QUESTIONING THE PRIVATIZATION OF PUBLIC SPACE: THE "PUBLICNESS" OF SHOPPING CENTERS

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to my daughter Öykü

kızım Öykü'ye

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ABSTRACT

QUESTIONING THE PRIVATIZATION OF PUBLIC SPACE: THE "PUBLICNESS" OF SHOPPING CENTERS

This study focuses on the transformative impact of privatization on public space and questions the theoretical debate on this transformation via testing the extents of 'publicness' of shopping centers. The research seeks to achieve two major objectives: The first is to determine the criteria that affect the level of publicness of a shopping center by means of a statistics-based quantitative study and to illustrate the influence of these criteria on the publicness of public spaces. The second is to question whether a model that will help assess the 'publicness' of a shopping center can be developed.

The qualities that shape 'publicness' attributed to shopping centers are defined almost always with reference to users' relation to the space. Recent studies have argued that it is possible to measure the publicness and accessibility of public spaces. In contrast this study attempts to develop a novel quantitative framework which advances the methodologies of these studies and proposes the application of this framework to shopping centers as private places. The effective criteria used in the development of this quantitative framework in testing the 'publicness' of shopping centers are: 'interest', 'symbolic access', 'access to activities', 'access to resources', 'access to information', and 'physical access'. This quantitative framework was tested on two shopping centers in Izmir, Turkey: Forum Bornova Life and Shopping Center and Agora Shopping Center.

During field research direct observation, interviews and a survey questionnaire directed at users were conducted on site. When the results of study were interpreted the level of publicness of these two shopping centers were seen to be different. Regarding each criteria mentioned above the two shopping centers were assessed to have "high publicness" or "low publicness" and the relationship between these criteria and publicness were observed. The study concludes with recommendations on how to increase the level of publicness of public spaces in cities and shopping center developments.

ÖZET

KAMUSAL ALANIN ÖZELLEŞTİRİLMESİNİ SORGULAMAK: ALIŞVERİŞ MERKEZLERİNİN "KAMUSALLIĞI"

Bu çalışma özelleştirmenin kamusal alan üzerindeki dönüştürücü etkisine odaklanmakta ve alışveriş merkezlerinin kamusallığını sınayarak bu dönüşüm üzerindeki kuramsal tartışmayı sorgulamaktadır. Yapılan araştırma iki ana amaca ulaşmayı hedeflemektedir: Birincisi alışveriş merkezlerinin kamusallığını etkileyen kriterleri istatistik temelli bir nicel çalışma yoluyla belirlemek ve bu kriterlerin kamusal mekanların kamusallığı üzerindeki etkisini göstermektir. İkincisi ise bir alişveriş merkezinin kamusallığını değerlendirmeye yardımcı olacak bir modelin geliştirilip geliştirilemeyeceğini sorgulamaktır.

Alışveriş merkezlerinin kamusallığına biçim veren nitelikler neredeyse daima kullanıcıların mekanla ilişkisine atıfla tanımlanmıştır. Yakın geçmişte üretilmiş çalışmalar kamusal alanların kamusallıklarının ve erişilebilirliklerinin ölçülebilir olduğunu savlamıştır. Bahsedilen çalışmaların yöntemlerini ilerleten bu doktora çalışması onlardan farklı olarak yeni bir nicel çerçeve kurmayı denemekte ve bu nicel çerçevenin özel mekanlar olan alışveriş merkezlerine uygulanmasını önermektedir. Alışveriş merkezlerinin kamusallığını test etmek için geliştirilen bu nicel çerçevenin oluşturulmasında kullanılan kriterler 'fayda', 'simgesel erişim', 'etkinliklere erişim', 'kaynaklara erişim', 'bilgiye erişim' ve 'fiziksel erişim'dir. Bu nicel çerçeve İzmir, Türkiye'de Forum Bornova Yaşam ve Alışveriş Merkezi ve Agora Alışveriş Merkezinde sınanmıştır.

Alan calışması sırasında doğrudan gözlem, görüşmeler ve kullanıcı anketleri yapılmıştır. Sonuçlar yorumlandığında iki alışveriş merkezinin kamusallık düzeylerinin farklı olduğu görülmüştür. Yukarıda bahsedilen her kritere ilişkin iki alışveriş merkezinin "yüksek" ya da "alçak" kamusallık düzeylerine sahip oldukları ölçülmüş ve bu kriterlerle kamusallık arasındaki ilişki gözlenmiştir. Çalışma kentlerdeki kamusal mekanların ve alışveriş merkezlerinin kamusallık düzeylerinin geliştirilmesi üzerine önerilerle sonuçlandırılmıştır.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This research is about public life and its transformations. Although public life used to be conducted in urban public spaces such as streets, urban parks, city centers, city squares and waterfronts, much of it today is conducted in private spaces like shopping centers, business parks, and themed environments. This shift of public life from public to private spaces, in association with one of its hosting spaces, the shopping center, is the main subject of my inquiry. This research focuses on the issue of 'publicness' and 'public life' that takes place in shopping centers. The criteria that affect publicness are investigated, and the causes and consequences of this shift are expected that takes place in public life via shopping centers. This study not only aims to question the sense of publicness associated with shopping centers, but also propose an experiment to serve for a model in testing "publicness."

1.1. Problem Definition

In today's cities shopping centers, which are essentially private places owing to the nature of property are becoming more and more popular venues in which public life takes place. People do not only go to these places for shopping and consumption, but also for other activities such as strolling, meeting others or just because they like to be in these places, instead of the public spaces of cities. This shift of public life to the realm of the private is not a new trend, it slowly begins in Europe in the early nineteenth century, and it remains prevalent today in the aftermath of increasing globalization.

The European urban centers of the industrial revolution in Europe saw a dramatic transformation within which department stores and shopping arcades started to take an important position at the city center. In this transformation, citizens confronted new places to shop, stroll, browse, and entertain themselves in the city. With the development of the modern city and its zoning tendencies in the mid 20th century, shopping districts and suburban shopping centers were developed, and especially in the US, this growth was directly linked to an automobile-bound lifestyle. Of course, such a

lifestyle privileges the access of populations that can afford a car to such places and lead to the exclusion of those that cannot. Conversely, this arrangement isolates suburban people and disconnects them from urban public spaces. Thus, the American shopping mall becomes one of the most important venues of public life and socialization. In her study on spaces of consumption and diversity Sharon Zukin states that, "Non-working women arrange to meet at malls to go shopping with their friends. Elderly people exercise in malls...sit in the food court or on the benches to watch others and meet their friends benefiting from the climate control and security guards. Even teenagers who 'hang out' at the mall socialize in groups." Although these malls act as a public space it is only those that live in walking distance or to public transportation that have access to this private place if they do not have a car. Social diversity is limited as not all members of the society are present in these places, and even if the local population might be present, they are not truly public.

Partially in trying to overcome the blight of the downtown in American cities, new urban mixed-use complexes have been constructed in order to provide office space, shopping, entertainment and sometimes housing after 1980. While this has helped in curing some of the problems, it has brought gentrification as a side effect. It has either led to the creation of more affluent and exclusive suburbs or led to the removal of the urban poor to low income suburbs instead of creating a healthy social diversity at the city center. Therefore, lower income groups were largely excluded from activities that take place in these private places. For Zukin "a negative aspect of gentrification is that it did encourage privatization."² This implies a further commodification process of goods and services, but also the increasing move of people and their relationships to privately owned consumption spaces, hence the commodification of space. The commodification of space directly leads to the privatization of public life. In her study on commodification of public space Lyn Lofland states, "Commodification transforms an item with 'use value' into an item with 'exchange value'," where public space and the relationships that takes place within it starts to be seen as something that can be traded, and with an increasing value.

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¹ Sharon Zukin, "Urban Lifestyles: Diversity and Standardization in Spaces of Consumption," *Urban Studies* 35, no. 5/6 (May 1998): 828.

² Ibid., 829

³ Lyn H. Lofland, *The Commodification of Public Space* (Lefrak Lectureship, 2000), 1.

There is a clear conflict between 'public space' and 'private space' regarding the administrative aspects of space. The design and regulation of these private places where public life migrates to, are important factors in the elimination and exclusion of certain classes and therefore, of social segregation. The most recognizable and visible examples of this phenomenon are gated communities. In these residential areas, a housing complex is sealed off from its surroundings by means of walls, gates and sometimes only by means of security measures such as surveillance or security guards. Such measures are also common in the case of shopping centers, and business improvement districts. According to Setha Low, "gated communities restrict access not just to residents' homes, but also to the use of public spaces and services- roads, parks, facilities, and open space—contained within the enclosure" turning the whole complex into one private enclosure.4 Gated communities often have a community center to socialize, provide sport and entertainment activity and have shopping places to satisfy daily needs. This self-sufficiency turns them into urban islands. Nevertheless, as islands are, they are poor in terms of accessibility to urban public places and public use. Like gated communities, shopping centers are also controlled environments. With visible or sometimes invisible walls, their designs intend to exclude parts of the society. They are administered by rules and regulations that restrict accessibility. While they are fully private spaces in terms of property, since they are used by a section of the public, certain authors prefer to label these places 'semi-private' or 'pseudo-public', leaving the shopping centers' sense of publicness as a question to be discussed.

Mostly located in downtowns, Business Improvement Districts (BIDs) may be used by all and become another object of focus for those who are interested in public space. As Dijkstra states, "A BID area has some progressive distributional impact, as taxes are paid by local business and real estate owners, while some of the benefits are enjoyed by all who frequent the area." According to Lofland, BIDs are often divided into semi-private and private spaces via designed sidewalks as private property. While

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⁴ Setha Low, *Behind the Gates: Life, Security, and the Pursuit of Happiness in Fortress America* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 12.

⁵ Lewis Dijkstra, "Public Spaces: A Comparative Discussion of the Criteria for Public Space," in *Constructions of Urban Space: Volume 5 Research in Urban Sociology*, ed. Ray Hutchison (Stamford, Connecticut: JAI Press, 2000), 19.

people stroll in the area they assume that these areas are public spaces although they are not. This is an example of the public space is appropriated as private space.⁶

The design of urban spaces as such, and their configuration as private places is another factor that reinforces segregation. According to Margaret Kohn, "It makes it easier to ensure that business people do not encounter street people, consumers do not confront citizens, and the rich do not see the poor." Just like in shopping centers, these private places also do not allow opportunities for the public's accessibility, as those who live in such controlled environments do not have easy access to urban public spaces. Therefore, the public life of cities that have such a physical configuration are segmented and dispersed. Beyond everything, private investment does not only create a physical reorganization in the city but also creates new lifestyles and cultures of space for people within the city. Shopping centers, gated communities, theme park attractions and shopping centers therefore serve as the new centers for this transformed public life, creating more and more compartmentalized lives in these restricted environments.

As an evident result of the public-private conflict the use of public spaces in cities decline as public life itself does. Scholars repeatedly lament and warn the loss of public space and the end of public space as they point to and protest the absence of public life in truly accessible public spaces in cities. While the popularity of this new public life increases among the privileged classes, some public spaces of the cities suffer from this popularity and decline. They lose their inclusivity, vitality and complexity. People prefer to go controlled and regulated places, which fulfill their needs regarding shopping, children-centered or adult-centered activities, entertainment, food, or just strolling. Even public spaces that are shopping streets in the urban area lose their fascination for these classes. Some neighborhood parks might become dead spaces since no one uses them and they become unclear, unsecure, and unsatisfying environment for populations that once kept them alive.

The rationale that creates the popularity of shopping centers can be easily understood. In comparison to BIDs or gated communities, what characterizes a

Margaret Kohn. Brave New Neighborhoods: The Privatization of Public Space (New York: Routledge, 2004), 7.

⁶ Lofland, *Commodification*, 15.

⁸ Don Mitchell, "The End of Public Space?: People's Park, Definitions of the Public, and Democracy," Annals of the Association of American Geographers 85, no. 1 (1995): 108-133.

shopping center is that it is mainly intended for consumption. However, as the literature review indicates, shopping centers have started to function as centers of leisure and offer increasingly more intriguing settings for public life. They provide a comfortable, safe and luxurious atmosphere, especially during winter and summer seasons and become an inevitable part of our social lives where we increasingly look for more sheltered environments. Instead of wandering around in the city, people might prefer to spend their time browsing in the shopping centers. People go to such places not only for shopping, but also they want to spend time, see others, have a good time, or to be in public. However as controlled private property shopping centers are not for all members of the society even if those who control them might argue that they are. Consequently this study focuses on the extent of the 'publicness' of shopping centers, on questioning their limits of publicness vs. the communitarian character that results from the regulations and design that affect the public life in these centers.

Today's shopping centers is more and more becoming the main social gathering venue for the city and its citizens, almost replacing the old city center activities and becoming the major public space alternative. In Izmir, Turkey, for example, centers have started to provide recreational activities such as walking/strolling, people-watching, meeting other people and shopping rivaling urban public spaces. Although they are isolated from the rest of the urban environment, they are seen as public or semi-public spaces. The popularity of the public life that takes place in shopping centers have for a long time been recognized and still being taken advantage of by the private sector. As the public sector keeps withdrawing from administrating public space, the private sector progressively demands more encouragement, and with this demand new development areas. Within this transformation, these centers become agents of creating new semi-public and maybe sometimes, public spaces.

Accordingly, this study will mainly try to answer the following questions:

- Does a shopping center act as a public space? If so, how and to what extent?
- Are shopping centers in Izmir perceived to function as centers of public life? If so what are the consequences of such a perception?
- Is the level of the publicness of a shopping center, based on the case study of two examples in Izmir, limited?

In order to address these questions I explored theories and concepts related to public life in private places, the transformation of public space, and the question of shopping centers as public spaces.

1.2. Aim and Objectives of the Study

This study on one hand, aims to understand how shopping centers act as public spaces in urban life and on the other, examine their level of publicness. The research attempts, first, to build a model in order to investigate the level of publicness of shopping centers, and to see whether the proposed model is suitable in measuring publicness. In other words, the study experiments with the building of a model in testing publicness.

In order to test the extent of 'publicness' and to develop a model, this research seeks to achieve two major objectives. The first objective is to determine the criteria for measuring the 'publicness' of public spaces with regard to the theoretical framework which enables us to define 'public space' vs. 'private space'. The second objective of the study is to adapt these criteria to the model and test the publicness of a shopping center. On the basis of these objectives, this study argues that the extent of 'publicness' of a public space depends on the criteria of 'access', 'agency', and 'interest'. Regarding the criterion of 'access', with reference to it sub-dimensions of 'physical access', 'access to activities', and 'access to information', the level of publicness of a shopping center depends on whether it is open to all, used by all and serves to create a memorable image for the society. Considering the criterion of 'agency' and 'access to resources' this study argues that the level of publicness of a shopping center depends on who controls access to resources. With regard to the criterion of 'interest', this study argues that the level of publicness of a shopping center depends on whether it creates places and opportunities for public interest. In other words, it depends on which parts of the society use the center.

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Stanley I. Benn and Gerald F. Gaus "The Public and The Private: Concepts and Action," in *Public and Private in Social Life*, eds. Stanley I. Benn and Gerald F. Gaus (New York: St. Martin's Press and London & Canberra: Croom Helm, 1983), 1-11. Benn and Gaus, *Public and Private in Social Life*, 1983.

The related literature review shows that to date there is not a single case of research that examines the extent of publicness of a shopping center in Turkey. In this sense, this is the first systemic and quantitative study aiming to test the level of "publicness" of a shopping center and those of Izmir.

1.3. Methodology of the Study

The field research was specifically designed with reference to the concepts of 'public life' and 'publicness' in the case of a shopping center. The case study method was used as the main research strategy. Forum Bornova Life and Shopping Center and Agora Shopping Center were chosen as the two focuses of the field studies in Izmir. These two shopping centers were chosen as case studies since they had different design characteristics. Forum Bornova was designed as a shopping street that imitates the qualities of a public space, whereas Agora was designed as a closed space unifying the qualities of a han and a bazaar. In this sense, this study also attempts a comparative evaluation with reference to the levels of "publicness" of the two cases.

First, a critical review of the theoretical framework that focuses on public space was made. The results of this critical review are given in Chapter 2. The dimensions of 'publicness' are derived from this review in order to determine the criteria to examine the level of publicness of a shopping center. The theoretical exploration was complemented with a survey methodology in order to complete the research design and to start data collection. The process of data collection consisted of survey questionnaires conducted with center visitors, direct observations, in-depth interviews with center managers, and physical site observations of the centers. In analyzing the survey questionnaires, a data set was structured in order to evaluate the quantitative results for the empirical study. Data sets were qualified depending on the six criteria which were determined at the research design stage of the study: 'interest', 'symbolic access', 'access to activities', 'access to resources', 'access to information', and 'physical access' with reference to theoretical framework. These criteria are directly derived from the literature review, which defines them as dimensions of 'public space'.

The data set includes: 'gender', 'age', 'educational level', 'occupation', 'marital status,' 'number of children', 'home/car ownership', 'mode of visit', 'mean of travel and its difficulties', 'from where', 'frequency of visits', 'since when/familiarity', 'for

what', 'spending time', 'spending pattern', 'reasons of preference', 'previously visited spaces', and 'accessibility'. Beside the data set that resulted from the survey questionnaire, qualitative results were obtained via direct observations at the two centers and interviews with the managers structured according to the six criteria. These qualitative results were categorized according to 'visitors', 'behaviors', 'activities', 'accessibility', 'resources', 'physical setting', 'security', 'obstruction', 'policy', 'regulations', and 'official information'.

The field study started after getting permission to conduct the survey at the centers. During the permission process, the sampling size was decided as 200 for each shopping center, that is, the number of survey questionnaires of each center conducted during September and November 2010 mostly at weekends (80%) and less (20%) at weekdays. Respondents were randomly selected from the daily visitors of the centers. The responses given to the surveys constituted a database to serve for the quantitative evaluation. During the data collection process at the centers, detailed information about the centers were noted by the surveyors in order to support qualitative results.

At the end of the data collection process, SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) and Microsoft Excel were used in creating tables and graphs in order to evaluate the quantitative results. The statistical results show which variable affected the level of publicness and how, regarding the criteria of 'interest', 'symbolic access', 'access to activities', 'access to resources', 'access to information', and 'physical access'. The statistical analysis was not only performed separately for each center regarding the six criteria but also comparatively in order to evaluate the levels of publicness of the two shopping centers. The process of data collection and statistical analysis is described in more detail in the chapter on research design and methodology (Chapter 3) and the case study (Chapter 4).

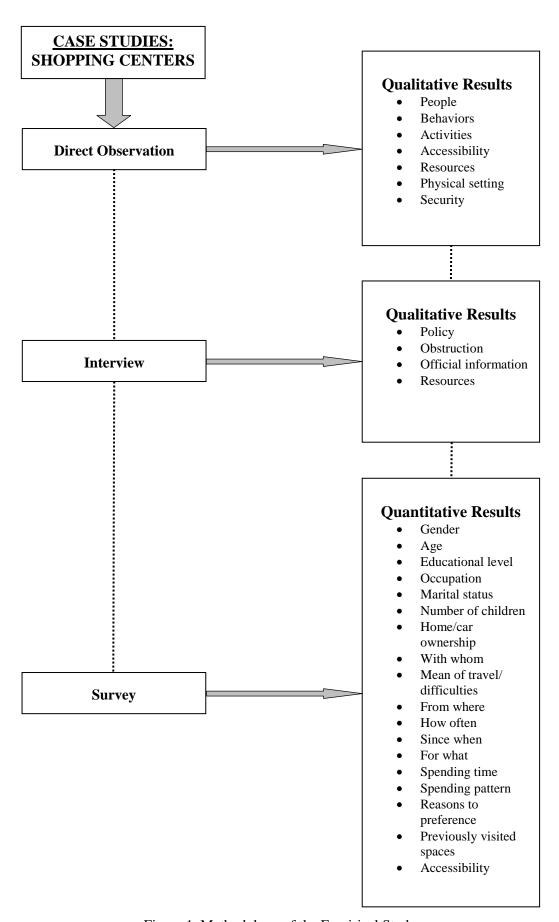


Figure 1. Methodology of the Empirical Study

1.4. Structure of the Study

This dissertation consists of six chapters. Chapter 1 (Introduction) consists of (1) 'problem definition', (2) 'aim and objectives of the study', (3) 'methodology of the study', and (4) 'structure of the study' which has already been described above.

Chapter 2 (Theoretical Framework) begins with approaches on public space with reference to the public-private distinction, the roles of public space and its significance for cities and people, and the transformations of public space regarding the transformations of public life that take place as a result. As suggested by the problem definition and the aims of the study, the overview of shopping centers briefly dwell on the evolution of the "shopping center" within history and how it was related to public space within this history, the different types of shopping centers as they exist today, the proliferation of shopping centers in Turkey as a result of globalization, the rise of the shopping center as an alternative "public space" as a result of privatization and the migration of public life to private spaces with a touch on consequent social segregation. Therefore the study provides a literature review that spans the theoretical framework which consists of the theories of public space, its physical manifestation and how its publicness has been qualified; recent critical literature which forecasts or warns the death of public space as a result of privatization and how public life transforms as a result, and the role of the shopping center in this transformation as major elements of today's social life.

Through this framework, in Chapter 3 (Research Design and Methodology), I determine the effective variables in order to assess 'publicness of a public space', and thus to evaluate the publicness of shopping centers in Izmir. Chapter 3, focuses specifically on recent scholarly research that were performed in order to test 'publicness of', 'accessibility of' and 'utilization of' shopping centers as well as 'user characteristics' of shopping centers via the criteria "access", "agency", and "interest" derived from the Benn and Gaus Model (1983) which were of crucial use to develop the model of the research. The selection of these criteria were further corroborated with

¹⁰ Ibid., 1-11.

recourse to the theoretical work on public space by Carr et al. (1992) and Dijkstra (2000) which use Hannah Arendt's (1958) groundbreaking writings on public space.¹¹

Chapter 4 (Case Studies: Forum Bornova and Agora) first lays out the groundwork for the selection of the two cases as it describes their physical characteristics, locations in the city etc and why they were appropriate examples for this research. Second, it describes the techniques used for the fieldwork regarding direct observation, interviews, and the survey, which were conducted on site. Third, it details the process of how the survey questionnaire was prepared in detail according to the criteria of 'interest', 'symbolic access', 'access to activities', 'access to resources', 'access to information', and 'physical access'.

Chapter 5 (Survey Findings and Results of the Statistical Analysis), focuses on the statistical analysis of the data set which was generated after the survey questionnaire was conducted. In this chapter, the results of the survey and my evaluations on the level of publicness of the two cases are given separately and then in comparison with respect to the two centers. The collected data from two cases through direct observation, interviews, and survey were also analyzed with reference to the criteria of publicness listed above.

Chapter 6 (Conclusion: Where To With Shopping Centers and Public Space) discusses the results in the context of research findings, and the practical and research-related implications of this dissertation. This chapter is organized in three sections: The first section discusses the major findings of the research with reference to the theoretical framework on public space and shopping centers. The second section includes a critical discussion on the limitations of this study and how future research can enhance or further test the findings of this study. The last section discusses the implications of this research in terms of future developments and future research opportunities regarding public space and the transformation of public life.

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Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 1958). Dijkstra, "Public Spaces: A Comparative Discussion of the Criteria for Public Space," 1-22. Stephen Carr et al., *Public Space* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

1.5. Limitations of the Study

This study concentrates on the dimensions of "publicness" within in the context of privatization and its impact on public space. In order to understand public life in private places better, it questions the recent perception of shopping centers as alternative public spaces for shopping center visitors. The theoretical framework of the study includes two interrelated fields of research on 'public space' and on 'shopping centers'. The literature on 'public space' is vast, spanning over several disciplines like those of the humanities and those that are concerned with the physical aspect of space. Public space is a social problem, and is governed by policies which are derived from the interaction between the social and the theoretical. Therefore this study endeavors to understand social and physical roles of public space as discussed in theory and as promoted by policy. The physical aspect of 'public space' is an indispensable component of the 'public realm', and the overall 'public sphere'. In this context, the theoretical work on public space mainly focuses on the transformation of public space and the consequent transformation of public life. Thus one main focus of research on 'public space' is inevitably the public-private distinction and its reflection on public life. The relevant research on shopping centers is understandably not as vast as that of 'public space' regarding the 'shopping center' is a relatively new development in history. However what is new, is that today the shopping center has become a new spatial alternative for people as a setting in which public life takes place. Its recent rise in popularity for the people however, and the migration of public life from the city center and its truly public spaces, makes it a significant subject of study. This is mainly why this study examines shopping centers as places for public life. Through this examination this study aims to advance our understanding of shopping centers and people's perception of them as public spaces.

In order to understand the level of publicness of a shopping center, the surveys were conducted at two different centers. One limitation of this study perhaps was that the survey was conducted only with users of shopping centers on site and non-user responses were not assessed. Workers at the centers were not considered as 'users' since their relationship with the center takes place on a different level. This limit also points to a future direction of research to be done on shopping centers.

Another limitation of this study was that field research was limited to two shopping centers in Izmir and the comparative results which were obtained concern these two shopping centers. The model developed for the study can also be tested for a physically public space of the city and the results can be compared to those obtained at the two shopping centers. Such a comparison might further illuminate why public life is migrating to alternative venues such as shopping centers with regards to the demographics and user profiles of these places and the compared public spaces. The contextual limits of the study as two centers in Izmir might also be pointed out as a limitation and the study can be enhanced with surveys conducted in different parts of Turkey or in different parts of the world.

This study starts with the assumption that shopping centers are private spaces and follows the lead of theoretical research, which focuses on the loss or decline of public spaces all throughout the world because of increasing privatization. The kind of public life in these places are of scrutiny by several researchers including the author of this study, however the author accepts that there are different kinds of public life taking place around the world. For instance, in the Middle East, such centers happen to serve as the only public venues where women participate in public life. This raises the question whether these spaces might serve as agents of liberation in public in different contexts and cultures. This dissertation does not concentrate on this question.

Another aspect of public space that was consciously left outside the scope of research is the impact of surveillance on public life. In recent years surveillance itself has become a field of research owing to post-Foucauldian studies and the interest in the disciplinary aspects of surveillance in the city. Security cameras and guards closely monitor shopping centers. Recently many Turkish cities have implemented security cameras in public spaces for several reasons such as overcoming urban crime and the impact of such surveillance on public life is yet to be researched.

The general conclusions of the study therefore do not withstand the abovementioned issues, and has to be understood according to these limitations.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Public spaces have always been one of the major components of cities and have contributed to different aspects of human life. Therefore, the question of public space has been an issue of debate for different disciplines including urban sociology, urban geography, urban planning and cultural studies. This chapter mainly aims at reviewing the theoretical framework that defines the roles of public spaces in public life and discusses shopping centers as public spaces.

According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the term 'public' is "of and concerning the people as a whole; ordinary people in general, the community; opposite of private." The term also defines the people of a nation not affiliated with the government of that nation. Public also refers to the general body of humankind, or of a nation, state, or community.¹² Therefore, public space is physically accessible to, utilizable by and visible to all members of a community. As physical space public spaces are generally understood to be more accessible than private spaces, which are not open or accessible to the general public; any place that people use when not at work or at home.¹³ For example, streets, urban plazas, neighborhood parks, town squares or sidewalks are public spaces where people can enter without any restrictions.

These principal definitions simply serve to open up various and more complex definitions of public space. As the social realm, public space is the meeting ground of many diverse groups and their interests that are of public concern. As Mark Francis states, "through human action, visual involvement, and the attachment of values, people are directly involved in public spaces." Public space, as a common ground for

http://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/public (accessed on May 2011); Ali Madanipour, Design of Urban Space: An Inquiry into a Socio-Spatial Process (Chichester, New York: Wiley, 1996), 146.

Madanipour, "Understanding Urban Space," in *Design of Urban Space: An Inquiry into a Socio-Spatial Process* (Chichester, New York: Wiley, 1996), 3-30; Lofland, *The Public Realm: Exploring the City's Quintessential Social Territory* (New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 1998); Katherine Shonfield, *At Home With Strangers: Public Space and The New Urbanity* (London: Comedia in association with Demos, 1998).

¹⁴ Mark Francis, "Control as a Dimension of Public Space Quality," in *Public Places and Spaces*, eds. Irwin Altman and Ervin Zube (New York and London: Plenum Press, 1989), 148.

gathering, constitutes interactions, formation of groups, identification of community, and the constitution and structuring of the social body. Definitions of public space therefore emphasize how it is developed, used, expressed, and valued in different societies, places, and times. The answer to the question, "who is public space for?" and how places become truly public determines their "publicness." It is clear from the literature that public spaces should be socially inclusive allowing optional activities that generate social interaction.

2.1. Public Space: Concepts and Approaches

This section concentrates the concepts 'public' and 'private' in order to frame theoretical framework that is influenced by the various philosophical views argue for public-private distinction. These are the public sphere theories of Hannah Arendt of 1958, Jürgen Habermas of 1989 and Benn and Gaus' model of 1983.

A number of scholars in diverse fields, such as architecture, city planning, history, anthropology, archeology, and geography have addressed questions on public space. These studies in general look at how public spaces express socio-spatial configuration and, to a lesser extent, explore the consequences of public space in terms of users. These studies consider public space not only in terms of its design but also as a historically constructed category of thought; a culturally and ideologically determined figure of discourse.

According to Michael Brill the literature on public space is a "literature of loss." The term public space comprises physical places that affect public life; are used for the common good, and for affecting it; are accessible to and shared by a diversity of people and open to general observation; form an arena for a social life that can be apart from friends and family members; deliver services to the public; include public's interest; and protect people's health, safety, and welfare, including people of limited and diverse capabilities. From the public sphere theory of democratic philosopher Hannah

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Michael Brill, "Transformation, Nostalgia, and Illusion in Public Life and Public Place," in *Public Places and Spaces*, eds. Irwin Altman and Ervin Zube (New York and London: Plenum Press, 1989), 8.

¹⁶ Ibid., 8.

Arendt focusing on "public action and democratic citizenship", political philosopher Jürgen Habermas's account of "the liberal model of the bourgeois public sphere", to the influential discussion on "the end of public space" and the "destruction of any truly democratic urban spaces" by authors like Don Mitchell, Michael Sorkin, Mike Davis and Margaret Crawford, what unites this diverse field is that the publicness of public space, as a quality, is gradually altered.¹⁷ In addition, Ted Kilian states that, "From Jane Jacobs', concern for the decline of lively public spaces and Richard Sennett's The Fall of Public Man, to the essays on the "disneyfication" and privatization of public spaces in the 1980s, geographers and others have concerned themselves with the loss of public spaces and the decline of public life."¹⁸

This change in quality is also reflected on the wide range of roles that public spaces play, which are physically-oriented, politically-oriented, and socially-oriented. It is important to first identify what is meant by the 'public'. According to Madanipour 'public' as opposed to 'private', means "a large number of people, who are either conceptualized as society or state, and what is associated with them." Therefore, people might be spoken of collectively as 'the public'. The ideological and theoretical discourses on the 'public' have more than one path to follow: 'public' is defined either as 'political' or as 'sociability'. For instance, getting 'publicity' describes the process of bringing an event or person to the notice of this 'public'. With regard to the public/private dichotomy, urban life in public spaces today is very much bound up with the contrast between public and private. While private space is controlled by state-regulated rules of private property use, public space is generally conceived as open to all community without any regulation. In time, however, the relationship of public space and its management has changed in connection to public life where "changes in urban

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Arendt, H. The Human Condition, 1958. Jürgen Habermas, The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992). Richard Sennett, The Fall of Public Man, (New York and London: W. W. Norton and Company, 1992). Mitchell, "The End of Public Space?: People's Park, Definitions of the Public, and Democracy," 108-133. Michael Sorkin, ed. Variations on a Theme Park: The New American City and the End of Public Space, (New York: Hill and Wang, 1992). Mike Davis, City of Quartz: Excavating the Future in LA, (London: Vintage, 1990). Margaret Crawford, "Contesting the Public Realm: Struggles over Public Space in Los Angeles," Journal of Architectural Education 49, no. 1 (1995): 4-9.

Ted Killian, "Public and Private, Power and Space," in *Philosophy and Geography II: The Production of Public Space* eds. Jonathan M. Smith and Andrew Light (New York: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 1998), 115.

¹⁹ Madanipour, *Public and Private Spaces of the City* (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 109.

public life are transforming the design and management of public spaces."²⁰ Thus, new types of public spaces have developed throughout history with regard to their management and usage.

In the modern world, what is public is also defined by way of the public/private dichotomy. The public is represented by 'state' and 'society' whereas the 'private' by 'market' and 'persons'. ²¹ Using any of these definitions of 'public' would yield different understandings of the nature of contemporary public space. For this reason it is important to be more explicit about the model of public space that informs contemporary urban analysis.

Charles T. Goodsell's classification makes it simpler to understand different conceptualizations of public space (see Table 2.1).²² What follows the table below is a short summary of the discussions that Goodsell refers to in his review of public space.

Table 2.1. A Comparison of Literatures that Treat Public Space²³

	Political Philosophy and Democratic Theory	Urban Planning and Design	Political Interpretation of Architecture
Reference	A social realm	An urban site	A public building
Focus Issues	Public discourse Alienation and state sponsorship	Urban life Revival or replacement	Social meaning Intimidation or identification

For the democratic philosophers a key feature of the public sphere is universal access as a social realm, an arena of human action and communication under ideal conditions. In this view public space is socially-oriented, like Arendt defines public space as "the sphere of public action to democratic citizenship," and is politically-oriented like Habermas understands public space as "essentially a medium of public

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²⁰ Francis, "Control as a Dimension of Public-Space Quality," 150.

²¹ Ibid., 150.

²² Charles T. Goodsell, "The Concept of Public Space and Its Democratic Manifestations," *The American Review of Public Administration* 33, no. 4 (2003): 361-383.

²³ (a) 'the concepts principle reference', (b) 'the central focus of its inquiry', (c) 'the primary issues confronted'.

²⁴ Arendt, *The Human Condition*.

communication."²⁵ Therefore, the public sphere is understood as the realm of the state and the society as a whole, emphasizing unity and equality.

According to Goodsell the second source of literature on public space is urban planning.²⁶ He states that urban planning perspective is concerned with "creating open physical places within cities that will adequately function as sites of public use and citizen interaction."²⁷ In this view, such places in cities serve function not only for recreation or and community identification but also in the political sense as well.²⁸ The spaces are seen as connectors to the past personal memories and showcased historical monuments and recommendation on urban spaces include successful linkages and access to commercial shops, incorporating suitable venues for concerts and art shows, and having them physically safe.²⁹ According to Goodsell, the third major source of literature on public space is "public architecture."³⁰ He states that "design and symbols of physical space reinforce political power."³¹ A public building and monumentality have social meaning that create memorable value and symbolic access on physical spaces.

The public sphere is a metaphorical space in which public opinion is formed through rational discourse between private persons. The physical public spaces of the city, however, "have their role to play" like in the Greek Agora and the city squares, plazas, parks or the coffee houses of early modern Paris and London.³² This model of public space considers genuine public space to be space where the public experiences or celebrates momentous events in the life of the nation, state or city having the significance of what Habermas describes as "representative publicness". It is necessary to explain Arendt and Habermas's understanding of public space in more detail, since

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²⁵ Craig Calhoun, ed. *Habermas and the Public Sphere* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1992).

²⁶ Charles T. Goodsell, "The Concept of Public Space and Its Democratic Manifestations," 363.

²⁷ Ibid., 363.

²⁸ Setha Low, On the Plaza: The politics of public space and culture (Austin: University of Texas Press), 240.

²⁹ Stephen Carr, et al. *Public Space*, 1992. Cooper C. Marcus and C. Francis. *People places: Design guidelines for urban open space* (New York: van Nostrand Reinhold, 1990).

³⁰ Charles T. Goodsell, "The Concept of Public Space and Its Democratic Manifestations," 365.

³¹ Ibid., 365.

³² Madanipour, "Marginal Public Spaces in European Cities," *Journal of Urban Design* 9, no.3 (October 2004): 283.

discussions on public space usually depart from either an interpretation or a critique of these two authors as this study also does.

2.1.1. The Public Sphere Theory of Hannah Arendt

Hannah Arendt (1958) defines 'public space' as 'the common world' made from artifacts which is generated by people and participated by them collectively. According to Arendt being together in this world, means to share 'a world of things' within this collectivity. This world revolves around a 'public realm', like a 'table' which collects people that sit around it to relate with each other separated from their private spaces. In this sense, like the table has been removed, Arendt argues that in 'mass society' the public realm lost its power to collect individuals in order to relate them to each other or to separate them from each other. The key issue for her is 'alienation', that is individuals' separation from this common world. What constitutes the permanence of the public realm is not the similarity or the homogeneity of individuals who share the world. To build the condition of sharing there should be 'public interest'.

According to Hannah Arendt, the term public definitely refers to the 'political community'; and not necessarily the physical space in which this political community lives or acts, etc. To her, "the term public space is the sphere of the public action essential to democratic citizenship." Public space is physically accessible, utilizable by, and visible to all members of a community. Thus the public realm does not refer to any specific territory or space. It facilitates rather the possibility of 'being together'.

Arendt states there three essential criteria for the public realm: (1) it must be accessible by all; (2) it must be used by all; (3) it must outlast one generation. These criteria of the public realm by Arendt were also interpreted by Lewis Dijkstra in defining criteria for public space as "(1) the lack of social segregation", "(2) the level of tolerance to individual freedom in a public space", and "(3) value of the public space for cultural identity" respectively.³⁴

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³³ Goodsell, "The Concept of Public Space and Its Democratic Manifestations," 362.

³⁴ Dijkstra, "Public Spaces: A Comparative Discussion of the Criteria for Public Space," 1-22. (Dijkstra's classification will be presented in Chapter 3 with respect to the defining the criteria of publicness of physically public spaces).

2.1.2. The Public Sphere Theory of Jürgen Habermas

Majority of the literature on public space is based on *Jürgen Habermas's* (1989) conception of the evolution of the public sphere in the eighteenth century and the consequent development of public spaces as a result of democratization. *Habermas* describes the public sphere as the realm of conversation and discussion by private individuals on matters of public interest like Arendt. For Habermas, as well as for Arendt, an important feature of the public sphere is 'universal access'. Individuals can enter it and can communicate without any constraints.³⁵ In this sense, public space must be accessible by all in an ideal democracy. They both agree on the loss of the distinction between the public and private spheres, and criticize the mass society. As Goodsell states in his work, Habermas's public sphere is essentially a medium of public communication whereas Arendt's public space is primarily an arena of political action.³⁶

Habermas's theory illuminates the diversity and significance of the question of public space. Many substantial theoretical studies of the late 1980s and early 1990s draw on Habermas' work in dealing with the public sphere and public space.³⁷ These studies focus on a broadening out of Habermas's original conception of the evolution of

Habermas, "The public sphere: An encyclopedia article," New German Critique 3 (1974): 49-55. (Reprinted in 2000, R. Blaug & J. Schwarzmantel, eds. Democracy: A reader (New York: Columbia University Press): 509-514).

³⁶ Goodsell, "The Concept of Public Space and Its Democratic Manifestations," 363.

³⁷ Historiographical considerations on how Habermas has been and should be appropriated by historians are found in Craig Calhoun, ed. Habermas and the Public Sphere; Dena Goodman, "Public Sphere and Private Life: Toward a Synthesis of Current Historiographical Approaches to the Old Regime," History and Theory 31, no.1 (1992): 1–20; Roger Chartier, "The Public Sphere and Public Opinion," in The Cultural Origins of the French Revolution (Durham, N.C., 1991), 20-37; Keith Michael Baker, "Public Opinion as Political Invention," in *Inventing the French Revolution* (Cambridge, 1990), 167– 99; Margaret C. Jacob, "The Mental Landscape of the Public Sphere: A European Perspective," Eighteenth-Century Studies 28, no. 1 (1994): 95-113; and William Reddy, "Postmodernism and the Public Sphere: Implications for an Historical Ethnography," Cultural Anthropology 7, no.2 (1992): 135-69. French Historical Studies, 17, no.4 (1992): 883-911 contains a forum on the public sphere consisting of essays by Daniel Gordon, "Philosophy, Sociology, and Gender in the Enlightenment Conception of Public Opinion," and David Bell, "The 'Public Sphere,' the State, and the World of the Law in Eighteenth-Century France," 912–33; and a cogent critical response by Sarah Maza, "Women, the Bourgeoisie, and the Public Sphere: Responses to Daniel Gordon and David Bell," 934-53. More recent essays are John L. Brooke, "Reason and Passion in the Public Sphere: Habermas and the Cultural Historians," Journal of Interdisciplinary History 29 (1998): 43-67; and Anna Clark, "Contested Space: The Public and Private Spheres in Nineteenth-Century Britain," Journal of British Studies 35 (1996): 269-76. A "Begriffsgeschichte" of O" ffentlichkeit is Lucian Ho"lscher, O" ffentlichkeit und Geheimnis (Stuttgart, 1979).

the public sphere in the eighteenth century and the development of public spaces and question whether a further democratization is possible.

Habermas defines the public sphere in relation to rationality, capitalism, and modernity. He argues that a public sphere adequate to a democratic polity depends upon both the quality of discourse and the quality of participation. John Brooke argues that "Habermas depicted the public sphere as a temporally and socially bounded arena of rational discourse that was intimately associated with the rise of the middle class. Conversely, in his view, the classical public sphere was corrupted during the nineteenth century when its functions were in."38 He argues that in the influence of capitalism and the emerging liberal state, the public sphere became a critical agent between the civil society and the state. Principally, Habermas's theory of the public sphere focuses on what he calls its modern, 'bourgeois' form: "it was society that was bourgeois, and bourgeois society produced a certain form of public sphere."³⁹ As Craig Calhoun states, Habermas's account of the bourgeois public sphere explains the historically specific phenomenon that was based on the relations between capitalism and the state in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁴⁰

Habermas sets out to establish what the category of "public" meant in early bourgeois society and how its meaning and material operations were transformed in the centuries after its constitution. 41 His important book The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere explores the conditions of this transformation. What are the necessary social conditions, Habermas asks, for a rational-critical debate about public issues conducted by private persons who are willing to let arguments, not statuses, determine decisions. Habermas allocates the public sphere a certain potential for societal integration. According to Habermas, public discourse (communicative action) is possible to generate a mode of coordination for human life, and state and economy are the key agents of the democratic public sphere. Thus he idealizes the bourgeois public sphere.

According to P. R. Geren in his view, "public discourse in that moment of history was conducted by a group of well-educated, economically privileged libertarian

³⁸ Brooke, "Reason and Passion in the Public Sphere: Habermas and the Cultural Historians," 52.

³⁹ Calhoun, *Habermas*, 7.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 5.

⁴¹ Ibid., 5.

ideologues who operated under the pretense that power relations were left aside as one entered the arena of public discourse." In his theory, Habermas believes that public sphere is still distorted and it maintains a kind of repression. In the post-modern society the public has been reduced to a mass of consumers: "Public organs of communication advertise, persuade, and shape a passive public rather than enlarge the citizen's ability to debate issues in a substantive way." Thus critique is a process that must operate at both the social level and the individual level. It is, in a way, the merging of self-interest with the interest of the community is in part a society. In other words, public sphere offers a new way of conceptualizing how social groups and individuals are politically positioned with reference to public discourse. Here is the mode of public and private expression for impulses governing the public discourse. However, all societies have needed images and representations for expressing themselves and with which to identify. This is a condition without which society itself would not be viable.

On the Habermasian notion of the idealized public sphere, Nancy Fraser states that, the idea of public sphere in Habermas's sense also permits us to keep in view the distinctions among state apparatuses, economic markets, democratic associations, and distinctions that are essential to democratic theory. He finds him unable to provide a post-bourgeois model of the public sphere. She states that "he never explicitly problematizes some dubious assumptions that underline the bourgeois model. As a result, we are left without a conception of the public sphere that is sufficiently distinct from the bourgeois conception to serve the needs of critical theory today". He finds him unable to provide a post-bourgeois conception to serve the needs of critical theory today".

During the past decade many have argued that Habermas's accounts of public sphere have converged in his writings to support the basic structure of the modern, structural, democratic state. Both Habermas and Arendt are criticized by feminist theorists due to their idealization of the distinction between public and private spheres. According to Keith Michael Baker Habermas's theory of public sphere is masculine:

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⁴² Peggy Ruth Geren, "Public Discourse: Creating the Conditions for Dialogue Concerning the Common Good in a Postmodern Heterogeneous Democracy," *Studies in Philosophy and Education* 20, no. 3 (2001): 197.

⁴³ Calhoun, *Habermas*, 5.

Nancy Fraser, "Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy," in *Habermas and the Public Sphere* ed. Craig Calhoun, (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1992), 111.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 112.

"Habermas does not indeed emphasize the extent to which the conceptual universality of the public sphere was still an ideological fiction for women, deriving as it did from and in intimate domestic sphere in which they remained subjected to male authority". Dana Villa makes an exception to Arendt and states that unlike Habermas, Arendt's requirements for the public realm do not clash with contemporary, postmodern sensibilities because Arendt does not assume that we all share the same language and values. Arendt values.

Since public space is also the venue for the formation and occasion of social relations urban sociologists are directly interested in public space and public life. Urban sociologists talk about a range of public spaces when the physical or built aspect of public space is concerned. Mostly open spaces, the physical public spaces of cities serve to public use and interaction, and create repositories of social meaning and collective memory. According to Kevin Lynch "open space has no necessary relation to ownership, size, type of use, or landscape character" and can include all "the negative (i.e. inbuilt), extensive, loose, uncommitted" space in the city. 48 This openness and accessibility however is what makes it possible for the public to appropriate such spaces. Margaret Crawford's "everyday urban space" includes vacant lots, sidewalks, front yards, parks and parking lots that have been appropriated for new and often temporary uses (spaces that once had assigned functions but no longer do), that possess "multiple and shifting meanings rather than clarity of function." In this view, public space for sociability is defined in physical terms, while its meaning is largely independent of its physicality and is socially constructed.⁵⁰ These spaces are open to all members of the society; they also facilitate recreation and relaxation, creation of community identity, and establishment of connections to the past. Therefore in these

⁴⁶ Baker, "Defining the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century France: Variations on a Theme by Habermas," in *Habermas and the Public Sphere* ed. Craig Calhoun (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1992), 198.

