UNDERSTANDING THE TRANSFORMATIVE POWER OF CONSUMPTION ON ARCHITECTURE AND CITY: TWO PHASES OF ATAKULE

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ABSTRACT

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As from the beginning of the 20th century, production and consumption patterns have been changing depending upon the transformations of industry, production patterns, and capitalism. As a consequence of these transformations, the economic emphasis has shifted from production to consumption remarkably, and this shift did not only transform the economic structure but also led social and cultural disciplines to adopt a consumption-oriented perspective. Under the influence of late capitalist development, the phenomenon of consumption has become one of the main determinants for the formation of social and cultural life. Today, the increasing sovereignty of the consumption still transforms the cultural and physical structure of today's cities from macro to micro scale, through the agency of architecture. The main intention of this research is to grasp the extent of the relationship established by the phenomenon of consumption with the architecture and the city; and to understand the transformative power of this relationship on spatial production. Therefore, in order to explore the background of this transformation process, this study employs shopping mall typology due to the fact that it represents the aforementioned economic, social and cultural transformations and has become one of the main constituents of urban fabric as well as being the main locus of consumption activity. As a domain of the

study, the transformation process of a distinctive case, Turkey's second and Ankara's first shopping mall Atakule, is going to be analyzed in order to draw an outline about the transformative power of the notion of consumption on architectural practice.

Keywords: Capitalism, Consumption, Commodification, Shopping Mall, Atakule

ÖZ

TÜKETİM OLGUSUNUN MİMARİ VE KENT ÜZERİNDEKİ DÖNÜŞTÜRÜCÜ GÜCÜNÜ ATAKULE ÖRNEĞİ ÜZERİNDEN ANLAMAK

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20. yüzyılın başlarından itibaren kapitalist sistem mekanizmalarında yaşanan belli başlı dönüşümler üretim ve tüketim modellerinin de farklılaşmasına yol açmıştır. Bu gelişmeler doğrultusunda ekonomik vurgunun üretimden tüketime kayması, sosyal ve kültürel disiplinlerin de tüketim odaklı bir perspektif benimsemelerine neden olmuştur. Geç kapitalist gelişmelerin etkisi altında, tüketim sosyal ve kültürel hayatı yönlendiren ana etkenlerden biri haline gelmiştir. Günümüzde tüketimin halen var olan ve giderek artan egemenliği mimari aracılığı ile kentlerin kültürel ve fiziksel yapısını çeşitli ölçeklerde dönüşüme uğratmaya devam etmektedir. Bu tezin temel amacı tüketim olgusunun mimarlık ve kentle kurduğu ilişkinin sınırlarını analiz etmek ve bu ilişkinin fiziksel çevrenin üretimi üzerindeki dönüştürücü gücünü anlamaktır. Bu dönüşüm sürecinin arka planını görmek için bütün bu ekonomik, sosyal ve kültürel değişimleri temsil eden ve günümüzde kentsel dokunun önemli bir bileşeni haline gelmiş, aynı zamanda tüketim eyleminin ana mekanı olan alışveriş merkezi tipolojisi örneklem alanını oluşturmaktadır. Bu amaç doğrultusunda Ankara'nın ilk alışveriş merkezi olan Atakule'nin 1987-2018 yılları arasında geçirdiği fiziksel dönüşüm süreci incelenecek ve bu örnek çalışma üzerinden tüketim olgusunun mimarlık disiplini üzerindeki etkilerinin sınırları çizilmeye çalışılacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kapitalizm, Tüketim, Metalaşma, Alışveriş Merkezi, Atakule

To my parents; Nursel and Osman Türkyılmaz

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

> We live by object time […] Today, it is we who watch them as they are born, grow to maturity and die, whereas in all previous civilizations it was timeless objects, instruments or monuments which outlived the generations of human beings.[1]

As from the beginning of the 20th century, production and consumption patterns have been changing depending upon the profound transformations of industry, production, and capitalism. While the initial organization of capital was based on a standardized production and the rationalization of consumption processes, in the mid-1970s, a new phase of capitalism emerged. Unlike its predecessor, this new capital configuration leaned on a more flexible organization of production, labor forces, and market as well as more flexible patterns of capital distribution. Moreover, this remarkable shift on the political economy, whose main motivation is to enhance the capital fluidity, did not only transform the economic structure but also led social and cultural disciplines to adopt a consumption-oriented perspective.[2] By looking at the social structure, it can be said that a new society emerged with the dynamics of the new capitalist configuration. Baudrillard entitles this new social structure as "consumer society," which is organized around the notion of consumption and constructing its identity through the consumption of commodities.[3]

[1] Jean Baudrillard, *The Consumer Society* (London: SAGE Publications, 1998), 25.
[2] David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Blackwell Publishers, 1992), 141-173.
[3] Baudrillard, *The Consumer Society*.

When it comes to the 21st century, owing to the ever-increasing mobility of capital, people and information, cultural borders across the world have been removed, and the notion of consumption has gained a global perspective. It can be said that "consumer society" is still a valid phenomenon to characterize today's society and it is one of the main determinants that form today's cultural practice and daily life, as it used to be. People, who have distinct cultural backgrounds in different geographies of the world, now being dress in the same style, eat the same food, listen to the same music and watch the same television show. In short, they are constructing their identities that are not so different from each other through the consumption of the same commodities, in similar spaces.

Consequently, under the umbrella of capitalist globalization, the cities, which are central to economic, social, and cultural life, have increasingly begun to take shape within this consumption-oriented perspective. The increasing sovereignty of the consumer culture transforms the physical structure of today's cities through the agency of architecture by introducing new urban building typologies while transforming the existing ones. One of the reflections of this situation on the formation of urban landscape is that similar typologies can be seen and reproduced in different geographical regions of the world independently of the context. Similar spaces, in terms of both function and architectural form, have been created for people who want to develop the same identity by exhibiting the same consumption habits, regardless of whether they are miles away from each other. Furthermore, the existing built environment is also exposed to several transformations driven by the internal dynamics of capitalist growth and consumer society. Viewed at building scale, these transformations can be applied in various forms, from a partial renovation to a total annihilation -and in some cases reconstruction- regardless of the material lifecycle or the "use-value" of the subjected architectural object.

On the other hand, it is not unexpected that the architectural discipline, which is one of the most critical elements on the establishment of built environment, is affected by these changes. Even though the definitions and attributed meanings made for

architecture vary throughout the centuries, it would be apprehensive about arguing that the principal values of architecture are found on the basis of the Vitruvian triad; *firmitas, utilitas, and venustas*[4]. These are the commonly held essential qualities of architectural work, and they are as relevant today as they were in the early days of the Roman Empire. It can be considered that these qualities, which have also been adopted and refined by several architectural theoreticians, refer not only to the resistance to external physical conditions but also the endurance for centuries and the ability to respond the changing aesthetic pleasures and needs in the course of time. After all, it is clear that the spatial reflections of aforementioned transformation and restructuring process of economic, social and cultural dynamics promoted by late capitalist development create an incompatibility between the internal values of architecture and the values of consumer society.

This antagonism between the architectural emphasis on permanency and the driving forces of the consumer culture for a constant change -and the consequent spatial reflections of this tension- have proved that the transformation processes of built environment promoted by the new values of consumer society, should be studied in order to comprehend the current state of the architectural discipline conditioned by the city. Hence, the curiosity about the dimension of the relationship between the capitalist growth, the notion of consumption and the formation of built environment, and how and to what extent the process of architectural production is affected by this relation are the main motives behind this study.

Therefore, the primary purpose of this study is to understand under which consumption-oriented forces an architectural object -so the built environment- is produced, how it is transformed by these forces over time, and simultaneously how it transforms the urban landscape. Accordingly, in the following chapter, it will be

[4] In his work "De Architectura", which is considered the oldest known work of architectural theory, Vitruvius stated that a good building should possess the qualities of firmitas (durability), utilitas (convenience) and venustas (beauty). For further information please see: Vitruvius Pollio and Morris Hicky Morgan, *Vitruvius: The Ten Books on Architecture.* (Dover Publications, 1960).

drawn an economic, social and cultural outline for understanding the formation of consumption-oriented structure within the frame of capitalist development. Initially, the economic background that leads to this situation will be explored and how economic conditions affect production and consumption practices will be discussed. After that, how consumption phenomenon changes meaning and its reflections on social and cultural production will be examined. It will be investigated how space production, which is the main subject of the architecture discipline, is affected by these processes and how space exists and transformed as a capitalist expansion will be reviewed. The last part of this chapter is devoted to the commodification of architecture which serves a point of intersection of both cultural production and capitalist expansion.

In line with the objective of the study, the transformation process of architectural production will be investigated through the transformation of a specific building typology, i.e., shopping mall. The employment of this specific building typology is not only due to the fact that shopping mall is one of the most prominent and apparent constituents of today's built environment. What is more, shopping mall represents a common ground for economic growth, the social and cultural structure of consumption, and architectural production. As being an architectural product, an urban investment tool and a domain to (re)organize and monitor the consumption activities, shopping mall acts as a place where the dialogue between consumer society and the city are established through the work of architecture. Thus, chapter 3 will concentrate on the shopping mall typology. This chapter starts by pointing to the transformation of the shopping concept in parallel with the change of consumption practices. Then, the typological evolution from Greek Agora to contemporary shopping mall will be examined. After making a brief evaluation of the evolution of shopping space, this chapter concludes by framing the shopping mall development in Turkey.

A distinctive example of shopping mall transformation project, Atakule, is chosen as a case study in order to understand the transformative power of economic growth and consumer culture on spatial production. The study's focus on Atakule, however, is

strategic. Reasons behind the distinctness of Atakule and making its transformation process valuable for this study lay not only on the fact that it is one of the first examples of shopping mall typology in Turkey. The assumption that the former structure was constructed in the period in which consumer culture is introduced to Turkey, and that 30 years later, it is now transformed by the same phenomenon; the case Atakule gives an opportunity to evaluate the impact of capitalist growth and consumer culture on the formation of built environment both as a generative and as a transformative power.

Fourth chapter will execute the case study with the theoretical framework organized in the previous chapters. As a domain of the study, the transformation process of Atakule will be investigated to disclose the dynamics which transform the architectural product and reveal the background of this transformation process from macro to micro scale, from theory to practice. Being one of the professionals involved in the process, I will analyze the continuities as well as the discontinuities by comparing the former and later project through the documents obtained from architects, investor, and media. Collected materials referring to both antecedent and current versions of Atakule and my own observations will create a base for understanding the motives behind the transformation of Atakule and how this transformative process works as an urban anecdote.

At this point, it should be clarified at the outset that that the main concern of this study is not merely to investigate the typological transformations of shopping mall buildings. Nor to make a qualitative evaluation between the former and the later project of Atakule or to vilify one of them through the comparison of continuities and discontinuities. More than that, this study consciously employs a specific type of building, shopping mall typology, due to it represents as an example of the new urban typology introduced by the consumer society, and it is a form of spatial medium which is constituted to fulfill the needs of consumer society. Thereupon, the study epitomizes its findings through a distinctive case in Turkey within a time frame moving from the period in which shopping malls first appear to the period which is witnessed today.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND MAIN CONCEPTS

2.1. Economic Background: Towards Flexible Accumulation

Being named after Henri Ford, who introduced the assembly-line system as a manufacturing process to the automobile industry, Fordism refers to the early configuration of the capitalist system. Although its symbolic initiation was 1914, its hegemony as a dominant regime of production and accumulation corresponds to the period from the postwar years to the 1970s. In a technical sense; Fordism represents a mode of production in which industrial production is mostly realized as mass production, the division of labor and job descriptions are made rigidly, product standardization provides an increase in productivity, and increasing demand accelerates this standardization.[5] Thus, such an effort to rationalize the workforce and to standardize the product also entails the rationalization of consumption patterns. Along with being an industrial paradigm based on mass production and being an accumulation regime contingent upon mass consumption, Fordism should be regarded as a collective effort to create "a new type of worker and a new type of man" as Gramsci once implied to highlight its potential transformative power. In a similar vein, Harvey states that Fordism has to be perceived as a total way of life besides being a system of mass production. The mass consumption of standardized product meant a whole new aesthetic, as Fordism adopt the aesthetic of modernism and commodification of culture.[6]

Fordism, which could be described as a transformation from an agricultural to an industrial based economy and social restructuring process, was a production model

[5] Ayda Eraydın, *Post-Fordizm ve Değişen Mekansal Öncelikler* (Ankara: Ankara : ODTU , 1992., 1989), 15.
[6] Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change,* 135-136.

that includes both pros and cons as well. Looking on the bright side, the rationalization of the production process and the organization of labor led to an increase in productivity, capital profitability, and welfare with the help of socio-political regulations. However, the fact of being built on the stability that prevents the adaptation to changing external conditions results in bottlenecks for Fordism and as a result in the mid-1960s crisis tendencies began to emerge within the Fordist regime. To theorize this kind of inflexibility, Harvey uses the term "rigidity." One of the problems that draw the Fordist regime into a crisis is the fact that the stable and rigid formation of Fordist mass production precludes the possibility of adaptation on changing conditions of the modern world. Therewithal, the inflexibility in labor markets, labor allocation and in labor contracts caused severe problems like the strike waves in the years between 1968- 1972.[7] Another problem within the Fordist regime was the internationalization of production. Even though it was an attempt to resolve the crisis and increase the profitability, the fact that multinational companies have shifted their production to lower- wage countries has worsened the situation by ending up with the increasing international market competition.[8] Finally, yet importantly, there were dissatisfactions on the consumer side. The origin of these dissatisfactions was that the Fordist mode of production could not respond to changing demands in the consumer market. So, it should also be taken into account that the basis of the crisis was not only of economic origin but of looking for an alternative to the standardized lifestyle and alienation brought by the mass production and consumption.[9]

In the 1970s, the efforts to resolve the crisis within Fordism have led to a new economic restructuring process. As a response to the rigidities of Fordist regime, this new form of economic organization has embraced a more flexible perspective in terms of organization of production, labor process, patterns of capital distribution and

[7] Ibid., 142.
[8] Eraydın, *Post-Fordizm ve Değişen Mekansal Öncelikler*, 18-21.
[9] Ibid., 23.

patterns of consumption. Harvey summarizes the main distinguishing features of the new accumulation regime as:

> Flexible accumulation, as I shall tentatively call it, is marked by a direct confrontation with the rigidities of Fordism. It rests on flexibility with respect to labor processes, labor markets, products, and patterns of consumption. It is characterized by the emergence of entirely new sectors of production, new ways of providing financial services, new markets, and above all, greatly intensified rates of commercial, technological, and organizational innovation. It has entrained rapid shifts in the patterning of uneven development, both between the sectors and between geographical regions, giving rise, for example, to a vast surge in so-called 'service sector' employment as well as to entirely new industries ensembles in hitherto underdeveloped regions.[10]

As Harvey already states, the transition from a Fordist accumulation regime to a Post-Fordist economy comprises a set of interconnecting shifts in the political, economic, and social structure. For instance, the need for flexibility and mobility in labor markets has led to a shift from long-term, stable employment of Fordism to a more flexible mode of employment based on part-time employment, short-term contracts, and sub-contracting. Correspondingly, the industrial organization has also undergone a transformation by introducing of new techniques and new organizational forms in production, like small business formations, in order to keep race with the changing market structure and differentiated consumer demands.[11] The development of a new service sector, new ways of providing financial services, new markets, the reorganization of the global financial system and the emergence of an enhanced power of the financial coordination characterize this new era of the capitalist economy. Moreover, ever progressing information and communication technologies is another factor that contributes to the progression of a flexible approach. The multi-nationalization of capital, which began to be seen towards the end of the Fordist

[10] Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*,147.
[11] Ibid., 150-156.

period, has shifted to another dimension with these new information and communication opportunities.[12] Therewith, the increasing mobility of capital in global scale has enhanced the productivity and profitability while at the same time; it has blurred the locational boundaries of the capital. Moreover, the restructuring process has also had substantial effects on the social structure. The globalized and diversified system of production has led to the emergence of a new profile of worker that have diverse skills and educational background, unlike the unskilled worker profile of Fordism. Fragmentation on the social structure and the rise of a new social group has also referred a new consumer profile characterized by the increasing demand for diversified commodities, differentiated lifestyles and cultural activities, and by the interest in individuality.

In compliance with this social restructuring, flexible accumulation focus on a production process which is determined by the demands of consumption market in contrast with Fordist mass production based on the prediction and predetermination of demand. In other words, it can be said that within the flexible accumulation process, the economic emphasis has shifted from production to consumption in order to ensure the turnover of capital. Herein, it is worth remembering the fundamentals of the capitalist economy through which the relation between commodity and money analyzed, to better apprehend the position of consumption within capitalist economy. In his famous formula, Marx summarized the dynamics of capitalism as M→C→M'. According to this Marxist schema, M symbolizes money that is invested by the capitalist industrial workforce to produce a commodity, shortly C. Then commodity is sold in the market to make more money, or capital, symbolized by M' which is going to be reinvested for the sake of the continuity of the system. Although the early stage of capitalism mainly focused on the first step of the formula, the emphasis of the late-capitalist system shifted to the second step, a shift from production to consumption. In the light of the aforementioned background and in the highly competitive environment of the twenty-first century, the conversion of the commodity

[12] Ibid., 184.

into money, in other words, *capital realization* at the market, has now become the most critical stage of the capitalist chain.[13]

2.2. Consumption as a Social and Cultural Theory

Up to now, it is evident that starting with the industrial revolution, evolving capitalist economy and changing production models have paved the way for a consumption-oriented structure in political economy. However, this change was not limited only in the economic field, but also in the social and cultural area. To look at the social structure, the new modes of production and consumption within the capitalist development paved the way for the rise of a new kind of capitalist society, diversely labeled as postindustrial society, media society, information society and so forth. With a critical perspective on the social consequences of capitalism, Baudrillard entitles this new kind of social structure as "consumer society" which is organized around the notion of consumption and constructing its identity through the consumption of commodities.[14]

At this juncture, it should be noted that, along with the changing socio-economic framework, the act of consumption has eluded from its earlier meanings and pointed to a new concept. With its basic and naïve definition, consuming refers to an act of using up a resource for the fulfillment of real needs. On the other hand, from the sociological approach of Baudrillard, consumption no longer implies merely utilizing the material goods for individual requirements or purchasing commodities in order to satisfy needs. What is consumed is the relationship established with the consumption object rather than the consumption object itself. His argument is simple yet effective; consumption has become a means of differentiation rather than satisfaction. In other words, when a consumer buys an object, it signifies something more than a commodity. The purchased, owned, or consumed object has been isolated from its material properties and now serves to the intangible desires of the consumer.

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[13] Mark Gottdiener, *The Theming of America: American Dreams, Media Fantasies, and Themed Environments*, Second (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2001), 45.
[14] Baudrillard, *The Consumer Society*.

> People worked dreaming of what they might later acquire; life was lived in accordance with the puritan notion of effort and its reward - and objects finally won represented repayment for the past and security for the future…their consumption precedes their production.[15]

If it is needed to redefine the notion of consumption in the light of the above framework, it can be described as "the virtual totality of all objects and messages ready-constituted as a more or less coherent discourse and an activity consisting of the systematic manipulation of signs."[16] According to Baudrillard, consumption is an embodiment of the active form of relationship to society and to the world as well as to the objects, a mode of systematic activity and global response.

This argument also generates a new concept which is critical to understand the contemporary situation of consumption; that is "sign value" together with necessity-based "use value" and production based "exchange value." In Marxist theory, every commodity has both "use value" and "exchange value"; though latter is the driving force within the mechanisms of capitalism in which the universal criterion for exchange is money. On the one hand, Baudrillard criterion for the exchange is not about money or utility, but about the code of culture, i.e., symbols.[17] The value of a commodity is now determined by more what it signifies than its utility or durability. At the point that the late capitalism has reached, one can say that "sign value" has surpassed the "use value" and even "exchange value," as a natural consequence of commodification process. In the meantime, in order to avoid a reductionist position, it is useful to recall Gottdiener's caution of that the Baudrillard's attitude is at the extreme end, along with acknowledging the importance of "sign value" for analyzing

[15] Jean Baudrillard, *The System of Objects* (Verso, 1996), 159.
[16] Ibid., 200.
[17] Mark Gottdiener, "Approaches to Consumption: Classical and Contemporary Perspectives," in *New Forms of Consumption : Consumers, Culture, and Commodification* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2000), 20.

the contemporary society and its consumption modes. He interprets signs as "tools in the process of social interaction rather than compelling forces in their own right" and argues that social life is best analyzed with a "constant interplay of use, exchange, and sign value."[18]

Furthermore, Baudrillard takes the notion of consumption a step further by stating that the entire cultural system is founded on the basis of consumption.[19] In a similar approach, Jameson emphasizes the relation between the culture and new economic structure based on consumption; and argues that culture is a core substance of consumer society.[20] In parallel with the changing consumer profile and consumption patterns, it is not unexpected that a different perspective has been adopted in cultural production. In his identically titled work from which the main idea could be obviously traced, Fredric Jameson equates postmodernism, with the logic of late capitalism - even though there are various definitions assigned to the concept of postmodernism, and some of which are still unclear for most of the thinkers. Jameson claimed that the social and cultural formation of the era represented the results of late/multinational/consumer capitalism, and mutually, this new socio-cultural structure boosted the consumer capitalism.[21] At this point, the observation of Jameson is noteworthy to grasp the social and cultural restructuring process in parallel to the shifts on consumer side;

> New types of consumption; planned obsolescence; an ever more rapid rhythm of fashion and styling changes; the penetration of advertising, television and the media generally to a hitherto unparalleled degree throughout society; the replacement of the old tension between city and country, center and province, by the suburb and by universal standardization; the growth of the great

[18] Ibid., 26.
[19] Baudrillard, *The System of Objects*,199-200.
[20] Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism or The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism.* (London: Verso, 1991), 88.
[21] Ibid.

