chapters to explain this phenomenon of occupation. As the people within the territory have different objectives, ideologies and interests, which differ from city's system. Territory people behave similar to those in the city to show a sense of control and occupation to form belongings to the territory. Since territoriality is a behavioural relationship, it needs sort of power and control to link to a specific space, the process of this linkage is what I call territorialisation. Chapter 4 will explain this concept, I try to briefly explain the term here in the context of territory and territoriality to show the difference. Therefore territorialisation is:

The politico-economic process of occupying the territory by physical powers (characteristic revitalization) not by behavioural powers (territoriality) through 3 stages: replacements, maximization and materialization.

The end product of this process create a distinctive, unique territory that is independent in its politics, intergovernmental regulations, culture, identity, theme, users and uses, and

bounded by both physical and imaginary boundaries that demarcate its territorialism. Which takes us to define territorialism, which I borrow from environmental and animalistic context to refer to the stance of a functional and behavioural act/state of an independent, defensive and self-proclaimed territory. Defining the territory from this ethological perspective helps understanding the pedestrian territory. Territorialism in ethology looks at a territory as a socio-graphical space of which a particular animal consistently defends against the other animals of similar species. Therefore, territorialism is:

The ultimate state of separation, occupation and defence against outsiders (or the city and its system) by humans who share a similar range of interests, objectives, behaviours that advocate territorial independence and distinction.

This chapter went through the evolution of the pedestrian street and the territory, which ended with a debate over how we can use the territory in different ways to explain the pedestrian street. I tried to contribute to the existing debate around territory and territoriality by diversifying the terms to explain the pedestrian street from both physical and behavioural perspectives to show how this kind of street is a rich cultural, social and powerful space within a city's boundaries. I extracted from the literature aspects to develop my own theory of pedestrian street and derived from it terms like pedestrian territoriality to show the behavioural aspect of the street and later on I defined how power is shaped through territorialisation to end up with territorialism which illustrate more of animalistic phenomenon.

Territorializing the pedestrian street benefit the literature to see how the touristic and shopping street can have many social, cultural and behavioural powers that work as a separation from the city or act as the saviour of the city. It shows a human and animalistic and at the same time mobile territory that can move and form in different cities, cultures and nations of different structures. We learn from this chapter that territory using political terms such as defence, power, authority, occupation, protection, show more of social and cultural behaviours not political conflicts or biological organisms.

Chapter 2: Comparative Territorialism: Theory and Practice

2.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter I discussed why and how the pedestrian street is a territory and the importance of using comparative research to see how globalization and local culture change in such territories using patterns and relationality. The emphasis is on the importance of studying territory as a cultural and social space outside the conventional political discourse. This helps our understanding of what the territorial aspect of the pedestrian territory is in contrast to the rest of the city and when compared with other counterparts around the world, in very different cultural geographies. In this chapter I try to avoid generic comparisons of cities, and instead to go beyond city's boundaries Kevin Ward's (2008) to discuss new approaches and methods. This involves comparing the territories with each other and debating their urban issues as a new urban phenomenon from theoretical and methodological perspectives. First I explain what comparative territorialism is and how it fits within a broader literature on comparative urbanism and urban mobilities. Secondly, I put the theory into practice in order to show how I applied this theory in my fieldwork; showing my selections, concept, methodologies and types of data.

This chapter shows also the gap between theory and practice and the challenges of putting urban theories into practice. The real world is different from the literature therefore I mention some aspects of the ideal and the actual, since there's no model for qualitative research, as it depends on the space itself and the unexpected challenges and surprises it brings to field work. So the discussion of methods and approaches relies heavily on the empirical data and the experiences I went through, and shows some generality of the literature, which is just a base, and guidelines for researching such territories.

2.2 Comparative Territorialism Theory

Globalised urban and policy mobility have contributed to the creation of identikit public squares, plazas and shopping streets, which resemble their counterparts in other cities and countries. The pedestrian street can also fall into this category. However, when a pedestrian street reaches a level of complexity and becomes a global destination, highly dense, mixed-used, touristic, capitalist, and an icon of the city, it evolves into a sophisticated independent

territory, a pedestrian's territory. Due to the limited use of territory in political discourses, many scholars avoid the use of the term 'territory' for urban spaces, and synonymously categorize it using different terms, such as districts (entertainment district, red-light district, etc.), global or ethnic towns and squares (Chinatown, little Italy, Times Square), zones (pedestrian or car-free zones), etc. However, I explain that the level of complexity in these places upgrades them from regular places into something more 'networked', complicated and 'related' to their counterparts in other countries. So, a comparative approach is necessary to understand these territories as singular units in comparison to other territories, while contrasting them with their surroundings, city's system or the nation, keeping in mind that pedestrian territories are unique and iconic, and not necessarily a representation of the city itself.

To understand the evolution of a street to a territory from terminological, relational and conceptual perspectives, comparison is necessary, which I call 'comparative territorialism' which compares territories rather than cities, showing how the process of territorialism happens and what the products of it are. Indeed, the comparable units, as powers, will be discussed in the following chapters.

Unlike some generic judgments and approaches in the social sciences, when the entire city is labelled and categorized based on a small fraction of it, I argue that similarities and differences should be based on meaningful comparisons. The question this raises is, compare what and how? I build my argument on comparing territories amongst each other, while understanding the influence of the city and state on them on the one hand, and the commonalities and relations between territories as an effect of globalization on the other hand. I call this concept 'Comparative Territorialism' as it uses comparative studies and territorialisation theories to understand pedestrian territories in the city from two perspectives; the first to understand the territory itself as a result of city's system and representation of internal political-economic and socio-cultural powers, and the second to understand the territories and the commonality, as a global phenomenon which is directly caused by globalization, neoliberalism and openness to the world through tourism, media and immigration. Therefore, I'll explain here the meaning of territory from a comparative perspective in order to understand the act of territory as territorialism, and how it is related to its counterparts in other places.

It is essential to start the comparison with a wider perspective of the city where these territories are situated, using Robinson's neutral perspective or ordinary approach, as "a series of unbounded, relatively disconnected and dispersed, perhaps sprawling activities, made in and through many different kinds of networks stretching far beyond the physical extent of the city" (Robinson, 2005, p. 763). Brenner defines territorialism from a methodological perspective as the "assumption that all social relations are organized within self-enclosed, discretely bounded territorial containers" (Brenner, 2004, p. 38) while Massey looks at from a wider, embedded and relational conceptualization and manifestations of the city (Massey, 2007).

I argue that the city can be an assemblage of territories, streets, spaces, etc., when territories are considered spaces, which have been acted upon. How this forms is a question to be answered throughout this thesis when the actors or powers and products of territorialisation are explained. These powers upgrade certain places to territories that are distinctive with their self-authority. Therefore, territorialism is state or occupation of a space. The process starts with the space being territorialized using powers to form a territory, which forms territoriality as a result of human and territory relationship. The final after a while forms a unique and distinctive environment that can be defined as territorialism. So, I can define territorialism as:

The ultimate separation and occupation of a bounded space, the territory, by humans who share a similar range of interests, advocate for more freedom and distinction, from the rest of the city that produces new cultural trends and use the pedestrian space for their own expressions.

To understand territorial relations it is important to look at 'relational comparative approaches' and to urban studies that "acknowledge both the territorial and relational geographies of cities" (Ward, 2008, p. 408) which help our understanding of the space in relation to itself and other similar spaces. As pedestrian territories are segments of the city which are not necessarily representing the culture, system, politics or even urban characteristics of the entire city, it is not what (Augé, 1995) calls 'placelessness', but it is the theme-park-alike (Sorkin, 1992a) or fantasized part of the city (Hannigan, 1998), that is either a beautiful dream or a nightmare. The common transnational relations (McCann and Ward, 2010, p. 176) or 'relations to elsewhere' or even 'translocal' relations which are transnational relations that connect places in more than countries (Söderström, 2014). We

could draw comparisons here using relations or patterns between territories in different locations, and therefore investigate the characteristics of territories, territorial people, territorial productions, territorial culture or even identity.

The movement of territorialism can be debated drawing on literature around policy relations (McCann and Ward, 2011a, 2011b; McFarlane, 2009; Robinson, 2013). As this literature has created crucial outputs around entire cities, however, it is rare in urban or cultural geography to see scholars comparing internal socio-cultural relations between smaller spaces like territories. Therefore, it is indeed crucial to start with a solid base for comparison, such as to “embrace urban diversity and difference as the guiding principles behind the comparative attempt” (Robinson, 2006, p. 169). As Brenner (2004) suggests “territory must be seen as relationally produced rather than bounded and static” (in McCann and Ward, 2010, p. 176).

This can work when the territory is emphasized while the city is comprehensively understood using ‘cosmopolitan urbanism’ (Robinson, 2006), which sees all cities as ‘ordinary cities’, regardless of their condition as wealthy or poor, eastern or western, developed or underdeveloped. Comparing ‘ordinary cities’ opens up new possibilities for generating knowledge about the urban, and learning from cities everywhere (Robinson, 2005) and stepping beyond narrowly defined categories and understandings of the urban experience. This base a new generation of urban and cultural scholarship that moves beyond categories such as Western, Third World, etc., and hierarchies such as global or world cities (Robinson, 2006) in understanding urban spaces, and territories, as separate entities that are connected with their counterparts around the world and at the same time part of the city, but not necessarily a genuine representation of it or the state.

Comparative research needs to draw on multiple perspectives beyond physicality, political trends and socio-economic systems, and to explore socio-cultural aspects, which I try to embrace in this thesis. Studying atmospheres, cultural trends and changes, in addition to the identity of the territory, sheds light on ways of understanding the urban through new lenses. The practice of categorizing isn’t always intellectual choice (McFarlane, 2010), as “the ways in which the urban is experienced [and, we might add, compared] ... clearly depends on who you are and which spaces you negotiate” (McFarlane and Robinson, 2012a, p. 770). Urban complexity can’t be limited to a “series of numbers, stories, tables, and

images, bringing into comparative coexistence territories from around the world” (Cook and Ward, 2012, p. 790) which results in strong connections between the ‘internal’ structures of cities and their ‘external’ relations, that are driven by (political) economic, global system and the logic of competitive capitalism (Smith, 2000).

Comparative territorialism can zoom into the urban space rather than the entire city, and, unlike some comparative urbanism literature, it can be defined using (Nijman, 2007) and (Lees, 2012) definitions on comparative urbanism. Comparative Territorialism is:

The study of the similarities and differences among territories of similar urban form in cities of different cultural geographies, which have undergone through politico-economic changes by global systems that produced similar and distinguished socio-cultural identity shared by the territories not the cities themselves.

As pedestrian territories are different and unique, it is a ‘idiosyncratic nature of place” where “difference and similarity are two faces of the same coin, each other’s opposites, mutually exclusive, and reciprocally exhaustive” (Nijman, 2007, p. 1). Urban studies have been reviving and trying to build new strategies that enrich comparative urbanism (McFarlane, 2010; Nijman, 2007; Robinson, 2005, 2006; Ward, 2010). Researchers started to expand their horizons and improve the theoretical work and provide different approaches and methods in this field (McCann and Ward, 2011b; McFarlane and Robinson, 2012a; Roy and Ong, 2011) to look at the urban from a new territorial perspective, which goes beyond political geography discourse.

I’m trying to emphasize here the importance of understanding place ‘holistically’ and not generically, using a bottom-up methodology to connect the details of the street to the bigger systems and networks of the city, through investigating the former while understanding the latter. These connections or “patterns” which connect places to each other relationally (Jacobs, 2012, p. 905) can be compared by linking the dots between different spaces regardless of the politics or city’s system, but by a “replication of similar phenomena across different contexts, or by comparing similar or different outcomes in a particular sphere of urban life across more than one city”. So, (McFarlane and Robinson, 2012b) emphasize the plurality of comparative approaches, since there’s no one answer to urban issues or universal categories, but dynamic typologies and contextual variables to compare spaces in urban contexts.

So, understanding pedestrian territories has to be through comparison, not necessarily comparing arguments or claims of cities we are familiar with (McFarlane, 2010), but through exploring the specificities of urban spaces within the city to understand the city as a whole and the relationship between the space, the city and the world. This approach also expands the spectrum of comparison, which can compare any space or territory with another regardless of political, socio-economic differences, because it is based on the ordinary city concept. So, calling the pedestrian street a territory in this discourse doesn't limit the space or label it. It gives an expandable understanding of the networked space (territory) in comparison with other similar territories in cities of different systems and cultures.

Conducting this type of research can be challenging due to the socio-cultural differences of these territories as "not everyone has the chance to immerse themselves in various settings under whatever conditions and rubrics were possible" (Simone, 2004, p. 15) as many territories are situated in cities which are socioeconomically or even culturally heterogeneous (Gough, 2012). Therefore, conducting cross-cultural urban comparison defines the units of comparison, which are valid and consistently critical and reflective in all cities (Gough, 2012; Kuper, 2002). Since the comparative research approach contrasts and compare two (or more) similar systems of different cultures or cross-cultural societies (Hantrais, 1995), it engages comparison in the context of the city to study different issues related to production of space from cultural, social or even ethico-politics perspectives (McFarlane, 2010).

Although "comparisons are multiple to the extent that their users are trying to establish that the cases in a category take multiple forms" (Tilly, 1984, p. 82), they are still "the most common and most rewarding research strategy of controlling for contextual variables and for uncovering causal patterns of explanation (Pierre, 2005, p. 449). Therefore, the pedestrian territory concept tries to move beyond conventional theorizations of place, to study the territory using relations of cause and relations of impact or productions, as the territory itself is different from what it produces (Ward, 2010). I will explain in the following chapters how the character of the territory has been changed excessively to a totally new one using different powers, which produced a new space that was placed on the existing territory. I'll explain how the power of politico-economic interventions changed the territory

and produced socio-cultural productions, which often come into conflict with the territory as a space.

One of the reasons behind using qualitative research to gather empirical data was that it can be used to draw comparisons between territories in all their multiplicities. As Ragin says “comparison provides a basis for making statements about empirical regularities and for evaluating and interpreting cases relative to substantive and theoretical criteria. In this broad sense, comparison is central to empirical social science as it is practiced today” (1987, p. 1). The challenge here is that although comparison is distinguished empirically and theoretically (Osborne, 2005) there’s always a gap between the theory and practice of comparative research. So, I’ll try to show these gaps, or at least try to reflect on them with my empirical findings and think about the implications (Ward, 2008) of my research on existing theories and methods.

The pedestrian territory isn’t an ordinary neighbourhood or a street in the city, it is often the one and only unique or extraordinary space in the city or the country where it is situated. Therefore, I argue that comparing it within the city might not be as rewarding as conducting a cross-national study. Ward (2010) provides examples of scholars who undertook cross-national comparisons and (Kohn, 1987, p. 713) “argues that comparative (cross-national in his case) research establishes ‘the generality of findings and the validity of interpretations derived from single-nation studies’”. Keating has claimed, “Comparison highlights structural and cultural differences while allowing them to be examined in terms of common criteria” (1991, p. 11). For Denters and Mossberger (2006) it leads “social scientists to use variation across systems to explain similarities and differences [within systems]” (in Ward, 2010, p. 474). We will see numerous examples in this thesis, which show how the criteria within cross-cultural comparison sheds light on the similarities and differences between cross-national cases more effectively than the surroundings or the city itself.

Therefore, when it is a comparison that involves globalization and movement of spaces across the border of the nation, Horvath shows that it is crucial to select “the same type of place for comparison, the inner city, for two cities that appear to be influenced to the same extent by globalization” (2004, p. 92) as a strategy of selection. Similarly Teune and Przeworski (1970) advocate choosing the “most different systems and the most similar systems approaches; as the later draws on identifying and selecting similar cases in all

independent aspects, however, there is variation in the dependent variable” (in Pierre, 2005, p. 455).

So, we can learn from Ward’s (2010) relationality approach, as comparative research between similar urban forms in different cross-cultural locations needs to explain the characteristics, relationships and powers between the spaces/territories and the system, and needs to be aware of the risk of turning comparative urban studies into a “chaotic concept, running the risk of lumping together the unrelated and the inessential” (Ward, 2010, p. 475). Therefore, a careful methodology is needed to study the territories which aren’t just spaces and to find the powers and relationships which can be similar and different to those of city’s system, which complicates comparison.

Diversifying comparative methods to go beyond political differences and similarities to more social and cultural characteristics can reveal significant findings about the urban space, and how territories are similar and the main productions of this specific urban space. For instance, a focus on “market conditions, intergovernmental support, popular control and local culture” (Ward, 2010, p. 478) helps with understanding of the overarching logic and outcomes of globalization. Therefore using the logic of the comparative method by comparing small spaces such as territories amongst each other helps with an understanding of more specific variables of a phenomenon (Denters and Mossberger, 2006; Ward, 2010).

So, we can see here that there is a relationship between the powers which make the territory and the effects such as productions of space, and this relationship is contingent. Looking at a singular case will not reveal this and a comparative study is needed to show the mechanisms, impacts and productions of the phenomena, over different geographies. Therefore, I draw on Robinson’s argument to “move ‘beyond comparative studies’ in the traditional sense (Robinson, 2002, p. 532) because comparative territorialism looks at the locally-specific variants of a universal phenomenon, like pedestrian territories, and when these locally-specific patterns are studied in comparison with others in different geographies, we can draw a meaningful conclusion.

I borrow Ward’s “relational concept of comparison (which rejects universal measures and takes) pre-given objects, events, places and identities” (2010, p. 480) to study the phenomenon at each site then relates these problems and productions with those in other sites. Since both territorial and relational comparisons explain how the space is produced

and reproduced, we can implement comparison outside of the 'theorized one' (Ward, 2010) to show territorial relations, not just of the current situation, but patterns shaped by the history, culture and geography of these territories in relation to the city and each other as relations these cities pose a question one to another (Nijman, 2007; Roy, 2003; Ward, 2010).

This raises the question of how these comparative theories and approaches can be implanted in places like pedestrian territories. I approach this by making some assumptions and then show in the next section how the research was put in practice. We need to think of territories as smaller cities or systems within city's border which aren't necessarily representative of the city. Therefore, we could see pedestrian territories as smaller versions of a city's mechanics, which doesn't resemble the city itself but a more complicated arena of relations and trans-territorial dynamics, that are connected through global systems and embedded in a city's system. This ontological foundation of comparison reveals significant connections between spaces and territories that are meaningfully comparable in terms of scale, relationality and thematic aspects. Relationality using comparative territorialism therefore helps our understanding of "diverse but increasingly interconnected trajectories of socio-spatial change in different parts of the world" (Hart, 2004, p. 91).

There are different ways to conduct meaningful comparative research that uses empirical findings to identify the relations, variables as causes, powers and productions of this urban phenomenon. Probably the first is the global sense of the territory, which is a result of "mobility in capitalism and the implications of investment and disinvestment for urban built environments is one of these" (McCann and Ward, 2010, p. 176). The notion of a global sense of territories can be understood from a globalization perspective as "social relations, state policy, and politics shape and are shaped by urban regions, or territories" (Harvey, 1989, p. 143) where many of them are 'parts' of elsewhere (McCann and Ward, 2010, p. 177). Therefore, pedestrian territories can be ascribed to globalization, Americanization, global cities or world-ing cities theories (Roy and Ong, 2011) generically, but when studied individually more locally-specific findings can be mobilized between territories but not between the cities of comparison. I try to expand the classical trajectory of urban theory, which tends to focus on policies and socioeconomic factors, to include more cross-cultural relational comparisons.

Using ethnographic approaches to conduct comparison can be challenging for numerous reasons, including political, economic, social, cultural, historical, and other elements of the city, where these territories are situated. However, this perspective changes when comparing territories amongst each other, as they share similar territorial systems, a smaller scale and other similarities, which go beyond a city or nation's system.

We can see this challenge in most social science studies when theories are translated in the field; how the literature explains the space and how the space represents itself to the researcher or ethnographer. Although any type of fieldwork in the city is challenging due to different factors, researching pedestrian territories or even shopping streets and entertainment districts, which differ from the bigger city and the country, requires a different method or accumulation of methods to comprehend both global trends and local systems and to identify comparable relational units. Pedestrian territories have complexities, such as high densities, commerce, activities, diversity of uses and users and historical themes, so researching them requires time, effort and an effective methodology.

My particular contribution to comparative studies or urbanism is that studying segments of the city, and especially those distinctive spaces which form a territory, can help develop an understanding of spaces in relation to the city, world and many aspects of globalization, urban mobility and new cultural trends generated by global systems in smaller sections of ordinary cities. This territorial approach enhances methods of comparison and brings a new perspective to the space as territory, which has its own culture, identity and productions. Using cross-cultural approaches and qualitative methods to study the territory as both human and non-human layers expands the discussion beyond political discourse to a more cultural and social or even human production.

Therefore, using ethnography as a methodology to study cross-cultural territories, which are cultural and human productions of space, helps develop understanding of the pedestrian street as a territory and lets the street represents itself, lets people express their voices. I explain the process and reasons for case selection, as these territories are of different geographies and even languages, ethnicities, political and religious views. Trying to understand people expressions and reaction towards these powers of the territory through specificities related to the new cultural trends within the territory.

Generally a qualitative approach consists of a few fundamentals, including surveys, interviews, focus groups and observation (Flowerdew and Martin, 2005). These instruments become more sophisticated when conducting cross-cultural fieldwork in different territories, whether from a geographical or an anthropological perspective. Therefore, drawing a framework for fieldwork in pedestrian territories has to be carefully considered relationally, using patterns and units of comparison. This helps with the identification of the distinctions between the territory itself and the surrounding areas of the same city. Therefore there is a need for a methodology to put pedestrian territories in a conversation with one to another, which this section tries to demonstrate.

Social scientists study the space based on their interests and backgrounds, therefore there is no one single method to use when it comes to ethnographic work, as it may involve investigating sociological phenomena, geographical change, anthropological human experiences or psychological self-examining, and so forth. I approach the territory first by understanding the territory in relation to the city but as an independent; what makes it distinctive, and a separate entity in the city. Secondly different methods are used to compare variables between different territories, which are identified from, context analysis. Third, I use ethnography to see how the people perceive and use the space and build arguments based on their experiences.

Since comparative territorialism relies on using bottom-up strategies and robust methodologies to identify comparable productions of pedestrian territories, as territories have been acted upon when the politico-economic powers were used, the production as a result creates different layers of both human and non-human productions, which are both global relations and local patterns. These two layers are interacting interchangeably and are interrelated.

On the other hand, understanding the pedestrian street from a territorial discourse does not limit the space to a form of urban space, but draws a framework for a variety of possibilities and activities that vary from a space to another, depending on the culture, and at the same time formalizes a base of systems that interact and over-relate between pedestrian territories around the world.

Indeed ethnography was a better choice to understand this aspect of territoriality because “(a) territoriality sometimes involves long periods of association between person and place,

and (b) convincing feelings of personal attachment to artificial laboratory surroundings are difficult to elicit in subjects” and these ethnographic findings should also look at “the cognitive components of territorial behaviour” (Edney, 1974, p. 967).

2.3 Comparative Territorialism in Practice

So, taking comparative territorialism into the field relies on a solid ethnographic approach. This requires a lot of preparation; from reading, logistics and moving from one city to another as a researcher who categorises himself as a resident not a tourist, and “casting your net, initiating access to the people and places you wish to study” (Crang, M. and Cook, 2007, p. 22). Many issues had to be taken into consideration and thoughtfully worked around, such as weather conditions, tourist seasons, public holidays, events and festivals, and so forth.

I start describing my methods and approaches to the pedestrian territories by including my case selection, duration, conceptual design and stages of data collection, in addition to research instruments. I’ll explain how understanding the theories and reading about the case was not enough as many unexpected events and findings only occur when a researcher starts to study the site. Since there is no specific model for this type of ethnographic work, I had to rely on the general methods used in social science, while keeping in mind my research questions, about what’s unique about the pedestrian territories and what the similarities and differences are from a local-global perspective.

2.3.1 Selections

The selection of cases was based on various factors, as comparative territorialism focuses on studying pedestrian territories in comparison with their overseas counterparts, rather than the adjacent areas in the same city or comparing larger cities where these territories are located. The comparison focused on cases that have similar characteristics, such as globalization, gentrification, touristification, and commercialization of a pedestrian street to a territory. The comparable units were of the current productions and gentrification rather than the socio-economic system of the city as a whole, or political or global north-south divides.

Another reason for selecting these cases was their distinct North American, European and Middle-Eastern geographies and cultures. The purpose was to investigate two things: what was of global culture and what was of local culture in these different spaces, and second, to see how urban mobilities travel in the world through globalization, policy transfer or even tourism. Although disentangling the local and global is a challenge, using relationality helps with the uncovering of what represents the local, which doesn't exist in the other counterparts, and what represents a more global culture.

On the other hand, the cases were selected based on the urban characteristics of the pedestrian territory. The density, retails, chains, types of events and activities, location, tourism and other elements were considered in order to ensure that the comparison was valid, coherent and consistent. The last factor was my personal experience and knowledge of the streets, gained during earlier visits, which had revealed similarities in their form, character and popularity and at the same time a strong local culture embedded in the space. Therefore, the intention of this selection was to examine how the mobility of territorial urban and global characteristics resembles other places, even when they are located thousands of miles away from each other, how local culture is resisting this penetration, and the powers, productions and representations of this resistance.

2.3.2 Timeline

Although these areas are very touristic and vibrant all year round, they also have low and high seasons, and I had to organize visits to them at times when there was no hot or freezing weather and see it was possible to see people relaxed on the street and willing to take part in easy interviews. I learned this from the pilot study I conducted on Northumberland Street in Newcastle during winter 2014-15. Another reason for this selection was due to the language, as I wanted to start with an English-speaking city as I am fluent in English and thus NYC was the best option to start with. The plan was to spend around 10 weeks of fieldwork in each city, and to work through a list of tasks, such as interviews and observations, and also activities and events.

Based on these factors I organized my fieldwork as follows:

- New York City, NY, USA

March to May 2015: The end of spring and beginning of summer gave me a chance to see how the weather (snow, rain and sun) influences the use of the place, changing the movements of the people and organisation of cultural rituals and events.

- Barcelona, Catalunya, Spain

June to August 2015: Although this was the peak of the summer in Barcelona and high season, the densities and crowds on the streets were similar to the other cities with higher populations.

- Istanbul, Turkey

September to December 2015: This was the time when Istanbulites come back from their summer homes, and when the weather starts to cool down. It was also after Ramadan, so it was an ideal autumn period, to see people performing comfortably and sellers enjoying the high number of tourists (domestic and international).

2.3.3 Conceptual Design

“Perhaps paradoxically, qualitative methods in geography have often been locationally pluralistic, but methodologically more uniform” (Crang, M. and Cook, 2007, p. 12). I was trying to add some elements to the conventional methods of ethnography, like studying the surroundings, as I referred to previously ‘the context of the territory’ and doing some site analysis, a practice I learned from my urban planning background. Using multiple methods helped a lot in understanding the space from different angles such as geography, social science and even urban planning, which then connected me to those who come work in these professions in academia or city councils. Therefore, the conceptual design I used to conduct fieldwork can be summarized as:

- a. Arrival, logistics, contacting academics and official departments
- b. Interview officials, private and public, make connections
- c. Start site inventory and analysis, choose segments of the street
- d. Observations (generic and in depth participant observations)
- e. Preliminary interviews, examine questions and results
- f. Studying the surroundings, relate observations to interviews
- g. Interviews with tourists, retailers, residents, performers, etc.
- h. Initial analysis, organizing recordings, notes, diaries, etc.

2.4 Data Collection

The main method of this research was ethnography, which “aims to clarify systematically the ways that culture (or sub-culture) simultaneously constructs and is constructed by the behaviours and experiences of members” (Arnould, 1998, p. 86). This includes the participation of the researcher in the cultural context to explain the “relationships or attitudes or social events by looking for their connections to other things happening in a defined analytic whole” (Wallman, 1997, p. 250). So during my fieldwork I tried to collect my data by engaging myself in the field using multiple methods, which are called ‘disjunctures’, which refers to using different methods to collect the data of a specific culture. As “cultures are not taken to be singular unitary phenomena that are somehow “out there” (Arnould, 1998, p. 90) but a multidimensional and complex thing to study on field trips”.

So, to make sure I understand the phenomenon well, I had to diversify my methods and adding new methods such as contextual analysis before immersing myself in observations and interviews.

2.4.1 Contextual Analysis

While conventional understanding of ethnographic fieldwork is mainly based on observations and interviews, I think it is crucial to start with a contextual analysis to draw the parameters of this distinction from the surroundings and the rest of the city, and to determine what makes it unique and a territory. It helps to develop a better idea of the territory in relation to the city, its historical timeline and before and after changes. These are very important contextual understandings of the distinction of the territory from the city.

The distinction can be spatial, economic, political, land-use, character, etc. We can take advantage of the multi-sites method as the relations and juxtapositions among sites which can connect tends to offset naturalizing categories (Marcus, 1998). Since my research is of a comparative nature, I used multi-sited travelling ethnography to find depth and breadth in each case through intensive investigation (Marcus, 1998, p. 96) and to then compare each case with the surroundings before putting it in comparison with other cases. Throughout the chapters we will see how these details of pedestrian territories have relations with

overseas territories “in worldly, contingent relations of travel, not in controlled sites of research” (Clifford, 1997, p. 68).

Therefore, it is useful to move to the field with some basic questions and knowledge about the territory and the city, and to start the fieldwork with an intensive site analysis to understand the targeted area, its surroundings and other random areas in the city. This requires mapping, sketches, note taking, photography and other sources of information such as historical photographs and municipal documents, which show the processes of gentrification and urban development, and the bigger surrounding domains.

Comparing the pedestrian territory with its adjacent areas by crossing streets shed light on significant differences. The territorial boundary of the pedestrian territory is sometimes a physical one, like the pedestrian zones, end of the street, a landmark, a statue, or invisible boundaries, like a change of theme, activity like shopping or sightseeing. Many of the local shops are pushed to the back streets, and chain stores and touristic shops are brought to the front. There are also characteristics that make pedestrian territories a hub; a hub of public transit, a touristic point or even a thematic street where people enjoy more freedoms, culture hybridization, and attractive aesthetics. These characteristics will be explained in detail later on. Since a territory is a networked space, it feeds into the city and gains something from the city, and site inventory or context analysis helps in identifying and understanding these aspects of the distinction.

The contextual analysis draws a big picture of what’s happening on the site, such as for instance, how entertainment is regulated. Times Square in NYC is full of random cartoon characters and topless girls, while on Las Ramblas in Barcelona there are only regulated human statues and on İstiklal in Istanbul there are no performers but there are multi-ethnic musicians. Studying these activities and events influence interview questions, and bring new locally-specific issues to light to compare between different cities. Pedestrian territories can look like shopping streets, but when analysed in comparison with their surroundings, their territorial dimensions emerge, such as the cultural differences that look normal on the surface, but are more spatially complex when examined in depth.

So, the ethnographer must investigate complex situations and realities before forming theoretical framings and critiques of ordinary political and ethnographic findings, otherwise why bother with fieldwork challenges and frustrations (Marcus, 1998). These questions

evolve when comparative territorialism is used, and the difference helps with understanding of a phenomenon when it is seen in different forms, while it also raises a question about the pluralism and universalism of the pedestrian territory. I'll elaborate on this when I explain the powers that shaped the territory and how the productions seem similar, as territories should be defined and studied through their productions (Brighenti, 2010)

Indeed, there are many conflicts, contradictions and opposites and restrictions between the pedestrian territory and elsewhere. Times Square stands by itself between office, entertainment and multiuse buildings which have no similarities in common, while La Ramblas is splitting between different districts of Barcelona - Gothic and El Raval - which have been different since the medieval era of Barcelona, with different demographics, architecture, social class and even shops. While Istanbul's İstiklal Street connects Taksim to Galata, they are very different in scale and character; the former is more of a political and transport hub, while the later is lined with music stores and boutiques. Therefore, studying the territory and its surroundings answered many of my pre-fieldwork and on-arrival questions, which were overwhelming at first. However this analysis raised other questions, which were answered later on by experts, interviews and observations. This was a helpful introductory method that enriched my knowledge about the city and helped structuring questions that relate to different themes, areas and a holistic understanding of the street.

2.4.2 Observations

The second method for understanding the territory is observations, which is a fundamental element of ethnographic research. The pedestrian territory is overcrowded and dense to the extent that ethnography becomes a challenging practice for several reasons. First, it is a very crowded and high-density area where there are many things happening at the same time. Second, the places from where the ethnographer can observe can be limited. Third, the diversity of people entering and exiting and their purpose and use of the place. Fourth, the change of activities and rhythm from day and to night times. So, an immediate solution and method of observation has to be found, which varies from a case to another.

The contextual analysis has helped with observation as it identifies important segments of study, main issues, places to observe and potential interviewees. The observation process was divided into phases, starting with a generic observation, which merges the researcher

into the field and familiarizes him/her with the surroundings. I started taking notes while drinking coffee or having a drink or dinner on one of the terraces overlooking the street, or joining the crowd which circles around some performers. This helps with being part of the space; observing what people watch in order to identify the big events and activities on the street and trying to grasp how people perceive the territory. Practicing note-taking helps and eases understanding of the space, enhances personal attention to detail, and strengthens the researcher's senses of the surroundings.

Once the comprehensive or generic observation is done, a better idea of the territory starts to build up, and choosing a specific segment to study from certain angles and times for deep observations becomes possible. These ethnographic experiments and approaches include different aspects of the pedestrian territory. First, the pedestrian territory is a sensuous experience, drawing on senses of hearing, smell, taste and touch (Classen, 1998) or "acoustic properties of environments" (Rice, 2003, p. 4) and considering the variety and diversity of sensuous productions like street music, street food, touching people and performances, etc. While taste and smell are becoming a sensual aspect of the social life (Stoller, 1989, p. 7) I was trying to see how people sense the place which is explained in details in chapter 5.

As pedestrian territories have remarkable and vibrant atmospheres which can be observed depending on the researcher's target and objectives; human and non-human behaviours, sensual and sensuous observations of ethnic music, handmade crafts, performances, street food, restaurants and cafes, crowd and bodies touching, romantic lovers kissing and holding hands while taking selfies, and so on are all sensual and sensuous behaviours which intensify in the pedestrian territory, which provides a safe, traffic-less and lively environment for people. The depth of the observations extend to reading people eyes as they watch performers, sellers, and tourists, in order to understand how people perceive and feel while walking around this territory, the reaction towards the exotic, different and new. This helps a lot when conducting interviews and asking people about their feelings and perceptions of the place, which is something I explain in chapter 6.

So the methods observations were various and focused on measuring different aspects of the street. However, it is not all about the visuals, as Back & Bull argue that the reduction of knowledge to the visual "has placed serious limitations on our ability to grasp the meanings

attached to much social behaviour, be it contemporary, historical or comparative” (2003, p. 2). On the contrary, “a visually based epistemology is both insufficient and often erroneous in its description, analysis and thus understanding of the social world” (Sparkes, 2009, p. 24) and therefore observations can be a great tool to understand the space, but it is biased to the researchers eyes and way of perceiving the territory and therefore this issue can be neutralized by the use of interviews which compliment the limitation of observation. Therefore, I tried to combine my observations with interviews, and to grasp how people observed and experience the place through sensation, perceptions and conceptions, which is excessively explained in chapters 5 and 6.

While the visual dominated my observations, it wasn't just used “intrinsically for interpreting and representing ethnographic data and culture” (O'Neill *et al.*, 2002, p. 72) but to also convert data to ‘textualising metaphor’ (Crang, M., 2005). Besides the visual, I found sound another crucial element of sensuous ethnography. Listening to peoples’ stories while doing my observations in different cities helped my understanding of peoples’ views on the space and what grabs their attention. For instance, a Syrian female refugee was interviewed by an Italian journalist in Starbucks on İstiklal Street, explaining her feelings about being a refugee in Istanbul, her abuse by people who think she's poor. Even though she came from a middle class family she said “people think a refugee is in need, not that they escaped from the war with their money and social class”. She was sharing the pain over a cup of coffee while the Italian journalist was drinking his espresso with a cigarette in a hand and a pen in another. The process of observation is a rich experience, which stimulates all of the senses at once.

Likewise, smell isn't just a biological and psychological phenomenon, but also a cultural, social and historical one and linked to cultural values which are inherited in societies as a mean of interaction with the world and therefore an ‘essence of human culture’ (Classen *et al.*, 1994; Sparkes, 2009). Therefore, senses can be both cultural and biological as; observing people, shopping, trying food samples on the street, stopping for music and performers, standing in a queue outside restaurants and sweet shops, smelling kebabs, tasting baklavas. These are typical sensuous experiences anyone would encounter on the pedestrian street, as many business owners try to market their products on these streets, along with streets vendors and even illegal sellers who come to sell duplicate products or snacks.

Sensual is more than just a description of how things look in the field. It is a privileged sight that “will not only make ethnography more vivid and more accessible, but will render our accounts of others more faithful to the realities of the field” (Stoller, 1989, pp. 8–9). As we learn about the differences and distinctions of social classes, races through our senses, these senses must be studied while conducting ethnographic work (Sparkes, 2009). These senses when observed carefully are representations and reflections of bigger systems on the street.

But these descriptions of observation aren’t always easy to capture and they can be a real challenge when conducting research in pedestrians’ territories. Drinking coffee on a terrace of nice cafés in the morning while watching people and taking notes can be a rare situation in heavily dense spaces. During these months of fieldwork I used numerous approaches to observations and I had to try out many vantage points , but the act of observing was very challenging and took time, effort and perseverance for various reasons. First, the weather was still a challenge as I was welcomed on arrival by snowy NYC, hot and sunny Barcelona, and smoky Istanbul. Second, how exactly to observe? It was easier to sit on public red steps or the red chairs (provided by the Times Square Alliance) to observe in Times Square, but when moving to Barcelona and Istanbul, finding somewhere to sit was more difficult. In Barcelona there were only limited public chairs, so the other option was to sit in a restaurant or a café, which were often packed with tourists, and I only found a seat if I was lucky a I was competing with elderly people, tired tourists and homeless people.

Chairs and people-watching is a cultural and historical aspect of La Ramblas. Back in the days there were plenty of chairs, mostly hired by people, but after gentrifying the area, the Town Hall decided to leave dozens of chairs (not benches, to prevent people from sleeping on them) for the public, so that elderly people who are tired of walking and nostalgic about the past can sit watching people and sometimes falling asleep (Figure 2-1), taking their siesta under the shade. This was a cultural phenomenon that a normal tourist wouldn’t know about. I learned about it from books, observations and interviews.



Figure 2-1 Elderly people watching people – A man taking a siesta on Las Ramblas, by author, July 2015

During my fieldwork different challenges were thrown up in each site. In Istanbul, observation was the most challenging, as the municipality bans cafés from providing seating areas on İstiklal itself, just on the side streets, and has removed all the trees and benches from the street for security reasons, and the high density of pedestrians. So, I was left with the option of observing behind the kiosks, sitting on a manhole, or (if I was lucky enough to find a seat at a table) on the terraces and balconies of the upper floors of some restaurants and cafés.

Another ethnographic observation is the rhythm and synchronization of events or activities, like shopping in the pedestrian territory (Kärrholm, 2009, 2016) that requires deep rhythm analysis (Lefebvre, 2004) connecting different layers of the pedestrian territory as part of a network, not an isolated enclosed space. These methods had interesting findings, which I discuss later on under sensation, perception and conceptions chapters.

So, in depth observation and understanding of the place and what is observed are a cultural training, and not just an ethnographic diary. Participating in a culture requires immersion by the researcher in the everyday life and details of the space and its rhythms, routines, and also building relations with people who enrich researchers' knowledge about 'goings-on' in field through notes, tallies, drawings, photographs, etc., to strive and maintain scientific objectivity (Crang, M. and Cook, 2007). Therefore, observations help the researcher re-craft

the preliminary questions the researcher arrived with, drawing on the emerging issues and nature of evolving places. However fundamental research questions do not change in order to keep the comparison valid, but some of the supporting questions change depending on the current situations and productions.

Observation is a limitless activity because everything is changing constantly; every minute something occurs on the street and many surprises and unexpected events happen, like protests, fights, or even bombs. Morning, afternoon or night or even after midnight observations vary and each has a different audience, activities, players and surprises. In the following chapters a better understanding of the connections between street elements will be clearer as small events are ignited by bigger ones and there is a hidden network of events within the territory and other territories overseas.

Using ethnography to understand culture is uneasy task, and there is no one-way to do it. Culture is a very complex and a broad topic, which has multiple meanings, forms and productions. Marcus and Fischer (1999) argue that cultural identities and activities are constructed by multiple agents which vary and depend on each context, place, and therefore ethnography should represent the multiplicity of both intended and unintended consequences within the system of the place. As a result, during my comparative ethnographic trips I was very keen to use multiple methods to understand the culture of the pedestrian from different aspects while considering local systems as a network or variables, and by forming diverse questions that try to study the place from different perspectives, provoke the thoughts of people, extract answers that reflect their own interests and find out about their understanding and knowledge of culture.

One of the challenges of multi-locale ethnography is that it requires understanding of the internal life of the locales or places, locally-specific specificities and these two can be challenging to combine, especially when investigating, precisely the culture and identity of the place (Marcus, 1998). Marcus elaborates that ethnography has no global in the local-global context as the global is a dimension that connects sites in a multi-sited ethnography (Marcus, 1998). Therefore, I attempted to define forms of global relations and patterns that occur in the city and their impact on the people to distinguish between the global and the local ethnographically within territory's boundaries.

Several questions were asked, like what represents the local culture on the street, what's the identity of the place, and what the global features of the street are. I was trying to make people think for a second and look around to see something that illustrated their understanding of the local and global, and staying alert to new or even strange and unexpected answers. Some people had a very limited imagination of what's global, for different reasons including their limited travels, as they called global movements in the city as exclusive and local 'things', while those who supported the idea of global were referring to other places that resemble this street in different parts of the world, including reference to the cases I'm studying in this research, which confirmed my criteria of selection and comparison of these places. In my last two chapters I explain the findings of this method, which show how the culture and identity have two branches; one related to the place or the territory and the other related to the people.

Since the pedestrian territory was the main research area, and I was focusing on segments of it to do my in depth observations, it didn't stop me from looking for a while at what's beyond the territory itself. This method helps to trace some critical distinctions, which build on the contextual analysis. It helps finding the relations between the territory and its surrounding areas and even other parts of the city. For instance to understand which one is feeding into the other and what are the locally-specific characteristics make the territory unique. This validated my thought about the territorial character of the pedestrian street, as it is an intensive venue, which in some cities stretches to the surroundings like in Istanbul, or the surroundings feed into the street like in Barcelona, where Las Ramblas distinctively splits into two historically different neighbourhoods. In contrast Times Square has very limited connections with its surroundings, except for some scattered spots along Broadway South, as the next block has no relation to the extravaganza of the square itself.

From another perspective, I found out from my visits to other areas of the city and through conversations with some citizens that the pedestrian territory is not a place they like to visit for different reasons; it is too crowded and touristic, shopping malls are easier to shop in, or even it is not a family place due to the nightlife reputation. I wanted to expand my scope and interview people in other parts of the city in order to collect different opinions of the place and reasons why residents of other quarters do not visit it, but due to time limitations I decided to stay within the pedestrian territory itself.

Talking about time limitations intertwines with other ethnographic anxieties around the being and studying the same area all the time, interviewing people in overcrowded places, the crowds and the difficulty in finding places to sit or even stand, and exhaustion.

2.4.3 Interviews

Interviewing allows more thorough examination of experiences, feelings, or opinions (Kitchin and Tate, 1999, p. 213) and fills the gaps of observation. Whether they are structured, unstructured or semi-structured interviews (Hay, 2000, pp. 51–52) depends on the setting and nature of the interviewees. As pedestrian territories are very dense areas which attract different demographics shaped by age, background, genders and so on, ethnographic research has to capture this diversity and complexity of space with its instruments of method.

While quantitative methods can be used to compare and contrast peoples' opinions with their demographics, such as background, ethnicities, age or even familiarity with the place, etc., researching the pedestrian territory remains qualitative due to its cultural, social and spatial complexities. Qualitative interviews are also useful for relating the number of rhythmic linear and cyclical activities during the day and their relations to the place and people, etc.

When conducting comparative research in different cultures and in cities, which a researcher isn't necessarily originally from, there are many historical and cultural elements, which should be taken into consideration in order to build a robust framework and learn from the previous studies. I tried to diversify the methods and instruments to verify the outcomes in case one doesn't work. Most importantly ethnographic work shouldn't be predicted or over determined before it starts, it should rather discovered and found out (Marcus, 1998). So some methods were tested and then improved or changed during the preliminary period. For instance I did not find a significant value in using visuals, such as before and after pedestrianisation photos, when interviewing people. Some questions were changed as they were vague and other questions were divided into generic and specific based on the category. I kept in mind the ways in which ethnography is a learning process rather than a judgmental practice, as these pedestrian territories are human and cultural

productions and ethnography tries to convey a meaningful understanding of the space to the reader.

While conducting interviews might sound simple and straightforward in the literature, the practice is challenging, especially when the interviews are done in busy, entertainment and multicultural places. I was trying to seek both depth and breadth while keeping it fast and spontaneous while everyone was busy or having fun. So I focused mainly on interviewing people within the territory's boundaries, and also conducted a few formal interviews with officials or academics off-site. Some methods, such as office interviews and focus groups were excluded from the beginning, as they are hard to implement when studying such a public space. Besides that these methods if used off site won't answer questions like the feeling while walking around the territory, the sensuous experience and other questions, which should be asked during the lived experience. Therefore, the challenge of interviews is how to get the best out of the interviews using in depth questions in a short time and in the right place. Below I mention 3 elements used when interviewing people in the multicultural, dense, entertainment hub of the city that is the pedestrian territory.

2.4.3.1 Structure and Phasing

My interviews went through different stages of evolution, from leaving Durham with a list of questions and aims to conduct surveys and focus groups, and to use creative techniques of interviewing and visual instruments, to finding that the reality didn't meet my high expectations. In practice I had to start with brief preliminary interviews to test my modified questions, which were based on the initial in-depth observations and site analysis. These highlighted the big phenomena of the space, helped by secondary sources, like interviews with officials, literature and other sources of information which give a historical, cultural and social background. It was helpful to start the interviews with preliminary interviews, a short list of questions to examine the researcher's abilities in holding conversation and managing time, and also to identify the big issues of the space to participants.

Once these answers were analysed, the next stage was in depth interviews, which are more precise, quicker and more efficient with time and based on a wider knowledge of the street and the interviewees. I conducted my interviews in the pedestrian territories at different times, on street corners and with random people to diversify the opinions; tourists,

residents, retailers, streets vendors, homeless people and performers. The questions were indeed divided into two sets; the first set of questions was on fundamental generic themes, and uniform in all the categories. The second set focused on the interviewee category. These were conducted on different days, times and sometimes according to pre-arrangements with e.g. retailers.

I had to ask many questions and to make sure the interviewees felt fine in terms of time and spontaneity I had to audio-record them as written questions, as surveys did not appeal to tourists and people in a rush, who did not have time to read and write, and surveys took too much time. I had to make sure that the questions were as much as possible open-ended in order to give people an opportunity to elaborate on their feelings, perceptions, and thoughts, and even narrate stories or incidents. These tips helped a lot as they initiated longer conversations, often the conversations led to further questions which weren't on the list, and sometimes I couldn't cover all the questions as I was engaging in the conversation rather than list- checking.

2.4.3.2 Interviewer and Interpreters Skills

Interviewing strangers from around the world in such a busy place in a foreign country required skill, especially when interviews involved questions about feelings and perceptions of space. I had to read about it, and practice it to be able to make it interesting and comfortable for the interviewees, which affected the outcome. Most of the interviews had a conversational nature, treating it as a quick chat to avoid formality, tediousness and length. So, I was asking people about their nationality and greeting them in their language if I could speak it, helping them with directions or recommending places in order to build up a friendly conversation. I was approaching them with a smile and looked like a researcher with my documents, asking them about their day to ease the process. As an interviewer and researcher I was trying to be unbiased and to avoid causing discomfort. I encouraged provocative questions but not stereotypical or judgmental questions, and avoided sensitive topics related to faith, political views, private lives or even personal questions like names or age, which aren't welcomed by some people. However, every researcher is biased to a certain extent, which happens even unconsciously, so it is impossible to remove all bias, as positionality is inevitable.

These skills had to be transferred to my interpreters in those cities where English is not the first language. My interpreters were students of translation studies in both Barcelona and Istanbul, since professional interpreters would have cost a fortune. I had to look for cheaper but high quality support. I asked the translation and English language schools of some top universities in these cities to nominate some students who have certain skills such as being outspoken, confident, and social, besides specializing in interpretation. I had to examine and interview the candidates and choose the best one for this job. This was a challenge as my interview phase came during the exams or holidays season and many students or faculty members were away, but eventually I managed to find a few in each city to choose from.

I accompanied the interpreter to record comments, demographic data and interview details on the clipboards. Indeed, I had to train and instruct the interpreter to get the best results. Then interviews were recorded, and later on sent to them for translation into English. One of the challenges while doing the interviews was that we could not identify who was a resident and who was a tourist, so we were testing with the local language, then seeing if the interpreter was going to conduct the interview, or if I would do so using my first language, Arabic, or English. Spanish, Catalan and Turkish interviews were translated into English after the interviews at the interpreter's place and sent to me.

There were some challenges with interpreters, as some of them were limited with time or had different modes, which slightly affected the interviews, as I had to make sure they did not rush the interviewees and improved their personal approach and communication skills. Younger interpreters were not used to street interviews, so this was a criterion for selection and carefully conducted. I had a challenge with the first interpreter in Barcelona who had to travel during the last few days of the fieldwork so I had to ask my Barcelonan host to help with a few interview when I couldn't find anyone else, and some unpredictable surprises happened. Another challenge was in Istanbul as the interpreter took a long time to translate the interviews into English and did not finish the job because she lost interest. So I had to ask a Turkish friend in Durham to interpret the few remaining interviews. This taught me a lesson that finding an interpreter with the right personality, skills and availability should be explored long before the interviews start, and there should be always some backup and plan B for unexpected situations.

2.4.3.3 Official Interviews

According to Hannerz “Multisite ethnographies seem to retain more of a pluralism as regards sources to include a range of polymorphous engagements involving 'interacting with informants across a number of dispersed sites, but also doing fieldwork by telephone and email, collecting data eclectically in many different ways from a disparate array of sources” (2003, p. 212). Probably one of the smart ways of understanding the city or the fieldwork site is to contact and meet with people who live in it, or are originally from, the city. Academics can be the first choice, as they are familiar with local publications and resources like books, papers, libraries, and even a network of people who can contribute to the research. Another wise choice, which is best used after gaining a good understanding of the location, are officials working in government departments like transportation, municipality and (if lucky enough) police or security departments. This varies from one city to another depending on their resources, relationships with academia and faith in research, besides trust in foreign universities and researchers. Indeed, language could be a barrier, but many of those mentioned above could speak English due to their exposure to the world through publications and literature or work relations.

After becoming familiar with the territory and its main characteristics, I started to contact officials managing the territories for interviews, and data about the areas. This was more efficient and easier in NYC than in Barcelona and Istanbul, for several reasons. First, my English language skills helped develop connections with professors, the city council, a design company and the Times Square Alliance. In the other two locations not everyone could speak English except for a few people in Istanbul’s Beyoğlu municipality and some professors in some private universities. Second, bureaucratic complications and confidentiality of information can be restrictive. The USA has more open source information in the public domain, unlike other places, which were less open because I was from an overseas university.

Third, the political situation and security in Barcelona during the time of the fieldwork prevented me from gaining access to the public sector, as it was at a time when they changed the mayor of Barcelona, who was not in favour of the police, so people were in limbo and passive, and didn’t want to get in any trouble or share any information. So, this process actually took a very long time, as I only received responses from the people during

the second month of my fieldwork, after following up numerous times. This shows that it is quite essential to interact with different informants using telephone, email, electronic data and an array of sources (Crang, M. and Cook, 2007).

2.4.4 Secondary Resources

Being in the field doesn't mean that all the data should be primary. I tried to find secondary information public resources in public libraries, as well as a few private ones, in order to access books, publications and archives relevant to the street and its transformation. This was very helpful, especially in Barcelona, where books both in English and Spanish had information and pictures showing the transformation and history of La Ramblas. In NYC, I was relying more on recommended books by the professors I interviewed in departments of urban studies, geography and architecture in a few NYC universities.

These professors also referred me to their friends and networks of private and public sectors specialists, like the design company, NYDT (NY Department of Transportation) and the Times Square Alliance. The interviews and connections in Istanbul were limited due to the language barrier and difficulty in accessing official departments, apart from the municipality, which helped me with old pictures of the street, change of aesthetics, signs and the gentrification process.

Secondary resources and online apps can be very useful when trying to understand the big issues or attractions of the place. Using newspapers, TV and other resources can widen the chances of the researcher grasping more of the local culture, politics and society. Tourism websites like guidebooks (Trip-advisor, Virtual-tourist, Rough-guides, Lonely-planet, etc.) and travel blogs can be a good resource to use to understand the place, what attracts people to this territory, the hidden gems and the typical sightseeing routes, besides understanding how foreign travellers experience the territory and perceive it as a cultural journey. The third online resource that is becoming popular these days is social networks, such as Instagram and Twitter hashtags, Snapchat, Facebook pages, Timeout, Foursquare, and so on, which can help uncover what people are interested in around this territory and their thoughts, moments, snaps and recommendations on food, places and even travel tips.

2.4.5 Fahad and the Pedestrian Territory

2.4.5.1 Challenges and Ethics

Thrift notes: “Though fieldwork is often portrayed as a classical colonial encounter in which the fieldworker lords it over her/his respondents, the fact of the matter is that it usually does not feel much like that at all. More often it is a curious mixture of humiliations and intimidations mixed with moments of insight and even enjoyment” (2003b, p. 106). I would call parts of my interview processes as a ‘begging’ process in the most crowded places in such populous cities, especially when scoring 200 successful interviews out of more than 300 attempts, which failed due to rejection, humiliation, offense, racism and the underestimation of the researcher.

There are many challenges when it comes to interviews in pedestrian territories, which differ, from observation ones. First, it is very hard to ask strangers for interviews in the crowded entertainment districts of busy cities, so I tried to choose different times, places, corners or preferably people already standing or sitting, otherwise people usually did not want to be stopped when they were in a rush. Second, I was limited to interviewing people who were usually sitting, because it is impossible to stand facing the crowds for interviews, especially in Istanbul. Third, interviewing retailers and sellers was taking ages, as in NYC many stores asked for corporate approvals, which I tried to contact many times but I received no answer. So I interviewed those working in stores, which didn’t care much about the corporate, however, they gave me a very limited time, because it is the busiest branch in the city. The case was much better in Barcelona and Istanbul because of the number of stores on the street is higher and people were nicer to my interpreters and myself and less hindered by American corporate rules.

Fourth, it was a bit risky to interview homeless people, beggars or some street sellers, as in Times Square they were pushed away until night-time, and I wasn’t feeling safe asking them for interview (Figure 2-2). I was lucky to interview 2 homeless people during the day in Barcelona, but my attempts in Istanbul failed as the people started to stare at us and get angry. Fifth, interviewing performers in Times Square was impossible without paying tips, so I had to pay some tips to the comedy-show ticket sellers, topless girls, and the naked cowboy. However, it was an insult to do so in Barcelona, except for few performers who

appreciated it. In Istanbul I was advised not to tip because of the culture, where it would have been considered as an offence. This shows how the local culture differs between territories when it comes to street performers' tips, and how the methodology adjusts based on the locally-specific issues of a global trend like street performance.



Figure 2-2 Homeless people in Times Square looking for money for different reasons, by author, May 2015

The sixth challenge was gaining permission to interview security personnel, police officers and street sellers. The police department in NYC rejected my request, and so did the alliance indirectly, when I asked to interview security personnel. I include street sellers here because many of chestnut, Simit and corn (kiosks) sellers on İstiklal were actually undercover police (Figure 2-3) who rudely refused to be interviewed. After observing them and asking some people I found out that they were police officers paid high salaries, to do this job and provide information to the police through their single one-sided headphone. These challenges limited my data when it comes to certain categories as it would have been useful to find out how they use and perceive the place, being there frequently and having a deep understanding of the territory. On the other hand it was valuable to see how these places are policed and to find out about a hidden dimension of the state.



Figure 2-3 Undercover police as kiosk seller and in civil cars, İstiklal, by author, October 2015

Although peoples' attitudes towards me were sometimes challenging, as some people could reject my offer rudely or be racist, I was also tired of being in the same place almost everyday. This had to do with the weather as well, arriving in NYC in the end of winter, washed with snow, then burned under the sun of Barcelona, and suffocated by Turkish cigarettes smoke. This was not as pleasant as the image my friends had of me being entertained and experiencing 'wow' moments.

There were some ethical considerations while conducting interviews. Ethical considerations, confidentiality and anonymity of respondents has to be respected (Crang, M. and Cook, 2007) but how could people's private stories be private if shared in public spaces? Some interviewees thought this research was for a local university not an overseas one, although I was honest when I was asked, but the majority didn't ask especially when interviewed were conducted in Spanish, Catalan and Turkish (by my interpreter in my presence). Leaving the information vague, but not lying about the reality when was asked (I had a university letter and had to tell them about my research and university when I was asked), results in more comfortable, interesting answers, friendlier conversations, openness and frankness with the answers. This could be an ethical matter as not declaring an official research affiliation and revealing my identity could be seen as unethical, but these incidents happened especially when I didn't understand the language and the interpreter had to answer the question as if it was about his/her university in the city.

2.4.5.2 Social Relations

Another important aspect when doing ethnography is to merge in the place and to be part of it, not just a participant observation, but living as a resident, integrating with the people, place and its rhythm, activities, etc. A good practice is to wear different masks when spending time in the pedestrian territory; coming as a researcher, as a resident, as a tourist, and so on. Experiencing and living the character of the people leads to different insights into what people feel and their reactions towards other people. Being in the place as an observer or a tourist has less interaction and friction than interviewing people, which gives an understanding of how random sellers or beggars feel when the researcher can be seen 'selling' him or herself and 'begging' people for interviews.

Part of my ethnography was to stay as close as possible to the pedestrian territory to enrich my ethnographic work with everyday experience. For instance, in Istanbul, I was living in both neighbourhoods of Cihangir and Taksim; just few minutes walk from İstiklal itself. I stayed with locals in their houses through Airbnb to experience their lifestyle and learn more about the culture and street itself, plus having a social life. I made friends who worked there, going daily to the restaurants and cafes, even Starbucks and some restaurants got to know my order. Meeting friends and making friends on the street made me feel part of the place and its people. Having more intellectual knowledge about the street than the locals who were born and raised in the city made me glad about the ethnographic experience and the level of immersion and knowledge I was gaining. Living the everyday life of the street added a lot to my understanding of the street, especially in Istanbul where my accommodation was in the close vicinity, and my appearance was undoubtedly Turkish, making me feel part of the place, not a visitor.

2.4.5.3 Positionality and Reflexivity

Fahad, a middle-eastern, tanned skin man of an Arabic background, well-travelled and multilingual, lived in different parts of the world, tried to position himself in three different sites/continents to study, observe and interview random people. Growing up in a city (Dubai), which is diverse and cosmopolitan, yet conservative and values religion (Islam), made me interested in diversity and public spaces because we lack public spaces where people express their talents and views. Being part of a middle-class Arab family, and

deciding to leave to live abroad starting with the US and then the UK, changed my views on the world and become very open-minded and curious about such places. As a social, friendly and respectful man, I thought I have a good personality to conduct research in foreign countries where they show me different perspectives of the public space, which I'm not aware of.

Indeed, my personality has an influence on the research even when I tried to avoid being biased and decided to use more subjective accounts than my own assumptions or observations. This was influenced by many readings of western writers who looked at difference from their own perspective and were biased or judging from their own western standards many parts of the eastern or southern world, even those related to my country which I felt were exaggerated. I tried to be open-minded and endeavoured to value people's voices and recognise how my middle-eastern background (which I don't feel representative of) shaped how I might interpret responses. This shifted the research to more of a subjective discussion which put people into conversation with each other to show how they conflict, agree or disagree on issues raised in these public spaces or territories. Despite the huge amount of observations I made, I thought interviews should be prioritised and I should raise the voice of the public with the support of observations to show people perceptions, sensations, conceptions and expressions to the reader.

"Positionality is defined as the way in which "a researcher's social, cultural and subject positions... affect: the questions they ask; how they frame them; the theories that they are drawn to; and how they read" (Pratt, 2009, p. 556). Positionality is also related to the cultural differences or commonalities between the researcher and the research space, which might influence the research process and its interpretation (Luque-Ayala, 2014, p. 161). I tried to reflect on people voices throughout the chapters to show the contradictions between what's said and what's done, this kind of reflexivity used to minimize my judgements by confining my thoughts which are based on experience, observation or comparison between sites. While these are still biases that influenced the study, not as misconceptions but as subjectivities into the data collection process (Ambert *et al.*, 1995).

Positionality has a great influence on the analysis because it takes people voices, subjective accounts, to analyse the phenomenon of pedestrian territories. In this thesis I'll use many aspects from the interviews to show how people felt, sensed, judged and experienced the

place. As qualitative research based on ethnography, we will see through the chapters and comparisons that people have very similar feelings, emotions, thoughts or even conceptions in such places even though they are thousands of miles away from each other. At the same time we will see through comparison how a similar phenomenon occur in different sites without being connected geographically, linguistically or culturally. The importance on valuing subjective accounts widen the horizons of the qualitative research to show different humanistic aspects to trace social, cultural influences on the street despite the politico-economic differences. We know how the US, Spain and Turkey are different and how each site has a distinctive character; theatres of Times Square, history of Las Ramblas and food of İstiklal yet many of these people still find similarities and relate each street to another when it comes to their sensuous experience and perceptions. Indeed, some of the questions were identical but this doesn't unify people senses or opinions, these subjective accounts have a strong affect on the atmosphere and its uniqueness.

I really enjoyed talking to those I didn't have a chance to talk or see while living in Dubai, like street performers, homeless people or topless girls. It was fascinating to hear their liberal views which I appreciated rather than judged, at the same time I wasn't critical or judgemental to those interviewees of very liberal views neither to those ultra conservative ones. However, I felt there's a need to include these voices in my research to show these strong and contradictory opinions.

This brings us to the second aspect of positionality, which is related to the mobile positionality that shifted between sites. Fahad on Times Square isn't the same Fahad as on İstiklal , or on Las Ramblas. Language is a top reason of why my positionality, having semi-American accent when speaking English in the US made many people feel comfortable and open to discussions, my knowledge of the US as a previous residence affected a lot of my outcomes in the US especially when talking to Americans and residents of the US. Despite being of a middle-eastern ethnicity, I looked like many Hispanics which built more trust or friendliness between me and those people in Times Square. Likewise, I got great answers from Arabs in all sites because I could speak with them their dialects fluently and as many Arabs feel at ease amongst each other, probably because of previous Arab nationalism or same religion, they open up and trust a fellow Arab and answer generously.

Going to Las Ramblas didn't only change my questions but also my attitude towards the interviewees. This calm and laid back street was way quieter than aggressive, busy, loud, rushed and greedy Times Square. My attitude changed towards people who were easy-going and enjoying the summer. As Las Ramblas had different issues, I had different questions, but I also looked different to them, as the demography of Barcelona or Spain differs from that of the US, I looked to some as southern Spaniard, or Latino (not Mexican here) or Asian. Despite using an interpreter, many thought that I could speak Spanish although I do basic Spanish only.

In Istanbul, I felt my best moments, not because everyone thought I'm a Turk, as I look like many Turks (it's a multi-ethnic country) and I felt blended well in the culture because of the numerous similarities between Turkish culture and the rest of the middle-east. Having this look helped me a lot with the findings as many Turks gossiped about Arabs or Syrians without knowing my origin, the questions changed to suit the Turkish mentality which is very sensitive towards their location in the world as European not a middle-eastern country and their strong nationalism for their republic makes them quite critical of their ottoman past.

This mobility went through some transition period, there were some challenges due to these sudden changes; moving from a busy intensive place to another, each to have many differences, issues, complications and of course cultures, I show here some of these aspects.

In each site I had a local name as a nickname due to the difficulty pronouncing my name and because it was too exotic and grabbing attention in some places. I tried to simplify my English and softened the accent in Barcelona and Istanbul to make conversations friendlier with locals or tourists who spoke basic English. I was emerging myself in local events like attending prayers (including Friday prayers), gay prides, protests and even observing at night times to be part of different settings and various audiences whether I advocate for them or not. My beard and hair got longer and thicker after every case which blended well with the appearance of many men in these cities.

My knowledge, readings and exposure to the local culture such as geography, music, human rights, religious and political views eased my conversations with the locals who were interested in my questions or knowledge. Even those public and national holidays and

events such as St. Patrick's Day in NYC, Sant Joan¹ in Barcelona, and Aşure² in Istanbul that I attended gave me a sense of inclusion. Being a student helped and influenced my research, many people were sympathetic to help me knowing that I'm an international student in a foreign country and assuming that I'm studying in one of the universities in this city.

Coming from a conservative culture made me interested in liberal opinions, so I was excited and passionate to cross the boundaries, like interviewing topless performers. However this was also helpful to understand very religious or conservative middle-easterns who refused to be audio-recorded and interact with foreigners except me, someone from the same culture. On the same hand, I understood when I was interviewing middle-eastern couples and the man was the one who's talking, it's a result of a patriarch and masculine society which leaves a woman silent when two men are talking as a sign of respect rather than oppression, while this was the opposite when I interviewed western couples who talked freely and sometimes pushed the woman to talk more.

Being a critical or rebellious of my own culture and region didn't get me emotional when taking criticism towards the middle-east as a personal affair. I was okay with Turks criticizing Arabs, I'm not nationalist anyway. However, in some occasions I was bothered hearing some stereotypes or generalisations from some westerns towards arabs or even vice versa, ignorance was avoided in the discussion of my thesis and some parts relevant to that were excluded.

These efforts helped me emerging better and understanding the culture as I move from a place to another. It took me to a level where some people were always speaking to me in Spanish or Turkish even when I was buying stuff from touristic kiosks, where I experienced a local, friendlier attitude, simpler communication, but this sometimes changed to a formal attitude when I shifted to English. Moreover, an example of a male tourist from the Gulf region opened up, talking about his insecurity and safety worries because the police and riot forces were walking around in a touristic hub. He told me about his military job, which

¹ The Feast of Sant Joan in Barcelona take place on the evening of June 23rd and it's celebrated mainly throughout the Catalan-speaking countries of Catalonia with fireworks and bonfires similarly to Guy Fawkes' Night.

² Aşure or Ashure (Turkish) or Noah's Pudding is a Turkish dessert porridge that is made of a mixture consisting of grains, fruits, dried fruits and nuts. In Turkey it is made all the year and served especially during Muharram, the first month of the Islamic calendar, as the 10th of Muharrem corresponds to the Day of Ashure.

would not have happened if he was interviewed by a non-Gulf person. Some people thought I was an American or of a Hispanic background in Times Square, due to the way I welcomed them, and pushed them speak regardless of their broken English, and they asked me about places to go and directions.

The interviews were conducted in 5 languages (English, Arabic, Spanish, Catalan and Turkish). Although I can't speak any Catalan, I understand much Spanish and some Turkish from the context, in addition to Arabic (my ability to speak 4 Arabic dialects helped making people comfortable speaking freely without noticing my origin). My passion for languages and dialects as well as knowledge about other cultures helped a lot with my research. Many elderly people asked me to sit next to them and enjoyed talking, gossiping and laughing with me, and a couple of ladies politely flattered and flirted with me due to my smiles and jokes. This showed me that people feel more comfortable expressing their opinions in their first language and with people from their own country, or look alike them.

