

**Shopping Malls and Socio-Spatial Exclusion In Istanbul: The Case
Of Kanyon Shopping Mall**

by

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ABSTRACT

The cities and urban life is experiencing a different form of socio-spatial order in the last decades of 20th century. This process is existent in the case of Istanbul starting from the 80s, when the time neo-liberal policies are adopted by the state and Turkey became more open to the global influences. This new socio-spatial order is towards increasing segregation between social classes and higher walls between them, both physical and non-physical. Istanbul, because of the huge migration it receives through decades and being the economic capital of the country, contains the richest and the poorest classes of Turkey and experiences the influences of globalization and capitalist economic system at most level. Kanyon Levent, a high end shopping mall, is a good example of segregated living spaces that diminish contact between classes which results in social segregation and erosion of social bonds in large globalizing cities. This thesis aims to discover the segregative trend in the social structure and its reflections to the urban spaces, analyze the situation in the light of consumerism and evaluate the possible repercussions of this trend in the case of shopping malls.

Keywords:

Shopping malls, consumerism, social segregation, social exclusion, Istanbul, Kanyon

ÖZET

Şehirler ve kent hayatı, yirminci yüzyılın son dönemlerinde farklı bir sosyo-uzamsal düzen yaşamaktadır. 80'li yıllardan başlayan Türkiye'nin neoliberal ekonomik politikaları benimsemesi ve global etkilere daha açık hale gelmesi sürecinde, bu dönüşüm İstanbul'da da kendini göstermiştir. Bu yeni sosyo-uzamsal düzen, sosyal sınıflar arasında artan ayrışmaya ve hem fiziki hem de fiziki olmayan duvarların daha da yükselmesine yönelik gerçekleşmiştir. İstanbul, aldığı yüksek göç ve ülkenin ekonomik başkenti olması sebebiyle Türkiye'nin en yoksul ve en zengin kesimlerini barındırmakta ve de küreselleşmenin ve kapitalist ekonomik sistemin etkilerini en üst seviyede yaşamaktadır. Bu bağlamda, üst düzey bir alışveriş merkezi olan Kanyon Levent, ayrılmış yaşam alanlarına iyi bir örnek teşkil etmektedir. Bu yaşam alanları, küreselleşen şehirlerde sınıflar arası temasın azalmasına, sonuçta sosyal ayrışmaya ve sosyal bağların erozyonuna neden olmaktadır. Bu tez, alışveriş merkezlerinden yola çıkarak sosyal yapıdaki ayrışmacı eğilimi ve bu eğilimin kent alanlarına yansımalarını anlamayı, bu durumu tüketim kültürü ışığında analiz etmeyi ve bu trendin muhtemel sonuçlarını değerlendirmeyi amaçlamaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler:

Alışveriş merkezleri, tüketim kültürü, sosyal ayrışma, sosyal dışlama, İstanbul, Kanyon

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The world has never witnessed a period that is fast and changing like it is today. We are in a phase of continuous change with an unprecedented velocity that surrounds the world, called globalization. It is a phenomenon that infused in every aspect of life, from politics to our consumption patterns. While globalization has become an inescapable process, its effects are felt more and more strongly each day. Led by the economic policies and aims, global forces affect social relations and social structures as well as the cities and their spatial formations. In this context, consumption spaces in globalizing cities reflect the social structuring that global forces bring and Istanbul is a globalizing city affected by these forces.

Globalization conquered the world in twenty years causing drastic changes in practice of life on earth. With the increasing pace of technological and communicational developments, connections and networks throughout the entire world enhanced making the whole world more dynamic and open to change. With a domino effect, a change in the course of production systems and economic functioning resulted in changes in the course of social structures and daily lives. In

late nineteenth century, mass production system created a workers' class and a sociological structuring according to the dominant production system and city spaces were shaped by the factory dominated needs of that system. Similarly, the late twentieth century faced a transformation from production economy to service sector dominated economy, especially in the economically dominant countries and globally important cities. As a result, a class of white-collar, well-paid, stylish service sector workers' class and on top of that a small class of players who rule the money and earn money out of money via developing finance instruments, new capital holders of the economy. As a result, city spaces are shaped by new constructions according to the needs of this class replacing the factories.

Late twentieth century is also matched with the post-modernity, a term which refers to many things one of which is abandonment of the producing society and a shift to consuming society (Bauman, 1997). Identities gained through the consumption habits and through what you consume became the dominant character of the times. Economic growth and development has been associated with consumption that the more the society consumes, the more the economy grows became the main idea behind.

The newly emerging social classes combined with the new trends of consumerism and created a social order that identification of social status is through consumption characteristics and not only money, but also taste and style has gained importance in determination of the place in social strata (Mafessoli, 1996). Thus, money-holders also differentiated among themselves and upper segments demanded

their own exclusive spaces in order to determine the borders of their level and in order to be separated from ordinary money owners. Following these transformations, spaces of luxury has emerged in globalizing cities, the basis of which are constituted by gated communities, high-rise office buildings and shopping malls. These types of spaces are built and designed specially for their exclusive target groups, physically secured for the potentially dangerous and implicitly segregated excluding the others that are not belong to there.

It is important to note that social segregation, exclusion and the urban space structuring facilitating segregation are not totally new phenomena and are not created by globalization. Throughout history, some kind of social segregation, separation of classes has always existed. However, with globalization, the situation entered a new phase with its own social structures, with its own spaces and with its own level of visibility. Globalization brought a new form of exclusion.

Turkey is not out of this process since it claims to be a dominant player in the global arena and aims to reach the standards of Western world. Especially, Istanbul and Ankara are the cities where the globalization effect is felt significantly. Since, global capitalism comes with its inequalities; the gap between the losers and the winners of this system has become more evident. Consumption of style and quality became the differentiating factor and a determinant of identity. Thus, in order to provide ultimate quality life, the wealthy created spaces for their own that are eliminated from the dirt of the streets. Gated communities, residences, office buildings and shopping malls are examples to these spaces. In those spaces, a virtual

reality is created with stylish beauty and any element that destroys this reality is removed. Social groups that do not have the necessary wealth and lifestyle are eliminated from those spaces.

Shopping mall became an important place for cities since its emergence and it is getting more and more dominant in urban life. They are privately owned spaces getting more of public spaces. They are spaces of gathering and socialization and the public coming together and manifest itself, however, the public in these private spaces are lacking some elements of it, the poor, the excluded, the lower end of the society.

Istanbul, as a globalizing city, is experiencing the same phases of globalization. Being the cultural and financial capital of Turkey, impacts are felt more deeply in this city. It is facing a serious stratification of the society with exclusive spaces. Shopping malls, as one of them, are also getting stratified within that the customer portfolio of the malls is shaped according to its status. In these terms, Kanyon became a pioneer in the concept of luxury mall designed as a city district in the middle of the city but, at the same time, totally away from the city. It is a futuristic place for the wealthy to spend time, shop, dine and live in. With its successors, Kanyon serves for the wealthy to separate themselves from the rest and to cut their connections with them.

The creation of shiny living spaces may seem elegant at first however, it brings potential threats alongside. The wealthy are the capital owners who direct the economy, the reality created for them inside these spaces is misleading. When the

connection with the lower groups is cut and bonds are destroyed via living in sterilized environments, the poor becomes non-existent for the rich. Since they are not allowed and have the means and access to these new public spaces, they lose the chance of self-expression. The problems that are to be solved are unseen and unexpressed. The marginalization of these groups has the risk to result in social imbalance and social destruction manifesting itself in destructive behavior. Thus, global forces have a downside alongside its upsides. The management of these impacts is a burden on the state, which is the only authority to regulate the degree of openness to global forces.

In this thesis, the affects of globalization, consumption culture, postmodernity on the social exclusion in Istanbul is explored through the luxury shopping malls. Kanyon shopping mall is investigated as an example and a pioneer to a trend, different from other malls opened previously because of its touristic attributes and luxury orientation. In order this exploration to reach its aim; with the support of data over exclusionary spaces a qualitative method is preferred. The press articles and news published since the opening of Kanyon are used alongside personal observations on Kanyon. In this way, the positioning of the mall in the media, the target it aims, the image it creates and the perception among the society is tried to be obtained objectively and combined with observational data.