> networks of superhighways and the arrival of automobile culture - these are some of the features which would seem to mark a radical break with that older prewar society in which high-modernism was still an underground force.[22]

As the critical features of this newly emerging social and cultural order of the late capitalism, Jameson also points out that a sense of history has disappeared, the connection with the past has been disengaged to the extent of "historical amnesia" and with his metaphoric statement, life has been spending in a perpetual present in a "schizophrenic" way. Along with the disappearance of history, a constant change has been adopted, which overrides all traditions.[23] In a similar vein, the emphasis on the characteristics of the era like difference, diversity, ephemerality, superficiality on which this new socio-cultural structure engorges itself, can be observed in the words of Harvey:

> Flexible accumulation has been accompanied on the consumption side, therefore, by a much greater attention to quick-changing fashions and the mobilization of all the artifices of need inducement and cultural transformation that this implies. The relatively stable aesthetic of Fordist modernism has given way to all the ferment, instability, and fleeting qualities of a postmodernist aesthetic that celebrates difference, ephemerality, spectacle, fashion, and the commodification of cultural forms.[24]

Before embarking on the commodification of cultural production, it is useful to probe the notion of commodification. From an economic standpoint, commodification basically means the conversion of something into a commodity that can be bought and sold.[25] To be more precise, the term describes the act of assigning economic value to a good or service, which previously has not been appraised in economic terms, for the

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[22] Fredric Jameson, "Postmodernism and Consumer Society," in *The Anti-Aesthetic : Essays on Postmodern Culture*, ed. Hal Foster (Washington: Bay Press, 1983), 113.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*,156.
[25] "Commodification Meaning in the Cambridge English Dictionary," accessed March 28, 2019, https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/commodification.

purpose of getting it into the circulation of capital. Regardless of whether they are material good, service, or ideas, the production and consumption of commodities is the *raison d'etre* of capitalism. Under advanced capitalism, commodification expands into all corners of social and cultural life and "the commodification of cultural forms" is one of the important driving forces to stimulate consumption. Within these consumerist formations, "all the properly human faculties are integrated as commodities" and "all desires, projects and demands, all passions and all relationships, are now abstracted (or materialized) as signs and as objects to be bought and consumed." [26] The precedence of the commodity as a sign object prepares the ground for the presence of culture in the reproduction of commodities. Culture is now one of the main instruments for stimulating consumption, such that culture is "the very element of consumer society itself; no society has ever been saturated with signs and images like this one."[27]

Within the framework of the commodification process, Jameson's statement is also significant to understand the role of culture in a capitalist economy and the underlying motives which lie behind the commodification of cultural forms. According to him, another key feature of this cultural transformation is the demolition of the older boundary between high culture and so-called mass or commercial culture. And as a result, aesthetic production has been incorporated into commodity production for the sake of ever greater rates of turnover.[28] The critical stance of Jameson towards this new social and cultural framework gives an opportunity to interpret this cultural break as a sign of a period in which cultural product has begun to be commodified. In a way, consumption can be reinterpreted as "a thoroughly cultural phenomenon that serves to legitimate capitalism on an everyday basis."[29] As a result, space as the locus

[26] Baudrillard, *The System of Objects*, 201.
[27] Mike Featherstone, *Consumer Culture and Post Modernism*, 2nd ed., Theory, Culture & Society (Los Angeles: SAGE Publications, 2007), 83.
[28] Jameson, *Postmodernism or The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*,1-5.
[29] Steven Miles, *Spaces for Consumption* (SAGE Publications, 2010), 8.

of everyday life also takes its share from this commodification process and is produced and reproduced under the power of capitalism.

2.3. Spatial Reflections of Capitalist Development

2.3.1. The Production and Reproduction of Space as a Means of Capitalist Expansion

From a Lefebvrian standpoint, because of the fact that each mode of production has its own particular space, the shift from one mode to another make way for a production of a new space which is planned and organized in parallel with the transitions.[30] This mutual relationship between the production of space and the mode of production reveals how capitalism has created its own spatial practice and reshaped the space with its intrinsic features. As stated by Lefebvre;

> If there is such a thing as the history of space, if space may indeed be said to be specified on the basis of historical periods, societies, modes of production and relations of production, then there is such a thing as a space characteristic of capitalism- that is characteristic of that society.[31]

Inevitably, as a concomitant of this new production and consumption patterns and new socio-cultural order, the relationship between space and individual, and the perception of space has begun to be dominated by the notion of consumption. This implies not only that space is formed around the phenomenon of consumption, but also that space itself is produced and consumed as a commodity. In terms of the spatial practice of consumer capitalism, "we have passed from the production of things in space to the production of space itself."[32]

[30] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Blackwell Publishers, 1991), 47-48.
[31] Ibid., 126.
[32] Ibid., 90.

In pursuit of Lefebvre, Harvey draws attention to the fact that the production of space is also an economic process and an integral part of capitalist production. From the standpoint of a geographer, Harvey interprets space as an economically determined configuration which expresses the process of capital accumulation and as an essential entity in the reproduction of labor power. He views space as an instrument to enable the growth of capitalist production and the maximization of profit through geographical expansion. According to Harvey, capitalism is growth-oriented, and therefore, it is intrinsically prone to overaccumulation crisis. For this reason, capitalism is addicted to temporal and spatial displacement for the absorption of excess capital and surplus labor. Harvey uses the term "spatial fix" to explain the capitalist mode of treatment through the production, reproduction, and reconfiguration of space. By considering the geography as the largest scale of space, it is seen that the fluidity of capitalist economy spread to all kinds of geography, create differences between regions, and use this difference to increase its profitability.[33] In this respect, geographical expansion is a way of "spatial fix" to solve the overaccumulation crisis by exporting capital or surplus labor to new geographies in order to explore new places and new markets to maintain the capitalist turnover.[34] According to Harvey, what keeps capitalism alive is "the construction and reconstruction of the spatial relations and of the global space economy."[35]

Understanding the principal contradiction in the capitalist system provide an opportunity to understand how the political economy shapes the space and transforms it into a commodity traded in the capitalist cycle. By use of the double meaning of the word "fix," Harvey remarks one of the serious discrepancies within the capitalist system. He argues that "spatial fix" necessitates the immobilization of investments in spatial dimensions; in other words, the fixation of capital in place. This brings along

[33] Hakkı Yırtıcı, *Çağdaş Kapitalizmin Mekansal Örgütlenmesi*, İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları: 9 (Bilgi Üniversitesi, 2005), 11.
[34] Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*,182-184.
[35] David Harvey, "The Social Construction of Space and Time," in *Justice, Nature and the Geography of Difference* (Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 1996), 241.

a major contradiction of capitalism, which is the tension between the immobilization of capital arose from the spatial fix and the perpetual seek of capitalism towards motion and mobility. This contradiction precipitates the destruction of capitalism's own space.

> It [capital] has to build a fixed space (or "landscape") necessary for its own functioning at a certain point in its history only to have to destroy that space (and devalue much of the capital invested therein) at a later point in order to make way for a new "spatial fix" (openings for fresh accumulation in new spaces and territories) at a later point in its history.[36]

The relation between the lifespan of fixed capital and the destruction of space are not about physical deterioration, but about the devaluation of fixed capital. At this point, the concept that has been previously mentioned to understand the new modes of consumption comes forth again; "obsolescence". Harvey claims that "obsolescence can destroy the value remaining in existing fixed capital well before its physical lifetime is up." In order to exemplify the devaluation of fixed capital by obsolescence through technological changes, he cites the replacement of the viable machinery (fixed capital) with the new or less costly ones.[37] In a similar manner, considering that the built environment today constitutes a significant portion of the fixed capital, it is possible to interpret the spatial transformations as a devaluation process which was brought on by economically and/or symbolically planned obsolescence.

The urban environment is the critical site to observe the contradictory nature of capitalism and thus to understand the space as a product of capitalist accumulation process. As mentioned in many of his studies[38], Harvey sees the urbanization as the spatial configuration of capitalist development in such a way that capital accumulation

[36] David Harvey, "Globalization and the 'Spatial Fix,'" *Geographische Revue*, no. 3 (2001): 23–30, 25.
[37] Ibid., 27.
[38] For further see; David Harvey, *Rebel Cities : From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution.* (Verso, 2012)., David Harvey, *The Urbanization of Capital : Studies in the History and Theory of Capitalist Urbanization.* (John Hopkins University Press, 1985).

and the production of urbanization become parallel processes. In other words, the creation of the built environment is a kind of "spatial fix" to cope with overaccumulation crisis inherent in the capitalist system. The pursuit of capital for creating new areas to invest leads to the switch of investments from the primary circuit (industrial circuit) to the secondary circuit (urban circuit).

However, the production of space through urbanization requires a considerable amount of capital and labor fixed in the land in the form of the built environment.[39] In case of these spatial fixes reaches a certain saturation point, the devaluation of the fixed capital embedded in the built environment is inevitable. The devaluated physical environment whose use and/or exchange value are destroyed is now targeted for reinvestments.[40] Investment, disinvestment, construction, reconstruction, renovation, and redesign of real estate are the methods of the production and reproduction of space generated by the capital accumulation process.[41]

2.3.2. Understanding the Physical Development of the City as a Capitalist Process

The spatial configuration of capital has caused major changes in the internal structure of the city since the post-war years. Especially, the period from the 1970s to the present has witnessed to the fact that the spatial organization of capital has become the main determinant of the formation of the city by the impulse of rapid developments in communication and information technologies and ever-increasing globalism. By claiming that the reason for the failure of modern urbanization is that it did not focus on the economic functioning of cities, Jencks is one of the thinkers who emphasize the parallelism between the formation of the urban environment and the tendencies for economic growth.[42]

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[39] Harvey, "Globalization and the 'Spatial Fix'", 28.
[40] David Harvey, "The Urban Process under Capitalism: A Framework for Analysis," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 2, no. 1–4 (1978): 101–131.
[41] Mark Gottdiener, "The Consumption of Space and the Spaces of Consumption," in *New Forms of Consumption : Consumers, Culture, and Commodification*, ed. Mark Gottdiener (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2000), 266.
[42] Charles Jencks, *The Story of Post-Modernism: Five Decades of the Ironic, Iconic and Critical in Architecture* (Wiley, 2012).

The urban phenomena of suburbanization and of gentrification, which has formed and been continuing to transform the contemporary cities, can be considered in terms of the spatial reorganization of capitalist dynamics at urban scale. As a regional form of "spatial fix," suburbanization is as an example of "the absorption of surpluses of capital through geographical expansion into new territories and through the construction of a completely new set of space relations"[43] in response to the obsolescence and overaccumulation faced in the inner city. Thus, this urban sprawl delocalizes the capital through the creation of a new urban settlement and creates its own sub-centers. On the other hand, the abandonment of the inner city and devaluation of the built environment trigger off a kind of urban renewal process, as in the case of gentrification comprised of the "attempts to revivify those parts of…city that have been degraded by speculation and economic change"[44]. From a different viewpoint, Zukin points out the strong relationship between these spatial formations of capital and the cultural power of consumer culture. She interprets the gentrification process as a result of the desire of urban consumers towards "a place to perform difference" and "an authentic urban experience" under the allure of consumption.[45]

Considering the fact that "the geographical impact of consumption is primarily an urban one"[46], the tension between the suburbanization and gentrification, the prevalence of ad hoc modes of planning and the transition from a planned city to a decentralized/multi-centered one can be considered as the production and reproduction of space through consumption-oriented restructuring process of political economy. The city has disintegrated as a result of the spatial formation of consumer

[43] Harvey, "The Social Construction of Space and Time", 241.
[44] Joseph Rykwert, *The Seduction of Place : The City in the Twenty-First Century.* (Pantheon Books, 2000), 232.
[45] Sharon Zukin, *Naked City : The Death and Life of Authentic Urban Places* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).
[46] Zygmunt Bauman and Steven Miles, *Consumerism as a Way of Life.*, *Social Forces*, vol. 78, 2006, 52.

capitalism which includes “the 'world of commodities,' its 'logic' and its worldwide strategies as well as the power of money and that of the political state.”[47]

2.3.3. The Production of Consumption Spaces

In a world where the mainstay of economic system is consumption, what will enable the economic growth is the production of fixed spaces for consumption and, in a way, consumption of these spaces to perpetuate the liquidity and mobility of capital. The transformation of the urban landscape with the introduction of new building typologies as well as with the spatial renewals of the existing built environment are the results of the transition from an urban landscape that is mainly formed around the production to one that is organized around the notion of consumption. In consequence of the aforementioned spatial formations, cities have appeared “less a site of production and work and more a site of consumption and play,” as Amin states by referring Harvey.[48] This transition from “the city of production” to “the city of consumption” is the premise not only of the cities of today, but of future. And what is “the city of consumption” is “a city of the built environment.”[49]

Then, in the course of the built environment, capitalist production necessitates the production of fixed spaces in and/or through which consumption is to be performed; in other words, the production of consumption spaces. So, the fact that the urban environment has become the locus of profit-seeking capitalist ventures has created an architectural demand focusing on the new forms of real estate that prepare the infrastructure for consumption activities. The prominent examples these controllable and generic spaces in which both service and commodity consumption are enabled, such as shopping malls, mix-used complexes, mega-scale commercial centers, luxury housing communities, leisure complexes in short places within which consumption-

[47] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 53.
[48] Ash Amin, “Post-Fordism: Models, Fantasies and Phantoms of Transition,” in *Post-Fordism : A Reader*, Amin, Ash, Studies in Urban and Social Change (Blackwell Publishers, 1994), 1–39, 32.
[49] Miles, *Spaces for Consumption*, 2.

oriented activities are exalted, have increased their dominance in the formation of the built environment since the second half of the 20th century.

> In many respects, the city has become something of a post-Fordist space where on the surface at least, the needs and the desires of the consumer appear to be at its core…The contemporary city legitimizes the consumer society.[50]

Additionally, the increasing presence of consumption spaces in urban landscape has brought about city space is practiced within the boundaries of consumption spaces. Under the omnipresent power of consumption, consumption spaces act as a bridge, an intermediary tool between the society and the city. As Kelley denotes in his essay where he praises the virtues of retailing; consumption spaces have now replaced public spaces in which social relations were established.

> Retailing provides us with another "good" that is rare or absent from the rest of our lives: places to gather enjoyably with other people. Look at, for instance, Starbucks and Borders book- stores; if we don't have gazebos on town greens, we do have lounge chairs in stores like these. Many places where the public now gathers for shopping are also scenes of pleasant social activities and events, from musical and theatrical performances to encounters with friends.[51]

To paraphrase Simmel's recognition that the city is "not a spatial entity with sociological consequences, but a sociological entity that is formed spatially," the main constituents of contemporary city, i.e., consumption spaces, reflect the main characteristics of "consumer society." In this sense, these spaces of consumption are not only the embodiment of the economic power of capital, but also "the articulation points of individual psychology, social pressures, the media, fashion, personal desire,

[50] Steven Miles and Malcolm Miles, *Consuming Cities.* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 171.
[51] Kevin Ervin Kelley, "Architecture for Sale(s): An Unabashed Apologia," in *Commodification and Spectacle in Architecture,* ed. William S. Saunders (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), 47–59.

the compulsion to buy, forms and structures of material culture, and the realization of group belonging."[52]

Before concluding, another issue that needs to be emphasized along with the transformative effect of capitalist growth on built environment. That is the transformation on the nature of space. By exaggeratedly interpreting this transformation as a kind of mutation, Jameson calls this new form of space as "postmodern hyperspace" in which the association between the individual human body and its built environment has been ruined. A similar break can be also observed in terms of the relation between new spaces of capitalism and their urban context.[53] As a matter of fact, this break reorganizes the dialogue between the buildings and the city. The more the disjunction occurs, the more these built forms imitate the city. In this regard, Jameson's critiques on postmodern space through the interior of Bonaventure Hotel are striking to grasp the motives behind this effort.

I believe that, with a certain number of other characteristic postmodern buildings, such as the Beaubourg in Paris or the Eaton Centre in Toronto, the Bonaventure aspires to being a total space, a complete world, a kind of miniature city; to this new total space, meanwhile, corresponds a new collective practice, a new mode in which individuals move and congregate, something like the practice of a new and historically original kind of hypercrowd.[54]

2.3.4. The Commodification of Consumption Spaces

The objectification of space exposes the built environment to consumption in various dimensions. First of all, departing from the assumption that the precondition of existence of a built form firstly stems from the functional virtues, what constitutes the use value of a building is its ability to fulfill the functional requirements. Therewithal, under the circumstances of advanced capitalism where the primary purpose of the

[52] Gottdiener, "Approaches to Consumption: Classical and Contemporary Perspectives", 24.
[53] Jameson, *Postmodernism or The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*, 38-45.
[54] Ibid., 40.

investment in the built environment is accelerating the capital flow[55], there has been a shift in the hierarchy of values. From a capitalist viewpoint, it is not too much to say that the main value of a building now derives from its ability for realizing capital. The built environment in the form of a real-estate property stands out for its economic performance, due to the fixed capital embedded in the built form is higher and their estimated physical life is longer than almost all other commodities.[56] The building which eluded from its original use-value has now become an investment tool for the maximization of profit such that, for investors, what determines the value of a building is the instrumental ability of its space for providing a spatial expansion for economic activities, regardless of its primary purpose of use.[57] Therefore, by neglecting the use value in favor of exchange value, the built environment has been exposed to be bought, sold, rented, constructed, torn, down, used and reused in much the same way as any other kind of investment.[58]

In addition to economic rationality, the commodification process of space cannot be fully understood without mentioning the notion of "place." In its simplest terms, a place can be identified as a form of space which is defined as relational, historical, and concerned with identity.[59] In addition to describing a spatial formation as a dimension of space, the notion of "place" also represents the meanings and values assigned to it by the user of space. In respect to the fact that this study employs Baudrillard's theory of consumption which prioritizes the meaning and relationship established with the commodity, the consumption of space can only be explained by the consumption of the place. In a way, what is consumed in the scale of space is meaning and relations symbolized by place.

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[55] Harvey, "The Urban Process under Capitalism: A Framework for Analysis."
[56] Ian Bentley, "Profit and Place," in *The Urban Design Reader*, ed. Michael Larice and Elizabeth Macdonald, 2nd ed., Routledge Urban Reader Series (New York: Routledge - Taylor & Francis Group, 2013), 461.
[57] Ibid., 472.
[58] Mark Gottdiener, "The Consumption of Space and the Spaces of Consumption," in *New Forms of Consumption : Consumers, Culture, and Commodification*, ed. Mark Gottdiener (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2000), 266.
[59] Marc Augé, *Non-Places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity* (Verso, n.d.), 77-78.

In a similar vein, Urry points out that the place has become the locus of consumption where "goods and services are compared, evaluated, purchased and used" and that it has become a commodity that is exposed to consumption both literally and visually. In terms of being a locus for consumption, another point that Urry draws attention is the consumption of identities through the medium of "all-consuming places."[60] These new locations are not just geographically fixed physical environments for work, dwelling, entertainment or shopping activities; at the same time, they are representational spaces through which the user acquires a specific identity and differentiates himself/herself.

2.4. The Commodification of Architecture

Under the influence of late capitalist development, it is possible to observe the alterations in all fields of cultural production, from literature to cinema, but most evidently in the realm of architecture because of its direct relationship with the economy. The production and commodification of space under the influence of consumer capitalism have profoundly altered the perception of the architectural product. As of this moment, the system that prioritizes consumerism and economic growth has given rise to an era in which the architectural product is considered as a commodity rather than a cultural product, and so that it is exposed to be consumed as well as produced. In the process of commodification, the role of architecture is multi-faceted. With the re-functionalization of architecture as an infrastructure for commercial activities, it is possible to mention the commodification of architecture in many different ways, while each of which can be observed alone or observed concomitantly.

[60] John Urry, *Consuming Places*, *Geographies of Transport and Mobility*, International Library of Sociology (London ; New York: Routledge - Taylor & Francis Group, 2018), 1.

2.4.1. Architecture as an Instrument of Capitalist Growth

An architectural product in the form of built environment primarily possesses an economic value as being a commodity that is processed in the marketplace and being an investment tool for profit-oriented businesses of construction and property development.[61] In this respect, the commodification of architecture is manifested by the fact that architectural production has become an agent that consolidates the capitalist expansion.

In a consumption-based context, what is demanded from the architect as the producer of space is to design spaces as profit-oriented as possible, in a manner that do not hesitate to leave behind the fundamental values of architecture. The commodification of space, and thus the trivialization of its use value by its exchange value, is the precipitating cause for the architectural product to become a commodity. As Silver claims, "buildings are designed, as are 'consumer durables,' disposables such as clothing, and anything else that has been shaped and packaged for a market."[62] Thus, the values applicable to each consumption object, such as the use and production convenience, cost limits, widespread acceptance, and conformity with the current norms, are also valid for any architectural product.[63] For the sake of profitability, economic rationality of the capitalist order has been one of the main determinants of architectural design regarding scale, material choice, building program, and even detailing.[64] The eager demand for achieving higher leasable area and higher rental and sale rates with lower construction cost has undermined the autonomous role of the architect in design process. Capitalist actors, such as investor, land developer, tenant, real estate professionals, constructor, and lender, have as much influence as the architect at the stage of the architectural production. The quote of Kenneth Frampton from Benedikt's thesis on the fact that architecture can respond to the free market

[61] Bentley, "Profit and Place", 463.
[62] Charles Jencks and Nathan Silver, *Adhocism: The Case for Improvisation* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 2013), 173.
[63] Celal Abdi Güzer, "Kültürel Çatışma ve Süreklilik Alanı Olarak Mimarlık Eleştirisi," *Mimarlık* 348, no. 7–8 (2009).
[64] Bentley, "Profit and Place." 459-474.

demands only if it is structured as a "growth industry" rather than a liberal profession[65] reveals the internal value system and dynamics of architecture has been defeated by economic priorities. Eventually, the fact that the demand for architectural service has increasingly become the production of commercially efficient space accelerates the process of commodification of both architectural discipline and architectural product.

2.4.2. Architecture as a Tool of Differentiation

Within the process of commodification of cultural forms, including architectural production, the crucial role of design should not be ignored. The emergence of design as a means of consumption and the rising interest on it was paralleled with the shifts on the concern of industrial production to the desirability and salability of product rather than its utility. Moving away from Ford's standardized aesthetic; the application of significant style changes, in order to stimulate the consumer to buy a new car, in the automotive industry of the 1930scan be regarded as the first attempts of using design for promoting capital turnover.[66] This brings to minds the term "planned obsolescence" previously used by Jameson to define the new modes of consumption under the influence of consumer capitalism. One could say that in terms of its contribution to consumption, the success of design is to accelerate the obsolescence process or to complement material obsolescence with symbolic obsolescence, by creating new appearances for consumer society that is always seeking for new. On the part of the consumer, regardless of the use value of commodity, design satisfies the need for a constant desire for novel rather than familiar.