Mobility isn't only about moving between cities or countries but even in the same street when encountering very different people like Asians next to Europeans or Latinos. Being open to cultures, well-travelled, and used to living abroad while also studying and working with people of different backgrounds in Dubai enabled me to know how to shift my questions between people of different cultures. I asked Westerners how they were enjoying the nightlife, cathedrals and museums, while keeping it conservative when asking Muslims and Arabs about the things they liked, but without stereotypes, as not everyone from these groups is typical! For instance, a religious Muslim woman refused due to her religious values and tribal traditions, saying that her husband wouldn't be happy about her voice being recorded if he knew about it (he was abroad).

As some of the questions were basic and same in all cases such as those related to how people feel, think, sense the place and their opinion on performers, space productions or its uniqueness, there were other questions which were related to specific elements of each space. These questions were based on preliminary observations and initial interviews. For instance, I asked people first about their opinion on street performers as a dynamic and unavoidable element on Times Square and the first few interviews showed me the importance of those greedy cartoonists or shock around topless girls, therefore I had to elaborate more on these aspects when I categorized my questions based on groups of

people to study the phenomenon through tourists, residents and other performers eyes and extract from this aspects related to competition between performers, identity of the Americans who thought it was ruined by these people, or even showing a material aspect of the public space which threaten or shock some people or even illustrate the liberal aspect of Times Square. This shows us that interviews weren't to study quantitative aspects of the territory but a huge and crucial source of information that were based on preliminary issues raised by the people themselves which are related to big societal, cultural and socio-economic aspects of the place.

Type of questions of the way they were asked had a big influence on the answers such as the previous example on how people perceived the performers, this had very controversial conversations between liberal and conservatives and it was also a topic of newspapers headlines. I was asking people about their opinions on performers and then specify them and from there I had to relate this matter to bigger issues like family, kids and tourists of different backgrounds who might be pushed away from such scenes. The answers varied and showed many aspects of how these territories experience higher level of freedom, this is discussed when talking about the type of productions, identity and culture these spaces offer which later on accept many other behaviours from both tourists and residents like being hubs for minorities, queers and LGBTQs who enjoy this advanced freedom and liberalism of the public space. We see here the network of territory which doesn't limit to the physical boundaries but more socio-cultural pressures and freedoms. This was all studied from the interviews and my observations which coined the phenomenon. Nevertheless, I was trying to minimise my own observations to be solely discussed to avoid assumptions or biased judgements that aren't based on subjective accounts that are derived from the interviews.

Shifting between sites forced me to find different lines and threads in each site which share similar importance but more relevant to the site itself, its issues, and the whole phenomenon. For instance, we see some of the issues with the performers on Times Square were similar to those of ethnic musicians in Istanbul. This is a comparative research and commonality is a fundamental element of discussion, therefore, finding similarities between sites to form interview questions and debate subjective accounts was a priority to study the culture, as cultures have fuzzy boundaries. Although interviews represented the core of this

research, I show many of my observations throughout this thesis to support the argument raised by interviews.

Part of my own observations is the following section on my participant observation which was the most intense experience was when I joined a group of people to give “free hugs” as in (Figure 2-4), in the middle of Times Square. It was an intense experience, a mixture of feelings. Starting with offense (insults, pointing in my eyes, or walking away) that made me feel racism towards me or some of those African Americans who were part of the group. On the contrary, there were some positive reactions from younger people and African Americans how were happy to hug me. These different dimensions of participant observation reminds us of the reality of ethnography being mostly practiced by white people in English language. Marcus (1998) refers to this as ‘exemplars’ which have been developed in monolingual (largely Anglo-American) contexts, where basic knowledge of the language isn’t problematic for native English speakers. However now ethnography has become multilingual, multi-sited and even multi-ethnic in multi-territorial spaces.



Figure 2-4 I'm giving free hugs (left), activity initiators (right) at Times Square, by author's camera, May 2015

While reflexivity is defined by writing on personal thoughts and feelings while conducting a study; showing researcher's experiences, ethnicity, race, gender, sex, sexual orientation, and other factors that might influence their research and its outcomes (Ambert *et al.*, 1995). I tried here to show some aspects of my positionality with some reflexive ideas to avoid

biases while also keeping the focus on the subjectivity of the qualitative research the core of this discussion. Although Fahad was slightly different when interviewing a veiled woman or another topless, Fahad is not without biases and his identity “can be understood as an assemblage of thoughts, feelings, memories, ways of doing things, possessions and so forth which does not fit together on a dedicated pattern but is always a compromise, always pragmatic, always in flux and never pure” (Crang, M. and Cook, 2007, p. 10). Some aspects of identity can be crucial when reflecting on an ethnographic work like the white fantasy of escaping ethnic identity (Loftsdóttir, 2002) or multiple positionalities and elements of researchers identity when interacting with the locals (Crang, M., 2005).

Lastly, I want to emphasize the importance of conducting subjective research as it offers us with great input of people’s opinions, experiences and thoughts, which help understanding the territory as a socio-cultural arena of urban productions. The positive value of the subjective research remains in its primary source, the people, and the variation of their affects and perceptions that are both causes and results of the interaction with the space. Precisely, we see the great value of how their thoughts are sometimes expressed and on other occasions kept to themselves, this in itself shows both emergence and conflicts between people and territory values. I learned that as much research, observations and literature I conducted it wasn’t enough to analyse the space without subjective accounts, which complemented and enriched my findings; subjective accounts are more grounded, realistic and immediate.

2.5 Data Processing and Analysis

Having around 200 interviews in mp3 audio file, made me happy about the 9 exhausting months spent away from Durham, but that happiness turned to pain when it came to transcribing and coding, which is a tiring and time-consuming process. (Crang, M. and Cook, 2007, p. 87) list the advantages of using another transcriber to transcribe the interviews, which “may save considerable time and therefore be no bad thing”, but it:

- Gives the transcriber access to their conversations that they promised would be anonymised and treated in the strictest confidence and
- Misses out on the detailed internalization of what was said that laborious typing can bring.

[illegible]

So, I transcribed all the translations and all the English and Arabic interviews in a huge database, which took a long time, given the slow process of repeating some parts for quotation and of course trying to understand some broken English or even strong English accents from Dundee, NYC, Texas or Australia, and even African Americans.

So, data processing, which isn't actually analysis, helped showing the big picture of the research, its argument and structure. From there, I started to build up my argument for the

thesis, draw a structure to fit this data in it along with the arguments of the current scholars and knowledge. “Most researchers recommend starting an analysis by trading these documents one line or sentence at a time, and trying to concentrate on what was going on step by step and to reconstruct the events to which each part refers” (Crang, M. and Cook, 2007, p. 134).

So with all these data there, arguments built, and writing starting there are few issues that should be kept in mind while writing. First the style of writing, my research will be directed towards “Writing through codes: use data and support it with literature to make arguments”, more than writing auto-ethnography or montage styles, which my data was not suitable for. Another issue is the validity and reliability of data as explained by (Crang, M. and Cook, 2007, p. 146)

- Credibility of the account (authenticated representation of what actually occurred)
- Transferability of the material (making what occurred intelligible to the audience)
- Dependability of the interpretation (that it is not illogical, or how partisan it is)
- Confirmability of the study (the ability to audit the process that made it through)

2.6 Summary

In this chapter I was trying to explain what is comparative territorialism as a theory and how it can be practiced in the field. I mentioned the challenges of transferring theories to the field and what obstacles and strategies a researcher could adopt when dealing with comparative research in different cultural geographies. Later on I described my methods of studying pedestrians territories, which are dense entertainment and touristic destinations that differ from the surrounding city and country where they are located, using both contextual and ethnographic instruments. I showed the importance of understanding the pedestrian territory from a territorial, contextual, spatial and socio-cultural prospective and the levels ethnography can reach when conducted deeply, for instance sensuous, rhythmic and spatial analysis as well as conventional interviews and observations.

It's important to emphasize the importance of comparative research and value its contribution to the literature in urban studies as it compares causes, drivers, productions of an urban phenomenon. I chose comparative urbanism as a guideline to develop the concept of comparative territorialism, which sums up the findings of comparative urbanism theorists

to approach comparative research by focusing on the territory rather than the city. Precisely, to focus on phenomenon itself rather than state's system, to trace the value of globalization as a driver which penetrates various aspects of the space, both at city and nation level.

I based my argument on an ordinary city (Robinson, 2005, p. 763) which has what each city has but a distinctive urban core which doesn't represent the city itself but crosses the border transnationally to connect with some in another city. I used Ward's approach to "acknowledge both the territorial and relational geographies of cities" (2008, p. 408) to focus my comparison on only spaces not cities, studying solely these pedestrian territories as parts of the city which are not necessarily representing the culture, system, politics or even urban characteristics of the entire city. This is a different approach if compared with many comparative urbanists who look more on the city and socio-economic similarities and differences. These transnational relations connect places rather than countries (Söderström, 2014) and I focus my argument on socio-cultural productions and relate them to the politico-economic or socio-economic interventions as a bottom-up approach.

As many comparative researchers focus on comparative patterns between systems I rather do it between territories in different locations, to investigate the causes which are mainly politico-economic and therefore show the characteristics of territories, territorial people, territorial productions, territorial culture or even identity through comparative territorialism. I try to intersect territory with comparative research as Brenner (2004) suggests "territory must be seen as relationally produced rather than bounded and static" (in McCann and Ward, 2010, p. 176). Therefore, understanding territory can't be as rich as when it's studied through comparison, and comparative urbanism won't be as beneficial when the whole city is studied as much as its focused on a segment of the city that holds specific characteristics. I showed my approach which is divided into two parts; first studying the territory in relation to its comprehensive surroundings to identify the differences from the city, and second, to compare them with their counterparts of similar characteristics. This comparison doesn't only offer wealth of information on each territory and its counterparts but also relate inner-city patterns to the global system through identified relational characteristics. This is a crucial contribution which comparative urbanism lacks, besides being mainly theoretical and not specific to rich case studies.

I include in my research different characteristics as the next chapters show to demonstrate these distinctions and patterns which widen the practice of comparison. Studying atmospheres, cultural trends and changes, in addition to the identity of the territory, sheds light on ways of understanding the urban through new lenses. The practice of categorizing isn't always intellectual choice (McFarlane, 2010), as "the ways in which the urban is experienced [and, we might add, compared] ... clearly depends on who you are and which spaces you negotiate" (McFarlane and Robinson, 2012a, p. 770).

Comparative urbanism shows a wealth in relation to global system and the logic of competitive capitalism (Smith, 2000) or zoom into urban spaces and the similarities and differences as effects of global systems (Nijman, 2007) and globalization (Lees, 2012). Therefore I use the debate on comparative urbanism to relate to territories as a specific urban form. We saw that territorialism is the ultimate state of separation, occupation and defence against outsiders (or the city) by those who have similar interests which differ from those of the city. Therefore, comparison between such spaces needs a more specific and bottom-up approach, comparative territorialism, which studies the similarities and differences among territories in different cultural geographies, which have undergone through politico-economic changes by global systems that produced similar and distinguished socio-cultural identity shared by the territories not the cities themselves. This has more specific look at the space and considers both politico-economic relations and socio-cultural patterns that we don't see emphasized in comparative urbanism approaches.

These "patterns" connect places relationally (Jacobs, 2012, p. 905) which introduces and enriches comparative research and emphasize the plurality of comparative approaches (McFarlane and Robinson, 2012b), despite the way we see cities heterogeneous (Gough, 2012), cities remain ordinary but spaces or territories within cities have different characteristics which require cross-cultural comparisons. Indeed, some comparative researches compare two (or more) similar systems of different cultures or cross-cultural societies (Hantrais, 1995), it rarely engages comparison in the context of the city to study different issues related to production of space from cultural, social or even ethico-political perspectives (McFarlane, 2010).

This thesis tries to go beyond conventional theorizations of place, to study the territory using relations of cause and relations of impact or productions, not to theorize urban theory

but to study subjective and objective accounts extracted from the ethnographic work. This helps understanding two dimensions; first specificities of each place to avoid generalizations and the misuse of applying a theory on all places, second to develop a comparison of similarities and differences to precisely discuss the non-universality of urban theory as no one theory can apply a single theory on all places when answering the global and local for instance. These two dimensions stress on the importance of subjective accounts in drawing the bigger picture of comparative research. We can learn that using this approach can strengthen the evidence of the local and specific of each comparable element of place and it helps showing the human element and its importance in the making of the place as expressions, productions and conflicts. On the other hand this also has some weaknesses like the variation and confusion of subjective accounts which relate to the diversity of people and their use and experience of a place, which make urban theory flexible and sometimes loose. Therefore, trying to develop the concept of comparative territorialism needs a good support from ethnographic work to justify, explain and identify the productions and implications and at the same time be robust and coherent to avoid loose and distractive outcomes.

Moreover, I diversify the approach (Denters and Mossberger (2006) through methodology to make it doable in practice through cross-cultural comparisons which sheds light on the similarities and differences to find the common criteria (Keating (1991, p. 11). Some choose to study “market conditions, intergovernmental support, popular control and local culture” (Ward, 2010, p. 478) which helps with understanding of the overarching logic and outcomes of globalization, and I try here to take this to another level and more specific variables (Denters and Mossberger, 2006; Ward, 2010) such as subjective accounts to understand this phenomenon. As Robinson’s argument to “move ‘beyond comparative studies’ in the traditional sense (Robinson, 2002, p. 532) I try to be creative to focus on locally-specific variants of a universal phenomenon, like pedestrian territories. I borrow Ward’s “relational concept of comparison (which rejects universal measures and takes) pre-given objects, events, places and identities” (2010, p. 480) to study this phenomenon.

We need to think of territories as smaller cities or systems within city’s border which aren’t necessarily representative of the city. Therefore, we could see pedestrian territories as smaller versions of a city’s mechanics, which doesn’t resemble the city itself but a more

complicated arena of relations and trans-territorial dynamics, that are connected through global systems and embedded in a city's system. This ontological foundation of comparison reveals significant connections between spaces and territories that are meaningfully comparable in terms of scale, relationality and thematic aspects. Relationality using comparative territorialism therefore helps our understanding of "diverse but increasingly interconnected trajectories of socio-spatial change in different parts of the world" (Hart, 2004, p. 91).

Therefore, I choose ethnography as the primary source for comparison; cultures and cross-cultural relations are best understood using comparative tools besides human opinions and productions. Trying to understand people expressions and reaction towards the powers of the territory through specificities related to the new cultural trends within the territory. Although ethnography can be a challenging in these overcrowded and complex urban spaces it is however a rewarding method as it goes to various layers of the space including its culture, identity and social aspects, looking at both depth and breadth of the territory.

Therefore, comparative territorialism can be put into practice using ethnography because it matches its complexity and multi-dimensional aspects as a separate urban space that is connected through global relations than other parts of the city system. I added to this contextual analysis, which is an important approach to understanding the territory and its surroundings and to finding the distinctions that make the territory unique. It's important to mention that studying the pedestrian street from a territorial discourse does not limit the space to a form of urban space, but draws a framework for a variety of possibilities and activities that vary from a space to another.

As the chapter showed, comparative territorialism couldn't succeed as a theory or method without a comprehensive and robust conceptual design and data collection method, including observations and interviews. My approach to the territory using ethnography insists on opening ethnographic work to modifications and alterations depending on the nature and objectives of the targeted research, and the situation in each case. This can be a helpful tool to find meaningful explanations of the makers and productions of the pedestrian territory, and understanding of the socio-spatial and cultural aspects of this urban form from a comparative perspective that shows similarities that generate due to the type of space it forms and the global systems that influence its productions.

I finished with some reflexive thoughts and positionality, which summarized some approaches, related to the multi identities of the researcher and its influence on the ethnographic fieldwork and the findings of the research.

We can see in this chapter that comparative territorialism can have many advantages, which ease the understanding of the territories when put in comparison. These relational patterns can be seen when looking at the locally-specific patterns when doing a cross-cultural multi-sited ethnography to see how the local and global contrast each other when the local-oriented street is opened to the world through powers of globalization, tourism, gentrification and urban mobilities. Despite the use of multi-methods, ethnographic work can be tricky and confusing especially when it comes to “observed behaviour in contrast to what informants articulate ... as much of culture is verbally inaccessible to informants and, thus, to interviewers” (Arnould, 1998, p. 104).

Chapter 3: Street Penetration and Territory Formation

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter I apply the previous theory and methodology of comparative territorialism on three pedestrian territories, which are located in different cultural geographies, to show how they were upgraded, and transformed from streets to territories, focusing on the physical (non-human) perspective. I'll use here relationality and patterns of comparison to identify the powers used to make this transition in this specific urban space. While these spaces might seem similar if compared from socioeconomic perspectives or as touristic and commercial spaces, they have gone through different processes and produced some similar productions and other unique socio-cultural trends if looked at it at micro level

As the previous chapters showed that the territory isn't just a political term, I continue to use some terms that might have a political sense but they explain some interventions which were at some points drastic or top-down. To understand what territorialism is, we should understand how this process started, in this case, politico-economic powers were used to 'penetrate' or invade the street, to create a new space that is cleaned-up and attract different users, using socioeconomic mechanisms to create a new socio-cultural space.

These pedestrian streets weren't just paved asphalt street or traffic diversion process, but there were many other elements going along the side, the whether on the street, in its buildings or even across the entire area. These streets were at some points red-light districts or homes for low class residents, yet strategically located in the heart of the city, and a change was envisaged which would remove the unwanted and bring something more appealing to middle class taste. While other areas of less historic significance, land value, and strategic location and connectivity to city's system could be healed using less drastic interventions, these pedestrian streets were penetrated, even invaded, at first to clean them up and later to enable them to be occupied by the 'other'. This process ultimately led to territorialism as a distinctive territory that is isolated from the city.

I divide this chapter into three parts based on these three phases, which each include different powers, authorities and productions, to show the process of territorialism, which

isn't necessarily linked, in the city or the state where they territories are situated. First, I explain how penetration is the starting point of territory formation. Second, I talk about occupation which shows how the territory was occupied and transformed, and third I draw the a picture of how the territory acts like an independent entity resisting city's or state's system. It is very important to understand that this chapter and its terms explain the socio-cultural processes led by politico-economic interventions.

3.2 The Territory, the Hub and the Network

As we saw in chapter 1, that the pedestrian "territory can best be understood as the effect of networked relations ... and an outcome of networked socio-technical practices" (Painter, 2010, p. 1093). It is an accumulation of networks, which are connected with the internal city system and external global networks. Internally the pedestrian street is the transport hub and well connected to transport modes, accommodating a few tourist attractions and hosting social and cultural events. This didn't form overnight but was part of the natural morphological growth that used the strategic location of these territories, which were places of commerce or entertainment.

The upgrade occurred when the locational powers of the space were enhanced by local politico-economic interventions besides global powers. Internally, the pedestrian territory is a result of pedestrianizing as an important (historic, commercial, or touristic) street, which either connects a few attractions or preserve its character. In both cases it is situated in the hub of the city, whether the location is the urban core, downtown, tourist or commercial area or even the entertainment district.

Externally, the pedestrian territory is relationally connected to global networks and systems since it relies on neoliberal agendas, which try to revitalize the space by opening it to the world, which is a socioeconomic approach that uses globalization, capitalism and tourism as objectives to succeed. Choosing neoliberalism creates a competition between investors not just from the city, but even international firms, and this result in the selling off of many buildings, opening of foreign chains, and development of new events and festivals to attract consumers who boost economic growth. This privatization of public space along with pedestrianization agendas results in a wider space of consumption, attractions, cultural and social events and even immigrants. The intensity of the productions network internally and

externally, and even transnationally, is what makes these territories resemble their counterparts around the world.

The continuous network, centrality of activities, distinctive character and accessibility are great assets for any capitalist or invader who seeks to commercialize places for profit through processes of revitalisation and branding. We will see here how the three cases have gone through similar processes due to their networked locations and assets that ease the process of pedestrianisation and territorialism.

Whether the aim is to conserve the old centres in European towns, or to revitalize the downtowns of most Americans cities, or bring the people (who shop at suburbs malls) back to the city centre, these pedestrian territories are competing with shopping malls (Robertson, 1993, pp. 361–362) due to the network that these pedestrian territories are part of which the shopping malls lack, such as accessibility to other attractions, venues, authenticity, architecture, open air shopping and the atmosphere of performances and life music, etc. Thus pedestrianizing a road space maximizes the number of people and as well as goods accessing the city, and improves the environments of central and crucial locations of the city (Parkhurst, 2003, p. 16).

The location of the territory has benefited from the network where it is located in different ways. First, it makes it more central due to the attractions it holds and the character it preserves, which makes the surroundings less iconic. Second, controlling the hub of transport, commerce and entertainment provides easy access from the surroundings and further areas that feed into the territory. Third, bounding the global features including humans (immigrants and tourists), goods and events makes it connected to the world network without interventions into the city and its local network. Forth, the network of social and cultural activities is concentrated to protect the territorial freedom and avoid clashes and conflicts with those in the periphery.

Therefore pedestrian territories are “products of networked relations involving both human and non-human actors” (Painter, 2010, p. 1096). Since the urban is tied with policy transfer and urban mobility, the pedestrian territory is networked with its counterparts around the world, which share socio-economic policies, that create what Jennifer Robinson (2006) calls excitements for modern urban designs and a competition amongst cities that turn to ‘anxieties’ of borrowing ideas from other places which lead to betraying the local culture.

The division happened when what's borrowed starts penetrate between the typical and traditional, and then replaces it with the global to capitalize the space and enhance its economy and popularity.

The pedestrian territories share similar network of 'unique or exceptional' intergovernmental policies and regulations. They offer different kinds of freedoms if compared to the rest of the city or nation. The pedestrian territory provides the freedom for pedestrians to walk around freely without traffic, and since it is shaped based on neoliberal and touristic favours, it provides extra freedoms in terms of freedom to perform, freedom to sell various things, and so on. These freedoms offered to tourists and consumers of all types are taken advantage of by the locals, especially minorities such as LGBTQ, conservative people, women, homeless and immigrants, who blend in the crowd and might be seen as tourists, so social norms or local culture isn't applied to them, because it is hard to identify their anonymity. Therefore, these territories have different restrictions, redefined limitations, and heavily politicized and commercialized activities, which target larger demographics, investors and consumers. Territories are effects of networks, which are physical and human, visible and invisible, transnational and translocal, as these networks accumulate various layers (politics, economy, society and culture).

This network goes through media, tourism, immigration, globalization and neoliberalism. It could be shown as cultural, social and commercial territories and when they all come together in a powerful and separate entity they form, e.g. ethno-commercial territories e.g. Chinatowns, or entertainment territories like Times Square, or even ethnic territories like Hispanic or African Americans, etc. Combining these two concepts creates a useful practice which helps with understanding of important spaces in the city, which isolate and distinguish themselves from their neighbouring districts and stand by themselves. These territories can be very similar to others around the world, but very unique in the city or the entire country.

3.2.1 Broadway @ Times Square

Times Square (Figure 3-1) is situated in the heart of Manhattan, the centre of NYC, which is well connected to the city in terms of infrastructure, transport and events. It is a unique place in Manhattan, especially the formation of Times Square as a 'bowtie' which is a result

of the Broadway intersection with the 7th Avenue that “breaks up the monotony of the Manhattan grid pattern and constitutes a more complex and open space than the grid elsewhere tends to provide” (Eeckhout, 2001, p. 382). The ‘bowtie’ has been a special feature from morphologic, planning, cultural and economic perspectives.

These 5 blocks from 42nd to 47th have been icons of NYC and central points of entertainment for decades, also called the entertainment or theatre district, being the hub of shows, concerts, and New Year’s Eve celebrations. It is within walking distance of Central Park, Columbus Circle, Pennsylvania train station, Bus Authority Terminal, 5th Avenue, Grand Central and other transport and tourist hubs. Times square is highly connected to the rest of Manhattan, The Bronx, Queens and Brooklyn, via 9 lines (N, Q, R, S, W, 1, 2, 3, 7) which include a bus shuttle to Grand Central and numerous day and night buses.

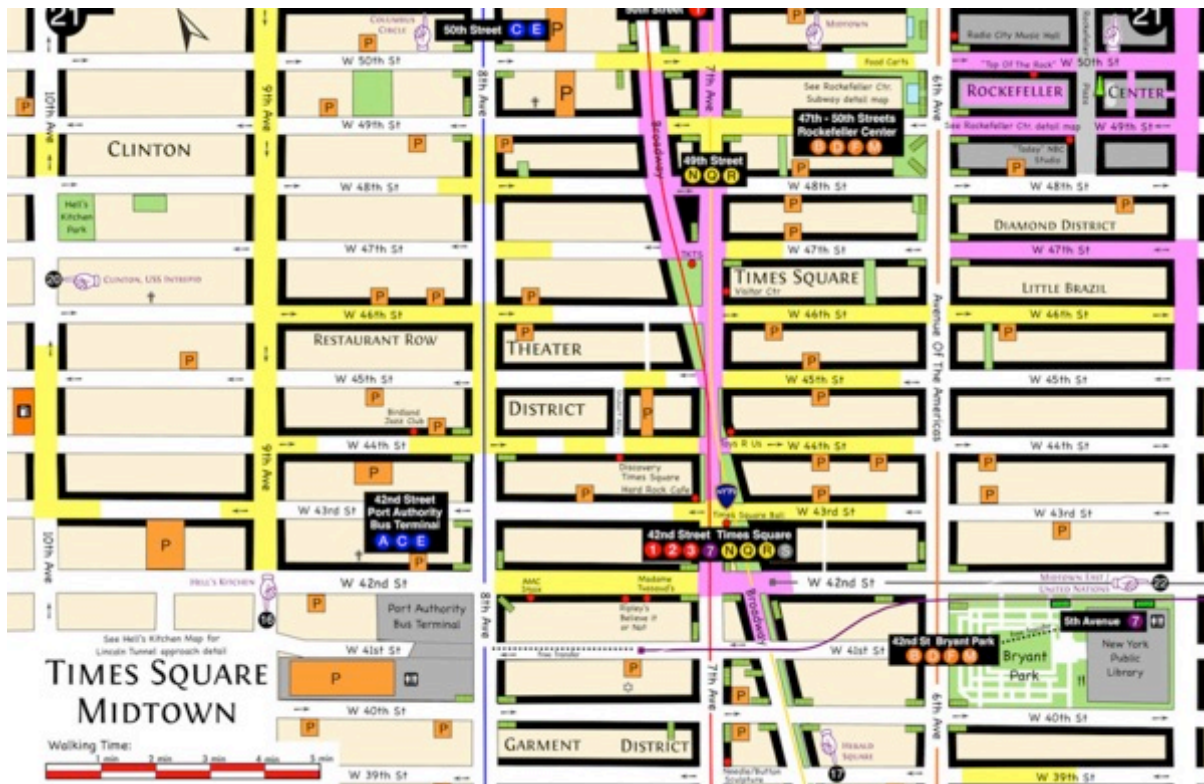


Figure 3-1 Times Square Map changing the grid to a bowtie.

Source: <https://www.mapdiva.com/portfolio-item/knowning-where-youre-going-new-york-city/>

However, Times Square’s character, events, behaviours and lights don’t go beyond the limits of it is boundaries, not even to the crossing roads or parallel avenues, which explains how this territory is accessible but not expandable. It is s part of NYC network but not vice versa, it shares some features with the city, but the city doesn’t have features of Times Square,

and it is considered by some people a city within a city. This will be elaborated on in later chapters, which focus on the identity and icon of the city.

The process of penetration started by using the fame, location, events, character of the square which were the potential for further revitalisation and developments. We should differentiate here between the process of revitalisation and pedestrianisation of Times Square. The former happened 2 decades after the latter. It is important to mention here that the territorial feature of Times Square has been there for around a century, but with different characteristics in different eras, and it was coined after the pedestrianisation when the street was closed to traffic creating more space for the public.

What eases the penetration of the space is its territorial form, which is enclosed and manageable. Times Square carries a symbolic value as a centre of American entertainment, culture, arts, etc. It “does not offer the prototypically European large rectangular square filled with monuments and bordered by the civic or religious emblems of the class societies that shaped the nineteenth-century and pre-nineteenth-century European city. No palaces here, no parliament, no big statues, no churches or cathedrals, no museums or libraries. Times Square has from the beginning been typical of those pragmatic, egalitarian, and mercantilist aspects characteristic of the twentieth-century American metropolis” (Eeckhout, 2001, p. 382)

3.2.2 Las Ramblas

Las Ramblas isn't just the centre of Barcelona but an important geographical, political, historic, touristic and commercial hub of Barcelona and Catalunya. The name derived from the Arabic word 'Ramla', although Catalunya wasn't part of Moorish Spain, as they defeated the Moors. It was the border between two very distinctive neighbourhoods, Gothic and El Raval, as the former was the walled city, where the middle class lived and El Raval was the working class neighbourhood. The Ramblas were the interaction point, yet not a part of either neighbourhood. The network heavily relies on the Ramblas as an interaction point, the connection between Barcelona's geography and topography as it connects the mountains with the sea, it was also a social, political venue which divided the city based on social class and economic hierarchy, therefore the avenue was always a hub, a meeting point and a melting pot.

After the transformation of Barcelona, the post-industrial and post-Franco city went through major revitalisation and regeneration projects, especially in preparation for the Olympics of 1992, and the Ramblas also were affected too. The Ramblas consist of 5 smaller Ramblas that each has a character of a historic landmark or event. These Ramblas still have some of the characteristics of the past, but have been heavily commercialized, yet still provides a thoroughfare for different users, who cross them vertically between the beach and Plaça Catalunya, and horizontally between the Gothic and El Raval, creating a hybrid, chaotic, colourful and interesting venue buzzing with life.

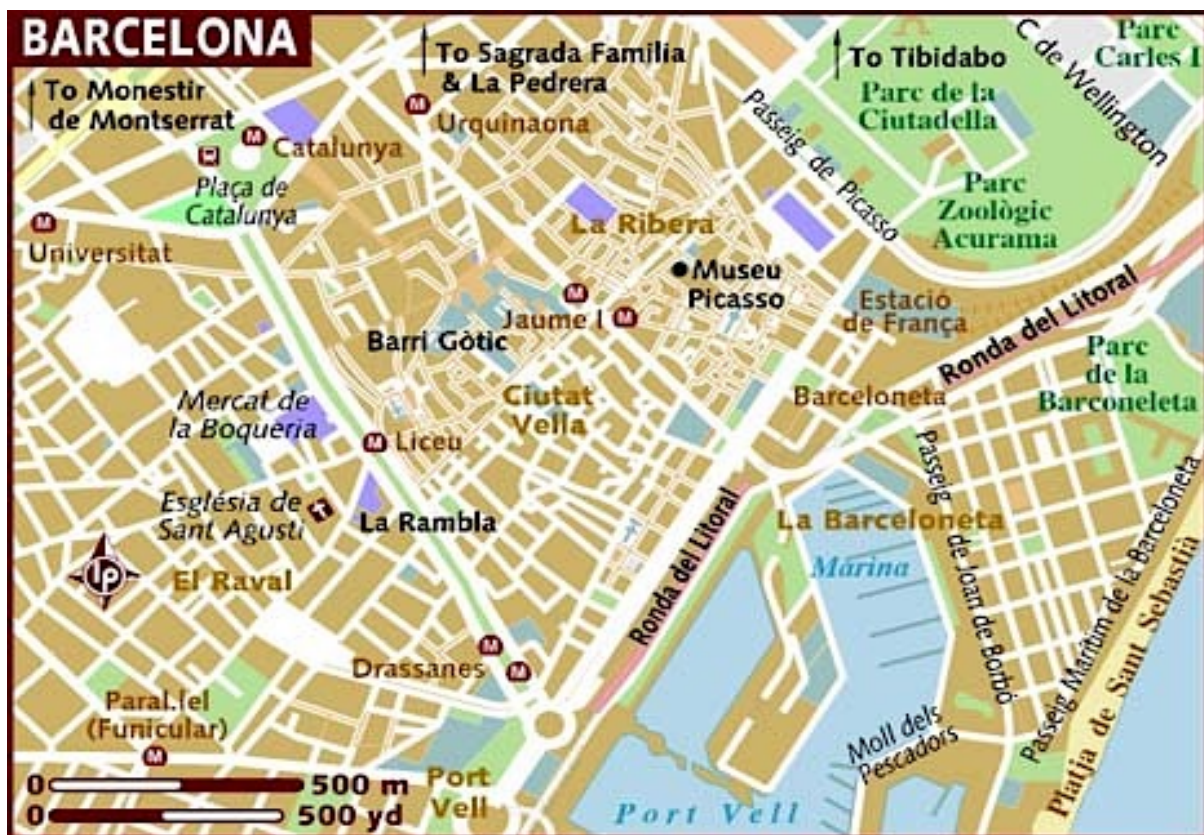


Figure 3-2 Las Ramblas Map, connects Catalunya to the sea.

Source: <https://www.lonelyplanet.com/maps/europe/spain/barcelona/>

The Ramblas (Figure 3-2) falls within the city's network of public transit as it is connected with the Airport via an express bus service which stops at its edge with Plaça Catalunya, besides 6 metro and regional train lines (L6, L7, S1, S2, S5, S55) over 3 stations (Catalunya, Liceu, Drassanes). There are many buses, which stop at Plaça Catalunya, which is the transport hub, besides buses and taxis driving parallel to the Ramblas through the service road on both sides. Las Ramblas is not only a central transport hub, but a tourist hub, as it links several attractions on both sides, provide tours and tickets for sightseeing, football

matches and more. Besides, it is within walking distance of the beach 'La Barceloneta', Passeig de Gràcia Avenue, university buildings and numerous touristic attractions.

The penetration of Las Ramblas occurred for many reasons. First, it is the connection between two old and characteristic neighbourhoods so it is already diversified historically. Second, it was pedestrianized many years ago, as it was a sandy stream, and was lined with trees in the 19th century. Third, it has the potential for different activities and events as its 5 Ramblas target different users. Fourth, it is the main and most famous link between the sea and the centre, easily accessible, provides a pleasant stroll under huge trees, in close proximity to important everyday life needs like La Boqueria Market, churches, shops, local and imported goods. Fifth, it is distinctive and more open than the Gothic district which is more authentic, enclosed, narrow, local, and host to governmental buildings, or El Raval which is considered an immigration hub especially for Pakistanis, North Africans and Filipinos, which is labelled as less safe, cheaper, working class and not of significant historic value. These assets provide accessibility, opportunities, potential and space for outsiders to invade the place and turn it to a territory using different political, economic and global tools, which will be explained later on though the idea of occupation.

3.2.3 İstiklal Caddesi

İstiklal Avenue has been invaded many times since its establishment. First it was built by immigrants, especially the Europeans, who were allowed to annex part of Beyoğlu by the Ottoman Empire in order to build their embassies, schools and social venues. This area, which is adjacent to historic Péra and Galata, was totally different to the rest of the city; the neoclassical architecture, pubs, theatres, churches, foreign stores and mainly non-Muslim population established a unique European territory in the Ottoman Empire which changed dramatically after the establishment of the Turkish republic in 1923. As the capital moved to Ankara, Greeks and Armenians were exchanged and forced to move out, Jews moved to the new State of Israel, and the name of the street was changed from 'Grande Rue de Péra' to 'İstiklal Caddesi' (Independence Avenue). The street or the area generally was invaded by Turks from rural areas of central Anatolia, who changed the area entirely. In the next section I explain the phases of revitalisation and transformation of the street from an elite European venue to a Turkish middle class street.

İstiklal's territorial dimensions can be put in the context of Istanbul easily as it is adjacent to what was called the 'Cihangir Cumhuriyeti' (the Republic of Cihangir), which is a mythical and metaphoric name, or even the historic Péra (Galata) district, which was a self-governed walled district. However, "Cihangir Cumhuriyeti is just an outcome of exaggeration tradition evident in the Turkish popular discourse" (İlkuçan, 2004, p. 143). Having the İstiklal territory next to the republic of Cihangir in the cultural capital of Istanbul can clear the mythical discourse, which describes urban and cultural spheres in geography to understand the distinction between spaces and territories.

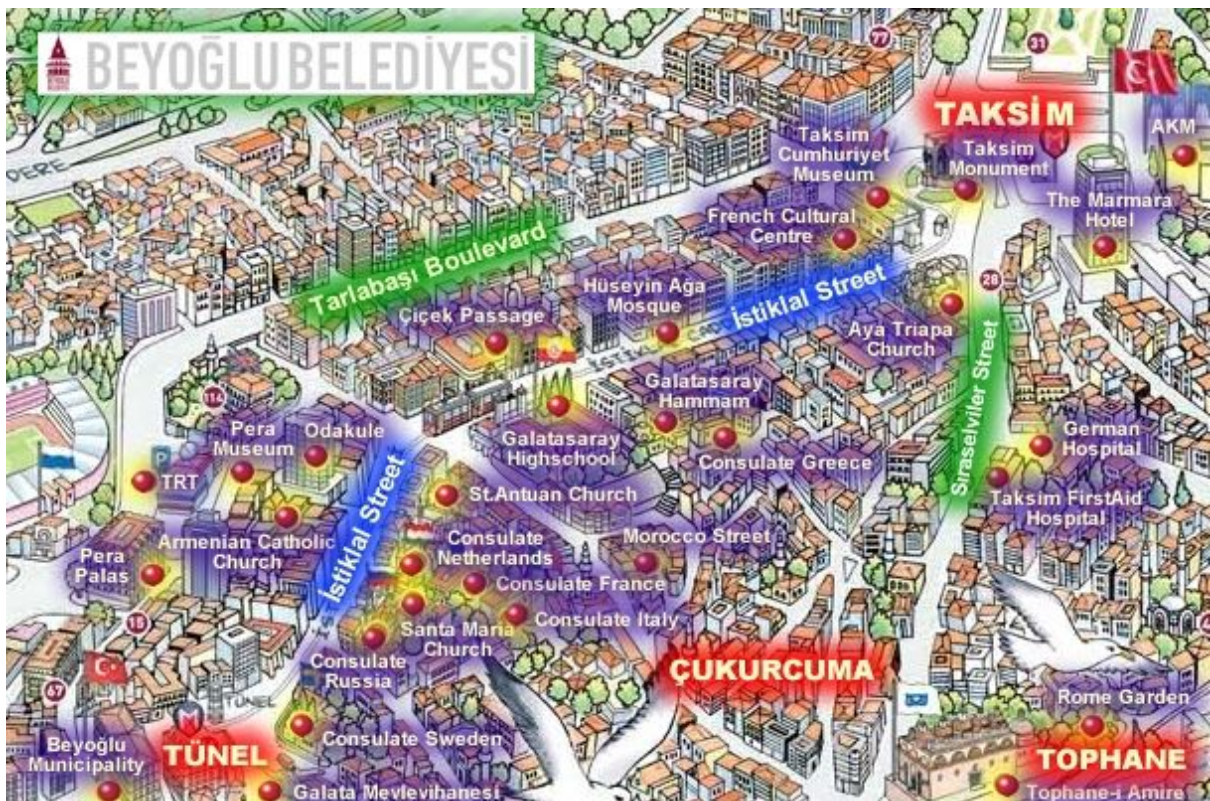


Figure 3-3 İstiklal Map, links Taksim with Tünel.

Source: <https://www.pinterest.co.uk/pin/31032684907192783/>

İstiklal (Figure 3-3) is the centre of Beyoğlu, which is the cultural centre of the entire nation. People come here not only to shop or seek entertainment, but to explore its numerous authentic cinemas, bookstores, galleries, music venues and more, which "attract people from different educational and occupational backgrounds regardless of their age and income levels, especially on weekends" (İlkuçan, 2004, p. 98).

İstiklal, or Taksim as it generally referred to, is the heart of the public transportation network in Istanbul. As İstiklal is connected to various transport modes including subway

(M2), historic tram (T2), airport direct buses, Dolmuş (minibuses), metro-bus (metropolitan buses), and two funicular lines, Taksim-Kabataş (F1), Tünel-Karaköy (F2), which connect to sea lines (ferries to Asian side and other islands and cities). It is within walking distance of the expats favourite district of Cihangir, posh Nişantaşı, Gezi Park, and even Sultanahmet and Eminönü can be reached on foot through Galata, Karaköy and Galata Bridge.

This network of transport, characteristic neighbourhoods and previous demographic and urban settlements and penetrations, made İstiklal the hub for secularism, liberalism and European and western practices over decades. 'Europe of Istanbul' is connected to Europe aesthetically and architecturally, and to the rest of the city and the airport as the hub of change, diversity and meeting points, with its avenue, which splits the intellectual and western neighbourhood of Cihangir from Taksim and Tarlabası Boulevard, which are dominated by Turkish Anatolian. Demographics made it a fuzzy line and a venue for imports and minorities.

3.3 Characteristic Revitalisation

The network makes a great asset for socioeconomic penetration using politico-economic powers by the state through processes of revitalisation and commercialization. After identifying the strategic potentials and network for a successful territory, the process of characteristic revitalisation took different trajectories. We can see that revitalisation in these 3 cases used similar powers to penetrate or invade the space, mainly politico-economic powers to solve social, cultural, economic and urban problems, which also create territories, as I mentioned previously, a territory is a space that has been acted upon. I show here the level of revitalisation which differs from the regular revitalisation in other districts, what does it target, how has it done, what themes and powers used and its outcomes.

These 3 cases have gone through different levels of what I call '*characteristic revitalisation*', which can be defined as:

An accumulation of top-down strategies to sanitize, gentrify, revitalize, commercialize, replace the space to create a new character which improves the life of the space to suit tourism, middle class taste and neoliberal agendas.

These interventions, policies and agendas to erase the past and create a new 'theme' or a 'character', using what I call 'characteristic revitalisation' in a very specific area, is the

starting point of the territorial aspect of these pedestrian territories; they go through something the rest of the city doesn't experience, therefore a distinction is created. NYC decided to neoliberalise Times Square using Disney as a theme, BID as a gentrifier, both to create what's called Disneyfication. Barcelona included Las Ramblas in its Barcelona transformation process which changed the entire city, using regeneration processes to form a new model, called the 'Barcelona Model', which opens the city to the world through tourism, taking advantage of the Las Ramblas theme and significance to show the world Catalunya as a physical identity through Las Ramblas as a gentrifier. Istanbul targeted İstiklal with excessive revitalisation to use the European leftovers in Istanbul to enforce the Europeanness of the nation and Istanbul's cosmopolitanism as a characteristic along with Turkish nationalist and authoritarian power.

Although the themes are different, the process and tools are similar. It is a mixture of power, local character or identity, which has been coined, and commercialized to touristify the street, using the materialistic assets on the street which give the impression of character, like Broadway theatres with Disney, Catalan architecture with tourism, and European district with Turkish identity. These revitalisation themes are not limited to the place itself but are politically and economically formed to convey a message to the tourists and residents about a certain character of the local identity using a physical, materialistic and tangible place as evidence. Indeed, the revitalisation process was used to solve some of the many problems these places suffered from like crime, prostitution, and deteriorating buildings and infrastructure, which will be showed next in relation to revitalisation which gentrified social, cultural and political issues, not just urban issues. So, to understand revitalisation we need to explain some of the major historic events and issues that made revitalisation essential.

3.3.1 Broadway @ Times Square

Times Square suffered from many problems for around half a century. After being the hub of entertainment in the 1930s, crime, racial and class tension, drug abuse, sex shops and activities (Figure 3-4) contributed to the square's deterioration from the 1960s to the later 1980s. "Times Square came to be seen by pro-growth politicians and business elites as a "cancer" that needed to be cured by making deep cuts in the urban fabric" (Eeckhout, 2001, p. 386). Therefore, a massive redevelopment plan was launched under the Koch mayoral

administration to totally demolish the southern bowtie of 42nd Street between 7th and 8th Avenues, causing huge gentrification (Eeckhout, 2001, p. 387). In the 1990s, all the all the sex and cheap stores, besides porn movie theatres along 42nd Street, were seized by eminent domain (Eeckhout, 2001, p. 387) resulting in empty theatres or a ghost town. This was worsened by the office space collapse due to the economic and real-estate deterioration in the 1980s (Eeckhout, 2001, p. 387).



Figure 3-4 Times Square adults shows in 1970s – 1980s

Source: <https://janos.nyc/2015/02/11/today-in-nyc-history-a-turning-point-for-times-square-1981/>

The revitalisation process was started by the Times Square Alliance (Business Improvement District) in 1992, which is a non-profit organization that manages 404 property owners in the area. It was set up by New York State Legislature in 1983 (Zukin, 1995, pp. 33–38) and collects money from property owners. The square received an annual budget of \$6 million which was spent on various tasks and uncontroversial activities like administering tourist services (Eeckhout, 2001, p. 390) BID soon started to move around to help many downtowns in the USA in the 1990s and soon after became a ‘phenomenon’ that spread to Europe, the Caribbean, Australia, and South Africa (Hannigan, 1998, p. 139).

The revitalisation process with the help of BID created another form of Times Square, which was always the symbolic heart of NYC, but through a construction of a themed fantasy city (Hannigan, 1998) that uses Disney as a theme, capital and urban planner. This “transition from an industrial to a post-industrial service and information economy, to the hegemony of middle-class consumerism, globalized cultural tourism” which didn’t only privatize the square but even militarized it to clean it up and change its social structure (Eeckhout, 2001, p. 380).

This was led by Disneyfication which is the phenomenon of “megamergers, takeovers, and synergies typical of economic thinking in the 1990s” (Eeckhout, 2001, p. 409). It is strongly tied to BID which plays an important role in the Disneyfication of cityscapes through change of “class, race, gender, and sexuality of visitors to the Times Square area” (Eeckhout, 2001, p. 380). Therefore the sanitisation of Times Square wasn’t just urban but social as it was dominated by a specific class and hugely male oriented place, even the women there were associated with prostitution and burlesque shows at some points. As a result, Disneyfication had an impact on both the consumption and entertainment aspects of Times Square as it sanitized the streetscapes socioeconomically by “upscale effects of a clean-up operation that has for instance resulted in the removal of homeless people and other sidewalk undesirables, or in the crackdown on the sex industry in the area” (Eeckhout, 2001, p. 407). Zukin associates the visibility of the symbolic activity of cleaning up as a “Disneyesque tendency to associate theming, style, and bright colours with the idea of social order” (1995, p. 66).



Figure 3-5 Times Square before and after revitalisation and Disneyfication

Source: <http://animalnewyork.com/2014/theres-good-ol-days-nyc/>

The years after revitalisation Times Square made the square a hub for theatres, lights and touristic events (Figure 3-5). However due to the high number of visitors who would spill over in the streets created a passing through or viewing point rather than a public space, therefore, it invites visual consumption, but not social exploration” (Eeckhout, 2001, pp.

408–409). However this has changed in the recent years as the street has been pedestrianized, which has reopened the square for people but in new ways. ,t Pedestrianizing Times Square was the second layer of its territorial aspect as it started to create more space for people and their activities, more freedoms, and higher consumption, thereby increasing the isolation of the square from its surroundings. In the next chapter I'll show the process of colonizing as a result of pedestrianisation and revitalisation.

3.3.2 Las Ramblas

The transformation of Barcelona to a post-industrial post-Franco city, carrying its pride of being the Catalan capital, went through many phases, which included Las Ramblas as a core objective for the entire city plan. The Barcelona model was aimed to “become the template for ten wannabe cities in Britain in 1999” (Garcia-Ramon and Albet, 2000, p. 1331). Barcelona is seen as the most successful example and a model of inner-city regeneration in the Western world today. Not just because it received in June 1999 a important international award, “the Royal Gold Medal, given annually by Her Majesty the Queen on the advice of the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA), to recognize outstanding distinction in architecture” (Garcia-Ramon and Albet, 2000, p. 1331) but for becoming a top destination for tourists and immigrants from the around the world. Barcelona’s regeneration plans succeeded with hosting the Olympics.



Figure 3-6 The old and new Las Ramblas

Left image source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Barcelona_1905.jpg

Right image source: <http://www.foxnews.com/world/2017/08/17/barcelona-attack-where-is-las-ramblas.html>

The revitalisation of Las Ramblas took the trajectory of regeneration, which is defined by Monica Degen (2003) as sensescales transformation which substitutes a place’s existing spatial practices with new ones. “A Museum of Arts has attracted tourists from Las Ramblas

into Raval with the consequences that local shops have been replaced with restaurants and designer stores for tourists and rebuilt houses have replaced former poor tenants with new ones” (Degen, 2003, p. 879). She emphasizes the role of sensuous regimes that control new cultural and leisure practices, not with the use of external power but the manipulation of the atmosphere of our everyday practices.

Therefore, the process was not just rehabilitating the Ramblas through infrastructural and urban design processes, but also regenerating the public space “as a means to generate identity and to foster social and cultural integration” (Garcia-Ramon and Albet, 2000, p. 1332).

While the expectations of social and human changes, and the possibility of creating a model to be exported to other cities, were very high, there were local, social and cultural considerations which can’t be exported, and concerns that globalizing the model will cost the locals and have negative consequences for their homes, business and everyday life. Therefore the attempt to transfer the Barcelona model to other cities depends on other factors, such as the social and political contexts, as “private business will not everywhere accept public leadership as easily as it did in Barcelona in the early 1980s, when it does not clearly result in the maximization of private profit; not everywhere has a tradition of territorial planning and, in particular, there is not always a civil society strong enough to support the process effectively” (Garcia-Ramon and Albet, 2000, p. 1333).



Figure 3-7 Old-fashioned and chaotic Las Ramblas. Source: El Raval Library A

So “Gentrification is not the same everywhere” (Lees, 2000, p. 397). However in this context it usually hits the city centre, in areas around the (CBD), downtowns, old towns or potential

historic or cultural zones, as CBDs can be referred to as ‘zones of transition’ by the Chicago School and ecological models of urban structure (Gottdiener *et al.*, 2014). In this case Las Ramblas, as the centre of Barcelona, running adjacent to the Gothic, Roman quarter and strategically located near the sea and other touristic attractions, underwent the biggest changes and regeneration processes, which preserved and restored its architecture and historic buildings and cleaned it from the old activities (Figure 3-7). The penetration of Las Ramblas was part of a city-wide plan, not just the urban core, so these infrastructural and rehabilitation works penetrated everywhere while the city was preparing for the Olympics and aiming to show the world the Barcelona model. The model wasn’t limited to city planners, but a big group of sophisticated planners, architects, and artists of different generations, with a number of them drawing on experiences of working abroad. Some had worked on the enhancement of public spaces by stretching the texture in Cuitat Vella (the old city) during the 2nd renovation after 1992 (Benach, 2004).

3.3.3 İstiklal Caddesi

We could define the reasons behind the demand for the revitalisation of neighbourhoods as a consumer preference for demographic or/and cultural changes. As these preferences vary in the inner city, based on the ‘character of the neighbourhoods’ (Ley, 1986), in İstiklal the focus is on social and cultural diversity, European architectural attractiveness, entertainment venues and proximity to historic and central buildings like Galata and Taksim. Similarly to the two previous cases, the gentrifiers shape the outcome of gentrification, thus in İstiklal the demographics, consumption practices and lifestyles constitute important elements of gentrification (Ley, 1986). However the practice and implementation of revitalisation took another trajectory when the Kemalist elite party used top-down authority and modernity or modernization (Keyder, 1997) as an objective and character for this revitalization process. The intention was to raze the historical legacy and heritage of the Ottoman Empire, which has been a fundamental characteristic of the city and its historic districts like Sultanahmet, and to secularize public spaces, especially Beyoğlu, the European leftover in the city built by the non-Muslim minorities.

The secular and liberal aspects under the authoritarian government were the results of the establishment of the Turkish republic as a modern and European state, which made the real Turkey the ‘other’ (Robins, 1996), with the “other” referring to what’s alien “to western

modernity and its project of development” (Robins, 1996, p. 62). The Turkish republic tried to polarise the Ottoman Empire’s religious orientation and cosmopolitanism with Turkey’s Islamic past, and to use its authoritarian power to form an extreme secular, strictly national identity (Robins, 1996, p. 70). This was obvious in the revitalisation process of İstiklal, as the state rejected pluralism of identity, including ethnic, social and religious or even gender diversity, to create the “Turkish People-as-One” identity (Robins, 1996, p. 71). This resulted in changing the entire population of the area from non-Muslim minorities who spoke different languages, came from different ethnic and religious backgrounds and from different parts of the Ottoman Empire, to an imported population from rural areas of central Anatolia who migrated with their Turkish unified culture, identity and practices. This nationalization of the Turkish middle class (İlkuçan, 2004) gentrified İstiklal into a totally new ‘modern’ venue, which aesthetically looks European, but is heavily charged with Anatolian and Middle-Eastern or former Ottoman culture, practices and habits.

The process of revitalisation resulted in combining “neo-Ottomania and political economy neoliberalism” (Potuoğlu-Cook, 2006, p. 634) to create a contradictory space which is called ‘contemporary Turkey’ “in which Islam and modernity are conjoined rather than opposed (Potuoğlu-Cook, 2006, p. 634). The revitalization process in İstiklal was influenced by western policies and global market agendas, such as neoliberalism through ‘capital accumulation’ (Harvey, 1987) when the state joins the international market through processes of globalization as “global and local economic forces” (Potuoğlu-Cook, 2006, p. 635). This can be seen in the early stage, which was focusing on “intermittent privatization, a gradual withdrawal of state responsibility, and the commodification culture” that was linked to “increase Turkey's chances for gaining E.U. membership” which led to the economic crises of 1994 and 2001 (Potuoğlu-Cook, 2006, p. 636) that was parallel to the processes of pedestrianisation of İstiklal in 1980s.

Therefore, revitalisation isn’t just about middle class residents moving into working class areas, or declassing, restoring and branding the street, but it is a process of displacement, replacement (Figure 3-8) and branding to welcome those who couldn’t be part of the gentrified street (Gant, 2015, p. 2). It could be an authoritative and hegemonic process by which the gentrified area is shaped using the power of politico-economic weapons to invade

the urban core forming a sort of “urban regime” (Lauria, 1997). In these three cases we see that revitalisation processes was targeting both urban and socio-cultural objectives.



Figure 3-8 Old İstiklal - Grande Rue De Pera

Source: <http://maviboncuk.blogspot.com/2015/10/more-grand-rue-de-pera-or-cadde-i-kebir.html>

3.4 Summary

The target of NYC was cleaning up, and mixing races and classes, while excessively and indirectly shifting the majority of actual users away, who were sex, drugs and money seekers, bringing in a totally new population to the area, the ‘others’. Barcelona’s focus was to bring about regeneration throughout the city, concentrated on the urban core and using the assets of Barcelona to show the world their Catalan identity and power as a sustaining, touristic and independent region, by changing the space from residents-oriented to foreign or tourists-oriented or simply the ‘other’. In Istanbul the obsession with joining the EU, and their authoritarian, secular and nationalist objectives were forced into a partnership with modernization to create an identity relying on European leftovers as evidence of its national European identity alongside Turkish dimensions.. Istanbul also relied on the displacement of the original inhabitants by ‘others’ who come from Turkey and abroad.

We can see that each city tried a similar approach in terms of penetrating the street and changing its ‘look’ through characteristic revitalization. However, each city chose a unique character or theme to attract specific businesses, which match with this neoliberal space, which encourage open and free markets, tourism, and events that bring those who are interested in this character. This strategy gave an identity to the territories that revolves around the character that has been created using the revitalized street and its assets whether the character is Disney Broadway shows in NYC, Catalan historic and touristic treasures in Barcelona or the European and cool hub of Istanbul.

This historical and contextual chapter shows how the past changed the culture and identity of the pedestrian street and how it became a new territory in the city. It showed how this penetration of a space using politico-economic interventions and global systems like neoliberalism and globalisation can change the character and identity when a new population, businesses and users are brought in through a process of timed penetration which is thought to be an enhancement and improvement of the existing. However it can simultaneously lead to a drastic change in character, culture and more, which the following chapters tease out.

Chapter 4: Territorialisation

4.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the process of territorialisation; how the space was occupied by different powers and what the affects and productions of this phenomenon are, specifically from a physical perspective of the pedestrian territory. This process of occupation uses revitalisation as a power to penetrate the place and produce territorial affects, which are in this case 3 main processes; replacements, maximization and materialization. These 3 processes don't just occur on the street itself, or the public space, but in the buildings and beyond. I demonstrate how characteristic revitalisation resulted in replacements, maximization and materialization of the pedestrian street to create a territory that is unique in its productions and character. This power of revitalisation isn't limited to the physical environment, but also socio-cultural aspects of the territory, human productions and affects, which will be, discussed in the next chapter.

Throughout this chapter I'll explain how the occupation of the street using politico-economic powers was a process of territorialisation, and upgrade of the street to a territory. The end product of this process created a distinctive, unique territory that is independent in its politics, intergovernmental regulations, culture, identity, theme, users and uses, and bounded by both physical and imaginary boundaries that demarcate its territorialism.

The phase of occupation starts when the plans begin to take shape in the place using policies, regulations, urban transformation and construction work to gentrify the place. We need to keep in mind that the process of characteristic revitalisation makes a big fraction of territorialism of the pedestrian territory. The pedestrian territory, however, appeared at different times in these cases. In NYC pedestrianisation happened 2 decades after the revitalisation process, and this process coined its territorial aspect. In Istanbul pedestrianisation was part of the revitalisation process in the 1980s, and this was followed or was the starting point of its territorial nature. Barcelona's Las Ramblas were built as pedestrian spaces, but its territorial aspects were formed at later stages post revitalisation. Surprisingly all of the three cases were territorialized around the same time, in the 1990s and 2000s when globalization, tourism, neoliberalism and urban policies were traveling

around the world rapidly. This brings us back to relationality, global networks and patterns of change around the world using similar processes but maximizing on different assets of the space using characteristic revitalisation.

In this chapter I show how characteristic revitalisation changed the place inherently, significantly and rapidly. The first section discusses the role of replacement as a process of displacement, pedestrianisation, and maximization vertically and horizontally. The second section discusses the role of materialization of the territory as a way of occupation, which includes globalization, neoliberalism and privatization and consumption and seduction. The last section explains what territorialism is and its characteristics.

4.2 Replacement

4.2.1 Displacement

This first step of displacement is to get rid of undesirable users and uses off the street and to displace them to the nearby surroundings or remote areas. The process was part of the bigger city plans, as revitalisation is part of the redevelopment plan, and the strategy to bring the middle classes and investors back to the city centre, downtown or the urban core. Researchers use two approaches to assess the degree of displacement caused by gentrification; the socioeconomic characteristics of movers, and surveys showing the reasons why movers moved out (Freeman and Braconi, 2004, p. 40).

The displacement process was also related to the focus on bringing people back to the city, as the popularity of the pedestrian streets was connected to the rise of shopping malls, gentrification and downtown revitalization; therefore these areas had to be cleaned up. Besides that there was a need for space to meet the “the rise of arcades and department stores, (as) retail started to expand deeper into the spatial structure” of the city centre (Kärrholm, 2012, p. 32), resulting in “linking the experience of the urban with spaces of consumption” (McMorrough, 2001, p. 195).

The concept of ‘displacement’ emphasizes understanding the implications of ‘commercial gentrification’, which results in displacing what the residents lived with, such as social networks, and the “displacement of their community, traditional retailers, public facilities, as well as the upgrading of stores and services” (Gant, 2015, p. 8).

This commercial and retail revitalisation, which is indirect displacement, forces people to leave due to the change in the social, cultural and economic aspects of the place. Resulting in what (Davidson and Lees, 2010) call 'loss of place' which is "a forced dispossession and dislocation from their places that leads them to a form of 'displacement' into a new occupied social context" (Gant, 2015, p. 9) and this is very visible in gentrified areas which go through commercial transformation. Those who resist leaving suffer from "occupation of new middle class users in the area" (Gant, 2015, p. 9).

4.2.1.1 Broadway @ Times Square

As revitalisation causes displacement, the process in Times Square used 'Disney's conservative utopian vision' for Times Square. Disney said: "What we create is a 'Disney Realism,' sort of utopian in nature, where we carefully program out all the negative, unwanted elements and program in the positive elements" (Eeckhout, 2001, p. 404). After the success of many projects around the US, Disney "had been praised extravagantly as an urban planner" (Eeckhout, 2001, p. 404). This vision of displacing everything that conflicts with the fantasy city, Disney's utopian city, caused the demolition and clearance of the sex workers, burlesque cabarets, brothels, sex shops and so on which were associated with high crime rates and empty office buildings. The transformation replaced different layers of the street with "New stores, cafes, and bars become hangouts for both bohemians and gentrifiers or places for social networking among stroller pushing parents and underemployed artists and writers" (Zukin, 1995, pp. 153–156). An atmosphere which is aesthetically seen as a 'creative cultural distinction' accommodating "boutiques" contrasts with older stores catering to a poorer, more traditional, and less mobile clientele" (Zukin *et al.*, 2009, p. 47).

This "commercial" revitalisation, of chains and boutiques attracts the middle class and displaces the lower class due to the affordability problem. Therefore the 'commercial revitalisation' of urban cores creates complex social, cultural issues and change of class as a result of change in retail industry. Nevertheless, the new outfit of Times Square opened the door to women, black people and different classes who were unwelcomed. The institutionalization of consumption practices by hiring "affluent and highly educated men and women in place of stores that serve the poor, (challenged) the "right to the city" of low-income residents (Zukin *et al.*, 2009, p. 48). This neoliberal approach to Times Square using

Disney and BID created a shopping and entertainment zone that accepted commercial displacement “to the detriment of the poor and of ethnic minorities” (Zukin *et al.*, 2009, p. 49).

Bart Eekhout explains that the transformation of 42nd street from one of the most dangerous corners in the entire nation to a space as “so gentrified that there is no sleaze or sensationalism,” yet still with “a little sense of threat, excitement, derring-do - a sense of adventure” (quoted in Reichl, 1999, p. 151) shows the implementation of Disney’s “friendly fascism,” which harmonizes the ideology of a melting-pot into Times (2001, p. 409).



Figure 4-1 Times Square in 1990s after revitalisation and before pedestrianization

Source: <https://www.pinterest.pt/pin/252342385346384816/>

While the displacement in Times Square wasn’t of residents, as there aren’t many residential buildings around the square, the drastic changes occurred in the displacement of the population which seeks sex, adult entertainment, and theatres of all sorts, to the introduction of a new population of middle class consumers, heavy presence of police, kids-friendly performers and tourists from around the world shopping at the megastores or seeing ‘Disneyfied’ Broadway shows. Today, no sex shops, adult theatres or local stores are allowed in the square or from a visible distance. This characteristic revitalisation displaced

the phenomenon of Times Square as a red-light district to one with a family oriented Disney or fantasy square.

4.2.1.2 Las Ramblas

The process in Las Ramblas took a different shape, as the revitalisation process was part of a city plan which affected more aspects of the street and its surroundings. Generally, gentrification creates “changes in the face, composition, and ambiance of many older neighbourhoods; improvement on the housing quality and social service levels; a reduction in the low-rent housing stock and displacement of hundreds of residents” (Bourne, 1993, p. 185). Therefore, opening Barcelona to the world resulted in large-scale immigration of businesses, people and policies to the Catalan capital. The displacement happened as a result of the transformation of the entire street from residents-oriented to tourists-oriented. The urban sprawl housing projects encouraged people move outside the centre away from the touristification and gentrification processes, while the indirect reasons for their relocation were related to the lack of social networks and affordability.

Many residents complained about their daily consumption needs being more expensive than adjacent areas, in addition to the change of lifestyle, noise of tourists, and change of demography. The lack of seating space was another problem, as Las Ramblas had a chair rental service since 1781 (*‘Cronologia’*, n.d.), which was banned and replaced by only a dozen public ‘armchairs’ provided by the Town Hall. The aim was to stop homeless people from sleeping on them and monopolizing public seats, and to benefit the businesses. The “long-term residents often feel uncomfortable when the ethnic ownership and character of local stores changes, creating a different sense of place” (Zukin *et al.*, 2009, p. 48) and the type of activities changed from residents watching a football game, playing dominos, or chatting, to an invasion by police, businesses and tourists of the Ramblas and its sidewalk cafes and restaurants, pushing the locals away to the inner plazas in Gothic and El Raval, which changed the character of the Ramblas.



Figure 4-2 Las Ramblas before revitalisation, unrestricted performances. Source: El Raval Library Archive

The revitalisation process displaced not just the locals and their needs, but even the types of products sold on the Ramblas and its markets. For instance the famous La Boqueria Market, which is a big attraction on Las Ramblas, suffered from displacement as “25 stalls have been converted into restaurants and there are new products such as fresh juices instead of fresh fruit” (Gant, 2015, p. 16). While the residents have seen this displacement as negative, tourists find it convenient and authentic to eat at small stalls and refresh they bodies with fresh juices in a hot summer day. Another displacement also affected the Ramblas in 2010 when the Town Hall banned pet-selling on the Ramblas, which was a hanging out spot for the locals and their kids, and substituted it with (rarely full) touristic expensive restaurants selling paellas, sangria and tapas. They took over most of the pedestrian Rambla (walkway) and created a bottleneck and huge crowd, which doesn’t benefit the business nor the public, as it can be a challenge to find a space just to walk and move forward.

4.2.1.3 İstiklal Caddesi

The displacement process in Beyoğlu, which was the most distinctive residential, historical and recreational areas of central Istanbul, with more than three quarters of its population being of non-Muslim and European origins, went through two main phases. The first stage was when the Turkish republic was found in 1923 and as a result of the capital moving to Ankara, embassies and some people were displaced, while it preserved its western style, including the entertainment and businesses, which were established during the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century. The establishment of the State of Israel in 1947 displaced the Greeks who were the traders, as part of the ‘Mübâdele’ (population exchange) in 1955, creating a huge decline in the area as these communities left Beyoğlu and their cafés, patisseries and other recreational centres (Ergun, 2004).

This huge displacement of the original inhabitants and founders of the area created an abandoned district which soon attracted migration from rural areas of central Anatolia by people who found these properties affordable and centrally located. Although, the “architectural traditions of western culture, was considered strange by the migrants who misused and transformed the district to a ‘slum’ in the 1980s” (Ergun, 2004, p. 396) the shops that were located on the first floor of residential blocks were changed into trading centres covering the whole building, “transforming the stylish early 20th century residential areas into busy trade centres” (Ergun, 2004, p. 396)

In 1980s, the Beyoğlu project rehabilitated the district, as mayor Dalan “initiated an urban restructuring project in İstanbul to turn the city into a spectacle of consumption”. Taksim was the core of the project, and İstiklal (formerly Grande Rue de Péra) was pedestrianized and turned into the centre of the district, the centre of consumption and core of revitalisation. This went along with the construction of Tarlabası Boulevard parallel to İstiklal, which involved the demolition of historical buildings built in late 1800s and early 1900s. (İlkuçan, 2004, p. 62) and the displacement of the people living there, whether they were poor, migrants, transvestites and prostitutes, etc. This demolition was debated as demolition of both buildings and identity of the district, as Dalan saw “Beyoğlu was a place that needed to be cleaned, rehabilitated, and –in part – demolished ... (and the construction of) Tarlabası would solve the problem of heavy traffic and save the district from troubles of prostitution and drug-dealers” (İlkuçan, 2004, p. 63). Although this project was controversial Dalan considered any opposition to this demolishment as opposition to İstanbul’s development to be ‘world city’. This was opposed by the Chamber of Architects and Engineers’ as they argued that the city was “sold to multinational corporations ... (and the) valuable land in inner-city was prepared for the use of capital” (İlkuçan, 2004, p. 63)

In the 1990s, a new lifestyle was created in Beyoğlu with İstiklal Street “being a centre for trade, the area was reinvigorated once more with the cultural activities enjoyed by the young generation” (Ergun, 2004, p. 397)

The second displacement took place later on when the Islamist Welfare Party won the election in 1994, and used İstanbul’s Ottoman heritage “to valorise legacy as an Islamic capital” (Bartu, 2001, p. 141). The Islamists invoked and revived “Ottoman and pluralism in their attempt to implement a softer urban neoliberalism” resulting in displacing restaurants

and cafes which serve alcohol to the inner parts, off İstiklal street (Potuoğlu-Cook, 2006, p. 638). It is obvious how the Islamists and Seculars used demolition and displacement for different aims.

