TRANSFORMATION OF PUBLIC SPACE: THE CASE OF MİGROS AKKÖPRÜ SHOPPING CENTER

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ABSTRACT

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SHOPPING CENTER

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Today, it is observed that shopping centers that are increasingly growing in number, especially in metropolitan cities, are used as public spaces by many urban inhabitants. Shopping centers have become places where social life is experienced and leisure time is spent through a wide range of activities offered besides shopping. On the other side, city centers that can be regarded as the most essential public spaces of urban areas are in a process of deterioration both in terms of physical quality and functional features.

These two developments are essential indicators of a change and transformation concerning the public space's role and its features like openness to everyone's use, high accessibility and social integration. Within this context, in this study, finding the direction of this transformation and the extent that shopping centers possess the characteristics of public space are aimed.

In this respect, after a literature review about public space, city center and shopping center within the context of the aim, the development of city centers and public spaces of Ankara is examined. After the development of shopping centers that flourished within the last ten-fifteen years in Ankara and their socio-spatial effects upon the city are discussed, hypothesis is tested through the findings of the questionnaire survey made in Migros Akköprü Shopping Center.

Lastly, findings and conclusions are summarized and interpretations for future and policy proposals are made concerning the changing functions and uses of public spaces and shopping centers.

Keywords: Public Space, Shopping Center, City Center, Social Exclusion, Accessibility, Ankara.

ÖZ

KAMUSAL MEKANIN DÖNÜŞÜMÜ: MİGROS AKKÖPRÜ
ALIŞVERİŞ MERKEZİ ÖRNEĞİ

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Günümüzde, özellikle metropoliten kentlerde sayısı hızla artan alışveriş merkezlerinin kentliler tarafından kamusal mekanlar olarak kullanıldığı gözlemlenmektedir. Bu mekanlar alışverişin yanı sıra sosyal hayatın deneyimlendiği ve sunulan farklı aktiviteler sayesinde boş vakitlerin değerlendirildiği yerler haline gelmişlerdir. Öte yandan, kentlerin en önemli kamusal mekanları olarak sayılabilecek kent merkezleri hem fiziksel hem de işlevsel olarak bir çökünteleşme süreci geçirmektedir.

Bu iki gelişmenin, kamusal mekanın herkesin kullanımına açıklık, yüksek ulaşılabilirlik ve sosyal bütünleşmenin sağlanması gibi özellikleri ve rollerinde yaşanan bir değişimin / dönüşümün önemli göstergeleridir. Bu bağlamda, bu

çalışmada, öne sürülen bu değişimin doğrultusu ortaya konmaya çalışılmış ve alışveriş merkezlerinin ne ölçüde kamusal mekanlar olduğu değerlendirilmiştir.

Bu amaçla, kamusal mekan, kent merkezi ve alışveriş merkezleri hakkındaki literatür amaç kapsamında ele alındıktan sonra Ankara'nın kent merkezleri ve kamusal mekanlarının gelişimi incelenmiştir. Ankara'da son on-onbeş yılda sayısı büyük bir hızla artan alışveriş merkezlerinin gelişimi ve bunların kent üzerindeki sosyal-mekansal etkileri tartışıldıktan sonra Migros Akköprü Alışveriş Merkezi'nde yapılan anket çalışmasının verileri doğrultusunda öne sürülen savlar test edilmiştir.

Son olarak elde edilen bulguların ve varılan sonuçların genel bir değerlendirmesi yapılarak kamusal mekanın değişen işlevi ve kullanımı hakkında geleceğe yönelik çıkarımlar ve siyasa önerileri geliştirilmeye çalışılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kamusal Mekan, Alışveriş Merkezi, Kent Merkezi, Sosyal Dışlanma, Ulaşılabilirlik, Ankara.

To My Father and Mother

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I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

05.01.2004   Gülçin Tunç

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Aim of the study

This thesis aims to present two things. The first one is to identify the transformation observed in public spaces of urban areas; the basic dynamics and direction of this transformation. The second is to designate to what extent shopping centers show public space characteristics. In the achievement of the first aim, the understanding of the changes taking place in city centers will also be included because of the relation between the use of city centers as public spaces and that of shopping centers. For the analysis, city centers of Ankara and Migros Akköprü Shopping Center, where a questionnaire is held, in Ankara will be used as the cases.

The period after early 1970s is viewed by almost all commentators as a period in which radical changes are taking place concerning economic, political, socio-cultural and spatial dimensions. Including both the developed and underdeveloped countries, this period is marked with a globalization of the world economic structure, increasing flexibility of capital, restructuring and readjusting policies through the adaptation of the ideologies of neo-liberal economic policies which resulted in enormously increased levels of privatization, the withdrawal of state from some of its guiding roles. The advances in information technologies and the widespread use of them are the other influential dynamics of this period. The decline in manufacturing industry and the growing service sector businesses are also characteristic to this upper scale restructuring process.

What emerge concerning the urban areas is the increased levels of inter-urban competition in order to become powerful actors in this restructuring process. For the achievement of economic redevelopment and maintenance, cities seek for ways to attract investments and visitors.

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Under such conditions in which guidance of capital has become of primary importance concerning the production of the built environment, new urban landscapes with high quality and mostly for the use of affluent groups began to be formed like commercial centers, five-star hotels, convention centers, multi-functional shopping centers, sport-stadiums and etc. Another spatial dimension of the transformation process is the introduction of the concept of "world cities". It is claimed that world cities are centers of finance, service sector businesses, leisure, culture and tourism; are the most powerful cities within the global network of cities which are connected to each other through the use of advanced information technologies.

As some commentators claim, the outcome of these new developments is the increasing spatial and social fragmentation of urban areas due to the uneven development of countries, regions and cities. It is argued by most that today's cities are witnessing high levels of class polarization and the widened income gap between the urban poor and the affluent groups. The increasing levels of class polarization are partly due to the rise of a new class of professionals who are mostly employed in finance and business sector activities and who have differentiated tastes and life-styles. Within this urban context, the function and meaning of some urban spaces (like public spaces) began to be redefined and 'new places' began to be formed.

Shopping centers are good examples of these newly formed spaces in urban areas. It is observed that shopping centers are places where leisure and cultural activities take place rather than just shopping. Shopping centers include food courts, cinemas, theatres, playing areas for children etc. They also include some service sector units like banks, hairdressers, dry-cleaners, post-offices etc. Being an enclosed area away from the effects of the climate, having large parking areas, guarded by private security systems with high-technology, shopping centers provide a comfortable and peaceful atmosphere for people. They, now, became places where most people prefer to be in for shopping and spending leisure time rather than to walk around in city centers for both purposes.

Public spaces, all through the history, have been places where people interact, exchange goods and ideas; where the social life takes place. They are places where

people just wonder and spend time for relaxation (Carr et al., 1992). Besides, they have been places where public action in the form of demonstrations, protests etc. find existence. Beyond all, public spaces are often defined as places, which are open to everyone without any restriction to one's accessibility to those places. City centers, squares, streets, parks and plazas are common public spaces of urban areas. However, today one more place seems to be added to these well-known public spaces and it is the shopping center.

The crucial question about the emergence of shopping centers as public spaces concerns to what extent these places with their major aim of increasing sales and profits, privately owned and managed status, definite opening and closing times, high levels of surveillance and their high-quality shops and stores can be regarded as public spaces. Although some of the features which are attributed to public spaces are also questionable like accessibility and use by all, it is claimed that increasing use of private spaces, like shopping centers, as public spaces has considerable effects upon the function and meaning of 'public space' which is subject to change under contemporary social, political and spatial structures of urban areas.

Today, while new places like shopping centers come to be used and perceived as public spaces, social roles and previous meanings of existing public spaces like city centers began to diminish. Besides, it can be observed that existing public spaces like city centers, squares, public parks are treated with a decreasing concern and attention. In other words, on one side, a redefinition and restructuring of public spaces go on, meanwhile a transformation towards the decline of the quality of some public spaces of urban areas takes place.

The dynamics of urbanization and urban areas have changed also in Turkey, like other countries of the world, after 1980 affected by the global restructuring process. The expansion of cities through the rapid development of suburban areas, the changes in the city center structures of especially the big cities of the country, the development of high-quality places of commerce and business, residence, shopping and entertainment and the increasing fragmentation of spatial structure of urban areas are among the essential indicators of the transformation process which can be observed and put forward by many commentators. Although there are differences

between countries and cities concerning both the effects of globalization and the transformation of public space, the signs of a change can be clearly seen in especially the large cities of Turkey. The rapid development of shopping centers developed both by domestic and international firms and the changes in functions and structures of city centers are two of these signs. Thus, in the following chapters through the evaluation of city centers as public spaces and by using the case of Turkey's biggest shopping center in Ankara, Migros Akköprü Shopping Center, the transformation of public space will be examined.

1.2. Content of the study

In the following chapter, the theoretical framework of the thesis will be presented through the introduction of the concepts of public space, shooping and shopping center. In order to determine a wider approach to the transformation of public spaces, two opposing approaches to urban processes, which are providing different and useful insights for the study, will be given at the beginning of Chapter 2. This will be followed by the definitions of city centers in order to capture their public space characteristics. In the next parts, the discussions of public space and shopping centers will be included. The concept of public space will be presented under three main headings: its definitions and characteristics, its historical development and contemporary public spaces in today's cities. From public space's several definitions, an outcome will tried to be obtained for identifying its characteristics and functions. The historical development of public spaces will also contribute to the designation of some other characteristics inherent in it. The presentation of contemporary public spaces aims at to understand the changing features of public spaces.

The part about shopping centers also consists of three parts including the concept of shopping, the development and characteristics of shopping centers and the evaluation of shopping centers in terms of their public space characteristics. The concept of shopping in terms of its social aspect and role is found worth to present for the aim of the study.

Chapter 3 deals with the development and characteristics of the city centers, public spaces and shopping centers of Ankara in order to get insights about the

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background and dynamics of the transformation of public spaces of Ankara. The historical development and characteristics of the city center structure and public spaces of Ankara is presented through a periodization which takes the dates of turning points for Turkey and Ankara as beginning and finishing years. The next two parts are about the historical development of retailing sector in Turkey and the emergence and growth of shopping centers in Ankara.

Chapter 4 consists of the case study that was conducted in Migros Akköprü Shopping Center in Ankara in 2002. The presentation and evaluation of survey results which targets testing the hypothesis claimed about the transformation of public space will be done under eight headings which concern different aspects about the users and use of Migros Shopping Center. Besides, the development process of the shopping center in Ankara's Akköprü district will be given at the beginning of this chapter.

Chapter 5 includes the final evaluation of the study consisting of the presentation of outcomes obtained both from the literature survey and the case study. Finally, in the second part of this chapter, policy proposals for future development of shopping centers and public spaces will be made.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND BASIC CONCEPTS

2.1. Introduction

The analysis of the transformation of public space is tied up with the analysis of its wider setting: the city. Thus, in order to develop this broader approach, conceptualizations of urban areas from liberal and radical perspectives will be included in the theoretical framework of this study. Gottdiener (1989) names liberal and radical approaches as 'conventional and critical camps' respectively. The conventional camp, which lack more general processes like capital accumulation and its relation to the built environment, class struggle and the role of state, provides us with a picture of urban areas. On the other side, critical camp through integrating the concerns which conventional camp underestimates in their analysis provides us with the understanding of the dynamics behind this picture.

The analysis of liberal approaches contributes to the capturing of the role of public spaces within the heterogenous and fragmented structure of urban life. Through the analysis of critical camp dealing with the production of urban space within capitalist relations, we get essential insights about the dynamics that affect the transformation of public space.

Since a wider point of view is required for the aim of this study, this chapter also includes a literature survey about the contemporary urban structure from economic, social and spatial dimensions. After doing this, different conceptualizations and definitions of public space will be presented and the criteria for defining and evaluating public space will try to be obtained. This will be followed by the part about shopping centers and the concept of shopping. The concept of shopping will be

dealt with through limiting the scope with to social aspect. It is claimed that the social role of shopping is crucial since it contributes to the contemporary role that shopping centers gain.

2.2. Conceptualization of the City and the City Center

2.2.1. Liberal Approach

2.2.1.1. Analysis of Urban Life by Georg Simmel and Louis Wirth

Simmel is the dominant name in 19th century's sociological thought with his distinct analysis of relation between the group size and social relationships. His essay written in 1903 named "Metropolis" concerns this analysis and the identification of the impacts of modern industrial capitalism upon urban life (Saunders, 1981).

According to him, the unity of small social groups can be preserved by direct interaction whereas in large groups, this is done through formal means of control such as law. In other words, small groups are characterised by custom as in rural areas and large ones by law as in urban areas. He suggests that as the size of the social group increase, the scope of individual freedom and individual's consciousness of self also increase and social relations become more and more impersonal (Saunders, 1981).

A similar approach was developed later by Louis Wirth, a follower of Chicago School, concerning the relation between the size of the population and the character of social relations. Wirth (1964) suggests that the increase in size limits the possibility for community members to know all others. In other words, people in cities have less intensive knowledge about each other than people in rural areas.

Wirth (1964) also argues that contacts of the city are impersonal, superficial, transitory and segmental. Moreover, the interdependency of people upon each other mainly depends on the satisfaction of their life-needs (a relationship of utility), as also Simmel points out, rather than psychological satisfaction of the personality and this in turn enforces a kind of social distance.

He claims that decrease in personal and emotional control of intimate groups in city causes an individual freedom to some degree, whereas, at the same time, this condition causes individual to lose spontaneous self-expression, morale and sense of participation (Saunders, 1981; Wirth, 1964).

Other important aspects of Simmel's analysis are the division of labor and the growth of a money economy in modern societies. Simmel argues that division of labor has three main effects on the forms of human association. In the first place, a high level of division of labor fragments and segmentalizes the social life. Secondly, in a constantly changing world and in a highly differentiated society, the individual has only his own unique personality as the only constant factor, therefore self-consciousness is reinforced, egoism and individualism are encouraged. The other important effect of the division of labor in modern societies is the "alienation" of the individual from the cultural world that he and others have created. Since, according to Simmel, division of labor separates the creator from his creation, the result is "reification" of all human creations where the subjective spirit is dominated by the objective spirit (Saunders, 1981).

Differentiation, individuality and alienation, which are characteristics of modern life, are reinforced by the growth of a money economy in capitalist societies. The rationality of modernity is built upon money economy and money is the common denominator of all values in modern capitalist societies according to Simmel. Besides he suggests that these three features of modern life is most clearly revealed in metropolis where high level of economic division of labor is observed, where the social relations become depersonalised and gain an utilitarian character (Saunders, 1981).

2.2.1.2. The Analysis of Chicago School Ecologists

Robert Park and his colleagues, Ernest W. Burgess and Roderick McKenzie, developed human ecology approach in the analysis of the city and urban life between the two World Wars. Basicly, these theorists were interested in the problem of how human populations adopted to their environment (Saunders, 1981). According to them, "spatial arrangements of urban settlements represent the

accommodation of social organization to its physical environment" (Gottdiener, 1988: 26).

In urban areas where population is highly concentrated and dense, a high level of specialization of functions is observed which results in the increasing interdependency of individuals in the urban community. This kind of solidarity is based upon interests rather than sentiment and habit. Like Simmel, Park sees money as an essential device by which values are rationalized in urban life. This division of labor in urban life is also presented spatially in which different economic groups inhabit different regions of the city. Through the process of segregation, social content of space becomes homogeneous within one area while becomes differentiated with relation to external areas. He adds that every area in the city takes the character and qualities of its inhabitants (Park et al., 1967; Castells, 1977; Saunders, 1981). In short, Park views the spatial order of the city as an emergent property of economic competition and its resulting division of labor (Gottdiener, 1988: 28).

In terms of social contact and interaction in modern urban life, Park argues that through the advantages that is provided by transportation and communication technologies, the urban inhabitant gained an opportunity to contact and associate with others in a higher level. However, he also claims that these advancements also caused these contacts and associations being more transitory and less stable. Put in another way, he suggests that indirect, i.e., secondary relations are replaced by face-to-face, i.e., primary relations in the associations of individuals in the urban community. Another effect of the developments realized in transportation and communication technologies according to Park is that it changed the character of retail trade, make the department store possible and enforced the development of residence suburbs (Park et al., 1967).

In urban societies founded on secondary relations, public opinion becomes highly important as a device for social control. In this sense, cooperation, as well as competition, becomes an important aspect of city's social life. According to Chicago School, social interaction proceeding through symbolic exchanges, mutual understandings and the exercising of the freedom of choice will lead to a moral

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order, which can be viewed as a consensus point of personal conduct, that is based upon shared values and common interests (Gottdiener, 1988; Goheen, 1998, Park, 1967).

Members of Chicago School believe that sharp divisions between people and resultant disorderliness could be overcomed through communal ties which would be built through the contacts of distinct neighbourhoods (Pile, 1999). At this point, for this contact to operate, the importance of public spaces of the city emerges. Consistent with their stress upon the importance of engagement in public life in urban areas, both as a mechanism of social control and a tool for the development of a moral order, Chicago School ecelogists view public spaces of the city as places where people and especially new comers learn to deal with the confusing and differentiated social environment of the city (Goheen, 1998).

Chicago School ecologists try to explain the extension of cities and structural community change by referring to the process of competition, dominance, invasion and succession. Succession operating through the dynamics of competition, dominance and invasion is referred as the process in which sequence of changes takes place that results in a shift from a primary and relatively unstable to a relatively permanent stage. According to human ecologists, land use patterns are formed and land values are determined through these four main processes (Saunders, 1981).

Ernest W. Burgess by adopting this argument of human ecologists developed an explanation and a model for the physical growth of the city. In his theory named the "Concentric Zone Theory", he identifies five zones, which are constructed as concentric circles in the ideal modeling of a city. In this model, each zone has an internal homogeneity while differentiating from surrounding areas (Pile, 1999).

The first zone is the central business district, which he names the "loop". Central business district (CBD) consists of economic, cultural and political life centres such as department stores, office buildings, railroad stations, hotels, theatres, art museums and city hall. CBD is also the zone where spatial competition and, thus, land values are highest. The second zone, encircling CBD, is "zone of transition" invaded by business and light manufacture, which Burgess called as the "area of

deterioration" because of poverty, disease and crime. It is also the zone in which social, moral and communal organization is broken down. Despite this disorderliness, Burgess and other Chicago School ecologists believed that "higher ideals of community" could push these people towards a better life. When compared to the other zones of the city, Zone I and Zone II are apparently heterogeneous places (Park et al., 1967; Pile, 1999).

The third zone consists of the residential areas inhabited by the industry workers who escaped from the area of deterioration and who also want to be closer to their work places. Beyond the third zone comes the residential zone in which high-class apartment buildings are found. The last zone is named as commuters zone where suburban areas or satellite cities for wealthy are built (Park et al., 1967).

Burgess suggested that cities tend to expand radially from their central business district. According to him, this radial expansion is due to the invasion by each zone of the next outer zone. Through the process of invasion and succession, the city expands and different social groups are relocated among the zones according to residence and occupation. In other words, people tend to inhabit in areas where their economic, social and cultural features are best suited and this calls for the segregation of distinct groups among parts of the city (Park et al., 1967; Saunders, 1981).

Centralization and decentralization are two key processes of city growth in Burgess's model. As the city expands, new businesses develop both in CBD and in expanding regions due to the growth of differentiated activities. Commercial functions or businesses which CBD losts through competition are relocated in newly formed peripheral areas. This, in turn, results in a further spatial differentiation of activities and the scheme, in which CBD is encircled by four concentric circles, is reached in time through the effect of this dual process (Gottdiener, 1988).

2.2.2. The Radical Approach

2.2.2.1. Henri Lefebvre and The Production of Urban Space

Lefebvre is one of the important theorists who contributed to urban literature from the perspective of Marxist theory. Three dominant concerns are apparent in his works as urban space and its production, everyday life in urban areas and the reproduction of capitalist social relations (Saunders, 1981).

According to Lefebvre, space should be considered as one of the elements of the forces and means of production process. Besides being an essential part in production relations, it is also a product of these same relations and becomes an object of consumption (Gottdiener, 1988). Since space is a product of capitalism, it is affected by the logic of capitalism that depends on the production of profit and exploitation of labor. In relation with these, Lefebvre claims that the basic contradiction in the production of urban space stems from the contradiction between the exploitation of it by capital in order to gain profit (exchange value) and the social requirements of those who consume it (use value). In short, he claims that through the logic of capitalism, space was turned into a commodity (commodification of space) (Saunders, 1981).

Lefebvre identifies three dimensions in spatial practices as the material spatial practices, representations of space and spaces of representation. Each of these dimensions is dialectically related with each other and each of them corresponds to different meanings of space as the *experienced space*, the *perceived space* and the *imagined space* respectively. Material spatial practices are about physical and material flows, transfers and interactions that occur in and across space for production and social reproduction. Representations of space refer to signs, codes and knowledge that allow material practices to be understood. It is the conceptualized space of scientists, planners, urbanists etc. and is the dominant space in every society. Lastly, spaces of representation are social inventions such as symbolic spaces, particular built environments, museums etc., helping to create new meanings of possibilities for spatial practices. In other words, they are spaces directly lived and used by people (Harvey, 1989; Lefebvre, 1991).

One of the basic notions in Lefebvre's analysis of urban space is his introduction of *abstract space* and *social space* and the contradiction between them. According to him, through the acts of state and capitalist logic, organic space is reduced to an abstraction where space is infinitely fragmented, homogenized and has an hierarchical characteristic in order to meet the interests of dominant forces (state and capitalist class). Lefebvre argues that abstract space creates illusions and, thus, false consciousness. On the other side, social space is the integrated space of social communion which has an organic unity and has a very productive capacity in the way to transform the existing social and economic relations of capitalism (Gottdiener, 1988; Lefebvre, 1991).

Social space is the space of everyday life in which biological reproduction, the reproduction of the work force and the reproduction of the social relations of production operate in coexistence and cohesion (Gottdiener, 1988). According to Lefebvre, social space which is the outcome of past actions, is formed around encounter, assembly and simultaneity and he argues, "social space implies actual or potential assembly at a single point…" (Lefebvre, 1991: 101). Lefebvre names social space, which is the materialization of social being, also as the real space pointing out the lived experience (spaces of representation), rather than the concepts of specialists (representations of space) (Lefebvre, 1991).

The contradiction between abstract space and social space is in fact the contradiction between the exchange value and use value of space, which was mentioned above. Lefebvre states that in modern societies, social space is dominated by abstract space that leads to "explosion of space" in his terms. This means that in order to maintain the uniqueness of personalized and collectivized space, organic concepts of spatial segregation such as personal space, social space, residential space etc. arise and cities are separated into different ghettos. In short, the domination of abstract space over social space produces a fragmented urban space that is necessary for the reproduction of present economic, political and social relations (Gottdiener, 1988).

What is another essential argument of Lefebvre is that reproduction of capitalist social relations occurs through the everyday use of space because of the

subordination of space by the logic and power of capitalism. Through the everyday use of space, the form of capitalist relations such as individualism, commodification are imposed on the whole of everyday life. Then capitalism survives through its use of space, which reinforces the maintainance, and reproduction of social relations that are required for this survival. In other words, capitalist society reproduces itself through the medium of space (Gottdiener, 1988; Saunders, 1981).

Lefebvre emphasizes the importance of space as a political tool and its strategic importance for urban ideology. According to Lefebvre, space has a primary importance as a political instrument for state in order to ensure "its control of places, its strict hierarchy, homogeneity of the whole and the segregation of the parts" (Gottdiener, 1988: 125-126). As spatial design is a political instrument in the hands of state, spatial organization and form represent power.

Closely related with the actions of state and the political power, Lefebvre defines *dominated space* as the space which is transformed and mediated by technology and practice and views it as the closed, sterilized and emptied out space. Unlike the dominated space, *appropriated space* is produced through the modification of a natural space by a group in order to serve the needs and possibilities of that group. For example of dominated and appropriated space, Lefebvre suggests that outside spaces of a community are dominated spaces while indoor spaces where family life takes place are appropriated spaces (Lefebvre, 1991).

2.2.2.2. David Harvey: Capital Accumulation Process and the Built Environment

David Harvey, influenced from Lefebvre, views space as a spatial configuration which expresses the process of capital accumulation and as an important entity which plays a crucial role in the reproduction of labour-power and in the continuation and expansion of the process of capital accumulation. In relation with his view of space, he develops his theory of urbanization and urban processes through the analysis of historical development of capitalism and the investment dynamics of capital accumulation process within its three circuits (primary, secondary and tertiary). Harvey's one of the main arguments is that the contradictions inherent in

capitalism lead to the switching of investments from primary to secondary and tertiary circuits of capital accumulation and, thus, the creation of the built environment (Harvey, 1985, Saunders, 1981).

According to Harvey there are two main contradictions inherent in capitalism. The first one is the competition between individual capitalists that results in negative impacts upon their own individual and class interests. This means that through this competition and the tendencies of individual capitalist to invest in the primary circuit of capital, *overaccumulation crisis of capitalist system* arises; a problem that capitalist development periodically subject to and confronts with. The second contradiction is the creation of a class confronting to capital because of its exploitation of labour-power (Harvey, 1989 and 1985; Saunders, 1981).

The primary circuit of capital (named also as the industrial circuit) is the realization of surplus value created. Overaccumulation occurring in the primary circuit means that surpluses of both capital and labour-power exist unused. Since overaccumulation leads to devaluation and destruction of both capital and labor-power, a suitable way should be found to absorb them profitably. Harvey argues that this crisis can temporarily be solved within the capitalist system through switching the investments from primary circuit to secondary and tertiary circuits of capital (Harvey, 1985 and 1989; Saunders, 1981).

The switching of investments from primary circuit (industrial circuit) to secondary circuit (urban circuit) is crucial for the formation of the built environment, where capital finds a new area of productive investment, and for the analysis of urban processes. Besides, investments in secondary circuit depend on the extent of possibilities for productive investments in the primary circuit (Saunders, 1981). As a result, capital accumulation and the production of urbanization become parallel processes for Harvey.

The existence of a well functioning capital market and a state financing and guaranteeing long-term and large-scale projects are crucial aspects for the realization of flows from primary to secondary circuit. State control is an essential element in the development of capitalism since industrial capitalists seeking to be

located in new urban areas for new resource bases and socio-technical conditions require a context in which nation state's power secured political and institutional basis for private property. Thus, through the shift to a capitalist mode of production, state powers and the production of built environment have become servants of capital accumulation and its dominant logic (Harvey, 1989 and 1985).

To summarize, the production of the physical and social landscape of capitalism lies beneath the search for the solution of the overaccumulation problem through temporal and geographical displacement of surplus capital and labor. In other words, intercapitalist competition results in the production of rational physical and social landscapes for capital accumulation and in spatial competition in order to command favorable locations with geographical advantages at global, national, regional and local levels. This is because, at first, capitalism tries to reduce the cost and time of movement over space and tries to increase efficiency of coordination in space and time. For this, technological innovations are strictly required. As a result, process of urbanization becomes closely related with technological developments as well as capital accumulation. Secondly, in order to assure and facilitate its movement over space, capitalism builds physical infrastructures. Lastly, capitalism constructs territorial organizations for the continuation of its own dynamic and logic. This is primarily done through state powers for regulating money, law and politics. What emerges from these is the production of differences, conflicts, insecurity, instability and crisis that are inherent in capitalism (Harvey, 2001, 2000 and 1989).

2.2.3.The City Center

Although several definitions of the city center have been made, it can be said that there is also an agreement on some aspects and features of city center. It is mostly accepted that city centers, centrally located and being the most accessible area within the whole city, are places where a mix of commercial, financial, administrative, social and cultural activities are concentrated. In other words, concentration and mix of different activities that people engage in for several reasons and, in parallel, a mix of people and high levels of accessibility in terms of communication and transportation and decision making functions are crucial aspects in defining city centers.

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In terms of their economic functions, city centers are defined by the intensiveness of their commercial, especially retailing, financial and business functions. According to Cornier (1968 cited in Gökçe, 2000), city centers provide people a variety of goods, services and activities with different qualities and prices. More specifically, city centers are places of consumption of retail goods (Aksel, 2000). Retail and service activities are concentrated in the city center in the form of department stores, specialized shops and limits of service activities. Another characteristics of the city centers concerning the economic aspect is that they function as centers of finance and financial transactions of the city and sometimes of a larger territory (Güler, 1990).

Castells (1977) argues that commercial functions of the city centre decentralize as the city expands and as the mobility of people increases. In other words, as the urban centre lost some of its commercial activities, its role in administration and information increases. Decentralization of commercial activities is clearly observed through the development of shopping malls in suburban areas (Castells, 1977).

Concerning city centers' administrative functions, Kıray (1982 cited in Güler, 1990) a representative of Chicago School, defines city center as the brain of the city where important decisions which affect the life of the city or a larger territory are taken or cancelled. It is the place in which controlling power of the society is concentrated in the form of administrative units of industry, mass-communication, information and state offices. According to Castells (1977), the concentration of political and institutional units of state in the city center makes it a symbol of the the repressive and ideological aspects of the state, a place where the display of the strong points of the state apparatus (police stations, educational units, tax offices etc.) is clearly seen.

In terms of the concentration of social and cultural activities, city centers are places where urban social life concentrates (Pasiak, 1983 cited in Bitusikova, 1998), where social action and interaction takes place (Castells, 1977) and where activities of leisure, entertainment and culture concentrate. It is the place where urban inhabitants come and go for several reasons all through the day, which makes it as

the area with the highest daily population within the whole city (Steele, 2000). In short, city center is an essential multifunctional social space and a specific urban environment with high concentration of social institutions, social activities, social communication and social contact (Pasiak, 1983 cited in Bitusikova, 1998)

According to Bianchini (1990 cited in Aksel, 2000), city centers are essential parts of the public domain since they contain most important civic spaces and buildings, public buildings and open spaces and since they are places where public events, festivals, street markets and meetings take place. Bianchini's approach to city centers reminds Lefebvre's concept of social space which is the space of social communion with high levels of opportunity for social interaction and the space of everyday experiences. Castells (1977: 224) states that city center ".. is the centre as a ludic nucleus, a concentration of leisure activities and the spatial location of the 'city lights'."... and due to these functions, city centre expresses the social processes and their internal dynamics (Castells, 1977).

According to Castells (1977), urban centres have two crucial roles in urban system as "integrating" and "symbolic". City centers integrating role is due to the creation of a spirit of social unity through people's use of social spaces that are concentrated within it. The identification of the concentrated activities of exchange, distribution, administration and the spreading of information are realized both symbolically and in an ordered way which prepares the conditions of communication between different actors of urban community in city centres which are accessible for whole (Castells, 1977).

According to Steele (2000), an ideal city center should possess some important qualities as having a central location convenient for most people, having a mix of variety of visible activities providing people with different things that can be done alone or in groups, being a good source of information achieved through several means and being visually interesting and pleasant.

Besides these qualities, whether the city center is used well and fulfils its potentials is also related with a number of social factors. One of them is a generally understood agreement about the legitimacy of using the center. In other words, no

cost should be perceived associated with being in the city center. Furthermore, the city center should be perceived as a general resource available to be used by all (Steele, 2000).

Indicators of a vital and viable city center, according to Ravenscroft (2000), are the pedestrian flows, commercial yields, demand for shopping units, changes in the number and quality of major retailers, the relative use of space for different activities, security, vacancy rates for shop units, accessibility and car parking. Accessibility, basicly, means the convenience of access by a range of means of transport. It includes the frequency of public transport services, the quality of provision for pedestrians and cyclists and the quality and quantity of car parking. Diversity of uses refers to the balance of space uses between offices, housing, shopping, educational uses, cultural and entertainment facilities. Commercial yield is the reliance of entrepreneurs for long term investments in the city centre. Pedestrian flow calls for the number of people on the streets of city centre at different locations and at different times of the day and evening (Ravenscroft, 2000).

2.3. Contemporary Urban Structure

2.3.1. Socio-Economic and Political Restructuring at Global and National Level

What is clear and agreed upon is that beginning from early 1970s, a transformation and restructuring process of economic, social, political, cultural and spatial dynamics is realized throughout the whole world. Although, the capturing and evaluation of this new era differs widely depending upon the point of view, the starting point is the same: we are now witnessing "a new era" which is marked with *globalization*.