Another significant role of design in the commodification process evolves out of its undeniable relationship to sign system of objects. As Sparke argues, design is one of the significant communicative forces of consumer society and gives added value to

[65] Kenneth Frampton, "Introduction:The Work of Architecture in the Age of Commodification," in *Commodification and Spectacle in Architecture*, ed. William S. Saunders (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), xviii.
[66] Bauman and Miles, *Consumerism as a Way of Life*, 38.

commodities.[67] Members of consumer society are conscious that their home, furnishings, interior decoration, car, and even their activities are the representatives of their identity.[68] Thus design plays a crucial role where commodities have become signs of social status and lifestyle. Design has become a tool of differentiation within the socially divisive nature of consumption.[69]

> In this respect, design has an especially important role in the visualization of class positions and status. Style, and hence the meanings people invested in design, became a social value in its own right…. The role of design is therefore not to meet human needs but to create and stimulate those needs in increasingly diverse ways.[70]

Then, under the influence of the image-driven culture of consumer capitalism, the role of architectural design is to promote consumption by creating "branding environments" that influence consumer perception and behavior. As Kelly redefines the architectural service of their firm as "perception design" [71], in the eyes of capitalist actors, the success of an architectural design is measured by how much it motivates the consumer to consume more through created images. As Saunders remarks;

> Along with every other cultural production, the design of the built environment has been increasingly engulfed in and made subservient to the goals of the capitalist economy, more specifically in the luring of consumers for the purpose of gaining their money. Design is more than ever a means to an extrinsic end rather than an end in itself. [72]

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[67] Ibid., 39.
[68] Featherstone, *Consumer Culture and Post Modernism*, 84.
[69] Bauman and Miles, *Consumerism as a Way of Life*, 49.
[70] Ibid., 39-40.
[71] Kelley, "Architecture for Sale(s): An Unabashed Apologia."
[72] William S. Saunders, "Preface," in *Commodification and Spectacle in Architecture*, Harvard Design Magazine Readers 1 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, n.d.), vii.

Through design decisions, the architect not only determines the physical qualities of space, but also constitutes an identity to which the potential users can associate themselves. In the course of identity formation, many design components, varying from finishing materials to furniture preferences, from spatial articulation to lighting color, play a crucial role in creating a total image that can stimulate the desire of consumers.

2.4.3. Architecture as a Trademark

Another demonstration of the commodification of architecture is that the architectural product itself represents a symbolic value. From the viewpoint of a capitalist investor, the exterior appearance of an architectural product is a productive tool for obtaining an added value in the competitive market conditions. This situation primarily stems from the fact that besides being a cultural artifact, the architectural product is also a commodity, an investment tool traded in the real estate market. Since "sign value is used a vehicle for the core activities of consumption" and "highly valorized signs also possess the most exchange value"[73], a striking architectural image spontaneously enhances the exchange value of the property. In the context of advanced capitalist economy, as the designer of the built environment, the task of the architect is not only to configure the space according to the intended use or to achieve the maximum leasable area, but also to generate a sign value by creating a spectacular appearance that will visually distinguish the building from its competitors. This added value gained through differentiation not only increases the resale or the rental value of the building but is also used as a means for creating a preferred consumerist space by compelling the consumer's attention among the consumption spaces which are increasingly becoming similar to each other.

> Spectacle is the primary manifestation of the commodification or commercialization of design: design that is intended to seduce consumers will likely be more or less spectacular, more or less a matter of flashy, stimulating,

[73] Gottdiener, "Approaches to Consumption: Classical and Contemporary Perspectives," 26.

> quickly experienced gratification, more or less essentially like a television ad. The stimulation that leads to "Wow!" or to immediate sensual pleasure is more prominent than any implicit invitation to slow savoring and reflection.[74]

In the field of contemporary architectural practice, the increasing presence of iconic architecture can be interpreted as an outcome of the persistent demand for spectacle and "wow factor." As stated by Sklair, iconic architecture can be described as "buildings and spaces that are famous for those in and around architecture and/or the public at large and have special symbolic/aesthetic significance."[75] No matter how this iconicity is achieved by material qualities, metaphoric form or the scale of the building, the essential objective is to create a "unique selling point" through the final image of the architectural product and create an alluring environment that promotes consumption. In this sense, Sklair relates iconic architecture with the advanced stage of capitalism, i.e., global capitalism.

> Most iconic architecture of the global era is also best analyzed as a form of hegemonic architecture, serving the interests of the transnational capitalist class through the creation of consumerist space or, more accurately, through the attempt to turn more or less all public spaces into consumerist space.[76]

According to Jencks, the economic and ideological issues of global society are the main determinants of the iconic architecture trend.[77] First of all, Jencks mentions social and cultural infrastructure that underlies the proliferation of iconic architecture, and he associates the communicative power of iconic architecture with the reality of postmodernism. Since "the global marketplace demands a fast-changing allusive imagery, something impermanent and suggestive," the symbolic meaning of the iconic

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[74] Saunders, "Preface," viii.
[75] Leslie Sklair, "The Transnational Capitalist Class and Contemporary Architecture in Globalizing Cities," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 29, no. 3 (2005): 485–500, https://doi.org/10.1080/21598282.2012.706779.
[76] Leslie Sklair, "Iconic Architecture and the Culture-Ideology of Consumerism," *Theory, Culture & Society* 27, no. 5 (2010): 135–259.
[77] Charles Jencks, "The Iconic Building Is Here to Stay," *City* 10, no. 1 (2006): 3–20, https://doi.org/10.1080/13604810600594605.

building is employed in order to provide new cultural codes, such that the iconic building has replaced the older monument.[78] Additionally, Jencks also draws attention to the "the economic logic of sculptural gesture" and reveals why politicians and developers are so enthusiastic about the iconic building "in ever greater numbers and ever weirder form." One of the well-known examples of the employment of iconic architecture for the benefit of economic revitalization is Frank Gehry's New Guggenheim in Bilbao, whose economic impacts on the urban environment has been termed as "Bilbao Effect." Owing to its symbolic significance, the Guggenheim in Bilbao has amortized its construction cost and has become a profit-making entity in a short amount of time. Furthermore, it has generated a tourist influx to Bilbao by becoming the landmark of the city.[79]

Figure 2.1. Frank Gehry's New Guggenheim, 1997, accessed June 15, 2019. https://www.guggenheim-bilbao.eus/en

[78] Charles Jencks, "The Story of Post-Modernism: Five Decades of the Ironic, Iconic and Critical in Architecture," 2011.
[79] Ibid.

2.4.4. Architect as a Trademark

Besides the design qualities, the added value gained by the identity of the designer is also a noteworthy factor in the process of the commodification of architecture. Particularly, in everyday life, the design object is open to be valued in advance depending on the pre-established identity of the designer.[80] Considering the current conjuncture of the production of built environment, in some cases, the architectural figure in itself might be a dominant agent in increasing the market value of the real estate with his reputation. With that in mind, iconicity is a phenomenon that can be applied to architects themselves as well as to buildings.[81] The emergence of terms such as "signature architect," "starchitect," and "archistars" can be interpreted as a demonstration of this fact. The iconicity, which is depended on the reputation of the architect, has caused that the architect has become a brand in itself.

The establishment of this branding can be achieved in different ways. For instance, it can be achieved through winning architectural competitions, as in the case of Zaha Hadid or Daniel Libeskind, as well as through their competence in the intellectual field, as in the case of Venturi or Koolhaas. No matter how this reputation is achieved, the common point is "the use of the media in order to publish their work and achieve artistic or intellectual respect among their peers".[82] By this point, the visibility and prevalence in the mass media is an important issue not only for the architects to increase their reputation and to gain public appreciation, but also for the capitalist actors to reach local and global investments and final users, and thus to increase the turnover time of capital. Thus, on the side of real estate developers, the main reason for hiring renowned architects is economical. Since media glorify the works of the renowned architect while neglecting buildings designed by unknown ones, hiring a "starchitect" is indispensable becoming the focus of interest.[83] As analyzed by Fuerst,

[80] Güzer, "Kültürel Çatışma ve Süreklilik Alanı Olarak Mimarlık Eleştirisi."
[81] Sklair, "Iconic Architecture and the Culture-Ideology of Consumerism."
[82] Franz Fuerst, Patrick McAllister, and Claudia B. Murray, "Designer Buildings: Estimating the Economic Value of 'signature' Architecture," *Environment and Planning A* 43, no. 1 (2011): 166–84, https://doi.org/10.1068/a43270.
[83] Jencks, "The Iconic Building Is Here to Stay."

McAllister, and Murray, the commercial office buildings designed by "signature architects" have higher rental prices. [84]

Additionally, the reasons for preference of star architects are not only economical but also symbolic and political. For instance, from the point of politicians and decision-makers, the involvement of renowned architect in urban development and regeneration projects can be utilized as a means for promoting the urban image at macro level as well as for achieving a political consensus by legitimating the process at micro level.[85]

[84] Fuerst, McAllister, and Murray, "Designer Buildings: Estimating the Economic Value of 'signature' Architecture."
[85] Davide Ponzini, "The Values of Starchitecture: Commodification of Architectural Design in Contemporary Cities," *Organizational Aesthetics* 3, no. 1 (2014): 10–18.

CHAPTER 3

A BUILDING TYPOLOGY OF CONSUMER CULTURE: SHOPPING MALL

3.1. The Concept of Shopping and Consumption

Although the concepts of shopping and consumption are considered to point to similar activities, there is a subtle nuance between them. Even though every mode of consumption does not necessitate the act of shopping, the most important operational means of consumption in daily life is shopping. In this sense, shopping is a practice that enables the notion of consumption on an everyday basis. Therefore, alongside being an economic activity, simply defined as the exchange of a product for money or goods, the concept of shopping is deeply bound up with the symbolic world of consumption.

Beyond its secular implications, shopping has always been an integral component of urban life from ancient times to the present day. When viewed in the historical process, the market places where commercial activities took place, has usually been the focal point of the city.[86] Considered as the first models of market places, the Greek Agora and Roman Forum presented the particular public spaces of the city where many social, cultural, economic, and political elements came together along with trading. Likewise, in medieval towns, the market square became the center of the city, and major institutions were located around it.[87] Shopping was also operative in the construction of the time perception as well as the spatial practice of daily life. In some pre-modern societies, where time is expressed by reference to social activities, the number of days passing between the establishments of open marketplaces determines

[86] Arthur B Gallion and Simon Eisner, *The Urban Pattern : City Planning and Design*, 3rd ed (Van Nostrand, 1975), 265.
[87] Suat Sungur, "Tüketimin Küreselleşmesi ve Tüketim Tapınakları: Postmodern Panayır Yerlerinde Alışveriş," *Galatasaray Üniversitesi İletişim Dergisi* 14, no. 14 (2011): 7–35, http://iletisimdergisi.gsu.edu.tr/download/article-file/82704.

the length of the week.[88] In this sense, shopping implies a social experience of consumption as well as an economic affair.

As from the beginning with the industrial revolution, but particularly in the 20th century, the concept of shopping has inevitably evolved in a way similar to the transformation of consumption concept with the profound change in production and consumption patterns. In parallel to the shift on economic emphasis toward consumption, shopping is no longer the rational activity of buying and selling or an everyday chore for supplying basic necessities, but rather a social and cultural activity, a tool for the objectification of value attributed to commodities. Shopping, which is practiced under the symbolic world of consumption, is a significant driver in the construction of identity. In her critical artwork towards social vacancy of consumption, Kruger reinterprets the act of shopping as a prerequisite for the existence of self by reformulating Descartes famous proposition as "I shop, therefore I am."

Figure 3.1. Untitled, Barbara Kruger, photographic silkscreen/vinyl, 1987, accessed May 16,2019. https://maryboonegallery.com/artist/barbara-kruger

[88] Urry, *Consuming Places*, 4.

At the present time, the increasing power of shopping as a social and cultural activity continues to have an impact to the extent that "shopping has come to define who we, individuals, are and what we, society, want to become" as said by Zukin.[89] She also remarks that the notion of shopping configures our daily lives through space and time as it used to be.

> For nearly all of us, shopping shapes our daily path through space and time; major purchases- a computer, a car, a house- mark ritual stages in our lives. We separate ourselves from others by deciding where to shop and what to buy- yet in no other activity are we so immediately in the presence of others.[90]

Since shopping is the bodily experience of consumption; the question of "where to buy" is as critical as "what to buy." Shopping space has an active role in consumption practice through both its occupation and design. Firstly, the consumption spaces, as they are used as commodities, are open to being deprived of the use-value and gain connotations and symbolic meanings attributed to them by the user. As in the case of a shopping mall, although it is primarily designed to serve the shopping function, it has become a leisure and recreation space, a meeting point with the spatial utilization of different users.

On the other hand, the advent of digital technology, which has increasingly spread to our lives with the 21st century, has deeply affected shopping as well as all other daily activities. In terms of the evolution of shopping spaces, the power of online shopping cannot be denied. Online shopping, which rid the act of shopping of being obliged to a physical space, has a special role on the evolution of shopping spaces. The fact that it is possible to meet the needs with a few clicks without leaving the house has underlined the social and symbolic importance of the shopping mall which is the dominant shopping space of our world. The shopping mall is now a space for urban consumption rather than a place to go to fulfill the needs. While many shopping malls

[89] Sharon Zukin, *Point of Purchase : How Shopping Changed American Culture.* (Routledge, 2004), 7-8.
[90] Ibid., 2.

that were opened in the 20th century were abandoned, the shopping malls that enable social consumption to have continued their commercial life.

3.2. Consumption Spaces: The Historical Grounds of Shopping Mall

Prior to investigating today's shopping mall, it is useful to give a brief glance into some specific examples of shopping spaces throughout history for the sake of better understanding of the spatial context of shopping. The aim of this section is not to give a chronological history of shopping spaces, but rather to investigate the position of shopping spaces in urban and social life through exemplifying the evolution from a single marketplace to multiplexed huge shopping malls.

3.2.1. Agora

Even though the history of shopping is as old as the history of trade, the knowledge about the spaces where trading activities was held in ancient times is limited, so Agora can be used as a starting point to investigate the historical backgrounds of shopping spaces. Generally located at the approximate geometric center of the Greek town, Agora was an open space which was framed by multi-purpose colonnaded *stoas*, temples, principal administrative and public buildings. The central open area, which was occupied for public events such as voting, public displays, sports activities, also housed the temporary market stalls to provide a marketplace.[91] It is possible to say that commercial activity existed by being integrated with other urban functions. Agora, mentioned as a place of assembly" in Homer's Iliad, was the gathering place for city, an urban space on which social, commercial, and political aspects were concentrated.[92]

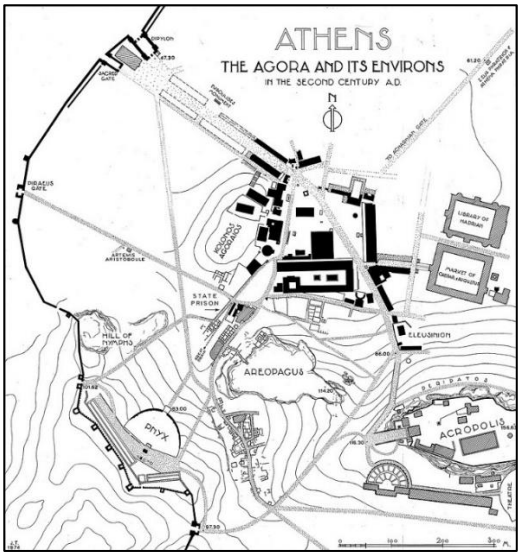

Figure 3.2. The Agora and its environs in the 2nd century A.D., accessed May 21, 2019. http://agora.ascsa.net/id/agora/image/2002.01.1195?q=the%20agora%20and%20its%20environs&t=image&v=list&sort=&s=3

[91] Peter Coleman, *Shopping Environments : Evolution, Planning and Design* (New York: Routledge - Taylor & Francis Group, 2010), 19.
[92] Lewis Mumford, *The City in History: Its Origins, Its Transformations, and Its Prospects*, 1st ed. (Harcourt, Brace & World, 1961), 149.

3.2.2. Roman Forum

The forum, which shows great similarities with Agora in terms of function and typology, constituted the social, political, commercial, and religious center of the ancient Roman cities. Being a more enclosed and geometrically defined form of Agora, Roman forum was surrounded by the marketplace, shops, administrative offices, basilicas, sacred buildings, and monuments. As well as holding the focal point of the city, the Roman forum was also the propagandistic tool. The growing scale of fora was the result of the military campaign of the emperor of the period.[93] The last and largest imperial forum was constructed during the reign of Trajan. Since shopping was one of the major activities held in the forum space, Market of Trajan was the essential part of the Forum of Trajan surrounded by important public buildings like other forums. Built at the one end of the Forum, Market of Trajan consisted of 6 storey and 150 shops, where many products were sold.[94] Forum of Trajan is a remarkable example for being one of the first collections of defined shop spaces and an arrangement of multi-purpose functions at different levels.[95]

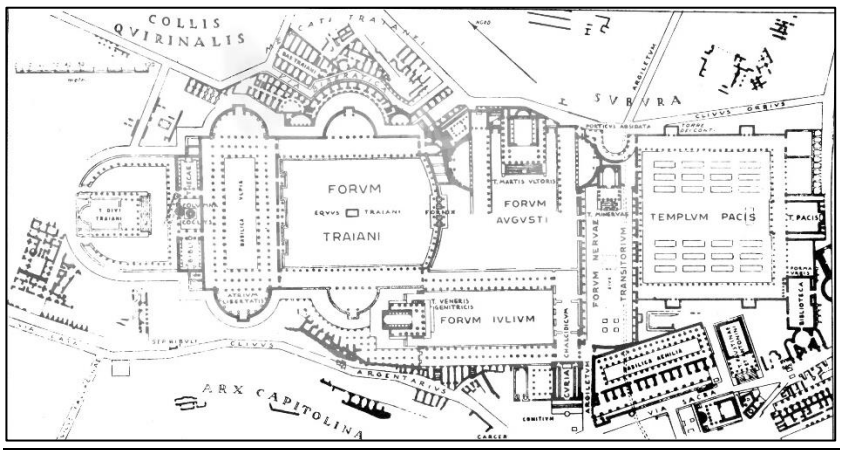

Figure 3.3. Forum of Trajan, accessed May 21, 2019. https://www.inexhibit.com/mymuseum/imperial-forums-museum-trajan-markets-rome

[93] Gallion and Eisner, *The Urban Pattern : City Planning and Design*, 33.
[94] Jeffrey Becker, "Forum and Markets of Trajan," accessed July 25, 2019, https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/ap-art-history/ancient-mediterranean-ap/ap-ancient-rome/a/forum-and-market-of-trajan.
[95] Coleman, *Shopping Environments : Evolution, Planning and Design*, 20.

3.2.3. Medieval Market Place and Town Hall

During the 500 years of the Dark Ages after the collapse of the Roman Empire, although trading activities continued in open marketplaces, no significant improvement was observed in terms of the spatial context of shopping. By about the 11th century, cities started to be regenerated, and the new trade centers started to develop with the revival of commerce, owing to the stability provided in Europe. As a prototype of these trade centers, market and town hall, that is two-storey building consisting of a series of shops facing on to square and a town hall on the upper level, was the most important shopping places of this period. Market and town hall were located in the center of the town along with a market square and formed the commercial core of the town.[96] In parallel with the development of cities, market and town hall buildings had evolved from share-used to single-use buildings. In connection with the prosperity level of city, it was observed that the market hall existed as a separate building and even individual market halls were built on the basis of the product sold.[97]

Figure 3.4. Palazzo del Broletto, Como, accessed May 21, 2019. http://www.lombardiabeniculturali.it/architetture/schede/CO180-00002/

[96] Ibid.,20
[97] Ibid., 21-22

3.2.4. Eastern Bazaar

In parallel with the developments in Europe, the Bazaars had developed as one of the important central areas of the Eastern cities. The bazaars consisting of shops arranged side by side evolved into more complex enclosed shopping spaces with the increase in trading volume.[98] When comparing the Western market places and halls, the distinguishing features of Eastern Bazaars were the sophisticated organization of shops with the use of various architectural forms and the increase in the scale. Grand Bazaar in Istanbul, which is one of the most prominent examples of the Eastern Bazaars, composed of a collection of shops, the networks of internal streets and with its 200.000 m^2 area it formed a district for trading. Moreover, in contrast to the mixed-use of the market and town hall, Eastern markets were only used for trading. Grand Bazaar in Istanbul, which is one of the most prominent examples of the Eastern Bazaars, established a commercial district for the city with its 200,00 m^2 area sheltering the collections of shops, the network of streets, courtyards, and vaulted colonnades.[99]

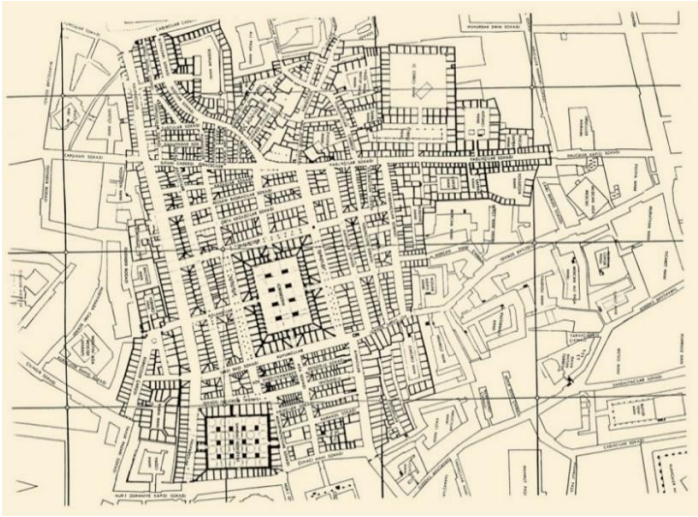

Figure 3.5. Kapalı Çarşı, Istanbul, accessed May 21, 2019. https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/buyuk-carsi--istanbul

[98] Erin and Gönül, "Alışveriş Mekânlarının Dönüşümünün Kentsel Mekâna Ve Yaşama Etkisi: İstanbul Örneği."
[99] Coleman, *Shopping Environments : Evolution, Planning and Design*. p.23-24

3.2.5. Exchange and Shopping Street

In the 17th century, with the evolution of banking and the increase in the use of credit, the number of shops increased significantly.[100] Following the town hall and market place, one of the commercial building types that emerged during this period was the exchange building, which was first appeared in late 16th century Europe. Basically, the 2-storey exchange buildings with an open courtyard accommodated the leasable stalls where luxury products were sold. One of the reasons why exchange buildings represent a turning point in retail history is that the concept of pleasure shopping had come up with these places.[101] Since they addressed to the wealthy class, shopping no longer serves as an activity based on the attainment of basic needs, but as an activity combined with leisure.[102]

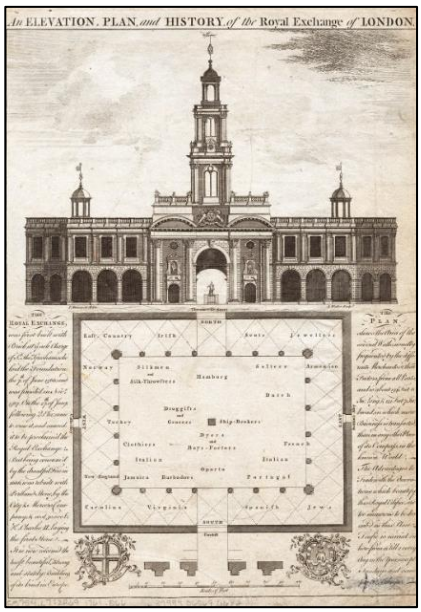

Figure 3.6. John Donowell and Anthony Walker's An Elevation, Plan, and History of the Royal Exchange of London, London, 1761-1786, accessed May 21, 2019. https://allthingsliberty.com/2015/05/we-are-one-mapping-americas-road-from-revolution-to-independence/

[100] R Koolhaas et al., *Harvard Design School Guide to Shopping*, Project on the City (Taschen, 2001), https://books.google.com.tr/books?id=S6zUQgAACAAJ.
[101] Kathryn Morrison, *English Shops and Shopping: An Architectural History*, Studies in British Art (Paul Mellon Centre, 2003), 31.
[102] Coleman, *Shopping Environments : Evolution, Planning and Design*, 26.