Displacement in Istanbul moved the original and elite of the district out and brought in low-income residents, who in turn were later forced to leave to enable the planners to clean up the slum. This attracted “higher-income professionals from developed countries moved to residences in the city centre because of their low costs and easy access to business area” (Ergun, 2004, p. 391) like Cihangir, after gentrification on one side of İstiklal, and the pushing away of the lower income population residing on the other side of İstiklal called Tarlabası Boulevard by the construction of a boulevard. While the pedestrianisation of İstiklal Street displaced cars and enhanced walkability, it also heavily affected the commercial life of (Tünel Figure 4-3) as the “value of properties in Beyoğlu declined. Tünel became a criminal area in time but started to change by means of an art gallery which opened in 1994” (Ergun, 2004, p. 397).



Figure 4-3 A restaurant replaces a guitar shop, expanded to the rooftop and changed the façade
Source: Planning Department at Beyoğlu Municipality

The process of displacement in the three cases shows different scales, players and results. In Times Square the clean-up changed a red-light adult district into a fantasied Disney square, while in Barcelona the regeneration used the assets to touristify and commercialize the street by pushing the focus from the local to the global to build their urban model. In Istanbul the shift in state agendas to opening up to the world displaced many inhabitants and brought a new population and global investors to the street. This aspect is very important for understanding the pedestrian territory as it is a sequence of displacements, which starts from cars being displaced by pedestrians, to other layers, which suit the socioeconomic objectives of the city. Indeed displacement was a healer as it displaced social and urban problems like crimes, prostitution through gentrification, but this was the beginning of a sequence that displaced the locals and their businesses, social and cultural events to match with the new character. This segues to pedestrianisation, which is another process of replacement.

4.3 Pedestrianisation

Since pedestrianisation is the other side of the coin of replacement, we should keep in mind that the replacement is a continuous process when it comes to pedestrianisation, not simply replacing cars with people. The simple concept of pedestrianisation, is followed by replacement of stores which are of a pedestrian interests, replacement of streetscape to hold pedestrians flow, replacement of the sidewalk with outside seating areas, replacement of the traffic lights with colourful performers, and so on. When some of these activities and objects already exist on the street, the idea of pedestrianisation is needed to hold it all in a comfortable, safe and characteristically spacious territory.

The cases here show three different pedestrian territories in terms of the time the street was pedestrianized and when replacements took place. Broadway was replaced with a pedestrian pavement after the revitalisation processes, as there was a need to solve the problem of people spilling into the street, causing an unsafe environment for both the pedestrians and the cars. Las Ramblas was already pedestrianized and the replacements occurred later on to take advantage of the characteristic space by replacing users and uses. İstiklal was replaced by a new population who brought with them different users and uses, and pedestrianisation helped creating a new atmosphere which was later used as a base for

advanced replacements when the street replaced the local stores and low class with the higher qualities of users and uses. Let's look at this phenomenon, which is an important weapon to occupy the space, and a crucial aspect of the creation of pedestrian territory.

I focus here on two types of replacements, pedestrianisation as a process of replacement, and the replacement of the original and historic character. In the next sections and chapter I explain other types of replacements, such as the replacement of houses through maximization, replacement of the public through privatization, replacement of the residents with outsiders from a human perspective, and other replacements.

4.3.1 Replace Cars with People

Pedestrianizing streets isn't a practice just to help the centre but also a strategy and solution for urban transport problems. Pedestrianisation is a traffic limitation policy used to reduce the environmental and safety effects of cars and to improve the urban environment and bring in more activities (Brambilla and Longo, 1977). So, in definition "Pedestrianized streets are streets where the carriageway space has been reallocated to pedestrian use. These motor car-free zones invite leisure strolling and numerous social and economic activities in an area where cars once dominated" (Yuen and Chor, 1998, p. 226). Therefore, the pedestrianized space is used for optional (activities that one chooses to do only if the conditions and place are inviting and these include strolling, sitting and sunbathing) and social activities (activities that depend on the presence of other people such as talking, people-watching) (Gehl, 2011). So, the best-designed pedestrian streets are those that focus and enhance optional and social activities (Yuen and Chor, 1998, p. 226) besides economic viability coming from retail consumption.

Pedestrianizing in dense, popular, commercialized, touristic hubs make the replacement of cars and traffic a marginal reason due to the justification of high numbers of people, helping businesses and safety issues. Replacing the cars takes different shapes in these pedestrian territories.

4.3.1.1 Broadway @ Times Square

Broadway at Times Square was pedestrianized after a long process, Mayor Bloomberg initiated it in 2009 as a trial; a year later it was announced as permanent. The plan started with the hiring of a landscaping firm Snøhetta that repaved the street using a concept of

custom-made granite pavers and benches. I interviewed the landscape architect at Snøhetta to talk about the design considerations and what this plan solved other than paving the street. The answers were mainly design related, such as making the pavement inclined with an angle that helps the views of the square from each end, creating built-in granite benches to provide more seating options, and enhancing the overall landscape of the square. Unfortunately, none of the social and urban problems were part of the pedestrianisation plan such as density, proper seating areas or safety issues related to crossings or narrow sidewalks. While my interviewees positively praised replacing cars with people, it made the drivers angry due to the traffic jams that occurred due to the diversion of Broadway, which is an important arterial in NYC.

This replacement of cars with people was the beginning of a huge social, cultural and political change in Times Square. Winning over the cars made walkability supporters happy, providing more space for people and a means of offering them a new public space entitled to all the forms of liberty, democracy the US stands for, and therefore, not just a place to hangout, but 5 new open spaces in the centre of Manhattan, the concrete jungle.



Figure 4-4 Pedestrianisation of Times Square.

Source: <https://www.pinterest.co.uk/pin/360288038918035204/>

4.3.1.2 Las Ramblas

Las Ramblas of Barcelona was pedestrianized not as a result of car replacement but stream replacement to a pedestrian street, which took place in 1440 ('Cronologia', n.d.), and after more than 3 centuries trees were planted in 1703 ('Cronologia', n.d.). The Las Ramblas are divided into 5 spaces, which are unlike Times Square which is based on block divides. They are characteristic plazas which each is linked to a specific event or a landmark attached to the Rambla. The replacement here happened parallel to the Ramblas and on the Ramblas.

The service roads on both sides of the Ramblas are restricted roads, which are mainly used by loading trucks, public transit vehicles and horse carriages.

The pedestrian concept of Las Ramblas can be summarized as two sections. The pedestrian area of the Ramblas themselves, and the sidewalks running parallel to the Ramblas which are offset by the service 1 lane road. These two spaces are very different in character, shape and both uses and users. The Ramblas were pedestrian areas previously, which occupied the entire right-of-way, but it was later divided into three segments or basically two different experiences, the Ramblas and the sidewalks. Replacing the historic tram which was running from the beach to Gràcia by service roads while keeping these two pedestrian experiences separate has both positive and negative impacts; separating the pedestrian areas from cars, by diversifying the walkway with different options and users and uses. Replacing the tram with a better network of infrastructure, and replacing the pedestrian Ramblas with (Ramblas plus service road) as in (Figure 4-5) changed many aspects of the Ramblas, and the pedestrian experience, discussed in chapter 6.



Figure 4-5 Cross-section of Las Ramblas, by author, July 2015

4.3.1.3 İstiklal Caddesi

Pedestrianisation of İstiklal Avenue was part of the revitalisation process in the entire district of Beyoğlu. It was perceived as a negative impact on businesses and the class of the street, which was at some point an elite street. The pedestrianisation ran from Taksim

Square, the hub of Istanbul to the Tünel near Galata areas. This took place in the 1980s to gentrify the street and replace everything, which wasn't wanted, including cars, to create a more coherent, characteristic street for further modernization. The process was strongly tied to the Istanbul Film Festival to start an era of 'cultural renaissance' in Istanbul (İlkuçan, 2004, p. 65).



Figure 4-6 Pedestrianised İstiklal. Source: <http://www.istanbeautiful.com/squares-in-istanbul/>

The pedestrianisation process fit well with the nature of the district, which is designed with narrow streets that many can't accommodate cars (although nowadays cars squeeze themselves in) and to connect with the pedestrian nature of numerous shopping arcades and passages along the street. Istanbul Beyoğlu municipality decided to keep the historic features of the street by keeping the historic tram running in the middle of the avenue as a transport and historic feature (Figure 4-6).

Over the years since it was pedestrianized the avenue changed rapidly, replacing the car with more space for pedestrians and replacing the trees and planters on the street too. This was justified by the municipality planners I interviewed as a security reason for people's safety, as trees and planters make it more difficult for the police and security guards to identify thefts. The benches were removed as the new municipal government headed by 'Nusret Bayraktar' banned bars, and restaurants from putting tables on the street, or even near it, in order to make alcohol invisible on İstiklal, replacing not just the character but the physical traces of its previous facilities and uses (İlkuçan, 2004, p. 64).

The difference of İstiklal pedestrianisation is the continuous commercial expansion, which makes the pedestrian area less characteristic but emphasizes the landmarks of the pedestrian section. İstiklal is divided into different segments, which can be identified as 5 segments that carry the name of the landmark, be it either a transport hub, name of a store or a recognizable official building.

The space was used, misused and consumed in different ways. Although opponents of the pedestrianizing of the street were the business owners who were afraid of business decline, the square was able to hold more people and enhance its businesses. This penetration of the place using the people as a weapon to pedestrianize and therefore bring new uses and users to the street can be seen a positive occupation of the public space. Soon after this colony was established as a 5 new pedestrian plazas, many changes occurred to the square, which will be explained later.

4.3.2 Replace the Original and Historic Character

The occupation of the area happened in these territories as a result of pedestrianization and revitalisation. They shaped the place to fit with agendas using different types of replacements. Here, I show that each of these pedestrian territories can be divided into 5 segments and how they've been replaced characteristically and new characters developed that demarcate and theme the territory.

4.3.2.1 Broadway @ Times Square

The pedestrian segments of Broadway are divided into 5 plazas, which limit the territorial characteristics using physical elements like vehicular streets, end of billboards and lights, or the pedestrian experience. As previously explained the revitalisation process replaced everything in the street through Disneyfication processes, but when the street closed these open spaces used Disney inspirations to open up for new uses and users.

The pedestrian plazas run from 42nd to 47th street diagonally by intersecting with 7th Avenue. The first plaza is Duffy Square (46th – 47th streets) featuring the Father Francis D. Duffy Statue, which is famous for the red steps and ticket office. Second, is the plaza adjacent to Marriott Hotel (45th – 46th Streets). Third is the NYC Information office plaza (44th – 46th Streets), which is at the doorstep of Toys“R”Us. Fourth, Military Plaza (43rd – 44th

Streets) featuring the US Army office and the news screens including ABC News. Fifth, is the NYPD plaza (42nd – 43rd Streets) featuring Police station and 7 Eleven.

The characters of these plazas convey different dimensions of the square, power of state providing safety, and a symbol of physical security, although Times Square with a plethora of CCTV cameras of police, Times Square Alliance and private businesses. This resembles what Mike Davis (1992) refers to as the destruction of the of the democratic urban space which has been turned inward in the American city, as Times Square resembles “the public spaces of the new megastructures and supermalls [that] have supplanted traditional street and disciplined their spontaneity” (1992, p. 155).

The second symbol is entertainment, tourism and retails. While these characters are lost amongst the numerous commercial billboards (officially called spectaculars), banners and lights, the full overwhelming experience overshadows the history and past of Times Square. The history has been replaced by a theme park fantasy, a Disney World or television “by means of extraction, reduction and recombination, to create an entirely new, anti-geographical space” (Sorkin, 1992a, p. 208). The façades of the buildings have been replaced by commercials, the streets have been replaced by pavements, and there is no trace of the red-light Times Square or its local theatres, stores, adult shows, or even architecture.

4.3.2.2 Las Ramblas

The occupation of Las Ramblas replaced the residents and transformed everything related to them into a new colony that regenerated the physical built environment but left its character, meaning, and history behind to form a superficial surface for the visitor. The 5 characteristic and residents-oriented Ramblas have been affected and some of them lost their character that has been replaced by kiosks, restaurants and tourist-oriented facilities.

First, Rambla de Canaletes, where the famous Canaletes fountain is located, which the Barça football team visits to drink a sip of water from after each victory, is hardly noticed nowadays, as behind it is Carrefour and a Turkish restaurant. Second, ‘Rambla dels Estudis’, where the Church of Bethlehem was located has been turned into a space for kiosks selling ice cream, candies and souvenirs. Third, ‘Rambla de Sant Josep’ (or de les Flors) where the open-air flower market is located is still preserving its character but barely thriving as the florists started to sell souvenirs and other touristic goods to help sustain the business ,

complaining about how the crowd damages and break or even steal their flowers and goods and how it is not matching tourists needs. Forth, 'Rambla dels Caputxins' (Capuchin monastery before, Liceu opera-house now) where the pigs festival took place and was for a long time a pet market until it was banned in 2010, to be replaced by touristic restaurants and bars which occupy most of the walkway and create huge bottlenecked crowds. Fifth, 'Rambla de Santa Mònica' (St. Monica church) and now an arts centre, which was and still is associated with prostitution has been a place for human statues and temporary art fairs. The human statues who made the soul of Las Ramblas from Catalunya all the way to Colom have been asked to register and pass exams to perform, eliminating the number, and they have been restricted to this singular plaza which is least visited.

The centre of life for Barcelona's residents is nowadays replaced by almost everything which the locals can't afford or need. It did not just displace them, but created a territory that is irrelevant to their interests and culture. This will be explained in peoples' perceptions of the place in chapter 6.

4.3.2.3 İstiklal Caddesi

The European district of Beyoğlu, holding in its centre 'Grande Rue de Péra', has changed due to displacement to İstiklal Avenue, which is populated by Anatolians, and went through another phase of character change after the pedestrianisation. The street can be divided into 5 segments or areas, similar to the previous cases, which here refers to the landmarks that have started to define the place.

In the first segment, the entrance from Taksim, Burger King is used as a meeting point and a landmark rather than (Turkish chains) or the huge church. The second segment is the intersection of Ağa Camii (the only mosque on İstiklal which is invisible) with the Demirören shopping mall, which was built offset into the street after historic buildings were demolished. The third segment is the famous historical Galatasaray school, which its entrance is used as a base for anti-protest soldiers and riot forces and next to it is a huge western calligraphy of black men, and in between is an abandoned contemporary artwork which doesn't attract any attention. The fourth segment, the area where the Russian Consulate is located, is surrounded by global chains like Starbucks, Koton store and some abandoned buildings. The fifth, the Tünel area, is home to bookstores, galleries and the

Funicular station, which uses it as an entrance for an informative historical timeline of the Funicular and its development in Istanbul.

We can see here 5 spots as well, which carry the names of the landmark that pop up more than the number of the street, or blocks like in Times Square, or the name of the Rambla on Las Ramblas. The difference in Istanbul is not the street-facing façade of the buildings like in Barcelona and NYC, but the distinctive character of the entire street that is different from the rest of the city. Moreover, İstiklal doesn't use the space for uses, but for the users, as the crowd is taking over the entire right-of-way, pushing everything towards the walls like the musicians, sellers, kiosks, and keeping the central area for the tram and the pedestrians. This creates overcrowded and loaded sides, replacing the outside seating areas, façades and entrances of the stores to places of performances, standing, smoking, selling and begging, which are topped by glowing banners and advertisements of the uses in the building.

4.4 Maximization

In the pedestrian territory everything is maximized; pedestrian space, pedestrian number, consumption, retail, performances, police, security, working hours, lights and so on. Here I show three types of maximization; the vertical and horizontal. Vertical maximisation is an important part of the pedestrian territory as retail spaces exceed the limit of the first story concept and penetrate the building, going underground, to the upper floor and even the rooftops. This change from multi-use to singular-use and vice versa is a common practice in these places. Horizontal maximization refers to the expansion of the territory or commonly an aspect of it to the crossing streets, alleys and the adjacent areas, which usually work as a backup, supply or support for the territory.

The maximization process happened as a result of revitalisation after people were displaced, their businesses were torn down and buildings abandoned. Renovation played a great role in the reuse, restoration , and renewal of many buildings, which became attractive spaces for investors and new business owners. This replacement of the old with the new changed the use and users of the buildings. While this affected the buildings vertically, where people would work and live in the same building, having their residents-oriented shops, social network and city life. The horizontal maximization was a result of displacing people, businesses and unwanted activities to the inner alleys and crossing

streets, which aren't part of the territory but a supporter, saviour and shelter for the territory and its people. Therefore, maximization forces the occupation of the new character into the physical environment, bringing new uses, users and culture to the place.

Delaney has pointed out the difference between vertical and horizontal territoriality, and argued that "territoriality is most often discussed as a horizontal phenomenon, that is, as inside or outside the border of a certain territory" (2005b, pp. 31–33), but it is obvious how the territory is expanding vertically and even spilling over to the surroundings at different levels. It is indeed important to think of the pedestrian territory as not just two or three dimensional space, but as Doreen Massey described as "articulated moments in networks of social relations and understandings" (1994, p. 154) on a larger scale than a street or space.

4.4.1 Verticality

To understand the pedestrian territory we need to understand its built environment, including the spaces in these buildings. The pedestrian territory as a crowded space in highly commercialized, revitalized and vibrant area needs more spaces to accommodate these people who are coming to consume, hangout, enjoy, work, study or even stay. Steve Graham's influential work on verticality shows great examples of how the space should be seen, giving examples of "lifting the pedestrian up onto a new artificial urban ground and away from noxious and lethal vehicular traffic" take them to a 'near-utopian world' (2016, p. 146).

While these pedestrian territories don't have many of skywalks or skyscrapers elevators, they still go vertical in order to shift pedestrian traffic to rooftops bars, terraces and more luxurious places overlooking the street, quieter and more private spaces than the street itself. If we look at a tourist who's is staying on the 10th floor Marriott Hotel overlooking Times Square, going downstairs to buy a t-shirt from the 3rd floor, then getting some souvenirs for his kid from basement of the souvenir shop nearby, all in the same building, then exit to the square to sit on one of the public red chairs to have coffee and watch the billboards. We could understand that the concept of ground floor retail should be revised here, as the retail offer is expanding beyond the ground floor retail concept in these pedestrian territories, and is the opposite picture of huge horizontal retail concepts in America such as Wal-Mart (Figure 4-7).



Figure 4-7 Verticality of uses to the upper floors of buildings on Times Square, by author, March 2015

While Las Ramblas is longer and accommodates more retail outlets, we still see the stores going up and down to occupy the entire building for a singular use like a retail business. More commonly it is a diversified multi-(commercial)-use building. Starbucks on the street level, topped by a small hotel is the replacement of a butcher topped by a house, so this change of use of the building after the process of revitalisation focused here on renovation. Verticality here doesn't need high speed elevators or skyscrapers, instead it is providing more view points to the vibrant street such as hotel rooms, bars, or cafés to give a less crowded, more private and more expensive experience of the street. This use of these buildings along the street by businesses displaced the residents. Verticality here penetrated into the side streets, and went deep in the buildings, and even to the basement (Figure 4-8).



Figure 4-8 Multi-storey fast food chains - illegal sellers & musicians in Catalunya station, by author, July 2015

Istanbul has a similar concept, but a holistic one as many buildings are quite narrow in width and depth, but are of multiple storeys. While verticality is linked to more expensive spaces,

like the rooftop bars on Times Square, of the fancy offices and expensive hotels, in Istanbul it takes a different trajectory. People prefer to sit in the ground floor to see the street and its activities as the municipality doesn't offer any public seats, while the upper floors of the restaurants and cafes are associated with family, privacy or quiet areas. The rooftops or terraces are actually smoking areas, especially for younger people who would study or smoke, so families or non-smokers favour it. When it comes to retail outlets, Hakkı Zade which is a Baklava and Lokum (Turkish delight) specialty café has a tempting display and open doors to enable takeaways, and it also has 2 floors for seating areas besides a rooftop (Terrace) as a smoke free open space area (Figure 4-9). This verticality of a singular use, which can be of the same store or different ones on top of each other, is a very common practice for maximizing the space of consumption in Istanbul.



Figure 4-9 Hakkı Zade multi-storey building (left), Baklava (right), by author, October 2015

So, verticality can be a negative practice when it comes to the displacement of residents and change of social and cultural tissue of the neighbourhood, which turns the buildings to either mixed-used non-residential property or a singular use like the case of Hakkı Zade. However, we can see that verticality is a positive practice if seen from Graham's (2016) perspective as an efficient use of the land, therefore "allowing land to be used much more intensively than through the more traditional horizontal separation of land uses in cities" (p. 146).

4.4.2 Horizontality

We have to differentiate here that verticality is a territorial aspect while horizontality is an anti-territorial defensive aspect by which those displaced, authentic and cheaper businesses move to survive and find a better space to replace the space, which used to be within the

territory. The crossing, parallel and adjacent streets and areas represent the moderate revitalisation, which wasn't characteristic, and it didn't lead to territorialism.

The maximization of Times Square vertically changes once we leave the territory to less vertical but horizontal retails, diverse uses, more local stores and cheaper options. At the same time the NYC character starts to be more present through homeless visibility, less police officers and other aspects of the NYC and American culture or streets. Maximization in Times Square doesn't penetrate the surroundings when it comes to the character, as typical NYC starts to show in the surroundings with some Off-Broadway shows, a church, office buildings, cheaper chains or ethnic food stores. It is where people go to eat or work, without crowds, lights or any extravaganza. This horizontal aspect of Times Square emphasizes, highlights and increases the isolation of the square from the surroundings as its surroundings are irrelevant to it.

Moving across the pond to Barcelona, revitalisation maximized on the street characteristically but was less affective in the surroundings. Although the Gothic district has gone through revitalisation and is a touristic hub, El Raval, due to its less significant and prestigious value, is still going through some challenges. But both districts have been vibrant due to the maximization process of Las Ramblas as many of the residents-oriented stores shifted to the backyards of the Las Ramblas. , Right behind La Boqueria or other crossing streets of El Raval we can find butcher shops, plumbers, ethnic supermarkets and local stores, where the locals shop or hangout, besides many immigrants who chose this district as a home. On the other side of Las Ramblas the Barcelonans struggle with the huge number of tourists who invade the Gothic district, which has resulted in the maximization of boutiques and local stores which are tourist and local oriented, and more Spanish chains and stores than Las Ramblas' international brands.

The maximization of the Las Ramblas vertically pushed many residents and their needs to the surroundings, but not only them, also immigrants and tourists who are looking for less touristic and expensive options started to stay at the hostels, eat at the cafes and shop from the local stores in these adjacent areas.

On İstiklal, the local stores moved inside, like barbershops, laundries, local family owned restaurants and cafes and much more. The chains choose popular areas to open their branches, which threaten to displace local and 'one-of-a-type' small independent retailers

to the surroundings where the rents are lower. As a result this displacement causes a lower and challengeable diversity of stores on İstiklal. (Özdemir and Selçuk, 2017, p. 13)

Cihangir and Tarlabası districts, similarly to Las Ramblas, are very different in quality and demographics. Cihangir is the home of many expats, artists and intellectuals who enjoy the western character of the district where they can drink, dress and hangout in an environment, which is dominated by western or secular people. While on the other side of İstiklal is Taksim/Tarlabası area, which is cheaper, less safe, and has many options for loud, wild and sex related venues for locals and tourists. In these two adjacent districts we can see a glimpse of the old İstiklal; Cihangir as the elegant open minded, Tarlabası the chaotic nightlife.

The maximization of İstiklal into these districts happens to be through some crossing streets, which define the uses and users, as they aren't all the same. Walking from the Hüseyin Ağa Camii (mosque) to Taksim creates a venue populated by Syrian restaurants and Middle-Eastern shops somehow associated with the mosque as a conservative-oriented street. On the other side, LGBT cafes, clubs and venues towards Cihangir populate the street. Walking further towards Galatasaray school, the streets to Cihangir are lined up with cosy hidden cafes and book or art shops, while on the other side to Tarlabası the stores are serving the nightlife, residents or tourists, like mobile phone shops, supermarkets and other resident-oriented, cheap renovated hotels and unsafe streets.

Maximization is a result of not only revitalisation, but also the density, tourism and privatization that are all results of the changing character of the street. Another reason is the lack of space compared to the daily number of visitors. The pedestrian territory can't accommodate this number on the street and people aren't coming here just to look but also to have fun, eat, drink, shop or socialize. Therefore, maximizing vertically with the uses is a need to maximize profit and tourists demands. Maximizing horizontally is to support the territory's need to thrive by creating a larger range of choices when the territory can't accommodate everyone and everything, whether it is more space, more food and more shopping options, or offering authenticity seekers the real experience of the district, unlike the characteristic and fantasized territory of the city in the backyards of the territories.

4.5 Materialization

Probably the most visible process of territorialisation that can be seen and observed in these territories is materialization. What I mean here by materialization is transforming the public space to a materialistic space that is reshaped, sold, bought, produced, consumed and experienced using different forms of material or simply money. The materialistic aspect of the pedestrian territory explains its shift from a residents-oriented to tourists-oriented place that brings more money from abroad and locally, and uses every single aspect of the street, whether it is human or non-human to gain more money through materialistic visual culture and diversified seduction.

To understand how this works in the process of colonizing the public space to create a pedestrian territory I'll explain the powers used to achieve materialization, which can be summarized as: globalization, neoliberalism and privatization, and consumption.

4.5.1 Globalization

One of the most repeated words I heard during my fieldwork in these 3 cities was “global”, whether it was in an urban, economic, cultural, social or visual context. Globalization is a very broad concept which can “comprise many processes, such as the spatial integration of economic activities, movements of capital, migration of people, development of advanced technologies, and changing values and norms that spread among various parts of the world” (Marcuse and Van Kempen, 2011, p. 5). These territories have been globalized using different seductive powers, which are represented through the materialistic experience a pedestrian walk through that relies on consumption. We can see the change of architectural values where the buildings have been commercialized or covered with billboards and signs. The increasing number of chains and foreign brands takes over the locally owned stores, which are ran by immigrants from other cities or countries. The visitor is welcomed to the territory by different sorts of saleable goods, food, activities, bodies, hustle and bustle and even interesting moments which are a mix of local and global chains, brands, faces, arts and systems. The process of globalization started when the state decided to use characteristic revitalisation and transformation of specific places into hubs and touristic destinations for people coming from around the world.

So what's the relationship between globalization and materialization? The answer is the process of changing the pedestrian street to a global touristic destination through characteristic revitalisation, which opens and homogenizes the street to new global users and uses. In Times Square, Disney used its worldwide fame to create a place using its material character to territorise the place and materialize its amenities, including billboards, theatres, stores and performers who use the characters (most of them are Hispanic immigrants) to gain money as tips from the passers-by. This goes along with the retailisation of the square by enabling chains to take over from smaller stores, by changing the market to tourist-oriented, by relying on cheaper labour, mostly immigrants or migrants, to do the jobs, and by monopolizing the theatres under one big firm, which is Disney.

Globalization in Times Square can be seen through the power of image, precisely the image of Disney, which is a loveable memory for many people from around the world. This is used as a tool to attract, seduce and fulfil the fantasies of people who are familiar with and fans of Disney productions over decades, all united in this territory. Another layer of globalization is to emphasize the image of Time Square as a historical and long running global production. Christine Boyer explains this as the "revamping of Times Square is being regulated by lighting and billboards guidelines to revive the aura of the Great White Way" in attempt to control its ambience using zoning and design regulations to maximize their historical and visual identity (Boyer, 1992, p. 188).

The regeneration of Las Rambla used globalization to show that the Catalan identity appeals to the global tourist by using the culture and identity of the street and its historic assets as saleable commercial goods, which mainly target the global tourist, not the residents. The shift of the audience from Catalans to tourists created the Barcelona model which capitalized on its assets to bring international chains next to Spanish and Catalan chains, creating interconnected territory which welcomes 'all' to the Catalanian hub and therefore draws a materialistic image of how Barcelona is a world destination for tourists. The refining and commercializing of the architecture, history and characters of the Ramblas can be seen as a sort of seductive power, which uses the diverse materialistic symbols and representations of the place to accomplish political, cultural and social agendas of Catalunya independence. This isn't merely an attempt to show the culture but to sell this culture to consumers, as "in this competitive location game, cities and regions must market

themselves; their 'imageability' becomes the new selling point. Consequently spatial design codes and architectural pattern language become increasingly important in selling the look of an upmarket, upbeat environment. In this marketing war, style-of-life and 'liveability' visualized and represented in spaces of conspicuous consumption, become important assets that cities proudly display" (Boyer, 1992, p. 193).

İstiklal was drastically changed from a European district in the cosmopolitan Ottoman Empire to a national, secular Turkish space located in the European part of Istanbul. In Turkey after the coup of 1980, the Ozel government adopted liberal economic policies and opened to the international market by "restricting domestic retail industry" (İlkuçan, 2004, p. 59).

The aesthetic European outfit of the street was used to emphasize the 'Europeanness' of the city and the nation. This was carefully used to convey a visual message to the public that Turkey is European. However, the globalization process succeeded in displacing the Turkish and attracting more European and global materials to attract the global, not forgetting about capitalizing local materials to fit into the global image of commercialism and retail. This trajectory was supported by trials to join the EU and therefore many international chains were welcomed, and many social, cultural and political norms were rejected to keep this place neoliberal, secular, private and distinctive to claim its global aspect.

These trajectories to create a global place through the materialization of the aesthetic mean that uses and users adopted global policies and international market systems. They opened the doors for foreign businesses, immigrants, tourists and even cultures, emphasizing the presence of chains as an important element of the street, whether it is a global or local chain. However this doesn't make the pedestrian territory just like another shopping street; the meaning of consumption goes beyond the activity of shopping. It is a mass materialistic world that turns around money.



Figure 4-10 İstiklal Before/After, façade change, trees disappeared.

Source: Planning Department at Beyoglu Municipality

The creation of global commercial network and the revolution in transport have caused “urban differences which once distinguished various cultural and economic areas are lessening” (Murphey, 1966, p. 219), therefore, cities are becoming like one another (Gough, 2013) and these pedestrian territories forms a conflictual space which is influenced by this revolution that combines various contradictions and implications on the way people experience the place, express their ideas or identify themselves as well as the street. Robert Beauregard (Beauregard, 2003, p. 192) says the “drivers of globalization dynamics and metropolitan norms, which were recognized as centres of concentrated power and financial control, both expressing and internalizing the logics of capitalist globalization” (Brenner and Keil, 2006, p. 5).

Globalization within the pedestrian territory isn’t limited to consumption of goods, but it has other impacts which create territorial global patterns or networks that are relational between territories not the city itself (Robinson, 2006, p. 93). Although neoliberalism, democracy and free capitals are elements of making the material aspect of the territory, there are other relational patterns that generate from the materialization of the territory. For instance globalization uses material to change the space in these three territories, however, the ‘openness’ globalization requires to hit the space through international trade and imports as politico-economic factors, bring with them socio-cultural effects or cultural globalization (Nijman, 2013) that import new cultural, social and behavioural trends to the territory through relationality. Therefore, the relationship between globalization and the pedestrian territory is the materiality which goes from the physical place, to consumption or

human and non-human objects, of the space itself and therefore of materialistic culture and people. I'll explain the socio-cultural elements in the next two chapters.

To globalize the territory these cities use different processes and agendas through revitalisation which isn't limited to opening the market to the world and, bringing in chains, but even displaces or replaces a totally new population to the territory through processes of 'tourism gentrification' (Gotham, 2005). This attracts 'new urban tourists' (Maitland, 2010) to the territory, who would affect the middle class residents through tourism and consumption as these two groups have different demands. This creates a conflict as two different groups have to share the place, while globalization stands by the consumers as "the visitor is regarded as an affluent user that overlaps with other daily dynamics of the city and, as a result, the gentrification of lower income communities will be more intense in areas that have been transformed into spaces for tourism consumption" (Gant, 2015, p. 3). Therefore this commercial and tourism gentrification creates a 'symbolic gentrification' which targets the character, uses and users, which all go through this characteristic revitalization, which is believed to improve the public space.

This 'indirect displacement which changes the life of the inhabitants can cause eventually migration from their place to another (Gant, 2015, p. 3) as it destroys local businesses, facilities, ways of consumption, and how the residents use the neighbourhood, and creates challenges for lower income residents struggling to meet their everyday needs.

Territorial characteristic revitalisation can be defined in the global context as transformation in the spatial and socioeconomic fabric of the street, using politic-economic powers to produce a new space that is neoliberal and supports free market agendas, which brings with it more socio-cultural freedoms towards the middle-class, whether they are residents or visitors regardless of their class or social and cultural differences. It is shaped by globalization processes, which connect this space with its counterparts around the world through capitalism and tourism, creating similar urban environments or territories. These territories try to create a character of the space which views the tourists as inhabitants (Gant, 2015) not visitors, by designing revitalisation to suit tourism and globalization, which results in a territory that belongs to affluent visitors not to the residents and leads therefore to the exclusion and displacement of the working-class residents from the street (Gladstone and Fainstein, 2001).

Therefore, Pieterse (1995) sees globalization as a process of cultural hybridization, while Robertson (1992) interprets it as the world becoming a single place, while others go to other definitions of such places such as 'global spaces' (King, 2004) or as a complex and overlapping landscapes reshaped through globalization (Appadurai, 2011). Pedestrian territories, however, are locally perceived differently, as touristic hubs or entertainment districts, while some religious or conservative people think they are inappropriate sins-area associated with prostitution, nightlife, alcohol, liberal freedoms like *İstiklal*. These global aspects of these territories is a mix of various clashes and conflicts that exists in the society and are exaggerated in the territory but liberated and tolerated by the people within the territory.

From my fieldwork and answers that emerged around the identity and global aspect of the pedestrian territory, I argue the global aspect of the pedestrian territory using 3 main points. First it depends on the person and where has he/she lived, and the places he/she visited, as some participants were identifying dimensions as global or local although they've never been abroad. Second, it depends on the specific element of the global and local, it is a personal understanding, which can't be generalised amongst people. Third, it depends on the location, surroundings and moment, it wouldn't be global when it comes to, for instance, a Kebab in Istanbul but might be global for Starbucks goers.

4.5.2 Neoliberalism and Privatisation

Globalization of the pedestrian territory brought with it neoliberal policies through the processes of urban transformation and revitalisation. It is one of the characteristics that open the place to the world by adopting free market economies through capitalism. It is very obvious that these territories are transformed spaces, which were "renewed without aspect to their cultural and ecological contexts or the existing spatial habits and relationships belonging to their inhabitants. Consequently, instead of a "rational" planning process that functions via the accumulation of consecutive stages" (Adanalı, 2011, p. 1). "The profitable segments of the city are being increasingly privatized and oriented towards 'shopping' and 'entertainment' for those who can afford it. Entertainment is the new archetypical program of these privatized segments or enclaves" (Hemmersam, 2004, p. 101). The connection between neoliberalism and materialization is easily recognized through the processes of characteristic revitalisation, which open the street for those who

can afford it, meaning for those capitalists who can thrive paying the high rents, and those middle-class consumers who can afford it. Another aspect is the dominance of private businesses over the public space and the pedestrian space. Therefore, neoliberalism occupied the pedestrian territory at different layers, which changed its image, uses, users and behaviours.

The adoption of BID (Business Improvement District) as a business manager of the space shows the change of target of the public space to a privatized and neoliberalised public space that maximized on capitalism and free market agendas. This freedom brings other freedoms with it to the space which therefore change the public space to a territorial space that doesn't represent the public or target their desires but it targets those who can afford it, and use it to get money.

But has the 'public space' been ever public "In the sense that it was completely value-neutral and completely socially unbiased" (Hemmersam, 2004, p. 101)? I argue that the public space has always been a place for merchandise or consumption, and in these territories it was residents-oriented or towards specific group, but with neoliberalism it turned into walking space that is designed materialistically. It is an 'open-to-public-place', a territory, which has been acted upon, so heavily commercialized that even the small activities and performances are for sale. The activity of walking is the only free thing left on the street, therefore it makes sense to relate pedestrians to the territories as neoliberal pedestrians territories.

The homogenization and commercialization of the pedestrian goes hand in hand with the increasing policing of the public realm (Fyfe and Bannister, 1998) where shopping is conquering and constituting the logic of the space (McMorrough, 2001). Neoliberalism happens to be "limiting and discouraging the natural public gestures, socializations in the atmosphere" (Allen, 2003). As the public space has been sold to private owners, such as BID in Times Square, or restarted environment like Las Ramblas or the case of Istanbul where the private expanded vertically into the buildings and their rooftops.

Times Square was handed to the Alliance (BID previously) to create the square from scratch building its neoliberal principles on the historic value of the square and Disney fame to form a materialistic square that is free market in different aspects. During my interview with NYDT (New York Department of Transportation) I found that Broadway is still going through

problems of ownership. It is physically owned by the department but as a surface owned and managed by the Alliance which has authority over the space and the entire square. Although the Alliance is managing the square with security, events through BID, they don't have any power over the performers and what they perform, and they can only ban the use of speakers. They were in favour of one brand as the interviewee described, "only this brand, we know them, they've been playing for years". On the other hand, no one is allowed to advertise on Times Square without a permission. One incident I observed was when a few people pulled up a roller-up to advertise for a non-profit at a table, and the security came immediately and asked them to pack it.

The material culture of Times Square ruined the picture of Disney in the eyes of the children who are threatened by tips by Latina Disney characters who argue about the tips before taking a picture, and immediately took off the head to show the real face while counting the money. This is one example of how the free market concept invaded, and ruined the entire character of the square.

The case of Barcelona shows another aspect of neoliberalism, which is the occupation of the public space using monopoly. All the strategic corners of Las Ramblas, whether it is from Plaça Catalunya or Plaça Reial, are occupied by American fast-food chains, not ignoring the high number of other chains running in between. Another aspect is the support for businesses over the public. There are only a dozen public chairs on Las Ramblas, while there are hundreds of chairs in those restaurants. The chair rentals were removed to remove the population who used them and to bring in new consumers who would use restaurants, which are taking over the walkway on the Ramblas, and marginalising public space in favour of private space.

The numerous kiosks which sell a variety of souvenirs are signs of materialistic private practice. Pedestrians are stopped every a few meters by vendors trying to sell something; even the florists and artists have come up with new ways to sell, which make them thrive on the Ramblas. Even the façades and the architecture of the Ramblas has been materialized using the standards of neoliberal policies and the free market, through the use of banners and standardized sizes which creates a uniformed façade that takes over the architecture with its bright colours and glowing lights.

The revitalization of İstiklal went parallel to the pedestrianisation process around 1990 (Dokmeci *et al.*, 1996) Soon after this implementation of these schemes, the public started to intervene and use the power of authoritarian gentrification and commercialization of the space (Adanalı, 2011; Özdemir and Selçuk, 2017, p. 20). Neoliberalism was implemented in İstiklal using the power of the municipality as an actor, which manages the street unlike the BID concept. The municipality used a strategy to neoliberalise the space using free market and tourism while keeping the power of the state present on the street using different forces military soldiers, police officers, municipal agents and secret police.

During an interview with the municipality, I found that the municipality “helped” (as the planners described) business owners with the aesthetics of the buildings, and how to restore, standardize and modernize the facades and material of private businesses in order to make them sell more and thrive. While neoliberal İstiklal shows the changes on the street from the elite upper class, the penetration of middle class tourists and residents, it changed other layers of the street. The investors didn’t just rent out the buildings but many have bought the buildings, which were owned by the municipality after they were abandoned, and occupied them entirely for a singular use. This practice spread around and displaced the local stores to the backyards and misused the buildings, transforming them from architectural piece to a material international brand.

During the fieldwork I found that many people have the perception that retailers on İstiklal are more attractive to tourists than locals, but I found many locals shopping at these places. It shows that the territory attracts both, and the touristic demands shape locals’s changing tastes. It is obvious that the retails have changed to adapt to the demands and tastes of this new group (mainly tourists) to make more profit, which is increasing the number of eating and drinking places besides fast food, causing the other stores to close down. The result of Istanbul ‘global(urban)ization’ and reclaiming the street by the capital puts its historic value in danger with these heavy commercial materialistic practices. “This massive human flow is accompanied by a massive capital flow and its transformative effects” (Adanalı, 2011, p. 1). For instance, Mango store on İstiklal bought the building, which was previously owned by Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, and before that the Dutch firm VasNed, which targets high streets in Europe bought the Yapi Kredi buildings next to Galatasaray school, besides

other UK-based firms which took advantage of the real-estate opportunities on İstiklal (Adanalı, 2011, p. 4).

Another example is the controversial case of Demirören shopping mall (opened in 2011) on İstiklal, which was highly criticized by the public as it was built on an urban protected area, which should have not been licensed by the municipality (Figure 4-11). The power of neoliberalism, which was led by the municipality, has been seen against the regulations of the protected natural and cultural heritage council. The shopping mall which consists of a cinema which threatened the authentic and small theatres on the streets, like Emek cinema, besides other stores which were affected by the building and retails inside the mall, and closed down (Adanalı, 2011, p. 11)



Figure 4-11 Demiroren Before and After, the article shows that Demiroren isn't the same building of 1890s Deveau Apartments as the municipality claimed. Source: http://www.arkitera.com/haber/5327/1890larin-deveaux-apartmanlari-ile-demiroren-avm-ayni-binalar-mi_

Therefore, neoliberal practices using privatization of the pedestrian streets to turn them to characteristic pedestrian territories, which are owned, run and consumed by the global proved the concept of occupation as a way of territorializing the space. This caused a 'loss of place' (Davidson and Lees, 2010). When the city failed to handle Times Square it was handled to Disney to manage using neoliberalism, while Barcelona decided to handle the street using more controlled neoliberalism which targets the global though its Barcelona Model. İstiklal used authoritarian neoliberalism where the state and municipality gives freedom of space to help the business while keeping the management of the public space under the authority of the state.

Privatization caused the people working in the offices on Times Square and their everyday life to seek affordable options elsewhere, and to try to avoid the crowds, and made the Barcelonans sleepless due to the parties in the next-door apartments that are hired to tourists using Airbnb. They pushed the Istanbulites away from their everyday tea and smoke cafes by forbidding outside seats, which is against their traditions seen, everywhere else in the city. These socio-cultural meanings of the place will be explained in detail in the next chapter.

4.5.3 Consumption and Seduction

Although the efforts these cities put to bring the middle class back to the city and create a middle class friendly place by increasing rents which increase the price of goods and create an affordability issues, in the pedestrian street affordability goes to another level. The concept of pedestrian streets conveys a message of publicness, and since these are the core of tourism, entertainment and famous characteristic places that iconize the city in the eyes of visitors, they are targeting everyone who can afford it, not necessarily the middle class. The pedestrian territory attracts people who want to get cash in easy ways, like performers, illegal sellers and the homeless, pickpockets and beggars as well as those who have tight budgets such as backpackers, students, and the working class. What makes it a territory is the variety of options of the material world, as these territories are an excessive creation of a materialistic world that materializes and sells images, goods and services. The façades are advertising, the street is privatized, the buildings are rented for shops and restaurants which monopolize the seating areas, open spaces are merchandised by performers asking for tips, kiosks selling snacks or even roasting nuts or making hotdog sandwiches sold for a \$1 on street corners, and so on.

This temptation, seduction and consumption offer the poor and the rich something, so the “publicness nowadays is not about the sedation of the middle classes, if indeed it ever was, but it is about the production of certain affects which enable people to experience a place as open, accessible and inclusive” (Allen, 2006, p. 445). We can see seduction used more effectively in the pedestrian streets, as John Allen shows how seduction uses design, layout, materials, movements and productions to seduce the user to consume more, and the pedestrian territory tries to offer variety of affordable choices to accommodate the diversity of people. Seduction here uses the visuals such as signs to promote for discounts,

competitive prices, affordable food outlets and on-the-go snacks while the more expensive items are flowing behind store displays for those can afford them.

This even affects the built environment and architecture and façades of the pedestrian street as “For architecture to become an urban marketing too, it must provide an identity as an emblem that lends the city a new meaning as a place and must also offer a memorable experience to inhabitants and visitors alike (Klingmann, 2007, p. 241). This modern digital architecture of the buildings which covers the buildings of billboards, advertisements, banners and live interactive TV screens are changing the concept of the visual to a visualized consumption or commercial aesthetic which seduce people consciously or unconsciously.

Christine Boyer describes Times Square as “the largest urban-renewal project ever undertaken in America”. The area was revitalized to an office, hotels and entertainment centre “In order to recapture the energy and movement that once characterized Times Square, and consequently to call on popular meaning to legitimate this plan, an ordinance now requires that the façade of each new structure be lit up like a giant jukebox, with the tacit assumption that these supersigns will restore the long-last glitter of the Great White Way” (1992, p. 195) as it shown in (Figure 4-12).



Figure 4-12 Supersigns of Times Square, Source: <https://www.politico.com/states/new-york/city-hall/story/2015/05/federal-act-pressures-city-to-remove-oversize-times-square-billboards-088998>

Food is another aspect; in these areas we talk about food tourism, which is “the desire to experience a particular type of food or the produce of a specific region”. The pedestrian territory uses its location as the touristic hub to offer local dishes and sweets through chains and touristic restaurants of both low and good qualities options. The presentation of colourful Baklava pyramids, juicy Döner and kebabs grilled on skewers, women baking fresh bread on the traditional pans, are all separated from the passer-by with a piece of glass.



Figure 4-13 Left: Döner, Right: Köfte at İstiklal, Source: Left: <https://www.dreamstime.com/editorial-image-doner-kebab-cooking-istanbul-turkey-october-chef-cutting-traditional-turkish-food-street-food-shop-image82477920> Right: <https://www.alamy.com/stock-photo-istanbul-istiklal-caddesi-beyoglu-restaurant-turkey-26235284.html>

Similarly, fresh juices and fruits, gelato, paellas, sangria and tapas menus on Las Ramblas aren't there for looking but for buying. While Times Square doesn't offer something local per se, but people coming to Times Square are targeting different type of food like Hershey's, M&M, the 'original' MacDonald's or hotdog and shish kebab sandwiches from kiosks on various corners on the square. The temptation people get from all these goods and foods are associated with the culture, weather, affordability and media as well. These examples will be discussed from the cultural and human perspectives in the following chapters to show aspects like food travellers, cultural and social elements associated with visual culture. For instance a Bosnian tourist I interviewed spent 2 hours taking photos of food on İstiklal because he's on a diet and preferred to taste them with his eyes.

The pedestrian territory is a closed expression of power (Allen, 2006, p. 441) where everyone is welcome to see, consume and sometimes even sell something legally or illegally. There are extra freedoms within these territories, which are used in different ways, and are results of the neoliberal aspects resulting from privatization and liberalism of uses

and users. Although police and surveillance cameras or even secret police are deployed to prevent any danger to these businesses or people, they also protect the freedoms and consumption activities which happen within the territory that aren't accepted beyond it. For instance, these pedestrian territories experience extra freedoms, which are demonstrated through political protests, social events (LGBT pride), cultural activities (New Year's events) and entertainment performances (musicians, topless girls, human statues). These are other types of consumption, which use the power of neoliberalism to earn money using their talents and bodies. Nevertheless, there are sex related activities which take place on these territories whether directly by visible sex workers or indirectly through agents who targets the users within the territory then take them to the brothels, massage places or cabarets in the backyards of the street which act as supply for the territory.

Therefore this privatization of the public space and the use of neoliberalism to enhance consumption by seducing the public to consume brought another element to the street which goes beyond shopping or retail and involves entertainment and social interaction (Allen, 2006, p. 443) by the use of the uses within the territory and its freedom and liberal aspect. These "effects have been felt culturally and politically" (Allen, 2006, p. 442). People come to these territories to be in a global space that doesn't go under the social, cultural, political pressure of the city and the state, these places have an "ambient power, where the character of a place, its design, layout and inscribed social relations, invite us to use it in selective ways" ... (Allen, 2006, p. 442) that creates "particular atmosphere, a specific mood, a certain feeling—that affects how we experience it and which, in turn, seeks to induce certain stances which we might otherwise have chosen not to adopt" (Allen, 2006, p. 445).

This power doesn't have a physical form, it is just the limitation of its pedestrian limits, where people enjoy this ambient power to express their sexual orientations, liberal ideas, look, political views and so on both verbally and physically without being harassed, judged or confronted by social norms. These results from fantasy as a character, neoliberalism as a function, consumption as seduction, freedom as a power, all create publicness and freedom within an open-to-public privatized, commercialized and liberal territory. Therefore, the ambient power doesn't only cause seduction to increase direct consumption but to consume indirectly as a result of the territorial experience which makes consumption a fantasy, a social release, a cultural activity or even self-discovery in a less judgmental place

which entertains the users in different ways. Therefore, consumption creates a material world, which result in an ambient power that occupies the space to bring a different experience within the boundaries of the territory. The socio-cultural dimensions of this phenomenon will be demonstrated deeply through people practices, experiences and rituals within the pedestrian territory in the next chapter.

4.6 Conclusion: Territorialism and the Proclaimed Independence

The result of bringing people of different classes to an urban core, along with foreign investors, immigrants and a huge influx of tourists, creates an overloaded pedestrian territory which its has been already maximized spatially, vertically and horizontally by the process of revitalisation. This creates what I call territorialism, which can be defined as:

“The occupation of certain powers to a specific bounded geographical space (a territory) which gives more weight to the interests and preferences of those powers within the territory than the surroundings”.

As these pedestrian streets suffer from high density varying between half a million to 2 million users per day, they all come to experience the distinctive and unique characteristics of the territory, which puts all the powers explained previously in one place that distinctively isolates itself from the rest of the city. The people within this pedestrian territory resist the city’s and state’s systems to change, while the city and the state want to wield their power to protect the territory and keep it independent using different intergovernmental agendas. As these territories are saving the city from various problems, they contain both a concentration of powers and unwanted characteristics, as the city and its people don’t want them to spread out to other parts of the city.

So we see here a two-sided conflict of the territory in relation to the city. At one side, it is not a representation of the city and its culture, but it stole the urban from the city, which has been given to the tourists for free. On the other side, it brought something global to the city such as money and tourism, in addition to a territorial culture, which appeal to locals and tourists alike. This peaceful independence of the proclaimed territory as territorialism happened when a group of residents enjoyed the territory as a space of freedom, diversity, tourism, new trends, imported goods and cosmopolitan. Whether the branding was

crossroads of the world, cool Istanbul or Barcelona's urban life, they are benefiting the city and the investors, local chains and people who work in this territory.

The pedestrian territory is the most crowded place not only in the city but the nation, making it hard to control, and it has a high concentration of entertainment and touristic attractions. As a strategy to save the businesses and tourism, the city represented through the police and municipality try their best to make sure the territory is safe by providing extra security and police (human, CCTV and hidden) but also loosening the restrictions and regulations through intergovernmental ones which allow more freedoms regarding businesses, human behaviours, practices. This creates a very different atmosphere which is secular, liberal, neoliberal and tourist-friendly. When these practices grow, they form a territorial culture and identity which is practiced by the people who proclaim independence of the territory, and encourage it through the use of ambient power to make it appealing to the visitors who enjoy it, practice it, come here to feel it, or travel from abroad to experience it.

These territorial characteristics include a long list of various elements. People entering Times Square are welcomed by lights, billboards, Disney stores, Broadway theatres, people from around the world, police on horses, friendly police officers taking pictures with the tourists, interactive screens capturing pictures of the public who pose kissing, chains and brands, topless girls, naked cowboy and much more. People get the chance to experience what they've seen in the movies over decades as a form of fantasy city or a utopian theme park. This creates an atmosphere, which changes people behaviours and they act accordingly.

Similarly, entering Las Ramblas takes a visitor through an open-air theme park, embraced by the huge trees in a warm day, to see people walking in swimsuits coming from the beach, artists and human statues showing their professional skills and interacting with people, Spanish dishes, tapas, alcohol, theatres and people exiting La Boqueria with fresh juices. People speaking dozens of languages, of different colours, concentrated in one place, under this same ambient power whether it is Catalan, European, Global or a mix of all seducing them. Police riot officers walking around and chasing African fake handbags illegal sellers. This extravaganza, and celebration of the public space using consumption and freedoms, is

something can't be found on other parts of Barcelona. It is the place where stores open on Sundays while everything else shuts down in the rest of the city.

The territory of İstiklal isn't very different from the previous case. Despite the cleaning up processes and invisibility of alcohol, it is still avoided by some religious or conservative people who don't want to be near alcohol and nightlife venues. There is a concentration of retails and chains whether they are Turkish or foreign, next to restaurants and cafes. Alleys to smaller pubs, clubs, or local movie theatres besides ethnic music bands lined up along the street playing different instruments, some of them stop for the prayer call and some ignore it to show resistance. Women dressed freely, transvestites walking in high heels and beautiful dresses or working in some cosmetic stores, along with gays walking holding hands or tourists kissing. A place where political protests are confronted by soldiers, using the freedom of the street and its name (İstiklal means independence) to protest against the state, and trying to use the economic and tourist importance of the street to get their political rights.

With all of this happening on the street, everything to be watched and enjoyed, the huge number of the pedestrians affects the street negatively when people try to find their way not to enjoy the experience, and here the businesses take advantage by providing seating areas overlooking the street and its activities whether from the multiple floors of the store, its balconies, verandas or terraces. While Times Square takes another step by offering the public free chairs and steps, and use the seductive power of the stores, where people go to buy fast-food, snacks, or shop in addition to those who choose the nicer and cosier places to drink, dine and enjoy the view of Square from a terrace or a rooftop.

Chapter 5: Pedestrians Experience

5.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter I explained how the street was turned to a territory, focusing mainly on the change in the physical environment and demographics, which were results of politic-economic interventions through processes of penetration and occupation. In this chapter I draw on my ethnographic findings to look at the human factor after territorialism. It is impossible to study an urban space without looking at its both human and non-human aspects, especially in urban cores like the pedestrian territory where both elements empower, shape, feed into each other. I'll focus in this chapter on the sensuous experience of the territory.

Before I start the human experience I want to introduce the participants whom I collected data from. I briefly show demographic details of pedestrians in Table 5-1 below (more detailed and figural description in the appendix).

Categories	Passers-by	66%	Kiosks	7%
	Retails	16%	Street Sellers	2%
	Performers	9%		
Origin - Residency	Local	34%	Domestic Tourist	12%
	Tourist	29%	Refugee	2%
	Resident	23%		
Sex	Male	52%	Couple	7%
	Female	39%	LGBT	2%
Language of Interview	English	46%	Arabic	8%
	Turkish	26%	Catalan	3%
	Spanish	17%		
First visit	Yes	36%	No	64%
Nationality of interviewee	Other	40%	USA	22%
	Turkish	24%	Spanish	14%
Age Range (years old)	< 20	2%	40 - 49	15%
	20 - 29	38%	50 - 59	10%
	30 - 39	24%	60 <	11%

Table 5-1 Demographics of The Interviewees

The table shows how planners usually look at the territory, studying people as demographic tables in terms of density, crowds, strollers, and consumers and so on, while I try to use the empirical data to illustrate other socio-cultural dimensions. Studying this can give us an insight of who are the players in the territory as the table and appendix describe but in this

chapter I want to use this information to show the pedestrians as human beings, to understand the territory from a social science perspective, this helps in conceptualizing its reality, everyday life and lived experience that create a valid argument on social, cultural and identity levels. These characteristics based on random selection, so its validity is reliable if random selection is considered a representation of the users of the pedestrian territory, but it is not a representation of the city as a whole. As this research isn't of a quantitative nature, I do not focus my argument on numerical findings, but on the qualitative aspects of the human experience.

The chapter tries to explain the sensuous experience of these pedestrians as voices, the feelings they get from the space and how the territory affects their senses and makes them act. In this section I mainly look at the short experiences that touch people senses, while the next chapter goes to deeper perceptions and conceptions of these humans within territory boundaries. This helps us to understand how the atmosphere of the territory penetrates through people's senses and shapes an experience, which helps answer my questions about its territoriality as a relationship between the space and the people, and the cultural dimensions of the territory.

I use the word pedestrians here to describe a specific aspect of the people and the street; pedestrians as demographics and density. The word humans describes another level which is deeper and describes people from biological perspectives as a living species, who express, resist, perceive and conceive after spending more time in the territory. The word 'people' is very generic and doesn't have the depths that I want to show.

5.2 Pedestrians Experience: Territoriality

Now that we have looked at the demographics of pedestrians in the three different cities, I want to show how this huge diversity of people gather, experience, sense and think of the pedestrian territory, considering how enclosed and intense this urban space is. I'll focus in this section on two main aspects; first, why do these people visit the territory and what attracts them to it, second, how do they sense and experience the place.

Looking at this humanistic level of the territory reveals to us multiple territories within the bigger territory; the territory of the self, the territory of the public, the territory of others.

The argument around space and place usually defines the space as an abstract, which only becomes a place when values, meanings and representations of people occur. Therefore, a territory is shaped by the power of the place, and the people, in addition to their various ideas, expressions, behaviours and creativity.

5.2.1 Territory Experience

In the previous chapter I explained the idea of replacement as an important element in the transformation of the street into a territory. While the replacement wasn't limited to the buildings and atmosphere, it changed the population of the pedestrian territory, through the bringing in of a new population, made up of not only tourists but also locals, immigrants and minorities like refugees, homeless people and LGBT people. My ethnographic works usually started with the question "what are you doing here, or what brings you to this place today". In this section I try to show that the pedestrian street has a wide variety of interests that attract a diversity of people, and these humans visit and experience the place for different reasons, and bind themselves to certain aspects of it.

5.2.2 Attraction

Thousands or even millions of people visit Times Square, Las Ramblas and İstiklal everyday, coming from around the world, for numerous reasons, bringing their thoughts and emotions with them, which emerge through their behaviours on the street. To be able to explore their experience, we need to look at what urges them to visit, and what attracts them to these places. Here are the main reasons, which explain why people visit the territory.

5.2.2.1 En-Route

It is an en-route or stop by place while heading off on or after finishing a specific trip. In Times Square we can find someone "had internship with the UN and we are visiting for few days, with my mom" sitting near another person who "I have an interview so waiting and killing time looking at the CV"¹ not far from another person "I'm going around looking for a job, stopped here to buy something like a selfie stick for a surprise"². While it is usually perceived as the entertainment district, the previous interviewees had more serious reasons

¹ NYC-PSB-7, 23, Male, Domestic Tourist, USA

² NYC-PSB-6, 22, Female, Local, USA

than watching the lights, but some of them came for more relevant reasons such as “I Just ate and am going to do some shopping, buying gifts”¹ or many who are on educational trips “Today I’m on a trip with my college, we are here for 5 days mostly to see Broadway shows because we are with the drama club”² and another groups “we are on a singing trip, Just come here for shopping, It is our first time in NY”³. Another woman asked me if I worked for the comedy shows trying to sell her tickets, she was annoyed because she was busy with her kids “We are here with our kids, they are singing in choir competition”⁴. Walking to another corner of the square, I saw a bored woman with a grumpy face, who agreed to be interviewed. She said “I have a meeting tomorrow so I decided to come earlier today, it is nearby, I wanted to see the place before tomorrow’s meeting to avoid the traffic, but I hate NYC”⁵.

We don’t see a huge difference when we cross the Atlantic Ocean to Las Ramblas, to see a woman who “was at the beach with my friends this morning, we have eaten there and we are going home now”⁶. Not far from her, I saw an exhausted couple “we came from Picasso Museum, we are tired, we want to buy some tour tickets, we wouldn’t sit here because it is overcrowded, but we are so tired”⁷. On another corner I saw an energetic woman who “had a lunch with some friends and later we went shopping and I bought earrings”⁸ More people come here for shopping but it makes them stay here. “Today I came to buy something but then I decided to stay longer”⁹. The en-route is not limited to the city radius but to the region as well as the elderly Dutch couple. “We were on the other side of the country, in Zaragoza we have many friends here in Barcelona so we are here, we hired an apartment we are staying here for 5 days”¹⁰.

Moving to the East won’t change this much, as in Istanbul people also use the pedestrian territory as en-route too. “I’m walking around before going to the airport back to Bosnia, I

¹ BCN-PSB-20, 36, Male, Tourist, Egypt

² NYC-PSB-47, 21, Female, Domestic Tourist, USA

³ NYC-PSB-43, 27, Female, Domestic Tourist, USA

⁴ NYC-PSB-39, 51, Female, Domestic Tourist, USA

⁵ NYC-PSB-22, 35, Female, Domestic Tourist, USA

⁶ BCN-PSB-4, 23, Female, Tourist, Italy

⁷ BCN-PSB-36, 41, Male, Tourist, USA

⁸ BCN-PSB-10, 25, Male, Local, Spain

⁹ BCN-PSB-31, 73, Male, Local, Spain

¹⁰ BCN-PSB-1, 66, Male, Tourist, Netherlands

spent the last 2 hours taking pictures of the sweets on İstiklal”¹. We can see here a relationship between bodies and technologies in touristic places through photography in the urban encounter, something that reminds us of Crang’s (Crang, M., 1997) argument that photography in touristic places frames the world through a bodily experience. Here we see the pedestrian street as an en-route urban encounter through which some pedestrians spend their experience capturing moments or even being part of them through photography.

5.2.2.2 A Landmark and a Meeting Point

The pedestrian territory is a walking path. It is crowded and vibrant and it is hard to stand still there, especially during pedestrians ‘peak hours’. However, the number of people ‘waiting’ there is very high, whether they are locals, tourists or even people working there. It is the landmarks, centrally located, whether people are walking around, working or even commuting as these pedestrians’ territories are transit hubs and many transport lines intersect here.

In Times Square I saw many people who were waiting, “we are on vacation till Saturday, we arrived this morning, I have leg problems so I’m just waiting here”². Friends can’t decide where to meet, the easiest option is Times Square “I’m meeting my friend, I’m always in the subway, I commute and I have to go through Times Square, so we decided to stop here, it is a meeting point”³ It is not only the Jewish conservative girl’s choice, it is also a choice made by other people who are forced to come here because of their friends “I’m here because my friend wanted to be here”⁴. People are meeting their old friends in Times Square, “Meeting an old friend from high school here”⁵. Similarly an older man was waiting for his “visiting friend from the UK”⁶. Other people wait for their children or family members, who are shopping at the numerous stores at Times Square, while some other people are “killing time

¹ IST-PSB-34, 46, Male, Tourist, Bosnia

² NYC-PSB-5, 70, Female, Domestic Tourist, USA

³ NYC-PSB-23, 23, Female, Local, USA

⁴ NYC-PSB-40, 24, Female, Tourist, Philippines

⁵ NYC-PSB-16, 24, Male, Local, USA

⁶ NYC-PSB-14, 49, Male, Tourist, Canada

before the Broadway musical”¹ or even waiting for their partners, who are doing last minute shopping with their luggage “waiting here before going to the airport, flying out tonight”².

People also meet and wait on Las Ramblas, the easiest place to reach from airport, trains, metro lines or walking. “I’m meeting my friend here, we didn’t meet for a while”³, “Waiting for my plane, leaving tonight”⁴, “I’m coming here with my family, they went shopping, I’m waiting here”⁵. Even families decide to meet here “I’m waiting for my husband, he’s coming from work”⁶. Other people give different reasons as this tourist explains “we are on a cruise, we took a bus tour which started from here, the travel agency booked us into a hotel on Rambla, I’m resting here waiting for my family, they went for shopping, it is a vibrant, shopping street, there are many brands and people, so we preferred to be near the market, shops, it is central”⁷.

In Istanbul people use Burger King as a landmark on İstiklal more than other famous places. This foreign brand stands out and is hard to miss, and there are many people waiting there whether they are locals who see it as an exotic place and tourists who are familiar with it. , Both can find it easy from different perspectives, even those who just arrived from the airport come directly here to meet their friends. Many of them were waiting for their friends, “I’m taking a break (smoking), I work here”⁸, “My brother is living here and I’m visiting him, I study in Edirne, I’m waiting for him and drinking coffee with some friends”⁹. A couple of Malaysian students said they were “meeting our uncle at Taksim he is coming from Malaysia at 5:30 (now 11:40) we come here early to hangout, we love and it is the easy choice to hangout and meet someone”¹⁰.

¹ NYC-PSB-11, 20, Female, Domestic Tourist, USA

² NYC-PSB-4, 31, Female, Tourist, UK

³ BCN-PSB-24, 52, Female, Local, Spain

⁴ BCN-PSB-22, 33, Female, Tourist, Portugal

⁵ BCN-PSB-21, 36, Male, Tourist, Russia

⁶ IST-PSB-29, 27, Female, Local, Turkey

⁷ BCN-PSB-34, 40, Male, Tourist, Bahrain

⁸ NYC-PSB-36, 63, Male, Local, USA

⁹ IST-PSB-9, 27, Male, Domestic Tourist, Turkey

¹⁰ IST-PSB-33, 18, Female, Tourist, Malaysia



Figure 5-1 Waiting near Catalunya, Las Ramblas & at Burger King, İstiklal, by author, 2015

5.2.2.3 Hangout

People visit these territories for different reasons or sometimes for ‘no reason’ which is itself a reason to find what could entertain them, fight their boredom or just to get utterly lost in another world. We start with this coming for a reason, the simple one “everybody speaks about Times Square”¹, and those coming to see whatever it offers “everything, lights, shows, it is a lot to take”². “We are here for business conference which is every year, we added days just for the shows. We don't always add days”³. While other people come to work here “I come here twice a week, to volunteer at Covenant house”⁴, some people come more frequently as “we are visiting and been coming here everyday. Today we bought tickets for musicals”⁵. Times Square might not only be the place for the locals “I don't come here outside of work, I'm a New Yorker, I know many New Yorkers who lived here for their entire life, but they've never been to Times Square or the Empire State building”. This is validated by another “I'm a New Yorker so we don't come to Times Square to hangout, we hangout in other places, But when I come here, it is a different mentality”⁶. This doesn't mean that New Yorkers don't come here, as there are other New Yorkers who visit to do some shopping, meet friends or see a musical.

In Barcelona, Las Ramblas still appeal to many locals despite the perceptions of many tourists and even Barcelonans who think that it is hard to find locals on Las Ramblas. “I

¹ NYC-PSB-45, 33, Couple, Tourist, France

² NYC-PSB-44, 26, Male, Tourist, UK

³ NYC-PSB-2, 50, Female, Domestic Tourist, USA

⁴ NYC-PSB-17, 62, Male, Resident, USA

⁵ NYC-PSB-10, 22, Female, Tourist, Netherlands

⁶ NYC-PRF-7, 36, Male, Local, USA

come here everyday, it is quite hot in other places in Barcelona, but it is cool here, the shade and the breeze from the sea”¹. “My hotel is nearby and we are going now to Barça x Rome tonight. We are big fans of Barça”² while some of these people were also referring to Canaletes fountain, where the team drinks a sip of water from it, showing a relationship between objects with specific people. Some Barcelonans still value Las Ramblas as a family place. “I come here to walk with my family or to have a drink with a friend, we live in Barcelona and we love to come to La Rambla. We come here to see atmosphere, we sit here, we stay for over an hour and then we leave, because in the neighbourhood where we live we don't have such an atmosphere”³.