⁴⁷ Dana Villa, "Postmodernism and the Public Sphere," *The American Political Science Review* 86, no. 3 (September 1992): 712-721.

⁴⁸ Kevin Lynch, *Good City Form* (Cambridge MA and London c1981The MIT Press, 1984, c1981), 396.

⁴⁹ Crawford, "The World in a Shopping Mall," in *Variations on a Theme Park: The New American City and the End of Public Space* ed. Michael Sorkin (New York: Hill and Wang, 1992), 28.

Lofland, A World of Strangers: Order and Action in Urban Public Space (New York: Basic Books, 1973). Sennett, *The Fall of Public Man*. Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (Penguin Books, 1994).

spaces, 'physical access', 'visual access', and 'symbolic access' have emerged as key issues that enrich 'publicity.'51

A common theme that unites many architectural analysts is how the design and symbols of physical space reinforce public space as political space. In this view, publicity is created by the relationships of buildings to the society and the social meanings they embody. Discussions of power regarding social, cultural and historical significance are mainly what separate public buildings from the rest of the building stock while by definition public buildings are simply those that are either owned or accessed by the public.

Another layer that enhances this discussion in recent literature is the differentiation between 'public space' and 'public place'. According to Tuan 'space' becomes meaningful place as people use, modify, or attribute symbolic value.⁵² According to Altman and Zube, "Open space is the abstract concept that encompasses places and the undifferentiated areas that link places together...In some situations we refer to an open-space 'plan' and an individual site within the plan as a 'place'."53 According to Shonfield "the public realm is any place that people use when not at home or work; and furthermore, those citizens who are excluded from work and housing should not be excluded from 'the city's third space', being public space."⁵⁴ According to Sime the term 'place' as opposed to space, "implies a strong emotional tie, temporary or more long lasting, between a person and a particular physical location."55 Therefore, in comprehensive review, place refers to interaction, physical setting behavior, experience and appropriation as well as social conflict, diversity and inclusion. As Young says; because by definition a public space is a place accessible to everyone, where anyone can participate and witness, in entering the public one always risks encounter with those who are different, those who identify with different groups and have different opinions

⁵¹ Carr et al., *Public Space*, 137-158.

⁵² Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977).

⁵³ Irwin Altman and Ervin Zube, "Introduction," in *Public Places and Spaces* eds. Irwin Altman and Ervin Zube (New York and London: Plenum Press, 1989), 2.

⁵⁴ Katherine Shonfield, *At Home With Strangers: Public Space and The New Urbanity* (London: Comedia in association with Demos, 1998).

Jonathan D. Sime, "Creating places or designing spaces," *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 6 no. 1 (1986): 49-63.

of different forms of life. The group diversity of the city is most often apparent in public spaces. ⁵⁶

In other words, it is increasingly referred to as 'public place' independent of the spatial quality of public space (that is linked to its materiality) with reference to identity, social function, visibility, surveillance, location in a city, its management, and most importantly its symbolic attributes.

In sum, scholars define public space both as a physical and concrete entity, and as a political and abstract entity. Scholars of architecture and urban design are interested in the qualities of public space as urban enclosure, that is how its defined by architecture, the type, size and kind of activities its might support, how land-use patterns such as the predominating land-use activity (commercial, ceremonial, recreational) might affect or be affected by public space.⁵⁷ Public space represents a political space, as in Arendt's and Habermas's conceptualizations. Public space in this sense has no specific location and it is structured much more by institutions, organizations, and movements rather than by physical boundaries. Urban sociologists and geographers see public spaces at the core of urban experience; spaces in which everybody can come together to meet, to communicate; which are defined by rules, regulations, and symbolic boundaries that benefit from both of the approaches above.

2.1.3. The Benn and Gaus' Model

Benn and Gaus (1983) developed a model that seeks to make clearer the distinction between public and private through the criteria, access, agency, and interest. The criterion of access constitutes four sub-dimensions, which provide us with a detailed definition of 'public space' and 'private space'.

The first sub-dimension is 'physical access'; that is, the access to the physical environments. Based on this criterion, public space is the space that is open to all; the place in which everybody is entitled to be physically present. Private space however is

⁵⁶ Iris Marion Young, *Justice and the Politics of Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 240

⁵⁷ Anne Vernez-Moudon, *Public Streets for Public Use* (New York: Colombia University Press, 1991). C. Cooper Marcus and C. Francis eds., *People places: Design guidelines for urban open space* (New York: van Nostrand Reinhold, 1990).

the space that is accessible to someone or some groups; an arena that entitles someone or some groups to have the right of access and the right to choose whether to deny or allow access to others. Benn and Gaus argue that "places and spaces... are public when anyone is entitled to be physically present in them; they are private when someone, or some group, having the right of access to, can choose whether to deny or allow access to others."58 The second sub-dimension is 'access to activities and intercourse.' According to this criterion, public space is a space where activities and discussions in its development and use processes are accessible to all, whereas those, which are restricted to persons with specific rights to attend, are recognized as 'private.'59 Another subdimension is 'access to information', which is related to the control of extension of information. According to Benn and Gaus, a piece of information will be 'private' if it is "under one's own control." On the contrary, a piece of information will be 'public' if it is available to all interested members of the society. 61 'Access to resources' is the last sub-dimension. According to Benn and Gaus, resources which are 'public' are open to all members of the society. In other words resources will be 'public' if is available to the use of the public. On the contrary, resources are 'private' if they are restricted to use by someone. According to Benn and Gaus, the question of who controls access to resource is a question of agency that determines whether a space is 'public' or 'private'.62

'Agency' is the second dimension of publicness and privateness. According to Benn and Gaus, if agents work on behalf public interest like the officers of a city, community, commonwealth, state etc. they are considered 'public.' On the contrary, if they act on their own interests, they are called 'private'. Benn and Gaus state that it is important whether their actions and decisions are significant for the status of other people which determines the public or private nature of resources. It is via agency that access to resources are controlled. Public space and the amenities within are resources

⁵⁸ Benn and Gaus, *Public and Private*, 7.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 7.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 8.

⁶¹ Ibid., 8.

⁶² Ibid., 9.

⁶³ Ibid., 9.

cared for the public via public agency whereas private space and the amenities within are controlled by private agency.⁶⁴

The last dimension is '*interest*'. The interest dimension of the public-private distinction is concerned with the status of people who take advantage of something, or whose benefits a resource serves. For Benn and Gaus interest defines and affects "the status of the people who will be better or worse off for whatever is in question." ⁶⁵

These three are the main criteria that Benn and Gaus identify in order to clarify the distinction between public and private. It is thus possible to define 'public space' vs. 'private space', or 'publicness' vs 'privateness' via these three criteria.

While the writings of Arendt, Habermas, and Benn and Gaus advocate the public-private separation, positions defined in relation to Marxism and feminism criticize this separation. According to Marxist criticism, the public-private separation causes the alienation of individuals from their products and from other individuals. 66 Marx sees the separation of state and civil society as an important of cause of the alienation of individuals from the state. Kamenka states that "the alienation of civil society was made worse and not better by driving this alienation further and separating man's public being – the state – from man's private pursuit and setting one against the other." For feminists the public-private distinction encourages the separation between men and women in society by associating men with the public realm and women with the private realm. Thus the public-private separation leads to the exclusion of women from public sphere and public life, and restricts women's presence in public space. 69

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⁶⁴ Ibid., 9.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 10.

Eugene Kamenka, "Public/Private in Marxist Theory and Marxist Practice." in *Public and Private in Social Life*, eds. S. I. Benn and G.F. Gaus (New York: St. Martin's Press and London & Canberra: Croom Helm, 1983), 272.

o' Ibid., 272

Madanipour, "Why Are The Design And Development of Public Spaces Significant for Cities?" Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design 26, no. 6 (1999): 888. Benn and Gaus, Public and Private, 18.

⁶⁹ Benn and Gaus, Public and Private, 18. Calhoun, ed. Habermas and the Public Sphere, 1992. Nancy Fraser, "Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy,"100. Seyla Benhabid, "Models of Public Space: Hannah Arendt, the Liberal Tradition, and Jürgen Habermas," in Habermas and the Public Sphere ed. Craig Calhoun. (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1992), 93.

2.2. Transformation of Public Space

It is a pivotal moment in history today to examine the relationship between the politics of 'public space' and the 'urban experience', that is the experience of people living in cities. Within the range of social locations offered by the street, the park, the shopping center, local neighborhoods etc., urban public space envelops the concrete relationship between places, experienced at all scales in daily life. It has different meanings in different societies, places, and times; while its meaning today can be understood by looking at the contrast between 'public' and 'private' space. This differentiation is largely calibrated by globalization and its effects on urban public spaces and urban experience. While it used to be conducted in urban public spaces, such as streets, plazas, and parks; much of public life today is conducted in private places, such as shopping centers and privatized office plazas. This is shift of public life from public to private places is the main subject of the literature on transformation of public space.

While the shift to private space is regarded as a historic trend beginning with the industrial revolution, it has become quite prevalent in recent decades due to globalization. Changes in the role and capacity of the state and public sector to deliver public services, adjustments in the nature and function of the economy, and transformations in culture and lifestyles have been major influencing factors behind the transformations in the urban experience and the shift of public life into private places. In recent years, urban regeneration and transformation strategies have increasingly focused on public space. Because with the effects of globalization, public spaces are increasingly seen as useful components of transformation as they can potentially serve to improve an urban area and assist in developing its attractiveness.

In considering privatization, commercialization and commodification of public space, we are not only confronted with the changing characteristics of spaces but also with power relations adjusted according to market principles and government activities. The transformation process of public spaces has been fundamentally affected by globalization and concomitant changes in spatial practices. The transformation of production, consumption and distribution brings forward, technological-infrastructural and socio-spatial restructuring of cities, inevitably reflected on public spaces.

2.2.1. Privatization and Its Impact: Social Exclusion, Gentrification, and Loss of Public Space

Privatization is generally defined as transfer of ownership from the public sector (government) to the private sector (business). Projects that transform public space are increasingly built by public-private partnerships that demand a complex combination of government and private financing rather than being operated by a private entity. Private security vs. police, private housing vs. public housing, and private schools vs. public schools, banks, hospitals, and private mass transportation vs. public transportation are common examples of privatization.

A common example in the world is the growth of private transportation where the public deems government-provided bus service unsatisfactory or inadequate. James Holston (1999) states that, privatization also means interiorization, that is, elimination of the outdoor public and its stratification, which means the privatization of social relations:

Consider, for example, the modernist system of traffic circulation. When we analyze it in terms of what it systematically set out to abolish – the traditional street system of public spaces that it considered too congested and unhealthy for the modern machine age –its social consequence become clear. By eliminating this kind of street, it also eliminates the urban crowds and the outdoor political domain of social life that the street traditionally supports. Estranged from the no-man's land of outdoor public space that results, people stay inside. But the consequent displacement of social life from the outdoor public "rooms" of streets and squares to the indoor rooms of centers, clubs, homes, and cars does not merely reproduce the outdoor city public and its citizenry in a new interior setting. Rather, this interiorization encourages a privatizing of social relations. Privatization allows greater control over access to space, and that control almost invariably stratifies the public that use it. ⁷⁰

While the typical public-private partnership projects in the urban area are roads, bridges, airports, pipelines, schools, as Madanipour states, examples of privatized public spaces are "gated neighborhoods, shopping centers, and city center sidewalks, under heavy private surveillance and separated from the public realm by controlled access and clear boundaries." Consequently these projects have direct influence on public life. According to Lofland, under the transformation projects, "public space becomes commodified because the profit motive makes such commodification desirable and

James Holston, "Spaces of Insurgent Citizenship," in Cities and Citizenship ed. James Holston (London: Duke University Press, 1999), 162.

⁷¹ Madanipour, *Design of Urban Space*, 144.

because technology makes it possible."⁷² According to research on the transformation of public space that share Lofland's findings, Business Improvement Districts (BIDs), demonstrate the replacement of the public realm by corporate realm.⁷³ Such interventions generally transform public spaces into at least semi-private and in some cases fully private spaces, such as Times Square Business Improvement District where property owners created the built environment by their own resources.⁷⁴ It has its own security force and sanitation workers; the area they control is safer and cleaner than the rest of the city streets.

We also encounter privatization in terms of property ownership such as the transfer of land or real estate from the public to the private sector or the transfer of administrative/managerial rights. Many constituents of public space are privately owned, managed, and regulated. Therefore, when the recent changes in public space are described or criticized, we have to discuss a certain trend like the increase in the number of private investments in public spaces, because of understanding access to the global, even more than the local. New events, new technologies, new forms of social organization are always creating new public spaces which are potential locations whereby people can publicly interact and engage with each other and can act as the material location for democratic interaction. As Don Mitchell states: "Public space represents the material location where the social interaction and political activities of all members of "public" occur."⁷⁵

In discussing the ongoing debate on the transformation of public space it is inevitable to refer to the increasing power of commodification, which effectively transforms the citizen into a consumer. Today public spaces are shaped largely as places of consumption. Linked to conceptualizations of increasing globalization, consumption stands at the intersection of different sides of urban experience: between the public and private, the political and the personal, the social and the individual.

Therefore, for many theorists the increasing transformation opportunities linked to consumption have become the defining characteristics of this century. Privatized

⁷² Lofland, Commodification.

Nusan Fainstein, "Public-Private Partnerships in Action," in *The City Builders: Property, Politics, and Planning in London and New York* (Oxford and Cambridge: Balckwell, 1994).

⁷⁴ Lofland, *Commodification*.

⁷⁵ Mitchell, "The End of Public Space?: People's Park, Definitions of the Public, and Democracy."

places and spaces of the global city, and the understanding of the city center as one large shopping center with offices is largely representative of the urban public that globalization imports everywhere. There is a rapid growth of cities throughout the world together with intense global competition among them for investments, jobs, cultural facilities, and infrastructure. Within this competition, public spaces are gradually transforming and turning into places of consumption. It is clear that the relationship between consumption and urban experience has intensified the social and spatial divisions within the city. In these terms, the politics of public space can be understood as politics of property. Public space in this recent sense is made possible by private property, however, public space used to mean much more than property.

To facilitate redevelopment projects, cities' planning or development departments look for support in public-private partnerships and this process inevitably involves privatization and gentrification. In cities, private sector has recently become the city builder, and its interest determines what gets built and where in the city. 76 Emanuel Savas, a supporter of private enterprise in the public realm, states: "Privatization is the act of reducing the role of government or increasing the role of the private institutions of society in satisfying people's needs; it means relying more on the private sector and less on government."77 The city either directly accommodates the wishes of the local business leaders in a close working partnership, or the private development agenda is set through comprehensive public plans initiated and approved by the private sector. According to most developers, economists and planners who have studied development and partnerships, the local public sector is the slight partner in this relationship. Regarding public-private partnerships, contemporary development approaches suggest that privately-owned public spaces will be the twenty-first century reality for spaces of public forum. New Urbanism as the major trend of development in the United States, continues to rely on the private sector's provision and management of public activity and public space assets. As a result, privatization leads to social exclusion, gentrification, and the consequent loss of public space.

⁷⁶ A. Loukaitou-Sideris and T. Banerjee "Postmodern Urban Form," in *Urban Design Reader* eds. Matthew Carmona and Steve Tiecdell (Oxford, Burlington: Architectural Press. 2007), 46. 43-51.

Emanuel Savaş, *Privatization and Public-Private Partnership*, (Chatham House Publishers Inc., U.S.; Auflage: 2, 1999), 2. http://www.cesmadrid.es/documentos/sem200601_md02_in.pdf.

May be the most striking example of privatization in urban space is Disney World as a themed environment. As Sharon Zukin states "Disney World has its own rules, its own vocabulary and even its own script or currency. Not only do these norms emphasize a surrender of consumers' identity to the corporate giant, they also establish public culture of consumership." According to her, Disney World is the most significant privatized public space in the 20th century.⁷⁹

As Madanipour states, "new urban spaces are increasingly developed and managed by private agencies in the interest of particular sections of the population." Public spaces allow for the presence of the homeless, freedom of propaganda or spreading of a doctrine whereas privatized spaces do not. Margaret Kohn agrees with Madanipour and condemns privatization as "the sale of public property to individuals or corporations. Commodification occurs when corporations use public facilities for commercial events or place their corporate logos in public spaces. These trends reinforce existing patterns of segregation where business people do not encounter homeless people, consumers do not confront citizens, and the rich do not see the poor."81

From this perspective, a shopping center or themed-environments like Disney World is not public space. With regard to cleanliness and safety that these private places provide, the big question is how to modify public spaces in order to satisfy such needs. Don Mitchell asks "Have we created a society that expects and desires only private interactions, private communications, and private politics, that reserves public spaces, solely for commodified recreation and spectacle?" Therefore, privatization projects promote a tendency of public life against social cohesion. Moreover, the privatization of public space has already transformed the socio-spatial organization of cities.

Cities have always had lively public spaces, like Athens' agora, the Roman forum, Parisian cafes, and London's pubs. The promise of the city, the promiscuous mix of people and the possibilities they create, is realized in public spaces. Several thinkers

⁷⁸ Zukin, "Learning from Disney World," in *Urban Design Reader* eds. Matthew Carmona and Steve Tiecdell (Oxford, Burlington: Architectural Press. 2007), 131.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 130.

⁸⁰ Madanipour, "Why Are The Design And Development of Public Spaces Significant for Cities?" 888.

⁸¹ Kohn, *Privatization of Public Space*, 7.

⁸² Mitchell, "The End of Public Space?: People's Park, Definitions of the Public, and Democracy," 110.

have seen public spaces as indispensable to city life and promoted their conservation. Above all, public spaces are the places where political controversies can be aired and resolved. Centers do not and cannot serve this function and the privatization of public spaces by shopping centers follows commercial imperatives.

Another common trait in the discussion of public space is that the clarity with regard to the public/private dichotomy should not be lost. Today urban life in public spaces is very much bound up with the contrast between public and private. While private space is state-regulated by rules of private property use, public space is generally conceived as open to all without any regulation. In time, however, the relationship of public space and its management has changed in connection to public life. With regard to access Francis states that "changes in urban public life are transforming the design and management of public spaces." Thus, new types of public spaces have developed throughout history from the Greek agora to the Renaissance piazza.

The majority of the recent literature on public space asserts that quality of space and quality of life is increased in public spaces by private investors' improvements. Although public urban space is defined as space that is not controlled by private individuals or organizations, plenty of corporations and individuals often buy, renovate, and design such spaces either in conjunction with city programs or as part of their urban renewal, gentrification, and development plans. However, especially since the 1990s, urban scholars and public space theories have increasingly studied 'the end of public space' or the 'loss of public space'. Central to their arguments is the thesis that these communal spaces, traditionally held by city governments and theoretically open for use by all citizens, are disappearing. Much of this space has become 'privatized', 'commercialized', or 'commodified'. Ted Kilian argues that although spaces are not inherently 'public' or 'private' the differentiation between publicity and privacy should not be allowed to collapse or eliminated.⁸⁴

Since 1980s, public spaces in Turkey have been transformed into private spaces like in other liberal democracies. Under the influence of globalization, cities in Turkey became subject to emergent global imaginations. Developments at the level of regional and global have placed the city at the center of globalization debates also in Turkey.

⁸³ Francis, "Control as a Dimension of Public-Space Quality," 150.

⁸⁴ Killian, "Public and Private, Power and Space," 115-134.

Increasingly, municipalities and local governments collaborate to control urban public spaces, engendering a new cultural, social and economic situation. In this regard, transformation projects are the most effectively applied tool to achieve this situation in Turkish cities. Today, in fact, we are faced not simply with the loss of public space but with an unfolding global economics and its crises linked to the growing use of private forces in Turkish cities.

Globalization and the structural reform in the economy make public spaces as opportunities for local and global investors in Turkey, in particular in Istanbul. These new socio-spatial urban configurations are privately owned and/or managed such as the café, the theater, shopping center, and gated communities that provide settings for public life and urban experience. Such places are increasingly becoming like their contemporary American counterparts. This transformation is probably the most visible in the proliferating shopping centers and gated communities. For example, people started to go to shopping centers not only because they need to shop, but because they want to spend time, meet others, and be in public and have a good time. Feyzan Erkip sees the Bilkent shopping center as "an appropriate example of spatial transformations under the influence of global forces, which may also give clues about changes in the Turkish urban lifestyle." Gated communities as the predominant settlements of a new urban lifestyle also appeared in Turkey during this transformation process. This new sociality depicts the appeal of safe, clean public spaces where people trust each other.

2.2.2. Public Life and Its Transformation

The challenge of urban life is to engage in the public realm. Public life refers to the set of human social activities that constitute the public realm. The public realm is a social construct that encompasses the collective will of members of the society to freely engage in issues of common interest. Urban life is about experiencing the limits of human capacity for civility. It is about reaching out for the common ground among all. Like the modern city itself, urban life is about the ideals of freedom, equality, and justice for all people in the city.

⁸⁵ Feyzan Erkip, "The Rise of the Shopping mall in Turkey: the use and appeal of a mall in Ankara," Cities 22, no. 2 (2005): 89–108.

Throughout history, public life was based in common ground of the street and the square, and later in the park. Parallel to the changes in economical and social life as a result of urbanization, industrialization, and capitalism there became significant changes both in public life and public spaces. While the streets and squares are losing their meanings as social spaces, public life shifted to the interior spaces that are settled between them.

The main objective of a public space is to support public life. Public life is distinct from private life and performs important functions. It is a forum, where individuals' private pursuit of happiness gets constantly balanced by the rules of fairness and reason directed to the common good. It serves as an arena for group action where people come together to be empowered, symbolize power and meet the stranger. It is educative like a school for social learning of all kinds, including work, commerce, and pleasure, and the range of permissible behaviors.

As a fundamental ingredient of urban experience, public life has been a important concern in public discourse, especially in the fields of political philosophy, sociology, and urban history. Researchers have examined public life from a variety of disciplinary and cross-disciplinary perspectives. 'Public realm' and 'public sphere' are among the most frequently used terms in connection with the notion of public life.

Among the early contributors to the discourse on the public realm is, again, the German-born American political scientist Hannah Arendt. *Arendt* was interested in the idea of the public realm as it relates to the concept of hegemony and totalitarian rule. With her analysis is rooted in political philosophy, in *The Human Condition* Arendt (1958) characterizes the public realm as having to satisfy three basic conditions. First, it memorializes and conveys a sense of history and society to individuals. In this sense, the public realm fosters a sense of citizenship and social identity. Second, it is established collectively and is an arena for diverse groups of people to engage in a dialogue, debate, and grassroots struggle. In this respect, the public sphere is an arena to sustain democracy and nurture diversity. Third, it is accessible and used by all. For Arendt, the public realm is constituted by the element of commonality, of togetherness, and of a shared world among society members.

In a similar vein, *Richards Sennett* (1977) posits that *res publica* stands for bonds of association and commitment between people who are not joined together by family or intimate associations. The "public" is that aspect of social life that is open to

scrutiny by anyone, while the "private" is the aspect of social life that is sheltered and limited to the circle of one's own family and friends.

Jürgen Habermas in The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere, considers the public sphere as the realm in which individuals gather to participate in open and free (but essentially political) discussion. Habermas's interest in the concept of the public sphere stems from its potential "as a foundation for a critique of society based on democratic principles." The public sphere is an arena of discursive interaction, enacted upon through people's deliberation (talking) about issues of common interest. It is about 'private persons' assembled to discuss matters of 'public concerns'. In the public sphere, free and equal citizens gather and deliberate on issues of common interest. In Habermas's analysis, the bourgeois public sphere mediates between private interest and public power. Through free speech, free press, and free assembly, the public sphere ensures that the state is accountable to society. It promises democratic control and free participation in a free society.

While concepts of public realm and public sphere seem to originate in a political philosophy discourse, as is the case with Arendt, Sennett, and Habermas, the application and use of such concepts seem to thrive in the field of sociology. For sociologists, public life is the manifestation, the exercise, of the public realm and the public sphere. Sociologists such as Michael Brill and Lyn Lofland have interrogated public life as a set of social relationships constituted by social interaction. Michael Brill conceived of public life as a complex, multifaceted process. For him, "public life always combined three characteristics: a commonwealth for the common good or benefit, open to general observation by strangers, and involving a diversity of people and thus engendering tolerance of diverse interests and behaviors."87 Brill identifies three facets of our traditional image of public life: The first is the Citizen of Affairs, that reflect our capacity for collective power and is symbolized through our ability to engage in public debates, participate in political rallies, and voice opinion concerning all public matters. This concept of the citizen of affairs is like Habermas's idea of the public sphere. The second facet of our image of public life is what Brill calls the Citizen of Commerce and *Pleasure*. It is the image of the festival, marketplace, the bazaar, the ceremonial plaza. It

⁸⁶ Robert C. Holub, Jürgen Habermas: Critic in the Public Sphere (London: Routledge, 1991), 3.

⁸⁷ Brill, "Transformation, Nostalgia, and Illusion in Public Life and Public Place," 20.

is the celebration of consumption and retail that this image is most identified with. The third facet for Brill, is *The Familiar Citizen*. This image is more pertinent to the local or neighborhood level of public life. It is modeled after family life, where individuals act within the framework of a community whose members are not totally strangers to each other.

Brill maintains that public life is connected to four functions. First, it is a "forum" where a balance is maintained between individuals' aspirations and pursuit of happiness and the "rules of fairness and reason directed to the public good." Second, public life functions as an expression of collectiveness, of togetherness; it reflects individuals' willingness to maintain a collective power and symbolize that power. Third, public life is a "school of social learning," a setting where individual actions are socially contested and modified. Public life allows us the opportunity to encounter those who are beyond the confines of our private, domestic realm.⁸⁸

Not unlike Brill, *Lyn Lofland* is concerned with public life as a basic and necessary ingredient of daily social existence. So She maintains that the city provides for three kinds of social psychological activities: the private, the parochial, and the public realms of urban life. Private realm is characterized by intimacy and closeness among individuals connected by familial or personal bonds. The parochial realm, defines social, interpersonal relationships that occur among acquaintances or members of a neighborhood or community. The private and parochial realms comprise the social life of a tribe, a village, or a little town where everybody "knows" everybody else.

Lofland argues that urban life embraces the public realm. Unlike the private and parochial realms that are characterized by activities among individuals who are acquainted with each other, the public realm is about social interaction among strangers, among people who we have never met before. In the public realm of the city, people know each other only "categorically." As Lofland puts it: "the public realm is the world of the street." 90

Lofland refers to public life as the kind of interaction, sociality or sociability that occurs within the public realm. For her, public life is about the encounter with strangers.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 22.

⁸⁹ Lofland, "The Morality of Urban Public Life: The Emergence and Continuation of a Debate," *Places* 6, no. 1 (1991): 18-23.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 19.

In *A World of Strangers: Order and Action in Urban Public Space*, Lofland writes, "To live in a city is, among many other things, is to live surrounded by large numbers of persons whom one does not know. To experience the city is, among many other things, to experience anonymity." Since living in total, pure anonymity is intolerable, we are motivated to know much more about anonymous strangers by a process of ordering and categorizing. Location and appearance provide us with a great deal of clues about others' identities. Despite this general (and partial) knowledge about the identity of others, we still know very little about their names, personal histories, desires, or the like. In this respect, they remain "strangers" and there lies the challenge of urban life.

Erving Goffman is a sociologist of the 20th century who mostly studied on symbolic and face-to-face interaction in social theory. Goffman's essential contribution is based on the analogy of life as theatre. Goffman analyzes the structure of social encounters—the structure of those entities in social life that come into being whenever persons enter into one an other's immediate physical presence. Goffman insists that the most meaningful individual behavior occurs in the intimate chance encounters of every day. These encounters include greeting people, appearing in public, and reacting to the physical appearance of others. Writing from a symbolic interactionist perspective, Goffmann profiles the details of individual identity, how individuals relate to one another in a group, how the environment affects the individuals, how information circulates between them and its interactive meaning.

Goffman has performed extremely detailed studies of human conduct in specific urban spatial settings such as streets, squares or train stations, focusing on patterns of recurrent behavior. His work on human relations in public has identified the positive rituals of "confirmation" (greetings, 'showing off', but also 'polite inattention'), negative rituals ('avoidance', 'offences', 'territorial reserve') and even rituals of

⁹¹ Lofland, Strangers, vii.

⁹² "An encounter is initiated by someone making an opening move, typically by means of a special tone of voice at the beginning of a statement." Erving Goffman, *Behavior in Public Places: Notes on the Social Organization of Gatherings* (New York: The Free Press, 1966), 91.

⁹³ Goffman states that "when two persons are mutually present and hence engaged together in some degree of unfocused interaction, the mutual proffering of civil interaction, a significant form of unfocused interaction, is not the only way they can relate to one another. They can proceed from there to engage one another in focused interaction." Ibid., 88.

reconciliation."⁹⁴ Therefore public spaces are spaces where an individual realizes and expresses himself/herself with reference to constraints acting upon his behavior, a crucial necessity for the development of human behavior.

The literature also suggests that transformations of public space bring about changes in the form of fragmentations in public life. Examples include privatized plazas, shopping centers, and gated neighborhoods with controlled access developed by the private sector. While there is an increasing trend towards privatization of the public space, the dynamics and consequences of the public urban life was radically changed and transformed in terms of the shifting of public life to private places. Considering that privatized spaces are increasingly becoming popular destinations to engage in public life, appropriate public action is needed.

2.3. Publicness of Physically Public Spaces

As integral and inseparable components, public and private spaces make up the city as physical space. Public space takes various forms such as streets, plazas, city squares, market places, and parks, etc. and each public space has a number of physical roles. They fundamentally serve as links between buildings and activities. As Carr et. al state "streets are the components of the urban communication system — the means of moving objects, people and information from one sector to another." Indeed, they serve that shape of public life, such as symbolic public life, functional form of public life. Physical public space is usually defined by 'accessibility', its 'symbolic nature', 'activities' that place in it, 'interest' of those that take part in it, 'rights' of those who use it, its 'location' and its 'design'. Bertoloni states that an accessible public space is one to which many different people can come, but also one where many different people can do many different things. Access, is understood with regard to four dimensions: 'physical access to spaces', 'access to activities', 'access to information', and 'access to

⁹⁴ Gu'enola Capron, "Accessibility to 'Modern public spaces' in Latin-American cities: a multi-dimensional idea," *GeoJournal* 58, no. 2-3 (2002): 221.

⁹⁵ Carr et al., Public Space, 30.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 26.

⁹⁷ Luca Bertolini and Martin Dijst, "Mobility Environments and Network Cities," *Journal of Urban Design* 8, no. 1 (2003): 31.

resources'. Physically, public spaces can be reached via pedestrian access, by car and/or public transport and such access is dependent on the frequency of public transport, travel time, and proximity.

The analysis of contemporary public spaces and the relative measure for the 'publicness' of such spaces is complicated due to a variety of components. The nature of genuine public spaces can make them potent sites for protest as well as celebration. Because of the representative function of these spaces, people have gathered in them to claim that they should be included in the public represented through the space. This is the symbolic function of these spaces that impacts on how people occupy public spaces. Ensuring 'openness' or 'accessibility' of a space for 'members of the public' provide publicness.

The factors that inform the publicness or the privateness of a space are also dependent on the users' perception of, or experience of a space. Based on users' preferences as places for certain activities, users actively restructure the publicness of public spaces. For example, although a street as a genuine public space provides a setting for publicity, when two friends have a chat or meet, for them, the street can serve as a private space for a while. In this sense, the level of publicness or privateness is based on our perceptions, conceptions, and the relational context.

Not only users' interactions and experiences shape the level of publicness but also regulations and restrictions may shape publicness in spatial practices. For Carr et. al., the 'publicness' of spaces consists of five kinds of spatial rights: "(1) the right of access, as the right to enter and remain in a public space; (2) freedom of action, as the ability to carry on activities in the public space; (3) claim, as the ability to take over the space and resources in it; (4) change, as the ability to modify the environment; and (5) ownership, as the ultimate form of control." Access is therefore clearly a key component of public space, as is the question of who controls the space, determining who is or is not allowed to use it. Accordingly, access to public spaces itself can be argued as being one of the most effective factors to increase/decrease publicness of public space in terms of the physical dimension of the public realm.

⁹⁸ Benn and Gaus, *Public and Private*.

⁹⁹ G. Davison, "Public Life and Public Space: a lament for Melbourne's City Square," Historic Environment 11, no. 1 (1994): 4-9.

¹⁰⁰ Carr et al., *Public Space*.

According to Carr et. al. there are three main components of access: 'physical access', 'visual access', and 'symbolic access'. Physical access refers to the physical environment, as the place in which everybody exists physically. Physical access of a space can be enhanced by sensitive design such as sidewalks and ramps for people in wheelchairs and some elderly people to provide entire 'openness'. Visual access or visibility of public space concerns the public's perception in which they can see into the space from outside, so they can enter safely. According to Carr et. al., "it is important in order for people to feel free to enter a space." Symbolic access also includes social access since it involves the presence of clues, in the form of people, design and management elements, suggesting who is and is not welcome in the space. In addition, Tiedsell and Oc state that environments that individuals and/or groups perceive as threatening, comforting or inviting may affect entry into a public space. 102

Moreover, 'access to activities' and 'access to information' are the components of access, which allow us to define public space as the place which activities and discussions are open to all members of the public in its development and use processes.¹⁰³ The latter two components of access represent citizens' interests and their access to information about the decision-making stage of a public space, during which public/private actors are involved.

As the space that is open and accessible to everyone, public space is the opposite of private space, that is privately-owned/or controlled space. Here publicness is understood as public property versus private property. However, in the context of a social and spatial setting publicness refers to sociability. In this sense, spaces of sociability include various kinds and degrees of publicness or privateness in relation to their functions in social life. The everyday usage of the term urban public space, therefore, covers a big number of definitions based on levels of publicness and privateness.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 144.

¹⁰² Tiesdell, S. and T. Oc (1998) "Beyond 'fortress' and 'panoptic' cities – towards a safer urban public realm," *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design* 25, no. 5 (1998): 648.

Müge Akkar, "New-generation Public Spaces – How 'Inclusive' Are They?" Middle East Technical University, Department of City and Regional Planning.

2.4. Shopping Centers as Public Spaces

Today, the nostalgia for the street and square as the center of public life continues as a design ideology. The shopping centers are conceived as the modern example of the nostalgic street as the public space, with its retail, leisure, and social opportunities in a building interior. 104 The shopping center, by its new spatial form, as a synthesis of public life and retail gained new meanings besides economic exchange as a gathering space for social exchange and as a site of communication and interaction. ¹⁰⁵

In recent planning literature, there is a growing interest in the incorporation of public space into shopping center development. The majority of this literature focuses on the extinction of public space. As Ali Madanipour states, "much of the recent interest in urban design has focused on the creation and management of public spaces of cities. The public spaces of cities have been the subject of debate, from concerns about privatization of space to the contested nature of public space and the various ways in which public space can be designed and developed."106

Research indicates that in recent times, the use of open public space has dropped down in comparison to the past. One of the main reasons for this decrease is the rise of the shopping center as an alternative public space. Looking at shopping centers as public spaces, it is surprising how successful they are, as William Kowinski puts it "...centers have more than financial significance, they are becoming a way of life." ¹⁰⁷ Shopping centers provide, people's needs for safe, clean, designed and controlled environments; and of course, of consumption. In planning literature, shopping centers are usually considered semi-public spaces. However, this new type of physical space

¹⁰⁴ Brill, "Transformation, Nostalgia, and Illusion in Public Life and Public Place," 7-29.

¹⁰⁵ Rob Shields, *Lifestyle Shopping: The Subject of Consumption* (London: Routledge, 1992).

¹⁰⁶ Madanipour "Why Are The Design And Development of Public Spaces Significant for Cities?" 879-

¹¹⁶ a - Loukaitau-Sideris A. "Privatization of Public Open Space," Town Planning Review 64, no. 2 (1993): 139-167.

¹¹⁶ b – J. Punter, "Privatization of Public Realm," Planning Practice and Research 5, no. 3 (1990): 9-16.

¹¹⁶ c – Zukin, The Cultures of Cities (Blackwell, Oxford 1995).

¹¹⁶ d – Carr et al. *Public Space*.

¹¹⁶ e - F. Tibbalds F. Making People-Friendly Towns: Improving the Public Environment in Towns and Cities (Longman, Harlow, Essex, 1992).

¹⁰⁷ William S Kowinski, *The Malling of America: Travels in the United States of Shopping*. New York: Xlibris Corporation, 2002.

comes with social inequality, if we consider that older accounts of public space were based on equality and open access. 108 Although the research on shopping centers is largely dominated by the cases from Western societies, a few researchers in other cultures indicate that the social dynamics and the factors affecting the use of centers are quite different than Western examples in terms of social exclusion. 109 For example, some changes have occurred in the shopping patterns of center users through time, although the demographic characteristics seem to stay similar, or location and transportation may create some problems related to accessibility for the urban poor. 110 Mullins et. al. claim that "...location of consumption spaces has little to do with further privileging the advantaged and further disadvantaging the poor," believing that what matter more are urban inequalities. 111 Thus, it is expected that distance and location may not be the main reason for exclusion, although it leads to different levels of convenience for the car-owners and people using public transportation to reach the shopping center. Most of the shopping centers provide transportation from the city center to attract users, particularly the ones without private cars.

Therefore, shopping centers can be exclusionary. They are controlled spaces within which movement is restricted. Shopping centers are not only a collection of shops; but also carefully designed to promote consumption and to provide entertainment. In the public spaces of a city center, like in Izmir, the ranges of use and of users are wider; in other words, there is diversity. A privatized space, like the shopping center, reduces and controls diversity. As Michael Sorkin puts it, "Centers are emblematic of post-modern cities that are 'variations on a theme park', places from which anything controversial or troubling, spontaneous or unpredictable is removed.

Malcolm Voyce, "Shopping malls in Australia: The end of public space and the rise of 'consumerist citizenship'?" *Journal of Sociology* 42, no. 3 (2006): 269–286.

Mona Abaza, "Shopping Malls, Consumer Culture and the Reshaping of Public Space in Egypt," Theory, Culture & Society 18, no. 5 (2001): 97-122. O. Al-Otaibi, "The development of planned shopping centres in Kuwait," in Retailing Environments in Developing Countries eds. R Paddison, A M Findlay, and J Dawson (Routledge, London, 1990). L B W Drummond, "Street scenes: practices of public and private space in urban Vietnam," Urban Studies 37 (2000): 2377–2391. R Salcedo, "When the global meets the local at the mall," American Behavioral Scientist 46 (2003): 1084–1103. D. Uzzell, "The myth of the indoor city," Journal of Environmental Psychology 15, no. 4 (1995): 299–310.

J A F Nicholls et al., "The seven year itch? Mall shoppers across time," Journal of Consumer Marketing 19, no. 2 (2002): 149–165.

Patrick Mullins et al.. "Cities and Consumption Spaces," Urban Affairs Review 35, no. 1 (September 1999): 44-71.

Even our downtowns, the last bastion of the promiscuous mix of people and activities, are being overwhelmed and undermined with skyways and tunnels that take the place of the street and enshrine consumption as the only legitimate urban activity." What is lost, Sorkin concludes, is a sense of the city as 'our best expression of a desire for collectivity'. It is nesponse, it could be argued that, the city center and the main street offer a wider range of possibilities to a larger part of the public and provides democratic space; as there is a conflict between public and private at the center. As Margaret Crawford states, "As the center incorporated more and more of the city inside its walls, the nascent conflict between private and public space became acute." It is one of the aims of this study to develop a method to test the extents of social segregation and exclusion via exploring the "publicness" of shopping centers.

2.4.1. Evolution of Shopping Centers

The center is not an entirely new phenomenon. According to Rob Shields "The genealogy of the center has two roots, the luxurious arcades built for European bourgeoisie in the early nineteenth century and the emporia or department stores in which mass-produced household commodities and clothing became available in settings designed as palaces of consumption." The arcade constituted a new architectural space designed for a new form of urban consumption. By the 1860s, the arcades had been replaced as principal sites of bourgeois consumption by department stores. During the 1950s, aspects of highway construction and movement to the suburbs in the United States, and car ownership provided a unique opportunity for developing the enclosed shopping center with many car-parking spaces. The first fully-enclosed center was built in a suburb near Minneapolis, Minnesota in 1956. According to the developer, "The idea of having an enclosed center doesn't relate to weather alone. People go to spend

¹¹² Sorkin, "Introduction,". xv.

¹¹³ Ibid., xv

¹¹⁴ Crawford, "The World in a Shopping Mall," 22.

¹¹⁵ Rob Shields, *Lifestyle Shopping*, 3.

¹²⁵ a - Walter Benjamin, *Paris, capitale du XIXe siècle : Le Livre des passages*, (Paris: Editions du CERF, 1989).

¹²⁵ b – J-F. Geist, Arcades, (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1983).

time there – they are equally as interested in eating and browsing as in shopping centers." This is the phenomenon of the center which can only be understood within the context of fundamental changes in socio-spatial organization. Beginning in the late 1970s, regional shopping centers added entertainment and ambiance as key strategies to compete with non-store retailers. In the United States shopping center has become the Main Street for parts of the population who live outside the city. Therefore, the role of public space has changed, in particular the extent to which the privately-owned shopping center has replaced Main Street and the town square as a setting for shopping, socializing and civic life in the United States.

Contemporary shopping centers continue a historical lineage. The roots of shopping centers can be traced back to classical forms of the market, the open plaza, and covered bazaars. Scholars on one hand, study the historical background of shopping centers and identify the Greek Agora and Roman Forum as the historical basis of shopping centers. They also search for the origins of shopping center and they on the other hand, present the passage from the Greek Agora to the Roman Forum, from medieval market places to the nineteenth century shopping arcades and finally, the transformation into the shopping centers.

The Agora was the market place where commercial activities took place. The first agoras, were built in 700 B. C. in ancient Greek villages. Besides its commercial use, it was a special place for discussions and exchange of ideas as the gathering place of the village.

The Roman Forum was, for centuries, the center of Roman public life: the site of triumphal processions and elections, venue for public speeches, criminal trials, and gladiatorial matches, and nucleus of commercial affairs. Roman tribes that had conducted trade in open space along main traffic arteries began to relocate commerce to specialized squares for the scale of various goods. In terms of physical space, the market place of medieval cities was fundamentally the same as the Roman Forum.

One of the most famous arcades is Milan's Galleria Vittorio Emanuele (see Figure 2.1) which reminds of today's atrium shopping centers with its variety of commercial, social and leisure pursuits on the sides of covered streets. Other important

Mark Gottdiener, "Recapturing the Center: A Semiotic Analysis of Shopping Malls," in *Designing Cities: Critical Readings in Urban Design*, ed. Alexander R. Cuthbert (New York: Blackwell, 2003), 129-135. Kowinski, "The Malling of America," *New Times* 10, no. 9 (1978): 30-56.

arcades of the time are London's Burlington Arcade, Galleria Umberto I in Naples, Paris's Palais Royal and Galerie d'Orleans in Paris which dominated social life for years, with their various shops, cafes, social clubs, gambling rooms, music halls, hotels, baths, and theatres. London, Naples, Moscow, Paris, and various European cities also had shopping arcades in the nineteenth century.¹¹⁷ These arcades acted as public spaces and were basically covered shopping streets, and provided the model of today's urban shopping centers.



Figure 2.1. Milan's Galleria Vittorio Emanuele in Milan, Italy (Source: "carhireX.com.")

¹¹⁷ W. Rybczynski, City Life: Urban Expectations a New World (New York: Scriber, 1995).



Figure 2.2. London's Burlington Arcade in London, Britain (Source: "The Victorian Web: literature, history, & culture in the age of Victoria.")

Until the effects of the industrial revolution began to be seen, important commercial spaces in Ottoman cities were *dükkan*, *han*, *bedesten*, *arasta*, and *covered bazaars*. *Dükkans* were greatest in number and were arranged on both sides of a street, in a section of a covered bazaar, in an arasta, a han, or a bedesten. *Han* had the form of a large courtyard with a multileveled circle of niches, stalls, and shops and it provided resting rooms, exchange center and storage. *The bazaar* developed in the city around the han constituting the retail center and meeting place in the city.

Grand Bazaar in Istanbul in Turkey is a significant example which constituted a commercial and public center for the of whole Istanbul. Series of shops lining each side of a street were called arasta. Usually the arasta shops had vaulted or domed roofs and sometimes the street could be left open. One of the best examples that survived to our times is Mısır Çarşısı in Istanbul. *Bedesten* was another important commercial space, which had its basis on covered bazaars, with its interior cubbies or shops, and covered passageway running along the front of these shops. Among them Mahmut Paşa Bedesteni in Ankara and Galata Bedesteni in Istanbul are two prominent examples.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁸ M. Cezar, *Typical Commercial Buildings of the Classical Ottoman Period* (Istanbul: Çeltüt Matbaacılık, 1981).

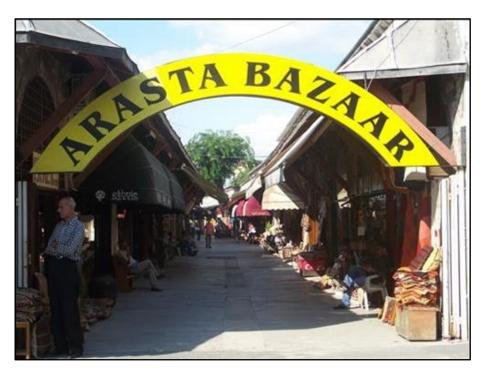


Figure 2.3. Arasta Bazaar in Istanbul, Turkey (Source: "ephesus.us.")



Figure 2.4. Bon Marche Department Store in Paris, France (Source: "Paris Travel Guide.")



Figure 2.5. Bon Marche Interior (Source: "The Best Paris Info.")