The following chapter is about the process of globalization and its effects on the urban sphere, meaning the spatial formation it creates and new urban spaces emerged with the expanding globalization. Chapter 3 is about the capitalist economic

structure and the consumerism that has risen in the globalization era. Consumption spaces of the new culture and the meanings attributed to consumption are also explored. Chapter 4 is a look at Istanbul, its social and economic formations and changes it has been experiencing under the impacts of globalization and consumerism. Chapter 5 is a close look into the exclusionary spaces, shopping malls and their role in the increasing gap between layers of society. Kanyon shopping mall, as being one step ahead in creating exclusion, is taken as an example of the exclusivity. Chapter 6 draws some concluding remarks.

CHAPTER 2

GLOBALIZATION AND THE URBAN SPHERE

Globalization is the most effective and comprehensive phenomenon of the time. It wraps and infuses into every aspect of our lives and increases its impact. With the help of improvements in technology, networks and connections increase and is kind of butterfly effect is seen in action. One event taking place in one part of the world can affect the other parts; similarly, one action of a country can have consequences affecting the rest of the world.

In this context, cultural and social structures and changes are also under the effect of this wave. The habits people adapt, the structure society has, the shape the cities take and the spaces people live are all affected by the global waves and forces. Even under globalization, economic forces and urges are still main determinants behind the direction of globalization; economic activities and new profit areas give direction to the social order and structure.

As a result, cities are shaped and reshaped according to the demands of the current economic trends. Since globalization eased the travel and cultural

interconnection, cities are affected from the trends emerge in leading force countries. Globalizing cities, Istanbul being one, show similar symptoms with their global counterparts. Under the impact of global forces, urban spaces are formed in order to serve new trends of tourism and consumption, cities are commoditized and elements that are harmful to the marketable image of the city are eliminated. On the other hand, the capital owners and the emerging service sector class shape the city according to their lifestyles although this means exclusion of those out of those lifestyles. As a result, the impact of global economic forces and trends in turn affect the social structuring of cities and the urban sphere. Istanbul and its urban sphere is no different and is experiencing the results of these forces deeply. Thus, the relationship between the globalization and the urban sphere is a crucial one in order to understand the change in society in globalizing cities.

In this chapter, first, I will give a description of globalization and capitalist economic system. Then, I will discuss the disadvantages the capitalist economic expansion created and its socio-economic results such as exclusion, segregation and walling. Last, the role of diminishing welfare state in these results is discussed.

2.1. GLOBAL ECONOMIC STRUCTURE AND CONSUMPTION

If there was a database that would keep the statistics of most used word in the intellectual work on business, economy and politics, and even on sociology,

“globalization” would probably rank number one. It is a very comprehensive word that almost any socio-economic and political event has a component of it.

Globalization –at simplest terms- can be defined as the diminishing borders between nation states in social, cultural, and economic and even political terms, thinking of the world as a whole, unique entity of life. According to Marcuse and Van Kempen (2000:5), existing globalization is “combination of new technology, increased trade and mobility, increased concentration of economic control, and reduced welfare-oriented regulatory action of nation states”. Probably, the most important agent of globalization, even the reason for globalization to exist is technology. Increasing pace of technological improvements also increased the pace of globalization. Communication between any two points of the world is only a matter of seconds. With all audio-visual communication techniques and through internet, the network of information surrounded the world drastically changing the whole practice of interpersonal and international relationships. Transnational companies and transnational production –inputs obtained from different countries in order to assemble in another country and exported to all around the world- characterize the world economic integration. Finance and other service sector also developed with utilizing the opportunities that technology offers. Today, services can be given from distance; finance relies on the network an information technology. These are forces that are hard to resist and with huge impact. That is why the word ‘postmodern’ is always pronounced along with the word ‘globalization’.

All these changes in the structure and functioning of the economy, of course, have a huge impact in the social structure and daily lives. Social life is also subject to globalization that globalization changes the way people live, creates its own ways and its own types of living. Lifestyles are now more prone to outside effects since different lives are now available for seeing and experiencing. Different cultures of separate parts of the world are now available to citizens of any country. The close interaction of separate cultures affects each other and transforms each other creating new social forces and trends and demands. Globalization is not a one-way destroyer of the local and the local is not simply a passive recipient of a single global process. Global affects the local and also local shapes the content of global. Examples of this process can be the Far East culture is infiltrating to the Western culture that Pilates, yoga, meditation became trendy patterns in many Western countries or the growing popularity of ethnic cuisines around the world (Short *et al.*, 2000). In the same way, the West dominated capitalist globalization affected the culture and social life in other parts of the world with goods, services and cultures exported to these countries namely the “McDonaldization” of the society. Whether the local cultures or the Western culture, as Scott (1997) suggests, these lifestyles and cultures are all commercialized and created an area of consumption at local or global, and at the end, cultures, lifestyles, images have become commodity themselves. The general system of “commodity production” pushes the aesthetic or symbolic elements into the economic activity related to the production and marketing of goods and services (Scott, 1997).

2.1.1. Global Economic System

The primary agent of the contemporary globalization is the dominant economic system, namely neo-liberal capitalism. Vice versa is similarly true that globalization phenomenon feeds the neo-liberal economic policies and keeps the system functioning all around the globe. Globalization is highly related with the mobility of goods, capital and labor which increased starting from 80s although the capitalist economic system organization roots far more back in time.

In the nineteenth century, in the age of “liberal” capitalism, Lash and Urry (1994) spoke with Marx’s terms, the three circuits of capital; money capital, productive capital and commodity capital, operated on the level of region. Productive capital is divided into two being constant production capital and labor capital. In twentieth century, the flow of money, means of production, commodities and labor was flowing on the national level. In this term, large, bureaucratic firms are established that are vertically and horizontally integrated. Then, at the end of twentieth century, especially in the last two decades of it, when the production became more flexible, the flow of commodities, productive capital and money was on the international level and the world experienced an increase in the global trade, foreign direct investment and global movements of finance (Lash and Urry, 1994).

This mobility creates a change in nature of the economic activities which in turn, changes the location and components of the production process. One of the main changes in many developed and some developing countries is the declining

importance of the manufacturing industries while service industries gain significance. Automation in manufacturing processes made most of the unskilled or semi-skilled jobs redundant since computerized, mechanized equipment made labor intensive production lines unnecessary. Those manufacturing processes which still need manual labor are moved to cheap labor areas of the world like China, East Asian countries and India. On the other hand, service jobs needed multi-skilled, flexible labor, with high education and they offer higher pay. This shift in production process has its effects on socio-spatial order of cities.

The service jobs created by this shift should be considered in two groups: higher order service jobs and lower order service jobs. Lower order service jobs, although mostly dependent on higher order ones, can be available at any place where some concentration of population is existent while higher order service jobs like finance, law, management and politics, are highly spatially centralized in certain areas, especially the large cities (Marcuse and Van Kempen, 2000). Such a centralization of higher order service employment creates its own socio-economic class and lifestyle of this class. On the other hand, the low skilled labor working in service sector like cleaning, housekeeping and in production sector and the remaining unemployed population of lower classes form the bottom-end of the society forming the other pole. As a result, as the middle class shrinks and is pulled to the poles, the urban structure of the population gets more polarized.

The increased gap between these poles and division causes some groups to be excluded and some to be included. The excluded groups of the society, in time lose

the opportunities for integration in the society, they lose the channels of integration and finally they become unable to participate in the society that will eventually result in socio-economic segregation. The economic structure of a city and the restructuring it experiences are usually seen as the most important factors affecting the level of social fragmentation and integration in the urban sphere (Musterd and Ostendorf, 1998). The postmodern economy created its own urban characteristics and its own classes and its own divisions.

