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„Shopping streets; Places of attachment or indifference?

A comparative study of sense of place in two shopping streets in Vienna and Copenhagen "

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Abstract

As the birth of the covered arcade was a turning point in shopping scenery, making a clean, safe, ideal environment for shopping in 18th century, the emergence of the pedestrianized shopping streets is as well a new turning point for the retail landscape of European cities. This turn has a prominent implication for shop organization and the space. The higher the traffic of people on foot, the better business runs. And eventually the more the number and status of shops grow, eventually the rents increase. At a result you will see many international, multinational, or national chain stores replacing the old local single owned businesses. As Zukin mentions; "the creative destruction of the landscape." Among studies regarding retail and different forms of consumption, the influence of changes in the retail structure on space in our ever-globalizing world has been overlooked. This research is addressing central city European shopping streets as spaces of consumption and spaces that are being consumed. The implications of homogenization of retail in European central city shopping streets, with two cities as case studies- Copenhagen and Vienna is the focus of this study. the study of the literature and comparing it with the current situation of central shopping streets shows the implications of post-modern shopping behavior in shops and people's tendencies toward specific stores. The results from Entropy and data analysis in retail sector organization shows a very similar trend in retail sector in both streets with small differences related to, design elements and strategies in the two streets. While the results from surveys and analysis of the results with shamai's sense of place measurement, shows a rather higher sense of place in Mariahilfer Straße rather than strøget while in General the presence of sense of place is rather low in both shopping streets. While the result shows people's interests towards chain stores, it show a low sense of place towards the street itself.

Keywords: Shopping streets- Sense of place- Retail organization- Chain store- Chainification – Consumption spaces – Pedestrian Streets

Preface and acknowledgement

After living in 4 different countries and traveling to many cities around Europe with my 4cities collogues and professors, I ended up having so many memories in different spaces. Sometimes a certain space was associated with an abundance of memories for me even though going there only once. And going back to some of the cities that I traveled, brought about these memories to me. It has been always interesting for me how certain elements of a space can transfer me to a certain memory through all my senses. I learned that city environment has the ability of offering a variety of meanings, surprises, familiarity and strangeness at the same time. Some spaces in one city remind you of another city and some transfer you to a certain moment or memory. This matter has been always interesting for me while traveling. This research is dedicated to those who have memories and feelings for a special space and do not want it to change.

I wish to thank my family who always supported me in any way possible either in distance or by my side. Without them I wouldn't be where I am now. I would like to thank Omid, whom I learned a lot from, and never once left me alone through the hard times of writing this research. I like to thank my talented Golnaz, Kimiya, Victoria and Matevz for their assistance and all my 4cities friends for their support. A big thanks to all the interviewees and survey participants. I would like to express my appreciation to Prof. Btoleve and Prof. Hatz for their guidance and supervision on my work. And my biggest gratitude to Josh, our program coordinator, who helped me a lot through conflicts and confusions.

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1   INTRODUCTION

Mainly located in historic core of the city, central city shopping streets are remarkable streets of each city. They are often spots of attention, among the first destinations for visitors, with a representative role in the city. The historical character of the old city centers also adds to their attractiveness as a Shopping location. This research is addressing European central city shopping streets. Taking Copenhagen and Vienna as two case studies, it is a study of transformation of retail, shopping behavior and sense of place in these streets while they go through different processes of homogenization of retail and strategies. It seeks to analyze the result of changing realities and meanings of shopping streets as spaces of consumption and spaces that are being consumed, and settings for the selling process. After the rise of recreational shopping, despite increased competition of "out-of-town" retailing and shopping centers, historic city center shopping streets remained on top of the retail hierarchy in most European cities such as Vienna, due to the above mentioned reasons (Hajner, 2015). Mostly because of their historic character and the personality that each street carried, they stayed eye-catching for visitors and shoppers (Weltevreden et al., 2005).

The focus of this work will be on three different aspects:

1) Internationalization/homogenization and shopping behavior - how people's preferences and behaviors towards shopping has changed over the time.
2) Internationalization/homogenization and sense of place - a study of people's attachment to the street.
3) Internationalization and retail organization - a quantitative and comparison study of retail sectors in the case studies.

The research will consist of two parts. *Analyzing the sense of place in internationalized shopping streets* and *exploring the influence of pedestrianization on attracting chain stores and its contribution to the sense of attachment.*

"Experience has become a keyword in the efforts to describe the development of modern urban culture; one of the causes behind this development is the growing emphasis on the interests of the individual. The consideration for the individual and its experiences presents a major challenge for modern urban planning." (Zerlang, 2008)

The same outlook has been taken in retail and consumer world. There have been more and more efforts on creating an interesting experience for consumers and encouraging them to stay longer in the consumption spaces. Individualized lifestyle which is counted as a fundamental characteristic of modernity is also being manifested in shopping behaviors. Individual tastes and lifestyles have penetrated the consumption performance as well (Firat, 1992). Such approach involves all above mentioned elements, and to realize how this approach functions in today's internationalized shopping streets is the motivation of this volume.

The homogenization of retail and domination of chain stores is a global trend and an inevitable reality in the present day's shopping streets. The streets cannot go through a metamorphosis at this point. But is it possible to create a progressive approach to sense of place in these great public spaces? Yet the first step is to realize to what extent the sense of place is available in these streets. And what is causing or banishing it.

1.1   RESEARCH QUESTION

The main objective of this thesis is to analyze the results of the changes happening to the European central shopping streets. The main element of these changes is the domination of chain international stores. Along this line I will seek to answer the following research question:

What are the implications of homogenization of retail organization and strategies in European central city shopping streets? (With the case studies of Copenhagen and Vienna)

And with the following sub-questions of;

- How the sector variety is distributed in shopping streets and to what extend sector organization in the two cases is similar?

- How internationalized retail organization influenced shopping behavior

- How far local actors react to this process?

- To what extend people feel a sense of place towards shopping streets? Does internationalization of retail and generic strategies creates this sense or contradicts it?

1.2   HYPOTHESIS

The changes in the structure of shopping streets can be traced back to the urban development processes started during the 1860s and 1870s specifically in Europe. The large chain international stores and companies have been growing and small businesses have given the way to large businesses with higher productivity. Greater labor and capital productivity in professionally managed chain firms who were able to pay higher rents suppressed small and single-owner shops in the main shopping streets. These changes had major impact on the urban and street forms in which the space is treated as a mere commodity (Whitehand, 1992).

Different ideas and strategies which are becoming more and more in favor of chain stores, have been carried out through the time in shopping streets. Concepts and strategies are being repeated in different cities to keep consumers more than ever on the streets to shop, such as window displays, adjacent attraction, pedestrianizing etc. while they have influenced the retail, sense of place and people's experience of the space. (Zukin, 2010)

In 2009, Sharon Zukin, pointed out the process of sameness in cities while visiting New York. Whether the changes in the streets of that city – "chain stores invading shopping streets in all neighborhoods, and casting the long shadow of sameness over many shopping streets" - might be repeated in cities all over the world. She called it a sign of homogenization of commerce and the urban streetscape. (Zukin, 2015)

The emergence of pedestrian streets leads to mono-functionalization of some parts of the city center. (Vagnby, 2013) Small shopping units get displaced and pushed away while homogenized international chains dominate the street. Therefore, what can be seen in the long run is that the urban transformation processes and decisions regarding the space are becoming to a highly market-oriented.

It is worth mentioning that Issues that have been raised in this volume, do not imply that the strategies to vitalize the city centers have been useless or with negative effects. Conversely, they have been very effective in order to attract people, activities, goods and services to certain areas and without those actions some areas might have gone through serious deterioration. Nevertheless, there are certain trends repeating in different cities through the time, which might have different results from town to town, yet comparing them with a parallel approach, could reveal their pros and cons, ups and downs, and good or bad repercussions.

The physical forms, activities and meanings come together to define the experience, the sense and character of a place for people (Montgomery, 1998). With the emergence of recent constructions and developments in city streets, these experiences and perceptions are influenced, therefore impeding the sense of place and attachment. This sense of attachment, specially shared by the locals who feel a deep and long term connection with a place, may easily become enervated with changes in the physical characteristics and activities related to an area. Without any meaningful connection, the sense of place in the streets weakens. The hypothesis of this research is that the internationalization of retail and streetscape does have certain implications in shopping streets. These implications are mostly regarding retail organization, shopping behavior and sense of place in the streets. The changes in the structure of these streets through the time affect people's sense of place and attachment. They might lose their ability, as a central historical street, to provide a sense of place by the growth of mono-functionality in these streets. Therefore, I seek to understand to what extent the sense of place is present in these streets, and to which

degree these streets are being used for activities other than shopping. A successful design of a place is said to have accessibility, legibility, vitality, diversity and comfort (Jacobs, 1961). Some of these mentioned attributes of a "good" public space, specially vitality and diversity in shopping streets, have been affected by the process of sameness; the homogenization of commerce and street forms. Although the design of many of these streets holds all the necessary characteristics of a good place, yet the main factor defining the sense of place is the meanings held by the individuals using that place, their experiences and feelings. To convey it in a more comprehensive manner, economic globalization, standardized products and generic urban design with little authentic connection to local landscapes, history, and culture expedite the weakening of the sense of place (kamalipour et al., 2012). Sense of place is strongly connected to the uniqueness of a place; people develop a sense of place when they feel a certain street has some unique characteristics. Hence the level of uniqueness and specialness of a place can be inferred from studying the sense of place in people.

1.3   GOALS

The main goals defined in this research are seeking to answer the research questions. Therefore, they go as following:

- To have a general overview of the retail sector organization in these streets and have a sector variety comparison between the two case studies.
- To grasp how this process of internationalization of shopping streets does affect the experience of space.
- To realize to what extent do people feel a sense of place towards the shopping street.

1.3.1   LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

As a comparative study, this research might also have some limitations in reference to sampling, data collection and generalization of the findings. The

case studies drawn for the inquiry may not be enough to generalize the results. However, results of the study may indicate similar pattern of shopping behavior in European central shopping streets. Moreover, Regarding the representatively of the samples in the survey part, I should add that the sampling does not meet all the requirements of an ideal random sample, yet the relatively high number of respondents even though they could not be chosen completely randomly was an attempt to acquire a result possibly close to reality.

1.4   METHODS

On the basis of exploratory data and empirical analysis, this research addresses the implications of structural changes in shopping streets. To this aim, two shopping streets in two European cities have been chosen for a comparison. Mariahilfer-Straße in Vienna and Strøget in Copenhagen are the two case studies in this volume. They will be more elaborated on in the follows. The methods that this research carried on are the following:

1. Survey distribution on both streets on the subject of sense of place: based on the Shamai's (1991) scale of sense of place, I conducted a survey in order to measure sense of place in people using the two shopping streets.

2. Informal talks: talking to people on the street, in cafes, or sitting in the shadows, asking about their opinions about the wave of multinational chain stores taking over the street. The conversations took place in Vienna mostly in English and in some case in German with assistance of a translator and I used English in Copenhagen since a high majority of Danes are good English speakers and there were almost no problems of communication.

3. Expert interviews: 5 Structured and semi-structured interviews have been conducted with local officials asking about trends and strategies happening on the street.

4. Quantitative analysis: To properly investigate my chosen case studies in Copenhagen and Vienna, I applied a supplementary quantitative method. It does not play a direct role for the final results, but serves as a

foundation and to gain an overview of the sector variety in cases. It helps to have a comparison on sector variety in the two case study streets, to realize to which extent these two are similar to each other. And in general to describe the retail structure in case studies and to give the reader an idea, what kind of place are we talking about and where we are looking for a sense of place.

5. In order to have a comparison on sector variety in the two case study streets, to realize to which extent these two are similar to each other. Moreover to have a comparison analysis on the sector distribution in particular.

6. Observation.

2   THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The retail competition has had an impact on the spatial organization of the city and street. Other than that, it has penetrated in every level of our lives and different life-styles are being defined through this process. (Sorkin.1992) Specifically shopping streets bring on a new habit of leisure shopping into the everyday urban life and use of public space.

Several scholars of urbanism argue that even with the renewed interest in public space, the variety of functions of public life that public space fulfills is diminishing (Sorkin 1992; Zukin 1996). However European cities always count public space as a crucial element of urban development, yet a significant proportion of public spaces are emerging as controlled environments; somehow modifying people's needs in public life by separating, segregating and filtering both the uses and users.

Streets are arteries of a city, without them there will be no life. Walking down the streets may seem an insignificant everyday act, but everyday sense of the street is actually a complex, changing concept. Details imply a variety of processes and experiences. A good look into it might show how different people experience the space and relate themselves to it differently (FYFE, 1998). But before anything, street are public spaces; and safe to say among the most

important public spaces in the city. Places of different social encounter, sites of domination and resistance, political protest, a place where you can feel pleasure and anxiety. (FYFE, 1998)   Central streets most certainly function differently to peripheral ones. Thinking of all the huge and small events happening on streets throughout the history makes streets complex objects worthy of theoretical analysis. Among those, shopping streets have certain defining features specializing them among other streets. Throughout the history, the importance of public space in the cities seems to have diminished compared to the past. Some of these places were forgotten in social life of the cities and some other may have not found any degree of significance at all. Some spaces however have continuously been a distinguishable node in the history of a city and the social life of citizens. (Madanipour, 2003) Shopping streets are one of those public spaces which never fall of importance through the time. The act of shopping indeed creates a sense of place. Especially in splendid central streets which the idea of being nodes in global fashion distribution, the crowd and movement make them look like the *center of the world* (Zukin, 2015). However different processes have caused some changes through the time. The changes in the structure of shopping streets can be traced back to several changes in urban development processes. Throughout the 20th century, the large international chain stores and companies have been growing and small businesses have given the way to large businesses with higher productive capacity. These changes had major impact on the urban and street forms (Whitehand, 1992). The space is treated as a mere commodity and its emotional and cultural values would be fainted. (Madanipour, 1996)

The first part of this section will explore these historical changes throughout the time in literature, then I will talk about the experience of shopping itself and consumption. Following that, the concept of consumption spaces, as spaces of consumption and spaces of control would be explained.

2.1   A HISTORY OF SHOPPING, STREETS, AND SHOPPING STREETS

Ancient cities were enclosed by walls to provide security for the community. To increase the density and to use the space within these walls to the maximum,

the streets were narrow and serpentine, in other words, only functional. "*Since the streets of ancient cities were dark at night and did not ensure any entertainment for citizens, people spent their times in the evenings at home, often on rooftops.*"(Gideon, 1995) However central and northern European cities emerged only after middle ages.

The emergence of agora in Greek colony resulted in an increase in the importance of the main streets of the cities leading to the center. Now these streets were more than just a place for passing. However, these relatively wide streets were institutionalized by Roman uniformed design, thus lacked a local character. Streets leading to the center, were flanked with shops and street vendors. Shopping Streets, somehow similar to what we have today, started to appear close to markets in some eastern provinces of Rome, in Ephesus, Timgad, and Palmyra. (Koray, 1998)

These cardinal streets also started to form in other Medieval European cities, connecting the main locations of the cities; the church plaza, the market square and the city gates. Yet still, these streets were far away from being "places" of their own. Building could not afford to have ground floor access due to security concerns and the building owners were usually in charge of maintaining the part of the street passing by their building.

Overtime some streets got their own physiognomy. This was done through changes and variations in windows, openings and other details. While in some cases context also played a role in defining the way streets looked. Athens and Roman Empire were the age of street design in Europe. During the era of the great city states, the city was increasingly considered on plan view and in axial boulevards, baroque symmetry and balance were observed. (Mumford, 1989)

In 17th century, the city governments began to take care of the maintenance and management of the streets; lighting, paving, waste disposal, and so on. They were no longer dark and unhygienic medieval period roads. Cities assigned specific areas for economic activities and relocated some markets to the periphery. With all these actions, the city was not anymore just a comfortable place for rich society to live in, but also a convenient, clean safe environment for everyone to shop in the center.

However, these changes did not happen on a fast pace. They were taking place slowly and sometimes limited only in some particular streets of the city. Even *"in Paris in the second half of the eighteenth century, sewers and pavements were missing in large parts of the city, and traffic was a constant threat to pedestrians"* (Furneé & Lesger, 2014). This was a turning point for Parisian retail landscape, to a clean, safe, ideal environment for shopping and strolling in the second half of the 18th century; the birth of the covered arcades.

The sociocultural act of shopping itself can also be said to follow the same trail. Many historians have declared that shopping as we know it today, which is the pleasurable act of walking down the streets, comparing the merchandise, interacting with the people and finally the satisfaction of buying a new item, has only been introduced in the 19th century with the dawn of shopping arcades and department stores. But it is said that even in the late 17th century, a small shopping street in The Hague was the usual route for fashionable ladies to enjoy spending their money while also being an appealing sight to the eyes of the male inhabitants. Shopping for food and clothes have often been considered an activity for women. However, this is always related to the context and cultural norms. Besides that, division of labor has an important role in gender divisions of shopping activities (Zukin, 2010).

Even though the movement towards streets with splendid boulevards and wide pass ways received a lot of criticism at the time, yet it endowed additional importance to streets. Rome and Paris were the birthplace of today's image of Europe; Resplendent boulevards connecting monumental buildings and royal plazas. Streets with refined design and ornament.

Streets evolved as did the civilization. As fortifications diminished in the city and wheeled vehicles started to show up, more complex streets with different size and function began to appear (Mumford, 1989; Norberg-Schulz, 1993). Later on regulations started to take place on shops and store fronts, such as moving the products into the stores, usually behind protective glass displays and the name of the shop to be presented in the front.