With the first *department store* Bon Marche built in 1852 in Paris a new commercial typology was born. The department stores started in Europe soon to be followed by American examples. The *supermarket* and the *hypermarket* followed the department store originally as American invention. The supermarkets served as the backbones of the planned shopping centers of today's modern commercial complexes.

Today's shopping centers have their roots at the nineteenth century European arcades – glass covered streets, which developed after the industrial revolution. commercial arcades in Europe developed in the beginning of the nineteenth century as result of a specific set of economic and social conditions. Industry had developed ability to produce a variety of luxury goods thus necessitating new methods of marketing, which became possible by the use of new materials and development of new techniques in architecture. The arcade, through its grouping of stores with ample window-display space created a competitive atmosphere for continuous, undisturbed shopping with pavement for pedestrians, protected from climate, the inhospitable street and its traffic, noise, and dirt; and space for social spectacle and promenade for public meeting. 119

¹¹⁹ M Bednar, *Interior Pedestrian Places* (New York: Watson Guptill, 1989).

Apart from the department store almost all the historical typologies and related commercial complexes mentioned above were totally public spaces. They had all the activities that a city center should have in its structure because they were a core of the public life at that times. Today's shopping centers, in contrast are privatized places owned by a company, controlled by a management, and are usually closed at night. They either take place out of the city/town where large areas of land are available and cheap or in the urban centers. Shields thinks of today's shopping centers as a new spatial and cultural form that results from a combination of spatial practices and understandings. Shopping centers reap the greatest economic benefits by affording a chance for cultural, social, civic, and recreational activities besides catering shopping needs. 121

There is no standard definition of a shopping center. In this study, shopping center as regarded as a 'private space' that owned, built, managed, and controlled. But within the literature on shopping center the term shopping center has evolved since the early 1950's. In 1952, shopping centers established their own non-profit organization titled "The International Council of Shopping Centers (ICSC)." Based on criteria by ICSC, a shopping center is defined as a group of retail and other commercial establishments that is planned, developed, owned, and managed as a single property. On-site parking must be provided. The center's size and orientation are generally determined by the market characteristics of the trade area served by the center.

The evaluation of 'shopping centers' are also classified with reference to their types. A 'shopping center' has a history of its own like any urban typology. ¹²³ According to Michael Southworth, shopping center patterns have changed throughouth the history. He defines the types of the centers as: *The main street* as the first shopping place was transformed to the *strip mall* with its own large parking areas in 1920s in US. In 1950s *the atrium* type has emerged that are the classic US shopping center type. He

¹²⁰ Rob Shields, *Lifestyle Shopping*, 6.

¹²¹ V. Gruen and L. Smith, *Shopping Towns in USA*, (New York: Reinhold Publishing Comparisons, 1960), 267.

¹²² www.icsc.org

Michael Southworth, "Reinventing Main Street: From Mall to Townscape Mall," *Journal of Urban Design* 10, no. 2 (June 2005): 153.

define the new type of a shopping center as *townscape mall* that has various symbolic elements of main street.¹²⁴

2.4.2. Typologies of Shopping Centers

While the nineteenth century shopping arcades in Europe form the basis of today's shopping centers as the center of public life; changes in American cities in the twentieth century led to the development of today's suburban shopping centers. After World War II, the suburbs surrounding large cities rapidly grew in population in conjunction to the extended use of private automobile. Gumpert and Drucker also mention that the transformation of the city was accompanied by a redistribution of commercial and social functions in the twentieth century as communities were designated and regulated as areas of work, residence and commerce and this has significantly contributed to the evolution of the shopping centre as a distinct entity.¹²⁵

Shopping centers are built as different types in terms of their architectural qualities and site selection in the city. Like other urban typologies, different types of shopping centers have evolved such as strip centers, atrium centers, townscape centers; because shopping remains a major leisure activity for Americans. ¹²⁶ In fact, it is the second most important leisure activity in the USA after watching television. ¹²⁷ Therefore, in the United States, creating new typologies for shopping centers and new consumption spaces have important implications for planning and urban design since these places provide being in public. As Sharon Zukin states, "with a rapid growth of visitors passing through shopping centers, the privately-policed consumption spaces become – at least, in most people's minds, if not in law – a public space." ¹²⁸ According

¹²⁴ Ibid., 2005.

Susan J. Drucker and Gary Gumpert, "Shopping Women and Public Space" in Voices in the Street: Explorations in Gender, Media, and Public Space, eds. Susan J. Drucker and Gary Gumpert (Cresskill, New Jersey: Hampton Press, 1997).

¹²⁶ Southworth, "Reinventing Main Street: From Mall to Townscape Mall."

Jon Goss, "The Magic of the Mall': An Analysis of Form, Function, and Meaning in the Contemporary Retail Built Environment," *The Urban Geography Reader* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), 293-303.

¹²⁸ Zukin, "Urban Lifestyles: Diversity and Standardization in Spaces of Consumption," 828.

to the Summer 2005 edition of the *Journal of Shopping Center Research*¹²⁹ two major trends have characterized metropolitan America in the 21st century: the resurgence of downtown areas and renewed interest in transit use and investment. As a result, new urbanism, which advocates increased densities and the concentrated live-work-play environment, is contributing to the shopping center trend of the 2000s and mixed-use development. The success of mixed-use development, combining living, shopping and work space into one project, is related with the balance of uses, public spaces, convenience, and design characteristics. Lauren Langman argues that late twentieth century shopping centers provide center for social life that they provide consumers with a sense of community that is perhaps missing in the interior.

Shopping Centers are categorized according to the International Council of Shopping Center (ICSC) definitions for Europe as follows: 133

A traditional shopping center is an all-purpose scheme that could be either enclosed or open-air and classified by size. Specialized shopping centers include specific purpose built retail schemes.

Very large shopping center has an extensive variety of general merchandise, apparel, furniture, home furnishing and a variety of services and recreational facilities. These shopping centers have a GLA of 80,000 m² or more.

Large shopping center has one or two department stores, thirty to fifty shops, recreational activities, a community meeting place, cinemas and parking facilities. It serves a population between 100,000 to one million or more residing within 30 minutes driving time of the site¹³⁴ and has a GLA between 40,000m² and 80,000 m² and has open and landscaped malls within the site.

¹²⁹ Journal of Shopping Center Research 12, no.1, (Spring/Summer 2005).

¹³⁰ R. Hemakom, "New Directions," *Journal of Housing and Community Development* 59 (September/October 2002): 32-40.

¹³¹ R. Bartlett, "Testing the 'Popsicle Test': Retailing of Retail Shopping in New Traditional Neighborhood Development," *Urban Studies* 40, no. 8 (2003): 1471-1485.

Lauren Langman, "Neon Cages: Shopping for Subjectivity," in *Lifestyle Shopping: The Subject of Consumption*, ed. Rob Shields (London: Routledge, 1992), 41-83.

¹³³ Banu Aksel, *Impact of Shopping Centers on the Fragmentation of the City Center* (Middle East Technical University, Unpublished PhD Thesis, 2009).(This categorization of shopping centers is cited from Banu Aksel's study).

¹³⁴ Eugene Kelley, Shopping Centers: Locating Controlled Regional Centers, (The Eno Foundation for Highway Traffic Control, Connecticut, 1956).

Medium shopping center provides a wide range of facilities for the sale of soft good lines like clothing and hard good lines like furniture; has professional offices and usually a bank or bank branches. Parking facilities are also provided in these shopping centers. The typical size of a medium shopping center is between 20,000m² and 40,000 m² of GLA and it serves a 15,000 to 30,000 population.

Small shopping center serves the needs of localized areas within the city and satisfies day-to-day living needs of the immediate neighborhood. It serves a minimum of 750 families and consists of a supermarket, a drugstore and a few service stores with a food court. Small shopping center is the smallest type of shopping center with a GLA between 5,000m² and 20,000 m².

Retail Park comprises mainly medium- and large-scale specialist retailers.

Factory Outlet Center provides discounted prices that may be surplus stock, prior season or slow selling for the consumer with separate store units, where manufacturers and retailers sell merchandise.

Theme-Oriented Center includes some retail units and typically concentrates on a narrow but deep selection of merchandise within a specific retail category.

The shopping centers are also defined according to their size, design, and tenant mix, which are classified into three groups by Tubridy. The first category is the *regional* and super regional centers that are typically enclosed. The walkway or "center" is climate-controlled and lighted, flanked on one or both sides by storefronts and entrances, with on-site parking usually provided around the perimeter of the center. The second type of center is the *hybrid center*, which has characteristics of both enclosed common areas and open air centers, and incorporates elements found in regional centers. Hybrid centers represent a very upscale strip plaza-shopping environment with the combination of an enclosed shopping mall. The last type of mall is the *value-oriented center*, with a pronounced orientation toward outlet and off-price tenants, as well as entertainment elements such as playgrounds. The cases in the United States are both super-regional and hybrid malls by their design and size. On the other hand, the Turkish malls in this study can be defined as regional malls.¹³⁵

M. Tubridy, "US Large center openings, 2004-2005," accessed on March 6, 2005 from http://www.icsc.org/srch/rsrch/researchquarterly/rqindex/QuarterlyIndex.pdf. Aydın Özdemir, An Exploratory Study of Interpersonal Distances and Perceived Spaciousness and Crowding in Four

2.5. Privatized Spaces and the Exclusion of 'Others' by Shopping Centers

The recent interest in public space is partly due to the increase in privatization. Today almost all space is owned by somebody-government, private organizations, private individuals, financial institutions or public-private partnerships. Anna Minton states that the idea of 'free space' or 'open plan' space is only occasionally discussed and particularly as a utopian idea... rare in practice. 136 Usually private spaces are controlled by security officers or monitored by video cameras. Privatized spaces rarely enable a wide range of social and political activities that contribute to the public life in cities and may exclude public action. In contrast, streets and squares or parks offer opportunities for a wide variety of activities to being in public. It is primarily in these spaces that the city exhibits the key features of urbanity: access, freedom of choice, density and the intermixing of different kinds of people and activities. The web site of the Project for Public Spaces (PPS) (2000) indicates that successful public spaces should perform four main functions: 'access and linkages', 'purpose and activities', comfort and image', and 'sociability'. 137 As a principle, in urban public spaces groups or individuals have been able to represent themselves and their interests for political as well as cultural purposes. Through diversity of activities or users the 'publicness' of parks, squares, sidewalks, etc. is high, whereas privatized spaces, which are totally managed environments, provide 'publicness' for only particular groups. According to Franck and Paxson "the concept of publicness refers both to the physical attributes of a space and, more importantly, to its social and behavioral features. Public spaces vary in the degree of publicness they possess and exhibit: the greater the diversity of people and

Shopping Malls across Two Cultures (North Carolina State University,. Unpublished PhD Thesis 2005).

Anna Minton, "The privatisation of public space," accessed on March 13, 2006 from http://www.annaminton.com/Privatepublicspace.pdf.

¹³⁷ Project for Public Spaces is a nonprofit organization dedicated to helping people create and sustain public spaces that build stronger communities. Founded in 1975, PPS embraces the insights of William (Holly) Whyte, a pioneer in understanding the way people use public spaces. Today, PPS has become an internationally recognized center for best-practices, information, and resources about Placemaking. http://www.pps.org/about/approach/

activities allowed and manifested in a space, the greater its publicness." Therefore privatized spaces, particularly shopping centers are usually referred to as 'semi-public spaces', 'quasi-public spaces' or 'pseudo-public spaces'.

Today in many cities shopping in private shopping centers have largely replaced street shopping activity and have attracted scholars as a subject of research with reference to their role in public life.¹³⁹ Goss states "Large shopping centers have increasingly come to characterize contemporary Western retail, above all North America, where they already represented 50 percent of sales at the beginning of the 1990s." On one hand, these places are characterized by only commercial or leisure-time activities unlike public spaces of cities, which are associated with diverse human relationships, and non-commercial activities. On the other hand, access to these privatized places is controlled by private ownership. As a general principle private security officers enforce order while using their powers to exclude 'others', like the homeless, certain teenager groups, ethnic minorities etc.¹⁴¹ In sum, urban public space is increasingly discussed with reference to 'semi-public space', 'exclusion', and further 'social and spatial segregation' while certain authors warn against 'the end of public space'. In Richard Sennett's lament for "the fall of public man" the 'flâneur' replaces the 'public man' in a privatized world where the degree of publicness and privacy is

¹³⁸ Karen A. Frank and Lynn Paxson, "Women and Urban Public Space: Research, Design, and Policy Issues," in *Public Places and Spaces*. eds. Irwin Altman and Ervin Zube. (New York and London: Plenum Press, 1989), 131.

¹³⁹ Crawford, The World in a Shopping Mall." Shields, Lifestyle Shopping. Goss, "The Magic of the Mall': An Analysis of Form, Function, and Meaning in the Contemporary Retail Built Environment." Madanipour, Design of Urban Space. Gottdiener, Recapturing the Center: A Semiotic Analysis of Shopping Malls." Voyce, "The Privatisation of Public Property: the Development of a Shopping Mall in Sydney and its Implications for Governance through Spatial Practices," Urban Policy and Research 21, no. 3 (September 2003): 249–262.---, "Shopping malls in Australia: The end of public space and the rise of 'consumerist citizenship'?".---, "Shopping Malls in India: New Social 'Dividing Practices'," Economic and Political Weekly (June 2, 2007). Southworth, "Reinventing Main Street: From Mall to Townscape Mall,". Lynn Staeheli and Don Mitchell, "USA's Destiny? Regulating Space and Creating Community in American Shopping Malls'," Urban Studies 43, no. 5/6 (May 2006): 977–992.

¹⁴⁰ Goss, "The 'Magic of the Mall': An Analysis of Form, Function, and Meaning in the Contemporary Retail Built Environment."

Crawford, "Contesting the Public Realm: Struggles over Public Space in Los Angeles." Leonie Sandercock, "From Main Street to Fortress: the Future of Malls as Public Spaces – OR– 'Shut up and Shop'," *Just Policy* 9 (1997): 27-34. John Allen, "Ambient Power: Berlin's Postdamer Platz and the Seductive Logic of Public Spaces," *Urban Studies* 43, no. 2 (February 2006): 441-445. Voyce, "Shopping Malls in India: New Social 'Dividing Practices'."Minton "Privatisation of Public Space."

increasingly controlled resulting in a social homogeneity in these newly privatized spaces of the urban scene.¹⁴²

Studies from the United States often argue that shopping centers are public spaces that create sociability, civility and commerce. However, certain scholars in Australia have criticized shopping centers for being designed and regulated to exclude particular groups. 143 Certain scholars argue that the regulation of the spaces in a center may be intended to create 'community' rather than belonging to the 'public' as a whole. 144 Staeheli and Mitchell's study shows that centers stand for civility and community, rather than publicity. Certain shopping centers may provide designated places that incorporate security, familiarity, identity, and (for some) control. ¹⁴⁵ These places are not traditional gathering places like city squares, parks, and sidewalks. Many centers, such as Carousel Center Center in Syracuse, New York offer community rooms that non-profit organizations can use for meetings or for special events. However, it is not clear, for example, that the rooms can be used by a wide variety of groups, in other words, by the 'public'. Regarding the qualities of access, particularly 'access to information' and 'access to activities', these community rooms are not well advertised, and the use of these spaces are expensive. In other words, the extent of publicness of these spaces is low. Hence "the regulation of new spaces in the centers contorts the political potential of public space and the quality of publicity in and through it." ¹⁴⁶

Mona Abaza examines the public life of the Middle East and Southeast Asia through the case of shopping centers as public spaces. She indicates that, for instance, in Egypt shopping centers provide newly built environments for sociability and civility, particularly for women. She also indicates that people in Malaysia spend their time in shopping centers to escape the heat, and traffic jams. In other words, in Middle East and

¹⁴² Sennett, *Public Man*.

¹⁴³ R. White and A. Sutton, "Crime Prevention, Urban Space and Social Exclusion," *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology* 31, no.1 (1995): 82-99. Voyce, "The Privatisation of Public Property: the Development of a Shopping Mall in Sydney and its Implications for Governance through Spatial Practices." ---, "Shopping malls in Australia: The end of public space and the rise of 'consumerist citizenship'?" ---, "Shopping Malls in India: New Social 'Dividing Practices'."

¹⁴⁴ Staeheli and Mitchell, "USA's Destiny? Regulating Space and Creating Community in American Shopping Malls'."

¹⁴⁵ Kohn, *Privatization of Public Space*, 193.

Staeheli and Mitchell, "USA's Destiny? Regulating Space and Creating Community in American Shopping Malls'," 997.

¹⁴⁷ Mona Abaza, "Shopping Malls, Consumer Culture and the Reshaping of Public Space in Egypt."

Southeast Asia shopping centers represent a new space for mixing and social interaction. They are the places of entertainment which replace gardens and public spaces; and they are more public in comparison to Australian cases in terms of the extent of publicness.

In sum, it is clear that either US and European or non-Western shopping centers have kept sociologists busy since the early 1990s. However, similar to the cases mentioned above, a different and new urban lifestyle based largely on the shopping center has increasingly replaced urban public life since the early 1990s in Izmir, Turkey. For this reason, the main concern of this research is to examine the question of the 'publicness' of shopping centers based on two cases in Izmir.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

This study is structured in two main parts: The first part is a comprehensive and targeted literature review that aims to determine criteria and variables that can be utilized in testing/assessing the publicness of public spaces in order to supply the foundation for the field research. After having determined such criteria and related variables, the field research explores the relations between these variables in order to examine the levels of publicness in two case studies selected from Izmir, Turkey: Forum Bornova Life and Shopping Center in Bornova and Agora Shopping Center in Balçova.

Since one of the main goals of the study was to investigate the conditions of multiple cases, a careful and systematic data collection procedure was carried out to assess the shopping centers' levels of "publicness" of. 148 The reason to use the case study method as the research strategy of the study is "the ability of the researcher and her/his target audience to gain real insights into the nature of the phenomenon in the real settings," thus the testing of assumptions of the study at the setting of the two cases was imperative. 149 As the case study approach involves the systematic analysis and observation of the "case" unit, a comparative case study was designed so that the collected data would answer the research questions posed by the study defined in the first part. Other benefits of using case studies include: they may aid the researcher in achieving a detailed view of an event or situation beyond individual observation; thus, I could obtain a finer understanding of shopping centers, their spatial characteristics, their administration and their users' profiles and perceptions. This richness in detail may therefore lead to a better grasp of persons, groups, event, or situations as they take place in shopping centers; and the case study may aid in attaining effective information that cannot be collected by other techniques. 150

¹⁴⁸ Robert, K. Yin, Case Study Research: Design and Methods (London: Sage Publications, 1994).

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 1.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 1.

Yin defines three types of case studies: explanatory, exploratory and descriptive. Of the three kinds of case studies, the case studies of this research show the characteristics of explanatory and descriptive case studies.¹⁵¹ According to Yin, a case study is explanatory if it explains the causal links in real-life interventions that are too complex for the survey or experimental strategies and this research can be categorized as an explanatory case study.¹⁵² In other words this research seeks to first: set up and explain causal relations between the 'publicness' of a public space and three criteria: 'interest', 'access', 'agency' and second: to adapt these variables in order to evaluate 'publicness' of a shopping center through the research model.

The existing literature identifies criteria in relation to public space and its publicness. However, these criteria and related research were developed in various conditions and settings that were either not shopping centers, or did not focus on the question of shopping centers' publicness. It is specific to this study's goals to describe and if relevant adapt such criteria to shopping centers and then question hypotheses related to public space in shopping centers. Therefore, the two case studies conducted at the shopping centers aim to collect data about people's opinions or perceptions of the shopping centers areas as public places, as well as the user's experience of these places as physical settings in order assess their level of publicness.

As the case study necessitates, it is vital to follow the same methodological considerations throughout the study in order to provide reliable results and a usable hypothesis. Therefore, the same methodology was applied to the two cases in the form of direct observations, interviews, and questionnaires and the data gathered in each case were analyzed in order to describe their respective conditions. Then, the results of the analyses were compared for similarities and differences in each case regarding the centers' level of publicness. The details of how the research model was configured is described in the following.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 15.

¹⁵² Ibid., 15.

¹⁵³ Ibid., 15.

3.1. Research on Shopping Centers

Before proposing a model to examine the level of publicness of shopping centers, I did a research on studies on shopping centers with respect to the research questions asked regarding such centers, especially by means of a quantitative and statistical methodology. Shopping centers have been investigated with reference to walking distances and way finding in the context of architectural design, with reference to their role in market economy in the context of retailing studies, in terms of shopping complexes and their impact on urban environment in the context of planning discussions, with reference to consumer profile in the context of shopping behavior, etc. In Turkey, part of scholars considered shopping centers in reference to customer surveys. Other part of them focused on the spatial distribution of consumption on urban space. The number of other researchers studied on the non-spatial structure of the retail sector with respect to the quantitative data.

¹⁵⁴ Harmen Oppewal and Harry.J. P. Timmermans, "Modeling Consumer Perception of Public Space in Shopping Centers," Environment and Behavior 31, no. 1 (January 1999): 45-65. Aksel, Is A Commercial Complex An Urban Center? A Case Study: Bilkent Center (Middle East Technical University, Unpublished Ms. Thesis, 2000). ---. Impact on Shopping Centers on the Fragmentation of the City Center (Middle East Technical University Unpublished PhD Thesis, March 2009). Abaza, "Shopping Malls, Consumer Culture and the Reshaping of Public Space in Egypt." Cem Beygo, An Analytical Approach to The Shopping Centers In Istanbul Metropolitan Area Case Study; Levent-Etiler District, Akmerkez Shopping Center (İstanbul Technical University, Unpublished PhD Thesis, November 2001). Erkip, "The Shopping Mall as an Emergent Public Space in Turkey," Environment and Planning A 35, no. 6 (June 2003): 1073-1093. ---. "The Rise of the Shopping mall in Turkey: The Use and Appeal of a Mall in Ankara." Voyce, "The Privatisation of Public Property: the Development of a Shopping Mall in Sydney and its Implications for Governance through Spatial Practices." "Shopping Malls in Australia: The End of Public Space and The Rise of 'Consumerist Citizenship'?" ---. "Shopping Malls in India: New Social 'Dividing Practices'," T. A Arentze and Harry. J. P. Timmermans, "An Analysis of Context and Constraints-dependent Shopping Behaviour Using Qualitative Decision Principles," Urban Studies 42, no. 3 (March 2005): 448. Mert Kompil, Modeling Retail Structural Change Of İzmir Using A Dynamic Spatial Interaction Model (Izmir Institute of Technology, Unpublished Ms. Thesis, 2004). Mert Kompil and Murat Çelik, "Modeling, The Spatial Consequences Of Retail Structure Change Of Izmir Turkey: A Quasi-Empirical Application Of Spatial Interaction Model," in International Conference on Regional and Urban Modeling EcoMod (Global Economic Modelling Network) (Free University of Brussels at 1-2 June 2006 – Brussels).

¹⁵⁵ Aksel, *Commercial Complex*. Erkip, "The Shopping Mall as an Emergent Public Space in Turkey." "The Rise of the Shopping mall in Turkey: The Use and Appeal of a Mall in Ankara."

Kompil, Modeling Retail Structural Change Of İzmir 2004. Kompil and Çelik, "Modeling, The Spatial Consequences Of Retail Structure Change Of Izmir Turkey: A Quasi-Empirical Application Of Spatial Interaction Model."

E. Kumcu and M. E. Kumcu "Determinants of Food Retailing In The Developing Economies: The Case of Turkey," *Journal of ZaZXCMacromarketing* (Fall 1987): 26-40. Yonca Boyacı and Nebahat. Tokatlı, "The changing retail industry and retail landscapes: The case of post-1980 Turkey," *Cities* 15, no. 5, (1998): 345–359.

There are studies that focus on shopping centers with reference to the specific context of shopping centers as public places in order to investigate public life, but these scholars have refrained from making quantitative evaluations. In Turkey, there is no critical study focusing on the shopping centers in terms of understanding the extent of the level of "publicness" of these places. Therefore this study is situated within the field of public space studies, yet it aims to evaluate shopping centers's level of publicness first and foremost via a quantitative methodology in addition to a qualitative methodology.

By the 1990s, it became evident that shopping centers had significant impacts on the city and its public spaces. The choices for their location also raised questions of social inequality. Two common trends emerge in the research literature on shopping centers. The first trend focuses on social segregation in the city with reference to image, culture, exclusion and consumption. The second deals more narrowly with retail development and rental determination. These studies of retail development tend to provide a statistical analysis of trading performance and economic impact following the opening of a new center and they are often utilized to make better location decisions and spatial analyses. They either on focus on finding the major dimensions of investment in space or on the assessment of the relative influence of these dimensions on retail patronage, which makes them directly related to retail geography.¹⁵⁸ Geographic information systems (GIS), normative models and spatial interaction models remain at the methodological core of these studies.

In the first trend there are studies which served as relevant precedents for this study, which describe the shopping center as an extended milieu with spatial and social characteristics that match the new identity demands of citizens. These studies aim to explore the user profiles of shopping centers as mentioned above in terms of culture, image, social exclusion and consumption. These studies utilize various observations on site, and in-depth interviews to gather information on users' personal views. The main research question for these studies is "To what extent do particular shopping center attributes influence the perception of public space in retail environments?" The data and information used for evaluation are gathered by extensive survey questionnaires filled

¹⁵⁸ Oppewal and Timmermans, "Modeling Consumer Perception of Public Space in Shopping Centers."

out by users of these selected shopping centers. For example, for the field survey, after several on-site observations and a pilot study, a questionnaire with rating scale consisting of questions related to site and user characteristics is utilized. Gender, age and occupation of the respondent in addition to the opinions asked about various characteristics of the center and use patterns can be recorded, as well as the time and hour of their visits. Besides shopping these patterns include leisure—using it without buying anything—and socialization—using the mall with family and friends. Feyzan Erkip's study on Bilkent Center in Ankara uses this methodology to evaluate user groups. In evaluation the answers to the questionnaire, she applies cross-tabulation and chi-square analysis in order to analyze the characteristics of the user groups, in addition to the principal components analysis to cluster the factors affecting the use of the mall.

Erkip's study aims to demonstrate the shopping center as an emerging public space and argues that it is turning out to be one of the most important sites for the transformation of Turkish urban life. ¹⁶² In other words, it emphasizes the malls as important spaces in terms of civilization, modernity, and the democratization of consumption patterns.

3.2. How to Assess "Publicness?"

According to Madanipour, Akkar, Timmermans, Tiesdell, Talen, Paşaoğulları and Doratlı it is possible to examine the level of publicness of public space. ¹⁶³ The

¹⁵⁹ Erkip, "The Rise of the Shopping mall in Turkey: the use and appeal of a mall in Ankara"

J. Stevens, Applied Multivariate Statistics for the Social Science (Lawrence Erlbaum, New Jersey, 1986). D. Howitt and D. Cramer, A Guide to Computing Statistics with SPSS for Windows (Pearson Education Ltd, Essex, 1999).

¹⁶¹ Erkip, "The Rise of the Shopping mall in Turkey: The Use and Appeal of a Mall in Ankara."

¹⁶² Erkip, The Shopping Mall as an Emergent Public Space in Turkey."

Madanipour, "Dimensions of Urban Public Space: The Case of the Metro Centre, Gateshead," 46. Oppewal and Timmermans, "Modeling Consumer Perception of Public Space in Shopping Centers." E.Talen, "Measuring the Public Realm: A preliminary Assessment of the Link Between Public Space and Sense of Community," *Journal of Architectural and Planning Research* 17, no. 4 (2000): 344-359. Nil Paşaoğulları and Naciye Doratlı, "Measuring accessibility and utilization of public spaces in Famagusta," *Cities* 21 no. 3 (2004): 225-232. Akkar, "The changing 'publicness' of Contemporary Public Spaces: A Case Study of the Grey's Monument Area, Newcastle upon Tyne," *URBAN DESIGN International* 00 (2005): 1–19. George Varna and Steve Tiesdell, "Assessing the Publicness of Public Space: The Star Model of Publicness," *Journal of Urban Design* 15, no. 4 (2010): 575-598.

following two sections aim to investigate whether publicness can be assessed and what criteria can be utilized for such an assessment.

Ali Madanipour argued that the publicness of a public space can be assessed by evaluating its processes of development and use regarding the criteria of access, actor and interest in his study of the Metro Centre in Gateshead which is a regional-level shopping mall in the Newcastle-Gateshead area in Britain. This evaluation was based on data drawn from publicly accessible documentation such as news media, reports and formal studies, focused interviews with actors involved in the center's development and direct observation.

Two previous studies, first by Müge Akkar, and second by Naciye Doratlı and Nil Paşaoğulları have also argued that it is possible to examine the publicness and accessibility of public spaces in different ways. Hat is common to both of these studies is that their case areas are physical public spaces of cities, such as city square, bus station and neighborhood parks in Akkar's Newcastle-based study and Paşaoğulları and Doratlı's North Cyprus-based study. Thus, both studies intend to measure 'access to', 'publicness of', and 'utilization of' public spaces. Unlike Paşaoğulları and Doratlı's study which seeks to evaluate publicness chiefly via the 'accessibility' of public spaces, Akkar seeks to evaluate the 'publicness' of public spaces regarding accessibility as one criterion among others.

Therefore my research methodology is based on an evaluation and reinterpretation of these two studies' methodologies. At the same time, I intend to show the socio-spatial qualities and meanings attached to these places, highlighting the users' perspectives and their own definitions, conceptions, and interpretations of the extent of shopping centers' publicness. In determining the user groups of the shopping centers this study follows the example set forward by Feyzan Erkip. I will provide detailed information on her study in the following pages regarding user groups. Ultimately in terms of methodology, I aim to synthesize and reinterpret the methodologies of the three above-mentioned research studies.¹⁶⁵

Akkar, The 'Publicness' of the 1990s Public Spaces in Britain with a Special Reference to Newcastle upon Tyne (University of Newcastle upon Tyne Unpublished PhD Thesis, 2003. Paşaoğulları and Doratlı, "Measuring accessibility and utilization of public spaces in Famagusta."

¹⁶⁵ Erkip, The Shopping Mall as an Emergent Public Space in Turkey."

Müge Akkar's study, which focuses on the problems put forward and the methodology hinted at by Ali Madanipour, focuses on the question of the publicness of 1990s public spaces in Britain. ¹⁶⁶ Following an extensive research, she evaluates the publicness of two public spaces in Newcastle upon Tyne; Grey's Monument Square, and Haymarket Bus Station, which are physically public spaces. Akkar questions whether the extent of publicness of these public spaces increased or decreased after redevelopment projects that took place after the city went through a serious economic restructuring. What is of significant value for this study is that she proposes a model to assess the 'publicness' of a public space. The model is based on criteria that define the concept of 'public space' vs. 'private space'. Akkar analyzes the publicness of each public space under four stages of development which are 'planning and design', 'construction', 'management and maintenance', and 'use', as she performs this analysis with regards to the criteria of 'access', 'actor' and 'interest' for each stage.

The criteria that Akkar uses to evaluate the publicness of public space ('access', 'agency', 'interest') are derived from the model developed by Benn and Gaus in their study titled "*Public and Private in Social Life*" of 1983. However, in contrast with Benn and Gaus, Akkar prefers to use the criterion of 'actor' instead of 'agency'. She combines the concepts of 'agent' and 'agency' in the term 'actor'. According to her while 'agency' refers to a business or organization, 'agent' signifies a person. Therefore she prefers to use the term 'actor' to emphasize both individuals and organizations.

Akkar proposes that, with regard to the criterion of 'access', how far a public space is public, depends on how far a public space is open to everyone; and how far the activities and discussions or intercommunications in, and the information about the development and use processes and the resources of public space were/are open to all. Regarding the criterion of 'actor' therefore her study proposes that, how far a public space is public depends on how far it is owned, planned, designed, constructed, managed, and maintained by public actors; and how far it is used by the public.

Akkar's research proposes that public spaces constitute different extents of publicness, and the level of publicness depends on three variables. She examines causal relations that result in 'the decrease/increase in the 'publicness' of public space in terms

¹⁶⁶ Akkar, The 'Publicness' of the 1990s Public Spaces.

¹⁶⁷ Benn and Gaus, *Public and Private*, 7-11.

of before and after the development projects. Regarding the variable of 'access' two sets of causal relations are proposed: 'the increase/decrease in the physical accessibility of public space' and 'the increase/decrease in the accessibility of the activities and discussions, information, resources in the development and use processes'. Regarding the criterion of 'actor,' there are four sets of causal relations: 'how far a public space is owned, planned, designed, constructed, managed, and maintained by public actors', 'how far a public space is used by the public', 'the increase/decrease in the involvement of the public and public actors in the planning, design, construction, management, and maintenance stages of a public space', and 'how far the public space is developed through the presence of a forum'. Finally, regarding the criterion of 'interest' the causal relation is the 'increase/decrease in the extent of the public interest that a public space serves'.

Nil Paşaoğulları and Naciye Doratlı examine the variables affecting the accessibility of public spaces in the city of Famagusta, Cyprus. 168 They define public space as a focal point of neighborhood activity, which consists of parks, post offices, libraries, open spaces, space for recreation, lunchtime picnic points etc. They propose an approach which helps to assess the 'accessibility' and 'utilization of' these public spaces. They emphasize the relationship between the accessibility of public spaces via variables which are 'distance' (walking and travel), 'location', 'design of public space', 'time' (walking and travel), and 'proximity'. They argue "dispersion, proximity, and ways and means of accessibility have been identified as key variables, which would contribute to the assessment of the accessibility of public spaces." In other words, they evaluate these variables to measure accessibility. In addition, regarding utilization of public spaces 'comfort' and 'quality and aesthetic consideration' are determined as key variables. These variables were taken from Feyzan Erkip's studies 171

¹⁶⁸ Paşaoğulları and Doratlı, Measuring accessibility and utilization of public spaces in Famagusta."

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 227.

Each variable is highlighted with related theory as follows: Dispersion refers to 'dispersed located public spaces is preferable to concentrated located ones', Proximity refers to 'increase in the public spaces' accessibility when people live nearby', Ways and means of accessibility refer to 'physical structure and type of streets are effective on access' and 'public transport and car ownership enhance accessibility'.

¹⁷¹ Erkip, "The Shopping Mall as an Emergent Public Space in Turkey." ---. "The Rise of the Shopping mall in Turkey: The Use and Appeal of a Mall in Ankara."

on shopping centers in Ankara, Turkey. Paşaoğulları and Doratlı accepted these variables as the criteria needed to measure utilization of public spaces.

Feyzan Erkip's study on Bilkent Center in Ankara aims to demonstrate the user characteristics of this center to understand the Turkish situation in terms of shopping centers' influences on urban life in Turkey.¹⁷² After several direct observations and a pilot study for the field survey, she proposes a questionnaire with a rating scale that consists of questions targeting socio-demographic characteristics of users. This questionnaire is composed of three main variables and each variable includes various categories: (i) 'sex' (male/female), (ii) 'age' (15-20, 21-45, 46-65, 65+), and (iii) 'occupation' (self-employed / professional; employer / manager; employee / professional; retired / unemployed; housewife; and student).

3.3. Criteria for Assessing "Publicness"

This section aims to reveal the criteria, which help us to define "publicness" of public space. The studies mentioned above strongly demonstrate that publicness can be assessed if criteria in its makeup are investigated and its degree can be profiled. What has been common and central to all of the above-mentioned studies is the Benn and Gaus model of 1983. ¹⁷³ Before doing this, I revisited the theoretical background according to Benn and Gaus (1983), Dijkstra (2000) based on Arendt (1958), Carr, et. al. (1992) based on Kevin Lynch (1981), and Project for Public Spaces (2000). I, therefore, found it necessary to formulate the criteria that can help one assess the publicness of a shopping center via a rereading and critical evaluation of this model, which I give below.

Benn and Gaus make a clearer distinction between public and private with reference to the variables of (1) "access," (2) "agency," and (3) "interest" largely based on Arendt. Arendt sets out three criteria for the public realm: (1) "it must be accessible by all" (2) "it must be used by all" (3) "it must outlast one generation". These

¹⁷² Bilkent Shoping Center was built mostly in 1998 and is located approximately 15 km from the city center near a private university.

¹⁷³ Benn and Gaus, *Public and Private*.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., 7.

criteria of the public by Arendt was also interpreted by *Dijkstra* in terms of (1) "the lack of social segregation as an important indicator of that criterion," (2) "the level of tolerance to individual freedom in a public space," (3) "value of the public space for cultural identity is important"¹⁷⁵ respectively. *Carr, et al.*, define human dimensions of public space with regard to (1) "needs," (2) "meanings," (3) "rights" in the context of good open spaces. On the other hand, *Project for Public Spaces* define successful public spaces with regard to (1) "access and linkages," (2) "uses and activities," (3) "comfort and image," and (4) "sociability."¹⁷⁶

According to Benn and Gaus the criterion of 'access' includes four sub-dimensions: 'physical access', 'access to activities and intercourses', 'access to information', and 'access to resources'.

First, *physical access* is the access to the physical environment. Benn and Gaus argue that "places and spaces, like gardens, beaches, rooms and theatres are public when anyone entitled to be physically present in them; they are private when someone, or some group, having the right of access, can choose whether to deny or allow access to others." Based on this criterion, public space is the space that is open to all, all places in which everybody is entitled to be physically present.

The second sub-dimension is *access to activities and intercourses*, which allows us to define public space as space where the activities and discussions in its development and use processes are accessible to all. Benn and Gaus argue that "a public meeting is one to which anyone has access; a public discussion is at least one to which anyone may listen, or more public still, one in which anyone may participate." ¹⁷⁸

According to the criterion of *access to information*, we can define public space as the place where information related to development and use processes are accessible by all. Benn and Gaus argue that a piece of information is public if it is available to all

¹⁷⁵ Dijkstra, "Public Spaces: A Comparative Discussion of the Criteria for Public Space," 1-22.

Arendt, The Human Condition. Lynch, A Theory of Good City Form, Cambridge MA and London: MIT Press, 1981). Benn and Gaus, Public and Private. Carr et al., Public Space. Dijkstra, "Public Spaces: A Comparative Discussion of the Criteria for Public Space," (2000). http://www.pps.org/articles/grplacefeat/

¹⁷⁷ Benn and Gaus, *Public and Private*, 7.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., 7.

interested members of the society, such as the information about planning decisions, the design scheme, the phases of construction.¹⁷⁹

Based on the last sub-dimension of the criterion of access, *access to resources*, a public space is the space where resources are accessible to all. Before explaining the resources of a public space, it is crucial to define what a resource is. According to Oxford Dictionary, 'resource' is "A means of supplying a deficiency or need; something that is a source of help, information, strength, etc. A 'resource' is also "(a) an area with (abundant) natural resources; (in later use) *esp.* (*N. Amer.*) one designated for management and protection by an official agency; (b) a part of school, college, library, etc., in which a collection of learning resources are accessible. ¹⁸⁰Resources open to the use of all members of the society are 'public', whereas those restricted to an individual or a group, such as their owner are 'private' resources. ¹⁸¹ What are the resources of a public space? These can be in the form of economic resources or symbolic resources but public space, which might provide such resources, is a resource itself where these must be open to and accessible for all members of the society. ¹⁸²

Agency is the second criteria that defines public space, since public and private spaces can also be defined according to the public-private nature of actors such as, local and central government agencies, public corporations etc. Public actors act on account of a community or city. At this point, Benn and Gaus ask "what significance do your actions and decisions have for the status of other people?" Public actors have the responsibility to decide and behave on behalf of the people in general. If the place is managed, owned, planned, designed, constructed, and maintained by public actors, it becomes a public space. In addition, regarding public spaces, 'the public' might be classified either as 'public actor,' or as 'private actor' with reference to their income

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., 8.

http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/163768?rskey=zAsIhG&result=1&isAdvanced=false#eid25664098 (accessedon June, 2011).

¹⁸¹ Benn and Gaus, *Public and Private* 8.

According to Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, 'resource' supplies of raw materials, etc which bring a country, person, etc wealth. For example, natural resources such as oil and gas are resources, because, a country, an organization, or an individual can have and use them to increase wealth. On one hand, public space has economic resources, since it comprises economic value because of the land value and the values of the assets that it contains. Thus it has resources to increase wealth. On the other hand, having symbolic resource gives support and comfort for daily life of citizens also increase wealth.

¹⁸³ Benn and Gaus, *Public and Private*, 9.

(low, middle or high income groups), gender (men and women), age (children, teenager, elderly). Besides, 'the public' might be a 'certain number of people' who are involved. Hence, for instance, 'public' might refer to people living in the same neighborhood or area. According to Benn and Gaus "agency" and "access to resources" are overlapped.¹⁸⁴

The criterion of *interest* defines public space as space which serves the public interest (that which is in the best interests of all members of the society). The interest dimension of public space is related to the interest, which provides "either a service to any or every member of the community or the state considered as a *res publica*." Thus it is possible to define public interest as 'the interest which is common to', shared by everyone', 'the benefit of everyone, no matter what the role of each individual is' and 'the benefit of something which is equally important for everybody. For example, a street, city squares, and a public park create benefit for all. In addition, public interest is the benefit which is determined in the public realm via discussions made by public and public actors. Thus identifying who will get the benefit as a result of the use of resources enables us to make the public-private distinction.

According to Carr, et al. the publicness of spaces consist of five kinds of spatial rights: (1) "the right of access" as the right to enter and remain in a public space, (2) "freedom of action" as the ability to carry on activities in the public space, and as the "balance of users and activities", (3) "claim" as the ability to take over the space and resources in it", and "the rights of an individual or a groups to appropriate spaces for personal use", (4) "change" as the ability to modify the environment and "the availability to change a setting for any purpose", (5) "ownership and disposition" as the ultimate form of control." For *Kevin Lynch*'s good open space depends on possibilities that define public space: (1) "presence" as the right of access to place, (2) "use and action" involve one's ability to use a space, (3) "appropriation" allows users o claim ownership, either symbolic or real, of a site, (4) "modification" is the right to change a space to facilitate use, (5) "disposition" is the ability to transfer one's use and ownership of a public place. 186

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., 9.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., 10.

¹⁸⁶ Francis, "Control as a Dimension of Public Space Quality," 158.

Carr, et al. define 'access' as the main component for 'publicity' regarding (1) "physical access" which refers to physical environment, as the place in which everybody exists physically, and it provides entire 'openness', (2) "visual access" or "visibility" is related to public's perception in which they can see into the space from outside, so they can enter safely, (3) "symbolic access" or "social access" involves the presence of clues, in the form of people, design and management elements, suggesting who is and not welcome in the space.¹⁸⁷

Project for Public Spaces, on the other hand, determine the four main functions that successful physical public spaces should perform: (1) "access and linkages, you can judge the accessibility of a place by its connections to its surroundings, both visual and physical. A successful public space is easy to get to and get through; it is visible both from a distance and up close" (2) "uses and activities, activities are the basic building blocks of a place. Having something to do gives people a reason to come to a place – and return. When there is nothing to do, a space will be empty and that generally means that something is wrong., (3) "comfort and image, whether a space is comfortable and presents itself well – has a good image – is key to its success. Comfort includes perceptions about safety, cleanliness, and the availability of places to sit...," (4) "sociability, when people see friends, meet and greet their neighbors, and feel comfortable interacting with strangers, they tend to feel a stronger sense of place or attachment to their community – and to the place that fosters these types of social activities." 188

Dijkstra defines the criteria for public spaces with reference to Arendt's fundamental qualities of the public realm. For Dijkstra factors that affect "accessibility by all" are draw factor, cost of accessibility, physical proximity, residences, jobs, shops and food-drink facilities, boutiques and specialty stores, design, and non-physical influences. 189 "The draw factor", is important to measure that users are not only people that have jobs, shops, residences around, but also people who come for the "appeal the public space has." The cost of accessibility is dependent on two factors: "time and

¹⁸⁷ Carr et al., *Public Space*, 137-158.

http://www.pps.org/articles/grplacefeat/ (accessed on June 2011).

¹⁸⁹ Dijkstra, "Public Spaces: A Comparative Discussion of the Criteria for Public Space," 6.

money."190 Public space should be accessible in appropriate time and distance, and public transportation should be integral to the strategy of planning public spaces. "Physical proximity" defines the proximity of different land uses around public space, which affects the quality of publicness. According to Dijkstra, mixed-use areas such as squares increase the diversity of users who communicate with each other in public spaces. 191 On the other hand, "Accessibility by all" increases the variety of jobs near a public space. Regarding the city center and the importance of public space, Taşkın, et. al. state that "positioned closely to the Central Business District of Izmir, Konak Square includes a variety of jobs that range from official jobs and merchants to manufacturers and street-vendors. The price range of the shops, food and drink facilities, boutiques and specialty stores affect the types of users attracted to the public space." 192 According to Dijkstra, the "design" factor affects accessibility. For instance, if design allows only private car users, this can eliminate those without a car. 193 "Non-physical influences" are "restrictive rules" such as "drinking alcohol in public, the possession, use of selling of certain types of drugs, prostitution, graffiti, or drinking under age 21." He states that, these may change the usage and perception of a public space.¹⁹⁴

The criterion of being "used by all" is related to the activities that can be tolerated in the public spaces. *Control and power*, the rule-makers and laws can be discussed under this title. These issues are debated through the concepts of the "panopticon" or "anarchic spaces" depending on the degree of control over public space. If the sense of security is exaggerated, public spaces transform into "panoptic" spaces where people are under the pressure of surveillance. On the contrary, if any activity, which disturbs the others, is not prevented, this may cause chaos and anarchic spaces. Hence, any particular group should not dominate public space. ¹⁹⁵

According to *Arendt*, another criterion of publicness is that the place should "outlast one generation;" and it should provide *history for all*; that is *collective memory*. Historical artifacts symbolize the collective past. Knowledge about the artifacts, their

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., 8.

¹⁹¹ Ibid., 8.

Özlem Taşkın et al., "Transformation of Urban Public Space in Reinventing Local Identity," 42nd IsoCaRP Congress, Istanbul, Turkey (14-18 September 2006).