As for the economic transformation, a shift to a new kind of capital accumulation regime is pointed out by many commentators. This is the shift from a Fordist kind of capital accumulation to a post-Fordist type, in other words, to a much more flexible capital accumulation regime. The flexible character of the new regime is closely linked with the process of globalization, which Harvey (2000) defines as the geographical dispersal and fragmentation of production systems, divisions of labor, specializations of tasks and increasing centralization of corporate power transcending national boundaries with the crucial effect of the development of

information technologies. According to Harvey (2001 and 1989), Fordism is marked with mass assembly line, mass political organisation and welfare state interventions while the flexible accumulation refers to an amazing flexibility with respect to labor processes, labor markets, products and patterns of consumption.

According to Ritzer (1996), the transition from Fordism to post-Fordism brings about changes in the characteristics of production and consumption activities. One of them is the decreasing interest in mass-produced products whereas there have been an increasing interest in customized and specialized products with high style and quality. This growing demand for the specialized goods affects the production process to a great extent resulting in shorter production periods within smaller production units. Unlike the inflexible technologies of Fordism, post-Fordism requires flexible technologies that are more profitable (Ritzer, 1996).

In order to handle with the highly sophisticated and flexible technologies of the day, the profile of the workers that are needed has also considerably changed. In this new profile, workers with diverse skills and better educational backgrounds are required. Contrary to the homogeneous profile of the labor force in the Fordist period, there has been a differentiation and polarization within the work force due to the rise of a new group of workers in post-fordist period. This new group is mainly formed by professionals and managers who are employed in knowledge-intensive jobs with quite high wages. On the other side, with the effect of destruction of middle-level jobs in old manufacturing sector, low-paid and poorly-protected occupations are seen. The main outcome of this bipolarization within labor force is the increasing fragmentation and polarization of the social structure.

What is another essential result of the rise of this new social group is the increasing demand for differentiated and diverse commodities, life-styles and cultural activities. As Harvey (1989) argues this demand, in turn, affects the patterns of production and consumption. Due to the opportunities that flexible production enables, rather than standardized products, differentiated products and services for differentiated tastes and life-styles are introduced. In the sphere of consumption, both organization and places of consumption have been altered in order to serve changing consumer demand which is closely related to income, life-style, occupational and educational

status and other socio-cultural and demographical features (Ritzer, 1996; Sert, 1996).

In the political sphere, the most clearly observed trend of restructuring valid for almost all countries is the withdrawal of the nation state from interventionist policies that is accompanied with increasing levels of privatization (Harvey, 2001). Below quotation from Harvey (2000: 65) summarizes the contemporary role of state.

> State operations have been more strongly disciplined by money capital and finance than ever before. Structural adjustment and fiscal austerity have become the name of the game and the state has to some degree been reduced to the role of finding ways to promote a favorable business climate.

2.3.2. Socio-Economic and Spatial Restructuring at Local Level

The socio-economic and political restructuring at the global and the national level is also realized at local (urban) level. Many commentators claim that cities all over the world are now witnessing a process of transformation and rapid change concerning their forms, spatial organizations, social and cultural structures and urban policies. This shift is named as the shift from industrial to post-industrial city, from Keynesian to post-Keynesian city or from modern to post-modern city.

In this part, restructuring process will be discussed under four interrelated topics. The first two of them are the economic restructuring and socio-cultural and spatial restructuring of the cities. Then, the condition of city centres within contemporary urban structure will briefly be mentioned. The last topic deals with the changing local governmental policies and the role of local governments under contemporary socio-economic and political conditions.

2.3.2.1. Economic Restructuring of Cities: The Rise of "Entrepreneurial" City

Due to the increased mobility of finance capital, cities have been subject to job and capital losses and corporate disinvestments (Harvey, 1989). The gap that has occurred due to the universal decline of manufacturing industry and the rising mobility of capital, at least for two decades, has tried to be filled by new sources of

economic activity through consumption based initiatives such as the promotion of tourism, cultural and sporting events in cities (Ward, 1998).

The shift from traditional manufacturing or material things toward more abstract kinds of products like stocks and bonds, real estate and the experiences of cultural tourism is one of the main elements of economic restructuring in cities, especially the ones in developed countries. This means that cities are increasingly depend upon the production of symbolic capital as their economic bases (Zukin, 1995). It is argued by some that unlike modern cities characterized by industrial production, social administration and by the commercialisation of leisure, post-modern city is the site of consumption rather than that of production (Glennie, 1998).

Harvey (1989) identifies four possible ways for the adaptation of urban areas to the new economic, social and political conditions. One alternative is increasing the competitive positions of cities concerning the international division of labor. This means that urban areas can choose to compete for being profitable and preferable areas for investment due to the cheap labor power and infrastructure opportunities they offer. The other possibility for cities is the improvement of their competitive position with respect to spatial division of consumption. Contrary to the mass consumption of 1960s, 1970s and 1980s witnessed a shift to less mass-based but more discriminating consumption. For the adaptation to these increasingly discriminating conditions of consumption, cities can seek to gain economic growth and power by developing new consumption spaces such as convention centers, luxury hotels, exotic restaurants, art galleries, museums, theatres, concert halls and other cultural places, sport stadiums and etc. through the creation of coalitions between property-owners, developers and local governments (Harvey, 1989; Ward, 1998). By this way, cities have become centers for conspicuous consumption and cultural innovation. This adaptation strategy, which has great impacts upon the increasing polarization within cities, can also be viewed as the "public subsidy of consumption by the rich at the expense of local support of the social wage of the poor" (Harvey, 1989: 48).

Third way to follow is the competition for key control and command functions. In this way, cities can be centers of finance capital, of information gathering and control and governmental decision-making which requires public investment in rapid transportation means and communication systems (Harvey, 1989). To attract private company headquarters is also important since the existence of essential decision-makers is likely to create high level service activities which supports economic development of cities (Ward, 1998). At this path to follow, city images and city advertising campaigns have become crucial elements of the restructuring and regeneration process of cities in order to attract investors and visitors (Ward, 1998; Boyer, 1993). According to Mills (1993), today's cities have to appear as an innovative, exciting, creative and safe place to live, play and consume. As the fourth alternative Harvey (1989) states that cities can aim at to gain larger portions from government redistributions and this brings about new ruling-class alliances.

To sum up, what emerge from the economic restructuring of cities is the rise of "entrepreneurialism" as the main motive of urban action, contrary to the managerialist character of urban governance in the 1960s, and the increased "inter-urban competition" (Harvey, 1989). Due to the effects of the increasing mobility of capital and changes in the technological and social organization of production, cities and urban politics have gained importance as focuses of economic development strategies (Mayer, 1994). Another important point is that the organizational model of the reinvention process of the cities resting on entrepreneurialism requires the close co-operation between public and private sectors (Ward, 1998).

2.3.2.2. Socio-Cultural and Spatial Restructuring of Cities

Due to the economic problems and recession periods faced during 1970s and 1980s, demand-side urbanization, which characterizes the cities developed under state-managed Keynesian policies after the second World War, lost its power. This meant that urban processes entered a new phase after 1973 which Harvey (1989) calls supply-side urbanization. The characteristic of Keynesian city, which was shaped through the process of demand-side urbanization, was individualism, consumer sovereignty, life-style and status and social competition for command over space. As a result, living spaces of Keynesian city were produced in order to

present status, position and prestige. Spatial division of consumption rather than of production was pushed in the Keynesian city, i.e., Keynesian city shaped around consumption can be viewed as a post-industrial city with functions of service provision, information processing and command functions in government and finance (Harvey, 1989).

Low-density sprawl to suburbs, creation of distinctive spaces of consumption and significations of life-style and social status were landscapes produced by demand-side urbanization. Concerning urban politics, the creation of an alliance between government, corporate capital and financial interests and others interested in land development was apparent in Keynesian city (Harvey, 1989).

In Keynesian city, the investments made in the physical and social infrastructures for consumption did not always create favorable climates for capitalist production. It was due to the problem of overaccumulation created by capital flows into the creation of physical and social infrastructures. Thus, a need to rationalize the urban process and to make it more efficient and cost-effective emerged after 1970s for the sake of capitalist development (Harvey, 1989).

The transition from Keynesian to post-Keynesian city is a continuing process rather than a break with the dynamics and features of Keynesian-city. Post-Keynesian city should be viewed as the place where most of the features of Keynesian city maintains but more sharply and at an increasing intensity. In the post-Keynesian city, there has been a pressure to reorganize the interior space of the city under the conditions of flexible accumulation. Themes such as the quality of urban living which has been tried to develop through the creation of upscale places like consumption palaces, sophisticated entertainment places and residential enclaves for the affluent, a reemphasize in the vitality of the city centers and increased social control over both public and private spaces of cities are of great significance in the post-Keynesian city (Harvey, 1989). However, this strong emphasis of improving the quality of life applies only certain and limited areas of the city and the whole urban scene reflects the deepening gap between rich and poor, increasing racial and class tensions and gradually decreasing quality of life in low income neighborhoods (Cybriwsky, 1999).

With the rise of a global economy, where local activities are in fact performed on a global stage, cities have increasingly relied on their own initiatives and local governments have to adopt their policies in a way to present their cities as well as possible. As a result, together with the effects of the rising new middle class, beginning from 1980s, large public and private investments were made in urban real estate in the form of prestigious office buildings, new spaces of shopping, leisure and cultural activities and residence both in and near the city centers and out of city centres (Burgers, 2000). The random development and redevelopment of these consumption-oriented urban landscapes is one of the important consequences of the regime of flexible accumulation (Dear & Flusty, 1999).

A main feature of the post-Keynesian city, which many commentators stress on, is the increasing levels of class polarization. This is closely related with the rise of a new social class of professionals who tend to live a quite different urban life than most of the urban population in their separate places of residence, services, consumption and leisure (Castells, 1989). The creation of new distinctive spaces for the affluent and the urban poor brings about a shift towards ghettoization in spatial practices. The process of ghettoization has two sides as the isolation from the unlike and homogenization with the like. In other words, while divisions between different areas of the city get sharper, each area internalizes and becomes homogeneous within its boundary (Marcuse & van Kempen, 2000, Bayer, 1993).

The wealthy continues to move to suburbs that exclude the poor or encloses itself to gated communities which Harvey (2000) calls "privatopias" (Harvey, 2000). New patterns of social fragmentation, segregation and polarization are developing within cities that result in a widened income gap and a sharpened distinction between wealthy and poor (Soja, 1995). Thus, the spatial restructuring of cities bring about uneven development (Boyer, 1993) and the rise of a 'dual city' as Castells (1989) puts forward. As seen, although the division of urban spatial structure according to different social groups has been characteristic of the post-industrial city as Chicago School put forward, today this distinction has increased and became sharper and explicit.

Shopping malls and voluntary ghettoes of gated communities are two examples of the contemporary forms of urban spatial ordering developed through surveillance, enclosure, segregation and regulation. Like their 19th century counterparts, middle and upper classes in contemporary cities increasingly tend to live, shop and work in privately guarded fortified enclaves very distinct from the living environs of other social groups. Through the development of such defensible spaces for middle and upper classes such as gated communities and shopping malls, the heterogenous contacts of the city life diminish. Thus, social differences and inequalities become more explicit under conditions of considering proximity with people from different groups as dangerous (Mc Laughlin & Muncie, 1999).

Marcus and van Kempen (2000) state that although divisions according to class, culture and status have always existed in cities, today, differentiation between areas of the city has grown and the lines between areas have hardened. The result is that people are prevented from seeing, meeting and hearing each. To put it another way, a repolarized and refragmented pattern of social and spatial stratification is being experienced in contemporary cities which means that urban public spaces are moving away from being fixed points of collective reference, memory and identity (Soja, 2000).

Under the conditions of increased fragmentation and segregation, what is clear is the erosion of citizenship, social belonging and mutual support (Harvey, 2000). As for the new urban consumption spaces, Zukin (1998) claims that the common point of these places is the sociability they offer which depends upon visual coherence and security guards rather than tolerance or moral solidarity and a collective memory of collective culture.

2.3.2.3. City Centers within Contemporary Urban Structure

Rather than a single CBD, the development of a multi-nodal pattern with commercial centres and edge cities together with CBD is the most essential change concerning the city center structure of contemporary cities (Cybriwsky, 1999).

Besides, gentrification of inner-city residential neighbourhoods with spaces of financial activities and commercial activities including shopping, leisure and cultural facilities is another important process realized in city centers (Ravenscroft, 2000).

This redevelopment process realized in inner city areas through the development of upscale spaces of shopping, leisure and entertainment is related with the economic restructuring of cities in order to attract investments and visitors and also includes the residential developments for affluent groups with impressive architectural styles (Mills, 1993). According to Harvey (1987 cited in Mills, 1993) this inner city residential developments for affluent groups is the "cultural clothing" of flexible accumulation.

These redevelopments in city centers are also taking place under city center revitalization projects, especially in the cities of developed countries. Retail decentralization, together with the decentralization of office and leisure activities that led to a loss of residential population in inner cities are the main causes laying beneath the decline of city centers. Retail decentralization, which has a negative impact on the traditional town centers, is mainly related with the redistribution of population to suburban locations and the growth in car ownership (Thomas & Bromley, 2000). As many commentators put forward, the city centers of many cities of developed countries have become unlivable, unsafe, fearful and abandoned places (especially in the night time) which urban inhabitants avoid to use. City center decline is tried to be overcame through city center regeneration projects and the mostly used mechanism in these projects is the public-private sector partnerships. City center revitalization strategies involve 24-hour city concept for developing vital and viable city centers. In order to revive evening and night time economy, a broad range of leisure and cultural activities have been developed for a wider spectrum (Thomas & Bromley, 2000).

2.3.2.4. Local Governments within Contemporary Urban Structure

The rise of the entrepreneural city resulted in the expansion of the sphere of local political action in order to include the private and semi-private actors. It has brought about the redefinition of the role of local authorities since new forms of public-private

partnerships and bargaining systems have emerged (Mayer, 1994). Ward (1998) defines local governments' role in this cooperation model as the offering of promotional planning regimes, site preparation, the provision of adequate infrastructure systems for the areas that will be developed and tax abatements. According to Harvey (2000), in the mechanism of private-public partnership public takes the risks, private sector takes the profits and urban inhabitants wait for benefits that never materialize. What is seen is a negotiation between local governments, as public institutions, who are responsible for serving to local public and the private firms and cooperations who are in the first place interested in the realization of profitable investments.

The increased use of public-private partnership mechanism is due to the search for finding effective ways of economic development by local governments. Since this search for economic development is done under the conditions of high levels of competition among cities, local governments are forced to be more initiative and more innovative and to take some kinds of measures like decreasing the levels of public investments or to readjust the wages of their employees (Harvey, 1989). In other words, social policies have become subordinated to economic and labor market policies (Mayer, 1994; Harvey, 1989).

The negotiation between private capital and local governments results in a neglect of the collective consumption of the working class and the urban impoverished while affluent customers, corporations and powerful command functions are subsidized for to stay in cities. This, in turn, raises new tensions between different social classes and increases polarization (Harvey, 1989).

The influence of international institutions like World Bank and IMF upon urban politics, particularly those in developing countries, since 1970s is an important point to mention within the context of urban policy changes through restructuring process. The policies introduced by these institutions through loan agreements considerably affect the urban policies of debtor countries. For example, World Bank, which began its urban policy formulation in the early 1970s, focused on using private-sector finance to fund urban investments during 1980s. With a general evaluation, the programmes and policies of World Bank and other international institutions have greatly contributed to the introduction of concepts like efficiency and competition and

the involvement of public-private partnerships in urban policies of developing countries (Pryke, 1999).

2.4. Public Space

In the literature, there are various definitions of the term 'public space'. Some of these definitions are based on what is taking place on public spaces and how they are in a descriptive manner while some others is directed to claim how they should be. Definitions of public space are closely related with the meaning of its 'public' component and public spaces relation with the public realm, the domain of social life.

What is clear is the close relation between defining public space and its "public" component. Depending upon how the term "public" is approached, differentiated definitions of public space appear and diverse features are put forward. As definitions of public space differ, so do the meaning, role and form of public spaces due to different socio-cultural structures of societies. Although there is not one, exact definition of public space, quite a many definitions stress on its high levels of accessibility and sociability it offers through the opportunities for social contact and social interaction between heterogeneous individuals and social groups.

2.4.1. Definitions and Characteristics of Public Space

Public spaces are not homogeneous entities since they differ depending on their social, cultural, economic and symbolic functions and on the meanings given them by different public. Since the form and meaning of public space is constructed socially as well as physically, there is not a fixed meaning and form of public space, i.e., they change due to changing dynamics of society (Crane & Dee, 2001; Burgers, 2000; Lees, 1998).

Throughout history, although there are differences across societies, it can be said that in all societies public spaces enable some basic activities such as exchanging information, demanding personal and political rights, and carrying out social conduct; i.e., the formation and continuation of social groups (Carr et al., 1992).

The word public was derived from the Latin word *populus*, which means belonging to or characteristic of the people. As a noun it refers to people and as an adjective it refers to the authorities. Following public's meaning related with authorities public space can be defined as the space which is created and maintained by public authority and, related with this pattern of ownership, accessible to all citizens for their use and enjoyment (Jackson, 1987c). On the other side, some argue that a space can be regarded as a public space as long as it is used by people in order to meet the shared needs; in other words as long as a collective life is experienced upon it. Therefore, following this approach, semi-public spaces like shopping malls; stadiums, marketplaces, restaurants, theatres, cinemas etc. are included into the concept of public space (Lees, 1994).

According to Carr et al. (1992), a true public space should be responsive, democratic and meaningful. Responsiveness of a public space requires that it should serve the needs of its users such as comfort, relaxation, active and passive engagement and discovery. Democratic public space, which should be accessible to all groups, is the one protecting the rights of its users. It should be a place where people act more freely and where power and control is limited only by the rights of the others (Carr et al., 1992).

The main motives behind the creation and improvement of public spaces are public welfare, visual and environmental enhancement and economic development. Public welfare and visual enhancement have always been motives for creating public spaces. The environmental enhancement is important since public spaces with greenery and trees serve both aesthetic and psychological considerations. In some cases they also serve for the preservation of natural landscapes. From the economic development perspective, public spaces can be regarded as places that support the development of retail businesses and other commercial developments (Carr et al., 1992).

Carr et al. (1992), determines five essential components of control over use in public spaces as access, freedom of action, claim, change and ownership and disposition. The degree of these five elements shapes the rights of people using public spaces and the publicity of the place according to them.

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There are three kinds of *access* as physical, visual and symbolic. For a physically well accessible space, barriers such as gates, or gatekeepers, fences, walls, bushes, stairs etc. should not exist and the space should be well connected to the paths of circulation. Visual access or visibility is essential for people to feel free to enter a space or to check out the potential threats that a space contains. The third kind of access, which is symbolic, includes the clues, obtained through people or design elements, suggesting who is welcomed and who is not in the space. In other words visual access is related with the image of the space in the eyes of intended users (Carr et al., 1992).

Freedom of action in public spaces means carrying out the desired activities with the recognition that it is a shared space. This kind of freedom can also be called responsible freedom that enables personal and social satisfaction without disturbing others' rights. However, this is quite difficult to achieve since in a heterogeneous society, interests and freedoms of different groups can be highly conflicting. The publicly used but privately developed spaces are good examples since private developers in the first place seek for their own commercial interests and pay little attention for the needs and rights of public. Demonstrations and speech making in a public area can also be viewed from the perspective of conflicting interests. With a general evaluation, it can be said that women, elderly and disabled are three special groups whose freedom of action are restricted in public spaces (Carr et al., 1992).

Claims to a space are related with the spatial control of that space by an individual or a group and it is seen necessary for the achievement of the goals. *Change and evolution* occurring in various ways including public action, is an important quality of good public spaces. In terms of *ownership and disposition* of public spaces, it is suggested that: "…the right of disposition represents a form of ultimate control, encompassing and transcending the rights inherent in access, action, claim and change." (Carr et al., 1992:177).

In terms of surveillance of public spaces, two main elements are mentioned. They are the police force and social control. Some like Jane Jacobs emphasis on the importance of social control relying on mutual support and trust between people and obtained through visibility. Rather than the gaze and control of authorities,

advocates of surveillance through social control claim that citizens should be active agents. Jacobs (1961) claims that public peace in public spaces can be provided and maintained through a network of voluntary and mutual control. For the creation of safe urban streets "eyes on street" should always be at work according to her.

Regarding both elements of surveillance, some point out the class issue and argue that working-class was always subjected to a more strict control. Today, one crucial and mostly debated element is added to the surveillance of urban public spaces. It is the high-tech security camera operating through a closed-circuit TV system. They, now, exist not only in privately owned but publicly used enclosed spaces like shopping malls but also for the surveillance of open spaces like busy streets (Dijkstra, 2000; Croll, 1999).

2.4.1.1. Public Space in Terms of Public-Private Dichotomy

Due to the balance between public and private activities, which presents the values of societies to some extent, each culture places different emphasis on public life and due to this differentiated emphasis on public life; there appear different kinds of public spaces among societies. Since the balance between public and private activities is a shifting one, the value that is put on public space also evolves and changes throughout history and is determined through physical, social, political and economic factors (Slessor, 2001; Carr et al., 1992).

Private space is often described as the domestic space of home where social reproduction takes place away from the direct control of outside forces like state and those within the domestic space can deny or restrict other public authorities access's. Then, regarding public space as the opposite of the private space it becomes space "out there" which belongs to the whole community (Drummond, 2000). This conceptualization of public space gives it the characteristic of being subject to relatively more control.

Scruton (1987) defines public sphere as a broad and mostly unplanned sphere in which no one is the master and in which everyone keeps a degree of cooperation with strangers for their existence. By entering public sphere, individuals exchange

the security, inevitability and some obligations of family life for the uncertainty and fluidity of civil society. In the private sphere, people are constrained by domestic circumstances although they have their own mastery. However, in public sphere people can act more freely away from the demands of the intimate relations (Scruton, 1987). In this sense, public space is the place where the action is and this action always includes chance and the possibility that something unexpected and unusual might happen (Goffman, 1967 cited in Lehtonen and Maenpaa, 1997). Besides, contrary to the first conceptualization, public space becomes a more freeing site although it is mastered by all rather than by some.

2.4.1.2. Public Space in Terms of its Relationship with the Public Sphere

According to Slessor (2001), the existence of public life is a pre-requisite to the development of public space. Besides, public spaces are often symbols of the society and the culture in which they are produced. In other words, each society's 'moral order' is reflected in its particular spatial order (Mills, 1993; Carr et al., 1992). In this sense, there is a close relationship between the characteristics of public spaces and that of public sphere, which differs depending upon the social structures of societies.

Habermas defines (1989 quoted in Defilippis, 1997) public sphere as the "sphere which mediates between society and the state, and where the public organizes itself as the bearer of public opinion". According to Habermas (1989 cited in Defilippis, 1997), public sphere, that is in fact the bourgeois public sphere, is a class and gender exclusive sphere. In other words, the public that will constitute public sphere is determined through a process in which exclusion in terms of class and gender is realized. The formation dynamics and characteristics of public sphere is also expressed in public spaces. Thus, the production of public space is both related with the determination of 'public' and an outcome of this process. Then, public spaces can be defined as spaces that those constituting public sphere have access to (Defilippis, 1997).

Although almost all references to "public" assumes a collective whole, in reality public is fragmented into different groups according to many criteria among which

class, gender and race are more frequent. Lower classes, women, ethnic minorities are generally represented limitedly in public sphere and in turn this is also reflected in their use of public space (Boyer, 1993).

In this sense, rather than being totally inclusionary urban space, public space becomes the place where highest opportunity for inclusion of many groups and heterogeneous contact exist while varying degrees of exclusion is seen depending upon ownership, physical and symbolic accessibility, activities offered etc.

Concerning the relationship between public space and public sphere, Mattson (1999) argues that public spaces have essential roles in the formation of democratic citizenship and help learning to deal with different others. In a same manner, Dijkstra (2000) states that it is the everyday practices that makes a place public and stresses on the vital role of public spaces in the creation of democracy and a more tolerant society through offering binding experiences for different groups.

2.4.1.3. Public Space as the Place Accessible to and Used by All

According to Lofland (1973), public space is the place to which all people inhabiting the city has the legal access. Then, public space becomes the space into which one may enter and depart without any permission of others. In this sense, the boundaries of public sphere are more permeable, fluid and open to public use when compared with private space (Seruton, 1987).

According to Dijkstra (2000), public spaces have unique characteristics of belonging to everyone and in these places power is much more dispersed when compared with the home and the workplace. Claiming that public space can be viewed as the spatial aspect of the public realm and following Arendt's criteria for public realm-accessible by all, used by all and exceeding one generation-, Dijkstra (2000) analyses public spaces and tries to put forward the criteria for true public spaces.

Concerning the criterion of accessibility by all, a true public space is the space where social segregation in it is kept at minimum by assuring its use by a variety of different users from different groups of the population. There are some factors

affecting a public space's use by different users. One of them is the draw factor which implies the attractiveness of a public space depending upon the time planned to spend in that space and the types of activities taking place in there. Another one is the cost of accessibility in terms of time and money depending upon the mode of transportation and physical proximity. Besides a mix of residential areas, shops, stores and jobs can help a mix in public spaces (Dijkstra, 2000).

2.4.1.4. Public Space as the Center of Social Life

Smithsimon (1999) defines public space as the place in which a wide range of people can interact with other people they do not necessarily know, and in which they can engage in a range of public and private activities. This conception also incorporates privately owned spaces like shopping malls and plazas built around retail space besides publicly owned spaces like public parks and streets.

Public spaces as the centers of social life provide people with the possibility to learn about and identify the society they live in through their everyday uses. Through the coexistence and interaction of different people in public spaces, tolerance, self-representation and self- preservation is learned (Smithsimon, 2000).

Public space is the space in which communal life takes place; it is a source of social exchange and a place for demanding personal and political rights (Carr et al., 1992; Slessor, 2001). It provides channels for movement, needs of communication, play and relaxation. Public spaces serve human needs through various ways from passive engagement to active engagement with others (Carr et al., 1992). Sennett (1990) also views public space as the place used by different social groups. He claims that public space should be the place which enables people to be aware of economic, racial and ethnic realities through mixing these realities together. In a similar way, Lofland (1973) defines city as a place where people find themselves to be strangers in the midst of strangers and regard cities' public spaces as places of the locus of the world of strangers.

In a public setting, every individual has the possibility to wander around in his/her aloneness under the conditions of mutual respect for privacy. At the other side, there

is the feeling of insecurity and alienation. In other words, urban public space is a social world of individuals who share the seen reality but having differentiated personal inner worlds (Lehtonen and Maenpaa, 1997).

Although there is interaction between individuals within public space, it can also be used for private purposes. A public space is used for a public purpose when the interaction between people gives rise to shared interests of all as in the uses of public spaces for demonstrations and protests (Tan, 2002).

2.4.1.5. Public Space as the Site of Power and Domination

According to Low (2000 quoted in Mudano, 2002), urban space "is ordered by and reflects the power structures to which the community is subordinated…" besides being an arena of resistance and struggle. Then, public space becomes the space in which power relations and political and cultural ideologies are symbolically encoded. When a public space of the city is used by "undesirables" or the use intention challenges the projects of dominant groups of the society, various kinds of surveillance, regulation and restrictive strategies, like the determination of the type of activities that are allowed, are introduced (Low, 2000 cited in Mudano, 2002).

The existing power differentials between and among different groups, including both state and non-state actors, acting upon public spaces brings about the possibility of domination of one group and the exclusion of others concerning the use of public spaces. This domination can be altered over time and space through the changes in economic, social and cultural variables (Rappa, 2002).

The Western ideal of public space defines it as the space within which political movements can organize and expand into wider arenas and where the marginalised can challenge the status quo or dominant order and where "oppositional social movements" can form and operate. However in practice it is more often a controlled environment where a properly behaved public might experience the spectacle of the city (Mitchell, 1995; Drummond, 2000; Putnam, 1996).

Public spaces can also be spaces where authoritarian power and control are exerted upon through their spatial forms. The axes, allees, triumphal arches, colonnades, rigidly symmetrical planting and carefully controlled vistas are examples of this kind of control (Slessor, 2001).

2.4.2. Historical Development of Public Spaces

The history of public spaces begins with Greek agora and continues with Roman forum. Greek's agora, usually located in the center of the polis and the focal point of the town, both functioned as a market place and the gathering place for political assembly. In other words, it had both an economic and political importance (Mattson, 1999; Zucker, 1959). It also served as meeting place of citizens for daily communication and formal and informal assembly (Mumford, 1961, cited in Carr et al., 1992).

Open-air gymnasia and theatres were other and later developed public spaces of the Greek civilization (Carr et al., 1992). The Greek society had a double character consisting of civilized citizens and secondary citizens including immigrants, slaves, women and barbaric outsiders with very limited rights. Thus, it can be said that public spaces of the ancient Greek were places only for citizens and from which secondary citizens were excluded (Dijkstra, 2000).

In the period of Roman Empire, the functions of Greek acropolis and agora were brought together in "forum", which was the main place for public life. The forum contained enclosed, semi-enclosed and open spaces for commerce, religious activities, political assembly, athletics and informal meetings (Mumford, 1961 cited in Carr et al., 1992). Like the Greek agora, forum was a public space dominated by citizens and even merchants and craftsmen from other cities were excluded from these places (Jackson, 1987a).

In the Middle Ages and Renaissance, *plazas* or *public squares* were places serving for both political and economic functions like agoras and forums. In these places, which contain important buildings such as cathedral and the town hall, people gathered, public celebrations and plays took place and state proceedings were

carried out (Sitte, 1987). Plazas represent,ng the local social order were places where ethnic, religious and political identities were revealed (Jackson, 1987b).

Marketplace, which remarkably grew beginning from 11th century, was one of the crucial public spaces of the medieval times. It was generally located in the centre of the town, in front of the cathedral or the castle and also usually at the intersection of two main streets. With its central location, marketplace was the place where work activities (workshop, storage facilities) and related business places such as inns, taverns took place, where inhabitants of the city frequently came together and to where visitors from outside the town were attracted (Jackson, 1987a; Mumford, 1987).

In medieval cities a great part of the business life was also taking place in the narrow, open streets of the city. The streets were usually edged on each side with an arcade that provided better shelters from severe weather conditions. One of the important features of medieval streets was their dominant function as communication lines for pedestrians. Street was the work place, the place of buying and selling, meeting and negotiating and the place where religious and civic ceremonies were held (Jackson, 1987a; Mumford, 1987).

The streets, marketplaces and also cathedrals were public places, where upper and lower classes mix together, of the medieval cities. However, the straight, wide avenues emerged in 16th century changed this characteristic of the medieval public places. People from different classes began to be separated from each other in those public spaces due to the development of vehicled carriages. It became like the rich in the carriages and the poor on the sidewalks (Carr et al., 1992).

Lofland (1973) describes medieval city as characterized by mixed public use and overt heterogeneity of population and claims that it was dominated by appearential ordering. Public spaces of the medieval city were non- specialised and people from all classes, occupations and age existed in these spaces. This non-specialization of public space was partly due to the mix use of space for both work and home. Since public spaces were places where different social groups spatially integrate, the differentiation of class or status was provided through the essential tool of costuming

whose rules were determined through law and tradition. In short, spaces of pre-industrial city were chaotic whereas appearances were ordered (Lofland, 1973).

Through the separation of home and workplace, the nature of the family life had changed and domesticity began to grow in 17th century. According to Mumford (1961 cited in Carr et al., 1992) until this development beginning in 17th century, privacy was only possible for upper classes, i.e., privacy was a luxury. However, after this time, privacy began to move among lower classes and it has come to be protected by constitutional law and public policy. However, elites continued to have more privacy as it can be seen in the emergence of pleasure grounds developed for affluent groups by private enterprises in the late 1600's (Carr et al., 1992).

The word "public" took on its modern meaning, the social life outside the realm of family and close friends and the realm of strangers and acquaintances, in 18th century and this was also reflected to urban public spaces (Sennett, 1987). It was the Industrial Revolution that had great impact on the life in cities and cities' spaces due to the changing conditions of work, the boom in urban population and the strict separation of home and workplace.

As the cities have become inhabited by a large number of diverse social groups, conditions of behaviour also changed and networks of sociability different from the previous periods were developed. Places where strangers could regularly meet had grown up like *urban parks*, *coffee houses*, *cafes*, *theatres*, *opera houses*, *assembly rooms* and *court halls* and experiences in these public spaces were viewed as essential ways of civilizing. For example, unlike the pleasure grounds of late 1600's, landscaped parks of the second half of 1800's was designed and developed in central locations of cities as civilizing places in an increasingly dense and chaotic urban society. These parks, which were open to all, were viewed as socializing places for the working class and the poor through witnessing and adopting the values of affluent groups. Besides, they were viewed as places for relieving overcrowding and misery in working class and industrial districts. In other words, it can be said that urban amenities, which were once serving to privileged groups, became open to a wider public (Sennett, 1987 and 1990; Carr et al., 1992; Cybriwsky, 1999).