During the 17th and 18th centuries, while the exchange buildings continued to exist, another remarkable shopping milieu was the streets. Generally located on the ground floor of the buildings and lined up side by side facing towards streets, the series of shops gave names to the streets as in the case of Milk Street, Bread Street, Rue de la Lingerie, etc. Further, in some developed cities combination of several streets formed a quarter which represented a specific trade or craft.[103] Another important turning point was the invention of cast glass at the end of the 17th century that enabling glazed shop fronts and the concept of window shopping.

3.2.6. Arcade

The end of the 18th century and the period beginning with the 19th century witnessed the appearance of the first generation of planned shopping spaces. One of the main reasons for the rise of arcades was the need for a safe and comfortable shopping environment protected from the increasingly crowded and congested streets of 19th century Europe.[104] Skylight technology, invented with the developments in iron and glass production, enabled the formation and the development of these protected environments.[105]

While the early examples were seen as passages connecting the two streets with the shops on both sides, from the second half of the 19th century, it was seen that the arcades had undergone a physical transformation. With the more complex arrangements of wider and higher passages, thanks to the advancing building technologies, arcades became one of the attraction points of urbanized European cities as grandiose architectural products.[106] In this respect, arcades were also critical in terms of the establishment of the relationship between shopping and the urban environment. The accessibility and the urban usage of the arcades have enabled the

[103] Ibid., 27.
[104] Ibid.
[105] Koolhaas et al., *Harvard Design School Guide to Shopping*.
[106] Coleman, *Shopping Environments : Evolution, Planning and Design*, 31-33.

integration of shopping activity with the modern city. With the spread of the shopping activity to the urban fabric through the arcades, it has became a part of the network of public space.

Figure 3.7. First arcade: Galeries de Bois, 1786, accessed May 20, 2019. https://balzacsparis.ucr.edu/enlargements/galeries_de_bois.html

Figure 3.8. Evolution of the arcades owing to the new technologies in iron and glass, Galleria Vittorio Emmanuelle II, 1876, accessed September 15, 2019. http://www.milanotoday.it/cronaca/stefanel-galleria-vittorio-emanuele.html

Arcades that provide weather-protected and pedestrianized space can be said to have laid the prototype of today's shopping centers. By taking into account the large and brightly lit display windows, the luxurious decoration of the interior, the use of new lighting and heating technologies, it is evident that there was an effort to enchant the

consumers and to provide them with an experience through shopping.[107] From this point of view, it can be said that the planned shopping spaces emerged in the 19th century are pioneers in terms of the formation of the contemporary logic of shopping.

3.2.7. Department Store

By the second half of the 19th century, the presence of another type of shopping space, department stores, was seen along with arcades. Why department store was a breakthrough within the history of shopping is due to the fact that it was a pioneer for the adoption of contemporary trading principle and for the architectural formation of today's retail environments. Descending from the *magasins de nouvautés* -where the fixed-price principle was applied for the first time[108]- and bazaars of London, department stores offered a greater range of commodities at affordable prices under one roof.[109] Moreover, the industrial revolution and mass production made it possible for department stores to sell with small profit margins and thus to attract broader social class. This also summarizes how department stores challenged street shops and covered arcades, and became "the new theaters of consumption"[110].

Bon Marché, opened in 1852, was the first example of department stores and it became a stereotype that was employed with some alterations not only in Europe but also in overseas. What makes department stores important for architecture is the increasing awareness of the effect of the configuration and quality of space on consumer shopping habits. Coleman's depiction of the Parisian department store is notable in understanding how architecture began to be used as a tool to influence the consumers at that period.

> The store interior celebrated the activity of shopping by allowing the participants to overlook other shoppers. The interior, by its grandness and

[107] Giandomenico Amendola, "Urban Mindscapes Reflected in Shop Windows," in *Urban Mindscapes of Europe* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill | Rodopi, 2006). 85-86.
[108] Koolhaas et al., *Harvard Design School Guide to Shopping*.
[109] Coleman, *Shopping Environments : Evolution, Planning and Design*, 33-34.
[110] Zukin, *Point of Purchase : How Shopping Changed American Culture*, 20.

finery of metal balustrading, elegant bridges and flying staircases, seduced the shopper into generating a desire to consume. Grand interior spaces with overlooking galleries and large skylights became a trademark of the Parisian department stores.[111]

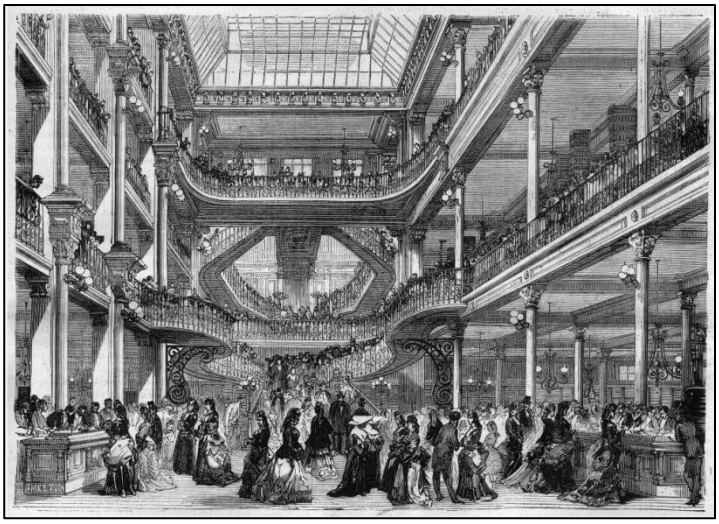

Figure 3.9. View of the Inside Of "Au Bon Marche", Engraving, accessed May 15, 2019. https://www.citeco.fr/10000-years-history-economics/industrial-revolutions/le-bon-marche-the-first-department-store-in-france

What is more to the point, department store was "the expression of maturity both of the modern city and of the urban bourgeoisie".[112] The employment of the major technological inventions such as elevators, escalators, air conditioning firstly in department stores, supported the development of these shopping spaces as well as helped to maintain their position as "a temple of modernity".[113] On the other hand, the department store was also an urban landmark of the modern city. Even though the desire for growth in size might be also associated with the economic concerns, it can be said that there was a desire for monumentality by looking at the scale and the aesthetic qualities of department stores at the time.[114] After all, when it is compared

[111] Coleman, *Shopping Environments : Evolution, Planning and Design*.
[112] Amendola, "Urban Mindscapes Reflected in Shop Windows", 86.
[113] Louisa Iarocci, *The Urban Department Store in America, 1850-1930* (Routledge - Taylor & Francis Group, 2017), 69.
[114] Robert Proctor, "Constructing the Retail Monument: The Parisian Department Store and Its Property, 1855–1914," *Urban History* 33, no. 3 (2006): 393–410.

to its predecessors, the success of department store was based not only on its scale, its architectural complexity or the technological innovations but also on a new logic of shopping and the new consumption culture stemmed from the new capitalist order. Department store offered more than just the goods on sale. It also provided its users with a scene for displaying their social status and building their own identity. In this regard, department store can be viewed as the precursor of today's shopping mall not only as an architectural prototype, but also as a milieu of the social logic of shopping.

3.2.8. Shopping Mall

In advance of the emergence of shopping mall, a number of shopping spaces in terms of planned retailing have been observed together with the presence of department store. With the increasing industrialization, as a result of the ease of owning a car, the developing highway network, and also the deterioration faced in the inner city, shopping has ceased to be a downtown activity. Established in easily accessible locations through highway and offering free car parking area for customers, supermarkets and strips malls can be considered as the precursor of suburban shopping mall. Country Club Plaza in Kansas City in 1922 was the first unified shopping mall within the evolution of retail types.[115] Designed as part of a larger suburban subdivision with a unified configuration of several shops, offices and public amenities, it was intended to be an alternative town center or miniature downtown for the new residents.[116]

By the 20th century, the city center faced a number of problems that decreased urban conditions such as housing problems as a result of the migration from the rural areas, traffic congestion and air pollution due to the spread use of motor vehicles, and the inadequacy of urban services. On the other hand, the low availability of investable lands in the city center, has led investors to seek for a spatial expansion out of the city

[115] Koolhaas et al., *Harvard Design School Guide to Shopping*, 34.
[116] Margaret Crawford, "Suburban Life and Public Space," in *Sprawl and Public Space: Redressing the Mall*, ed. David J Smiley and Mark Robbins (Washington, DC: National Endowment for the Arts ; Distributed by Princeton Architectural Press, 2002), 21–30, 22.

center. Fortunately, the developments of highways and increasing car ownership made it possible for the city to grow out of the peripheries. This spatial expansion and the proliferation of suburban neighborhoods paved the way for an advanced version of shopping space; i.e. suburban shopping mall. This development also represents a radical change in the entire historical process of shopping spaces. In suburban, shopping spaces that previously located at the city center and integrated with other urban functions, has started to transform into buildings that contain urban equipment.[117]

Although the pioneers of suburban shopping mall began to be seen from the beginning of the century, its popularity coincided with the mid-20th century with the introduction of safe and protected pedestrian malls. Victor Gruen has been a key figure in the process of suburban mall, in terms of the establishment of logic and layout of enclosed shopping mall in modern sense. As stated by Crawford;

> Gruen attempted to redesign the suburban mall to recreate the complexity and vitality of urban experience without the noise, dirt, and confusion that had come to characterize popular images of the city. Gruen identified shopping as part of a larger web of human activities, arguing that merchandising would be more successful if commercial activities were integrated with cultural enrichment and relaxation. He saw mall design as a way of producing new town centers or what he called "shopping towns."[118]

Gruen's initial intention was to create a public space where shops were accompanied by urban amenities such as schools, apartments, medical centers, child-care facilities, etc. Instead, his desire for an isolated and sterilized city center simulation away from the chaos of downtown has resulted in the emergence of a new typology which was driven by profit rather than social features. The first enclosed shopping mall at that time, Southdale Center was opened in 1956, in Minnesota. Southdale's layout that

[117] Irem Erin and Tenay Gönül, "Alışveriş Mekanlarının Dönüşümünün Kentsel Mekana Ve Yaşama Etkisi: İstanbul Örneği," *Şehir & Toplum* 1, no. June (2015): 129–42.
[118] Crawford, "Suburban Life and Public Space", 24.

features a central atrium under a skylight, elevators and escalators providing the pedestrian circulation between stores, and its fully enclosed, climate-controlled interior environment not only offered a convenient space that promotes consumer to shop longer and spend more. Besides, its urbanized interior space offered new forms of public and civic life by providing a milieu dozens of social events.[119] Scheme of the Southdale has served as a model for its national and international counterparts that followed.

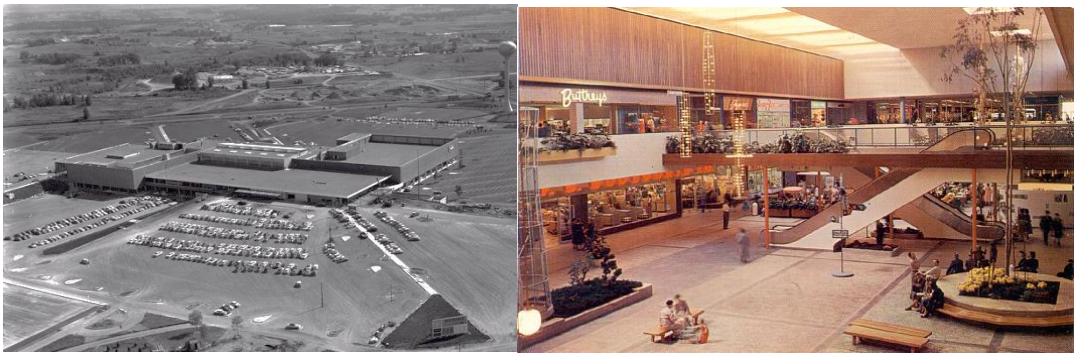

Figure 3.10. The Southdale Center in Edina, Minnesota in 1956, accessed March 10, 2019. http://mallsofamerica.blogspot.com/2005/06/southdale-shopping-center.html

The concept of "interior urbanism" might be considered as the most important attribute of the shopping mall typology. The spatial pursuit for the elimination of urban discomfort resulted in the conceptualization of the mall as an urban environment. In this sense, Jameson's insights on interior of Bonaventure can be further applied to the shopping mall typology of 20th century. In the alluring world of shopping mall, escalators and elevators are not only the elements that transfer the commercial activity to the upper levels; these "gigantic kinetic sculptures" are the signs that reflect the motion in the city. Likewise, as being a peculiar architectural instrument of this period, the atrium "encompassing the city's exteriority within architecture's spatial and organizational repertoire" emerged as a distinct way of conceiving and constructing

[119] Ibid., 25.

the city, as stated by architectural theorist Charles Rice.[120] Being supported by the spatial configuration and architectural infrastructures such as illumination, air conditioning, and programmatic juxtaposition, the indoor of malls have started to resemble a cityscape.

At this point, it should be noted that the urban context of 20th century Europe was different from the USA. While the USA witnessed the explosion of the suburban, the main focus of the post-war European cities was the regeneration and restoration of town center involving mixed-use development. However, increasing motorized traffic had led the principal shopping spaces of Europe like town center precinct and central area redevelopments to adopt the organizational principles of the suburban mall from the USA such as pedestrianized shopping area and car parking facilities, etc.[121] Regardless of whether it was located in inner city or out of town, suburban mall typology has been a model for most of the shopping spaces throughout the world since the mid-20th century.

In the late 20th century, the changes in social and economic structure created a radical break in the development of shopping malls. Increasing product diversity owing to the flexible production models, increasing competition, fragmented income and changing spending patterns were among the reasons that led to a multiplication and diversification of shopping malls as well as to the refinement of existing ones. The festival marketplace pioneered by James Rouse as a part of urban revitalization, specialty malls such thematic mall, outlet center, entertainment mall were among the examples of variations which enable a more precise match between goods and diverse consumers to generate more profit.[122]

With the consumer society gaining a global perspective in the 21st century, the standardized suburban mall has been failed to satisfy the changing trends of retail and

[120] Charles Rice, *Interior Urbanism : Architecture, John Portman and Downtown America* (London, UK: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016), 4.
[121] Coleman, *Shopping Environments : Evolution, Planning and Design*, 44-48.
[122] Crawford, "Suburban Life and Public Space," 26.

the expectations of changing consumer profile in search of a customized experience. Since the turn of the millennium, the incompetence of enclosed shopping mall has caused a new phase of evolution in the history of retail environment. First of all, there was a shift from the isolated prototype towards a pedestrian friendly, more open, more integrated, and more life-style oriented model.[123] In consequence, the shopping malls that are integrated with the outdoor space and urban surroundings began to multiply. Indeed, this change was not only limited by new projects. The existing enclosed shopping malls have been forced to transform and redevelop by adding open pedestrian components and incorporating other uses on former surface parking lots to attract the consumer.[124]

Another important change was in terms of scale. Unlike the former singular focus on activity of retailing, shopping mall has evolved into a multi-purpose complex by being elaborated with complementary facilities such as food, entertainment, recreational and event spaces. As a result, the size of the shopping malls has scaled up horizontally and vertically to accommodate more functions and services. Furthermore, since the capital always acts in accordance with the profitable investment forms, and the economic sustainability of a shopping mall is depended on consumers, the content of retail projects has been expanded to encompass offices, housing blocks, hotels expected to generate in-built consumers to shopping mall. Especially by the second decade of the 21st century, shopping mall is increasingly becoming the main component of mega-scale mixed-use developments.

3.2.9. Dead Mall and Re-Malling

Although shopping malls are considered to reach a certain maturity point in the 21st century, the abandoned shopping malls as well as the newly opened ones are on the agenda of the retail sector. The term “dead mall” is used for shopping malls with a

[123] Anita Kramer, *Retail Development*, 4th ed., ULI Development Handbook Series (Washington, District of Columbia: Urban Land Institute, 2008), 131.
[124] Ibid., 137.

high vacancy rate and low consumer traffic.[125] Shopping malls have to be constantly being modified and updated in order to catch contemporary retailing trends and maintaining their attractiveness among the competitors whose numbers increase gradually. In this sense, rather than being a stable urban entity, they are in a state of constant change and motion, just like the city to which they try to imitate. The concepts of "re-malling" and "de-malling" delineate the physical, architectural and programmatic reconfiguration and refunctioning of abandoned or dated malls.

Today, many first-generation malls have been significantly redeveloped by changing the architecture, layout, decor, or other components to attract tenants and maintaining their economic life. By referring the flexibility of shopping mall over the multiple economic and social changes, Crawford deciphers all of these reinvention and reconfiguration processes just as "a more dramatic version of the continual updating and evolution that have always characterized mall development".[126]

From a different perspective, the cycle of decline, death and transformation can also be reformulated regarding the contradictions in capitalist order mentioned in the previous chapter. In the light of the Harvey's theory of "the devaluation of fixed capital", it can be said that the deterioration of the mall before the completion of its physical life is due to the deterioration in its exchange and sign value, and it is now the subject of the new investments.[127]

3.3. The Evaluation of Shopping Mall

Although it could not find a place in the academic literature for a long time and was ignored by most of the architects, shopping space has been one of the main subjects of urbanization and architecture. Before proceeding to evaluate the shopping mall, a brief assessment of the evolution would be necessary to understand how economic growth and consumer culture dominate spatial production.

[125] "Dead Mall Dictionary," accessed July 25, 2019, http://www.deadmalls.com/dictionary.html.
[126] Crawford, "Suburban Life and Public Space," 30.
[127] Harvey, "The Urban Process under Capitalism: A Framework for Analysis."

Looking at the evolution of shopping space, it is seen that shopping has been an important part of daily life throughout the history. In ancient times, as in the case of Greek Agora and the Roman Forum, shopping took place in open public spaces and intertwined with other urban and public functions in the city center. In the course of time, shopping spaces evolved in parallel with the development of trade and were gradually separated from other complementary functions. Shopping had begun to be an end in itself as an urban activity and to create its own autonomous spaces. With the industrial revolution, the concept of shopping entered a different dimension, so activity of shopping surpassed its commercial function and gain a social perspective. One of the reflections of this situation on urban environment and architectural production was the increasing representation power of shopping spaces. Henceforth, shopping spaces has transformed into the structures that are designed solely for the shopping function and generates other urban activities on its own axis, rather than being an additional function. On the urban scale, it can be said that the shift on the role of shopping from secondary to primary position led to a break with the city. While shopping spaces was depended on urban realm in previous times, it has been transformed into self-sufficient structures since the middle of the 20th century. As the city centers began to lose their attraction, shopping malls came to the fore as alternative sub-centers. McMorrough interprets this break as a reversal of the relationship between shopping and the city by claiming "shopping (as an activity) [was] taking place in the city (as a place), [but now] the city (as an ideal) is taking place within shopping (as a place)."[128] Shopping which used to be an urban activity has become the precondition of urbanism.

Moreover, the semantic shift on the concept of shopping inevitably affects the design of the shopping space. In past, people primarily visited shopping spaces to meet their requirements, so the functional needs were at the forefront in the configuration and design of shopping spaces. However, with the spread of the consumer culture, people

[128] John McMorrough, "City of Shopping," in *The Harvard Design School Guide to Shopping*, ed. Rem Koolhaas et al. (Köln: Taschen, 2001), 194.

visit shopping malls also to socialize, to entertain or just to linger around. So, in line with the required complementary programme, the design of shopping spaces has evolved from modest buildings to large complexes where all needs and desires can be met within the boundaries of the shopping mall. Accordingly, shopping mall is equipped with the entertainment, food and back-up amenities such as dry cleaning, shoeshine parlor, automated teller machines, tobacco shops, so that the consumer can take care of all their requirements without going out.

Shopping mall is a strategically created environment where everything is planned in advance to control and manipulate the consumption as insurance for profitability. Hence, spatial configuration of shopping mall is a significant contributing factor for achieving success. For instance, the arrangement of escalators in a way to ensure the consumer to expose the maximum number of shopfronts, the concealing of service zones to present consumer a pure, idealized shopping environment away from chaos and dirt, the artificially climatized and lighted environment for optimum human comfort to encourage consumers to spend more time and thus more money are the commonly used codes of a generic mall. This view is supported by Goss who claims that shopping mall is a Utopia, "an idealized nowhere" which is designed and controlled strategically "to strive to present an alternative rationale for the shopping center's existence, manipulate shoppers' behavior through the configuration of space, and consciously design a symbolic landscape that provokes associative moods and dispositions in the shopper".[129]

One of the most remarkable developments in the evolution process of shopping malls is the transition from the inward-looking, enclosed typology towards more permeable and transparent interiors integrated with the exterior landscape and surrounding urban fabric. Although these attempts have caused a break in the closed box typology of shopping mall that precludes any urban interaction, it is hard to talk about they provide

[129] Jon Goss, "The 'Magic of the Mall': An Analysis of Form, Function, and Meaning in the Contemporary Retail Built Environment," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 83, no. 1 (1993): 18–47.

a total integration with urban fabric or create a major change in terms of spatial and operational configuration. From a critical point of view, all these attempts can also be interpreted as an advanced stage of imitating the city within a safe shopping environment rather than as an effort to establish a dialogue with the city.