¹⁹³ Dijkstra, "Public Spaces: A Comparative Discussion of the Criteria for Public Space," 1-22.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., 1-22.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., 1-22.

preservation, authenticity and, originality are major symbolic values of the public space. 196

Consequently, all criteria above indicate aspects of public spaces and its publicness. They are related, and sometimes overlapped. From this point of view, the criteria that help us to assess to level of publicness which were directly used in field research were decided according to the theoretical framework described in the following section.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., 1-22.

 How to examine publicness? Defining the "public" and "private" 		
Hannah Arendt (1958)	Dijkstra (2000)	Carr, Francis, Rivlin, Stone (1992)
Three essential criteria for the public realm: 1. It must be accessible by all 2. It must be used by all 3. It must outlast one generation	 the lack of social segregation criterion the level of tolerance to individual freedom in a public space value of the public space for cultural identity 	Three broad dimensions of good open spaces 1. Needs 2. Meanings 3. Rights
Benn & Gaus (1983)	Kevin Lynch (1981)	The "publicness" of spaces consist of five kinds of spatial rights:

· Defining the criteria that the "publicness" of public space

 access to information access to resources

• Visual access (visibility) Symbolic-social access

2. Freedom of

Physical access

1. The right of

Five dimensions of spatial rights

Use and action Appropriation Modification Disposition

Presence

Sub-dimensions of access

Dimensions of publicness

 access to activities physical access

Agency Interest

Access

5. Ownership and disposition

4. Change 3. Claim

> Design & Management Recommendations Project for Public Spaces (2000)

- Access & Linkages for Public Open Space
 - Uses & Activities
- Comfort & Image
 - Sociability

Figure 3.1. Criteria of "Publicness" of Public Space derived from Literature Review

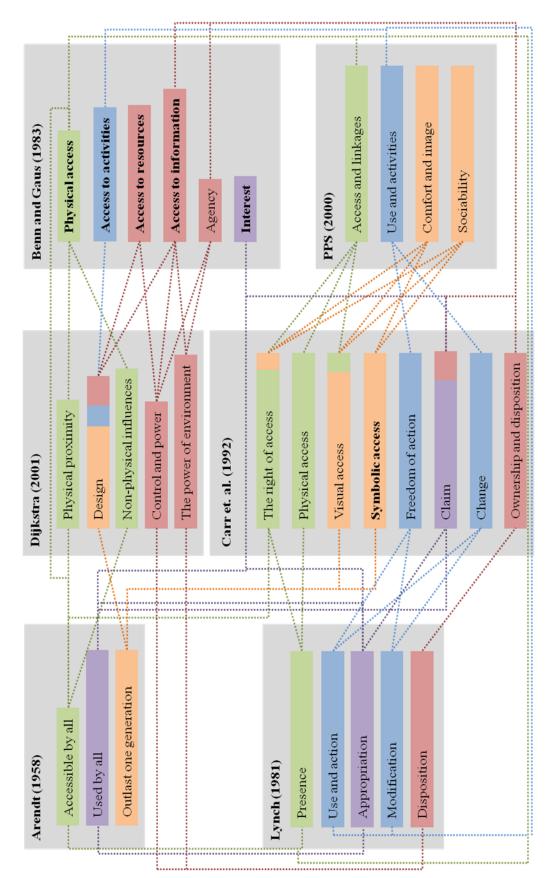


Figure 3.2. Relationships Between Dimensions of Publicness According to the Theoretical Background

3.4. Framework for Examining the Level of "Publicness" of a Shopping Center

This section roughly defines the framework for examining the level of publicness of a shopping center. The criteria that help to define the publicness of a public space as discussed in the previous section of the study are re-presented within the context of the shopping center, to establish their relevance for the field study in order that one can examine the "publicness" of shopping centers.

Based on the Ben and Gaus' model the relevant criteria should be access (composed of 'physical access', 'access to activities', 'access to resources', and access to information), agency and interest. Agency however, overlaps with access to resources, that is, agency determines who controls access to these resources. In addition to the above criteria that define access Carr et. al. argue that symbolic access should be added. Symbolic access points to the symbolic significance these places have for their visitors such as whether they see these places as places for activities other than shopping and there is a certain social image they might have of these spaces. Regarding the shopping center, this study argues that the relevant criteria are: 'interest', 'physical access', 'access to activities', 'access to resources', and 'agency', 'symbolic access'

In the context of *interest*, this study questions whether shopping centers are places for all members of the society, whether they provide such facilities and services not only in the interest of certain people, and whether they have a degree of openness to difference in terms of gender, age, income groups, diversity of educational background, occupation profile or openness to people with disabilities.

In the context of *physical access* this study questions whether shopping centers are physically accessible places to all in terms of physical proximity, time and money, and presence, and whether they provide linkages between urban spaces.

In the context of *access to activities*, this study questions whether shopping centers have access to activities and intercourse, and whether they provide an opportunity for their visitors to change the activities.

In the context of *access to information*, this study questions whether shopping centers shopping centers are places where information is accessible and visible to all.

In the context of access to resources and agency, this study questions whether the resources of shopping centers are open to the use of everyone in the society and aims to discuss the control of access to resources as a question of agency in shopping centers.

In the context of *symbolic access*, this study questions whether shopping centers are places where certain facilities, design elements, comfort and image may act as clues regarding the type of people who are desired to be present in these places and consequently whether a sense of exclusion prevails.

With reference to the main focus of the research, *Forum Bornova Life and Shopping Center* in Bornova, and *Agora Shopping Center* in Balçova are remarkable examples. I determined certain similarities and differentiations between two shopping centers that will help us propose variables and assess the extent of 'publicness' of the two. In the next chapter these two cases will be discussed in detail.

CHAPTER 4

CASE STUDIES: FORUM BORNOVA AND AGORA SHOPPING CENTERS

Shopping centers proliferate throughout Turkey. From Istinye Park in Istanbul to ANKACenter in Ankara, new private places based on shopping with entertainment and food are making their mark on the urban landscape. Such places are increasingly becoming the most popular attractions of public life and places of informal congregation. This research was carried out in Izmir, by focusing on two shopping centers: Forum Bornova Shopping and Life Center and Agora Shopping Center. ¹⁹⁷

These two cases have established themselves as important centers of public life in Izmir in comparison to other shopping centers which are less popular. While I will address in detail some of the features and characteristics of these two case studies, for the model that the study establishes in order to assess the level of publicness of a shopping center these two are adequate representatives. Forum Bornova is designed in the form of a pedestrian street, and it appears to be more 'public' in terms of its physical environment although it is at the periphery of the center accessible by the city ring road. Unlike Forum Bornova, Agora is located almost at the city center; making it more easily accessible by car and/or public transport.

¹⁹⁷ I will call them shortly Forum Bornova and Agora as they are known in public.



Figure 4.1. Shopping Centers in Izmir (Source: "İzmir Alışveriş Merkezleri.")



Figure 4.2. Locations of Forum Bornova and Agora in Izmir (Source: "İzmir Haritası.")

The first case study, Forum Bornova, is located northeast of the city and approximately 20 km from the city center, Konak and located in Bornova and directly accessible by car from the Izmir peripheral highway. With regard to the urban development of Izmir, which might be characterized as a linear city that wraps around the bay of Izmir, Forum Bornova is not situated as part of this development, but is linked to it via the peripheral highway. The shopping center was built by Multi Development Turkey in 2006, on land owned by the Ege University Foundation located

on Ege University's premises which was founded in 1955 on 3450000 m². Forum Bornova is linked to the university's campus via a long pedestrian-only walkway. The overall shopping center area is 62.000 m² including surface parking.



Figure 4.3. Location of Forum Bornova near Ege University (Source: "İzmir Üniversiteleri")

The shopping center is publicized with reference to the "Mediterranean street" as its design theme and is composed of a pedestrian street network on two levels linked by center piazzas, open, semi-open and closed spaces. There are 130 stores which consist of international and national clothing companies, electronic and household goods, shoe and leather brands, cosmetics and accessories shops, bookstores, cafes and restaurants, a food court, and entertainment area including movie theaters and serves 3000 vehicles for parking. In addition, Tesco-Kipa Hypermarket is part of the center and IKEA is positioned adjacent to the center easily accessible on foot.

¹⁹⁸ Multi Development Türkiye develops shopping centers that are called "Forums" like 'Forum Mersin', 'Forum Denizli' and 'Forum Aydın'. http://www.forumistanbul.com.tr/multi-development-turkiye-hakkinda.html.



Figure 4.4. Pedestrian area in Forum Bornova (Source: "Galeri.")



Figure 4.5. General view of Forum Bornova (Source: "Galeri.")

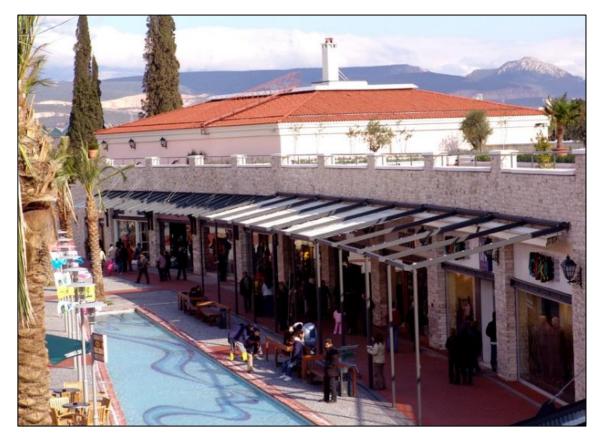


Figure 4.6. Stores outside Forum Bornova (Source: "Galeri.")

The second case, Agora, is located at west of Izmir and approximately 15 km from the city center, Konak. It is developed as part of the recent expansion of Izmir's retail core in Balçova which now is home to a strip of a shopping centers like Palmiye, Balçova Kipa, Asmaçatı, Egepark Balçova, and large hardware and electronics stores including Mediamarkt, Best Buy and Koçtaş. Although the building itself is placed parallel to the Izmir-Çeşme Highway, it is not directly accessible via the highway and is linked to the city center via Mithatpaşa Avenue.

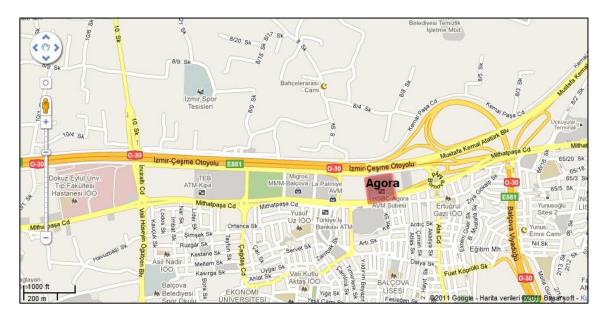


Figure 4.7. Location of Agora in Balçova (Source: İzmir Haritası.")



Figure 4.8. The interior of Agora (Source: "Agora Fotoğraf Galerisi.")



Figure 4.9. Restaurants outside Agora (Source: "Agora Fotoğraf Galerisi.")

Agora was developed by Odak Construction Engineering Mining Industry and Trade Incorporated Company in 2003 and due to its increasing popularity, was expanded to double its size in 2008. The building site was originally four separate parcels owned by different private shareholders and was unified after the development was decided. The building is composed of two separate blocks linked by elevated bridges and its spaces are organized around open and closed courtyards. The number of shops which was 85 in 2003 is now 178 shops and stores of national and international brands with a majority on clothing, shoes, and a number of electronics stores. With a food court, movie theaters, children's entertainment the center is home to a number of independent restaurants as well. There are no hypermarkets or supermarkets in Agora. Its closed built area which was 41000 m² is now 89000 m² and The number of closed parking spaces was increased from 1100 to 2100. What mainly characterizes the architectural space in Agora is its wide corridors situated along atria and its closed courtyards shared by its restaurants and cafes. According to the classification criteria by

the ICSC (International Council of Shopping Centers) Agora is categorized as a "traditional" shopping center. ¹⁹⁹

In examining the level of publicness of the above-mentioned shopping centers the research was conducted in three stages; first, direct observations by the author in the shopping centers; second, interviews with administrative personnel in charge of the shopping centers and finally a survey conducted with 200 visitors in each shopping center making a total sampling size of 400 visitors.

4.1. Direct Observation

Observation related to the particular characteristics of these two centers comprise an important aspect of the empirical studies in carrying out the research. Direct observation was used as a 'supplementary' technique alongside with the survey questionnaire in order to:

- give the illustrative dimension of the research
- describe the setting: On one hand, physical setting, environmental features, design elements and characteristics; on the other hand, social setting including people, behavior, activities, events and apparent feelings
- describe problems as well as favored aspects defined by
 - o interviews with the administrative and security staff
 - o interviews with visitors

In the early stages of the study, I visited both shopping centers at various times, and spent time in these places. The observations of these stages were unfocused and general in scope. Yet, in the later stages of the research, I went to the centers at different days and different times of the day (before noon and afternoon or weekends and weekdays) in order to carry out more focused observations. Observations pertain to what you see, what you hear or what you feel etc. regarding one's experience in these two centers. Therefore I recorded my observations in the form of short descriptions as part of my research on the level of the publicness of shopping centers.

¹⁹⁹ Arasta Dergisi, (July-August 2006).

In this specific section of the study, I will not be transmitting a record of these observations because I find it more useful to add such observations in the analysis of the survey data and the discussion section of the study. These recorded observations were not systematically analyzed as the survey questionnaire data were, but as subjective inferences of the author as I am a frequent visitor of these places. Of course the criteria of publicness almost always occupied my thinking on the experience of these centers, but I prefer to share such observations at the point where they are corroborated or invalidated by the survey data.

4.2. Interviews

Interviews were carried out with the executives of the two shopping centers for data collection. These were semi-structured interviews, that is, the questions of the interviews were prepared before interviews were conducted. Semi-structured interviews allow new questions to be brought up during the interview as a result of what the interviewee says. It means that, they are flexible, and the type of questions might be both closed- and open-ended.²⁰⁰ A closed-ended question constitutes an answer that has a limited set of response categories.²⁰¹ An open-ended question is open to the interpretation of interviewee and may result in longer explanations.

The questions were asked during the meetings with the management of two shopping centers to gather information that is more detailed and to clarify ambiguous responses on the level of publicness (see Appendix B). Although the conservations with the executives went according to the semi-structured questionnaire, I found it necessary to ask spontaneous questions. These questions were mainly structured to illuminate the management's own perspective of shopping centers or the specific center in question.

Like the survey questionnaire, the questions of the interviews targeted the management's view regarding 'interest', 'symbolic access', 'access to activities', 'access to resources', 'access to information', 'physical access'. In Appendix B a

²⁰⁰ B. Gillham, Case Study Research Methods (London: Continuum Cassell, 2000), 60.

A. Fontana and H. Frey, "Interviewing," in *Collecting and Interpreting Qualitative Materials* eds. N.K. Denzin and Y.S. Lincoln. (Thousand Oaks, London and New Delhi: Sage, 1998), 47-51.

detailed listing of these questions are given. Interview questions were prepared for each shopping center in order to understand according to criteria are:

For interest and symbolic access:

- in terms of user profile, that is whether they target a certain consumer profile
- their reservations on the profile or group profile of visitors, that is whether they would prefer restricting access

For access to activities

- activities that take place at this center
- whether there is a difference between the types of activities that take place in the weekend and during the week
- whether these activities are accessible by all or some of them are ticketed activities

For physical access

- if a mass transport shuttle serves this center
- the longest-distanced destination the visitors travel from
- whether they restricted someone's access

For agency and access to resources

- services and divisions in the shopping center
- who controls or are in charge of these services

For access to information

- whether the public was consulted before the center was opened
- whether there were any public meetings open to participation
- whether the opening was declared via news media
- whether the center runs a website and the website has member subscription
- whether this website is updated and acts as news media
- whether the center distributes informal handouts and commercial ads

These interviews were conducted with Forum Bornova executives twice in October and once with Agora executives in November 2010.

The questions intended to gather information about executives' general perspective regarding the characteristics of shopping centers, however this did not prevent the managers from making their personal comments. The interviews were

highly revealing of the two executives' priorities. For the manager of Forum Bornova the design characteristics of the center secured its success. The open space form designed like "Mediterranean streets', succeeded in making the exterior spaces the most preferred areas of the center. He shared that user comments were overwhelmingly positive. The manager indicated the number of the stores and car parking area, supplied an architectural drawing of the center, an activity calendar and he gave his feedback on an earlier form of the questionnaire. The documents and information he shared were useful in understanding the basic characteristics of Forum Bornova.

In Agora, the management was more concerned on increasing sales by attracting more users to the shopping center. He mentioned general management strategies of the center, new stores and restaurants openings, and the construction of the second part of the building. The executive of the center pointed out the general character of the center as a "prestigious" shopping center of the city and region.

4.3. The Survey

In addition to semi-structured interviews with executives, structured interviews were conducted on site with shopping center visitors according to a survey questionnaire. This questionnaire was prepared before the interviews. The type of questions were a mix of closed-ended and open-ended questions. A closed-ended question constitutes an answer which has a limited set of response categories. The main purpose of the structured interview was to understand the use patterns of these two shopping centers, and to examine the related level of publicness associated with the use patterns. After several on-site observations the survey questionnaire which consisted of 37 questions with a rating scale was prepared. The questions aimed to get respondents' view of the shopping centers' main characteristics and the factors that determine the relationship of their users to these shopping centers. Three independent surveyors and the author conducted the survey in September and October 2010. All the interviews were face-to-face with respondents randomly selected from shopping center visitors.

²⁰² Gillham, Case Study, 60.

²⁰³ Fontana and Frey, "Interviewing," 52.

The survey addresses a host of issues and questions in order to understand the sense of publicness that visitors attribute to these shopping centers in relation to 'access', 'agency', and 'interest' which this study holds as the most important criteria that affect the level of publicness: What generally attracts people to these places? Why do they prefer to spend time in these shopping centers? Do users perceive these shopping centers as places to meet and interact with other people and to gather in public, or both? What kinds of activities or attractions do users engage in while visiting these shopping centers? Do users who were interviewed for the survey utilize urban public spaces other than shopping centers? How do these two shopping centers compare with each other in terms of accessibility and utilization? Does gender, age, occupation, income, marital status, number of children, physical disability, home/car ownership, level of education, districts in which the respondents live as well as the time and hour of their visits and ease in reaching these shopping centers play a role in the respondents pattern of visiting these centers?

What follows is a brief description of how the survey questionnaire was prepared and conducted.

4.3.1. Preparing The Survey Questionnaire and Its Application

The 37 questions in the survey questionnaire are distributed to six main sections. Each section includes different questions with certain questions followed by additional questions of related detail in order to gather data regarding criteria that factor into a shopping center's level of publicness. The questions which make up the sections and the sections that make up the questionnaire were not arranged with reference to a hierarchy of importance. The survey questionnaire was divided into sections regarding 'interest', 'symbolic access', 'access to activities', 'access to resources', 'access to information' and 'physical access'. These 6 sections, as indicated in the chapter on research design and methodology, were prepared as a result of my interpretation of Ben and Gaus's Model and the study conducted by Carr, Francis et. al. Respondents were randomly selected in the two shopping centers. Sample size of the inquiry is 0.5% in total.

4.3.1.1. Section 1: Interest

The first part of the questionnaire included 11 questions asked to determine the socio-demographic characteristics of users based on the criterion of 'interest', or namely on 'who visits these places?' This part of the survey aims to examine the level of publicness in the two cases regarding 'openness to all members of society'. In other words, the survey aimed to examine the demographic characteristics of the respondents from each of the two shopping centers.

Basic personal information (*Q1* Sex: Female or Male), (*Q2* Age), (*Q3* Level of Education: Primary or Secondary or Undergraduate or Graduate or PhD or none), (*Q4* Profession/Occupation), family structure (*Q5* Marital Status: Married or Single), (*Q6* Number of Children) disability (*Q7* Physical Disability), average income levels (*Q8* Average Monthly Income: Personal or Household) and material goods (*Q9* Home ownership), (*Q10* Car Ownership), and mode of visit (*Q11* Who are you with?) were asked in the first 11 questions and answers to these questions are expected to provide a basic examination of interest and socio-demographic characteristics of respondents. (see Appendix A – Survey Questionnaire).

In Section 1: Interest, the respondents were not restricted to answer Q2 (age), Q4 (profession/occupation), and Q8 (income level) according to the categories that the author classified them for statistical purposes. In other words when the respondents stated their exact age their classification were made according to the intervals specified by TUIK (Turkish Statistics Institute). Regarding occupation when the respondents gave a specific answer the author classified them according to occupational categories such as self-employed/employer/professional or employee/professional, retired/unemployed, or housewife and student. In other words, raw data was classified after the survey. For occupational categories, the study has adopted the categories used by Feyzan Erkip.²⁰⁴ Following Erkip and others, although housewife and student are not strictly occupational categories in the sense of income generation, they serve as an important category in identifying users and are categorized as occupational. In answering Q8 on income asking both personal and household income, respondents had the tendency to

²⁰⁴ Erkip, "The Rise of the Shopping mall in Turkey: The Use and Appeal of a Mall in Ankara."

state a single amount. Therefore, after the first date the survey was conducted regarding only household income, which the author decided as sufficient. The data intervals for income level were set according to the minimum income level of 599 TL set by KESK.²⁰⁵

Q11 was designed for four interval values, which were 'alone', 'with children', 'with family' and 'with group of friends'. However, after conducting the questionnaire the data was recorded with reference to three interval values, 'with children' and 'with family' was unified into 'with family'.

Table 4.1. Database for Section 1: Interest

W 111 G 1	77 • 11 N				
Variable Code	Variable Name				
Q1	gender				
Q1-1	female				
Q1-2	male				
Q2	age				
Q2-1 to Q2-11	15 to 65+				
Q3	level of education				
Q3-1	primary				
Q3-2	secondary				
Q3-3	undergraduate				
Q3-4	graduate				
Q3-5	PhD				
Q3-6	none				
Q4	occupation				
Q4-1	self-employed/employer/professional				
Q4-2	employee/professional				
Q4-3	retired/unemployed				
Q4-4	housewife				
Q4-5	student				
Q5	marital status				
Q5-1	married				
Q5-2	single				
Q6	number of children				
Q6-1 to Q6-3	1 to 3 or more				

(cont. on next page)

²⁰⁵ www.kesk.org.tr, Kamu Emekçileri Sendikaları Konfederasyonu (The Confederation of Public Sector Labor Unions).

Table 4.1 (cont.)

Q7	physical disability		
Q8	average monthly income		
Q8-1 to Q8-5	600 to 3500 or more (TL)		
Q9	home ownership		
Q10	car ownership		
Q11	accompanying person(s)		
Q11-1	alone		
Q11-2	with family		
Q11-3	with friends		

4.3.1.2. Section 2: Symbolic Access

In this section questions were asked, on one hand, to examine relationships between visitors and two shopping centers: 'How frequently do they visit?', 'Do these places have symbolic meanings?', 'Do visitors think of the shopping center as a social space?' or 'this is the place where they are meet others or friends' 'Why do they prefer these shopping centers?' etc. In analyzing the level of publicness through the criteria of symbolic access, questions were asked to find out the 'duration of visits', that is how much time they are willing to spend in these places, and 'what are the other places that the visitors go for shopping, fun, and relaxation except for shopping centers', and whether they feel detached from the city that they live in or as part of the city when they are in a shopping center'.

Questions 12 to 14 were specifically asked to find out the duration and frequency of visits and their time of familiarization with the shopping center in question. (Q12 How long have you been visiting this shopping center? Q13 How frequently have you been visiting this shopping center? Q14 How long do you usually spend at this shopping center?). The answers given to these questions, in the process of categorization were classified according to the answers that the visitors gave. Respondents answered Q12 like "since the opening", "since a long long time, I couldn't remember" or "since two-three years." For this reason, I designed the variable recording as a five interval category: 'first time', 'less than six months', 'six months to two years', 'more than two years', 'from the beginning'. Similarly, in designing the variables of Q13, during the recording of the data I categorized the respondents' answers like "daily," "two times a week," "once a week," "once a fortnight," "once a month," "once

a year" etc. Then, I designed the variables for Q12 as a four-interval category: 'never/today for the first time', 'once every few months', 'once every few weeks', 'once a week or more', and 'daily'. Finally, respondents answered Q14 like "a very short time," "1 to 2 hours," "3 to 4 hours," "whole day" etc. I considered these responds to finalize the interval category of Q14 as 'less than 1 hour', '1 to 2 hours', '2 to 3 hours', and 'more than 3 hours'.

The frequencies of these variables are regarded as an indicator of the level of publicness. For example, if the most of the respondents visited the center since the beginning, the level of the publicness of this center is high or, if the distribution of 'the first time visiting' is high than the 'once a week or more', the level of the publicness is low.

Question 15 was asked to examine reasons why the visitors prefer Forum Bornova and Agora (*Q15* What are your reasons to prefer this shopping center?). I designed Q15 as multiple choice, but respondents could choose more than one item. This question includes 10 items which are 'location', 'transportation advantages', 'existence of shops, cafes and restaurants of preference', 'variety of goods and services', 'places to meet with friends and family', 'sense of security', 'climatic advantages', 'quality of places of entertainment', 'architectural quality', and 'quality of open and closed spaces'. These items emerged from the conceptual framework of the study. In other words, the items of Q15 are based on shopping center literature and the elements of symbolic (social) accessibility associated with public spaces.

The evaluation of the reasons to prefer is important in examining the level of publicness of shopping centers in terms of their symbolic values. Respondents might decide to go shopping centers before visiting because of the features and/or qualifications of these places. The assessment of the level of the publicness of the shopping center is based on the frequencies of these variables. For example, shopping center 'X' was preferred because of its location, whereas 'Y' wasn't preferred. This result shows us according to the variable of 'location' that the level of the publicness of 'X' is higher than 'Y'.

Questions 16 and 17 are related questions which were asked to find out 'the places which respondents would go to before Forum Bornova and Agora were built', and 'where do respondents go to places for fun, shopping, and relaxation except for shopping centers' (*Q16* Where would you go to for the activities you perform at this shopping center before this shopping center was built? *Q17* Where do you go to for fun,

for shopping and for relaxation except for shopping centers and how frequently?). Q17 includes a sub-question that was asked to find out the frequency of visiting places for fun, shopping, and relaxation except for Forum Bornova and Agora. These two questions were open-ended questions, in other words respondents of all said the name of the places where they came to the centers. In the data recording step, I designed the variables as a group: 'shopping centers', 'Alsancak/Kemeraltı/Konak', and 'Center of the District or City'. Considering Izmir and its symbolic places, I decided one variable should be 'Alsancak/Kemeraltı/Konak' since this district is a historical place and includes the most famous places, while Center of the District or City might mean that they either go to the center of the district that they live in such as Bornova center or Karşıyaka center or if the visitors are from outside Izmir, their respective city centers.

Question 18 (*Q18* Do you feel that you are in Izmir when you are at his shopping center?) was asked to find out respective distributions of respondents of Forum Bornova and Agora on whether they felt like in Izmir when they were at these two shopping centers. The results targeted whether the respondents' experience in these places gave them a sense of place, in this case specific to Izmir. The question also aimed to find out whether there were specific services or characteristics that reinforce a sense of place in connection to Izmir. This question was a 'yes/no' question.

In the assessment of the level of publicness of a shopping center, 'interaction with people' is a terribly important issue, since people feel that they are in a public space when they are in the presence of a "public." For this reason, question 19 (*Q19* When you are at this shopping center do you interact with people that you not know? If yes how?) was asked to reveal respondents' opinions of two shopping centers. This question was a 'yes/no' question as well. In the data recording step, I designed the variables as a group: 'through shopping', and 'to greet each other' for the sub-question of question 19 (how?).

Being a 'meeting place' is as important as 'interaction with people' in the assessment of the level of publicness of a shopping center. For this reason question 20 (*Q20* Is this place a meeting place for you and your friends?) was asked to find out the frequencies of respondents of Forum Bornova and Agora whether they used these places to meet their friends. In other words, Q20 was asked to examine characters of shopping centers in terms of whether they are social or symbolic spaces for gathering or to be in public. This question was designed as a 'yes/no' question. In the evaluation of

the Q18, Q19 and Q20 plurality of affirmative answers are expected to show that the center's level of the publicness is high.

Q21, the last question of section 1 (interest) was designed as an open-ended question. (*Q21* What is it that you most like or dislike about this shopping center?) In other words, I wanted visitors to add comments about the symbolic role of the shopping centers in their daily lives. But, almost all respondents gave similar answers in comparison to Q15 (*Q15* What are the reasons to prefer this shopping center?). For this reason, in the data recording step, for the evaluation of question 21, I designed the variables as a group: 'use profile', 'physical organization', and 'open spaces'. At the end for the statistical analysis, I evaluated Q15 and Q21 together.

Table 4.2. Database for Section 2: Symbolic Access

Variable Code	Variable Name	Variable Code	Variable Name
Q12	familiarity (since when)	Q17-1-8	for fun-frequency
Q12-1	first time	Q17-1-8-1	once a year
Q12-2	less than 6 months	Q17-1-8-2	once every few months
Q12-3		Q17-1-8-3	once every few weeks
Q12-4		Q17-1-8-4	once a week or more
Q12-5	from the beginning	Q17-1-8-5	daily
Q13	frequency of visiting	Q17-2	for shopping
Q13-1	never/today first time	Q17-2-1	Alsancak
Q13-2	once every few months	Q17-2-2	Kemeraltı/Konak
Q13-3	once every few weeks	Q17-2-3	center of the district/city
Q13-4	once a week or more	Q17-2-4	bazaar
Q13-5	daily	Q17-2-5	for shopping-frequency
Q14	duration of stay	Q17-2-5-1	once a year
Q14-1	less than 1 hour	Q17-2-5-2	once every few months
Q14-2	1 to 2 hours	Q17-2-5-3	once every few weeks
Q14-3	2 to 3 hours	Q17-2-5-4	once a week or more
Q14-4	more than 3 hours	Q17-2-5-5	daily
Q15	reasons to preference	Q17-3	for relaxation
Q15-1	location	Q17-3-1	Alsancak/Kordon
Q15-2	transportation advantages	Q17-3-2	İnciraltı
Q15-3	shops/cafes/restaurants	Q17-3-3	coastline of the city
Q15-4	variety of goods and services	Q17-3-4	countryside
Q15-5	place to meet	Q17-3-5	at home
Q15-6	sense of security	Q17-3-6	for relaxation-frequency
Q15-7	climatic advantages	Q17-3-6-1	once a year

(cont. on next page)

Table 4.2 (cont.)

	quality of entertainment		
Q15-8	Q15-8 places		once every few months
Q15-9	Q15-9 architectural quality		once every few weeks
Q15-10	quality of open/closed spaces	Q17-3-6-4	once a week or more
Q15-11	Q15-11 other (comment)		daily
Q16	previously used spaces	Q18	sense of the city
Q16-1	shopping centers	Q19	interaction
Q16-2	Alsancak/Kemeraltı/Konak	Q19-1	interaction-how?
Q16-3	center of the district/city	Q19-1-1	through shopping
			through to greet each
Q17-1	for fun	Q19-1-2	other
Q17-1-1	Alsancak/Kordon	Q19-1-3	none
Q17-1-2	coastline of the city	Q20	meeting place
Q17-1-3	Kemeraltı	Q21-1	like
Q17-1-4	İnciraltı	Q21-1-1	open spaces
Q17-1-5	center of the city/district	Q21-1-2	user profile
Q17-1-6	countryside	Q21-1-3	physical orientation
		Q21-2	dislike

4.3.1.3. Section 3: Access to Activities

In this section of the survey questionnaire, question 22 and 23 were asked to find out the reasons why respondents visit Forum Bornova and Agora (*Q22* What was your objective in coming to the shopping center today? What did you do? How much money do you spend on average? *Q23* When was the last time you came to the shopping center? What did you do? How much did you spend on average?) . In other words, question 22 was asked to find out 'what activities visitors do', 'what visitors do in these places?' and question 23 was asked to find out 'what activities visitors did previously'. The answers to these multiple-choice questions (Q22 and Q23) included the same categories: 'shopping', 'children-centered activities', 'adult-centered activities', 'food', 'stroll', 'entertainment', 'other____?'. These variables emerged from shopping center literature, and from my observations on the site. In the evaluation, frequencies of the variables would show access to activities, which activity affects and the degree that it affects the level of the publicness of the center. For example, if frequency of 'shopping' is higher than frequency of children-centered activities, it means that access to children-

centered activities is low. So, depending on children-centered activities, the center's level of publicness is low.

In the assessment of the level of publicness of a shopping center, 'access to activities' is another important criterion since respondents may sometimes visit shopping centers specifically to perform such activities. In addition, both questions 22 and 23 include sub-questions, which target the 'spending patterns of the respondents'. This part of the questions aimed to investigate whether the respondents who visited these two shopping centers with reference to certain activities spent money on these activities. For example, if the number of the respondents who only visit for a stroll is high without recourse to spending money this gives a level of publicness that is different than a case where the number of the respondents who spent money are high since income level plays a strong part in the level of publicness. They are either attracted to this shopping center independent of their income levels and do not associated it only with shopping and consumption or they feel like they can spend time in this place regardless of their second status.

Table 4.3. Database for Section 3: Access to Activities

Variable	
Code	Variable Name
Q22	objectives (today)
Q22-1	shopping
Q22-2	children-centered activity
Q22-3	adult-centered activity
Q22-4	food
Q22-5	stroll
Q22-6	entertainment
Q22-7	other
Q22-8	spending pattern
Q23	time of last visiting
Q23-a	never/today first time
Q23-b	last year
Q23-c	two months ago
Q23-d	last month
Q23-e	15 days ago
Q23-f	last week
Q23-g	in same week
Q23-h	yesterday

(cont. on next page)

Table 4.3 (cont.)

	Q23-i	today
Q23		objectives (previous visiting)
	Q23-1	shopping
	Q23-2	children-centered activity
	Q23-3	adult-centered activity
	Q23-4	food
	Q23-5	stroll
	Q23-6	entertainment
	Q23-7	other
	Q23-8	spending pattern

4.3.1.4. Section 4: Access to Resources

Section 4 (access to resources) consists of one question with a sub-question, but 24 items (Q24 In the use of the services and facilities listed below with which do you experience problems? What do you think lacks the most?) which are 'food', 'shops', 'parking', 'bike parking', 'ATM', 'WC', 'elevators', 'info booths', 'elevators for the handicapped', 'WCs for the handicapped', 'wheelchairs for the handicapped', 'parking for the handicapped', 'first aid', 'lost and found', 'dry cleaning', 'benches in corridors/circulation spaces', 'taxi stand', 'tailor', 'diaper change', 'payphones, 'shuttle service', 'car wash', 'wireless', 'playground area', 'sport center', and 'pharmacy'. Some of these items were derived from "Soysal Shopping Centers Catalogue" which lists facilities of these shopping centers and I decided to add other variables after the interviews with the managers of Forum Bornova and Agora. For each variable respondents were asked to give a 'yes/no' answer. For example, if Forum Bornova respondents answered yes to problems regarding resource 'X' higher than Agora respondents, it means that, in the context of the variable 'X' the level of publicness of Forum Bornova is lower than Agora. With reference to resource X this might mean the that either there is a problem regarding access to this resource either in the form of physical access or resource X is not available in the center that has a lower level of publicness.

²⁰⁶ Soysal Shopping Centers Catalogue,(2008).

Table 4.4. Database for Section 4: Access to Resources

Variable Code	Variable Name	Variable Code	Variable Name
Q24-1	food	Q24-14	lost and found
Q24-2	shops	Q24-15	dry cleaning
Q24-3	parking	Q24-16	sitting units
Q24-4	bike parking	Q24-17	taxi stand
Q24-5	ATM	Q24-18	tailor
Q24-6	WC	Q24-19	diaper change
Q24-7	elevators	Q24-20	payphones
Q24-8	info-booths	Q24-21	shuttle
Q24-9	elevators-handicapped	Q24-22	car wash
Q24-10	WC-handicapped	Q24-23	wireless
Q24-11	wheelchair	Q24-24	playground area
Q24-12	parking-handicapped	Q24-25	sport center
Q24-13	first aid	Q24-26	pharmacy

4.3.1.5. Section 5: Access to Information

In section 5, questions were asked to find out the degree of access to information that is whether the respondents had information regarding the existence of the center, whether they were consulted on the opening of such centers', whether they hear about activities and changes at the center. What this section aims most of all is to understand the center's position with reference to informing the public, in other words whether the management prefers to share information or to get feedback from the public on the center's activities etc.

Question 25 (*Q25* How did you learn about this shopping center?) was designed to learn 'how the respondents learnt the existence of the centers'. The respondents' answers were categorized with reference to answers such as 'on my way', 'from friends', 'from ads and commercials', and 'since its construction started.' If the percentage of ads and commercials are high in comparison to other variables, it indicates that the shopping center's management tends to share information with the public; therefore, its level of publicness regarding access to information is high. If the percentage of other variables happens to be higher, this may lead to several conclusions such as the advantage of the center's position in the city or its popularity regardless of position.

Question 26 (*Q26*) Were you consulted in any capacity during its construction?) was asked to investigate whether the centers themselves informed the public on opening or shared information, or whether the public was consulted for any matter regarding the shopping center such as its desirability, its characteristics, its place, its interventions into the life of the public it is supposed to serve. This was a yes/no question.

Questions 27 and 28 (*Q27* Do you hear about the activities that take place in this shopping center? If yes, how? *Q28* Do you hear about the stores that close/open/renovate at the shopping center? If yes, how?) were asked to examine whether respondents heard about changes that are taking place inside the center. In both questions the possible answers to 'if yes, how?' were via 'newspapers', 'leaflets and posters', 'internet/e-mail', 'tele-marketing via phone or sms.' The degree of positive answers to this question indicates the overall level of publicness depending on access to information as preferred by the centers and the degree of yes with regards to media indicates the level of publicness regarding specific media, hence pointing towards inclusiveness or exclusiveness in sharing information. As the survey was conducted the majority of the respondents answered that they received information either via 'friends' or 'during their visits' which led me to add these two categories to statistical evaluation.

Table 4.5. Database for Section 5: Access to Information

Variable Code	Variable Name
Q25	information about the center
Q25-1	on my way
Q25-2	friends
Q25-3	ads/commercials
Q25-4	since its construction
Q25-5	other
Q26	consultation
Q27	information about activities
Q27-1	newspapers
Q27-2	leaflets
Q27-3	internet/e-mail
Q27-4	telemarketing via phone or sms
Q27-5	friends
Q27-6	during visits
Q28	information about close/open/renovate stores
Q28-1	newspapers
Q28-2	leaflets

(cont. on next page)

Table 4.5 (cont.)

Q28-3	internet/e-mail
Q28-4	telemarketing via phone or sms
Q28-5	friends
Q28-6	during visits

4.3.1.6. Section 6: Physical Access

Section 6 (physical access) was designed to examine the shopping centers as a destination that is physically accessible. Questions 29 to 31 asked to find out the districts or cities the respondents' 'came from', 'lived in', and 'worked at'. (*Q29* From which city or district did you come to the shopping center?, *Q30* Which district or city do you live?, *Q31* Which district or city do you work at?) For these three questions I recorded the data, i.e., 'Balçova', 'Bornova', 'Kemalpaşa', 'Evka 2' or 'Manisa'. Then I grouped these districts in the form of zones on the Izmir map supplied by Google (see Figure 4.10 below). This zoning was prepared after evaluating raw data according to the respondents' answers and separately for Forum Bornova and Agora. This was how the respective maps were prepared.

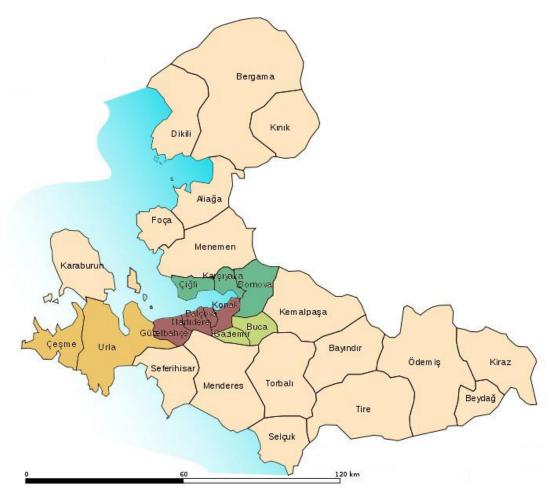


Figure 4.10. The Zones in Izmir (Source: İzmir İlçe Haritaları.")²⁰⁷

For the statistical analysis I evaluated only Q29 ('came from') because only a few respondents of all answered the question Q30 ('live in') and Q31 ('work at'). Questions 32 and 33 were asked to find out the 'means of travel' (Q32 How did you arrive at the shopping center?, Q33 How will you return?). I designed these two questions as a multiple-choice question which lists 'mass transport: bus, subway, minibus, bike, or other', 'shopping center's shuttle', 'private car', and 'on foot' as options. However, at the recording level of the data I had to revise the selections as 'mass transport', 'private car', and 'on foot'. All of the respondents stated that they chose to return with the means of travel that they used to travel to the center. Therefore, I excluded Q33 from statistical evaluation.

 $^{^{207}}$ The map was prepared by author.

Physical access is also evaluated with reference to 'travel time', therefore question 34 (*Q34* How long did your trip take?) was asked to find out durations of travel to the shopping centers. This question was open-ended, and respondents answered like "10 minutes," "30 minutes," "45 minutes," "2 hours" etc. I grouped these responses into the variable of 'less than 10 minutes', '10 to 30 minutes', and 'more than 30 minutes'. The possibility of arrival in a short time for a majority of visitors is indicator of a high level of publicness with reference to the criteria of physical access.

Questions 35 and 36 were asked to investigate the respondents' opinions about their perception of travel to the shopping centers. For this reason, question 35 (*Q35* Do you thinks trips to the shopping center are easy?) was designed as 'yes/no' question and asked find out the frequencies of positive and negative answers. In assessing the level of publicness of the two centers, for example, if the number of respondents who said yes in Forum Bornova is higher than those who said yes in we might says that Forum Bornova's level of publicness is higher regarding physical access.

Table 4.6. Database for Section 6: Physical Access

Variable		Variable	
Code	Variable Name	Code	Variable Name
020		024	travel time
Q29	coming from	Q34	(less than 10 min.)
Q29-1	(Konak/Balçova/Narlıdere/Güzelbahçe)	Q34-1	less than 10 min.
Q29-2	(Karşıyaka/Bornova)	Q34-2	10 to 30 min.
Q29-3	Gaziemir/Buca	Q34-3	more than 30 min.
Q29-4	other district/city	Q35	difficulty
Q29-5	out of the city	Q36	difficulties
Q30	district/city live in	Q36-1	traffic Jam(s)
Q31	district/city work at	Q36-2	insufficient parking
Q32	means of travel (arriving with)	Q36-3	waiting period
Q32-1	mass transportation	Q36-4	bus stops
Q32-2	private car	Q36-5	traffic lights
Q32-3	on foot	Q36-6	pedestrian crossing
Q33	(means of travel) leaving with	Q36-7	sidewalks
Q33-1	mass transportation	Q36-8	pedestrian paths
Q33-2	private car	Q37	obstruction
Q33-3	on foot		

In addition, question 36 (*Q36* Did you have any difficulties in reaching the shopping center?) was asked to investigate whether the respondents had any difficulties and the kind of difficulties they had in reaching the shopping center.

The sample size was 200 for each shopping center and the questionnaires were randomly applied to visitors while they were strolling or sitting in both shopping centers. I settled on the sampling size as 200 for each shopping center after interviewing the center managers. They indicated that both Forum Bornova and Agora had the capacity for an average number of 40000 visitors, especially on weekends. Then, sampling sizes were decided as 200 (N = 40000 x .005) for Forum Bornova and Agora. This questionnaire was conducted on weekdays and weekends in September and October 2011, with 80% on weekends and 20% on weekdays. The main difference between the two survey was the lack of Q26 in the survey for Forum Bornova, upon the management's request.

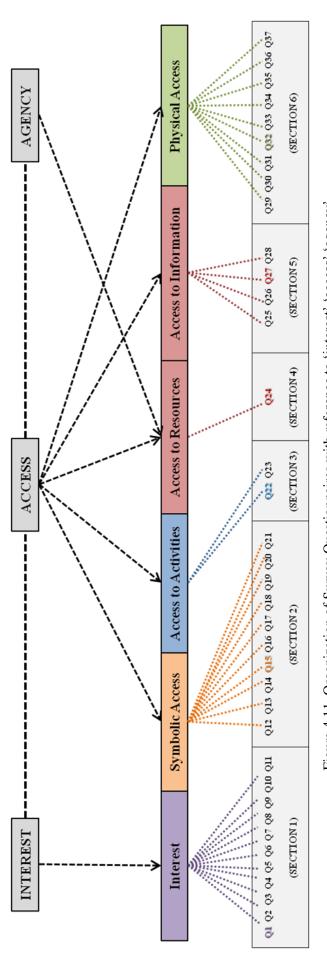


Figure 4.11. Organization of Survey Ouestionnaires with reference to 'interest' 'access' 'agency'

4.4. Access to the Field

The survey strategy which is explained above was prepared before interviews were conducted. Yet, different situations occurred during the period of obtaining permission to conduct a survey at the shopping centers. For this reason, it is possible to note that 'access to the field' had major hurdles to be overcome for the study. The survey was intended to be carried out in the beginning of the summer of 2010. Due to the reluctance of the executives of the two shopping centers in giving appointments and their initial resistance to supplying information for the study the survey was delayed until September 2010. This reluctance was largely due to the fact that the executives saw that customers of the two centers would be disturbed by the surveyors and their questions as they enjoyed their visits to the center. Both executives had the suspicion that this was a covert market research and were unwilling to collaborate until they fully understood that the survey would be conducted for academic purposes.

Getting the permissions to conduct the survey at these two shopping centers proved to be a troublesome endeavor. The processes of the permissions were not similar in two shopping centers. Forum Bornova's executive staff were positive since the early stages of the study. I called to secretarial office of the center and I went to interview with the executive of the shopping center after a while later. I submitted the copy of the survey with the initial request. I asked questions about the shopping center which were semi-structured questionnaire during the interview. While at shopping center executive office, I got some documents and information (activity calendar, official information, architectural drawing of the site, a sample questionnaire which was conducted before itself) about the center.