In Istanbul many locals still visit the territory for various reasons, “I work here because I like it, if I didn't like it, I wouldn't work here”⁴ shows that some people purposely chose to work in this area due to its atmosphere. German tourists were on İstiklal as “tomorrow is his birthday so we are looking for a bar to celebrate it”⁵, they walk along with a professional photographer “I'm taking photographs, trying to make a documentary about the guys selling corn, Those young guys trying to sell corn to pay for school”⁶, while another is “preparing for a contest of Istanbul and I'm taking pictures here now”⁷. As in İstiklal some buildings kept their original functions like Galatasaray School. A girl “Just got out of school, we are going for a dessert”⁸. An intellectual man was passing by, “I went to Bostancı Film Festival this week and there was a workshop today, that's why I came here”⁹, while another İstanbulite “I live in Istanbul but I don't come to Taksim often, Today celebrating my birthday with friends over drinks here”¹⁰. If we look at the people who come here to work or perform here, like this guitarist who checks out who's around “to see other musicians and we tell each other, look, we play here as well”¹¹. This doesn't mean that hanging out doesn't exist, as many people visit just to walk around “I'm off today so I'm walking around”, or an

¹ BCN-PSB-37, 53, Male, Tourist, Morocco

² BCN-PSB-25, 42, Male, Tourist, Lebanon

³ BCN-PSB-12, 74, Couple, Local, Spain

⁴ IST-RTL-4, 37, Male, Local, Turkey

⁵ IST-PSB-5, 25, Male, Tourist, Germany

⁶ IST-PSB-32, 25, Male, Local, Turkey

⁷ IST-PSB-22, 21, Female, Local, Turkey, (Conservative uni girls)

⁸ IST-PSB-18, 16, Female, Local, Turkey, Galatasaray student

⁹ IST-PSB-12, 35, Male, Resident, Turkey

¹⁰ IST-PSB-10, 25, Female, Local, Turkey

¹¹ IST-PRF-5, 26, Male, Resident, Turkey, Guitarist

older couple wearing dark colour clothes “we are retired, We came for a funeral and now walking around”¹.

5.2.2.4 People Watching

Seeing all these reasons, which bring people to the pedestrian territory, makes the place very interesting, as people come with different energies, purposes and from different origins, behaving in different ways, but walking along with other people who come for totally different purposes. This scene makes the place worth ‘watching’, and it brings many people who come to the pedestrian street to enjoy ‘people watching’. “I come here often, I go to school in Boston, when I’m back I come here, it is fun to come here to watch people”².



Figure 5-2 People Watching: a protest at Times Square and performers on İstiklal, by author, 2015

A quiet German woman on Las Ramblas explains, “I’m just reading, looking at people and enjoying life”³. “Only watching, actually we came here today because we thought that the show we bought tickets for is today, but it turned to be next Friday, we bought it online, and I didn’t read everything online, So we decided to drink beer and sit here watching people, because this is the real show and it is for free”⁴. It is not a few people, some go far “We buy stuff, sit here and watch people, watching people is very entertaining even more than watching TV”⁵ it can be after shopping or anytime of the day. “We came to have lunch and

¹ IST-PSB-35, 47, Male, Resident, Turkey

² NYC-PSB-1, 21, Female, Domestic Tourist, USA

³ BCN-PSB-35, 38, Female, Tourist, Germany

⁴ BCN-PSB-18, 76, Female, Local, Spain

⁵ BCN-PSB-17, 40, Male, Local, Spain

get some fresh air on Las Rambla and to watch people”¹. “I went to Taksim and went to Belek Bazar, now sightseeing and watching people”².

In this section I showed how people experience the place and the diversity of people encountered in such a crowded and rich urban experience. We saw that people in the three different territories have similar answers when it comes to their reasons for visiting these places, since they are hubs of transport of focal points between tourist attractions, however there are some distinctions in each case. In Times Square the red steps and chairs resemble the nearby theatres of how people watch a show while sitting down, the experience is to have been seen. While the experience of Las Ramblas and İstiklal don’t offer this luxury of seats as they want people to move on, , thus it is more of a motional experience, or to sit in their characteristic cafés and restaurants and to have a dual experiences, which isn’t the case in Times Square where both Starbucks branches have no seating areas.

5.2.3 Sensuous Experience

As explained previously, territoriality is the relationship between the territory and humans, and to understand it in the pedestrian territory, we need to observe the place and then ask the humans to identify the relationship between the geographic area and the human behaviour. To have a holistic experience of the place, we need to feel and sense it, and here I talk about the sensuous experience, which is more of a temporal, first, short experience that uses human senses to experience the place, and having a bodily experiences that is built on the relationship of urban encounter of the body and the bodies, within the boundaries of territorial atmosphere. There are different approaches to the human experience of the place in geography in relation to other fields such as psychology, anthropology and so on. In this section I use sensuous arguments in tourism studies to apply them to mainly passers-by in these pedestrian territories. This helps with looking at short and temporal experiences that trigger human senses and tourist encounters, which are a good example of human-space relationships.

Tuan’s place experience divides place experience, in my case it is territory experience, into 3 parts; sensation, perception and conception, whereby the emotional element increases

¹ BCN-PSB-13, 64, Female, Local, Spain

² IST-PSB-23, 20, Male, Tourist, Italy

towards sensation while thought increases towards conception (Tuan, 1977, p. 8). The definition of sensation, perception and conception varies between geographers, psychologists and other. I'll use sensation here to refer to how people sense the place through human senses, feelings and effects, which are sent to the mind which form thoughts and interpretations as perceptions, which leave us with stronger opinions and judgments as conceptions. This section uses the senses, which are based on feelings, and later on I talk about how senses as emotions create affects. Sensations don't require extensive interpretation, while affects, perceptions and conceptions are deeper interpretations, which are formed cognitively, based on thoughts and longer experience with the place, and these will follow in the next chapters.

Recognition of the plurality of the senses provides us with access to the world (Crouch, 1999, p. 4), and touristic places don't rely only on seeing but rather "being, doing, touching and seeing" (Cloke and Perkins, 1998, p. 189). Therefore, it is essential to look at other senses as the body engages with the larger space and other bodies. "Geographical knowledge is constituted through cognitive understanding, combined with bodily understanding from moving around space, of the engagements between people, and of the constant play between reproductions and innovations of practices as new places and situations are forged" (Crouch and Desforges, 2003, p. 10).

We could use the findings on senses in tourism and consumption studies as they help "(a) to understand the importance of the body to the individual's perception of the surrounding world, in a multidisciplinary approach; (b) to contextualize the role of the bodily senses under the experiential paradigm; (c) to analyse the role of the five human senses in the models used for staging tourist experiences; (d) to identify the methodologies used in empirical research on the role of the five human senses in the overall tourist experience, etc." (Agapito *et al.*, 2013, p. 63).

People's sensations in the pedestrian territory shows how this relationship between human senses (touch, taste, sight, sound, and smell) and the geographic area intersects through territoriality. I used different questions to test people senses, which generally ask about their feelings, surroundings, experience while they are in the territory, such as questions related to the 5 senses like what catches their eye, crowd, atmosphere, food, pedestrian

experience and so. We can also find traces of Topophilia (Tuan, 1990) as strong sense of place, which will be more highlighted in the next chapter, when the sense of place is mixed with place culture and identity using ethnographic work.

The pedestrian territory is a place, it is a centre of meaning and field of care (Tuan, 1977), and to sense this place we can use attitude theory, which includes three multidimensional elements, “(1) beliefs about the relationship between self and place; (2) feelings toward the place; and (3) the behavioural exclusivity of the place in relation to alternatives” (Jorgensen and Stedman, 2001, p. 233).

5.2.3.1 Sight

People see these territories in different ways, but many of them would agree that is sort of overwhelming, shocking, surprising based on their visual experience. Fairly ordinary areas surround the territory, however, once someone steps into its boundaries, the pedestrian experience starts with an extravaganza of visual stimulations. “I always like to see it with the eyes of my friends. I bring them at night and it doesn't feel like it is night but daylight because of the lights, and everything is bright”¹. It gives a chance to sense its built environment “I couldn't sit in Casa Batlló or Sagrada Família or other places I like, I'm a Gaudí person, but I have the chance to sit here to observe the movements, I like to be here”².

The pedestrian territory a concentration of visual movements and events that hit the sight strongly whether or not they are pleasing tourists eyes. “I'm on the ground floor I can see everything on the street, There is constant movements and I enjoyed sightseeing İstiklal and its architecture and the mosques”³ or those who are seeking unusual events “I love photography and I was lucky to see a person dying in front of me here on Las Rambla, I took pictures of a dying human, I can tell you many stories”⁴. The artists use this sense to grab people attention, through sensation, using the elements of shock (Figure 5-3) to earn money as “a lot of the people were shocked (referring to seeing topless girls on Times Square). Black, white, Muslims, gays, straights, they all looked shocked and when you shock

¹ NYC-RTL-3, 33, Female, Resident, Romania

² BCN-PSB-22, 33, Female, Tourist, Portugal

³ IST-RTL-16, 31, Male, Local, Turkey

⁴ BCN-PSB-17, 40, Male, Local, Spain

people it does a reaction which is priceless, You are not gonna get a 100% positive, As long as it pleases the masses I'm happy, I say 95% of people like it, and 5% don't so it doesn't matter"¹.



Figure 5-3 Left: A shocked woman at Times Square, Right: Surprised to see a topless girl at Times Square.

Source: Left: <http://www.dw.com/en/times-squares-controversial-entertainers/g-18663752>. Right, by author

Sight influence on people varies between the cases. It is the main character of Times Square which is also called the theatre district, it is the hub of visuals and even its performers focus on shocking the eyes or movements that stimulate people visions. While it is not the priority of Las Ramblas and İstiklal as we can see in the following sections.

5.2.3.2 Touch

It is hard to find what people touch, however touch can be senses in terms of personal space, fear or crowds, and avoidance of touching bodies. It is then a sense, which evolves into a perception of security, fear or comfort. I show here people reactions at touch in the sense of avoidance of being touched, and what they want to touch. We have here two cases, touching people and touching objects. This penetration of personal can be positive or negative.

Touching people is unavoidable in these pedestrian territories, as it an overcrowded place, which results in a frequent complaint "It is really crowded". The crowd eases some activities such as "Once a guy wanted to hit me"² and "there was a guy trying to harass a woman next to me"³ or numerous stories of pickpocketing especially in Las Ramblas "My wife is taking

¹ NYC-PRF-2, 37, Male, Local, USA, Topless Girl, Manager

² IST-PSB-19, 32, Male, Resident, Sweden

³ IST-PSB-7, 33, Male, Resident, Turkey

care of her handbag because we had experienced pickpocketing twice in the past”¹ or more violently some people get harassed or even mugged “I saw a guy stealing from a Japanese girl. My mom was robbed as well, she was hit and fell down and they stole her handbag and ran away”². It is hard to spot them in the crowd when “there are always drunk people and people trying to push, people say improper things to you”³ and many artists are subjected to this more than other people as they turn themselves to objects or touchable like the human statues in Barcelona “one time I was performing and I guy approached me and he was taking a picture while his girlfriend was filming he touched my ass so I became angry and he answered that he could do anything with me because I was in the public street and he paid a tip”⁴. This example shows how the crowd and continuous touching of other could cause harassment, as it is hard to identify who’s harassing or even if he/she is identified it is hard to report them to police as it is easy to escape or get lost in the crowd.

Touch can lead to harassment or even offense or assault, such as the case of a performer in Times Square who suffers from the public “people insulted me and some sit on me or try to touch my stuff”⁵, and another “It bothers me all the time, People touch me, Throw stuff on me, I try to ignore”⁶. We can see here how the sense of freedom, public space and personal space is invaded and violated. These experiences whether experiences, seen or heard, push many people to avoid the crowd, fearing to be touched or the consequences of touch “it is very crowded, I don't like the crowd, I prefer to walk on the sidewalks”⁷ or some families to prevent their kids from interacting with the performers “Kids approach more because they don't feel fear, unless they are influenced by their parents”⁸. So, here we can see the variation of sensation between different ages and nationalities when it comes to their sense of the surroundings and specifically touch.

¹ BCN-PSB-1, 66, Male, Tourist, Netherlands

² BCN-PSB-17, 40, Male, Local, Spain

³ BCN-PRF-4, 37, Female, Resident, Argentina, Golden Queen

⁴ BCN-PRF-2, 45, Male, Local, Spain, White Artist

⁵ BCN-PRF-3, 35, Male, Resident, Columbia, Black Monster

⁶ NYC-PRF-4, 35, Male, Resident, USA, Bronze Guy

⁷ BCN-PSB-38, 24, Male, Tourist, Netherlands

⁸ BCN-PRF-3, 35, Male, Resident, Columbia, Black Monster

However, other people saw the crowd more positively as a liveable and social aspect of the territory. “I feel comfortable when I see the flow of people”¹ and “I wanted to be in the middle of the crowd and not to feel alone, and because locals come here not only the tourists”². Homeless experiences varied from one seeing the crowd negatively “I feel stressed due to the crowd, I’m from a small town and here it is too crowded. Police is annoying me, they take drinks from me and don’t allow me to sleep here”³ while another social homeless man sitting near the tourists expressed it wisely saying “I hate solitude, I don’t like to be alone, I’m a sociable person”⁴. So the density and crowd can be appealing to others who sense security or comfort when they see many people around.

Touch isn’t limited to bodies but objects as well, which is also positively and negatively sensed. I’ve seen many people extra cautious about their belongings, sitting alert and tightly holding their handbags “I’m always worried about my handbag, because there are many people here, but this happens everywhere, when we travelled to Vienna there were signs about pickpockets but here they are professional pickpockets”⁵. It is not limited to pickpockets but also pick-flowers “when we are not paying attention to our flowers, I look around and realize that 1 flower disappeared, we can’t do anything with this”⁶. Another florist complained about the huge crowd passing through a narrow florist Rambla damaging the flowers. Another aspect is being touched (hit) by a vehicle “we are used to pedestrian streets in Germany, they feel safer without cars, if there were cars I wouldn’t feel comfortable”⁷ elaborated by another pedestrian “this tram is dangerous (Figure 5-4), I have to pay attention, it scares me and I have been traumatized, it is very sensitive, it hit some people, it hit a man and people were shocked, nothing big but it was terrifying, even if’s a pedestrian street these Zabita cars (municipal cars) are here, and Turkish drivers don’t like pedestrians, it is a pedestrian street but you as a pedestrian are not safe”⁸.

¹ NYC-PRF-7, 36, Male, Local, USA, Comedy Guy 2

² BCN-PSB-35, 38, Female, Tourist, Germany

³ BCN-HMS-1, 35, Male, Resident, Spain

⁴ BCN-HMS-2, 33, Male, Local, Spain

⁵ BCN-PSB-18, 76, Female, Local, Spain

⁶ BCN-KSK-5, 55, Female, Local, Spain

⁷ IST-PSB-5, 25, Male, Tourist, Germany

⁸ IST-PSB-31, 22, Female, Tourist, Belgium



Figure 5-4 Crowd and Tram. Source: <https://istanbultourstudio.com/things-to-do/istiklal-avenue>

The pedestrian experience was also perceived positively “I like it you sit and watch people without thinking about the cars, it is very nice and provides good areas for gathering and watching people, We like the H&M plaza it is wider and quieter”¹. Many people appreciated the free seats in Times Square “Especially for elderly people like us we can't walk for a long time”². In Barcelona they asked for more free benches “I would place chairs all over La Rambla” as “years ago we used to pay for them” but this has been limited to a few a handful of public chairs, forcing people to use the cafes and restaurants for seating after neoliberal practices monopolized the public space. “We love the tables and that you can stay here, even if you don't buy anything from the stores, you drink something and sit here watch”³. This aspect of touch is not limited to sense as it developed to place/object attachment, nostalgia in the case of Barcelona.

5.2.3.3 Taste and Smell

These pedestrian territories vary with their seductive power when it comes to taste. From the land of chains, USA, featuring Disney stores and food chains on Times Square, to

¹ NYC-PSB-42, 48, Couple, Domestic Tourist, USA

² BCN-PSB-30, 64, Male, Domestic Tourist, Spain

³ NYC-PSB-46, 35, Couple, Tourist, Italy

touristic restaurants on Las Ramblas and a mix of all on Istanbul which highlights Turkish cuisine. I'll talk about the representation and consumption of food in the next chapter, and keep it here at the sensation level.

The sense of taste varies and it depends on people choices as some like to eat in touristic places while others go for places where the locals eat and another group looks for the hidden cheap places. Some of them mix the taste with other senses "I get food and I go sit on the steps, after a while you get to know the people and their accents, I like the multicultural aspect of Times Square, I like shopping here sometimes"¹. Easy-going tourists would "eat and shop and see everything beautiful"² or "eating and drinking we are not big shoppers"³. Some are less interested in consumption and they "mostly watching people, next to finding a place to eat"⁴. Some foodie, picky or more experienced people find "eating is not good, not many choices, you should go further but shopping and buying gifts is great"⁵, some might have hygiene problems of OCD, "not a lot of clean places to eat, we prefer newly opened restaurants"⁶.

A retailer suffers from affordable places on Times Square "it is expensive here like the deli is very expensive, they are crazy with their prices"⁷ while affordability isn't an issue on İstiklal as people can find local food reasonably prices "There are good places to eat, Like kızılkayalar hamburger (Figure 5-5), it is a great Turkish burger place"⁸, it is not limited to the locals as this German student prefers the hidden places where the locals go off-İstiklal like "I like to drink tea only at Mustafa Amcet"⁹. Some people like to follow some traditions and they come to İstiklal to have "coffee in the morning, I heard it is traditional"¹⁰ while some tourists come here to "have our breakfast every morning here"¹¹.

¹ NYC-RTL-3, 33, Female, Resident, Romania

² NYC-PSB-27, 46, Male, Domestic Tourist, USA

³ NYC-PSB-24, 60, Male, Local, USA

⁴ NYC-PSB-5, 70, Female, Domestic Tourist, USA

⁵ NYC-PSB-12, 22, Female, Tourist, Saudi Arabia

⁶ IST-RTL-7, 23, Female, Local, Turkey

⁷ NYC-KSK-2, 57, Male, Local, USA

⁸ IST-RTL-1, 36, Male, Local, Turkey

⁹ IST-PSB-28, 36, Female, Tourist, Germany

¹⁰ IST-PSB-23, 20, Male, Tourist, Italy

¹¹ IST-PSB-14, 26, Female, Tourist, Czech Republic



Figure 5-5 Turkish Burgers on İstiklal. Source: <https://travelandbeyond.org/2014/02/12/tramming-through-istanbul/>

In Barcelona the locals avoid eating here as it is touristic and expensive “I never buy food here, but the phenomenon called after-work drink is becoming very popular and we go to Plaça Reial to have a drink on the square, it is quieter and cheaper than what you get on La Rambla”¹. Although Las Ramblas is considered touristic, not all tourists fall into this tourist-trap like this German tourist “I don't like drinking here because it is for tourists, I go other places”².

A plethora of tourists run away from the Ramblas to the famous La Boqueria Market, which has been converted into a touristic market selling juices more than fruits to help the tourists with their thirst, but those went for food “The other day we bought some sweets from La Boqueria (Figure 5-6) and we regretted it because we spent a lot of money on it”³. Some tourists want to try the local dishes and find them available everywhere on Las Ramblas like “Today we were looking for Paella, We tried Paella and we loved it, they told us about the history of Paella. It is the leftovers they put them together, Arabic name originally”⁴ from a Middle-Eastern point of view which is contradicted by the view of a European tourist “I tried a restaurants here and it was the worst, I ordered vegetarian salad and they put goat cheese in it, I hated it”⁵. Some people come to these touristic areas looking for specific food due to their dietary requirement (Kosher, Halal, Vegan, etc.). They find these choices here more than other places, due to the tourists’ demands and language “We ate at Istanbul (a Turkish

¹ BCN-RTL-3, 35, Male, Resident, Dominican Republic

² BCN-PSB-35, 38, Female, Tourist, Germany

³ BCN-PSB-13, 64, Female, Local, Spain

⁴ BCN-PSB-34, 40, Male, Tourist, Bahrain

⁵ BCN-PSB-23, 23, Female, Tourist, Czech Republic

restaurant on Las Ramblas). Because it is Halal, I come to it often during my stay”¹ making it popular due to the high demand as there aren’t many of them there.



Figure 5-6 La Boqueria Market, by author, June 2015

Other people refuse even to try “none! It is too expensive for tourists, It is a tourist-trap, Not good quality food and expensive”². It can be really expensive and targeting wealthy tourists. “I saw all the ham, the shop sells a piece of ham for 800 euros”³. The taste also provokes other senses and becomes a visual and tourist attraction, whether its tasted or not, it is worth seeing and photographing. “We can find the same things in my area, Except for La Boqueria market, which is only here, but the problem is that people standing in the corridors to take pictures of the food, which is very annoying, and doesn't allow you to buy something”⁴. Some people go for the cheap options like the kiosks selling hotdogs for \$1 on Times Square, or Simit for 1 Lira on İstiklal or “I’m eating my ice cream and trying to find a place to visit next”⁵ on Las Ramblas, tasting something on-the-go.

When it comes to smell, I didn’t stop people in the middle of the crowd to ask them “what do you smell?” but part of their sensuous experience was related to the hygiene, cleanliness and specific smells. While some described it generically “dirty everywhere in all means”⁶, which feels worse when it is hot “dirtiness, and it is hot, It is not pleasant”⁷ or a preference “I like it be clean, sometimes it stings”⁸. It is hard to control what the crowd does and some “People don't care about cleaning the street, the municipality is working hard on this issue,

¹ BCN-PSB-20, 36, Male, Tourist, Egypt

² BCN-PSB-2, 34, Couple, Tourist, Canada

³ BCN-PSB-1, 66, Male, Tourist, Netherlands

⁴ BCN-PSB-12, 74, Couple, Local, Spain

⁵ NYC-PSB-25, 23, Female, Local, USA

⁶ IST-RTL-12, 46, Male, Local, Turkey

⁷ BCN-RTL-1, 24, Female, Local, Spain

⁸ BCN-PSB-29, 60, Female, Local, Spain

if you visit London you will never see trash or cigarettes on the street”¹. Some people had more idealistic approach “I would like Las Ramblas to be completely pedestrianised. No cars. No smoke. It will improve tourism, and businesses”².

While smell can be annoying to some people who care about hygiene, especially in crowded places, many restaurants and kiosks rely on smell to attract people to buy snacks in these territories. Whether they are shish kebab kiosks on Times Square (Figure 5-7) which grill the food and people can smell the smoke of it, or those chestnuts kiosks on İstiklal roasting on coal, or even the smell of food crossing the Ramblas and served to tourists such as paellas. All these examples are used as marketing tools, and the large number of those selling something with smell makes the territory unique due to the concentration of different smells. Istanbul restaurants chimneys diverted to the street, Las Ramblas florists selling flowers, kebabs on Times Square, people smoking and others sweating, everything is sensed strongly in the crowd and enclosed spaces like these territories. When it comes to relationality, we can see that İstiklal makes for the most sensuous experience when it comes to taste and smell, as it maximized on food as part of a national identity, they even serve Lokum and Köfte on their national airline, so it is definitely something Turkish people and tourists are attracted to. Las Ramblas keeps it more regulated but visible, especially snacks on-the-go, while this is more regulated in Times Square, where America’s strict regulations on street food are visibly applied.

¹ IST-KSK-4, 49, Male, Resident, Turkey, Handicapped

² BCN-PSB-9, 34, Male, Local, Spain



Figure 5-7 Shish Kebab on Times Square. Source: <https://www.shutterstock.com/video/clip-7152691-stock-footage-new-york-august-food-cart-with-umbrella-in-busy-times-square-in-new-york-times-square.html>

5.2.3.4 Sound

Probably the only thing that doesn't exist on the pedestrian territory is 'silence', as these territories are 24/7 places which are never empty, even when there's not traffic in the area, people are sleeping, drunk people leave, the cleaners arrive to clean away the mess of the crowds and the loading trucks come to unload in the early morning. Sound includes peoples' conversations, instrumental live music or those coming out of the stores, vehicular motion and religious prayers calls or bell rings. This noise is a feature of the territory as it concentrated within its boundaries more than the surroundings, which are either residential, restricted zones, walking paths or less touristic.

"I think it is just like the movies, they show you NYC is everything but it is dirty in reality, I don't know what do here, everyone is yelling here"¹, even the people who work in the stores prefer to see it behind the walls "when you are working you look outside and you feel the place and people, And the music starts disturb you"². In NYC the Alliance choose some loyal bands to use the speakers when they perform, but in Istanbul dozens of people play music, although no speakers are allowed, and the intensity makes a huge noise at retails

¹ NYC-PSB-30, 20, Female, Domestic Tourist, USA

² IST-RTL-8, 43, Trans-woman, Local, Turkey

doorsteps where they usually perform. “Some retailers say I'm disturbing them, I don't have any speaker, even when I'm ill I come here, without a speaker it is pointless but this what the government wants, they don't want any speakers, I don't want the retailers to report me to the police”¹. But musicians also suffer “I have many problems. While I'm playing a random person comes and breaks my instrument, there are a lot of musicians on the street, there should be a distance between each to avoid disturbing each other”². Due to the geographic diversity of Turkey, many musicians play ethnic music using interesting instruments. “I play with Turkish guitar, I play 37 kinds of music, and some people say you are ruining the street”³. They benefit from pedestrianisation as “it gives me more opportunities in terms of sound because if there were cars here you wouldn't be able to hear us”⁴.



Figure 5-8 Street Musicians on İstiklal. Source: https://www.123rf.com/photo_76118994_young-street-musician-in-İstiklal-street-istanbul-turkey.html

Sound isn't limited to music or traffic, but also human voices. Some appreciate the diversity of spoken languages on the street, while others see “people say rude things, like telling me I don't like stand up comedy, you don't have a sense of humour. It is normal stuff, And some people say bad things, which I don't like to keep in my memory, sometimes I respond to rude people with rude response, when I'm not in the mood”⁵. I tried to interview a German middle age couple who were running away from the musicians to escape back to Sultanahmet. They agreed to be interviewed in a side street in order to avoid the noise and to get help from me with directions, as they were overwhelmed.

¹ IST-PRF-7, 62, Male, Resident, Turkey, Saz player

² IST-PRF-6, 63, Male, Local, Turkey, Turkish, Instrument, angry man

³ IST-PRF-7, 62, Male, Resident, Turkey, Saz player

⁴ IST-PRF-4, 24, Male, Resident, Turkey, Santur player

⁵ NYC-PRF-7, 36, Male, Local, USA, Comedy Guy 2

So, it is obvious that sound on İstiklal makes the most sensuous element if compared to the other cases, which is due to the flexibility, quantity and variety of street musicians. In Barcelona musicians aren't allowed to perform due to the strict regulations, while in Times Square the noise and traffic is always louder than music, which rarely happens, apart from by random amateur musicians or the few famous bands, which both perform and play music.

5.3 Summary

This chapter tried to apply the theoretical concept of territoriality using sensory geographies on tourists studies to show how the pedestrian street is a multisensory geographic field that use human senses as part of the territoriality between humans and the geographic space. I showed the importance of recognizing plurality of senses to understand the pedestrian territory. This was illustrated through numerous examples and settings of various humans and their different sensuous reactions to the space and its human and non-human objects. I was focusing on the immediate, short, temporary encounter with the territory through human 5 senses. This contributes to the current literature on sensory geography as seeing isn't the only sense that is important but other senses have a crucial role in understanding the place like sounds and touch "being, doing, touching and seeing" (Cloe and Perkins, 1998, p. 189). As the human body and presence is the core study of this chapter, we can analyse these senses using tourist studies as the majority of these people are tourists or individuals involved in tourism. Therefore, we can "identify the methodologies used in empirical research on the role of the five human senses in the overall tourist experience, etc." (Agapito et al., 2013, p. 63).

We saw how human senses play an important role in people sense of direction through analysis of how people divert, avoid or direct themselves to these pedestrian territories using their sense of sight, touch (crowd) or sound. Those who decide to be in this place have sensuous experiences or encounters whether with the people or with the materials. We can see this aspect using tourist studies as they are popular touristic destinations.

We learn from John Urry (1992) that we are all tourists most of the time, whether we like it or not, and "tourists are consumers, translators, collectors, detectives ..., seeking to make

sense of the world and their place in it" (Gibson, 2010, p. 522). So, taking subjective accounts of the people as tourists in this chapter is legitimate, and therefore we can apply some of sensory and tourists studies to explain our findings through human senses. We know that "tourism industry relies on all manner of material commodities to turn a profit ... (and) essential element is encounter" (Gibson, 2010, p. 521). While in this chapter I tried to show the first impression or immediate reaction of people to the pedestrian territory, tourist studies emphasize that "tourism encounters are immediate, embodied and geographical ...(and) tourism also relies on bodily displacement and immersion in unfamiliar environments" (Gibson, 2010, p. 521).

Therefore, people who try to avoid or immerse themselves in these environments go through a sort of sensuous experience that can be similar to their counterparts or in contrary with it. Pedestrian or touristic territories commodify and commercialise ethnic differences, vernacular architecture and culture trying to bring predictability (Cuthill, 2007) and tourists want a "safe glimpses of cultural difference, and can often be satisfied with simulacra" (Gibson, 2010, p. 522). We saw this as an example of people watching or hanging out and how it varies between tourists from being enjoyable to being an overdose or overwhelming. "People in their everyday lives meet different habits that they are forced to verbalize and make conscious the things that are otherwise taken for granted and thus invisible" (Edensor, 2001, p. 62). We see in these territories various encounters, between tourists or humans from different backgrounds, their habits vary and their reaction to habits create different sensuous reactions such "encounters between producers and consumers that make more transparent the politics of capitalism" (Gibson, 2010, p. 522). Even this varies in the cases mentioned, as similar as the tourists are when they travel around the world, as different as they are when the environment changes around them, and therefore, it changes their sensuous reactions. For instance, the same tourist surrounded by greedy performers in Times Square would react in a different way if he/she was on Las Ramblas where the performers are elegant and polite. Human senses are influenced by the actors, objects and people around them.

We understand that "leisure is culturally informed by particular notions, such as freedom, relaxation and restoration" (Edensor, 2001, p. 61), however in these territories we see a

different type of environment, which offer different type of leisure. For instance, “cosmopolitan travellers, who distance themselves from mass tourists” (Gibson, 2010, p. 522) would still want to explore these places as a matter of curiosity because they are famous or unavoidable. This is one of the unique things about these 3 territories; they bring many people who say that it’s not their type of place but it’s too famous to be skipped. Tim Edensor (2001) claims that tourism is a form of performance and Gibson considers that “the senses trigger specific bodily and emotional responses and encourage human interactions” (2010, p. 524). We see this in the performers in Times Square who are copying Disneyworld performers and their outfits and expressions to harmonize with these themed environments that are “meaningful settings that tourists consume and tourism employees help produce” (Crang, P., 1997, p. 143).

I tried in this chapter to go “beyond sight, researchers are now analysing the other senses and how encounters are experienced in an affective, embodied fashion, through touch, sound and taste” (Gibson, 2010, p. 524), like sound or music that welcomes people or food smell or displays that attracts people. Indeed studies around geographies of tourism help us understand “how bodies, materials and ‘nature’ are brought together in tourism encounters” (Gibson, 2010, p. 525). Whether these encounters are “culturally coded patterns of tourist behaviour partly emerge out of dispositions that evolve around class, gender, ethnicity and sexuality” or it’s the tendency for “visiting original sites are actually fundamentally nothing more than the leisure of going to see what has become banal” (Crang, 1997, p. 361). All these examples of sensuous experiences are symbols of everyday life of public spaces. We apply tourist studies and sensory geography to have a common language between pedestrian streets as territories that adopt tourism to produce culture, and territoriality to tie humans as sensuous bodies with the territory through senses. If we believe that “tourism is never entirely separate from the habits of everyday life” (Edensor, 2001, p. 61), we could conclude that studying human senses within the pedestrian territory in line with tourism studies can provide us with a great insight on understanding the body and its senses as absorbents of the environment, and seeing the territory as a performance.

Chapter 6: Perceptions, Expressions and Conceptions

6.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter I discussed pedestrians experience as a sensuous experience, which is the first temporal encounter of the territory. Here I take the experience to another level to show that emotions, feelings or more precisely affects are generated from this bodily encounter with a very intense environment creating different atmospheres. "Atmospheres can then coexist alongside one another without fusing or melting together precisely because the objects and bodies that make up an atmosphere do not exist as a set of totally interactive or accessible relations" (Ash and Anderson, 2015, p. 40). Since the pedestrian territory is a huge, dense and vibrant space, many atmospheres occur which consist of different actors and expressions that are happening concurrently. This coexistence of various on-goings, atmospheres and ordinary humans creates over time perceptions and conceptions of the place generated from both the positive and negative affects. These perceptions and conceptions are the process of different affects and therefore humans respond to them in different ways, as this chapter shows.

We'll be looking at how the humans perceive the territory from two main perspectives; perception of the public territory as atmosphere and perception of the self within the territory. I will use peoples' voices to show their emotions, affects, thoughts, assumptions and judgments on the territory and put them through themes, which try to form aspects of the territory from social and cultural perspectives. This helps us understand the territory from the pedestrian's eyes and how they perceive its physical and human elements.

The second part of the chapter will focus on the expressions and conceptions of a specific group of people, who plays an important role in the territory; the performers. I choose them because they are controversial characters who spend longer periods in the territory, acting and performing, observing and interacting, expressing their talents and being the centre of attention in the territory. I will show how they express themselves and how they evaluate their expressions and I will contrast their expression with people conceptions of the performers and their expressions. This relational comparison will highlight some cultural

and social issues and conflicts, which are generated in the public territory, and how this makes this territory a unique phenomenon.

The globalised commercial pedestrian territories studied in this thesis promote liberalism, secularism and entertainment, which target families and kids, but they don't necessarily limit themselves to practices that cater to this restricted demographic when the dynamics of globalization, capitalism and tourism seek to capitalize on other people's preferences and proclivities. Therefore, these territories are acting as shelters, destinations, and saviours of some minorities who can only express themselves within the territory's boundaries. I'll show how the territory experiences some conflicts when certain expressions against social and cultural norms provoke the public, which represent diverse backgrounds. These discussions are crucial to show the reality behind these territories, and they will answer my research questions about pedestrian territories as territories and their territorial culture and identity in the following chapters.

6.2 Perceptions

Pedestrian territories deal with different "geographical knowledges, identities, subjectivities and technologies in all sorts of discursive and non-discursive ways" (Crouch and Desforges, 2003, p. 15). We can see in this chapter that people perceive the territory in a collective way, and the variety of affects are cognitively processed based on each individual's way of thinking, however they can be also "transmitted between people. Such atmospheres "form part of the ubiquitous backdrop of everyday life" (Adey *et al.*, 2013, p. 301). The different perceptions and later conceptions of the atmosphere and its affects depends on many factors, which can be conceptualized "as either 'inherent' or 'socially constructed', by enacting the modernist settlement of a subjective 'in here' and an objective 'out there'" (Anderson, 2006, p. 735). So, in this section we will go through different perceptions which are showing atmospheric affects through people's voices to show the essence of the socio-cultural aspect of the pedestrian territory as a living, humanistic, interactive space. These perceptions of everyday life are important ways of showing the pedestrian territory as an expression of people's lives, especially those residents and workers, whose experience differs from the tourists' sensuous temporal experiences.

When human senses and bodies connect with the place and other bodies, the relationship forms emplacement of sense in the place, which connects mind with body and environment (Tuan). Therefore, perception is a cognitive process (a mental process to acquire knowledge and understanding through thought, senses and experience) happens when the senses create an idea of the place (environment and people) through intuition. Perception could lead to place satisfaction and memorable experience (Agapito *et al.*, 2013, p. 62) leading to personal engagement (Pine & Gilmore, 1998; Schmitt, 1999), place attachment, emotional attachment and nostalgia when the experiences is positive. However, this isn't the case all the time, as many people perceive the pedestrian territory negatively when the 'public territory' (Lyman & Scott) invades, violates and contaminates the 'body territory'.

People perceive the pedestrian territory differently as a result of an interaction between a group of territories; the territory of the self the public territory and the territory of 'others' (Edney, 1974, p. 965). In this section I'll focus on the perceptions of the territory and the perceptions of others, explaining what people comprehend, perceive and get from the territory as an environment and the other people who are surrounding them. Perceptions have more ideas than mere feelings or emotions towards the surroundings. I will use people's opinions to address a few relational themes that exist in the three territories, whether they are assumptions, judgments, narratives, evidences, etc. they help understand the context and territoriality that forms a relationship between the geographical space and the humans.

6.2.1.1 Perception of the Public Territory

6.2.1.2 Atmosphere

There are many atmospheres within the pedestrian territory which each has an affect on people perceptions of the place, we go back to human territoriality as a relationship between humans and the space. These atmospheres consist of many elements, such as people, movements, weather, sensuous expressions, performances and so on, which make the atmosphere an immediate form of perception of the place, recognized through human's emotions, affects, senses. Atmospheres explain to us the harmony, mood, and experiences of different individuals, through their perceptions. Here I show how people perceived the

atmosphere in the 3 cities, trying to create a dialogue between the voices in the 3 pedestrian territories in these following paragraphs to highlight some of the perceptions.

“It is the centre of the city and the atmosphere here is very different, I live in another neighbourhood and I like to come here to release my stress, and I buy those typical things which you can buy only here in La Rambla”¹. Stress release is mentioned by many people such as a retailer “working hard, it is stressful because you try to satisfy the customer, but once coming outside, you enjoy the place. When you are working, you see the same thing, but coming outside work, walking and observing many interesting things”². A tourist was quietly observing and enjoying the atmosphere said “I don't think people come here for shopping, I think people come here to feel what I feel” which relates to another person on Times Square “I love it, before it was open to cars, they didn't have this block off. You hang out for more time, it is more convenient and it is so nice and easy to enjoy. Before we would stand and take pictures, and then move but now sitting there and the music goes on”³. The senses change people's attitudes, as it is perceived by some people as “you have a more relaxed attitude, you don't have to worry about cars and it is a warm day”⁴. We can see here that the pedestrian aspect of the place has an influence on people's perceptions and attitudes. Talking about weather changes the mood and attitude as a sense of atmosphere “most of them come for the atmosphere and the shade here which make you feel better”⁵ but when there's no shade, “I don't like the heat. I come at night now. It is getting warm”⁶.

When it comes to time, people have different perceptions of the place and different preferences. Time preferences vary between these territories. In Times Square, people are attracted to the lights and billboards and it is the peak-visited time, as the shops stay open until 1am. “It is a good venue for diversity and great for people-watching, it is after 11pm and people are still here”⁷, validated by another New Yorker “it is better to come at night, when the lights are on and bright”⁸. Some people associate it with their ethnic or cultural

¹ BCN-PSB-15, 46, Female, Local, Spain

² BCN-KSK-6, 22, Female, Resident, Ecuador

³ NYC-PSB-18, 34, Female, Tourist, India

⁴ NYC-PSB-9, 80, Couple, Domestic Tourist, USA

⁵ BCN-PSB-30, 64, Male, Domestic Tourist, Spain

⁶ NYC-PRF-4, 35, Male, Resident, USA, Bronze Guy

⁷ IST-KSK-2, 40, Male, Local, Turkey

⁸ NYC-PSB-6, 22, Female, Local, USA

traditions like the Kuwaiti family on a medical trip. “It is Arabs’ routine to go for shopping during the day, eat dinner and end up here at the night at Times Square”¹. While some have stronger opinion about the night “Times Square during the day is not Times Square at night”². While others prefer daytime (Figure 6-1) “we have been here since 2pm, we are about to leave early where it is not a lot of people, I don’t like it at night”³ but some people come early for other reasons “because at 3pm TKTS opens (tickets office) and we are going to see Chicago tonight, it is not mad now” referring to the crowd which isn’t desirable to some people, as some of them have had bad experiences. “We came on Saturday and we couldn’t move”⁴ not forgetting that there are some people who work in these places “I volunteer around 3-4 hours in the afternoon and I take my coffee break here”⁵. Comfort of elderly people goes well with the early hours as “every time we come we prefer to come in the afternoon, we sit here to watch people, and doing this we are amusing ourselves, we don’t come at night because our eyes are tired and we can’t see properly at night”⁶. People perceptions of the atmosphere show aspects of their needs, preferences and experiences.



Figure 6-1 Times Square Atmosphere of Diversity. Source: <https://www.iloveny360.com/fr/panorama/times-square-2>

¹ NYC-PSB-33, 37, Female, Tourist, Kuwait

² NYC-PSB-28, 43, Female, Domestic Tourist, USA

³ NYC-PSB-25, 23, Female, Local, USA

⁴ NYC-PSB-2, 50, Female, Domestic Tourist, USA

⁵ NYC-PSB-17, 62, Male, Resident, USA

⁶ BCN-PSB-7, 75, Couple, Tourist, Cuba

The case on Las Ramblas is a bit different as “I prefer during the day because of my family”¹ although kids go out late at night in other parts of Barcelona, Las Ramblas remain a wild place for kids, but not necessarily for couples “this time I'm on my own, I prefer during the day, when I'm with my partner I don't mind to come at night also”². It is not amongst locals but also tourists who heard negative things about it “afternoon till the sunset, but don't like to come here at night, we still have fear, the stories we heard and there are many police cars at nights”³. Some locals go midway, “I prefer 7-8pm around sunset when the sun is leaving because of the heat”⁴. Another perspective is of a tourist who wants to enjoy Las Ramblas at night but “I like to watch the street from the hotel room window”⁵. Time is associated with the mood, marital status and hobbies “when I was single I loved to come in the morning because my photography hobby and at night for the parties and activities. But now since I'm married I come in the afternoons (Figure 6-2) it is more relaxed and we come for a walk”⁶.



Figure 6-2 Las Ramblas Atmosphere, by author, July 2015

Although night time was associated with the lights and crowds on Times Square, weather and drunk people on Las Ramblas, in İstiklal visitors preferred the time when it was less crowded, but also evenings. “Night, it is cooler and many people here”⁷, “don't like when it is crowded in the evening, prefer morning”⁸ or “daytime, night are very crowded”⁹. It might depend on photography as these places glow at night that's why “we came earlier we had

¹ BCN-PSB-36, 41, Male, Tourist, USA

² BCN-PSB-35, 38, Female, Tourist, Germany

³ BCN-PSB-34, 40, Male, Tourist, Bahrain

⁴ BCN-PSB-31, 73, Male, Local, Spain

⁵ BCN-PSB-30, 64, Male, Domestic Tourist, Spain

⁶ BCN-PSB-17, 40, Male, Local, Spain

⁷ IST-PSB-8, 24, Male, Tourist, Bahrain

⁸ IST-PSB-31, 22, Female, Tourist, Belgium

⁹ IST-PSB-25, 27, Female, Tourist, Slovenia

classes, and now back for pictures”¹. Some people associate time with safety, “day time, it is safer”² or to be around people “I don’t like İstiklal but when I come here it is to be surrounded by people, but I prefer daytime”³. İstiklal is also associated with nightlife and alcohol “I don’t drink alcohol anymore, so people drinking they prefer to come here around 11pm, or midnight”⁴ or just to chill in one of the many bars “usually I like to come in the evening for bars”⁵. Some religious people prefer early hours “I come in the morning, until 2pm, later hours people get drunk and I don’t want to be around them, I’m not judging but it is better for me to go home early”⁶. The weather makes a difference as “people come more in the evenings after 5pm, but it is getting cold at night and so it is not very comfortable”⁷.

6.2.1.2.1 Exoticism and Extravaganza

The pedestrian territory is an exotic place for many people, especially the tourists who find it “very different for us coming from Geneva and Europe. It is a lot of motion here”⁸ or it is one of the fascinating things about NY, it is one of the places in the US where you see people from everywhere in one place, it is the hub for that”⁹ and there reason why they come here is because of “the lights, cultures, diversity, different people and it is the centre of the universe”¹⁰ not just the crossroads of the world. People think Times Square is “a unique experience to see all what America can offer in one tiny block”¹¹ but some others disagree with this representation of America. Times Square is seen as a synecdoche for the diversity of the USA.

This representation of America is contested by others who see this spectacle of diversity as unreal; “it is fictitious; people come from other countries and think that all of America is like this, people come to NYC as first destination and think America is like this, streets paved

¹ IST-PSB-22, 21, Female, Local, Turkey

² IST-PSB-20, 33, Male, Tourist, Saudi Arabia

³ IST-PSB-19, 32, Male, Resident, Sweden

⁴ IST-PSB-12, 35, Male, Resident, Turkey

⁵ IST-PSB-1, 43, Male, Resident, Turkey

⁶ IST-PRF-7, 62, Male, Resident, Turkey, Saz player

⁷ IST-PRF-1, 55, Male, Refugee, Syria, The Painter

⁸ NYC-PSB-26, 41, Couple, Tourist, Switzerland

⁹ NYC-PSB-7, 23, Male, Domestic Tourist, USA

¹⁰ NYC-PSB-29, 25, Lesbian, Local, USA

¹¹ NYC-PSB-23, 23, Female, Local, USA

with gold, it is not the reality”¹. It is defiantly “more touristic than other places in NYC”² and people enjoy “people watching, lots to do here, it is a nice place to hangout”³ especially for those who “live in the suburb of the suburbs so this definitely a different experience”. So, Times Square territory makes this extravaganza, which is exotic to most people whether they are from America or outside, it is real and fictitious, it is perceived differently due to the variation between emotions and thoughts generated by the sensuous experience.

The extravaganza of Barcelona doesn’t rely on the lights and interactive façades but draws on its historic architecture instead. “It is the oldest place in Barcelona and it is a magical place amongst the other things here”⁴. What features this magical aspect is the “atmosphere, I really like it and I don't want to go back home”⁵. This place satisfaction creates a sort of attachment, which even attracts visitors who have just arrived “I didn't visit many places yet, for me now it is very interesting and exciting”⁶.

Extravaganza of the pedestrian territory starts even before arrival in Istanbul, when it is a memorable image in the memories of visitors’ acquaintances “before I come here all my friends told me first place you have to visit is İstiklal, Maybe because people want to buy stuff and you can find everything here, It is Like Orchard Road in Singapore, It is Istanbul's Orchard Road [sic] It is place to walk and talk and hangout”⁷. This relationality between the east and west and different cultures addresses its unique and global aspect. One of the reasons which makes people perceive it positively is the location, which is easy to navigate as “it is presented as the heart of the city and the meeting point, a lot of restaurants, cafes and shops, And of course it is the hub of sightseeing and seeing some attractions like Galata and Taksim Square”⁸.

¹ NYC-PSB-22, 35, Female, Domestic Tourist, USA

² NYC-PSB-48, 44, Couple, Tourist, UK

³ NYC-PSB-1, 21, Female, Domestic Tourist, USA

⁴ BCN-PSB-9, 34, Male, Local, Spain

⁵ BCN-PSB-26, 24, Female, Tourist, Qatar

⁶ BCN-PSB-21, 36, Male, Tourist, Russia

⁷ IST-PSB-33, 18, Female, Tourist, Malaysia

⁸ IST-PSB-19, 32, Male, Resident, Sweden

6.2.1.2.2 Comprehension

“It is a place to be, everything is happening here, if you want to see, if you want to try different food, see a different kind of experience. It is the happening place in the world, we go all over the world, and there is nothing like Times Square”¹. The pedestrian territory especially after its pedestrianisation and revitalisation has been perceived as “It is actually a very good thing, I remember when I was a kid, it was packed with cars, aggressive drivers, now you have a place to eat and see things and have a good time”².

We can see here an element of memory that is brought up by many people in the three cases. Some are positive, and some are negative and focus on nostalgia, as the new territory is a lost place. “Nostalgia is a sweet sadness generated by a feeling that something is lacking in the present, a longing to experience traces of an authentic, supposedly more filling past, a desire to repossess and re-experience something untouched by the ravages of time” (Boyer, 1992, p. 210)

The multiple relations to the pedestrian territory means it can fulfil the desires of wealthy travellers on fancy cruises “like all the Gulf people escaping from the heat in the gulf to have holiday here, this is part of the cruise, we started in France then Italy and now Barcelona, this part is very vibrant, you can find nice brands and we are staying at one of the hotels here, we preferred to be near the market”³ and the budget travellers “it is the heart of the city and it has everything you want, restaurants, stores, brands and cheap, smaller stores”⁴. The effect of global consumers can also re-enchant the space for domestic ones, as when a Turkish domestic tourist on İstiklal perceived the place with a sort of gratitude towards the tourists “I respect everything here on İstiklal, they have fixed prices, not like other countries, It is same price for tourists and locals, they are respectful”⁵.

But the ambivalence about the intended publics in this comprehension is highlighted by a German tourist on İstiklal who sees the territory as profoundly local. “I don't think there are touristic things here, except shops and bars”⁶ which is perceived by a İstanbulite as “there is

¹ NYC-PSB-24, 60, Male, Local, USA

² NYC-RTL-5, 28, Male, Local, USA

³ BCN-PSB-34, 40, Male, Tourist, Bahrain

⁴ BCN-PSB-25, 42, Male, Tourist, Lebanon

⁵ IST-PRF-1, 55, Male, Refugee, Syria

⁶ IST-PSB-5, 25, Male, Tourist, Germany

everything here for everyone, maybe because of the bars, cafes”¹, but bars and cafes aren’t the only reasons visit these places, it can a preference for a specific group. “People told me to visit La Ramblas and that you can find everything, and you can find museums close by”². Some people had no preconceptions as they happened on the street without prior expectations: “I’ve never heard of it, we came here by a coincidence, And we loved it, we kept coming again and again”³ which built an emotional attachment to the place probably “because it is nice, and because it connects the mountain with the sea and you can drink, walk and eat, Many things”⁴. Similarly, İstiklal connects some tourist attractions or works as a hub where people have their first meeting or wait for someone as “it is close to everything, common point, meeting point”⁵ and “you can do everything here, Shopping, see cultural things”⁶ or “you can sit and chat, watch people”⁷.

6.2.1.2.3 Inclusion and Exclusion

Within the boundaries of the pedestrian territories people develop two perceptions in regard to the space, either included or excluded. The seductive power of the territory “is apparent from the combination of suggestive practices, experiences and spaces laid out for temptation (as it affect) how people move and interact, is arguably closed down by degree, by a process of inclusion rather than exclusion”(Allen, 2006, p. 448). “I like to walk in the centre of the Ramblas, under the trees”⁸ or just being in Times Square which is “a place where you feel you belong to it right the way, you don’t feel you are from another country or culture”⁹. The perception here can form a sort of comfort and inclusion, which for some people is type of attachment. It is perceived as the world where a specific groups or individuals find themselves in “I think it is a place where I feel comfortable, I can find everything here, my favourite things and places are here too, if I like something in a different place I’ll find it here too”¹⁰ not just in Barcelona but it is also perceived and validated by an İstanbulite “I could have gone to another place, but I come to İstiklal, it is

¹ IST-PSB-4, 24, Male, Local, Turkey

² BCN-PSB-27, 24, Female, Tourist, France

³ BCN-PSB-26, 24, Female, Tourist, Qatar

⁴ BCN-PSB-18, 76, Female, Local, Spain

⁵ IST-PSB-26, 24, Male, Local, Turkey

⁶ IST-PSB-3, 23, Female, Domestic Tourist, Turkey

⁷ NYC-PSB-23, 23, Female, Local, USA

⁸ BCN-PSB-4, 23, Female, Tourist, Italy

⁹ NYC-PSB-18, 34, Female, Tourist, India

¹⁰ IST-PSB-6, 26, Female, Local, Turkey

where many events I like take place and many festivals choose this place”¹. So the attachment to the territory depends on what the place is offering and personal interests, and the diversity of events that bring something new to the visitor every time he/she visits, so the attachment can be tied to the constant renewability of the place.

Senses of exclusion coupled with an avoidance of being in the territory “I never go, I don't want to interrupt people taking pictures or walk in front of them”² or by some people who think it is a youth oriented place. “it is definitely a place where you would hang out when you are a teenager with your friends, but now when I'm older I like other places”³. The perception might be linked to the interests as some people feel they are excluded due to the type of interests. “It is just one of the attractions, NYC has great museums which I like to visit”⁴ or seen as “something different ... we prefer other places over Times Square”⁵.

6.2.1.2.4 It is a Matter of Time

Time changes people’s perceptions, and the way these pedestrian territories stay lively all day and night makes them attractive places and “it is a good place to hangout and meet friends, it is late hangout point”⁶ and “it is a good venue for diversity and great for people watching, even after 11pm, people are still here!”⁷. So, some people find themselves ending up here to hangout at anytime “whenever we come here, we spend all day here, it grabs our attention and we don't feel the time here”⁸. It is also a post-sightseeing, post-dinner or Sunday destination for many tourists, even those who don’t know about it. They find it as “we walked around and we ended up here, we didn't know about it”⁹ whether with knowledge or not “I was just walking around and I ended up here, I heard of it, I don't know much about it”¹⁰. This happens because these places are centrally situated, and many hotels or tourist attractions, agencies are located nearby so it is easy to navigate.

¹ IST-PSB-12, 35, Male, Resident, Turkey

² NYC-RTL-4, 32, Female, Local, USA

³ NYC-RTL-5, 28, Male, Local, USA

⁴ NYC-PSB-9, 80, Couple, Domestic Tourist, USA

⁵ NYC-PSB-45, 33, Couple, Tourist, France

⁶ NYC-PSB-32, 22, Female, Tourist, India

⁷ NYC-PSB-31, 36, Male, Domestic Tourist, USA

⁸ BCN-PSB-16, 21, Male, Tourist, Tunisia

⁹ BCN-PSB-23, 23, Female, Tourist, Czech Republic

¹⁰ BCN-PSB-19, 28, Female, Tourist, Brazil

There are indeed more dimensions of time as many events, crowds and peak hours of pedestrians synchronize with certain hours, which depend on the culture, season, weather, day or even tourism seasons. I was observing the changes of rhythm during the day and night and there are different characters, users and events, which appeal to specific groups more than others. For instance, mornings are for those who want to enjoy the place, and do some shopping or have a quiet time when it is not crowded. Many families and conservative people would prefer it in the morning or afternoon. Although the rhythm changes around lunch hours when many people leave their stores or offices to grab lunch, it is not the real crowd, which usually starts when people leave their offices to pass through these territories, either to commute, buy something or meet people. So, evenings receive more people and the number starts to increase after dark.

There are a few differences between the cases. In Times Square the crowd of workers mixes with tourists during the early evening, but later on the street turns into a predominantly touristic area as many theatre goers and entertainment seekers arrive, around 18:00-19:00 and mix with those tourists who have finished sightseeing and shopping and are coming to see the lights and free street shows. The rest of the evening gets more vibrant as the number of people increases and people watch the lights until the late hours or when the stores close. There are usually midnight shows using the billboards which are watched by some people, before the stores close around 1:00am when most of the people leave.

The case in Barcelona is different; the Ramblas is the intersection of touristic areas like the Gothic quarter, Plaça Catalunya and El Raval, so there are tourists and additionally beach goers who want to avoid the crowd of the evenings. But still many families and locals prefer to shop or walk around in the mornings, specifically the retired locals who enjoy watching people. The change happens in the afternoon when the weather warms up and people start to look for places to eat or have a drink while watching the people. It grows even more crowded during the early evening hours, as many people come back from the beach, others come back from city tours, some finish work and some come to see friends, besides students who are out of university. So the peak is the late afternoon or early evenings, but the number starts to decrease after dark, as the touristic places close, the beach is not an after dark place, and nightlife starts which pushes families and tourists away. So, Las

Ramblas is more of an afternoon and early evening place, unlike Times Square, which is best seen at night, but this happens because of safety and the change of users.

When it comes to İstiklal, it resembles the other cases in the morning as more families, conservative people or older people prefer to shop then, but there are still some tourists to be found eating, sightseeing or staying on hotels on the street. Many of those working on İstiklal have their lunch at the restaurants there, many of them are even given food vouchers or cards to spend on meals, and so the restaurants get busy with locals who work there. The street starts to receive more people in the afternoon or early evenings as some events take place and those finishing work come to meet their friends, but similar to Times Square, it peaks after dark as huge numbers of people enter the street to shop, eat, drink, hangout, watch the musicians and even go to the cinemas. The crowd is related to cultural and weather elements as nights are a more appealing time for locals to meet, and it also brings many tourists in who have finished their sightseeing and want to eat or return to their hotels. This keeps going until around midnight when the population changes to nightlife goers, so families leave and younger people come to enjoy the clubs on and around İstiklal. Here we see that İstiklal mixes both Times Square's after dark vibrant atmosphere with the Las Ramblas nightlife character in the same night. Many transsexuals and prostitutes come out, drunken people walk around, and loud music keeps playing until the early morning hours, making the street unsafe or undesirable for many people.

Therefore, these territories have temporal, diurnal rhythms, they change and the people change, making them multi—character venues that attract and offer different people something depending on the time. This isn't limited to simply daytime or night-time as the pace and activities even change depending on the hour.

6.2.1.2.5 Perception of the Others

6.2.1.2.6 Annoyance

If a visitor to the pedestrian territory looks at the other visitors to there, we can see a tension as to whether they assume that they are similar to themselves, whether they are consumers, tourists or just pedestrians, and as different and exciting or different and possibly threatening. Therefore once a person walks into the pedestrian street he/she can

perceive a place as “it is like a melting pot, you never know who you are going to run into, it is just crazy, you have to be careful, there are a lot of crazy people, those who are usually nice, are not for here, the ones aren't nice they are from here, haha”¹. While this assumption is mostly coming from a personal assumption, other pedestrians had problems “more with local people than with tourists, They want to steal something, or they are drunk and want to grab attention”², confirmed by another “it wasn’t a tourist but a local person, he was drunk and he made trouble and we had to call the police”³.

This connection between drinking and local people is a source of annoyance for many people, but it has different salience and forms in the different case studies. In Barcelona, it is more about parties. “I hate parties, and people party all day and come here to us, also when Barça wins they come here to celebrate and it is unbearable”⁴. While in NYC “I was insulted by drunk people, young people on St. Patrick Day were fighting in front of the store”⁵ or even by the many street sellers who try to deceive the tourists using different ways like “some people who try to sell their CDs to tourists, if they refuse to buy, they tell them you don’t want to buy because I’m black?”⁶. We can see here that the theme of cultural attributes occur in these places and are used to annoy people, parties and alcohol seekers, racist attitudes and illegal sellers in NYC, while in Istanbul the tension between conservative and secular people can be brought up on the street indirectly through harassment as one female worker there described the clashes over values, gendered dress and decorum. : “It happens sometimes, it is between men and women, and we are wearing full face make-up all the time and during daytime due to our job”⁷.

As in the last chapter I talked about how people sensed touch through the crowd, we can see here how people perceive the crowd as an annoyance, especially crowds of tourists. “If we want to buy something we buy it from our area, there are many people here, tourists don't allow the locals to buy something”⁸. It is not only the tourists in the case of Barcelona

¹ NYC-RTL-4, 32, Female, Local, USA

² BCN-RTL-5, 36, Female, Resident, Argentina

³ BCN-RTL-3, 35, Male, Resident, Dominican Republic

⁴ BCN-KSK-5, 55, Female, Local, Spain

⁵ NYC-RTL-7, 45, Female, Resident, Japan

⁶ NYC-RTL-5, 28, Male, Local, USA

⁷ NYC-RTL-3, 33, Female, Resident, Romania

⁸ BCN-PSB-12, 74, Couple, Local, Spain

as “I see some people from South America looking for drugs here”¹. They pack the area and affect the daily life of the locals, some of whom see it as “chaotic, there is a huge amount of people and I come with my bike, I have to park it far away”². Tourists annoy the locals with their cultural attitudes which apply only in their homelands, not in a place like NYC “of course, people bargain, maybe in their country they can haggle, but it is different here”³, or in Istanbul where people “see many wrong behaviours, There are different types of people and they don't know how to behave”⁴. So, this concentration of the people of difference happens to annoy both the locals and the tourists, not forgetting that the crowd itself is annoying, and when it is mixed with annoying and unfamiliar behaviours it makes it worse.

6.2.1.2.7 Vulnerability

The neoliberal, capital, liberal and crowded pedestrian territory leaves many people feeling vulnerable. Here we can see another aspect of touch, and taking emotions to thoughts through perceptions we can see that “there is nothing happening about love or respect, when I walk here I see many poor people or old people who can't help themselves. I really feel upset about them. it is getting distant from your own culture”⁵ was mentioned on Las Ramblas, where elderly people wait under the trees for someone to leave the few public chairs so that they can take their places, as they are not able to afford the touristic restaurants. Public seating was praised by people on Times Square, even though it is a strategy to get people to spend money unconsciously when they spend more time there. One woman said “I think it is better to have places to sit, because we spend more time here, and she (her mother) couldn't stand for a long time as someone with a bad knee and would appreciate to have the tables”⁶ but her mother was concerned about something else. “I wish there was security presence, I've never felt unsafe, but swarming characters (characters threatening tourists to pay tips) I don't like that, everyone has a way of living, but

¹ BCN-HMS-1, 35, Male, Resident, Spain

² BCN-RTL-5, 36, Female, Resident, Argentina

³ NYC-KSK-2, 57, Male, Local, USA

⁴ IST-PSB-15, 17, Female, Local, Turkey

⁵ IST-PRF-3, 28, Male, Resident, Turkey, Saz player

⁶ NYC-PSB-28, 43, Female, Domestic Tourist, USA

don't beg for it or deceive the tourists"¹. It is pathetic to walk "in the morning you see many beggars and hangover people staying on the street, it depends on how we treat them"².



Figure 6-3 A handicapped man selling cigarettes - a small girl used and taught by her parents to play music to earn money on İstiklal, by author, November 2015

Even the sellers are vulnerable, especially those who own the old stores and kiosks "People step on the flowers and they don't want to pay for it"³. This penetration of someone's property, not even space, is not limited to flowers. "People don't pay attention and break things, you try to tell them, but they become aggressive and angry and they insult you"⁴ and crowds become targets for crime, with pickpockets and thieves creating notoriety for these territories until some "tourists are afraid of coming here because of pickpockets. We can't tolerate that tourists who have saved money for their holidays get their money stolen here"⁵.

6.2.1.2.8 Diversity

One of the outcomes of the pedestrian territory, being diverse as it attracts people from around the globe, is that it is perceived in different ways. In Times Square "it depends, we have too many tourists, they are coming on a holiday, they have great humour and they are nice, they are nice in general, except alcohol and party"⁶ and "you can see different nationalities, it is very exciting to see different people"⁷ they might "just come to see but

¹ NYC-PSB-28, 43, Female, Domestic Tourist, USA

² IST-KSK-2, 40, Male, Local, Turkey

³ BCN-KSK-4, 27, Male, Local, Spain

⁴ BCN-KSK-2, 25, Male, Local, Spain

⁵ BCN-KSK-2, 25, Male, Local, Spain

⁶ BCN-RTL-3, 35, Male, Resident, Dominican Republic

⁷ NYC-PSB-21, 21, Male, Tourist, France

not it is the place where they have fun”¹ or “they come here for fun, That's why I was coming here before, it sounds when people ask you ‘where are you now?’, you say in Taksim, it sounds fun and cool”². This is a varying element, and “I think everyone has a different opinion, some for café, history, drinks, shopping. It varies”³ so we can assume that some people think that the others “usually come here for touristic purposes”⁴ but they aren’t as alien as some perceive them as “they are like us, middle age, mixed gender, they just take video and leave”⁵ they can be sometimes “people are tiring, most of them are kind”⁶.

These territories attract some people for no reason “That's a really good question, I don't really know, I wonder about this everyday but I really don't know why people come here. I have no answer, I'll try to discover”⁷ but those who work there everyday think of diversity as “a bit stressful because you have to deal with many people from many countries”⁸ but the diversity is something appealing to those who like exotic people. “Everybody is different and there area lot of beautiful girls”⁹ like those on Times Square or just the secular atmosphere of İstiklal where “we have the mosque in front of us, I feel like watching TV looking outside, Different kids of people passing by all the time and no ones cares about another, It is really free place and when you look at them from outside it is really enjoyable”¹⁰ that’s why some people come back to the pedestrian territory to see and feel “I've been visiting Spain since 1991 and I've never experienced any problems, it is a nice place to be”¹¹

6.2.1.3 Perception of the Self

Goffman (1972) listed eight forms of "territories of the self". I will focus here on the personal space as “the portable bubble of space sometimes seen as part of interpersonal distance” (Edney, 1974, p. 965) and how this territory of the self reacts to the pedestrian territory. “He also categorized six forms of territorial violation: penetration by a body,

¹ NYC-PRF-6, 33, Male, Local, USA, Stand Up Comedy Guy

² IST-PSB-29, 27, Female, Local, Turkey

³ IST-PSB-21, 34, Female, Resident, Turkey

⁴ IST-PSB-2, 21, Female, Resident, Turkey

⁵ IST-PRF-2, 23, Male, Local, Turkey, Guitarist

⁶ BCN-RTL-1, 24, Female, Local, Spain

⁷ BCN-PSB-9, 34, Male, Local, Spain

⁸ NYC-PRF-1, 27, Female, Resident, Italy, Topless Girl

⁹ NYC-PRF-2, 37, Male, Local, USA, Topless Girl, Manager

¹⁰ IST-RTL-4, 37, Male, Local, Turkey

¹¹ BCN-PSB-37, 53, Male, Tourist, Morocco

touching or defiling the sheath or possessions of another (e.g., sexual molestation), penetration of eyes (e.g., staring), intrusion of sound, inappropriate addressing through words (e.g., intruding into a conversation), and contamination by some form of bodily excreta” (Edney, 1974, p. 966). We learn from this that the term territory can be expanded to include smaller territories that interact and overarch, especially when a multi-sensory place like a pedestrian territory is the ‘mother’ territory of these smaller territories. Next I’ll show how these territories interact and how they are perceived within the boundaries of the pedestrian territory.

6.2.1.3.1 Personal Space vs. Crowds

We can see that the crowd has different dimensions, as within the boundaries of the pedestrian territory, a personal space goes often through a crisis due to the high number of people, therefore the territory of the self is quite often violated and invaded by the others.

“This summer we have so many tourists and I don't feel comfortable, I can't work peacefully and calmly, it is not good for me, I have my regular customers, we have to work in peace and quiet environment when serving our loyal clients. Too many people affect us negatively, unlike restaurants and bars who like tourists, many people living here they have to leave during the summer because of the tourists, they bring noise and bad behaviours”¹.

This perception of a florist on Las Ramblas shows a high degree of personal space violation, which affects the job and the clients as well. Work environment has a different behaviour and the crowd has a negative impact on it, even if someone works in an aesthetically beautiful place. “I'm tired of architecture I just want to enjoy the walk, but I’m working here and restricted by many things, papers to work here, and what to sell and what not to sell”². Therefore, some retailers stay away from the crowd “I only pay attention to the people coming to my store, my clients and I'm happy with them”³.

Crowds can also change people’s mood as a matter of personal space penetration. “I like going up and down, but when it is crowded it is boring, I avoid coming here on weekends, I prefer to have less friends, in big and busy environments”⁴ like Times Square, or even Las Ramblas which is “overcrowded, I wouldn't come here everyday, I like to walk on the side

¹ BCN-KSK-5, 55, Female, Local, Spain

² BCN-KSK-4, 27, Male, Local, Spain

³ BCN-KSK-5, 55, Female, Local, Spain

⁴ IST-RTL-16, 31, Male, Local, Turkey

streets and alleys more than here”¹. The crowd is perceived differently and it changes people’s behaviour and attitude to walking on the sidewalks or alleys to avoid the central plazas, but this isn’t the case for other people who surprisingly “feel quiet, crowd doesn’t bother me, you can always find a place to chill, watch people, I don’t like the sidewalks because everything is here”². So a walking pattern depends on how a person perceives self-territory as a personal territory that should be kept private or allow penetration of the others through an interaction and intersection between the territory of the self/body and the public, but for others it provokes a great feeling as “you feel that you are in the heart of the city, it is a strong feeling”³. The pedestrian terror is a crowded one – where the crowd can be a pleasurable sociality of shared enjoyment (Cross and Walton, 2005) but also retains its connotations of a threat to both individuals but especially to social hierarchies and authorities (Jaguaribe, 2013).