3.4. Shopping Mall Development in Turkey

The advanced development of retail sector and the advent of shopping malls in Turkey corresponded to the late 1980s. While the emergence of shopping malls in Europe and USA was mostly based on the development of suburban areas, the main motives underlying the Turkish case were changing policies of the government at the time towards a liberal and outward-oriented economy and the resulting consumer society.[130] By means of new legislation, the increasing diversity of products with the penetration of foreign investments, the strong demand for imported goods and widespread use of credit card has changed the conception of shopping in Turkey and eventually shopping malls began to be built in pursuit of a new market. Galleria Ataköy, designed by Hayati Tabanlıoğlu, was the first shopping mall in Turkey when it was opened in 1988.

Figure 3.11. Galleria AVM, İstanbul, accessed June 02, 2019. https://www.projemlak.com/dev-avm-icin-tasinma-karari-cikti/6525/

[130] Gülşen Özaydın and Ebru Firidin Özgür, "Büyük Kentsel Projeler Olarak Alışveriş Merkezlerinin İstanbul Örneğinde Değerlendirilmesi," *Mimarlık* 347, no. 5–6 (2009), http://www.mimarlikdergisi.com/index.cfm?sayfa=mimarlik&DergiSayi=361&RecID=2074.

Retail development in Turkey from the 1990s to the present day can be analyzed in three main periods.[131] Although few examples of the first generation of shopping malls began to be seen in big cities such as Ankara and Istanbul, supermarkets and hypermarkets financed mostly by international investments and partnerships were still the dominant retail format of the first period. Between the years 1990 and 2000 can be viewed as the first period of retail development in Turkey, where Turkish citizens have become acquainted with consumer culture and the alluring world of shopping. The second period observed the multiplication of shopping malls not only in big cities but in Anatolian cities as well. In spite of the economic crisis in 2008, the decade between the years of 2000 and 2010 was the time when shopping malls increased in number and the retail sector became a primary motive for economic growth. The integrated shopping centers, which are smaller in size and generally located close to the city center, and suburban shopping malls were notable examples of shopping environments in the first two decades of the retail sector.[132]

Figure 3.12. "Ankara Migros AVM" opened in 1999 and reopened after expansion project under the name of "Ankamall" in 2006, accessed July 20, 2019. https://www.ankamall.com.tr/avm/goerseller/

[131] Feyzan Erkip and Burcu H. Ozuduru, "Retail Development in Turkey: An Account after Two Decades of Shopping Malls in the Urban Scene," *Progress in Planning* 102 (2015): 1–33, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.progress.2014.07.001.
[132] Ibid.

Although given that Turkey exposed to shopping mall typology relatively late, it is possible to mention a quick adaptation. By the beginning of 2010, retail development in Turkey has entered a new decade in parallel with the global trends that brought a new dimension to the concept of shopping mall in terms of typology, scale and location. Consequently, even though multi-storey, introverted, atrium schema was not completely quitted, with the realization that shopping malls are lucrative investments, shopping mall typologies including new office and residential uses have begun to be invested.[133] Especially in recent years, shopping malls integrated with mix-use developments and composed of the open-air and enclosed sections have become prevalent both in the suburban areas and in the city.

Figure 3.13. Kanyon, designed by Tabanlıoğlu and Jerde Partnership in the central business district in Istanbul, accessed July 20, 2019. https://www.reynaers.com.tr/tr-TR/ilham/aluminyum-proje-referanslari/levent-kanyon

[133] Özaydın and Firidin Özgür, "Büyük Kentsel Projeler Olarak Alışveriş Merkezlerinin İstanbul Örneğinde Değerlendirilmesi."

Moreover, global trends have profoundly affected both the general approach and layout of recently built shopping malls in Turkey. Instead of shopping malls with mirrored glass or fortresslike façades giving no clue what is inside the closed box, shopping malls that try to integrate with the outdoor by allowing physical and visual accesses have come to the fore. However, when the contemporary examples of shopping malls designed with this approach are examined, it is seen that the initial design has been intervened by leasing firms or mall management asserting the security-related or climatic problems. In the course of time, their open and semi-open spaces have been glazed or enclosed by physical barriers either to prevent the uncontrolled pedestrian access or to control the climate of shopping spaces. Almost all intentions of designing open public spaces have resulted in vegetated inner courtyards and the openings on façade are limited only by visual permeability. For instance, originally intended to create an alternative public space in which people from all social classes can enter without going through any security search by designing a "Piazza" surrounded by retail units[134], all of the pedestrian accesses to the public spaces of Zorlu Center were restricted by control points just 3 years after the grand opening, due to customers felt unsafe.[135] Moreover, the semi-open circulation spaces were closed by sliding glass panels due to weather conditions which reduce the guest comfort.

[134] "Zorlu Center Için Yıllardır Daha İyi Ne Yapılabilirdi Diye Düşünüyorum, Bulamıyorum," accessed June 22, 2019, http://www.arkitera.com/haber/17771/zorlu-center-icin--yillardir-daha-iyi-ne-yapilabilirdi-diye-dusunuyorum-bulamiyorum.
[135] "Ahmet Zorlu: Müşteri Huzursuzlandı, X-Ray'le Önlem Aldık," accessed July 26, 2019, https://www.haberturk.com/ekonomi/is-yasam/haber/1223447-ahmet-zorlu-musteri-huzursuzlandi-x-rayle-onlem-aldik#.

Figure 3.14. Figure 3.14. Zorlu Center, Istanbul, accessed July 20, 2019. https://www.dormakaba.com/resource/blob/98776/87232daa0a04cb782a271ba86e4dee32/dwn-references-tr-data.pdf

A similar urban approach is observed in the extension project of Armada. A pedestrian passageway was created between the existing mall and new building, which were actually designed as a typical, multi-story, enclosed shopping center, in order to bring about integration with the outer space and to create a public space for the dense business and residential fabric. As mentioned in the project report;

> The most integral part of the project was the pedestrian alley, the street, rather than the existing and new structure itself. This alley was intended to connect the new and the old structure, while creating a center and a sustainable pedestrian path for Söğütözü. In both buildings, the programs in the alley elevation were planned to allow street-facing, outward-extending, and street-integrated functions. The pedestrian alley between the existing structure and the extension project was considered as an urban habitat.[136]

However, because of the raising concerns over security issues especially after several terrorist attacks throughout the world, the pedestrian alley of Armada was closed at each end by physical barriers blocking uncontrolled accesses and glass cube structures sheltering X-ray machines.

[136] "Armada Gelişim," accessed July 26, 2019, http://atasarim.com.tr/tr/proje/armada-gelisim.

Figure 3.15. Armada, Ankara

On the other hand, there is also a tendency to use typological similarities with the traditional shopping spaces such as shopping streets, squares, and bazaars as elements of identity and marketing for shopping malls.[137] One of the recent applications of this situation can be observed in İstinye Park, opened in 2007. Considering the tendency of the changing consumer profile longing the traditional shopping venues, the installation is zoned around the themes of Square, Park, and Bazaar.[138] Moreover, the reproduction of such urban spaces within the shopping mall gives consumers the feeling that they are shopping in a privileged environment that does not resemble any other shopping mall. What is written in the introductory web page of a shopping center in Ankara is worth mentioning in this respect.

> Sometimes even the presence of the most prestigious brands is not enough to meet your expectations. In the shopping center but as if you stroll around the streets of the city with a warm sun on your face ... Isn't shopping a passion that you always look for better?[139]

[137] Özaydın and Firidin Özgür, "Büyük Kentsel Projeler Olarak Alışveriş Merkezlerinin İstanbul Örneğinde Değerlendirilmesi."
[138] Binat and Neslihan, *Ticari Yapılar*, 59.
[139] "Kuzu Effect - Şehrin Etkileyici Yanı," accessed July 26, 2019, http://www.kuzueffect.com/yasam.

3.4.1. Shopping Mall Development in Ankara

Being the capital city of Turkey since 1923, Ankara has pioneered the national development of the retail sector together with Istanbul. The emergence and spread of shopping malls in Ankara have been in line with the developments in Turkey. Ankara's first shopping mall, Atakule, was opened in 1989 and followed by Karum in 1991. Despite their antecedent examples in the western countries and Istanbul were proliferating in suburban areas, both shopping malls are located in the inner city because of Ankara still remained as a compact city. On the other hand, the corridor developments of 1990 Ankara Master Plan which intended to create new residential and employment possibilities at the outskirts of the city entailed a breakdown in the compactness of the city.[140]

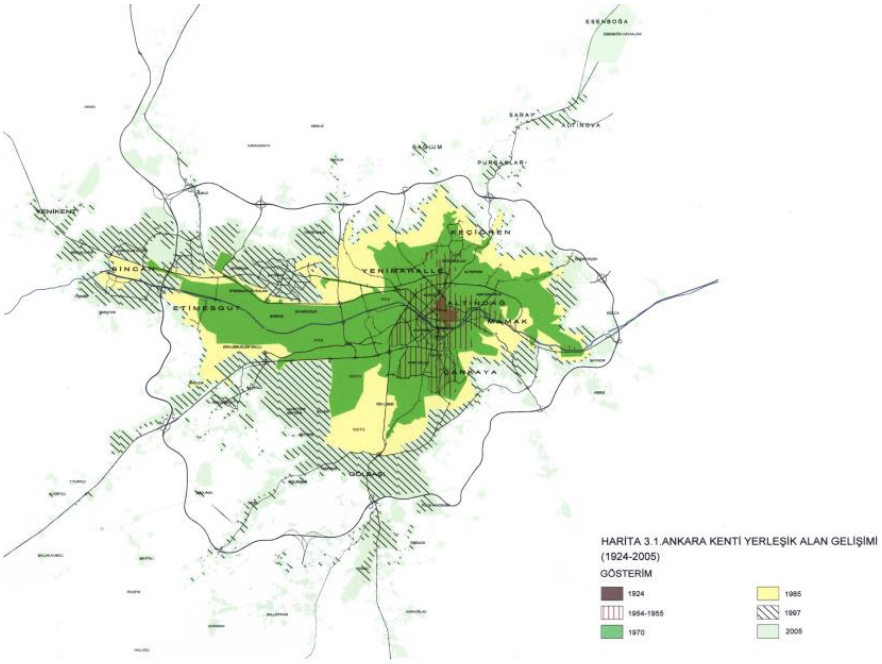

Figure 3.16. Development of Boundaries of Ankara City between 1924-2005, accessed 15 July, 2019. https://www.ankara.bel.tr/files/3113/4726/6297/3-makroform.pdf

[140] Baykan Günay, "Ankara Spatial History," *AESOP 2012_Ankara*, no. 1427 (2012).

From the 90s onwards, shopping mall development has followed the spatial expansion of the city along the western and south-western axis. The first suburban shopping mall of the city established in this sense was Galleria Shopping Center which was opened in 1995 at Ümitköy, a new high-income suburban area in Ankara at that time. In parallel with the urban sprawl through new suburban developments and satellite towns, Galleria was followed by other examples such as Bilkent Center, Ankamall and Armada. Erkip points out that the absence of a comprehensive plan for Ankara between the years of 1990-2007 and the dominance of fragmented plans and plan modifications despite the 2007 plan led to the fact that the development of shopping malls has been mostly driven by market mechanisms and privatization decisions.[141] While there were only 9 shopping centers in 2005, this number reached 30 in 2010.[142] At the end of 2021, it is foreseen that there will be 48 shopping malls and a total gross leasable area of 1.849.129 m^2 with the addition of 6 shopping malls under construction.[143]

Table 3.1. *List of the shopping malls opened between 1989-2018*

Shopping Mall Name	**Opening Date**	**Gross Leasable Area (m^2)**	**Location**
Atakule (Demolished)	1989	17.000	Çankaya
Karum	1991	27.000	Çankaya
Galleria (Demolished)	1995	7.700	Çankaya
Mesa Plaza	1996	12.300	Yenimahalle
Ankuva	1997	5.000	Çankaya
Bilkent Center	1998	47.467	Çankaya
Ankamall	1999	120.000	Yenimahalle
Carrefour Ankara	2001	29.800	Yenimahalle
Ftz Avm	2001	9.500	Keçiören
Armada	2002	60.233	Çankaya

[141] Erkip and Ozuduru, "Retail Development in Turkey: An Account after Two Decades of Shopping Malls in the Urban Scene," 20.
[142] Ibid.
[143] "JLL Turkey Commercial Real Estate Market Overview 2018 Year End Report," 2019.

Arcadium	2003	19.000	Yenimahalle
Optimum Outlet Ankara	2004	40.566	Etimesgut
Dolphin	2005	7.200	Etimesgut
Göksu Avm	2006	13.722	Etimesgut
Cepa	2007	73.892	Çankaya
Panora	2007	85.800	Çankaya
A City Outlet	2008	39.000	Yenimahalle
Antares	2008	82.699	Keçiören
Beysupark Yaşam Merkezi	2008	11.500	Çankaya
Forum Ankara Outlet	2008	86.300	Keçiören
Üstün Dekocity	2008	17.000	Yenimahalle
365 Avm	2008	29.000	Çankaya
Gordion Avm	2009	49.950	Yenimahalle
Kentpark	2010	68.300	Çankaya
Anse Mdm	2010	26.000	Yenimahalle
Atlantis City Batıkent Avm	2011	50.199	Yenimahalle
Anatolium Ankara	2011	71.471	Mamak
Nata Vega Outlet Center	2011	67.966	Mamak
Kızılay Avm	2011	21.000	Çankaya
Tepe Prime Avenue	2011	6.050	Çankaya
Taurus Ankara Avm	2013	40.930	Çankaya
Next Level Avm	2013	42.000	Çankaya
Gimart Outlet	2014	30.000	Yenimahalle
Mercan Avm	2014	15.000	Yenimahalle
One Tower Avm	2015	40.000	Çankaya
Podium Avm	2015	71.200	Yenimahalle
Atg Tren Garı	2016	25.000	Altındağ
Metromall Avm	2017	67.270	Etimesgut
Yda Park Avenue Life	2017	37.000	Yenimahalle
Ak Center Outlet	2018	22.000	Etimesgut
Atakule	2018	18.000	Çankaya
Kaşmir Center	2018	15.593	Etimesgut
Kartaltepe Avm	2018	33.000	Polatlı

On the other hand, besides the multiplication of shopping malls, a deterioration process is observed in the first-generation malls. Many malls established in the first and second decades of retail developments are now faced with high vacancy rates and low traffic. Some of them are undergoing expansions and renovations to attract new consumers who are constantly seeking for novelty and diversity, while some are exposed to destruction and reconstruction to cope with the competition raised by new-generation shopping malls. The regeneration of Galleria Shopping Mall, originally opened in 1995, is a recent example of this situation. The redevelopment project involves the conversion from former enclosed shopping mall into a mixed-use complex with offices, restaurants, retail shops, and open-air spaces.

Figure 3.17. Galleria, Ankara , accessed September 25, 2019. http://wowturkey.com/forum/viewtopic.php?t=25777

CHAPTER 4

CASE STUDY: TWO PHASES OF ATAKULE

Prior to undertaking the investigation of the case, it should be clarified that what are the motives behind the selection of Atakule as the case of this study. Above all, it represents one of the first and latest examples of shopping mall typology in Turkey. Atakule, which was opened in the 1980s when Turkey encountered the consumer culture for the first time, is valuable in terms of portraying the changes in economic, social and cultural structure and being the physical outcome of developing consumption culture. After demolished and reconstructed with the same function and the same size about 30 years after its grand opening, it is now standing for the current values of the new world order which is still driven by capitalist growth and consumer culture. On that sense, in addition to allowing the observation of the general characteristics of the shopping mall typology from the 1980s to present day, it also enables to epitomize the discussions handled above chapters, which are about the transformation of space through the economic and social context, and the commodification process of an architectural object. Even more, being the symbol identified with the city and being one of the foci of urban politics debates, it provides a reproductive field for further discussion.

Another reason why Atakule was chosen as the case of the study is depended on the professional experience of the author. In 2011, the author had worked on the Atakule project during her internship at A Tasarım Mimarlık, the designer of the new project. Then, between the years of 2013 and 2019, she had worked as the only architect in the investment firm and had participated in the whole process of development and reconstruction of Atakule. The author's position which requires one-to-one contact with the investor, leasing consultant, contractor, project team and other actors such as tenants, marketing agencies, made it possible to observe the process in a multi-

disciplinary way. Additionally, the author's working term, which covers the time span from the demolition of the former building to the completion of the latter project, allows examining the internal transformation of the new project as well as the transformation process between two phases.

4.1. Before the 1980s

Before starting to work on Atakule, it would be meaningful to glance through the previous use of the site where Atakule was built. Located at the intersection of Cinnah Avenue and Çankaya Avenue, the site was formerly occupied by the U.S. military as the Officers' Club. This 3 story building was operated by the U.S. military as a social facility whose members comprise of US Embassy personnel, employees of USAID (United States Agency for International Development), Pan American World Airways pilots, American officers, as well as Turkish civilians with a certain grade level to belong.[144] It was also the place where American games like contract bridge tournaments were held, young Turkish musicians played jazz and Turkish guest was experiencing the American culture. In the course of time, the building became a symbol of American culture such that it was the target of anti-American protests by left-wing students in the 1970s.

Figure 4.1. The U.S. Officers' Club, accessed July 05, 2019. https://www.merhaba-usmilitary.com/1HOFFMANSindex.html

[144] Steve Hoffman, "Steve Hoffman's Tour in Turkey," accessed July 15, 2019, https://www.merhaba-usmilitary.com/1HOFFMANSindex.html.

Figure 4.2. View from the U.S. Officers' Club accessed July 05, 2019. https://www.merhaba-usmilitary.com/1HOFFMANSindex.html

4.2. Phase I: Between 1985-2010

The establishment of a shopping center was brought to the agenda with the transfer of the plot to Ankara Municipality.[145] Ragıp Buluç was chosen amongst around 70 architects invited for the architectural project of the new shopping mall and tower. In one of his interviews, Buluç stated that the project was intended to be special from the very beginning since it would represent one of the first examples of the transition of shopping culture from shopping arcades to modern shopping centers in Turkey, and in line with this target, similar projects were examined by traveling all over the world with the investor.[146] After the design and planning works conducted between the years of 1985 and 1987, the construction of the building began in 1987 and lasted until 1989. Commissioned by Ankara Metropolitan Municipality and invested by Anıtsal Yapılar Incorporated Company, Atakule was opened on October 13, 1989, the anniversary of the declaration of Ankara as the capital, by the prime minister Turgut Özal. At that

[145] Ceyhan Mumcu, "Bin Günlük Belediye Başkanı," 2007, http://www.yapi.com.tr/haberler/bin-gunluk-belediye-baskani_53707.html.
[146] Erol Canbay, "Atakule'nin Mimarı'yla Kahve Molası," 2014, https://www.haberhabere.com/atakulenin-mimariyla-kahve-molasi-roportaj,29.html.

time, Atakule was the second shopping mall built in Turkey and the first one for the city of Ankara.

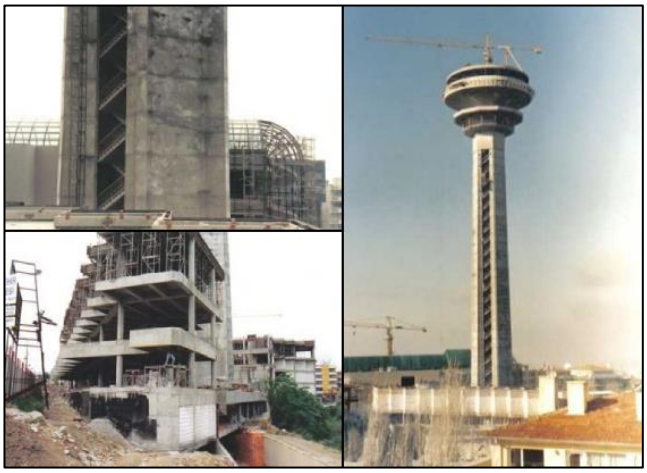

Figure 4.3. During construction of Atakule

One of the interesting facts about the building is that its name was determined by an awarded competition open to the public. As a result of this competition, the name chosen for the building was "Atakule" which has been formed by combining the name of the founder of the Republic of Turkey, Atatürk and the word "*kule*" that means tower in Turkish. This was an indication that from the very beginning, the building would have different connotations for the society besides being a shopping space.


Ankara'nın yeni simgesi DÖNER KULE ve süper ALIŞVERİŞ MERKEZİ'nin

İSİMLERİNİ SİZ BULUN/

Figure 4.4. Announcement of the competition for naming the building complex published in Milliyet newspaper on February 26, 1989.

On the other hand, the location of Atakule has also a great influence on the formation of its identity. Saliently different from its national and international precedents, Atakule is located at the heart of one of the most important districts in Ankara. In this regard, it was the first inner-city mall in Turkey. First of all, it is useful to give information about the district where Atakule is positioned in order to understand where the building is located in the social and cultural context of the city. Since the foundation of the Republic of Turkey, Çankaya has been one of the most important districts in Ankara, in terms of both its geographical position and its ideological meanings. Primarily, as well as being one of the highest hills of the city, Çankaya had represented the new city center after Ulus and Kızılay, as a part of the growth that was planned by Jansen on the north-south axis. Moreover, Çankaya has always been associated with the republican regime and protocol by incorporating the governmental residences and the presidential palace. Having all these in mind, Akin and Çelik claim that choosing Çankaya to construct Atakule might be a strategic attempt to achieve a certain kind of political symbolism.[147]

Owing to the geographically advantageous position of Çankaya, Atakule was situated on a hill that allows overlooking the whole city and enables the tower can be seen from almost anywhere in the city. With an area of 6700 square meters, the triangular building plot stands in the middle of the urban texture with its borders adjacent to the Botanic Park at the northern end and to the Çankaya and Cinnah Avenues on the east and west sides. While the district had stood out as a residential area, which was generally inhabited by upper-middle and upper income groups, a gradual transition from residential use to commercial units was experienced after Atakule was opened.[148] Furthermore, Atakule also contributed to the development of Köroğlu Street as a central business district in Çankaya in line with the tendency of the city development

[147] Esra Akin and Gönül Çelik, "Orji Sonrası Atakule," in *Mimar Anlam Beğeni.*, ed. Gülnur Güvenç, 1st ed. (İstanbul: Yapı-Endüstri Merkezi Yayınları, 1999), 107-108.
[148] Ibid., 108

southwards.[149] Therefore, in terms of its impact on the urban environment, it can be said that Atakule has brought commercial, social and cultural vitality to its environs.