Power relations always performed a crucial role in the economic relationships. Every era has its own criteria of power and its own definitions. Since the modernity and during the postmodernity, power is approximated with the capital. The power of capital is seen here that capital's high bargaining power gave it the opportunity to seek for the lowest labor cost on the world. Capital is so powerful that countries are in competition to prepare the most suitable conditions for capital to stay in. Consequently, a huge finance service sector emerges in both developed countries- in order to manage the capital exported- and in countries trying to be included in the race of development- in order to manage the financial environment for the capital imported. Thus, capital, which used to be nursed through mass production and created its own worker class once modernity started, now is nursed from capital itself and created its own service sector white-collar professionals class is in charge of globalization (Marcuse and Van Kempen, 2000).

Developing countries in the globalization era depend on the existence of foreign capital mostly in order to be integrated to the league of world players and in

order to catch up with developments of the time since they usually do not have the necessary capital locally. Thus, economies of the developing countries are usually directed according to the needs of the foreign capital. Economic policies of a country have profound effects on the local issues of the country and even the daily lives of the citizens. Especially, in the urban context, foreign capital has a huge shaping power for the cities. Investors choose the profitable areas to invest and some places are profitable, some are not and big cities are shaped and structured according to the conditions that capital most conveniently stays and grows. Spatial construction of the cities is made to accommodate the capital owners and workers of capital oriented sectors. Thus, malls, restaurants, five star hotels, secured high-end residences start to rise to sky one after another. As a result, global flows shape the cities.

2.1.2. Downside of Capitalist Globalization

Although, it seems that new global capitalist economy enabling free flows of capital provides development and increasing wealth, it is not a medication without any side effects. It comes with its inequalities and decreased autonomy for governments and growing social unbalances. Baudrillard (1998) describes the capitalist economic formation in his book *The Consumer Society* and argues that it is used to be thought that growth would in the end erase the inequality. It was once assumed that the inequality of the growing capitalist system is temporary and in the end of the process, there will be enough for everyone and inequality is going to end.

However, logic of the system sustains the inequalities and the system indeed depends upon it for the fulfillment of its aims. What matters is the rate of distortion of inequality. At best, the system stabilizes at a rate of distortion whatever the absolute volume of wealth is, at a point which includes a systematic inequality. It is that rate which marks the growing distance between developed and underdeveloped and income distribution inequalities within nations (Baudrillard, 1998). Uneven development is the nature of capitalism (Marcuse and Van Kempen, 2000:6; Bıçkı, 2006).

The liberal structure of capitalist economies is characterized by the unequal nature of development and income distribution which is valid from worldwide terms to city bound terms. Liberalism is claimed to be unequal and distorted in distributing the returns of economic activity, there are winners and losers of the current global economic system (Held, 2003). The economic and technological improvements put some of the labor force in an inadequate position that they cannot keep up with the pace of the developments. This gap is creating a fear of a possible political backlash from the losers' side against the neoliberal economic dominants (Kapstein, 2000). Global integration of world markets "is exposing a fault line between groups who have the skills and mobility to flourish in global markets and those who either don't have these advantages or perceive the expansion of unregulated markets as inimical to social stability" (Rodrik, 1997: 2). Although, such an inequality also carries the risk of social reactions in the society such as riots, strikes, there is a large variation in the levels of reactions in different societies. Thus, domestic institutional and social variables are effective in determining the level of these disruptions (Kapstein, 2000).

Despite the level of reaction changes according to different variables, the case is that the enforcement of developing countries to open up their markets to neoliberal economic policies such as free flow of capital and fully open financial markets creates a crisis-prone economic environment and the poor and middle strata of the society is usually affected from these conditions disproportionately. Lower classes reach poorer living conditions with possible high social costs (Öniş and Şenses, 2005). On the other hand, a minority gets richer and richer with these economic activities and takes advantage of being the favored.

Global economic system inherently has an exclusionary character. At the global level, some countries and societies are made weaker as they are forced to cut costs of production and wages, reduce social security, which lead to deteriorating working conditions and lower quality of life for the society, high social costs for being incorporated to the global economy, some countries are even totally marginalized (Beall, 2002). For the global level inequality created by the global capitalistic economic order, Beall argues that "...there is increasing evidence to show that there are those who, to a greater or lesser degree, are excluded by global processes, or who are included under conditions that are not of their choosing and that are detrimental to their livelihoods and well-being." (Beall, 2002:42). At the more local level, global processes change the local life and social structure of the societies and in urban city context there are beneficiaries of the globalization process and the losers of it, who do not have the opportunities to get integrated to the global wave and are excluded from the globalized society.

On the contrary, there are views that globalization creates benefit when considered with a global look, and in general even seemingly losers are benefiting from it. A very famous proponent of this idea is Thomas Friedman (1999). While he admits that in the global world income is highly unequally disruptive and capitalism may be socially disruptive, there is no coherent ideological alternative to globalization yet, and nevertheless, globalization and capitalist economic structure raises the standards of living in general. And what to do is not fighting against globalization but rather properly adapting the rules of it. Globalization should be seen not as a threat, but as an opportunity. He proposes that:

The spread of capitalism has raised living standards higher, faster and for more people than at any time in history. It has also brought more poor people into the middle classes more quickly than at any time in human history. So while the gap between rich and poor is getting wider – as the winners in today's globalization system really take off and separate themselves from everyone else - the floor under the poor has been rising steadily in many parts of the world. In other words, while relative poverty may be growing in many countries, absolute poverty is actually falling in many countries (Friedman, 1999).

He also argues that globalization is an opportunity for the lower strata to make themselves seen and heard as:

While globalization can produce a profound sense of alienation, as power keeps moving up to more and more abstract levels that are difficult to touch, affect or even see, it can also do the opposite. It can push down to the local level and to the weakest individuals more power, opportunities and resources to become shapers than ever before (Friedman, 1999).

Although views about the benefits and harms of globalization are various, it is widely accepted that globalization is not without any downsides. However, a positive look to the opportunities offered by globalization is possible.

2.2. URBANIZATION AND ITS SOCIO-ECONOMIC RESULTS

The twentieth century faced a dramatic increase in the urban population across the globe. The locus of urbanization is shifting from economically advanced countries of the West to the underdeveloped and developing countries of the East. Such an immense and quick growth of city population is a core determinant of social change and socio-economic flux. Smith puts the situation and the risks involved in rapid urbanization as such:

Modernization theory argued that urbanization, industrialization and human progress reinforced one another and grew together. But as early as 1950s and 1960s, scholars became aware of the possible negative developmental effects of over-urbanization. They argued that population concentration in large third world cities was increasing so quickly that demographic growth was outstripping the newly urbanized societies' ability to adjust, absorb, and cope with the human influx. The result was the generation and intensification of serious problems: grinding poverty, massive unemployment, inadequate services, social unrest, increasing crime, political instability, and so forth. (Smith, 1996: 148)

Urbanization in twentieth century in Middle East cities followed a three step progress in general (Yacobi and Shechter, 2005).

The first period started from the mid 19th century till the World War II. This period is characterized by the European impact and the aim of modernization and planning towards this aim. The state-led urbanization was developed by public buildings and spaces resembling the latest Parisian fashion. In Istanbul, this process was first motivated by local foreign minorities in Pera, but then, the state quickly followed.

The second phase is the urbanization of post-colonial era. Gradual decolonialization of the Eastern countries led to the emergence of new nation-states. These states were mostly under autocratic rule and inward-oriented, catching-up strategies of economic governance were wide-spread. Trying to establish a more egalitarian economic system, the states faced the problem of high and intense migration from rural areas to the urban space, creating overpopulation and employment problems in the urban area. Such an increase eroded the quality of life, destroyed the social bonds and unity and increased the state repression.

When the globalization phenomenon increased its pace in 80s, the third phase, the urbanization of the East entered a new era in which free markets replaced the inward-looking economies and urban development got privatized (Yacobi and Shechter, 2005). Open economies let foreign capital in the countries and private public spaces owned by foreign capital and contains imported goods and hosts services provided by foreign companies emerged in the urban context.