Later, the office of a Forum Bornova executive contacted me requesting my commitment to not share the survey findings with other commercial or for-profit entity, and not to ask one of the questions of the survey (which was Q26 asked to investigate their consultation or participation strategy to the public). Based on this request, I signed a document (letter) affirming my commitment to not share my findings, as request. Detailed arrangements had to be worked out with the secretarial officer. Moreover, I was requested to inform the work days and time and to provide the names, affiliation, and contact phone numbers of all individuals expected to be on the site conducting the questionnaire and to use the name badge during the interviews. Then , I started to

conduct a questionnaire with three surveyors on October 2010 at Forum Bornova. I informed administrative office for each work day, and therefore security officers had enough information about the questionnaire and surveyors. In, sum conducting the survey was hassle-free in Forum Bornova.

Despite Forum Bornova, however, my encounter with Agora was not hassle-free. After more than one call I solved the problem by indirectly contacting them via an individual personally acquainted with the management in Agora to get the necessary permission to conduct the survey. ²⁰⁸ I was requested to present documents from the university for them to check my position and to show the questionnaire in detail before conducting. However, they asked me not to share the findings of the survey and demanded that the surveyors use a name badge at the shopping center. I had to make the request to be at center ahead of time. During the interview with Agora's executive officer I used the semi-structured questionnaire, but unfortunately I couldn't get as much information as I could like Forum Bornova.

While at Agora, the surveyors and I were repeatedly questioned about what we were doing and the purpose of the survey by on duty security officers. On each occasion after a barrage of questions, security personnel contacted their superior officers at the administration office to check the validity and truthfulness of our claims. One Saturday morning the surveyors were asked to stop conducting questionnaires immediately and to report to the security office in order for their permission to be verified. We were not allowed to resume the survey before a lengthy conversation, a number of phone calls, and appeals to contact the officer in charge who was off for the weekend.

These experiences at both shopping centers are illustrative of the kind of absolute control managers and supervisors of such places exercises.

Obstacles aside, the survey findings have enriched this study with a wealth of detailed information concerning visitors' perceptions, attitudes and behavior with regard to both retail and entertainment places. Combined with the site visits, personal observations, executive interviews, this survey contributed to a deeper understanding of these places, their popularity, and their role in supporting public life.

²⁰⁸He was the architect of the building.

4.5. Data Analysis Techniques

Common statistical techniques such as descriptive statistics, cross-tabulation, Chi-Square tests and t-tests have been used to examine the data gathered from the questionnaire. I used an alpha level of "0.05" for all statistical tests (95% confidence interval). The results of common statistical tests have been reported in the APA format.

Chi-Square is a non-parametric statistical technique, used primarily with nominal or categorical data (e.g. 'gender'). It is important to decide whether you're doing a Goodness of Fit test or a Test of Independence. Goodness of Fit means that there is one variable with 2 or more connected categories and a participant may fall into one of them (e.g. 'visiting preference for location', 'architectural quality', or' transportation advantages'). Test of Independence means that there are two variables with 2 or more categories in each (e.g. whether 'preference for location', 'architectural quality', or 'transportation advantages' depends on gender, Female or Male). In sum, x^2 analysis reveals the differences. For the results, significant relations are given in detail with cross-tabulation tables.

Cross-Tabulation is the simplest technique for understanding patterns of differences between populations in a database. It gives us much more insight into the data than do simple profiles or frequency distributions. Cross-Tabulations are an example of bivariate analysis e.g. examining the relationship between two variables such as 'gender' and 'frequency of visiting'. However cross-tabulations are of limited value because we are restricted to examining the relationship between only two variables at a time ('frequency of visiting' and 'age' and 'frequency of visiting' and 'income'; etc.). If we try to examine a cross-tabulation of more than two variables at a time, the results are very difficult to visualize and to interpret meaningfully. We need to turn to multivariate techniques then, which examine the relationships between more than two variables at a time ('frequency of visiting' and 'marital status' and 'gender' etc).

CHAPTER 5

SURVEY FINDINGS AND RESULTS OF THE STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

This chapter summarizes the findings and results of this study's hypothesis via testing the survey data and insights from the case studies. Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) reported the results of a number of significance tests as well as non-significance tests, including the reported chi-square test statistic. However, in the study I only documented significant relations, and I didn't provide graphs for the results which indicated that the tests were non-significant. However, the non-significant results of the x^2 analysis were given in the text.

The survey findings reported below are based on two phases of analysis (see Figure 5.1). In the first step of the first phase, each of the two samples (collected from each of the two centers) were analyzed, that is data from Forum Bornova and data from Agora were analyzed separately (see Figure 5.2). In this step of descriptive statistics, each variable (Q1 to Q37) was analyzed one after the other. In the second step of the first phase, two samples (collected from each of the two centers) were analyzed comparatively, according to the criteria of publicness and the survey results of these criteria in both shopping centers (see Figure 5.3). A Chi-square Test was performed to examine the relation between shopping centers and 'each variable', of the survey, as a result, only the significant differences are graphed in the comparative analysis sections regarding each criteria (also see Figure 5.31 at page....). In the second phase of analysis, each of the two samples' first 10 questions of the section 1 (interest) and question 29 of the section 6 (physical access) were analyzed via Chi-square test regarding with causal relations by cross-tabulating each first 10 questions in section 1 with each question from section 2 to section 6 except for question 29 (Q11 to Q37)²⁰⁹ (see Figure 5.4).

Q29 (district/city) was asked to find out the places where respondents came from; Q11 (with whom) was asked to find out 'mode of visits'. These variables are defined as a dependent variable like first 10 questions of the survey: 'gender' (Q1), 'age'(Q2), 'level of education' (Q3), 'occupation' (Q4),

As I report on each question in Chapter 4, I will note any dramatic inconsistency between the two samples or two findings when it occurs, and I will attempt an explanation of such inconsistency. A copy of the survey questionnaire is in Appendix A. Details of survey data are presented in Tables 5.1 through 5.17, and in Figures 5.5 through 5.31(as charts).

This study aims to investigate more relations and differences between variables of the research. Questioning relations between such variables was one of the main objectives of this survey. Therefore, in the next six sections I will show such relationships and differences between two cases through the criteria of symbolic access, access to activities, access to resources, access to information, and physical access. In conclusion I will attempt to make a general inference on the survey results by combining both sets of samples as if they were one larger data sample.

'marital status' (Q5), 'number of children' (Q6), 'physical disability' (Q7), 'income level' (Q8), 'home ownership' (Q9), and 'car ownership' (Q10).

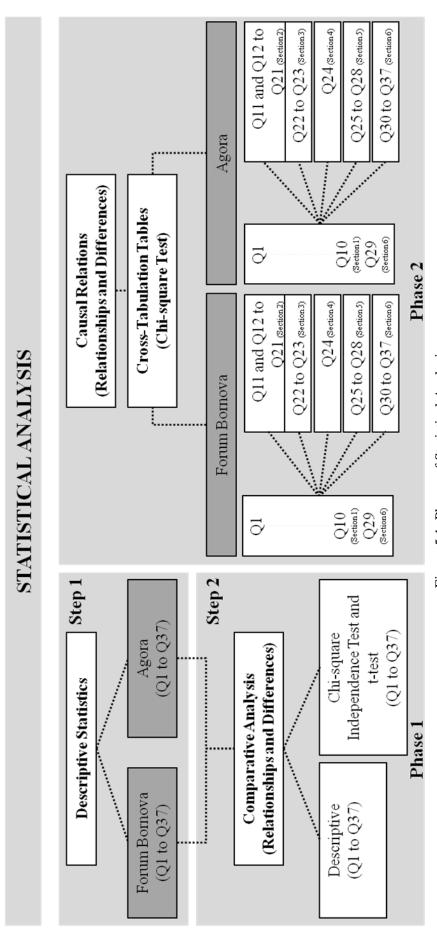


Figure 5.1. Phases of Statistical Analysis

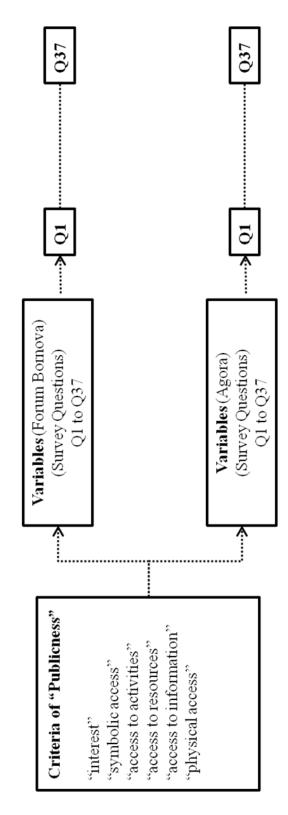


Figure 5.2. Evaluation Strategy for Descriptive Statistics, Phase 1 Step 1

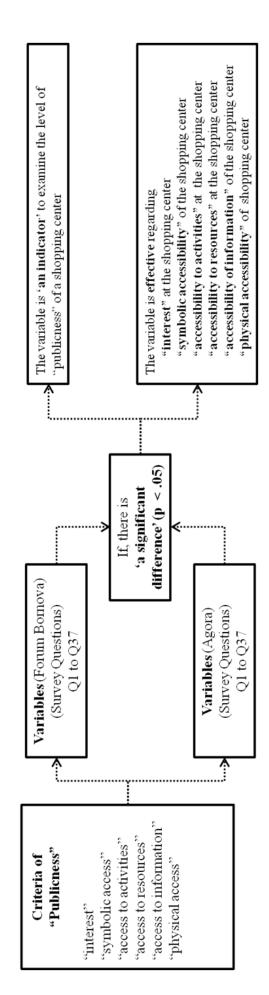


Figure 5.3. Evaluation Strategy for Comparative Analysis., Phase 1 Step 2

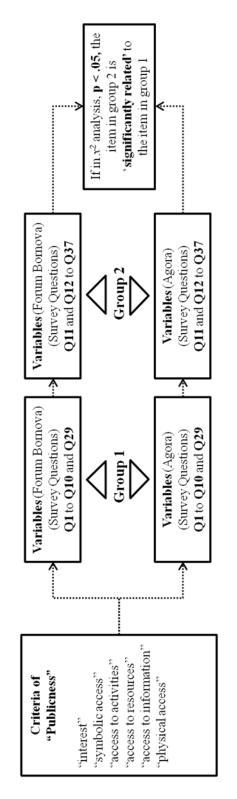


Figure 5.4. Evaluation Strategy for Causal Relations, Phase 2

5.1. Section 1: Interest (Questions 1 to 11)

This section begins with a comparison of the demographic characteristics for the survey respondents and the population of the census data (Izmir and Turkey) for each shopping centers. This comparison will be followed by another comparison of similarities and differences between respondents from the two shopping centers. The demographic section of the questionnaires consists of 11 items and includes information about gender, age, level of education, marital status, number of children, occupation, income level, home, car ownership, and mode of visiting.

Here, interviews with the visitors of the shopping centers serves as supplementary data for the analysis of 'interest' but not to generalize the users.

5.1.1. Forum Bornova (Interest)

Based on data collected almost a half (46%) of respondents of Forum Bornova were female and another half (54%) male. Respondents tended to be comparatively young (M = 30.94, SD = 10.65). Median age of the respondents of Forum Bornova was 27, the average age of the respondents was 30.4 (SD = 10.65). Respondents were mostly 20-24 (26,5%), 25-29 (24%), and 30-34 (20%) years (see Table 5.1).

Table 5.1. Age Distribution of Forum Bornova's Respondents (Q2)

Age	Frequency	Valid Percent
15-19	10	5,0
20-24	53	26,5
25-29	48	24,0
30-34	40	20,0
35-39	13	6,5
40-44	10	5,0
45-49	4	2,0
50-54	12	6,0
55-59	4	2,0
60-64	5	2,5
65+	1	,5
Total	200	100,0

Level of education data shows that 6% of the respondents had a primary school degree, 16,5% had a secondary school degree, more than half (66.5%) of respondents had or will have some college degrees (when they declared that they were undergraduate students, we didn't ask whether they previously had any college degree), 9% had graduate degrees, and 4% had PhD degrees (see Table 5.2). When it comes to occupation, 27.5% of respondents were self-employed/employer/professional, 40.5% were employee/professional, 7.5% were retired/unemployed, %5 were housewives, and 20% were students (see Table 5.3).

Table 5.2. Educational Levels of Forum Bornova's Respondents (Q3)

Level of education	Frequency	Valid Percent
Primary	10	5,0
Secondary	33	16,5
Undergraduate	133	66,5
Graduate	17	8,5
PhD	7	3,5
Total	200	100,0

Table 5.3. Occupational Distribution of Forum Bornova's Respondents (Q4)

Occupation	Frequency	Valid Percent
self-employed/employer/professional	55	27,5
employee/professional	81	40,5
retired/unemployed	15	7,5
housewife	10	5,0
student	39	19,5
Total	200	100,0

More than half (62.5%) of the respondents were single. 57.2% of the respondents had no children (15-19 and 20-24 age groups were ignored). As for income levels, number of responses was 179 and average income level of respondents was 3067 TL. Only 1.1% of Forum Bornova respondents earned 600 TL or less, 34.6% earned 601 TL to 1500 TL, 33.1% earned 1501 TL to 2500 TL, 17.9% earned 2501 TL to 3500 TL, 12.8% earned over 3500 TL. In addition, 61% of respondents of Forum Bornova had a house or apartment, 38% were tenants and 62% had a car. Finally, when it comes to accompanying person(s), 12% of the respondents of Forum Bornova came to the

shopping center alone, 39.5% were with family or children, and 48.5% were with friends.

5.1.2. Agora (Interest)

More than half (52%) of the respondents in Agora were female, and almost a half (48%) were male. Median age of the respondents of Agora was 25, the average age of the respondents was 28.52 (SD = 10.91). Respondents were mostly (31.5%) 20-24 and (24.5%) 25-29 years (see Table 5.4).

Table 5.4. Age Distribution of Agora's Respondents (Q2)

Age	Frequency	Valid Percent
15-19	28	14,0
20-24	63	31,5
25-29	49	24,5
30-34	16	8,0
35-39	11	5,5
40-44	14	7,0
45-49	5	2,5
50-54	6	3,0
55-59	2	1,0
60-64	2	1,0
65+	4	2,0
Total	200	100,0

As for education levels, only 1% of Agora respondents had a primary school degree, 21.5% of respondents had a secondary school degree, 64% respondents had some college degree or were still undergraduate students, in total 13.5% respondents of Agora had some higher level of education (see Table 5.5). When it comes to occupation, 17% of respondents were self-employed/employer/professional, 39% were employee/professional, 7% were retired/unemployed, %5 were housewives, and 32% were students (see Table 5.6). Over four-fifths (76%) of the respondents were single. 63.3% of the respondents had no children (15-19 and 20-24 age groups are ignored).

Table 5.5. Educational Levels of Agora's Respondents (Q3)

Level of Education	Frequency	Valid Percent
Primary	2	1,0
Secondary	43	21,5
Undergraduate	128	64,0
Graduate	19	9,5
PhD	8	4,0
Total	200	100,0

Table 5.6. Occupational Distribution of Agora's Respondents (Q4)

Profession/Occupation	Frequency	Valid Percent
self/employed/employer/professional	34	17,0
employee/professional	78	39,0
retired/unemployed	14	7,0
housewife	10	5,0
student	64	32,0
Total	200	100,0

Income distribution data shows that, in the range of 175 respondents, average income level of Agora's respondents of was 2288.6 TL. Only 1.7% of respondents earned under 600 TL, %31.4 earned 601 TL to 1500 TL, %42.9 earned 1501 TL to 2500 TL, %14.3 earned 2501 TL to 3500 TL and 9.7% earned over 3500 TL. In addition, 71% of respondents of Agora had a house or apartment, and 55% of the respondents had a car. Finally, when it comes to accompanying person(s), 12.5% of Agora's respondents came to the shopping center alone, 26.5% were with family or children, and 61% were with friends.

5.1.3. Comparative Analysis: The Criterion of Interest

The basic purpose of this section of the survey is to understand sociodemographic characteristics of respondents of Forum Bornova and Agora. In other words, I wanted to profile visitors' socio-demographic characteristics. Moreover, I wanted to use the data collected from TUIK to compare Izmir and the rest of Turkey with the two cases. This survey was conducted within the last quarter of 2010, however the data coming from TUIK used for comparison was obtained in 2008 since the 2008 data for Izmir was available in more detail.²¹⁰

Turkish Statistical Institute (TUİK) results show that Turkey's population was 71.517.100 in 2008 for which 49.8% (35.615.946) were female and 50,2% (35.901.154) were male. By the end of the December 31, 2010 the population of Turkey is 73.722.988 with 49.8% (36.679.806) female and 50.2% (37.043.182) male. This results show that distribution of gender is not changed from 2008 to 2010. When it comes to data for Izmir, 5.4% (3.984.848) of the whole population lives in Izmir in 2010. In 2008 this number was 5.31% (3.795.978) with 50,1% (1.898.186) female, 49,9% (1.897.792) male.

Table 5.7. Comparison regarding Gender Distribution (Q1)

	Turkey (2008)	Izmir (2	2008) Forum Bo		ornova	Agoı	Agora	
Gender		Valid		Valid		Valid		Valid	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	
Female	35615946	49,8	1898186	50,1	92	46	104	52	
Male	35901154	50,2	1897792	49,8	108	54	96	48	
Total	71517100	100	3795978	99,9	200	100	200	100	

Gender distribution for two shopping centers' respondents was reasonably consistent with normal gender distribution in Turkey and Izmir. There is a non-significant difference between gender distribution of the respondents of Forum Bornova and Agora (x^2 (1, N = 400) = 1.441, p > .05 OR p = .230).

Address Based Population Registration System (ABPRS) results show that Izmir has a higher median age than Turkey (28.5) with 32.4 in 2008. As compared with the ABPRS results, both Forum Bornova with 27 and Agora with 25 has a lower median than Izmir and Turkey (see Table 5.8). However, there is a non- significant difference between median ages of the two shopping centers' respondents. The sample as a whole was relatively young (M = 29.73, SD = 10.84). But, there is significant difference, x^2 (52, N = 400) = 66.108, p = .090, in terms of ages as a group-free, and also in terms of as a groups which based on TUIK, x^2 (10, N = 400) = 26.381, p = .003. This significant age differences affect the level of publicness of Forum Bornova and Agora. As a result,

²¹⁰ TurkStat Regional Indicators, TR31 İzmir, (2008).

for 15-24 ages in total, the level of publicness of Agora (75.5%) is higher than Forum Bornova (27%), on the other hand, for 30-34 ages Forum Bornova's (20%) level of publicness is higher than Agora (8%).

Table 5.8. Comparison regarding Median Ages (Q2)

Median Ages						
Forum Bornova	27.00					
Agora	25.00					
Izmir (2008)	32.40					
Turkey (2008)	28.50					

Turkish Statistical Institute (TUİK) results show that in the 2008 education year, 44.27% had a higher level of education. In addition, the proportion of registered students to tertiary education programs was 62.9% in Turkey, and was even higher with 70.1% in Izmir in the year 2008.²¹¹.

As compared with the educational level, respondents of Forum Bornova and Agora serves an usual range in Turkey and Izmir. When a chi-square Test of Independence was used in analysis, there is a non-significant difference between Forum Bornova and Agora (x^2 (4, N=400) = 6,92, p>.05 OR p=.140). Based on comparative descriptive analyses there is a similar variation of educational level for Forum Bornova and Agora .

However, there is a significant difference between distributions of occupations of Forum Bornova and Agora, x^2 (4, N=400) = 11.114, p=.025. Mostly students (32%) visited Agora however only 19.5% were students in Forum Bornova. Frequencies of self-employed/employer/professionals (17%) in Agora and Forum Bornova (27.5%) were different. That is, occupation differences of the visitors of Forum Bornova and Agora affect the level of publicness of these two shopping centers. As a result, for students the level of publicness of Agora (32%) is higher than Forum Bornova (19.5%), and for self-employed/employer/professional group, the level of publicness of Forum Bornova (27.5%) is higher than Agora (17%). The data are graphed in Figure 5.7 below.

²¹¹ These results were calculated according to the results of the Address Based Population Registration System 2007. TurkStat Regional Indicators, TR31 İzmir. (2008).

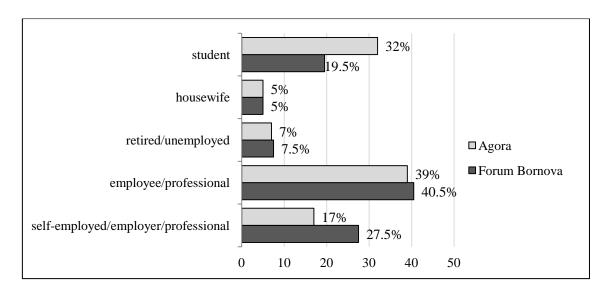


Figure 5.5. Comparison regarding Occupational Distribution (Q4)

Similar detailed comparative analyses were carried out for marital status. There is a significant difference between the two shopping centers, x^2 (1, N = 400) = 8.555, p = .003. Respondents of Agora mostly were single (76%), whereas 62.5% of respondents of Forum Bornova were single. That is, for the single respondents, the level of publicness of Agora (76%) is higher than Forum Bornova (62.5%), whereas for the married respondents Forum Bornova's (37.5%) level of publicness is higher than Agora's (24%). The data are graphed in Figure 5.6 below.

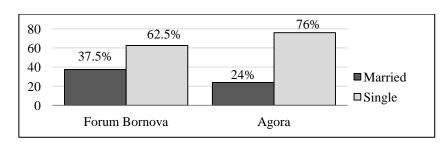


Figure 5.6. Comparison regarding 'marital status' (Q5)

However there is a non-significant difference between number of children for Forum Bornova and Agora (x^2 (3, N = 400) = 6.82, p > .05, p = .078). As a result, although marital status affects the level of publicness of two shopping centers, number of children does not seem to affect it.

The results indicated a non-significant difference between averages of income levels of two cases (x^2 (5, N = 400) = 4.393, p > .05, p = .155, M = 3370, SD = 1.337) and the degree of owing a car almost equal in two centers (x^2 (1, N = 400) = 2.018, p > .05

.05 OR p = 0.94), that is, income level and car ownership do not affect the level of publicness of two shopping centers.

However, there is a significant difference, x^2 (1, N = 399) = 4.187, p = .026, between two shopping centers in terms of home ownership. This result indicates that income level or car ownership do not affect the level of publicness of two shopping centers, whereas homeownership do affect it. As a result, for house or apartment owners the level of publicness of Agora (71%) is higher than Forum Bornova (61%), whereas the level of publicness of Forum Bornova is higher with 39% than Agora (29%) in terms of respondents who were tenant. The data are graphed in Figure 5.7 below.

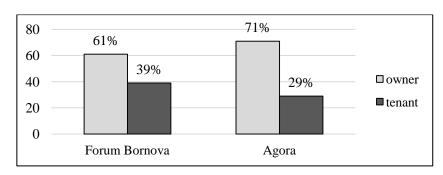


Figure 5.7. Comparison regarding 'home ownerships' (Q9)

When it comes to mode of visits, the result of the statistical analysis indicated that there is a significant difference between respondents of mode of visits of two shopping centers, x^2 (2, N = 400) = 7.996, p = .018. In this case the 'mode of visits' affect the evaluation of the level of publicness of a shopping center. As a result, the level of publicness of Forum Bornova (39.5%) is higher than Agora (26.5%) in terms of respondents who visited these places with family or children, however, the level of publicness of Agora (61%) is higher than Forum Bornova (48.5%) in terms of visiting with friends. The data are graphed in Figure 5.8 below.

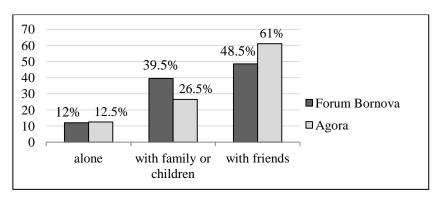


Figure 5.8 Comparison regarding 'mode of visits' (Q11)

The results above indicate socio-demographic characteristics of both Forum Bornova and Agora's respondents. According to the results of descriptive analyses I can state that distribution of gender in between two cases is almost equal and mostly young population visits these places. Variations in Forum Bornova respondents' age group distributions reflect similar variations in Agora respondents. Mostly single people without children visit the two shopping centers to meet their friends, while married people visit with their family and children. The survey reveals that user characteristics like gender, age, education, or family structure do not affect the respondents' preferences on the publicness of Forum Bornova. However, marital status and occupation and 'mode of visit' ("with whom") do affect the preferences of the visitors.

5.2. Section 2: Symbolic Access (Questions 12 to 21)

This section focuses on the criteria of symbolic access via questions 12 to 21. These questions aim to find out the respondents' preferences regarding familiarity frequency of visits, duration of visits, reasons to prefer the specific center (such as location, transportation advantages, facilities, security climatic advantages, meeting opportunities, architectural quality, open and closed spaces), where they would go before this center was built, sense of the city they live in, and social interaction.

In evaluating Q17, I saw that not many respondents answered the sub-question of Q17 on the frequency of visits. Even though some respondents did not answer the sub-question asking their frequency of visits to places except for shopping centers I decided to evaluate frequency of visits based on those who answered. However, I noticed that answers to Q15 and Q21 overlapped to a certain extent. Q21 was asked to find out what they most liked or disliked about a shopping center (*Q21* What is it that

you most like or dislike about this shopping center?) while respondents had given detailed answers to the articles of Q15. Since Q21 was a open-ended question, the analysis was based on a post-facto categorization of answers with reference to open spaces, user profile of the visitors and the physical orientation of the centers. There was only a very limited number of the visitors which answered the question with reference to what they mostly disliked, therefore I did not provide a statistical analysis about this issue.

5.2.1.Forum Bornova (Symbolic Access)

Based on collected data, 69.5% of Forum Bornova's respondents have been visiting this place since it was opened in 2006 (Q12). Only 3.5% of respondents were visiting for the first time. 17% of the respondents of the center visit once every few months, 44% visit once every few weeks, and 31% visits once a week or more (Q13). 43% of the respondents stayed more than 3 hours, 53.5% stayed 1 to 3 hours and only 3.5% stated that they stayed less than one hour (Q14). These results show that respondents of Forum Bornova mostly visited this place consistently and most of them (96.5%) spent more than one hour.

On reasons to prefer Forum Bornova (Q15), 20% of the respondents linked their preference location, 27.5% 68% to transportation advantages, shops/cafes/restaurants, 67% to goods/services, 25% to their perception of the center as a meeting place, 33.5% to the security of the place, 3% to climatic advantages, 7.5% to places of entertainment, 30.5% to architectural quality, and 7.5% to the qualities of open and closed spaces of Forum Bornova. In the assessment of reasons to prefer Forum Bornova what stood out was that people were mostly attracted to the varieties of shops/cafes/restaurants and goods/services affect level of publicness of the place. Other characteristics do not affect this shopping center's level of publicness at an equal level. Respondents of Forum Bornova visit this place mostly because there are shops, cafes, services that they like.

In total 183 of the respondents answered Q16 (*Q16* Where would you go to for the activities you perform at this shopping center before this shopping center was built?) on preferences of spaces previously visited by respondents of Forum Bornova. 60.7% of respondents of Agora visited other shopping centers before Agora was built, 21.9%

visited Alsancak/Kemaralti/Konak District, 17,.% visited center of the city or district they lived in.

According to the results of Q17 (*Q17* Where do you go to for fun, for shopping and for relaxation except for shopping centers and how frequently?), the Table 5.9 and Table 5.10 show that more than half (67.6%) of Forum Bornova's respondents visited other places for fun and more than a half (53.5%) of respondents visited such places for fun once a week or more. For shopping, 39.4% of Forum Bornova visited Alsancak, 27.5% visited Kemeraltı/Konak and 27.5% visited center of the city/district where they lived, and only 5.5% visited district markets as other public spaces. In addition, 38.7% of the respondents of Forum Bornova visited such places for shopping once every few weeks and 52% visited once a week or more. Furthermore, 14.4% of the respondents of Forum Bornova visited Alsancak/Kordon, 16.2% visited İnciraltı, 19.8% visited the coastline of Izmir, 39.6% visited the countryside, and 9.9% stayed at home except for shopping centers for relaxation. In addition, 32.4% of respondents of Forum Bornova visited such places for relaxation once every few weeks and 52.1% visited once a week or more.

Table 5.9. Forum Bornova 's Respondents Preferences for 'fun', 'shopping', 'relaxation' (Q17)

			For			For		
For FUN	Freq.	%	SHOPPING	Freq.	%	RELAXATION	Freq.	%
Alsancak/Kordon	94	67,6	Alsancak	43	39,4	Alsancak/Kordon	16	14,4
coastline of the city	13	9,4	Kemeraltı/Konak	30	27,5	İnciraltı	18	16,2
Kemeraltı	1	,7	Center of the district/city	30	27,5	coastline of the city	22	19,8
İnciraltı	2	1,4	District markets	6	5,5	countryside	44	39,6
center of the district/city	26	18,7				at home	11	9,9
countryside	3	2,2						
Total	139	100,0	Total	109	100,0	Total	111	100,0

Table 5.10. 'Frequency of visits' of Forum Bornova's Respondents (Q17)

how frequently (for fun)	Frequency	Valid Percent	how frequently (for shopping)	Frequency	Valid Percent	how frequently (for relaxation)	Frequency	Valid Percent
once a year	0	0	once a year	1	1,3	once a year	0	0
once every few months	8	7,9	once every few months	3	4,0	once every few months	4	5,6
once every few weeks	30	29,7	once every few weeks	29	38,7	once every few weeks	23	32,4
once a week or more	54	53,5	once a week or more	39	52,0	once a week or more	37	52,1
daily	9	8,9	daily	3	4,0	daily	7	9,9
Total	101	100,0	Total	75	100,0	Total	71	100,0

When it comes to 'sense of place' 199 people answered Q18 (*Q18* Do you feel that you are in Izmir when you are at this shopping center?) at Forum Bornova and an overwhelming (81.9%) majority of the respondents of the shopping center explained that they felt like they were in Izmir when they were at this center.

On the other hand, 99% of the respondents (198 respondent) answered Q19 (Q19 When you are at this shopping center do you interact with people that you not know? If yes how?), and 80.3% of them indicated that they did not interact with people at Forum Bornova. In total 187 respondents (93.5%) answered the second part of this question, and the result shows that 13.4% of respondents interacted with other people through shopping, and 3.7% through greeting each other.

In 99% response rate, 62.6% of the respondents of Forum Bornova defined the shopping center as a meeting place with friends.

5.2.2. Agora (Symbolic Access)

In the assessment of questions 12 to 14 the results show that 67% of the respondents of Agora have been visiting this place since it was opened.²¹² Only 21.5% of respondents were visiting for the first time. 7% of the respondents of Agora visits

Opening Date: First part of the center was opened in 2003 and second part was opened in 2008. However I didn't ask question 12 to find out a year.

once every few months, 26% visited once every few weeks and 60.5% visited once a week or more. 42% of the respondents of the shopping center stayed more than 3 hours, in total 54% stayed 1 to 3 hours, and only 4% stayed less than 1 hour. These results show that most of the respondents of Agora have been consistently visiting this place for a long time and 96% of them spent a long time.

To Q15 on reasons to prefer Agora, results show that 49% of the respondents of Agora visited because of the location of the shopping center, 47.5% of transportation advantages, 71% of shops/cafes/restaurants, 60.5% of goods/services, 43.5% it is a meeting place, 38% it is a secure place, 46% of climatic advantages, 5.5% of places of entertainment, and 10.5% of architectural quality, and 39% visited because of qualities of open and closed spaces of Agora.

In evaluating reasons to prefer Agora, it was mostly the variety of shops/cafes/restaurants and goods and services that affect level of publicness of this shopping center. In addition, location, transportation advantages and being a place to meet enormously affect the level of publicness of this shopping center. Respondents of Agora mostly visit this due the number of shopping and eating places that they preferred. Moreover, Agora is easily accessible in terms of its location and provides meeting places.

In total 148 of the respondents of Agora answered Q16. 37.8% of Agora's respondents visited other shopping centers before Agora was built, 39.2% visited Alsancak/Kemeralti/Konak District, 23% visited the center of the city or district they lived in.

Table 5.11. Agora's Respondents Preferences for 'fun', 'shopping', 'relaxation' (Q17)

For FUN	Freq.	%
Alsancak/Kordon	106	79,1
coastline of the	8	6,0
city		
Kemeraltı	1	,7
İnciraltı	8	6,0
center of the	11	8,2
district/city		
Total	134	100,

For SHOPPING	Freq.	%
Alsancak	65	56,0
Kemeraltı/Konak	23	19,8
Center of the district/city	22	19,0
District markets	6	5,2
Total	116	100,0
System	84	

For		
RELAXATION	Freq.	%
Alsancak/Kordon	11	8,9
İnciraltı	32	26,0
coastline of the	23	18,7
countryside	50	40,7
at home	7	5,7
Total	123	100,

Table 5.12. 'Frequency of visits' of Agora's Respondents (Q17)

how frequency		Valid	how frequency (for		Valid	how frequency (for		Valid
(for fun)	Frequency	Percent	shopping)	Frequency	Percent	relaxation)	Frequency	Percent
once a year	0	0	once a year	1	1,1	once a year	4	4,0
once every few months	2	1,7	once every few months	2	2,1	once every few months	10	9,9
once every few weeks	28	24,3	once every few weeks	49	52,1	once every few weeks	34	33,7
once a week or more	82	71,3	once a week or more	41	43,6	once a week or more	48	47,5
daily	3	2,6	daily	1	1,1	daily	5	5,0
Total	115	100,0	Total	94	100,0	Total	101	100,0

According to the results of Q17, Table 5.11 and Table 5.12 show that the overwhelming majority (79.1%) of Agora's respondents visited Alsancak/Kordon for fun, and 71.3% of respondents visited places except Agora once a week or more for fun. More than a half (56%) of the respondents visited Alsancak, 19.8% visited Kemeralti/Konak, 19% visited center of the city or district they lived in for shopping. Only 5.2% of Agora's respondents visited district markets for shopping other in addition to shopping centers. In addition, 52.1% of Agora's respondents visited such places for shopping once every few weeks, and 43.6% once a week or more. For relaxation, 8.9% of respondents of the center visited Alsancak, 26% visited İnciraltı, 18.7 visited the coastline of Izmir, 40.7% visited the countryside, and only 5.7% of respondents stayed at home. In addition, 33.7% of respondents of Agora visited such places for relaxation once every few weeks and 47.5% visited once a week or more.

In a response rate 100%, almost a half of the respondents (57.5%) of Agora explained that they felt like in Izmir when they were at the center, and almost a half (42.5%) didn't. 'Sense of place' for the respondents of Agora is (*Q18* Do you feel that you are in Izmir when you are at this shopping center?) does not affect its level of publicness.

To question 19 (*Q19* When you are at this shopping center do you interact with people that you do not know? If yes how?), in a total of 200 (100% response rate), 76.5% of the respondents of Agora indicated that they didn't interact with other people at the center, and 23.5% indicated that they did. Furthermore, in a 95% response rate,

12% explained that they interact with other people via shopping, and only 6.8% interact via greeting each other.

In a 100% response rate, 78% of the respondents of Agora defined the shopping center as a meeting place with friends.

5.2.3. Comparative Analysis: The Criterion of Symbolic Access

The combined data of respondents in both surveys show that, most of the respondents of Forum Bornova (69.5%) and Agora (67%) have been visiting these places since their opening (Q12), and there is non-significant difference between two shopping centers in terms of respondents' visiting habits (x^2 (4, N = 400) = 3.506, p > .05 or p = .447). Number of respondents of the two shopping centers that visited these centers for more than 2 years, 6 months to 2 years, less than 6 months and first time are almost equal which means that the visitors of Forum Bornova and Agora mostly have been visiting these places since their opening. Therefore, 'familiarity'('since when') (Q12) do not affect the symbolic accessibility of a shopping center in assessing the level of publicness.

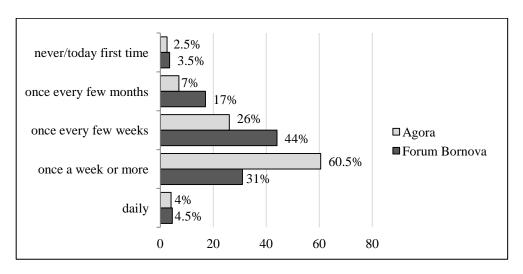


Figure 5.9. Comparison regarding the 'frequency of visits' distribution (Q13)

However, as Figure 5.9 above indicates, (Q13) there is a significant difference between frequencies of visits to Forum Bornova and Agora, x^2 (4, N = 400) = 37.004, p = .000. In the context of 'visiting daily', 'visiting once a week or more' and 'visiting once every few weeks' intervals, in total, Agora (90.5%) was visited more frequently

rather than Forum Bornova (79.5%). In the assessment of the level of publicness of a shopping center, frequencies of visits is an important indicator to examine the symbolic accessibility of a shopping center. Therefore, this result shows that the level of publicness of Agora was higher than Forum Bornova.

'Average time spent' (Q14) is another indicator to examine the level of publicness, since this variable affects the symbolic accessibility of a shopping center. Both respondents of Forum Bornova and Agora considerably stayed at centers for a long time during their visits. The results statistical analysis shows that there is non-significant differences between two centers (x^2 (2, N = 400) = .630, p > .05 or p = .730). An overwhelming number (above 75.8%) (of the combined data) spent more than 2 hours. In terms of average time spent the levels of publicness of Forum Bornova and Agora are at the same level.

Each variable that reasons to prefer Forum Bornova and Agora, serves to evaluate the criterion of symbolic accessibility of shopping centers (Q15). There are significant differences between the two shopping centers regarding categories of 'location', x^2 (1, N = 400) = 32.217, p = .000, 'transportation advantages', x^2 (1, N = 400) = 17.067, p = .000, 'place to meet' with friends and family, x^2 (1, N = 400) = 15.198, p = .000, 'climatic advantages', x^2 (1, N = 400) = 99.959, p = .000, 'places of entertainment', x^2 (1, N = 400) = 6.288, p = .000, and 'architectural quality', x^2 (1, N = 400) = 24.544, p = .000. The result shows that compared with Forum Bornova, Agora is mostly preferred due to location (49%), transportation advantages (47.5%), providing places to meet with friends (43.5%), climatic advantages (46%), the places of entertainment (15.5%). These variables affected the level of publicness of a shopping center. Therefore, in terms of these variables the level of publicness of Agora is higher than Forum Bornova. However, in terms of 'architectural quality' the level of publicness of Forum Bornova (30.5%) is higher than Agora (10.5%).

It is interesting note that, according to the results of descriptive statistics, there must be a significant differences in terms of 'quality of open and closed spaces (39% Agora and 7.5% Forum Bornova see Figure 5.10 below), but, when the chi-square test was conducted to investigate this relation, the results show that there is non-significant differences between two shopping centers (x^2 (1, N = 400) = 2.005, p > .05 OR p = .157). Therefore, 'quality of open and close spaces' do not affect the level of publicness of Forum Bornova and Agora.

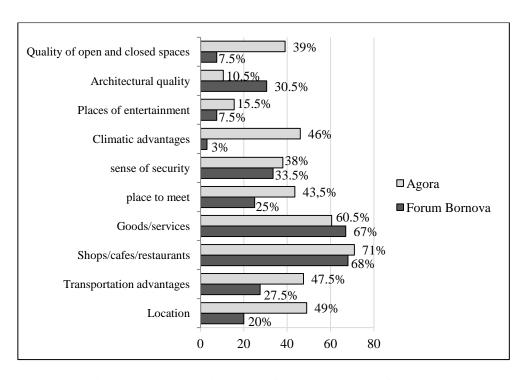


Figure 5.10. Comparison regarding Reasons to Prefer (Q15)

Regarding 'sense of security' (x^2 (1, N=400) = .882, p > .05 OR p = .348), 'goods and services' (x^2 (1, N=400) = 1.828, p > .05 OR p = .176) and 'shops, cafes and restaurants' (x^2 (1, N=400) = .425, p > .05 OR p = .515) however, respondents of Forum Bornova and Agora preferred these places equally (see Figure 5.10). Therefore there is non-significant differences here regarding these variables. In addition, preferences of variety of goods and services (67% of respondents of Forum Bornova and 60.5% of Agora) and existence of shops, cafes and restaurants (68% respondents of Forum Bornova and 71% of Agora) affect the level of publicness of two shopping centers, without a major difference between the two.

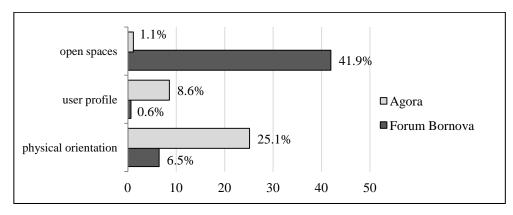


Figure 5.11. Comparison of Reasons to Prefer (Q21)

According to the results of Q21 (Q21 What is it that you most like or dislike about this shopping center?) 41.9% of the respondents of Forum Bornova like the 'open spaces', %8.6 of the respondents of Agora like the 'user profile' and 25.1% of the respondents of Agora like the 'physical orientation' of this center the most (see Figure 5.11). There is a significant difference here between two shopping centers regarding with categories of Q21, x^2 (9, N = 330) = 126.664, p = .000.

In the assessment of the level of publicness of a shopping center, 'open spaces', 'user profile', and 'physical orientation' are important indicators to examine the symbolic accessibility of a shopping center. As a result, in terms of 'user profile' and 'physical orientation' the level of publicness of Agora (8.6% and 25.1%) is higher than Forum Bornova (0.6% and 6.5%), whereas, in terms of 'open space' the level of publicness of Forum Bornova (41.9%) is higher than Agora (1.1%).

'Previously visited places' (Q16) is another indicator to examine the level of publicness, since this variable affects the symbolic accessibility of a shopping center. The results show that there is a significant difference here with reference to the categorization of Q16, x^2 (2, N = 330) = 42.179, p = .000. According to the results of the statistical analysis of Q16, before the respective shopping center was opened, 23% of Agora's respondents and 17.5% of Forum Bornova's respondents visited 'center of the district or city' where they lived in, 39.2% of Agora's respondents and 21.9% of Forum Bornova's respondents visited 'Alsancak, Kemeraltı or Konak District', 37.8% of Agora's respondents and 60.7% of Forum Bornova's respondents visited other 'shopping centers' (see Figure 5.12). As a result, in terms of 'center of the district or city' and 'Alsancak/Kemeraltı/Konak' the level of publicness of Agora is higher than Forum Bornova, whereas in terms of visiting other 'shopping centers' the level of publicness of Forum Bornova is higher than Agora.

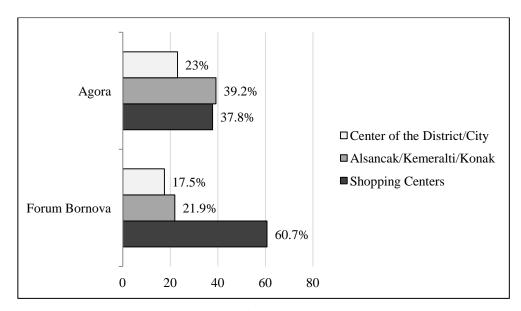


Figure 5.12. Comparison of 'previously visited places' (Q16)

Since Q17 and its sub-questions were open-ended, the categorization of variables which are indicated below were prepared after the survey was held.²¹³

A significant difference exists only for the variable 'for fun', x^2 (5, N = 273) = 14.505, p = .013, and 'frequency of visiting for fun' for the two shopping centers, x^2 (3, N = 216) = 11.575, p = .009, whereas the rest of the variables ('for shopping' and 'for relaxation' and frequencies of visits, sub-questions) are almost equally stated by the respondents. This means that visitors to both of the centers prefer similar destinations 'for relaxation' and 'shopping' when they are not visiting the two centers, in addition in the assessment of the level of publicness of a shopping center, only 'for fun' and 'frequency of visiting' for fun are the indicators.

²¹³ This categorization is determined in detailed in Chapter 4: Case Studies.

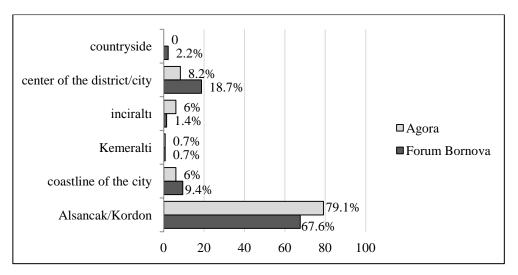


Figure 5.13. Comparison of Preferences 'for fun' (Q17)

The respondents of Forum Bornova prefer to go to the 'center of the city or the district' that they live in more than the respondents of Agora (18.7% vs. 8.2%), that is in terms of visiting 'center of the city or the district' for fun affected the level of publicness of a shopping center. For the visitors of both, Alsancak/Kordon is an important destination for fun (79.1% for Agora and 67.6% for Forum Bornova). Forum Bornova's respondents mostly tend to visit 'countryside'(2.2%) for fun, whereas Agora's respondents do not (0%). In the assessment of the level of publicness of shopping centers 'Kemeraltı' affected both equally (0.7% for Forum Bornova and 0.7% for Agora) (see Figure 5.13).

The results of descriptive statistics indicates that, for shopping, visitors of the two shopping centers mostly prefer to go to Alsancak' when they are not going to shopping centers (56% for Agora vs 39.4% for Forum Bornova). It is also important to go to 'Kemeraltı/Konak' for shopping (19.8% for Agora vs 27.5% for Forum Bornova). Only about 5% of the visitors to both centers prefer to go to the 'district markets' for shopping (5.2% for Agora vs 5.5% for Forum Bornova). However, when chi-square test was conducted, there is non-significant difference here to examine the level of publicness of two shopping centers in terms of visits 'Alsancak', 'Kemeraltı/Konak', 'center of the district/city', and 'district market' for shopping (x^2 (3, N = 225) = 6.625, p > .05 OR p = .093).