London was the first city in modern times to develop a big cosmopolitan shopping center. Indoor stores with fixed prices for products and window

displays which had become typical in 1600. However, the large sheets of plate glass in store fronts were only common in late 19th century (Zukin, 2010)

During this early modern period, in many families, servants used to be sent out for shopping everyday products. However, many people preferred to go shopping themselves and not trust servants on comparing, choosing the best product and bargaining for a good price. Especially for durable products, which people started using catalogues in order to learn how to choose and what to choose among different offers? (Govers, 2009; Furneé &Lesger, 2014)

Both shopping for necessities and luxurious shopping was an important part of the daily life. The need for daily provisioning the household was shaping the daily routine of town dwellers. This daily trips for buying products decreased with the advent of electricity and refrigerators, but the act of shopping remained an important part of daily life. (Zukin, 2010)

By the early nineteenth century, shopping was considered as a well-bred social activity. This was a result of many actions regarding the creation a suitable environment such as street lightning and traffic control, use of window displays and public effort on pavements. Number of shops in the streets increased significantly since with all the changes and improvements, there was a growing interest appearing on shopping- or strolling in shopping streets- among people.

"If cities are sites of modernity, shopping is a way in which city dwellers become modern". (Zukin, 2010)

In fast growing industrial centers, the number of shops was growing significantly; this was in contrast with slower growing countries with a more or less moderate growth rate in the number of shops. Representative streets existed mainly in the capital cities and in cities with a rich bourgeoisie, but not in industrial cities with a working class population.

Cities were changing in a fast pace to adapt to the new systems; Industrialism, Capitalism, and consumerism. The best option was to use a template, a blueprint for imperialist boulevards meant for retail purposes. The boulevards of Paris, including the Champs Elysees served as this much needed template (Kostov, 1992). Shopping streets were born. They are no more just a passage or

a connection between two points. Streets are places that need to be designed, organized, maintained and equipped (Grigsby, 2012).

Figure1: Vegetable market Antwerp, 15th century

Figure2: Shop front window, Amsterdam, 1850
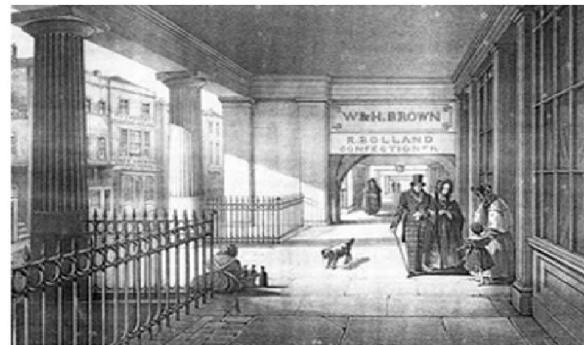
Figure3: Eastgate row Chester, 1831

1.Source: Landscape of Consumption, 2014

The return to the street design from the age of functionalism and car oriented spaces, was in the same time with growing inter urban competition between cities through the advent of information and technology age. One of the results of this competition was cities attention towards city marketing and branding. As Sassens (2005) has mentioned, the transition towards "global network society" and the prominence role of the cities within this competition. They compete for attracting international firms, cultural capital, tourism revenue and that is when the "points of differences become important". It goes without saying that streets are main places in which the city life takes place. Therefore, place identity in them brings in a specific image for each city (Grigsby, 2012). The transition from Fordism to Post-Fordism in the 1970s resulted in a sharply increased spatial competition between cities as well as countries. At the same line with the city competition to attract more visitors, city-tourism including

shopping-tourism became one of the fastest growing segments of tourism. With changes in shopping behavior among people shopping was not restricted to one's home city any more. Curious shoppers started travelling to explore other cities with the ambitions of a pleasurable shopping accompanied with travel and sightseeing. Consequently, cities compete to attract *hedonistic shoppers* by creating somehow similar shopping places or engaging in the process of '*mallification*' (deelip, 2012).

2.2   THE EXPERIENCE OF SHOPPING

The net experience of shopping may be an endless pursuit of a dream, not of products, but of sociability and community, in a safe, convenient space where shoppers can feel at ease in public.

Sharon Zukin, 2012

The act of shopping indeed creates a sense of place. Shopping for a specific product that can be related to religion, ethnicity, and beliefs and so on can promote a sense of place which reflects a particular group identity. As Zukin mentions, buying halal meat in a Christian dominant society in a shop or the agglomeration of similar shops in one neighborhood is an opportunity for shoppers to confirm their group identity by shopping there (Zukin, 2012)

Shopping is an element of enforcing social class and statues. In addition to race, ethnicity, gender and place, people form a collective identity by shopping in specific stores and neighborhoods. Expensive stores mark upper class neighborhoods and the group that choose to shop there, while cheaper stores mark lower class district where lower income residence and ethnic minorities shop there. Thus shopping, informally affirms social class by providing a public space for lower income to feel comfortable and in place. This effect is sometimes not visible or predictable for individuals. They might walk in to a store or neighborhood and by seeing the prices or the atmosphere feel out of place, they might feel they are "transgressing social boundaries". That is in a way creation of zones of informal segregation and exclusion by shopping (Zukin, 2010). This will be further explained in the next section. However, it is

worth mentioning at this point that these strings holding the correlation between social status and shopping behavior did get loosened, the more we passed into pot-modernism era.

Furthermore, shopping provides an opportunity for social excursions, meeting friends, and entertainments. Even though some people prefer to shop alone, others enjoy to be accompanied by friends, chat, and pleasurably shop. Before the advancement of technology and people's tendency to stay indoors, shopping was a prominent means of entertainment and social interaction. According to Zukin (2010), *'shopping still remains a popular way to be "in Public" and the more that people shop the more important shopping is as a public sphere.'*

Nowadays, the modern face of shopping does not require much interaction between shoppers and the clerk as it was in the past, in traditional markets or neighborhoods. Zukin calls it a co-presence rather than interdependence. The interdependence is easily visible in small scale neighborhoods or small towns in everyday interactions among residence and shopkeepers. Jane Jacobs refers to this interference when talking about "the ballet of the streets". Yet with the emergence of glass displays, fixed prices and presenting the products inside the stores, these interactions diminished gradually (Furneé & Lesger, 2014)

Another reason of this disappearance of interactions between shopkeepers and shoppers in today's urban life, is the replacement of individually owned small shops by big chain international and national stores (Zukin, 2010)

When trade of the goods and products became easier and faster in the world, shopping turned out to be more pervasive and shopping streets were becoming more visible. Especially in the city center where shopping, in a way, created a major commercial center in which the higher the traffic of people on foot, the better business runs. And eventually the more the number and status of shops grow, the higher the rent gets. Local officials confirm zoning which goes without saying that results in gentrification. At the end the big chain international stores remain in the center and small local businesses either close or move to cheaper areas.

2.3 CONSUMPTION

"Everyday life in the twenty-first century offers many examples of consumption that can be studied in this way. The point of a sociological study is neither to praise nor to condemn consumers, but to understand how, and why, people learn to consume, over time, in different ways." (Zukin, 2003)

The contemporary studies of the concept of consumption started form 1970s and 1980s when *consumption was becoming a more visible factor in the creative destruction of the landscape.* (Zukin, 1991) Walter Benjamin's (1999) exploration on Paris Arcades as a historical approach was the starting point of this field of research. Other scholars followed describing city streets, fashion, shop windows, smells, sounds and memories in Benjamin's work to reveal the origins of modern consumer culture.

Most of the theoretical work on this area, suggests that mass consumption is a product of manipulation. Manipulation of consumers' desire to dress well and be good looking. To define their identity with consumption of certain products and individual dreams of self-enhancement. Leach (1993), who studies New York and Philadelphia department stores, also did not blame consumers. According to him the usage of new instruments- plate glass, electric lights- were "strategies of enticement".

Additionally, the quantitative growth of mass consumption also reflects qualitative changes in demographics, new trends of social and geographical mobility, and the growing appeal of standardized goods as badges of both democratization and social status (Schudson, 1984).

Consumption is considered to be an institutional field. The production of consumers is in fact a result of the process of production and what happens on the receiving end of the products. For example, Ferguson (1998) studies on the development of gastronomy in France could also work as template of new forms of consumption. Her studies aim to outline a cultural field –Bourdieu's concept of a cultural field- in France. She considered gastronomy as a new form of food consumption in the 19th century and mentioned different elements

influencing this concept. She believes social and cultural changes and the rise of a broad middle class increased the tendency towards a high-value-added culinary preparation. Besides, advent of new consumption sites as cafes and restaurants, publications -such as cook books, food reviews, tourist information guides- and networks of production and consumption were elements of shaping the new face of gastronomy.

If we consider gastronomy as a type of consumption, we can apply this approach to the development of shopping through the past few decades till present time. This is what Sharon Zukin has suggested in *"Consumers and Consumption"* volume (2004); as mentioned, she considers shopping as an institutional field influenced by advances in mass consumption and system of retail stores (and by now websites and applications) which is along the same line as shifts in social status structures and consumer culture. This field can be analyzed in three different categories; consumption sites (social spaces), consumption guides (languages) and shopping experiences and narratives and stories. These kinds of changes can be traced back in secondary sources in histories over time. Zukin addresses the changes and expansion of consumption sites in United States from market places with bargain culture to department stores with fixed prices and from mail catalogues to websites and online shopping. There is also a change in viewpoints in these historic records form products' composition to personal writings about lifestyle and self-expression. (Zukin, 2004)

2.4   CONSUMPTION IN POST-MODERN ERA

With the transition from the Modern Era (or Fordism Era) to the Postmodern (or Post-Fordism) Era consumer behavior becomes more an item of lifestyle, partly independent from social class. This section will explore on this subject.

Several theories of postmodernity, in the wide range of academic disciplines have one thing in common which is the *"central role of consumption in the construction of social world".*   In this era, consumption is not necessarily functional or set on price but acquires a symbolic role. Consumers are fundamentally different from those in modernity, regarding shopping behavior.

Traditional variables like social class, income and demographics can no longer explain consumption trends in the new era. (Burton, 2002)

As an example lifestyle groups like "bobos"[1] have the purchasing power of expensive products but sometimes buy cheap stuff as well. Retailing firms also reacted in response to this behavioral shift. In different big multinational chains, one can find cheap discount offers as well as fine, expensive products.

"In post modernity the separation of product and services from their original function is akin to the separation of the signifier form the sign." (Firat, 1992) In this era, the individuals, who are more *"reflexive"* to social trends, are actually consumers of the signs in pursuance of individual identities which are not fixed. This phenomenon has changed traditional views that categorizes consumers into relatively fixed groups.

Post modernity is akin to some fragmentations (Firat, 1992), in which the disappearance of the boundaries between elites and mass culture creates confusions and uncertainty. This encourages consumers to the appeal of commodity. At this point it is through commodity that one constructs an individual identity. Therefore, clothes and other trending consumer products become the material to create new images and identities. (Gardner, 1989)

"Shopping is not merely the acquisition of things; it is the buying of identity: an aesthetics of self' (Shields, 1992).

As mentioned before, we actually come to purchase the meaning of the object rather than its practicality. Fashion has become a mode of gaining a form of self-identity which is purchasable and you can choose it. However, in most cases commodity has a short lived significance and the symbolic image soon becomes outdated. Furthermore, this way of constructing identity is more individualized through commodity. As Giddens mentions, a 'continues self-observation". You are to decide "what to wear?", "how to look?", "where to shop?", and "who to be?" However, the multiplicity of choices in the new era is confusing for

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[1] A member of a social class of well-to-do professionals who espouse bohemian values and lead bourgeois lives. (Merriam Webster Dictionary)

individuals. Sociologists like Giddens used the idea of *reflexivity* in their theories of post-modernity. Giddens argues that in late modernism, self-identity becomes a reflexive phenomenon; a project that we constantly work on.   Unlike the earlier traditional societies, we are increasingly free to choose who we want to be and this attempt fulfills for the most part by consumption. While Giddens believes that wealth gives you more option on this creation of identity, the increase in choices can be also troubling or confusing.

Therefore, they seek for some guidance from "experts". These experts are fashion magazines, movies, advertisements and so on. And this is where the contradictions of postmodernity appear. The *individualized reflexive postmodern consumer* seeks for individuality and distinction while at the same time in being guided by the mainstream capitalist society; becoming part of a collective uniformity. Aiming for distinction results in similarity. Moreover, the act of gazing without purchase is another mode of consumption that is everywhere. As postmodern theories argue that we consume more than we produce. We consume on the streets, in malls, airports, stations, museums, and etc. *"One of the fundamental problems of postmodernism is how to live within a society that is increasingly defined by consumption."* (Burton, 2002)

The next section is a study of how shopping has influenced the space through the time. And how public space has been incorporated into these changes of phase. After this section, I will explore the ambient power appeared in public spaces that are also a consumption space, such as shopping streets.

2.5   CONSUMPTION SPACES

Supporting these redevelopments is the intense shopping trend that has affected most parts of the world. Shopping is both the common denominator and the public face of these globalization projects: everyone can "buy into" the symbolic economy, pursuing their private dreams in public spaces. These new, mixed-use shopping developments are consumption spaces where urban residents can act as modern – or global – consumers and display their savvy and wealth.

(World urban forum, 2004)THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

With globalization[2], come new forms and cultures, as well as an infusion of new and old cultures in the cities. The emergence of these new trends leads to what can be called "consumption spaces", areas witness to a culture of amplified shopping. While these spaces are, in today's world, a sign of transition of a city to a global one, they definitely exacerbate the social exclusion within these cities. Air-conditioned indoor areas, with closed windows and doors, introduce a global expression of privatized public spaces. This sense of enclosure, as a direct result of global consumption culture, dangerously represents a more limited form of citizenship. This enclosure can happen on outdoor spaces as well. A special organization of upscale shops and cafes with a glamorous front, possibly will make some groups feel displaced. *The danger in this kind of globalization is that enclosed public spaces represent a more limited form of citizenship".* (World urban forum, 2004)

As mentioned before some spaces are dealing with specific processes of commodification. To shed light on that idea it could be of use to mention the process of 'indirect commodification'. Commercial success comes through a variety of strategies, one of which is indirect commodification, "a process by which nonsalable objects, activities, and images are purposely placed in the commodified world." (Sorkin, 1992). The marketing strategy here is called 'adjacent attraction', in which by putting two dissimilar objects next to each other, or an object in an ordinary setting, one can make it look exotic, mysterious and desirable. (Sorkin, 1992)

Richard Sennet believes that this effect with a decontextualizing character makes the whole image unexpected and therefore stimulating. Thus, through

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[2] There has been numerous definitions and suggestion about the word globalization in different scholarships. I try to use a definition that is clear and connected to my focus of study here. Hardt & Negri mark that globalization should be thought as a regime of the production of identity and difference, or really of homogenization and heterogenization (Empire, 2001). Instead of defining globalization as a vague concept and labeling any series of potentially unrelated changes in a city with this concept, it is more beneficial to think of globalization as a multi-layer network of interconnected entities, where these entities could be individuals, organizations or states, hence the "multi-layer" feature. While homogenization is an unavoidable aspect of globalization, using this phenomenon as a means of differentiating a certain culture from the rest and establishing a city or a state's identity should not be neglected (Brady & Beckfield, 2001).

this process non-commodified values promote a product and encourage walkers to buy. Needless to say that previously, non-commodified entities became part of the marketing process. (Sorkin, 1992)

Looking at this phenomenon in a bigger scale, historical shopping streets could be considered as a setting for new international chain stores to promote their selling process by taking advantage of public and recently pedestrianized space while the urban public space becomes a part of the selling process.

Through these processes the streets tend to become consumption places. They find a new role in urban landscapes of consumption. Shopping streets turn into differentiated spaces of consumption where investment in specific identities and competition become mainstream. (Lowe and Wrigley, 2002)

2.5.1   A PARTICULAR FORM OF PUBLIC SPACE

When talking about public space, many elements and characteristics mentioned in the literature come to mind, among which openness, accessibility and freedom of choices have been mentioned the most. Some scholars mentioned the three primary values of a public space are for the space to be responsive, democratic and meaningful. (Carr, 1992) Related to this matter, public space serves the needs of the users. The primary needs that users are demanding when using a public space; comfort, relaxation, flexibility to passive and active engagement in the space and also on another level a place for discovery. (Carr, 1992) I would like to add to that the freedom of choices. To be able to choose your favorable activity or to appropriate your activity in relation to the space.

If we compare the shopping street to a shopping mall as examples of private space with the appearance of public spaces, the freedom of movement and gaze is in a higher level. Malls' interior design with limited entrances, escalators only at the end of corridors, benches and fountains and indoor trees positioned in a way to draw people into the shops are in a way controlling buyers' movements and decisions. In streets you are freer to move and make decisions

regarding the use of space. Several scholars of urbanism argue that even with the renewed interest in public space, the variety of functions of public life that public space fulfills is diminishing (Sorkin 1992; Zukin 1996). A significant proportion of public spaces emerging as controlled environments are modifying our needs in public life by separating, segregating and filtering both the uses and users.

Retail or retailing which is the process of selling goods or services through channels of distribution in a profitable way, identifies demand at the first stage. Then this demand is being meet by the supply chain and increased by different sorts of advertisement and manipulation with people's choices and desires (Harper, 2008). But when, as mentioned before, space becomes a part of this retailing/selling process, a particular form of public space emerges. A publicness in which as Allen argues, meanings embodied in the space work on a sense to bring about certain responses and predispositions (Allen, 2006). You might enter a shopping street for a certain purpose and suddenly find yourself in a completely different space. That could be a reason why most people avoid shopping streets for transit matters nowadays (Surveys, 2016).