Urbanization in Third World follows the examples of the Western urbanization in most cases as a modernity project and it results in uneven growth and inequality. Inequality is between rural and urban sectors of the society, between the cities of the country that one city receives most of the resources and also within the cities that a disparity between masses and small populated wealthy elite emerges. The unequal distribution of capital and power is not the characteristic of only the Third World countries. The capitalist economic structure brings the ruling of urban elites over the rural, the “urban bias”. However, what is characteristic of Third World countries, the disproportionate accumulation of population in one big major city, which is named as “urban primacy” (Smith, 1996) for which Turkey is an example country with Istanbul being the urban primal which receives the largest rural immigration, produces the most and consumes the most and trying to change the most.

Today, globalization is a main factor that shapes the urban sphere in social and spatial terms. The urban sphere is rearranged according to the demands of global economy and global trends which suggest that city centers are left to the new constructions of luxury residences, office buildings and shopping and leisure complexes. This tendency is because of the “entrepreneurial city” model that suggests cities should provide their own development via tourism and capital inflows and this development is achieved by the collaboration of public and private sectors in the city administration and creating the image of the city. However, under these global effects, the city needs supportive elements of this construction wave. The most important of them is infrastructure. Technological and economic infrastructures are very important

causal agents generating patterns of urban structure. Transportation and communication has a profound affect in development of a city. But these infrastructures of transportation and communication are usually built according to the needs of the elites of the society. Thus class structures, the state and state-elite relations are very important, which are affected by the nation's role in the global system. Briefly, urban sphere is structured according to the technological and infrastructural advancements, state-elite and society relationships and the positioning of the nation in the process of capitalist economic evolution (Smith, 1996).

The economic activity is reshaped in the city -especially in those cities that have a global orientation- that manufacturing facilities are taken out of the city center and the residential rent is increased by filling their places with services that appeal to global elite. By this token, the low-paid workers of manufacturing industry are taken out of the city center forcing them to live in poor districts of city. In shaping of city centers, the luxury residents, office buildings, malls and cultural conventional centers are the characteristic spaces built instead (Bıçkı, 2006). A process similar to suburbanization, gentrification takes place in the city centers. As a result, the spatial look of the city and the concepts of public spaces and openness changes.

2.2.1. The Changed Spatial Pattern and Walling

Globalization created its own economic structure and its own spatial orders in the cities. The general pattern in global and globalizing cities is that spatial divisions are getting structural and are strengthened with increased inequality and increased walling between each. Division created its own spatial formations in accordance with the situation and with the affect of the economic impacts.

The unequal system of capitalism is exported to the world from the US (Goldsmith, 2000) and many important cities from all regions of world is affected from this global wave and experienced social inequalities and segregation like Brussels (Kesteloot, 2000), Rio de Janeiro (De Queiroz Riberio and Telles, 2000)¹. Even in China, which has been governed by a strict socialism for a long time and recently attempted to open up its economy and integrated to the globalization, social segregation and inequality in income levels and the separation of lifestyles and classes in the urban space is experienced (Zequan, 2005). In his research in Faisalabad and Johannesburg, Beall (2002) also concluded that the neoliberal economic policies created different classes in the city resulting in the exclusionary geographical distinction between the higher income earning service sector and other rising sectors workers and the lower income earner workers of the economy. In Johannesburg, he claims that the division in the city was even higher than the division in the times of apartheid.

¹ There are studies that support the view that globalization does not necessarily result in socio-spatial segregation in the same way in global cities. For example, Tokyo, in all terms being a global city, does not experience a socio-spatial segregation like the one New York experiences (Logan, 2000: 182).

The division and separation take various forms in different cities however the common pattern is that division and walling is increasing. In some cases, walls can be symbolic based on the identities and belongingness, and at one step further, literally existing walls are separating rich from poor and the aim of these walls are usually protection from the dangers of the lower social classes. These walls prevent the contact between divisions, thus makes seeing, hearing and meeting each other impossible. The contact, if it exists, is very limited, business-like and commodified (Marcuse and Van Kempen, 2000; 250). The totality of life within the borders of divisions makes the contact even unnecessary which feeds the non-contact situation.

The problem of this walled division is that the power and the ability to set the rules of economy and government are in the hands of those inside the walls of the rich. Since they have no contact with the lower classes and no emotional relationship, the decisions against the sake of the poor can be easily made. The knowledge of the poor is only conceived by the media and opinions are made with stereotypes and preconceptions and decisions are made accordingly. At worst, in the mind, the perception can be like 'what is not seen is non-existent' and the unseen problems and realities of the poor may be in time left out of notice for the rich. The perception of the real world is diminished to the perception of the world inside the walls.

The concept of division and differentiation within classes is not a totally new phenomenon that emerged with globalization. There always has been some kind of separation and a concept of different classes within society. Spatial segregation also,

has always been existent in the society that not members of all classes live in similar spaces. Nevertheless, as knowledge for the past, classes do have contact with each other. There were high classes and low classes of society but the spaces for these classes were open to everyone. There used to be the rich of the neighborhood and the rich lived together within the others. No walls, surveillance and security against the other were established. Social contact across the classes has always been limited to some extent however, what is new is the sharpness of the spatial boundaries inhibiting contact with other social segments and concentrated nature within those boundaries. Luxury city and the ghettos are sharply bordered from the rest of the city. Luxury city is separated with gated communities and high-rise buildings which entrance is under control, for ghettos, borders are well-known and maintained and outsiders and insiders are differentiated. The process of division has trends manifest before the age of globalization and has its own responses to globalization according to its characteristics. The change of spatial order and division is clearly accelerated in globalization era with new types of spaces and new types of segregation.

2.2.2. Impact of Economic Forces to Social Structure

Two main approaches are generated towards the effects of such socio-spatial order in urban life. One is following the work of Robert Reich's *The Work of Nations* (1991). He argues that local solidarity forms lose its importance in the social life of elite since they need lesser of the services of lower status group as they increase their

international orientation. In other words, there is no need for the rich to live in physical proximity to the lower groups. For the lesser wealth owning groups, by the same token, it becomes more unimportant to live near the elite since their importance in the functioning of the mainstream economy declines. Both sides lose importance to each other and the result is a social structure that is fragmented, disconnected and polarized. The other approach is one which Saskia Sassen (1996) is one of the main defenders. This approach defends that both polarization and interdependence exist at the same time in the society. Rich and poor, one of the groups has the money and resources for the goods and services the other provides. Thus, such a relationship creates interdependence in a society that has polarized rich and poor groups. (Marcuse and Van Kempen, 2000)

The post-Fordist flexible form of production is characterized by polarized economic structure. On the one hand, there are the low-skilled labor intensive sweatshops who are usually subcontractors to bigger producers and who also subcontract to piecework workers. This kind of production provides low-paid, temporary and non-insured employment without benefits. The geographic location of these production units are usually the poor districts and peripheral areas of the city. On the other hand, there is the growing service sector, and high-tech industries that utilize the skilled labor in high-paid jobs with insurance and benefits. These people work in plazas and business centers that are located in the city centers or in high-income areas of the city.

According to Sassen, the low-level service employment is as important as higher-level employment opportunities in sustaining the global economic system. Besides the top level of the corporate economy, industrial service workers are usually ignored however; they are essential ingredients for the global economy (Sassen, 1996). The global processes and global economic functions rely on the low level jobs that are filled by immigrants and under-educated population of the cities. Thus, the polarization in globalizing cities is structural according to Sassen since the separation occurs because of the service sector- production sector difference.