For relaxation the majority of visitors to both shopping centers prefer to go to the 'countryside' (40.7% for Agora vs 39.6% for Forum Bornova) and in addition they equally prefer to go to Izmir 'coastline' (18.7% for Agora vs 19.8% for Forum

Bornova). According to the results of descriptive statistics, the difference exists for visitors to Agora as İnciraltı is an important place to visit for relaxation (26% for Agora vs 16.2% for Forum Bornova), but, when chi-square test was conducted, there is non-significant difference between two shopping centers in terms of 'İnciraltı' as a place for relaxation. Considering the respective distances 16.2% is a significant ratio which shows that visitors to Forum Bornova also think of İnciraltı as a place for relaxation. There is difference between those that stated 'at home' for their place of relaxation (5.7% for Agora vs 9.9% for Forum Bornova). However, there is non-significant difference here to examine the level of publicness of two shopping centers in terms of visits 'Alsancak/Kordon', 'İnciraltı, 'coastline', 'countryside', and 'at home' for shopping (x^2 (4, N = 234) = 5.539, p > .05 OR p = .236).

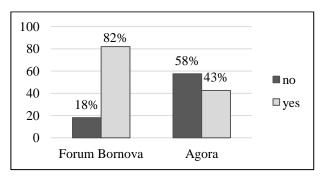


Figure 5.14.Comparison of 'sense of place' (Q18)

There is a significant difference between two shopping centers regarding with the criteria of 'sense of place' (Q18), x^2 (1, N = 400) = 66.395, p = .000. Most of the respondents of Forum Bornova indicated that they feel like they are in Izmir strongly than did respondents of Agora. While 82% of Forum Bornova's respondents stated that they felt like they are in Izmir, only 43% of Agora's respondents stated the same, with 58% indicating that they do not feel like they are in Izmir at the shopping center (see Figure 5.14). Therefore, in terms of 'sense of Izmir' the level of publicness of Forum Bornova is higher than Agora.

A chi-square test was also performed to examine the relation between the shopping centers and two variables which are 'interaction with people' (Q19) and 'meeting place' (Q20). The statistical results show that, the relation between shopping centers and 'interaction with people' was not a significant effect in the assessment of the level of publicness of a shopping center. However, there is a significant difference between two shopping centers in terms of 'meeting place', x^2 (1, N = 398) = 11.274, p = 398

.001. Respondents of Forum Bornova did not tend to meet with their friends at this center, whereas most of the respondents of Agora met their friends at this center. As a result, in terms of to be a 'meeting place' the level of publicness of Agora (78%) is higher than Forum Bornova (62.6%). The data are graphed in the Figure 5.15 below.

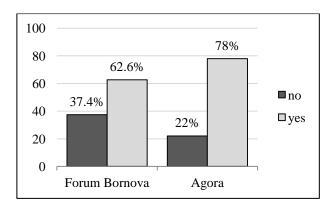


Figure 5.15. Comparison of 'place to meet' (Q20)

5.3. Section 3: Access to Activities (Questions 22 to 23)

This section focuses on the criterion "access" under the variable of "access to activities" via the evaluation of responses to Q22 (*Q22* What was your objective in coming to the shopping center today? What did you do? How much money did you spend?) and Q23 (*Q23* When was the last time you came to the shopping center? What did you do? How much money did you spend?).

5.3.1.Forum Bornova (Access to Activities)

As can be seen from Figure 5.16 below, only 8% of the respondents of Forum Bornova visited the center for 'entertainment', 53% visited for 'stroll', 32% visited for 'food', only 3% visited for 'adult-centered activity', 9% visited for 'children-centered activity', and 54% visited for 'shopping'.

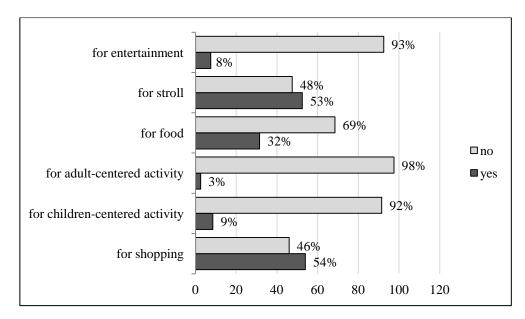


Figure 5.16. Visiting Objectives of Forum Bornova's Respondents (Q22)

These results show that respondents of Forum Bornova didn't specifically visit to have access to activities such as entertainment, adult-centered activities, and childrencentered activities. Most of Forum Bornova's respondents visited this place for food (32%) for stroll (53%), and for shopping (54%). These figures indicate that the respondents either do not visit this center for such activities or the center does not offer such activities. This is further investigated under "access to resources."

Table 5.13. Forum Bornova's Respondents Spending Pattern (Q22)

spending pattern (TL)	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
less than 50	48	24,0	29,6	29,6
50 to 99	35	17,5	21,6	51,2
100 to 199	34	17,0	21,0	72,2
200 and more	45	22,5	27,8	100,0
Total	162	81,0	100,0	

According to the spending pattern analysis 29.6% spent less than 50 TL, 21.6 % spent 50 to 99 TL, 21.6 % spent 100 to 199, 27.8 % spent 200 and more (see Table 5.13).

5.3.2.Agora (Access to Activities)

As can be seen from Figure 5.17 below, 27% of the respondents of Agora visited the center for 'entertainment', 40% visited for a 'stroll', 53% visited for 'food', only 5% visited for 'adult-centered activity', only 6% visited for 'children-centered activity', and 55% visited for 'shopping'.

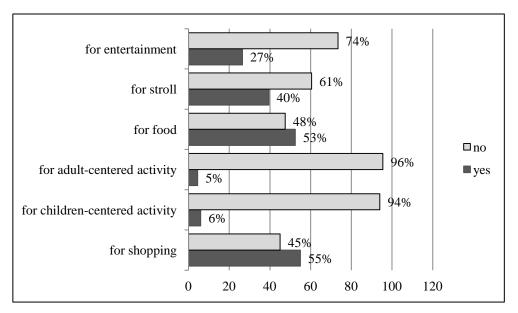


Figure 5.17. Visiting Objectives of Agora's Respondents (Q22)

According to the spending pattern analysis 39% spent less than 50 TL, 30.2 % spent 50 to 99 TL, 17 % spent 100 to 199, 13.8 % spent 200 and more (see Table 5.14).

Table 5.14. Agora's Respondents Spending Pattern (Q22)

spending pattern (TL)	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
less than 50	62	31,0	39,0	39,0
50 to 99	48	24,0	30,2	69,2
100 to 199	27	13,5	17,0	86,2
200 and more	22	11,0	13,8	100,0
Total	159	79,5	100,0	

5.3.3.Comparative Analysis: The Criterion of Access to Activities

The results of the statistical analysis indicates that there are significant differences between the two shopping centers regarding categories of 'food', x^2 (1, N =400) = 18.103, p = .000, 'stroll' x^2 (1, N = 400) = 6.804, p = .006, and 'entertainment', $x^{2}(1, N = 400) = 25.585, p = .006$, also 'spending pattern', $x^{2}(3, N = 321) = 12.490, p = .006$.006 (Q22). The combined data of respondents in both surveys show that, most of the respondents of Forum Bornova (69%), whereas almost a half Agora's respondents (53%) visited respected places for food. On the other hand, 53% Forum Bornova's respondents and 40% of Agora's visited for strolling. Only 8% Forum Bornova's respondents visited for the places of entertainment in this center, whereas 27% of Agora's respondents visited for the same objective. These results indicates that, visiting objectives of 'food', 'stroll', 'entertainment', and also 'spending pattern' affect the level of publicness of two centers in the context of access to activities. As a result, the level of publicness of Forum Bornova (53%) is higher than Agora (40%) in terms of visiting for 'stroll' whereas, in terms of visiting for the places of 'entertainment' and for 'food' the level of publicness of Agora (27% for entertainment and 40% for food) is higher than Forum Bornova (8% for entertainment and 32% for food).

In addition, relation between two shopping centers and 'spending pattern' is a significant effect in the assessment of the level of publicness of a shopping center. Respondents of Forum Bornova tend to spent money in the range of 100-199 TL and 200 TL or more (28.8% in total). However, in Agora most of the respondents (69.2% in total) spent 50 to 99 TL or less than 50 TL. As a result, respondents of Agora spent less money than Forum Bornova's respondents at the centers.

There is a significant difference between two shopping centers regarding with the 'time of last visiting' (Q23), x^2 (8, N = 335) = 25.581, p = .001, (see Table 5.15). Forum Bornova's respondents often visited this center for such activities (1.2% Today, 4.7% Yesterday, 13% in same week, 16.6% last week, 20.7% 15 days ago) whereas, Agora's respondents didn't often as Forum Bornova's respondents (6% Today, 1.2% Yesterday, 4.8% in same week, 9% last week, 18.1% 15 days ago). Therefore, in terms of 'time of previous visiting', the level of publicness of Forum Bornova is higher than Agora.

Table 5.15. Comparison regarding 'time of previous visits' (Q23)

previous visiting	Forum Bornova (%)	Agora (%)
never/today first time	1.8	1.8
last year	11.2	10.2
two months ago	10.7	22.3
last month	20.1	31.9
15 days ago	20.7	18.1
last week	16.6	9
in same week	13	4.8
yesterday	4.7	1.2
today	1.2	.6
Total	100.0	100.0

For the visiting objectives of previous visiting (Q23) respected shopping centers there is a significant difference between two centers regarding categories of 'adult-centered activity', $(x^2 \ (1, N = 400) = 6.091, p = .015)$, 'food', $(x^2 \ (1, N = 400) = 8.995, p = .002)$, 'entertainment', $(x^2 \ (1, N = 400) = 5.634, p = .013$. In the assessment of the level of publicness of a shopping center, 'adult-centered activity', 'food', and 'entertainment' are important indicators to examine the access to activities of a shopping center.

5.4. Section 4: Access to Recourses (Question 24)

This section focuses on the criterion "access" under the variable of "access to resources" via the evaluation of responses to Q24 (*Q24* In the use of services and facilities listed below with which do you experience problems? What do you think lacks the most?)

5.4.1. Forum Bornova (Access to Resources)

The results of the statistical analysis show that, a remarkable number of Forum Bornova's respondents indicated that their major problem is 'car parking' with 38.5%. Access to WCs is the second most important problem with 29%. Respondents listed access to ATMs (18.5%), 'lack of sitting units' and the 'lack of shuttle service' as the

remaining most important problems (both at 12.5%) as problems experienced by more than 10% of the respondents (see Table 5.16).

Table 5.16. Distribution of access to 'resources' of Forum Bornova's Respondents (Q24)

Resources	Frequency	Valid Percentage
food	28	14,0
shops	10	5,0
car parking	77	38,5
bike parking	9	4,5
ATM	37	18,5
WCs	59	29,5
elevators	8	4,0
info booths	18	9,0
elevator for handicapped	4	2,0
WCs for handicapped	3	1,5
wheelchair services	6	3,0
parking for handicapped	4	2,0
first aid	11	5,5
lost and found	12	6,0
dry cleaning	3	1,5
sitting units	25	12,5
taxi stand	5	2,5
tailor	4	2,0
diaper change	1	,5
payphones	0	,0
shuttle service	25	12,5
car wash	4	2,0
wireless	7	3,5
playground area	1	,5
sport center	0	,0
pharmacy	1	,5

5.4.2. Agora (Access to Resources)

With Agora however a remarkable number of respondents indicated that their major problem is finding 'sitting units' with 39%. Access to 'ATMs' is the second most important problem with 31%, almost equally as important as 'car parking' with 26.5%. Respondents listed access to 'wireless' internet service (12.5%) to 'info booths' (12%), access to 'WCs' (10.5%), access to 'food' (11%), lack of 'first aid' and 'lost and found' (equally at 10%) as remaining important problems above 10% (see Table 5.17).

Table 5.17. Distribution of access to 'resources' of Agora's Respondents (Q24)

Resources	Frequency	Valid Percentage
food	21	10,5
shops	13	6,5
car parking	53	26,5
bike parking	14	7,0
ATM	62	31,0
WCs	21	10,5
elevators	11	5,5
info booths	24	12,0
elevator for handicapped	3	1,5
WCs for handicapped	3	1,5
wheelchair services	5	2,5
parking for handicapped	4	2,0
first aid	19	9,5
lost and found	19	9,5
dry cleaning	7	3,5
sitting units	78	39,0
taxi stand	4	2,0
tailor	2	1,0
diaper change	2	1,0
payphones	4	2,0
shuttle service	10	5,0
car wash	1	,5
wireless	25	12,5
playground area	3	1,5
sport center	2	1,0
pharmacy	5	2,5

5.4.3. Comparative Analysis: The Criterion of Access to Resources

A chi-square test of independence was performed to examine the relation between the shopping centers and criteria of 'access to resources.' (*Q24* In the use of the services and facilities listed below with which do you experience problems? What do you think lacks the most?). However, non-significant effects were observed for the criteria except for the variables of 'car parking', 'ATM', 'WCs', 'sitting units in circulation spaces', 'payphones,', 'shuttle', and 'wireless'. Therefore, these variables are important indicators to examine the level of publicness of a shopping center. For this reason, in this section, I evaluated these significant effects.

There was a significant effect, x^2 (1, N =400) = 8.39, p = .004, such that there were problems with access to ATMs at Agora, whereas respondents of Forum Bornova tended to think that there were no problems with ATMs at the shopping center. Similarly, there was a significant effect, x^2 (1, N = 400) = 22.563, p = .000, with access to WCs at Forum Bornova, whereas respondents of Agora tended to think that there

were no problems with the WCs at the center. The problem with sitting units at these shopping centers, created a significant effect, x^2 (1, N = 400) = 36.73, p = .000, between Agora and Forum Bornova that respondents of Agora tended to think that there were the problems with sitting units at Agora, whereas those of Forum Bornova did not. Access to wireless internet is a significant effect, x^2 (1, N = 400) = 11.005, p = .001, was observed. Respondents tended to think that there is a problem with access to wireless internet at Agora, whereas respondents of Forum Bornova did not.

Level of accessibility of car parking, ATM, WCs, sitting units in circulation spaces payphones, shuttle service, and wireless affect the level of publicness of these two shopping centers. However, rests of the resources do not affect level of the publicness of Forum Bornova and Agora. Effects of resources listed in the survey apart from the above-listed seven were evaluated in descriptive statistics separately.

The comparative evaluation of this section of the survey reveals that, in the context of access to 'ATM' (31% for Agora vs. 18.5% for Forum Bornova) 'sitting units at circulation spaces' (39% for Agora vs. 12.5% for Forum Bornova), 'payphone' (2% for Agora vs. 0% for Forum Bornova), and 'wireless' (12.5% for Agora vs. 3.5% for Forum Bornova) as a resource, the level of publicness of Forum Bornova is higher than Agora. However, in the context of access to the 'car parking' (38.5% for Forum Bornova vs. 26.5% for Agora), 'WCs' (29.5% for Forum Bornova vs. 19.5% for Agora), and "shuttle service" (12.5% for Forum Bornova vs. 5% for Agora) as a resource, the level of the publicness of Agora is higher than Forum Bornova. What is important with reference to access to some of the resources is that the executive officers of Agora clearly stated that they deliberately had the sitting units removed. In the interview, the executive officer explained their decision to remove access to resources with recourse to the visitors' polluting the center, or reclining on the sitting units and creating unacceptable behavior. In direct observation we recorded that security officers asked those who sat on the ground due to lack of sitting units to get off the ground. The management also indicated that the restriction of access to sitting units was part of their conscious policy to direct visitors to the food court or to the restaurants in the center.

5.5. Section 5: Access to Information (Questions 25 to 28)

This section focuses on the criterion "access" under the variable of "access to information" via the evaluation of responses to Q25 (*Q25* How did you learn about this shopping center? Q26 (*Q26* Were you consulted in any capacity during its construction?) Q27 (*Q27* Do you hear about the activities that take place in this center? If yes, how?) and Q28 (*Q28* Do you hear about the stores that close/open/renovate at the shopping center? If yes how?)

5.5.1. Forum Bornova (Access to Information)

More than a half (59.5%) Forum Bornova's respondents already know this center since its construction started. 11% respondents receive information about this center via ads or commercials, and 22.5% respondents learn from their friends. 7% respondents see this place since it is on their ways (see Figure 5.18).

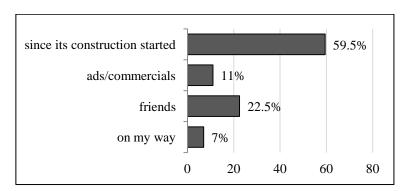


Figure 5.18. Distribution of Forum Bornova's Respondents' 'access to information' (Q25)

Question 26 (*Q26* Were you consulted in any capacity during its construction?) was not asked at Forum Bornova.

A half of the (51%) of the respondents of Forum Bornova receive information about the activities that take place at the center. 31.4% of them heard about the activities through newspapers, 29.4% heard through posters and leaflets, 19.6% heard through internet and emails, 2% heard via phone or SMS, 3.9% heard from friends, and 13.7% learned during the visit (Q27). 20.5% of the respondents of Forum Bornova hear about the stores that close, open or renovate at the center. 22% of them heard about the stores

via posters and leaflet, 12.2% heard via internet and email, and 65.9% heard when they visited the shopping center (Q28).

5.5.2. Agora (Access to Information)

The results of the statistical analysis show that 42% of Agora's respondents already know this center since its construction started. 1% respondents receive information about this center via ads or commercials, and 17% respondents learn from their friends. 39% respondents see this place since it is on their ways (see Figure 5.19).

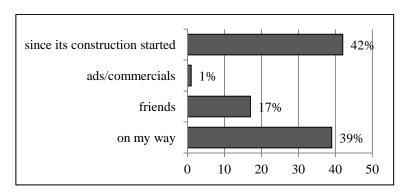


Figure 5.19. Distribution of Agora's Respondents 'access to information' (Q25)

According to the results of statistical analysis 29% of the respondents of Agora received information about the activities. 31% of them heard about the activities through newspapers, 24,1% learnt via posters and leaflets, 17,2% learnt via internet and emails, 5,2% learnt via phone or SMS (telemarketing), and only 1,7% heard from friends. (*Q27* Do you hear about the activities that take place in this shopping center? If yes, how?) (Q28) 28,5% of the respondents of Agora hear about the stores that close, open or renovate at the center. 10,5% of them learnt from newspapers, 10,5% learnt from posters and leaflets, 8,8% learnt via internet and email, 1,8% learnt via phone or SMS, 1,8% heard from friends, 66,7% learnt since they were visiting at the center (*Q28* Do you hear about the stores that close/open/renovate at the shopping center? If yes, how?). On the other hand, all of the respondents (100%) states that there was not any consultation or participation process about the center (*Q26*).

5.5.3. Comparative Analysis: The Criterion of Access to Information

I should note here that it was immensely difficult to get access to information at Agora as a researcher in the beginning period of this study. The administrative staff were highly skeptical of the objectives of this study. Only after indirect contact was established via the architect of the building that convinced the administration on the academic credibility of this research and the researcher, I was able to start the survey. Forum Bornova administration indicated that they would prefer questions regarding access to information not to be asked and especially Q26 to be excluded from the survey. This indicates that there was no participation or consultation with the public. The process surely indicates that access to the field and access to information is severely limited by managing authorities of the centers.

On the other hand, all the respondents of Agora answered question 26 (*Q26*) Were you consulted in any capacity during its construction?) as negative, in other words Agora Shopping Center did not consult the public.

In addition, during the interview Agora management preferred direct marketing more than indirect marketing with the aim of reaching a select body of customers more than a majority of the public.

According to the results of chi-square test, there is a significant difference between two shopping centers and the ways of receiving information about these places, x^2 (4, N = 400) = 70.755, p = .000, (Q25). Most of the respondents of Agora (39%) knew about the center because their transportation routes passed by the center. In other words, they could see the shopping center during travel. Therefore, in terms of visibility ('on my way') the level of publicness of Agora (39%) is higher than Forum Bornova (7%).

In terms of knowing a center 'since its construction started' the level of publicness of Forum Bornova (59.5%) is higher than Agora (42%). Almost an equal number of the respondents of the two (22.5% for Forum Bornova vs. 17% for Agora) received information about the centers from their 'friends'. In the context of learn from 'friends' the level of publicness of Forum Bornova is higher than Agora. Forum Bornova (22%) gave information about the place via 'ads or commercial', whereas Agora (1%) did not tend to inform the public. Therefore, in terms of sharing information via 'ads or commercials' the level of publicness of Forum Bornova (11%)

is higher than Agora (1%). The data is given in the Figure 5.20. In the context of "access to information" the ways of knowing information about the center affected the level of publicness of these two shopping centers.

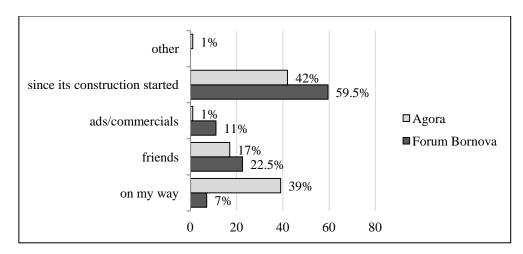


Figure 5.20. Comparison of 'access to information' (Q25)

In the evaluation of Q27 and Q28 (Q27 Do you hear about the activities that take place in this shopping center? If yes, how? Q28 Do you hear about the stores that close/open/renovate at the shopping center?), there were non-significant differences between Forum Bornova or Agora in terms of receive information about the activities, $(x^2 (1, N = 400) = .812, p > .05 \text{ OR } p = .368)$ and the stores that close/open/renovate at shopping centers $(x^2 (1, N = 400) = 3.460, p > .05 \text{ OR } p = .063)$. In other words, none of the items that serve as variables to evaluate Q27 and Q28 affected the level of publicness of Forum Bornova and Agora. However, the result of the descriptive statistics shows that most of the respondents of Forum Bornova (65.7%) and Agora (65.9%) heard about the stores 'during their visits'. But these percentages were non-significant in effect. The data is graphed in Figure. 5.21.

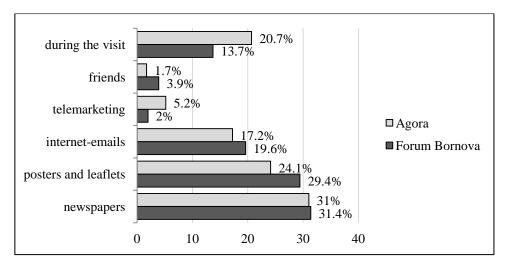


Figure 5.21. Comparisons of 'access to information' about activities (Q27)

Forum Bornova management body (22%) tended to deliver such posters and leaflets' than Agora (10.5%). However, Agora tended to inform via 'telemarketing' (1.8%), 'internet/email' (8.8%), and 'newspapers' (10.5%), whereas Forum Bornova did not (Q28). (see Figure 5.20). Therefore, in evaluation of Q28 there was non-significant difference (x^2 (1, N = 400) = 3.460, p > .05 OR p = .063). Therefore, these items do not affect the level of publicness of a shopping center.

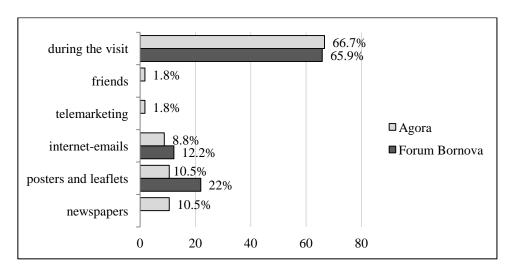


Figure 5.22. Comparison of 'access to information' about stores (Q28)

5.6. Section 6: Physical Access (Questions 29 to 37)

In the assessment of level of publicness of shopping centers, questions 29 to 37 were asked to measure proximity, travel time, public transport or car ownership, difficulties, and obstruction in reaching the shopping centers.

5.6.1. Forum Bornova (Physical Access)

As can be seen from Figure 5.23 (below), more than half (61.5%) of the respondents of Forum Bornova came to the center from Karşıyaka/Bornova zone (northnorthwest), and almost one-quarter (23.5%) came from Konak/Balçova/Narlıdere/Güzelbahçe zone (south-southwest) while 6.5% came from Gaziemir/Buca zone (south), and another 2.5% came from other districts of Izmir. 6% of all the respondents came from outside Izmir (see Figure 5.24).

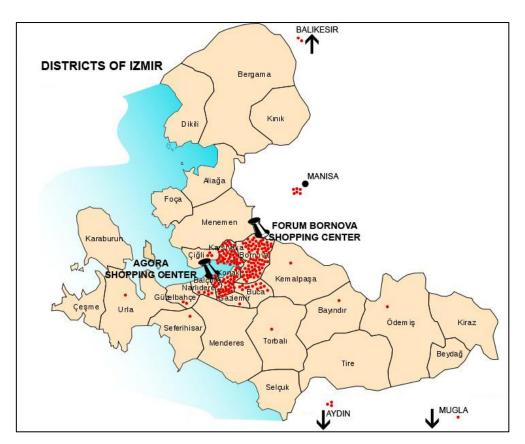


Figure 5.23. The places where the Forum Bornova's respondents came from (Q29)

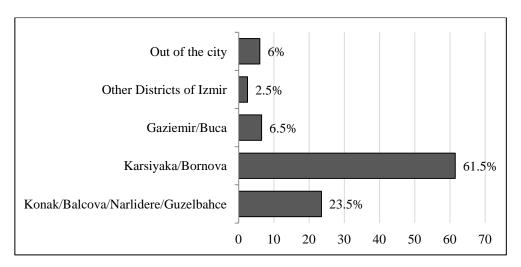


Figure 5.24. Distribution Districts where Respondents of Forum Bornova came from (Q29)

The private car seems to be the transportation of choice for the respondents of Forum Bornova. An overwhelming majority (75.5%) traveled by car, while a remarkable number of respondents of the center (13%) walked to Forum Bornova. The results show that only 11.5% of the respondents of Forum Bornova tend to choice mass transportation (see Figure 5.25).

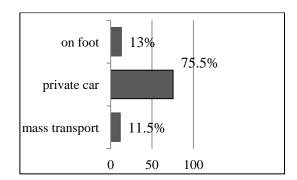


Figure 5.25. Travelling Preferences of Forum Bornova's Respondents (Q32)

Approximately one in four (23%) of the center's respondents traveled more than 30 minutes to reach their destinations. A significant 66.5% of Forum Bornova visitors took a 10 to 30 minute trip and 10.5% traveled less than 10 minutes to get there (see Figure 5.26).

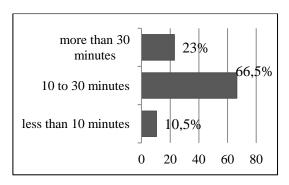


Figure 5.26. Durations of Travel of Forum Bornova's Respondents (Q34)

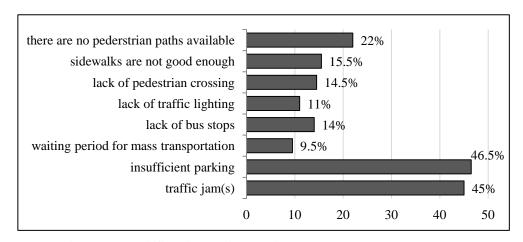


Figure 5.27. Difficulties while reaching Forum Bornova (Q36)

As seen in Figure 5.27, Forum Bornova's respondents mostly confronted with 'traffic jam(s)' (45%) and 'insufficient parking' (46.5%) difficulties while arriving the center. In addition, 9% of them confronted with 'waiting period for mass transportation', 14% 'lack of bus stops', 11% 'lack of traffic lighting', 14.5% 'lack of pedestrian crossing', 15.5% 'sidewalks', and 22% 'pedestrian paths'.

7.5% of respondents of Forum Bornova states that sometimes there are such obstructions in terms of physical access to this place (*Q27* Did you encounter any obstruction in entering the shopping center or witness any such obstruction? If yes, how?).

5.6.2. Agora (Physical Access)

According to the results, an overwhelming (79.5%) number of Agora's respondents came to the center from the Konak/Balçova/Narlıdere/Güzelbahçe, zone 7% came from the Karşıyaka/Bornova zone, 8% came from the Gaziemir/Buca zone,

4% came from other districts of Izmir, and 1.5% came from outside of the Izmir (see Figure 5.28). The data is graphed in Figure 5.29.

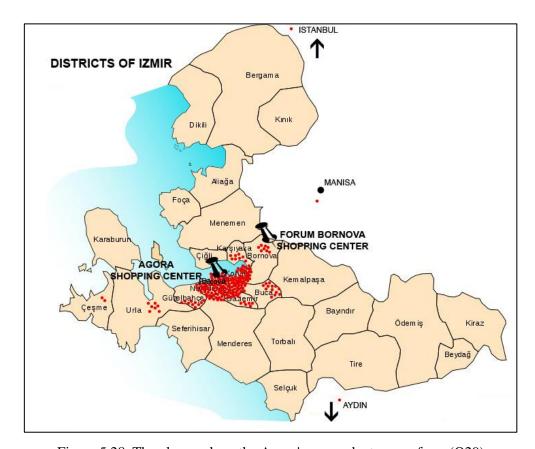


Figure 5.28. The places where the Agora's respondents came from (Q29)

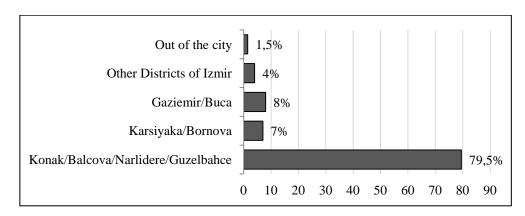


Figure 5.29. Distribution Districts where Respondents of Agora came from (Q29)

Descriptive statistics show that more than a half (53,5%) of Agora's respondents traveled by private car, a noteworthy number (13%) walked to Agora, and 33.5% of the

respondents choose to take mass transportation. The data are graphed in Figure 5.30 below.

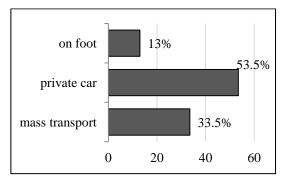


Figure 5.30. Travelling Preferences of Agora's Respondents (Q32)

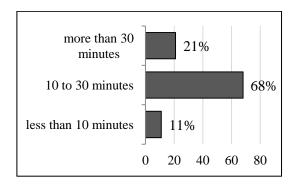


Figure 5.31. Durations of Travel of Agora's Respondents (Q34)

About one in four (21%) of the respondents traveled more than 30 minutes to reach their destinations, a majority of the respondents (68%) took the 10 to 30 minute trip and 11% traveled less than 10 minutes to get there (see Figure 5.31 above).

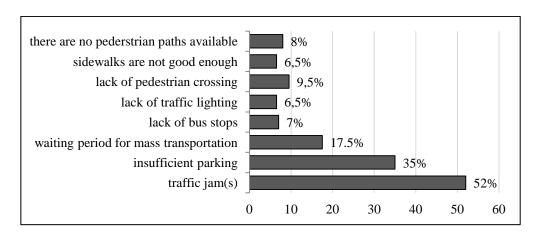


Figure 5.32. . Difficulties while reaching Agora (Q36)

As seen in Figure 5.32, a half of the Agora's respondents (52%) confronted with traffic jam(s)' while reaching the shopping center. 35% 'insufficient parking', 17.5%

'waiting period for mass transportation', 7% 'lack of bus stops', 6.5% 'lack of traffic lighting', 9.5% 'lack of pedestrian crossing', 6.5% 'sidewalks', and 8% 'pedestrian paths'.

5% of Agora's respondents states that there are some obstructions regarding physical accessibility at the gates of the center (*Q27* Did you encounter any obstruction in entering the shopping center or witness any such obstruction? If yes, how?). They stated that sometimes security officers at the gates search bags or pocket of visitors carefully like a policeman.

5.6.3. Comparative Analysis: The Criterion of Physical Access

There is an important difference with reference to where the respondents of the shopping center 'come from' (Q29). Although a significant effect is observed here, x^2 (4, N=400) = 154,018, p = .000, I believe that such a statistical analysis will be misleading since they are positioned at two different locations of the city. In addition, there is a significant difference with reference to where the respondents of Forum Bornova and Agora 'live in' (Q30), x^2 (75, N=400) = 210.576, p=.000, and 'work at' (Q31), x^2 (77, N=400) = 133.785, p=.000. However, I didn't categorize the answers of these two questions to examine the level of publicness of two shopping centers. Therefore, I consider only the categories of Q29 ('come from') to examine the level of publicness of two shopping centers.

A chi-square test was conducted to analyze the data with transportation preference (Q32) as one variable and the name of the shopping center as the second variable. There was a significant effect, x^2 (2, N = 400) = 29.015, p = .000, such that the respondents of Agora tended to travel by 'mass transportation' (33.5%) rather than respondents of Forum Bornova (11.5%). That is, the level of publicness of Agora is higher than Forum Bornova. On the other hand, most of the respondents of Forum Bornova (75.5%) travel by their 'private cars', whereas 53.5% of respondents of Agora travel by 'private cars'. That is, for respondents who have a 'private car', the level of publicness of Forum Bornova is higher than Agora. However, it is important to note that, traveling by 'mass transportation' is more public than traveling by 'private car'. Therefore, 'means of travel' as a variable affects the level of publicness of the shopping centers.

Moreover, 'duration of travel' (Q34) does not affect the assessment of the level of publicness of Forum Bornova and Agora as there was non-significant effect as a result (x^2 (3, N = 400) = 2.299, p > .05 OR p = .513).

More than half (65.5%) of the respondents of Forum Bornova and a significant, 78% of the respondents of Agora thought that they arrived at the shopping centers easily (Q35 Do you think trip to the shopping center is easy?). However, there is a significant difference here, x^2 (1, N = 400) = 7.709, p = .000. According to statistical analysis with reference to 'easy trip' the level of publicness of Agora (78%) is higher than Forum Bornova (65.5%).

Although the majority seem to find reach easy, the respondents have also marked out difficulties as they answered the following question. In terms of 'easy trip', the level of publicness of Agora (78%) is higher than Forum Bornova (65.5%).

Q36 was asked because the author aimed to clarify whether difficulties in reaching the centers could be compared especially with reference to the difficulties of those who arrived by car versus those who arrived by mass transportation regarding physical access (Q36 Did you have any difficulties in reaching the shopping center?). According to the results of the statistical analysis, there is non-significant effect in terms of 'traffic lighting', (x^2 (1, N = 400) = 2.536, p > .05 OR p = .111), and 'pedestrian crossing' (x^2 (1, N = 400) = 2.367, p > .05 OR p = .124).

However, there are significant differences regarding 'traffic jam(s), x^2 (1, N=400) = 1.962, p=.161, 'insufficient parking', x^2 (1, N=400) = 5.477, p=.019, 'mass transportation' x^2 (1, N=400) = 5.481, p=.019, 'lack of bus stops', (x^2 (1, N=400) = 5.214, p=.022, 'sidewalks' x^2 (1, N=400) = 8.274, p=.004), and 'pedestrian paths', x^2 (1, N=400) = 15.373, p=.000. Therefore, these indicators affected the level of publicness of Forum Bornova and Agora. As a result, in terms of 'mass transportation' (52% for Agora vs. 45% for Forum Bornova), 'insufficient parking' (35% for Agora vs. 46.5% for Forum Bornova), 'bus stops' (7% for Agora vs. 14% for Forum Bornova), 'sidewalks' (6.5% for Agora vs. 15.5% for Forum Bornova), 'pedestrian paths' (8% Agora vs. 22% Forum Bornova) the level of publicness of Agora is higher than Forum Bornova , whereas, with reference to 'mass transportation' the level of publicness of Forum Bornova (9.5%) is higher than Agora (17.5%).

185 respondents of Forum Bornova (92.5%) think that there was no obstruction, whereas 15 respondents (7.5%) thought there was such obstruction (*Q37* Did you encounter any obstruction in entering the shopping center or witness any such

obstruction? If yes, what was it?). 4 out of the 15 respondents explained such obstructions, namely the spatial practices that they found exclusionary. One pointed out that certain children of the neighborhood were not allowed access or were removed from the premises. Two of the respondents noted that they could not enter the shopping center in the earlier hours (Forum Bornova officially opens at 10:00 am) although the center looked physically accessible when they arrived at 8:00 am. The remaining respondents stated that the center excludes those who cannot afford the private car due to its location which privileges access via automobile.

95% of Agora's respondents thought that there was no obstruction, whereas 5% remembered that some people were returned and not allowed access, or allowed only after a serious body search during entry.

A list of the variables that have been influential in creating significant differences in the second step of statistical analysis in order to generate a comparative evaluation are given in the following table.

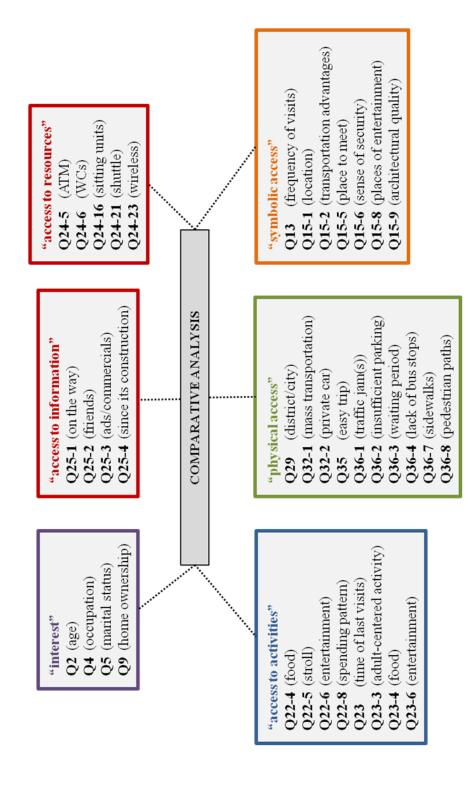


Figure 5.33. Variables that created significant differences in comparative analysis (Phase 1, Step2)

5.7. The results of x^2 Analyses

The data provided by the questionnaire were statistically analyzed further to see the relations between different user characteristics and preferences, objectives of visit, encountered problems, etc. which are variables of the survey. The differences revealed by Chi-square Tests were tabled via Cross-tabulation for a general evaluation of the data, and given in Appendix A. (Tables A.1.1 to A1.34 for Forum Bornova and Tables A.2.1 to A.2.68). These results comprise the second phase of the statistical analysis (see Figure 5.1 Phases of Statistical Analysis at the first page of this chapter). For evaluation, the first ten variables in 'Section 1: interest' (Q1 to Q10) and Q29 (in 'Section 6: physical access') were calculated with each of the variables in Q11 to Q37 except for Q29.

The results of the evaluation regarding 'gender (Q1),' 'age (Q2),' 'level of education (Q3),' 'occupation (Q4),' 'marital status (Q5),' 'number of children (Q6),' 'physical disability (Q7),' 'income level (Q8),' 'home ownership (Q9),' 'car ownership (Q10),' and 'mode of visit (Q11)' with the addition of 'district/city'(Q29) are as follows:

5.7.1. Significant Relations in x^2 Analyses for Forum Bornova

Gender (Q1)

'Sense of security' is significantly related to gender, x^2 (1, N = 200) = 7.029, p = .008, (see Table A.1.1 in Appendix A). Among men 'secure place' is regarded as an important reason for preference. It is interesting that 'sense of security' is not significantly related to age, occupation, and number of children. This brings up the question whether people really prefer shopping centers because they are secure places, as results prove otherwise.

Respondents' preferences in coming to the center for children-centered activity is significantly related to gender, x^2 (1, N = 200) = 6.944, p = .008, (see Table A.1.2 in Appendix A). Both males and women do not regard the center as a place for children-centered activities. It is understood that children-centered activity is not significantly related either to marital status or to number of children.

Respondents' preferences in coming to the center only for shopping in their last visits, is significantly related to gender, x^2 (1, N = 200) = 4.280, p = .039, (see Table A.1.3 in Appendix A) and the number of women are higher. It is understood that coming only for shopping is not significantly related to age, occupation, income, and marital status.

The 'access to shops' variable at the center is significantly related to gender, x^2 (1, N = 200) = 4.899, p = .027, (see Table A.1.4 in Appendix A). Mostly women indicate 'Access to shops' as a problems. It is understood that 'access to shops' is not significantly related to income levels.

The 'access to taxi stand' variable is significantly related to gender, x^2 (1, N = 200) = 6.020, p = .014, (see Table A.1.5 in Appendix A) and women appear to be most influential factor for this result.

The 'access to shuttle' variable is significantly related to gender, x^2 (1, N=200) = 13.297, p=.000, (see Table A.1.6 in Appendix A). Women appear to be the most influential factor in pointing to "access to shuttle" as a problem. It is interesting to note that 'access to shuttle' is not significantly related to age, income, car ownership and district/city where they come from.

Age(Q3)

Respondents' preferences in coming to the center for meeting with friends is significantly related to age groups, x^2 (10, N = 198) = 18.292, p = .05, (see Table A.1.7 in Appendix A) and ages between 20 to 34 appear to be the most influential section.

Respondents' preferences in coming to the center for shopping in their last visits is significantly related to their ages, x^2 (10, N = 200) = 19.487. p = .034, (see Table A.1.8 in Appendix A). The age group 20-34 is the most influential factor in this result.

Respondents' coming to the center for strolling is significantly related to age groups, x^2 (10, N = 200) = 21.733, p = .017, (see Table A.1.9 in Appendix A) the age group between 20 to 34 appear to be the most influential factor.

Respondents' 'ways of receiving information' about the center is significantly related to age, x^2 (30, N = 200) = 47.177, p = .024, (see Table A.1.10 in Appendix A). Generally, the age group between 20-39 have been receiving information about the center since it was built, besides, the age group between 20-29 learn from friends. It is understood that respondents' ways of receiving information about the center is not significantly related to gender, occupation, level of education, and income level.

Occupation (Q4)

Respondents' coming to the center for meeting with friends is significantly related to occupation, x^2 (4, N = 200) = 10.624, p = .031, (see Table A.1.11 in Appendix A). Self-employed/employer/professionals, employee/professionals, and students appear to be most influential occupation groups. Among housewives and the retired/unemployed groups, the center is not considered a place to meet.

Respondents' coming to the center only for shopping is significantly related to occupation, x^2 (4, N = 200) = 9.770, p = .044, (see Table A.1.12 in Appendix A). The employee/professional group appears to be the most influential factor, meaning, most of them did not visit this place only for shopping (see Table A.1.11 in Appendix A).

Respondents' coming to the center only for children-centered activity is significantly related to occupation, x^2 (4, N = 200) = 10.850, p = .028, (see Table A.1.13 in Appendix A). In terms of occupational status, the center is not considered a place for children-centered activity, that is none of the occupational categories see the center as a place for children-centered activity.

Marital Status (Q5)

'Mode of visit' is significantly related to marital status, x^2 (2, N = 200) = 58.543, p = .000, (see Table A.1.14 in Appendix A). Generally single respondents visit this center with their friends, while married respondents visit with their families or children.

As a general pattern, respondents of the center spent money during their visits, yet it is significantly related to marital status, x^2 (3, N = 200) = 19.651, p = .000, (see Table A.1.15). It is understood that most of the single respondents tend to spend less than 50 TL at the center.

Number of Children (6)

'Frequency of visiting' is significantly related to the number of children, x^2 (12, N = 200) = 79.84, p = .000, (see Table A.1.16 in Appendix A). It is understood that the 'frequency of visiting' is not significantly related to gender, age, occupation, car ownership, and district/city where coming from.

Respondents' coming to the center for meeting with friends is significantly related to the number of children, x^2 (3, N = 200) = 8.993, p = .029, (see Table A.1.17 in Appendix A). Generally it is respondents without children who tend to come for

meeting their friends at the center. Respondents who have two or more children do not regard the center as a place to meet friends or family.

As expected, respondents' coming to the center for children-centered activity is significantly related to number of children, x^2 (3, N = 200) = 22.071, p = .000, (see Table A.1.18 in Appendix A). It is interesting note here that most of the respondents, with or without children, do not regard the center as a place for children-centered activity.

'Spending pattern' during the visit is significantly related to the number of children, x^2 (9, N = 162) = 25.02, p = .003, (see Table A.1.19 in Appendix A). Generally respondents without children tend to spend money at the center. As the number of children increases the amount of money spent increases as well.

Income Level (Q8)

'Access to bike parking' is significantly related to income level, x^2 (4, N = 179) = 12.676, p = .013, (see Table A.1.20 in Appendix A).

'Access to taxi stand' in Forum Bornova is significantly related to respondents' income level, x^2 (4, N = 179) = 17.921, p = .001, (see Table A.1.21 in Appendix A).

'Access to shuttle' is significantly related to respondents' income level, x^2 (4, N = 179) = 10.939, p = .027, (see Table A.1.22 in Appendix A).

'Means of travel' is significantly related to income level, x^2 (8, N = 179) = 21.789, p = .005, (see Table A.1.23 in Appendix A). As income increases preference to travel by car increases however almost all respondents prefer private car to travel among other options.

Car Ownership (Q10)

Among car owners arriving to the center is considered as an 'easy trip', that is, 'easy trip' is significantly related to car ownership, x^2 (1, N = 200) = 10.914, p = .001, (see Table A.1.24 in Appendix A).

As a general pattern, the statement of 'do not have a private car' appears to be most influential factor in having difficulty in travelling to the center.

Difficulties in travelling to the center such as 'traffic jam(s),' x^2 (1, N = 200) = 25.367, p = .000, 'insufficient parking,' x^2 (1, N = 200) = 22.777, p = .000, are significantly related to car ownership (see Tables A.1.25, A.1.26 in Appendix A). 'To have a private car' appears most influential factor.

On the other hand, 'traffic lights,' x^2 (1, N = 200) = 4.667, p = .031, 'pedestrian crossing,' x^2 (1, N = 200) = 6.122, p = .013, 'quality of sidewalks,' x^2 (1, N = 200) = 13.774, p = .000, and 'pedestrian paths available,' x^2 (1, N = 200) = 15.736, p = .000, are significantly related to car ownership (see Tables A.1.27, A.1.28, A.1.29, A.1.30 in Appendix A). 'Do not have a private car' appears most influential factor.