When considering different forms of power over a space, surveillance techniques, barriers, guards and gates or other tangible arrangements of controlling over a space are mentioned. However, Allen (2008) demonstrates a rather different opinion of power in public spaces. An unmarked presence of power in which the "closure is achieved by inclusion other than exclusion through a logic of seduction" (Allen, 2008). A presence that somewhat closes down options or entice visitors to interact or move in the space in ways in which they might not have chosen in the first place. *"Power, in this instance, works through the ambient qualities of the space, where the experience of it is itself the expression of power"* (Allen, 2008).

It can be said that the degree of this form of control varies in different places. It could be on its peak in privatized public spaces, or private spaces with public appearance and lightens in parks or public squares. Jon Goss (1993) acknowledged that the public is fully aware of the suggestive and contrived

nature of these spaces. Therefore, people tend to simply overlook the evocative character of the space, walk away from the attraction and follow their own purposes. However, he argues that the case of a shopping mall is about those people who willingly place themselves in such spaces and they are in a way subject of a form of control by following their own desires (Goss, 1993). Yet it is different about shopping streets. Shopping streets are nor conventionally privatized public spaces, neither places to simply ignore attractions and walk away. They are having the seductive atmosphere more and more in favor of corporate retailers while not being a corporate privatized space.

"There is something about the character of an urban setting —a particular atmosphere, a specific mood, a certain feeling— that affects how we experience it"

Sometimes we know it and sometimes we are not aware of it but always we are affected by how we experience the space. It is something that is being felt before it is understood. He continues by suggesting that architecture, design and layout of the place draw attention. And seduction is a mode of power here that works through curiosity. Yet the degree of this drawing in is also controlled and different in various spaces (Allen, 2006).

Walking in the shopping streets of my case study, there are times that one feels the choices and options are restricted, and possibilities are to a certain degree excluded through ambient qualities. Although it is not clear to what extent the corporate multinational firms have become aware of the amount of control of a space that can be gained through ways other than hard edges or other forms of exclusion, I do agree with Allen on the fact that nowadays public spaces involve inclusion through an obscure form of power that restricts your choices and option by a certain degree (Allen, 2006).

2.5.2   PEDESTRIAN STREETS

With ending of WWII, spaces of capital were initiated in cities and common applications of public spaces gave their way to process-oriented marketing and consumption. According to their design and user groups, pedestrian streets are divided into three groups: First, regular pedestrian streets that are exclusively used by pedestrians. Second group are the flex pedestrian streets, in which the regulation changes during the day. These streets are only for pedestrians during the opening hours of the shops but open for cars at night. The third group are the combination streets, like pedestrian-bicycle streets or pedestrian-bicycle-bus streets. Although all three groups of streets tend to increase urban activity in the area, they will not necessarily improve the quality of public spaces. As pedestrian streets are the best place for commerce and trade, they tend to turn into mono-functional places, attracting homogenized international mega chain stores or specialty shops which replace local businesses and small retail stores. This also tends to have an effect on the global-local economy of the city. While in the past these changes were combined with the establishment of bank outlets, now businesses and property trade have replaced them (Vagnby, 2013). Therefore, what can be seen in the long run is the urban transformation processes becoming to a high extent market-oriented.

Design: The pedestrian streets have evolved during time, therefor can be categorized into three groups. The first streets used colored flagstones as their pavements. These colored stones were used to make up artistic patterns, mainly to attract customers to the area. These pavements turned into softer and gentler surfaces in the second generation of streets, with matching furnishings alongside. The Third generation of streets came after a period of strong disparagement of the design of public spaces, when streets started to be acknowledged as important urban infrastructure and were designed in a way to promote city center's branding value. Copenhagen's pedestrian area also followed this gradual change from 1962 until now. (Gehl et.al, 2006)

2.6   WHY CITIES ARE BECOMING THE SAME AND SO ON

The concept of experience has been mentioned by Gernot Bohme, German philosopher, described as the phenomenon of atmosphere. He emphasizes on the modes of perception and mentions that the concept of atmosphere is not far from the aesthetic discourses. As an example when one refers to a powerful atmosphere of an art piece or an atmospheric mode of presence. According to him, atmosphere is being created by things and is sensible in spaces with presence of things (such as architecture, or people). He suggests that atmosphere creates a relation between environmental qualities and human states. (Böhme, 1993)

The same consideration goes for an urban space like a street. Unfamiliarity and surprise are features that we encounter both in art and in an urban environment, which is what often makes them interesting and challenging. City environments offer a variety of *meaning, surprise* and *strangeness*. But also it is a place where one experience *deficit of meaning* and *familiarity* of built environments. We relate and identify ourselves in different ways to the city environment and get a different story out of the surplus of meanings. That is in a way the sense of a place. This is what makes lively city streets more appealing and interesting for people and especially for people to walk and experience. Each time something new and surprising (Haapala, 2003).

In this section the encounter and coexistence of some concepts will be discussed. How different processes aiming to create something unique and different, authentic and spiritual, come to a similar end.

The idea behind cultural reconstruction and redesigning projects is to revive the local economy and solve the problem of social integration. Nonetheless, these strategies are adopted and mimicked so often around the world that cities start to lose their originality. Although such projects could definitely help the local "talent", either in art or business, it can also have negative impacts on the locals due to imposed displacements. Another negative aspect of these projects could be that small and local firms and institutes get overshadowed by global mega-

businesses. These development plans usually focus on three major cultural spaces: shopping and entertainment, modern art museums and finally the creative space. Many major cities around the world have implemented these strategies, from Shibuya in Tokyo to the *MoMA* in New York and Shoreditch district in London (Zukin, 2008) the focus of this volume is on shopping and entertainment. But this time, not shopping malls, but central city shopping streets. The question is whether these streets are becoming similar, global mega-businesses pushing away local ones. Supposing they do, does it influence the sense of place in these streets? To what extent pedestrianizing and redesigning projects contribute to retain or create a sense of place in these streets.

2.7   SENSE OF PLACE

What attributes define a place? What creates a sense of place in a street?

"'Sense of place' is a much used expression, chiefly by architects but taken over by urban planners and interior decorators and the promoters of condominiums, so that now it means very little. It is an awkward and ambiguous translation of the Latin term genius loci. In classical times it means not so much the place itself as the guardian divinity of that place. … In the eighteenth century the Latin phrase was usually translated as 'the genius of a place', meaning its influence. … We now use the current version to describe the atmosphere to a place, the quality of its environment. Nevertheless, we recognize that certain localities have an attraction which gives us a certain indefinable sense of well-being and which we want to return to, time and again. (Jackson, 1994, pp. 157–158)"

The word *place* has a far meaning from the concept of location or space. It is said to have a "perceptual" nature with contrast to a physical meaning (May, 1970). It is somehow a combination of humans and physical environments. A relation between human and environment. Place is a dimensionless notion. It can refer to a small local pastry in a far-off village, or to a whole country or a region.

There have been many definitions, mostly vague, describing sense of the place. Most of the definitions are so based on feelings and descriptive measures that trying to measure this concept is even declared to be "useless" (Lewis, 1979).

One way to describe and investigate this concept is through empirical studies. "It is often easier to see its results in human behavior than to define it in precise terms" (Lewis, 1979).

Relph (1976) describes place as a mixture of experience and different aspects of a place, such as "location" and "personal involvement" and concludes that by taking into account all of these fragments, we can evaluate their influence on our experience and sense of a place.

A sense of attachment to a place forms through a set of meaningful and substantial experiences that make the people feel involved in the place. These experiences are described as "totally sensual" (Sell et al., 1984), being felt through all of the five human senses.

Local symbols are said to enhance sense of place (Peterson & Saarinen, 1986) as well as rituals and events (Relph, 1976). Datel and Dingemans (1984) describe sense of place as "the complex bundle of meanings, symbols, and qualities that a person or group associates (consciously and unconsciously) with a particular locality or region" (Shamai, 1991).

For a street to be a place, there needs to be something more than just the spatial dimensions. Mehta (2013) presents the meaningful connections between the human beings as that extra factor that defines a place. He mentions three qualities, needed to convert an unremarkable place into a memorable and distinguishable place; continuity, adaptability and personalization. Continuity is defined as a sense of security and predictability; A familiar space with minimized risk of unpleasant surprises. Presence of familiar shops can be an example of a feeling of continuity. The next quality, adaptability, as it is expected, points to the ability of the space to change with the needs of its users. While on a personal scale people are able take actions to reform their surrounding space according to their needs, like moving around the furniture, on a bigger scale the spaces with a high level of adaptability should be comprehensive, intricate and able to transform over time, on an hourly, weekly or even yearly basis. The third quality mentioned by Mehta, the quality of personalization, deals with the ability of different actors in personalizing the space in order to make it more recognizable and give it a sense of identity. Attributes like the transparent exteriors of the shops give them the ability to change the way their shops look by just changing what is on display, or using tables and partitions to make the

adjacent sidewalks outside of a café a part of it and creating an ambience to give the users a feeling as if they are still sitting inside a café.

These three qualities altogether contribute to make street a place, giving the people a feeling of "hereness" and creating a bond between them and the space.

2.7.1   MEASURING SENSE OF PLACE

Among all, Shamai (1991) has performed an empirical study, introducing a scale in order to "measure" this sense of place. He aims to find the level of intensity of feelings and behavior of users towards a place. He describes sense of place as "an umbrella concept that includes all the other concepts such as attachment to place, national identity, and regional awareness". Based on previous studies and literature, he claims sense of place to consist of three phases; Belonging to a place, attachment to a place and commitment to a place. He splits these phases further to introduce a seven-level scale for sense of place. These levels, starting from not having any sense of place to a feeling of deep commitment towards a place, although not having any specific distinction line, form an extensive range to measure sense of place. These levels of scale are as follows: (Shamai, 1991)

Level 1 - Not having any sense of place: Although a bit extreme, some may not feel any sense of attachment to a place.

Level 2 - Knowledge of being located in a place: In this stage, there is an awareness of place, but it is limited in that the place is no more than an address or location. People can recognize symbols of the place.

Level 3 - Belonging to a place: Aside from knowledge of the name of the place and its symbols (as in level 2), there is a feeling of 'togetherness' and common destiny. The symbols of the place are respected.

Level 4 - Attachment to a place: The place is emphasized through its uniqueness. An emotional attachment to a place is formed. A place has a meaning; it is a center of a personal and collective experience.

Level 5 - Identifying with the place: This level implies a fusion and merging with the place's interests, needs and goals. People feel devotion, allegiance, and loyalty to a place and are deeply attached to their place.

Level 6 - Involvement in a place: This level is mostly based on behavior rather than the attitude of the users. It implies an active role of the people, investment of human resources in place-oriented activities or organizations.

Level 7 - Sacrifice for a place: The ultimate and highest stage of sense of place. At this level people are ready to give up personal and/or collective interests for the sake of the larger interest of the place.

Based on this scale, we conducted a survey in order to measure sense of place in people using the two shopping streets. Several key factors such as attachment, meaningfulness, and feeling of safety, comfort and importance were selected as the independent variables. This method will be elaborated more in the case study section, where it has been applied on both Mariahilfer Straße and Strøget shopping streets.

3   MARIAHILFER STRAßE; VIENNA

Mariahilfer Straße is a commercial street with various functions as meeting with others, living, working space and it is located in the heart of the city. The number of daily visitors that has been estimated for the street is more than ten thousand people. As the city grew, and the more complex and different desires started to show up, the space especially in the city center or areas nearby became more and more demanding (District Planning and Land Use Vienna, 2014). The part of Mariahilfer Straße that is focus of this study is the part in between Wiedner Gürtel and museumsplatz.

Mariahilfer Straße has evolved over the past few decades and became an important part of the city center. Everyday thousands of people travel to this central street for shopping, beside many people are living in surrounding districts whom their lives are directly influenced by changes, and developments happening in Mariahilfer Straße. Moreover, hundreds of business owners running their business there on the street, makes Mariahilfer Straße an important part of the city and important to manage all these activities and functions to cope with each other. That all makes this street an attractive subject for people to participate in the process of planning and remodeling.

The participation started within a project called "Mariahilfer Straße Neu" which started in 2011. A number of studies were done by the city of Vienna so that Mariahilfer Straße can meet various requirement as residential, shopping, workplace and have a successful development in the future (District Planning and Land Use Vienna, 2014)

3.1   A BRIEF HISTORY OF MARIAHILFER STRAßE

Mariahilferstraße has had a vital past and dynamic present. Starting with the siege by the Romans, as a vineyard in the Middle Ages (in 1495, Mariahilfer Straße wine reached high prices) and the Turkish Siege in 1529, the road changed across the decades and centuries. In 1683, a small residential area was developed around the road, which was destroyed during the second Turkish siege and it was again restored in the beginning of the 18th century. (Hajner, 2015)

In the early 17th century, the street was located in suburban agriculture land. From the 17th century until the 19th century, the appearance of Mariahilfer straße which was the emperor Franz Joseph route to Schonbrunn Palace, changed from the small residential area to a village and finally a suburb to the city. It was an 11-meter-wide road that connected Vienna to Linz. Due to the construction boom along Mariahilfer Straße in 1848, multistory buildings (stores on the ground floor and residential units on the upper floors) and department stores started to appear on the street. The opening of the western train station in 1859 added to the importance of the street (Mahü, 2015). The street was already an important place for dealers. With time, transportation was established more and more, until finally the buses came around (Hajner, 2015). It was after the construction period when the street got the character of a shopping street. Since the 1950s, the street was mainly dominated by cars which led to the street losing its historical character to some extent. Pedestrians were more and more being pushed to the edge of the road. With the construction of subway in 1993, the face of the street was about to change again; the construction of the underground line U3, which partially runs under Mariahilfer straße began. After completion of this project, people could easily reach the

popular shopping street with public transportation. With the establishment of tram lines, pedestrians were given more space. After the process of redesign of the surface, the street gained the historical significance once more and became an important central shopping street in the city. (Mahü, 2015)

3.2   THE RETAIL ORGANIZATION

Since 1862 and afterwards, more and more clothing stores were established in the famous street and the clothing industry spread its roots in the area. The reason was the opening of the major textile house Herzmansky in 1897 (Mariahilfer Straße corner of Stiftgasse) and Gerngross in 1879 (Mariahilfer Straße corner of Kirchengasse). As well as the "1st Vienna warenmuster collective department store", the Stafa House 1911 (Mariahilfer Straße Ecke Kaiserstraße) (Hajner, 2015).

Textile houses, firms, warehouses and tailors were working on the back stage of Mariahilfer Straße on parallel streets and they were presenting their products to be sold on Mariahilfer Straße.

This specialization in clothing has remained in the street until now and it is still visible. Even though the industry has been dispositioned and due to international trade and city connections, chain stores have displaced local shops, the clothing sector is still dominant in the street.

The retail structure is still going through some changes in the present. These changes have been documented with regards to recent redevelopment projects in the street. Table 1 shows the business structural changes from 2013-2016. As you can see in the table, there were 27 additional new business units after the pedestalization in the street. Based on the interview with the chamber of commerce in Vienna, these additional sectors have been mostly in clothing section. As the retail business firms seek to find the most beneficial location for their stores, retail agglomeration in shopping streets and malls plays an important role in this placements. Different studies reveal various drivers for retailers' choice of location. In this case, the constant growth in clothing sector in shopping streets shows that similar retailers gain benefit from adjacency of

each other. This gives shoppers the option of comparison among products- a modern time shopping behavior- while walking in the safe pedestrian environment of the city.

Table 1 - Vacancies and new businesses 2013-2016- 2.source: Chamber of Commerce, Vienna, 2016

Structural changes	Number of businesses
Unchanged vacancies	15
New vacancies	18
Former vacancies> new businesses	16
Additional new businesses	27

3.3   THE REDESIGN PROCESS

This section will be a brief elaboration on the process of redesign of Mariahilfer Straße. What has happened before, during and after this process and what has been the result of this process of redesign? What has changed or might change in the long run?

In 2013, through a participatory process, a questionnaire was answered by the population of Mariahilfer Straße and the immediate neighborhoods. The focus of the questionnaire was on usability and functions required in this public space for people. The results and suggestions taken from the questionnaire was included in the plans of remodeling of the street. Many elements and recommendations came up after using different tools of participations such as discussion rooms, surveys, and online questionnaires and so on. On top of them were traffic control, creating open public space, sitting areas, etc. (District Planning and Land Use Vienna, 2014).

"more green space / more flowers!", "more space for walking", "more seats", "appropriate lighting", "Attractive furniture", "No bar tables on the street", "more shading", "more free space", "children friendly design", "more facade greenery", "consume-free zones", "places for sports and playing", "more water fountains".

Most of the passers asked for more seating area. They wanted more places that offer you sitting and more consume-free zones. The demand for more green space was also very strong, which is very understandable since the densely populated districts 6 and 7 do possess few public parks and green areas. People had very different views on the issue of allowing bicycles in the street, many thought that with the increase in number of cyclists they should be allowed to use the street, while others had the concern of a pedestrian-cyclist collision. Therefor in the design of the street, special conflict free zones should be definitely considered for both the passengers and the cyclists. There were also some people who were against the project, either claiming nothing will change or that the street should remain unchanged (District Planning and Land Use Vienna, 2014).

Suggestions and proposals made it clear that reshaping Mariahilfer straße should not just be about the introduction of a new pedestrian precinct. People like to see a free space appearing in the street, which can be used for new uses other than consumption spaces, thus contributing to a better quality of life.