The rapid growth of industries concentrated on high and low-paid jobs create different forms of consumption which in turn cyclically affects the organization of work and types of jobs created. The expansion of high-income workforce in conjunction with new cultural forms resulted in high income gentrification that rests on the availability of low-income workforce supply (Sassen, 1996).²

2.3. WELFARE STATE AND SOCIAL EXCLUSION

Neoliberal capitalist expansion, which forms the base of and leads globalization, requires the welfare state to diminish and state being only a regulating authority for the markets that gets totally free. In other words, states are no longer

² Hamnett (1998) challenges the ideas of Sassen and her followers which suggest that the polarization of income and class in global cities is mainly caused by the general shift from manufacturing economy to service economy. While he does not totally reject this relationship however, argues that this thesis is uncausal and there of course be other factors affecting the polarization which may be the taxation policies, welfare benefits offered by the state and the unemployment.

wanted as a re-distributor of the national income and sustention of equality is no longer the duty of the state. Distribution of the income is wanted to be left to the market mechanism. However, neoliberal capitalism inherently causes inequality; it's the nature of the capitalism. It is often argued that the fall of welfare state concept in the neo-liberal economic policies contributed to the development of segregated and polarized social structure in urban realm under the effect of globalization. The belief is that the well-functioning welfare state, which is disabled by the neoliberal global economy, can prevent the isolation and exclusion of lower groups form the urban social life.

Fall of the welfare state has its roots in the 70s. In the Western world, the impact of 1973 and 1979 oil crises was profound and the economic decline it caused forced countries to major economic restructuring. High unemployment and budget deficits forced many welfare states to revise their policies and the world entered 80s, globalization era under the policies of diminishing welfare states. The trend, since the 80s, has become to move to more neo-liberal policies. State-planned mechanisms left their places to market-led ones and deregulation was the new adopted policy. Tax reduction, subsidy cuts, flexible labor markets and reduction of welfare benefits characterized the deregulation era. Less welfare policies, more open markets and technological advancements created a very convenient environment for freely flowing, highly mobile capital. Although, this liberal system would create more individual employment opportunities, at the same time, it would increase social polarization and socio-spatial segregation according to new conditions of globalization (Musterd and Ostendorf, 1998:4).

With the diminishing welfare state and emphasized efficiency in economy, distribution is ignored for the sake of efficiency and growth. However, Harvey (1996) proposes that efficiency and distribution should be explored jointly. The reason for this proposition is the argument that if efficiency is pursued solely ignoring the social costs, then the individuals or groups who carry the burden of the cost of efficiency are likely to be a source of long-run inefficiency. This can be through two mechanisms. One is through a decline in Liebenstein's "x-efficiency", which refers to those intangibles that motivate people to cooperate and participate in the social process of production; and the other is anti-social behavior such as crime or drug addiction which in the end is going to cause the diversion of productive investment to the correction of those social problems (Harvey, 1996).

Solely pursuing social justice and ignoring efficiency, on the other hand, is counter-productive since in the long-run the size of the pie to be distributed will shrink through inefficient uses of resources (Harvey, 1996). Thus, a balance between social justice and efficiency is needed.

Neoliberal global economy has a restructuring effect over the domestic conditions of a country and cities. This restructuring in the social order, different than the past, is implemented not only by public authority but also with the help of local initiatives in the city. However, the segregation effect of globalization is not a self-determined way of social structuring. The public authority and private initiatives make a choice in whether to let global tendencies dominate or not. It is all a matter of

choice whether the city center is deindustrialized and reindustrialized or not, restructured or not, transfers to the poor are made or not, and the city center is opened to the global capital or not. Also, the local political influences are a matter of consideration when making these decisions (Bıçk1, 2006).

The spatial structuring of the city is not only the result of the uncontrollable forces, not only the result of the iron economic laws in front of which the states are powerless. States are also the agents of the structuring of the social system. The states are a determinant in the shape of balance of power between the forces of the society and economy. Thus, the state is an active ingredient of the socio-spatial formation. Spatiality is not a primary case but a result of the other forces operating in a society like economics and politics. The power of state over the uses of the space is very effective and the preferences of the state for the direction this power is used is a main determinant (Marcuse and Van Kempen, 2000)³. Thus, states can be active policy makers and problem solvers in an urban context. For the solution of social exclusion, Beall (2002) also proposes the welfare state function and argues that while the global economic forces or international policy directives promote social exclusion, the local authorities are urged to be inclusive in their social policies and development agendas, but this is a contradiction that is hard to solve. This may require a separation from the neoliberal agenda that developed countries propose to developing countries and may incur some costs however, costs should be calculated properly since cost of social unbalance may be higher than cost of not conforming to the neoliberal agenda.

³ Lash and Urry (1994) see the state as relatively less powerful against the global forces and because of the rise of the “global governance”, the capacity of the state to interfere with the process is limited.

Globalization is the most evident and most talked about phenomenon of the times. It is nearly everywhere and in every aspect of our lives. Mainly driven by the technological advancements and capitalist expansion, it achieved to infuse even the daily life. Increasing abilities of communication and integration of the world and worldwide availability of resources being the positive aspects, it is not without any negative aspects.

Capitalist expansion, in nature, builds on capital accumulation and contains an inherent inequality. It creates its winners and losers; there are winner and loser countries of the capitalist system. Today, this inequality is reflected to more micro environments, to cities and urban societies of globalizing cities. With the emergence of developed financial instruments and international money markets and international service sector, new class of employees and money holders and the rise of consumerism in the world created a class that consumes according to identity and separated from others. Diminishing welfare state according to the rules of the global economic system increased the effects of the inequality within the cities and face of urban society changed.

At this point, consumerism and consumption culture gains importance since it became the way of identification and differentiation for classes. Symbolic meanings that are attributed to the consumption matters draw the line between social strata. In a time of commodification and a time where consumption replaced production, the affect of consumerism is huge on the economic, political and social variables of the world.

CHAPTER 3

GLOBAL CAPITALISM AND CONSUMERISM

20th century is the century of internationalization and connection of the different parts of the world to form the one unique *globe*, which gives its name to the most evident phenomenon of the last decades, globalization. As discussed in the previous chapter, although during most of the century, the world was polarized between communist and capitalist ideologies, capitalist economic policies always were one step ahead in the race for spreading the ideas and finally, with the collapse of the communist block, capitalism conquered the world.

Since capitalistic economic system is once based on mass production and accumulation of capital, consumption used to be a necessary ingredient for the system. However, today, consumption became the key factor that will apply a pull mechanism to the production activity and as a result will create capital. Thus, consumption became the new focus of the system, advertisement activities gained pace and at last consumption became an individual identity based activity.

Consumer society is becoming more and more near to define the society of the postmodern times. With its symbolic meanings inside, and the identity attributed to these meanings, people became what they consume rather than what they produce and such an approach created gaps between who can consume and who cannot. It is the case in Istanbul, the cultural capital of Turkey, also. Under the globalization effect and the consumerist wave, the city is spaced accordingly; spaces of consumption, i.e. spaces of exclusion are created destructing the social bonds and putting a widening gap between layers of society.

In this chapter, first the link between the capitalistic economic system and consumption is analyzed, and the course of consumption through time is discovered. Then, information on the emergence of consumer society is and its gaining importance is given and last, shopping malls as an integral part of consumption culture, and their role in the society are explored.

3.1. CAPITALIST ECONOMIC SYSTEM AND CONSUMPTION

Capitalist economic structure demands profit and profit needs efficiency. Thus, the source of life of the early capitalism was mass production. The production activity used to keep its first place in the order of importance of the activities that constitute the focus of the capitalist economies. The industrialization wave surrounded all the developing countries and formed the basis of development, and

production is accepted as the “real” activity of economy, and consumption is considered to be subordinate and even the area of sociology adopted this approach for a long time. Consumption was only “the selection, purchase, use, maintenance, repair and disposal of any product or service” (Campbell, 1995:102) Moral difference between production – active real work-, and consumption – passive leisure activity- is intrinsically theorized in the general approach to society. In addition to moral worth, there is the gender related meaning in this distinction that the production represents the active role of man and a manly activity while consumption is secondary and more of a passive woman activity representing the secondary position of females in the society (Mackay, 1997). From the early industrialization initiatives, during the Fordist era, till the last decades of 20th century, production continued to be the primary actor of capitalist economies where consumption is considered only as a secondary activity and a natural result of production.