6.2.1.3.2 Interaction and Sociability

Times Square’s ‘Boss’ or “Mayor’ as people call him, is an African American war veteran who is a very social person and who has been working here for years, owning a little kiosk on one of the corners. He is well known locally among other vendors and regulars thinks that:

“People are not the same, psychologically, it is healthy to be here and interact with people, speaking here with people in different languages, this is the beauty thing about Times Square, Interaction with people, (some people interrupt, they want to buy something and bargain), you got to know something about their countries to talk about it, I enjoy it, many people come to me because I’m the boss, some people call me the Mayor of Times Square”⁴.

As these pedestrian streets were always a social point where the locals would go to entertain themselves, turning them to pedestrian territories which at some places don’t allow people to find a place to sit in public but to use the cafes and restaurants, the perception of sociability has changed, but there are still local people who come here for various social activities.

A preacher on Times Square uses the crowd and people to express his belief in Christianity and preach. “60% people are reacting positively, from old people to young, (someone is

¹ BCN-PSB-27, 24, Female, Tourist, France

² BCN-PSB-26, 24, Female, Tourist, Qatar

³ BCN-PSB-41, 53, Female, Tourist, Morocco

⁴ NYC-KSK-2, 57, Male, Local, USA

saying hi) hey bro, look it is a perfect example, some people ask for prayers, some people ask things about the bible, many people know the shallow things, they get shocked when you tell them something about the bible”¹, while retailers who spend long hours working here are affected by the crowds which makes them more social “when I came here before I lived it was a completely different feel. Now I know where are the places and where to go, first time I came here I was overwhelmed by the lights, the people but I got to adapt very well to it, and dynamics, we open till 1am in the weekends, just the energy from the co-workers and people visiting, I made great friends here”². This random interaction and socializing attracts some people who are naturally social “I’m a social person I like vibrant places, mingle with random people, get to know new things and make new friends, I don’t like romantic places like the top of the mountain”³.

Whether it is the “the infrastructure makes it very easy for the tourists”⁴ as it the first destination for many tourists “It is different experience, It is our first day, I feel the rest of Barcelona is empty and all the people are here”⁵ or those place observers “I like watching people and I’m here to watch people, I’m studying the place”⁶. The sociability of these territories stimulates the senses as “lots going on, lots of people from everywhere, it is a good place to relax and gather your senses”⁷.

6.2.1.3.3 Suffering and Offence

Although both tourists and locals have perceived interaction and sociability positively, here I show how the territory of the self is invaded, violated and even contaminated by the public and others within the pedestrian territory, creating a negative territory experience. A Syrian refugee who left his family in Hatay to earn money in Istanbul, sells personal portraits, pathetically sitting on a small chair in a simple suit, waiting for those interested “They love it and people like arts here, 50% of the customers are Turkish people, They appreciate portraits, I just don’t like it when some people look at me and pity me, those people are

¹ NYC-PRF-3, 32, Male, Local, USA, Jesus Guy

² NYC-RTL-1, 25, Male, Resident, USA,

³ BCN-PSB-34, 40, Male, Tourist, Bahrain

⁴ BCN-PSB-40, 34, Male, Tourist, USA

⁵ BCN-PSB-39, 31, Female, Tourist, India

⁶ NYC-PSB-9, 80, Couple, Domestic Tourist, USA

⁷ NYC-PSB-14, 49, Male, Tourist, Canada

closed minded, they don't appreciate arts, they think I'm begging"¹. It is not surprising as I encountered some people in all three cities who considered artists, musicians and performers as beggars who use their talents to beg for money.

The suffering of some performers can be challenging physically and psychologically. "I get really sick, my pockets are full of medicine I can show them if you want, everyone should show honour and dignity, I'm playing music to earn money"². A performer on Las Ramblas complaining about everyday suffering says he avoids asking people for money as it is not polite but sometimes people take pictures and don't pay. "People who don't give you money and when you tell them, they say 'why should we give you money? They think we are paid by the city and standing here like lamps or light poles, but we are working here"³.

The suffering is not limited to performers, but also professional people "I experience insult and troubles often since I'm a journalist"⁴ or even people with special needs as articulated

"It is what all the handicapped people in Turkey suffer from, subway elevators are sometimes broken, So this is a challenge, there is only 1 restroom on İstiklal where disabled people can go, it is in the shopping mall, people don't care about, I have money but I can't access many places with my wheelchair, if I want to shop I can't get in the store without asking for help"⁵.

The perception of self and suffering goes to another with preachers on Times Square

"It is all verbal, they offend me saying Jesus doesn't live, it is a lie, it is a joke, hell to Satan, I expect this because in the bible Jesus said, the reaction to Jesus Christ has always been like that, I don't get any physical offence because God protects me, if you come with a knife to me, I'll take it from you peacefully, it is the holy spirit"⁶.

6.2.1.3.4 Safety

So, does it feel safe to be here? The crowd can make some people feel safer while making other feel unsafe, depending on different aspects. One of the reasons is the reputation of the street and personal or heard experiences, for instance many people felt unsafe in Las Ramblas because of the pickpocketing, but this isn't the case in Times Square or İstiklal, since they don't have a reputation for that. Despite the fact that there are police

¹ IST-PRF-1, 55, Male, Refugee, Syria, The Painter

² IST-PRF-7, 62, Male, Resident, Turkey, Saz player

³ BCN-PRF-4, 37, Female, Resident, Argentina, Golden Queen

⁴ IST-PSB-26, 24, Male, Local, Turkey

⁵ IST-KSK-4, 49, Male, Resident, Turkey

⁶ NYC-PRF-3, 32, Male, Local, USA, Jesus Guy

everywhere within these territories, plus numerous CCTV cameras and plain clothes police, so many people experience a positive feeling of safety due to a police presence, but it is not always a positive feeling, as police can make others feel unsafe. The presence of people at all times makes some people feel better. “I feel good, it is safe because it is for pedestrians, I like to walk on the Rambla because I feel safer and I'm in the centre of the street”¹ but some people doubt it is due to what they heard or read. “It is nice, relaxed, safe, but just thinking about what people tell us about safety”².

Safety is not always related to crime or pickpocketing, it is also shaped by traffic free zone. “You don't have to deal with traffic, it is nice place to relax, and it is safe”³. The perception of safety changes when people think of the crossing streets and little alleys or adjacent neighbourhoods “I heard these things, it is not safe in the little streets, there was a cultural centre I was going there once, I saw a guy disturbing other people, He was under drugs”⁴. This is another territorial aspect as the very adjacent places don't necessarily share the same level of surveillance and the privileges the pedestrian territories have. That's why many travel websites of guide books or even hotel receptionists would advise against visiting El Raval in Barcelona, Tarlabası in Istanbul or messing around 8th Avenue near the bus terminal near Times Square especially at night. Another safety related story came from a middle-aged man on İstiklal who took extra precautions to stay safe:

“Years ago, some people were following me around 1-2 am and it was summer and I had a t-shirt and I acted as if I was trying to adjust my belt to show them the gun I was carrying, once I exposed it they disappeared, maybe if I hadn't a gun, they would've attacked me, I as trying to protect myself when I was carrying the gun, but later I sold the gun”⁵.

This isn't too surprising as I saw a few men carrying guns while going to pray in Ağa Camii (mosque) on İstiklal who were acting as civilians, especially at night times, but they were hidden police or state agents.

The perception of safety through the police varies from tourist friendly police officers taking pictures with the tourists in Times Square to police officers and riot forces on Las Ramblas

¹ BCN-PSB-4, 23, Female, Tourist, Italy

² BCN-PSB-39, 31, Female, Tourist, India

³ BCN-PSB-36, 41, Male, Tourist, USA

⁴ IST-PSB-12, 35, Male, Resident, Turkey

⁵ IST-PSB-35, 47, Male, Resident, Turkey

driving over the Ramblas and chasing illegal street vendors to a mix of armed police, riot forces, state agents, and soldiers walking around İstiklal (Figure 6-4). Safety remains a double-sided issue of the territory and people simultaneously perceive that crowds and a police presence can make it feel both safer or more suspicious. Whether they are CCTV, security guards or materials as “even materiality is drawn down into the symbolic identification of barriers, bollards and bodies, a recourse to tangible physical, hard engineering solutions that might characterise a place, or the rough touch of a security guard intruding on one’s privacy and bodily integrity (Adey *et al.*, 2013, p. 300).



Figure 6-4 Left: Overlooking military buses from a 3rd floor restaurant’s balcony driving on İstiklal, Right: Anti-protest soldiers at Galatasaray School, turning İstiklal to a militarised driveway, by author, October 2015

6.3 Expressions and Conceptions

Expressions and conceptions are actions and reactions, in the context of affects “when you affect something, you are at the same time opening yourself up to being affected in turn” (Massumi, 2002, p. 212). Ben Anderson (2006, p. 736) explains this correspondence to affects through Deleuze’s work as:

“Forming a second-order ‘image’ of a state of ‘the body’ feelings are expressions of ‘that which happens to the mode, the modification of the mode, the effects of modes on it. These affections are therefore images or corporeal traces first of all’ (Deleuze, 1988a, page 48)”

As previously stated, perceptions are resultants of affects and senses, and these perceptions can be conceptualized to thoughts and opinions in the action-reaction process of people understanding of the place cognitively. I argue here that for concepts and expressions to occur in the public space, the pedestrian territory here, more familiarity and spent time in the place is essential. Conceptions are deeper than perceptions; the former rely on affects and emotions while the latter rely on thoughts. These conceptions go around people’s

experiences, expressions, assumptions, judgments, narratives, evidences besides categorization and comparison between the place and other places.

I show in this section some self-expressions and how the others or the public conceives them. We can see that that pedestrian zones offer a liberal space for people to express their opinions, talents and behaviours if compared to other parts of the city, and that this happens because of the open market, tourism and other elements I mentioned before that helps this place experience more freedoms. I'll focus here on the performers mainly who usually have strong expressions that create various reactions amongst the rest of the pedestrians. They spend longer periods of time on the street, and have been mentioned by many participants as interesting, unique, controversial or even 'unwanted'. This selection was based on my observations and interviews that contained lots of criticism towards this group of people, and therefore I decided to make it discussion focus for analysis.

Whether he/she is an artist, human statue, singer or actor, in these pedestrian territories the performers use the character and the theme of the territory to perform something representative of the history, aesthetics or culture of the area. Some of these performers choose a traditional or typical performance while other try to shock the people with something exotic or 'crossing the line'. Here I show how the performers express themselves and use the territory and its freedom, and contrast it with public opinions which do not see them as street performers but as something affecting their everyday life, unacceptably challenging their identity or family values, or even as highly politicized. I'm trying to show something different about street performances and how it is tied to the local culture, even when it is a global phenomenon and been studied in the literature from aspects related to public space events, synchronization and atmosphere. This argument helps our understanding of how a specific group of people can attract a lot of attention and change the character of the pedestrian territory when given the freedom such as in Times Square, restricted freedom in Las Ramblas and contradictory freedom on İstiklal.

At a prosaic level street performance can be defined as "a practice whereby various musical and non-musical performances are undertaken in pursuit of donations from passers-by" (Simpson, 2011, p. 416). However, street performance has been studied, and can be seen as "as a mode of embodied activity that transgresses, resists, or challenges social structures"

(McKenzie, 1998, p. 218). These performances have a strong influence on the public space as they can be “urban ritual that challenges the way we think about public space by promoting spontaneous, democratic, intimate encounters” (Tanenbaum, 1995, pp. 1–2). We can understand the public by looking at the performers and the type of performances, they can give us a glimpse about the political and social freedoms of these cities, since streets are spaces “social encounters and political protest, sites of domination and resistance, places of pleasure and anxiety” (Fyfe, 1998, p. 1). So, here we can view these performances, which differ from other parts of the city, as these territories provide them with more freedoms and accommodate higher numbers of them, a wider variety of performances, and sometimes more controversial ones.

The performers of Times Square mainly represent Disney characters or the character of Times Square as a theatre district; they vary between Disney cartoon characters, topless cowboy and cowgirls or topless girls ‘Desnudes’. There are a few people singing every now and then and other human statues. While this character of Times Square isn’t the same as Barcelona or Istanbul as we can see the movement of street performance is a global phenomenon, but uses the local culture or the character of the territory to show something attractive and distinctive. Although in Times Square it is assumed that anyone can perform, in Barcelona the Town Hall regulates street performance, so that only those human statues holding a permit can perform, and they are allocated designated spaces.



Figure 6-5 Times Square Disney Characters, by author, April 2015

Although Barcelona has famous musical genres, musicians are not performing on the street, which raises a question mark about the reason, whether it is regulations, the noise or space. In Istanbul it is very rare to see a human statue, but İstiklal is lined with numerous singers and musicians of different ethnic groups and nationalities. This reflects the character of İstiklal as a nightlife and consumption centre, but not a theatre or performance venue, or probably street performers isn't a Turkish thing if compared to Turkish music. We can see here that different types of arts are more desirable than others, as we can not have topless girls on İstiklal or ethnic musicians on Times Square, as they would not match the character of the venue. This has links to the taste of the audience, history of arts, freedom limits and regulations imposed by the state.

Comparing these performers isn't only limited to the type of art it is promoting, but also the expressions, messages, locations and audience of each of these arts. In the three cities mentioned, street performances can be restricted to these areas especially those performances that 'cross the line' of widely accepted behaviour, like topless girls on Times Square, or involved in knowing audience responses like the sophisticated human statues in Barcelona and the number of musicians on İstiklal, which make these territories the only places to perform by type of music or number.

In each of these territories there are a few performers who take the lead, grabbing people's attention and creating an exciting or controversial scene that many of my participants mentioned during the interviews, be it their favourite thing, the most annoying or over their limit of what is appropriate in a public space. Using relationality here shows how the type of performers and performances is exclusive in this territory and how some of them give a character to the entire territory or even an identity or certain culture, which either revives the past, synchronizes with the theme of the district or uses the publicness of the territory to show their expressions. These performers aren't just money seekers, but also creative and thought provoking, and they try to have a fingerprint or impose themselves on other people and their right to enjoy the public space.

The interaction varies between standing still, playing music, moving around or even pestering people for tips. These variations at first show that street performance is a global phenomenon, but when looking closely we can see the performers adapt to the local

culture, not necessarily to represent the local culture through performance, but to the behaviours, values and social norms around the pedestrian territory – behaviours and norms that they also inflect in the pedestrian territory through the volume and recurrence of their performances. For instance, many people found Times Square greedy and aggressive when it comes to tips, something might be an exaggerated version of the tipping and materialism of NYC, while the performers of Barcelona show more dignity and perform a very elegant, quiet and polite approach to get tips which reconciles with the local culture of Barcelona. In the case of Istanbul where musicians sing, it is people's will to tip, they don't ask for it, but play whether people pay or not, not like the American folks where a member of the band will go around collecting money from people either before or after the show, as nothing is for free in Times Square.

To understand this street performance phenomenon we should study the actions and reactions, the power of performers and people's resistance to these performances. This will help with understanding the space, how it is used and how it is different than other places, as these actions happen to be in this specific territory not elsewhere in the city.

In Times Square performers started to increase rapidly after the pedestrianisation of Broadway, as until then only a few people were performing there, such as the Naked Cowboy who spent years performing around the corner. The increase of walkable space after pedestrianisation provided an opportunity for people to perform, express and be watched by those sitting or standing around. The physical pedestrian areas drew limitations for performers, and a limit for the territory and its phenomena. Dozens of performers trying to express, shock, surprise, attract or even attack the passers-by to get attention and money. I'll show here how a few performers express themselves and do their job, and it will be followed by people's reactions towards this type of performance, which both show the limitation of freedom, and the publicness of the pedestrian territory.

6.3.1 Times Square

6.3.1.1 Expressions

6.3.1.1.1 Topless Amelia¹



Figure 6-6 Left: Amelia (dark hair) and her colleague with a boy, Right: counting her tips.

Source: <http://www.crainsnewyork.com/article/20150821/blogs04/150829982/give-times-square-topless-women-their-own-special-zones-pols-say>

Probably the topless girls are the most controversial performers of Times Square, being unique, playing on the edges of public nudity, and provoking of diversity and publicness of the family district. The interview was with Amelia, an Italian immigrant, who speaks broken English and enjoys doing her job. She uses her body to grab attention “it is different because when I’m painted I get attention because everyone is looking at me but when I’m dressed up I feel I’m normal person”. She thinks that this performance is conceived positively “most of the people like it, the kids and women they like it, they love it, they want to take pictures with us, but some people feel nervous about it”.

She’s very happy to have such a job as “I don’t care about being famous I just do it because I have fun and this is a job, So I don’t need to look for another job, This is the only job I do and I’m making good money”. She answered my question if she felt nervous doing such a job “everybody was born naked so there is no reason to feel nervous, you know what I’m saying, everybody is different”. Amelia or her colleagues walk around usually in pairs while their male boss and his assistants watch from a distance and provide them with security using a walky-talky. She argues that she doesn’t ask for money but “we say we work on nice tips, if they give a dollar we say you can do better”. She thinks this type of performance isn’t controversial, erotic or abnormal “this is very normal and it is art, this is my lifestyle and I like it, for me it is just a beautiful art and I really like it”.

¹ NYC-PRF-1, 27, Female, Resident, Italy, Topless Girl

6.3.1.1.2 Topless Girls Boss¹

Another interview with the boss who takes care of the topless girls revealed that “I was thinking about what Times Square needs, and I see how performers organize, it needs beautiful women and painted with American flag” to shock people and be unique. His idea came from the his childhood as “I like to travel see the most exciting things in the world constantly, Hong Kong, Japan, Thailand, Brazil, I used to go to Brazil every weekend for 2 days to enjoy myself for 2 days and I come back to America, So I mixed all my world travels together and I came up with this, it is the freedom of expressions and Times Square has been here for hundreds of years and nobody has done it”.



Figure 6-7 Topless girls getting painted, posing with a police officers and tried to give him oral sex and drugs.

Source: <https://www.gettyimages.dk/videos/times-square-body-paint?sort=mostpopular&offlinecontent=include&phrase=times%20square%20body%20paint>

As a former street performer, he thought about bringing topless to Times Square “I was very scared, but I wanted to revolutionize it, I’m brainstorming with my brain and I want to expand it to all NYC, It is gonna be great, And when I travel around the world and they ask me what are you doing, I’ll say have you heard of Times Square, they would say yes, I’ll say have you heard of the pretty girls in painted body in Times Square, they will say of course, I’ll say this is my job, I might not want them to know my name, but to do what I’m doing, it will be great”. He saw a beautiful girl passing by while I was interviewing him and he was staring at her “look at this beautiful girl, she’s absolutely beautiful” and he wanted to expand his business to have a topless girl on every corner of Manhattan. In an echo of the ethnically stratified service economy in other sectors (Wills *et al.*, 2009) he recruited women from ethnically diverse backgrounds, and most of them aren’t Americans; Amelia who’s Italian, some Latinas and Eastern Europeans.

¹ NYC-PRF-2, 37, Male, Local, USA, Topless Girls Boss

6.3.1.1.3 The Naked Cowboy¹

The idea of walking around topless isn't new to Times Square, as the Naked Cowboy (Figure 6-8) has been doing it for around 16 years, but he's a man not a woman, which is perceived in another way by the public. A former model for a nude magazine, turning to a cowboy 16 years ago: "I always wanted to be famous, but later I wanted to be rich and famous" after earning a degree from UC in political science he decided to be "a stripper in my underwear, been doing the same basic thing. The Naked cowboy is famous for being a cheerful and humble person in Times Square, he articulate it as "even if I'm the grumpiest person on earth, but I'm nice to people. He usually carry girls or older women and take pictures with them, play some random rock songs on the street and people drop the money in his guitar hole. He then gives them a postcard of himself with his charity details and put his autograph on it. The Naked Cowboy goes beyond performance to support his charity, but also expands the business by franchising his performance to his relatives as "my wife is a cowgirl and my sister as well, we franchised for 5 girls". This reconciles with the previous case, female performers or specifically topless women are franchised and commoditized in Times Square.

The Naked Cowboy became a bit upset when I asked about the competition between him and the topless girls (not his cowgirls group). "I said no yesterday, but today is a warm day and there's literally 10 naked girls with the boobs out and everything else, I don't think we have the same audience, but I think they take away the shock factor, just the number of them, maybe it impacts a little, but like as I said, you can worry about them, but you got to maintain what you are doing, you put an effort that I don't care but you actually do. A guy walked by 2 minutes ago saying you are turning this place to a circus, I said don't blame me". The Naked Cowboy was shown in the press after my fieldwork wearing a bra (Figure 6-8), in an ironic response to the competition from topless female bodies.

¹ NYC-PRF-5, 45, Male, Resident, USA, Naked Cowboy



Figure 6-8 The Naked Cowboy, with a bra, his Cowgirl wife. Source: <https://www.istockphoto.com> & <https://www.denverpost.com> & <https://depositphotos.com/>

6.3.1.1.4 Franchised Cowgirl

The Cowboy's Latina wife (Figure 6-8) walking around and wearing lingerie, though not topless, holding a guitar and putting a cowboy hat on her head, is perceived as less controversial than the actual topless girls. During an interview with her, I noted a tattoo on her lower back saying 'Belly dancer' in Arabic. She explained that she's a former belly dancer originally from Mexico. This combination of a performer being a Latina, belly dancing with an Arabic tattoo and dressing like a cowgirl in Times Square shows how this territory is an assemblage of identities and culture, even the performers are representations of various cultures and grab the attention of people visiting from these countries, who either feel attached to the place when they encounter the familiar or struggle identifying the territory as it lacks authenticity. The phenomenon also exposes the use of women as commodities to franchise, market and make business with, whether they are topless girls or cowgirls.

6.3.1.1.5 Emulation or Uniqueness¹

Other performers prefer to use different techniques, including dressing up like a clown and standing still to grab people's attention, only moving when someone drops a dollar in the box. "I like only this spot, a statue should be in one place, not moving around, I got to keep the fantasies going. When someone comes asking for me I should be in one place, this place became special when I came here". Performers perform individually or in groups, compete

¹ NYC-PRF-4, 35, Male, Resident, USA, Bronze Guy

and try to be unique, but prefer Times Square due to the density and freedoms. “I’m the best statue in the world, no competition, I’m on my own category. It is Times Square freedom to see this, it is not allowed in other places”. The bronze man – human statue – elaborates “Me? I’m a little different (than the naked cowboy), people try to copy and compete with me, I don’t see them as competition but I see them as people loving my idea. And I’m competing only with myself. He might be a square and I’m a triangle. I don’t think there is any competition, I think I’m the best”.



Figure 6-9 The Bronze Guy @ Times Square, by Author, April 2015

6.3.1.1.6 The Preacher¹

The performance isn’t limited to artists as even religious people who preach about their faith in Times Square are seen more as performers than preachers. Whether they are walking around or just sitting in one place holding a sign with Jesus’s words, one explains, “I don’t mind what you are doing, I’m just promoting the kingdom of salvation, God’s Kingdom, to Jesus Christ, and this is my purpose, and I’m fighting the bad spirit, we interact with everyone (Naked Cowboy)”. He comes to Times Square most days because “Jesus asked me to do this. I come here to share the message this is what the God asked me to do. To share the gospel, the message, and that he is alive, and he is coming back, to share love and peace. He answered my question about money (who pays you?) “Jesus pays us, we

¹ NYC-PRF-3, 32, Male, Local, USA, Jesus Guy

work for God. When God calls you, you have to leave everything and respond". They come to Times Square often and spend hours here "we go by the Holy Spirit, it brings it here, it is great to see people come from everywhere, even Jewish people came to us". "We are sharing love and compassion, the Holy Spirit taught me how to do it, I hold my testimony and people come, we are different to other people".

6.3.1.1.7 Comedy Show Guys¹

It is hard to walk around Times Square without being approached by street sellers such as comedy show guys who try to sell people tickets for off-Broadway comedy shows, or those selling sightseeing packages. While the performers generally remain at a distance, street sellers go up to the tables and stop passers-by in order to sell them something. I include them in the performance section because they also approach, and across tourists with a marketing patten that is also part of the culture of the place. There are many sellers of different types. I interviewed a couple of them, as one said they only come to Times Square because "it is just the population of people, the more people might be in one area the higher percentage of people who actually want what you are offering, we look for people who want to do it but they don't know where to find it, We just find people what they want. Duffy square is a heavily populated area, where people look to see shows and we give them an alternative". He grabs people's attention by asking 2 main questions "do you like stand up comedy? If they say yes or show interest I ask them where are you from?" I asked why would he ask about their nationality and he explained "just to try to build a conversation and make them feel comfortable because in sales you want them to feel comfortable, and maybe I will know something about where they are coming from, or maybe they live not far where I'm originally from, but some people don't like it at all because they don't want to be approached, or to be sold something, Usually people have very bad attitude about it, But I can understand it if I was on vacation and every 5 feet someone wants to sell me something".

6.3.1.2 Conceptions

Approaching people in the public domain has been conceived in different ways, as some people don't like sharing their identity with strangers as it a personal thing, while others

¹ NYC-PRF-6, 33, Male, Local, USA, Stand Up Comedy Guy

enjoy being interacting with Americans or enjoy the jokes of the sellers. I've seen a Swedish couple walking away from a seller who was persistently trying to sell them a comedy show, and when they walked away he stated yelling at them "go back to your country, go back to Sweden". These sellers can be super nice with big smiles then rude and arrogant when they see no interest from their targeted customers. This happens because people are coming from around the world and one attitude doesn't fit all cultures as "People are coming from different cultures, people are generally pretty friendly, It has to do with the background, The only thing I noticed that most that really stands out to me, that Asian people usually never want to talk to me about comedy, I don't know why"¹.

People have different reactions towards the performers on Times Square, these conceptions show their experiences based on their personal experiences and backgrounds which sometimes approve of these performances and at other times clash and infringe on their right to the place as a public place. The performers seemed to be very confident and biased while some of them are imposing their performances on the public by overstepping the freedom of expression lines.

As I mentioned earlier, the exaggerated and positive opinion of the performers about their own actions and its effects on the place wasn't necessarily shared by many of my participants, who were angry with these performers for different reasons. It shows here that these public spaces are permissible spaces and this permissibility brings many contradictions, tensions and even conflict between the performers and the public, who come from very different backgrounds, not forgetting that the performers themselves aren't necessarily representative of the city and its culture. "They need cash, they rip off tourists like my friend who was ripped \$20 by a cartoonist, I pity them but its bad"².

"There are many tourist attractions down there, They take advantage of the place"³ and many people find themselves trapped in this place after being approached by some performers who usually take hold of their kids and demand tips or threaten them afterwards. "I remember when I first came here visiting, they asked me to take a picture

¹ NYC-PRF-7, 36, Male, Local, USA, Comedy Guy 2

² NYC-RTL-7, 45, Female, Resident, Japan

³ NYC-RTL-1, 25, Male, Resident, USA

with them, they took it and they asked me to give them money, they didn't tell me I need to give them money for the pictures. That's all tricky"¹. Therefore, the unique nature of the pedestrian territory can be as harmful for the public space as for the public since many locals do not consider these performances as representative of their culture and some outsiders find it shocking. The performances are a representation of the performers themselves, and the square, which has its own identity and culture.

Therefore, if NYC is considered one of the most expensive, materialistic places in America or even the world, this attitude of the performers is just a representation of this culture and "it fits the model of NY, that's pretty crazy and cool, it is definitely a Times Square thing, I walk around and I can see that other places I go to are more of NY thing"². Whether they are seen as "crazy, I saw this guy as Spiderman, he was hanging to the light pole thinking that he is really a Spiderman in the real life, and the topless girls, it is cold outside, they are making money with any possible way"³. "There are some religious people here, but some of them are cool like the cowboy is a very humble guy, Very laid back"⁴ but this can seem like a "horrible impression of NYC, they are weird, we can't see such a thing in other countries, it is only an American thing"⁵ But an American visitor can disagree as "they look dirty, I'm from Florida I've seen Disney, so this is not good. I don't like the nakedness"⁶ so probably it is not even American if compared to Disney characters. Some tourists started to compare "they seem better in London and Vegas, some of the costume guys are nice, but the topless girls are not acceptable at all"⁷.

But the question is are they really performing? "I think she was drunk, she was not even performing, there was a guy advocating for marijuana, he seemed to be having a good time, I saw Elmo about five times, I think they are deceiving people"⁸. It varies, some "think they are brave, interesting, they make me smile and laugh, it is part of the entertainment"⁹.

¹ NYC-RTL-1, 25, Male, Resident, USA

² NYC-RTL-5, 28, Male, Local, USA

³ NYC-RTL-4, 32, Female, Local, USA

⁴ NYC-RTL-2, 35, Male, Local, USA

⁵ NYC-PSB-9, 80, Couple, Domestic Tourist, USA

⁶ NYC-PSB-7, 23, Male, Domestic Tourist, USA

⁷ NYC-PSB-4, 31, Female, Tourist, UK

⁸ NYC-PSB-30, 20, Female, Domestic Tourist, USA

⁹ NYC-PSB-29, 25, Lesbian, Local, USA, Lesbian with her girlfriend kissing

Performing on Times Square doesn't require assessment or permission, there are no criteria and it is open to anyone, even "I saw a topless girl, but she was not attractive haha"¹.

6.3.1.2.1 Family or Adults District?

The Disneyfication of Times Square was an attempt to change the adult character of the place and to turn it into a family oriented district, opening stores like Toys"R"Us, M&Ms, etc., in order to attract families and kids. But since Broadway was pedestrianized, the square turned to a territory, which provided more space for new adult performers to take over, like the cartoonists, topless girls or cowgirls. There's a huge sense of public outrage towards these performers who are targeting kids and teens, walking around conservative families or ripping off visitors. A female domestic tourist from Nebraska was so upset:

"The only thing that bothers me about them is when families are coming, the kids, It does bother me coming from a small town, I wish they would not allow them out till after around 9 or 10 o'clock at night, I'll be furious to have brought my 7 year old down here to a boob girl, but you can divert their attention from it. But to me it seems like it is not appropriate, this is a public place, you know, those girls want to do it, more power to you, you do it, they got the right to do it, I won't take the right away from them, I just wish its after certain hours. I think everybody has the right to do what they want; they would never do that in my hometown, never, I will be like what the hell! Not even in SOHO or other places in NYC!"².

So this isn't a NYC thing, but an issue, which is observed in Times Square where girls are 'okay' to walk around topless. The anger isn't limited to topless girls but other greedy performers who aren't doing their job properly. As flagged earlier it is an aggressive and greedy attitude that misuses tipping culture just to get money, which ruins the image of Disney and pushes visitors away.

"What bothers me more, the cartoon characters when they say, tip tip tip. Come on, if I want to give you tip because I took my picture with you, that's fine, but don't chase me now, I've seen them chasing people, they are aggressive and I don't think this is necessary, some of them took pictures with some people and then they left their hat asking for tip, but people didn't ask them for pictures, they swore at people, I think it is wrong, (about the signs³) you see where the sigs are and where the people are, the signs should be where the people are"⁴.

¹ NYC-PSB-31, 36, Male, Domestic Tourist, USA

² NYC-PSB-28, 43, Female, Domestic Tourist, USA

³ There is a small sign on Duffy Square which tells people that tips are complimentary but not mandatory but it is too small and easily missed in the crowd.

⁴ NYC-PSB-28, 43, Female, Domestic Tourist, USA

While some people think these performers are “good for tourists they have fun, they enjoy it, but not for us, we are not interested”¹.

“I think it is interesting the way they choose to get their money, I'm very bored of them, and the characters are scary, it is Times Square's character. A lot of people don't stop or pay them attention, I guess some people understand maybe just some of them, not everyone will walk here topless, a picture for a dollar you know”².

It is absolutely greedy even for former performers who are from NYC “There been problems with people demanding tips, the interesting thing is that at some point of my life I was a street performer, so I know about that, but I've never command a tip. I did little bit in Times Square, but mostly I liked the parks in Central Park”³. While I was interviewing one said “Great! They are entertaining people, Like Vegas ... If people don't like this scene they should walk in other areas”⁴ suddenly she saw the topless girls, shocked “Wait they are nude in front of kids? I think it is disgusting and they should be off the street, actually quite frankly”.

Americans care about their image and how people see them, as this doesn't represent the vast majority of Americans who are conservative.

“There are families coming to NYC and they see a 60-70 years old naked woman, it is disgusting. And then they have this perspective about America. I'm American and I believe in freedom, but this, too much is too much. This is Times Square's character; you don't see it in other cities or even other parts of NYC. That's not our, this is not America, they painted the American flag and it is not America”⁵.

But some people think intellectually and think, “I wouldn't say it is American, maybe the people who know America from TV would think that way, it is just a Times Square thing”⁶.

While some people think “the topless girls, it is a bit of cultural difference, I don't know what value that adds”⁷ others see “cartoon characters for the kids, painted girls for the adults ... but certain restrictive cultures will have problems with their kids seeing topless girls”⁸. But this is also another aspect of the American culture which sees innovation as a

¹ NYC-PSB-27, 46, Male, Domestic Tourist, USA

² NYC-PSB-25, 23, Female, Local, USA

³ NYC-PSB-24, 60, Male, Local, USA

⁴ NYC-PSB-23, 23, Female, Local, USA

⁵ NYC-PSB-22, 35, Female, Domestic Tourist, USA

⁶ NYC-PSB-2, 50, Female, Domestic Tourist, USA

⁷ NYC-PSB-18, 34, Female, Tourist, India

⁸ NYC-PSB-17, 62, Male, Resident, USA

“the way to make money, it is the part of the culture”¹. However this creative idea doesn’t really give a good image of Disney and its characters, as many people found the quality very low especially when the characters walk around without the head on, showing their real faces of mostly Latinas who don’t even speak English, and they only put the head on when taking pictures with the kids who are mostly shocked as the image is ruined so the “costume guys are creepy, I worked in Disney and I know how they are supposed to act”².

Other people find them overwhelming or even “funny but I like to stay at distance from them. They are a little bit strange”³. The idea of entertainment is questionable here, “I was expecting more entertainment, we saw a topless girl, it is not entertainment, very little entertainment”⁴ and for some it is even “They are so scary, I hate them. Not a fan, I really hate the costume people and when they try to touch”⁵. A New Yorker sees that “they have a very bad habit to take advantage of people, they want to curse you down if you don't pay them they deceive people ... the topless girls, this not part of our freedom or identity, Many New Yorkers don't like this”⁶ but another one is more liberal and sees:

“Life is easy, don't make it complicated, don't judge people, It is better to leave everyone to do what he/she wants, She is selling something, this is her mentality and I can't judge. Many people are not satisfied with their jobs but they have to do this job. I want to have an office job, but this is the available job, so I have to do it, it is the social norm and hierarchy, I wouldn't bring kids here because I'm coming from a different background, and my religious beliefs”⁷

The micro-geography of the Square saw both the topless girls and costume characters choose one of the busiest spots in front of Toys“R”Us, where children go. The clash of adult performance and family participants was thus exacerbated.

But isn’t a public space a venue for diversity and different ages? “We have Toys“R”Us, it is a good range for kids and adults, I know people of different cultures might not like it, but it is good for people to see something different and gives an idea about NY and its different arts like naked cowboy or girls”⁸ but it is argued that this isn’t NYC “Unless you speak to people

¹ NYC-PSB-16, 24, Male, Local, USA

² NYC-PSB-11, 20, Female, Domestic Tourist, USA

³ NYC-PSB-13, 35, Male, Tourist, Germany

⁴ NYC-PSB-10, 22, Female, Tourist, Netherlands

⁵ NYC-PSB-1, 21, Female, Domestic Tourist, USA

⁶ NYC-KSK-2, 57, Male, Local, USA

⁷ NYC-KSK-1, 34, Male, Resident, Egypt

⁸ NYC-RTL-5, 28, Male, Local, USA

outside of this area you do get a feel of the culture. Here is more of the business area where they are crazy personalities, they are performers and they want to make money, you are not gonna get a feel of NY city, you gonna get a taste of it when visiting other areas"¹. So it is definitely a Times Square territory.

*"I think it is Times Square's freedom. I don't think it can happen in other cities in the US, it is the liberal aspect of NY. I don't think it is a great way to show American culture, but I think if families know that they are here, they wouldn't bring their kids here. Or maybe they will avoid this area, I guess if I had children I'll probably will divert them to another area or just not to bring them to this area."*²

Which explains more the debate around whether or not Times Square is a family district since pedestrianisation, which created more space for performers. Since Times Square is a touristic place, many outsiders struggle with understanding it as American freedom which comes from the movies and media, while the insiders sees it as a NYC thing and NYC isn't America per se, so if "this is America, I don't have kids, so I don't know. America has oppression on nudity, if you go to Europe you see nudity in commercials"³ so is it designed to suit American or European taste? But what about other cultures which are more conservative than American culture where "a family we know came from the Middle-East with kids and they left Times Square immediately after they've seen topless girls, It is not acceptable to people coming from our culture, It is beyond disrespect"⁴. The same goes for a Hindu Indian family hanging out in Times Square who said "we are Indians and it is not acceptable for our culture but it is normal here I guess"⁵. But a liberal European tourist found it a very normal thing, as "I think it is important that People do research before they come to a new destination especially with kids. But I'm very liberal I guess and very much like the openness"⁶.

Another person thought that it is common sense to know the different between the daytime and night time without any regulations so "people with kids they should know that at night you can expect anything ... it is family district at daytime haha"⁷. The debate goes on depending on people's backgrounds and personal opinions but it is quite interesting to see

¹ NYC-RTL-2, 35, Male, Local, USA

² NYC-RTL-1, 25, Male, Resident, USA

³ NYC-PSB-7, 23, Male, Domestic Tourist, USA

⁴ NYC-PSB-33, 37, Female, Tourist, Kuwait

⁵ NYC-PSB-32, 22, Female, Tourist, India

⁶ NYC-PSB-31, 36, Male, Domestic Tourist, USA

⁷ NYC-PSB-29, 25, Lesbian, Local, USA

some opposites sitting near each other “as a New Yorker, it is family district. Well the topless girls they are little over the top for me, kids are here, and public nudity is supposed to be illegal, so they are playing on the edge. If they are watching the news, they will know that this is something like a unique feature of the United States of a unique feature of the world”¹. However, another New Yorker saw Times Square as an opportunity “at some point in everyone's life they gonna see a topless girl, everybody will see a topless girl, so why not in Times Square?”² So kids should come to Times Square to buy a toy or candies or see a topless woman for the first time.



Figure 6-10 Topless girls targeting Hard Rock Café customers

A Swiss tourist defended “Yes, their mothers have the same”³. It is probably not as easy to other mothers, especially American ones. This remain a very controversial debate as some think “I mean we have a very sexualized culture. It is fine to be seen by kids”⁴, while others think “the topless girls were quite a shock, I think you can't say they are topless, because they painted”⁵. On the other hand, we see defenders of women, “I'm a feminist, I don't think that female nipples is something that should be taboo. I think it is part of the

¹ NYC-PSB-24, 60, Male, Local, USA

² NYC-PSB-20, 22, Female, Domestic Tourist, USA

³ NYC-PSB-26, 41, Couple, Tourist, Switzerland

⁴ NYC-PSB-16, 24, Male, Local, USA

⁵ NYC-PSB-15, 51, Female, Tourist, Australia

experience that the people come here for, and it is overwhelming, and sensory overloaded-dose”¹.

It is definitely a revival of the past and a refined version of the former Times Square which didn’t disappear entirely, as these are traces from the past that remain despite the characteristic revitalisation I mentioned before.

“It definitely changed from what it used to be, when it used to be a bunch of strip clubs and huggers. It is much more friendly place besides the fact that there are women here that are wearing nothing but panties, you know what I mean. I think it is a family oriented place, I think it is great to bring the family to see the sights, You can bring kids, Toys”R”Us is great, and the kids love to see the characters, I mean as much problems there is in the news about the characters, Times Square won't be the same without them, a lot of street performers and guys selling comedy tickets, it is all part of Times Square, it won't be Times Square if you take all this stuff away”².

The issue isn’t just limited to the topless girls walking around but even targeting people underage like teens “the girls got a story that they were targeting young men, it was in the press, and the other newspaper resonated with this, naked cowboy can be naked, why girls can't be naked, it is just boobs”³. Which is something I observed personally when I saw how a couple of teens were overwhelmed and shaking with excitement, to get all the cash from their wallets for a photo with topless girls who held them tight, did a couple of erotic poses and grabbed the money afterwards with a big smile. The naked cowboy defended himself saying “I'm not naked, I'm wearing an underwear, I don't care, I hear this all the time, I think we are in the heart of the liberal city, if you don't like it move out of NY”⁴.

As this territory experiences obvious measures of liberalism and freedoms, the topless girls can perform next to religious preachers without any problem “I don't mind nothing here, naked girls, naked cowboy, I don't mind, We are not here for that, We are here to share the gospel”⁵. The concept of diversity varies and a topless girl concludes that”

“It is one of the most crowded places in the world so there are people coming from everywhere, and there are people doing all kinds of performances ... I think Times Square is everything, all kinds of people, I mean I can understand some people don't like to see a kiss or topless girl, but this is my job, to be honest I really don't feel ashamed, I don't care about people what they think about me, I'm unique and most of the people like me so I'm happy about that, this is the melting pot of the world,

¹ NYC-PSB-1, 21, Female, Domestic Tourist, USA

² NYC-PRF-7, 36, Male, Local, USA, Comedy Guy 2

³ NYC-PRF-5, 45, Male, Resident, USA, Naked Cowboy

⁴ NYC-PRF-5, 45, Male, Resident, USA, Naked Cowboy

⁵ NYC-PRF-3, 32, Male, Local, USA, Jesus Guy

everything comes here, People should be exposed to everything, I know some people from NYC who have never been to Times Square”¹

So, this validates the concept of the permissibility of Times Square as a place that tried to give freedoms and allow people to do things which are considered controversial and undesirable by many people. This was even obvious through official interviews who believed that any restrictions on what to perform would go against the character of Times Square and its liberal character or NYC’s permissibility towards people’s creativity and opportunities. This permissibility has been seen as a unique element of Times Square, that’s why topless girls aren’t seen a problem in Times Square, but homeless people or advertisers are harmful. Therefore we can see that these territories are supporting specific agendas and promoting a certain character to attract what other parts of the city aren’t accommodating, and this what coins the culture and identity of the square.

6.3.2 Las Ramblas

There are many performers on Las Ramblas of Barcelona, but here they perform in a different way. Las Ramblas has a long history of street performance, which has been drastically regulated in the recent years. There used to be dozens of performers working as are human statues, acrobats and so on, but today the Town Hall only permits professional ones to perform in a designated area which is far from the crowds, at the end of Santa Monica plaza near the Colom (the other end of the Ramblas and Plaça Catalunya).

6.3.2.1 Expressions

6.3.2.1.1 Human Statues

The main performers are the human statues. One describes the challenge.

“I’m from Barcelona and I wanted to perform, I can do it only here and if you have a permit only, years ago we had more opportunities to perform, we used to perform and there were circles of people around us, some people were playing illegal games, and pickpockets were high, they stole from the tourists watching us, so the Town Hall had to control and send us down here”².

Limiting the number from dozens to half a dozen made this phenomenon loose its attraction due to two reasons; first pushing them away from the crowd and second reducing the

¹ NYC-PRF-1, 27, Female, Resident, Italy, Topless Girl

² BCN-PRF-2, 45, Male, Local, Spain, White Artist

number of them. Performers on Las Ramblas are very professional, spending time on dressing up in attractive costumes, applying cosmetics and preparing for the setting. “We had to fight for the place, it is competitive, I was the only one working with this technique, but we were forced to be placed in this place, it is different products”¹.

6.3.2.1.2 The Golden Queen ²

An Argentinian performer explains her experience

“My husband was also an artist, I liked the idea to go abroad and do this and I’ve been doing it for 8 years ...The Town Hall makes a casting and then you receive a permit and you have to pay for it ... I try to communicate with people in different languages to make them calm and comfortable, Many people give you 1-5 cent, what can you buy with it, It is worthless and some people give 1 cent it is disgusting and some people give 5 euros which is great surprise” (No tip ... what do you do?) “I don’t move, not even an eyelash! You basically need to have your spot and the same costume. Because you receive a permit for a specific costume you have to stick to it”.

This is indeed a more restrictive and regulated performance if compared to those on Times Square.



Figure 6-11 The Golden Queen – The Monster (By Author)

6.3.2.1.3 The Monster³

The performers don’t just do it for money but it is a passion.

“I always felt attracted to the world of the street, since it was the last free thing available, but not anymore, now it is controlled and restricted. I’ve been doing it for 15 years, When I started human statues were respected, and I don’t approach but make the costume looks attractive. When I’m not moving I provoke people and it is the moment when all of them approach. When I move people see

¹ BCN-KSK-9, 56, Male, Resident, Canada

² BCN-PRF-4, 37, Female, Resident, Argentina, Golden Queen

³ BCN-PRF-3, 35, Male, Resident, Columbia, Black Monster

what they have to see and leave but when I don't move I provoke curiosity. Some people don't think I'm a real monster, they keep fighting with me instead of focusing on taking the picture, and some people never approach and some they don't want to leave"

(What about tips?)

"It is difficult they will give you money if they want to, you can't force them, in some ways asking for money will work but I don't like to ask for money, If the show is worth it, they should give money, if I invested more time I would get more money, but the problem now it is that you are limited in space, Not like before"

(No tip ... what do you do?)

"Well, you can do nothing, you have to try to collaborate, because maybe they don't know that they have to give you, They have smart phones, selfie-sticks ... and they don't give you a cent, but you still have to reflect on that, wealthy people usually give less than others. I can only perform here on Las Ramblas and on this plaza only as they limited the spaces for human statues".

This is a very obvious representation of the cultural differences as these performers perform with dignity, not greediness.

6.3.2.1.4 The Clown¹

"Before the Town Hall decided to control us, I used to perform here. Now it has a specific criteria for performers, you have to pass them to get a permit, I always say neither George Clooney nor Brad Pitt would pass them, because they have so many criteria, people approach to take pictures, I never ask for money, many people don't give me money but that's fine. Many people complain because if tourists take pictures with them they should give money, but they are in the middle of the street, and people can take pictures, and many people don't know that they are supposed to give money because they come from abroad. You can be angry but it is no sense., I do this job as another way to live, I'm an actor but it is difficult to survive with that only".

The concentration of all performers in a single place is easy to regulate and suits the themed segments of the Ramblas but it lack the natural and authentic meaning of street performance, and as said "I think we are very close to each other, the Town Hall put us like this, it is not good for us, we are professionals, when tourists come here they don't know which one to tip"². This also make them less fortunate and shades the surprise element.

"We are next to each other, so living together here is difficult, I have good relations with some and bad with others. The woman next to me she's the wife of the guy on the bicycle they tell me I'm stealing customers from them, or I get more money than them. I can't do anything. Shame on them"³.

¹ BCN-PRF-2, 45, Male, Local, Spain, White Artist

² BCN-PRF-4, 37, Female, Resident, Argentina, Golden Queen

³ BCN-PRF-2, 45, Male, Local, Spain, White Artist

6.3.2.1.5 Elephant Man

Public nudity isn't limited to the Desnudes of Times Square as even a man on Las Ramblas was by a few interviewees during fieldwork. He was given the nickname of 'Elephant Man', (Figure 6-12) referring to his exposed and erect genital visible as he walked along Las Ramblas mainly fully naked, having a tattoos in the shape of underwear only. Probably nudity in Spain is seen differently as women tan and swim in the nearby beach, La Barceloneta braless with their families and in the presence of kids. As I didn't see the Elephant Man in real but read about him online and heard of him through people, I didn't interview him, but I'm relating him to the issue of public nudity in pedestrian territories which are seen as more tolerant and liberal than other parts of the city.

"A guy was walking naked up and down but, with underwear tattooed on his body, people were taking pictures of him but he never stopped walking, it is your freedom to walk naked and express yourself, it is great to see how people respect each other, these people adding a lot to the show of Las Rambla, it is a living show, it is difficult to explain but easy to see, it is one of my favourite places¹".



Figure 6-12 The Elephant Man walking on Las Ramblas naked. Source: https://acidcow.com/pics/3867-naked_tattooed_old_man_walking_around_20_pics.html

6.3.2.1.6 Illegal Sellers and Wrestlers

The neoliberal aspect of Las Ramblas is suffering from the problem of illegal sellers who are of African and south Asian ethnicities. They lay out fake handbags and souvenirs in a professional way on a piece of blanket (Figure 6-13), to sell the people on Las Ramblas and

¹ BCN-PSB-17, 40, Male, Local, Spain

are chased on daily basis by police officers. This taking advantage of the free market is another illustration of the dark side of neoliberalism produced in the public space.



Figure 6-13 Las Ramblas illegal sellers, Source: Left by author, July 2015

Right from: https://www.tripadvisor.es/LocationPhotoDirectLink-g187497-d190163-i104885358-Las_Ramblas-Barcelona_Catalonia.html

6.3.2.2 Conceptions

Many people have a positive reaction towards the human statues on Las Ramblas “they are excellent, they are one of the best in the world as the website mentioned I see them, they are professional, they are not aggressive or do not try to ask you for money”¹. Probably the regulations made them tourist friendly and professional enough to be peaceful and calm when it comes to tips, unlike Times Square. However, many people around the Ramblas complained “I’ve heard about street artists and I can’t find them ... where are they? I went down in the afternoon I didn’t see any”² or “Where are they? They used to be here, it is really awesome, it is most famous spot for living statues, I think they are best in Europe, they are very entertaining”³ but this memory of a previous visit has disappeared when the performers were sent to the end of the street. Some observers saw the change “there are not many of them left, before there was around 30 performers at least, but the Town Hall decided to change that”⁴.

While some people saw them as “an icon of Barcelona”⁵ and “they belong to this place, it is part of La Ramblas”¹ others “don’t like them because you have to stop in the middle of

¹ BCN-PSB-40, 34, Male, Tourist, USA

² BCN-PSB-39, 31, Female, Tourist, India

³ BCN-PSB-38, 24, Male, Tourist, Netherlands

⁴ BCN-PSB-30, 64, Male, Domestic Tourist, Spain

⁵ BCN-PSB-24, 52, Female, Local, Spain

street to see them and at this moment it becomes dangerous as you can get stolen or pickpocketed, So it is better to keep walking”². However street performers have different definition based on the backgrounds of the participants as some consider them as “It is a way of begging, it is a modern way to beg from people, it is much better than begging from people by hand, we loved how they are begging in a nice way”³ or another clarifying me “you mean the beggars? Yes they are beggars, yes they ask for money, they are attracting tourists and they are acceptable, some of them are nice and my daughter took a picture with them, and some of them are terrifying”⁴.

Some people had interesting and irrelevant answers when it comes to the performers. “They are nice, we can see them in many cities but they are unique in Barcelona, my favourite is the girl on the erotic museum balcony”⁵. The girl performs from the balcony of the erotic museum, which is in one of the buildings on the Ramblas. She dressed like Marilyn Monroe and tried to move erotically to direct people’s attention towards the museum. Another surprising opinion was a comparison between Times Square and Las Ramblas “reminds me of NY, Broadway Avenue, which is full of shows everyday, here we try to do the same thing, but without being elegant or smart, this affects the image of Barcelona, If it was more professional the outcome would have been better”⁶ but the human artists are way more elegant on Ramblas unless he was referring to Broadway shows, not street performers. Here I mention this opinion, which may be a possible explanation of why the Town Hall acted in such a way “they are fine, they sent them down because here there are many tourists and pickpocketing, Pickpockets steal from distracted people when they are watching the artists”⁷.

Unlike Times Square, the performers weren’t considered a problem in the context of family, as these performers were not offensive. Probably one of the most repeated words I heard from people, especially the Barcelonans was ‘respect’. However due to the diversity of people, especially in terms of age and cultural background, we can still see some issues.

¹ BCN-PSB-35, 38, Female, Tourist, Germany

² BCN-PSB-32, 62, Couple, Resident, Spain

³ BCN-PSB-37, 53, Male, Tourist, Morocco

⁴ BCN-PSB-34, 40, Male, Tourist, Bahrain

⁵ BCN-PSB-27, 24, Female, Tourist, France

⁶ BCN-RTL-3, 35, Male, Resident, Dominican Republic

⁷ BCN-KSK-1, 23, Female, Local, Spain

Many people think, “There are no problems, People from all cultures walk on the street without problems”¹ because it is a public space and “it is a place for everyone, no discrimination”² while others add “It depends on people’s mentality”³ or more specific “good for families only during daytime”⁴. More radical views see it as:

“Not acceptable for families, they are not good for families like us, conservative Muslims, the way they dress (referring to some people walking in light and swimming clothes in the middle of the summer). It is ok for some but we feel shy and offended when we see some of this stuff, even if they consider us backward, but this is us”⁵.

The crowd makes some families feel anxious “for visiting families yes, but you have to keep an eye on them, overcrowded places are not so safe”⁶. Some people felt unsafe due to the reputation Barcelona or specifically Las Ramblas had as a capital for pickpocketing, and the presence of illegal sellers of African backgrounds. “I think not everything is accepted, we know illegal sellers are not supposed to be here, but they are here, and prostitutes are working next to the police and nothing happens”⁷. The regulations seem to ban a few incidents that occurred previously on Las Ramblas, like the Elephant Man. “Now it is more controlled, I remember before you were allowed to walk naked, I recall few guys who were always walking naked on La Rambla”⁸ or even “bikes are not allowed and you can't walk naked”⁹. But the definition of respect has more to do with the liberal movement of Barcelona, “there should be more legal policies because nowadays people don't respect anything, everyone sells what he wants, you can't ride a bike and you can't walk naked, you should have a t-shirt on”¹⁰.

6.3.3 İstiklal Caddesi

Relationality helps us to see how the same activity of phenomenon like street performance differ and take different shapes, as street performers on İstiklal offer different types of art. Probably human statues or topless women aren’t something desirable or match with the

¹ BCN-RTL-2, 43, Female, Local, Spain

² BCN-PSB-9, 34, Male, Local, Spain

³ BCN-PSB-5, 70, Male, Local, Spain

⁴ BCN-PSB-36, 41, Male, Tourist, USA

⁵ BCN-PSB-34, 40, Male, Tourist, Bahrain

⁶ BCN-PSB-24, 52, Female, Local, Spain

⁷ BCN-RTL-3, 35, Male, Resident, Dominican Republic

⁸ BCN-PSB-17, 40, Male, Local, Spain

⁹ BCN-KSK-4, 27, Male, Local, Spain

¹⁰ BCN-KSK-4, 27, Male, Local, Spain

Turkish culture, or even allowed despite being a liberal and secular area of Istanbul. Street performances on İstiklal are mainly related to music, and there are a couple of dozens of performers on İstiklal playing variety of genres such as classical, ethnic, Turkish, Arabic, Persian or even Native American music. They can be found at any time of the day but mainly at night, as some of them are students or doing another job.

Street performance doesn't require a permit or exams like Las Ramblas, but no speakers are allowed, which is similar to Times Square. However the problem with İstiklal is the large number of musicians in such a narrow street, which makes the distance between musicians themselves and retailers a challenge, not mentioning some instruments which don't meet people's taste whether they are ethnic or foreign. From visual intrusion in Times Square and physical intrusion of pickpocket in Barcelona, Istanbul has instead aural intrusion in terms of the cacophony of musical styles. Notably most of these performers stop their music when there is a call for prayer time, as a matter of respect to the culture regardless of their personal beliefs, and due to the noise occurring when the call for prayer mixes with the music, which is very disturbing. I'll show here a few interviews of performers on İstiklal, followed by people's reaction and conceptions of this territory.

6.3.3.1 Expressions

6.3.3.1.1 Good vibes¹

A very happy and hippy looking Turkish man was playing his instrument showing how cool he was. He came to İstiklal to earn money and share "love and happiness amongst people". As performers don't really need permits he pointed out that he chose İstiklal because it is free and "only musicians playing in the subway need permits". As he was on a break during this interview he explains "I think when it is the prayer time, the call of prayer from the mosque and music cause a chaos you have to stop. But I'm having fun here, it is not a job".

6.3.3.1.2 Kurdish²

A Kurdish musician was playing Kurdish songs using his instrument near Galatasaray School. He chooses this place because "people here are nicer, compared to people in Aksaray". He's

¹ IST-PRF-4, 24, Male, Resident, Turkey, Santur player

² IST-PRF-3, 28, Male, Resident, Turkey, Saz player

been performing here for several months to earn money and “expressing my culture and it is a hobby, I really love music and I sing Kurdish songs and sometimes it causes problems”. He elaborates on this matter as “in terms of language I have some problems and my concern is when people make discrimination between Kurds and Turks. There are many races and ethnicities in this country, we should respect each other, being a Kurd is not about my race as music is a universal thing”. The interview was cut as the Zabita (municipal police or inspectors) approached us and started to question him and asked him to leave or turn off his small speaker, and he was arguing with them, taking it as a discriminatory, just because he’s a Kurd and playing Kurdish music. This showed other dimensions which tie into the history of tension and conflict between Turks and Kurds in Turkey. Some people in Istanbul still look down on ethnic music especially Kurdish music.

6.3.3.1.3 Homeless¹

The lead singer of a young musician’s group answered that the reason why he played on İstiklal “It is forbidden everywhere in Kadıköy and other places, only allowed here in Taksim”. He was pointing out that other sounds and noise can disturb them, such as the call for prayer, which he stops for “it is a cultural thing, we have some religious and atheist people in the group but we still respect it”. “I’m kind of homeless, my earning for a week is 1000 lira, and we usually go to a pub or bar but sometimes come here too”. To answer the question about people who don’t tip, he said, “Maybe they don’t like it or don’t have money”. He mentioned his attempts in other places “we can’t do it anywhere else, we tried in Kadıköy and the police came and we were arguing”. So, this shows that this pedestrian territory offers opportunities to musicians as an exclusive performance venue.

6.3.3.1.4 Taxpayer²

This musician in his 60s was looking very vulnerable, sitting near scaffolding, playing his traditional instrument, and selling some of his CDs.

“I’m a member of a group of artists, musicians, etc. I was interviewed and now they are not counting our insurance, I have to pay tax. My daughter won a competition for Turkey’s Voice. She is in university, I lost one eye and one ear and I have to pay for the family and university tuition, so I perform here, I’m also performing in music club but they pay me 100 lira per week which isn’t enough, a friend recommended coming here. I thought people will recognize me. Instead of playing for some

¹ IST-PRF-2, 23, Male, Local, Turkey, Guitarist

² IST-PRF-7, 62, Male, Resident, Turkey, Saz player

people at the club I'm playing for all the families of Turkey on İstiklal, thanks to the mayor of Beyoğlu who recognized İstiklal as a tourist attraction, He allowed people like me and students of music school to play here".

The musician was complaining also that "retailers don't respect us, they don't want us to play near their stores for a long time, there should be a system, sometimes I want to go to pubs but I can't afford to. Some people can't afford it too and want to listen to it on the street but the police don't allow us to express our music. We are Turks and we did the military service and everything, but they respect Syrians more than us".

6.3.3.1.5 Refugees' Melodies¹

This was probably the largest band numerically (around 7 musicians playing different instruments) and one of the most popular ones on İstiklal as they are Syrian refugees who sing Arabic songs that are popular in the Arab world. They attract all sorts of people and usually draw a huge crowd which circles around them and even prevents the trams or other pedestrians from getting through. They had been performing in prominent locations but later on the Zabita sent them to a corner due to the crowd, tram disturbance and some complaints. "We've been performing here for around 3 years to earn money as of course we have families". They sing a bunch of classical, patriotic and popular Arabic songs from the Levant.

"We have some patriotic songs, to let people know about our situation, that we are forced to leave our country and live abroad, compassionating with Syrians, Palestinians and Iraqis who live in or visit Istanbul, and to make those people from the Gulf feel us and our pain"². "We prefer to play in a restaurants or hotels, but it is not easy for us to find opportunities, and now they sent us to this corner away from the crowd and people, we preferred the previous location, but what can we do".

¹ IST-PRF-9, 46, Male, Refugee, Syria, Syrian Music Band

² To give money and see the situation referring to them as wealthy



Figure 6-14 Syrian refugees playing Arabic songs. Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-oHjHfzo2Q>

6.3.3.1.6 The Painter¹

The only non-musician artist on İstiklal was a Syrian refugee who sat around the corner holding his sketchbook and waiting for customers, without advertising or calling for anyone, quietly waiting for people to notice him.

"I was working in Hatay (near Turkish-Syrian border) but I had limited customers, my friends told me to move here, I had difficulty to find a good spot, I wasn't familiar with the places, it is the artist mood, but I need money and it is the love of portraits. I have to support my family which still in Hatay and I want to get my son to Istanbul University and my other kids to go to school, I had some obstacles but the people are nice and they accepted me".

Answering my question about how he advertised or approached people, he answered that he just waited for them.

"I tell them about the price, I can do it from the phone or immediately, It is around 30 Liras but for kids 20 Liras., When someone tells me it is expensive I don't like to draw him, I think he doesn't appreciate arts, but if someone can't afford I'll do it for him, it is not a problem, it is not about just money, if a beautiful girl comes I'll do it for free".

Since I was speaking to him in a Syrian dialect he started to share with me his love for poetry and recited some lines of poems and then told me "what makes me very sad here is people from my country who do immoral things, which ruin the image of Syrians, I feel

¹ IST-PRF-1, 55, Male, Refugee, Syria, The Painter

embarrassed". That's why he's doing the opposite and showing modesty and respect to everyone.

6.3.3.2 Conceptions

A librarian on İstiklal told me "They are not musicians anymore, they are cultural expressions"¹ as these performers don't just play music to earn money but each has a message, whether it is his music, appearance, disability, identity or vibes. Those ethnic groups who play music using their traditional instruments try to present their identities and cultures to the street, the Syrian refugees express themselves through patriotic songs or homesick lyrics and so on. But this isn't always conceived positively, as people react in different ways but the answer to these expression are usually respect from the public, but not from the police or municipality.

"After a while the ethnic music starts to tire your mind, you can't escape from them because they come to you"² as many retailers complained that they are stuck, they can't escape from the ethnic music "I hate them, Because they play the same song over and over and we listen to it all day"³. Some people thought it is "unnecessary, just like few of them, it is a lot of noise and they disturb me"⁴ while others see them as "a must, some groups make very good job, Siyah Suyah Band are great"⁵. Some might seem racist or nationalist "I like some of them but I hate some of them. Now Arabic musicians singing Arabic songs, we are not in their countries, we are in Turkey, we have a different culture, and everyday we have to walk to the metro and it is hard listening to all of this"⁶.

So, we have to question the definition of the public space or freedom on these territories. Is it freedom of expression only or freedom to enjoy without disturbance? Some of the retailers were fair as "we don't have any problem with them but sometimes they make a noise and we can't hear each other in the store or hear the customers, so we warn them, they usually perform in front of Koton store"⁷. So this takes us to question if this

¹ IST-RTL-11, 24, Gay-man Local, Turkey

² IST-RTL-8, 43, Trans-woman Local, Turkey

³ IST-RTL-3, 28, Male, Resident, Turkey

⁴ IST-RTL-7, 23, Female, Local, Turkey

⁵ IST-RTL-6, 22, Male, Resident, Turkey

⁶ IST-RTL-5, 34, Male, Local, Turkey

⁷ IST-RTL-2, 33, Male, Resident, Turkey

redundancy and noise is art or performance “sometimes I stop and listen to some of them. I think performers are not necessarily about being talented, you don't have to be an artist to make a performance”¹ which is elaborated by another person “there are actual artists and some students want to do it for fun or to earn money, everyone is picking an instrument and coming here”².

A Turkish-German interviewee critiques what he sees as randomness, and starts to compare it with Germany. “They are just playing, in Germany people play music to specific hours but here we don't have a system. We try to build a system but we can't ... music sounds is so disturbing”³. This is something contradictory in Istanbul as there aren't clear regulations on street performances, apart from the speakers, but I noticed a few performers complaining about the municipality, which displaced them or took their instruments without an explanation. It is an expression of an authoritarian attitude, which doesn't really regulate things, but use the power of being street managers to penalize people arbitrarily.

“It depends, playing music is good for people, but it is getting crowded and blocking the way or they come to perform here and customers can't get in the stores, they are disturbing us from doing business, they block the doors”⁴. It is very obvious that street performance on İstiklal has some controversies. It is open to anyone to perform as a public space, which isn't regulated, but the authoritarian regime can apply any arbitrary rules to any of the performers without an explanation, which ends up in creating a chaotic atmosphere and conflicts between the businesses, performers and the public.

When it comes to music people have very different tastes. Some of them think “there is a guy who plays Saz (Turkish guitar) he always plays the same song, I think he represents the Black Sea Region culture and it doesn't have any harmony or anything, it is not musical, it is just playing the same thing over and over”⁵ while others see him making “the street a diverse place” and “I really like them, a lot of good ones and it is different type of music”⁶ but not for those who consider themselves western. “I'm interested in Western music not

¹ IST-RTL-16, 31, Male, Local, Turkey

² IST-RTL-15, 29, Female, Local, Turkey

³ IST-RTL-13, 28, Male, Resident, Turkey

⁴ IST-RTL-12, 46, Male, Local, Turkey

⁵ IST-RTL-1, 36, Male, Local, Turkey

⁶ IST-PSB-5, 25, Male, Tourist, Germany

eastern one”¹. As a diverse territory, it brings different cultures together like the Malaysian students who love visiting İstiklal as “it is so romantic when we listen to the music at night, We saw the Native Americans we loved them, With the costume and it is amazing”² It is the feature of this territory where Asians adore Native American music in the centre of Istanbul. But this is questionable to other tourists “It is funny when I see Native Americans performing here and I really wonder if they are real, or they are Turkish people, and why they are here, it is really interesting and attractive”³ so is this part of Istanbul or a territory within Istanbul?

Probably “it is like another culture, I like to watch them, It is a different experience ... I came last night and they were playing traditional Turkish music it was good, and today a couple of Native Americans playing music, it was nice”⁴. But not everything is nice as “there was a guy yelling without music, I'm not against Turkish music but the guy doesn't represent any culture”⁵. There's definitely a conflictual situation.

“I used to like them before, But when the Syrian war started, when Arabic musicians came here they are not serving the same purpose, performers doing their job but I don't think they are doing their job. The main thing on this street is to walk easily and relax while walking, but you can't do this anymore, now it is impossible due to the Arabic musicians, when I see these performers I try to get away from them”⁶

It is not clear if it is a problem with street identity, Turkish prejudice or racism towards Arabs. But there are other cases when people explain that it is a language barrier. “There is an Arabic band here, they play music which I don't understand but the melody is beautiful”⁷. Therefore “musicians, feed in the aura of İstiklal, no one should complain, they are coming from different countries”⁸.

When it comes to İstiklal being a family district, there weren't direct conflicts between performers and families, as music isn't harmful or offensive to any age group. Concerns were raised due to other reasons, for instance “you are still in Turkey on this street, it

¹ IST-PSB-37, 21, Male, Resident, Russia

² IST-PSB-33, 18, Female, Tourist, Malaysia

³ IST-PSB-31, 22, Female, Tourist, Belgium

⁴ IST-PSB-23, 20, Male, Tourist, Italy

⁵ IST-PSB-22, 21, Female, Local, Turkey

⁶ IST-PSB-1, 43, Male, Resident, Turkey

⁷ IST-KSK-4, 49, Male, Resident, Turkey

⁸ IST-KSK-3, 57, Male, Resident, Turkey

doesn't mean you are free, but people are used to seeing and experiencing these things so that's why it is acceptable, drunk people come here and people shop, they are used to it"¹. But other conservative people think İstiklal is the hub for freedom and liberalism due to its secular and western history as "everything is acceptable, guys holding hands and girls holding hands walking, here no one cares, if you do it in another area people will look at you differently."² Besides that people usually get political freedom to protest on İstiklal, specifically "people can protest here, there are a lot of tourists here, so people don't care what you are wearing, not like other parts in Istanbul, there are many transsexuals on İstiklal but I don't think they will be accepted in the far places of Istanbul"³.