The ideal of social integration goes hand in hand with the desire for the segregation of different classes from each other in the increasingly growing industrial towns. Because the close contact of classes in growing public spaces and especially on the streets were perceived as a 'disorder' (Wilson, 1991). Besides, with the mass production of clothing, brought by Industrial Revolution, diverse segments of the urban population began to take on a similar appearance which in turn brought about a confusion about the tools of public appearance. Under these conditions in which social differences were hidden, strange others began to be perceived as much more threatening. It was the private sphere of family where one can be away from the increasing disorders and ambiguity of public settings. It was also during 19th century that family life having a higher moral value than the public realm gained quite much emphasis (Sennett, 1987; Lofland, 1977).

In the modern industrial city of the 19th century, classes became more segregated and regulation of the mass society increased. The chaotic and immoral public domain meant also different things to women and men. Women of the rising class of bourgeoisie was limited to some respectable spaces such as parks and the opera houses whereas coffee houses, which were important public spaces for meeting and exchanging information, were dominated by men. Besides, by being in the public, women were viewed as risking their virtue and "dirtying" themselves while for men it was a kind of freedom which they felt away from the repressive features of respectability (Wilson, 1991; Sennett, 1987).

Besides the growth of new public spaces for leisure and public entertainment in 18th century, 19th century was marked with the emergence of new consumption places serving also as important public spaces like the *shopping arcade*, *shopping street*, *bazaar* and *department store* (Rendell, 1998). According to Sennett (1990), women, especially the middle-class women, who were driven from the public sphere during the early years of the Industrial Revolution began to reappear in these public spaces.

The shopping arcades were linear, multi-storey, weather protected spaces with glazed-roofs and were exclusively pedestrian. They were built between the building-blocks and connected existing busy streets and used also as short-cuts (Sanders,

1985; Gruen, 1973). According to Rendell (1998: 96), the shopping arcade was "a privately owned street of commodity consumption" mainly built in wealthy areas of the big cities. It provided a kind of street environment, a semi-public environment for middle and upper classes where mixing with lower classes was prevented. Luxury shopping was established between upper class women as a fulfilment of social status and identity (Nava, 1997). In these spaces of luxury consumption, a strict control was exerted upon public behaviour through government legislation, which gave a new importance to the privacy of upper and middle-class families since there was the rising fear of working-class contamination of the public realm (Rendell, 1998; Nava, 1997).

Unlike the shopping arcade, department store, as "the image of the consumerist and mechanised society" (Wilson, 1991: 58), provided mass-produced and cheaper goods for a wider range of consumers in a safe and pleasant environment (Nava, 1997). However, like the shopping arcade, department store contained shops for mostly the use of middle and upper classes and despite this feature it created a public space atmosphere by providing cultural facilities and entertainment activities. Department stores also played essential roles in socialization and in the mixing of all classes through their features of free-entry without being obliged to make purchases unlike the specialized small shops of the period. The department store introduced shopping as a pleasurable activity with their attractive and relaxing interior environments and facilities and opened a new way for women to experience their independence in public sphere, but, as customers. Since streets of the city were seen as dangerous for especially middle-class women, that it was the sphere of consumption and in the space of department store in which women felt most freedom (Nava, 1997; Corrigan, 1997; Wilson, 1991; Fredrikson, 1997).

Other important public spaces of the late 19th century and the first decades of the 20th century were restaurants, cafes, theatres, cinemas, zoological gardens which offered different experiences of excitement, pleasure, entertainment, recreation, dining and consuming. However, they were not public in fact due to being privately owned although visitors feel free and unguarded. These places help the creation of divided cultural identities for urban population having different cultural and class backgrounds (Fredriksson, 1997).

2.4.3. Characteristics of contemporary public spaces

Due to the impacts of changes taking place since 1970s due to the globalization, the production of public spaces, their forms, usages, characteristics and definitions are also changing. The restricted social welfare policies, a general decrease in state power and the rise of private-public partnership are some of the essential political implications of the globalization process. These factors together with the increasing use of technology in the design of several spaces have great impacts on the form, usage and control of public spaces. The blurring boundary between public and private, especially in the economic sphere, have led to the popular use of semi-public spaces such as shopping malls as public spaces which are well-maintained, attractive and secure for most (Smithsimon & Bindner, 1999; Sanders, 1985).

The activities that were once taking place in public spaces that were publicly owned, like streets and squares now, are shifting towards to take place in *quasi-public spaces* that are privately owned but publicly used. Through offering semi-public activities in legally private spaces like shopping malls, i.e., *privatization of public spaces*, the amount and openness of space for public activities is eroded. Quasi-public spaces offering limited range of activities, now, dominate public spaces that are owned and managed by public sector and are given much more importance in terms of use, design and number (Smithsimon & Bindner, 1999; Sanders, 1985).

When looked at the development of new public spaces, Cybriwsky (1999) identifies three main trends as the privatization of public spaces, increasing surveillance of public spaces and the control of access to them and the increasing use of design themes which leads to a break of connections with local history and geography. The increasing participation of private interest in the creation of public spaces through mixed-use and multi-use developments including shopping centres has resulted in the private control of public spaces. These mixed-use and multi-use developments are awarded by zoning incentives including additional height and density allowances for the creation of attractive public places for shoppers in order to increase business (Cybriwsky, 1999).

It is now more difficult to define public space in terms of who owns and maintains it, who has access to it and not. Today, private developers control the production of city's spaces and it results in the development of privatized public spaces like shopping malls, in which rights of private property (maximization of profit) are guaranteed at the expense of the rights of public (Krupa, 1993). According to Slessor (2001), strategic interventions of capital transformed the city into a privatized realm which means the reconstitution of landscapes for a fewer percentage of the urban population rather than the many. Besides, the commodification of public space also serves depoliticization since pseudo-public spaces, like shopping centers grown as alternatives to existing public spaces, serve corporate interests rather than democratic interests (Drummond, 2000).

The transformation of public spaces is partly due to the decline of public sphere and civic interaction. Today, many people perceive strangers as sources of threat and do not much enjoy being in the world of strangers of the cosmopolitan city and see public life as a formal obligation. This can be seen in the development of gated communities that are to a great extent isolated from the rest of the city and the increasing use of safe and secure shopping malls as gathering places (Sennett, 1987; Mattson, 1999).

The increased heterogeneity and polarization of the urban social structure both raises the fear of others and tensions associated with the use of urban public spaces. These negative outcomes have tried to be overcame through the "domestication of 'uncontrolled' public spaces" by public environments offered by rapidly growing shopping centers. Zukin (1995) calls this development as the 'aestheticization of feared diversity'. This way of dealing with fear and tensions stemming from diversity is with its problems. (Zukin, 1995; Amin&Stephen, 1999).

Although the growth of public life in highly controlled environments reduces the risks of unplanned social encounters, it has costs in terms of social exclusion, increased inequality and raises questions about democratic access and public accountability.

Besides, the common understanding of public space as a shared space has eroded and as the sense of communal cohesion erodes, people are drawn more into their personal lives contributing to the rise of the intimate society (Zukin, 1995; Jackson, 1998; Amin&Stephen, 1999; Slessor, 2001).

Although it is commonly argued that surveillance of public spaces has considerably increased and they became more exclusionary in the last few decades, it is also true that city streets and urban public spaces were never equally open to all citizens. When looked at the characteristics of urban public spaces of the previous centuries, it is seen that there always exist a some degree of exclusion in terms of class, gender, ethnicity and etc. It can be said that exclusion according to class, gender and race that is inherent in public spaces has now become more explicit by the use of high technology surveillance systems and has increased since spaces that are now publicly used are the spaces that are privately owned and managed.

2.5. Shopping and Shopping Centers

2.5.1. The Concept of Shopping and Consumption

Shopping that is an everyday activity is both related with commodity exchange and social exchange. It is not merely a commercial activity but also has a social aspect. Since it is a social activity besides being an economic one; it is about place and identity. This means, "particular parameters of identity such as the family, class, ethnicity and gender are reconstituted by shopping sites through the addition of particular distinctions which emerge from the experience of these spaces" (Miller et al., 1998: 19). In this sense, it is identified as a realm of social action, interaction and experience which structures everyday practices of urban population, or in other words as an essential realm of public behaviour (Falk and Campbell, 1997). Uçkan (1999 cited in Aksel, 2000) claims that shopping as the very old and basic form of communication has created its own public sphere since its emergence.

Shopping, as a recent research topic, is regarded as a cultural phenomenon in contemporary postmodern society. According to Miles & Paddison (1998), as consumers we reproduce both our existence and culturally specific ways of life.

Thus, consumption acts as a bridge between people and their experiences of the urban environment.

It is also claimed by some commentators that consumption represents the shift of society from production to consumption (Falk and Campbell, 1997). In this sense, shopping is conceptualized through its relation with commodification by theorists like Baudrillard and Bauman (Miller et al., 1998). Another conceptualization deals with the relation of shopping with commercial capitalism through accepting capitalism having diverse forms rather than an all-consuming capitalism. This conceptualization of shopping mentions about new retail geographies containing shopping malls, department stores, supermarkets, corner shops and so on where different kinds of shopping experiences are realized. In this regard, it is argued that different shopping sites provide different sources of experience outside commodification (Falk and Campbell, 1997; Miller et al., 1998).

Shopping and consumption provide individual experiences and the ground for individual fulfilment besides offering social experiences. However, as Miles (1998) claims it has an ideological role in controlling the character of everyday life. Therefore, it can be said that consumption is both enabling and constraining from psychological and social aspects. Falk & Campbell (1997) makes a distinction between shopping for and shopping around. Shopping for represent a certain degree of obligation or routine. However, shopping around is an open-ended activity which includes recreational purposes and an autonomous realm of experience and action. Shopping around can include the elements of shopping for but it leaves open space for recreational activities (Bowlby, 1997; Falk & Campbell, 1997).
 Shopping is different from buying since buying is the fulfilment of a predetermined aim while shopping contains a degree of aimlessness. It requires a certain and larger amount of time and money. In this sense, shopping is a life pattern in which people have their leisure time in their hands (Gruen, 1973).

Lehtonen and Maenpaa (1997) regard shopping as an activity that is done for its own sake; it is done for pleasure. Lehtonen and Maenpaa (1997: 143) define pleasurable shopping as: "consumption-oriented movement in a space where one

has the possibility of making purchases". In short, shopping as a leisure acitivity enables people to spend time together and that enables shared creation of taste and style which affects the process of social identification and provides means for the creation and maintenance of social relations (Lehtonen and Maenpaa, 1997: 151). After the 2nd World War, the access to consumption by working class greatly increased through a rise in their purchasing power and this gave way to the emergence of a mass market and the consumerist society. In 1950s, the accessibility to consumer goods began to transcend social classes and the status implying qualities of consumption had become quite clear. The introduction of credit card was an important development for this change. Contemporary consumption is more diversified since the market is segmented to serve the interests of the consumers. Consumption is now determined by the customers, not by the producers (Miles & Paddison, 1998).

According to Saunders (1981 cited in Miles & Paddison, 1998), in today's social life class is not the fundamental determinant of the life experience, rather, it is the access to consumption, which distinguishes one social group from the other. What emerges for the cities is that they also increasingly subject to the demands and tastes of the consumer. The last point about shopping is that today shopping experience is an essential tool for overcoming alienation and for forming identity for many people who lack the intensity of public culture (Miles&Padison, 1998; Zukin, 1995).

2.5.2. The Development and the Characteristics of Shopping Centers

The development of out-of-town shopping centers or malls are due to economic, political and social forces among which the post-war consumer affluence, the rise in car ownership, the growth of female labour force and the moving of middle-class out of cities (the process of suburbanization) are especially influential (Jackson, 1998). But, today, shopping centers all over the world are not only growing outside cities close to middle and upper class residences, also at locations not far away from the city centers like their precursors like the department store of mid 1900s. Privately owned and managed shopping malls are fully enclosed, totally pedestrianized and

controlled environments with adequate parking facilities and multi functions. Separated from the rest of the world, they provide a comfortable, peaceful and secure shopping and leisure environment away from the effects of weather conditions and from the fears and risks of city streets and other deteriorated public spaces of the city. Their artificially lit interior spaces are good-looking, well-maintained and always clean.

The emergence of shopping centers was seen in the form of arcades and department stores in city centers in 19th century. During the first half of the 20th century, department stores in city centers and in-town shopping centers including more various activities compared with the department stores were commonplace in US and European cities. The emergence of out-of-town centers was firstly realized in US cities and the widespread development of shopping centres in US was realized in 1950s due to the construction of highways and the explosion of suburban developments. The original fully enclosed shopping center, inspired from Milan's Galleria was introduced by Victor Gruen and it was opened in Minnesota in 1956 although the first planned outdoor shopping center in US was built in 1916. After the development of the first fully enclosed shopping center in USA, shopping centers developed rapidly within a period of fifteen years. The main reasons behind this rapid development are the cheap land prices at the peripheries of American cities and relatively weak land-use controls and zoning regulations (Ritzer, 1996; Jackson, 1996).

A similar trend was seen in European cities following US experience but nearly a decade later. As McIntosh states (1997), the development of in-town shopping centers was during 1960s in Britain and by 1970s they began to move outside the city. When compared to that of USA, planning regulations in Britain, Germany and France are stricter and this is one of the causes behind the later development of shopping centers in European countries (Jackson, 1996). Especially beginning from 1980s shopping centers have developed rapidly as the dominant form of retail activity, whether out-of-town or in-town, all over the world closely related with the increasing flexibility of international capital within the globalization process.

Balsas (2001) claims that the effect of globalization upon retailing is the emergence of 'retail globalization' and relatedly the homogenization of shopping and leisure behaviours. As a result, similar commercial developments are taking place in many different countries since developers tend to import solutions that are already experienced in other countries. In other words, investors import retail formats and adopt them to different cultural settings or international firms directly invest in other countries except from their home country.

According to Ritzer (1996), fully enclosed shopping centers are one of the components of the rationalized society. Shopping malls provide a predictable, uniform and profitable environment. From the perspective of their economic characteristics, shopping centers are quite efficient both for retailers and customers. They are cost-efficient for retailers since the collection of shops and department stores under one roof attracts large numbers of people to these places. They are efficient for customers since at the same time they can visit several shops and stores and can engage in different activities like seeing a movie or a theatre show, eating something in the food court, have their children to play, have their dresses cleaned or have their hair cut (Ritzer, 1996).

Another important characteristics of shopping centers is that they have a particular appeal to women where other marginal groups like elderly, adolescents and minorities are kept subject to traditional societal exclusion (Backes, 1997). It is argued that shopping centers, serving as one of the public spaces of contemporary cities, have brought about the feminization of public spaces. Women have felt more comfortable and secure in the well-controlled "public spaces" of shopping centers. Besides, shopping centers increasingly serve as places which brought family members together (Cohen, 1996).

Falk and Campbell (1997) regards contemporary shopping malls as primary sites of recreational shopping and argue that the recreational role of shopping malls is actually an extension of the recreational role of city centres. Put in other words, it is claimed that city centre is a complex of shopping centres while there are differences concerning accessibility, control over space and artificiality. Although the differentiation of urban space and the concentration of retail and recreational

functions is not a recent trend, contemporary shopping centers have changed the configuration both in response to the shifts in consumer mentality and as physical entities shaping both the cityscape and the spatial practices of its inhabitants (Falk and Campbell, 1997)

As some argue the rapid development of shopping centers is a kind of response to the decaying vitality and increasing fear of city centers and street life. Shopping malls provide a domestic environment for family shopping where the degree of unfamiliarity (mostly in terms of class and race) is controlled through the mechanisms of exclusion (Miller et al., 1998). The unpredictability and uncertainty of city streets, which can easily lead to a feeling of fear are generated into excitement through the controlled environment of the shopping mall (Lehtonen and Maenpaa, 1997).

Concerning the economic issues, the most apparent and crucial critism directed towards the rapid development of shopping centers mentions about the declining retail sales of traditional shopping streets and town centres due to the development of shopping malls. However, it is claimed that this development is one of the reasons including planning trends, shifting consumer tastes and the effects of economic recession. As Miller et al. (1998) suggests, convenience, safety, cleanliness and variety of choice are the most important reasons why consumers prefer shopping centers to town centres. Besides, Cohen (1996) argues that the centrally owned and managed shopping mall offered an alternative to the inefficient and chaotic city centers since a centralized administration achieved the mix and "scientific" placement of stores, meeting customers' diverse needs and maximizing store owners' profits in its most perfect way.

Some of the criticisms directed towards shopping centers are related with design and aesthetic concerns and the most criticized point is the homogenised spaces of shopping malls which lack the opportunity of offering different experiences that flexibly designed spaces do (Miller et al., 1998). As Balsas (2001) claims same goods are sold in the same shops in same kind of shopping centers.

2.6. Shopping Centers as Public Spaces?

It is often observed that many people nowadays are using and preferring shopping malls for shopping, for spending their leisure times through the recreational, cultural and entertaining facilities offered in these places or for just wandering around. Through a survey conducted in two of the shopping centres of London, Brent Cross and Wood Green Shopping City, Jackson (1998) observed that people use shopping centers as public spaces for socialising and non-commercial activities. Another important result he drew from the survey is that both quasi-and semi-public spaces of the shopping malls are experienced differently by different groups of income, gender, ethnicity and age. Some find these places as fearful (elderly, working-class and women for eg.) while others joyful and desirable (youth, male for eg.). Some find surveillance cameras and other security instruments as increasing their safety and the civility of the urban life (white, middle-class) whereas others view them as a threat to their privacy (working class, ethnic minority).

However, as mentioned in the previous part, there rises crucial questions about the public space characteristics of shopping centers in terms of accessibility, surveillance, control and users' rights. In terms of physical accessibility, due to their locations and depending upon the available public transportation opportunities, it is likely that shopping malls are not accessible for some groups. Accessibility is also restricted since they are privately owned commercial spaces having definite opening and closing times. The monitoring of people by surveillance cameras and controlling of users' behaviour by private security officials for the sake of security obstruct users' rights and free behaviour and have costs in terms of social and spatial exclusion (Lees, 1994; Miller et al., 1998). The private management company has the right to control what will take place and not within the shopping mall and since security is a very crucial point for their maintenance; control of public behaviour considerably increases in shopping malls. Because of this reason, although large number of people gather in shopping malls civic interaction and the right of free speech and action lessens and some aspects of public life can not take place in them like protests, demonstrations, popular campaigns etc. (Mattson, 1999).

Shopping centers are in fact in the private sphere since the owner and management have legal prerogatives to exclude someone from using the space. In this sense, access to shopping centers is not a right but a privilege (Banerjee, 2001). Shopping malls have a privatized, commercial form of governance in which the customer rights and responsibilities are considered rather than rights of citizenship (Mc Laughlin & Muncie, 1999). As Backes (1997) argues there is a distinction between the structure and practice of shopping centers which can lead to tensions and resistance. It means that shopping malls have a structural feature of having consumption and profit maximization as their primary goals. However, people use these places for the satisfaction of their own purposes. The ownership pattern of the mall has considerable effect on the control of these places. Under conditions of central ownership in which all spaces are rented, the degree of control is great compared with fragmented ownership (Dijkstra, 2000).

In Goss's terms (1993, cited in Jackson, 1998) "magic of the mall" lies beneath its differentiation from the city's ills and fears and incivility of the streets of city centre. In other words, the environment that is provided by the mall is the idealized vision of the street and city center. However, although the idealized vision of public street is relatively more open and democratic, according to Jackson (1998: 178), "shopping centre offers only a parody of participation: where "credit card citizenship" allows the consumer to purchase an identity…". Following this argument, it can be said that shopping center is designed in order to protect the middle-class from a moral confusion that might result from the risks of social difference, to provide safe places. Their popularity is due to, according to Jackson (1998: 180), their success in managing diverse activities in the same place, reducing the risks of social difference and bringing up the virtues of familiarity.

Dijkstra (2000) by emphasizing on the difference between public access and public use claims that although low-income groups are not restricted from entering a mall, due to the lack of facilities and opportunities suitable for them, their use of the space is a limited one and, thus, public use in shopping malls has significantly been distorted. He also states that shopping malls do not offer the diversity, the tolerance and the political rights of a city centre due to their highly controlled environment and low degree of public use (Dijkstra, 2000). On the same issue, Carr et al. (1992)

claim that with their expensive shops and strict security services, shopping malls serve as "social filters" keeping lower-income users and "undesirables" out.

It is argued that shopping mall designs neglect the various needs of users; rather, these spaces are designed in a way to control and limit people's activities and direct them to shopping and consuming. Shopping malls provide highly limited activities and experiences compared with the creative and unpredictable potentials that good public spaces provide (Smithsimon, 2000). Within the interior space of the shopping mall, the orientation is not directed towards others but towards shop fronts. The interior design of the shopping center (the design of movement routes, shops and the positioning of various objects such as greenery, benches and etc., lighting) leads users to consumption and has essential restrictions on the development of contact and sociability.

Public spaces having a civic significance are places with multiple identities and symbolic power constituted through history, public memory and political legitimation. Shopping malls, since they lack political and ceremonial functions of civic spaces and lacking public memory cannot be regarded as civic spaces although publicly used (Lees, 1994).

It is claimed that through the development and increasing use of shopping centers by so many people, public open spaces are transformed into private indoor spaces. It is stated that shopping centers restrict the various uses that traditional town centres offer within their semi-public spaces of food courts and indoor streets which are privately owned and controlled by private security staff. However, it is also suggested that quite many people thought that these private surveillance systems with highly visible cameras and other equipment are essential for the provision of their safety and does not much pay attention to the questions that arise concerning access and control due to this excessive control systems (Miller et al., 1998).

2.7. Conclusion

As Georg Simmel points out, *differentiation*, *individuality* and *alienation* are characteristic to urban society which is highly heterogenous and fragmented and which can be defined by the intensity of indirect, secondary and transitory relations rather than direct, face-to-face relations. Besides, as Louis Wirth suggests, a kind of social distance is observable within the urban society through the impersonal, superficial and segmental character of social contacts. The analysis of Chicago School ecologists presents that *segregation* according to different economic groups takes place within the spatial structure of urban areas.

Under such conditions of urban social and spatial structure, public spaces can be viewed as places where the differences in urban life are brought together helping to learn to deal and live with differences, become apparent and where segregation is tried to be kept at minimum. Public spaces also help to soften the degree of alienation by bringing different others together and by providing opportunities for more direct contacts.

However, public spaces of cities take their shares from the economic, political and social restructuring of countries and cities. For the last few decades, the meaning, role and use of public spaces are also subject to changes. It is not wrong to claim that fear of others, privatization and exclusion are more influential in shaping today's public spaces when compared with the past. The transformation realized in public spaces of urban areas which are characterised by increasing fragmentation and social and spatial polarization operates in the way to weaken some of their main features such as accessibility, freedom of action and public action while strengthen some characteristics like exclusion. The economic, social and spatial dynamics, interrelated with each other, which have a transformative influence upon public spaces, are shown in Figure 1.

City centers are traditionally places where strangers, from a wide range of backgrounds with different attitudes, beliefs and customs, continuously meet (Mc Dowell, 1999). Besides, they are multi-functional social spaces with high concentration of social activities and with opportunities for social communication and

contact. Due to all these features, city centers can be viewed as the primary public spaces of the city with their integrating role in the creation of a social unity.

However, City centers are facing a process of decline concerning their use by people especially for the last few decades due to the effects of increasing levels of suburbanization, the decentralization of retailing, office and leisure activities the deterioration of physical landscapes and the problems of security. Thus, considering city centers as the primary public spaces of cities, the transformation of public spaces can be viewed in the first place by looking at their contemporary conditions. City centers which are being used less intensively and frequently by people compared with the past have now alternatives and people prefer some other places that serve as public spaces. Among these preferred spaces, shopping centers emerges as the main alternative to the existing public spaces of the cities.

Shopping spaces gathering people together have always be important parts of the urban public realm and they are in principle open to everyone (Lehtonen and Maenpaa, 1997). Today, shopping centers with their safe, clean, comfortable and climate-protected environments are now used and preferred by a large number of people. They do not only introduce fast, easy and comfortable shopping but also activities of leisure and entertainment. Their use by so many people and their negative effects on city centers' usage as public spaces lies in part beneath their offering of leisure and entertainment activities like cinema, theatre, children playgrounds and temporary activities like concerts, several kinds of shows etc.

City centers are open to everyone at any time of the day while shopping centers, being privately owned and managed, have definite opening and closing times. In other words, unlike city centers, shopping centers restrict the use of the space. Another restriction again stems from their characteristics of being private property. The determination of what kind of activities will take place within the shopping center depends upon the decisions of the private management. For example, it is not impossible but quite hard to take a collective action and make a demonstration or a speech in a shopping center. Compared with city streets or the open spaces of the city center, in which people are freer in acting upon and experiencing space, the users of shopping centers are restricted and controlled because of advanced

surveillance systems and private management directing and controlling people's use of space.

Although it is true that public spaces all through the history have been places where a certain kind of exclusion was seen, shopping centers, which are viewed and used as public spaces by many, increases this exclusion and restricts the use of all. This is realized through several ways and the evaluation of shopping centers and city centers concerning the criteria for defining public space shown in Figure 2 presents to what extent shopping centers fulfil the characteristics of public spaces.

First of all since physical accessibility is a crucial aspect for the use of a public space by a wider public, the location of the shopping centers is an important criteria for its use by different groups from different parts of the city. However, since shopping centers are places which are developed by private firms whose primary aim is to gain and increase profits, the locational preferences of shopping centers are also made concerning the suitability of the area in terms of infrastructure opportunities and land prices besides considering the easy access of urban inhabitants in order to attract visitors.

Since for some groups, physical accessibility within the city depends upon the available modes of public transportation, shopping centers, which are not developed in a central area, can be exclusionary due to their locations alone. Accessibility is also symbolically restricted for low income groups since the shops and stores are mostly target the use of affluent groups. People from low-income groups sometimes can hesitate to come to the shopping center due to their impressions about the place as being not "suitable" for them.

Shopping centers can also be evaluated in terms of the difference between *public access* and *public use*. By leaving the existence of private security guards and the high technology surveillance cameras aside, it can be thought for a moment that everyone who desires can enter the shopping centers, thus are accessible to all including the undesirables although it is not the case in practice. However, due to the prices and activities offered in the shopping center, it is hard for low-income groups to make use of most of the functions that are provided. Then, it is not wrong

to say that shopping centers are open to crowd but not to public use in a contradictory way to the definition of public spaces as being places used by all.

Public spaces are also defined as places where the tolerance between different social groups develops. Since, as stated above, shopping centers exclude some groups through the restriction of access and use, they do not fulfil another characteristics of public spaces. As a result, considering shopping centers failures about the fulfillment of some critical features of public spaces, they cannot be regarded as true public spaces. Within a more fragmented urban spatial structure, quasi-public spaces of shopping centers that rises the level of social exclusion contributes to the deepening of stratification and polarization rather than serving to social integration. Thus, growth of shopping centers that are used as alternative urban public spaces should be dealt with carefully concerning their negative effects upon urban social life and city centers that are main public spaces of urban areas having a higher potential for fulfilling the features of true public spaces.

ECONOMIC

- Increasing flexibility of capital, labor processes, products and patterns of consumption (Globalization)
- The emergence of more liberal economic policies; withdrawal of state from economic activities
- Increased heterogenity and differentiation within the work force (Bipolarization of labor structure)
- The rise of entrepreneural city and urban policies adapted to global and national economic restructuring
- The rise privatization in public services and the growth of public-private partnership models

SOCIO-CULTURAL

- Increasing income gap and polarization between poor and affluent
- Emergence of a new middle class of professionals and managers with different tastes and life-styles
- A stress on improving the quality of life which only serves for affluent groups
- The shrinkage of public sphere

PUBLIC SPACE

- Social life increasingly takes place in private spaces like shopping centers
- Security becomes a crucial point leading to increased surveillance and control
- Social exclusion and increased inequality are enforced
- Connections with local history and geography are broken
- Depolicization is realized

SPATIAL

- The emergence of a more segregated and diversified urban form
- Increasing tendency towards suburbanization and the change in the macroform of cities
- Tendecy towards the formation of distinct living and consumption places for different social groups (Ghettoization)
- The emergence of consumption-oriented places which are publicly used
- The rapid development of up-scale spaces of shopping, leisure and entertainment

Figure 1: Dynamics Affecting the Transformation of Public Space

CRITERIA FOR DEFINING and EVALUATING PUBLIC SPACE	CITY CENTERS	SHOPPING CENTERS
ACCESSIBILITY (Physical, Visual and Symbolic)	• High levels of physical, visual and symbolic access	• Physical accessibility depends on the location of shopping center which is determined by the private developer • Usually visually accessible through the use of signs, billboards and attractive and huge exterior appearances • Can be symbolically restrictive since especially among low-income groups there is a perception that these places are not 'suitable' for them
FREEDOM of ACTION	• Users have the chance to shape the activity that will take place through their purposes and wills	• What kind of activities will take place is completely determined by the private management company
SURVEILLANCE (Limited power and control)	• Surveillance occurs through social control and social norms and especially under certain conditions through police force	• Private security guards and high-tech security systems are used besides the social control mechanism which operates when been together
BEING OPEN TO EVERYONE'S USE	• In terms of ownership, they contain both publicly owned public spaces (squares, parks, streets etc.) and privately owned but publicly used spaces (cafes, cinemas etc.) and concentration of publicly owned public spaces contributes to city centers' use by everyone	• In terms of ownership, they are publicly used private spaces, thus, private ownership and management can be limiting for everyone's use
COEXISTENCE and SOCIAL INTERACTION	• Different social groups can meet and coexist and there are several opportunities for social interaction in different places of city centers	• Coexistence is a restricted one since one can not see beggars, street vendors, homeless, mentally ill people etc. • Social interaction takes place but in limited places (eg. food-court)
PUBLIC ACTION	• Personal and political rights are demanded through demonstrations, protests, media statements etc. in squares and streets of city centers	• Public action is not permitted
ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY and COMFORT	• Poor environmental quality due to high levels of density, traffic congestion, deteriorated building stock, weakness of urban design etc	• High environmental quality through their totally pedestrianized, clean, air-conditioned and visually pleasant environments

Figure 2: A Comparison Between City Centers and Shopping Centers Concerning the Criteria for Defining and Evaluating Public Space

CHAPTER 3

**THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CITY CENTERS, PUBLIC SPACES AND
SHOPPING CENTERS OF ANKARA**

3.1. Introduction

In this chapter, historical development of Ankara's city center structure, public spaces and shopping centers will be presented. Because, the contemporary city center structure and public spaces of Ankara is an outcome of a continuing process. Besides, in order to grasp the development of shopping centers in today's Ankara, a historical perspective will also be useful.

Thus, in this chapter mainly three issues will be discussed. The first one is the historical development of city centers of Ankara through a periodization. The growth of city centers and their characteristics which is related with the growth of the city will be presented. The second issue concerns with the development of public spaces of the city. The same periodization will be used also for this issue. Here, the aim is to present the evolution process of Ankara's public spaces, to have an understanding of the changes that city's public spaces have been subject to through the years. The last issue deals with the development of shopping centers in Ankara including the historical development of retailing sector in Turkey.

All three issues are related with wider concerns like the social and economic structure of Turkey, the dynamics behind the growth of the city of Ankara, the planning practice of Ankara and the attitudes of local administrative units to the new developments that take place in the city. Thus, these concerns will also be discussed while presenting the three major issues of this chapter.

3.2. The Historical Development and Characteristics of City Centers and Public Spaces of Ankara

The historical development of the city center structure and public spaces of Ankara is examined under four periods. The periods are determined according to some important turning points of both the city of Ankara and Turkey. The first is the period before the establishment of the Turkish Republic. The establishment of Turkish Republic in 1923 is essential for the future development of Ankara since in the same year the she was decided as the capital city of the new Republic. Following this, Ankara, a small town of Anatolia, started to develop and grow as a modern capital which was also viewed as the scene of the modernity project.

The second period includes the years between 1923 and 1950. 1950s were the years marked with high levels of rapid migration from rural to urban areas in Turkey. This migration movement had great effects on the spatial development of especially the big cities of the country and also had impacts on the characteristics and meanings of their public spaces. Thus, the third period comprises of the years between 1950 and 1980.