However, mass production of standard products was not enough to sustain the system since eventually markets were to saturate. Having reached a point where production capacity exceeded consumption capacity, capital turned to new ways of selling. Market research made for pre-determining consumer tastes gained importance and widened its application, on the other hand advertising emerged as another strategy to sell (Clarke and Bradford, 1998). That is when the concept of “differentiation” came into the discourse of capitalism. Identification of different tastes and products differentiated according to these tastes created a new market for products and the concept of fashion maintained the continuity of the production-need-consumption cycle. The increased pace of globalization in the last decades of 20th century gave rise

to consumerism, which takes the consumption activity apart from the concept of satisfaction of needs to just being the act of purchasing and using. Differentiation into niches undermines the classic logic of mass consumption where possession of some objects is determined by income levels and the division is on the basis of income level determined class (Clarke and Bradford, 1998) and gives consumption a meaning related to signs, symbolic meanings, lifestyles and differentiation of status. This was the main transformation that created the consumer society (Backes, 1997) and as Williams et al. (2001) quotes Bauman, “people are consumers first and workers at a very distant second”. Consumption, being the main activity especially in the urban sphere, acts as a bridge between the individual and the urban environment (Miles and Paddison, 1998: 816).

One of the first theorists that reveal the relationship between consumption and the urban is George Simmel. Simmel, as referred by Miles and Paddison (1998), identified urban consumption as “a key arena within which individuals play out the relationship between structure and agency in the modern world”. He is one of the pioneers of modernity theorists that connect the modernity with money and consumption and the city. He brought the social scientific understanding of the city and he foresaw consumption as being a fundamental means for social expression. However, the recognition of consumption as a social signifier of status leans back to Veblen (1990), to 1890s. He asserts that consumption and the way consumption is realized is a sign of status in the society. Veblen (1990) argued that economic life is not always driven by rational economic decisions towards utility, but “conspicuous consumption” may lead. He defines conspicuous consumption as waste of money and

other resources by people in order to display a higher status than others, as a sign of status and superiority. Thus, recognition of the importance of consumption in economic life and social life as a sign of status leans back to Veblen.

If this is the case that recognition of consumption as a social variable leans back to 19th century, then what is new today? The answer is that consumption has always been a secondary variable and it belonged to the upper classes of the society and the problem was middle and upper-middle classes emulating the consumption habits of the upper class till the post-war era. After the Second World War, consumption became a subject for the working classes too. The working class became subject to the consumption of what they or other workers produced. The economic system needed to sustain the consumption in order to survive. The novelty brought to the lives of people by consumer goods is started to be demanded by the consumers. Whiteley (1993), as cited by Miles and Paddison (1998), suggests that after the Second World War, the existing consumer society has turned into a consumerist society, which is defined as “an advanced state of consumer society in which abundance of private capital on a mass scale emerged as the dominant force in the marketplace”. This consumerist society combined with the facts of the post-Fordist production and consumption structures of the era characterized the postmodern economy- a shift from homogeneity to heterogeneity, from principles of size, uniformity and predictability, to principles of scope, diversity and flexibility (Miles and Paddison, 1998).

3.2. FROM MODERNITY TO POSTMODERNITY OF CONSUMPTION

From modernity to postmodernity, we see a rise in importance of symbolic meanings, identities, and consumption in social life. The rise of the symbolic consumption characterize the postmodern era in urban socio-economic sphere. The consumption culture is created in the Western economies, mainly in US and exported to the other parts of the world with the help of globalization. Zukin (1998) divides the cultural history of consumption in three parts starting from the beginning of modernism.

With the start of modernity project, the urban consumption structures have been shaped according to the phases of modernity. According to Zukin, modernity starts at 1800s and the first phase of it last till the end of World War II. This period is characterized by the increasing consumption activity in the urban sphere which takes place in the city centers. The main agent of consumption and shopping is the department stores. These stores made the merchandise, which were previously kept behind the walls of small specialized boutiques, available to the sight, touch and smell of customers openly. This is defined as democratization of desire. The design of these consumption spaces was to give sense of flux. They institutionalized the identification of urban and commercial cultures, thus, the sociability these spaces fostered was highly dependent on the growth of the modern market economy.

The second phase of modernity, which Zukin calls “late modernity”, is the 1945-1975 period. The main characteristic of this period is the shift of consumption

activity from city centers to suburbs, and the growth of the consumer society directed out of city centers. The spatial agent of consumption became the shopping centers which are constructed in the suburban areas. The popularity of these suburban areas was because of the mass availability of cars to people and the need for community transportation is eliminated. The most apparent case of this situation is the US. This suburban development of consumption spaces replaced the urban central department stores. Being away from the reach of community transportation and the shop windows being turned inwards and sealed with walls from outside increased the exclusivity of these malls. On the other hand, as malls attracted more and more people, the number of people who went to malls just to 'check out' what is happening in the society increased and in practice, the privately owned and privately policed consumption spaces became public space. Towards the end of late modernity, malls implemented new policies to attract more customers and to lengthen the time customers spend in the mall in order to increase sales. Malls built indoor entertainment facilities like theme parks, multi-screen movie theatres, larger food courts and restaurants, etc.

The third phase, which covers the period from mid-70s to today, is postmodernity. This phase is the time of return to the city. With the emergence of the financial institutions and other service industries at global level, their offices being in the city centers, the service sector employees with high-paid jobs working in the city center started to prefer living in the city center, too. According to the needs of this new group of young, mostly single or childless, dynamic employee group, the malls in the suburbs are transferred as complexes of offices, shopping and entertainment centers and residences to the city center. This gave way to the gentrification of the old

city areas which are previously occupied by poorer members of the society. The public image of the gentrification process is shaped as aestheticization of the spaces and the artistic style of life that these new inhabitants of the city center were going to live was promoted. The city became the center of a new aesthetic, artistic lifestyle with good food, arts and galleries and such a type of cultural consumption grew with the gentrification of city center. However, this process encouraged privatization and diminished the effectiveness of the public institutions. Private schools replace public schools and personal family savings replace bank loans and government grants. Moreover, the gentrifiers' interest in ethnic and racial diversity turns into a demand for visual coherence, frequently. This demand is institutionalized in consumption spaces that lower income groups who cannot afford that lifestyle are displaced from those spaces (Zukin, 1998).

Postmodernity is the scene of transformation of the production society to consumption society. In other words “the work ethic has been replaced by a consumer ethic; the savings book culture of delayed gratification has been replaced by the credit-card culture that ‘takes the waiting out of wanting’” (Bauman, 1997: 24). When the definition of the self is made according to what he consumes instead of what he produces, the position of the poor in the economic system became unnecessary. In the modern world of production, the poor always valued in the system as a source of continuous labor force and were vital for the functioning and sustaining of the system. However, with the times of postmodernity, the times of detachment of capital from labor, put the low-income classes in a position of unnecessary since the system focus changed from production to consumption and the poor, although valued as a

productive force, are no longer carried a value as a consumptive force (Clarke and Bradford, 1998). As a result, a certain group in the society, who is getting poorer, is also being excluded from the consuming society.

During the process of segregation, global and local factors both have an impact in the creation urban social inequality. Between the global and local there are three forces in effect: first one is the subcultural ethnic differences. Members of different groups in the society can face different circumstances because of the characteristics of the group or the acceptance of the group among the general society. Second is the level of welfare state. State policies have the power to diminish or boost social segregation and division. Thirdly, the specific historical, social and economic characteristics of the cities matter. Even in the same national context, the individual cities may show different features (Burgers and Musterd, 2002:406).

The result of the growing urban consumerism and urban consumption spaces is the segregation of the lower and upper segments of the society. This is the general view of the urban sphere of global and globalizing cities in postmodern culture. Relationship between postmodern culture and urban form is mostly analyzed on three bases. One is gentrification, which is the transformation of the wasteland areas of the city by the urban working class. Second is the declining industrial, producing city which is replaced by arts and leisure oriented programs to attract investment in financial and administrative industries and tourism. Third is the approach that these transformations created a “two-tier city” and formation of “haves” and “have nots” by adopting undemocratic, exclusionary processes (Wynne and O’Connor, 1998).