It is only limited to reactions but even actions "some people have strong reactions to things but they don't necessarily represent the Turkish culture, anything is acceptable, some behaviours are not accepted, like homosexuals, but many people take it as normal, however some people with conservative mind-sets can't"⁴. Some people thought İstiklal is safe "during the day yes, at night not good for families, good for tourists at all times"⁵ due to the nightlife and drunk people as it is the hub for nightlife. The crowd is another reason "I wouldn't encourage my kids to come here, I don't like shopping hysteria, they might get lost"⁶.

6.4 Summary

If we agree with MacNaghten and Urry that "our senses cannot be trusted to interpret the dwelt-in world" (1998, p. 236), we can see that an ethnographic work in the pedestrian street can't rely solely on researcher's analysis and observations of the territory but rather to include numerous subjective accounts to explain and better understand this dense urban space from different perspectives. As we saw in the previous chapters, the subjectivities explained the temporal and immediate impressions of tourists using sensory analysis. In this chapter I took it to another level to show subjectivities around people perceptions and conceptions of the pedestrian territory as affect of the atmosphere and expressions of the

¹ IST-RTL-8, 43, Trans-woman, Local, Turkey

² IST-RTL-5, 34, Male, Local, Turkey

³ IST-RTL-4, 37, Male, Local, Turkey

⁴ IST-RTL-16, 31, Male, Local, Turkey

⁵ IST-PSB-9, 27, Male, Domestic Tourist, Turkey

⁶ IST-PSB-34, 46, Male, Tourist, Bosnia

self.

We saw that geographers and anthropologists tend to explain “perception as corporeal (body), involving a set of interactions within an environment (place) in a specific period (time), and being a learned behaviour (cultural)” (Agapito *et al.*, 2012, p. 8). I focused in this chapter on subjective accounts of those spent longer periods of time to allow their senses to make cognitive assumptions, thoughts or judgments which coin the perceptions and conceptions I mentioned above. We learned the importance of sensecape in the previous chapter as a relationship between the body, people and places through human five senses. Here we deal with human thoughts, expressions and acts to affect and be affected by the atmosphere. I addressed numerous examples to show the relations in public space which vary between people and in some times contradict with someone’s own expressions and actions. We saw how people perceived it as exotic, inclusive or comprehensive or on the other hand annoying, offensive and unsafe.

When it comes to analyzing the pedestrian territory we have to understand that “individuals can be engaged on an emotional, physical, intellectual, or even spiritual level” (Agapito *et al.*, 2012, p. 9) with the place, people and its productions. We learn from Schmitt (1999) that place can be experienced using 5 modules “sensory (sense), affective (feel), creative cognitive (think), physical/behaviours and lifestyles (act), and social-identity (social). These modules are circumscribed but are connected and interact with each other (Agapito *et al.*, 2012, p. 9). Therefore, analyzing the pedestrian territory through perceptions, conceptions and expressions helps understanding public relations using subjective accounts; affects derived from senses along with thoughts derived from cognition.

Throughout the chapter we see “that feeling of being can be practiced as ‘feeling of doing’, a means of grasping the world and making sense of what it feels like” (Crouch, 2001, p. 62). This can be illustrated using performers expressions, performing feelings to affect others can be conceived in a contrary way to the expression itself. This was analyzed using people voices since we can’t judge the performer or the public without putting both opinions in the same context; topless girls and family presence was an essential example.

Performers express their “feeling, subjectivity and unique personality” to the others sometimes in an innocent or spontaneous way and in other times in more sophisticated way but the level of perception and conception vary between the public who come from different cultural backgrounds and have different personalities. We show here the conflict

or clash that occur and “gives value to the place, that endow spaces with particular value. The body can express its emotional relationship with - and in - its immediate surrounding world” (Crouch, 2001, p. 69).

Public relations in the pedestrian territory create a network of relations that depend on how “people inhabit and constitute spaces of power relations: embodiment provides ‘necessary ground through which to rethink’ them” (Crossley 1995: 59–60 in (Crouch, 2001, p. 70)). We saw how the power of some actors created a theme or stigma for the place; Times Square’s topless girls conflict with its family-oriented vision; Las Ramblas being the touristic and typical hub that is disturbed by drunken people and pickpockets; İstiklal creating racism between the public and ethnic musicians or refugees. We see here the importance of subjective accounts which show how the relations in public are silent in most cases unless they’ve been investigated, using the native languages and thoughtful questions.

I tempted to focus on “The artistic dimension (to) include the use of a theme, features that provide a multi-sensory performance, and an unanticipated value performance” (Agapito *et al.*, 2012, p. 10), which is important for everyone walking around this territory. This is a result of tourist experience of the pedestrian territory which varies and depends on the “personal realm (motivation, expectation, satisfaction/dissatisfaction, knowledge, memory, perception, emotion and self-identity” (Agapito *et al.*, 2012, p. 10). It reminds us of Bourdieu’s (1984) explanation of culture if we look at the “body as object and the inscription of culture/power/ideology through which space is grasped, culture reproduced, focused and recycled through representations” (Crouch, 2001, p. 62).

We see this culture generated within territory boundaries as a result of diversity of actions, actors and those acted upon. The territory is like a stage and it performs this performance and its “settings are distinguished by boundedness, whether physical or symbolic (pedestrian zone limit), and are often organized – or stage-managed – (by the regulations and planners) to provide and sustain common-sense understandings about what activities should take place” (Edensor, 2001, p. 63). Therefore, these open theaters, pedestrian territories, are “multi-purpose space in which a wide range of activities and people co-exist”(Edensor, 2001, p. 64). Therefore, these actors whether they are tourists, residents or locals are all pedestrians, and as (Certeau, 1988) describes them “pedestrians (temporarily) transform public space and transmit alternative meanings by using ‘tactics’ to reappropriate space” (Edensor, 2001, p. 76).

Lastly, we can see the importance of using subjective accounts to understand public relations; which aren't mere interactions or walking side by side, but cultural clashes, social interactions, mind stimulations and visual demonstrations. These performances "reveal how social and cultural power can inscribe meaning and action on bodies" (Edensor, 2001, p. 78). Whether it's the power of performers on people's perceptions, or new meanings or trends of subcultures or even an escape to a different culture brought by some of the performers within these territories. I use here Caillois' description of the 'Vertigo' as a perception that is destabilized temporarily by "foregrounding of physical sensation, an awareness of the body set free from the normal structures of control and meaning" (2001, p. 13).

Chapter 7: Territorial Culture

7.1 Introduction

In the previous chapters I talked about the pedestrian territory as a theory and method and how people experience it through sensation, perceptions and conceptions. In this chapter I draw on the earlier discussions and other empirical findings to define the type of culture these territories are trying to produce. Culture is a very broad term that means different things depending on the context. I try to define the territorial culture using themes from the empirical data. In order to understand the cultural dimensions and distinctions of the territory from the rest of the city we need to understand the territorial culture, which is an accumulation or assemblage of themes that occur exclusively in these territories. Defining the cultural dimensions answers my research questions and helps identify the identity of the pedestrian territory, the iconic and the unique. Culture and identity together emplace the pedestrian territory in the context of the local-global debate, to see if it is a generic, holistic description of the entire city or specific part of, like the territory. I answer the question of culture using people's voices as testimonies that focus on some specificities of the pedestrian territory. My argument is based on the importance of understanding and distinguishing the territorial culture as an assemblage of both place culture and human culture.

Throughout this chapter I'll show how the previously discussed powers of human and non-human revitalisation, replacement and change created a new culture for the pedestrian street which prioritised themes such as entertainment, tourism, consumption, sightseeing to attract visitors from everywhere. This diversity of uses and users shapes a unique culture and identity which is tolerant of people's differences whether they are social classes, cultural backgrounds, political views or religious varieties which aren't accepted or integrated in other places. This creates an identity for those who decide to work in these territories, visit or even use it for their purposes. The new identity of the territory can be observed through the people and the physical environment which tries to bring a global dimension to the place, distinguish it from the traditional surroundings and sell the local products and people as modernized, open-minded and cool.

Territorial culture goes along the lines with street culture, place culture, and so on. I explain that within the boundaries of these pedestrian territories both place culture and human culture shape the characteristics of the culture. We have to emphasize here that these two cultures are different and sourced by different powers and systems. Each of these cultures is an assemblage of different powers and characteristics. When both are combined a new phenomenon occurs which shifts the pedestrian territory from the city's system and it becomes an independent combination of internal and external systems influenced by the local and global systems of the place culture and human culture.

7.2 Territorial Culture in the Context

Arjun Appaduri describes 'glocalization' or 'cultural heterogenisation' as the process of adopting elements of both global culture and local culture. We can see a tension between cultural debates as homogeneity and heterogeneity, especially in the touristic spaces of big cities. The revitalisation process itself is a process of cultural change, trying to change the socioeconomic texture of these territories results in the displacement of some uses and users and brings new people to the area, who bring with them a different culture, whether they are business owners, immigrants or performers and so on. We can see that these pedestrian territories are places of consumption, whether it is the consumption of goods or services or even consumption of the place and its culture. Consumption brought a new trend to the territory as a hegemonic power ruled by the 'consumption community' which describes "informal groups expressing shared needs, values, or lifestyles through distinctive consumption patterns. These new communities are invisible, quick, non-ideological, democratic, public and vague, and rapidly shifting (İlkuçan, 2004, p. 36). This can be called by Kozinets (2001) 'culture of consumption' which conceptualizes a system or produces an image that particular groups use "through the construction of overlapping and even conflicting practices, identities, and meanings – to make collective sense of their environments and to reorient their members' experiences and lives" (Kozinets, 2001, p. 68). This has been seen as sort of place branding, which includes sub-cultures, and an array of characters and new cultural or social trends.

John Hannigan (1998) sees Times Square as a contemporary fantasy city which "is the end-product of a long-standing cultural contradiction in American society between the

middleclass desire for experience and their parallel reluctance to take risks, especially those which involve contact with the 'lower orders' in cities" (1998, p. 7). This can be called a themed environment or fantasy city (Hannigan, 1998, pp. 71–72) which is a combination of foreign cultures and domestic subcultures which “are appropriated, disembowelled and then marketed as safe, sanitized versions of the original” (Eeckhout, 2001, p. 423).

On the other hand, these pedestrian territories, however they are labelled, remain cultural producers of new trends that attract the local and the foreign. We can see that this mixture of foreign and domestic creates a new or exotic arena which not only attracts people to it, but even builds a place attachment, place identity and so on. Rivlin describes place attachment as “connections that stabilize and create a feeling of comfort and security” (1987, p. 13) while Tuan sees it as “an unreflective state of being in which the human personality merges with the milieu” (Tuan, 1990, p. 6). So, in the next two main sections I’ll argue that territorial culture in these pedestrian territories is a two-layered culture; it is an overlap of place culture with human culture.

7.3 Place Culture

Place culture is an assemblage of various powers that are either inherited from city’s system, like local culture, politics or society, or global powers such as globalization, capitalism and tourism. The product is what is seen on the surface as multicultural and cosmopolitan culture but I try to emphasize the distinction between these generic terms and the territorial culture which is enclosed and unique from the rest of the city. Analysing the pedestrian territory in the three cities, I found that there are three main powers that shape this difference as territorial culture, and distinguish it as iconic or unique. These powers are visual culture, the atmosphere and consumption culture.

I’ll show here what the pedestrian territory means to people, analysing their opinions and experiences of this pedestrian territory, which is often seen as unique, or iconic in the city. These different layers of place culture have a strong influence on people and their behaviour, besides creating a strong base for the character of this territory.

7.3.1 Visual Culture

The pedestrian territories rely on visual imagery to attract people and seduce them into consuming the place. Starting with images on tourist websites, media or movies, which advertise these vibrant hubs and allocate tourists in hotels around them, this conveys a message that these territories are a must-see. These places use the visual appearance of previous eras as assets in revitalisation, turning them into a new experiential space of visual consumption. Many people come to the pedestrian territory to see, window shop, and visually consume. The pedestrian territory is exaggerated with its aesthetics and visuals, which target different users; it has been planned, invested on and acted upon. Sorkin described it as sort of a surreal image, a theme park, a Disney Utopia:

"In the Disney utopia, we all become involuntary flâneurs and flâneuses, global drifters, holding high our lamps as we look everywhere for an honest image. The search will get tougher and tougher for the fanned-out millions as the recombinant landscape crops up around the globe" (1992b, p. 232) 232

People don't go to Times Square to see architecture or history but billboards and lights, as Times Square isn't a historical place, so the place-making focus was to 'fantasize' the square to match the theatrical work around it. In Barcelona the focus was on regenerating and commercializing the historical street by changing the market to make it touristic, and restoring and renovating the street which links different tourist attractions and historical neighbourhoods. In Istanbul the focus was on capitalizing the leftovers of the European quarter in Istanbul to show that Istanbul and Turkey isn't just Ottoman, but a modern and western place, opening up to the global market, preserving secular elements and renovating buildings.

These changes happened over time with the help of tourism, media, technology and open market strategies, which went along well with urban policy mobilities and globalization processes. But this new visual skin raises many questions around the essence of the place, is it historical or modern, authentic or superficial, original or replaced, restored or fantasized, and other questions which try to account for the evolution of the place from a representation of the local to a hub of the global. I argue that another question needs to be asked, which is whether these territories seduce or deceive people with their visual culture, since these visuals show a different image to everyday lived experience. within these territories. We can understand throughout the chapter the distinction between place

culture and people culture. I'll show here how people experience this place through visuals to try to define the cultural dimensions of this territory and how it differs from the surroundings.

Different people perceive the visual culture in different ways. Some think Times Square is an image of America from a political discourse.

*"I think Times Square gives the rest of the world an opportunity to see what's America is all about. Not necessarily what it is portrayed to be by saying it is democrat redneck racist and that the people are giving America a bad name. I think it is a positive experience to see a lot of different people from a lot of different cultures, and people need to remember that this what North America was built on"*¹.

This energy is seen positively as "when you work in store it is black and white, but it is more fun when walking around, it is like a mosaic culture"² referring to the diversity of activities and people. "I think it is so famous, everyone knows Times Square, they seen it in a film, or on New Year's Eve, and they've seen pictures and pictures don't do this, this is something else"³. As this was a repeated answer, people want to come to Times Square to validate their memories or see the real thing that they had always seen on TV, but TV or movies are fictions and visiting is the real experience. Therefore using media and social networks "they hear a lot about the city, and this is the only part they know about the city although there are other parts, but Times Square is the main place especially for tourists"⁴. But some people still see the entire place as unreal or fictional partly because of the exaggerated visuals, which on a lot of occasions show irrelevant advertisements or commercials and hide the real façades of the buildings, which contains their and essence.

The same goes for the experience of Las Ramblas and İstiklal, as some people struggle to enjoy and appreciate the place and its culture since its authentic history and architecture have been ruined or hidden. In Barcelona, the Ramblas is seen as at the apex of a "hierarchy of meets, now it is the sense of self, it is a shopping mall that doesn't represent this place,

¹ NYC-PSB-14, 49, Male, Tourist, Canada

² IST-KSK-3, 57, Male, Resident, Turkey

³ NYC-PSB-28, 43, Female, Domestic Tourist, USA

⁴ NYC-PSB-6, 22, Female, Local, USA

we need to change this but there is no effort in this direction”¹. One example is the use of banners, which cover up the original architectural features of some of the buildings.

The owner of the oldest store on İstiklal ‘Kelebek Korse expresses it as wisely:

“Tourists are coming to see the history, after a while they will not find anything, it has historical features, I’m interested in history so I know the history of this place, it became popular with Tanzimat period in the 19th century, with the presence of western people it grabbed attention of westerns and western style bars and nightclubs, then it started to get attention from the higher class of the society, and now it is a lower class place”.²

This shift of class and their taste, the amenities and interests has damaged the authentic feel of the pedestrian street in all three cases. We see new uses and users taking over and the culture of consumption shading out and fading out the historical features, which are barely seen and sensed nowadays, something could be seen responding to Disney’s ‘imagineer’ critique (Zukin, 1996).

7.3.2 Atmosphere

In chapter 6 I talked about how the people perceive the pedestrian territory as a public territory. We can revisit some of the tourist experience literature such as (Cutler and Carmichael, 2010) to see that the personal realm including motivation, expectation, satisfaction, knowledge, memory, perception, emotion and self-identity can combine and influence atmospheres and physical environments. Therefore, individuals aren’t only influenced by “multi-sensory impressions from external stimuli but also generate multi-sensory images within themselves” Hirschman and Holbrook (1982). Therefore, “the internal multi-sensory images can be of two types: historic imagery and fantasy imagery” (Agapito *et al.*, 2013, p. 66). These images form a memory of the place, and it can later on form nostalgia and place attachment to the place.

One example is the relationship of Barcelonans to chairs on Las Ramblas. “De Long specifically included criteria for territorial attachment to chairs” in his research to show aspects of human territoriality (Edney, 1976, p. 970). Edney elaborates that territories can take different forms such as “cafeteria and library places still qualify as territories until the

¹ IST-RTL-6, 22, Male, Resident, Turkey

² IST-RTL-9, 57, Male, Local, Turkey,

occupants leave” (1974, p. 971). So the territorial experience isn’t limited to enclosed places but open to airspaces, which have invisible boundaries or pedestrian spaces as demarcation.

Ideally the idea of pedestrianizing streets is to provide more space, enjoyment and comfort for pedestrians but the neoliberal policies that are part of pedestrianisation benefit capital, as shown by the overwhelming takeover of pedestrian space by businesses. These territories are packed with retail, kiosks, seating areas for restaurants or ticket boxes for the shows around the area. As previously discussed the vertical and horizontal expansion of commercial uses has turned the façades of buildings into advertisements, and created an atmosphere akin to a theme park or a fantasy city. This transformation into a contemporary, commercial and touristic territory hides the aesthetics and historic façades which trace the past and culture of the place itself. Pedestrianisation of streets starts off with strategies to provide a safe space for people but because these territories are part of neoliberal strategies and BID designated areas, space equals money and therefore the atmosphere is an important space to use to grab consumer’s attention, using seductive powers. I’ll show here how the people experience the atmosphere and its cultural productions to understand the dimensions of this new culture.

One of the differences in planning these pedestrian streets is the idea of making people stay longer to consume. People usually come here at night because it is an after sightseeing or working area where they can enjoy the vibes until late. They know that people want to see, there’s so much to enjoy and watch, and to do so they need to spend more time and feel comfortable sitting somewhere. These three cities do it in three different ways. Offering people free public seats, which makes them, take their time and then check out the stores or start consuming, or attend Broadway shows, is the case in Times Square. Second, and conversely, to offer only a few or no seats for the public, which forces them to use the cafés or restaurants to sit, which are actually taking big chunks of the walkable area, which is the case of Las Ramblas. Third, to ban any public seating area or benches to force people to sit in the numerous cafés and restaurants, whether in their ground floor, upper floors or even terraces and balconies to watch the people and the atmosphere. Something reminds us of the postcolonial square re-inventing of 'Jamaa Al Fina' in Marrakech where new cafés and shops replaced the old façade, and new buildings grew higher to offer views of the square

from their rooftop cafés or restaurants (Minca, 2006, p. 169). So, comparing passers-by relationally can be seen to explain agendas of municipalities or planning agencies and even cultural aspects of the atmosphere as a public space.

On the other hand, not many people shopped in Times Square compared to the Ramblas and İstiklal, where many options were available at affordable prices, which attracted more people to observe the atmosphere from inside or on top of terraces and rooftop bars. Times Square focuses on observations from one place, as a person can see most of it by standing in one corner or the centre of the square, while in contrast the Ramblas and İstiklal contain narrower and longer streets, which divide the experience of the atmosphere into different segments, themes and characters, so they rely on motion not standing or sitting to experience the place properly.

In Times Square “the streets were so congested and you couldn’t go around especially in the winter, because people drive motor vehicles here and the city is very aggressive and children are going around, I think it is safe for everyone now”¹ especially when seats are offered for free. “I’m surprised about the courtesy to attract people to sit and hangout”². Other people saw the pedestrianisation process as a process of “changing the place to a public space, it is good, giving people a place to relax and hangout”³ as it gives more freedom. “I like it more than before, now you can walk around and enjoy yourself without bothering about the traffic and cars”⁴. A French couple asked me if the seats were free of charge and then I interviewed them. They were surprised as “in Paris places like these don’t exist, you can sit for free on the chairs”⁵. Probably this is the American courtesy which offers people free public seats, as it is not only Paris that does not offer free seats, on Las Ramblas a handful of armchairs are offered for free to force people to use the plethora of cafes and restaurants which are rarely packed.

¹ NYC-RTL-1, 25, Male, Resident, USA

² NYC-PSB-7, 23, Male, Domestic Tourist, USA

³ NYC-PSB-39, 51, Female, Domestic Tourist, USA

⁴ NYC-PSB-38, 25, Female, Domestic Tourist, USA

⁵ NYC-PSB-3, 33, Female, Tourist, France

The free chairs help people to get used to the environment more and decide “sometimes you come here but you don't know what to do, these chairs give you time to think”¹. Times Square probably learned pedestrianisation from other cities and tried to be different with the free seats, something other places lack. “I'm sure that Bloomberg realized that this kind of ambience is a good thing for NYC. In many ways, NY is copying from other cities, like Barcelona, or South America, it is a unique idea and unique for NY. They definitely were behind other cities”². “I like it when I'm sitting on it (as a pedestrian), don't like it if I want to drive”³ therefore “turning one more strip of asphalt, for 5,000 more cars isn't going to help NYC, or the Broadway area. Making a pedestrian mall for people to sit quietly to have lunch and drink coffee does add another dimension to NYC. We shouldn't encourage people to drive here”⁴.

It is true that “people drive here, they hate it, sometimes I sit here, and it can give more opportunities to some people for business”⁵. The Naked Cowboy was the only one who performed before the pedestrianisation of Broadway, he was moving around but no cartoon character or topless girl dared to fight the traffic and the crowd, therefore pedestrianisation was the real reason for many performers to show up here

“The pedestrian malls are new, I don't know 3-4 years, I always been on 45th on the little island but now it is been removed because of the construction, I kinda move around, I always was there, when I move people don't know who I am, I love the pedestrians, it is providing more space, I was afraid where I'm going to go, I just stand and it gives me a place to roam around”⁶.

The boss of the topless girls, whose reasons for using his base are shaped by factors such as security and attractions, sees the square differently.

“There are 5 different plazas, some are more populated some has more for people to be like Toys“R”Us and footlocker, and you have Walgreens which is boring and you don't see many people there, there is nothing much to do there. People over there have more money so it is different and different type of people, and sometimes Duffy Plaza is better”⁷.

¹ NYC-PSB-29, 25, Lesbian, Local, USA, Lesbian with her girlfriend (kissing)

² NYC-PSB-24, 60, Male, Local, USA

³ NYC-PSB-19, 69, Female, Domestic Tourist, USA

⁴ NYC-PSB-17, 62, Male, Resident, USA

⁵ NYC-PRF-6, 33, Male, Local, USA, Stand Up Comedy Guy

⁶ NYC-PRF-5, 45, Male, Resident, USA, Naked Cowboy

⁷ NYC-PRF-2, 37, Male, Local, USA, Topless Girl, Manager

In Barcelona the Las Ramblas were always pedestrianised, with service roads for loading and public transit parallel to the Ramblas. Some people want it all pedestrianised while others are satisfied. “I like Las Ramblas as a pedestrian street, we should stick it this way, I wouldn't like it as a fully pedestrian area. Cars are important as well, obviously we need to improve some streets to make them pedestrian but not fully pedestrian”¹. For others the street between the Ramblas and sidewalks makes no sense because it separates the businesses and make it less comfortable and unsafe “I think it should be fully pedestrian, there should be no cars, only for loading, I can't understand why other streets are completely pedestrian and this one, which is the more crowded and most important street, has cars”². Or even “be completely pedestrian, no cars, no buses, no taxis only people walking up and down”³.

As I previously mentioned, the Ramblas and the sidewalks have different uses and users. “I like it very much, and there is no traffic even the speed for the cars is very low. I like walking in the middle but I don't like these kiosks, I like the stores on the side better”⁴ probably because everything on the Rambla itself is touristic, while those stores on the sidewalks are mostly targeting a normal consumer. “Some years ago, we had separate Ramblas, (the five Ramblas each with a character) but it seems like they are dissolving now, we still think about the different parts above all the people visiting, I personally prefer the centre of the Rambla because people come from all over the world and it is the reference point of Barcelona, and you can see the hustle and bustle”⁵. So the centre is definitely the vibrant and touristic bit, which is explained by a local “when I don't have time I walk on the sidewalks but when I want to enjoy the place and have time I walk in the centre”⁶ so people have different paths and tricks to deal with the crowd.

Recently the neoliberal processes changed the Ramblas when the pets and animals were removed and replaced by touristic restaurants, which took a big chunk of the walking space “at the lower part of Las Ramblas people complain about the restaurants which take the

¹ BCN-RTL-7, 41, Female, Resident, Uruguay

² BCN-RTL-2, 43, Female, Local, Spain

³ BCN-PSB-9, 34, Male, Local, Spain

⁴ BCN-PSB-6, 50, Couple, Tourist, Finland

⁵ BCN-PSB-5, 70, Male, Local, Spain

⁶ BCN-PSB-35, 38, Female, Tourist, Germany

space of people, making it too narrow for people to walk”¹. Some people see the carriages as a representation of place culture and history, but others see it differently “for instance the horses or the carriages are not for this place because it is for taxis and buses”². While these carriages are usually hired by tourists who don’t want to walk long distances along the Ramblas, they look awkward driving behind buses and taxis on the service road, but this might not be as awkward as police officers riding horses on Times Square and taking pictures with tourists.

Some people thought the centre is safer than the sidewalks as they provide a wider space especially for children. “Las Ramblas is La Rambla, it is the way it is, you can’t make it wider, I like the centre, but for me it is the place to walk peacefully, it is a place to go from one place to another”³ but how peaceful it is when “it is difficult in the summer because of too many tourists and they buy ice cream and make it crowded, people don’t move to allow you walk, but it is wider here than the sidewalks, so you care less about hitting others”⁴. It is probably peaceful because for some “it is nice to walk in the middle of the people, and they are coming from everywhere, you are free to walk to anywhere you want”⁵. “Centre of Rambla, it is wider and there aren’t buses or cars, you are more comfortable”⁶.

Some of the changes that changed the culture of the Las Ramblas as a pedestrian experience were focused on making the flow of people easier by eliminating performers or human statues “before controlling us, many statues were here, many Armenians and Moroccans came here and they copied characters and they were aggressive with people and they had to control it”⁷ but at the same time as controlling and policing who could work as street performers, the control of where they could work also effectively transferred more space to the restaurants, which impinged on the flow of pedestrians. Another change within the pedestrian area was the restrictions on chair hiring and performers’ locations.

“It was more interesting before because you can sit in any place, you can see different things, but now we are sent down to sit in this specific place. We are restricted, tourists are usually tired by the time

¹ BCN-PSB-33, 25, Male, Resident, Italy

² BCN-PSB-24, 52, Female, Local, Spain

³ BCN-PSB-15, 46, Female, Local, Spain

⁴ BCN-PSB-12, 74, Couple, Local, Spain

⁵ BCN-PSB-11, 26, Female, Tourist, Italy

⁶ BCN-PSB-10, 25, Male, Local, Spain

⁷ BCN-PRF-2, 45, Male, Local, Spain, White Artist

they get to this area, they don't pay attention to arts or paintings, it was more interesting for tourists and for us”¹.

So regulating the pedestrian area made it more restrictive, less spontaneous and concentrated in designated areas, which creates little territories within the larger pedestrian territory in the case of Las Ramblas.

After 3 decades, İstiklal today is quite different to the upper class venue it was just 10 years ago when it had a friendlier atmosphere “the other day I saw a photo comparing 2005 with 2015 İstiklal, there were trees and benches, but now everything it is all empty, I want them back”². Some argued “it used to be better for business, after they closed traffic the income dropped”³. “It is getting worse everyday, I grew up here, I remember, 10 years ago it was better, people used to wear more beautiful clothes, this street in Beyoğlu which means; ‘Bey’ is mister and ‘Oğlu’ is son. It was more elegant and respectful, but not anymore”⁴. The only pedestrian avenue in Istanbul, which is now an icon due to the car-free atmosphere, so “if it had traffic it would not have any meaning, this what makes İstiklal”⁵. “That’s the way it should, I think the parallel and side streets should be closed as well”⁶. Although the municipality still considers İstiklal a street not a public space, “it is for walking not for sitting”⁷, people’s conception of a public space or a pedestrian street is linked to a friendly atmosphere which can be seen in respondents views that it “could be more green and more people would come”⁸ or even safer for pedestrian crossing “I don't like the thing that there is no barrier between the tram and people”⁹. Many people complained about the municipality’s vehicles, which freely drive on the street and often carelessly “I see some cars here, this isn’t right, only ambulances should be allowed to come here”¹⁰.

An older İstanbulite couple explained the difference.

¹ BCN-KSK-8, 54, Male, Resident, Greece

² IST-RTL-15, 29, Female, Local, Turkey

³ IST-RTL-14, 53, Male, Resident, Turkey

⁴ IST-RTL-12, 46, Male, Local, Turkey

⁵ IST-PSB-9, 27, Male, Domestic Tourist, Turkey

⁶ IST-PSB-7, 33, Male, Resident, Turkey

⁷ An Interview with an urban planner at Beyoğlu’ Municipality

⁸ IST-PSB-37, 21, Male, Resident, Russia

⁹ IST-PSB-34, 46, Male, Tourist, Bosnia

¹⁰ IST-PSB-30, 44, Female, Domestic Tourist, Turkey

“People talk about İstiklal all the time, it is good now, we saw it when it wasn't pedestrian, you can see it in the old movies, there used to be cars here, we were going to class in Tarlabası and come here to eat something, there was a lot of traffic here, I'm talking about 1970s, now it is more of a youth place”¹.

But tourists doesn't see it differently “it is normal for me, I've seen this in other European cities, it is unique if compared to other streets in Istanbul”².

Some people complained about the cars, others about the tram, but some were very direct about something else like performers who ruined their experience and the atmosphere. “I just want to tell those musicians, Arabic musicians that they shouldn't prevent us from walking on this street, they are preventing us from enjoying the street with their music and crowd”³. The musicians showed how the pedestrian area “gives more opportunities”⁴ and helped them to perform on the street and “if there were cars here we wouldn't be able to play due to the noise”⁵ and it is definitely easier for “some people walk by and tip me without listening to me”⁶. When it comes to the feeling of safety “It was very bad before, but after they pedestrianized it you would come with your family and kids”⁷ probably during the daytime as “you see all interesting things after 11pm on Friday night, you see people holding alcohol bottles and getting drunk”⁸.

Therefore the atmospheres of these pedestrian territories varies and depends on people's individual experiences, but they are a mixture of different elements that shape the space and make it a unique in terms of culture. The way the atmosphere is perceived helps us understand some of the changes of the spaces and how the culture of the pedestrian territory evolved as an image. Whether it represents the local or global, it is an image of the place. People enter the pedestrian territory to experience a different type of culture, which is generated by the visual culture and the atmosphere and next is the consumption culture, which is one of the main factors making up the place culture.

¹ IST-PSB-24, 66, Couple, Local, Turkey

² IST-PSB-23, 20, Male, Tourist, Italy

³ IST-PSB-1, 43, Male, Resident, Turkey

⁴ IST-PRF-5, 26, Male, Resident, Turkey, Guitarist

⁵ IST-PRF-4, 24, Male, Resident, Turkey, Santur player

⁶ IST-PRF-7, 62, Male, Resident, Turkey, Saz player

⁷ IST-KSK-4, 49, Male, Resident, Turkey

⁸ IST-KSK-2, 40, Male, Local, Turkey

7.3.3 Consumption Culture

The pedestrian territory tried to seduce the people using consumption through how the place has been both materialized and fantasized. “Whether compelling or not, the meanings embodied in these commercialized public settings work on the senses to bring about certain responses, predispositions and forms of engagement (Allen, 2006, p. 445). So these places try to use their diversity and variety to try to seduce people to consume depending on their taste. As the pedestrian territories are enclosed spaces that are distinguished from the surroundings, they are designed to provide “the commercial offering, so too does that experience operate as a practice of inclusion: encouraging people to value the space, to move around freely, to take in the surroundings and to respond to the many visual and social cues (Allen, 2006, p. 451).

Due to globalization and capitalism which tries to sell the place through consumption, we see that the pedestrian territory fails to “preserve the street’s aesthetics” (Ward, D. and Zunz, 1992, p. 14). Pedestrian territories can resemble other themed territories like ethno-commercial territories e.g. Chinatowns, or entertainment territories like Times Square, or even ethnic territories like Hispanic or African Americans, etc., but the pedestrian territory actually mixes these territories into a consistent, cohesive territory, a territory of difference. These territories can be very similar to others around the world, but very unique in the city itself or the entire country where they are situated. They are called the icons of the city, or the window to the world, or the global chunk, etc., in order to emphasize of the branding of it as local, global or unique. Whether its branding of Turkish Baklava and Kebabs, Broadway shows on Times Square or Paella and tapas on Barcelona, these territories have the best of what they brand, or in other times the touristic version of it, so it is a question of authenticity, but it remains branded.

The social hierarchy and local culture are also connected to the choice of consumption venue and where to sit, whether indoors in booths like conservative Turks, or outside and on terraces to smoke and drink in the evening in Barcelona, or even to have a quick break standing with a coffee in hand in one of the Starbucks of Times Square which don’t have tables or chairs, only bar style counters. Therefore, “consumption became a way of creating an identity and an important means of distinguishing oneself from other people, groups or

classes” (Kärrholm, 2012, p. 5). Zukin (1993), describes how our cities changed from being landscapes of productions to landscapes of consumption which can be seen as a postmodern look at the city and its productions. “The role of pedestrianisation in terms of increased sales and shopping is debated but has often been regarded as positive. When car traffic was closed off on Strøget, Copenhagen in 1962, sales increased by 30 per cent within a year, and the number of pedestrians increased by 35 per cent (Kärrholm, 2012, p. 44).

We can see how “shopping as phenomena and metaphor increasingly encompasses our environment, new public buildings in the city adopt the spatial principles of shopping, and most planning and architecture is either a product of, or inspired by shopping” (Hemmersam, 2004, p. 102). This isn’t a new thing, however, as John McMorrough argues, “Over the last fifty years, a reversal of the relationship between shopping and the city has taken place. Originally “shopping (as an activity) [was] taking place in the city (as a place), [but now] the city (as an ideal) is taking place within shopping (as a place)” (2001, p. 194).

Although the pedestrian street was a reaction to the increasing shopping malls and department stores in the suburbs, as I explained in chapter 1, many pedestrian streets or territories have at least a shopping centre or department stores on the street itself or at its entrance or edge. Thematic stores like ‘Toys“R”Us’, ‘Disney’ on Times Square, ‘Carrefour’ on La Ramblas and ‘Demirören Avm’ shopping mall on İstiklal are all examples of department/thematic stores or malls that attract different users, offer different goods and function as shelter from weather changes. So, “it is possible to see the effects of shopping as more than an indicator of the larger forces of society; to see shopping itself as the course of change in society, at least as far as understanding what it means to envision the city of the late twentieth century (McMorrough, 2001, p. 194).

What shopping does, according to (McMorrough, 2001, p. 194) “is to integrate completely different and disparate elements of the city in a continuous and fluid urban experience.” McMorrough therefore with the use of ‘instrumental urbanism’, shopping and entertainment are used to create a crowd that is a prerequisite of social and public space. Shopping is a priority for planners and architects today, they employ it “consciously or unconsciously in the design of public space in the city” (Hemmersam, 2004, p. 103).

The combination of branding and shopping creates iconic consumption venues where “Consumers appropriate certain brands and increasingly tend to use their shopping as means of social distinction and belonging (Zukin, 2004). Retail architecture and design becomes quite complex and focuses on the creation of shopping-friendly atmosphere (Kärrholm, 2012; Klingmann, 2007). “From the 1990s and onwards, the success or failure of a pedestrianisation must be judged by criteria such as branding, location, accessibility and attractively (Kärrholm, 2012, p. 45). So the territorial nature of the pedestrian territory relies on demarcating a certain territory for pedestrian use (Delaney, 2005b; Kärrholm, 2012; Sack, Robert David, 1986). For instance, the territory distinguishes itself from its surroundings even when it comes to stores, goods and setting such as outdoor cafés, shops, market stalls, fountains and bicycle stands, as well as optional activities, such as people-watching (Gehl, 2011; Yuen and Chor, 1998).

It is a matter of debate whether it is tourism that capitalizes and commercializes the built environment, or sensuous and visual culture, which fantasizes and seduces the pedestrians. This culture relies on capitalism so we see the local and foreign capital compete with each other, which drastically affects the local and family owned stores, especially when foreign capital invades the façades (billboards), spaces (kiosks) in addition to the buildings (stores). The fever of consumption inspires and encourages the individuals to use their talents, bodies and products as entertainment and art to earn money by taking advantage of the commercialized space, consumers and density. This creates a territory, which can target different audiences, making it public and free for those who want to see it only, and also a hub for consumerism, which works on both material and psychological levels.

Humans within the boundaries of the pedestrian territory conceive of the territory in different ways; here I talk about the pedestrian experience as a sort of consumption culture. The overwhelming hierarchy of consumption creates an idea for some people that the pedestrian territory is a “it is a place to be, everything is happening here, if you want to see if you want to try, a different kind of experience”¹. As previously explained these territories have gone through excessive characteristic revitalisation and replacement processes using political and economic powers to make a new place that is ruled by the power of tourism,

¹ NYC-PSB-24, 60, Male, Local, USA

entertainment, freedom and diversity. Consumption comes as a medium between these powers; to enhance the economy and tourism more freedoms should be given to people, whether they are capitals, investors, consumers, performers, tourists or even visitors. These territories capitalize on many things, even people and their talents to make money.

Many people feel overwhelmed as everything is sellable here, even watching a performance. No wonder people were shocked to see free seats and many of them avoided them as they thought they would be charged if they sat on them. During my participant observation experience of giving free hugs on Times Square, some people asked me genuinely if it was “really free” and one said “is there anything free on Times Square?” I saw how some people didn’t even want to hug, fearing that I or the other people giving free hugs would charge them money after the hug. This shows how the commercial consumption culture in this place is anticipated and felt by visitors to be all encompassing – they cannot believe anything there is non-commercial.

The retail environment then focuses upon providing a consumption ‘paradise’ for tourists as they find many things interesting, and different. They could buy a souvenir or gifts that resemble or provoke a memory of these places or the city or even “doing my last minute shopping, I came here every day, it is most beautiful street in NYC”¹. It goes to an Istanbulite “I’m here all the time, for work. But I still come here, for movies, for drink, I come for shopping or walk around, I like it even if it is so packed”². But this can result in the diminution of over commercial markets, as where a florist in Barcelona complained about the change in market, the locals aren’t coming because of the tourists, so she thought about adding souvenirs to the kiosks “I wanted to sell magnets for 2 euros but the Town Hall asked us to sell them for 10 euros. We refused and they didn’t allow us to sell any”³. This shows that the Town Hall is trying to upmarket the souvenirs, probably to help these florists survive and thrive, but this in the neoliberal context is a negative attempt as the illegal sellers are selling similar magnets from their blankets for 1 euro to random tourists.

Similarly, the owner of the oldest store on İstiklal ‘Kelebek Korse’ explained.

¹ NYC-PSB-3, 33, Female, Tourist, France

² NYC-RTL-4, 32, Female, Local, USA

³ BCN-KSK-4, 27, Male, Local, Spain

"It used to be better before they make it pedestrian, because the taxi would stop in front of the store, we were selling walking canes, and orthopaedic but we stopped selling them after a while, our sales went down. This area was calm but now it is lively, and the capitalism and economy bring more chains, which are ruining the street. The traces of the old days have been erased, the oldest shop on İstiklal is us "Kelebek Korse", we are probably closing down if a miracle won't come up, I'm going through a hard time, it is a historical shop but it is also where I make my living to pay my children, family and parents, there is not turning back"¹.

This store is attached to the church, which is managed by the Vatican, but the rent rise made the owner so upset, as neither the municipality nor the Vatican cared about him losing his business of trying to preserve the oldest store on İstiklal, although they did care about money and attractiveness of goods the store sells.

On the other hand, these territories aren't just about the shops, but also the hotels and travel agencies which "try to sell a city to tourists, they talk about the same places, and here in Barcelona is Las Ramblas and Plaça Catalunya"². The location, facilities and shops make many tourists stay here due to language, safety, shopping or even being near the hub.

If we compare how each territory resisted the level of foreign consumption, we can see that in Barcelona the resistance is weaker than Istanbul, as in Istanbul the local chains still have their branches standing on the street, such as restaurants, pastry shops, Turkish delight stores and so on, while in Barcelona the Paella isn't a representation of Barcelonan culture and it is not where the locals have it. In NYC there is nothing of NYC on the street, it is all American, leaving us with questions about the typicality of consumption around the world. During my ethnographic work, I interviewed a German lady who considered a small authentic tearoom hidden at the end of the passage of İstiklal as her favourite place, because it is "real, it is where the locals drink tea"³.

But do all tourists look for or have an interest in the authentic? Probably not, for instance a group of young visiting Tunisians told me that their favourite place on Las Ramblas is "Makdo"⁴ (shortcut for MacDonald's in Tunisian dialect) because they don't have it in Tunisia and they always wanted to try it. So, the apparently generic may be figured as the exotic for some consumers, but it goes beyond that to mean that even for those for whom it

¹ IST-RTL-9, 57, Male, Local, Turkey,

² BCN-PSB-15, 46, Female, Local, Spain

³ IST-PSB-28, 36, Female, Tourist, Germany

⁴ BCN-PSB-16, 21, Male, Tourist, Tunisia

is generic it can become a landmark or even a meeting point used by locals and tourists alike. In Istanbul when people want to meet with you, they will say, let's meet in front of Burger King. It might contra Auge's (2008) claims of placelessness as these generic spaces of globalized consumption develop local meanings.

On the other hand, many visitors always go to the chains because they know them, like many Americans having coffee at Starbucks because they don't want to try something new, exotic or different that might not satisfy their coffee taste or daily dose, and like young travellers or students who head to MacDonald's because it is fast, cheap and filling or even famous. Chains are successful because of the media, affordability and familiarity, but chains are taking over most of the retail space on these territories, which is making pedestrian territories 'chain hubs' similar to other chain hubs in other cities. H&M, Starbucks and MacDonald's have strategic locations on the three streets, while many local stores are closing down unless they are local chains.

When I asked people about what they consumed on these territories "did you shop, eat or drink here?" the answers were mostly "yes" to at least one of them. However many people said no due to many reasons "very little! You would have to say I bought this from Times Square to pay the Times Square prices. I don't want anything to be that way"¹ because many things are expensive for some visitors or even locals "it is the most expensive place in town"². Some people came to Times Square "only for musicals"³ as this what Times Square is famous for while others just do window shopping or "we usually go in and out the stores, but we don't do like actual shopping"⁴. In Barcelona, some people come to hangout and meet friends "when I come, But it is crowded"⁵ others focused on "La Boqueria" which is a top tourist attraction that sells a very few things to tourists and makes the locals struggle to buy their groceries due to the crowd.

¹ NYC-PSB-17, 62, Male, Resident, USA

² NYC-PSB-11, 20, Female, Domestic Tourist, USA

³ NYC-PSB-10, 22, Female, Tourist, Netherlands

⁴ NYC-PSB-1, 21, Female, Domestic Tourist, USA

⁵ BCN-PSB-29, 60, Female, Local, Spain

In Istanbul people were seduced by the variety, authenticity and affordability of food as “there are different levels of food stores, 5 lira to expensive places”¹ but many young people still go to “yes, I eat at MacDonald's but I try to not eat from it”. Some Istanbulites visit “sometimes to eat, coffee or alcohol”². I'll elaborate more on the concept of consumption culture as an identity element that makes the street iconic and unique in the next section of the chapter.

7.4 Human Culture: Diversity

We can see that these pedestrian territories are “designed with a certain image of publicness in mind, one where people can mingle, circulate and loiter in a way that it is possible to encounter others who are not like you, without having to feel an obligation to share your life history with them” (Allen, 2006, p. 450). However, these places are neoliberal places that are still consumption oriented, and those who are ‘unwanted’ or can't afford what it offers as culture, goods or events, are excluded using ‘domestication’. Allen explains this as “making public spaces attractive to certain users but not others, primarily by ‘softening’ the landscape, opening it up to more sedate forms of recreation whilst policing the whole process by a range of security measures, from private guards to electronic surveillance cameras” (2006, p. 453). Therefore, the question of diversity can be debated around how the pedestrian territory is designed and how the crowd sometimes breaks the rules.

As the territory was ruled by neoliberal agendas, the outcome of it on a socio-cultural level is a territorial culture that embraces liberal and secular agendas, which keep the businesses going, tourism enhancing and diverse people visiting while the state watching from a distance. These territories use slogans to advertise for a new culture that is cool, global, cosmopolitan and welcoming people from all cultures to enhance the economy, drawing heavily on entertainment and consumption themes. Without diversity and the relaxation of social and cultural norms, which are practiced between the citizens and locals, these areas might experience tensions and conflicts. However, when these slogans are used it means

¹ IST-RTL-5, 34, Male, Local, Turkey

² IST-PSB-21, 34, Female, Resident, Turkey

people who don't fit here shouldn't embarrass them by visiting these territories, but if they decide to visit they should keep calm, accept and respect its culture.

Using this notion there are a few phenomena that occur within these territories, which might not exist in other parts of the city or even the nation. First, I want to show how the insiders look at the outsiders. Second, I'll show how these territories twist people between heterogeneity and homogeneity. Third, I'll discuss some challenges diversity goes through such as tolerance and acceptance of the difference. These three points help us understand the change of the culture from local to territorial, what has been imported from the global culture and how this diversity creates a territorial culture on a human level when the place culture is believed to be a representation of the local culture, yet it is a territorial culture.

7.4.1 Insiders vs. Outsiders

As previously explained (section 5.2.4) many of those working in these pedestrian territories aren't all necessarily coming from the city or country where the pedestrian street is located. These pedestrian territories attract diverse workers who want to do the low-wage jobs catering to the tastes and needs of visitors, therefore many immigrants find jobs here due to the languages they speak, their international experience or even their exotic talents. So here I show that being an insider to the territory is not simply extrapolated from being a citizen of one of these cities, as many citizens have never been to or rarely visit these territories. But what I want to show here is how they deal with the diversity of people and what their opinions are, as it is interesting to see immigrants (as insiders) talking about locals (as outsiders) or vice versa. Their familiarity with and experience of these territories shows us a different dimension to how the territorial culture is created; a result of upside down cultural exchange, which is the main element of its cultural creation.

In Times Square some sellers see "the tourists, you actually get an appreciation from people coming from other countries, more often they sound bad but actually they are way more polite and very nice, they are way more pleasant than the people of the city. Dealing with

clients with people from the city, they are always rush, rush”¹ probably because tourists move at a slower pace than busy New Yorkers.

“There is a language barrier, and people come from different backgrounds and cultures, I have respect to all visitors and we have staff from different backgrounds, like my co-workers speak French, Russian, Armenian, Spanish, Portuguese, so they can speak with people speaking these languages. Therefore a lot of the managers here look for bilingual people when they hire them”².

Some sellers have stereotypes of outsiders after years of experience, like this Japanese-American seller.

“I try to help them as much as possible, its limited time. Brazilians are very nice, South Americans are nice too, Europeans take time to decide, they don't like to be pressured, Middle-Easterns like luxurious things with a stone, it is funny”³.

These might be stereotypes and generalizations, but in marketing and especially in Times Square, it might be a skill to know how to deal with this wide demographic of people and try to please them to sell them something. But as much as they tried some sellers struggle with some people due to

“The cultural difference, there are definitely rude people, a lot of Asian people are a little rude, what's rude to me is rude to them, I don't think they think they are doing anything wrong, It is just Asian who I can think of, Spanish people know what they want, I deal with Spanish people all the time, and I'm Spanish so I'm kind of used to it”⁴.

Some people become insiders after being outsiders and are shocked by the diversity of people, which becomes a joy later on, like this Romanian makeup artist

“I'm coming from a country where we have only just white people, and I'm passionate and found the people very friendly, I'm not from a cold country but people are cold because the economy was low, here people are happier, they say the New Yorkers are not friendly but not from a European eyes, Americans think Europeans are rude, because when we were kids they taught us not to talk to strangers, but Americans like saying ‘hi’ and ‘how are you?’ to anyone”⁵.

These territories open up opportunities for cultural exchange and behaviour changes, which inspires and changes the attitudes of outsiders, who decide to become insiders at some point. The boss of Times Square who’s a New Yorker and disabled Vietnam veteran explains.

¹ NYC-RTL-2, 35, Male, Local, USA

² NYC-RTL-1, 25, Male, Resident, USA

³ NYC-RTL-7, 45, Female, Resident, Japan

⁴ NYC-RTL-4, 32, Female, Local, USA

⁵ NYC-RTL-3, 33, Female, Resident, Romania

*"Jewish people always had a bad stigma about them being cheap, but I don't think so, because I found they got money but they are too tight. People from India and Pakistan, they keep bargaining, they want to haggle, this is NY, You can't haggle, You could be nasty in a very nice way, you can't categorize them, but I like to make them laugh."*¹

So he uses his humour to sell his stuff from his kiosk on a corner in Times Square. Another seller from outside the USA who has been working in Times Square says: "I see it so much, after a while everything is usual everyday, when my friends visit they tell me OMG the naked cowboy, OMG look at painted girls, it is still shocking others but not me"².

Moving to Barcelona, a seller confidently explains "we have customers from everywhere, it depends on their nationality, some are kinder than others"³ so you have to deal with different people "some come with little coins to buy something and others come with 500 euro note and they buy half of the store"⁴. Another seller thinks that Las Ramblas has many immigrants working in retail because "I think it is kind of tradition, many from all over the world, come here to work and visit and they tell others"⁵. An experienced Barcelonan kiosk's seller puts it this way "you get everything, nice people, drunk people, pathetic people, some people who tried to steal our products, and sometimes when we have promotion or give samples some people take it all, It is disgusting"⁶.

This diversity pushes the locals away probably because, as one Barcelonan put it "I think local people of Barcelona are not respected, everything is in favour of tourists, not the locals or stores owners"⁷. But it can be true that "most of them (tourists) are kind, but tourists buy more than locals"⁸. People come with their cultural habits to these territories and see "they see sale and discount on some stores and they come here to bargain so we have to deal with it"⁹.

The performers on Las Ramblas who are predominantly from Latin America analyse people based on their nationality. "Russians kids are not afraid of anything, Eastern kids are really

¹ NYC-KSK-2, 57, Male, Local, USA

² NYC-RTL-2, 35, Male, Local, USA

³ BCN-RTL-6, 23, Female, Local, Spain

⁴ BCN-RTL-5, 36, Female, Resident, Argentina

⁵ BCN-PSB-8, 53, Male, Local, Spain

⁶ BCN-KSK-6, 22, Female, Resident, Ecuador

⁷ BCN-KSK-2, 25, Male, Local, Spain

⁸ BCN-RTL-1, 24, Female, Local, Spain

⁹ BCN-RTL-4, 30, Male, Resident, India

cowardly, their parents have to bring them here, Spanish are comfortable”¹ another elaborates “people from Russia are really kind and UK are nice, French kids and parents they shouldn't be that rude, Asians don't give a lot of money”² and another notices people attitudes “Asians are shy but they are most creative when they come to the frame, Europeans are similar, Nordic people are cold and Arabs laugh a lot, they all enjoy”³.

Probably these stereotypes are grounded in aspects of the cultures that the outsiders come from, and are not just personal experiences or random general stereotypes. The demographics change when it comes to the florists

“Mainly selling to locals, and some Russians who have been living here for a long time, these are many clients, local festivities support us like St. Jordie, and Valentines which is good, and many people complain about Valentines being not Catalan, but we have to serve those people who celebrate it, it is good excuse for us to sell flowers”⁴.

Insiders are seen differently during the day and night.

“French people are trouble makers, they come here they get drunk and make mess at night, but I don't think people come here to visit architecture or the history of Catalunya. They come to have fun, it is international place that's why people come, and of course Barça football club fans from everywhere like to visit Las Ramblas”⁵.

In Istanbul people look differently, as the vast majority of people working on İstiklal are Turkish people from different parts of Turkey. “I work in a bookstore, I'm dealing with books, it is a cultural service, even if it is profit but it still has a meaning and culture, I can't say people forgot about culture, but I think there isn't culture in this place, it is not expressed properly”⁶. This isolation from the street and rejection of the outside world is a choice of this seller. Another elaborates that “it is getting worse, there used to be more locals, people living in Cihangir are not coming here anymore, they don't want to come and spend time here”⁷ probably because of the tourists and change of place culture or even “Arabic people (Syrian refugees) ruined it. It used to be better but it is good right now”⁸. Another seller classifies the demographics based on seasons “usually a lot of Europeans

¹ BCN-PRF-4, 37, Female, Resident, Argentina, Golden Queen

² BCN-PRF-3, 35, Male, Resident, Columbia, Black Monster

³ BCN-PRF-2, 45, Male, Local, Spain, White Artist

⁴ BCN-KSK-5, 55, Female, Local, Spain

⁵ BCN-HMS-2, 33, Male, Local, Spain

⁶ IST-RTL-6, 22, Male, Resident, Turkey

⁷ IST-RTL-2, 33, Male, Resident, Turkey

⁸ IST-RTL-5, 34, Male, Local, Turkey

come here and Arabic people, In October Chinese people because it is their holiday”¹. We see here even transnational connections between the territory and its demographics and other nations or events.

Some Turkish people stopped coming here for another reason “There is a class of people who didn’t adapt to İstiklal, which is sometimes not comfortable to me, it shows differences between and within locals themselves, no distinction when it comes to being extreme”². He’s referring to the increasing number of conservative Turks who started to come to İstiklal in the last few years, which changed the secular, liberal and western outlook, demographic and atmosphere of the street. While other “people come here with fear, not like before”³ due to the protests and March 2016 Istanbul bombing on İstiklal.

Probably one of the races nationalist Turkish people dislike the most is the Arabs. “It is really bad now, there are a lot of Arabs here and they are settling down in Turkey, it is dirty everywhere in all means”⁴. Historically Arabs had been called dirty and traitors since the establishment of the Turkish republic, something revived after the increase in the number of Arabic tourists and Syrian refugees in Turkey. Some put it politely as “they are usually from the Middle-East, people have different cultures”⁵ which raises a question about Turkish nationalism when it tries to exclude and forget its past as a ruler of the Middle-East. Indeed many Arabs aren’t used to dealing with a transsexual seller “because of my sexual orientation some Arabs are maybe disturbed”⁶ but a few makeup artists found Arabs nicer “we talk to Arabic people more than Turkish people, I like Arabs more than Turks, they are kind and better”⁷ or “Arabs and they are perfect, we don't want Turkish customers, Turkish people don't like anything, but foreigners are not like that”⁸.

Of course it varies and depends on a personal experience. A Turkish seller describes and identifies himself and Turkey as ‘Middle-Eastern’ which contrasts with the previous statement:

¹ IST-RTL-2, 33, Male, Resident, Turkey

² IST-RTL-16, 31, Male, Local, Turkey

³ IST-RTL-13, 28, Male, Resident, Turkey

⁴ IST-RTL-12, 46, Male, Local, Turkey

⁵ IST-RTL-1, 36, Male, Local, Turkey

⁶ IST-RTL-8, 43, Trans-woman, Local, Turkey

⁷ IST-RTL-7, 23, Female, Local, Turkey

⁸ IST-RTL-11, 24, Gay-man, Local, Turkey

“As people from the Middle-East, I think western people have different attitudes towards us. For example, people from Anglo-Saxon cultures are quite distant, Irish and Scottish or Spanish, Spanish are more sincere, and I think people from Arabian Peninsula changed the nature and structure of the street and the country”.¹

However “tourists are really nice, when you go to their country they don't treat you like how they do here. They treat us with a mask here, but some sellers here charge foreigners more than locals, but we have fixed prices”². An older performer explains

“Foreign people support me a lot, especially those from US, Canada and European countries, and Arabs because I play Arabic music. Our music is similar to Arabic music but Turkish people understand me and walk away, westerners don't pity me, my best customers are Arabs”.³

Therefore, “people aren't all same, there are people without standards, the elite class does not come here, they go to Cihangir and other places, avoid İstiklal”⁴. Probably they went on because nowadays they believed that “it attracts mostly tourists, locals come here mainly young people come here after school to meet friends and have fun, It is the most preferred place in Istanbul”⁵.

So the diversity of people isn't just a stereotypical image, but repeated experiences have something to do with historical and political images that make some people become nationalist, racist or anti-diversity. Understanding how people think of others can help us understand the insiders and how they behave towards diversity and the human culture of the place.

7.4.2 Heterogeneity vs. Homogeneity: Queers

It is quite remarkable to see these pedestrian territories combine contradictions and opposites at the same time without serious conflicts or obvious tension. Here I want to show how cultural heterogeneity exists amongst people through the diversity of people and their human characteristics, while they share values of tolerance towards the diversity of others. We see heterogeneous people who have different mentalities, personalities, cultures, races, gender and even sexual orientations mixing together peacefully due to the shared values created by the experience of diversity of freedom and tolerance. This creates

¹ IST-RTL-6, 22, Male, Resident, Turkey

² IST-RTL-12, 46, Male, Local, Turkey

³ IST-KSK-4, 49, Male, Resident, Turkey

⁴ IST-RTL-16, 31, Male, Local, Turkey

⁵ IST-PSB-1, 43, Male, Resident, Turkey

a territorial culture, which is exchanged and transmitted within the boundaries of the territory, which doesn't apply on other parts of the city and sometimes not even in the side streets of the territory. This doesn't mean that it is a perfect world, but it is much better than other areas as these places experience lots of cultural clashes and conflicts raised from its diversity.

I'll focus here on queers' identities referring to minorities and sexualities of the pedestrian territories to explain the concept of heterogeneity and homogeneity. These pedestrian territories are former red-light districts, which are being revived in a more refined way, with sexual gratification pushed away to the surroundings although some symbols and agents are left on the pedestrian area itself. The pedestrian territories are the hubs for political or social protests such as LGBT pride, art events, etc. This diversity of gender, sexualities and ethnicities makes the territory a comfort zone for immigrants and refugees who can utterly blend between tourists and shop, beg or just hangout. This homogeneity of users who like to gather in this place, to enjoy its freedoms and liberal outlook, accept and enjoy its heterogeneity of users and uses as this pluralism of territory and city/nation social and cultural systems iconize the place.

The three territories studied in this thesis are very important venues for queers (queer can mean also those who are marginalized not necessarily gay) whether they are women, LGBTQ, minorities or sexual dissidents. Historically, the three areas were entirely or partially the red-light districts in the city, which made characteristic revitalisation partly a project to change this fabric and displace 'unwanted' or undesirable people. Times Square was an adult district where burlesque shows, sex shops and theatres were the main theme of the place, and it is still a place where gay events and prides take place nowadays. It is not too far from 'The Stonewall Bar' the most important place for gay liberation in the US. The first gay pride demonstration in Spain took place in 1977 on Las Ramblas, which turned into a 'stonewall' site similar to its NYC counterpart, with more than 4000 people demonstrating in this popular place¹. Today we see Santa Monica Plaza preserving this character as many prostitutes and transsexuals hangout or approach people for sex in that quarter.

¹ <http://visitgaybarcelona.com/en/gay-history/the-gay-movement-during-the-spanish-transition-first-part/>

İstiklal was historically the place where minorities lived, including sex workers and transsexuals, and they were the first to be removed when the gentrification started. The police broke into flats and set some places on fire, showing how gentrification “strategically displaces not only economically marginal but also morally dubious bodies” (Potuoğlu-Cook, 2006, p. 643) which created a “challenge hegemonic definitions of Turkish masculinity” (Kandiyoti, 2002, p. 277). Nowadays LGBT people suffer whenever they try to hold their Pride on İstiklal, but on the other hand, transsexuals remain resistant and stay around the area which gives them freedom and comfort. Probably Istanbul is the only territory out of the three cases which still suffers from these problems, although it has one of the largest transsexuals communities in Turkey, which include LGBTQ people from other parts of the Middle-East¹.

If the original subcultures were deemed problematic and ‘cleansed’ then they, like everything else, have evolved over the years under the influence of commercialism. The “processes of neoliberalisation produce queer winners and losers, and it is suggested that if sexually progressive alternatives to neoliberalism are to be developed, they need to recognize the tensions and contradictions inherent within processes of neoliberalism” (Binnie, 2014, p. 241). In these territories the change to touristic and commercial uses gave sexual minorities new opportunities even as they experienced challenges in other parts of the city. We can see Ong’s argument that neoliberalism as a political philosophy showed that the “market is better than the state at distributing public resources” (2006, p. 11) and that consumer sovereignty resonates with contemporary sexual politics whereby claims for rights have often been framed in terms of the consumer (Binnie, 2014, p. 243). So, the free market and neoliberal space creates more freedom for queers and minorities because it needs to survive and please the consumer in this entertainment and tourism hub. This can be tied with the politics as well, as the human rights highlighted in LGBTQ and women’s movements has been a challenge for Turkey in joining the EU, and that is why tolerance is concentrated in İstiklal, the most European part of Turkey. Thus the relationship between subcultures and sexuality in İstiklal has more weight than just being the home for transsexuals, LGBT venues and jobs.

¹ <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/aug/23/murder-transgender-lgbt-hande-kader-turkey>

For instance LGBT practices are tolerated even when they take place around the corner of the mosque on İstiklal, where transsexuals pass by wearing dresses and makeup. In Times Square homeless people might be found sitting near an upper-class American, signs of how neoliberalised and declassed the place is, regardless of the careful exclusion of the 'unwanted'. The same goes for Barcelona where a female tourist walks in semi-bikini clothes on the Ramblas of Barcelona coming from the beach. This cultural heterogeneity is tolerated within the boundaries, but can be a problem outside its boundaries. Likewise, public nudity is banned in the US, but topless girls are 'Okay' in Times Square, besides lesbians and gays kissing in public. Despite being legal based on American LGBT rights, it is less visible in other areas and less affectionate.

Similarly Istanbul's pedestrian territory accommodates one of the largest transsexual communities in the world, who show up in dresses freely walking in the crowd confidently. Although LGBTQ rights are suspended in Turkey, men holding hands and other kissing are received with a passive response that will never be the same in other surrounding areas in Istanbul, even girls expressing their opinions through interviews feel more relaxed here than other parts of Istanbul, where people don't tolerate their indecent clothes.

I'd like to elaborate here on the societal contradictions, which become very obvious and awkward in the pedestrian territory. Interviewing trans-women and gay men in these cities showed how they feel home in these places, as illustrated by my interview with a transsexual woman working for a European cosmetic brand store on İstiklal. This showed how this woman is limited to the territory border, working on İstiklal, living nearby in the area, and receiving 'Müşteri' (customers, and she means paid dates and interested guys) on the street at night. However she still faces some challenges from tourists of certain countries who don't accept her sexuality and appearance. Although LGBT rights were legalized by the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century, these rights are still going through many challenges and discrimination. However, İstiklal is an important venue for them as 'discrete men' come here to hook-up with girls and transsexual women for (paid and unpaid) dating and sex.

On the other hand, political views are generally accepted here, as many people use the freedom and tolerance of the people here to protest against internal or external issues. A

man holding an Ottoman Empire flag while running along İstiklal showing his support to the former political system of Turkey was tolerated, no one cared. Mexicans protesting against their government in the middle of Times Square is watched with silence and accepted as any other performance on the street. Africans protesting on Las Ramblas for immigration rights is beheld passively. Even religious opinions are fine, for instance in Times Square preachers walk around with signs and call for Jesus and God, while in Barcelona religion is becoming less popular and kept within churches. In Istanbul, considering the history and long extreme radical secularism of the country, religious people tend to close their shops during Friday prayer to attend prayers at the only semi-visible mosque on İstiklal, and people practice religion secularly. However, people visiting İstiklal are not extreme radical religious people, who tend to see İstiklal as a 'sinful area' due to the number of taboos concentrated within a small area including bars, nightclubs, pubs, tourists dressing immodestly and LGBT people.

This heterogeneous culture isn't tolerated by everyone but those who do not are forced to leave, as they do not fit in a territory whose defining characteristic is to tolerate diversity. The older stores owners complained how the İstiklal changed and how many people had to leave. So the 'old friends' aren't here anymore and chains have replaced them, hiring people who come from all around the country, making the older generation more nostalgic. They hold onto the values and social activities they used to have such as visiting each other, drinking tea or evens standing in for each other at work when someone is not in store, which are social activities that still exist in other parts of Turkey and other parts of the Middle-East.

In Times Square, the pedestrianisation of Broadway brought in increased exoticism and opened the doors for what many Americans consider "too much" liberalism, which has increased since then. Even the state acts differently within the boundaries of the territory, as Africans selling fake handbags on the Ramblas are chased but never caught by the police even though it is illegal to sell without paying taxes, and it is affecting the businesses, but at the same time, it is not criminal. Random people of different ethnicities stop tourists on İstiklal to offer them girls of their taste and more who are hidden in brothels in the side streets of İstiklal, but they can not be stopped by the police without an obvious advertisement. Topless girls sell their bodies for passers-by to get 'nice tips' and Latinos

wearing cartoon costumes, who terrify kids with their aggressive attitudes and face exposure asking for big tips, are not stopped by Disney who is running the square. Random homeless people are begging on the streets along with small refugee kids who are playing music to get money from passer-by but they too are not stopped by the police or human rights watchers, and so on.

7.4.3 Challenges of Diversity

In this section I argue that these territories were presented as public, but are actually for those who can handle, accept and afford what it offers. As we saw in the previous chapter and sections, many people complained about some conflictual scenes and behaviours within the boundaries of these territories. When the territory is labelled as a family district but in practice hosts activities which revive its historic red-light district history there is a conflict between liberal expression and family values. On the other hand these territories accept minorities such as LGBTQ people, refugees, immigrants and performers, who are not accepted in other areas in the same city, and thus offer a way of accommodating and containing social difference – a zone of toleration where everyone knows what to expect there and can't object or complain because the answer will be "if you don't like it, go away".

Despite the fact that these places are public, the demographics and uses of the place have changed, which has pushed many people away, whether they are touristic, wealthy, chains or put off by the diversity of people, which does not appeal to everyone, especially locals who like to build a relationship with the sellers through a shared language and cultural background. The insiders express their opinions in different ways regarding the publicness, openness and diversity of these territories.

Therefore, in each of these territories, there is a group of people who are unwanted by other people, but no one can stop them from coming. In Times Square people did not want the topless girls to be around while their children are around. In Barcelona people were complaining about the random illegal sellers. In Istanbul people were annoyed by some musicians and refugees. The answer to the question of why the police do not act against them is it is a free territory, and the people of the territory are angered if such a thing

happens, because it reduces the power of freedom that they use to survive and thrive apart from the rest of the city in a proclaimed independent territory.

Let us look here at attitudes towards the street sellers in these territories, which is a problem that has been reported by many people. In Times Square, as well as the topless girls, some sellers were considered a problem as they were interrupting and disturbing people. "There are some sellers who target people by passing out CDs and it is the most illegitimate thing, taking tourists money because they don't really know, due to language barriers, they take advantage of people, I never talk to them"¹. It doesn't stop there as these sellers "trying to sell you CD, shaking your "SHAKE MY HANDS" and looking in your eyes ... pestering"².

*"It is bothering me, if I'm here to spend my money, I will spend my money but I don't like people coming up to me trying to get me spend my money on them. Like the comedy shows, the bus tours, the mascots, the people on the streets, I don't like coming to me selling me something"*³.

It is a place for everyone, but the people of the territory think they have the right to target, attack or disturb people in order to sell them something "It is information overload, people put information in your hands, no matter where you are going and they are in your face, trying to sell you stuff, it is over stimulating". It is not just limited to sellers but even those who pretend to be something else.