Figure 4.5. Aerial View, 2002, Retrieved September 12,2019 from Google Earth

The architect of the building, Ragıp Buluç, describes Atakule in an interview at the time when the construction was just started, as follows;

> This tower in Ankara's Çankaya district consists of a 23. 000 square meters building complex with 217 shops and cafes, a variety of galleries, a two-story car park and more than 70 meters in length atrium with a year-round green area, the complex combines shopping with recreation making it a multi-purpose center in the true sense of the word. People will come here not just to shop but to drink coffee, to chat, to get better acquainted and to have a new experience. The center will, therefore, answer a long-standing need for a meeting place in Ankara.[150]

[149] Gülçin Tunç and H Tarık Şengül, "Transformation of Public Space : The Case of Migros Akköprü Shopping Center" (METU, 2003), 74.
[150] Ragıp Buluç, "Ankara Kulesi Projesi," *Mimarlık,* 1987.

These sentences were also used as the explanatory text of the project when it won the 1990 National Architecture Award in building branch.[151] By drawing attention to the multi-purpose architectural program of the building, not only did Buluç point out that this new shopping center would promise a new lifestyle and a new shopping experience which was formerly linked to shopping in the city's traditional market places and shopping streets, but he also promised a new public space that city-dwellers were not accustomed to. Furthermore, in the same interview, Buluç emphasized the transition of the era from modern to postmodern order and claimed that Atakule could be also interpreted as an engagement and even a contribution to the postmodern pursuit of architecture.[152]

As it can be deduced from here, Atakule emerged in this period as a place that developed according to the changing consumption patterns that go hand in hand with postmodernist culture and late-capitalist order. Atakule had been both an instrument and an outcome of the process of constructing a new social order. In respect to this, the emphasis on exclusivity and distinctness in newspaper advertisements is noteworthy. The title of "super" that has been frequently used in the political jargon of the period was also used to qualify the newly built shopping mall.[153] In other words, Atakule was the symbol of the political discourse of the era which focused on stepping into a new age.

[151] Ulusal Mimarlık Ödülleri Komitesi, "2. Ulusal Mimarlık Sergisi ve Ödülleri," *Mimarlık* 241, no. 3 (1990): 20–32.
[152] Buluç, "Ankara Kulesi Projesi."
[153] Cem Dedekargınoğlu, "Atakule'nin Öyküsü – Nereden Çıktı Bu Süperler?," 2014, http://www.moblogankara.org/mimarlardan/2014/12/16/atakulenin-yks-nereden-kt-bu-sperler-.

Figure 4.6. Advertising on Milliyet newspaper on November 15, 1987.

Because the consumer culture based on the diversity and novelty, the architectural program and the formal configuration of Atakule was articulated accordingly. Since spending free time also brings about the increase in consumption, Atakule, like its western counterparts, targeted the leisure time of society. Therefore, in addition to the shopping units, functions such as restaurants, cafes, cocktail lounge, wedding hall, and children's entertainment areas were planned within the mall.

In terms of formal composition, it is possible to handle the structure in 3 separate sections, which each of them responding to different requirements of the architectural program. These are the main shopping podium, the eastern annex, and the tower. While the main shopping mall section and the annex form the base of the structure at the bottom, the tower rises from the plaza that is formed at the northern part of the site.

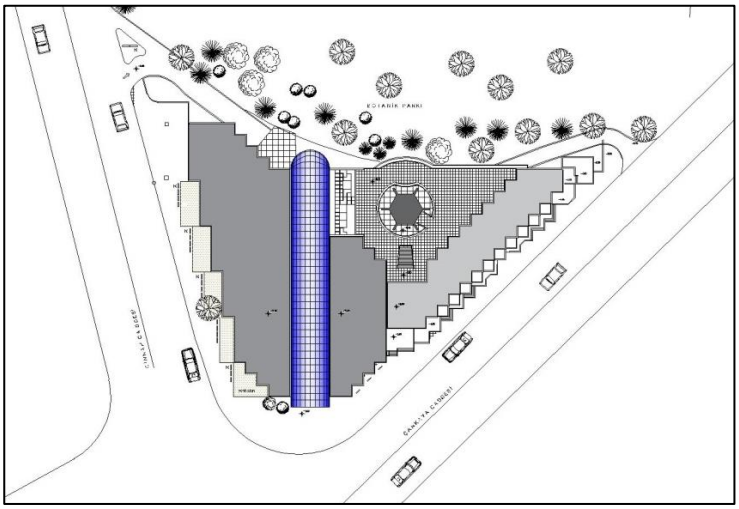

Figure 4.7. Site Plan

The main shopping mall section is entered from the central axis of the building where the land intersects with the surrounding roads. The main entrance, which visually exposes the interior of the mall to the urban context through its transparency, is differentiated from the rest of the building by its material preferences and form. While the height of the vaulted canopy and the stepped entrance suggest certain kind of monumentality, the scale and the disengagement with the pedestrian flow preclude the probable public activities in this area.[154] Regarding the monumentality of the entry point, Buluç states that while designing the entrance he reinterpreted the historical elements with the use of technologies for achieving a certain symbolic significance and, in this way, providing intangible values within this architectural product.

> Today I draw an analogy with a Seljuk gate. It was something I did on purpose. But there were stones around the Seljuk portal, today there are mirrored glasses. You do not discover where to enter this structure, instead, there is something wholly presented.[155]

[154] Akin and Çelik, "Orji Sonrası Atakule," 112.
[155] Ragıp Buluç, Celal Abdi Güzer, and Eda Güz, "Profil: Ragıp Buluç, Güncel Türk Mimarlığının Ankara Kanadında Bir Mimar," *Arredemento Mimarlık* (İstanbul, 1994), 68-82.

Figure 4.8. The main entrance of the shopping mall

The main part of the lower structure consists of 7 floors, where 5 floors used for retail and 2 floors for technical areas and underground car parking. The retail floors contain shopping units of various sizes with glazed shopfronts that can be accessed through the corridors circulating around the linear atrium. In fact, this linear atrium is the most dominant component of the space. It is covered by a glazed vault which starts from the main entrance facing the intersection point of Cinnah and Çankaya Avenues with Hoşdere and Simon Bolivar Avenues and stretches out to the northern edge of the mall that ends with a spiral staircase facing Botanic Park. Reaching 4 to 5 story height, the atrium incorporates the main circulation elements as well as the galleries and balconies that allow visitors to experience the visual and spatial connection between the floors. However, the cascaded configuration of the atrium space and the scattered settlement of the escalators made the atrium to be the target of criticism that it plays a distributive role instead of being a unifying element.[156] On the other hand, the atrium space still maintains its duty for creating an introverted urban environment, as it did in western examples. The attendant spaces of atrium equipped with urban components such as streetlamps, in-built planters, signposts, street furniture, etc., and the strategic

[156] Şengül Ö Gür, "Ulusal Teknolojik Düzeyimizin Bir Göstergesi : Atakule ve Yaşam," *Mimarlık* 241, no. 3 (1990): 33.

allocation of the circulation elements exemplify some of the implications of interior urbanism.

Figure 4.9. Atrium, accessed July 15, 2019. http://www.summa.com.tr/en/projects/atakule-shopping-mall.htm

The intention of creating public spaces can be observed on multiple levels of the building. While the common area on the -1 floor providing a place for social activities such as exhibitions, promotions, and entertainment, it also serves for commercial activities with the later opened café. Even if the commercial identity gained dominance with the opening of the café, it might be the only public space in the building where people could gather.

Figure 4.10. Atrium

This floor also connects the mall with the outdoor plaza surrounding the tower and providing access to shops located at the annex. Although it was initially designed as a public space with its landscape elements and cafes around it, this outdoor plaza remained as a service area due to the fact that it took a lot of wind, stayed behind the structure and away from the street.[157] In the later period, aluminum structure and glass closure were made for the restaurant located at the end of the plaza to keep alive this place for the whole year.

Figure 4.11. Utilization of exterior plaza by the restaurant and subsequent physical interventions

When descending to the two floors below entrance level, there exists a subsidiary common area as the bottom level of the atrium, which is expected to have public expansions. Surrounded by a supermarket and fast-food units, this space rather functions as a circulation area connecting the mall with the tower and children's entertainment area.

The first floor of the mall includes shopping units and spaces for cultural activities such as an art gallery and a cocktail and wedding hall intended for people to meet on special occasions. The top floor of the mall is the place where leisure activities are emphasized. There is a movie theater with 7 cinema halls and food court units with sitting areas located at the edge of the atrium space. Even though the floor plan was originally designed for housing a movie theater, it had been used as a large store and

[157] Akin and Çelik, "Orji Sonrası Atakule," 112.

it was finally turned into a movie theater in 2003.[158] It was one of the most important constructional transformations which the mall has undergone in itself in order to compete with other shopping malls increasing in number day by day.

On the other hand, the eastern part of the lower mass consists of an annex building facing Çankaya Avenue. The annex building provides 2 levels of restaurants and shops which can be accessed from the street level through stairs, and above them a wedding hall which can only be reached from the shopping mall. Considering the relatively permeable qualities of first two level of the annex building, it is possible to say there is an attempt to interpret the typology. However, regarding its interior organization, there is no operational and physical connection between the first two levels of the annex and the atrium space. Hence, these shops also do not benefit from the potential of the dynamic nature of the mall.

This interior discontinuity can be observed also in the stylistic language of the façade. The first two floors offer a more permeable relationship with the pedestrian way and it appears like a separate free-standing building. By contrast with the transparency of lower floors, the upper section sitting on this two-story structure is covered by mirrored glass that is used on the façade of the main body of the mall. This upper section is connected to the first floor of the shopping mall with a bridge-like composition. While there is no access from the lower floors of the annex to the upper part that houses a wedding hall, it is connected to the first floor of the shopping mall with a bridge-like composition.

[158] Tuğba Şeyda Akşehir, "A Study on Architectural Elements of Space Identity: Atakule" (Bilkent University, 2003), 113.

Figure 4.12. East Façade

Despite the relatively permeable qualities of the eastern section, the main mass of the shopping mall is closed off to the urban context. As such, it retains the isolated box characteristic, which is the most prominent identifier of the conventional shopping mall typology. In the façade overlooking Cinnah Avenue, there is an entrance for the occupation of the branch office of Vakıfbank. However, since the location of the bank is detached from the main circulation and the atrium space, it is not possible to interpret this opening as a connection between the mall and its urban context.

Figure 4.13. West Façade

Another important component that determines the relationship of the building with its immediate surroundings is the material preference on its façades. Except for the use of glass on the entrance façade, mirrored glass, which was an innovative building material at the time, is used as a cladding material in all facades of the shopping center. The utilization of mirrored glass is significant in terms of being a symbol of technology as well as reminding of Jameson's postmodern insights on Bonaventure. Just as the great reflective glass skin of Bonaventure Hotel that repels the city outside[159], the mirrored façades of Atakule offer a certain kind of placelessness and a dissociation from its immediate neighborhood owing to the reflective and opaque features of the material. Thus, it deliberately breaks its indoor urban atmosphere from the outside urban context.

If there was anything else that attracted the public attention as much as the first shopping mall, it was the 125-meter high tower structure composed of a hexagonal plinth containing the elevator core and a 4-story structure in the shape of a hemisphere.[160] Besides featuring a semi-open observation terrace offering a panoramic view of the city, the tower also incorporates a café, a revolving restaurant, and a cocktail lounge. There are 2 panoramic elevators which take the visitors from the -2 floor of the mall and transmit to the observation terrace in 87 meter high. By taking another elevator, it is possible to reach the revolving restaurant which makes a full 360-degree rotation in one and a half hour. On top of the revolving restaurant and under the geodesic dome there is a column-free, 360 square meters hall which was operated as restaurant and cocktail lounge over the years. The floor below the observation terrace was operated as a café.

[159] Jameson, *Postmodernism or The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*, 42.
[160] Although it was measured 125 meters in blue prints, the altitude of the tower was measured as 110 meters during the reconstruction works.

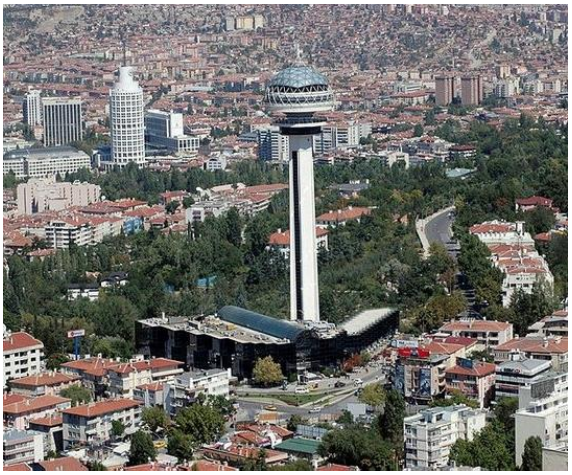

Figure 4.14. Atakule

The tower is designed as a separate entity both in terms of the functional relations and the formal composition. Except for the entrance from the second floor of the shopping center, it is difficult to mention the existence of an interaction between the shopping mall and the tower. The isolated relationship between the tower and the shopping mass has been also criticized in the architectural milieu. Gür argues that the approach that combines the atrium space with the tower plinth could both rehabilitate the unifying role of the atrium and increase the commercial activity of retail units.[161]

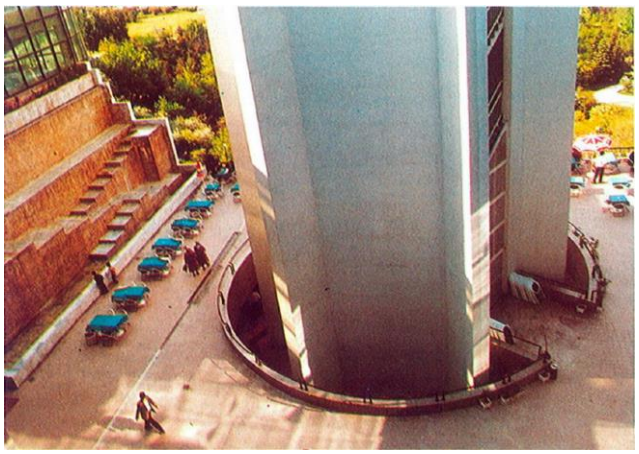

Figure 4.15. The Relationship between the tower plinth and exterior plaza, Photograph by Şengül Öymen Gür, accessed July 10, 2019, http://www.mimarlikdergisi.com/index.cfm?sayfa=mimarlik&DergiSayi=3

[161] Gür, "Ulusal Teknolojik Düzeyimizin Bir Göstergesi : Atakule ve Yaşam."

Nevertheless, with its strong form, the tower is one of the most striking experiments in Turkey in terms of its architectural expression. As the district of Çankaya is itself on a hill, the tower can be spotted from almost anywhere in the city, so it is the most dominant form that can be perceived in the cityscape. So, it has become an attraction point for domestic and foreign tourists visiting Ankara. Today, the tower still serves as a landmark, due to its monumental design and its strategic position giving the tower a distinguishable presence in the city skyline. While the monumentality of the tower has made itself a national landmark, it was insufficient to elevate the shopping mall. In a sense, it can be said that the isolated situation in the articulation of the masses continues in terms of symbolic meaning. While the tower has become an icon for the city of Ankara, there is no sign of the shopping mall within this symbolic significance. Re-reading the logos of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality and some of its affiliates, which employ the figure of the tower as an image, exemplify this situation.

Figure 4.16. The logo of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality and the logo of Ankara Natural Gas Distribution Inc. Co.

Since the very beginning of the construction, Atakule has been subject to criticism as much as praise in both the mainstream media and architectural milieu. One of the critiques on its appearance was about its formal and stylistic language. On March 24, 1989, one of the oldest newspapers in Turkey put the Berlin TV tower and Atakule side by side and asked that since when Ankara has chosen the symbol of East Berlin as a symbol.[162] On the other hand, the discontents and criticisms in the architectural

[162] Dedekargınoğlu, "Atakule'nin Öyküsü – Nereden Çıktı Bu Süperler?"

milieu, some of which have already been mentioned above, were mostly based on urban politics and the relationship of the building with its immediate urban environment. One of these criticisms was written by Özbay at a time when construction had just begun and criticized that the symbolic situation proposed by the building was the result of political processes.

> All this stems from the search for the new images in the city. The local government does not like the images of the central government and wants to replace them. For this reason, the local government chooses the architect and lends credence to contemporary technologies. Perhaps it continues a tradition: the tradition of leaving behind a structure, as the Ottoman rulers who wanted to be kept alive by future generations. However, in order to keep this tradition alive, the images that are intended to be created are being competed with the images of history; "Ankara Tower" is offered to the city life against "Ankara Castle". With all these instant attitudes, the face of the city is intended to be changed.[163]

The review article, also written by Özbay after the completion of the project, is interesting in terms of presenting the possible interactions that could have been established with the city. After criticizing the state of the existing structure blocking urban perspectives, Özbay brings forward two different architectural proposals which provide a dialogue with the adjacent Botanic Park and urban context.[164]

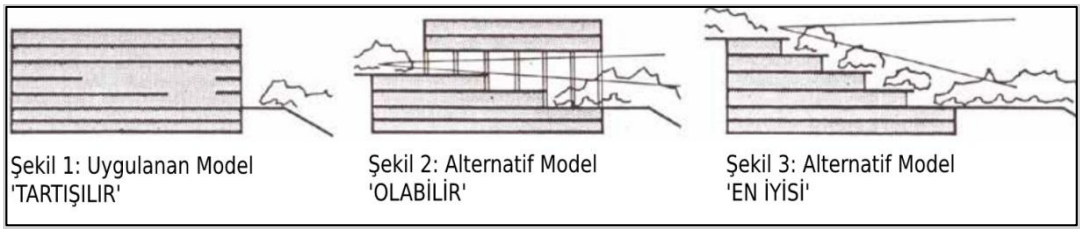

Figure 4.17. Özbay's Sketches depicting the existing situation and proposals, the first one is the applied model, the second figure is a possible alternative, the third one is suggested as the best solution

[163] Hasan Özbay, "80 Sonrası Ankara'da , Yeni İmgelere ve Yeni Geleneklere Doğru," *Mimarlık*, no. 2 (1987): 30–31.
[164] Hasan Özbay, "Atakule Üzerine Notlar," *SMD Mimar*, no. 1 (1991): 34–37.

On the other part, significant changes occurring in Atakule's ownership in the course of time are also worth mentioning to understand the close contact between the building and the political and economic context of the country. The building, which was operated by one of Vakıfbank's subsidiaries and owned by Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, was sold to its operator after the change of the municipal administration in 1994. The transaction process, which was criticized for being issued under the estimated value, was widely covered in the press.[165]

Figure 4.18. Newspaper clippings about the sale of Atakule

[165] Dedekargınoğlu, "Atakule'nin Öyküsü – Nereden Çıktı Bu Süperler?"

A few years later, Atakule joined a real estate investment trust established under cover of Vakıfbank. Meanwhile, there was an increase in the number of shopping malls in Ankara and Atakule was unable to compete with these newly opened shopping malls. In addition to this, following that target audience of the mall moved to the new suburban settlements developing on the southwest axis of the city, the quality of the shops inside began to decline and Atakule lost its appeal as a shopping mall, although the tower has partly remained its attractiveness for visitors coming from other cities. As a consequence, considering that Atakule is no longer a profitable investment, Vakıfbank decided to sell the shares of Vakıf REIT.

4.3. Phase II: Between 2010-2019

The story of the third and last phase begins with the transfer of ownership of the building to the Tarman family. In 2008, Atakule became the property of the Tarman Group, which bought the shares of the Vakıf REIT and changed the company name as Atakule REIT. The new owner of the building did not renew the lease contracts and shut down the mall immediately after the last tenants have left the shops. After the evacuation of the mall, the investment company had the leasing consultant Jones Lang LaSalle prepare a feasibility report in which the possibility of other uses such as office, hotel, and mix-use facilities was examined. As a result of the feasibility report, investment company decided to operate the building again as a shopping mall by renovating the existing building. In line with this decision, USA based architecture and planning firm, Design Development Group, was commissioned to prepare a draft for the renovation of the building. Since the draft projects consisting of shops arranged around an atrium that includes the tower plinth were not approved by the board members, the company decided to assign the project to a Turkish architectural office, A Architectural Design led by Ali Osman Öztürk who is noted for his shopping malls designs such as Armada and Panora.

Figure 4.19. The ground floor plan of draft project prepared by DDG

Initial studies that began in 2010 were based on the modification of the bottom mass by partially maintaining the existing structural system and the preservation of the tower. However, since the existing reinforced concrete structure could not meet the current retail requirements such as standard floor heights, spacing between the structural axes, efficiency of the parking garage, earthquake regulations, etc., the direction of the project was changed towards to protect the tower structure with special precautions, and to reconstruct the lower mass.

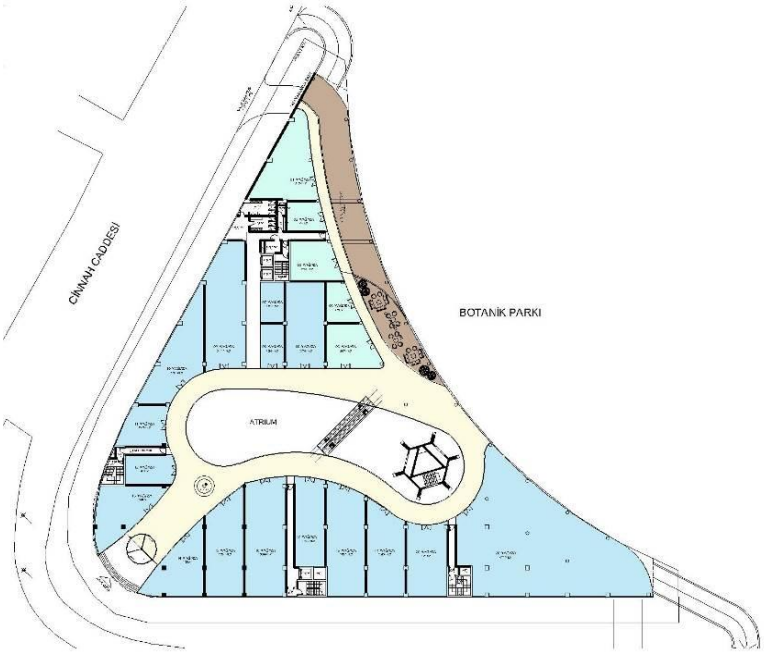

Figure 4.20. The ground floor plan of one of the proposals drawn by A Tasarım Mimarlık

The approved proposal has focused on the enhancement of parking facilities by increasing the number of basement floors, the continuity with the adjacent park by having the interior space opening towards exterior and the reduction of the circulation areas by locating the central atrium on an axis whose one end is

connected to the Botanic Park and the other end connected to the square.[166] Although demolition works that started in 2014 were paused for a short time with the lawsuit filed by the former project author, construction work began in 2016 and then the shopping mall was opened to the public on the 95th anniversary of the founding of the Republic of Turkey, in 2018.