District/City (Q29)

'Frequency of visiting' other places 'for fun' instead of shopping centers is significantly related to 'district/city' where respondents come from, x^2 (9, N = 101) = 20.630, p = .014, (see Table A.1.31 in Appendix A). Respondents who live in Karşıyaka/Bornova often prefer to visit other places for fun instead of the center.

'Transportation advantages' is significantly related to the 'district/city' where respondents come from, x^2 (4, N=200) = 9.916, p=.042, (see Table A.1.32 in Appendix A). Among all respondents 'transportation advantages' is not considered as a reason to prefer this center. 'Transportation advantages' is not an important factor to prefer the center whether the respondents come from a proximal district or don't.

'Travel time', as expected, is significantly related to 'district/city' where respondents come from, x^2 (8, N=200) = 35.493, p=.000, (see Table A.1.33 in Appendix A).

Lack of 'pedestrian paths available' is significantly related to 'district/city' where respondents come from, x^2 (4, N = 200) = 11.398, p = .022, (see Table A.1.34 in Appendix A).

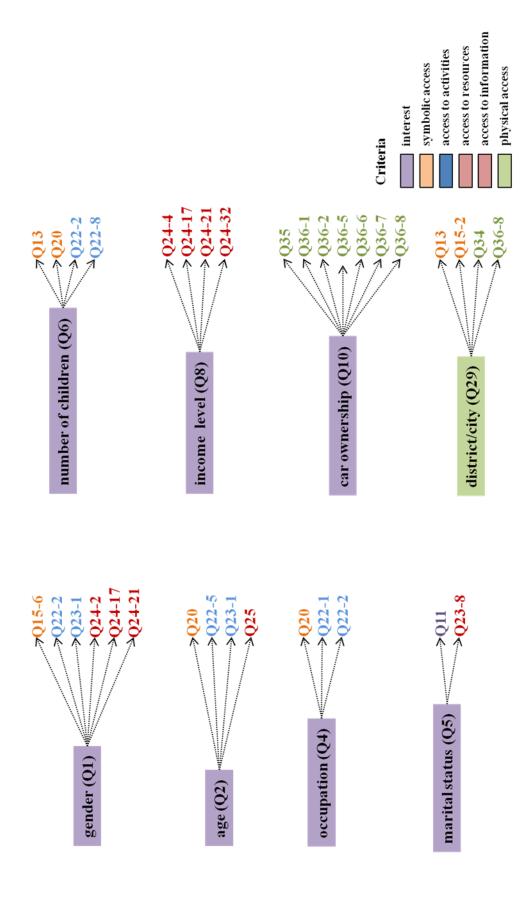


Figure 5.34. The Results of Causal Relations for Forum Bornova (Phase 2: Significant Relations in x^2 Analysis)

5.7.2. Significant Relations in x^2 Analyses for Agora

Gender (Q1)

'Average time spent' at the center is significantly related to gender, x^2 (2, N = 200) = 6.65, p = .036, (see Table A.2.1 in Appendix A), and women appear to be the most influential factor, that is, women prefer to stay at the center longer than men.

'Variety of goods and services' as a reason of preference is significantly related to gender, x^2 (1, N = 200) = 4.2, p = .040, (see Table A.2.2 in Appendix A) and women appear to be the most influential factor. Among women 'variety of goods and services' is an important reason of preference.

'Sense of security' is significantly related to gender, x^2 (1, N = 200) = 4.75, p = .029, (see Table A.2.3 in Appendix A). Neither women nor men prefer the center because they see it is a 'secure place.'

'Quality of entertainment places' is significantly related to gender, x^2 (1, N = 200) = 6.43, p = .011, (see Table A.2.5 in Appendix A). Neither women nor men visited the center in their last visits because of entertainment reasons.

'Access to car parking' is significantly related to gender, x^2 (1, N = 200) = 7.53, p = .006, (see Table A.2.6 in Appendix A) and men appear to be the most influential factor in this result.

'Access to payphone' is significantly related to gender, x^2 (1, N = 200) = 4.42, p = .035, (see Table A.2.7 in Appendix A). Women do not regard 'access to payphone' as a problem at the center, on the contrary, men want to use the payphone during their visits.

Respondents' 'ways of receiving information' about the center is significantly related to gender x^2 (1, N = 200) = 4.55, p = .033, (see Table A.2.8 in Appendix A). Most men easily receive information about the center in contrast to women.

Respondents' 'ways of receiving information' about stores at the center is significantly related to gender, $x^2(1, N = 57) = 12.65$, p = .027, (see Table A.2.9 in Appendix A). Most men see changes in stores during their visits while women learn changes about stores at the center before visits.

Age(Q2)

'Mode of visit' is significantly related to age, x^2 (20, N = 200) = 95.49, p = .000, (see Table A.2.10 in Appendix A). Mostly the age group 15- 24 prefer visiting the center with their friends and is the most influential factor in this result.

Visiting other places 'for fun' instead of shopping centers is significantly related to age, x^2 (28, N = 137) = 41.95, p = .044, (see Table A.2.11 in Appendix A). Most of the age group 15-34 prefer visiting Alsancak/Kordon for fun instead of the centers. As a result, young age appears to be the most influential factor in preferring other places for fun instead of shopping centers.

'Frequency of visiting' other places 'for relaxation' instead of shopping centers is significantly related to age, x^2 (9, N = 101) = 20.630, p = .014, (see Table A.2.12 in Appendix A). The age group 20-29 prefer other places for relaxation when they do not visit this center.

Respondents' coming to the center for 'children-centered activity' is significantly related to age x^2 (10, N = 200) = 69.33, p = .000, (see Table A.2.13 in Appendix A) and the age group 15-29 appears to be the influential factor for this result. In general 'children-centered activity' is not considered as an important reason to prefer the center.

Respondents coming to the center for 'food' is significantly related to age, x^2 (10, N = 200) = 25.67, p = .004, (see Table C.2.14 in Appendix C). The age group 15-29 appears to be the most influential factor. Young people more than other age groups prefer the center for eating.

The objective of 'previous visit for children-centered activity' is significantly related to age, x^2 (10, N = 200) = 32.54, p = .000, (see Table C.2.15 in Appendix C) and the age group 15-29 appears to be the most influential factor for this result. In general 'children-centered activity' is not considered as an important reason to prefer the center as this finding corroborates the above.

'Spending pattern' is significantly related to age, x^2 (30, N = 144) = 50.573, p = .011 (see Table A.2.16 in Appendix A) although all respondents tended to spend money during their previous visits. The amount of money spent increases with age as well.

The problem of 'access to food' is significantly related to age, x^2 (10, N = 200) = 19.05, p = .040, (see Table A.2.17 in Appendix A). especially, the age group 15-29 do not think they confront problems about food options at the center.

'Access to playground area' is significantly related to age, x^2 (10, N = 200) = 18.70, p = .044, (see Table A.2.18 in Appendix A). The age group 15-44 appears to be the influential factor for this result. In general, the center is not considered as a place to be equipped with playground areas/options.

Respondents' 'ways of receiving information' about the center is significantly related to age, x^2 (40, N = 200) = 59.70, p = .023, (see Table A.2.19 in Appendix A). People of young age between 15-29 stated that they have been getting information since the center opened and find it visible on their way to other destinations. They also stated that they hear about the center from their friends, which means that information regarding the center circulates among people of this age group.

'Means of travel' is significantly related to age, x^2 (20, N = 200) = 43.42, p = .002, (see Table A.2.20 in Appendix A). In general the age group 15-29 arrived either with mass transportation or with private car. However the majority of the age group 50-54 preferred travelling with mass transportation to the center.

Occupation (Q4)

'Mode of visit' is significantly related to occupation, x^2 (8, N = 200) = 34.50, p = .000, (see Table A.2.21 in Appendix A). While students visit the center with friends self-employed/employer/professionals and employee/professionals prefer visiting with their family or children.

Respondents coming to the center for 'shopping' is significantly related to occupation, x^2 (4, N = 200) = 12.61, p = .013, (see Table A.2.22 in Appendix A). In general shopping is the most common objective with respect to occupations.

Respondents coming to the center for 'children-centered activity' is significantly related to occupation, x^2 (4, N = 200) = 13.73, p = .008, (see Table A.2.23 in Appendix A) as some housewives visit the center because there are children-centered activities.

'Spending pattern' is significantly related to occupation, x^2 (12, N = 159) = 23.98, p = .020, (see Table A.2.24 in Appendix A) as all respondents tend to spend money during their visits.

Respondents' coming to the center for 'children-centered activity' is significantly related to occupation, x^2 (4, N = 200) = 26.73, p = .000, (see Table A.2.25 in Appendix A). Almost none of respondents visited the place for children-centered activity. None of the respondents declared that they were unemployed.

Respondents' coming to the center for 'places for entertainment' is significantly related to occupation, x^2 (4, N = 200) = 14.49, p = .006, (see Table A.2.26 in Appendix A). A remarkable number of students preferred the center for entertainment in their previous visits. Respondents who were from other occupational categories didn't tend to visit the center due to the provision of places for entertainment.

Respondents' 'ways of receiving information' about the stores at the center is significantly related to occupation, x^2 (4, N = 200) = 10.85, p = .028, (see Table A.2.27 in Appendix A). Most students know about changes in the stores, while most of the employers do not receive news about changes on stores at the center.

'Means of travel' is significantly related to occupation, x^2 (8, N = 200) = 23.16, p = .003, (see Table C.2.28 in Appendix C).

'Transportation difficulties' in reaching the center is significantly related to occupation, x^2 (4, N = 200) = 11, p = .27, (see Table A.2.29 in Appendix A). In general, respondents do not think they confront such difficulties in reaching the center. However, among students, 'waiting periods of mass transportation' is regarded as a difficulty.

Marital Status (Q5)

'Mode of visit' is significantly related to marital status, x^2 (2, N = 200) = 56.89, p = .000, (see Table A.2.30 in Appendix A). Most of the single respondents visit the center with their friends, while for married people the center is a place for visiting with their families.

'Variety of goods and services' is significantly related to marital status, $x^2(1, N = 200) = 4.18$, p = .041, (see Table A.2.31 in Appendix A). Generally, among married respondents 'variety of goods and services' is considered to be an important reason to prefer.

The perception of the center as a 'place to meet' is significantly related to marital status, $x^2(1, N = 200) = 8.79$, p = .003, (see Table A.2.32 in Appendix A). In general married respondents do not consider the center as 'the place to meet' as an important reason of preference.

Respondents' visiting other places for 'shopping' is significantly related to marital status, $x^2(1, N = 116) = 12.40$, p = .006, (see Table A.2.33 in Appendix A), that is, singles appear to be the most influential factor in this result.

Respondents' coming to the center for only 'children-centered activity' is significantly related to marital status, x^2 (1, N = 200) = 12.74, p = .000, (see Table A.2.34 in Appendix A). And yet, singles appear to be the most influential factor. However, in general the center is not considered as a place for children-centered activity with respect to marital status.

Respondents' coming to the center for only 'strolling' is significantly related to marital status, x^2 (1, N = 200) = 5.55, p = .018, (see Table A.2.35 in Appendix A) with singles appearing to be the most influential factor. Almost a half of the singles visited the center just for strolling. Married respondents tend to visit the center for other activities instead of just for strolling.

'Access to diaper change' is significantly related to marital status, x^2 (1, N = 200) = 6.39, p = .011, (see Table A.2.36 in Appendix A). Singles do not see access to diaper change as a problem.

'Means of travel' is significantly related to marital status, x^2 (2, N = 200) = 14.37, p = .001 (see Table A.2.37 in Appendix A), and singles appear to be the most influential factor in this result. In general people prefer the private car to come to the center and almost all married people arrive by car whereas almost half of singles prefer mass transportation. Although about 15% of the singles arrive on foot, the remaining group prefer the car.

'Transportation difficulties' in reaching the center is significantly related to marital status, x^2 (1, N = 200) = 7.77, p = .005, (see Table A.2.38 in Appendix A). In general, single respondents confront difficulties in reaching the center such as 'waiting periods of mass transportation.'

'Easy trip' is significantly related to marital status, x^2 (1, N = 200) = 3.9, p = .048, (see Table A.2.39 in Appendix A). A remarkable number of singles define their trips to the center as difficult.

Number of Children (Q6)

'Mode of visit' is significantly related to number of children, x^2 (6, N = 200) = 45.36, p = .000, (see Table A.2.40 in Appendix A). Respondents who have children prefer visiting the center with their families.

Respondents' visiting other places 'for fun' except for the center is significantly related to number of children, x^2 (8, N = 134) = 25.40, p = .001, (see Table A.2.41 in

Appendix A). Especially, respondents without children prefer to visit Alsancak/Kordon for fun.

'Frequency of visiting' other places 'for fun' is significantly related to number of children, x^2 (6, N = 115) = 13.02, p = .030, (see Table A.2.42 in Appendix A). Especially, respondents without children often visit other places for fun except for the center.

'The ways of interaction preferences' with other people at the center is significantly related to number of children, x^2 (6, N = 190) = 13.98, p = .030, (see Table A.2.43 in Appendix A). As a general pattern people do not interact with strangers. However, a remarkable number of respondents without children preferred to interact with others through shopping or greeting.

Demand for components/qualities of the center is significantly related to number of children, x^2 (27, N = 175) = 42.80, p = .027, (see Table A.2.44 in Appendix A). Among respondents who have children 'goods and services,', 'location,' 'physical orientation,' 'user profile' are considered to be important qualities and components of the center.

Respondents' coming for 'children-centered activity' is significantly related to number of children, x^2 (3, N = 200) = 47.38, p = .000 (see Table A.2.45 in Appendix A) in a converse relationship. Most of the respondents who have children do not consider the center as a place for children-centered activity.

The problem of 'Access to diaper change' is significantly related to number of children, x^2 (3, N = 200) = 8.88, p = .031, (see Table A.2.46 in Appendix A). A few respondents who have children confront the problem of access to diaper change at the center.

'Means of travel' is significantly related to number of children, x^2 (6, N = 200) = 15.61, p = .016, (see Table A.2.47 in Appendix A). Most of the respondents who have children prefer travelling to the center with their private cars, while a remarkable number of respondents without children prefer arriving with mass transportation.

The difficulties of 'pedestrian crossing,' 'sidewalk,' and 'pedestrian paths available' in reaching the center are significantly related to number of children, x^2 (3, N = 200) = 8.37, p = .039, x^2 (3, N = 200) = 9.13, p = .028, x^2 (3, N = 200) = 8.50, p = .037, (see Tables A.2.48, A.2.49, A.2.50 in Appendix A). As a general pattern, respondents without children confront these types of transportation difficulties in arriving at the center.

Income Level (Q8)

'Mode of visit' is significantly related to income level, x^2 (8, N = 175) = 15.84, p = .045, (see Table A.2.51 in Appendix A). People of income group 601-2500 TL prefer to visit the center with friends. People of income group 1501-2500 TL prefer to visit with family.

'Frequency of visiting' other places 'for relaxation' except for the center is significantly related to income level, x^2 (16, N = 92) = 23.59, p = .099, (see Table A.2.52 in Appendix A). People of income group 601-2500 TL once every few weeks and not more than once a week or more.

Demand for 'access to car parking' and 'access to wireless' are significantly related to income level, x^2 (4, N = 175) = 15.142, p = .004, x^2 (4, N = 175) = 14.510, p = .006, (see Table A.2.52, and Table A.54 in Appendix A). Respondents who earn 600 or under appear to be the most influential factor meaning those who earn 600 or under have no demand for access to car parking or wireless. Almost all respondents find no problem with parking and wireless.

'The ways of receiving information' about the center is significantly related to income level, x^2 (16, N = 175) = 27.573, p = .036, (see Table A.2.55 in Appendix A).

Car Ownership (Q9)

Respondents' coming for only 'children-centered activity' is significantly related to car ownership, x^2 (1, N = 200) = 6.935, p = .008, (see Table A.2.56 in Appendix A). For respondents without a private car, the center is not a place for children-centered activity.

'Spending pattern' is significantly related to car ownership, x^2 (3, N = 159) = 14.139, p = .003, (see Table A.2.57 in Appendix A). As expected, those who own a car seem to spend more on average.

'Means of travel' is significantly affected by car ownership, x^2 (2, N = 200) = 33.571, p = .000, (see Table A.2.58 in Appendix A). Regardless of the fact that they own a car or not, respondents declared that they would prefer mass transportation in reaching the center.

The difficulties of 'traffic jam(s),' 'car parking,' 'pedestrian crossing,' 'pedestrian path available' in reaching the center are significantly related to car ownership, $x^2(1, N = 200) = 4.196$, p = .041, $x^2(1, N = 200) = 8.014$, p = .005, $x^2(1, N = 200) = 4.653$, p = .031, $x^2(1, N = 200) = 6.324$, p = .012, (see Table A.2.59, A.2.60,

A.2.61, A.2.62 in Appendix A). Respondents all confront these difficulties in travelling to the center whether they own a car or not.

District/ City (Q29)

'Frequency of visiting' is significantly related to places where respondents come from, $x^2(16, N = 200) = 30.025$, p = .018, (see Table A.2.63 in Appendix A). Respondents who come from Konak/Balçova/Narlıdere/Güzelbahçe visit the center more often than those who came from other districts.

'Transportation advantages' is significantly related to the places where the respondents came from, x^2 (4, N=200) = 9.869, p=.043, (see Table C.2.64 in Appendix C). Respondents who come from Konak/ Balçova/ Narlıdere/ Güzelbahçe consider 'transportation advantages' an important reason to prefer the center.

'Frequency of visiting' other places for 'relaxation' except for the center is significantly related to the district or city where the respondents come from, x^2 (16, N = 101) = 52.436, p = .000, (see Table A.2.65 in Appendix A). For instance those who come from Konak/Balçova/Narlıdere/Güzelbahçe', that is those who are in the closer vicinity of Agora prefer to visit other places for relaxation.

'Easy trip' is significantly related to the places where the respondents come from, x^2 (4, N = 101) = 14.747, p = .005, (see Table A.2.66 in Appendix A) which means that the closer the center the easier the trip.

'Traffic jam(s)' as a difficulty in reaching the center is significantly related to places where the respondents come from, (see Table A.2.67 in Appendix A).

As it might be expected, 'Travel time' is significantly related to places where the respondents come from, x^2 (8, N=101) = 28.018, p=.000, (see Table A.2.68 in Appendix A). As distances between the center and the district increases travel time increases as well. However, even for those respondents who came from districts that are in close vicinity of the center, travel time was not short.

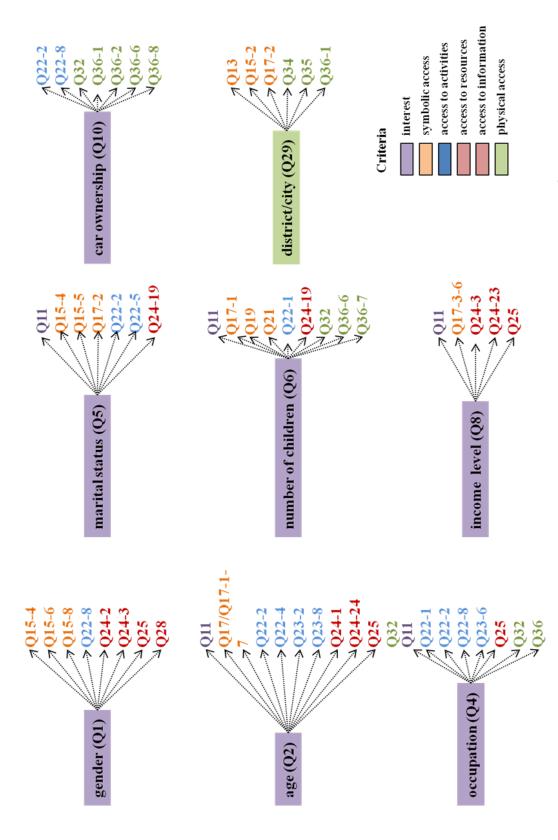


Figure 5.35. The Results of Causal Relations for Agora (Phase 2: Significant Relations in x^2 Analysis)

5.8. Summary Conclusion for Case Study Findings

The basic purpose of this survey was to find out statistical results in order to examine the level of publicness of the two centers. This evaluation was systemic in terms of descriptive and comparative statistics performed in relation to the six main criteria of the study and the 37 related questions of the survey. In the first phase of statistical analysis, I indicated statistical evaluations that reveal significant differences between two shopping centers regarding the criteria of 'interest, 'symbolic access,' 'access to activities,' 'access to resources,' 'access to information,' and 'physical access.' The second phase of the statistical analysis was aimed to reveal significant relations of the two centers with reference to 37 questions followed with a comparative evaluation of the two centers.

As mentioned in the previous chapters of the study, the publicness of shopping centers is a matter of debate as they are called semi-public spaces or pseudo public spaces regarding the public life that takes place in them. In other words, my objective is in large part, to find a statistical answer to this question departing from the two Izmir cases. The findings of the survey will accordingly contribute to the overall theoretical debate with empirical findings. What follows is a summary of a number of important findings categorized according to each criteria:

5.8.1. Interest

As a general pattern, students and young people visit these places. Especially is university students visit Agora often for a stroll, to meet their friends and to have lunch, whereas people of the age group 20-34 and self/employed/employer occupation group prefer visiting Forum Bornova with their families. As my direct observations corroborate, especially Izmir Economy University students prefer to visit Agora and to meet their friends during weekdays. They socialize in terms of strolling or chatting at the cafes and restaurants at the shopping center. The CEO stated that the center aims to provide such opportunities for all members of the society. However, user profile seems to change only a little at weekends, and this change was not much in terms of visitors' ages in contrast to what the CEO predicted. Furthermore the majority were mostly

young and single. Housewives and the retired/unemployed tend to visit Agora to have a good time and to shop as well.

However, the results confirm my observations that there is a heterogeneity and inclusivity at Forum Bornova regarding user profile in comparison to Agora. But according to statistical results, this diversity comprises mostly young and married people visiting the place with their families, whereas housewives and unemployed people do not tend to visit as much as employees/professionals who meet with their friends for work.

During my observation I did not see people with disabilities at the two centers while there were a lot of visitors who had one or more children with their strollers at Forum Bornova. Housewives and students were mostly observed at Agora alone or with groups of friends. Regardless of gender, levels of education, income levels, and car ownership, the level of publicness of Agora is high with respect to students and housewives who were with friends. The level of publicness of Forum Bornova is high with respect to married and employee people who were with their families and friends.

5.8.2. Symbolic Access

Considering symbolic access two shopping centers are different in terms of 'frequency of visits' and 'reasons to prefer.' Agora seems to be a more desirable place since it is located at the city center close to mass transportation choices. It has better facilities places for entertainment, for having lunch or dinner and a climatized environment. The features of architectural quality and physical orientation of the center are important factors to visit the place frequently. Especially, for non-working women and retired people this center is as a secure place to meet friends or just for a stroll. On the contrary, regarding respondents' reasons to prefer the center, Forum Bornova seems to be a place for only shopping and strolling as its design features open spaces. Although there are desirable open spaces provided, people do not tend to spend time in this place as much since it is far away from the city center. The most important feature above all, is that people feel like they are in Izmir when they are at Forum Bornova. In this sense, Forum Bornova's level of publicness is high with respect to symbolic access. However, it does not necessarily mean that Forum Bornova has a symbolic value that could 'outlast a generation' like Konak Square.

Above all, when they were at these two shopping centers people always feel that they are spending time at a private place.

5.8.3. Access to Activities

In general, the two shopping centers are mostly attended for shopping and visitors tend to spend money during their visits.

Children-centered activity is not considered an important factor for visiting the two centers although many visitors are with children. People come to the centers with their children but their main reason still tends to be shopping. Although Agora includes a small funfair that is visible from the outside, the center is still not considered as a place for children-centered activity. Similarly, Forum Bornova also includes small separated playground places but the center itself is not visible from the outside, since it is far away from the city center. Neither Forum Bornova nor Agora do not serve for ticket-based or ticket-free adult-centered activities except for cinemas. As a conclusion these two shopping centers are not considered as places for such activities in which visitors can actively participate in, engage in or able to modify. With respect to access to activities the level of publicness of these two shopping centers are low.

5.8.4. Access to Resources

Like public spaces in the cities, shopping centers themselves are resources. Moreover, like streets, sidewalks, benches at squares, or shadow of the trees in the public spaces, sitting units, cafes-restaurants, ATM, WCs etc. are all resources included within or at shopping centers. Right of access to these resources creates conflict at shopping centers since they are controlled by private owners. All items listed in the survey are defined as resources of the centers are managed, controlled, developed by the private sector, but used by the public. The problems with physical access to these resources are the indicators public-private distinction at the centers. Therefore in these spaces the kind of public life that takes place is constructed, administered, and imposed by the private sector and its nature is highly different than the public life that takes place in public spaces owned and administered by the public or its chosen representatives. This calls into question the transformation in the culture of public space and public life.

For instance the removal of sitting units in Agora is clearly intended to direct people to spaces of consumption instead of simple relaxation like a minute's rest on a bench. The lack of a regular and comfortable shuttle service to Forum Bornova partially stems from the management's economic preferences and partially in their decision to limit the number of visitors who do not own a car since this brings a clientele with a higher average of income. Both of these examples indicate how important it is for a public space and its visitors to have physical access to resources.

5.8.5. Access to information

As a general pattern, managements of two shopping center tend to share information about stores which close/open/renovate and activities via ads and commercials due to the center's need for commercial liveliness and mobility. However, both avoid the issue of sharing 'information' in terms of participation and consultation. When the management of Forum Bornova asked for Q26 to be removed from the survey and the difficulties that I encountered during my attempt in securing a meeting with the manager and conducting the survey at Agora their position on this issue became clearer. In terms of access to and the sharing of information both of these centers undoubtedly have a low level of publicness.

5.8.6. Physical Access

As a general pattern, private car seems to be the transportation of choice for two shopping centers. It is quite ironic that a place like Forum Bornova, whose motto is Mediterranean open space to invite activity and shopping while walking, does not realistically support physical accessibility by mass transportation. The main reason for are the respective locations of Forum Bornova versus Agora: Surrounded by freeways with no public transit or pedestrian access Forum Bornova is located outside the city center, while Agora is in a central location close to the Balçova District, where walking and use of public transit is much easier. Still, statistical analysis shows that private car appears to be the influential factor for physical access to Agora in terms of travel means.

Moreover, the age group 15-19 can easily travel to Agora by mass transportation, whereas Forum Bornova is perceived an inaccessible place with respect

to this age group under the legal age of driving. While this age group can go to Agora to meet their friends on their own, housewives, unemployed people and students cannot easily access Forum Bornova. In terms of physical accessibility, the survey indicates that Agora is perceived as a place more easily accessible in comparison to Forum Bornova. Added to this are the transportation difficulties that people experience in trying to reach Forum Bornova.

In other words while a section of Agora respondents' prefer mass transportation, 15-19 cannot easily access to Forum Bornova since they do not have a driving license. Probably this is why Forum Bornova is not regarded a meeting place with for this age group. Although Forum Bornova has a shuttle it does not serve a large radius of proximity in the city. It starts from Bornova Subway Station in the center of Bornova and shuttles between the subway and the shopping center. It is a small vehicle that picks up not more than 15 people and those who live away from Bornova are not encouraged to visit.

Considering the issue of 'obstruction' the design differences between two shopping centers is obvious: Agora has 'walls' whereas Forum Bornova is designed as a street network with respect to physical accessibility. In this sense, Forum Bornova looks like a more inclusive place than Agora. Unfortunately, the results of interviews with the managers and direct observations at the centers paint a different picture. Although I personally didn't observe any obstruction like someone being turned back at the gates, the manager insisted that not everyone can enter Agora. I observed more than 3 obstructions –who were teenagers who lived near the center and they looked like poor people— at Forum Bornova. Then, I interviewed with the security officers of the center, and they indicated that the 'customers' of the center is disturbed since these children want to eat leftovers at the food court. Although Forum Bornova does not use 'walls' or 'gates', the center has a policy of keeping away those who do not fit a certain profile. Although the manager states that the center is highly inclusive statistical results and direct observation indicates the contrary. My observation might lead to the conclusion that Agora has already managed keeping "some people" away via its unspoken regulations since it is a much older center than Forum Bornova, while Forum Bornova achieves this via security guards and surveillance cameras. We might also conclude that there is a more established spatial culture and demographics of exclusion at Agora in comparison to Forum Bornova.

Regarding 'destination' 'means of travel' and 'transportation difficulties' the level of publicness of Agora is high rather than Forum Bornova. Above all, the levels of publicness of two center are low with respect to 'obstruction', but in different ways.

This survey has answered many questions and helped explain many unknown aspects of these private places. In addition this survey also demonstrates a methodology on the assessment of level of publicness of shopping centers in terms of interest, access, and agency.

In sum, regarding 'interest,' 'symbolic access,' 'access to activities,' 'access to resources,' 'access to information,' 'physical access' neither Forum Bornova nor Agora are exactly public spaces. They serve opportunities and features for private interests in private places. People visit these places for socializing but that is not a true public life since these places are not representative places to gathering free and equally. In the context of examination of the level of publicness of shopping centers in the next chapter I will discuss shopping centers as a public space within the theoretical framework of the study.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION: WHERE TO WITH SHOPPING CENTERS AND PUBLIC SPACE?

This chapter discusses the results in the context of research findings, as well as the practical and research implications of this dissertation with future directions for research. The chapter is organized in three sections. The first section discusses the major findings in the context of recent research and theoretical debates on shopping centers and public space; the second section provides possibilities of future development and directions of new research and the last section includes a discussion on quality considerations of public space and recommendations of the author.

6.1 Major Findings

It would be a fundamental misconception to see shopping centers (like the two case study examples) as truly public and representative spaces in which public life takes place, since these centers are not accessible by all members of the society. However, they admit a certain part of the public and there are certain kinds of public activity that take place in these centers. It should also be remembered that public life is partially migrating to shopping centers as they become more and more popular. This section concludes the examination of the publicness of shopping centers with reference to Forum Bornova Life and Shopping Center and Agora Shopping Center. The statistical analysis have indicated the following results:

Shopping centers undertake many functions that public spaces serve or used to serve. This study corroborates the argument that the shopping center, by its new spatial form, as a synthesis of public life and retail, gained new meanings besides economic exchange, as a gathering space for social exchange, and as a site of communication and interaction.²¹⁴ As the age group distribution of this study shows, especially among the

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²¹⁴ See especially Shields, *Lifestyle Shopping*.

younger generation shopping centers have become attractive places of congregation and entertainment, venues that they are accustomed to meet with friends and to spend time with family. This is probably one of the important findings of the study since it points to the emergence of generations that live most of their lives in public, not in the truly public spaces of the city but in the restricted "publicness" of shopping centers. The major threat for the society is that in the collective memory of this younger generation the sense of public space, that is its virtues and meanings for the public, will remain incomplete. One important aspect of public space is its ability to outlast a generation and to take its place in the collective memory of the people, as Arendt and others have argued. Collective memory is something that is transferred to younger generations only by means of experience and if this trend is not overcome future generations' perception of public space will inevitably be different from ours or urban public spaces will not be within its scope.

The sense of lack of security attributed to public spaces and the argument that people prefer shopping centers due to their being more secure places was not strongly corroborated by the statistical analysis. Only 35.5% of all respondents indicated that they perceive the centers as more secure spaces. A comparison with an urban public space would shed further light on this issue and should help resolve whether security is a major factor in the migration from urban public spaces to shopping centers.

Shopping centers are not in the least open to the modification of their event structure by visitors. As direct observation and statistical analysis indicate, user-centered modifications of the publicly-used spaces of shopping centers are not possible. In contrast public spaces are usually open for functional transformation by users, as they are more flexible. A playground can easily be turned into a gathering space by neighborhood residents or into a party venue, teenagers can use it for their amateur dance shows, street performers use them for their acts, a group of protesters might claim any public space to demonstrate in order to make their voices heard, etc. Even an act of simple photography needs to be granted permission from managers. For instance, sitting on the ground due to the lack of street furniture within Agora was prohibited by the management in order to direct visitors to the cafes and restaurants within, and security personnel is used to strictly enforce such regulations. We should remember here that among Carr, et. al.'s five kinds of spatial rights are: (1) "the right of access" meaning to enter and stay, (2) "freedom of action," to carry on activities (3) "claim," to take over the space and resources in it and to appropriate space (4) "change," the ability to modify

the environment and change a setting for any purpose", (5) "ownership and disposition" as the ultimate form of control.²¹⁵ All of these are only possible to the degree that the management of a center allows, and very limited. Looking at the research findings one can argue that the public are aware of such restrictions since violations of center regulations were not at all recorded during direct observation.

In shopping centers a different public life is lived. Shopping centers themselves are "becoming a way of life" in contrast with the totality of the urban life that takes place in the urban center's public spaces. The life that takes place in these shopping centers have started to create its own rituals and its own public performances. People hold birthday parties for little children in food courts, weekly gatherings for elderly women, virtual reality safaris for teenagers, etc. However almost all of these rituals and performances are attached to acts of consumption which later turn into habits of consumption. Ultimately these become daily rituals for the shopping center's visitors. Of course habits of consumption are directly related to income levels and the class structure of society. These centers lack key characteristics of urbanity in which public life takes place which are access, freedom of choice, density, and the coming together of people and activities from diverse backgrounds. Although Forum Bornova has no physical boundaries and seems to allow the access of all, the findings of the study shows that the access of certain groups were many times restricted. This way the social homogeneity of the "public" that visits the center is secured. Instead of the "public man" the flanéur takes center stage in these spaces of consumption, as anticipated by Richard Sennett. 216 Therefore this new public life comes with the heavy price of social segregation and it further reinforces social segregation.

The common good of the public can only be arrived at via universal access to public space as the emergence of public interest is only possible within public space. Departing from this conviction shared by Arendt and Habermas, Madanipour states that shopping centers make up an important part of the private spaces that serve only for the "interest of particular sections of the population," corroborated by the case study.²¹⁷ According to its manager, the entrepreneurs that invested in Agora were recommended

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²¹⁵ Francis, "Control as a Dimension of Public Space Quality," 158.

²¹⁶ Sennett, *Public Man*.

²¹⁷ Madanipour, "Why Are The Design And Development of Public Spaces Significant for Cities?" 888.

to invite a supermarket chain. However this recommendation was refused due to the agreement that a supermarket would "lower" the customer profile of the center. It would also discourage those "high profile" customers that were desired by the centers' investors. Pointing to the economical success of the shopping center without a supermarket chain, Agora's manager takes pride on this decision, but at the same time reveals the success of social segregation embedded in this decision.

Although Agora is the better-connected center of the two in terms of mass transportation and location, the percentage of preferring car travel in coming to Agora is higher than the percentage of those of Forum Bornova. This is a striking finding of the study which means that whether public transportation is available or not, people like to visit these centers with their cars. This means that car ownership is more valued regarding social status than the advantage of physical and easy access to these centers. This is another evidence of social segregation within mass consumerism and car ownership is an important outlet of its visibility.

Another important finding of the study, which is as striking, is that people do not see the shopping centers as spaces of adult-centered activities or children-centered activities in addition to consumption-related activities. This means several things. First of all when it comes to adult-centered activities, people have a difficult time in naming other adult-centered activities except for consumption-related activities. Recreation and consumption is almost synonymous within the shopping center as people struggle to find what else they can do within these spaces. There seems to be a strong separation between shopping centers and public spaces in the mind of visitors in terms of the activities that they perform in these respective venues. Although Forum Bornova creates a provocative slogan by calling itself a "life center" its respondents seem to be unaware of any activity supposed to sustain their lives apart from consumption-related activities. While there is the perception that shopping centers are places which are comfortable to visit with children due to certain security and climate-related concerns, it is interesting that the majority of respondents do not see the centers as places of children-centered activities. Children are accessories to acts of consumption dragged along with their elders in the relative safety of these traffic- and climate-proof venues.

The traditional image of public life comes with a "citizen of commerce and pleasure" which was very different than the visitor of contemporary shopping centers. This citizen used to participate in the public by attending to festivals, bazaars, market places and the ceremonial plaza due to his/her commercial interests and stood alongside

others in touch with the rest of the public. Today's "citizen of commerce and pleasure" serves a categorized public made up of A-type, B-type or C-type consumers and acts accordingly. Depending on the type of consumers they target and attract, shopping centers create their own culture of consumership as thematic environments. Sharon Zukin refers to Disneyworld as a place that "creates a new public culture of consumership." Shopping centers, depending on their specific physical arrangements and regulations are not that different from Disneyworld, as they create different public cultures of consumption in themselves. Interview with Agora's managers has revealed that there is a distinct customer identity that Agora favors and wants to create in order to distinguish its ambiance from other shopping centers regarding motto, spatial quality and consumer choices.

Only a small fraction of the respondents that took part in the study saw the centers as places to interact with strangers from any possible background. This gives a hint about the qualities of public life in the centers. People prefer to spend time with their like or those that they prefer to spend time with in these places, instead of those that they might likely run into in public spaces. The popularity of shopping centers therefore mean that people prefer a more introverted life in terms of public space. In contrast, public life serves as a forum where people are aware of the larger public and its problems. The educative purposes that public life serves and the opportunities it provides to meet those who are beyond the limits of our private domains are not present in shopping centers.²¹⁸

All the political activities attributed to public spaces are visibly absent from shopping centers which makes them depoliticized spaces contrary in nature to urban public space and this study has proved no exception. These centers are "places from which anything controversial or troubling, spontaneous or unpredictable is removed [as they] enshrine consumption as the only legitimate urban activity." Consequently social segregation threatens the future of the city as the conflict between the public and private becomes increasingly sensitive.

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²¹⁸ Brill, "Transformation, Nostalgia, and Illusion in Public Life and Public Place," 20.

²¹⁹ Sorkin, ed. "Introduction," xv.

6.2. Directions for Future Research and Recommendations

More and more of these shopping malls appear around Izmir; therefore, it is essential for strategic planning and urban design, to identify key success factors for developments from the perspective of private property, user, and non-users regarding accessibility. The way public and private distinction affects urban form and the life that takes place within it makes the urban designer's job more crucial than before. The way the boundaries between the private and the public is set up may either enrich or impoverish urban life and negotiates the intervention of private interest into the public realm and the public's unwelcome presence in the private lives of the citizens. By facilitating inclusive processes in the design and management of urban public space possibilities of a better urban life that overcomes social segregation can be created.²²⁰

It is possible to point to a number of directions for future research in the field of urban design, urban planning and as a guide for future investment in retail regarding people's urban experience in terms of public space.

These two shopping centers can be compared not only with each other, but also with a genuine public space in the city. In this sense, the focus of future research can be expanded to cover a public space in Izmir, in order to compare it with a shopping center. The 'publicness' of a public space can be examined by using the three criteria of access, agency and interest and a new research methodology based on this study can be developed. In this sense the findings can be compared systemically to produce a more detailed research with regard to the 'publicness' of a public space in Izmir. According to this comparison the problems of the public space can be identified and made available to the organizations that maintain and develop this public space.

The methodology of the study can be applied to other cases that focuses on shopping centers' problem of 'publicness'. Considering the six criteria given in the study, the model can be used in order to find out the problems on the level of publicness of shopping centers. Therefore, some recommendations and strategies can be developed to increase the level of publicness of these private places.

See Madanipour, Public and Private Spaces of the City (London and New York: Routledge, 2003) and his most recent work Madanipour, ed. Whose Public Space: International Case Studies in Urban Design and Development (Oxon: Routledge, 2010) on this issue.

In order to develop such strategies each variable can be defined as a coefficient and can factor into the total degree of publicness according to a certain ratio. In other words each variable such as 'sense of security', 'location', and 'design quality' etc. which serve as indicators, can be redefined as a parameter in a formula. In this formula the total publicness coefficient can be found by multiplying the coefficient (decided after surveys in successful examples) with its ratio in total publicness, and adding up the variable to get a total publicness coefficient. Such a formula might serve both for design considerations and for improvements of publicness after construction or rehabilitation after decline. Today creating such a formula out of scratch looks difficult. However, as the number of public spaces or shopping centers that get tested increase, it should be much easier. Naturally, in order for such a formula to be found experts from different disciplines have to come together and work towards the development of such a formula just like any conflict regarding public space should be resolved.

The findings of this research can serve as a guide for the retail sector that aims to understand the importance of publicness for its future investments. This study might also help in increasing the success of shopping centers regarding the visitors' demands and their experiences at the centers. For instance design considerations, location choices and the distance from the city center, the availability of mass transportation in accessing these places, the role of security and physical barriers etc can be reevaluated according to statistical figures obtained as results of this study.

The criteria and the variables related to the criteria in this study should serve as indispensable aspects of public spaces when they are to be maintained and managed in the future. In order to overcome the decline of public spaces and public life shopping centers must be added to the existing urban texture with permeable boundaries and should be made accessible by all like any other public space of the city.

The greatest irony of all is that a forum and an agora, the places that give their names to the two shopping centers in this study, were the most important open public spaces of Roman and Greek societies and they still serve as prime precedents for the urban design of new public spaces. Central and urban governments must legislate policies that aim to manage, maintain existing public spaces. These policies should encourage an increase in the number of public spaces and should sustain the production of more public space in the future. Only through such policies the migration of public life to shopping centers and its decline can be prevented, and the heavy price to be paid due to social segregation can be avoided.