*"Have you seen the monk walking around here? Those guys have monk's robes, I hate the monks, they are not monks, that's very disrespectful, I saw them wearing Khakis and Jordans underneath, I know it is f***ing, they just take the money, it is pathetic"*⁴.

In Barcelona there are African sellers and some south Asian sellers who wander around and sell fake products, like handbags, magnets and Barça t-shirts. Some see them as "they don't affect me, it is a big topic in Barcelona, but I think stealing is worse than selling illegally"⁵ but it does affect some businesses as "they affect us, they sell the same things cheaper than us because they don't pay tax and rents, like the fake Barça football outfits"⁶.

¹ NYC-RTL-5, 28, Male, Local, USA

² NYC-PSB-14, 49, Male, Tourist, Canada

³ NYC-PSB-47, 21, Female, Domestic Tourist, USA

⁴ NYC-PSB-16, 24, Male, Local, USA

⁵ BCN-RTL-6, 23, Female, Local, Spain

⁶ BCN-RTL-4, 30, Male, Resident, India

I noticed that half of the people think stealing is worse than selling illegally and don't want to support them. "I don't like illegal stuff, even back in Egypt, You are affecting other people by buying from them or supporting them"¹.

*"People don't have jobs, it will be worse if they steal, if they sell four bags, the money they get is for eating, otherwise they will steal from people. People and police complaining because they don't pay tax but come on they won't sell more than 4 bags a day, another thing police motor bikes driving on the sidewalks are dangerous, and chasing the illegal sellers to send them away, but are hiding in the metro station, down there"*².

In Istanbul people complained about sellers and beggars "they are ruining our business especially those here, there are a lot of them, and everyone is closing its shop and going on the street"³. A European tourist thought the sellers approaching her were part of the national culture rather than specific to the pedestrian zone; "I think it is the Turkish culture, they like to engage with people and try to sell something"⁴. Which is an acceptable attitude for Turkish people as "they are not disturbing me, they are trying to earn money"⁵ and he elaborated "I think some of them are hidden police, so they should be here for security, they are protecting us". I'm not sure if all the sellers or beggars are police but some of the sellers at the kiosks were obviously hidden police and some of the beggars were acting so probably were too. But what annoyed the Turks were, yet again, the Arabs. "Syrian beggars come here to disturb our customers and us and some want to try our products"⁶.

Generally people were fair about the sellers "as long as they don't affect the social life of people it is alright, it should be limited though"⁷. There was one girl who described her experience with a boy who sells flower crowns to girls.

*"In the summer there are small boys, I'm not sure if they are Syrians, trying to sell you flowers crowns and they put on your head, It is pathetic because they are very young, I told them I don't want it, it is heart-breaking, and they tell you it is for free, and one day I received one for free, I feel oppressed, I don't like"*⁸.

¹ BCN-PSB-20, 36, Male, Tourist, Egypt

² BCN-PSB-12, 74, Couple, Local, Spain

³ IST-RTL-15, 29, Female, Local, Turkey

⁴ IST-PSB-34, 46, Male, Tourist, Bosnia

⁵ IST-PSB-35, 47, Male, Resident, Turkey

⁶ IST-RTL-7, 23, Female, Local, Turkey

⁷ IST-PSB-32, 25, Male, Local, Turkey

⁸ IST-PSB-31, 22, Female, Tourist, Belgium

These incidents are quite pathetic and touchy to some people especially those coming from abroad who don't experience such things. A kiosk seller justifies it as "it is normal, it is not a perfect country, it wasn't possible before to earn money on the street, but the current government is flexible and helpful"¹ while other people criticized the state represented by municipal police in "chasing but not arresting them is kind of illegal! Sellers are a problem but I think the police support them which is strange"². This remains a problem in these territories because of the intensity and interactions in crowded places. They might go to other places to sell or beg, but it won't be easier, more successful or better as the density of people, crowd and tourists increase their chances of selling more and hiding from the police.

7.5 Summary

This chapter focused on the type of culture pedestrian territories generate, which is both place culture and human culture that intersect to form what I described as territorial culture. Notably, I addressed numerous examples to show this distinction using subjective and objective accounts. In the first part we saw that most of the culture is revolving around the image or the visual which these territories try to convey. Whether it's seen through visual culture or seductive power of consumption, or by wandering around and being affected by the atmosphere of the territory and its visual productions. We noticed that this in a lot of times considered surreal, imaginary, fantasy culture that uses Disney billboards, architectural façades or performers to take the humans to another level of perception.

Here I would like to elaborate on this by measuring or evaluating how authentic these places are and how real the culture is. This to contrast with some subjective opinions I mentioned which saw the place as a fantasy or fictitious place. But the debate over authenticity is tricky as its quite subjective and using tourists or passers-by doesn't give us a deep understanding of whether these places are authentic or not. Mark Neumann (1988, p. 24) tells us that many "tourists are rarely left to draw their own conclusions about objects or places" (1988, p. 24) as they are received by "signs, maps, guides and guide books – that repeatedly mark the boundaries of significance and value at tourist sites (Edensor, 2001, p. 73). Therefore, many people come to the pedestrian territory with some knowledge of what

¹ IST-KSK-3, 57, Male, Resident, Turkey

² IST-RTL-16, 31, Male, Local, Turkey

they should expect; Disney-like, tourist-trap, crowded and loud or other adjectives used in guide books or tourist blogs or been told by their acquaintances. While this might sound like people come with a pre-assumptions, we see that many people have interesting observations and opinions. As I used subjective accounts to show their opinions through a series of questions to draw out the dimensions of culture we can take this to show how authentic this place or culture is.

Applying authenticity must be an objective debate, as this term means different things to different people. Authenticity can mean old materials, historic façade, local food, vernacular architecture, and so on. So, considering authenticity as original or genuine might ease the discussion. Disney billboards of Times Square can be for many people as original since it's the representation of Broadway as a hub for theatrical and musical shows. While the façade of İstiklal buildings can be considered neoclassical but not ottoman so they aren't original for many who think of Turkey as Ottoman heritage. These comparisons can be very tricky and very subjective but we saw that many people still saw the territory as a whole an original place or at least a unique and iconic in comparison to the city, nation or the world.

Throughout the chapter we saw the role of tourism which works as "a vehicle for transmitting identity"(Edensor, 2001, p. 74), therefore, tourism tries to uniform places to target the global tourist and his/her needs. This utopian approach of tourism ruin many places and loosen their authenticity by applying these tourists needs like chains, touristic stores, restaurants, ...etc., which redesign the street to make it more sellable using media and technology. We see here contradictions between showing tourists authenticity using tourism which reorder, redesign, reorganize the place to ease tourist experience. Boorstin (1964) argued that tourism is a 'prime site of the production' which uses depthless visuals that ignore "the richer cultural meanings produced and consumed" (Edensor, 2001, p. 68). We see this in Times Square for instance, so many commercials and unrelated signs are overtaking the sight from Broadway shows billboards which supposedly represent the main character of the square.

We saw in this and previous chapters how consumption is overwhelming the place, trying to marginalize authenticity using BID which fundamentally make everything on the square sellable and profitable. It produces spaces which could be called "theatrical spaces, is through capitalizing on a nexus between media and place" (Edensor, 2001, p. 68).

I showed aspects of consumption culture as turning the street to a shopping mecca, even having shopping malls to maximize consumption spaces vertically and horizontally as part of the economic revitalization process mentioned in the previous chapters. Authenticity, therefore, struggles here when Burger King becomes a landmark on İstiklal and a meeting point, and MacDonald's lines up queues on Las Ramblas. Clearly this didn't happen overnight but through processes of neoliberalism, globalization and tourism altogether to endorse entertainment and consumption. If we bring authenticity here we can see my examples of how the workers and immigrants become the insiders of the territory while the local people feel as outsiders due to the mass destruction of place originality. We also see that tourism is fighting authenticity by bringing tourists who come with their habits and languages that pack the place until we see some people complaining that they don't even hear the local language anymore. We definitely see here many examples of how people conflict with the space and its users because of lack of local rules or systems; many tourists and outsiders make the majority and therefore the place loses its city system, and this is a lack of authenticity.

Having this unique or iconic territory is itself an authentic thing despite the fact that it doesn't represent the city or is very touristic. We see how this territorial culture is a very authentic and original culture if compared to the rest of the city. This diversity is home for many queers and minorities which itself a genuine separation from city's system. I explained this when I called this diversity as a heterogeneous, but this authentic value of diversity of wanting and enjoying a place that opens its doors to minorities and sexualities is a homogenous shared value. What's unique is authentic, let's put it this simple, housing these subcultures and diversity make it a pluralist place and this pluralism iconize the place with this new territorial culture as I described in this chapter. The temptation of having these places as a background of their selfies and pictures is evident to its authenticity. We see this in "touristic picturing practices (which) offer a useful ground in which to explore the role of visual practices in creating experiences" (Crang, 1997, p. 366).

The example I want to mention is performances; as in these cases they are exclusively performed here making performance an authentic practice that distinguishes the place from the rest of the city. However, are these performers authentic or their performances authentic? This depends on each case and the subjective accounts I mentioned and analysed above. We saw how the topless girls of Times Square are unique to the place and

can't be found in other parts of the city or even the nation but they aren't authentic to the Americans (many of them are conservative) and angrily called them as a false representation of the US. On the other hand, we see how Barcelona's performers were praised as a true representation of the city and its people; being friendly and elegant, despite the fact that half of them aren't from Barcelona but the adapted to city's culture.

We see that subjective accounts are very helpful to answer the question of culture however this culture is complicated and very dependable on the context of which its situated in. Likewise, authenticity is a two sided coin which can mean two things at the same time and highly subjective. We see how many tourists are "always questing to find an authentic experience but only ever finding signs of tourism (Crang, 1997, p. 362). This might be "because of the universalisation of the Tourist Gaze, all sorts of places (indeed almost everywhere) have come to construct themselves as objects of the tourist gaze" (Crang, 1997, p. 362). I finish here with Mike Crang's words to emphasize the importance of tourists accounts in studying geographical contexts in line with authenticity, since the "tourist is positioned as a voyager, setting out to understand the world to mould experience into a sequence, into a route and inscribe a geography on to knowledge (1997, p. 365).

Chapter 8: Territorial Identity: The Unique and the Iconic

8.1 Introduction

In this chapter I'll discuss the identity of the pedestrian territory, which is derived from the territorial culture. I'll explain the difference between the identity of the place and the identity of the people as they are quite often mixed together. I'll show this distinction using the empirical data as figural charts showing the general identity and explaining them through people's voices, showing the specific elements which make them identify these places as local or global, icons or attractions and specific physical or human elements that represent this identity.

Therefore, I argue that these pedestrian territories have a dual identity; the identity of the people and the identity of the place, the physical environment. This was a big deal during my fieldwork as many people called them global because people are coming from everywhere, while others saw them as local because of their architecture, history, food, etc. I argue that these conflicts of identity are connected with the history, politics and cultural elements, which are all aspects of the local identity, while the market and tourism invaded the urban fabric in addition to processes of gentrification that in some cases was intentional to make the outsider feel 'at home' and consume. So the discussion in this chapter will use people's subjectivities to identify human and non-human elements and make sense of all the unique, iconic, global, local and cosmopolitan identities and labels the pedestrian territory receives.

I'll focus in this chapter on 5 the main themes of the pedestrian territory. First I will compare the identity of the territory with the global context to show how people identify these territories as something belonging to or representing the city, nation, continent or the world. Second, I'll use the ranking of the pedestrian territory in comparison with its surroundings, the city and other attractions or areas, to see if these territories are the icon of the city, an attraction or the best thing the city can offer. Third, I'll elaborate on the second point by showing the representations of the local culture within the boundaries of these territories, which shows how much of it is local, global or territorial. Fourth, I show

what the participants found iconic and unique in these territories. Fifth, I compare people favourite things with what the territory is missing according to participants.

8.2 Territorial Identity in the Global Context

The following 3 figures illustrate the responses to the question I asked my participants regarding the identity of the place, and whether it is a NYC, American or global thing or something else? I found that people had interesting answers and quite often take some time to think about the territory from different dimensions. I'll explain and contrast the figures with people voices to show the duality in their answers, as global sometimes refers to the place as a physical environment, and at other times as demographics of people, while some of the respondents mixed them together.

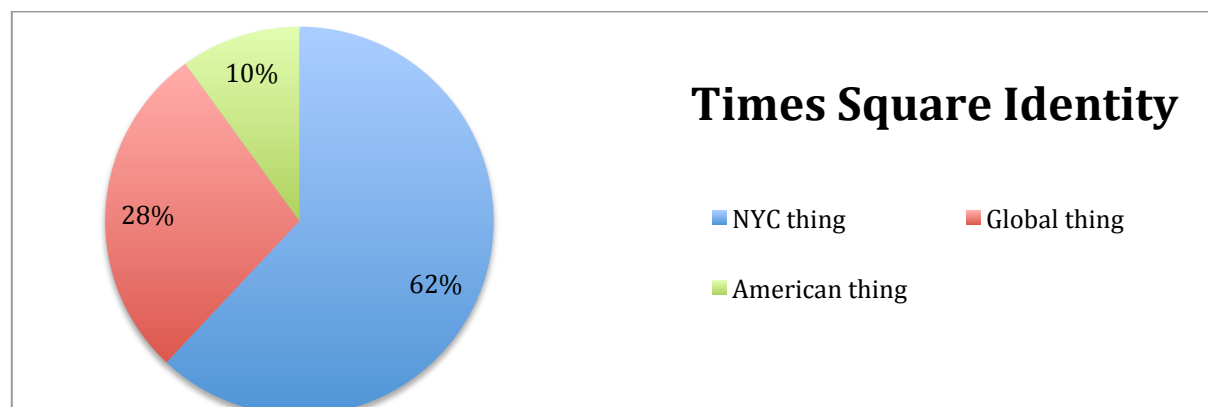


Figure 8-1 Times Square Identity

Figure 8-1 shows that the majority of people categorized Times Square as a 'NYC thing' for many reasons. "It is a NY thing, it is NY identity and it can be global because all people know Times Square and what it is all about"¹. So its local identity refers to the place and global refers to its fame worldwide. Some people thought it was not a NY thing because "you can have it in other places like Tokyo"² so it is copy-able and therefore it is global, while another explanation is that it is "global, I think a different version of Times Square can fit in other cities"³.

¹ NYC-RTL-5, 28, Male, Local, USA

² NYC-RTL-7, 45, Female, Resident, Japan

³ NYC-RTL-1, 25, Male, Resident, USA

Global can mean to some people that “just been here walking around I see groups of people speaking other languages, they definitely look like they've never been here”¹ so it is global because it attracts people from other countries. While to those who call it a NY thing, it is because “when people think of NYC they think of Times Square”² as an icon of the city, or “you will lose NYC if you put it in another city”³ which sounds more valuable than the Statue of Liberty. A domestic tourist thinks it is “unique to NYC because of the theatres”⁴. A resident of NYC nicely articulated as “it is a globally identified location that happens to be uniquely in NYC”⁵. While those who advocate for its American identity rely on a comparison with other places in America “it resembles Hollywood and Las Vegas”⁶ or a holistic image of America “it represents what America stands for not what NYC stands for”⁷.

A few people thought that “Times Square is what people who never been to NYC expected it to be, If you know NYC you will know that NYC is waaaaay better than Times Square, for me it is one of the worst places in NY”⁸ and it is not even an attraction. Another seller on Times Square, who is originally from Egypt, makes a comparison globally:

“If you take Times Square to Egypt it will be better, because it will be more authentic and Egyptian, because all the people here are not Americans, but in Egypt there will be 50% Egyptians and 50% tourists. You don't see real Americans here, it is a global place, it is for all people, the majority of New Yorkers are immigrants”⁹.

While this opinion might be controversial, it has the point that a Times Square in Egypt, which has fewer immigrants, would have more locals in one of its famous landmarks. An American disagrees with the previous Egyptian/American because “it is what America is famous for, I think it is very specific to NYC, I don't think it will work anywhere else in the world”¹⁰.

¹ NYC-PSB-47, 21, Female, Domestic Tourist, USA

² NYC-PSB-38, 25, Female, Domestic Tourist, USA

³ NYC-PSB-12, 22, Female, Tourist, Saudi Arabia

⁴ NYC-PSB-11, 20, Female, Domestic Tourist, USA

⁵ NYC-PSB-17, 62, Male, Resident, USA

⁶ NYC-PSB-31, 36, Male, Domestic Tourist, USA

⁷ NYC-PSB-18, 34, Female, Tourist, India

⁸ NYC-PRF-6, 33, Male, Local, USA, Stand Up Comedy Guy

⁹ NYC-KSK-1, 34, Male, Resident, Egypt

¹⁰ NYC-PSB-1, 21, Female, Domestic Tourist, USA

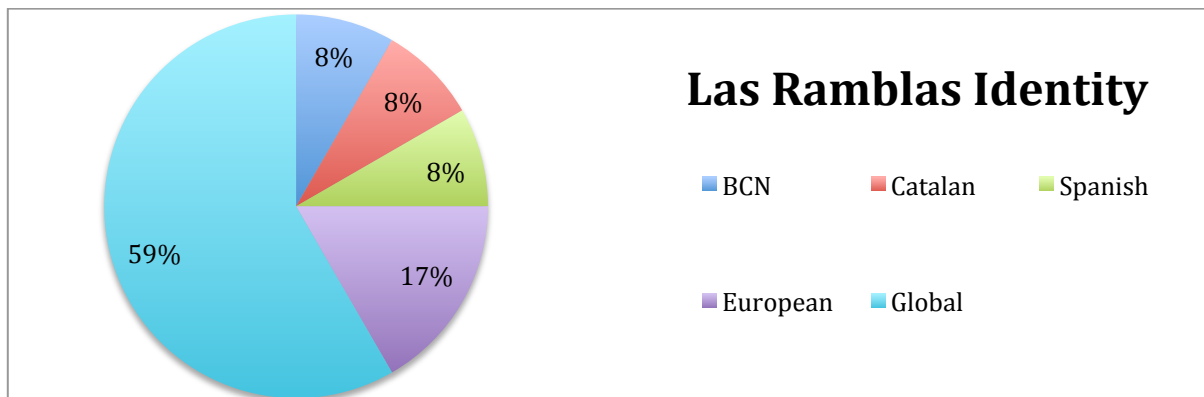


Figure 8-2 Las Ramblas Identity

Things get more complicated when people try to give Las Ramblas an identity due to the complicated political, cultural situation of this autonomous region in Spain. If Barcelona is Catalan or Spanish, or if Catalunya is part of Spain, raises enough questions about identity to fit into an entire thesis. Here I use people's voices; some are more nationalist than others, and some are more biased than others. Looking at Figure 8-2, the basic 3 identities of Times Square expands to 5 identities in Barcelona. Around 2/3 of the people think it is 'a global thing' but we have here the city's identity, regional identity, national identity and continental identity on top of the global identity.

Some people give it a global identity, referring to the popularity of the football team 'Barça', it is "something belongs to the world in general. I identify it with Barça, it is the place where people come to celebrate the team with trophies"¹. It represents the city as it is a "Barcelona thing, it is more active here compared to other cities in Europe which are quiet and cold"² so it is related to the weather and its influence on street vibrancy. An art observer argues that it is a Spanish identity because of the design concept "in Tarragona they have Ramblas, it is less crowded, not like this"³.

Some people differentiate: "it is global because people come from everywhere, and you can recognise people and where they are coming from, their costumes and languages, but the architecture is European"⁴. "It is originally a Barcelona thing, but it is global now because you can't see any local features anymore, there is nothing typical here anymore, you only

¹ BCN-PSB-9, 34, Male, Local, Spain

² BCN-PSB-39, 31, Female, Tourist, India

³ BCN-PSB-38, 24, Male, Tourist, Netherlands

⁴ BCN-PSB-37, 53, Male, Tourist, Morocco

find Starbucks and Macdonald's"¹. Probably the local features have been hidden, replaced and so gentrified that there has been a loss of authenticity. A domestic Spanish tourist argued, "I don't think it belongs to Spain; Spain doesn't want things to be found in Barcelona, it represents Catalan culture"². Some people draw interesting comparisons, even geographic disorientation. "I can see the people resemble Arabs, the place is more Spanish, it is very different from Champs-Élysées or Rome, you can't compare it with them, Spain is a bit far from Europe"³.

Identity is heavily charged with politics and therefore Las Ramblas is "global for the people here, but the place is more European; because there are many things here that remind me of Italy or France, so it is Catalan and European"⁴. It is an obvious support for Catalunya's independence, since she compared it with other countries, but not Spain. An older Barcelonan defends "Las Ramblas is Catalan and it is from Barcelona, it is just that nowadays there are more tourists than local people"⁵. Probably it lost its local identity when the locals were replaced by the tourists "now it is something for tourists, global, years ago people used to pay for chairs and now it is changed, pet shops were replaced by ice cream shops for tourists. When we had pet shops you could see families with kids on Sundays, but now nothing"⁶. It is not just loss of place here, but even a loss of identity and authenticity.

Spanish versus Catalan is both a political and cultural issue; we can see the identity through the spoken languages. For instance "it is Catalan, but most people speak Spanish because they come from abroad or other parts of Spain, I'm Catalan and I speak Spanish, but I express myself better in Spanish so that's why I speak Spanish"⁷. I had an interview with a girl in one of the shops who introduced herself as "I'm Spanish from Barcelona" emphasizing on this identity and later on through her opinions of the Ramblas. Some people have stronger thoughts on the central government and its attempts to change the identity "I know that the government is trying to erase everything but Las Ramblas re-establishes itself

¹ BCN-PSB-33, 25, Male, Resident, Italy

² BCN-PSB-30, 64, Male, Domestic Tourist, Spain

³ BCN-PSB-25, 42, Male, Tourist, Lebanon

⁴ BCN-PSB-22, 33, Female, Tourist, Portugal

⁵ BCN-PSB-18, 76, Female, Local, Spain

⁶ BCN-PSB-12, 74, Couple, Local, Spain

⁷ BCN-HMS-2, 33, Male, Local, Spain

again”¹. Going back to the discussion on theme parks (Hannigan, 1998; Sorkin, 1992a) “Las Ramblas is the same and Calanetas fountain is the same but everything here is touristic, same thing with La Boqueria, you can't get in, Las Ramblas is like a theme park now”².

Some participants tried to attribute a European identity to the territory to keep the political tension calm. “It is European, people from everywhere, Catalans like to make it Catalan and Spanish people like to make Spanish, but people are from everywhere”³ therefore “It is a place where Catalans and Spanish people get together and talk, people don't talk about Catalonia, It is a European place”⁴. We saw here that locally-specific patterns like language influence the identity of the place, and that political biasness can be strongly present on the street through people’s attitudes and behaviours.

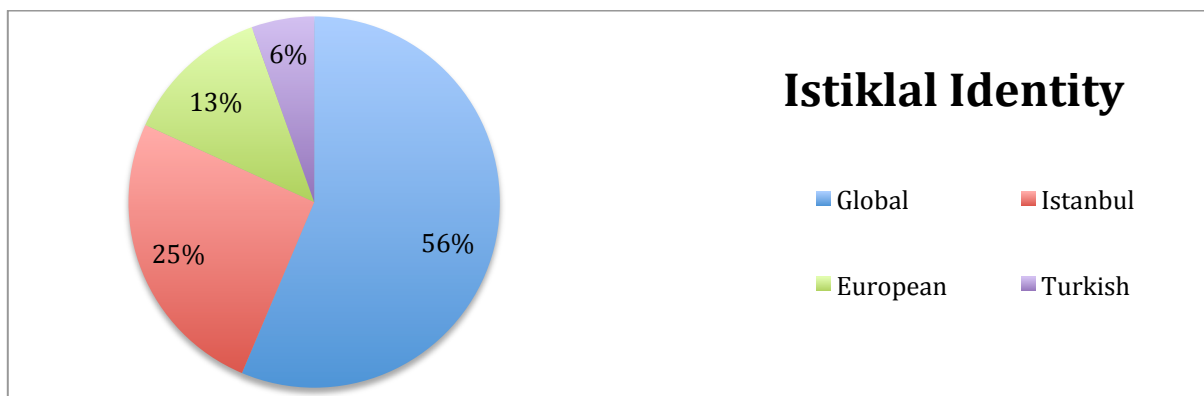


Figure 8-3 İstiklal Identity

The debate over İstiklal’s identity is linked to wider debates around Istanbul and Turkish identities, which are controversial, historical and political. A simple example is the identity of a Turkish citizen. I was so confused when I asked someone where is he/she from. They named the city which their parents or family came from, not the city they were born in. For instance one man was from Trabzon even if he was born in Istanbul. This confusion extends to the street and its identity, or even the nation itself. Moreover, we can see Figure 8-3 that some people see a difference between an Istanbulite identity and Turkish identity,

¹ BCN-PRF-3, 35, Male, Resident, Columbia, Black Monster

² BCN-PRF-2, 45, Male, Local, Spain, White Artist

³ BCN-PRF-4, 37, Female, Resident, Argentina, Golden Queen

⁴ BCN-HMS-1, 35, Male, Resident, Spain

therefore, İstiklal is an Istanbul thing, but not really a Turkish place “It is an Istanbul thing but not Turkish, It doesn't represent Turkish culture”¹ a Swedish expat in Istanbul explained.

“It is an Istanbul thing more than Turkish culture, I spoke with the owner of Kelebek Korse, he is from a Jewish background and he spoke of the old Istanbul when many store owners from non-Muslim minorities lived next to Muslims, it represents the old Istanbul which was a cosmopolitan and multicultural city, it is going away, it is been replaced by big corporates. It is an Istanbul thing, more cosmopolitan but not Turkish”².

An Istanbulite thinks “it is an Istanbul thing, but Istanbul is a multicultural place, so it is a global place, it represents Turkish culture”³. So we have here some contradicting opinions around what is Istanbulite, Turkish or even cosmopolitan. Another Turkish participant responded “they say the capital of the world is Istanbul, so it is global”⁴.

Some people refer to the location of Istanbul as a city on two continents “It is in the middle, it is a mixture of east and west”⁵. If we look at it closely “street design is like European cities, but shops are Turkish”⁶. This has been elaborated on by an Istanbul local.

“Westernized place, but I think it is not completely successful, it is not lost place like the Middle-East is, but there are some features of western culture here. For instance, street sellers and food vendors are Middle-Eastern features and represent Middle-East”⁷.

Many westerns will see Turkey as Middle-Eastern, not European, but the vast majority of Turkish people don't like to categorize themselves as part of the Middle-East, which is a long historical debate that started with the nationalist movements in Turkey post Ottomanism.

“The unthreatening cross-fertilization of Islamic and secular modernity projects thus distinguished Turkey as the ‘good and safe Muslim’ from her ‘bad Muslim’ Arab sisters. Endowed with the correct race and ethnicity as a predominantly white nation, Turkey ultimately benefited from its status as the Middle East's noble savage” (Potuoğlu-Cook, 2006, p. 637).

Many Turkish people either refer to Europe to push for a political join to EU or call it global for different reasons. “It is global as people from different cultures are sharing the same place. For example I want to learn Italian and there is a place here, it represents Turkey, it is

¹ IST-PSB-31, 22, Female, Tourist, Belgium

² IST-PSB-19, 32, Male, Resident, Sweden

³ IST-PSB-6, 26, Female, Local, Turkey

⁴ IST-RTL-13, 28, Male, Resident, Turkey

⁵ IST-PSB-37, 21, Male, Resident, Russia

⁶ IST-PSB-34, 46, Male, Tourist, Bosnia

⁷ IST-PSB-32, 25, Male, Local, Turkey

Turkish, there are kebab places”¹, but is Kebab European? Definitely, “the food, it is Turkish, you can't find such a thing in western cities”². It is probably the hybrid culture that creates this interesting identity.

“I don't think there is any street on earth like İstiklal, I think there are streets like this but not like İstiklal (as a pedestrian mall), maybe the people when they immigrated from Turkey and they come back the first thing they wanted to do is to come to İstiklal, it used to be like this too during the Ottoman empire, now it is more modern, it is a multicultural place, it is very unique”³.

This claim is debateable as it was the non-Muslim minority district, which included western embassies, schools, shops that had a totally different identity to the current one.

8.3 Territory in Comparison with the City

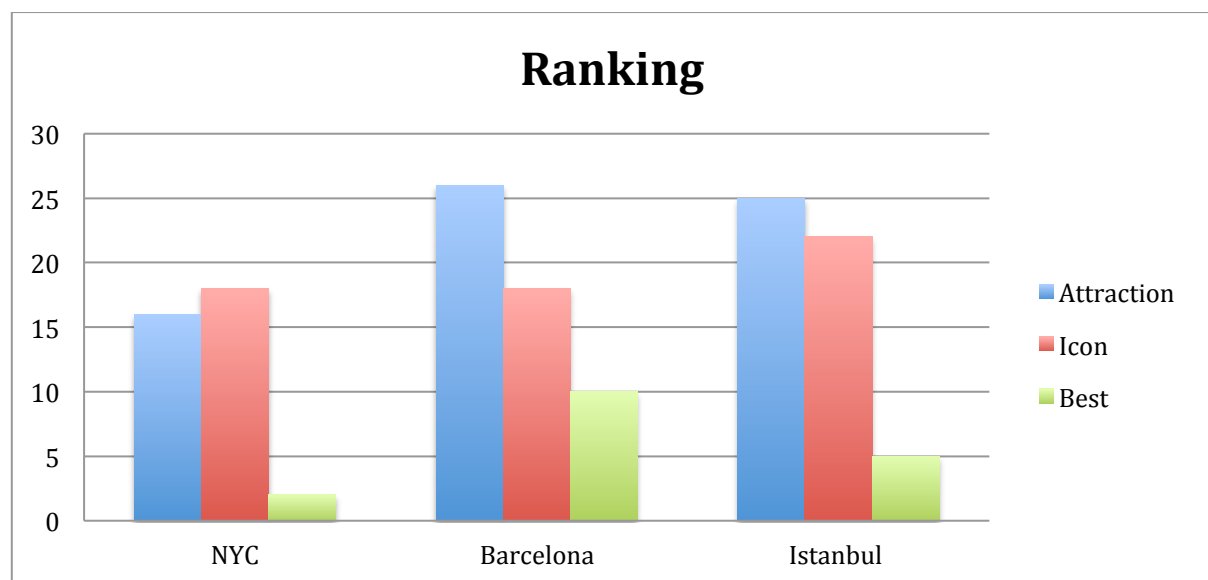


Figure 8-4 Ranking

Undoubtedly these territories aren't just another area in the city. Instead they have a distinctive character and popularity, which puts them in a ranking with the surroundings within the same city or nationwide. During the fieldwork, people ranked these territories in different ways. Looking at the answers, they are good evidence of what the diverse group of people within the territory think of the pedestrian territory.

Figure 8-4 shows the ranking of the territory in the three different cities. Clearly it is not the best of the city could offer for the majority of people, but we can't underestimate the

¹ IST-PSB-35, 47, Male, Resident, Turkey

² IST-PSB-32, 25, Male, Local, Turkey

³ IST-PSB-1, 43, Male, Resident, Turkey

number of those who think of it as the best place. I'll show here how people justified this ranking though reasons and explanation of these answers, especially the argument around whether this place is the icon of the city, or just one of city's attractions which gained the highest number of votes.

Times Square is seen by the majority of people as an icon of the city "because it is the first places that people would think of when they think of New York, There are other hearts, not only this one, but this is the icon"¹. People "like other things, this is the highlight, the most interesting and unique place, I like the history of NYC and I like the older buildings too"². Of course it "depends on people, some people won't like it because of its materialism, and capitalism that it portrays"³. Someone think it is an icon because it is

*"Magical, it is one of the most unique places in NY and the country, everyone has a different story and they are all centralized in a little tiny space, I think people move to NY because it is the place where their dreams come true and that's why I moved here to get a job in my field, which is public relations"*⁴.

Another person finds its location is "the focal point, the centre point of NYC, It is a must see"⁵ probably "if you like random things this is the place"⁶. However, others consider it just "a great attraction, must see, but not the top"⁷ and while one could see as an icon, another thinks it is "the most commercialized thing on the island, I don't think there is anything terribly unique or fascinating, it is just a place to be"⁸. Probably it depends on the experience of the respondent, as some would see it as "an attraction, I enjoy seeing New Yorkers traveling from one place to the next, that's real New York, that's what interests me, but Times Square is the touristic NYC, that's what I came to see"⁹. So, we can call Times Square metaphorically the 'touristic icon' of NYC.

¹ NYC-PSB-29, 25, Lesbian, Local, USA

² NYC-PSB-2, 50, Female, Domestic Tourist, USA

³ NYC-PSB-18, 34, Female, Tourist, India

⁴ NYC-RTL-1, 25, Male, Resident, USA

⁵ NYC-PSB-12, 22, Female, Tourist, Saudi Arabia

⁶ NYC-RTL-2, 35, Male, Local, USA

⁷ NYC-PSB-9, 80, Couple, Domestic Tourist, USA

⁸ NYC-PSB-39, 51, Female, Domestic Tourist, USA

⁹ NYC-PSB-28, 43, Female, Domestic Tourist, USA

The meaning of icon probably depends on personal preference, “it is an attraction, other places are nicer and quieter, like Brooklyn and other places”¹. While it is considered icon due to “the dream of being to Broadway”² or an “attraction, museums are far better, other places which show culture, I hate Times Square and it is not my type and scene”³. It is a popular place, which attracted those respondents even those who hate it, explaining why it is seen as an icon more than just an attraction.

Although the majority of votes make Las Ramblas just an attraction, the number of people who thought it represents the best of Barcelona was the highest of all three cases. Some people thought it was because “it is the oldest part of Barcelona, it is the historical centre”⁴ as it runs between the gothic quarter and El Raval and connects Plaça Catalunya with the beach. Basically some people “love it, you can find everything here, there is always a great atmosphere and movements, different cultures”⁵ that’s why some people consider it the “best, at least for people not coming from Barcelona”⁶. The ‘best’ is a tricky word because it might refer to different things, as a Barcelonan explains:

“The name itself explains it, it is the best place to walk in the world, there are many criticisms about it, we complain now about tourism, many years ago we had problems with Franco and his dictatorship, Las Ramblas is La Rambla, it will be Las Ramblas forever”⁷

This explains how this place preserved its charm and attractiveness over the years. It could be the best for tourism. “It is the most important gathering of Barcelona for tourists, we could take advantage of Las Ramblas if the Town Hall and shops had a better agreement, Las Ramblas will be even more beautiful”⁸. This respondent was probably referring to adopting a sort of BID.

Those who see it as an icon think “it is an icon (not the best) only because I like Gaudí’s arts more, I really like La Rambla, I think both are characteristics of Barcelona”⁹. Some people

¹ NYC-PSB-26, 41, Couple, Tourist, Switzerland

² NYC-PSB-10, 22, Female, Tourist, Netherlands

³ NYC-PSB-23, 23, Female, Local, USA

⁴ BCN-RTL-7, 41, Female, Resident, Uruguay

⁵ BCN-RTL-2, 43, Female, Local, Spain

⁶ BCN-PSB-30, 64, Male, Domestic Tourist, Spain

⁷ BCN-KSK-5, 55, Female, Local, Spain

⁸ BCN-KSK-4, 27, Male, Local, Spain

⁹ BCN-PSB-4, 23, Female, Tourist, Italy

compare it with other icons, “it is an Icon, like the Champs-Élysées”¹ as a walking place or a landmark “it is an Icon, Paris has Eiffel Tower, Madrid has museums, Barcelona has La Rambla”². Locally it is a melting point “it is a meeting point for many people from many cultures, for people coming and staying for a certain period or time”³ as many people find themselves there because “it is the centre of the city where everyone will pass through”⁴. It is also an icon because it is the “particular street of Barcelona”⁵ where the locals feel nostalgic “I like it, it is my childhood and memories”⁶. Although some residents see it changing rapidly:

“Las Ramblas has changed a lot, I remember years ago it was a key point in Barcelona, it had food shops, florists and pet shops. Now it is more commercialized, there is a tough competition between businesses because before we had fewer restaurants and shops and now 5000 shops. I’m specialized in selling Jamón (dry-cured ham from Spain), and now there are shops everywhere, people are greedy about their business, they don’t care about competence, in the end the best one wins”⁷

This made the place “just a shopping centre, but not the icon or the best, just an attraction”⁸, while others degraded it to “just a passing zone, it is not a place where I would like to have a walk”⁹. The tricky point about best is that it might refer to the adjacent area. “I like the gothic area”¹⁰ as it might be “for tourists, maybe the best place, it is horrible, Plaça Reial is nicer”. Although for some Las Ramblas is recommended as “it is a good place because it is the centre of Barcelona, but sometimes I tell myself it is disgusting to go through La Rambla”¹¹ probably because “it is a place to get money from tourists basically”¹² or the crowd makes it undesirable for locals or those working in the area “it is tiring after a while”¹³.

When it comes to Istanbul, the respondents saw it as an attraction more than an icon or best of Istanbul, although the votes for iconic were close to those for an attraction. The best

¹ BCN-PSB-28, 25, Female, Tourist, Italy

² BCN-PSB-12, 74, Couple, Local, Spain

³ BCN-PSB-17, 40, Male, Local, Spain

⁴ BCN-PSB-14, 45, Male, Local, Spain

⁵ BCN-KSK-7, 43, Male, Local, Spain

⁶ BCN-RTL-6, 23, Female, Local, Spain

⁷ BCN-RTL-3, 35, Male, Resident, Dominican Republic

⁸ BCN-PSB-3, 22, Female, Tourist, Ukraine

⁹ BCN-PSB-32, 62, Couple, Resident, Spain

¹⁰ BCN-PSB-36, 41, Male, Tourist, USA

¹¹ BCN-PSB-32, 62, Couple, Resident, Spain

¹² BCN-KSK-2, 25, Male, Local, Spain

¹³ BCN-HMS-1, 35, Male, Resident, Spain

of Istanbul stems from multiple reasons, as a location it is “the heart of Istanbul”¹, for some locals it is ‘a never dying memory’ as “this place is my life, I came here often, when I was a kid my grandma used to bring me here, it is a 24/7 place, it is always dynamic”². Aesthetically, “it is one of the most beautiful streets in the world and it is really undervalued”³ even for those who aren’t into city life “I like natural places more, but in Istanbul it is the best of Istanbul”⁴. It is compared to other places, “best, and 2nd is Üsküdar”⁵, or based on specific criteria or use “best, I don't know many places in Istanbul, it is the best shopping place in Istanbul”⁶.

It remains an important “must see, at least once”⁷ as “every district of Istanbul has its own charm; Karaköy to eat fish and enjoy the sea, İstiklal is a whole different experience, it can be the best”⁸ probably due to its comprehension. Perhaps because “there is a long culture on this street that has been collected for 1000 years which attracts people to it, personally if I don’t come to İstiklal for a few months I will be depressed”⁹. Talking about culture and history it can be said that “Turkey's capital is Istanbul and İstiklal is the capital of Istanbul”¹⁰.

Those who thought of it is an icon had a different view as it is “not a place where you want to be always, just to visit and have fun, it is not a normal attraction, you can do a lot here, it is an icon”¹¹ but “it is crowded all the time, sometimes I like a calm place”¹². Some people “love it; it is the best place to shop, icon for tourists not for locals”. When it comes to relationality a respondent says:

“It is an icon, people don't want to leave Istanbul without visiting İstiklal, it is like Times Square of NYC, they don't leave without sitting on the stairs and taking pictures, Times Square doesn't have history; only lights and shops, but İstiklal has history and culture, and it preserved things like Simit and kiosks, it is representing the culture of Istanbul”¹³

¹ IST-RTL-6, 22, Male, Resident, Turkey

² IST-RTL-16, 31, Male, Local, Turkey

³ IST-RTL-10, 44, Male, Resident, Turkey

⁴ IST-PSB-8, 24, Male, Tourist, Bahrain

⁵ IST-PSB-35, 47, Male, Resident, Turkey

⁶ IST-PSB-30, 44, Female, Domestic Tourist, Turkey

⁷ IST-PSB-3, 23, Female, Domestic Tourist, Turkey

⁸ IST-PSB-1, 43, Male, Resident, Turkey

⁹ IST-KSK-4, 49, Male, Resident, Turkey

¹⁰ IST-KSK-3, 57, Male, Resident, Turkey

¹¹ IST-PSB-9, 27, Male, Domestic Tourist, Turkey

¹² IST-PSB-6, 26, Female, Local, Turkey

¹³ IST-PSB-29, 27, Female, Local, Turkey

This makes sense of my comparative argument. But being an icon for some isn't perceived positively "it is an icon but I don't define it as a good place anymore"¹ said someone local who remembered the old days, but "It is what a lot of tourists will remember about Istanbul"². Probably it is an icon because "it is the most crowded place in Istanbul"³ and because it is "old and historical, good for shopping, you have 1-2 branches of each brand on İstiklal, the first thing comes to people mind when talking about Istanbul is İstiklal"⁴. While this could be debateable as many people think of Istanbul in different ways "I don't think it is unique, I like Fatih more, I think it is more unique, this place is not any better, I don't think it is just a popular place, it has its own features but I don't think these features make it a unique place"⁵. It is an "attraction, maybe, I don't know the importance of this street in the past, I just know that it is the European street in the Ottoman Empire"⁶ so if talking about history "the best is Sultanahmet, it is the Icon of Istanbul"⁷ and "İstiklal is just an attraction, Hagia Sofia is the icon of Istanbul"⁸.

So, this ranking depends on the comparable category, whether it is history, atmosphere, landmark or personal interests. Looking at İstiklal today, it doesn't show much of its history as:

*"It used to be a place where minorities lived during the Ottoman Empire. The old Ottoman people were living here, Istanbul wasn't that big, behind Şişli was a forest, they cut the forest and they built everything, and people started to migrate to here, and İstiklal became a mess, it is not the place which can take this amount of people"*⁹

So, the cosy streets built by the European minorities have been totally changed in character, uses and users. Some still see it as "a good historical place in a historical district, Taksim"¹⁰ and others see it as "a place where people are not that intellectual"¹¹ especially after declassing it. It is indeed the "most crowded street in Turkey, I don't like crowded places"¹²

¹ IST-PSB-21, 34, Female, Resident, Turkey

² IST-PSB-19, 32, Male, Resident, Sweden

³ IST-RTL-12, 46, Male, Local, Turkey

⁴ IST-RTL-8, 43, Trans-woman Local, Turkey

⁵ IST-PSB-32, 25, Male, Local, Turkey

⁶ IST-PSB-23, 20, Male, Tourist, Italy

⁷ IST-PSB-22, 21, Female, Local, Turkey

⁸ IST-PSB-16, 72, Male, Tourist, Germany

⁹ IST-RTL-9, 57, Male, Local, Turkey, Oldest store on İstiklal

¹⁰ IST-RTL-14, 53, Male, Resident, Turkey

¹¹ IST-RTL-13, 28, Male, Resident, Turkey

¹² IST-RTL-12, 46, Male, Local, Turkey

so these people are pushed away to the adjacent areas, as “it is been popular for a long time, I like it but I prefer Cihangir more nowadays”¹. For someone coming from the historical Ottoman district of Fatih, which is more conservative, historical and representative of Ottoman culture, İstiklal remains:

“A very complicated place, I'm from Fatih, I don't like to spend my time in this place I prefer to spend my time with my family, there should be old, local stores on this street suitable for local families, shops which are 100 years old should be preserved and this place should be more historical”².

8.4 Representations of the Local Culture

We saw the ranking and identities of the pedestrian territory and here I elaborate on the iconic features that identify the pedestrian territory based on people’s responses and the elements that they think are representative of the local culture. These features and elements make a distinction between the pedestrian territory and the rest of the city or the nation; they are phenomena, which can have a positive or negative impact on the image of the territory.

Many people in Times Square considered the lights, billboards and Broadway shows as the key icons, and some referred to the red steps and themed stores as features that identify the square. However some went to specific aspects of the territory.

“Times Square is on its own, it is a separate place, there is nothing like this in the world, I was recently in Cali and there is nowhere in the world like this. I think the only problem here is the topless girls, the kids shouldn't see the topless girls, the kids seeing the topless girls is the real problem, I understand the rights in NY but the girls should be restricted to certain areas, you wouldn't bring topless girls to school zones”³.

This respondent distinguishes Times Square from the rest of the city and the nation, and brings up the topless girls as a problem, even though they are also an icon of the place, whether people like it or not, as they add an exclusive element to this specific place. Interestingly he described Times Square as a ‘school zone’, referring to it as a child-oriented zone. In contrast the topless girl’s boss has a different take.

“There is of course a relation between Times Square and the past, there were drugs and prostitution in the 1980s and women were doing this and that, that's prostitution, but my girls take a picture and

¹ IST-RTL-11, 24, Gay-man Local, Turkey

² IST-RTL-1, 36, Male, Local, Turkey

³ NYC-PRF-7, 36, Male, Local, USA, Comedy Guy 2

they keep it with them, it is the right identity of Times Square. People used to come here for the crazy things, you get a shot of something, they cleaned it up and now it is like Disneyland, you see Toys“R”Us and beautiful women, and it makes it livelier, and I don't want to say it is the number 1, but it is a big destination”¹.

So the topless girls are a revivalist feature of Times Square, which was always a place of adult entertainment involving scantily dressed women. He is probably right, looking back at the past when Times Square was an adult district for many decades. The revitalisation and drastic transformation of Times Square into a family district sparked a conflict between what's original and authentic, such as working girls and ladies of the night, and the new themed and Disneyfied family district.

In Las Ramblas the respondents talked about different aspects of the place that represent the local culture and constitute the icons of the street. Architecture was on the top of the list; some people used it broadly while others made specific point about specific buildings. “We don't preserve the local culture at all, just focusing on the other cultures, only buildings are local, Liceu Theatre, Plaça Catalunya, the Colom, La Boqueria market”².

Probably the overwhelming crowd and focus on tourism overshadowed the street's local history. “We are focused on tourists, commerce is focusing on tourists”³. However for some these “shops and their architecture preserve the Catalan culture, and there are many local festivities carried out on Las Rambla, which represent the culture. When we celebrate festivities we preserve the local culture”⁴.

But the historic dimensions are overpowered by tourism, which makes it difficult to find icons that represent the local culture

“I think we are focusing on tourists, you can see here the information is written in English, in other places it is written in Chinese or even Arabic, I don't see things written in Catalan here, probably the only thing is La Boqueria, it keeps the essence of La Rambla, but the problem is the high amount of tourists affect the locals. They have to queue and it makes them uncomfortable, or even avoid the market”⁵.

¹ NYC-PRF-2, 37, Male, Local, USA, Topless Girl, Manager

² BCN-RTL-7, 41, Female, Resident, Uruguay

³ BCN-RTL-6, 23, Female, Local, Spain

⁴ BCN-RTL-5, 36, Female, Resident, Argentina

⁵ BCN-RTL-3, 35, Male, Resident, Dominican Republic

Even La Boqueria changed its products, with the front stores now selling juices rather than raw fruit in order to meet tourists' demands. This lost local culture makes Las Ramblas an icon for an imported or touristic culture. "Now it is now more focused on other people, other parts of Barcelona still preserve the local culture"¹.

There are indeed features that are still thriving, such as "shops here, they have been selling flowers for a long time and it is part of the tradition and local culture"² or "apart from Theatre Liceu or museums nothing is local here, which is something the tourists don't pay attention to"³ so the local features are of local interest, not of interest to tourists. Of course the pets and random performers disappeared, which used to be icons of the place, as well as "years ago, In Las Ramblas there were bars, pubs where poets used to argue about poems and literature, they are all gone!"⁴. Some tourists consider food, people, flamenco and tapas as local even if they are more Spanish than Catalan, while others see the kiosks selling Barça football club tickets and products as a local feature.

*"The street itself and the buildings around it are local but not the things they sell. The things they sell are not genuine or from here, and this what tourists expect to find, not real Catalonians. When we travel to another country we look for things we expect to find, not the real country"*⁵.

A sophisticated tourist explains the remaining icons or features of the local culture:

*"What I think is important, I know it is difficult, to protect the place, not to have many MacDonald's, I think it is enough already, but to have more tapas, we have to fight against globalisation, for me it is no sense to come here to find the same shops you find in Porto or the US. I think it is enough, otherwise why would I come here? To eat at Burger King! I want to come here to go to La Boqueria or eat tapas"*⁶.

In terms of performances, they think that they are the only Catalan thing, or a representation of the local culture, although they have been limited in number and restricted to the far end of Las Ramblas. This Argentinian performer claims that:

"It is true we are the only thing remaining of Las Ramblas as artists but I'm not representing La Rambla's culture, I represent street art. Years ago when you come here you could see magicians,

¹ BCN-RTL-1, 24, Female, Local, Spain

² BCN-PSB-35, 38, Female, Tourist, Germany

³ BCN-PSB-33, 25, Male, Resident, Italy

⁴ BCN-PSB-31, 73, Male, Local, Spain

⁵ BCN-PSB-24, 52, Female, Local, Spain

⁶ BCN-PSB-22, 33, Female, Tourist, Portugal

*people joggling, they all disappeared and we are limited, I'm dressed up as Lady Camille of Alexandre Dumas"*¹.

Another Columbian performer produced supporting evidence:

*"I think this is the only cultural thing remained in La Rambla, some time ago we did a survey to see people's reactions and we found that many people came to Las Ramblas only to see human statues. I didn't expect that, I enjoy it over the years"*²

However, the Barcelonan performer sees it from another perspective. "Human statues been here for a long time, but Las Ramblas is older, so if statues disappear, Las Ramblas will still stand. O other features are the florists, Canaletes fountain. Some old local stores represent the local culture"³. He devalued the power of humans with his focus on the physical place.

Probably the regulations and restrictions limited the visibility of the local features "because of the political party who took over, if a guitarist plays music here the police will come and take it from you"⁴. It is definitely a challenge to preserve local features when a place is turned into a touristic destination. "I would like to see it representing the local culture but it is difficult in this situation, we still have characteristic features, but with so many tourists it is impossible not to focus on them"⁵. This change of demand and demographics pushed the locals away and the local features started to disappear as well, it is supply and demand, as these pedestrian territories are becoming markets therefore "it is focused completely on other cultures because less locals come here"⁶.

In Istanbul, the respondents perceived the iconic features differently. Some see it as "it is all about chain stores, fast food restaurants, when you are walking it is full of Döner shops"⁷. Undoubtedly İstiklal has lots of food choices, which are mainly Turkish restaurants of different sorts. For others foreign chains are pushing Turkish enterprises out. "I don't think so, we are corrupted in terms of culture, so I don't see anything that represents the Turkish culture"⁸. Another respondent sees this diversity of people and goods is an icon itself "it is

¹ BCN-PRF-4, 37, Female, Resident, Argentina, Golden Queen

² BCN-PRF-3, 35, Male, Resident, Columbia, Black Monster

³ BCN-PRF-2, 45, Male, Local, Spain, White Artist

⁴ BCN-PRF-1, 42, Male, Resident, Argentina, Bronze Cowboy

⁵ BCN-KSK-4, 27, Male, Local, Spain

⁶ BCN-KSK-3, 51, Male, Resident, Kazakhstan

⁷ IST-RTL-9, 57, Male, Local, Turkey

⁸ IST-RTL-7, 23, Female, Local, Turkey

multicultural, I don't sell Turkish products but there is an ice cream shop next door"¹. Similar to Barcelona the locals in Istanbul were pushed away and their demand for local products dropped "more foreign culture now, our grandparents used to come here to shop, they don't come anymore because chains, foreign brands, and foreigners took over, only food represents the local culture"².

But isn't this what İstiklal was always about; a diverse and minority-occupied district which did not represent the Ottoman Empire? "It is neither western nor Turkish culturally, even before it didn't represent Ottoman Empire, it had its distinctive character and architecture". But the revitalisation processes maximized on the market more than the local or authentic features "they closed most of the historical buildings and now they are becoming shopping malls and restaurants, they want to make it European, restaurants, passages, a lot of shopping places". The revival of the past is showing more features, as minorities are coming back to the street, whether they are western brands and chains or even Arabs as "many Arabs are in Istanbul and some Turks are becoming more Arabic (meaning more conservative). They are taking over, and the stores on İstiklal are owned by foreign companies, Cetinkaya is one of the rare stores owned by a Turk on this street"³.

Local features might be seen as Simit kiosks, which aren't exclusive to İstiklal as they are found everywhere in Istanbul. However the tram and Tünel are probably the most historic features, which only exist on İstiklal. Some people thought the history and architecture were distinctive and iconic, as they were built in a different style, not an Ottoman one. A few people mentioned "multicultural" as an icon of the place, Turkish food representing Turkey, chains representing Europe and even Syrian musicians. "We are representing Arabic culture, to all the world"⁴ through İstiklal. Likewise, a Turkish musician was seen as an icon and a local feature.

*"This is İstiklal culture, there are different people here, I'm representing the Turkish culture, I can play different types of music, and foreign music, folk and traditional, I play the music of different regions of Turkey, if I play European music I'll earn more, but I don't do it"*⁵.

¹ IST-RTL-4, 37, Male, Local, Turkey

² IST-RTL-2, 33, Male, Resident, Turkey

³ IST-RTL-12, 46, Male, Local, Turkey

⁴ IST-PRF-9, 46, Male, Refugee, Syria, Syrian music band

⁵ IST-PRF-8, 22, Male, Local, Turkey, Pipe

So, some people are trying to compete or represent their own ethnic music or culture through the territory of İstiklal, which as the performer said is 'İstiklal culture'. Street performers or musicians see street performance as a global phenomenon, while the person gives it an identity through language, performance, location, instrument, etc.

"Is not Turkish culture, street musicians are everywhere. Music should be on the street, you become professional from the street, what represents the local culture is the people, some people think it is European, do you think someone in Europe will talk the same way I do? It is Turkish culture"¹

Meaning that these expressions, language, performance or even character of the performers are a local feature. On top of architecture, diversity, tram and food, many people have mentioned crowd as an icon of the place.

8.5 So, What's Unique and Iconic?

We looked in the previous sections at the iconic features that make the pedestrian territory distinctive from the surroundings. Here I explain what makes these pedestrian territories unique, are they the iconic features or the entire experience or something else. I use people's voices to show what they think is unique, whether the unique is positive, negative and just different.

8.5.1 Times Square

Times Square is unique, ranked as the icon of NYC or even the USA by some people. What makes it unique varies, as some see it as negatively unique.

"It was much better before as it was an entertainment district, but when Disney took over it was commercialized and lost its beauty. All Broadway shows ran by Disney, it lost its character of theatre district to a commercial district, I'm very disappointed by Disney, it is all Disney! I don't go to the shows anymore, used to go. Now it is Disney and kids-oriented not like before"²

The character of Disney makes it unique or distinctive from other districts or even the past. This unique image of Times Square portrayed by the billboards makes it "different from other places, everything commercialized, and it is all about marketing and shopping"³. While some see it as an entertainment district or (as the city maps it) as 'theatre district' other viewers of the square see it as "the mirror of the world, I think it is very commercialized, it is

¹ IST-PRF-4, 24, Male, Resident, Turkey, Santur player

² NYC-RTL-7, 45, Female, Resident, Japan

³ NYC-PSB-45, 33, Couple, Tourist, France

not the entertainment side, maybe Broadway gives entertainment, but it is mostly commercial”¹.

For some people the uniqueness is the surprise or shock element they get as “you never know what you will get, I like this, it is spontaneous, who you might run into, who you will meet, so it is always fun. The stores and shopping and the lights, at midnight there is an art gallery where all the lights turn on, it is really cool”². It is probably unique for those who like “random things, this is the place. Almost everything is happening here, you get pretty much everything from every corner of the world in one spot, definitely it is the circus of the city”³.

Times Square relies on visuals to stimulate people’s minds and eyes, and this stimulation is itself a unique feature of the square, which is not only surprising the visitors but also those who work in the square’s stores.

“I think the ads and billboards do catch my eyes, we don’t have that back home. I will be walking from the subway to come to work and I see the ads of Games of Thrones or a new show, which I wouldn’t have seen if I wasn’t walking through Times Square, that’s good marketing and it is all strategic and this is great, and that made me sign for HBO because I don’t have cable here, it made me sign up for that, so this was great because now I can watch all the shows on HBO now, the billboards are successful at least for me”⁴.

So this stimulation isn’t limited to surprising the visitors, but also increasing the sales of those companies advertising on Times Square, which may or may not be related to the shows or the stores on the square itself. Previously “the sex shops used to define this place but now all the Broadway theatres and shops took over the place, and the billboards”⁵.

Another aspect of Times Square’s uniqueness are the red steps, as people find it interesting to have sittable steps in the middle of a square. It is a different type of city, it has stage (red steps) this is unique”⁶. While “lights and the billboards are exclusive, I suppose it is kind of similar to some places in London, but more relaxed, I always feel it is busy in London, but

¹ NYC-RTL-3, 33, Female, Resident, Romania

² NYC-RTL-4, 32, Female, Local, USA

³ NYC-RTL-2, 35, Male, Local, USA

⁴ NYC-RTL-1, 25, Male, Resident, USA

⁵ NYC-PSB-36, 63, Male, Local, USA

⁶ NYC-PSB-8, 24, Couple, Tourist, Malaysia

this is not too busy, but what defines this place is the red steps”¹. For other people the entire place and whole experience is unique, “I been to Europe 12-13 times, I love traveling, this place is different, everywhere you look, it is everything, you don't see it anywhere else. The stores, the restaurants, and the lights, not like anywhere else. There is nothing like it in Minnesota”².

Probably some of the stores are chains that exist in many cities in America or abroad, such as H&M, Forever, Swatch, etc., but the unique thing is the layers of users. “I think you can find the things in other cities, but not in this scale. It is grander here”³. There are many chains here. “Broadway goes everywhere, you can see the shows in Vegas, Miami and Boston so the whole Broadway thing is not exclusive”⁴ therefore “you can see the same shows and stores in other places. What makes it unique is that a lot of different shows and entertainment all in one place and it is easy to walk around”⁵, so the concentration of it makes it unique and accessible.

So “there are not many places where you can find the range of experience you get here. The amount of theatres billboards and lights”⁶. Therefore Times Square is unique because of the:

“Buzz; a lot going on, shops, theatres, more than Dundee, more going on, I think it is the lights and the tons and tons of buildings which are in a one little area, and I think it is just amazing how big everything is, I think you don't find huge billboards anywhere else, I guess you don't see huge buildings are built on top of the theatres, the buildings are on top of each other in Times Square”⁷.

This verticality of uses maximizes the ability of the space to accommodate more uses and visuals besides “a lot of lights, lots of screens, musicals, stores and restaurants, and a lot of people, It is definitely the most special place in NYC”⁸. It leaves people shocked and

¹ NYC-PSB-48, 44, Couple, Tourist, UK

² NYC-PSB-5, 70, Female, Domestic Tourist, USA

³ NYC-PSB-20, 22, Female, Domestic Tourist, USA

⁴ NYC-PSB-22, 35, Female, Domestic Tourist, USA

⁵ NYC-PSB-2, 50, Female, Domestic Tourist, USA

⁶ NYC-PSB-17, 62, Male, Resident, USA

⁷ NYC-PSB-48, 44, Couple, Tourist, UK

⁸ NYC-PSB-46, 35, Couple, Tourist, Italy

speechless “OMG it is like in the movies, it is amazing, we were shocked in the positive way, it has a positive vibe”¹.

The crowd is unique, it is not stretched along the street like the 5th Avenue or scattered around Central Park, and it is packed into a small square. There are “a lot of people and people speak different languages, especially around New Year's. This is when many people come to watch and that's time when I think it is more unique”².

So the diversity of the high number of people makes the place unique, “people makes it unique, different ethnicities of people, besides the lights which makes it like it never sleeps, as if there is always daylight”³. This diversity has another advantage of giving people more freedom to enjoy “it is very different here, it is boring in New Jersey. It is giving me freedom, you can see everything of NYC, you see crazy stuff everywhere but it is very exciting here”⁴. The freedom to perform or sell and even stay late in a city which has a reputation of being unsafe “you can see a lot of people walking around at 1am, what defines Times Square is democracy and freedom, and the colours and louds, the crazy people”⁵.

That's why another feature of Times Square is people watching.

“It is wonderful to sit here and watch everyone. In the afternoon I'm sitting drinking my coffee, and I see a young woman in a thong, wearing nothing with but some paint and walking around haha, That's unique haha, but it is good to see the mix of people and be in the surrounding energy”⁶.

Because there is so much to observe and watch as it is “absolutely the most crowded place in the world, so many people and the variety of people, every nationality, every race. There is always something unexpected going on here, it is the crossroad of the world”⁷.

But the branding of Times Square in relation to the chains isn't offering anything exclusive when it comes to micro level. “I went to H&M because my daughter likes H&M and I couldn't find any t-shirt with NYC on it, so not even this, I'll buy it from my city. You just see

¹ NYC-PSB-46, 35, Couple, Tourist, Italy

² NYC-PSB-6, 22, Female, Local, USA

³ NYC-PSB-42, 48, Couple, Domestic Tourist, USA

⁴ NYC-PSB-41, 15, Male, Domestic Tourist, USA

⁵ NYC-PSB-40, 24, Female, Tourist, Philippines

⁶ NYC-PSB-39, 51, Female, Domestic Tourist, USA

⁷ NYC-PSB-37, 52, Male, Local, USA

naked girls and a cowboy in underwear, that is exclusive to Times Square”¹. But probably the difference is that these branches stay open later than other branches in NYC. “Other stores close at 10pm or so but here you can stay here all night”² so probably this is a unique thing as well. Many people thought of the performers as unique feature of Times Square, although they were also seen negatively. “I don’t think so, maybe the scary people in costumes, we don’t have them in Boston”³.

Even the Disney character in Times Square has been ruined by pushy commercialisation, unlike the less explicit commercial experience found in the real Disney amusement parks

“It is Disneyworld on a myth, because everything here is a bunch of flashing lights and you go to Times Square to take your typical picture, or maybe you go to Broadway, but there is nothing else should be doing in Times Square, all the stores and everything, who cares”⁴.

It is also unique because you see topless girls walking around fake preachers holding signs of Jesus’s words claiming that “Times Square is best place in the world, it is where people come, and it is where God wanted us to be”⁵ therefore “Times Square is where you see weirdoes”⁶ and someone could say that it “has nothing new, it is the same, but the people make it special and unique”⁷.

8.5.2 Las Ramblas

When it comes to the Ramblas, probably the diversity of the territory makes it unique, whether it is the diversity of the crowds or even the various things the atmosphere offers to the pedestrian. “I think Las Ramblas as a whole is unique, everything is dynamic”⁸. Although the Ramblas stretch along a larger space compared to Times Square, the pedestrian path has been narrowed down, despite the increase of people making it unique for “the amount of people, restaurants and shops”⁹. For some it is a place to hangout and chill as “you can walk peacefully and people will respect you, people respect each other here, and we have

¹ NYC-PSB-22, 35, Female, Domestic Tourist, USA

² NYC-PSB-12, 22, Female, Tourist, Saudi Arabia

³ NYC-PSB-1, 21, Female, Domestic Tourist, USA

⁴ NYC-PRF-6, 33, Male, Local, USA, Stand Up Comedy Guy

⁵ NYC-PRF-3, 32, Male, Local, USA, Jesus Guy

⁶ NYC-PSB-28, 43, Female, Domestic Tourist, USA

⁷ NYC-KSK-1, 34, Male, Resident, Egypt

⁸ BCN-RTL-7, 41, Female, Resident, Uruguay

⁹ BCN-RTL-4, 30, Male, Resident, India

to consider in a positive way”¹ and for others it is not as “you don't come to Ramblas to have a walk or have fun, it is a place to come here and consume, It is something indifferent, the main attraction is La Boqueria, there is a current of business adding interests into La Rambla”².

Many people talked about the respect, friendliness and relaxed nature of people on Las Ramblas, where there is less tension than in Times Square.

“I compare different parts of the world, I'll explain: here people are calm and relaxed you feel tranquillity, we travelled to a lot of places, we have our son in Mexico, but here we feel calm and relaxed, safe, we don't fear taking the bus, metro or taxi, we feel safe”³.

Probably because the police are around “the police makes Las Ramblas unique, everyday there are surprises, you should sit here for a day and you will see, I can't explain anything”⁴

Despite Las Ramblas being the pickpocketing capital of Europe, it is praised for its publicness “from Catalunya to Colom, Las Ramblas belongs to everyone”⁵. This publicness appeals to people who appreciate diversity, whether it is diversity of cultures “I feel I'm between people from all over the world, maybe because I'm studying languages, that's what I like, I really like to listen to people from all over the world, Everything is interesting here and it is really unique”⁶ or those who appreciate the aesthetics. “I like the architecture, it reminds me of Cuba, I have the same feeling I had in Cuba. Same Spanish architecture, nice to walk around and it is very safe”⁷. Someone answered “if you want to know what's unique, just follow the crowd, it is connected to Barcelona, it is the centre of the city, the biggest attraction, the crowd and culture”⁸. Talking about the crowd, a respondent found Las Ramblas “very familiar and similar to Mumbai, We live in Denmark but this is more similar to India than Denmark or rest of Europe”⁹, probably the number of people concentrated in one place was unusual for European population density standards.

¹ BCN-PSB-8, 53, Male, Local, Spain

² BCN-RTL-3, 35, Male, Resident, Dominican Republic

³ BCN-PSB-7, 75, Couple, Tourist, Cuba

⁴ BCN-PSB-9, 34, Male, Local, Spain

⁵ BCN-PSB-5, 70, Male, Local, Spain

⁶ BCN-PSB-4, 23, Female, Tourist, Italy

⁷ BCN-PSB-6, 50, Couple, Tourist, Finland

⁸ BCN-PSB-40, 34, Male, Tourist, USA

⁹ BCN-PSB-39, 31, Female, Tourist, India

The location of Las Ramblas is a very important component of its uniqueness because it is situated between many tourist attractions and services, and yet it is experienced as a place in itself, not just a connecting route.

"It is in the centre of the city, it is the intersection of famous streets and neighbourhoods. It is important because every visitor will go through Las Ramblas and you can see it that all the tourists are asking for Las Ramblas at the tourist information centre, the landmark is La Boqueria Market, it is not just a market it is a museum not a market, you see things from everywhere, we bought fruits, fish and vegetables"¹.

It is the "central area for transit and food, booths for tickets and tours, hub for the entire Barcelona. There is no other place in Barcelona when you can do what you do here"². Las Ramblas is still attractive and unique.

"Despite the fact that many people don't encourage you to come here, even the local people due to pickpocketing, we enjoyed seeing a lot, the architecture and buildings are unique, they are well preserved, the new buildings don't take over the old buildings, not like us we destroy the buildings every 10 years"³.

Probably this huge focus on tourist services left the locals behind as

"Authorities should be more efficient, you know what's missing on Las Ramblas is bus stops for elderly people, and you know what, all these churches ring bells at 6am in the morning, don't allow people to sleep or that there are sick people they need to rest until 8 in the morning you can't sleep (which is unique as the locals are leaving and it is becoming touristic and commercial) it is a traditional place in Barcelona but it is not the way it was before, now there so many restaurants and bars and you can't even walk"⁴.

Another unique thing in the Ramblas is the difficulty of walking in a pedestrian zone as the kiosks and restaurants took over much of the walkable space, which is supposed to be "a long street with many trees and people, a spacious atmosphere"⁵.