The last period begins with 1980 since as it is known by the first half of 1980sTurkey entered a new phase in which economic and relatedly social and political policies of the country was directed towards the implementation of more liberal policies which found its existence with the establishment of Özal government in 1983. This shift realized in country's economic and political structure paved the way through the cotemporary urban development in which the power of capital is clearly and more strongly felt.

3.2.1. The Period Before the Republican Era

3.2.1.1. City Center Structure of the City

Although the history of Ankara dates back to Roman times, here, the period before the Republican era is given in a quite summarized form for preventing useless data. Ankara had always been an important center throughout history due to its locational advantages both in terms of defense and accessibility. Its function and importance

differed through the centuries. In times of peace, its commercial function gained importance depending upon main trade routes and in chaotic periods its defense function became dominant (Akçura, 1971; Aktüre, 1981).

Ankara started to become a city of commerce rather than being a border city of defense beginning from early 14th century. This is closely related to development of Ahi organization in the city in 13th and 14th centuries. Ahi organization had a structure in which guilds and craftsmen came together both for economic and social reasons. The organization dealt with the education of professions and issues having social concerns. It was also considerably influential on the spatial structuring of cities (Aktüre, 1981).

It is known that before the Ottoman rule, Ankara was administrated by the Ahi organization till 1362 and became one of the Ahi centers. This contributed much to the economic development of the city and over the years Ankara became an essential center of 'sof' (a special kind of goat wool) production and trade. The city center structure of the city in 14th century reflected city's economic vitality. In the 14th century, Ankara's commercial and social spaces like the marketplace, mosque, hans and fountains began to develop out of the castle. Besides, *bedestens* (closed *çarşı*s) and *caravenserais* also emerged in this century. Commercial development of Ankara which began in 14th century reached its maximum in 15th and 16th centuries (Akçura, 1971; Aktüre, 1981).

In 16th century, the city center of Ankara began to develop around Tahtakale, Karaoğlan and Suluhan *çarşı*'s. These guild çarşı's were bazaar places specialized in one product like the horse bazaar, sheep bazaar, ox-cart bazaar and etc. They were either open-air consisting of a single row of shops located through streets or closed. Beginning from 17th century, due to the impacts of the advances in overeseas navigation and the changing trade routes of Anatolia, Ankara faced a period in which export of some essential goods like sof decreased. In spite of these negative conditions, till 19th century Ankara remained as an important commercial center. However, the commercial pact of 1838 initiated the collapse of sof production and trade. Because, with this pact customs borders were vanished which provided traders with more freedom and easy entrance of foreign goods to the country through this pact. Besides, foreign traders were given special privileges. The

entrance of mass-produced and cheap manufacturing goods to the country brought about the sharp decline of soft industry in Ankara (Akçura, 1971; Aktüre, 1981).

Through the end of the 19th century, in order to benefit from the Ottoman market and to ensure their political power, foreign nations began the construction of railways in the country. With the introduction of the railway to Ankara in 1893 by Germans, the revitalization of economic activities was seen. The revitalization of economic activities together with being a point on the railway route had essential impacts on the city center structure of the city (Akçura, 1971; Aktüre, 1981).

The spatial impacts of these developments were observed as the expansion of CBD functions through and around Taşhan which also meant the emergence of a new city center in the north-western part of the old center. Thus, by the end of the 19th century, Ankara had a linear city center lying between the front of the castle and today's Ulus. The two ends of this linear CBD structure was highly differentiated concerning the types of activities and functions they include. The streets encircling the Bedesten and the enclosed *han*s which are in front of the castle and open bazaar places like Atpazarı, Samanpazarı, Koyunpazarı formed the old center and served traditional functions at the regional level. On the contrary, the new center which developed around Taşhan and Karaoğlan Market, the environs of today's Ulus, served mostly for the necessities of newly formed social groups of Rums and Armenians. Besides, the new center had also began to gain some administrative functions and became the center of the city serving to the new bourgeois dealing with commercial activities and the newly formed group of administrators and bureaucrats (Aktüre, 1981; Bademli, 1987).

3.2.1.2. Public Spaces of the City

Although the literature on the public spaces of Ankara before the Republican era is quite limited, it can be said that commercial and business places like bedestens, hans, open bazaars and enclosed *çarşı*s were main places within which the social life took place before the Republican era. Besides, it can also be said that mosques and *hamam*s (Turkish bath) served as public spaces since they were the places which people gathered together. As for the recreational places, as Uludağ (1998) states, vineyards and orchards were used in Ankara before the Republican era and

the only park that the town had was the Millet Park in front of the first parliament building in Ulus. However, Ankara began to have public places where women and men exist together after the establishment of the Republic (Uludağ, 1998).

It is known that in the Ottoman period, the balance between public and private was in favor of the private realm. Islamic rule had great effect on this situation. According to Tankut (1993), the Muslim population of Ottoman cities identified themselves firstly with being a Muslim, then with being a member of the Ottoman Empire and lastly with their neighborhoods. Thus, daily social life was taking place in front of the neighborhood fountain, in the herbalist's shop (aktar), in the small mosque or the Quaran schools and within he small blind alleys of the neighborhood. Due to the dominancy of the self-sufficient neighborhood scale, no precise places were developed at the city center scale for social interaction and communication like squares or public parks in Ottoman cities unlike the Western cities of the same centuries. This had prevented the city centers of Ottoman cities to gain a physical form and the development of an 'urban' society (Tankut, 1993).

Beginning from 18th century, squares were introduced in some Ottoman cities. However, this development was a visual one lacking the aims of bringing the urban inhabitants together, providing communication channels and ensuring socialization Tankut (1993). As a result, it can be put forward that the development of distinct public places apart from bedestens, bazaars, mosques and etc. is not seen in Ankara and in other Ottoman cities having a highly heterogeneous social structure formed by different ethnic and religious groups in the period before the establishment of the Republic.

3.2.2. The Period between 1923-1950

3.2.2.1. City Center Structure of the City

Ankara had become the capital city of Turkey on 13 October 1923 by an article added to the Law of Constitution. After that decision, the limited functions of commerce, administration, production and services began to grow rapidly in Ankara which was once one of the small towns of Anatolia. Besides, tremendous planning and construction process began in the way to create a modern capital which would be a model for other Anatolian cities and a symbol of the ideals of the new Turkish

Republic (Bilsel et al., 1997 cited in Gökçe, 2003; Tankut, 1993). As Tekeli (1998) points out modernity project was in fact an urban development project and urbanization and the realization of the modernization project were interrelated processes. Besides, as Tankut (1993) states administrators of the new Republic believed that the good development of the new capital would reflect and prove the success of the new regime.

For these reasons, the growth and the development of Ankara were tried to be managed in a planned manner. In the planning competition held between three foreign urbanists in 1928, Herman Jansen's plan proposal for the city of Ankara was chosen as the winner and he was charged to determine the development and construction of the modern capital. Although the first official plan of Ankara was Jansen's plan approved in 1932, the plan made by Lörcher in 1924 was also influential in the development of the main road structure and the location of main squares (Cumhuriyet-Kızılay Square, Sıhhiye Square, Zafer, Millet, Ulus, Lozan and Tandoğan Squares) which gave Yenişehir (Kızılay) its basic form (Cengizkan, 2002; Tankut, 1993).

In the Jansen's plan, with the target year of 1978 and a target population of 300.000, the backbone was determined as the Atatürk Boulevard and the development direction of the city as the north-south direction following Ulus-Yenişehir-Çankaya line (Günay, 1988 cited in Gökçe, 2003). Vekaletler quarter in Yenişehir district was chosen as the administrative center and the Parliament building, the buildings of ministries and residential areas for the new administrators and bureaucrats were planned to exist there. This quarter was the new development area having a distinct form and functions than Ulus, the old and traditional part of the city (Osmay, 1998; Tankut, 1993; Bademli, 1987).

Although the issue of central business district (CBD) was not taken up seperately in the Jansen plan, as it is understood from the function proposals, construction decisions and the transportation network, Ulus and environs was viewed as the city center. In the plan of 1929 prepared for the competition, a large area between Atatürk Boulevard, İstasyon Street and the train station was determined for commercial uses. However, in the definite plan of 1932, this commercial area proposal was omitted and Gençlik Park was planned on the same area. Thus, the

existing city center of Ulus had to be used as the main center of the city since no new area was determined for the development of a new CBD. Besides, the newly developed administrative center in Yenişehir was viewed was an extension of Ulus and as a district center rather than serving as the other CBD (Tankut, 1993; Bademli, 1987).

Although Kızılay was planned as a district center, some important decisions and developments paved the way to its development as a sub-center through the end of 1950s. One of them was the great expropriation, an area of 400 ha., made between Ulus and Çankaya in 1925 for the construction of houses for officials. Besides, in 1928 an area of 20 ha. in Yenişehir was also expropriated for the development of the new administrative center, the Vekaletler quarter. The construction of ministry buildings in Vekaletler quarter was completed between 1932 and 1940. Besides administrative units and residential areas, recreational and cultural spaces were developing in order to meet the demands of the inhabitants of Yenişehir. All these developments can be evaluated as signs of a growing city center in Yenişehir (Altaban, 1987 and 1998).

According to Osmay (1998), dual city centre structure (traditional city center and modern, new city center) was commonplace in most of the Turkish cities in the period between 1923 and 1950. Osmay (1998) states that due to the restriction of transportation and communication infrastructures these two city centers had been physically very close to each other in most cases. However, the situation in Ankara was different with the effect of the location of public buildings. Especially in the first fifteen years of the Republic, the location of public buildings had great effects on the development of city center structure of Ankara. Since Ankara was an administrative center, a large amount of space was devoted to the construction of public buildings and this had restricted the connection between some important city parts. This was also the case for the old and the new city centers of Ankara to some extent. Between 1923-1927, public buildings were located in Ulus and along its road connections with Yenişehir and train station. After the Jansen's plan, new public buildings were constructed in Yenişehir and by the mids of 1930s, administrative center was to a great extent formed in Yenişehir (Altaban, 1987).

The distinctiveness of two city centers of Ankara was a social one as well as about form and function. The inhabitants of Yenişehir can be defined as the upper-class elites differentiated from the inhabitants of the old city through their way of life, tastes and habits (Tankut, 1993; Uludağ, 1998). This can also be viewed as an indicator of the future developments of the city centers of Ulus and Kızılay.

Thus, by the end of 1940s, functions and social characteristics of the two distinctive city centers were explicit. Effects of the 2nd World War and the migration to Ankara from rural areas in the second half of 1940s had an essential role in the shaping of the characteristics of Ulus and Kızılay. In 1945 and 1946, the population of the city had increased tremendously due to rural-urban migration, which is an outcome of mechanization in agriculture and the industrialization movement. Since most of the new comers with low income levels settled around Ulus, the attractiveness of Ulus for prestigious and new functions was affected negatively. Prestigious commercial functions began to move from Ulus to Kızılay where public buildings, embassies, universities and upper class concentrate (Osmay, 1998; Bademli, 1987).

As a result, together with its commercial and business functions directed towards the needs and demands of upper classes, Yenişehir became an important sub-center, rather than an extension of Ulus, by the end of 1940s. This was an unexpected development which was not foreseen in Jansen's plan and which directed the growth of Ankara through Çankaya. However, Ulus maintained its importance as a CBD for a long time (Osmay, 1998; Bademli, 1987).

3.2.2.2. Public Spaces of the City

In the new Turkish Republic, efforts in the way to become a nation-state went hand in hand with a modernity project, which tried to form a new socio-cultural life and which found its reflections in the development of the public spaces of Ankara (Sargın, 2002). In this sense, there was a considerable amount of interest for the development of public spaces in Ankara in the early years of the Republic.

One of the most essential developments was the introduction of Trust Statue (Güven Anıtı) and the park around it, which together formed Kızılay Square, in 1934 in Yenişehir. Moreover, there were Havuzbaşı and Kızılay Gardens which were

developed by the ends of 1920s. In the first decades of this period, these public spaces of Yenişehir were used mostly by the affluent groups which were living and working close to them. Besides Güvenpark, Gençlik Park, Hacettepe Park, Hippodrome and the stadium as places of recreation and sports were developed as proposed in Jansen's plan between 1932 and 1950 (Batuman, 2002; Altaban, 1998 and 1987).

In order to meet the demands of the newly formed and growing social groups, new places of leisure and entertainment such as restaurants, hotels and *meyhane*s (a kind of bar) were also opened in these years in Ankara. "Halkevleri" was introduced at this period to the cultural and social life of the cities of Turkey. Halkevleri were places in which the native public and the new bourgeois of Yenişehir met. Moreover, opera, theatre and exhibition buildings, cinemas and bookstores were opening in Ulus and Yenişehir at this period (Batuman, 2002; Osmay, 1998).

The opening of Gençlik Park, in 1943, can be regarded as the biggest development concerning the public spaces of the city since within its large area it contained several and various activities within one place. As Uludağ (1998) states, in order to create a modern urban life and the modern Turkish citizen, public spaces which brought different people together without any exclusion depending upon gender, status and ethnic origin were needed. With its strategic location, Gençlik Park, which was proposed in Jansen's plan through the request of administrators, was developed with this aim in mind. The park was placed between train station, Cumhuriyet Square and İstasyon-Samanpazarı Street. In other words, it was located somewhere between the old and the new city centers. This locational preference can be viewed as an effort to integrate the old and the new city, to bring modern values to the traditional one (Uludağ, 1998).

Before the opening of Gençlik Park, the environs of Çubuk Dam, environs of small rivers close to Ankara and Kayaş Gardens were used as recreational places especially on holidays. Since these places were out of the walking distance, only affluent groups with private cars had the chance to use them. However, by the introduction of Gençlik Park, Ankara had a public space which could be used by a wider population with quite different purposes. The park contained a restaurant, a swimming pool for swimming and water sports, a lake which was used for ice-

skating in winters, playing grounds for children, an open-air theatre, resting places and different kinds of green spaces and served as a meeting place and an activity center especially in the first years of its opening (Uludağ, 1998).

3.2.3. The Period between 1950-1980

3.2.3.1. City Center Structure of the City

Long before the target year of Jansen's Plan (1978) due to the high levels of migration, Ankara exceeded the target population of Jansen's plan. Thus, another master plan was needed in order to direct and control the rapid growth of the city. Again through an international competition, the plan prepared by two Turkish urban planners, Nihat Yücel and Raşit Uybadin, was selected as the winner. In this plan approved in 1957, Ulus was still viewed as the main city center despite Kızılay's growth in the way to become a center fulfilling many of the features of a CBD. As Bademli (1987) states, Yücel-Uybadin plan did not seem to rightly evaluate the transformation processes realized in Ulus and Kızılay. Although it was stated in the plan notes that Kızılay would continue to develop especially as the center of offices, entertainment places, restaurants and retailing activities, it was also stated that Ulus would not change its position as the main city center in the future (Bademli, 1987; Altaban, 1998).

In 1950s and 1960s, through plan changes and special plans, densities were increased in most of the areas of the city. With a decision taken in 1951 by the Council of Ministries, a change in Jansen's plan was made. Due to this change, residential areas in Yenişehir and Cebeci were permitted up to four floors and those along Atatürk Boulevard up to five floors. The Flat Ownership Law accepted in 1965 brought about new pressures to Kızılay for the floors rights to be increased. In the context of Yücel-Uybadin plan, a District Floor Order Plan was prepared which would also serve as the implementation plan. Through this implementation plan and the changes made on it for a few times, both sides of Atatürk Boulevard reached up to seven or eight storeys in the following years. However, these decisions, which led to rapid verticular growth of buildings and relatedly to increased densities, were taken without the consideration of probable infrastructure problems.

This lack of consideration paved the way for serious problems related with physical quality in the city center of Kızılay in the following period (Altaban, 1998; Gökçe, 2003).

As foreseen in Yücel-Uybadin plan, retailing activity was developing in Kızılay in 1960s in the form of 'passages', which include several shops and stores. In order to afford the increased rents and land prices, retailers chose to be together in these passages. In these years, in existing or reconstructed buildings, passages were developing at the entrance floors and offices in the upper floors. This growth of retailing and service activities in Kızılay can be regarded as a sign of its increasing importance in the way to become a CBD (Osmay, 1998).

By 1970, the growth of Kızılay as the other CBD of Ankara was completed and there appeared a dual CBD structure, which developed mainly through market tendencies. Moreover, in 1970s, it was seen that some CBD functions like small production activities carried out in Ulus began to move to Kızılay. Between 1970 and 1980 some CBD functions began to develop along Tunalı Hilmi Street. Tunalı Hilmi Street was formerly a district center serving to the everyday needs of the affluent groups living along Kavaklıdere-Çankaya line. Later, it attracted service activities like banks and became a sub-center. Thus, by the ends of 1970s, as Osmay (1998) states, Ankara's city center structure seemed to be formed from three central areas as Kızılay and Ulus being the main city centers and Tunalı Hilmi Street and environs as a sub-center (Osmay, 1998; Bademli, 1987).

As there was difference between Ulus and Kızılay concerning their social characteristics in the previous period, in the last years of 1970s, Kızılay, Ulus and Tunalı Hilmi were differentiated from each other in terms of social features they possessed depending on their inhabitants. Ulus was mainly serving to low-income groups while Tunalı Hilmi was mostly used by the affluent groups (Osmay, 1998). Kızılay being the most essential CBD of the time and having a more central location than Ulus and Tunalı Hilmi could be regarded as a place where a mix of people from different parts of the city could be seen. In other words, Kızılay had an essential integrating role within the differentiated areas of the city.

The transformation process through the formation of a CBD in Kızılay between 1950 and 1980 was with its problems. Since the development was nearly an uncontrolled one directed through market tendencies, the increasing / increased densities brought about essential problems like the infrastructure insufficiency, the traffic congestion and the decreasing physical quality. The traffic congestion in Kızılay, which partly grew due to the increased car ownership, was tried to be overcame through the enlargement of existing streets and boulevards while pedestrian element was underestimated. Although there were efforts in the way to create a pedestrianized city center in the second half of 1970s, they could not be continuous since they were seen as restrictive by powerful business groups (Osmay, 1998; Gökçe, 2003).

As Osmay (1998) states, in the period between 1950 and 1980, two factors were especially influential on the macro form of big cities and on the transformation of city centers in Turkey. One of them was the introduction of new models of housing development. As mentioned before, the legal background for the rapid development of multi-storey apartments was prepared through the Flat Ownership Law and plan changes. Together with the increasing dominancy of small capital owners (*yapsatçı*) in the housing market, densities were increased to a great extent especially in the city centers. In Ankara, along Gazi Mustafa Kemal Boulevard, Meşrutiyet and Mithatpaşa Streets, multi-storey buildings with retail places and workshops at their entrance floors and houses at the upper floors grew rapidly. Besides, through the mids of 1970s, mass-housing initiatives emerged in Turkey and Ankara. Suburban housing developments began through cooperative organizations in Ankara by the ends of 1970s like Batıkent and Çayyolu (Türel, 1998; Osmay, 1998).

The second factor was the introduction of the new means of inner-city transportation. Due to the insufficiencies of public transportation means provided by public authorities, '*dolmuş*' was introduced in 1950s as a solution to the transportation problem. This informal public transportation mode had been an effective way for connecting urban inhabitants to city centers in an expanding city (Osmay, 1998).

As a result, it can be said that between 1950 and 1980, the main issue had been the achievement of the planned development of the city. For this reason the existing or

potential problems of the built environment and specifically the city centers were underestimated (Gökçe, 2003). Ironically, since these efforts and policies to manage a planned and healthy urbanism was limited and insufficient, the problems of squatter settlements, public transportation and other public services and physical quality remained partly unsolved. In this period Ankara grew in size and population and began to expand to suburban areas together with its problems.

3.2.3.2. Public Spaces of the City

As stated in the previous part, the period between 1950 and 1980 witnessed the growth and expansion of Ankara with the great effect of rural-urban migration and suburbanization. However, the development of public spaces did not seem to be in parallel with this growth. According to the research executed by the Ankara Metropolitan Area Master Plan Bureau in 1970, the city lacked green spaces and cultural and entertainment facilities. Only 5% of the ideal green space amount existed in Ankara whose population was 1.2 million at that time. Besides, the existing cultural and entertainment services was 14% of the required amount for a city of that size and population (Altaban, 1998).

Since, at that period the city center of Kızılay developed as the second CBD with diverse services and activities, it can be said that it also served as an essential public space where different social groups mix and interact. As mentioned before, in the previous period (1923-1950) Kızılay and its public spaces were mainly used by the new bourgeois, middle and high-income groups. However, beginning from the early years of 1950s, Kızılay had become accessible also for low income groups settling at the peripheries of the city. The introduction of *dolmuş* as a new mean of tranportation at those years had great effects on this transformation. Affected also by the social and political conjuncture of the country, during 1960s and 1970s, Kızılay Square and the city center of Kızılay were places where different social groups met and where different meanings constructed by diverse groups were overlapped. At one side it was a political arena and on the other side it was a place of luxurious consumption for the affluent (Batuman, 2002).

However, by the end of 1970s, the destruction of public spaces of Kızılay was apparent. In order to solve the increasing problems of traffic congestion, car parking

and public transportation, some implementations was made which resulted in this destruction. The enlarged streets and boulevards meant the shrinkage of Kızılay Square including Kızılay Park and Güven Park. Kızılay Park was first turned into a flower bed and then in 1979 it was completely vanished together with the historical Kızılay building that began to be used as a car parking area after its destruction. Besides, a considerable part of Güven Park became to be used as the station for buses and *dolmuş*s (Batuman, 2002).

Besides these rearrangements, there were also efforts for creating pedestrianized streets in Kızılay like the introduction of Sakarya Street and environs as a pedestrianized area in 1978 in the context of the Project of Pedestrian Areas for Kızılay (UCEAT CCP & CA, 2003). Today, Sakarya Street and environs is an important center for gastronomic and night time activities.

When the period between 1950 and 1980 is evaluated concerning the development and enhancement of public spaces, it can be argued that what is realized is quite inadequate for a growing metropolitan city. These insufficiencies and lack of concern by public authorities is an essential reason for the developments taking place in the following period.

3.2.4. The Period after 1980

3.2.4.1. City Center Structure of the City

Through the researches and studies done by Ankara Metropolitan Area Master Plan Bureau, established in 1969, the third master plan having a target year of 1990 for Ankara was prepared and approved in 1982. The decisions taken in the plan were quite influential on the future growth of Ankara and on the city center structure of the city. Two essential decisions were decentralization of the city along the west corridor through the development of new areas and relatedly the decentralization of Kızılay and Bakanlıklar districts along Eskişehir Road. Decentralization was the key notion of the plan and the main aim was to disperse the high levels of densities on the existing urban form to new areas in order to achieve a more balanced and healthy urban growth (Altaban, 1998). As a result, after 1980s, public services and public buildings, which were concentrated in Kızılay and Bakanlıklar districts, began to be

located along İnönü Boulevard and Eskişehir Road (Osmay, 1998). Today, İnönü Boulevard and Eskişehir Road are crucial arteries since they contain many public buildings and headquarters of some private firms and commercial developments like shopping centers and connect suburban areas to the city center of Kızılay.

The economic and social restructuring process at the global level had its effects also on Turkey's economic and social policies. Beginning from the first half of 1980s, more liberal and market-oriented policies have been implemented in Turkey. At the local level, the effects of economic restructuring at the global and national levels and the advances in communication technologies can be viewed through changes in macro forms and CBD structures of cities (Osmay, 1998). Especially metropolitan cities in Turkey have expanded to a wide area with increasing suburban areas quite away from the existing city centers. The development of Çayyolu and Ümitköy suburban areas along Eskişehir Road are good examples in Ankara.

What is crucial about the development of suburban areas in Ankara after 1990 is the lack of a master plan. Since the target year of the third master plan was completed in 1990, Ankara has not had a precise master plan to direct the new growths. The establishment of metropolitan municipalities and the redistribution of responsibilities between local and central governments paved the way for the blurring of responsibilities and authorities concerning the preparation of upper scale plans for metropolitan areas. Under these chaotic circumstances together with the problems concerning the determination of metropolitan area borders, at some periods new upperscale plans which led to speculative developments were prepared by the metropolitan municipality or the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement. Thus, many fragmented developments have taken place especially at the outskirts of the city and decentralization of city has reached to an excessive level (Gökçe, 2002).

Concerning the CBD structures of cities in this period, Osmay (1998) claims that one of the changes has been the increase in the numbers of CBDs in metropolitan cities. As Bademli (1987) states, by the mid of 1980s Kızılay exceeded Ulus in terms CBD functions and reached to a saturation point. It was mentioned in the previous part that Tunalı Hilmi Streets and environs had become a sub-center which was a sign of CBD development through the south direction. As Kızılay was saturated in terms of building stocks, prestigious functions such as hotels (for eg. Sheraton and Hilton

Hotels) and professional services began to be located in this developing sub-center after 1980. By 1990s, Tunalı Hilmi became another CBD besides Ulus and Kızılay (Osmay, 1998).

Also in these years, Köroğlu Street has emerged as another city center in Çankaya consistent with the tendency of new developments to be located at the south. The opening of Atakule Shopping Center in 1989 was quite influential on the growing importance of Köroğlu Street as a CBD in Çankaya, which has been inhabited by affluent groups. Thus, it can be said that after 1980, especially in 1990s, Kızılay began to lose prestige and importance like Ulus had experienced while Tunalı Hilmi and Köroğlu became preferable city centers for new developments (Osmay, 1998; Kayasü & Yaşar, 2003).

After 1990, Bahçelievler began to develop as a sub-center including some CBD functions. The development of residential areas for high-income groups in Çayyolu on Eskişehir Road and decentralization of Kızılay are two main causes of this development. Its high levels of accessibility also contributed to commercial structuring in Bahçelievler (Gökçe, 2003).

To sum up, it can be said that, today, Ankara has Ulus, Kızılay, Tunalı Hilmi, Köroğlu and Bahçelievler city centers differentiated in the type and the quality of the functions and services they provide and relatedly socio-economic groups they serve (Gökçe, 2003). As Osmay (1998) states, today's city centers with differentiated functions and services they contain are connected to each other in a multi-centered structure rather than being in an hierarchical order.

Another essential change taken place in CBD structures of metropolitan areas was realized through the changing structure of retailing. In the period from 1980 and onwards, city centers have been dominated by production services whereas consumption services began to move out of the city centers in the form of hypermarkets and shopping centers and began to spread in residential areas in the form of supermarkets. The increasing activity of foreign capital in Turkey after 1983, the increase in car ownership and the advances in electronics and communication technology have been essentially influential on the organization of retailing, on consumer behavior and the location of shopping places among the cities. Besides,

since retailing is an activity which is dependent upon the consumer mass, the growing suburbanization process has also considerably affected the development of out-of-town shopping centers and hypermarkets (Osmay, 1998).

As a result, supermarkets rapidly grew in residential areas meanwhile shopping centers, developed by big private capital, like their counterparts in developed countries began to be built out of the city. However, different from that of developed countries, due to the attractiveness of infrastructure opportunities and being close to a heterogeneous and huge consumer mass, shopping centers have also emerged in CBDs or in their nearby areas like Migros Akköprü, Karum, Atakule and Armada Shopping Centers in Ankara (Osmay, 1998).

In Ankara, the first shopping center was Atakule which was opened in October of 1989 in Çankaya. Atakule was followed by Karum which was opened in October 1991 with the motto of 'A New Center in Ankara' on Tunalı Hilmi Street. These two first shopping centers were developed in existing CBDs. In the following years, Ümiköy Galleria, Koru Mesa Plaza, Bilkent Ankuva and Bilkent Center and Carrefour shopping centers emerged in suburban areas which developed along the west corridor of Ankara. Besides, in the following years, shopping centers like Yimpaş Söğütözü and Armada were built along the main arteries of the city. As Kayasü & Yaşar (2003) states, especially those shopping centers located on the main lines and with high physical accessibility serve almost for the entire city and have become a part of the CBD. As a result, it is clear that shopping centers including entertainment and leisure activities have essential spatial and social impacts upon urban structure as well their economic impacts upon city centers after 1980.

3.2.4.2. Public Spaces of the City

The development of pedestrianized areas in the city center of Kızılay continued in the first years of this period. Through an analysis made by Electric, Gas and Buses Head Office in 1982, İzmir and Yüksel Streets were decided to be pedestrianized and the decision was implemented in the first half of 1980s (UCEAT CCP & CA, 2003). Today, commercial activities (mostly retailing) concentrates in İzmir Street and environs while Yüksel Street with its bookstores and cafes can be regarded as the focus of social and cultural activities. Yüksel Street Pedestrian Area is an

important public space where political and social rights are demanded, demonstrations are held and street activities such as musical performances of amateurs, shows of street theatres and the activities of street vendors take place.

Since public space is also the site of power and domination, after the military coup in 1980, the political and social meaning and identity that Güvenpark and Kızılay Square gained was tried to be suppressed. In this sense, three projects were proposed for the reconstruction of Kızılay Square and Güvenpark. First one was the Güvenpark Renewal Project proposing rearrangements for the park and a shopping center, including 160 shops, a supermarket, a post office, banks and offices, and car parking area beneath the park. However, through the resistance of people and NGO's which formed a powerful civil initiative, this project which would lead to the destruction of the collective memory and modernist meanings encoded in the park was hindered (Batuman, 2002).

The second project was the construction of the new Kızılay building. This project was implemented and, now, there is a fourteen-storey, huge building which is not coherent with its environs in terms of scale. The building has open spaces for public uses at the ground floor but the building is entirely not used at the moment. Through the last project, the area beneath Kızılay Square was transformed into an underground shopping place at the intersection point of metro and Ankaray lines. This central underground station which is used by a great number of people everyday is also the most controlled and secured place within the city center of Kızılay as one of the examples of increased surveillance and control of public spaces (Batuman, 2002).

In the plan report of unapproved 2025 Metropolitan Area Master Plan, active green spaces are defined as places which serve entertainment and recreation purposes and kinder gardens, sports and play areas, neighborhood, district and urban parks are given as examples. In this sense, active green spaces are essential public spaces which fulfill social and recreational needs of urbanites.

After 1980, Demetevler, Kurtuluş, Kuğulu, Botanik, Abdi İpekçi, Aktepe, Seğmenler and Hisar Parks were introduced as district parks in residential areas or central locations of Ankara. Besides, Altınpark which is an urban park was opened in 1993.

It includes a fair center, a science center, a cultural and convention center, a baby nursery and a sports center. Within its area of 640.000 m^2, it also contains a lake, picnic areas, play grounds for children, restaurants and cafes and allow urban inhabitants to engage in different activities.

Contrary to the introduction of new active green spaces after 1980, the amount of active green space per urban inhabitant in 1996 was 1.8 m^2 that is highly below the proposed amount of 7 m^2 according to Reconstruction Law numbered 3194 (2025 Metropolitan Area Master Plan Report). Although this proposed amount can also be questioned whether it is an indicator of a healthy urban life, the existing amount seems to be extremely inadequate.

The qualitative and quantitative insufficiencies of public spaces and city centers of Ankara is one of the reasons behind the increasing use of shopping centers as meeting places where many people are attracted. Especially those shopping centers like Migros Akköprü and Armada shopping centers which stress on entertainment and leisure activities are serving as places where people have fun, engage in cultural activities and where everyday needs of people are met in terms of product and services. It can be observed from the activities that are held in those shopping centers that they use the attractiveness of leisure and entertainment activities to a great extent. Since its opening in 2002, Armada shopping center has been the focus of popular music concerts and other kinds of shows and events.

In a similar way, within the four years of time, Migros Akköprü Shopping Center has been a place where several kinds of events and activities like exhibitions, auto shows, dance festivals, fashion shows, meetings of popular TV stars and authors with people and etc. Besides, these activities are announced through the supplement of a daily newspaper on the first Saturdays of every month beginning from October of 2003. This newspaper supplement also contains news about the shops and stores in the shopping center and announcements of promotions and discounts.

As a result, it can be argued that especially those shopping centers using entertainment and leisure time activities as a strategic tool for increasing sales and profits has a transformative role in the use and meaning of public space. Shopping

centers bringing many people together appear as alternatives to existing public spaces and city centers which are losing their vitality and viability due to inadequate amounts, low environmental quality, decreasing security and the underestimation of pedestrian element. By their interior designs and mix of activities, shopping centers try to simulate city centers whereas they put the heterogeneity of people and activities into an order. Through their security systems, they reduce the risks and uncertainties of diversity to minimum levels. Through their shop mix organizations, they meet several needs under one roof in an orderly and comfortable way.

Since shopping centers seem to solve some major problems like security, physical quality, comfort and pedestrianization that city centers suffer from, they have become powerful alternatives to existing public spaces and influential elements within social and spatial structures of urban areas.