According to the final referendum which allowed citizens to accept or reject the ultimately suggested redesign solution, the percentage of people being in favor of the redesign and opposed to it was almost half and half with a slight inclination towards the group in favor of the project. According to the redesign plan, *mobility and transport policy are crucial parts of a policy that concentrates on everyday life and its quality'* (Wiener Gemeinderat 2013b, p. 6). It could have many reasons; to start with, people generally are not in favor of big changes, shopkeepers were afraid of losing their costumers and residents afraid of increase in rent and prices (Berger & Sześciło, 2016).

3.3.1   COSTS AND BENEFITS

The main benefit of the project was the reduction in air and noise pollution in this district. Another benefit was the process of active participation taking place for such a big decision. According to the demographic records, many of the residents have participated in different platforms to make the final choice. Various ways of providing feedbacks and suggestions was a good step towards

familiarizing people with what it takes to be an active citizen. Nevertheless, no matter how much the project team try, there are always a group of people who do not participate, either due to insufficient advertising for the campaign or because of personal decisions. (Berger & Sześciło, 2016).

On the other hand, according to the recent records the project had downsides for the government. It has been said in different literature that such participation processes decrease the trust among people in the government. Despite the general belief that such participation procedure can increase the sense of taking part in big decisions and public support in people, in this case, a decrease in the level of acceptance was perceived. In fact, the public support for the project started at a good level but decreased as the project advanced (December 2011–February 2014). Actually according to interviews with political experts, this close victory of redesign project was due to the last minute advertisements mainly by Green Party. (Bart Berger& Sześciło, 2016).

3.4 MARIAHILFER STRAßE AS A LABORATORY

This process of intervention in the street was in a way a test for the team project. The transformation of the shopping street with a weighty car traffic into a pedestrian shared space was not only to reduce pollution and cars from the face of the street, but to realize how this change would affect the neighboring streets, business owners, customers, residents, bus drivers and whoever was involved in the daily life on this street. Receiving feedbacks and ideas for improvement from everyone. (Berger & Sześciło, 2016)

'In the beginning there were a lot of proposals and objections. And the city government just reacted to what people wanted and tried out, to a certain extent, what happens when we do what the citizens say they want. Then we found out that this or that is not the best solution and then we did something else. So in the first phase Mariahilfer Straße was actually a laboratory.'

Interview with city administration

3.5   RESULTS

Noticeably, this project has had outcomes and consequences for both main actors involved; the government and the citizens. Based on records taken after the project execution, the predicted benefits (*quality, participation, and trust and acceptance)* only partly succeeded to happen while the costs of it for the government were higher than expected and led to a near-failure of the project. Accordingly, even though there were some upsides for citizens in the project as mentioned in the project report, better quality and increase in participation, yet the government experienced some losses; *decreased trust in the government, reduced acceptance of the project and increased political opposition.* (Bart Berger& Sześciło, 2016)

The first point regarding the Mariahilfer Straße redesign project is that the high amount of publicity and political attention given to this project caused the project to transform from an attempt to solve a traffic and urban issue into a heated political debate which circulated through the whole nation and even affected the upcoming elections in 2013. Different perceptions of drivers, pedestrians and cyclists on the matter led this traffic matter to provoke some serious conflicts between the political parties. Despite the high amount of resources dedicated to coming up with management strategies for this highly debated project, the negative consequences of its extensive politicization could not be avoided. This rather unsuccessful experience will undeniably force the project managers to pursue different plans of action for the future projects and it might even lead to a more top down decision making approach and less public participation in such developments. The second noteworthy aspect of this project was the scale and complexity of it. Such public restructurings have proven to be more successful and manageable if performed in a smaller scale, affecting fewer people and involving less beneficiary parties. Though redesigning of Mariahilfer Straße seems to be a small scale project limited only to one shopping street, its complexity, importance and effects on diverse affairs like tourism, economy and traffic made it into a troublesome project (Berger & Sześciło, 2016)

STRØGET, July 2016- by author

4   STRØGET; COPENHAGEN

The first pedestrian street established in Europe was Limbecker straße in Essen at the end of 1920s, and the first shopping street planned as a pedestrian street was Liinbaan in Rotterdam at 1953. Strøget, was built in 1962 as a series of dynamic streets and appealing squares, connecting the east to the west of Copenhagen. Before its complete transformation into a pedestrian street on 17 November 1962, Strøget was an 11-meter-wide street with a high volume traffic, leaving only two narrow sidewalks for people to walk on. The gradual process of pedestrianization was started by limiting and excluding the cars from the city center, which in turn resulted in a declination in the use of private cars and an increase in the use of public transportation or bicycles as an alternative (Historical times, 2014). Strøget, located at the center of Copenhagen, is the longest pedestrianized street (Jacobs) in Europe stretching on an almost east to west direction from kings square (Kongens Nytorv) to Radhuspladse. There are four streets and three squares that shape Strøget. Fredriksbergsgade, Nygade, Vimmelskaftet and Østergade and the three squares are Nytorv, Gammeltorv and Amagertorv. It was only until 1990' that this area was officially named Strøget. Amagetorv has always been an important place for gatherings and

festivals. In 17th century, it was the place for tournaments, performances and other festivals during king's crowning ceremony. It continued to be significant until the middle of 19th century. At this time, the street became the place of major demonstrations for democracy and ending the absolute Danish monarchy (Bluum & Westlund, 2015).

The most important thing about Strøget is the layout of the street. It is not at all monotonous. While walking in the street it has turns, it has squares and many different tones and colors which itself qualifies Strøget as a great Street. It has everything that is needed for a street to catch you and invite you to continue walking in it. Curiosity and comfort, being accustomed -sense of familiarity- and expecting something new at the same time are real attractors of interest. Yet what has been researched in this street in many empirical studies are aspects related to design and streetscape, redesign and pedestrian projects. But not much attention has been given to the shopping and retail face of the street.

4.1 THE RETAIL ORGANIZATION

The retail organization in Strøget is quite similar to Mariahilfer Straße regarding the domination of chain stores. However, you will not see as many outdoor restaurants and cafes in Strøget. Here people are mainly walking, not staying on the street. Gastronomy in Strøget is mostly chain fast-food stores, Chinese vendors and other *eat-while-you're-walking* kind of food. Storkespringvandet and Gameltorv are places of pause and rest with outdoor cafes where you can mainly see tourists.

Regarding the sectors, you can hardly find a local shop or a sector unrelated to clothing. The more you walk from Rådhuspladsen towards Kongens Nytorv, the status of the shops (price based), increases. However, if you check parallel streets such as Læderstræde, you will find a calmer local atmosphere with outdoor restaurants and some local stores.

4.2 REDESIGN

While most of the European cities and cities of other parts of the world are affected by this movement, evolving into highly crowded and polluted mega

towns, Copenhagen has chosen a different path. Copenhagen's center has been free of heavy traffic in the past 25 years thanks to a constant policy in favor of decreasing the impact of traffic in the area. Strøget was the first to become a pedestrian street, which initially was not welcomed by the people. This form of usage of public spaces was deemed to be in contrary to "Nordiac mentality" and some reasoned that it is not suitable for Scandinavian circumstances (Gehl & Gemzöe, 1996). Conversely this street quickly became a popular passage, leading to implementation of a similar pattern for other streets and squares. While in 1962, the pedestrian area in the city was 15800 square meters, this number increased to 95750 square meters in 1996 and to 99770 in 2005. This successful planning transformed Copenhagen's center to a beautiful, calm and people-oriented area, in contrast to overcrowded, noisy and polluted city centers around the world (Gehl & Gemzöe, 1996).

In 1992, the emphasis of Denmark's national planning report was mainly on integrating the country into the European circle while also aiming for its fusion into the global economy. During the years, several projects have been funded by government or the EU in order to promote Danish cities as strong competitions for their European counterparts (Vagnby, 2013).

Kortbæk (2012) and Toftgaard (2012), separately published studies in which they analyzed the deep cultural and economic dynamics that have affected downtowns of Danish cities in the context of 'economy of experience' and 'urban space'. Both works talk about the significant evolution of western cities and the effects that these changes have had on urban environment. Since labor is much cheaper in Asian countries with lower income, industrial production was mainly moved to these countries, resulting in a global dissection of labor. This dissection forced the western cities to look for opportunities in commerce, in order to protect their economy and maintain the status of social welfare in their countries. (Vagnby, 2013).

In her 2012 study, Strle analogizes creative and cultural city to "a new virus" which is influencing politicians and planners all over the world. Based on her analysis of the literature and interviews, she discerns that cities are using the

same means and mechanisms to compete with each other, which manifests in the form of remarkable buildings, streets and commerce. This contagious trend spread through countries and cities, resulting in a "sameness" of these cities. (*Strle, 2012*)

5 **ANALYSIS**

I used two methods of Entropy analysis for retail organization analyze and Surveys in order to measure the sense of place in these two streets. Moreover, the results of the survey were combined with information from the expert interviews in order to provide a full picture.

Entropy analysis has been employed here to get an overview of retail organization in each street. I used this method to answer the question that to what extent the sector dynamics are similar in the case studies, and whether any particular trends can be followed in the retail sector organization in these streets or not; And how can this organization be interpreted regarding the recent changes in public spaces? Entropy value can show us to what extent the shopping streets are becoming specialized in one sector and whether there is only one dominant sector or even if there are more shops in one particular sector, is there still a domination?

Survey analysis the 3-page survey consists of 15 questions, starting with questions regarding the neighborhood each participant is coming from following with questions about use of the space, feelings and interests of people towards the street and ending with questions regarding sense of place and attachments to the street. At the first level we distributed the surveys in Madrid for a test run. Madrid central shopping street, Gran via, is not a case study and it has only been used to test and analyze the aptness and clearance of the survey and to fix any possible upcoming problems before the main distribution in case study streets. The total number of test questionnaires that have been filled ended up to be 65 with only 22 complete valid ones. Among 43 invalid questionnaires; 2 remained completely blank, 2 of them were partially blank, 5 participants only filled in the first page and 34 persons only opened the

introduction page. The contributors consist of 50% female and 50% male and mostly among the age of 20 to 40. Based on the results of the test run, some questions have been fixed or deleted while some more questions have been added to the survey.

A total number of 100 surveys were distributed in both case studies. Between the days from 15th of June till 24th of June 2016 in Mariahilfer Straße and form 12th of July till 18th of July in Strøget, in two different periods of the day; Morning 10-12 and afternoon 5-7. This process ended up with 83 valid surveys in Vienna and 74 in Copenhagen. Participants were users of the street from Vienna and Copenhagen in all age groups. More details on the sample quality of the survey and the final results will be further explained later.

5.1   ENTROPY/SHANNON'S ENTROPY

As mentioned before, this part has been prepared as the first step of analysis of the streets as consumption spaces; a quantitative analysis in order to gain an overview of the street's sector dynamics. Entropy can be used as a technique to analyze sector variety dynamics in retail locations. (Weltevreden et al., 2005) Then I will focus on a detailed description and interpretation of the data in order to explore any similar trend or patterns of retail in the case studies.

Entropy is used as a measure of how much *useful information* is contained in a dataset, or in other words, it quantifies the amount of information perceivable from a series of data. Shannon's entropy (Shannon, 1949) is used as a diversity index. A diversity index helps us quantify the number of different *types* or sectors in a dataset, while also taking into account how evenly the individuals are distributed in each "sector". In 1948, mathematician and electrical engineer Claude Shannon, introduced the formula for information entropy in his book "The Mathematical Theory of Communication" as below. He defined the entropy H of a discrete variable X with possible values$\{x_1, x_2, \dots, x_n\}$, with probability of x_i being $P(x_i)$ as:

$$H(X) = -\sum_{i=1}^{n} P(x_i) \log_b P(x_i)$$

With b being the base of the logarithm, which is usually chosen as 2.

Entropy *is* in its maximum when all the probability values are equal, i.e. $1/n$. Placing this value in the formula results in:

$$H(X) = -\sum_{i=1}^{n} P(x_i) \log_2 P(x_i) = -\sum_{i=1}^{n} \frac{1}{n} \log_2 \frac{1}{n} = \log_2 n$$

It can easily be deduced that domination of a certain sector (high probability of one sector and low probability of other sectors) results in a low entropy value. The maximum value of entropy increases logarithmically with an increase in n. Considering what is mentioned above, a high number of sectors or lack of a dominant sector leads to a higher entropy value. As in most quantitative analyses, the maximum and minimum cases are not necessarily an optimum or a realistic situation. In this study, of course it is not realistic or even practical to assume an equal distribution of all retail sectors in a street, but this maximum value serves as a scale, so we can interpret the entropy values and compare them.

For this analysis, we need the number of sectors in the street (n) as well as the number of shops in each sector. The probability values of each sector can be calculated as the number of shops in that sector divided by the overall number of shops. Calculating the entropy values gives us the skewness of distribution of shops to see the extent of domination of one sector.

This analysis intends to evaluate the vitality and variety of central city shopping streets. Vitality is simply indicated to be the number of shops while variety is based on the number and distribution of sectors. Since counting only the number of sectors will not give us any information on sector distribution (clearly we would judge that variety in a street with 5 bookshops and 5 shoe shops is higher than a street with 9 bookshops and one shoe shop, while in both cases the number of sectors are the same), entropy analysis can be used to realize the skewness of distribution of sectors.

Analysis of Mariahilfer Straße and Strøget

In order to perform entropy analysis on Mariahilfer Straße and Strøget, as mentioned before, we need to know the number of sectors (type of shops) in the street as well as the number of shops in each sector.

5.1.1   MARIAHILFERSTRAßE, SECTOR DISTRIBUTION

We used historical data for Mariahilfer Straße available which have been gathered by Walter Matznetter, for 1996 and 2010. The data for 2016 was collected from on-site excursion and Google maps. Shops were divided into general sectors, e.g. clothing shops for women, men and children were all sorted as one sector. The collected data for 2016 is shown in Figure **4** using a colored map. A simple glance at this map shows that some sectors are more dominant than the others, from which we can expect the entropy value to definitely be a smaller value than its maximum value (Although as mentioned before, it is highly unreasonable to assume the calculated entropy value to be equal to its maximum value, hence an equal distribution of the sectors). The data are represented in Table **2** below. The entropy value is calculated for each year as explained before and normalized as percentage according to that year's specific maximum entropy (the maximum entropy for each year is different since the number of sectors have changed during time), which will be called the relative entropy. The calculated entropy values are represented in Figure **5**. As we can see from the figure, during the years the relative entropy value has decreased. This clearly indicates that since 1996, this shopping street has become more specialized in some sectors (specially clothing sector). By taking a look at the number of shops in Table **2**, we can see that the clothing sector is significantly dominant to the other sectors, yet the relative entropy values are not low. This is because the high number of sectors compensates for the vitality of the sectors, hence the high entropy values. In other words, even though there is a domination and specialization of a certain sector in the street, yet while walking down the street you will not feel bored or tired of seeing only one type of shops due to the high number of shops in general and the way they are located in the street.

Jewlery
Clothing
Hairdresser
Restaurents
BAR/Wine Store/Club
Cosmetics
Accessories
Café
Flooring/Furniture/house stuff
Bank
Kebab/Food
Bakery
Book
Bedding
Fitness center
Sleepwear/Underwear
SuperMarket
Mobile shop
Shoe Shop
Computer shop
Electronic shop
Pharmacy
Optometrist
Sports shop
Post
Church
Hotel/Hostle
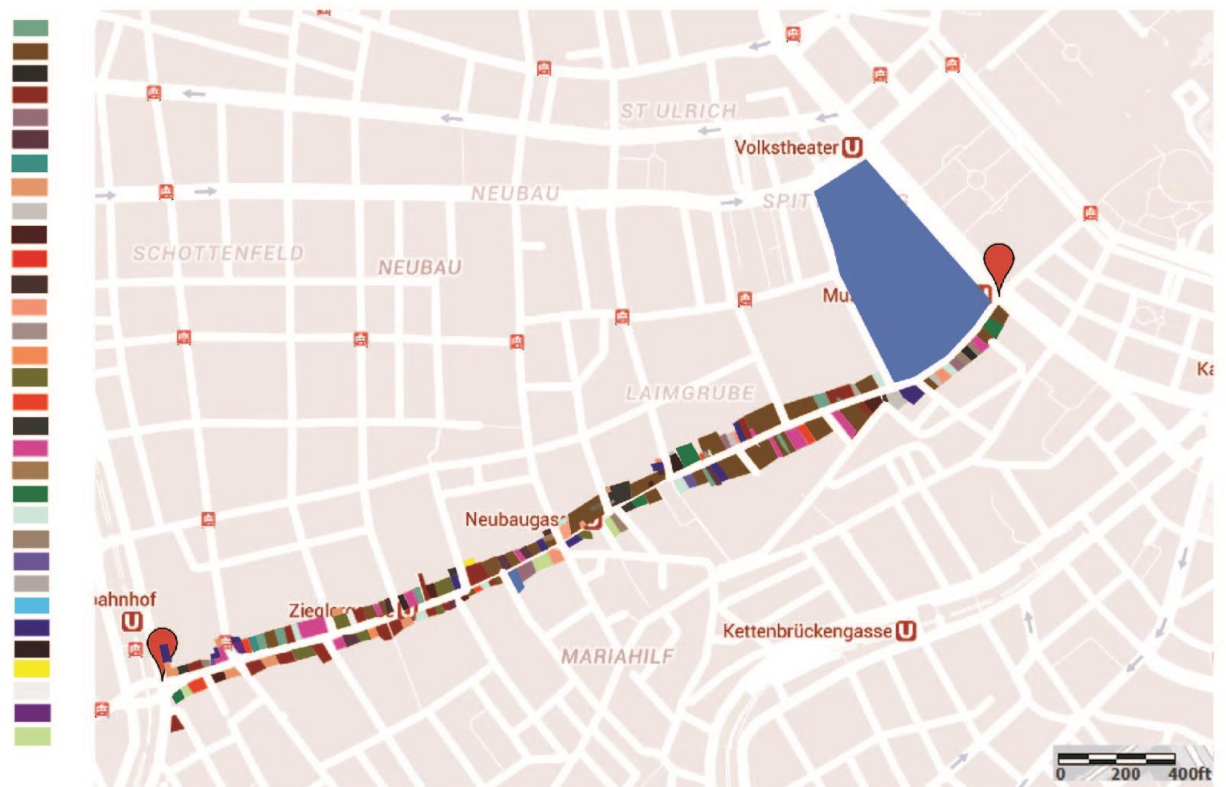Bag Shop
Police Station
Tatoo Shop
Company
Office