Before proceeding with the architectural analysis of the building, another point that should not be missed is the revitalizing effect of the building on its urban context. First of all, it has brought commercial liveliness to its immediate surrounding. The street shops, which were left vacant after the closure of the Atakule, have started to be rented one by one with the start of the construction of the new project. Moreover, the sales and rental values of real estates in the surrounding neighborhood have increased. In this context, Atakule has been a kind of revitalization tool for a certain part of the city that has been devalued.

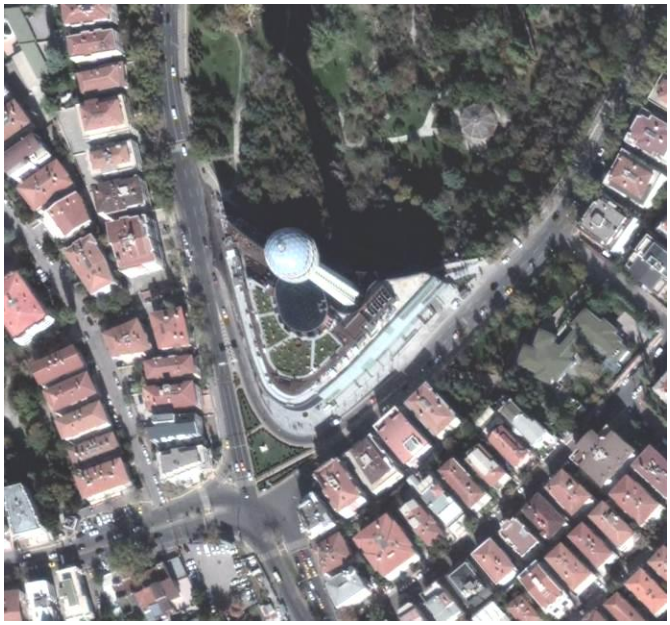

Figure 4.21. Aerial view, 2019, Retrieved September 12,2019 from Google Earth

[166] "Atakule Once Again...," accessed July 15, 2019, http://www.atasarim.com.tr/en/project/atakule.

Unlike the former layout, which was shaped by the fragmentation of the mass and the utilization of a part of the land as open space, the new building uses the entire site in order to maximize the gross leasable area. To this end, building façades have followed the boundary of the plot on each side. With 52000 square meters of the construction area and 16400 square meters of gross leasable area, the new mall is designed in classic central atrium plan with approximately 110 shops and a parking garage for 450 cars.

The main entrance of the mall refers to the project's past by being located at the same place as the former entrance was. Contrary to the monumental emphasis on the entrance in the former project, the new entrance was retracted from the property line and it is intended to create a square under the large canopy provided by the upper floors of the building. There are cafes on both sides of the entrance, but since they are physically isolated to prevent uncontrolled entrances, these spaces cannot interrelate to the square in front of them, and thus the urban context. Upon entering the mall, it is seen that the mall is designed with maximum transparency at the northern façade in order to derive the most benefit from the northern light and the view of Botanic Park. On the ground floor, there is also a common terrace, which is open to all visitors and allows enjoying the views of the Botanical Park. However, this place was not furnished by the mall management in order to divert visitors to cafes and restaurants. So, today these terraces are mostly used by smokers.

Each floor consists of shops lined around the circulation route that follows the shape of the atrium space. Besides, on each floor, both sides of the floor are reserved for restaurants and cafes. The outer convex form of the building aligned to the property line creates a concave reflection onto the interior space and has gathered the stores around a common focal point created through the singular central atrium. The 5-level atrium positioned at the center of the shopping mall is the descriptive element of the building. As in the former project, the atrium space which is covered by a geodesic skylight features the main circulation elements. At this point, it is seen that the position of the panoramic elevator was shifted in order to ensure the visual continuity with the park. Additionally, compared to the former atrium space, it can be said that a more

compact atrium space and a more practical circulation scheme were targeted. The most explicit difference between the applied project and previous studies conducted by DDG and A Tasarım is that the void embraced by the atrium has shrunk and the tower plinth is included in the common circulation area instead of being treated as a mass rising from the atrium space. The cavities formed by the tower plinth are later designed as kiosks on each floor to be considered as a leasable area. Currently, kiosks that have not been rented yet are used for exhibiting artworks belonging to the investor family. Similarly, periodically changing installations have been made to stores that have not been rented, in order to encourage the visitors to take photographs and share them on social media, which is the most powerful media tool in the contemporary world.

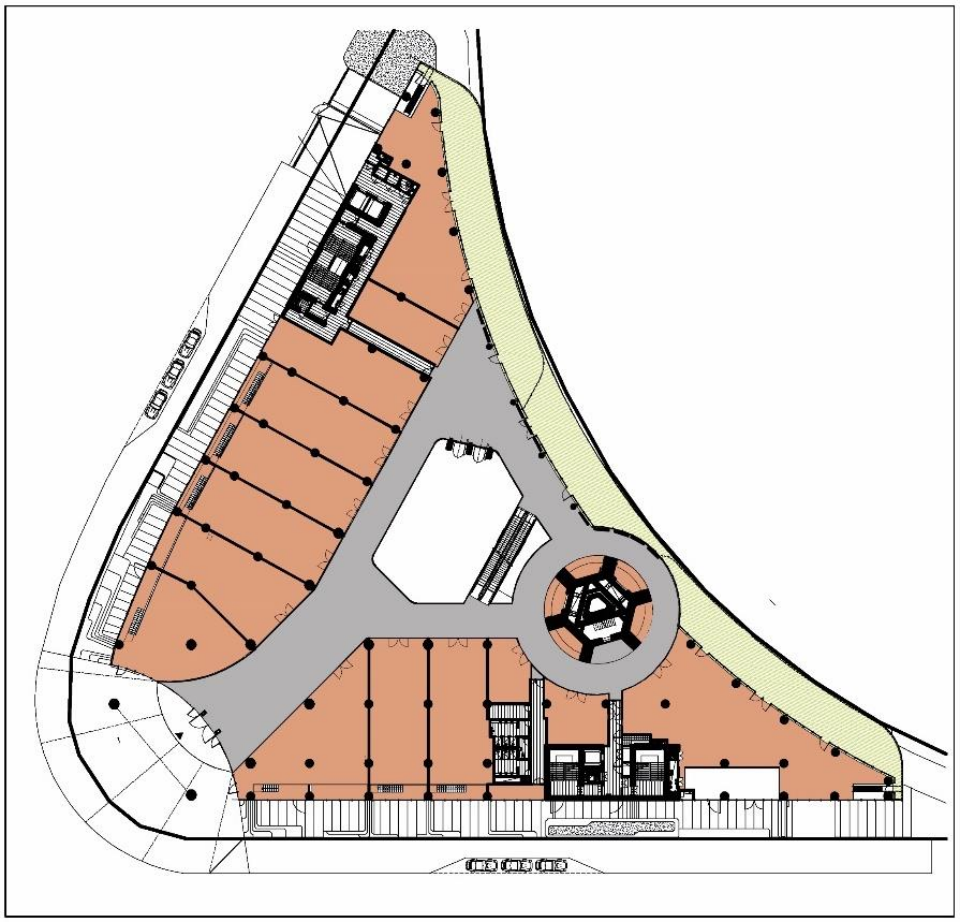

Figure 4.22. Ground floor plan of applied project

One of the common points of the former and latter project is their intention of creating a public space through the atrium. In accordance with this purpose, the projection of the atrium on the floor is differentiated from the general circulation space through material selection and this place is furnished with seating groups and equipped with a hydraulic platform that can be used as a stage during social events. Although it is located two floors below the main entrance, this floor is the first retail floor faced by the visitors arriving by car and the last place they visited before leaving the mall. Also, there is an entrance that can be used by pedestrians coming from Çankaya and Cinnah Avenue.

Figure 4.23. Atrium

The element that gives the character to the lower floor of the entrance is the drive-in internal road running along the Botanic Park border. This road enables visitors to drop off their car to valet parking and to enter the shopping mall directly. This floor is foreseen by leasing consultant as the main entrance of the mall with taking into account that the targeted upper-income group prefers valet parking. Accordingly, the shop-mix of this floor is planned to accommodate relatively high-level brands. The emphasis on luxury, which dominates the interior atmosphere of the shopping mall,

can be followed through material preferences and design decisions such as grandiose bronze doors, the wooden paneled ceilings, restrooms with LED screens, etc. This sense of luxury has also been manifested in the management approach by employing uniformed service personnel and doorman at the entrance.

Figure 4.24. Vallet road

This floor also provides access to the mezzanine floor that includes the tower entrance and a cafe. The mezzanine floor has an entrance from Çankaya Avenue, and it is expected to function as a continuation of the lobby space for the tower which is not opened for the time being. The public character brought to the mall by the tower was reinterpreted where this floor was connected to the mall. The level difference between these two floors was configured with an amphitheater-like staircase that is intended to be used for further social events like movie screening or performances for small groups.

Figure 4.25. Indoor Amphitheatre

To look at the upper floors of the mall, it is seen that the density of the commercial program continues on the first floor of the mall. On this floor, the slab was retracted and a gallery overlooking the entrance and the city was created to allow visual interaction with the city. The second floor of the mall is allocated to the cinema and fast food units as in the former shop-mix. The escalator leading up from the second floor directs the visitors to the outdoor terrace on the roof. Although the roof terrace was originally designed as an open recreation area enriched with landscape elements and level differences that permit visitors to sit and rest, the landscape project was revised in accordance with the investor's demand towards the reconfiguration of space allowing alternative uses and providing leasable areas. After several revisions, while the initial idea of creating an outdoor amphitheater overlooking the cityscape remained, the rest of the design was finalized as a large plain lawn enabling flexible and alternative commercial uses.

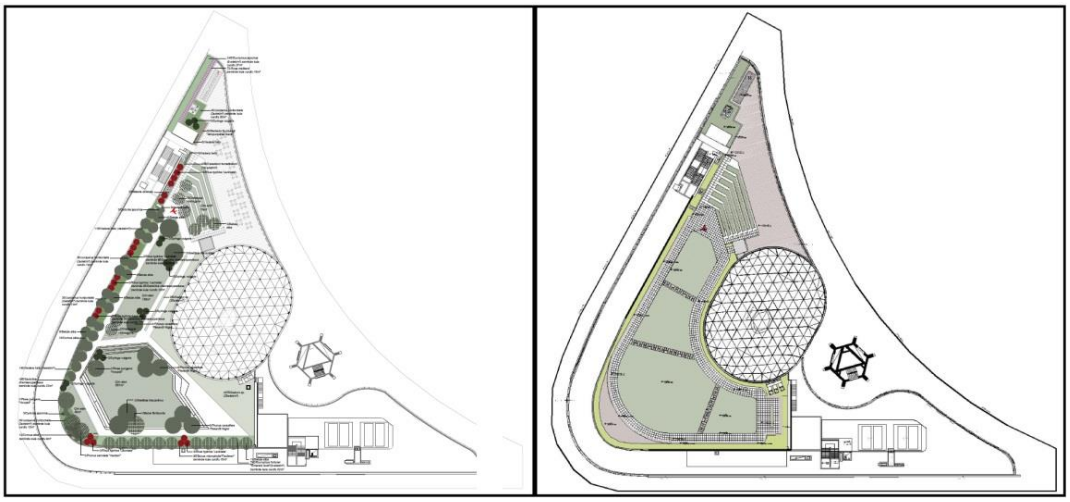

Figure 4.26. On the right: Initial landscape design project; on the left: applied project

The setup of the new project that generally follows the enclosed shopping mall typology shows itself on the facades. In spite of the transparent design of the façades on the street level, it is difficult to say that it provides a dialogue between the street and the building. Yet, there are some interventions to break this impermeability. One of them is the private entry of Vakko, the anchor retailer of the mall, on the west elevation. On the east elevation, there is also a cafe that uses the setback distance as the seating area and is accessed from street level. On the same street, a secondary entry, which provides direct access to the tower entrance and to the mall, is positioned. Although there is a terrace used by a cafe next to this entrance, it cannot establish a direct relationship with the street since it is enclosed by stone parapet for security reasons. After all, it is difficult to say that there is a relationship with the urban context, except the ancillary entry of the mall.

Figure 4.27. Exterior spaces of the mall that cannot integrate with the street

In contrast to the quite transparent design of street-level façades, the upper floors are covered by glass box modules illuminated in the evening. The openings between the modules are generally located in front of the service corridors and do not give any clues about the activity in the building. The use of such a transparent material as an instrument to achieve opacity creates an analogy with the former project. Ali Osman Öztürk, the designer of the latter project, also indicates that the selection of material was a conscious choice to refer to the former project.

> The façade of the former building was designed as a reflective glass, and Ragıp Buluç actually used this glass only as a cladding material. Actually, we tried to follow this idea a little bit.[167]

[167] Ali Osman Öztürk, Interview by Aydan Balamir, Celal Abdi Güzer, et. al., "Dosya: Atakule Alışveriş Merkezi," *Serbest Mimar* 32, no. 3 (2019): 32–41.

Figure 4.28. East Façade

In addition to the above-mentioned interventions, the design has undergone several revisions both in the planning and construction stages. Among them, a few examples that are thought to destinate the building's relationship with its urban context are going to be listed. The first one of the major revisions in the eastern and western façades is the cancellation of the exterior doors that promote street retailing by connecting each shop located on the ground floor to the street through mezzanine slabs. This striking design decision, which has the potential to increase the interaction between the mall and the city, was abandoned because of the leasing consultant concern that the private entry points would cause a decline in footfall of the mall. After the cancellation of the doors, it was decided to use these intermediary spaces as displays of the stores and thus to maintain the relationship between the street and the mall. However, due to the operational worries of the retailers, these areas were closed by most of the tenants and used as a storeroom. Therefore, an arrangement that could contribute to street retailing and the commercial liveliness of the street was thus missed.

Figure 4.29. Relationship between the shopfronts and the street

Another revision is related to the most dominant element on the front facade. In the first proposal of the architectural project team, the upper part of the front façade was designed as the window of the multi-purpose hall behind it and it was targeted to provide a visual interaction by getting the citizens to watch the performance in the hall and allowing the audience in the hall to observe the city. Nevertheless, the multi-purpose hall was later incorporated into the cinema's leasable area and the transparent part of the façade has been transformed into a 7.50x35 led screen, which could also be used to generate income for the shopping mall. From another perspective, the fact that the same façade was also used as an advertisement area also in the former project is very meaningful in terms of following the traces of capitalist reality on the building.

Figure 4.30. Above: Initial proposal for the front façade, Below: Applied model

The following revision has been chosen to be mentioned in this study because of its negative effect on the perception of the building form. On the northern facade, despite it was statically difficult to be solved; the terraces were designed as cantilevered slabs in order to visually lighten the mass. Upon the request of the tenants for using these terraces all the year-round, these semi-open terraces were enclosed by sliding glass panels and the open terraces on the 2nd floor were covered by retractable pergolas during the construction stage. These revisions damaged the articulation of the building mass and the intention of the architect towards achieving a lighter perceived mass on this facade.

Figure 4.31. Northern Façade, Photograph by Fethi Mağara,2019.

In addition to the demolition and reconstruction of the main shopping mall, the structure and functions of the tower were preserved. However, it is possible to say that the three-dimensional relationship between the tower and the building has remarkably changed. The tower plinth, which raised from an exterior plaza between the shopping mall and annex building in the former project, is encircled by the shopping mall due to the strategy of using the entire land as a commercial area. So, one of the criticisms is that the new shopping mall structure has damaged the proportions of the tower and makes it appear shorter than it is.[168]

[168] Ibid.

Figure 4.32. View of the tower and the shopping mall from front façade, Photograph by Fethi Mağara,2019.

On the other hand, even though the tower plinth is encircled by the mall, it was not possible to develop a different dialogue than the previous one. Taking advantage of the recessed structure of the tower, these areas were rented to kiosks. Although various atrium models emphasizing the verticality of the tower were examined during the draft projects, these studies were not reflected in the final project.

4.4. A Comparative Analysis

The available data makes it possible to conduct a quantitative comparison between the two phases of Atakule. The aim of comparing the two projects with the numerical data is to answer whether the changes in typology during the 30-year period between both versions of Atakule have an impact on the configuration of the new project and how the capital-oriented concerns direct this transformation process.

Table 4.1. *Comparison chart between Phase I and Phase II*

	PHASE I	**PHASE II**
Typology	multi-story, atrium shopping mall	multi-story, atrium shopping mall
Function	Shopping Mall + Tower	Shopping Mall + Tower
Program	Retail, supermarket, game arcade, food& beverage, cinema, wedding hall	Retail, supermarket, children's entertainment, food& beverage, cinema
Building plot (m^2)	6730,00	6730,00
Construction area (m^2)	28530,13	52376,19
Gross leasable area (m^2)	12318,00	16427,00
Circulation area (m^2)	3900,00	3437,00
Gallery space (m^2)	537	352
Terraces (m^2)	1420	4136
Car parking & Service area (m^2)	12312,13	32512,19
Circulation/GLA	31,66%	20,92%
Gallery space/ GLA	4,36%	2,14%
Terraces/GLA	11,53%	25,18%
GLA/ Construction area	43,18%	31,36%
Service Area/Construction Area	43,15%	62,07%
Number of floors	7	10
Number of retail floors	5	5
Number of car parking floors	2	5

Car parking capacity	115	474
Floor height for retail floors	400 cm	600 cm
Floor height for car parking floors	325 cm	280 cm
Number of entrances	2	4
Number of escalators	8	10
Number of guest elevators	1	4
Number of service elevators	3	3

Firstly, while the number of floors used for retail function is the same in both projects, the major portion of the increase in the total construction area in the new project is due to the increase in the need for car parking and common areas. Due to the increase in car ownership in the last 30 years, and the anticipation of the targeted customer segment to travel to the shopping mall by car, the maximum number of parking lots has been tried to be reached within the framework of building usage permits. Besides, operational changes in the retail sector necessitate additional service areas such as staff locker rooms, staff cafeteria, storage rooms, management areas. And in case of not providing these service areas, it is not possible to rent the shopping spaces to international chain brands. Therefore, one of the main reasons for reconstruction rather than renovation of the existing structure is that the former shopping mall cannot attract the attention of international tenants who generate higher rental income due to its insufficient parking spaces and service areas.

In spite of the fact that the two-fold increase in the total construction area is not directly reflected in the increase in gross leasable area, the aim of increasing the leasable area is also one of the most important factors in the configuration of the second project. In this context, it is noteworthy that in the second project, the ratio of the gallery space and circulation areas to the gross leasable area is remarkably reduced. One of the major

reasons for avoiding a schema with an atrium embracing the base of the tower, which was previously employed in draft projects, is the decrease in the gross leasable area as a result of the increased occupied area of the enlarged atrium and consequently the undesirable enlargement in circulation areas. Therefore, upon the requests of the leasing consultant and the investor, on the contrary of the former fragmented layout that partially allowed urban interactions, a more compact and denser schema is applied in which all shops are gathered around a single center and the circulation areas are minimized.

In contrast to the previous project, in accordance with the changing global trends in the retail sector, the use of exterior spaces and the visual continuity with the landscape are at the forefront in the new project. As shown in the table, the ratio of terrace areas to the gross leasable area has doubled in the new project. Most of the terrace area in the former project was used as an intermediate space between the shopping mall and the annex building. On the other hand, in the new project, the terrace areas were distributed to retail floors in order to take advantage of the view and allocated to restaurants and cafes upon the request of the tenants. In this respect, terraces should be seen not only as a reflection of the changes in typology directed by consumer culture but also as an instrument provided to the investor to increase the rental values.

The features of the new project such as the emphasis on the visual continuity with the landscape, the creation of a public space on the roof terrace, the plaza-like formation of the entrance, the use of exterior spaces can be regarded as the consequences of the transformation of conventional typology; which is a shift from the isolated model to a more permeable, more integrated and more flexible layout. But in actual fact, the new project maintains the conventional enclosed mall typology at the core of its principal configuration. The points where the building could integrate in the city have been revised for security and operational reasons. It does not establish sufficient dialogue with the urban fabric both because of its spatial arrangement based on creating a safe and protected area and the facade arrangement that does not allow a permeable relationship with the street. In a way, the criticisms of the former project that the

building mass blocks urban perspectives like a wall are also valid for the new project. The fact that the building could not transform the side-by-side relationship with the street into coexistence with the street has caused a situation that generates the building as a spectacle and the city as a spectator, in both versions.

Taken all together, it can be said that although the architectural efforts can be traced to integrate the building with the surrounding landscape and urban fabric, the new project does not provide a novelty in terms of both interpreting the shopping mall typology and interacting with the city. It is still an autonomous and introverted shopping space. Consequently, as being a shopping mall located in the middle of the urban networks, missing the opportunity of establishing relations with the city for the second time necessitate rethinking on the effect of other actors in the capitalist order on architectural production and their transformative power on the architectural product.