There are many specificities which make this place unique based on the diversity of respondents. "I think it is the reference of Barcelona, all people visit this place, and drink from Canaletes fountain because of the saying if you drink from Canaletes you will come back to Barcelona"⁶ or just following the ritual of the football club which drinks from it after

¹ BCN-PSB-37, 53, Male, Tourist, Morocco

² BCN-PSB-36, 41, Male, Tourist, USA

³ BCN-PSB-34, 40, Male, Tourist, Bahrain

⁴ BCN-PSB-32, 62, Couple, Resident, Spain

⁵ BCN-PSB-29, 60, Female, Local, Spain

⁶ BCN-PSB-31, 73, Male, Local, Spain

they win a match. What makes it unique, “it is like the visit card of Barcelona”¹ it shows many things the city and place could offer in a short walk. Many people liked the shade and the trees especially in hot summer days and even the details of the “the floor which shows sea waves”² as a mark and direction to the sea. The diversity attracts people of different cultures who know they can satisfy their needs here for international and special dietary food “everyone is here, Arabs, Westerns, Spanish people, It has everything for all people, restaurants, cafes, Arabic and Spanish food”³.

The design of the street serves the swimming and beach activity that people enjoy in Barcelona. “You come from the sea, going through all these trees and movements to reach a huge space which is Catalunya”⁴ where tourists stay, dine, drink or even shop after enjoying the beach. The exotic element of the place makes it unique for some people positively “for me everything is interesting, coming from Russia, for me everything is different and interesting; the buildings, the trees, national culture, how people spend their time”⁵ or negatively “as Muslims we are conservative, so there are certain things we don’t like or accept, but it is a personal thing”⁶.

A respondent found my interview as unique “except you no, I think you are the most interesting thing here, but I like the ambience”⁷. Indeed this huge crowd and diversity sounds exciting for some and irritating for others who just arrived “I think people are really loud, I came from London, and people are very different and quiet”⁸. Or even accessibility to the sea from the centre of the city “All I think is how fast t you can get to the sea when you go down”⁹.

Some characters make the place unique as they use the diversity, freedom of the place to express their unique ideas as mentioned by these interviewees.

¹ BCN-PSB-3, 22, Female, Tourist, Ukraine

² BCN-PSB-27, 24, Female, Tourist, France

³ BCN-PSB-26, 24, Female, Tourist, Qatar

⁴ BCN-PSB-22, 33, Female, Tourist, Portugal

⁵ BCN-PSB-21, 36, Male, Tourist, Russia

⁶ BCN-PSB-20, 36, Male, Tourist, Egypt

⁷ BCN-PSB-2, 34, Couple, Tourist, Canada

⁸ BCN-PSB-19, 28, Female, Tourist, Brazil

⁹ BCN-PSB-18, 76, Female, Local, Spain

"I met an Englishman he lives around the area, he is never in the same place but I see him often here. He is the coolest person and most interesting thing in La Rambla, he walks up and down and reads some sentences which make you think and reflect, he is walking, it is like living reflections, this was the most interesting thing I've ever seen on La Rambla. Another thing is a bearded man, dressed like a woman, walking up and down, you know, you can express yourself with creativity in an elegant way"¹.

Nostalgia for the unique past was a highlight, especially amongst the locals

"Before we had many shops selling birds, and now selling ice cream it is all rubbish, the other thing, people used to come to buy parrots and rabbits and little birds, and if you go down you will see they sell flowers and further the painters, every part of Las Ramblas has something special, even near Colom there are human statues"².

Not all of it is gone as someone could "come to see people and shops. It is the only place in Spain where you can see too many flower shops next to each other, I love it"³.

Las Ramblas is still seen dangerous at night due to the pickpocketing and drunk people "sometimes you encounter people who approach you trying to sell you marijuana, you just have to pay attention, they just want to sell you something"⁴ it remains a unique atmosphere where "everyone is on vacation and it is like a vacation paradise"⁵ and "many people come from all places, people come from everywhere, Jews, Muslims, they surprise you and change the image and stereotypes you have about them"⁶. This urban encounter of diverse people makes the atmosphere unique "a place like this can't be found in any other part of the world"⁷ which was heard in Times Square by many people but "it is hard to see something unique nowadays or to show something unique"⁸.

8.5.3 İstiklal Caddesi

İstiklal or Taksim isn't just the hub of transport and tourist point, but it is a destination for residents and citizens which is still popular for different reasons such as strategic location, variety of uses and diversity of users which gives it more freedom and a special character. However, many people long for the past, especially the owner of the oldest store on İstiklal, which is threatened by, rent increases:

¹ BCN-PSB-17, 40, Male, Local, Spain

² BCN-PSB-12, 74, Couple, Local, Spain

³ BCN-KSK-4, 27, Male, Local, Spain

⁴ BCN-PSB-10, 25, Male, Local, Spain

⁵ BCN-KSK-1, 23, Female, Local, Spain

⁶ BCN-HMS-1, 35, Male, Resident, Spain

⁷ BCN-KSK-8, 54, Male, Resident, Greece

⁸ BCN-KSK-5, 55, Female, Local, Spain

"It used to be unique but not anymore, Galatasaray culture was what raised this street, it was a highly cultured street but they destroyed the street. Şişhane, Cihangir and Tarlabası were better places but now people are running out because they opened places for prostitution, gambling, the actual Istanbul people had to leave these places, after these people left, these places started to make a lot of money"¹.

Probably this negative replacement caused by revitalisation made the place unique in a negative way.

This transition of the street brought investors and outsiders, some ruined it like "Iranian guys come here to get drunk and try to harass Turkish girls"² because if

"Compared to other parts of Istanbul, yes I see different behaviours, I think people feel more comfortable, people can wear any type of clothes which they can't wear in other parts due to neighbourhood pressure, they can put on accessories with more comfort"³.

However this freedom existed before "when you think if Beyoğlu you think of freedom through its history, architecture, places for fun, entertainment and chaos"⁴. It has always been like that and it is one of its unique features. The large variety of places makes it unique like intellectual people.

"I like literature, most of the texts I read happened here, I like tracing literature on İstiklal. For instance, in the novel 'Çukurcuma'da Masumiyet' streets like İstiklal and Tarlabası were mentioned in some scenes, I like these places a lot, and I feel nostalgic and that's what makes it unique"⁵

It is a 'hanging out' destination for others as "you can have fun shopping, eating with great landscape, visit places, there are 2 churches, and mosques so they can pray based on their religion"⁶. Branching from İstiklal tourists find "itineraries or recommendations from other people so they want to check them out, like passages, restaurants and nightlife"⁷.

Another unique thing is the crowd itself "I like the crowd, there is always circulation here, a lot of cultural differences, lots of people and events, I think everyone is scared here because there is police all the time and protests and they are attacking each other"⁸. This is an observation of local political protests on İstiklal and the ways in which the police, soldiers

¹ IST-RTL-9, 57, Male, Local, Turkey,

² IST-RTL-7, 23, Female, Local, Turkey

³ IST-PSB-32, 25, Male, Local, Turkey

⁴ IST-KSK-3, 57, Male, Resident, Turkey

⁵ IST-RTL-6, 22, Male, Resident, Turkey

⁶ IST-RTL-4, 37, Male, Local, Turkey

⁷ IST-RTL-5, 34, Male, Local, Turkey

⁸ IST-RTL-2, 33, Male, Resident, Turkey

and riot forces stand in wait for any potential new protests, which makes this crowded touristic and commercial street a very conflictual territory, the pressure of locals on the state to by making life difficult for businesses and damaging tourism in order to gain publicity and achieve their goals. These protests and terrorist attacks affected the place negatively “there used to be nice events, now they are gone after the terrorist attacks but we liked them”¹.

So the holistic perspective of İstiklal makes it unique “you can find everything you need here, Taksim is like a city itself”². It is definitely a territory in Taksim, which is a unique neighbourhood of Istanbul. As “İstiklal is unique being 24/7 alive and dynamic”³ some Istanbulites argue that the reasons is

“We (people) make it unique, and we make life harder, it is the most crowded place in Turkey. There are 2 million people passing through the street on weekends, and this is more than the population of many cities, you can have everything you want here”⁴.

Some people thought it is not unique, but it is still got an energy “I wouldn't say it is unique but I wouldn't give up coming to the street, I will still come here, people come from everywhere”⁵ perhaps the “history makes it unique, it is cosmopolitan, chaotic and important but I don't like it that much, it is a street without culture”⁶ but could be a:

“Chaotic place, which makes it unique, its historical buildings and passages. People are coming from everywhere, but if someone is protesting, people don't care, tomorrow it will be raining and some people who can't afford buying umbrellas will just sit on İstiklal and doing nothing”⁷

So, this ‘live for the moment’ energy of İstiklal makes it a non-stop dynamic territory because there’s so much happening as it has many things and “it is really crowded which makes it unique. I never get bored walking on this street”⁸.

Whether the uniqueness is the tram or “the crowd makes it special”¹ or even “street musicians, some protests and demonstrations which are interesting to us”² or even

¹ IST-RTL-14, 53, Male, Resident, Turkey

² IST-PSB-11, 35, Male, Resident, Turkey

³ IST-RTL-16, 31, Male, Local, Turkey

⁴ IST-RTL-13, 28, Male, Resident, Turkey

⁵ IST-RTL-15, 29, Female, Local, Turkey

⁶ IST-RTL-10, 44, Male, Resident, Turkey

⁷ IST-RTL-1, 36, Male, Local, Turkey

⁸ IST-PSB-6, 26, Female, Local, Turkey

abnormal behaviours like “one day I stayed here until the morning, I saw a man beating a child (unique)”³ probably because many of them in the “evenings they get drunk, they fight and attack people”⁴. Basically “it is the hub of the city, transportation access, history and shopping, Istanbul without Taksim will be meaningless”⁵. People are attracted to some details and find it fascinating, especially those coming from abroad “I like those sweets, I was trying to take pictures of the sweets in the last 2 hours, only sweets”⁶. This Bosnian tourist was on a diet and found the sweets so attractive and irresistible that he ended up spending 2 hours taking photos of them.

Another unique aspect of the pedestrian territories is their placeness, which uses real and authentic historical buildings to creates an open-air shopping or highly commercialized area which differs from the theme parks and shopping malls that are placeless shopping venues. It is the best place to shop and hangout, It is nice to walk around because it is open air, not like the shopping mall where it is closed and stuffy, every week there is something new, Vodafone marathon, music, Galatasaray club shop, protesters, everything”⁷.

The livelihood and accessibility to the pedestrian territory makes it a stretchable and expandable area that holds events and festivals and accommodates people vertically and horizontally in the buildings, crossing streets and alleys “it is a modern street which leads to old streets, it is complicated”⁸. While this plurality of the pedestrian street is seen as unique it also has a negative effect and can be seen as too chaotic in a unique way by outsiders.

“It is the place where all the protests take place, and you see policemen and soldiers standing in the front of the protesters, we are not used to see this in Belgium, they just watch it to see if something goes wrong. Here they are riots and armed, as if they want to stop people not providing security, and

¹ IST-PSB-8, 24, Male, Tourist, Bahrain

² IST-PSB-5, 25, Male, Tourist, Germany

³ IST-PSB-4, 24, Male, Local, Turkey

⁴ IST-PSB-37, 21, Male, Resident, Russia

⁵ IST-PSB-35, 47, Male, Resident, Turkey

⁶ IST-PSB-34, 46, Male, Tourist, Bosnia

⁷ IST-PSB-33, 18, Female, Tourist, Malaysia

⁸ IST-PSB-3, 23, Female, Domestic Tourist, Turkey

there is Saturday's Mother protest¹, this is the only one on the street that make silence, which is funny to see things in contrast to each other².



Figure 8-5 Saturday's Mother Protest (By Author)

People mentioned specific things, which they thought are unique if they did not think the whole territory was unique per se. Some found that the territory has been invaded

"Arabs from Iraq, Syria and other countries invaded the street, I walk on the street I can't hear Turkish but other languages an when you go to the stores you get that as well, you don't feel good, some music bands are strange (referring to the Arabic bands)³".

This diversity is also seen positively as "it is the centre of Istanbul and it is very crowded, you can see different types of people, it is a place where different cultures meet"⁴. Some mention the unique and historic stores or behaviours "the passages, we found 3 passages and they are very nice"⁵ or "the bakery called İnci Café, it is unique and historic, it is our favourite"⁶, or the hospitality of sellers "offering tea in the shops, the number of people selling Simit, I come from a town and I'm not used to this, there are a lot of restaurants and it is food-oriented"⁷.

Accessibility to alcohol has been referred to as Europeanization, as explained by a conservative young Turkish girl."

"There are places selling alcohol and other without alcohol, starting to look more European. Tourists are changing the street based on their interests, some people are singing and yelling but it is the icon

¹ Saturday Mothers is a weekly protest where the mothers of war victims gather to show their sadness and condolences for their loss, making the street go silent for moments as they raise signs and photos of their sons. It takes place at Galatasaray school gate.

² IST-PSB-31, 22, Female, Tourist, Belgium

³ IST-PSB-29, 27, Female, Local, Turkey

⁴ IST-PSB-26, 24, Male, Local, Turkey

⁵ IST-PSB-27, 61, Female, Tourist, Germany

⁶ IST-PSB-24, 66, Couple, Local, Turkey

⁷ IST-PSB-23, 20, Male, Tourist, Italy

of tourism, and the hub of the city. All the people know it as the most cosmopolitan and multicultural place in Istanbul”¹.

From a European perspective this Swedish teacher explained “I really love the underwear store Kelebek Korse, If someone asks me about Istanbul I'll tell them to visit Kelebek Korse”² and he elaborates:

“Kelebek Korse to be prevailed, and more local stores, the old cinema, I would love it if the government or small businesses tried to stop developments, replacing the small, keeping some of the old ones, it is part of cultural heritage it should be protected, I'm not a big fan of churches it is not important for me, I want to see the old Istanbul ordinary life, and Kelebek Korse represents that”³.



Figure 8-6 Kelebek Korse the old (left) and the new (right).

Source: Left: <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ekonomi/80-yillik-kelebek-korse-magazasi-yeniden-aciliyor-40076528> Right: <https://www.change.org/p/kelebek-korse/u/7743795>

The oldest store on İstiklal was closed down (immediately after my fieldwork) after 80 years⁴, and opened a new one off-İstiklal. Indeed it would have been better if was “advertised as historical place not as a shopping place, it would change people interests”⁵.

But many of the specialty shops have moved to the end of İstiklal or back streets in order to save their businesses from high rents, while some remained together to create a character like the music stores “near Tünel many interesting music instruments”⁶ which stand next to each other near Galata Tower.

The locals had interesting opinions about the people who visit their territory, with some of them making assumptions that might contrast with the opinions above, while others assumed that people saw it the same way as they see it.

¹ IST-PSB-22, 21, Female, Local, Turkey

² IST-PSB-19, 32, Male, Resident, Sweden

³ IST-PSB-19, 32, Male, Resident, Sweden

⁴ Kelebek Korse <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/kelebek-korse-bugun-kepenk-kapatiliyor-40025089>

⁵ IST-PSB-29, 27, Female, Local, Turkey

⁶ IST-PSB-33, 18, Female, Tourist, Malaysia

"I saw interesting things during the Gezi park protests, they were exaggerating the whole thing, I think what makes this place unique is the type of people, it is like a shopping mall now, it is not different to any other shopping mall, but people are different, we see people from different cultures but we don't represent them, we just see them, people don't speak on the street"¹.

This diversity of people is adding a different taste, so even though there are other touristic and diverse places in Istanbul, they are not the same. Another local thinks it is the atmosphere, which is exotic and unique.

"When you think about Istanbul the first thing that comes to your mind is İstiklal. The Greeks left a lot of houses made of stones, the nostalgic tram and the street coming to Galata. I think people come here for these places, for historical places, people usually don't like very modern places because they don't mean anything, everyone walks here feels he is walking in the 17th-18th century, they feel like they live during this time, Taksim was built 300 years ago, people come here because they are curious about this, new buildings are cement blocks, don't attract people attention"²

So it is both the diversity of people and the exotic built environment that was built by the minorities during the Ottoman Empire. But these features have been modernized or even overloaded which changed their value and functionality. For instance the "tram is busy all the time, we came from a party at 5am and it was still crowded"³ it is becoming a unique feature to be seen, not used, as it is overloaded and does not run frequently.

Another aspect is the safety and 24/7 feature of İstiklal, "on holidays there are many harassments, it is really disturbing and it is ironic that these things happen and all the police is here"⁴. So the police is busy waiting for the political protesters but letting g harassment occur without intervention, but isn't this the unique feature of the territory that separates itself from the city and state by providing more freedom for people to dress in what they want, show affection and have freedom with their sexual orientations?

Since "it is like the centre of Turkey, back home it is nothing like this, It is really crowded here, the crowd makes it unique, and people come from all countries" therefore "people make it unique, I saw a lot of things here, you see dark people and some people wearing all

¹ IST-PSB-15, 17, Female, Local, Turkey

² IST-PSB-1, 43, Male, Resident, Turkey

³ IST-PSB-14, 26, Female, Tourist, Czech

⁴ IST-PSB-13, 33, Female, Resident, Turkey

black”¹ referring to ultra-conservative women who have started to be more visible on İstiklal in the last decade.

“Rich and poor, educated and non educated, thieves and normal people all come here, it is convenient for all people, and you can find things to do and spend money on things within your budget, that people are colourful”².

Therefore, the question of restriction and limitation of freedom is hard to answer as it depends on which group is in favour and since this happens in one part of the city, it is a unique feature which helps the city thrive when it is concentrated in one place like this pedestrian territory, rather than being spread out everywhere, as these pedestrian territories and their people like to advocate that “everything is here”.

8.6 Summary

This chapter focused on the identity of the pedestrian territory; as an intersection between people identity and place identity. This territorial identity fits in the broader discussion around local-global space. We saw numerous examples which show us the local, global, and territorial and how they Interplay. Simply, the local gives significance to the place and promotes it to the global and the global advertise the local using tourism drivers and so on. Now to understand this we go back to see what kind of effects this interplay between local and global generate.

As I argued through figural illustrations that the pedestrian territories have this dual identity that caused some misconception; its global because people are coming from everywhere, or its global because it’s globally famous. We see how the local created fame and the global turned the place to a touristic and commercial place. This interplay went through different layers as the thesis described. Capitalizing on the street and its assets through process of gentrification, revitalization and top-down strategies to change the historic place to a thematic place that takes consumption and entertainment as core generators. We see how neoliberalism and globalization affected the local to become global, to gain fame and be promoted using the local assets like architecture, history, shows, or other assets. We see how tourism, media and technology helped bringing people to these places as sanitized, attractive, commercialized and prepared for the global tourist and his/her needs. This

¹ IST-PRF-4, 24, Male, Resident, Turkey, Santur player

² IST-KSK-4, 49, Male, Resident, Turkey

interplay and exchange of benefits shows the effects of the local on the global and vice versa and it's significant in these territories as they displaced much of its local by the global whether its retails, people, culture and even identity.

The figures illustrated how people categorized these places as local, global to answer my core questions on the place in the global and surrounding context, and as representations of the local, and what's unique on the street. These questions showed us a wide spectrum of subjective answers as culture is very subjective so the answers are. We saw that the majority insisted that Times Square is a 62% NYC thing (local) while around 28% thought its (global). This drops to 59% and 56% for Las Ramblas and İstiklal respectively as global giving more less account for its local feature as these two cases make it more politically charged identity as local; Las Ramblas being European, Spanish, Catalan and Barcelona thing while İstiklal being a European, Turkish, Istanbul thing. These aren't very surprising as the literature around what's global and local is always complicated in human geography.

As the local and global gets complicated, the identity gets complicated too because what's local or global is very subjective and giving a place one of these identities depends on their background, political views, knowledge and apprehension of the place. We see some Americans call it a NYC thing and others compare it with Vegas and insist its American thing and those who travelled abroad has a similar feeling of extravaganza while in Tokyo or Piccadilly Circus in London. We see the visuals as in lights and billboards familiarise these places with their counterparts, however there are other specificities than build a distinction. Likewise Las Ramblas could resemble other places because of the architecture or retails like those in Spain or Europe or even beyond but we see the subjective accounts changing this as some people were biased; being nationalist, Catalan or even supporting Catalanian independence, they try to use the street to strengthen their argument. İstiklal isn't very different when majority of Turkish people deny its middle eastern or Turkish (as of Ottoman heritage) character as they rely on the era of when Europeans built and inhabited this place to hold this identity which contrasts with the reality of İstiklal as an Anatolian culture that adapts to globalization and tourism that rely on retailizing Turkish assets. All these examples show how there's a conflict between the subjective and objective accounts when looking at the local and global aspects of these places. That's why I tried to show contrasting subjective accounts through the chapter to show lines of territorial identity which is loose and fuzzy that relies on both place identity and people identity. "It is global now because

you can't see any local features anymore, there is nothing typical here anymore, you only find Starbucks and Macdonald's"¹.

It's hard for many people to accept the reality of a place that has been always their favourite or famous local place that has been invaded by tourists and their needs, behaviours, culture and to see how it is turning to what's called global. We saw many people who deny this reality because of their nostalgic feelings, denial of the new character or even rejection of the new demographics. We see on the street locals criticizing those who stole their identity and became locals while they are outsiders. Examples of Hispanic and European topless girls wearing the American flag on Times Square, African or Asian immigrants pickpocketing or selling illegally on Las Ramblas, or even ethnic Turks or Syrians who play their music on İstiklal . We saw clearly how the local has been triggered and pressured to accept those outsiders due to the global pressure of tourism, open market and retail. It's very obvious in the thesis how local stores were displaced and authentic markets and venues changed their products to cope with global or tourists demands.

We can resolve the issue of global-local debate not by calling them global spaces, globalized spaces in worlding cities but rather accepting the reality that these are just territories within cities that globalized the local and created these territorial identities. Let's agree with those performers and sellers who agree that this isn't city's or nation's culture neither it's a global culture but it's this space culture and identity, territorial culture and territorial identity, and it might be unique to this place or resemble its counterparts (territories) in other cities.

We definitely see a fight between the local and global, we have losers and gainers, if the local can accept global agendas it can sustain and survive like those local stores turned to touristic restaurants or cafes while those who only target locals won't be able to stay longer because the locals have been displaced and they will be under the pressure of market (rent increase).

¹ BCN-PSB-33, 25, Male, Resident, Italy

Conclusion

Summary

This dissertation examined a key topic in human geography, the territory, and how it can be profoundly revisited and used in comparative studies when examining cities and their urban cores. Throughout the chapters we saw that the term 'territory' means different things in different fields. I took it out of its political and biological context to use it to explain an important urban space, the pedestrian street, and its significance as a socio-cultural phenomenon.

The first key finding in this dissertation is that the term territory can be used to describe distinct parts of the city, whether this distinction is social, cultural, economic or commercial, thus the term is not limited to the political domain. Second, I showed that the pedestrian street shares a lot of commonalities with the territory as the process of revitalization and pedestrianisation has transformed the use and users of the street into a unique territory from urban and socio-cultural perspectives. Third, I found that comparing territories relationally with their counterparts enriches the literature of comparative and urban studies, as it focus on a specific space within a conventional city, rather than comparing entire cities or nations with their counterparts. This approach reveals many patterns of similarities and differences between the territories. Fourth, socio-cultural comparisons are full of complications and contradictions, and are assemblages of different layers that can be very visible in pedestrian territories through the atmosphere, changes and events. Fifth, the process of pedestrianisation becomes a process of replacement, which does not only replace cars with people, but transforms the whole character, culture, and identity of the place into an iconic territory.

These findings were not the findings expected at the start of the research when the focus was on how these pedestrian streets are culturally isolated, distinctive, and unique from the rest of the city. The fieldwork proved that these pedestrian territories are relationally connected through global systems, such as globalisation and neoliberalism, in addition to policy and urban mobility, which open the market to the world and relate these pedestrian territories not just socioeconomically but even culturally. My expectations of these places as

pedestrian friendly, entertainment districts and touristic hubs changed during the fieldwork as the global territorial aspects of the place started to become more visible. This is another key finding related to the methodology used to conduct this research, the comparative territorialism, which relies on comparing territories rather than cities.

This dissertation concentrated on specific unique territories, which are not just pedestrian streets; they are pedestrian streets and hubs of the cities, surrounded by significant cultural, entertainment and historic venues. I explained how these pedestrian streets were upgraded from streets to territories, trying to answer my questions on how to study the pedestrian street as a territory within the city. This question was answered using an accumulation of approaches, theories and methods, which divide the territory into layers, or assemblages of politico-economic powers that were led by the state to revitalise the area characteristically. I used my concept of comparative territorialism to put these territories, which are thousands of miles away from each other, into a conversation with each other and show the similarities and differences between them. This comparative method as a theory, approach and methodology helped answering my second question on comparing smaller territories with their counterparts in different geographies using comparison.

The discussion after collecting the data in these three distinctive cities shifted to the analysis of the findings relationally using themes of comparison. These themes helped identify the changes, powers, drivers, and products of the territories. These fascinating findings were used to show the dimensions of culture these territories generate. It is what I call a territorial culture which gives different types of freedoms to the users and uses neoliberal agendas to open the market as well as the street or the territory to the difference of people, especially tourists. I showed numerous subjective findings through people voices, testimonies on different levels. The levels of understanding of the culture rely on the familiarity and time spent in these territories, so people's senses, perceptions, expressions and conceptions explain aspects of the culture and representations of it. This answered the first half of my third question about the culture and identity of the pedestrian street.

The second part was answered by taking culture to another depth, which defines the identity of the place based on factors I included in the questions list during the fieldwork. These questions were trying to provoke people to think about the pedestrian territory in

the global, national, regional and city's context. The culture and identity of the pedestrian territory as I explained are double-sided; they are inherited from place culture and identity and people culture and identity. This key finding which gives a title to this dissertation was important for seeing how the mobility of the police, tourists, markets and, global systems, also moves culture and therefore an identity that is generated from the moved culture through the people. While the place culture remains aesthetical and static at most of the time, we see many findings and debates in this research are charged with people and their behaviours; whether they are policymakers, investors, tourists, performers or just the crowd itself.

The chapters therefore emphasized the importance of studying the place from both human and non-human aspects separately at some points and relationally at other points. When I studied each case to see how they were formed, pedestrianised, revitalised, and so on, it was important to do it separately to see how the local politico-economic powers intervened locally and then relationally to see how urban mobility changed it through market and neoliberal agendas. However, when studying the socio-cultural phenomenon, I tried to do it relationally to show how the human factor played a great role in shaping the culture of these territories. Especially in the last two chapters (chapter 7 and 8) where I argued that the territory is relational through human and non-human patterns.

Contributions

The thesis showed a wide range of contributions towards urban theory, comparative methodology and analysis of urban geographical findings using multi-sited ethnographic work. First I want to elaborate more on the theoretical contributions to territory, second I'll show some methodological contributions on comparative research and precisely comparative urbanism, third I'll show some analytical findings that contribute to the wider literature using ethnographic findings.

The first contribution is to territory as a concept outside political discourse and using territory in favour of space to describe the pedestrian street as a socialized space, which focus on the people (human) to understand the space. The first few chapters tried to show how a territory can be taken to another level to discuss urban, social, cultural phenomena which is an unusual discussion in urban geography where territory is limited to political

discourse. I used different theories to show that a territory is simply a bounded space that has been acted upon using sort of power. This simplistic approach can bring us a wealth of information; being a powerful and politically charged space by upper authority, power or hegemony that all described as politic-economic powers. These powers have a great role in creating various urban and socio-cultural productions. This approach of diversifying territory contributes to the territory as a way of understanding and analysing the space from socio-cultural perspective not just political. I relied on using assemblages that make up the pedestrian territory and come up with a new definition that describe a new form of urban space that is gaining increased popularity.

Second, contribution relies on fitting pedestrian territory not just within human geography but having a common language in wider literature to contribute to social sciences in general to show how it fits anthropologically, sociologically, psychologically, geographically and indeed epistemologically. While it's defined by sociologists as a relationship between individuals and society, it creates a new type of culture and gives a new identity that differs from the city. Psychologists sees it as a connection between the inner body and the external world, and I illustrated this in my chapters which show various subjective accounts which prove that there's a continues sensuous and cognitive interaction between the territory of the body and the pedestrian territory. This distinctive identity with the space encourages new behaviours and subcultures from sociological perspective. This was showed through the conflicts between people or finding likeminded people within the boundaries of the pedestrian street. I emphasized the epistemological contributions as these spaces are territories not just spaces; spaces are geographical lands while territories are socialized spaces.

Third contribution is to use territory in a humanistic approach that connects the territory with the humans, through territoriality. Applying different theories like multisensory experience Thrift (2003a), emotional attachment (Tuan, 1977) affects on atmosphere (Ash and Anderson, 2015) to show the relationship between the territory and the people from various angles. I develop this using territoriality to explain an urban phenomenon, arguing that territoriality can be a useful way to measure various patterns and threads between the people and the space. We saw how these places generated activities such as freedom for sexual identities, political uprising or protests, subcultural identities. These can't be studied

without building a relationship, and comparison, to prove how these territories are not just spatial areas but social and human spheres which hold a significant cultural value. For instance, I used this relationship between the place and the humans to show how territoriality can fit within wider literature such as; tourist studies when studying sensory analysis; the atmosphere and its affects of the people and how they are affected by its productions; expressions and perceptions to converse various subjective accounts to relate to bigger social, cultural and behavioural systems.

My forth contribution is to use comparison with territory, something hasn't been studied before in urban studies or geography. I call it comparative territorialism to fill the gaps of comparative urbanism by comparing small scale spaces rather than cities, using subjective accounts and ethnography in favour of singular urban theory to address local and global patterns through relationality. This approach relates spaces to each other regardless of the cities or nations where they are situated. I use numerous theories (of territory, comparison and urbanism) and approaches of comparative urbanism (ordinary city, assemblages, relationality) to compare territories of different geographical contexts. I tried to criticize the large scale approach in comparative urbanism to show that comparison should be of a smaller size and regardless of socioeconomic similarities. I take advantage of relationality which helps to define causes, impacts, similarities and differences between each pedestrian territory and its counterparts. This contributes to debates on territories that they are places of meaning not placeless, distinguished and separated from the surroundings or the city, and they encourage consumption.

I came up with a fifth contribution, the term territorialisation, which is a concept that supports territory to show the production of politico-economic intervention on spaces. I use the example of colonials occupying a land to be a colony, we see that the pedestrian territory is also occupied by a collective power and an assemblage of different forces. These forces provide character and privacy to ultimately encourage individuality, self-realization, emotional release, self-evaluation, protection, and maximize freedom of choice of their users. We can use this term to show how the territory received different inputs but still manage to harmonize people of different objectives, ideologies and interests, in one place. I develop territorialisation based on the politico-economic powers that takeover the space using the concept of replacements, the invaders replace the local power, system and people

with new ones, and the same process happens to the territory when its originals are replaced with new ones.

The sixth contribution is the conceptual term territorialism, which I borrow from environmental and animalistic context to refer to the stance of a functional and behavioural act/state of an independent, defensive and self-proclaimed territory. I retrieve the term from its religious, biological contexts to explain an urban and cultural setting. This ethological definition helps to look at a territory as a socio-graphical space of which a particular animal consistently defends against the other animals of similar species. This separation is the generator of territory uniqueness. Territorializing the pedestrian street gives more value than calling them touristic and shopping streets, it adds social, cultural and behavioural powers that work that explain the process of its separation from the city or as a saviour of the city. Therefore, this contributes to the current literature on comparative research in general which takes the pedestrian street as an icon and find similarities and differences between it and its counterparts in very different contexts and cultures. From this comparison we see that; first studying the territory in relation to its surroundings helps to identify the differences from the city. Secondly, comparing it with its counterparts of similar characteristics show global patterns that help tracing global impacts on local spaces. this crucial contribution I criticize in comparative researches lack when it comes to scale and relations with the city. So we can get from territorialism a new approach in studying characteristic spaces which have been totally iconized, separated and become independent.

Seventh, the thesis develops a comparative approach that contributes to the literature of comparative studies and specifically comparative urbanism. I approach comparison by zooming into urban spaces and show similarities and differences as with their similar counterparts not comparing cities or their socioeconomic systems. I address here the affects of global systems (Nijman, 2007), and use comparison between territories, using bottom-up approach, starting from the street and its subjective accounts to explain other bigger systems in relation to culture and identity after identifying the top-down powers implied on the space. This approach showed the parameters of this distinguished socio-cultural identity that is shared by the territories not the cities themselves. To strengthen this argument I used from comparative urbanism useful approaches like relationality and patterns of comparison (Jacobs, 2012, p. 905) to introduce comparative research that emphasizes on

the plurality of comparative approaches (McFarlane and Robinson, 2012b). This cross-cultural comparison engages comparison in the context of the city to study different issues related to production of space from cultural, social or even ethico-politics perspectives (McFarlane, 2010).

Eighth, I tried to diversify qualitative methods by approaching ethnography using comparison between difference levels. As Robinson's argument to "move 'beyond comparative studies' in the traditional sense (Robinson, 2002, p. 532) I used locally-specific variants to study the pedestrian territories using Ward's "relational concept of comparison (which rejects universal measures and takes) pre-given objects, events, places and identities" (2010, p. 480) to study this phenomenon. So, my contribution on this is to rely not only on interviews or observations but also on inventory and contextual analysis, studying the surroundings of the case study and showing the contrasts, differences and commonalties between the territory and its surroundings from one hand and comparing these with other territories abroad and their context to draw a broader image of patterns of similarity and differences. This helped a lot in studying and analysing dimensions of culture, identity and social aspects, looking at both depth and breadth of each territory.

Highlights

Lastly, I show how my participants described these pedestrian territories using word frequencies. These following figures show us different layers of these places and a mixture of feelings, emotions, perceptions, knowledge and experiences of humans despite how these places are labelled through tourism, literature or media.



Figure 0-1 Word Frequency - Times Square



Figure 0-2 Word Frequency - Las Ramblas

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Appendices

The Pedestrians: Categories, Demographics and Characteristics

The pedestrians represent a wide range of people; they come for different purposes and play different roles on the street. I summarize this diverse and huge group of people in categories to ease understanding, based on the interviews I conducted and the data I collected from the field in the three cities. They are divided into 3 categories as Figure 0-1 shows: Managers, Workers and Passers-by. Each of these categories is divided into sub-categories, to form a social network, since territories are networked spaces.

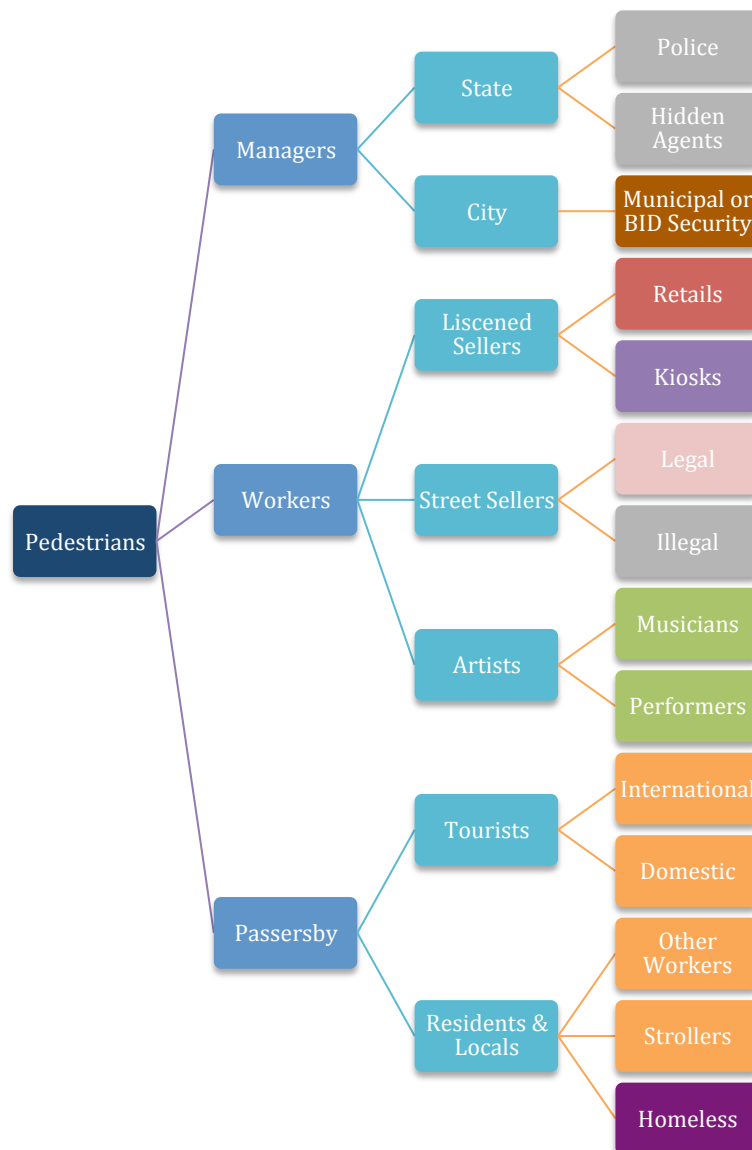


Figure 0-1 Categories of Pedestrians

- **The Managers**

The managers are those agents on the street who represent the state and the city, both police officers and secret police plus municipal or BID security agents (depending on the case). The grey colour shows that I did not have access to these categories due to confidentiality, accessibility and language barriers.

As the pedestrian territory is one of the safest places in the city as it highly securitized by police, riot police, hidden agents and CCTV. But they take different shapes in each city. In NYC police officers are based in their station on Times Square, friendly-looking, taking pictures with tourists, while the mounted police visit frequently to show off as a tourist attraction. The Americans rely on huge amount of cameras and hidden agents to provide security in addition to the Times Square Alliance security guards who are connected to the control room of the Alliance office, with its windows facing Duffy Square. The Catalans use both police officers and riots on the Ramblas, usually found chasing illegal African sellers with their motorbikes, but not enough to prevent pickpocketing, as Las Ramblas is considered one of the top pickpocketing capitals in Europe. Istanbul keeps it old-fashioned approach, representing the authoritarian regime on the street, through a plethora of police officers, frequently soldiers and riot forces entering in buses and standing ironically in potential protest areas. Moreover, the municipality sends its inspectors called 'Zabita' to stop any activities they consider unfavourable, such as musicians with speakers, freely driving on the pedestrian area using their power of movement.

- **The Workers**

The workers are those participants who work within a territory's boundaries to earn money. They are divided into three sub-categories; licensed sellers such as retails and kiosks, street sellers who don't have a specific dedicated place and can be either legal or illegal, and artists who play music or perform. I will focus on this category, along with the next one, which is the passers-by. Both constitute the majority of my participants, with one exception, which is the grey-coloured illegal sellers whom I couldn't engage with due to safety and accessibility challenges. I designed a set of questions for these categories, and specific questions for each sub-category, which were related to location, activity and other elements.

- **The Passers-by**

Passers-by are those pedestrians who walk around for different purposes and can be divided into two sub-categories; first, tourists (international and domestic) and second, both residents and locals, the former refers to those living in the city who originate elsewhere, and the latter refers to those born and raised in the city of research. The residents and locals are the other workers who work in the offices, strollers and homeless people. It is important to mention here that the selection process was random, as it was hard to know the nationality and origin of the passers-by from their appearance, especially in such multi-ethnic cities, so the classification of passers-by was applied after the interviews.

As previously discussed in chapter 2, I divided my questions into general and specific ones to ease the process of my fieldwork. The general questions were fixed in all the interview categories, but the specific ones depended on the category of interviewees, and therefore different categories were used to classify the interviewees. Figure 0-2 shows the pedestrians' categories and the percentages of each based on my interviews in the 3 territories altogether. It is quite obvious that the majority of the interviewees were passers-by, as that group was the easiest (not in all cases) to approach and they did not need the corporate or supervisor approval required for retail interviews.

The passers-by make up 66% of the pedestrians, followed by 16% retails, which was the maximum number I could get without corporate approval, which was never given or responded to. Street sellers (2%) and kiosks (7%) varied between the cases. For instance, in Times Square kiosks and street sellers were almost equal, however on the Ramblas there were only illegal street sellers and many kiosks, and in Istanbul there were more kiosks than street sellers, but most of them were actually hidden police who refused to be interviewed (such as Chestnut and Simit sellers on İstiklal). Last but not least, 9% of my interviewees were performers, who were costume human statues or performers, musicians or artists.

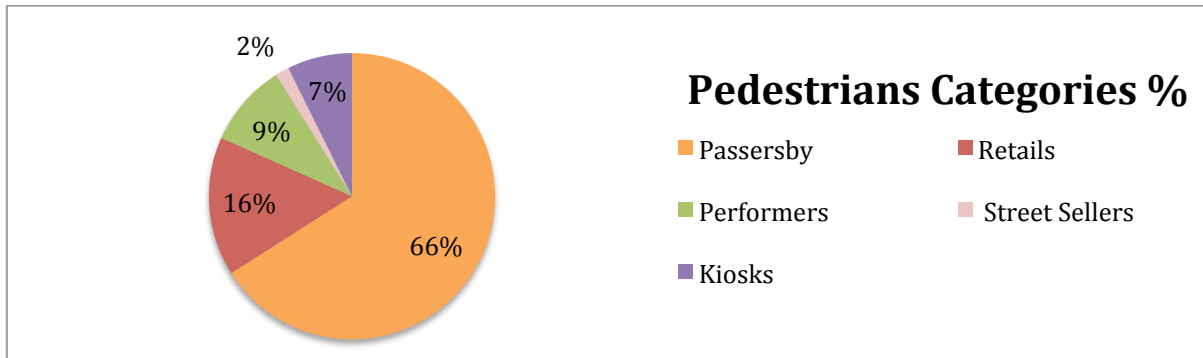


Figure 0-2 Pedestrians Categories %

If we look at the pedestrians from an origins perspective – shown in Figure 0-3 - we can see that in the three cities the majority of the people in the pedestrian territory aren't tourists, as many people might expect, they are the locals, making 34% of my interviewees, followed by tourists 29%, plus domestic tourists 12%. Tourists and domestic tourists add up to 41%, which make just over the third of the population, but is diversity is mainly present on the street outside the buildings. The residents make 23% and if added to the locals, both make 57% of the population, which means there are still many of them compared to the population of tourists 41%, despite the labelling of the territory as a touristic place.

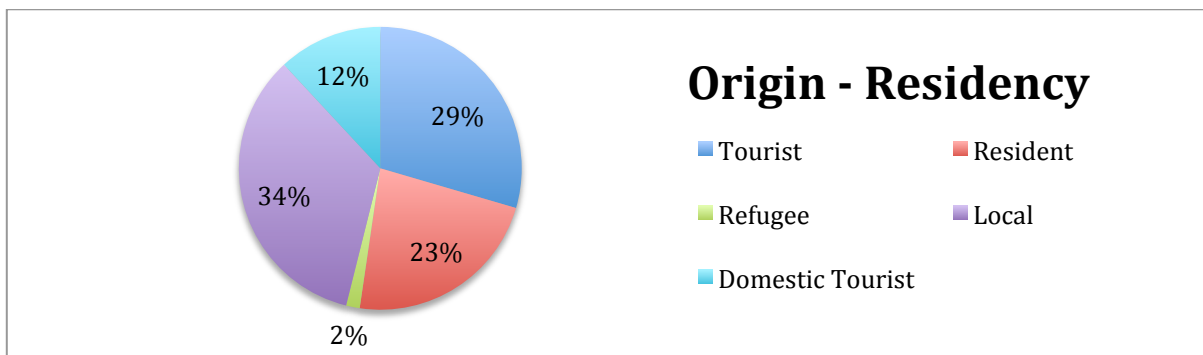


Figure 0-3 Origin - Residency

However, this percentage varies if studied separately in contrast with the category of the pedestrians (workers and passers-by) in each city, as the following 3 figures show: Figure 0-4, Figure 0-5 and Figure 0-6.

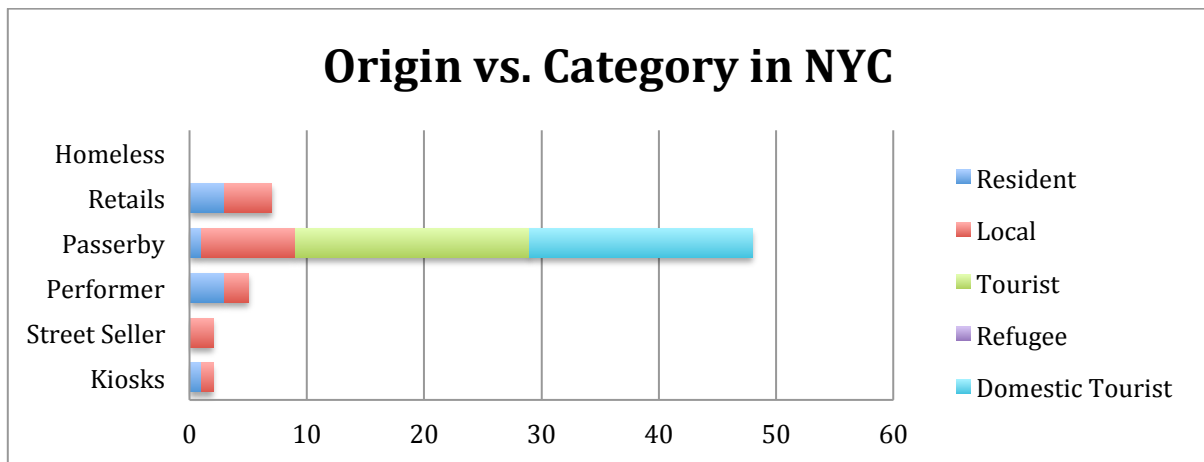


Figure 0-4 Origin vs. Category in NYC

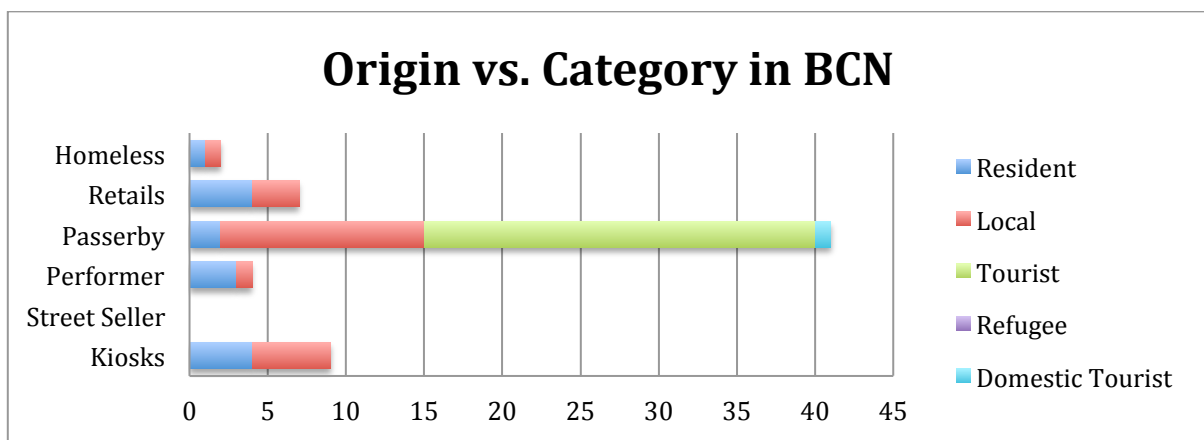


Figure 0-5 Origin vs. Category in BCN

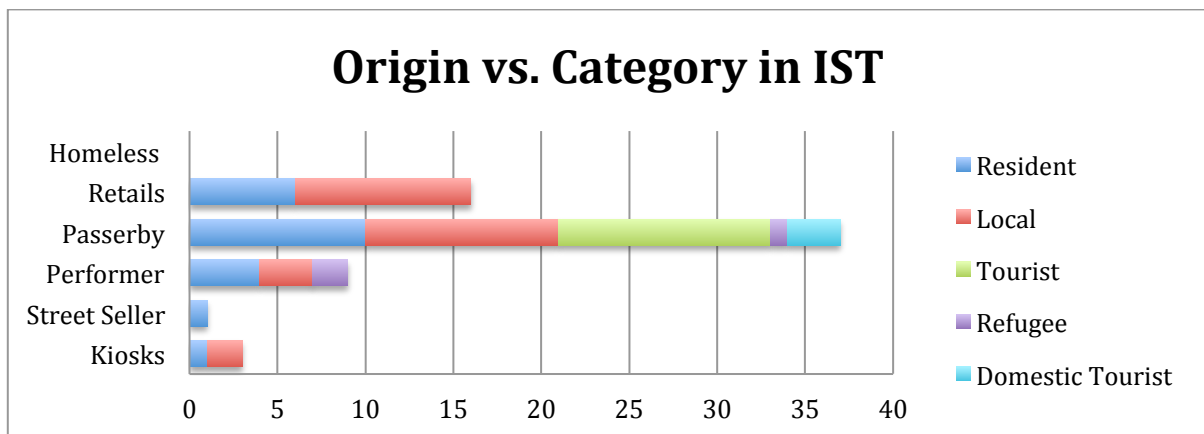


Figure 0-6 Origin vs. Category in IST

Based on the random selection of pedestrians and the presence of an interpreter, there wasn't a language barrier, and therefore the number above represents the number of people on the street during different times and days, to give an approximate number of demographics. So, looking at these 3 figures, we can see that tourism constituted an important element of the pedestrian territory in different ways.

In Times Square the majority of passers-by are tourists, but they are half international tourists and half domestic tourists (visiting from other states), and there is a lower number of locals of NYC and a very small number of residents. In contrast Las Ramblas receives more international tourists, making it the majority of the passers-by, but it is not even double the number of locals who still visit the street. There is a very low number of domestic tourists on Las Ramblas. The case in Istanbul is different as the passers-by are almost equally divided between locals, residents and international tourists, while domestic tourists make a smaller fraction, and even though refugees were a big issue in Istanbul, they don't make any higher percentage than the former categories.

The presence of locals and residents in these territories makes another interesting observation, as they make up the minority of the population on Time Square, mainly passing by or working and a smaller number performing. The number is higher in Barcelona where the locals make up half of the workers in retail and kiosks and the residents make up the other half and they make up less than the half of passers-by. In Istanbul the locals make up more than residents in retails, and passers-by number plus the kiosks, and if locals and residents are combine they make up the majority of passers-by, working and performing categories.

If we put the three cases together in a single figure as Figure 0-7 shows, we can see that tourists in Barcelona make up the highest number of passers-by, followed by international tourists and domestic tourists in NYC, which are almost the same number. Locals of Barcelona, tourists of Istanbul, locals of Istanbul and residents of Istanbul follow it. When it comes to retails Istanbul is doing well with keeping their retails run by locals while Barcelona pushes its locals to work on the kiosks on the Ramblas itself more than in the retails.

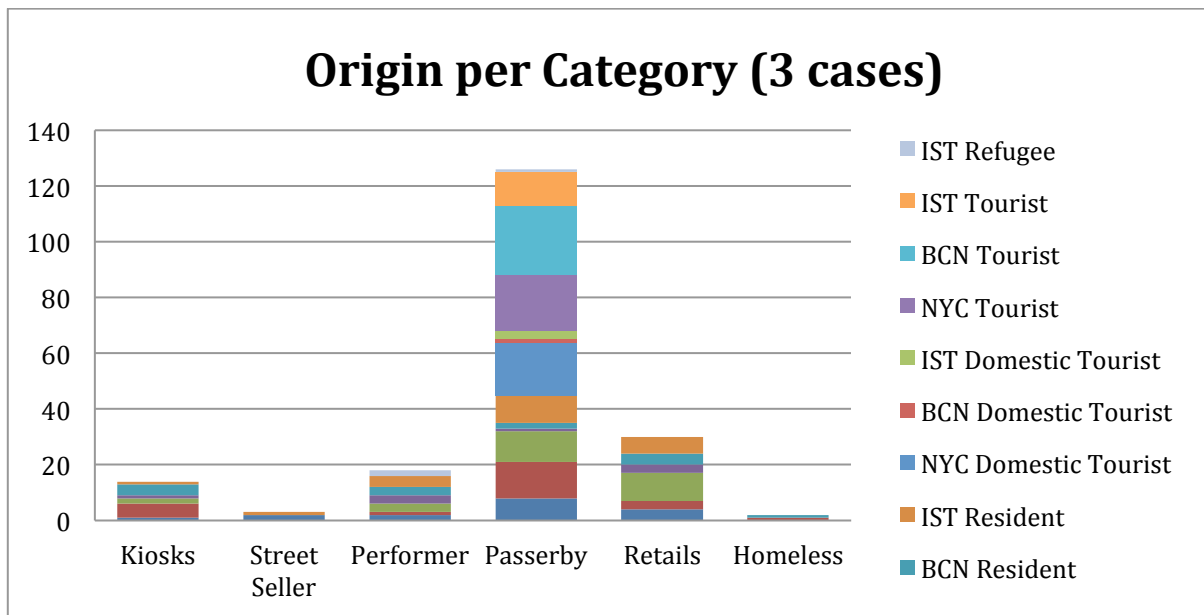


Figure 0-7 Origin per Category (3 cases)

Another aspect of the interviewees is their sex (I avoided using gender as it included people of different sexual orientations such as LGBTQ) as in Figure 0-8, although this was a random selection. I ended up having more male (52%) than female (39%) participants, which wasn't deliberately chosen, although some females felt uncomfortable with voice recording, they were fine being interviewed while I was taking handwritten notes. I also had interviews with some LGBTQ people who were 'out'; they had interesting observations and views of the territory related to their sexual orientations and freedom.

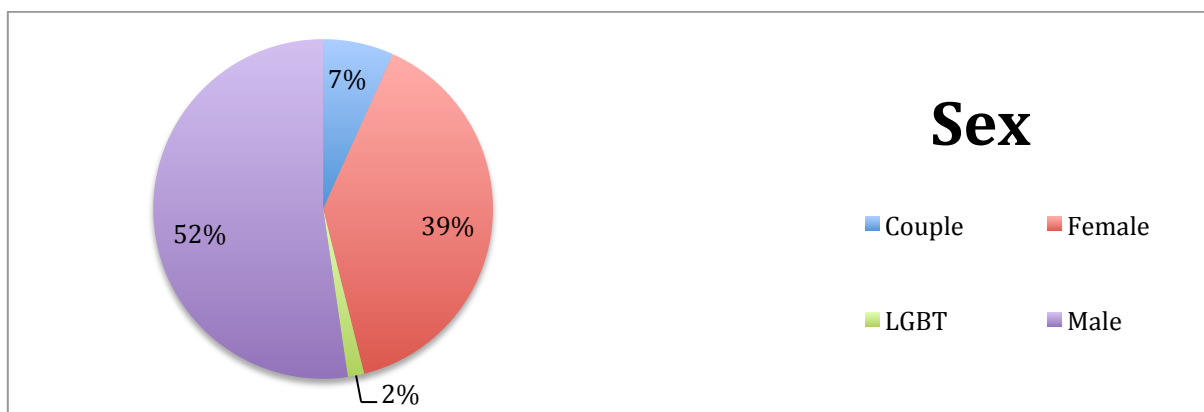


Figure 0-8 Sex

These numbers are coming from the total number of participants, which was almost equal in each city as I was trying to collect consistent data for comparison, as Figure 0-9 shows the divide of the total 193 interviews.

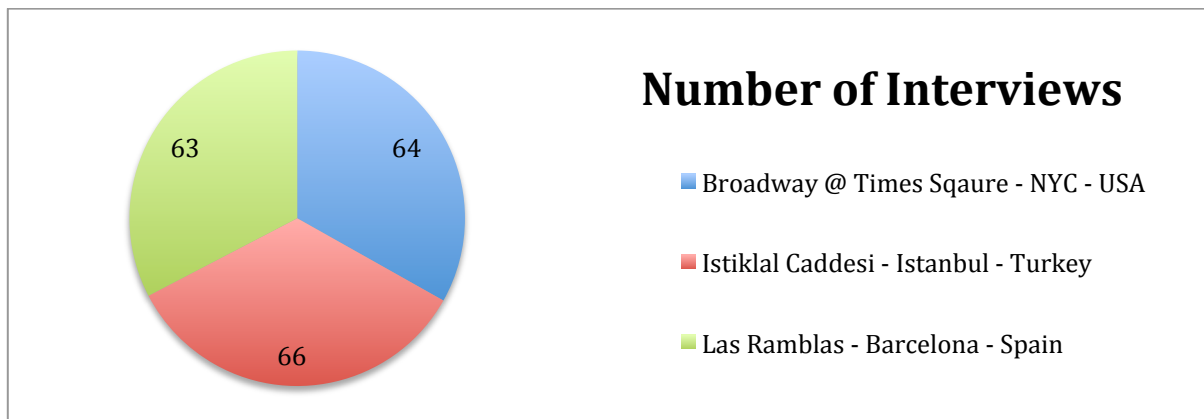


Figure 0-9 Number of Interviews

As these interviews were conducted in different cities in different languages, Figure 0-10 shows the language of interviews, which were predominantly English when interviewing Americans, tourists in other cities, which were conducted by myself. The Turkish interviews (26%) were conducted by my interpreter, whom I accompanied at all times, and similarly in Barcelona, where my interpreter was from the Catalonia region and interviewing people in Catalan (3%) and Spanish (17%) s.

The low percentage of Catalan interviews refers to the personal choice of interviewees. Only a few of them insisted on speaking in Catalan while the others either expressed themselves better in Spanish, or were residents who did not speak Catalan very well. Arabic interviews with Arabic speaking participants made 8% of the total, varied between cities, and resulted in fruitful discussions, especially when I spoke with them their Arabic dialects, which psychologically offered them comfort, trust and even perception that I was from their countries.

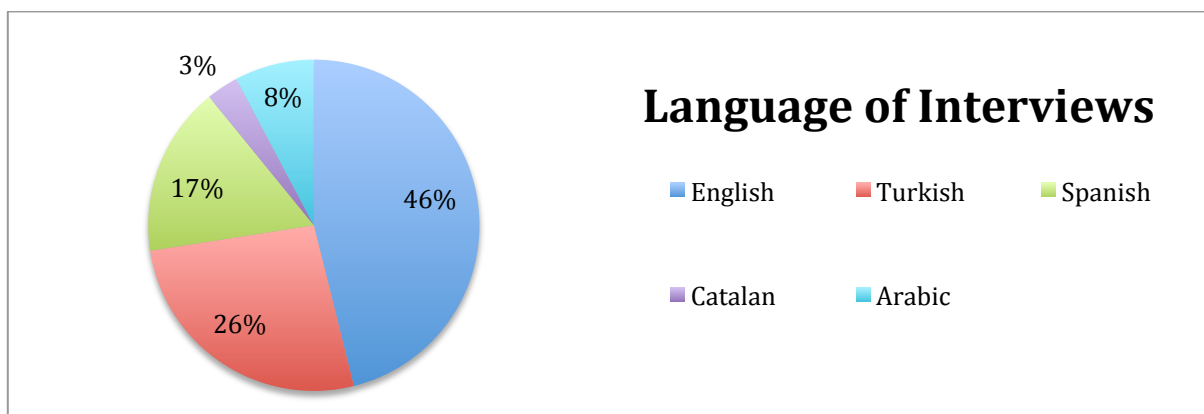


Figure 0-10 Language of Interviews

Another aspect of the participants was their familiarity with the place, Figure 0-11 shows that the majority of my participants were familiar with the places, and only 36% of them were first time visitors. This takes us to another element of comparison, which is the origins of the participants, as Figure 0-12 shows. We can see that Turkish people are more present in the pedestrian territory than other cases, making 24% of the total participant number. This was followed by the Americans who still visit or work in Times Square, making it 22%, while the case of Las Ramblas shows a low number of Spanish people population, making it populated by tourists and a huge number of residents coming from mainly Spanish speaking Latin countries. Other nationalities make up almost the half of the population, with 40% of the people in the pedestrian territory coming from other countries. This number includes tourists, residents, refugees and migrants. The other nationalities are of people coming from 40 countries from around the world as shown in Table 0-1.

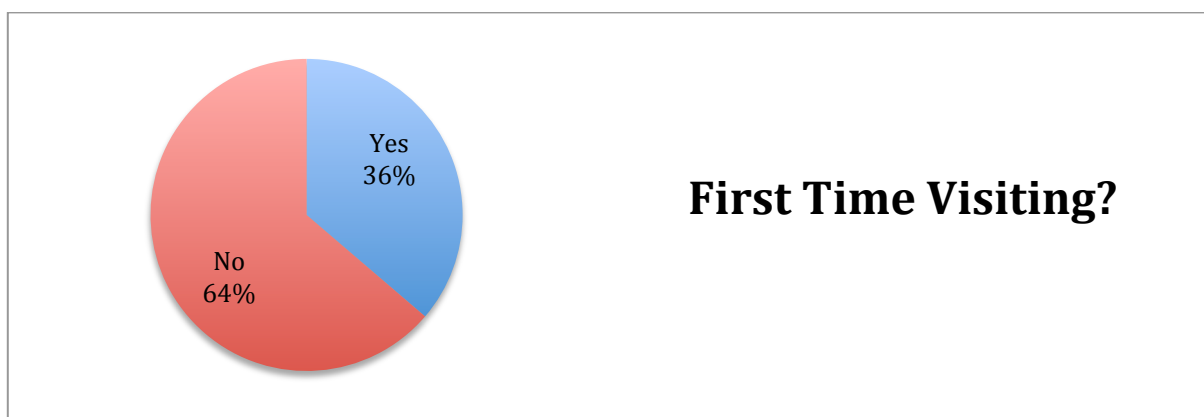


Figure 0-11 First Time Visiting?

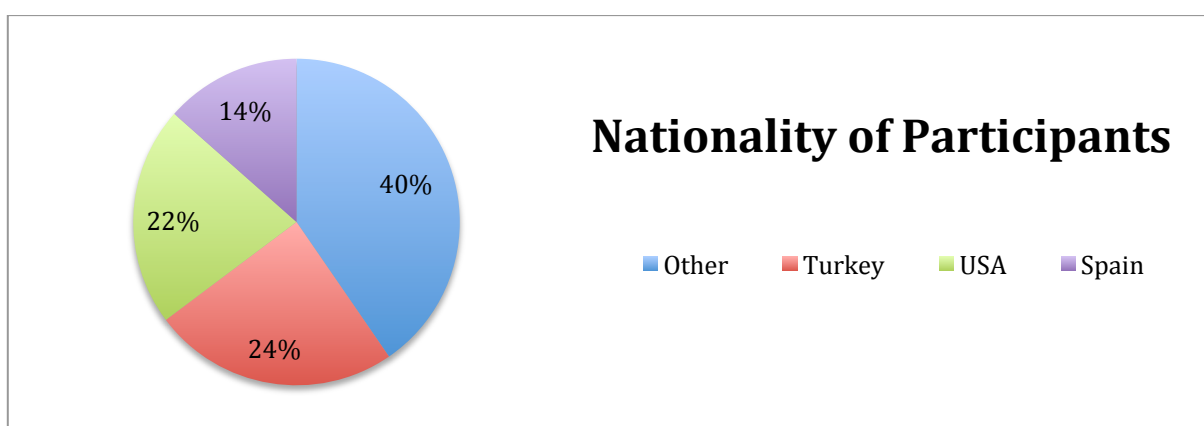


Figure 0-12 Nationality of Participants

Nationality of 'Other' Participants				
Argentina	Cuba	Greece	Morocco	Slovenia
Australia	Czech	India	Netherlands	Sweden
Bahrain	Dominican Rep.	Italy	Philippines	Switzerland
Belgium	Ecuador	Japan	Portugal	Syria
Bosnia & Herz.	Egypt	Kazakhstan	Qatar	Tunisia
Brazil	Finland	Kuwait	Romania	UK
Canada	France	Lebanon	Russia	Ukraine
Columbia	Germany	Malaysia	Saudi Arabia	Uruguay

Table 0-1 Nationality of 'Other' Participants

Diversity isn't limited to pedestrians' nationalities, y but to their age as well, as my participants were of a wide age range, as shown in Figure 0-13 Age Range starting with teenagers aged 15 hanging out at Galatasaray School on İstiklal to seniors in their 80s resting their legs on Times Square. These pedestrian territories are family districts, but are predominantly populated with younger people, as 38% of them were aged between 20-29, and if added together with another generation aged 30-39, together they constituted 62% of the population.

The mature adults aged 40-59 made up a quarter of the population, which shows that the pedestrian territory is occupied by youths, whether they are passers-by or workers in retails or performance. Seniors (11%) were also attracted to the street, but mainly constitute the passers-by population, as not many seniors work there. There are many families bringing their kids, but due to ethical, intellectual and accessibility issues, I didn't interview them, so the 2% doesn't represent the number of them on the street, but the number I was able to interview. This occurred when their families passed the opportunity to talk to their kids, who were excited to be interviewed in NYC, or in the case of Galatasaray school when a group of girls was hanging out, and my female interpreter asked them for interviews.

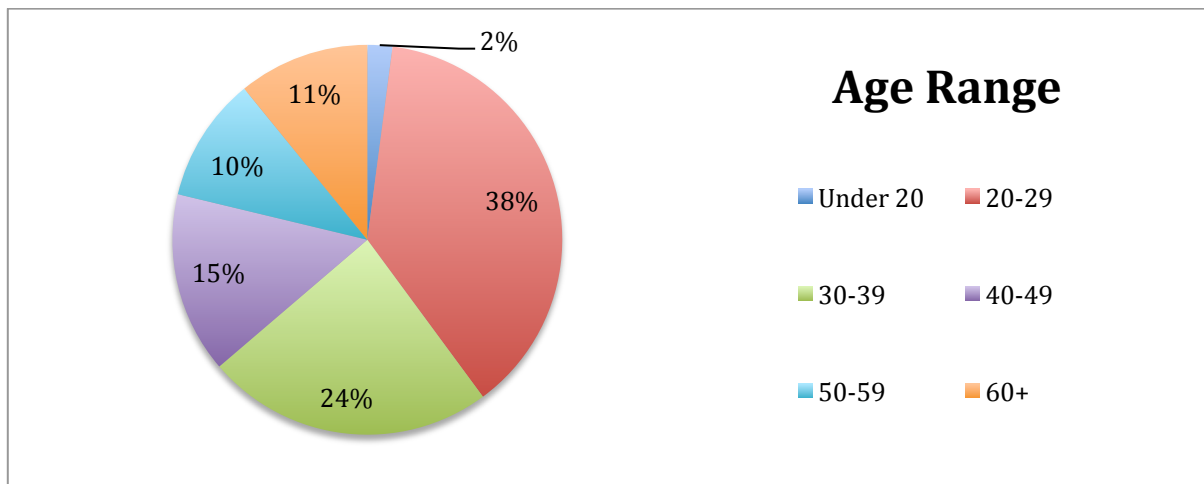


Figure 0-13 Age Range

- **Takeaways**

So, if we look at the section holistically we can see that the majority of passers-by are tourists in NYC, which include domestic and international tourists, but Barcelona attracts 2:1 tourists to locals, while İstiklal is still equally favourable for residents, locals and tourists.

Precisely, only 8/48 of passers-by in NYC were locals, but there were 50/50 domestic vs. international tourists, so a few more Americans in Times Square than foreigners. There were a few more locals in İstiklal, as 11/37 were locals and another third were Turkish residents, , meaning there were more Turks than international tourists walking around. Barcelona had the maximum number of locals, as 13/41 of passers-by were locals despite the fact that Las Ramblas has the highest number of international tourists amongst the three cities and very few domestic tourists.

There were definitely more male than female in these three territories, as the work force happened to have more males, and more male passers-by felt comfortable being interviewed. When it comes to age, we can say that the pedestrian territory is a youth hub, as the age of participants is mainly people between 20 and 40 (62%) followed by middle-aged people between 40 and 60 years old (25%) and there is a fair amount of teens, kids and seniors as well.

In terms of profession and origin, around half of the retailers in both NYC and Barcelona are locals, which isn't as high as in Istanbul, where the figures are 10/16. While artists have different proportions as 1/4 performers in Barcelona are local as the rest are Latinos, and

3/9 performers in Istanbul are locals while the others are either Turkish residents or foreigners. In Times Square 2/5 performers in NYC are locals and the rest are foreigners or from other American cities, which explains that performances aren't necessarily representations of the local culture or NYC.