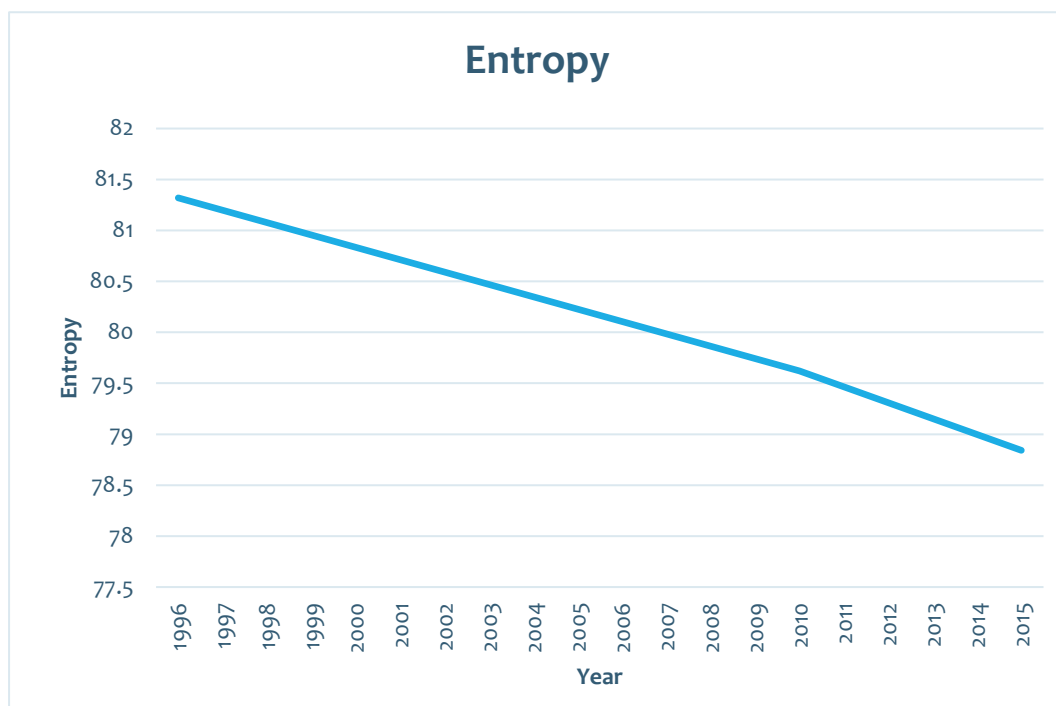*Figure 4- Map of the Retail Organization Mariahilfer Straße*

Figure 5 - Relative entropy value for Mariahilfer Straße in years 1996, 2010 and 2015

Table 2 - Sector distribution for MariahilferStraße, Vienna- 3. Source in the text.

Year/Sector	Clothing	Café	Jewelry	Restaurants	Accessories	Kebab/Food
1996	168	31	30	31	12	20
2010	180	55	39	35	30	35
2015	184	56	38	38	30	38
Year/Sector	Nightwear	Mobile shop	Tabak	Travel Agency	Bank	Bar
1996	12	0	16	10	16	3
2010	13	16	15	13	11	11
2015	16	16	15	13	11	13
Year/Sector	Electric shop	CD/MUSIC	Furniture	Fast food	Bedding	Art Supplies
1996	8	10	11	2	11	2
2010	7	7	6	3	5	5
2015	6	7	5	4	5	5
Year/Sector	2nd hand clothing	Sex shop	Flower shop	Tailor	Pet Supplies	Fitness center
1996	0	2	3	0	0	0
2010	5	3	3	2	2	2
2015	3	3	3	3	2	2
Year/Sector	Cosmetics	Shoe Shop	Bakery	Leather	Sunglasses	Hairdresser
1996	17	28	15	13	16	13
2010	20	19	17	15	17	16
2015	23	19	17	17	17	13
Year/Sector	Office supplies	Flooring	Book	Toy shop	Supermarket	Copy shop
1996	9	10	10	8	4	6
2010	9	8	8	8	8	7
2015	9	6	8	8	8	5
Year/Sector	Pharmacy	Souvenir	Computer	Sports shop	Furniture	Ice Cream
1996	5	2	1	4	3	2
2010	5	4	4	4	2	3
2015	4	4	4	4	4	4
Year/Sector	Electronics shop	Dry Cleaners	Dentist	Gallery	Insurance	Wholesale
1996	2	2	0	3	0	2
2010	2	2	1	1	1	1
2015	2	1	1	1	1	1

Table 3 - Sector distribution in Strøget, Copenhagen

Clothing	Museums	Chocolate shop	Bakery
48	1	2	4
Modeling agency	Pharmacy	Fast food	Home audio
1	1	6	1
Furniture	Bag shop	Grocery/7eleven	Accessories
4	5	3	9
Souvenir shop	Newspaper publisher	Art supplies	Sports Shop
4	1	1	5
Hairdresser	Ice cream	Shoe shop	Dermatologist
1	2	6	1
Tiger/Danish design	Toy shop	Exchange office	Juice shop
1	3	1	1
Hostel	Jewelry	Cosmetics	Restaurant
1	4	2	10
Mobile Shop	Electronics Shop	Bridal Shop	Bar
2	1	2	3

5.1.2 STRØGET, SECTOR DISTRIBUTION

The same analysis has been performed on Strøget. There were no historical data available for this street which indicate the type of shops, therefor we only collected the data for 2016 using on-site excursion and Google maps. The same rules were applied to divide the shops into sectors and the results can be seen in Figure 6 using the colored map. The data for this street is represented in Table 3. As we can see, again the clothing sector is dominant therefor we expect an entropy value lower than the maximum. The relative entropy value is calculated to be 78.39% which is significantly close to the corresponding value of 78.84% for MariahilferStraße. Although we do not have the historical data for Strøget, based on these results it is safe to assume that both shopping streets are following the same trend and are similar in commerce. Since both streets have been pedestrianized (though Strøget is leading in this sense), this specialization trend can be deduced to be a result of both internationalization and the pedestrianization.
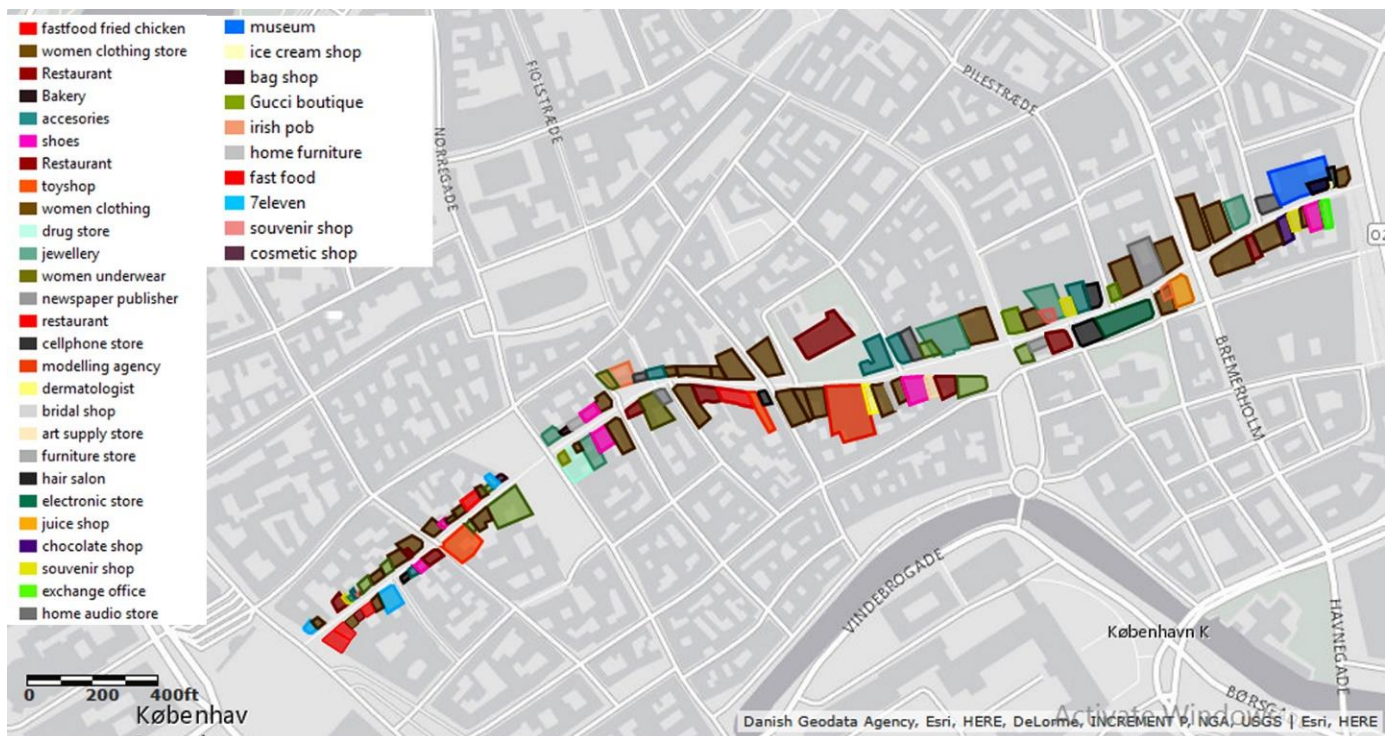
Figure 6 - Map of retail organization in Strøget

5.1.3 RESULTS OF QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS AND COMPARISON OF SECTOR ORGANIZATION

"Households usually choose their shopping strategy so as to minimize shopping costs, while retailers choose their location so as to maximize their profits." As mentioned before, the changes in shopping and consumer's behavior have happened for many reasons throughout the time.

Internationalization and expansion of the industry over the borders have been the main areas of focus in retailing during the past years. Several factors may allure the retailers to a market, in other words, making a market "attractive"; Such as the size of the market and its revenue, the market's infrastructure and ease of access and the competition and labor cost in the target market (Geil and Gabriel, 2005).

Added to the reasons mentioned before, it is noteworthy to mention that retail structure and consumers' behavior have always been of an interlinked relationship. The shifts in consumption patterns can be traced in spatial organization of retail. Nowadays people prefer to live in places with diverse

consumption possibilities and the bigger the scale of the market place is, the more options are available for consumers. (Andersson & Klaesson, 2005; Clark & LIoyd, 2003) Nevertheless, there are matters regarding agglomeration of sectors of one or various kinds in different contexts.

Even though there is a growing trend of online shopping in all over the world, a study in Netherlands, Sweden and Austria shows that the majority of consumption still takes place in stores. (Weltevreden & Rietbergen, 2009; interview with Vienna chamber of commerce). These results show the importance of location for different types of retailers. The retail stores prefer to be located in places where there is a high demand for them and they are close to other retailers specially the related sectors. On the other hand, location and scale are not nearly the only factors affecting the shoppers when choosing their shopping destination. Consumers do not always choose the closest shopping center to them, but they consider the variety of sectors in their decision (Farakesh et al., 2016).

This variety that has been observed in the case studies is in fact the "related variety", which means the different retailers are, with respect to each other, to a high extent in the same location. Variety, however, can be related or unrelated (Boschma & Iammarino, 2009). As an example, accessories stores are more related to women clothing than a computer shop. Results of a study on retail sector organization, after making a distinction between related and unrelated variety in the retail sectors, shows that related variety has an influence on specialization of local retail market.

During the period of 1975 to 1985 some European countries encouraged strategies towards diversification of retail in order to meet a greater demand from consumers. Moreover, this diversification has been argued to be important for consumer's welfare. According to many studies on retail geography, consumers have a preference to have multipurpose shopping trips since it decreases the costs of searching for goods in different locations. (Kacker, 1986; Farakesh et al., 2016)

However, on the other hand, there has to be a reason why different retails of one sector cluster in one street. Where is the link between agglomeration of retail in one sector and diversification strategies? The idea of retail agglomeration argues that stores with similar products prefer to be located close to each other in order to benefit from this proximity. This specialization has many benefits, among them in a shopping street case could be the possibilities of comparison of the quality and costs of products for consumers and the benefits especially in case of leisure shopping behavior. (Hotelling, 1929) There are as well some opinions against Hotelling's argument, considering the multipurpose shoppers and the effect of diversification in retail.

As it can be seen in the Entropy results, even though we have a domination of clothing sector in both case studies, the variety of shops is not low and I believe it is due to the scale of the market. Analysis of entropy graphs proofs that in case of a high number of shops, the rather domination of one sector does not lead to a big decrease in retail variety. However, looking at the sector maps (Figures 1 and 3) and checking the historical records in Vienna, a tendency towards the domination of clothing sector is visible. Based on the interviews, the purpose of people coming to these streets is mainly shopping for clothes and gastronomy.

The next highest sector present in Mariahilfer Straße after clothing is accessories and jewelry and then the food sector. In Copenhagen a similar trend is happening as well; after clothing sector, shoe and bag shops, jewelry and accessories are the highest present sectors alongside with food. And as it was mentioned before, retailers tend to locate their shops in a proximity of related sectors so they can benefit from each other. And this, in point of fact, alongside with spatial organization of retails, influences the shopping behavior and preferences of consumers.

If we take a close look at Vienna's retail sector records through the years, it is visible that some sectors are shrinking and some others are increasing in number. Among which are clothing, cafes, jewelry, accessories, cosmetic shops and restaurants and bars; while a decrease is visible in the number of unrelated

sectors to these categories, like tabak shops, banks, electronic shops, furniture, and galleries.

"There used to be an old Austrian bank here in this old building. Whenever I used to come and sit in this café I used to see that building and the old bank and it was kind of iconic for this part of the street. But now when you look at it, you only can see an international clothing chain store which is not different from others"

Andrea, Mariahilfer Straße, 22June 2016- Figure 7: tally weijl, photo by tally weijl

5.2 SURVEYS

Based on the scale introduced by Shamai (1991), I conducted a survey in order to measure sense of place among people using the two shopping streets. Several key factors such as attachment, meaningfulness, and feeling of safety, comfort and importance were selected as the independent variables. The survey was conducted through questionnaires filled in by the locals, both online and on the site through paper forms. The test survey in Madrid was conducted in Spanish with the help of a native speaker as a translator. The questionnaires used for Copenhagen were written in English and the ones used for Vienna were translated to German by a native speaker. Oral explanation was also given on the site to the contributors. Again in Copenhagen the explanations were given in English while in Vienna they were conducted both in English and in German with the help of a translator. At both sites, on week days, we tried to keep the

explanations as simple and understandable as possible, while still conveying the necessary information and trying to explain the concept in study, in a basic sense, for people with no academic background of the matter. I also had informal unstructured interviews with the participants and other passersby at both locations, performed in English, in order to get a sense of their feeling towards the street and the way it has changed for them during the years, the new stores and the old ones that are replaced and also getting a comparison with similar streets in other European cities. The number of present people on the street was way less in the afternoon compare to the morning. This number has been conducted in a study from the chamber of commerce in Vienna which shows the number of passersby in the street (Figure 8).   Table 4 shows the number of distributed questionnaires and conducted interviews in both cities. In order to "measure" the sense of place, people were asked to use the multi-item scale to rank each of the aforementioned factors regarding to the corresponding shopping street.

	ONLINE SURVEY	PAPER SURVEY	INFORMAL INTERVIEWS
COPENHAGEN (74)	34	40	6
VIENNA (83)	17	66	4

Table 4 - Number of questionnaires and interviews in both cities

The highest level of 'sacrifice for a place' is too extreme and I decided that it does not apply in this study of shopping streets. The concepts of 'attachment' and 'belonging' to a place also tend to have a similar definition of being special and meaningful, especially when we are talking about a street, therefor I decided to merge these two levels. Therefor I used a five-point scale for the questions regarding this method (Q11) to make the analysis of the questionnaires simpler.