The creation of excluded groups and the increased gap between the in-groups and the out-groups of the consumerist society coincides with the decline of the welfare state. The neo-liberal economies and the postmodern capitalism suggests not to tax capital in a way to cause it to escape from the national economic space. Thus, in favor of capital and capital owners, the low income groups are foregone by the state. Another interesting occasion that coincides with the decline of welfare state is the increasing crime rates in the Western world, partly triggered by the opening gap between the integrated consumers and the excluded. This is a cyclic situation that policies create gaps and exclusion which in turn leads to increasing crime in cities, which pushes the system included groups to have more safety concerns and try to separate themselves more, higher walls are built and gap is opened more (Clarke and Bradford, 1998).

Identification through consumption abilities and tastes makes the consumption activity interactive in a social sense. Consumption is an arena of distinguishing social groups, often through inequalities in access to resources, and it is simultaneously integrative within groups since within the group, consumers can feel belongingness to something, whether that be a particular fashion style or to a community of shoppers (Miles and Paddison, 1998).

Consumption has a massive influence on the nature of the late 20th-century world, both at the level of political economy and at the level of everyday life. More

specifically, consumption might well be described as a bridge that links the individual to the urban environment (Miles and Paddison, 1998).

3.3. POSTMODERN CITY AND CONSUMPTION

Postmodern city is mainly characterized by the aesthetic concerns and symbolic meanings. City spaces and even city itself gains a symbolic meaning and a consumption value. Under the heading of urban life and cities, the distinction of modern and post-modern city is defined by Glennie (1998) as such: the key elements of the modern city used to be the social life structured around the industrial production, social administration and commercialization while the post-modern city is characterized by the erosion and fragmentation of industrial class structures by growing service employment, separation of systems of symbolic representation from material bases in everyday life, and politics of identities becoming more complex and individualized.

Postmodernists depart radically from modernists on the conceptions of space. While modernists conceive space as something to be shaped towards some social purpose, the postmodernist space is something independent and autonomous, shaped only according to aesthetic aims and principles which have nothing to do with any social objective (Harvey, 1996:66). The postmodern culture is characterized by

“aestheticisation of everyday life” (Featherstone, 1991) and infusion of symbolic values to everyday consumer goods (Wynne and O’Connor, 1998).

The rise of postmodernism as an art form, a post-industrial mode of production and a concern with identity markers and the growth of service industries caused shifts in the general experience of city life. Lifestyles became important determinants of the formation of the city and separation of spaces. Attention to lifestyles has given rise to new, highly visible consumption spaces, such as nouvelle cuisine restaurants, boutiques, art galleries and coffee bars. It has also generated new, complex retail strategies, combining advertising, sales, real estate development and entertainment. As a result of increasing importance of urban lifestyles, city governments has encouraged strategies that ‘aestheticise’, or focus on the visual consumption of public space- although this has been accompanied by an increase in private groups’ control over specific public spaces (Zukin, 1998).

The aestheticization of the environment and the rise of the visuality reflected itself in the spaces and the appearance of the city. The city also became a commodity for the touristic activities and an economic agent itself. Cities are no longer seen as landscapes of production, but as landscapes of consumption. While most urban consumption still involves the satisfaction of everyday needs, many new urban consumption spaces relate to new patterns of leisure, travel and culture and such a cultural involvement became a main issue for economic development strategies. The cultural strategies of redevelopment include the encouragement of historic preservation -i.e. heritage industry, creating new museums and tourist zones and also

reflect the growing importance of a symbolic economy based on such abstract products as financial instruments, information and culture. The symbolic economy is based on the production of such cultural symbols and the spaces in which they are created and consumed- including offices, housing, restaurants, museums and even the streets. Thus urban lifestyles are not only the result, but also the raw materials, of the symbolic economy's growth (Zukin, 1998).

Cities act as the main loci of control and power in which symbolic forms of consumption play an important role. The postmodern city is the site of wealth accumulation and consumption- especially by the 'new wealthy'- is an active ingredient for the shaping of the urban life. Yet this is accompanied by growing inequalities because, for a not-inconsiderable fraction of the urban population, membership of the consumerist wave is not possible. Cities also function as spaces of fun, leisure, tourism and entertainment and within each of these functions, there are the multiple intersections between consumption and the reshaping of urban space, the sites through which consumption takes place, the impacts of new waves of capital investment (Miles and Paddison, 1998).

The post-modern capitalism means the rise of consumption as a major and most important economic activity linked to the symbolic meanings and identities, thus, strongly linking economics with psychology and sociology. It is no longer about producing goods; it is now all about producing images, lifestyles and identities. It is no longer about the use value of the products; it is all about the symbolic value the producer can add to the consumption of the product. What makes you different in

consuming this product? This question is always asked and answers are tried to be given in advertisements.

The rise of the consumption society is a phenomenon occurred alongside the transformation of the capitalist economic structure from the axis of production to the axis of consumption in the late 20th century, especially in the last two decades of it. This transformation can be referred as transformation from modern to post-modern social structures or in economic terms, from Fordist to post-Fordist economies (Harvey, 1996; Lash and Urry, 1994). There are numerous assertions that postmodern cities are cities of consumption, rather than of production; cities of the shopping mall rather than of the factory. In this context, modern consumption is theorized as an activity in itself whereas postmodern consumption commonly has been linked to the identity theories (Glennie, 1998). The idea of socioeconomic characteristics is a predictor of consumer behavior is abandoned in favor of more individualistic approaches which claim that consumption behaviors are highly related with the identity formation, creation of meaningful belongingness and distinction (Williams et al., 2001). In other words, consumption is now creating a new kind of sociality. Mafessoli (1996) defines the sociality of the postmodern times as a new kind of tribalism where membership which is assured primarily by the possession of the appropriate “paraphernalia” (clothes, hairstyles, lifestyles and tastes), permits the adoption of a temporary identity, appropriate to a particular context today. However this identity is still easy enough to abandon tomorrow, when life’s circumstances have changed. This form of sociality lends an “effervescent quality” to the consumer society (Mafessoli, 1996).

The habitat of these identities and sociality is the city. Consumption and markets has always been an important factor of city life. Consumption and shopping sites are always been important and cities have been the arena of consumption activities. However, the postmodern times are the times where consumption shapes the urban life, changes the urban structure and became one of the most important determinants of the urban. In other words:

Cities may have long been associated with consumption, indeed, they became the sites through which, historically, consumerism became mediated in the contemporary advanced economies in the 19th century and earlier. But it is in the postmodern city that the realization of consumption contributes both to the changing form of the urban and to social life and practices within it. If social distinction is traceable in terms of consumption patterns so too cities, and their reinvention during the contemporary processes of restructuring, are being redefined through the deliberate employment of consumption as a mechanism of change.”(Miles and Paddison, 1998)

The globalized economy leans on the increasing consumption of lifestyle. Lifestyles are communicated through communication channels, internet and television and also the consumers of these lifestyles are also created by the capitalist system evolving into a service economy in other words the ‘post-Fordist’ economy. Following the Fordist era, which is characterized by mass production dominated economy, semi-skilled workforce and labor class, mostly standardized commodities only differentiated according to target groups or fashion, and production-lead economy where producer interests are superior to consumer interests, came the post-Fordist era, which is characterized by the flexible specialization of the production activity using the technological advances, growing service sector creating its own

multi-skilled workers, vertical disintegration and subcontracting, greater range of products and specialized and individualized and more volatile consumption patterns carrying the consumption to the level of production in terms of importance in economic behavior.

Consumer culture means going beyond consuming the mere utilities of the goods and services, the material use value, and consuming because of the symbolic value, consuming images that a certain good or service provides you in the cultural and social environment (Chua, 1998). In a society where people are defined less by what they produce than what they consume, shopping is a means by which freedom can be purchased (Williams *et al.*, 2001).