3.3. The Development of Retailing in Turkey

In the early years of the Turkish Republic, state initiatives for the development of retail chains can be observed. The first example is Sümerbank retail chain selling its own products, mostly textile and garment. However, the true development of retail chains began in 1950s by the establishment of Migros-Turk in 1955. Migros was a Swiss market chain and it was invited to the country by the government of the day. Migros-Turk opened in İstanbul aimed at to sell basic food stuffs at relatively low prices by decreasing distribution costs.

In addition, GİMA A.Ş. retailing company was established in Ankara again as a state initiative in 1956. This company aimed at to provide basic food stuffs and other basic consumption goods at considerably lower prices than the market by buying them directly from the producers. These developments show that western type of retailing entered the country in 1950s. Besides state initiatives, due to the increasing concern in retailing sector, some private companies such as Karamürsel and 19 Mayıs stores, Beymen and Vakko entered the retail market in 1960s (Baykal & Gülmez, 1979; Arıkbay, 1996 cited in Sert, 1996).

In 1970s, TANSA, chain stores owned by municipality, was established. Besides, multi-storey stores began to be opened in 1970s. Through these developments

beginning from 1950s, mass consumption behaviour and the concept of discount began to settle down into the consumption patterns of the Turkish society (Arıkbay, 1996 cited in Sert, 1996).

Beginning from early 1970s, major changes were realized in the scale, organization and geography of retailing in developed countries. These changes were initiated by the economic, political and social restructuring throughout the whole world. The development of new retailing spaces started with the emergence of supermarkets which dominantly provide food items. Then, hypermarkets, offering both food and non-food items, began to appear in the suburban areas of cities. Hypermarkets contained large parking areas since they targeted mobilized customers. The widespread use of automobile, the developments of storage facilities (such as refrigerators), the more comfortable shopping environment and sales organization fastening shopping and the relatively lower prices contributed to the rapid development of supermarkets and hypermarkets both in developed and under developed countries (Sert, 1996).

It is clear that there are differences between developed and underdeveloped countries concerning the development of retail sector. In Turkey, like in many under developed countries retailing is negatively affected by the uneven development in production sectors. Risks and uncertainties of the agricultural production and relatively poor conditions of food processing industries had severe effects in western kind of retail development in Turkey. Besides, insufficient storage and packaging facilities and the problems in transportation are also among the drawbacks in the development of retail sector in Turkey (Arıkbay, 1996 cited in Sert, 1996; Sert, 1996). However, developments which enable to overcome these insufficiencies and the improvements in transportation and infrastructure together with technological advances have contributed to the rapid development of retailing in Turkey in a similar path of western countries (Sert, 1996).

When come to 1980s, the replacement of import-substitution policies by more liberal policies was realized in Turkey which affected both production and consumption patterns (Sert, 1996). The shift towards more outward-oriented policies resulted in relatively high levels of growth between 1981-93 which also meant an improvement

in incomes. In other words, after 1980, there has been a growing consumer market creating large and consistent demand for products. This has resulted in increasing investments to retail sector by both the domestic and international capital. Since a great proportion of consumer market was formed by the urban population, which meant more than 60% of the total population in 1995, especially large cities like İstanbul, Ankara, İzmir and Bursa have become the focus of retail investments in the form of supermarkets and shopping centers (Tokatlı & Boyacı, 1998).

According to Tokatlı & Boyacı (1998), large retailers encourage purpose built shopping center developments (such as Gima in Ankara's Armada shopping center) or directly develop their own shopping centers (like Migros in Migros Ankara Akköprü shopping center and Carrefour in Ankara's Carrefour). In other words, the anchor stores of many shopping centers indicate that there is a close relationship between the development and strengthening of large retailers and the emergence of shopping centers (Tokatlı & Boyacı, 1998).

Before 1990s, the Turkish retail market was highly fragmented consisting of small independent and simple-location retailers (corner store, grocer, butcher, draper etc.) which were not integrated. However, in the last two decades, through the involvement of multi-company domestic firms and international retailers, large-scale retailing and a trend towards the ownership of multiple-retail outlets under common managerial control is emergent. Koç (Migros), Sabancı (CarrefourSA), Fiba (Gima) and Boyner (Çarşı) holding companies are powerful domestic actors in today's Turkish retailing sector (Tokatlı & Boyacı, 1998).

Unlike the small, independent retailer, large retailers have the potential to influence customer attitudes through advertising campaigns and price policies which makes the image of retailer in front of customer's eyes more important than the physical location of the shopping center. Besides, large-scale retailers can create their own survival strategies by adapting themselves to changing conditions through choosing new locations in growing areas and leaving those that are not suitable any more (Tokatlı & Boyacı, 1998). These survival strategies of large-retailers are crucial for the physical layout of urban structure since they have greatly influential upon directing new residential and other commercial and business developments around them.

3.4. The Development of Shopping Centers in Ankara

Atakule Tourism and Commercial Center was the first shopping center of Ankara and was built close to the developing city center of Köroğlu Street and environs. Within its four storeys and 150 shops, Atakule brought different kinds of products and services together under one roof for the first time in Ankara in 1989 (www.atakule.com.tr).

Following Atakule, Karum Business and Shopping Center was introduced in 1991 with the motto of 'A New Center in Ankara'. Like Atakule, Karum was also developed in one of the existing city centers of Ankara, Tunalı Hilmi Street and environs. It contains 382 shops, 103 offices and a car parking area with a capacity of 200 vehicles. Among its nine floors, three of them function as the shopping floors, four of them as office floors and the other two floors as the car parking area (www.karummanagement.com.tr; www.guidetoturkey.com).

Another shopping center which was developed within the existing city center structure was Beğendik Kocatepe Shopping Center opened in 1993 in Kızılay. It totally has three floors within a total area of 25.000 m^2. The ground floor serves as the car parking area with the capacity of 400 vehicles and the other two floors contain supermarket, textile, home aids and service units departments. Among service units, there are key production, shoe-repair, laundry, florist and pet shop besides a restaurant and a food-court (www.begendik.com.tr).

The development of shopping centers within city center structure has impacts in the way to influence the growth of prestigious functions like business and other commercial services, headquarters of national and international firms, hotels and cultural centers. In other words, the concentration of prestigious functions is encouraged within the area that the shopping center is developed especially when the area is experiencing a tendency through the development of CBD functions. The effects of Karum and Atakule upon the development of Tunalı Hilmi and Köroğlu Streets and environs as CBDs can be evaluated within this context.

Until the last years of 1990s, Ankara has these three main shopping centers within the existing city center structure. However, for the last five-six years, shopping

centers have flourished both among the city centers and in suburban areas. The first suburban shopping center was Bilkent Center opened in 1998 with the anchor store of Real Hypermarket (originally German) which is an indicator of the involvement of international capital in Turkish retailing sector.

Bilkent Center consists two main parts: Ankuva Shopping Center and the building containing Real Hypermarket, three specialized-product shops (Praktiker, Tepe Home and Toys'R Us), Marx & Spencer having a lady coiffeur and a beauty center, a cinema, food-court, bank, a dry-cleaning shop and a skate boarding area at the ground floor. These two main parts are connected two each other through an enclosed passage. The shopping center has a total area of 50.000 m^2, 20.000 m^2 of which is the open-air car parking area (Aksel, 2001).

In 27 August 1999, Turkey's biggest shopping center, Migros Akköprü Shopping Center, was opened in Ankara. The total closed area of the shopping center is 126.600 m^2 and it consists of four floors. It has a car parking area with a capacity of 3000 vehicles, 2000 of which is closed and 1000 is open-air. The ground floor including management unit functions as the closed car parking area and has six entrances. With the three main entrances at the entrance floor, this huge shopping center has totally nine entrances.

Figure 1: An Outside View of Migros Akköprü Shopping Center
Source: www.migros.com.tr

There exist totally 151 stores and service units in Migros Akköprü Shopping Center. Among the service units there is a cinema with six saloons, a theatre saloon, a bank, a play center for children, a tailor, a coiffeur, a pet-shop, a florist, unit of a bus company and a medical unit. There are four anchor stores as Çarşı, Mudo City,

Toys'R Us and Migros Hypermarket. Migros Hypermarket is located at the entrance floor across one of the main entrances. Çarşı has parts both at the entrance and second floors. A large food-court containing nearly sixteen units, the cinema and theatre saloons are serving at the top floor.

Migros Akköprü Shopping Center which is developed at the intersection point of two important inter-urban roads (İstanbul and Konya State Highways), with its high levels of physical accessibility attracts large number of visitors both from Ankara and surrounding settlements. According to the data obtained from the management company, approximately 25.000-30.000 people visits the shopping center in the working days of the week while on weekends this number doubles and reaches up to 50.000-65.000.

Another shopping center which was also opened in 1999 was Yimpaş Söğütözü Shopping Center and was developed on another main transportation line, Eskişehir Road. It has nine floors and a closed area of 18.000 m^2. In 2002, Armada Shopping and Business Center was opened again on Eskişehir Road. The development of shopping centers along the main arteries in the first place causes remarkable levels of traffic problems which lead to new and continuing arrangements concerning the road and traffic infrastructure. Moreover, through their high levels of accessibility and consumer services, they attract many people from different parts of the city and this contributes to lessening use of city centers.

By the ends of 1990s, Ümitköy Galleria and Mesa Koru Plaza were introduced in the growing suburban areas of Ümitköy, Konutkent and Çayyolu on the western corridor of the city. Carrefour, opened in 2001, was developed on the south-western corridor, İstanbul Road and is close to other suburban areas of Ankara as Batıkent, Eryaman and Sincan. The development of shopping centers in suburban areas encourages the level of growth in these areas. Since infrastructure opportunities emerge through the development of shopping center, pressures for the development of residential areas and other commercial activities come up.

Other shopping centers and hypermarkets that were developed by domestic retailers like Adese, Yimpaş, Gima and Migros were built among residential areas close to city centers. The distribution of shopping centers is shown in Figure 4.

Smaller scale supermarkets were not included in the figure since the aim is not to grasp the changing retail structure of the city. Rather, those new retail developments (multi-storey shopping centers and hypermarkets introducing different products and activities under one roof) which have great influence upon the urban structure, functioning and use of city centers were taken into consideration.
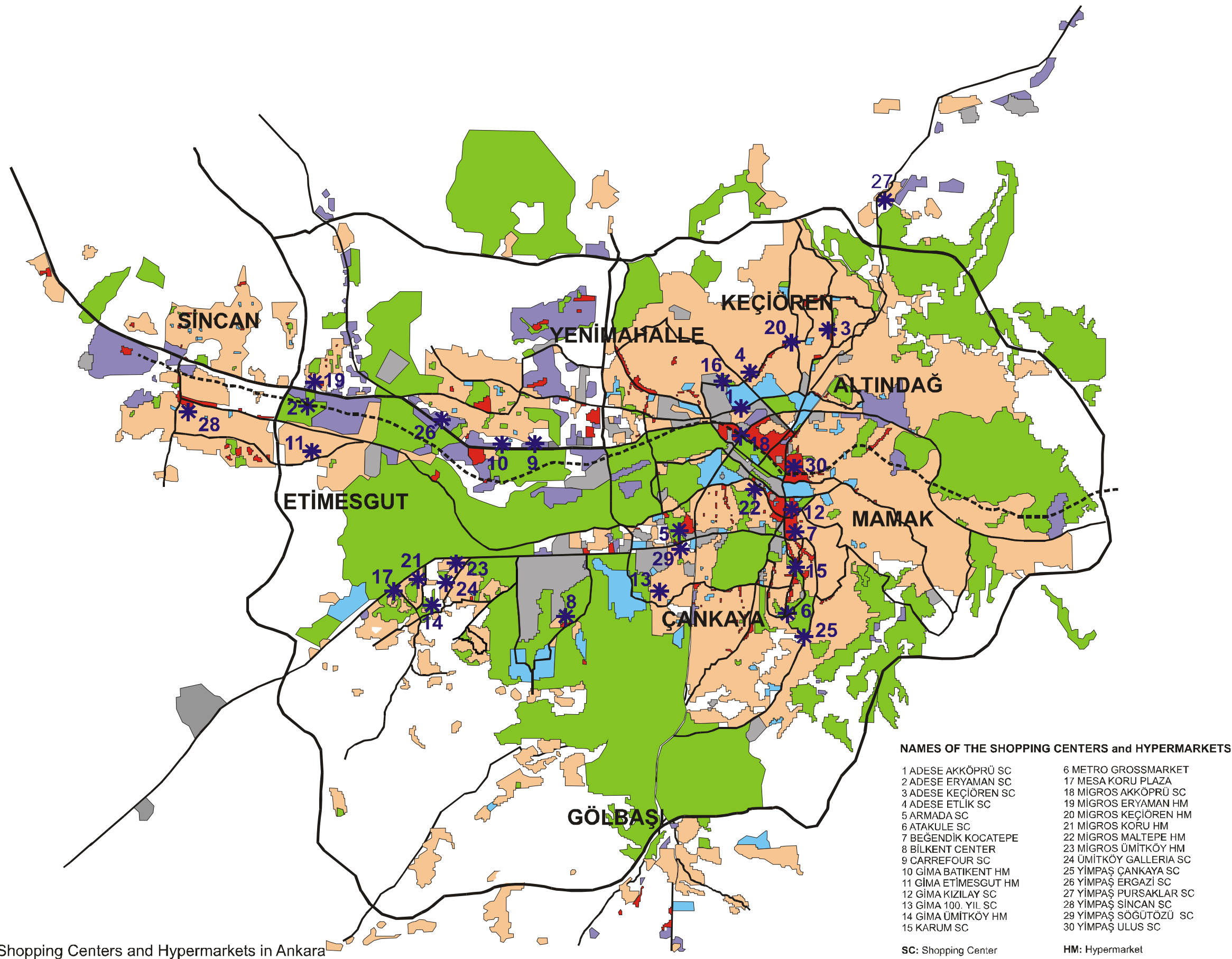
Figure 4: Shopping Centers and Hypermarkets in Ankara

NAMES OF THE SHOPPING CENTERS and HYPERMARKETS

1 ADESE AKKÖPRÜ SC	6 METRO GROSSMARKET
2 ADESE ERYAMAN SC	17 MESA KORU PLAZA
3 ADESE KEÇİÖREN SC	18 MİGROS AKKÖPRÜ SC
4 ADESE ETLİK SC	19 MİGROS ERYAMAN HM
5 ARMADA SC	20 MİGROS KEÇİÖREN HM
6 ATAKULE SC	21 MİGROS KORU HM
7 BEĞENDİK KOCATEPE	22 MİGROS MALTEPE HM
8 BİLKENT CENTER	23 MİGROS ÜMİTKÖY HM
9 CARREFOUR SC	24 ÜMİTKÖY GALLERIA SC
10 GİMA BATIKENT HM	25 YİMPAŞ ÇANKAYA SC
11 GİMA ETİMESGUT HM	26 YİMPAŞ ERGAZİ SC
12 GİMA KIZILAY SC	27 YİMPAŞ PURSAKLAR SC
13 GİMA 100. YIL SC	28 YİMPAŞ SİNCAN SC
14 GİMA ÜMİTKÖY HM	29 YİMPAŞ SÖĞÜTÖZÜ SC
15 KARUM SC	30 YİMPAŞ ULUS SC

SC: Shopping Center   **HM:** Hypermarket

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CHAPTER 4

CASE STUDY: MİGROS AKKÖPRÜ SHOPPING CENTER IN ANKARA

4.1. The Development of Migros Akköprü Shopping Center

The site on which Migros Akköprü Shopping center was built belonged to a government institution, Meat and Fish Institution (MFI) before 1993. As mentioned before, one of the main implications of neo-liberal policies has been the increasing levels of privatization in Turkey after 1983. Within this context, MFI was included among the public sector organizations which have a second degree of priority for privatization in the Report of Privatization prepared in 1986. Then, in 1992, MFI was added to the list of public sector organizations whose privatization would be realized. By this attempt, the privatization process of MFI started and between 1993-97 properties belonging to MFI were sold to private sector organizations. In this period, the ownership of the facility area of MFI was transferred to the Association of Ankara Wholesalers of Foodstuffs and Consumables (AAWFC) (Eke & Sönmez, 2003).

The highly remarkable transformation process for the old site of MFI began quickly after it was possessed by a powerful group. As stated before, since 1990 Ankara has not have a master plan which will guide new urban developments and the emergence of Migros Akköprü Shopping Center in Akköprü took place under such a condition. It can be put forward that rather than depending on master plan with upper scale decisions, negotiations were determinant upon the preparation of the legal background of the development of Migros Akköprü Shopping Center.

In order to develop a new space on the site which was formerly a public service area, a plan was required which determines the new function that would take place on the area. Therefore, a plan proposal which offers a commercial center on the site

was submitted to Ankara Metropolitan Municipality by AAWFC. After a period of negotiations, 1/5000 scaled plan named 'AAWFC Urban Service Area Master Plan' was approved by the council of Metropolitan Municipality on 05.12.1996 with the decision numbered 596. The highly flexible definition of 'urban service area' in bylaws of Reconstruction Law includes public buildings, commercial office services, commercial centers, exhibition-sales buildings and culture-entertainment buildings. This flexibility also call for the existence of a looseness in the law for the development of new areas. After the planning process was completed with the approval of 1/1000 scaled plan by Yenimahalle Provincial Municipality, the construction permission was taken and Turkey's biggest shopping center with an enclosed area of 126.600 m^2 emerged in Akköprü through legal processes. It was followed by the leasing of the center to Migros Firm by AAWFC after the construction of the shopping center by the Migros Firm[1].

4.2. The Methodology and The Content of The Case Study

Case study is formed by a questionnaire survey[2] and an interview done with the manager of Migros Akköprü Shopping Center, Alev Kahraman. The questionnaires were conducted with totally 310 interviewees between the dates 13 July 2002 and 29 July 2002. Within the survey period of 17 days, in order to achieve the random selection of the interviewees, questionnaires were tried to be made with people from different sexes, ages, at different hours of the day and at different places of the shopping center, both interior and exterior places. Although food court provide the agglomeration of people from different ages, sexes, classes, occupations and etc., the different places within the floors of the shopping center were toured since differentiation can take place within the shopping center according to the use intention of the shopping center. The interview aimed at to put light on the managerial aspect which has notable effects upon the use of shopping center as a public space.

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[1] The information was obtained from plan notes and an interview with Buğra Gökçe, city planner in Reconstruction Department of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality.
[2] The questionnaire survey which was used as the empirical data source was held within the project named 'Social Stratification Tendencies in Ankara: The Case of Shopping Malls' headed by Assist. Prof. H. Tarık ŞENGÜL whom the owner of this thesis is thankful.

The questionnaire contained totally 62 questions some of which were open ended while some were with alternatives. The questions were prepared in a way to identify several aspects and features of the users of the shopping center, the act of shopping and the use of the shopping center. More precisely, the questions aimed at to determine the demographical and income features of the interviewees, how the shopping center was used by different groups of age, sex and income, the shopping habits of the interviewees, the opinions and views of the interviewees concerning the features of the environment provided by the shopping center and the use of city centers of Ankara.

Through the identification of these issues, it is aimed at to question the validity of some hypothesis. The main hypothesis is that Migros Akköprü Shopping Center is viewed and used as a public space by many people. It observable that within the time passed in the shopping center social experiences and interactions are lived. The second hypothesis is that although it is viewed and used as a public space, the shopping center fails to fulfill some of the criteria for defining public space or possess some of the characteristics of public space at lower degrees. One criteria is accessibility by all. Although as it is stated in the previous chapters that exclusion of some groups from the public realm and followingly from public spaces was always the case throughout history, it is argued in this thesis that the environment provided by the shopping centers is more exclusionary for some groups through the dominance of shops and stores targeting high income groups and through surveillance systems and private management.

Another criteria is being open to everyone's use which is related with the activity opportunities for the engagement of different groups. It is true that variety of leisure and entertainment activities are used by the management companies to a great extent for attracting visitors to shopping centers. However, it is claimed that these are not enough for the achievement of a public environment offering a range of passive and active engagement opportunities for different groups of income, sex and age.

Within the context of the criteria of being open to everyone's use, the difference between public access and public use will also be evaluated. It is put forward that the use of shopping center by some groups is a more restricted one. More precisely,

while high-income groups have the chance for shopping, engaging in activities introduced by the shopping center (cinema, theatre), since they can not afford the prices offered for these activities, shopping center becomes a place of wandering around and spending leisure time for low-income groups for the most time.

The other criteria for defining and evaluating public space concerns with coexistence and social interaction. In terms of coexistence, it is argued that shopping center is restrictive for especially the urban poor and undesirables. Through both survey results and observations, the form and level of social interaction will tried to be identified. It is claimed that since the main aim of the shopping center management is to direct visitors to shops and stores in order to maintain sales for its existence, social interaction is a limited one taking place mainly in the food-court, the only area within the shopping center where numerous people can gather together.

Another hypothesis concerns with the differences about the use of shopping center by different age groups and by women besides the difference between the uses of different income groups. It was observed during the survey that younger people use shopping center mainly for socializing as well as for spending their leisure times. This observation will also be discussed through the results of the questionnaire survey. As the literature survey presented, places like shopping arcades, department stores and shopping centers provided women a considerable degree of freedom and safety concerning the engagement in the public sphere. Related with the increasing fear of city centers and streets, it is argued that when compared to men, women are more likely to prefer shopping centers for both shopping, wandering around and spending their leisure times.

The other hypothesis is about the relation between the use of shopping centers and the use of city centers. It is agreed upon that the development of shopping centers has great effects on the decline of city centers. It will be discussed that through the rapid development of shopping centers the use of city centers as public spaces tends to decrease.

4.3. Survey Results of The Case Study

4.3.1. Demographical Features of The Interviewees

When total interviewees of 310 people are evaluated, the mean of their ages is 32.64. When the ages of the interviewees are distributed among five age intervals, it is seen that with the percentage of 45.2, people falling to 26-40 interval is dominant among other age groups (Table 4.1). Interviewees who are 25 years old and below are also have a high percentage with 33.2. The mean of age and the age distribution of the interviewees shows that users of the shopping center have a young profile dominated by people who are living their 20's and 30's. This result together with the very low percentages of aged people can be evaluated as an indicator of the limited activities for older people and leads to the comment that the physical environment that is offered by the shopping center restricts the use of older age groups.

Table 4.1. Age Distribution of The Interviewees

Age Intervals	Percentage	Frequency
25 and below	33.2	103
26-40	45.2	140
41-55	17.4	54
56-70	3.9	12
71 and up	0.3	1
Total	**100**	**310**

The number of women participating to the survey is more than the men who are talked with. The percentage of women is 61.9 (192 people) while it is 38.1 (118 people) for men.

The percentages of married and single interviewees are approximately close to each other. 46.1% of 310 interviewees is married, 48.4% is single and only 5.5% of them is divorced or lost their spouses. Married or divorced interviewees were asked how many children they had and as shown in Table 4.2., most of them (77.5%) had 1 or 2 children. The mean of the number of children had is found 2.15.

Table 4.2. Number of Children

Number of Children	Percentage	Frequency
0	14.4	23
1	37.5	60
2	40	64
3	6.3	10
4	1.8	3
Total	**100**	**160**

As shown in Table 4.3., families consisting of 3 people have the highest percentage of 33.9 and this is followed by families consisting of 4 people with a percentage of 29.4. The mean of the number of households is found 3. From the results of number of children had and the number of households, it can be claimed that the users of the shopping center is dominantly from nuclear type of families.

Table 4.3. Number of Households

Number of Households	Percentage	Frequency
1	23	7.4
2	61	19.7
3	105	33.9
4	91	29.4
5	22	7.1
6	5	1.6
7	1	0.3
Not Answered	2	0.6
Total	**100**	**310**

When educational status of the interviewees are examined, it is seen that the number of university graduates is highest having a percentage of 49 (Table 4.4). Graduates of higher education, university and master and doctorate programmes are taken separately in the analysis as seen in Table 4.4. If all these categories are considered together, it is understood that interviewees having a higher education than high school education have a percentage of 57.4. The high school graduates also have a significant part among all interviewees. When these are thought together with the quite low percentages of middle and primary school graduates, it can be reached that users of the shopping center are quite highly educated.

Table 4.4. Educational Status of The Interviewees

	Percentage	Frequency
Primary School	2.9	9
Junior High School	2.3	7
High School	37.1	115
Higher Education	6.5	20
University	49	152
Master Programme	1.3	4
Doctorate Programme	0.6	2
Not answered	0.3	1
Total	**100**	**310**

66.4% of all interviewees have an income while 33.6%, including unemployed (9.4%), students (13.2%) and housewives (11%), have no personal income. When retired interviewees are excluded, it is seen that 59% of all interviewees are active in the work force (Table 4.5).

Table 4.5. Occupational Status of The Interviewees

	Percentage	Frequency
Paid in Public Sector	27.8	86
Paid in Private Sector	21	65
Manager in Public Sector	0.6	2
Manager in Private Sector	1.3	4
Self-Employed in Traditional Businesses	1.3	4
Self-Employed in Modern Businesses	6.5	20
Industrialist / Entrepreneur	0.6	2
Retired	7.4	23
Unemployed	9.4	29
Student	13.2	41
Housewife	11	34
Total	**100**	**310**

Through an examination among the interviewees who are active in the work force, it appears that 85.8% of them are wage earners in public and private sectors, which have percentages as 48.1 and 37.7 respectively (Table 4.6.). The other 14.2% have their own businesses. Only 1.1% of self-employed interviewees are industrialist or entrepreneur while 14.1% of them engage in traditional (hairdresser, grocer etc.) or modern businesses (real estate agent, insurance agent etc.).

Table 4.6. Occupational Status of The Interviewees Who Are Active in The Work Force

	Percentage	Frequency
Paid in Private Sector	37.7	69
Paid in Public Sector	48.1	88
Self-Employed in Traditional Businesses	2.2	4
Self-Employed in Modern Businesses	11.9	20
Industrialist / Entrepreneur	1.1	2
Total	**100**	**183**

Qualification status of the private and public sector employees are determined according to their educational status. Those who have an education higher than high school education are considered as qualified, those without university education are considered unqualified. According to this evaluation, 72.5% of total 69 private sector employees and 88.6% of total 88 public sector employees are qualified.

4.3.2. Income Features of The Interviewees

In order to determine the income levels of the interviewees, both their personal and family incomes were asked. In order to group the interviewees according to their personal income 5 intervals were determined as seen in Table 4.7. Among 66.4% of all interviewees having a personal income, most of them fall within the intervals of 300-600 Millions TL. and 600 Millions-1 Billion TL. The mean of the personal income is found 850.000.000 TL. Above, it has been stated that 33.6% of all interviewees were evaluated as having no personal income but in Table 4.7 it is seen as 31%. This is because there are some students and housewives working in irregular or part time jobs.

Table 4.7. Approximate Personal Incomes of The Interviewees

Income Intervals	Percentage	Frequency
150-300 Millions TL.	6.8	21
300-600 Millions TL.	25.2	78
600 Millions-1 Billion TL.	23.5	73
1-2 Billions TL.	9.7	30
Higher than 2 Billions TL.	1.9	6
No personal income	31	96
Not answered	1.9	6
Total	**100**	**310**

When family incomes are considered, most people state that they have a family income fall within the interval of 1-2 Billions TL. (Table 4.8). The mean of the family incomes of all interviewees is 1.579.700.000 TL.

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Table 4.8. Approximate Family Incomes of The Interviewees

Income Intervals	Percentage	Frequency
150-300 Millions TL.	2.6	8
300-600 Millions TL.	14.2	44
600 Millions-1 Billion TL.	25.8	80
1-2 Billions TL.	39.4	122
2-4 Billions TL.	10.3	32
Higher than 4 Billions TL.	2.6	8
Not answered	5.2	16
Total	**100**	**310**

Since house ownership is an indicator of economic status of people, interviewees were also asked about the ownership status of the house they have lived in. Since most of the students and single interviewees lived with their families, as seen in Table 4.9, various answered were given. By examining the table, it can be said that most of the interviewees (73.2%) lived in their own houses while 26.8% of all interviewees, those living in lojman and who are tenants, seem not to have a house.

Table 4.9. House Ownership Status of The Interviewees

	Percentage	Frequency
Owns the house lived in	20.3	63
Tenant	22.3	69
Owns more houses than the one lived in	8.7	27
Lojman	4.5	14
Lives in a house belonging to his/her family	21.6	67
Tenant but owns a house	3.9	12
Lives in a house belonging to his/her family having more than one house	14.2	44
Tenant but owns a house belonging to his/her family	1.3	4
Lojman but owns a house	2.6	8
Dormitory	0.3	2
Total	**100**	**310**

In order to view the house ownership status of the interviewees, a distribution was made among only married or divorced interviewees. Table 4.10 shows this distribution and the high level of house ownership of the interviewees can be seen more clearly.

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Table 4.10. House Ownership Status of Married and Divorced Interviewees

	Percentage	Frequency
Owns the house lived in	38.1	61
Tenant	21.9	35
Owns more than one houses	16.9	27
Lojman	5.6	9
Lives in a house belonging to his/her family	5.6	9
Tenant but owns a house	7.5	12
Lojman but owns a house	4.4	7
Total	**100**	**160**

When family incomes and house ownership status of the interviewees are evaluated, it can be said that people above an average income and life-style are dominantly using the shopping center. This interpretation will tried to be supported through the other findings of the survey.

4.3.3. The Use of Migros Akköprü Shopping Center

Under this heading, basically, the use of Migros Akköprü Shopping Center concerning the features of the visits (how often, with whom, for what, how long etc.) and the experiences lived during these visits will be presented. The aim of these analysis is to designate the different uses of shopping center by different groups of age, gender and income and its use as a public space.

When interviewees were asked how frequently they visited the shopping center, most of them, with a percentage of 27.4%, said that they generally visit Migros Akköprü Shopping Center once a week. The distribution of other answers are seen in Table 4.11.

Table 4.11. Visiting Periods of The Interviewees

Periods	Percentage	Frequency
Everyday	0.6	2
Once in 2-3 Days	11	34
Once a Week	27.4	85
Once in Two Weeks	22.6	70
Once A Month	20	62
Rarely	18.4	57
Total	**100**	**310**

Depending upon the information obtained from the manager of the shopping center, it is found that 61.6& of all interviewees are 'permanent customers' (those who visit

the shopping center at least every two weeks). This data indicating the frequent use of the shopping center is remarkable since it represents the attractiveness of the shopping center.

57.1% of all interviewees stated that their visits are usually unplanned while 42.9% said that they generally visit the shopping center in a planned manner. Among 133 interviewees who claimed that their visits were usually planned, %56.5 stated that they prefer to come in the weekends, 41.2% within the working days of the week and 2.3% said that it does not make any difference. The notable percentage of unplanned visits to shopping center can be in part related with the difference between shopping and buying. The result shows that different from buying (a targeted activity), shopping is a leisure activity and people without any plans or obligations for buying came to the shopping center.

When a cross comparison was made between the age groups and the frequency of the visits, it is seen that 15.5% of the interviewees who are 25 years old and below stated that they visited the shopping center everyday (1.9%) and once within 2-3 days (13.6%) and this percentage was 11.4% for the age interval of 26-40 (See Table 4.12). Thus, it can be said that teenagers and people in their 20's and 30's visit the shopping center more frequently.

Table 4.12. Age vs. Frequency of the Visits

Age Intervals	Frequency of the Visits					
	Everyday	Once Within 2-3 Days	Once A Week	Once Within 15 Days	Once A Month	Rarely
25 and below	1.9% (2)	13.6% (14)	29.1% (30)	18.4% (19)	19.4% (20)	17.5% (18)
26-40	-	11.4% (16)	30% (42)	22.9% (32)	20.7% (29)	15% (21)
41-55	-	7.4% (4)	20.4% (111)	31.5% (17)	18.5% (10)	22.2% (12)
56-70	-	-	16.7% (2)	8.3% (1)	25% (3)	50% (6)
71 and up	-	-	-	100% (1)	-	-

When the comparison was made between man and woman concerning the frequency of visits, no significant difference was observed (See Table 4.13) although it can be expected that women visit the shopping center more frequently than men

since shopping is often regarded as a women dominant activity. The result is due to different activities offered in the shopping center except for shopping.