For each key factor or variable, five answers are possible, ranging from *strongly disagree, disagree, don't care, agree* and *strongly agree*. We gave points of -2, -1, 0, 1 and 2 accordingly to each answer. The average score of all questions will

determine the level of the individual's sense of place towards the appropriate shopping street. Each variable is designed in a fashion that it will capture the feeling of the person towards one of the effective factors in creating a sense of a place. Therefor a person with an average point of zero (selecting *don't care* for all of the questions) should be classified in the group with little or no sense of a place- he or she only has the knowledge of locating himself in the place. Accordingly, a person with a negative average point (selecting *strongly disagree* or *disagree* in all of the questions or most of them) should definitely be classified as having no sense of place or even negative sense towards the place. With this logic in mind, I decided to classify the individuals according to their average point as shown in Figure 9 below. It should be noted that these thresholds are chosen qualitatively and the boundaries of the groups are not definite, yet they still give us a sense of how the participant feels about the street.
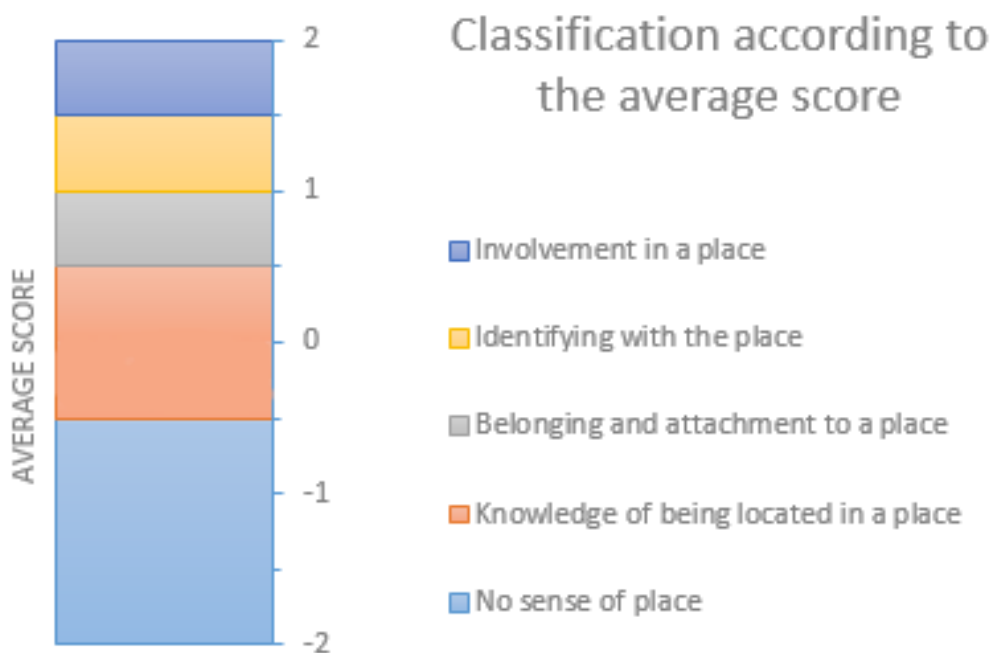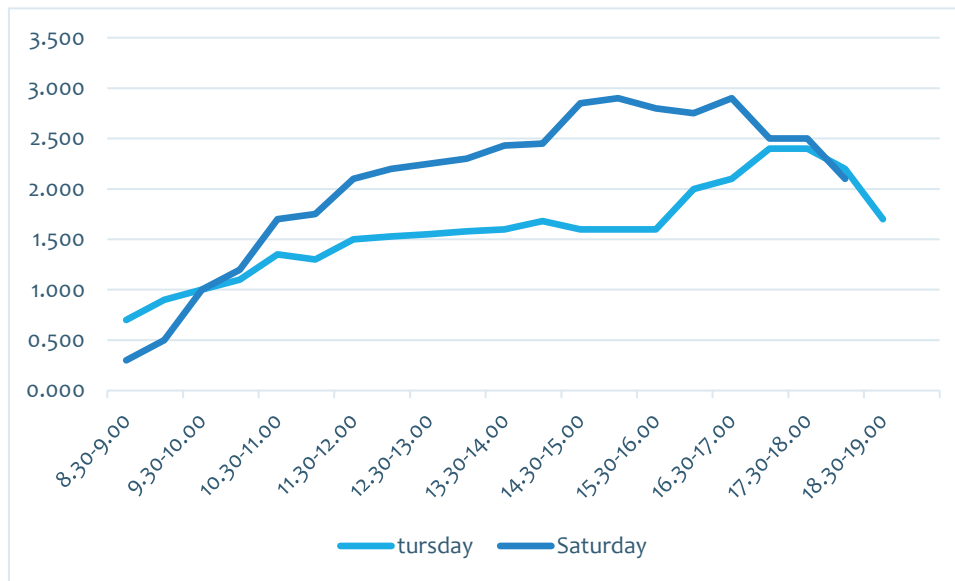

Figure 9 - Classification of participants according to their average score

Figure 8: Number of passerby in Mariahilfer Straße 2014 -4source: chamber of Commerce Vienna- 2016

5.2.1 RESULTS OF THE SURVEY

"People develop a "sense of place" through experience and knowledge of a particular area. A sense of place emerges through knowledge of the history, geography and geology of an area, its flora and fauna, the legends of a place, and a growing sense of the land and its history after living there for a time." (Woods, 2009)

Following the above mentioned guide lines, on the first step of the questionnaires I chose locals of the city as my Statistical population the percentage of participants is evident in tables 5 and 6.

Table5: participant's living city in Strøget

City	Copenhagen	Humlebæk	Vanløse	Hillerød	Cologne
%	93	2	2	2	1

Table6: participant's living city in Mariahilfer Straße

City	Vienna	Schwas	Erding	Berlin
%	96	2	1	1

Ideally, a study group should be sampled as "random" as possible, meaning there should not be any kind of disposition towards a specific gender, ethnicity, age group, etc. In order to have a study group as close as possible to the ideal, the survey was

performed on different days and different periods of time during a day and the participants were chosen as random as possible. Of course due to the limitations, this sampling is still far from the ideal. This skewness is mostly visible in the age group of participants, as the majority of the participants are under 40, simply because of the higher presence of this age group in the streets and also among the internet users. I tried to compensate for this shortcoming by increasing the number of participants, therefore acquiring a sample group which can be assumed as a representative of whole.

Figures 9 and 10 show the percentage of people from different districts using the street. As it is visible, in Vienna, people from almost every district use the street, while this amount is higher in district 5, 6, and 7 which have the closer proximity to Mariahilfer Straße. In Copenhagen, participants come to the street more or less from different areas and neighborhoods. The highest percentage of participants in my survey where living in Norrebro. Gehl architect group conducted a survey in the area of Strøget on 1995 as well, which documented the participants present in the street and categorized them according to their purposes. As it is shown in Gehl's table (table7), people who are in the street for the purpose of shopping and recreational activity are mostly from the inner city area of the Copenhagen but not the center itself. Figure 11.
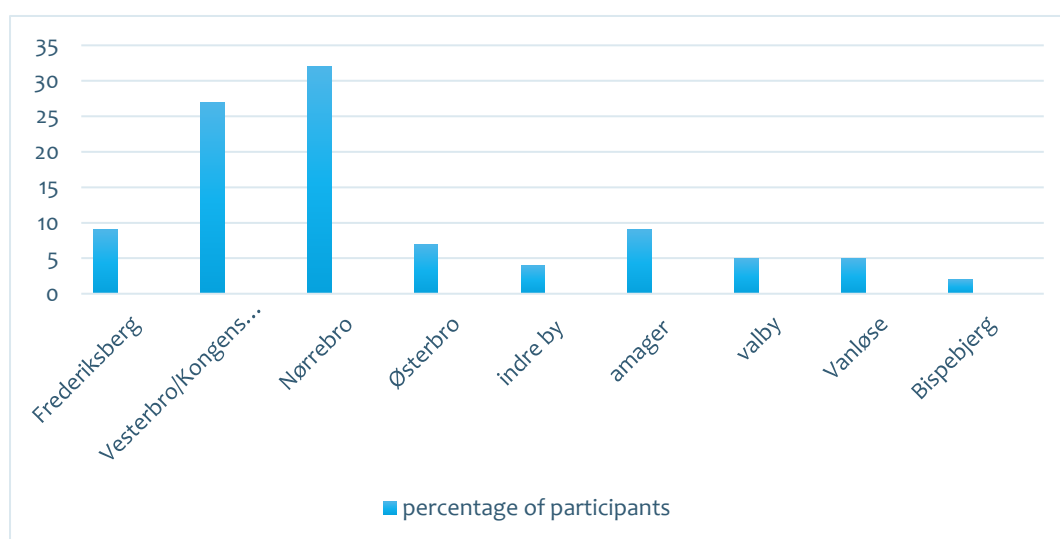
Figure 10 - participants' living Neighborhoods in Copenhagen
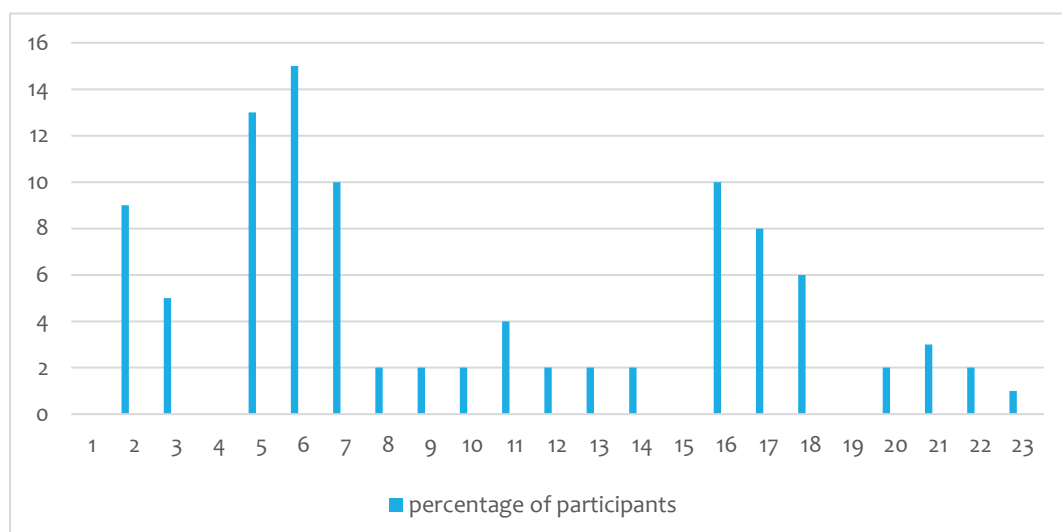
Figure 11 - Participants' living neighborhood in Vienna
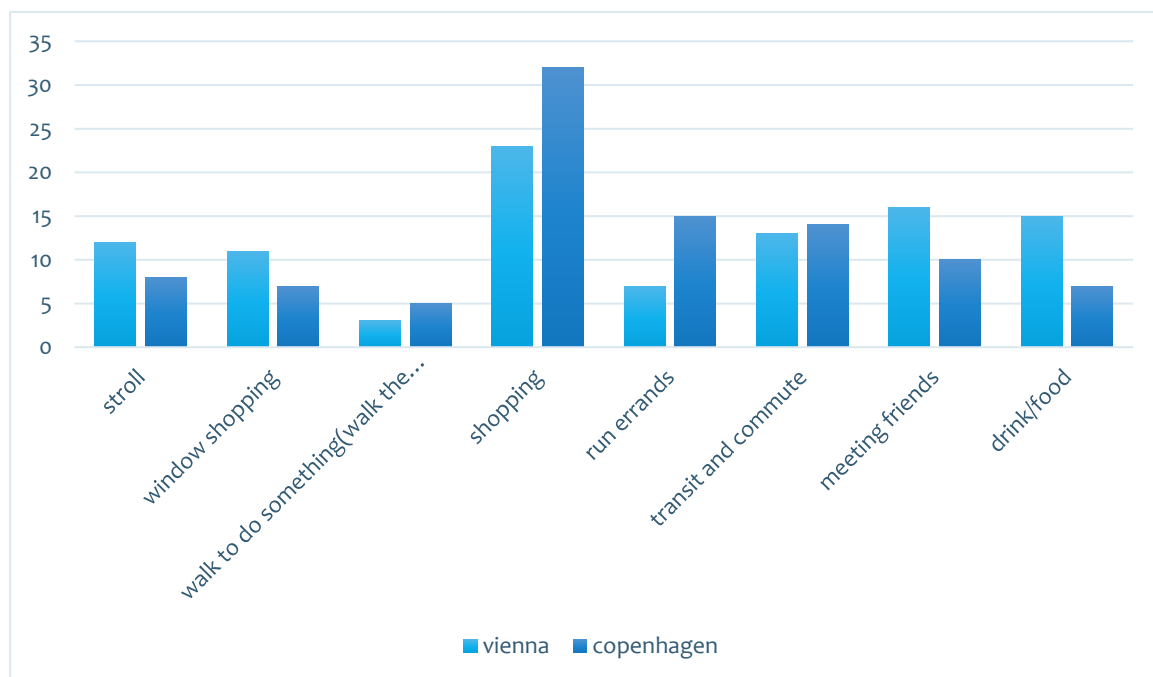
Figure 12 - Purpose of Walking in the Street

Table 7- Residence and reason of participants in Copenhagen Gehl's Survey, 1995	Weekday		Saturday	
	Social & Recreational	Shopping	Social & Recreational	Shopping
City center	4	4	3	3
Rest of inner area	37	37	35	35
Rest of municipalities of Copenhagen & Frederiksberg	15	15	13	13
Rest of Greater Copenhagen	19	19	25	25
Rest of Denmark	24	24	25	25

The main shopping street of each city attracts people form the whole metropolis for different purposes of shopping, work and recreational activities. However, there is a difference in results of Vienna and Copenhagen. In Vienna visitors are mainly from the street's district itself while in Copenhagen visitors are from the areas immediately surrounding the street's district. This can be explained either by lack of residential parts in Copenhagen city center or because there are more and different interesting recreational leisure areas in Copenhagen to meet the needs of the people from central areas. But then again, interestingly no participants in Mariahilfer Straße survey in Vienna were form the city center.

As it might be expected, shopping is the dominant purpose of the visitors in both case studies. Despite some similar trends, there is a difference evident in figure 8 in results of two surveys. Mariahilfer Straße is attracting more leisure activities, gastronomy and meeting with friends, in other words recreational activities, while Strøget in Copenhagen is being chosen by people only when it is necessary for them, as running errands, walk to do something or getting to somewhere. This can be mainly because of the abundance of tourists and the crowd that was highly mentioned, mostly as a negative aspect, by the participants.

Figure 12 shows people's favorite stores in the streets of case studies. Evidently, a large number of people like chain stores the most. Mainly young participants named a chain store as their favorite shop. This tendency could be for many reasons. As we know people have different tastes, life styles, salaries and so on. A big chain store often covers a big variety of these criteria. Chains have applied many different strategies to draw more and more costumers in, moreover pedestalization of shopping streets has helped this attraction to chain stores. As mentioned in literature, the ambient power of shopping areas is in a way manipulating people's decisions about their movements. Whether they want to enter a store or they think they want to enter. As I realized from informal interviews with users, chain stores are a mean of identification for new generations while at the same time they use them as landmarks in specific

places. More than that, they can be a familiar sign for mobile people. Imagine someone is lost in a desert and seeing a McDonald's sign anywhere on their way makes them feel safe and secure while an unknown shop or building does not give the same feeling. I believe it is the same with chain stores in different streets of cities.

However, at the first step, it is the cost comparison of chain stores and independent shops that draws us in.

"The debate over chain stores is often characterized as a struggle between our hearts and wallets. We may mourn the loss of the corner drugstore, a fixture in the neighborhood for three generations, or the local independent bookstore, but ultimately we believe that, as consumers, we are better off. We tend to take as self-evident the chain stores' claims that they bring us lower prices and wider selection."

A speech by ILSR's Stacy Mitchell delivered at the annual conference of the American Planning Association, April 2000

The inclination towards local stores is higher in Copenhagen and it is indeed something missing from this spectacular street. In addition, as it was evident above, since more people go to Mariahilfer Straße for Gastronomy and meeting friend than Strøget, the interest in bars and restaurants is as well higher there.
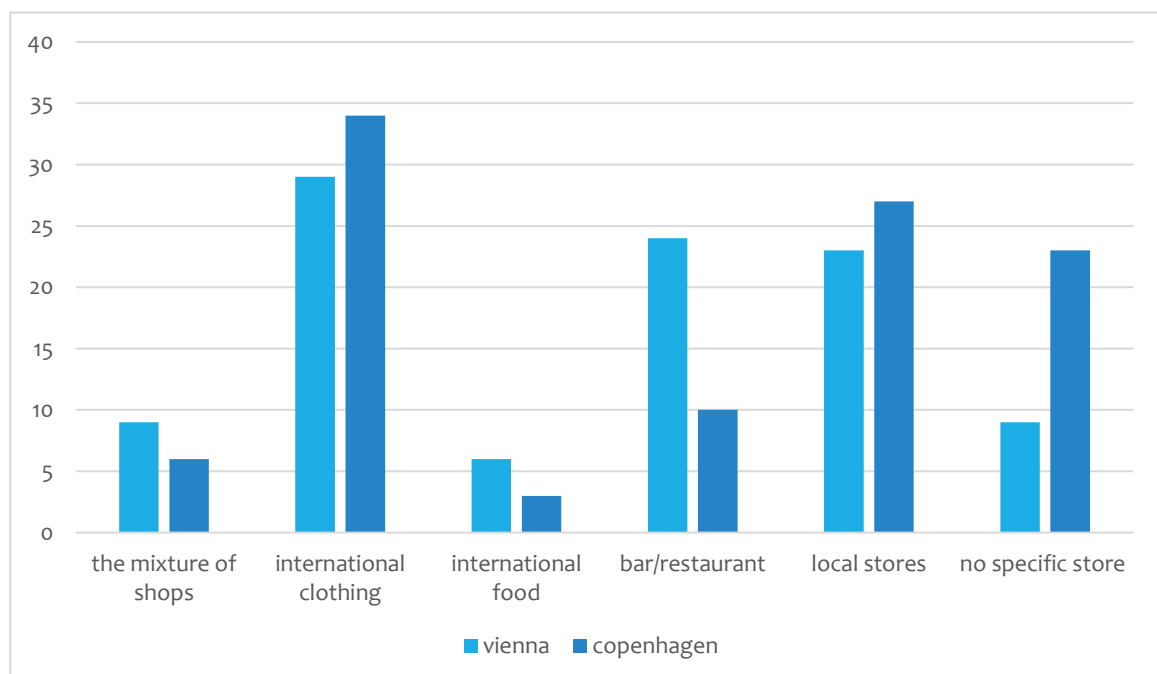
Figure13 - Favorite shops according to participants