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APPENDIX A

CROSS-TABULATION TABLES

A.1. Cross-Tabulations for Significant Relations in x^2 Analyses for Forum Bornova:

Table A.1.1.Gender versus sense of security is the reason to visit Forum Bornova

	sense	of security is the reason to pref	er (Q15)
Gender (Q1)	yes	no	Total
Female	22	70	92
Male	45	63	108
Total	67	133	200

$$x^2 (1, N = 200) = 7.029, p = .008$$

Table A.1.2. Gender versus coming for only children-centered activities

	today	visiting for children-centered ac	tivity (Q22)
Gender (Q1)	yes	no	Total
Female	13	79	92
Male	4	104	108
Total	17	183	200

$$x^{2}(1, N = 200) = 6.944, p = .008$$

Table A.1.3. Gender versus coming only for shopping in previous visiting

	p	revious visiting for shopping (Q23)
Gender (Q1)	yes	no	Total
Female	65	27	92
Male	61	47	108
Total	126	74	200

 $x^{2}(1, N = 200) = 4.280, p = .039$

Table A.1.4. Gender versus problems with access to shops

Gender (Q1)		problems with shops (Q24))
	no	yes	Total
Female	84	8	92
Male	106	2	108
Total	190	10	200

 $x^{2}(1, N = 200) = 4.899, p = .027$

Table A.1.5. Gender versus problems with access to taxi stand

		problems with taxi stand (Q2	24)
Gender (Q1)	no	yes	Total
Female	87	5	92
Male	108	0	108
Total	195	5	200

 $x^{2}(1, N = 200) = 6.020, p = .014$

Table A.1.6. Gender versus problems with access to shuttle of Forum Bornova

		problems with shuttle service (Q24)
Gender (Q1)	no	yes	Total
Female	72	20	92
Male	103	5	108
Total	175	25	200

 $x^2 (1, N=200) = 13.297, p = .000$

Table A.1.7. Age versus coming for meeting

		the place to meet (Q20)	
Age (Q2)	no	yes	Total
15-19	0	9	9
20-24	18	34	52
25-29	17	30	47
30-34	11	29	40
35-39	7	7	14
40-44	7	3	10
45-49	2	2	4
50-54	7	5	12
55-59	1	3	4
60-64	3	2	5
65+	1	0	1
Total	74	124	198

 x^2 (10, N = 198) = 18.292, p = .05

Table A.1.8. Age versus coming only for shopping in previous visiting

	p	revious visiting for shopping (Q2	23)
Age (Q2)	yes	no	Total
15-19	6	3	9
20-24	37	16	53
25-29	23	25	48
30-34	28	12	40
35-39	13	1	14
40-44	4	6	10
45-49	1	3	4
50-54	9	3	12
55-59	2	2	4
60-64	3	2	5
65 +	0	1	1
Total	126	74	200

 x^2 (10, N = 200) = 19.487. p = .034

Table A.1.9. Age versus coming only for stroll in previous visiting

		previous visiting for stroll (Q23))
Age (Q2)	yes	no	Total
15-19	7	2	9
20-24	14	39	53
25-29	14	34	48
30-34	16	24	40
35-39	3	11	14
40-44	5	5	10
45-49	2	2	4
50-54	6	6	12
55-59	3	1	4
60-64	4	1	5
65+	1	0	1
Total	75	125	200

 x^2 (10, N = 200) = 21.733, p = .017

Table A.1.10. Age versus the ways of receiving information about shopping center

	information about shopping center (Q25)				
Age (Q2)	on my way	friends	ads/commercials	since its construction started	Total
15-19	0	1	3	5	9
20-24	3	18	5	27	53
25-29	3	10	3	32	48
30-34	6	6	2	26	40
35-39	0	2	1	11	14
40-44	1	4	0	5	10
45-49	0	0	2	2	4
50-54	1	3	4	4	12
55-59	0	0	1	3	4
60-64	0	1	0	4	5
65+	0	0	1	0	1
Total	14	45	22	119	200

 x^2 (30, N = 200) = 47.177, p = .024

Table A.1.11. Occupation versus coming for meeting

		the place to meet (Q20)	0)
Occupation (Q4)	no	yes	Total
self-employed/employer/professional	21	33	54
employee/professional	27	53	80
retired/unemployed	9	6	15
housewife	7	3	10
student	10	29	39
Total	74	124	198

 x^{2} (4, N = 200) = 10.624, p = .031

Table A.1.12. Occupation versus coming only for shopping

	toda	(Q22)	
Occupation (Q4)	yes	no	Total
self/employed/employer/professional	28	27	55
employee/professional	36	45	81
retired/unemployed	9	6	15
housewife	8	2	10
student	27	12	39
Total	108	92	200

 x^{2} (4, N = 200) = 9.770, p = .044

Table A.1.13. Occupation versus coming only for children-centered activity

	today visiting for children-centered activity (Q22)			
Occupation (Q4)	yes	no	Total	
self-employed/employer/professional	5	50	55	
employee/professional	5	76	81	
retired/unemployed	3	12	15	
housewife	3	7	10	
student	1	38	39	
Total	17	183	200	

 x^2 (4, N = 200) = 10.850, p = .028

Table A.1.14. Marital status versus mode of visiting

Marital		mode of visit (accompan	ying person(s) (Q11)	
Marital — Status (Q5)	alone	with family children	with friends	Total
Married	11	53	11	75
Single	13	26	86	125
Total	24	79	97	200

 x^2 (2, N = 200) = 58.543, p = .000

Table A.1.15. Marital status versus Today's spending pattern

	spending pattern (TL) (Q22)				
Marital Status (Q5)	less than 50	50 to 99	100 to 199	200 and more	Total
Married	6	15	13	25	59
Single	42	20	21	20	103
Total	48	35	34	45	162

 x^2 (3, N = 200) = 19.651, p = .000

Table A.1.16. Number of children versus frequency of visiting

	frequency of visits for shopping (Q13)					
Number of children (Q6)	once a year	once every few months	once every few weeks	once a week or more	daily	Total
0	0	2	22	34	3	61
1	0	0	4	2	0	6
2	0	1	3	3	0	7
3	1	0	0	0	0	1
Total	1	3	29	39	3	75

 x^2 (12, N = 200) = 79.84, p = .000

Table A.1.17. Number of children versus meeting place

Number of			
children (Q6)	no	yes	Total
0	44	95	139
1	14	18	32
2	15	9	24
3	1	2	3
Total	74	124	198

 x^{2} (3, N = 200) = 8.993, p = .029

Table A.1.18. Number of children versus coming for children-centered activity

Number of	today visiting for children-centered activity (Q22)			
Children (Q6)	yes	no	Total	
0	6	135	141	
1	9	23	32	
2	1	23	24	
3	1	2	3	
Total	17	183	200	

 $x^{2}(3, N = 200) = 22.071, p = .000$

Table A.1.19. Number of children versus today's spending pattern

Number of	spending pattern (TL) (Q22)				
Children (Q6)	less than 50	50 to 99	100 to 199	200 and more	Total
0	45	22	21	24	112
1	1	8	9	9	27
2	2	4	4	10	20
3	0	1	0	2	3
Total	48	35	34	45	162

 x^{2} (9, N = 162) = 25.02, p = .003

Table A.1.20. Income level versus problems with access to bike parking

income (TL)	p	4)	
(Q8)	no	yes	Total
600 or under	1	1	2
601-1500	61	1	62
1501-2500	55	5	60
2501-3500	30	2	32
over 3500	23	0	23
Total	170	9	179

 x^{2} (4, N = 179) = 12.676, p = .013

Table A.1.21. Income level versus problems with access to taxi stand

income (TL)		problems with taxi stand (Q24))
(Q8)	no	yes	Total
600 or under	1	1	2
601-1500	61	1	62
1501-2500	58	2	60
2501-3500	32	0	32
over 3500	22	1	23
Total	174	5	179

 $x^{2}(4, N = 179) = 17.921, p = .001$

Table A.1.22. Income level versus problems with access to shuttle service of shopping center

income (TL)	pı	21)	
(Q8)	no	yes	Total
600 or under	1	1	2
601-1500	50	12	62
1501-2500	54	6	60
2501-3500	32	0	32
over 3500	21	2	23
Total	158	21	179

 x^{2} (4, N = 179) = 10.939, p = .027

Table A.1.23. Income level versus means of travel

Incomo (TI)	arriving with (Q32)				
Income (TL) (Q8)	mass transport	private car	on foot	Total	
600 or under	0	1	1	2	
601-1500	12	38	12	62	
1501-2500	7	49	4	60	
2501-3500	1	29	2	32	
over 3500	1	22	0	23	
Total	21	139	19	179	

 x^{2} (8, N = 179) = 21.789, p = .005

Table A.1.24. Car Ownership versus easy trip to Forum Bornova

Can arranghin	easy trip to the shopping center (Q35)		
Car ownership — (Q10)	yes	no	Total
yes	92	32	124
no	39	37	76
Total	131	69	200

 x^{2} (1, N = 200) = 10.914, p = .001

Table A.1.25. Car ownership versus traffic jam difficulty

Con ownorship	hard trip t	o the shopping center-Traffic Ja	am(s) (Q36)
Car ownership (Q10)	yes	no	Total
yes	73	51	124
no	17	59	76
Total	90	110	200

 $x^2 (1, N = 200) = 25.367, p = .000$

Table A.1.26. Car ownership versus insufficient parking difficulty

Car ownership	hard trip to t	he shopping center-insufficient	parking (Q36)
(Q10)	yes	no	Total
yes	74	50	124
no	19	57	76
Total	93	107	200

 $x^{2}(1, N = 200) = 22.777, p = .000$

Table A.1.27. Car ownership versus problems with traffic lighting

Car ownership	hard trip to the shopping center-lack of lack of traffic lighting (Q36)			
(Q10)	yes	no	Total	
yes	9	115	124	
no	13	63	76	
Total	22	178	200	

 $x^{2}(1, N = 200) = 4.667, p = .031$

Table A.1.28. Car ownership versus problems with pedestrian crossing

Car	hard trip to the s	hopping center-lack of pedestri	an crossing (Q36)
ownership (Q10)	yes	no	Total
yes	12	112	124
no	17	59	76
Total	29	171	200

 $x^{2}(1, N = 200) = 6.122, p = .013$

Table A.1.29. Car ownership versus problems with insufficient quality of sidewalks

Car ownership (Q10)	hard trip to the sh	opping center-insufficient quali	ity of sidewalks (Q36)
	yes	no	Total
yes	10	114	124
no	21	55	76
Total	31	169	200

 $x^{2}(1, N = 200) = 13.774, p = .000$

Table A.1.30. Car ownership versus problems with pedestrian paths available

Car	hard trip to the shopping center-lack of pedestrian paths available (Q36)			
ownership (Q10)	yes	no	Total	
yes	16	108	124	
no	28	48	76	
Total	44	156	200	

 $x^{2}(1, N = 200) = 15.736, p = .000$

Table A.1.31. District/City coming from versus frequency of visiting for fun

	how frequently (for fun) (Q17)				
Coming from (Q29)	once every few months	once every few weeks	once a week or more	daily	Total
Konak/Balçova/Narlıdere/Güzelbahçe	3	2	19	1	25
Karşıyaka/Bornova	4	21	33	8	66
Gaziemir/Buca	0	5	2	0	7
Out of the city	1	2	0	0	3
Total	8	30	54	9	101

 $x^{2}(9, N = 101) = 20.630, p = .014$

Table A.1.32. District/city coming from versus visiting because of transportation advantages

	transportation advantages is the reason to prefer (Q15)			
District/city (Q29)	yes	no	Total	
Konak/Balçova/Narlıdere/Güzelbahçe	7	40	47	
Karşıyaka/Bornova	43	80	123	
Gaziemir/Buca	1	12	13	
Other Districts	1	4	5	
Out of the city	3	9	12	
Total	55	145	200	

 $x^{2}(4, N = 200) = 9.916, p = .042$

Table A.1.33. District/city coming from versus travel time

	duration of arrived (in minutes) (Q34)				
District/city (Q29)	less than 10 minutes	10 to 30 minutes	more than 30 minutes	Total	
Konak/Balçova/Narlıdere/Güzelbahçe	0	32	15	47	
Karşıyaka/Bornova	20	88	15	123	
Gaziemir/Buca	1	6	6	13	
Other Districts	0	3	2	5	
Out of the city	0	4	8	12	
Total	21	133	46	200	

 $x^{2}(8, N = 200) = 35.493, p = .000$

Table A.1.34. District/city coming from versus problems with pedestrian paths available

_	hard trip to the shop	ping center-lack of pedes (Q36)	trian paths available
District/city (Q29)	yes	no	Total
Konak/Balçova/Narlıdere/Güzelbahçe	6	41	47
Karşıyaka/Bornova	36	87	123
Gaziemir/Buca	0	13	13
Other Districts	0	5	5
Out of the city	2	10	12
Total	44	156	200

 x^{2} (4, N = 200) = 11.398, p = .022

A.2. Cross-Tabulations for Significant Relations in x^2 Analyses for Agora:

Table A.2.1. Gender versus average time spent

average time spent (in hour) (Q14)					
Gender (Q1)	1 to 2 hours or less	2 to 4 hours	more than 4 hours	Total	
Female	22	31	51	104	
Male	35	28	33	96	
Total	57	59	84	200	

 $x^{2}(2, N = 200) = 6.65, p = .036$

Table A.2.2. Gender versus visiting because of goods and services

Condon	variety of g	oods and services is the reason to	prefer (Q15)
Gender (Q1)	yes	no	Total
Female	70	34	104
Male	51	45	96
Total	121	79	200

 $x^{2}(1, N = 200) = 4.2, p = .040$

Table A.2.3. Gender versus visiting because sense of security

Gender —	sense	of security is the reason to prefer	r (Q15)
(Q1)	yes	no	Total
Female	47	57	104
Male	29	67	96
Total	76	124	200

$$x^{2}(1, N = 200) = 4.75, p = .029$$

Table A.2.4. Gender versus come to meeting

Gender —		the place to meet (Q20)	
(Q1)	no	yes	Total
Female	16	88	104
Male	28	68	96
Total	44	156	200

$$x^{2}(1, N = 200) = 5.52, p = .019$$

Table A.2.5. Gender versus visiting for entertainment in previous visiting

Gender —	pre	vious visiting for entertainment (Q23)
(Q1)	yes	no	Total
Female	22	82	104
Male	8	88	96
Total	30	170	200

$$x^{2}(1, N = 200) = 6.43, p = .011$$

Table A.2.6. Gender versus problem with access to car parking

Gender —		problems with car parking (Q24)	
(Q1)	no	yes	Total
Female	85	19	104
Male	62	34	96
Total	147	53	200

$$x^{2}(1, N = 200) = 7.53, p = .006$$

Table A.2.7. Gender versus problems with access to payphone

Gender —		problems with payphone (Q24)	
(Q1)	no	yes	Total
Female	104	0	104
Male	92	4	96
Total	196	4	200

 $x^{2}(1, N = 200) = 4.42, p = .035$

Table A.2.8. Gender versus knowing information about the center

Gender —		information about activities (Q25))
(Q1)	no	yes	Total
Female	67	37	104
Male	75	21	96
Total	142	58	200

 $x^{2}(1, N = 200) = 4.55, p = .033$

Table A.2.9. Gender versus ways to receive information about the stores at the center

	if yes-information about stores-how (Q25)						
Gender (Q1)	newspapers	posters and leaflets	internet email	telemarketing via phone or SMS	friends	during the visit	Total
Female	6	6	2	1	1	18	34
Male	0	0	3	0	0	20	23
Total	6	6	5	1	1	38	57

 $x^{2}(1, N = 57) = 12.65, p = .027$

Table A.2.10. Age versus mode of visiting

Ages	alone	with family children	with friends	Total
15-19	1	1	26	28
20-24	5	11	47	63
25-29	6	5	38	49
30-34	5	5	6	16
35-39	4	6	1	11
40-44	1	11	2	14
45-49	2	2	1	5
50-54	1	4	1	6
55-59	0	2	0	2
60-64	0	2	0	2
65 +	0	4	0	4
Total	25	53	122	200

 $x^{2}(20, N = 200) = 95.49, p = .000$

Table A.2.11. Age versus visiting such places for fun

	For Fun (Q17)					
Ages (Q2)	Alsancak/Kordon	coastline of the city	Kemeraltı	İnciraltı	center of the district/city	Total
15-19	17	3	0	4	2	26
20-24	42	4	0	1	2	49
25-29	26	1	0	2	5	34
30-34	10	0	0	1	0	11
35-39	4	0	0	0	0	4
40-44	4	0	1	0	1	6
45-49	1	0	0	0	1	2
50-54	2	0	0	0	0	2
55-59	0	0	0	0	0	0
60-64	0	0	0	0	0	0
65 +	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	106	8	1	8	11	134

 x^{2} (28, N = 137) = 41.95, p = .044

Table A.2.12. Age versus frequency of visiting such places for relaxation

	how frequently for relaxation (Q17)					
Ages (Q2)	once a year	once every few months	once every few weeks	once a week or more	daily	Total
15-19	1	4	6	5	3	19
20-24	1	1	10	18	0	30
25-29	1	3	9	14	1	28
30-34	0	0	3	5	0	8
35-39	0	0	1	1	0	2
40-44	0	0	3	2	0	5
45-49	0	0	0	1	1	2
50-54	0	1	2	1	0	4
55-59	0	1	0	0	0	1
60-64	0	0	0	1	0	1
65 +	1	0	0	0	0	1
Total	4	10	34	48	5	101

 x^{2} (40, N = 101) = 40, p = .012

Table A.2.13. Age versus visiting for children-centered activity

	today v	isiting for children-centered activ	ity (Q22)
Ages (Q2)	yes	no	Total
15-19	0	28	28
20-24	1	62	63
25-29	1	48	49
30-34	2	14	16
35-39	5	6	11
40-44	1	13	14
45-49	0	5	5
50-54	0	6	6
55-59	0	2	2
60-64	2	0	2
65 +	0	4	4
Total	12	188	200

 $x^2(10, N = 200) = 69.33, p = .000$

Table A.2.14. Age versus visiting for food

A		today visiting for food (Q22)	
Ages (Q2)	yes	no	Total
15-19	22	6	28
20-24	33	30	63
25-29	28	21	49
30-34	3	13	16
35-39	4	7	11
40-44	8	6	14
45-49	4	1	5
50-54	1	5	6
55-59	1	1	2
60-64	1	1	2
65 +	0	4	4
Total	105	95	200

 x^2 (10, N = 200) = 25.67, p = .004

Table A.2.15. Age versus visiting for children-centered activity in previous visiting

Ages	for children centered activity (Q23)		
(Q2)	yes	no Total	
15-19	0	28	28
20-24	2	61	63
25-29	0	49	49
30-34	0	16	16
35-39	2	9	11
40-44	0	14	14
45-49	1	4	5
50-54	0	6	6
55-59	1	1	2
60-64	0	2	2
65 +	0	4	4
Total	6	194	200

 x^{2} (10, N = 200) = 32.54, p = .000

Table A.2.16. Age versus spending pattern

	Last time spending pattern (TL) (Q23)						
Ages (Q2)	less than 50	50 to 99	100 to 199	200 and more	Total		
15-19	8	3	10	2	23		
20-24	17	10	9	8	44		
25-29	11	7	14	1	33		
30-34	2	3	1	6	12		
35-39	5	0	2	2	9		
40-44	4	2	2	1	9		
45-49	0	0	3	1	4		
50-54	0	0	3	0	3		
55-59	0	1	0	1	2		
60-64	0	0	2	0	2		
65 +	1	0	0	2	3		
Total	48	26	46	24	144		

 x^2 (30, N = 144) = 50.573, p = .011

Table A.2.17. Age versus problems with access to food

		problems with food (Q24)	
Ages (Q2)	no	yes	Total
15-19	23	5	28
20-24	61	2	63
25-29	45	4	49
30-34	12	4	16
35-39	10	1	11
40-44	13	1	14
45-49	3	2	5
50-54	6	0	6
55-59	1	1	2
60-64	2	0	2
65 +	3	1	4
Total	179	21	200

 x^2 (10, N = 200) = 19.05, p = .040

Table A.2.18. Age versus problems with access to playground area

	pr	oblems with playground area (Q	24)
Ages (Q2)	no	yes	Total
15-19	25	3	28
20-24	63	0	63
25-29	49	0	49
30-34	16	0	16
35-39	11	0	11
40-44	14	0	14
45-49	5	0	5
50-54	6	0	6
55-59	2	0	2
60-64	2	0	2
65 +	4	0	4
Total	197	3	200

 $x^{2}(10, N = 200) = 18.70, p = .044$

Table A.2.19. Age versus ways of information about the center

		i	nformation about sho	opping center (Q25	5)	
Ages (Q2)	on my way	friends	ads/commercials	since its construction started	other	Total
15-19	8	5	1	14	0	28
20-24	30	11	0	22	0	63
25-29	17	10	0	22	0	49
30-34	5	5	0	5	1	16
35-39	4	2	0	5	0	11
40-44	7	0	0	7	0	14
45-49	2	0	0	3	0	5
50-54	2	0	1	2	1	6
55-59	0	0	0	2	0	2
60-64	0	0	0	2	0	2
65 +	3	1	0	0	0	4
Total	78	34	2	84	2	200

 x^{2} (40, N = 200) = 59.70, p = .023

Table A.2.20. Age versus means of travel

	Means of travel (arriving with) (Q32)				
Ages (Q2)	mass transport	private car	on foot	Total	
15-19	19	6	3	28	
20-24	23	26	14	63	
25-29	16	29	4	49	
30-34	3	12	1	16	
35-39	1	9	1	11	
40-44	1	11	2	14	
45-49	1	4	0	5	
50-54	3	2	1	6	
55-59	0	2	0	2	
60-64	0	2	0	2	
65 +	0	4	0	4	
Total	67	107	26	200	

 x^{2} (20, N = 200) = 43.42, p = .002

Table A.2.21. Occupation versus mode of visit

	mode of visit (accompanying person(s)) (Q11)				
Occupation (Q4)	alone	with family children	with friends	Total	
self/employed/employer/professional	6	10	18	34	
employee/professional	13	20	45	78	
retired/unemployed	1	10	3	14	
housewife	0	6	4	10	
student	5	7	52	64	
Total	25	53	122	200	

 x^{2} (8, N = 200) = 34.50, p = .000

Table A.2.22. Occupation versus visiting for shopping

	toda	Q22)	
Occupation (Q4)	yes	no	Total
self/employed/employer/professional	23	11	34
employee/professional	31	47	78
retired/unemployed	10	4	14
housewife	6	4	10
student	40	24	64
Total	110	90	200

 x^{2} (4, N = 200) = 12.61, p = .013

Table A.2.23. Occupation versus visiting for children centered activity

	today visiting for children-centered activity (Q22)			
Occupation (Q4)	yes	no	Total	
self/employed/employer/professional	2	32	34	
employee/professional	6	72	78	
retired/unemployed	0	14	14	
housewife	3	7	10	
student	1	63	64	
Total	12	188	200	

 $x^{2}(4, N = 200) = 13.73, p = .008$

Table A.2.24. Occupation versus spending pattern

	Today's spending pattern (TL) (Q22)					
Occupation (Q4)	less than 50	50 to 99	100 to 199	200 and more	Total	
self/employed/employer/professional	11	3	8	5	27	
employee/professional	26	11	11	10	58	
retired/unemployed	2	4	1	2	9	
housewife	1	6	2	1	10	
student	22	24	5	4	55	
Total	62	48	27	22	159	

 $x^{2}(12, N = 159) = 23.98, p = .020$

Table A.2.25. Occupation versus visiting for children-centered activity in previous visiting

	previous visiting for children-centered activity (Q23)			
Occupation (Q4)	yes	no	Total	
self/employed/employer/professional	1	33	34	
employee/professional	1	77	78	
retired/unemployed	0	14	14	
housewife	3	7	10	
student	1	63	64	
Total	6	194	200	

 $x^{2}(4, N = 200) = 26.73, p = .000$

Table A.2.26. Occupation versus visiting for entertainment in previous visiting

	previous visiting for entertainment (Q23)			
Occupation (Q4)	yes	no	Total	
self/employed/employer/professional	4	30	34	
employee/professional	6	72	78	
retired/unemployed	0	14	14	
housewife	3	7	10	
student	17	47	64	
Total	30	170	200	

 x^{2} (4, N = 200) = 14.49, p = .006

Table A.2.27. Occupation versus knowing information about the stores at the center

	info	Q25)	
Occupation (Q4)	no	yes	Total
self/employed/employer/professional	26	8	34
employee/professional	62	16	78
retired/unemployed	11	3	14
housewife	8	2	10
student	36	28	64
Total	143	57	200

 x^{2} (4, N = 200) = 10.85, p = .028

Table A.2.28. Occupation versus means of travel

	means of travel (arriving with) (Q32)				
Occupation (Q4)	mass transport	private car	on foot	Total	
self/employed/employer/professional	11	21	2	34	
employee/professional	19	51	8	78	
retired/unemployed	4	10	0	14	
housewife	4	5	1	10	
student	29	20	15	64	
Total	67	107	26	200	

 x^{2} (8, N = 200) = 23.16, p = .003

Table A.2.29. Occupation versus waiting mass transportation difficulty

	hard trip to the center-waiting period of mass transportation (Q36)			
Occupation (Q4)	yes	no	Total	
self/employed/employer/professional	6	28	34	
employee/professional	7	71	78	
retired/unemployed	2	12	14	
housewife	1	9	10	
student	19	45	64	
Total	35	165	200	

 $x^{2}(4, N = 200) = 11, p = .27$

Table A.2.30. Marital status versus mode of visit

Marital —	mode of visit (accompanying person(s)) (Q11)			
Status (Q5)	alone	with family children	with friends	Total
Married	9	31	8	48
Single	16	22	114	152
Total	25	53	122	200

 $x^{2}(2, N = 200) = 56.89, p = .000$

Table A.2.31. Marital status versus coming because of goods and services

M24-1 G4-4	variety of g	oods and services is the reason to	prefer (Q15)
Marital Status — (Q5)	yes	no	Total
Married	23	25	48
Single	98	54	152
Total	121	79	200

 $x^{2}(1, N = 200) = 4.18, p = .041$

Table A.2.32. Marital status versus coming because of meeting

	plac	e to meet is the reason to prefer	(Q15)
Marital Status (Q5)	yes	no	Total
Married	12	36	48
Single	75	77	152
Total	87	113	200

 $x^{2}(1, N = 200) = 8.79, p = .003$

Table A.2.33. Marital status versus visiting other places for shopping

_			for shopping (Q17)		
Marital Status (Q5)	Alsancak	Kemeraltı/ Konak	Center of the district city	Bazaar	Total
Married	8	9	1	2	20
Single	57	14	21	4	96
Total	65	23	22	6	116

 $x^{2}(1, N = 116) = 12.40, p = .006$

Table A.2.34. Marital status versus visiting for only children-centered activity

Marital Status —	today vis	iting for children-centered activ	vity (Q22)
(Q5)	yes	no	Total
Married	8	40	48
Single	4	148	152
Total	12	188	200

 $x^{2}(1, N = 200) = 12.74, p = .000$

Table A.2.35. Marital status versus visiting for only stroll

Marital Status ——		today visiting for stroll (Q22)	
(Q5)	yes	no	Total
Married	12	36	48
Single	67	85	152
Total	79	121	200

 $x^{2}(1, N = 200) = 5.55, p = .018$

Table A.2.36. Marital status versus problems with access to diaper change

Marital Status ——	pı	roblems with diaper change (Q	24)
(Q5)	no	yes	Total
Married	46	2	48
Single	152	0	152
Total	198	2	200

 $x^{2}(1, N = 200) = 6.39, p = .011$

Table A.2.37. Marital status versus means of travel

Marital _		means of travel (ar	riving with) (Q32)	
Status (Q5)	mass transport	private car	on foot	Total
Married	7	37	4	48
Single	60	70	22	152
Total	67	107	26	200

 $x^{2}(2, N = 200) = 14.37, p = .001$

Table A.2.38. Marital status versus waiting period of mass transportation

Marital Status —	hard trip to the shopping center-waiting period of mass transportation (Q36)		
(Q5)	yes	no	Total
Married	2	46	48
Single	33	119	152
Total	35	165	200

 $x^{2}(1, N = 200) = 7.77, p = .005$

Table A.2.39. Marital status versus easy trip

3.6 4 1.04	eas	y trip to the shopping center ((35)
Marital Status (Q5)	yes	no	Total
Married	43	5	48
Single	113	39	152
Total	156	44	200

 $x^{2}(1, N = 200) = 3.9, p = .048$

Table A.2.40. Number of children versus mode of visit

Number of	mode of visit (accompanying person(s)) (Q11)					
Children (Q6)	alone	with family children	with friends	Total		
0	18	28	114	160		
1	4	7	5	16		
2	3	16	3	22		
3+	0	2	0	2		
Total	25	53	122	200		

 $x^{2}(6, N = 200) = 45.36, p = .000$

Table A.2.41. Number of children versus visiting such places for fun

Number	for fun (Q17)					
of Children (Q6)	Alsancak/ Kordon	coastline of the city	Kemeraltı	İnciraltı	center of the district/city	Total
0	94	8	0	7	9	118
1	7	0	0	1	2	10
2	5	0	1	0	0	6
3+	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	106	8	1	8	11	134

 $x^{2}(8, N = 134) = 25.40, p = .001$

Table A.2.42. Number of children versus frequency of visiting such places for fun

Number of	how frequently for fun (Q17)					
Children (Q6)	once every few months	once every few weeks	once a week or more	daily	Total	
0	2	22	79	3	106	
1	0	4	0	0	4	
2	0	2	3	0	5	
3+	0	0	0	0	0	
Total	2	28	82	3	115	

 x^{2} (6, N = 115) = 13.02, p = .030

Table A.2.43. Number of children versus ways of interaction with others

Number of	how interact with other people (Q19)					
Children (Q6)	through shopping	through to greet each other	none	Total		
0	18	11	122	151		
1	0	0	15	15		
2	6	1	15	22		
3+	0	1	1	2		
Total	24	13	153	190		

 x^{2} (6, N = 190) = 13.98, p = .030

Table A.2.44. Number of children versus components/qualities which were liked at the center

Number					what	do you like (Q21)					
of Children (Q6)	open spaces	architectural quality	goods and services	transportation advantages	location	places of entertainment	cafes/ restaurants	physical orientation	user profile	climatic advantages	Total
0	2	7	33	11	13	14	8	40	12	0	140
1	0	1	3	0	3	1	2	1	1	2	14
2	0	1	9	1	3	0	1	2	2	0	19
3+	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	2
Total	2	9	45	12	20	15	11	44	15	2	175

 $x^{2}(27, N = 175) = 42.80, p = .027$

Table A.2.45. Number of children versus visiting for children-centered activity

Number of	today	visiting for children-centered activ	vity (22)
Children (Q6)	yes	no	Total
0	1	159	160
1	6	10	16
2	5	17	22
3+	0	2	2
Total	12	188	200

 $x^{2}(3, N = 200) = 47.38, p = .000$

Table A.2.46. Number of children versus problems with access to diaper change

Number of		problems with diaper change (Q2	4)
Children (Q6)	no	yes	Total
0	160	0	160
1	15	1	16
2	21	1	22
3+	2	0	2
Total	198	2	200

 $x^{2}(3, N = 200) = 8.88, p = .031$

Table A.2.47. Number of children versus means of travel

Number	means of travel (arriving with) (Q32)					
of Children (Q6)	mass transport	private car	on foot	Total		
0	60	76	24	160		
1	3	13	0	16		
2	4	17	1	22		
3+	0	1	1	2		
Total	67	107	26	200		

 x^{2} (6, N = 200) = 15.61, p = .016

Table A.2.48. Number of children versus pedestrian crossing difficulty

Number of	hard trip to the	shopping center-lack of pedestria	trian crossing (Q36)			
Children (Q6)	yes	no	Total			
0	18	142	160			
1	0	16	16			
2	0	22	22			
3+	1	1	2			
Total	19	181	200			

 $x^{2}(3, N = 200) = 8.37, p = .039$

Table A.2.49. Number of children versus sidewalk difficulty

Number of	hard trip to the sh	opping center-insufficient quality	uality of sidewalks (Q36)			
Children (Q6)	yes	no	Total			
0	12	148	160			
1	0	16	16			
2	0	22	22			
3+	1	1	2			
Total	13	187	200			

 $x^{2}(3, N = 200) = 9.13, p = .028$

Table A.2.50. Number of children versus pedestrian path difficulty

Number of	hard trip to the sho	pping center-lack of pedestrian p	eaths available (Q36)
Children (Q6)	yes	no	Total
0	15	145	160
1	0	16	16
2	0	22	22
3+	1	1	2
Total	16	184	200

 $x^{2}(3, N = 200) = 8.50, p = .037$

Table A.2.51. Income level versus mode of visiting

Income (TL)	mode of visit (accompanying person(s)) (Q11)					
(Q8)	alone	with family children	with friends	Total		
600 or under	0	0	3	3		
601-1500	5	8	42	55		
1501-2500	9	26	40	75		
2501-3500	6	8	11	25		
over 3500	4	5	8	17		
Total	24	47	104	175		

 x^{2} (8, N = 175) = 15.84, p = .045

Table A.2.52. Income level versus frequency of visiting such places for relaxation

		how frequently for relaxation (Q17)						
Income (TL) (Q8)	once a year	once every few months	once every few weeks	once a week or more	daily	Total		
600 or under	0	0	0	1	0	1		
601-1500	0	4	15	12	2	33		
1501-2500	4	5	11	18	0	38		
2501-3500	0	0	3	9	0	12		
over 3500	0	1	2	3	2	8		
Total	4	10	31	43	4	92		

 $x^{2}(16, N = 92) = 23.59, p = .099$

Table A.2.53. Income level versus problems with access to car parking

In a second (TII)		problems with car parking (Q24)
Income (TL) (Q8)	no	yes	Total
600 or under	3	0	3
601-1500	45	10	55
1501-2500	54	21	75
2501-3500	17	8	25
over 3500	6	11	17
Total	125	50	175

 $x^{2}(4, N = 175) = 15.142, p = .004$

Table A.2.54. Income level versus problems with access to wireless

In some (TI)		problems with wireless (Q24)	
Income (TL) (Q8)	no	yes	Total
600 or under	3	0	3
601-1500	41	14	55
1501-2500	71	4	75
2501-3500	24	1	25
over 3500	15	2	17
Total	154	21	175

 $x^{2}(4, N = 175) = 14.510, p = .006$

Table A.2.55. Income level versus ways of receiving information about the center

_		information about shopping center (Q25)					
Income (TL) (Q8)	on my way	friends	ads/commercials	since its construction started	other	Total	
600 or under	0	0	0	3	0	3	
601-1500	23	6	0	25	1	55	
1501-2500	27	15	0	32	1	75	
2501-3500	13	2	0	10	0	25	
over 3500	6	2	2	7	0	17	
Total	69	25	2	77	2	175	

 $x^2(16, N = 175) = 27.573, p = .036$

Table A.2.56. Car ownership versus visiting for children-centered activity

Car ownership	today vis	iting for children-centered activ	vity (Q22)
(Q10)	yes	no	Total
yes	11	99	110
no	1	89	90
Total	12	188	200

$$x^{2}(1, N = 200) = 6.935, p = .008$$

Table A.2.57. Car ownership versus Today's spending pattern (TL)

Car	spending pattern (TL) (Q22)				
ownership (Q10)	less than 50	50 to 99	100 to 199	200 and more	Total
yes	24	30	14	18	86
no	38	18	13	4	73
Total	62	48	27	22	159

$$x^{2}(3, N = 159) = 14.139, p = .003$$

Table A.2.58. Car ownership versus means of travel

Car ownership	means of travel (arriving with) (Q32)					
(Q10)	mass transport	private car	on foot	Total		
yes	24	79	7	110		
no	43	28	19	90		
Total	67	107	26	200		

$$x^{2}(2, N = 200) = 33.571, p = .000$$

Table A.2.59. Car ownership versus traffic jam(s) difficulty

	hard trip to the shopping center-Traffic Jam(s) $(Q36)$			
Car ownership (Q10)	yes	no	Total	
yes	50	60	110	
no	54	36	90	
Total	104	96	200	

$$x^{2}(1, N = 200) = 4.196, p = .041$$

Table A.2.60. Car ownership versus car parking difficulty

	hard trip to the shopping center-insufficient parking (Q36)			
Car ownership (Q10)	yes	no	Total	
yes	48	62	110	
no	22	68	90	
Total	70	130	200	

 $x^{2}(1, N = 200) = 8.014, p = .005$

Table A.2.61. Car ownership versus pedestrian crossing difficulty

	hard trip to the shopping center-lack of pedestrian crossing (Q36)		
Car ownership (Q10)	yes	no	Total
yes	6	104	110
no	13	77	90
Total	19	181	200

 $x^{2}(1, N = 200) = 4.653, p = .031$

Table A.2.62. Car ownership versus pedestrian path difficulty

	hard trip to the shopping center-lack of pedestrian paths available (Q36)			
Car ownership (Q10)	yes	no	Total	
yes	4	106	110	
no	12	78	90	
Total	16	184	200	

 $x^{2}(1, N = 200) = 6.324, p = .012$

Table A.2.63. District/city versus frequency of visiting

	frequency of visiting (Q13)					
District/city (Q29)	never/today first time	once every few months	once every few weeks	once a week or more	daily	Total
Konak/Balçova/						
Narlıdere/Güzelbahçe	3	7	37	105	7	159
Karşıyaka/Bornova	1	3	3	7	0	14
Gaziemir/Buca	1	1	8	6	0	16
Other Districts	0	2	4	1	1	8
Out of the city	0	1	0	2	0	3
Total	5	14	52	121	8	200

 $x^2(16, N = 200) = 30.025, p = .018$

Table A.2.64. District/city versus coming for only transportation advantages

	transportation advantages is the reason to prefer (Q15)				
District/city (Q29)	yes	no	Total		
Konak/Balçova/ Narlıdere/Güzelbahçe	83	76	159		
Karşıyaka/Bornova	6	8	14		
Gaziemir/Buca	3	13	16		
Other Districts	3	5	8		
Out of the city	0	3	3		
Total	95	105	200		

 $x^{2}(4, N = 200) = 9.869, p = .043$

Table A.2.65. District/city versus frequency of visiting such places for relaxation

how frequently for relaxation (Q17)				7)		
District/city (Q29)	once a year	once every few months	once every few weeks	once a week or more	daily	Total
Konak/Balçova/ Narlıdere/Güzelbahçe	2	5	27	40	4	78
Karşıyaka/Bornova	1	0	2	7	0	10
Gaziemir/Buca	0	4	4	1	0	9
Other Districts	0	1	1	0	1	3
Out of the city	1	0	0	0	0	1
Total	4	10	34	48	5	101

 x^2 (16, N = 101) = 52.436, p = .000

Table A.2.66. District/city versus easy trip to the center

	easy	trip to the shopping center (Q35)
District/city (Q29)	yes	no	Total
Konak/Balçova/ Narlıdere/Güzelbahçe	131	28	159
Karşıyaka/Bornova	6	8	14
Gaziemir/Buca	10	6	16
Other Districts	7	1	8
Out of the city	2	1	3
Total	156	44	200

 $x^{2}(4, N = 101) = 14.747, p = .005$

Table A.2.67. District/city versus traffic jam(s) difficulty

	hard trip to the shopping center-Traffic Jam(s) (Q36)				
District/city (Q29)	yes	no	Total		
Konak/Balçova/ Narlıdere/Güzelbahçe	77	82	159		
Karşıyaka/Bornova	10	4	14		
Gaziemir/Buca	13	3	16		
Other Districts	2	6	8		
Out of the city	2	1	3		
Total	104	96	200		

 $x^{2}(4, N = 101) = 11.010, p = .026$

Table A.2.68. District/city coming from versus travel time

duration of arrived (in minute			ninutes) (Q34)	
District/city (Q29)	less than 10 minutes	10 to 30 minutes	more than 30 minutes	Total
Konak/Balçova/				
Narlıdere/Güzelbahçe	22	112	25	159
Karşıyaka/Bornova	0	7	7	14
Gaziemir/Buca	0	10	6	16
Other Districts	0	7	1	8
Out of the city	0	0	3	3
Total	22	136	42	200

 $x^{2}(8, N = 101) = 28.018, p = .000$

APPENDIX B

SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

Özlem TAŞKIN-ERTEN Research Assistant - PhD Candidate İzmir Institute of Technology Faculty of Architecture Department of City and Regional Planning Phone: 02327507057 e-mail: ozlemtaskin@iyte.edu.tr **Survey Questionnaire** Shopping Center_ Date (Day/Time)____ Section 1 (*Interest*) 1. Sex: ☐ Female ☐ Male 2. How old are you?_____ 3. Level of Education: \square Primary \square Secondary \square Undergraduate \square Graduate \square PhD \square none 4. Profession/occupation 5. Marital Status: \square Married \square Single 6. Number of Children $\Box 0 \Box 1 \Box 2 \Box 3$ or more □ None....□ If yes:_____ 7. Physical Disability: 8. Average Monthly Income: (Personal Income):_____(Household Income):_____ 9. Home Ownership: ☐ Owner ☐ Tenant 10. Car Ownership: \square Yes \square No \square Alone 11. Who are you with? ☐ With children and/or family ☐ With group of friends

Section 2 (Symbolic Access)	
12. How long have you been visiting this	shopping center?
13. How frequently have you been visiting	g this shopping center?
14. How long do you usually spend at this	s shopping center? (Average time spent)
15. Reasons to prefer this shopping cente	r:
□ Location	
☐ Transportation advantages	
☐ Existence of shops, cafes and restaura	ints of preference
☐ Variety of goods and services	
☐ Place to meet with friends and family	
☐ Sense of security	
☐ Climatic advantages	
☐ Quality of places of entertainment	
☐ Architectural quality	
☐ Quality of open and closed spaces Other	
shopping center was built?	ties you perform at this shopping center before this
17. Where do you go to except for shopp	- ·
	how frequently
	how frequently
	how frequently
When was the last time you went and	d what for?
18. Do you feel that you are in İzmir when □ no □ yes	n you are at this shopping center?(comment)
	do you interact with people that you do not know? (comment)
20. Is this a meeting place for you and you	ur friends? □ no □ yes
21. What is it that you most like or dislike	about this shopping center?

Secti	on 3 (Access to Activities)					
22.	What was your objective in coming much did you spend?		-	-		How
	☐ Shopping ☐ Children-centered					□Stroll
	☐ Entertainment ☐ Other					
23.	When was the last time you came to you spend?	** 0	Vhat di	d you do? I	How muc	ch did
	☐ Shopping ☐ Children-centered		entered	activities	□Food	□Stroll
	☐ Entertainment ☐ Other					
	Entertainment					
<u> </u>						
Secti	on 4 (Access to Resources)					
24.	In the use of the services and facilities	es listed below with wh	iich do	you experie	ence pro	blems?
	What do you think lacks the most?					
					(co	mment)
	Food		\square No	□Yes		
	Shops		\square No	□Yes		
	Parking		\square No	□Yes		
	Bike Parking		\square No	□Yes		
	ATM		\square No	□Yes		
	WC		\square No	□Yes		
	Elevators		\square No	□Yes		
	Info Booths		\square No	□Yes		
	Elevators for	the handicapped	\square No	□Yes		
	WCs for the	nandicapped	\square No	□Yes		
	Wheelchairs	for the handicapped	\square No	□Yes		
	Parking for the	ne handicapped	\square No	□Yes		
	First Aid		\square No	□Yes		
	Lost and Fou	nd	\square No	□Yes		
	Dry Cleaning	ŗ >	\square No	□Yes		
	Benches in co	orridors/circulation spaces	\square No	□Yes		
	Taxi stand		\square No	□Yes		
	Tailor		\square No	□Yes		
	Diaper chang	e	\square No	□Yes		
	Payphones		\square No	□Yes		
	Shuttle service	e	\square No	□Yes		
	Carting		\square No	\Box Yes		
	Ice skating		\square No	\Box Yes		
	Strollers		\square No	□Yes		
	Car Wash		\square No	□Yes		

Secti	ion 5 (Access to Information)				
25.	How did you learn about this ☐ On my way ☐ Friends ☐	11 0		s construction sta	arted □ Other
26.	. Were you consulted in any capacity during its construction? \Box no \Box yes				
27.	Do you hear about the activit ☐ no	ies that take pla	ace in this sho	pping center?	
	☐ If yes, how? ☐ Newspape SMS ☐ Other	rs Leaflets	☐ Internet/e-1	mail 🗆 Telemar	keting via phone or
28.	Do you hear about the stores ☐ no	that close/open	/renovate at tl	ne shopping cent	er
	☐ If yes, how? ☐ Newspape SMS ☐ Other	rs Leaflets	☐ Internet/e-ı	mail □ Telemar	keting via phone or
Secti	ion 6 (Physical Access)				
	From which city or district die Which city or district do you l				
	Which city or district do you				
32.	How did you arrive at the sho	pping center?			
	□ Mass transport	BusSubwayMinibusBikeother_		□ Private car	□ On foot
33.	How will you return ?	other			
	□ Mass transport	BusSubwayMinibusBike other	□ Shuttle	□ Private car	□ On foot

34.	How long did your trip	take? (in minutes)			
35.	Do you think trips to the	he center are easy? □ yes □ no			
36.	Did you have any difficulties in reaching the shopping center?				
	☐ By private car;	Traffic Jam(s)			
		Insufficient parking			
	☐ By mass transport;	Traffic Jam(s)			
		Waiting period for buses or minibuses			
		There are no bus stops close to the center			
		There are no traffic lights close to the center			
	☐ Pedestrian/On foot;	There is no pedestrian crossing close to the center			
		Sidewalks are not good enough			
		There are no pedestrian paths availableOther			
	obstruction ☐ no ☐ if yes;				
38.	Which shopping center	r do you visit most frequently?			
	☐ Forum Bornova				
	□ Agora				
	☐ Palmiye				
	☐ Park Bornova				
	□ Pastel				
	□ Çigli Kipa				
	□ Balçova Kipa				
	☐ Ege Park				
	☐ Carrefour				
	□ Özdilek				

Thank you for your attention. Özlem TAŞKIN-ERTEN

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Özlem TAŞKIN-ERTEN Research Assistant – PhD Candidate İzmir Institute of Technology Faculty of Architecture Department of City and Regional Planning Phone: 02327507057

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Interview Ouestionnaire

Section 1 (Interest)

- 1. Is there a particular group that you have targeted of defined for this shopping center?
- 2. How many people visit during weekends and weekdays?

Section 2 (Symbolic Access)

- 1. Is there a determined target group?
- 2. In terms of design characteristics (either architectural or interior design) do you think that this center has an expression that reminds of İzmir?
- 3. Is comfort and image an important aspect of the shopping center for you?
- 4. Would you describe this center as a public space? Or do you see it specifically as a space of consumption and shopping?

Section 3 (Access to Activities)

- 1. What are the activity types that take place at this center?
- 2. Do different activities take place at the center during the week and weekends?
- 3. Are these activities open to everyone?
- 4. Are some of these activities ticketed?

Section 4 (Access to Resources & Agency)

- 1. What are the services, functions and units at this?
- 2. Who controls these services, functions and units?

Section 5 (Access to Information)

- 1. Was the opening of the center featured in the news media? Is it being featured in the news media?
- 2. Do you have internet site? If so, does it provide membership?
- 3. Does this internet site have a format that presents news and that is upgraded?
- 4. Do you distribute brochures etc. to the public or the members?

Section 6 (Physical Access)

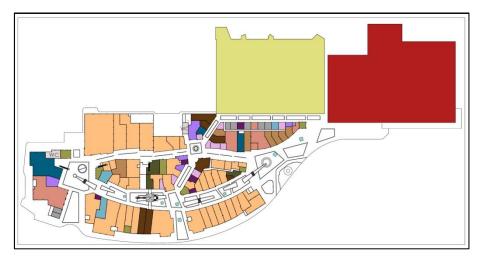
- 1. Does this center have a shuttle for mass transport?
- 2. What is the farthest location where visitors come from?
- 3. Has there been anyone that you restricted or disallowed access to this center?

Thank you for your attention. Özlem TAŞKIN-ERTEN

APPENDIX D

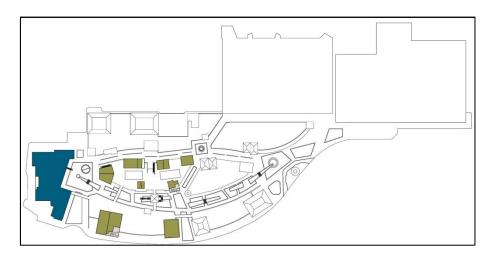
PLANS OF SHOPPING CENTERS

D1. Ground Floor Plan of Forum Bornova



(Source: "Forum Bornova Administrative Office")

D2. First Floor Plan of Forum Bornova



(Source: "Forum Bornova Administrative Office")

D3. Ground Floor Plan of Agora



(Source: "Kat Planları")

D4. First Floor Plan of Agora



(Source: "Kat Planları")

VITA

PERSONAL INFORMATION

Date of Birth 1977
Place of Birth İzmir

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EDUCATION

2004 – 2011	PhD in City Planning
	Izmir Institute of Technology, Faculty of Architecture,
	Dep. of City and Regional Planning, Izmir, Turkey.
2000 - 2004	Master of Industrial Design
	Izmir Institute of Technology, Faculty of Architecture,
	Dep. of City and Regional Planning, Izmir, Turkey.
1999 - 2000	Non-Degree Advanced English Education Program
	Izmir Institute of Technology, Graduate School of
	Engineering and Science, The English Preparatory
	School, Izmir, Turkey.
1995 – 1999	Bachelor of City and Regional Planning
	Dokuz Eylül University, Faculty of Architecture,

WORK EXPERIENCE

2004 - 2011	Research and Teaching Assistant
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Izmir Institute of Technology, Faculty of Architecture,

Dep. of City and Regional Planning, Izmir, Turkey.

Dep. of City and Regional Planning, Izmir, Turkey.

2001 – 2003 Research and Teaching Assistant

Izmir Institute of Technology, Faculty of Architecture,

Dep. of Industrial Design, Izmir, Turkey. Architectural Design Studio, 1 semester

Basic Design, 7 semesters.

Graphic Communication, 4 semesters.

Introduction to Architectural Design Studio, 5 semester

Planning Design Studios, 2 semesters.

RESEARCH INTERESTS

Public Space, Shopping Centers, Urban Design, City Planning, Quantitative and Qualitative Research Design, Industrial Product Design, Graphic Design, Basic Design,

Drawing Techniques.