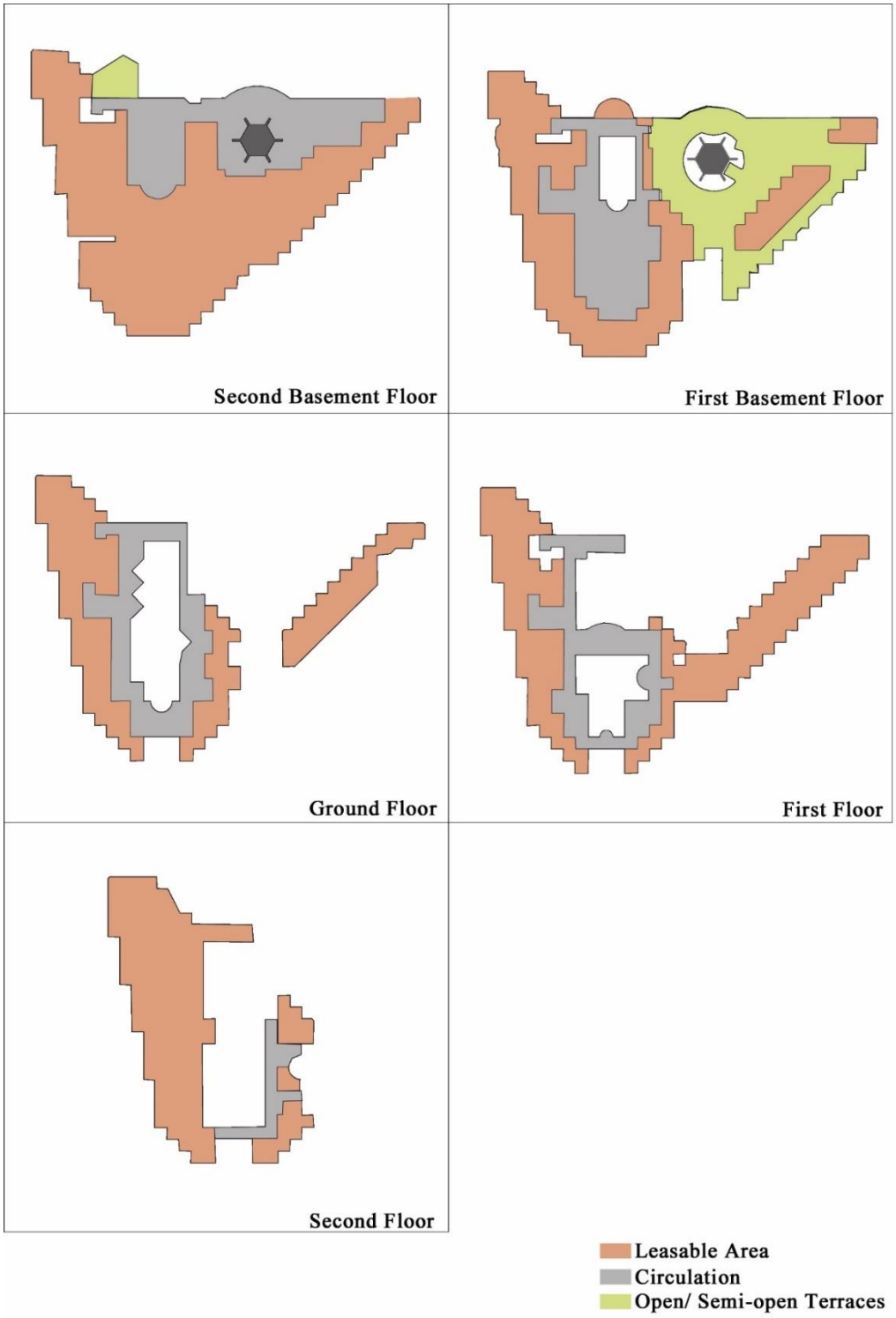

Figure 4.33. Diagrams showing the distribution of leasable area, circulation and terraces in Phase I

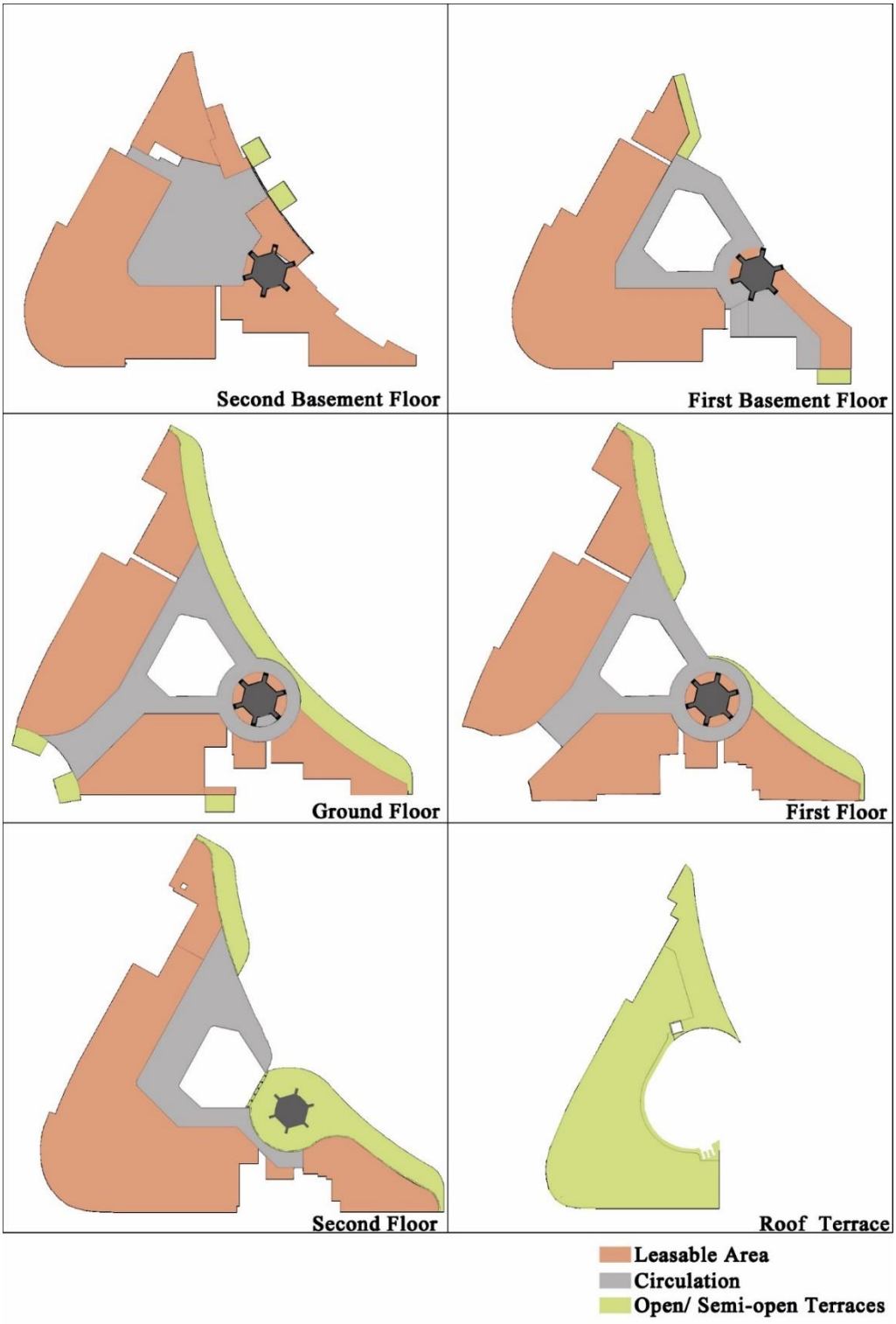

Figure 4.34. Diagrams showing the distribution of leasable area, circulation and terraces in Phase II

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

5.1. Learning from Atakule

To begin with its typological features, the emergence of Atakule as a typical consumption space can be interpreted as an outcome of the changing capitalist organization for the sake of enhancing capital fluidity and mobility. The mobility of capital and the increasingly global perspective of consumption have legitimized the duplication and reproduction of the shopping mall typology, which was originally born in the American suburbs, on different continents, in different geographical and cultural contexts. In such a case, Atakule came into existence as a spatial reflection of the neo-liberal policies in the 80s in which economic, social and cultural patterns changed profoundly. In this period, where the economic and political restructuring process transformed the social and cultural patterns, and lifestyles were shaped in the influence of the consumer ideology, Atakule also emerged as an economic, political, social and cultural symbolic image and a representational space of changing social and urban practices. Considering its layout, its architectural program and its interior atmosphere that allows and exalts consumption, it can be said that Atakule is one of the prominent national representatives of the consumption spaces that emerged in the global arena after the evolution of the capitalist modes of production towards consumption.

Moreover, recalling Harvey's standpoint that space is an economically determined configuration that expresses the process of capital accumulation enables us to consider the transformation process of Atakule within the framework of the contradictions in the capitalist system. During the commercial life of the shopping mall between the years of 1989 and 2010, Atakule had undergone a set of

transformations to adapt to the global trends set by the consumer culture and finally it was abandoned because it could not meet the demands of international tenants who were expected to generate more rental income.

In this context, despite the fact that the structure has not completed its physical life, the underlying reason for its demolition and reconstruction is the fact that it has emerged as a spatial fix of capital and correspondingly the inevitableness of the devaluation of fixed capital and planned obsolescence. Furthermore, considering that consumption is a social and cultural phenomenon fed by concepts such as novelty, ephemerality, and diversity; the necessity for a constant change has brought the lifespan of the space closer to the lifespan of any consumption object. Therefore, the transformation process of Atakule can also be interpreted as the embodiment of the dichotomy between the architectural production that adopts the permanence and stability as core values and the capitalist consumerism that is based on the ephemerality and mobility.

On the other hand, in addition to all these typological continuities it portrays, it is also an original example due to its peculiar context and the observation tower which is the complementary part of the building complex. This atypical position of Atakule also exposes the tension between the autonomy of architecture and the transformative power of consumer culture on the built environment. So, both the evaluation of Atakule's transformation process and the evaluation of the emergence of two phases on its own merits offers an observation area to examine the generative and transformative effects of the capitalist growth and the social change that it has caused, on architectural production.

Particularly, given the unique context within a region of the city that provides strong references, the effort of the surroundings to transform the typology and the effort of the building to integrate with it can be observed in both phases. However, although it is located on a site adjacent to one the biggest green area of the city and the avenues connected to the dense urban fabric, the intense influence of the

enclosed typology has been detected in both phases of the mall. Although there are 30 years between the construction years of two phases and despite all the opportunities offered by the context and the topography, it has not been possible to move beyond some typological patterns and to examine contemporary consumption models. For example, while the concerns and criticism about the fact that the shopping mall typology simulates the city and urban public space only through its artificial inner space or its strictly defined outdoor spaces could be overcome by employing the strong contextual references, Atakule did not make use of the opportunity of being located in the middle of the urban fabric. As mentioned by the project author of the second project, one of the major causes behind the inability to make new interpretations of typology and the limitation of architectural intentions is due to the self-proclaimed conditions asserted by other disciplines that involve in the design process. In other words, the reason for the resistance to the architectural attempts to break the impermeability of typology can be listed as the supremacy of consultants, conventional marketing strategies, commonly held consumption habits or just security reasons.

In this respect, when evaluated on a national scale, Atakule can be considered as one of the contemporary examples where the tension between the concepts such as contextuality and authenticity and the typological patterns imposed by consumer culture are observed most clearly.

When the continuities and similarities between the two projects are examined, it can be said that the expectations of consumer society are still the most dominant factor in typological formation. As a matter of fact, it can be said that the transformation process has been confined to the physical renovation, which provided a superficial image that would be of interest to the consumer society, and to the maximization of leasable areas to serve the capital, rather than to create an alternative typology or a new generation shopping experience.

So, the lesson to be learned by examining the Atakule case is that the built environment shaped by focusing only on the profitability of the capital and the continuity of consumption is gradually departing from being a research and production area for the architectural discipline. In a way, it is possible to say that the transformative power of architecture is defeated under the transformative power of capitalist order and consumption culture.

Apart from all these arguments, the tower structure, the most prominent component of the building, opens the door to another discussion about the commodification of architecture. In the circumstances of the consumption culture in which the sign value is marketed as an added value in the competitive market conditions, the tower possesses a sign value in itself due to its physical properties. The main problematic here is the way in which the relationship between the tower and the shopping mall structure is addressed. In both versions, the tower was isolated from the rest of the building and could not establish a spatial relationship to it. The tower has become so prominent with its striking image that it exists as a marketing tool, as a trademark rather than being an integrated part of the building complex.

5.2. The Reevaluation of Contemporary Shopping Mall

5.2.1. As a Consumption Space

Undoubtedly, the most prominent feature of the shopping mall is that it represents one of the most dominant and ubiquitous forms of consumption space. In fact, the reasons why the shopping mall excels as a prominent consumption space lies behind the multifaceted meaning of consumption. The shopping mall is a domain to organize, reorganize and monitor the consumption activities and therewithal a place where the components of consumer society come together. First of all, the shopping mall serves the basic meaning of the consumption by providing a physical space in which commodities are bought and sold and presented to the public through conventional shops. In the meantime, consumption that occurs within the confines of a shopping mall does not only refer to the trading activity of consumer

goods. What is more, by being the simulation of the city, shopping mall also provides a ground for the realization of all kinds of urban consumption practices. This means that the shopping mall has become a place where not only commodities but also time, space and relations with objects are consumed. In a manner, the shopping mall has become the locus of both consumption and commodification.

As the concept of consumption changes direction, shopping space has to keep up with the transformation of consumption in order to survive. Especially with the inevitable rise of online shopping in the 21st century, the nondependence of the shopping activity to the physical space has deepened the tension between the conventional shopping mall typology and the changing concept of consumption. Therefore, the shopping mall typology has been shaped and has changed shape on the track of the current consumption practices. So, shopping malls are increasingly including social spaces like eating and drinking amenities and non-shopping spaces specially meant for use by recreational and promotional activities. Similarly, the integration of shopping malls into other building complexes such as housing, offices, hotels can be interpreted as a kind of support mechanism in response to the decrease in the need for physical shopping space. In this way, while shopping centers equipped with urban consumption facilities and retail units continue to be urban simulators, they create an illusion that as if they are not merely a space of consumption against raising awareness and criticism to consumption.

5.2.2. As an Investment Object

A shopping mall is also an investment object in which a large amount of capital is fixed and which is of interest to large-scale, corporate and international capital. Therefore, besides possessing a use and a sign value, having an exchange value to be traded on international markets and preserving this market value is at the forefront for a shopping mall investment. Since it is now a profit-oriented investment instrument and a commodity traded on the real estate market, during the planning and design

phase, principles of capital management have prevailed over architectural authority. As a result, in order to mitigate the risks of capital, complying with globally accepted norms from the design stage to the management of the shopping mall has become a prerequisite for the appreciation of building as an eligible commercial entity. The reflection of this situation on the shopping mall typology has occurred as an elevated level of standardization of its space. In other words, instead of searching for innovative and unattempted typologies, internationally practiced and accepted models come to the fore in order to guarantee the profitability of capital. This has caused to a monotypic architecture on a global scale, as well as a reductive approach to the infrastructural aspects of architectural production such as programming, schema, material selection, etc. In this process, what is expected from the architect is to apply predetermined global standards to achieve a commercially efficient space, rather than to bring his own interpretation to the typology. The building materials to be used, the story height, the width of the circulation areas, the positioning of escalators, the number of entry points are subject to the norms that were previously applied and proven. As a result, the fact that the structure stands out with its investment value undermines the authority of the architect over architectural production and root for other actors such as consultants, investors, developers, legal experts to get actively involved, with design decisions, sometimes even more than the architect do.

5.2.3. As an Architectural Object

The inevitable standardization of the shopping mall as a consumption space and as an investment object traded in the international market has transformed the spatial production practice into a mechanical process. The shopping mall space, which is predetermined by capitalist actors and formed by non-architectural priorities and principles, has increasingly digressed from being the subject of architectural design. Considering that the shopping mall is a building type that regulates urban relations, simulates the city and dominates the built environment, the increased exclusion of the architect from the production phase indicates another problem at the macroscale. The prerequisites of the capitalist system or the concerns of profitability justify any

situation that conflicts with the essential values of architecture during the construction of the built environment. A spatial production process in which the architect is so excluded also obstructs the possibility for the rectification of the built environment through the evaluation and criticism mechanisms existing in the architectural culture.

In other words, it can be mentioned that there is a situation that pushes the internal dynamics of architecture into the background-position. The priorities and values exalted by the capitalist system and the consumer society have replaced architecture's own value system. So, the other extent of this discussion is the transformative role of this dominant typology on architectural production in a broad sense. Based on postmodernist aesthetics and consumer culture that is fed by concepts like spectacle, fashion, hyperreality, this new urban architecture has found its own legitimacy on approaches like exaggerated flexibility, iconicity, grandiosity, symbolicity, identifiability, etc. While other approaches compatible with values such as using contextual references to assume a sense of place and being timelessness are not tolerated by employers, the use of dynamic facades, eclectic style, scenographic façades, color is exalted. On the other hand, what is inevitable is the reflection of this new architecture to other structures and design processes over time. Accepted by consumers and capitalist actors, this new architecture makes it possible to handle any type of building, from the residential buildings to museums, from the educational buildings to the hotels, with this alternative design understanding.

As stated by Sklair, most of the shopping malls all over the world have become famous for their iconicity and monumentality rather than their architectural qualities.[169] Here, the architectural value of the building is evaluated through the iconicity and visuality it reaches instead of the spatial experience and contextual relationships it offers. At the same time, this is also directly related to the commodification of architecture. Within the image-driven culture of consumer capitalism, the objectification has been perpetuated through the work of architecture.

[169] Sklair, "Iconic Architecture and the Culture-Ideology of Consumerism."

5.2.4. As a Public Space

The existence of the shopping mall as a public space should be scrutinized in terms of both its situation within itself and its relation to the city. It is possible to evaluate the public sphere proposed by the shopping mall within the scope of the new types of public spaces that emerged in the post-industrial city with new design and management characteristics whose common features are the privatization, commodification, and commercialization.

First of all, the shopping mall offers a public space through its own interior space where people can meet, socialize and observe distinct lifestyles and behavior patterns of others, as well as position themselves in relation to the observed practices and lifestyles. Although this new form of public space is explored and embraced by most of the city dwellers, it should not be forgotten that it is a privately-owned public space. So, considering the traditional public space is open to the benefit of everyone, the public space proposed by the shopping mall serves for a particular group of people and in that sense, it led to social exclusion. Both the visible boundaries created by restricting the entrances to the building and the invisible boundaries created by means of material preferences, shop-mix, luxurious design form a privatized and commercialized public space.

So, another dimension of the discussion is how and to what extent the shopping mall can exist as a public space at urban scale. As it is seen in Atakule, although some visual and physical continuities are tried to be established with the city, these attempts remain constrained since they coincide with the segregated and safe environment promised by the original typology. The shopping mall constitutes a separate zone and it cannot be fully integrated with the urban public space, especially due to security-related and commercial concerns. Consequently, the public realm of the shopping mall commodified and commercialized under the supremacy of global capitalism cannot make a contribution to urban life in terms of social vitality.

Moreover, the shopping mall has changed the concept of public space both in terms of its physical characteristics and utilization; and has redefined the meaning and purpose of the public space in line with the new parameters of social and economic structure which take their basis from the consumer ideology. In a sense, the shopping mall offers a "quasi-public space" characterized by the strong emphasis on its economic, symbolic and aesthetic role instead of focusing on the public benefit. Here, the publicness of space is no longer measured by the democracy it offers, but by how much it allows for social and recreational activities to feed commercial efficiency. This idealized and generic public space, which is becoming prominent as an alternative to the traditional public space, which is in a mutual relationship with culture, history and the city also, leads to a reduction in the meaning of traditional public space.

5.2.5. As an Urban Entity

Shopping space has been a vital component of the city since the pre-modern ages. However, with the advent of the shopping mall, this situation has gained a different dimension. The centrality and focus provided by the shopping mall have transformed shopping from an activity belonging to the city into an activity that regulates the city. Regardless of whether it stands in a suburban or urban context, the shopping mall has become an entity that is transformed by the city on the one hand and transforms the city on the other.

In fact, when the evolution of planned shopping spaces is examined, it is seen that the relationship between shopping and city has been experienced through typologies such as arcades and passages that have been shaped as part of the urban fabric. On the other hand, employing the enclosed shopping mall typology, which has emerged in the American suburbs of the 1950s and did not possess an urban context to be integrated with, within the dense urban fabric creates a problematic situation both for the city and for the shopping mall.

When the shopping mall is positioned closer to the urban center and residential areas, the typology that was originally planned for out of town has difficulties in establishing a relationship with the city and it is obliged to be transformed. For instance, especially the new generation shopping malls have been tried to be overcome the contrast between the introverted and self-referential nature of the original typology and the inherent desire of the city for permeability, with solutions such as introducing partial outdoor activities and exterior, giving access to the building from a various points, integrating the building with public transportation nodes, etc. Ultimately, however, most of these attempts confront the autonomous, self-sufficient and introverted features of the mall, and form an entangled typology that can be neither completely enclosed nor fully permeable.

One last point that requires attention is the fact the shopping mall that is located in the urban fabric inevitably emerges as a new research and contribution issue in terms of contextuality, scale, and urban experience. First of all, the inner-city mall represents the tension between the global and the local. In some way, the local identity and contextuality have been simply renounced to build a globally accepted commercial entity and an artificial identity. Insensitivity towards the context also brings along the scale problem. Shopping malls, which are only becoming profitable over a certain size, tend to grow further for commercial efficiency while rejecting the context. This creates a rupture between the building and its surroundings in terms of scale.

Finally, yet importantly, shopping malls are also transforming existing urban experiences while creating a decentralization by simulating the city. As a result, the city center gradually began to emulate the identity of the shopping mall. The streets, which are monitored by security cameras for 24-hours and providing the same brands found in the shopping center, offer a sanitized and unified urban space that has lost its diversity. So much so that not only the city center but also other components of the city like airports, train stations, museums, cultural complexes have become indistinguishable from malls.

In Turkey, considering the abundance of shopping malls and their proximity to the central urban areas, it can be said that shopping malls have a much stronger impact on the urban environment. First of all, as an urban entity, the unregulated and uncontrolled expansion of shopping malls triggers issues such as traffic congestion, environmental degradation, and inadequacy of urban infrastructure, while transforming urban habits as being a simulation of an alternative and idealized city. Shopping malls, as an alternative retail space to traditional market and shopping street, cause a collapse in the traditional commerce areas. The alternative urban phenomenon created through shopping malls that are reinterpreting the city with its own dynamics also brings along a number of problems such as the devaluation of the urban core, the transformation of the urban scale and the interruption of the urban texture. From all reasons above, the investment and development process of shopping malls, driven by private capital, should be an important part of urban planning and should be regulated by central and local governments with urban policies.

5.3. Concluding Remark

Consequently, it is obvious that the complex capitalist relations under the domination of the consumer culture have spatially and socially shaped, managed and controlled both the city and the architectural product. Under these circumstances, economic priorities should be prevented from being the sole driving force in the formation of the built environment. The responsibility of the architect is to recall the inherent values of the architectural discipline and restore the balance between these values and economic and symbolic policies. It should not be forgotten that what will ensure the continuity of cities and separate them from commodities depends on achieving this delicate balance. The built environment created within the framework of the capitalist system and consumer culture dynamics and created by excluding the inherent values of architecture is doomed to be devaluated, degraded, transformed, and abandoned.

As the last word, it should be noted that the rapidly transforming consumption patterns and the transformed cultural environment that have created shopping mall typology,

also brings to the agenda the abandonment of the shopping mall and the demand for alternative typologies. In this sense, the shopping mall becomes the most obvious physical critique of the consumer culture they represent while moving themselves to the center of social and cultural life. Within the scope of this fact, the question that needs to be focused more than anything is how shopping mall, which is the determinant and catalyst of the urban environment, will be transformed in the near future and what will be the limits of this transformation.

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