The survey asked people whether they want more shops on the street or not. The answers go as it is shown in Figure 13. Here a significant difference is visible. In Copenhagen, participants strongly disagree with adding more shops while in Vienna they are more open to shops. I could say it is because of the presence of tourists and crowd which is not favorable to locals. In Vienna people were more open to the establishment of new shops.
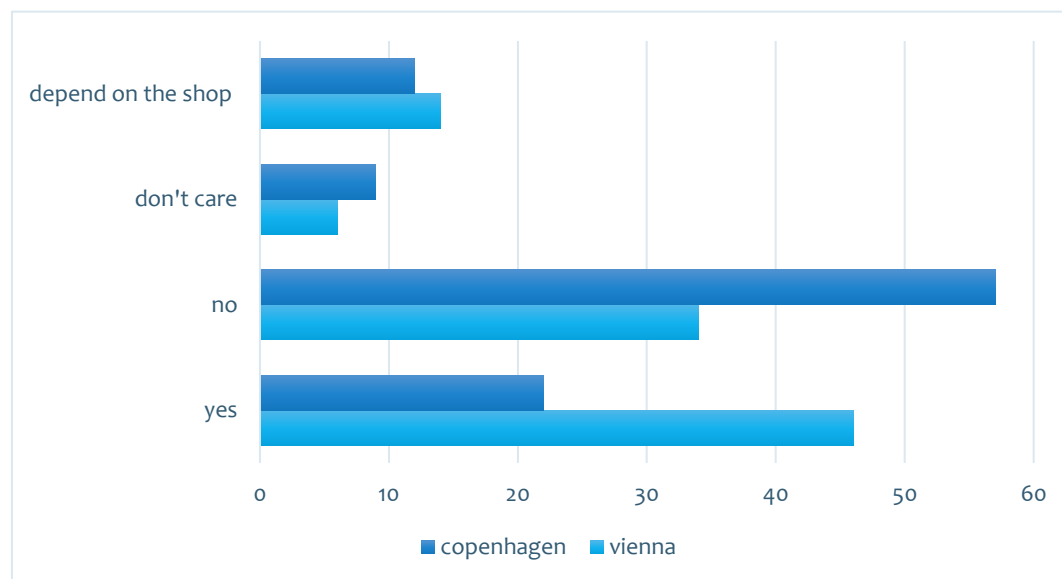
Figure 14- Participants'' view on adding more shops to the street

The next part of the survey shows us that more people in Copenhagen find their shopping street similar to other European shopping streets than in Vienna. The Viennese find Mariahilfer Straße more unique and special while in Copenhagen people have less of such feelings toward the space.

In one of the questions in the survey, I asked people what is the first thing that comes to their mind when they hear the name of the shopping streets of case studies (Mariahilfer Straße in Vienna and Strøget in Copenhagen). I received some interesting answers and some words were being repeated a lot among participants so the visualization of the results goes in Figure 14 and 15.

Figure 15 - First impression of the participants regarding MariahilferStraße

Figure 16 - First impression of the participants regarding Strøget

After gathering the information on participant mindset and background towards the streets, the main section of the questionnaire is about the presence of sense of place in the streets. As mentioned before, the method that has been used for evaluating this part is based on the scale introduced by Shamai (1991). For each key factor or variable, five answers are possible, ranging from *strongly disagree, disagree, don't care, agree* and *strongly agree*. We gave points of -2, -1, 0, 1 and 2 accordingly to each answer. The average score of all questions will determine the level of the individual's sense of place towards the appropriate shopping street.

Outcomes of this analyze show us that a high percentage of participants (60%) in Copenhagen are having little or no sense of place towards Strøget. About 33% of participant only have the knowledge of being located in the place, in which there is an awareness of place, but it is limited and the place is no more than an address or a location to them; People can recognize symbols of the place. After that respectively 2 and 5 percent of people are in the next two categories and no one in the highest level of sense of place defined in this study. The results in Vienna are somehow similar but with some differences. There are more people on the categories with a higher level of sense of place, however still the percentage of participants with no sense of place and only the knowledge of being located in the place is higher than the others. This can tell us many things. People in Vienna still find their shopping street unique and have feelings of attachment, with valuable personal and collective memories. In other words, the place still, to some extent, has significant meanings to them, although not to most of them. In Copenhagen people appreciate symbols and architecture of the street as many of them mentioned the pavement of the street as a favorable element, yet something is causing a low sense of attachment to the place. Some participants told me in informal interview that they rather avoid the street as much as they can when they are traveling in the city center area. All the steps within the questionnaires show Strøget to be some steps ahead of Mariahilfer Straße in the context of having people with low sense of place to it. As mentioned by the Austrian politician Rüdiger Maresch from Vienna Green

club, Strøget has always been a role model for planners in the redesign project of Mariahilfer Straße (interview, 2016). So the question here is whether the level of sense of place is going to fall off in Mariahilfer Straße as well or the Viennese did learn a lesson from Strøget.

Figure 17 - Presence of Sense of Place in Mariahilfer Straße

Figure 182 - Presence of sense of place in Strøget
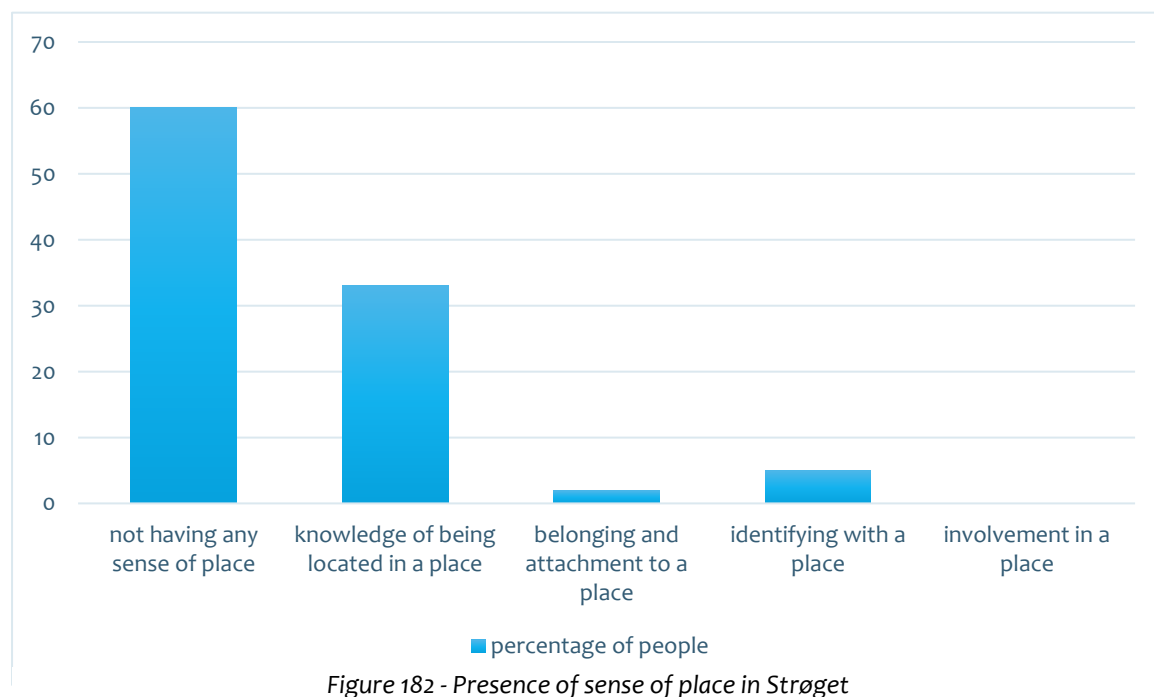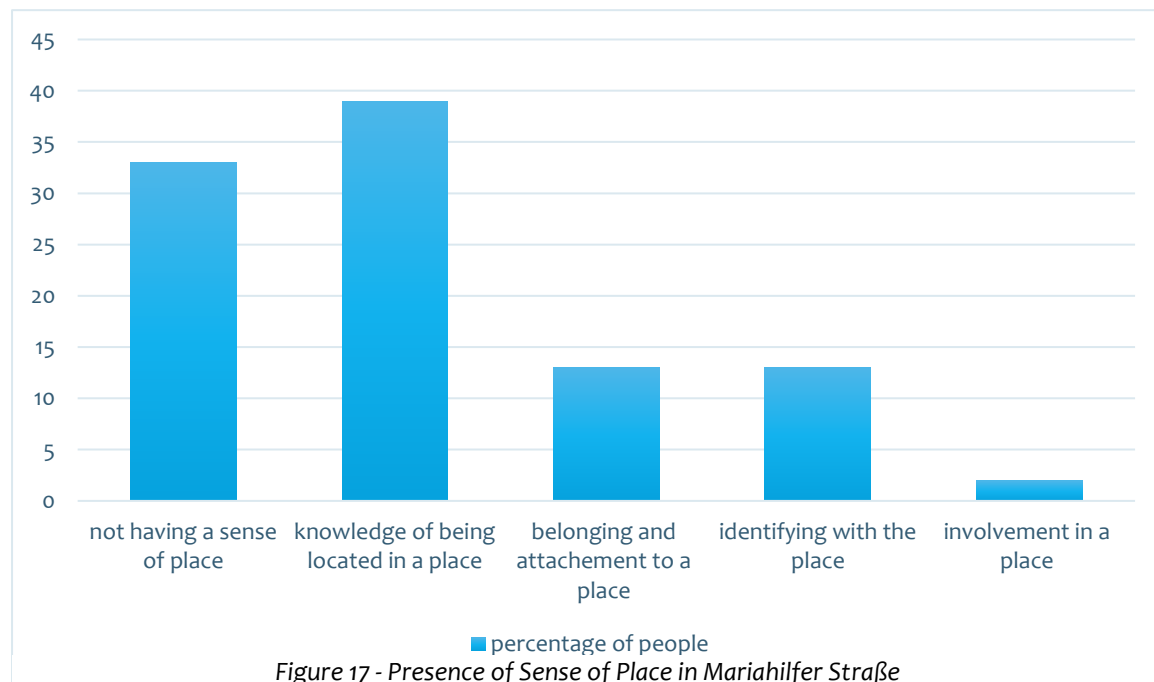
5.2.2   COMPARISON[3]

Copenhagen and Vienna are both cities which seems to be following same guidelines in order to creat vibrant city centers and shopping streets. Mariahilfer Straße and Strøget are both internationalized shopping streets and the results of secotor and entropy analysis shows very similar trends of specialization and retail organization in these two streets. They both have experienced a process of redesign with a time gap and some transformations in strategies. Therefore the comparison of implications in both cases can show us what Vienna has learned from Copenhagen as a role model and to what extent it has been successful.

According to the survey and mainly based on the historical records, Mariahilfer Straße is being used for transit purposes while less participants in Strøget mentioned using this street for transit matters. This can be a reason why residents do not agree with pedestrianizing the street. Moreover, Mariahilfer Straße still has much more residence involved in this process while in Strøget less residents are involved since many of them have left that neighborhood due to commercial gentrification and the high rents.

In fact, what participants in Strøget have asked for, was a bike lane. Bicycles have been an important means of transportation in Copenhagen since the 19th

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[3] I must add that this conclusion from the surveys is not a definite one since what the surveys are showing are empirical tendencies and this research is not able to assess the significance of differences between the case studies. This could be left to further research in the field of social science.

Century and were considered to be beneficial for the society. Clubs and unions were established for the supporters of bicycles as a form of transportation and they eventually gained political influence. The energy crisis of 1970's resulted in an increase in interest in bicycles for transportation. Cities which were already equipped and planned in order to facilitate the use of cars, started to change their policies and promote the use of bicycle instead of cars. Rotterdam was among the first cities to start implementing the infrastructure for use of bicycles in 1953. Few years later, Strøget was pedestrianized to show the new focus on bicycles and people on foot instead of cars. (Greenfield, 2012) Cobblestones, which is hard to bike on however liked by pedestrians (Surveys, 2016), were used as paving to accentuate this transformation and this trend has continued since. Yet there are no bike lanes of safe areas for bikers in Strøget. It was declared in surveys and informal interviews that users always avoid using Strøget since they cannot ride a bike there. Mariahilfer Straße has solved this issue by creating the shared zone. However, it is worth mentioning that Mariahilfer Straße is a much wider street than Strøget with higher possibly of shared zone. Mariahilfer Straße has been a transit street for a long time for getting into the inner city, and as Mariahilfer Straße is quite wide, it becomes understandable that many people opposed to the plan of pedestrianization. Moreover, some people in Vienna expressed some feelings of unsafety as pedestrians due to the presence of bikers.

6 CONCLUSION AND MAIN FINDINGS

This research was an attempt to study the retail structure, sense of place and their possible relationship in consumption spaces of central city shopping streets.

Consumption as an institutional field, has manifested itself in various forms through the time. A change in viewpoints form products' composition to personal writings about lifestyle and self-expression appeared as the time passed and we moved to a postmodern way of living. Consumption is now more separate from social status and more an item of life style; people came to

purchase the meaning of the object rather than its practicality. Along the same line, the effects of these new trends of consumption can be seen on the space; the new areas of amplified shopping are the birth places of new consumption spaces in which previously non commodified entities become part of the marketing process or in other words commodified. But this is not the only implications in space. Consumption spaces demonstrate a rather different opinion of power in public spaces. A form of control that is "*achieved by inclusion rather than exclusion through a logic of seduction*" (Allen, 2008). Yet it is different about shopping streets. Shopping streets are nor conventionally privatized public spaces, neither places to simply ignore attractions and walk away. They are having the seductive atmosphere to some extent in favor of corporate retailers while not being a corporate privatized space.

Among all these implications of new forms of retail organization and redesign strategies in shopping streets, the investigation of sense of place alongside with the study of retail organization and shopping behavior has been the objective of this research.

The results of Entropy and sector analysis show a rather similar trend in sector division of the two streets. It can be concluded that international trends of retail agglomeration have a tendency towards clothing and certain related sectors in central shopping streets. As mentioned in the literature, the emergence of pedestrian streets leads to mono-functionalization of some parts of the city center (Vagnby, 2013), yet it is worth to mention that in fact this pedestrianization goes in favor of certain sectors. It is also at the same line as the leisure shopping behavior and pleasure of walking in nice pedestrianized streets and window shopping. The entropy value shows specialization of one sector. But since it is not too low it shows that there is no domination as such. What it means is that because of the high number of sectors and the scale of the market place, one does not feel an extreme lack of vitality in retail while walking in the street.

The sector analysis in Vienna shows that over the years there has been a specialization trend among retail in Clothing sector. This specialization towards

clothing sector, other than being a global trend of retail agglomeration, has historical roots in Vienna. Secondly the Entropy value shows a rather vital retail structure in the street, which means the domination of a certain sector in this street did not make the retail structure monotonous or boring; this is due to the scale of the market place and high number of sectors in the street. Based on the very closely similar Entropy results in Copenhagen it is safe to assume that both shopping streets are following the same trend and are similar in commerce. This specialization trend can be deduced to be a result of both internationalization and the pedestrianization. The variety of retail that has been observed in the case studies is in fact the "relative variety"; In other words, different retailers are, with respect to each other, to a high extent in the same location. Retailers tend to locate their shops in a proximity of related sectors so they can benefit from each other. And this, in point of fact, alongside with spatial organization of retails influences the shopping behavior and preferences of consumers.

The possibility of comparing different products of one kind is something that draws leisure shoppers and costumers to these retail agglomerations areas. So the tendency of retailers and costumers goes hand in hand in increasing the specialization of retail in central city shopping streets.

The first thing that comes into attention in observation and survey analysis is that in Vienna, the majority of visitors in Mariahilfer Straße are as well living in the street's district; while in Copenhagen, visitors of Strøget are divided into a big majority of tourists from other cities or countries and a minority of people from outskirts of the center in Copenhagen. Therefore, a sense of attachment is more expected to be present in Mariahilfer Straße rather than Strøget.

In both cases, shopping is the main purpose of visitors in the streets, which could be expected, but a rather unexpected dissimilarity got revealed, which is the fact that people chose Mariahilfer Straße mostly for recreational activities while Strøget in Copenhagen is being chosen by people only when it is necessary for them, as running errands, walk to do something or getting to somewhere. It could be concluded that even small design attributes like trees and street benches could be a point of difference in internationalized streets.

This matter is also visible in another part of the surveys in which the Viennese find Mariahilfer Straße more unique and special while in Copenhagen people have less of such feelings towards Strøget.

Chain stores are the most favorable shops in both cases. Other than the fact that the chain stores are the absolute dominant retail sectors on these two streets, yet the preference of people to these shops has reasons beside costs and quality of products. As previously stated, in postmodern shopping behavior, there cannot be a rigid line among social classes based on what they purchase. Moreover, the consumption society goes towards more individualized choices. Chain stores became more attractive since they cover all tastes by offering different products in different levels of price and quality. Additionally, chain stores, especially the famous ones give a sense of familiarity or safety of the choice to the users, in a sense that they have enough information about what they are consuming.

Results from the main part of the survey regarding the sense of place in the space, shows a similar trend in each street, which is a majority of people having little or no sense of place to the street. But comparing the streets to each other, this majority is a bigger number in Copenhagen than in Vienna. This says people still have more sense of place and attachments to Mariahilfer straße. This could be due to the differences in the redesign project in the two streets and shows that Vienna has learned some lessons from Copenhagen's experience. The objectives of redesign in Mariahilfer straße was not only introduction of a new pedestrian precinct, but introducing free spaces on the street which can be used for new uses other than consumption spaces.