Table 4.13. Gender vs. Frequency of the Visits

Gender	Frequency of Shopping Center Visits					
	Everyday	Once Within 2-3 Days	Once A Week	Once Within 15 Days	Once A Month	Rarely
Female	0.5% (1)	9.4% (18)	24.5% (47)	22.9% (44)	21.4% (41)	21.4% (41)
Male	0.8% (1)	13.6% (16)	32.2% (38)	22% (26)	17.8% (21)	13.6% (16)

A comparison was made between different income groups in order to see whether there was a difference concerning the frequency of visits. Only considering the relatively high prices of the shopping center it can be thought that it is likely that Migros Akköprü Shopping Center is used more frequently by people from high income levels. But the results of the comparison do not support this hypothesis (See Table 4.14). This is because of the fact that shopping center is used for many other purposes by different groups due to different activities offered in the shopping center except for shopping. While some groups mainly use it for spending their leisure time by simply wandering around and living new experiences, some groups mainly use it for shopping in a safer and comfortable environment. Thus, it can be put forward that the shopping center depending also upon its high level of physical accessibility gathers people with differing income and status.

Table 4.14. Family Income vs. Frequency of Shopping Center Visits

Income Intervals	Frequency of Shopping Center Visits					
	Everyday	Once Within 2-3 Days	Once A Week	Once Within 15 Days	Once A Month	Rarely
150-300 Millions TL.	-	12.5% (1)	62.5% (5)	-	25% (2)	-
300-600 Millions TL.	-	4.5% (2)	27.3% (12)	11.4% (5)	25% (11)	31.8% (14)
600 Millions-1 Billion TL.	1.3% (1)	8.8% (7)	25% (20)	25% (20)	17.5% (14)	22.5% (18)
1-2 Billions TL.	0.8% (1)	12.3% (15)	24.6% (30)	24.6% (30)	23% (28)	14.8% (18)
2-4 Billions TL.	-	12.5% (4)	31.3% (10)	25% (8)	12.5% (4)	18.8% (6)
Higher Than 4 Billions TL.	-	12.5% (1)	25% (2)	37.5% (3)	25% (2)	-

A great portion (62.3%) of the interviewees claimed that they generally came to the shopping center from their homes, 18.4% from work and 3.9% from school and 15.5% claimed that they decided to come to Migros Akköprü Shopping Center while walking around. A great portion of the interviewees who claimed that they generally came to the shopping center from wandering around is constituted by those who are 25 years old and below, with a percentage of 56.3% and those who are between 26 and 40 years old, with a percentage of 35.4% (See Table 4.15). This result points out that Migros Akköprü Shopping Center have more or less a drop-in place characteristic for especially young people.

Table 4.15. Age vs. Place of Coming to the Shopping Center

Place of Coming to the Shopping Center in General	Age Intervals				
	25 and below	26-40	41-55	56-70	71 and up
From Work	35.1% (20)	45.6% (26)	17.5% (10)	1.8% (1)	-
From Home	23.3% (45)	49.7% (96)	21.2% (41)	5.2% (10)	0.5% (1)
From Wandering Around	56.3% (27)	35.4% (17)	6.3% (3)	2.1% (1)	
From School	91.7% (11)	8.3% (1)	-	-	-

When the interviewees were asked with whom they generally came to the shopping center, 47.7% of them said that they usually came to the shopping center with their friends, 41.9% with their family, %10 alone and only %0.3 with their neighbors. As stated in the previous chapters, shopping centers are being viewed among the public places where social relations belonging to the public realm are carried out. Table 4.16 shows that especially young people (25 years old and below), 83.5% of whom claimed that they usually came to the shopping center with their friends use the shopping center as a place for social interaction.

Table 4.16. Age vs. People Whom Interviewees Come To the Shopping Center With

Age Intervals	People Whom Interviewees Come To the Shopping Center With in General			
	Alone	With Family	With Friends	With Neighbours
25 and below	3.9% (4)	12.6% (13)	83.5% (86)	-
26-40	12.9% (18)	49.3% (69)	37.9% (53)	-
41-55	9.3% (5)	75.9% (41)	14.8% (8)	-
56-70	25% (3)	58.3% (7)	8.3% (1)	8.3% (1)
71 and up	100% (1)	-	-	-

The comparison made between men and women concerning the people whom interviewees usually came with is shown in Table 4.17 and the results points out a significant difference. While most of the women (49.5%) came to the shopping center with their families, most of the men (56.8%) came with their friends. Another difference is also seen between the percentages of men and women who claimed that they usually came to the shopping center alone. These results can be related with the mostly accepted claim that men are freer in the experience of public realm and also with the social role determined for women which dominantly takes place in the sphere of family.

Table 4.17. Gender vs. People Whom Interviewees Come To the Shopping Center With

Gender	People Whom Interviewees Come To the Shopping Center With in General			
	Alone	With Family	With Friends	With Neighbours
Female	7.8% (15)	49.5% (95)	42.2% (81)	0.5% (1)
Male	13.6% (16)	29.7% (35)	56.8% (67)	-

Most of the interviewees, with a percentage of %52.9, stated that they generally came to the shopping center with their personal cars. 44.8% said that they used public transportation for coming to the shopping center. The fact that many people use means of public transportation for coming to the shopping center indicates its high levels of physical accessibility within a central location. It is found that other transportation modes like taxi, loaned car or on foot which were included in the questionnaire were almost not used. Within all interviewees, taxi and on foot have very low percentages as 1.3 and 1 respectively. The fact that there is a metro station

very close to Migros Akköprü Shopping Center make no provision of customer services by the shopping center management understandable.

In order to find out the effect of income level upon the mean of transportation used, means of transportation used were distributed within each income interval. Table 4.18 clearly shows that as the income level rises the use of private car for coming to the shopping center increases. Besides, it is also clear that as the income level falls, the dependence upon public transportation increases. It was stated in the previous chapters that for low-income groups physical accessibility within the city depends upon the available mode of public transportation and some shopping centers due to their locations away from the city centers become place that is dominantly used by those with private cars having better incomes. In the case of Migros Akköprü Shopping Center, it is seen that exclusion in terms of physical accessibility is not valid since the area on which it is located is highly supported by different modes of public transportation like metro, dolmuş and public buses. Besides, being on the a main transportation line having several connections to other important lines (See Figure 5) makes it easy for those with private cars to reach to the shopping center from different parts of the city.

Table 4.18. Family Income vs. Means of Transportation Used For Coming to the Shopping Center

Income Intervals	Means of Transportation Used For Coming to the Shopping Center in General			
	Private Car	Public Transportation	Taxi	On Foot
150-300 Millions TL.	25% (2)	75% (6)	-	-
300-600 Millions TL.	36.4% (16)	61.4% (27)	-	2.3% (1)
600 Millions- 1 Billion TL.	30.1% (24)	66.3% (53)	1.3% (1)	2.5% (2)
1-2 Billions TL.	67.2% (82)	32% (39)	0.8% (1)	-
2-4 Billions TL.	75% (24)	21.9% (7)	3.1% (1)	-
Higher Than 4 Billions TL.	87.5% (7)	-	12.5 (1)	-

Although interviewees were from various districts of Ankara, it was found that number of interviewees from closer neighborhoods like Batıkent, Eryaman, Demetevler, Yenimahalle, Balgat and Bahçelievler in terms of proximity and physical accessibility due to transportation opportunities was much higher. Other districts

from which interviewees mostly came were Çankaya, Dikmen, Gaziosmanpaşa, Küçükesat, Ümitköy, Aydınlıkevler, Abidinpaşa and Mamak. The distribution of interviewees according to districts is seen in Table 4.19 and the distribution of interviewees among the neighbourhoods of Ankara is seen in Figure 5.

Figure 5 clearly shows that the number of people coming from Altındağ and Mamak districts are quite low although the shopping center is quite advantageous in terms of physical accessibility. However, with a general evaluation it can be stated that the shopping center attracts people from different parts of the city although highly differentiating in terms of number.

İSTANBUL

ESENBOĞA

KEÇİÖREN

YENİMAHALLE

ALTINDAĞ

AYAŞ - BEYPAZARI

SİNCAN

ETİMESGUT

MAMAK

SAMSUN

Migros Akköprü
Shopping Center

Ümitköy

ESKİŞEHİR

Konutkent

ÇANKAYA

GÖLBAŞI

KONYA

LEGEND

Provincial Municipality Border

Railroad Line

Metro Line

ANKARAY LINE
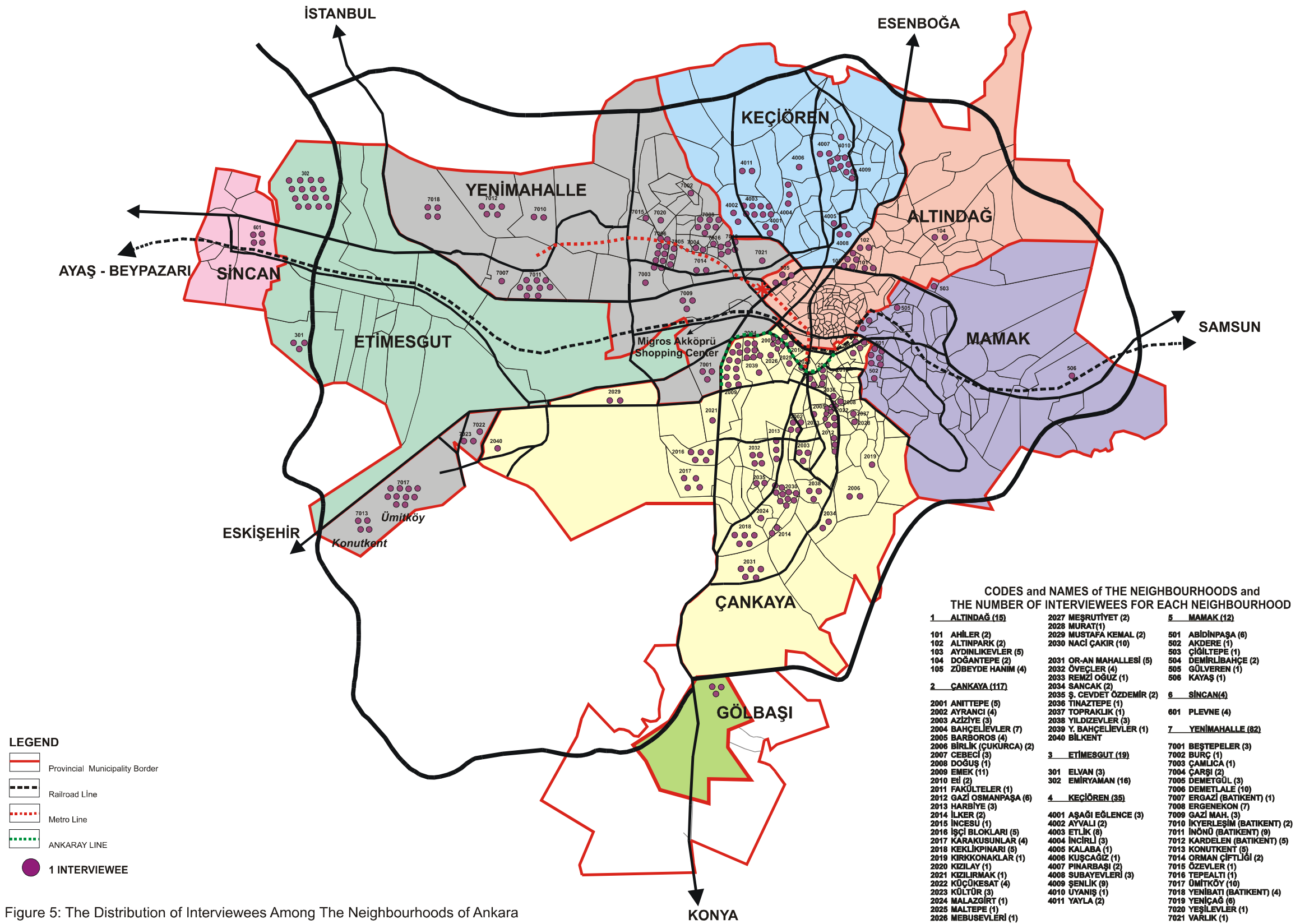
● 1 INTERVIEWEE

Figure 5: The Distribution of Interviewees Among The Neighbourhoods of Ankara

**CODES and NAMES of THE NEIGHBOURHOODS and
THE NUMBER OF INTERVIEWEES FOR EACH NEIGHBOURHOOD**

1   ALTINDAĞ (15)

101 AHİLER (2)
102 ALTINPARK (2)
103 AYDINLIKEVLER (5)
104 DOĞANTEPE (2)
105 ZÜBEYDE HANIM (4)

2   ÇANKAYA (117)

2001 ANITTEPE (5)
2002 AYRANCI (4)
2003 AZİZİYE (3)
2004 BAHÇELİEVLER (7)
2005 BARBOROS (4)
2006 BİRLİK (ÇUKURCA) (2)
2007 CEBECİ (3)
2008 DOĞUŞ (1)
2009 EMEK (11)
2010 Etİ (2)
2011 FAKÜLTELER (1)
2012 GAZİ OSMANPAŞA (6)
2013 HARBİYE (3)
2014 İLKER (2)
2015 İNCESU (1)
2016 İŞÇİ BLOKLARI (5)
2017 KARAKUSUNLAR (4)
2018 KEKLİKPINARI (5)
2019 KIRKKONAKLAR (1)
2020 KIZILAY (1)
2021 KIZILIRMAK (1)
2022 KÜÇÜKESAT (4)
2023 KÜLTÜR (3)
2024 MALAZGİRT (1)
2025 MALTEPE (1)
2026 MEBUSEVLERİ (1)
2027 MEŞRUTİYET (2)
2028 MURAT(1)
2029 MUSTAFA KEMAL (10)
2030 NACİ ÇAKIR (10)

2031 OR-AN MAHALLESİ (5)
2032 ÖVEÇLER (4)
2033 REMZİ OĞUZ (1)
2034 SANCAK (2)
2035 Ş. CEVDET ÖZDEMİR (2)
2036 TINAZTEPE (1)
2037 TOPRAKLIK (1)
2038 YILDIZEVLER (3)
2039 Y. BAHÇELİEVLER (1)
2040 BİLKENT

3   ETİMESGUT (19)

301 ELVAN (3)
302 EMİRYAMAN (16)

4   KEÇİÖREN (35)

4001 AŞAĞI EĞLENCE (3)
4002 AYVALI (2)
4003 ETLİK (8)
4004 İNCİRLİ (3)
4005 KALABA (1)
4006 KUŞCAĞIZ (1)
4007 PINARBAŞI (2)
4008 SUBAYEVLERİ (3)
4009 ŞENLİK (9)
4010 UYANIŞ (1)
4011 YAYLA (2)

5   MAMAK (12)

501 ABİDİNPAŞA (6)
502 AKDERE (1)
503 ÇİĞİLTEPE (1)
504 DEMİRLİBAHÇE (2)
505 GÜLVEREN (1)
506 KAYAŞ (1)

6   SİNCAN(4)

601 PLEVNE (4)

7   YENİMAHALLE (82)

7001 BEŞTEPELER (3)
7002 BURÇ (1)
7003 ÇAMLICA (1)
7004 ÇARŞI (2)
7005 DEMETGÜL (3)
7006 DEMETLALE (10)
7007 ERGAZİ (BATIKENT) (1)
7008 ERGENEKON (7)
7009 GAZİ MAH. (3)
7010 İKYERLEŞİM (BATIKENT) (2)
7011 İNÖNÜ (BATIKENT) (9)
7012 KARDELEN (BATIKENT) (5)
7013 KONUTKENT (5)
7014 ORMAN ÇİFTLİĞİ (2)
7015 ÖZEVLER (1)
7016 TEPEALTI (1)
7017 ÜMİTKÖY (10)
7018 YENİBATI (BATIKENT) (4)
7019 YENİÇAĞ (6)
7020 YEŞİLEVLER (1)
7021 VARLIK (1)

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Table 4.19. Distribution of Interviewees Among the Districts of Ankara

Districts	Percentage	Frequency
Yenimahalle	9	28
Dikmen	8.7	27
Batıkent	7.1	22
Keçiören	6.8	21
Çankaya	6.1	19
Bahçelievler	6.1	19
Eryaman	5.2	16
Demetevler	4.8	15
Etlik	4.2	13
Balgat	3.2	10
Ümitköy	3.2	10
Küçükesat	2.6	8
Aydınlıkevler	2.3	7
G.O.P	2.3	7
Abidinpaşa	1.9	6
Mamak	1.9	6
Konutkent	1.6	5
İskitler	1.3	4
Anıttepe	1.3	4
Sincan	1.3	4
Cebeci	1.3	4
Aşağı Ayrancı	1.3	4
Kurtuluş	1	3
Subayevleri	1	3
Gölbaşı	1	3
Elvankent	1	3
Maltepe	0.6	2
Kızılay	0.6	2
Kolej	0.6	2
Tandoğan	0.6	2
Siteler	0.6	2
Hasköy	0.6	2
Beytepe	0.6	2
Kavaklıdere	0.3	1
Pursaklar	0.3	1
Bilkent	0.3	1
Kocatepe	0.3	1
Beysukent	0.3	1
Söğütözü	0.3	1
İncek	0.3	1
Outside Ankara	5.8	18
Total	**100**	**310**

Another analysis was made concerning the distribution of interviewees among the neighborhoods of Ankara in order to find out if there was an exclusion in terms of income groups inhabiting different areas of the city. As clearly seen from Figure 6, there is hardly anyone coming to the shopping center from squatter areas inhabited by the urban poor.

Figure 6: The Distribution of Interviewees Among The Neighborhoods of Ankara According to Their Family Incomes

İSTANBUL

ESENBOĞA

KEÇİÖREN

ALTINDAĞ

YENİMAHALLE

AYAŞ - BEYPAZARI

SİNCAN

SAMSUN

MAMAK

ETİMESGUT

Migros Akköprü
Shopping Center

Ümitköy

Konutkent

ESKİŞEHİR

ÇANKAYA

GÖLBAŞI

KONYA

LEGEND

Provincial Municipality Border

Railroad Líne

Metro Line

Ankaray Line

Squatter Areas With Improvement Plans

INCOME GROUPS ACCORDING TO FAMILY INCOMES

1. GROUP: Higher Than 4 Billions

2. GROUP: 2-4 Billions

3. GROUP: 1-2 Billions

4. GROUP: 600 Millions-1Billion

5. GROUP: 300-600Millions

6. GROUP: 150-300 Millions

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As Güvenç (2001) states, İstanbul-Samsun State Highway and the railroad line form a border between the two parts of the city differentiated according the residences of income groups. The northern part of this border is dominated by low-income groups while the urban poor inhabits around the castle and the area between the orbital road and the railroad on the northern eastern part of the city. The southern part of the city which is defined as the area below the border on which middle and high-income groups settle (Güvenç, 2001). The distribution of the interviewees shown in Figure 6 supports these definitions and as it is seen while interviewees from third and second income groups are mainly from the southern neighborhoods (Çankaya District), those from fourth and fifth income groups dominate the northern part including the neighborhoods of Keçiören, Yenimahalle, Sincan, Altındağ and Etimesgut Districts.

As a result, it can be stated that although there is a kind of exclusion in terms of income, in case of Migros Akköprü Shopping Center due to its high levels of accessibility, the degree of this exclusion is softened and the shopping center becomes a place in which people with differentiating incomes and status can be together.

When came to the shopping center, 63.5%, the highest percentage, of all said that they spent 2-4 hours in the center. 24.2% claimed that they spent 1-2 hours and 11% said that they spent 4-8 hours. There is hardly anyone claiming that they spent more than 8 hours (0.3%) and less than one hour (1%).

A high percent (73.9%) of the interviewees claimed that there have been times when they leave the shopping center without doing any shopping. This question was asked in order to determine the visiting aims of the interviewees. Although it is expected that people from lower levels of income are more likely to leave the shopping center without doing any shopping, Table 4.20 shows that there is not a considerable difference between different income levels in this sense.

However, by depending upon the observations made during the questionnaire survey, it can be stated that there is a difference between the shopping done by high-income groups and those with lower income. Shopping that is said to be done by those from lower income groups sometimes only consists of a meal eaten from

the food-court while for high-income groups it means that shopping for clothing, shoes and other kinds of goods. Similarly, no exact difference was found between men and women concerning leaving the shopping center without doing any shopping. 70.8% of women stated that they sometimes leave the shopping center without doing any shopping while the percentage for men is 78.8.

Table 4.20. Family Income vs. Leaving the Shopping Center Without Doing Any Shopping

Income Intervals	Leaving the Shopping Center Without Doing Any Shopping	
	Yes	No
150-300 Millions TL.	75% (6)	25% (2)
300-600 Millions TL.	79.5% (35)	20.5% (9)
600 Millions- 1 Billion TL.	88.7% (71)	11.3% (9)
1-2 Billions TL.	67.2% (82)	32.8% (40)
2-4 Billions TL.	59.4% (19)	40.6% (13)
Higher Than 4 Billions TL.	75% (6)	25% (2)

Another question, a more determining one, was asked in order to get the visiting aims of the interviewees in general. Four aims were offered to the interviewees and they were asked to state their visiting purpose or purposes. Interviewees were given the chance to state more than one purpose since in one visit one purpose can become determinant while in another one, a different purpose can be dominant. The purposes offered were shopping for the daily needs of food and drink, shopping for durable goods, shopping for clothing and personal care and only for entertainment and relaxation.

With a quite high percentage 81% (251 interviewees) of the interviewees claimed that they sometimes came to the shopping center only for entertainment and relaxation, i.e., for spending their leisure times. Following this, 236 interviewees claimed that they visit the shopping center for clothing and personal care goods and that makes 76.1% the total interviewees. 44.2% (137 interviewees) said that they visit the center for daily needs of food and drink and only %8.4 (26 interviewees) states that they came for durable goods shopping. As it is seen from the results of

the question spending leisure time, which is among the functions that public spaces serve, is a very important reason for coming to Migros Akköprü Shopping Center.

From the comparisons made between different income levels concerning the aim of the visits, some differences became obvious. As seen in Table 4.21, there is a tendency, with some exceptions, that as the income level falls, the aim of shopping for daily needs of food, drink, cleaning materials etc. increases. This can be related with the effect of the existence of Migros Hypermarket, one of the anchor stores of the shopping center, which offers cheap prices and attractive promotions.

Table 4.21. Family Income vs. Come for Daily Needs

Income Intervals	Come to the Shopping Center For Daily Needs (Food, Drink etc.)	
	Yes	No
150-300 Millions TL.	50% (4)	50% (4)
300-600 Millions TL.	54.5% (24)	45.5% (20)
600 Millions- 1 Billion TL.	41.3% (33)	58.8% (47)
1-2 Billions TL.	44.3% (54)	55.7% (68)
2-4 Billions TL.	37.5% (12)	62.5% (20)
Higher Than 4 Billions TL.	25% (2)	75% (6)

However, the results changes when aim of coming for clothing and personal care goods is offered to the interviewees as shown in Table 4.22. It is clearly seen that the percentage of the interviewees claiming that they came to the shopping center for clothing and personal care goods increases as the income level increases. This is one of the most expected results of the survey since the prices offered by the shops and stores of the shopping center is quite high. This result can be seen as a sign of the limited use of shopping center by low-income groups.

Table 4.22. Family Income vs. Come for Clothing and Personal Care Goods

Income Intervals	Come to the Shopping Center For Clothing, Personal Care Goods	
	Yes	No
150-300 Millions TL.	25% (2)	75% (6)
300-600 Millions TL.	68.2% (30)	31.8% (14)
600 Millions- 1 Billion TL.	66.2% (53)	33.8% (27)
1-2 Billions TL.	85.2% (104)	14.8% (18)
2-4 Billions TL.	84.4% (27)	15.6% (5)
Higher Than 4 Billions TL.	100% (8)	-

Another question similar to the question aimed to get the visiting purposes was asked to the interviewees. In this question interviewees were asked for their intentions of coming to the shopping center and three intensions were offered as shopping, wandering around and watching the shop windows and relaxation and entertainment. It is essential to note that most of the interviewees, with a percentage of 41.9, answered that relaxation and entertainment were their prime intention for coming. Besides, concerning the intention with primary importance, 38.7% claimed it was shopping and 19.4% stated it was wandering around and window shopping. The mostly made six rankings are given in Table 4.23.

Table 4.23. Mostly Made Six Rankings For Intention of Coming

(75 interviewees) 1. Relaxation & Entertainment 2. Shopping 3. Wandering Around & Window Shopping	**(63 interviewees)** 1. Shopping 2. Wandering Around & Window Shopping 3. Relaxation & Entertainment
(56 interviewees) 1. Shopping 2. Relaxation & Entertainment 3. Wandering Around & Window Shopping	**(54 interviewees)** 1. Relaxation & Entertainment 2. Wandering Around & Window Shopping 3. Shopping
(33 interviewees) 1. Wandering Around & Window Shopping 2. Shopping 3. Relaxation & Entertainment	**(26 interviewees)** 1. Wandering Around & Window Shopping 2. Relaxation & Entertainment Shopping

When a cross comparison was made between the most important intention for coming to the shopping center and the income level (Table 4.24), it is clearly seen

that by the income level rises, the percentage of the interviewees claiming that their first intention was shopping with the deviation of the income interval of higher than 4 billions. This result calls fort he differentiating use of shopping center by different income groups. In other words, shopping center have different meanings, uses and functions varying according to income groups.

Table 4.24. Family Income vs. The Most Important Intention of Coming

Income Intervals	The Most Important Intention of Coming in General		
	Wandering Around & Window Shopping	Relaxation & Entertainment	Shopping
150-300 Millions TL.	-	100% (8)	-
300-600 Millions TL.	22.7% (10)	47.7% (21)	29.5% (13)
600 Millions-1 Billion TL.	17.5% (14)	51.3% (41)	31.3% (25)
1-2 Billions TL.	21.3% (26)	32.8% (40)	45.9% (56)
2-4 Billions TL.	18.8% (6)	28.1% (9)	53.1% (17)
Higher than 4 Billions TL.	37.5% (3)	25% (2)	37.5% (3)

Table 4.25 shows the differences in the most important intention for coming varying according to age groups. It is clear from the table that most of the interviewees who are 25 years old and below stated that their most important reason for coming was relaxation and entertainment. As the age gets older it is seen that the percentage of other intentions, especially shopping, increases.

Table 4.25. Age vs. The Most Important Intention of Coming

Age Intervals	The Most Important Intention For Coming to the Shopping Center in General		
	Window Shopping and Wandering Around	Relaxation and Having Fun	Shopping
25 and below	19.4% (20)	52.4% (54)	28.2% (29)
26-40	17.1% (24)	42.1% (59)	40.7% (57)
41-55	25.9% (14)	22.2% (12)	51.9% (28)
56-70	16.7% (2)	41.7% (5)	41.7% (5)
71 and up	-	-	100% (1)

A difference was also observed between men and women about the most important intention of coming to the shopping center. While most of the women with a percentage of 44.8 claimed that their primary intention was shopping, most of the men stated that for them the most important intention for coming to the shopping center was relaxation and having fun (Table 4.26).

The varying results obtained from two questions (the most important intention of coming and the rankings of the intention of coming) in terms of the differences concerning income, age and gender presents the diverse use, meaning and functions that the shopping center gain.

Table 4.26. Gender vs. The Most Important Intention of Coming

Gender	The Most Important Intention For Coming to the Shopping Center in General		
	Window Shopping and Wandering Around	Relaxation and Having Fun	Shopping
Female	21.9% (42)	33.3% (64)	44.8% (86)
Male	15.3% (18)	55.9% (66)	28.8% (34)

When asked if any relations have developed with the personnel working in any of the shop or stores a considerable number of people with a percentage of 19.7% answered yes. It shows that due to the frequent use of shopping center, for some people it becomes a place where social interaction is taking place. The percentage of those who developed a kind of relation with the salesclerks are higher among men (25.4%) when compared with women (16.1%). As seen in Table 4.27, as the income level increases the development of a relation with the salesclerks became more likely due to the more frequent use of shops and stores. However, this result indicates another fact that low-income groups are restricted from this social interaction opportunity.

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Table 4.27. Family Income vs. Relations With The Salesclerks

Income Interval	If Any Kind of Relation Developed Between The Interviewee and The Salesclerks	
	Yes	No
150-300 Millions TL.	12.5% (1)	87.5% (7)
300-600 Millions TL.	13.6% (6)	86.4% (38)
600 Millions- 1 Billion TL.	21.3% (17)	78.7% (63)
1-2 Billions TL.	20.5% (25)	79.5% (97)
2-4 Billions TL.	21.9% (7)	78.1% (25)
Higher Than 4 Billions TL.	25% (2)	75% (6)

Concerning the social experiences and interactions taking place in the shopping center, 7.1% of all interviewees (22 people) claimed that they meet someone new during one of their visits to the shopping center while 92.9% of them (288 people) said that they did not meet new friends during their visits to the shopping center. As expected, meeting new friends has a higher percentage among young interviewees as seen in Table 4.28.

Table 4.28. Age vs. Meeting New Friends in the Shopping Center

Age Intervals	Meeting New Friends in the Shopping Center	
	Yes	No
25 and below	12.6% (13)	87.4% (90)
26-40	5.7% (8)	94.3% (132)
41-55	1.9% (1)	98.1% (53)
56-70	-	100% (12)
71 and up	-	100% (1)

The question "Is Migros Akköprü Shopping Center chosen as a meeting place with acquaintances and friends?" was asked in order to determine the role of shopping center in social relations and leisure activities. To this question, a striking percentage of the (42.3%) interviewees answered yes. As the results of Table 4.29 shows, as the age falls, shopping center is chosen by a higher percentage of interviewees as the first meeting place. Among the interviewees claiming that the

shopping center is sometimes chosen as the first meeting place, 42% claimed that they sometimes spent their whole time in the shopping center.

Table 4.29. Age vs. Whether Shopping Center is Chosen As The First Meeting Place or Not

Age Intervals	Whether Shopping Center is Chosen As The First Meeting Place or Not	
	Yes	No
25 and below	50.5% (52)	49.5% (51)
26-40	42.9% (60)	57.1% (80)
41-55	31.5% (17)	68.5% (37)
56-70	16.7% (2)	83.3% (10)
71 and up	-	100% (1)

A great number of interviewees (250 people) with a percentage of 80.6 stated that they come across with acquaintances or with friends in the shopping center. As in the case of the results of the question whether the shopping center is chosen as the first meeting place, as the age falls the number of interviewees who claimed that they met acquaintances or with friends in the shopping center increases (Table 4.30).

Table 4.30. Age vs. Whether Acquaintances Are Met by Chance in the Shopping Center or Not

Age Intervals	Whether Acquaintances Are Met by Chance in the Shopping Center or Not	
	Yes	No
25 and below	84.5% (87)	15.5% (16)
26-40	81.4% (114)	18.6% (26)
41-55	77.8% (42)	22.2% (12)
56-70	58.3% (7)	41.7% (5)
71 and up	-	100% (1)

When the interviewees were asked whether they preferred to come to the shopping center in crowded times like weekends and after working hours or quiet times like working days of the weeks or morning hours, most them said that (82%) they prefer

to come at quiet times. To a similar question, again most of the interviewees (79.4%) answered that they did not like to wander around in the crowded environment of the shopping center. As shown in Table 4.31, interviewees belonging to lower age intervals are more likely to be pleased of wandering around in crowd.

Table 4.31. Age vs. Whether Wandering Around in Crowd is Liked or Not

Age Intervals	Whether Wandering Around in Crowd is Liked or Not	
	Yes	No
25 and below	23.3% (24)	76.7% (79)
26-40	22.3% (31)	77.7% (108)
41-55	13% (7)	87% (47)
56-70	8.3% (1)	91.7% (11)
71 and up	-	100% (1)

A difference was found between male and female interviewees concerning the pleasure of wandering around in crowd. As seen in Table 4.32, women claiming that they liked to wander around in crowd (13%) is quite less than that of men (32.5%).

Table 4.32. Gender vs. Whether Wandering Around in Crowd is Liked or Not

Gender	If Wandering Around in Crowd is Liked	
	Yes	No
Female	13% (25)	87% (167)
Male	32.5% (38)	67.5% (79)

Lastly about this section, it is important to note the results of a question which was only asked to married interviewees who came to the shopping center with their spouses. When the women were asked who usually made the suggestion about coming to the shopping center, most of them (38.9%) said that it was themselves followed by children with percentage of 33.7. Only 6.3% of the female interviewees said that coming suggestion was made by their husbands while 4.2% of them stated that their visits was due to a common decision between themselves, their husbands and children. When male interviewees were asked the same question, most them (25%) answered that it was their children who made the suggestion of coming to the

shopping center. 20.8% of them stated that the suggestion came from their wives and 16.75 from themselves.