In general, in Copenhagen people are not happy with the over crowdedness and chainification of Strøget. They have switched to other parallel or similar local streets and somehow left the street for tourists and visitors from the other cities. As mentioned in my interview with the project manager of Borgbjergsvej (a local street in Sydhaven area) renewal plan:

"Some people prefer to be entertained in places that they know what to expect. Gives them comfort and security. But people looking for a distinct local feeling would go to other places.

Central Copenhagen is suitable for international shopping atmosphere. Strøget is not the only option, so there's no problem for us locals. Strøget is our gift to the world." (August 2016- Copenhagen)

The reaction of local actors in Vienna was a bit different but with no visible actions as yet. The chamber of commerce represented by Anrea Faast; the head of the department on transport and commerce did not agree with pedestalization of the street in the first place and believed that this process changed the street and shop's status. Maria Vassilakou, Austrian Politician from the Green Party and one of the main actors in redesign process in Vienna mentioned it is a pity that the streets are losing their character but there has been no actions taken place about it.

The very similar results of sector analysis and people's interests in chain stores compared to the presence of sense of place in these streets displays a rather contradictory result. For young generations, chain stores are the new landmarks or meeting points or someplace fun to spend some time. Chains are attracting more and more visitors through different strategies and draw people inside, while the street itself is losing the sense of place, becoming a setting for the stores. Further studies can reveal if there is a correlation or strong connection between the sense of place and the global trend of changes in retail structure of consumption spaces.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX 1: TABLES FROM THE SURVEY RESULTS

Table 8: Mariahilfer Straße responses

How often do you visit this place?	Everyday	3-4 times a week	Once or twice a week	Never	Other
%	0	7	19	9	65

Table9: Mariahilfer Straße responses

Similar street in Vienna?	Yes	No	Kärntnerstraße	Other streets
%	7	40	44	9

Table 10: Mariahilfer Straße responses

Similar street in Europe?	Yes (Berlin, London, Copenhagen…)	No
%	53	47

Table 11: Mariahilfer Straße responses

Hypothetical Disappearance?	strongly disagree	disagree	don't care	agree	Strongly agree
%	55	34	9	0	2

Table 12: Mariahilfer Straße responses

Statement	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Don't care	Agree	Strongly Agree
I am very attached to this place	25	21	37	10	7
This place is meaningful to me (I have memories here)	15	15	19	19	32
I enjoy being here more than any other place	15	21	32	21	11
I feel secure being in this place	7	7	24	33	29
Staying here makes me forget my problems	12	15	45	15	13
I would prefer to spend more time here if I could	19	28	30	8	15
This area is the best place for what I like to do	13	17	43	13	14
I feel comfortable being here than any other place	26	21	34	13	6

No other place can compare to this place	21	26	28	15	10
I am happy with the redesign of MariahilferStraße	11	9	15	37	28
MariahilferStraße is very important for the image of the city	14	20	33	19	14

Table 13: Strøget responses

How often do you visit this place?	Everyday	3-4 times a week	Once or twice a week	Never	Other
%	0	3	6	14	77

Table 14: Strøget responses

Likable factor	Pavement	Atmosphere	Stores/Variety	Buildings/Architecture	Crowd
%	7	15	21	25	15
Likable factor	Location	Singers	Pedestrian zone	Other	-
%	6	4	4	3	-

Table 15: Strøget responses

Similar street in Copenhagen?	Yes	No	Købmagergade	Other streets	Yes, in other Danish cities
%	8	51	23	10	8

Table 16: Strøget responses

Similar street in Europe?	Yes (Berlin, London, Barcelona…)	No
%	88	12

Table 17: Strøget responses

Hypothetical Disappearance?			Strongly disagree	Disagree	Don't care	Agree	Strongly agree
%			34	34	25	5	2

Table 18: Strøget responses

Statement	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Don't care	Agree	Strongly Agree
I am very attached to this place	42	23	23	7	5

This place is meaningful to me (I have memories here)	16	30	30	14	10
I enjoy being here more than any other place	65	21	7	0	7
I feel secure being in this place	7	9	26	42	16
Staying here makes me forget my problems	38	29	26	2	5
I would prefer to spend more time here if I could	47	35	9	7	2
This area is the best place for what I like to do	49	33	14	2	2
I feel comfortable being here than any other place	55	24	14	5	2
No other place can compare to this place	53	26	7	12	2
I am happy with the improvements done to this place	13	2	56	27	2
Strøget is very important for the image of the city	5	16	24	41	14

Table 19: age groups

Participants' age Group	**Up to 20 years**	**21 - 40 years**	**41 - 60 years**	**61 years or more**
Copenhagen	10	77	9	4
Vienna	15	60	19	6

APPENDIX 2: MORE PICTURES OF THE CASE STUDIES

Figure 18: Mariahilfer, weekday afternoon, June 2016

Figure 19: Mariahilfer, weekday afternoon, June 2016

Figure 20: Mariahilfer, weekday Morning, June 2016

Figure 21: Mariahilfer, June 2016

Figure 22: Strøget, weekday Morning, people sitting on the street, July 2016

Figure 23: Strøget, stores placing stalls outside of the shop on the street, July 2016

APPENDIX 3: INTERVIEWS INSCRIPTION

1. Interview with Thomas Blimlinger the Austrian politician- district chairman of the Grünen Wien. Since 2001 he is director of new construction in the 7th district in Vienna.

The (inner) Mariahilfer Straße is the most popular, most traditional and most frequented shopping street in Vienna outside the city center and located within one of the densest areas of the city. Except for one church, all ground floor spaces are commercial and/or business spaces.

Regarding the changes in the population of residents, he mentions that Relocation is not as common in Vienna as in other western cities and everything takes a bit more time. However, in the long run more people who do not use or own a car will move here. This is due to the new pedestrian and the new encounter zone.

The Mariahilfer Straße is still a very heterogeneous shopping street. Larger chain stores mix with smaller one-line businesses and foodservices. However, this is changing continuously since more and more large chains (especially clothing and shoes) are replacing smaller stores. Still, this is not a specific trait of the Mariahilfer Straße.

Regarding the redesign project and how people accepted or reacted to the changes he believes that Changes in urban traffic and transportation systems are always very controversial and trigger big emotions. It is experienced as a personal limitation when suddenly people are not able to drive their car where they have been able before. This is why there has been a huge counter movement massively supported by the yellow press.

Conflicts about the participation process was mainly in the subject of deciding who is more eligible to take part in the decision process! There are too many different groups. Of course residents have different needs than people who work here or people who visit for shopping. In a way, including citizens in the participation process has worked out. However, it was difficult to define who is allowed to decide.

He believes that In the long run Mariahilfer Straße is going to be very similar to other European shopping streets. The street is already expensive (rent etc.). However, this is no different to other business streets in Vienna or all over the world. The solution to this problem is the dissemination of costumers in the 7th district in Vienna in which the smaller shops with their own costumers are located beyond (parallel streets) of the Mariahilfer Straße.

But then again the question is will those shop be able to maintain their business in the long run?

Interview with Maria Vassilakou, the Austrian politician of the Green party in Vienna .Since November 25, 2010, she is Deputy Mayor and Councilor for Urban Development, Transport, Climate Protection, Energy and Public Participation Vienna.

Mariahilfer Straße is one of Vienna's most important shopping streets with a special flair that has been enhanced even further with the redesign. It connects two of Vienna's liveliest districts and, today, is much more than a street. It is a place where people meet, play with their kids, and go for a walk or stroll. Mariahilfer Straße is a residential street too and many people still live here. The redesign considered this fact and the shared space has been created to allow access. The city's income is only indirectly depend on Mariahilfer Straße.

Like all other shopping streets, Mariahilfer Straße is influenced by global developments. However, the street is of great importance in the city and beyond for the shopping needs of thousands of people on a daily basis. The street may be affected by shopping malls on the outskirts of the city that attract purchasing power from the inner city. But

that has been one of the reasons why it has been vital to make the street more attractive and establish it as a shopping magnet for the people in the city.

She believes that the international chain stores are planning an undeniably important role in this street but not the only important role. The redesign has been well-received by the Viennese. The coexistence of cyclists and pedestrians works well for the most part too. However the continuation of the project to other areas is a decision for the district council to take.

In the course of the planning process, the project provided an occasion for a basic discourse about the traffic and transport policies of the City of Vienna. Opposition parties and interest groups seized the opportunity to present their points of view rather bluntly. This gave cause to the distribution of incorrect information. The residents became unsure of some facts and the explicitly negative campaign of the media in Vienna wasn't very helpful either. However, in the end, a clear majority voted in favor of the project. *(Author's note: according to the records there was not a clear majority voting for the redesign but a very close gap between groups in favor and opposed of the project which has been mentioned in the redesign section)*

She believes that the redesign project was a successful process. Thousands of people contributed their ideas and visions to the project in the course of the planning process. Residents also voted in favor of the project. Do you have any other example of a similar scale that has been implemented with the same amount of citizen participation and direct democracy?

The is a course of global development going on in Mariahilfer Straße but this street will always be a very special street offering room for local and traditional Viennese shops. However it is a pity when places lose their distinct character. *(Author's note: majority of local shops have already been pushed to the peripheral streets)*

Many Viennese and also people from all over Austria and the neighbouring countries love to go to Mariahilfer Straße. The street has become even more attractive through the redesign. Many people, who used to avoid it in the past due to the amount of traffic and lack of space, today love to come here.

Interview with RÜDIGER MARESCH: Austrian politician (Vienna Green club). He is since 2001 member of the Vienna City Council. 4. July.2016

Mariahilfer Straße is a lot broader than Strøget and has trees while Strøget has squares in between little streets which makes it distinct. I would say there are more big multinational chain stores in Mariahilfer Straße than Strøget. Moreover Strøget and Jan Gehl group as the masters of changes in Strøget have always been as a role model for us in changing Mariahilfer Straße. We believed that Mariahilfer Straße should turn into a mixed zone street and the intention was to change people's behavior towards transportation and encourage more use of bike and public transport. The central part is the only pedestrian zone and in the parts located on the west and east side are shared zone and this whole project is located in between Wiedner Gürtel and museumsplatz.

Due to some changes in Mariahilfer Straße particularly with the means of transport the mixture of shops have changed, there is an international trend of chain stores but also more restaurants and ice cream shops. Gastronomy in general. Yet due to the rent control policies in Vienna the increase in residential rents did not happened that easy. However in the new units the rents were already high.

He believes the new trends of online shopping have brought down the number of costumers of shopping streets. There is study in the chamber of commerce in Vienna city that shows the decrease in the number of customers in central shopping streets including Mariahilfer Straße. Notwithstanding the fact that you see more people on the street than before but the amount of goods that has been sold (the street's income) is decreasing. (Authors note: in the interview with the chamber of commerce in Vienna, Ms. Faast believes that pedestalization and redesign of the street is a reason of decrease in selling) he continues that you usually go to Mariahilfer Straße because of window shopping and gastronomy and more for fun than buying goods.

The retail structure is of course many international chains and very few small single owned businesses and in the long run there would be no local shops and following the trend in Strøget the local shops will move to side streets. Typically big chains overtake everything. The downside of this process is the unification of the whole Europe.

There is a saying that goes: the money walks around and doesn't go around with cars. I would say that's true and the chain stores know that. They are starting to realize that. They believe pedestrian streets brings in more profit.

We knew that from Strøget and from Kartner Straße that people will not accept the pedestalization in the beginning. We expected that there will be many negative comments, but as the time is passing people are getting more and more involved and engaged in this processes of changing transport behavior. This process of chainification might change people's attachment to the street but now people also go there to walk and just have fun.

Interview with Anrea Faast: the head of the department on transport and commerce, Chamber of commerce of Vienna 6.July.2016

The retail structure has become more and more international in this street and small shops are diminishing. This process started from the 1980s and continued till now. This process happened in Austria earlier than some other European cities such as Italy. The rent in the two important shopping streets in Vienna are only possible for the international chain stores to pay. And the interesting thing is that a Star Box close to museum quartier could not handle the rent and it was even too expensive for them.

Regarding the pedestalization there was protests from shop owners whom actually believed that in case of redesign of the street they would not be able to pay the rents and now after the project they all left the street. So at the first glance there is no problems in these changes. So many people go there, and many shops but what you re loosing is the uniqueness of the streets.

Regarding the local actors and planners' reaction to these process she does not believe that there is anything that the chamber of commerce or the city of Vienna can do to

stop or moderate this changes. They do see it as a problem and know the consequences of the redesign but it is something that happens as a trend.

Thorough out the time most of the residential units on the ground floor have changed into shops and on upper floor they are turning into offices. In 2013 the number of empty shops was 15 in Mariahilfer Straße which has not changed after the redesign till today. And there are 14 new empty shops and 24 shops has changed. What we have now the most are Gastronomy, clothes and jewelry which replaced for example suitcase shops, computer and software stores and small local shops.

According to the study has done by the chamber of commerce the amount of people who go there for shopping has decreased from 68 percent to 50 percent. This has happened after the redesign project.

She actually believes that the income of the street from the commerce has decreased after the redesign project because in the former times people with the car used to spend a lot of money on this street to shop while nowadays the street has become a meeting place for young people, or a place for window shopping and leisure time. And on the retail side she also beilieves that the structure changed from better high quality shops to cheap multinational chains which serve new needs. At the end she mentioned that *we did a good thing for people who come to the street with this redesign process but I am not sure whether it was also good for the shopkeepers and people who work there. However it is too soon to decide and we have to give it at least a 10 years' time to observe the result.*

> *Interview with Øystein Leonardsen the business district manager working on high streets of sydhaven in Copenhagen.*

Øystein Leonardsen is business district manager, working on an urban renewal project on Borgbjergsvej, a project from 2015 to 2020.

The project includes redesigning, organizing property owners, shops, and urban space. Creating a space that invites people. It will be a shared space not a completely pedestrianized one.

He is convinced for a completely pedestrianized street for two reasons; firstly he does not believe that the street has the capacity of attracting enough people for a pedestrian zone, then it would look deserted as a pedestrianized street. Secondly because pedestrianized streets are mono-cultural, meaning there are only people walking there. We want to continue to have a mixed culture in the street but move the focus from the cars. Making places for people to "stay". We don't have this in Strøget. And this is a public participation, it's about people taking the future of the street in their hands. We will ask for their needs, we will deliver their needs, but we want them to participate and add something to the street, make that space interesting. It's a negotiation, a co-operation.

The retail organization of the street is mainly local, old shops and a few Danish chain stores. He does not believe that there will be more chain stores on the street after the redesign project. He mentioned that chain stores will be more suitable to place themselves in the central streets such as Strøget but not a local street in outskirt of the

center. He indicates we don't expect this, because firstly there's no local demand for chain stores, and also because chain stores tend to be close to each other and be close to central streets where tourists go. I don't expect any H and M or Mc Donald's on this street.

About the reaction of urban actors to this process he believes that we should work on other potentials of the city. Work on streets with more of a local atmosphere and try to maintain them (author's note: it is important how to maintain not to end up losing this character since Mariahif is an example of outskirt shopping street which ended up being dominant by chain stores; therefore location cannot guarantee the maintenance of local character) "If people want to spend their money on shopping, what's wrong with that? It's important to keep quality of the streets that are far from the center and more local, but central streets are mostly for tourists who want to see something similar".

I'm not so worried about the character of central streets, because people that go to chain stores don't go there for the quality but the recognizably. Some people prefer to be entertained in places that they know what to expect. Gives them comfort and security. But people looking for a distinct local feeling would go to other places. Central Copenhagen is suitable for international shopping atmosphere. Strøget is not the only option, so there's no problem for us locals. Strøget is our gift to the world.

APPENDIX 4: SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE SAMPLE

This survey has prepared in order to study the concept of sense of place and attachment to shopping streets. Your participation is very valuable to us. Please take a few moments and complete this survey by clicking on Next page.

Q1 - Which city are you living in?

Q2 - In which neighbourhood of Copenhagen are you living in?

◯ every day

◯ 3 to 4 times a week

◯ once or twice a week

◯ never

◯ Other:

☐ stroll
☐ window shopping
☐ walk to do something(walk the dog, joint and event..)
☐ shopping
☐ walk to do errands
☐ transit
☐ going to/from work
☐ going for a drink or dining
☐ meeting with friends
☐ for work
☐ Other:

Q5 - What do you associate with this street? (What is the first thing that comes into your mind when hearing the name of this street?)

Q6 - What do you like in this street?

Q7 - Which store is your favourite one in this street?

Q8 - Do you prefer more shops on this street?

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Q11 - How would you feel about a hypothetical disappearance of this street from the city?

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Q12 - Give a score from 1 to 5 meaning that 1=strongly disagree, 5=strongly agree to below statements
Multiple answers are possible

	1	2	3	4	5
I am very attached to this place	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
This place is meaningful to me(I have memories here)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I enjoy being here more than any other place	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I feel secure being in this place	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Staying here makes me forget my problems	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I would prefer to spend more time here if I could	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
This area is the best place for what I like to do	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I feel comfortable being here than any other place	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
No other place can compare to this place	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I am happy with the improvement done to this place	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Strøget is very important for the image of the city	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Q13 - which are your 3 most favourite streets/places to go for shopping?

XAGE - In which age group do you belong?

○ Up to 20 years of age
○ 21 - 40 years of age
○ 41 - 60 years of age
○ 61 years of age or more

XSEX - Gender:

○ Male
○ Female