The results shows that wills of children is quite important and determining for family visits to the shopping center. As grasped by the management company, this fact about the role of children's decision on the decision of coming to the shopping center is used strategically as the manager of the shopping center stated and the development of activities special for children is given a particular importance and attention.

4.3.4. Shopping Habits of The Interviewees

In order to determine interviewees' shopping habits and attitudes towards the act of shopping, they were asked some questions ranging from credit card usage to delaying shopping. To the question whether shopping is a leisure activity that is done as a hobby, most of the interviewees with a percentage of 63.2 answered yes. 36.1% said that shopping was not a hobby for them but rather a compulsory activity and with a very low percentage, 0.6% stated that shopping only sometimes became a pleasurable leisure activity. This question was asked whether the users of the shopping center view shopping as a simple act of buying or they attribute further meanings to it. As the results present many people thought that shopping is beyond the simple act of buying, rather it is a time period in which they gain new experiences, in which they learn, interact with others etc.

Since shopping is more related with women than men, female interviewees stated in higher percentage that shopping was a leisure activity that is done as a hobby when compared with the answers of the male interviewees. While 66.1% of the female interviewees view shopping as a leisure activity, this percentage is 58.5 among male interviewees.

Due to shopping's close relation with consumption, it can be expected that people with higher economic opportunities might tend to view shopping more as a leisure activity when compared with those people from lower income levels. But as the results in Table 4.33 shows, no meaningful correlation was found between income level and attitude towards shopping concerning the survey sample. In fact, this result

points out the social aspect of the act of shopping since as stated in the previous chapters it is different from buying and goes beyond the act of consumption.

Table 4.33. Family Income vs. Whether Shopping is A Hobby, A Leisure Activity or Not

Income Intervals	Whether Shopping is A Hobby, A Leisure Activity or Not		
	Yes	No	Sometimes
150-300 Millions TL.	75% (6)	25% (2)	-
300-600 Millions TL.	65.9% (29)	34.1% (15)	-
600 Millions- 1 Billion TL.	56.3% (45)	43.8% (35)	-
1-2 Billions TL.	65.6% (80)	33.6% (41)	0.8% (1)
2-4 Billions TL.	68.7% (22)	31.3% (10)	-
Higher Than 4 Billions TL.	62.5% (5)	37.5% (3)	-

When interviewees were asked whether they sometimes delay buying something during shopping, most of them (84.5%) answered yes. It was expected that as the income level rises, delaying to buy something would lessen. However, as seen in Table 4.34, there are fluctuations between different income levels. Although results do not clearly indicate this expected relation, they give some clues since all interviewees from the lowest income stated that they delay shopping something while this percentage is relatively low among interviewees from the highest income level.

Table 4.34. Family Income vs. Delaying Shopping

Income Intervals	If Sometimes Some Kind of Shopping is Delayed Although Come to the Shopping Center	
	Yes	No
150-300 Millions TL.	100% (3)	-
300-600 Millions TL.	90.9% (10)	9.1% (1)
600 Millions- 1 Billion TL.	94.1% (16)	5.9% (1)
1-2 Billions TL.	80.6% (25)	19.4% (6)
2-4 Billions TL.	100% (8)	-
Higher Than 4 Billions TL.	66.7% (2)	33.3% (1)

68.4% of all interviewees answered yes to the question whether they sometimes felt like spending more than necessary. There is a slight difference between men and women concerning doing unnecessary spending. While 70.8% of female interviewees stated that they sometimes felt like spending more than necessary, it is 64.4% for male interviewees. Unlikely, the difference between different income levels are obvious as seen in Table 4.35. As the income level rises, people are more likely to spend more than necessary and making excessive consumption.

Table 4.35. Family Income vs. Whether Sometimes Felt Like Spent More Than Necessary or Not

Income Intervals	Whether Sometimes Felt Like Spent More Than Necessary or Not	
	Yes	No
150-300 Millions TL.	50% (4)	50% (4)
300-600 Millions TL.	61.4% (27)	38.6% (17)
600 Millions- 1 Billion TL.	61.3% (49)	38.8% (31)
1-2 Billions TL.	73.8% (90)	26.2% (32)
2-4 Billions TL.	75% (24)	25% (8)
Higher Than 4 Billions TL.	87.5% (7)	12.5% (1)

When interviewees were asked whether they used credit cards in shopping, many of them (71%) answered yes. To those 220 people who stated that they use credit cards in shopping, it was asked how frequently it was used. To this question, 75.9% answered that they use credit cards every time while 24.1% said that they sometimes use credit cards. As seen in Table 4.36, many of the interviewees having credit cards had 1 or 2 credit cards. The high levels of credit card usage indicates the change in consumer behavior after 1980 in Turkey.

Table 4.36. Number of Credit Cards

	Percentage	Frequency
1	36.4	80
2	30	66
3	16.8	37
4	9.1	20
5	3.2	7
More than 5	4.2	9
Not Answered	0.5	1
Total	**100**	**220**

Interviewees that used credit cards were also asked whether they continue to spend with credit cards although their credit card loans exceed their payment limits, most of them answered no whereas 17.7% answered yes. The result that 17.7% of the interviewees stated that they continue spending although their loans exceed their income opportunities indicates that credit cards have a considerable effect on consumption, especially excessive consumption.

In order to determine whether there is a relation between income level and credit card usage, a comparison was made among different income levels. As presented in Table 4.37, as the income level rises the use of credit cards in shopping increases. Since the mentioned effect of credit card usage upon consumption, people with lower levels of income do not prefer to use credit cards.

Table 4.37. Family Income vs. Credit Card Usage

	Whether Credit Card is Used or Not	
Income Intervals	Yes	No
150-300 Millions TL.	37.5% (3)	62.5% (5)
300-600 Millions TL.	47.7% (21)	52.3% (23)
600 Millions- 1 Billion TL.	63.8% (51)	36.3% (29)
1-2 Billions TL.	80.3% (98)	19.7% (24)
2-4 Billions TL.	87.5% (28)	12.5% (4)
Higher Than 4 Billions TL.	87.5% (7)	12.5% (1)

4.3.5. Opinions About Migros Akköprü Shopping Center

For finding out the impressions and feelings about Migros Akköprü Shopping Center, adjective pairs that are opposite to each other were told to the interviewees and it is expected from them to choose one of the adjectives that they think to suit shopping center's atmosphere. For some questions two adjectives were not enough to state the exact impression so a third one was used which describe an impression between the two opposite ones. The results of these questions are seen in Table 4.38.

Table 4.38. Impressions About The Shopping Center

		Percentage	Frequency
Physical Feature	Crowded-Uncomfortable-	11.9 %	37
	Roomy-Large-Comfortable	88.1 %	273
Security	Secure	92.6 %	287
	Insecure	7.1 %	22
Pleasure and Entertainment	Entertaining	73.9 %	229
	Boring	10.6 %	33
	Neither Entertaining Nor Boring	15.5 %	48
Authenticity	Authentic	66.1 %	205
	Ordinary	31.6 %	98
	Neither Authentic Nor Ordinary	2.3 %	7
Expensiveness	Expensive	65.5 %	203
	Cheap	4.5 %	14
	Average	30 %	93
Attractiveness	Attractive	86.1 %	267
	Unattractive	5.2 %	16
	Neither Attractive Nor Unattractive	8.7 %	27

As seen from the results, most of the interviewees found shopping center roomy, comfortable and large, secure, entertaining, authentic, expensive and attractive. It can be said that a great part of the interviewees have positive impressions about Migros Akköprü Shopping Center. The quality of the interior environment of the shopping center and its maintenance is a crucial concern for the management company. As the manager stated within the interview, the appearances and the interior designs of shops and stores should fulfill some standards that are determined by the management company.

Rather than impressions, other questions were asked in order to determine the opinions of the interviewees about some important features of the shopping center. These questions were formulated to find out if interviewees were thinking positive or negative about the asked aspect. Questions were about the car park, crowd and

noise, the interior design of the shopping center, product, personnel and customer quality, product and activity diversity and physical accessibility of the shopping center.

Table 4.39. Opinions About Some Features of the Shopping Center

	Opinions	Percentage	Frequency
Accessibility	Positive	93.25	290
	Negative	6.5	20
Security	Positive	92.2	286
	Negative	7.8	24
Prices	Positive	10.3	32
	Negative	61	189
	Average (It changes)	28.7	89
Diversity (Concerning Goods and Activities)	Positive	88.1	273
	Negative	10.6	33
	Average	1.3	4
Quality (Concerning Goods, Personnel and Users)	Positive	97.4	302
	Negative	1.3	4
	Average	1.3	4
Car Parking	Positive	90.2	147
	Negative	9.8	16
Crowdness and Noise	Positive	55.5	172
	Negative	41.9	130
	Average	2.6	8
Design of Interior Space	Positive	93.2	289
	Negative	6.8	21
The Condition of Closeness or Remoteness	Positive	84.2	261
	Negative	15.5	48
	Average	0.3	1

As the results presented in Table 4.39 shows, like the impressions, most of the interviewees have positive opinions about the features of the shopping center.

Besides the questions about the accessibility to shopping center and the condition of closeness or remoteness, another question was formulated in a different way as "Are you pleased with the location of the shopping center in the city?". A large part of the interviewees (88.1%) said that they were pleased with its location. To the interviewees who were not pleased with shopping center's location (11.9%), it was asked: "If Migros Akköprü Shopping Center would be placed somewhere else, where would you prefer?". 43.2% of them answered that they prefer a location near to city center, %40.5 near to their neighbourhoods and 16.2% outside the city center. Through these answers it can be interpreted that although Migros Akköprü Shopping Center is located in a highly accessible place where different modes of

public transportation intersects, its accessibility can be limited for some of the city inhabitants depending upon the cost of accessibility in terms of time and money.

Another question concerning the security of the shopping center was also asked besides the ones asked among the questions about the impressions and opinions about the shopping center. The question was formulated as "Are you feeling secure within the shopping center?". To this question, 92.6% of all interviewees (287 people) answered yes while 7.1% of them (22 people) stated that they do not feel secure in the shopping center and 0.3% (1 person) did not answer the question.

To those 287 people who felt safe in the shopping center it was asked: "Although felt safe do you think the number of security officials be increased?". Most of them (97.6%) answered no while a small percentage of 2.4 answered yes.

To those 22 people who do not felt safe in the shopping center, precautions that should be taken for providing security were asked. Table 4.40 presents the answers given.

Table 4.40. Precautions That Should Be Taken For Providing Security

	Percentage	Frequency
Number of Security Officials Should Be Increased	40.9	9
Other Precautions Should Be Taken Apart From An Increase in The Number of Security Officials	36.4	8
Both The Number of Security Officials Should be Increased and Other Precautions Should be Taken	13.6	3
Not Answered	9.1	2
Total	100	22

When a comparison was made between men and women concerning the feeling of security in the shopping center, it is seen that the percentage of female interviewees (95.8%) feeling secure is higher than male interviewees (88.1%). This result can be explained in women's reliance on shopping center's security especially when compared to the security of city streets and the city centers of Ankara.

When the most liked interior space of the shopping center was asked, most of the interviewees with a percentage of 59 stated that they liked the food court and the cinema; 24.5%, interiors of the shops and stores; 9.7%, windows of the shops and stores and 6.8%, places like ponds, lawns and small squares.

When a comparison was made between different age groups about the most liked place in the shopping center, as can be seen in Table 4.41, as the age falls the percentage of the interviewees stating that they liked the food court and cinema most increases. This result can be related with the finding that young people use the shopping center as a place for socializing.

Table 4.41. Age vs. The Most Liked Place in the Shopping Center

Age Intervals	The Most Liked Place in the Shopping Center			
	Food Court-Cinema	Windows of Shops and Stores	Interiors of Shops and Stores	Places Like Ponds, Lawns and Small Squares.
25 and below	67% (69)	1.9% (2)	24.3% (25)	6.8% (7)
26-40	61.4% (86)	12.1% (17)	21.4% (30)	5% (7)
41-55	42.6% (23)	13% (7)	31.5% (17)	13% (7)
56-70	33.3% (4)	33.3% (4)	33.3% (4)	-
71 and up	100% (1)	-	-	-

The comparison between men and women concerning the same issue shows the distinction between the use of shopping center by male and female interviewees. As seen in Table 4.42, while 71.2% of the male interviewees stated that they mostly like to be in the food court and the cinema, this percentage is 51.6 among female interviewees. Besides, while 30.2% of the female interviewees stated that the most liked place is the interiors of shops and stores, this percentage among male interviewees falls to 15.3.

Table 4.42. Gender vs. The Most Liked Place in the Shopping Center

Gender	The Most Liked Place in the Shopping Center			
	Food Court-Cinema	Windows of Shops and Stores	Interiors of Shops and Stores	Places Like Ponds, Lawns and Small Squares.
Female	51.6% (99)	10.4% (20)	30.2% (58)	7.8% (15)
Male	71.2% (84)	8.5% (10)	15.3% (18)	5.1% (6)

To the question about how it is felt after leaving the shopping center, most of the interviewees (41%) claimed that they felt tired. 34.5% said that they felt neither relaxed and renewed nor tired, i.e., no change occurred while 24.5% thought that they became relaxed and renewed due to time they spent in the shopping center. There appeared a difference between male and female interviewees in this sense. While 48.4% of the female interviewees stated that they felt tired after leaving the shopping center, this percentage among male interviewees falls to 28.8. It can be related with the finding that women are more engaged in shopping than men during the time passed in the shopping center.

Interviewees were also asked to what extent being in the shopping center take them away from the outside world and the problems in order to identify the effect of the atmosphere provided by the shopping center upon its uses. To this question, 61.3% of the interviewees answered that being in the shopping center take them more or less away from the outside world and problems. 31% claimed that being in the shopping center do not take them away from the existing problems and from the outside world while only 7.7% found shopping center as a place make them remoted from the problems. When a comparison is made between the female and male interviewees concerning this question, it is found that there are nearly similar response.

4.3.6. Opinions About The Users of Migros Akköprü Shopping Center

According to Sibley (1995), social and spatial exclusion have various routes and can be examined through several ways. One of them is the consideration of people's feelings about others since feelings have considerable effects upon social interaction. As Sibley (1995: 3) states, "who is felt to belong and not to belong contributes in an important way to the shaping of social space". Within this context, interviewees were asked questions about their feelings and opinions concerning the other users of Migros Akköprü Shopping Center except for themselves.

The first question in this sense aimed at to determine whether interviewees thought that the shopping center was used by everyone or not. To this question 55.5% (172 people) of all interviewees answered yes while 44.5% (138 people) answered no. Interviewees who thought that the shopping center can not be used by everyone

were asked to state their reasons which lead them to think that way. The reasons that the interviewees stated is presented in Table 4.43. When evaluated it is seen that nearly all of the reasons given were based on the exclusion of some groups because of income insufficiencies. These results about the opinions of interviewees concerning shopping center's use by everyone are also related with the hypothesis that the shopping center has a exclusionary characteristic.

Table 4.43. Reasons For Shopping Center's Status As Being a Place That is Not Used by Everyone

	Percentage	Frequency
Because the shopping center mostly addresses luxury consumption	8	11
Because of economic insufficiencies, low income groups can not use the shopping center	84.8	118
Because of both difficulties in transportation and economic reasons	2.9	4
Mostly, people from squatter settlements came to the shopping center; high income groups rarely exist in	0.7	1
Some groups hesitate to come and everybody is not informed about the shopping center	1.4	2
Due to its location within the city, generally middle and high income groups use the shopping center	0.7	1
Different groups have different world views and habits	0.7	1
Not Answered	0.7	1
Total	**100**	**138**

Those 138 interviewees thinking that the shopping center can not be used by everyone were asked whether they want shopping center to be a place that is used by everyone. As the answers that is given to this question shows, most of them (60.9%) want the shopping center to be a place for everyone's use while 34.8% of them stated that they do not want the shopping center to become a place that is used by various groups. Those 48 interviewees who did not want the shopping center to become a place for everyone's use were asked to state their reasons. The reasons are shown in Table 4.44. As seen from the table, although a considerable number of the interviewees did not state their reasons, some kind of opinion can be obtained from the answers of 25 people. The reasons concern with the annoying behaviors of vagabonds and people from low socio-cultural levels, the risk of decreasing security and the crowd likely to be created if the shopping center began to be used by everyone from different sections of the society. In other words, it can be said that they are mostly anxious about the possibility that problems about security arise and that the existing quality, comfort and peace might lessen.

Table 4.44. Reasons For Unwillingness About Shopping Center's Usage by Everyone

	Percentage	Frequency
Existence of people with low socio-cultural levels might cause annoyance	14.6	7
Because I do not want to be together with vagabonds and disrespectful people	10.4	5
Because security might be negatively affected	6.3	3
If it is used by everyone, there remains no difference from other places	6.3	3
Because of the crowd that might be created by those coming except for the purpose of shopping	10.4	5
Because existing high level and quality might decrease	2.1	1
Places must be differentiated for uses of different groups	2.1	1
Not Answered	47.9	23
Total	**100**	**48**

Among those 172 interviewees thinking that the shopping center is used by everyone, most of them with a percentage of 90.7 (156 people) stated that they were pleased with this condition while only 8.7% of them (15 people) said that they were not pleased about that and 1 interviewee did not answer the question.

Table 4.45. Reasons For Unpleasantness Due to Shopping Center's Status As Being a Place That is Used by Everyone

	Percentage	Frequency
Because of the existence of people that annoys others	26.7	4
Because of the existence of people with low socio-cultural levels	20	3
Because of the crowd that is created by those coming except for the purpose of shopping	13.3	2
Because of the fact that feelings of insecurity and uneasiness increase	13.3	2
Because of the fact that quality decreases	6.7	1
Not Answered	20	3
Total	**100**	**15**

The comparison between different income groups was made in order to see if any difference occurs concerning the opinions about shopping center's being a place used by everyone. It was expected that low income groups will be in a tendency to think that the it is not used by everyone from different sections of the society due to the dominancy of higher income groups in the shopping center. However, as Table 4.46 suggest there are no obvious differences between income groups about this issue.

Table 4.46. Family Income vs. Whether Migros Akköprü Shopping Center is A Place That is Used by Everyone or Not

Income Intervals	Whether Migros Akköprü Shopping Center is A Place That is Used by Everyone or Not	
	Yes	No
150-300 Millions TL.	62.5% (5)	37.5% (3)
300-600 Millions TL.	59.1% (26)	40.9% (18)
600 Millions- 1 Billion TL.	51.2% (41)	48.8% (39)
1-2 Billions TL.	54.1% (66)	45.9% (56)
2-4 Billions TL.	65.6% (21)	34.4% (11)
Higher Than 4 Billions TL.	50% (4)	50% (4)

When asked whether a sense of equality with others was felt or not, 55.7% of the all interviewees answered yes while 44.3% answered no. When a cross comparison was done between feeling of equality and opinions about the use of shopping center by everyone, it was found that most of the interviewees, with a percentage of 63.4%, saying that they felt a sense of equality among the users of the shopping center thought that the shopping center was a place for everyone's use. However, among the interviewees who did not felt a sense equality, a greater percent (54.7%) said that the shopping center was not a place for everyone. Therefore, it can be said that there is a relation between the sense of equality and the thought about shopping center's use by everyone.

Concerning the sense of equality with others, it is seen that compared to female interviewees, a greater percentage of the male interviewees stated that they felt equal with others. It was 61.9% among male interviewees felt equal with others in the shopping center while it was 51.8% among female interviewees.

It was expected that there might occur differences between income groups concerning the sense of equality in the way that lower income groups might state in higher percentages that they do not feel equal with others. But, when Table 4.47 is examined, it is seen that there are no meaningful differences among income groups.

Table 4.47. Family Income vs. Whether Felt Equal With Other People in the Shopping Center or Not

Income Intervals	Whether Felt Equal With Other People in the Shopping Center or Not	
	Yes	No
150-300 Millions TL.	62.5% (5)	37.5% (3)
300-600 Millions TL.	43.2% (19)	56.8% (25)
600 Millions- 1 Billion TL.	53.8% (43)	46.3% (37)
1-2 Billions TL.	61.2% (74)	38.8% (47)
2-4 Billions TL.	59.4% (19)	40.6% (13)
Higher Than 4 Billions TL.	62.5% (5)	37.5% (3)

Concerning the opinions of interviewees about the users of the shopping center, the last question asked was whether there were some groups giving a sense of discomfort or annoyance. Among all the interviewees, 84.8% (263 people) said that there was not any group that make them feel uncomfortable or anxious about. 15.2% of all interviewees (47 people) answering no were asked to state who these people were. When the answers were evaluated, it is seen that 72.4% of them (34 people) stated that they were annoyed with the existence of people that behave in a way to disturb others and with the behaviours of people from low socio-cultural levels. Other 25.5% (12 people) said that they were annoyed with the existence of rich people from high stratum and those making excessive consumption and 1 interviewee did not answer the question.

There appeared a slight difference between male and female interviewees when they were asked whether there was any group of people giving them a feeling of discomfort and annoyance. While 16.7% of female interviewees answered yes, the percentage of male interviewees answering yes was 12.7.

4.3.7. Opinions About City Centers of Ankara

In order to identify people's opinions about city centres' necessity due to the development of shopping centres, interviewees were asked whether they think city centers of Ankara such as Kızılay, Tunalı Hilmi and Ulus have become unnecessary or not. They were asked to consider the question in two senses. Firstly, they were

asked to evaluate city centres' necessity in the general sense by thinking of people's usages of city centres in present compared with the period before the development of shopping centres. The second sense was their personal evaluations on their own use of city centres. Such a separation was needed because when asked if the city centres was unnecessary or not, most people tend to evaluate the question through their personal experiences. The question, then, was formulated as: "Do you think that city centres become unnecessary (in both general and personal senses) after the development of shopping centres in recent years in Ankara?". The next question under this section was only asked to those who think city centres become unnecessary, totally and more or less. The question aimed to identify to what extent people are anxious about the situation that city centres have become unnecessary.

As for the general evaluation, 12.4% of all interviewees stated that city centres have become entirely unnecessary, 54.2% of them told that they become more or less unnecessary and 33.5% of them thought that city centres did not become unnecessary. As for the personal evaluation, 19.5% of all interviewees found city centres entirely unnecessary, 38.7% stated that they become more or less unnecessary and 41.7% stated that city centres were necessary. As it is seen from the results, the smaller part of the interviewees thought that city centers became totally unnecessary. However, the remarkable percentages of the interviewees who thought that city centers have become more or less unnecessary both for personal and general evaluations indicate a tendency for the decreasing use of city centers.

Among the interviewees who found city centres entirely or more or less unnecessary whether in the general or personal sense, 27.9% stated that they were anxious about this situation. However, most of them with a percentage of 72.1 told that it did not worry them and it can be evaluated as a weak sense of belonging or the shrugging an urban area which rises a degree of pleasantness due to variety of problems off.

Analyses were made in order to examine if there were any differences between different groups concerning age, gender and income about the opinions on city centers' unnecessity. The results are seen in Table 4.48, 4.49 and 4.50 for different age groups.

Table 4.48. Age vs. Opinions About The City Centers' Unnecessity (General Evaluation)

Age Intervals	Opinions About The City Centers' Unnecessity (General Evaluation)		
	Totally Unnecessary	More or Less Unnecessary	Not Unnecessary
25 and below	14.8% (12)	55.6% (45)	29.6% (24)
26-40	11.6% (14)	57% (69)	31.4% (38)
41-55	10.3% (4)	43.6% (17)	46.2% (18)
56-70	10% (1)	50% (5)	40% (4)

Table 4.49. Age vs. Opinions About The City Centers' Unnecessity (Personal Evaluation)

Age Intervals	Opinions About The City Centers' Unnecessity (Personal Evaluation)		
	Totally Unnecessary	More or Less Unnecessary	Not Unnecessary
25 and below	11% (11)	44% (44)	45% (45)
26-40	25.4% (35)	37% (51)	37.7% (52)
41-55	15.7% (8)	33.3% (17)	51% (26)
56-70	41.7% (5)	33.3% (4)	25% (3)
71 and up	-	100% (1)	-

Table 4.50. Age vs. Whether Felt Anxious About City Centers' Status As Becoming Unnecessary or Not

Age Intervals	Whether Felt Anxious About City Centers' Being Unnecessary or Not	
	Yes	No
25 and below	33.8% (26)	66.2% (51)
26-40	22.8% (23)	77.2% (78)
41-55	22.6% (7)	77.4% (24)
56-70	44.4% (4)	55.6% (5)
71 and up	100% (1)	-

It was expected that as the age falls, there occur higher percentages of interviewees thinking that city centers became unnecessary concerning personal evaluation since their experiences and memories of the city centers are less than those with older

ages. However, the results do not prove this expectation. Rather, as seen in Table 4.49, the lowest percentage of interviewees claiming that city centers was totally unnecessary occurred within the age interval of 25 and below.

The results concerning the comparison between male and female interviewees are presented in Table 4.51, 4.52 and 4.53. Although it was expected that due to the comfortable and safe environment offered by the shopping center, women might think in favor of shopping centers and might in higher percentages claim that city centers became unnecessary since their engagement with shopping more than men and due to several restrictions and risks involved in their uses of the city centers. But, this expectation was also disapproved by the results which shows that "culture of fear" which attributed for the societies of some developed countries, especially USA, is not viable for Turkey or at least at the very beginning of its development.

Table 4.51. Gender vs. Opinions About The City Centers' Unnecessity (General Evaluation)

Gender	Opinions About The City Centers' Unnecessity (General Evaluation)		
	Totally Unnecessary	More or Less Unnecessary	Not Unnecessary
Female	13% (21)	55.6% (90)	31.5% (51)
Male	11.2% (10)	51.7% (46)	37.1% (33)

Table 4.52. Gender vs. Opinions About The City Centers' Unnecessity (Personal Evaluation)

Gender	Opinions About The City Centers' Unnecessity (Personal Evaluation)		
	Totally Unnecessary	More or Less Unnecessary	Not Unnecessary
Female	21.6% (41)	38.4% (73)	40% (76)
Male	16.1% (18)	39.3% (44)	44.6% (50)

Table 4.53. Gender vs. Whether Felt Anxious About City Centers' Status as Becoming Unnecessary or Not

Gender	Whether Felt Anxious About City Centers' Being Unnecessary or Not	
	Yes	No
Female	33.3% (17)	66.7% (34)
Male	28% (7)	72% (18)

As for the income levels of the interviewees, it was expected that the ones with higher incomes would answer in higher percentages that the city center became more or less or totally unnecessary. Since shopping centers provide a variety of goods especially for those with high income levels as well as offering its users some leisure activities. But if Table 4.54, 4.55 and 4.56 are examined it is clearly seen that there is not a direct relation between the level of income and the opinion about city centers' unnecessity.

Table 4.54. Family Income vs. Opinions About The City Centers' Unnecessity (General Evaluation)

Income Intervals	Opinions About The City Centers' Unnecessity (General Evaluation)		
	Totally Unnecessary	More or Less Unnecessary	Not Unnecessary
150-300 Millions TL.	42.9% (3)	28.6% (2)	28.6% (2)
300-600 Millions TL.	11.8% (4)	64.7% (22)	23.5% (8)
600 Millions- 1 Billion TL.	8.7% (6)	52.2% (36)	39.1% (27)
1-2 Billions TL.	14.1% (13)	51.1% (47)	34.8% (32)
2-4 Billions TL.	-	71.4% (20)	28.6% (8)
Higher Than 4 Billions TL.	33.3% (2)	50% (3)	16.7 (1)

Table 4.55. Family Income vs. Opinions About The City Centers' Unnecessity (Personal Evaluation)

Income Intervals	Opinions About The City Centers' Unnecessity (Personal Evaluation)		
	Totally Unnecessary	More or Less Unnecessary	Not Unnecessary
150-300 Millions TL.	37.5% (3)	25% (2)	37.5% (3)
300-600 Millions TL.	15.9% (7)	34.1% (15)	50% (22)
600 Millions- 1 Billion TL.	18.8% (15)	40% (32)	41.3% (33)
1-2 Billions TL.	18.1% (21)	44% (51)	37.9% (44)
2-4 Billions TL.	26.7% (8)	33.3% (10)	40% (12)
Higher Than 4 Billions TL.	25% (2)	50% (4)	25% (2)

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Table 4.56. Family Income vs. Whether Felt Anxious About City Centers' Status As Becoming Unnecessary or Not

Income Intervals	Whether Felt Anxious About City Centers' Being Unnecessary or Not	
	Yes	No
150-300 Millions TL.	33.3% (2)	66.7% (4)
300-600 Millions TL.	35.3% (12)	64.7% (22)
600 Millions- 1 Billion TL.	30.5% (18)	69.5% (41)
1-2 Billions TL.	26.8% (22)	73.2% (60)
2-4 Billions TL.	23.8% (5)	76.2% (16)
Higher Than 4 Billions TL.	12.5% (1)	87.5% (7)

4.3.8. City Centers of Ankara vs. Migros Akköprü Shopping Center

An open-ended question was asked to the interviewees about their opinions concerning the difference between shopping in city centers and Migros Akköprü Shopping Center. From the frequencies of the answers given it is understood that most of the interviewees, with a percentage of 82.3 (255 people), gave answers in favor of Migros Akköprü Shopping Center. 11.5% (36 people) of all advocated shopping in city centres while 6.2% (19 people) claimed that they see no difference at all between shopping in the city centre and shopping center. In Table 4.57 and 4.58 present the reasons stated by the interviewees about their preferences of the shopping center or the city center.

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Table 4.57. Reasons Given by Interviewees Thinking That It Is Advantageous to Shop in Migros Akköprü Shopping Center

	Percentage	Frequency
Variety of goods can be found under one roof in the organized environment provided by the shopping center	43	110
Compared to the city centre, shopping center is more peaceful and comfortable, safer and better quality.	18.4	47
Shopping in the shopping center is faster, easier and less tiring	15.7	40
Shopping environment provided by the shopping center is freer since salesclerks do not behave in insistent manners.	9.8	25
In the shopping center there is the comfort of shopping in a closed environment without affected from weather conditions.	5.9	15
In the shopping center various activities can be made within one place	4.3	11
Car park problem does not exist in the shopping center unlike the city centre	2	5
In the shopping center there is the ease of credit card usage	0.9	2
Total	**100**	**255**

When the reasons of the interviewees thinking that shopping in Migros Akköprü Shopping Center is more advantageous are examined, it is seen that they prefer the shopping center since compared to city center it is a highly organized environment where variety of goods can be found within a single place. The second reason with a high percentage concerns again the characteristics of the environment offered by the shopping center. In this sense, interviewees stated that shopping center is more comfortable, safer and better quality.

Table 4.58. Reasons Given by Interviewees Thinking That It Is Advantageous to Shop in The City Center

	Percentage	Frequency
City centres provides more alternatives in diversity of goods and prices with the chance to bargain	38.9	14
Contrary to the warm and humane shopping environment of the city centre, shopping center is artificial and mechanical	27.8	10
City centres are much more cheaper compared with the shopping center	30.6	11
Compared with city centres, in the shopping center the risk of buying something that is not necessary is higher	2.7	1
Total	**100**	**36**

The reasons of those answering in favor of city centers mostly concerns with the provision of price alternatives and the chance of bargain by the city centers. In other words, it can be said that city centers are preferred due to economic advantages they provide contrary to shopping center's high prices. Others stated that they found the environment of the shopping center artificial and mechanical compared to that of city centers' humane environment.

Although many interviewees stated that they prefer shopping in Migros Akköprü Shopping Center, 46.1% found wandering around in city centers more entertaining and pleasurable. 41.9% found shopping center more entertaining in this sense while 11.9 % stated that both places were entertaining and pleasurable. It was examined if any difference occurred between different age groups, women and men and different income groups concerning the pleasure of wandering around in the shopping center or the city centres. Table 4.59, 4.60 and 4.61 presents the comparisons made.

Table 4.59. Age vs. Shopping Center or City Center For Pleasure of Wandering Around

Age Intervals	Shopping Center or City Center For Pleasure of Wandering Around		
	City Center	Shopping Center	Both of Them
25 and below	50.5% (52)	35% (36)	14.6% (15)
26-40	46.4% (65)	43.6% (6)	10% (14)
41-55	40.7% (22)	48.1% (26)	11.2% (6)
56-70	33.3% (4)	50% (6)	16.7% (2)
71 and up	-	100% (1)	-

Concerning different age groups, as seen from Table 4.59, a difference can be observed about the pleasure of wandering around in shopping center. As the age grows older, more interviewees stated that it is more pleasurable to wander around in the shopping center.

Table 4.60. Gender vs. Shopping Center or City Center For Pleasure of Wandering Around

Gender	Shopping Center or City Center For Pleasure of Wandering Around		
	City Center	Shopping Center	Both of Them
Female	41.1% (79)	46.4% (89)	12% (23)
Male	54.2% (64)	34.7% (41)	11% (13)

As for the differences between male and female interviewees concerning their place preferences for the pleasure of wandering around, again a difference is seen. The highest percentage among female interviewees is reached by those stating that wandering around in the shopping center is more pleasurable and entertaining while most of the male interviewees stated that it is more pleasurable and entertaining in the city centre.

Table 4.61. Family Income vs. Shopping Center or City Center For Pleasure of Wandering Around

Income Intervals	Shopping Center or City Center For Pleasure of Wandering Around		
	City Center	Shopping Center	Both of Them
150-300 Millions TL.	50% (4)	50% (4)	-
300-600 Millions TL.	43.2% (19)	40.9% (18)	15.9% (7)
600 Millions- 1 Billion TL.	47.5% (38)	38.8% (31)	13.8% (11)
1-2 Billions TL.	44.3% (54)	45.9% (56)	9.8% (12)
2-4 Billions TL.	53.1% (17)	34.4% (11)	12.5% (4)
Higher Than 4 Billions TL.	50% (4)	37.5% (3)	12.5% (1)

Concerning different income groups, as seen from Table 4.61, there is no clear and meaningful difference about their place preferences for the pleasure of wandering around.

When asked in which place they feel more comfortable and secure while shopping, most of the interviewees (72.3%) answered Migros Akköprü Shopping Center while only 11% answered city centres. The other 15.2% said that they feel comfort and secure in both places. When a comparison was made between female and male

interviewees concerning the feeling of comfort and security while shopping (See Table 4.62), no difference was found between the two although it was expected that women answering in favor of shopping center would have a higher percentage than men due to the risks present in city centres. Although more women stated that it is more pleasurable and entertaining to wander around in the shopping center when compared to men, it is seen that concerning the feeling of comfort and security there seem no exact differences between genders. This can be related with the existence and the growth of a culture of fear. This result presents the distinctiveness and peculiarity of Turkish society when compared with western societies, especially US society since a culture of fear is not obvious in Turkish society or at its very beginnings.

Table 4.62. Gender vs. Shopping Center or City Center For Feeling Comfortable and Secure While Shopping

Gender	Shopping Center or City Center For Feeling Comfortable and Secure While Shopping		
	Shopping Center	City Center	Both of Them
Female	71.7% (137)	11.5% (22)	16.8% (32)
Male	76.3% (87)	10.5% (12)	13.2% (15)

4.4. The Evaluation of The Survey Results

From the demographical features of the interviewees, it is reached that a younger population with high levels of education is mostly using the shopping center. When income levels and occupational status are considered, it is found that wage earners in public and private sectors are dominant as well as the dominancy of middle and high income groups since interviewees having a family income between 1-2 billions TL. have the highest percentage. These results have the signs of a newly emergent class of professionals.

The fact that people belonging to the lowest income group among the six income groups determined are quite small in number and that there exist few people coming from the squatter areas where urban poor concentrates shows the existence of an exclusion in terms of income.

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As the survey results have shown, Migros Akköprü Shopping Center is viewed and used as a public space by many of the interviewees. One of the most important indicators is that most of the interviewees stated that their first intention for coming to the shopping center was relaxation & entertainment. Besides, quite many people with a percentage of 62% visits the shopping center at least once in two weeks and used the shopping center as a meeting place (with a percentage of 42.3%). Moreover, 59% of all interviewees claimed that their favorite place within the shopping center was the food-court where people have been together and where there is room for social interaction. Another indicator, but a more indirect one, is that shopping is seen as a hobby by most of the interviewees which shows the importance given to the social aspect of shopping. It is found that opportunity for interaction existed in the shopping center. However, since it is limited mainly to the food-court with high levels of crowd and noise, it can be claimed that social interaction and contact occurs in a restricted and limited way. As a result, the shopping center has become a space for meeting friends, creating opportunities for social interaction, for spending leisure time and for relaxation and entertainment apart from the private spheres of home and work.

The use of Migros Akköprü Shopping Center as a public space is closely related with the activities offered. Besides cinema, theatre and play center for children, diverse range of other activities, targeting different social groups, like exhibitions, fashion shows, public meetings of famous people, dance festivals, special activities for special periods like the Ramadan etc. are taking place in the shopping center which are strategically developed by the shopping center management.

As the manager of the shopping center says:

> We do not view this place only as a shopping center, rather as an entertainment center…My job is to attract customers to the entrance of the shopping center through arranging social activities, raising the sales is the concern of the shops and stores.

The results have also proved that the shopping center is used by different groups for differing purposes. For example, it is seen that the place is most frequently used for socializing by younger interviewees when compared with other age groups. Another striking difference concerning the use of shopping center occurs between income groups. While low-income groups use the shopping center mainly for

spending leisure time through sitting in the food-court, wandering around and window shopping, higher income groups use the shopping center mainly for shopping. It was expected that when compared men, women are more likely to prefer shopping center for shopping, wandering around and spending leisure time due to the increasing fear of city centers and city's streets. Contrary to expected, no remarkable difference was found in this sense between men and women. It, then, can be concluded that 'fear of others' is not as influential upon the use of city centers in Turkey as is for in developed countries.

While the shopping center gains different functions for different groups, it is also proved through the findings that it restricts the use of some groups like aged people and people with low incomes. Both the survey results and the observations during the survey proved that there is hardly any activity and opportunity for relaxation and comfort for the engagement of aged people.

Another conclusion that can be reached through the results of the questionnaire was that the use of different city centers of Ankara (Kızılay, Ulus, Tunalı Hilmi) has diminished through the rapid development of shopping centers in Ankara within the last decade. Findings also presented that wandering around in city centers of Ankara was still a pleasurable activity for many interviewees, however, in terms of comfort and peace while shopping, shopping centers are preferred.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

5.1. Final Evaluation of The Study

The first aim of this thesis was to identify the essence of the transformation concerning the production, characteristics and roles of public spaces of urban areas and the direction of this transformation through the case study of Migros Akköprü Shopping Center in Ankara. Both from the literature survey and the case study, it is understood that shopping centers are places to where many people from different income, status, age, gender etc. are attracted. It is mainly due to the due to their high quality atmosphere and the comfort of bringing different activities under one roof away from the dangers and risks of cities' streets or city centers.

The results of the questionnaire survey have shown that people use the shopping center as a center for social life. It has become a place where leisure time is spent and where social interaction takes place within family members and friends as well as between strangers. The peculiarity that Migros Akköprü Shopping Center has concerning its high physical accessibility due to central location contributes to its use by heterogeneous groups from different parts of the city. In short, shopping center has emerged as a powerful alternative to existing public spaces of Ankara.

However, concerning the restricted public use and the increased social exclusion of some groups, shopping centers can not be regarded as public spaces. Public use depends, in the first place, upon the location of shopping centers. While there are examples of shopping centers with high levels of physical accessibility like Migros Akköprü Shopping Center, it is true that especially shopping centers within suburban areas mostly serve their nearer neighborhoods rather than having the opportunity for the use of different groups from whole areas of the city as city centers provide.

Capturing the background of this transformation lies beneath the understanding of upper scale economic, political and social restructuring processes affecting cities of both the developed and underdeveloped countries. In terms of economic restructuring, one of the main changes is the increased flexibility of capital accumulation strategy which paves the way for capital to operate rapidly than before within the global scale in the search for favourable locations. Encouraged by the advances in electronics and tele-communication technologies, flexible capital influences urban areas and urbanization dynamics more rapidly and intensively. Besides, a decrease in industrial investments and the rise of finance and business sectors also causes economic, social and spatial rearrangement and restructuring of urban areas. Following Harvey's analysis of urban space, it can be claimed that the shift of investments from industrial investments (primary circuit of capital) to urban areas (secondary circuit of capital) both caused new spatial developments among which shopping centers emerge as remarkable examples and also the severing of income conditions due to job losses. The shift of capital to urban circuit can also be clearly seen in Turkey in the increasing interests of domestic holding companies to retailing sector through the development of shopping centers in big large cities.

As a result, one of the essential outcomes of economic restructuring for urban areas has been the rise of the 'entrepreneurial city'. This means that in order to attract the highly flexible capital to their cities, local governments began to both compete with each other and seek and develop new ways and strategies for its achievement. This brought about the increasing negotiations between capital, local governments and other powerful groups involved. The negotiation between AAWFC and Ankara Metropolitan Municipality for the development of Migros Akköprü Shopping Center can be viewed as an example of the increasing reliance of urban governments to the negotiations with private capital. Land preparations and the introduction of infrastructure opportunities have for the most cases been among the results of these negotiations.

Another outcome of the economic restructuring has been the polarization of labor structure. At one side, there appears unqualified and cheap labor power without any social securities while on the other side there are highly educated and paid young professionals who are able to cope with the high technology. The bipolarization of

the labor structure has contributed to the widening income gap and, thus, the increasing polarization and fragmentation of urban social and spatial structure. The development of enclosed residential areas for affluent and shopping centers among the spatial indicators of this fragmentation. Although living, working, leisure and entertainment places of different social groups have always differentiated at varying extents in different periods, it is argued by most that today, this differentiation has grown.

Under such circumstances of increased fragmentation which enhanced the 'fear of others' and increased involvement of private capital upon the determination of urban processes, there appeared signs of the changing characteristics and roles of public spaces. In the first place, increased fragmentation alone has led to a diminishing of their 'integrating roles'. It can be observed that hesitation to use the city centers where different social groups have access to has increased due to the problems of security. This is one of the reasons for the increasing use of shopping centers providing a secure environment through high technology surveillance systems as public spaces. However, as the answers of interviewees has shown, problems of security concerning city centers of Ankara have not yet led to a fear of others. However, since the survey results presents the use of shopping centers as public spaces it can be concluded that increased surveillance is one of the changing characteristics of public space. Besides, it is probable that increased security problems which will lead to increased surveillance of public spaces arise in the future in Ankara which reared in İstanbul especially in the last years.

As for the production of public spaces, the increasing role of private capital can be viewed also through the use of shopping centers as centers of social life. As also the survey results have proved, shopping centers are used by many people for spending leisure time, engaging in social and cultural activities and where they find opportunities for social interaction and contact. In short, people perceive and use shopping centers as public spaces. Being privately owned and being commercial complexes, the first aim for shopping centers' existence is increasing sales and profits. Thus, it can be argued that there is a contradiction between shopping centers' features of being commercial places with concentration of shops and stores and targeting increased sales and the use of these places as public spaces. In other

words, shopping centers' use as public spaces make explicit the contradiction between exchange value and use value of space under capitalist relations that Lefebvre puts forward. Moreover, since the use of space by people are determined to a great extent by the private management company and limited to certain and determined king of activities, it can be said that shopping centers also presents the domination of abstract space over social space.

It is also found that shopping centers enhance the exclusion according to income that is inherent in public spaces. Then, the other changing chararacteristics of public spaces have become the increased levels of exclusion. Since the shops and stores targets high income groups, high levels of physical accessibility as in the case of Migros Akköprü Shopping Center do not hinder symbolic access which refers to clues obtained through people or the place itself and which suggests who is welcomed and who is.

As the public sphere shrinks due to the increased levels of fragmentation and segregation of the urban social structure so does the meaning of public space. Together with the effect of increasing use of private spaces like shopping centers where public action is forbidden as public spaces, public space is in a way to lose one of its essential features: the production of common values and opportunities which have considerable influences upon transforming and reshaping the existing social and spatial relations. The shopping centers bring large numbers of people together which creates an agglomeration without the opportunity for public action.

The transformation of public spaces can be clearly observed also by looking at the declining city centers in terms of use and environmental quality (the problems of security, physical quality, traffic and pedestrian flow etc.). City centers with their streets, squares and parks can be regarded as the main public spaces of the city since publicly used areas, and opportunities for social activities are concentrated in. However, as can be concluded from the historical development of Ankara's city centers and public spaces, efforts by local governments in the way to develop new public spaces with sufficient amounts like parks, squares or improve the conditions of city centers is quite limited. When looked at the development of Ankara's city centers, it is seen that one of the essential elements for public use is

underestimated at quite high levels. Besides, today, the metropolitan municipality is trying to direct and hinder pedestrian flow in favour of automobiles.

Thus, it can be stated that the transformation of public spaces which is evaluated in the case of Ankara's city centers and existing public spaces and the case of Migros Akköprü Shopping Center is two folded. While existing public spaces of city including city centers are deteoriating and relatedly their use are declining through lack of concern and interest by local governments, new places are like shopping centers are regarded as public spaces which brings about the redefinition of the role and production of public space and which have effects upon its characteristics.

5. 2. Proposals For Policy Implications

After 1990's the rapid development of shopping centers in Ankara and their incresing use as public spaces is evident. It is also seen that since they target the use of the place mainly by middle and high income groups in order to survive the use of the area by lower income groups and urban poor are restricted. So, city centers still maintains their vital roles as consumption places of low income groups. Besides, since social, leisure and entertainment activities and the use of space by people are limited city centers that offers a wider range of activities with a freer use of space are vital for all income groups.

Besides, it can be stated that the development of shopping centers will not continue at this level and will tend to stop when it reaches a saturation point in terms of economic efficiency, consumer market and land opportunities within the city. However, when compared with developed countries the development of shopping centers is quite a new development for Turkey. Then, it can be claimed that they will continue to grow and serve as public spaces for a considerable time. Thus, in order to minimize their negative effects upon the use of city centers as public spaces and impacts upon characteristics of public space some policy arrangements are required.

As the transformation of public spaces is two folded so the policy proposals concerning their the future direction of the development of public spaces. One side

concerns mainly with the redefinition of legal procedures for the development of shopping centers. As the observations, survey results and the interview done by the manager of Migros Akköprü Shopping Center have shown, leisure and entertainment opportunities (cinema, theatre) provided by the shopping center has a vital role both for attracting so many people to shopping center and the decreasing use of city centers for recreational and leisure activities. Besides, as it was seen in the development of Migros Akköprü Shopping Center, the plan which allowed its construction determined the area as an 'urban service area'. This definition which includes services ranging from commercial, business, cultural and entertainment activities is quite flexible and leads to big developments which have great influence upon the urban structure. Thus, through a legal rearrangement this definition should be made clear including criteria for site selection of shopping centers.

Except from the early years of the Republic, efforts by local governments in the way to develop new public spaces and improve the existing ones at sufficient levels for the inhabitants of a metropolitan city are quite limited. A common feature of the decline and deteoriation of Kızılay and Ulus city centers has been the uncontrolled growth which has operated through market tendencies to a great extent and which caused the deterioration of the physical landscape and the infrastructure. When market tendencies are not controlled through legal arrangements or even enhanced as it is the case with district floor plans of 1960s and 1970s which permitted increased floors along main arteries the existing situation of city centers with severe conditions is inevitable.

So the other side of the policy proposal concerns the revitalization of city centers. Below are the basic policies that should be followed for achieving the revitalization of city centers:
- The enhancement of existing pedestrianized areas and the development of new ones condisering the inclusion of the use of passages,
- The enhancement of effective public transportation opportunities like metro,
- Putting restrictions and limitations upon the entrance of private vehicles to the city center,
- Development of shopping opportunities for different income groups,
- The enhancement of physical and visual quality.

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SAMPLE QUESTIONNAIRE FORM

1. Yaş: **Cinsiyet:** (K)   (E)   **Medeni Hali:** (B)   (E)

2. Çocuğu varsa kaç tane?   (... ..)

3.Eğitim Durumu

İlkokul (.....)   Ortaokul (.....)   Lise (.....)   Üniversite (....)

4. İş:

Memur (.....)   Kamuda Yönetici (.....)
Özel Sektörde Ücretli (.....)   Özelde Yönetici (.....)
Kamu Kuruluşunda Ücretli (.....)   İşsiz   (....)
Emekli (.....)   Öğrenci   (....)
Serbest Meslek (.....)   Evhanımı (....)

5. Yaklaşık Gelir: (...)
   Aile Geliri: (...)

6. Oturduğu Ev:

Kendisine Ait   (....)   Lojman (.....)   Birden Fazla Evi Var (....)
Kira (....)   Ailesine Ait (....)

7. Oturduğu evde / Ailede kaç kişi yaşıyor? (…...)

8. Annenin Eğitim Durumu/ İşi: (...)

Babanın Eğitim Durumu/İşi: (...)

9. Şu anda oturduğu Semt/Mahalle/Sokak: (...)

10. Anne ve babasının oturduğu Semt/Mahalle(ya da kişinin büyüdüğü mahalle):
(...)

11. Herhangi bir derneğe ya da kulübe üye mi?

a) Evet (....) (Kaç tane?...........)

a)... b)...
c)...   d)…………………………..

b) Hayır (....)

12. Hangi gazete / gazeteleri okuyorsunuz?(...……...)

13. Sizce bir insanı başka bir insandan ayıran ve kişiyi kendisi yapan şeyler nelerdir? Aşağıdakileri bu anlamda önem sırasına koyar mısınız? **(1'den 5'e kadar derecelendiriniz!)**

Yaptığı İş-Gelir Durumu	(....)
Oturduğu Yer-Konut Kalitesi	(....)
Giydikleri-Tüketim Harcamaları	(....)
Manevi Değerler (Aile Kökeni, Dinsel İnançları vs.)	(....)
Kültürel ve Sosyal Etkinlikler (Üye olduğu Kulüp vs.)	(....)

14. Migros Akköprü Alışveriş Merkezi'ne hangi sıklıkla geliyorsunuz?

Hergün	(...)	İki Haftada Bir	(...)
2-3 Günde	(...)	Ayda Bir	(...)
Haftada Bir	(...)	Nadiren	(...)

15. Migros Akköprü Alışveriş Merkezi'ne genellikle önceden planlayıp mı geliyorsunuz? Yoksa ani bir kararla, ya da geçerken mi uğruyorsunuz?

a) Planlı (...) **[Soru 15.1'e geçiniz!]**

15.1. Planlı gelişleriniz genelde hafta içinde mi yoksa haftasonunda mı oluyor?

Hafta İçi (...) Hafta Sonu (...)

b) Plansız-Aniden (...) **[Soru 16'ya geçiniz!**

16. Migros Akköprü Alışveriş Merkezi'ne genellikle nereden geliyorsunuz?

İşten	(...)	Gezmekten-Dolaşmaktan	(...)
Evden	(...)	Okuldan	(...)

17. Migros Akköprü Alışveriş Merkezi'ne genellikle kiminle geliyorsunuz?

Yalnız Başına	(...)	Arkadaşlarıyla	(...)
Ailesiyle	(...)	Komşularıyla	(...)

18. Migros Akköprü Alışveriş Merkezi'ni arkadaş-tanıdık-akrabalarla ilk buluşma yeri olarak seçtiğiniz oluyor mu?

Evet (...) **[Soru 18.1.'e geçiniz!]**   Hayır (...) **[Soru 19'e geçiniz!]**

18.1. Migros Akköprü Alışveriş Merkezi'nde buluşup birarada olduğunuz vaktin tümünü bu alışveriş merkezinde geçirdiğiniz oluyor mu?

Evet (...)   Hayır (...)

19. Migros Akköprü Alışveriş Merkezi'nde yaşadığınız yerden, iş yerinizden, arkadaş çevrenizden, kulüpten vs. tanıdık kimselerle karşılaştığınız oluyor mu?

Evet (...)   Hayır (...)

20. Migros Akköprü Alışveriş Merkezi'nde tanışıp arkadaş olduğunuz kimse var mı?

Evet (...)   Hayır (...)

21. Migros Akköprü Alışveriş Merkezi'ne kalabalık vakitlerde mi, yoksa sakin vakitlerde mi gelmeyi tercih ediyorsunuz?

Kalabalık (...)   Sakin (...)

22. Kalabalıkta gezmek hoşunuza gidiyor mu? Alışveriş Merkezindeki kalabalıktan hoşlanıyor musunuz?

Evet (...)   Hayır (...)

23. Migros Akköprü Alışveriş Merkezi'ne genelde ne tür alışveriş yapmak için geliyorsunuz?

Günlük ihtiyaçlar (Yiyecek/İçecek; Ev İhtiyaçları vs.)   (...)
Dayanıklı Tüketim Malları (...)
Giyim ve Kişisel Bakım (...)
Yanlızca Dinlenmeye/Eğlenmeye Geliyorum (...)

24. Aşağıdaki ihtiyaçlarınızı genellikle nereden alıyorsunuz? **(Önce: Burası Açılmadan Önce)**

	Buradan		Başka Bir Alışveriş Merkezi		Bakkal-Semt Pazarı		Semt Marketleri		Siteler		Kent Merkezi	
	Önce	Şimdi	Önce	Şimdi	Önce	Şimdi	Önce	Şimdi	Önce	Şimdi	Önce	Şimdi
a)Yiyecek-İçecek												
b)Giyecek-Ayakkabı												
c)Mobilya-Halı												
d)Elektrik Gereçleri												
e)Kitap-Kırtasiye												
f)Ev Aksesuar-Dekorasyon Gereçleri												
g)Çocuk Oyuncakları												

25. Ailenizde-evinizde yiyecek, giyecek ve ev araç-gereçleri alışverişini genelde kim yapıyor?

	Yiyecek	Giyecek	Ev Araç-Gereçleri
Kendisi (Tek başına yaşıyor)			
Eşi			
Ortaklaşa yapılıyor			
Evdeki başka biri yapıyor			

26. Aşağıda sayılan insanlarla ne kadar sıklıkla alışveriş yapıyorsunuz? **(1'den 4'e kadar derecelendiriniz! 1 en sık anlamına geliyor!)**

	Derecelendiriniz:	Hiç Yapmıyorum
Kendi Başına	(...)	(...)
Arkadaş Grubuyla	(...)	(...)
Eşiyle-Partneriyle	(...)	(...)
Ailesiyle	(...)	(...)

27. Migros Akköprü Alışveriş Merkezi'ne gelip de alışveriş yapmadan çıktığınız oluyor mu?

Evet (...) Hayır (...)

28. Bir malı alırken (örneğin kıyafet) neler seçiminize etki ediyor? **(1'den 6'ya kadar derecelendirir misiniz?)**

Fiyatı (...) Kalitesi (...) Markası (...) Reklamını Görmüş Olmak (...)
Komşuda ya da arkadaşta görmüş olmak (...)
Kendi zevkine uygun olması ve başkalarında bulunmaması (...)

29. Bugün bu alışveriş merkezinde harcama yaptınız mı?

"Evet" ise Tutarı (..) Hiç harcama yapmadım (...)

30. Kredi kartı kullanıyor musunuz?

a) Evet (...) **[Soru 30.1'e geçiniz!]**

30.1. Kredi kartını hangi sıklıkla kullanıyorsunuz?

Devamlı (...) Arada Sırada (...)

b) Hayır (...)

31. Harcamalarınızda kullandığınız kaç kredi kartınız var? (......)

32. Mağazalara ait taksit-kredi kartınız var mı?

Evet (...) (Kaç tane?..................) Hayır (...)

33. Kredi kartınızdaki borç miktarının sizin ödeme sınırınızı aştığı durumlarda kredi kartı ile harcama yapıyor musunuz?

Evet (...) Hayır (...)

34. Alışverişe geldiğinizde, birşeyler almak isteyip de bunu ertelediğiniz ya da bıraktığınız oluyor mu?

Evet (...) Hayır (...)

35. Buradaki mal çeşitliliğini yeterli buluyor musunuz? Yoksa arayıp da bulamadığınız şeyler oluyor mu?

a) Evet (...) **[Soru 35.1'e geçiniz!]**

35.1. Bulamadığınız ürünler genelde ne tür ürünler oluyor?
(...)

b) Hayır (...)

36. Alışveriş yapmak sizin için boş zamanlarınızı değerlendirdiğiniz, keyif aldığınız bir aktivite mi?

Evet (...) Hayır (...)

37. Kimi zaman ihtiyacınızdan fazla alışveriş ettiğinizi hissettiğiniz oluyor mu?

Evet   (...)   Hayır (...)

38. Migros Akköprü Alışveriş Merkezi'ne genelde nasıl geliyorsunuz?

Kişisel Araç (...)   Taksi (...)
Toplutaşım Araçları (...)   Yaya Olarak (...)

39. Migros Akköprü Alışveriş Merkezi'nin şehirdeki konumundan memnun musunuz?

Evet   (...)   **[Soru 39.1'e geçiniz!]**
Hayır (...)   **[Soru 40'a geçiniz!]**

39.1. Migros Akköprü Alışveriş Merkezi Konya Yolu üzerine değil de başka bir yere kurulacak olsaydı, nereyi tercih ederdiniz?

Kent Merkezine Yakın (...)   Şehir Dışı (...)   Kendi Semtine Yakın (...)

40. Migros Akköprü Alışveriş Merkezi'ne geldiğinizde ortalama ne kadar zaman geçiriyorsunuz?

1-2 saatten az (...)   4-8 saat (...)
1-2 saat (...)   8 saatten fazla (...)
2-4 saat (...)

41. Sizin için Migros Akköprü Alışveriş Merkezi'ne gelirken aşağıdakilerden hangisi daha önemlidir? (1'den 3'e kadar derecelendiriniz!)

Vitrin İzlemek-Dolaşmak   (...)
Dinlenmek-Eğlenmek   (...)
Alışveriş   (...)

42. Migros Akköprü Alışveriş Merkezi'nde gezmeyi mi yoksa kent merkezinde (örn: Kızılay, Tunalı Hilmi Caddesi) gezmeyi mi eğlenceli bulurdunuz?

Migros Akköprü Alışveriş Merkezi'nde   (...)
Kent Merkezinde   (...)
Her İkisinde de   (...)

43. Migros Akköprü Alışveriş Merkezi'nin en çok nerelerinde bulunmak hoşunuza gidiyor?

Kafetaryalar/Sinemalar   (...)   Dükkanların Vitrinleri   (...)
Mağaza/Dükkanların İçi   (...)   Meydan-Çimenlik-Havuz gibi Bölümleri   (...)

44. Migros Akköprü Alışveriş Merkezi sizde nasıl bir etki bırakıyor? (İkililerden birini seçiniz!)

Ferah-rahat-geniş-büyük   (...)   Kalabalık-rahatsız-dar   (...)
Güvenli   (...)   Güvensiz   (...)
Eğlenceli   (...)   Sıkıcı   (...)
Kendine özgü-kişilikli   (...)   Sıradan   (...)
Pahalı   (...)   Ucuz   (...)
Çekici   (...)   İtici   (...)
Diğer (..)

45. Migros Akköprü Alışveriş Merkezi'nde kendinizi güven içinde hissediyor musunuz?

a) Evet (...) **[Soru 45.1'e geçiniz!]**

45.1. Kapıdaki güvenlik görevlilerinin sayısı arttırılmalı mı, yoksa azaltılmalı mı?

Arttırılmalı (…)   Azaltılmalı (…)

b) Hayır (...) **[Soru 45.2'ye geçiniz!]**

45.2. Güvenlik için ne tür önlemler alınmalı?

Güvenlik görevlilerinin sayısı arttırılmalı   (...)
Başka Güvenlik Önlemleri Alınmalı   (...)
Hem güvenlik görevlilerinin sayısı arttırılmalı hem de başka güvenlik önlemleri alınmalı (...)

46. Migros Akköprü Alışveriş Merkezi'nde beğendiğiniz / beğenmediğiniz şeyler nelerdir?
<u>(Aşağıdaki özelliklerin olumlu mu, olumsuz mu, ortalama mı olduğunu belirtiniz!)</u>

	Olumlu	Olumsuz	Ortalama
Ulaşılabilirlik			
Güvenlik			
Fiyatlar			
Çeşitlilik (Ürün ve aktivite)			
Kalite (Ürün, personel, mekan ve kullanıcı)			
Uzaklık-Yakınlık			
Otopark			
Kalabalık ve Gürültü			
İç Mekan Örgütlenmesi			
Uzaklık-Yakınlık			

47. Migros Akköprü Alışveriş Merkezi sizde diğer insanlarla eşit olduğunuz hissini uyandırıyor mu?

Evet (...)   Hayır (...)

48. Migros Akköprü Alışveriş Merkezi'nin her kesimden insanın birarada bulunduğu bir yer olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz?

a) Evet (...) **[Soru 48.1'e geçiniz!]**

48.1. Bu durumdan memnun musunuz?

Evet   (...)
Hayır (...) **[Soru 48.2'ye geçiniz!]**

48.2. Neden buranın her kesimden insanın bir arada bulunduğu bir yer olmasından memnun değilsiniz? (………………………………………………………….)

b) Hayır (...) **[Soru 48.3 ve 48.4'e geçiniz!]**

48.3. Neden buranın her kesimden insanın birarada olmadığı bir yer olduğunu düşünüyorsunuz? (…..)

48.4. Her kesimden insanın kullanabileceği bir mekan olmasını ister miydiniz?

Evet (...)
Hayır (...) **[Soru 48.5'e geçiniz!]**

48.5. Neden buranın her kesimden insanın birarada olduğu bir yer olmasını istemezsiniz? (………………………………………….)

49. Migros Akköprü Alışveriş Merkezi'nde sizi rahatsız eden bir kesim/kesimler var mı?

a) Evet (...) **[Soru 49.1'ye geçiniz!]**

49.1. Sizi rahatsız eden kimlerdir? (………….......……...)

b) Hayır (...)

50. Migros Akköprü Alışveriş Merkezi'nden çıktığınızda kendinizi nasıl hissediyorsunuz?

Yenilenmiş/Dinç Olarak   (...)
Yorgun olarak   (...)
Herhangi bir değişiklik olmadan   (...)

51. Migros Akköprü Alışveriş Merkezi'nde olmak sizi dış dünyadan ve sorunlardan ne ölçüde koparıyor?

Tamamen Koparıyor (...)
Az Çok Koparıyor   (...)
Hiç Koparmıyor   (...)

52. Bu alışveriş merkezi dışındaki diğer alışveriş merkezlerine de gidiyor musunuz?
Evet (...) (En Sık Hangilerine?..)   Hayır

(...)

53. Burası dışında gittiğiniz alışveriş merkezlerine hangi sıklıkta gidiyorsunuz?

Hergün (...)   2-3 Günde Bir (...) Haftada Bir (...) 15 Günde Bir (...)
Ayda Bir (...) Nadiren (...)

54.   Bu   alışveriş   merkezinde   en   beğendiğiniz   mağaza   hangisi?
(..)

55. Migros Akköprü Alışveriş Merkezi'ndeki herhangi bir mağaza ya da dükkandaki çalışanlarla birbirinizi tanıma ve hatır sorma düzeyinde bir ilişki gelişti mi?

Evet (...)   Hayır (...)

56. Şehirde alışveriş yapmakla Migros Akköprü Alışveriş Merkezi'nde alışveriş yapmanın sizce en önemli farkı nedir?
(..)

57. Şehirde alışveriş yaparken mi, yoksa Migros Akköprü Alışveriş Merkezi'nde alışveriş yaparken mi kendinizi huzurlu ve güvende hissediyorsunuz?

Migros Akköprü Alışveriş Merkezi'nde   (...)
Kent Merkezi'nde   (...)
Her İkisinde de   (...)

58. Televizyon seyretmek yerine Migros Akköprü Alışveriş Merkezi'e gelip, gezmeyi tercih ettiğiniz oluyor mu?

Evet (...)   Hayır (...)

59. Bu tür alışveriş merkezlerinin Kızılay, Tunalı, Ulus gibi kent merkezlerini gereksizleştirdiğini düşünüyor musunuz?

Genel Anlamda→ 	**a)**Tamamen Evet 	**b)** Az Çok 	**c)** Tamamen Hayır

Evet ya da Az Çok ise→ Bu durum sizi rahatsız ediyor mu? **a)** Evet 	**b)** Hayır

Kişisel Anlamda → 	**a)** Tamamen 	**b)** Az Çok 	**c)** Tamamen Hayır

Evet ya da Az Çok ise → Bu durum sizi rahatsız ediyor mu? **a)** Evet 	**b)** Hayır

AİLELERE SORULACAK SORULAR

60. Buraya gelme isteği genelde kimden geliyor?
Eş (...) 	Çocuk(lar) (...) 	Kişinin kendisinden (...)

61. Buraya geldiğinizde eşinizle ayrı alışveriş yaptığınız oluyor mu? Sürekli birlikte mi zaman harcıyorsunuz?
(..)

62. Buraya gelmeden önce eşinizle birlikte neler alacağınızı tartışıyor musunuz?
Evet (...) 	Hayır (...)