The global economic structure and the post-Fordist nature of the global economy created its own social formations and its own cultural changes. The rise of the service sector and the global flow of the capital developed its own worker class who are keen on dressing well, eating well, in short living well. These changes in the economy highly coincide with the rise of the values of postmodernity. Postmodernity is characterized by the rising importance of aestheticization and visuality. The space is not only important for the duty it serves and the needs it meets, but it is important because of the aesthetic it adds to the visual environment. The consumed goods are subject to the same perception. They are not consumed according to the need it serves to satisfy but goods are subject to consumption according to the symbolic value it adds to the consumer. The image it creates and the symbolic meanings it has in the society. On the one hand, the consumption is enforced by the capitalist system and the

profit cycle is maintained working, on the other hand the consumption activity shifted to have symbolic meanings and more and more related to the identities, the consumption culture and global economic system merged to form segregation in the society and the walling between the groups of society.

3.4. THE MALL AS A CONSUMPTION SITE

The pioneers of the consumerism in the city life are the shopping malls that are started to be built in America. First fully enclosed two-level shopping mall was built in Edina, Minnesota in 1956, designed by Victor Gruen, a Jewish socialist architect, and from that time on; they spread all around US and then exported to other countries. An interesting point to note is that Gruen was a socialist aimed to improve the quality of the civic life in cities. He believed that these enclosed complexes where windows look inside and sky is seen from the center will be a source of better quality for civilians, totally in line with his socialist ideals. However, the results were beyond his imagination and these enclosed civil complexes became the symbol of the capitalist economy, locomotive of the consumption culture that feeds capitalism and in the end a means for social segregation rather than a place for social integration and equality.

The concept of enclosed retail space is not a twentieth century phenomenon. The roots of the mall lean back to the Middle Ages when merchants used to establish

fairs outside the city walls in return for a fee to the lord of the land in order to avoid taxes and city congestion. Enclosed shopping spaces even existed in ancient Greece, like agora, and in pre-revolutionary Paris, like Palais Royal. The Jerusalem bazaar has been serving to the customers as a covered shopping place for 2000 years (Jackson, 1996). During Ottoman Empire, there were enclosed bazaars, which are called as *bedesten*, built for trade of textile and any kind of valuable things⁴. The most famous of *bedestens* is the Grand Bazaar in Istanbul which is built during the reign of Fatih Sultan Mehmet and has been an important center of trade for more than 500 years. More recent, pre-twentieth-century examples of enclosed retail spaces are London's Burlington Arcade, Crystal Palace Exhibition, which was entirely walled and roofed with crystal glass and had many characteristics of modern mall, and the famous Galleria in Milan (Jackson, 1996). Specified areas for shopping and enclosed places of trade are old traditions existing in different cultures and civilizations.

From the emergence of the first enclosed shopping mall, in America, malls became an important component of city space and city life in a short period of time and the concept of modern mall is exported to other countries via the exportation of the global economic order and its culture; consequently the role of malls in our lives became an important matter of social research. During their spread around the continent, they had the power to change the life in the city and the economic functioning of the city since they were built in suburbs and out of city center. They carried the economic activity out of city center and the general pattern of city life changed. With the increasing usage of cars by the citizens and the cheap gasoline

⁴ http://www.kapalicarsi.org.tr/tarihce_ana.php

made it easier to reach shopping malls and while mass consumption activities are carried out of the city, city centers are left to struggling small family businesses. The pattern was pretty much the same in other Western communities that activity of shopping was transferred from city center to suburbs. Jackson (1996), concluded in his analysis of shopping malls in America that rather than cars, the cheap oil and proper highways are important elements in emergence of out of town shopping malls. Shopping malls are invented in USA and exported to the entire world. Malls are first constructed in the suburbs and the consumption activity in the suburban shopping malls is supported by the developed highway infrastructure and cheap oil that makes the transportation to the suburban areas via private cars more convenient. But recently, they are introduced in the city centers as key components of downtown revitalization programs (Sack, 1992). Around 1980s, specialty malls emerged to fit urban sites which could be reconfigured to reflect the unique character of a specific location and customized design, as is evident in theme parks and recycled historic districts (White and Sutton, 2001:66).

Especially in Europe and other countries, the concept of mall experienced a little change with the emergence of city center malls creating runaway spaces for targeted customer groups in an organic link with city center gentrification and lifestyles of new service sector employees. Whether in the city center or out of town, they have an important impact on the social life and social cohesion.

3.4.1. Private Space vs. Public Space

The concepts of public and private are not defined as strictly as it is expected. The line between the public and the private is blurred in the postmodern city. Dowding and Dunleavy (1996, p.62) claim that “excludability is an ‘economic’ rather than a merely ‘technological’ phenomenon” thus whether or not a park, for example, could hypothetically become a private rather than a public good depends upon the technical possibilities of monitoring entrants, average wage costs of employing park wardens, and the relative wealth of the local population (Clarke and Bradford, 1998:867).

On the other hand, according to the policies of capital attraction and investment need of capitalist economy, the public space is more and more is built by the private enterprises. Thus, supposedly public spaces are administered and guarded privately. Gated communities and the shopping malls and business centers are examples of private public spaces. The entrance to those spaces are limited, and although it seem to be open to everyone, the entrance is controlled by the private security guards and they have right to prevent entrance of those that they think not appropriate or not secure. Thus, security concerns separate the different groups of the society mostly the rich and the poor. Since the poor sections of the society are perceived as criminal and the source of crime and danger, the poor are tried to be distanced from the glamorous beauty of the environment of the rich. Gated communities provide a safe environment for the residents with guards at the door while shopping malls, in the same way, provide the continuous joy of shopping

without distressing interferences. Thus, streets are left to the “other” and the rich established a separated life inside the walls.

3.4.2. Exclusion through the Mall

Consumption and consumerism has a profound role in our lives, in identities we form and in shaping places and even cities we live in. The American trend of “loft living”, which implies increasingly design and style intensive culture and a transition from a production based urban culture to cultural and artistic production, created post-industrial cities where consumption plays a key role in developing a focus for the economic development of cityscapes. The middle-class population, moving in the urban area making it more expensive to live and drive out the population who cannot afford to live in the city center, creates a consumption focus in the cities. Middle-class consumption is promoted at the expense of working-class production. Tourism and consumption related economic activities are promoted. Design oriented consuming life excludes those who cannot afford. Therefore, consumerism is argued to be inherently divisive. The parts of cities that are castles of consumerism are more accessible to some parts of the population than they are to some other parts (Miles, 1998a). Jackson (1996) also points out the exclusionary structure of the shopping mall concept. His analysis concluded him that the American shopping malls were defined on racially and economically exclusionary terms that even the bus schedules were in favor of white customers. The exclusionary nature of the mall is also a major

differentiating factor between malls and traditional central business district. On the contrary to the central business district, the mall is a private property subject to a central authority and is highly controlled. Feeling of safety is a major component in the decision to shop at the mall instead of the city center and street shops. Shopping malls are expected to manage diversity, promote the familiarity, decrease the possibility of encounters with socially different others (Miller et al, 1998).

The exclusion mall creates is both physical and symbolic and the importance of it in postmodern culture is provided by these symbolic meanings. The symbolic significance of shopping mall in a world of consumption is recognized by many scholars. Shopping malls are the castles of consumption and consumer culture. Miles (1998a) puts that consumer culture actively distorts the reality for its own ends. Consumer culture works because consumers want reality to be distorted. Shopping malls are a perfect example of the reality distorted. The shiny elegant designs of the stores and the clean environment separate the consumers from the dark ugly and dirty reality of the outer real world. Outer world is full of crime, danger and is insecure; however, as consumer enters the mall after passing several security checks, he/she is in a totally different world free from the disturbing realities of the outside, in both personal and social terms. On the other hand, the security provided inside is by the closed circuit televisions which are claimed to be watching the possible criminals. However, they are in fact infiltrating through the privacy of consumers inside the mall. Consumption sites create a controlled environment for the people in it and under the name of security, consumers' privacy is violated. Miles (1998a) describes the shopping malls as:

Malls and shopping centers may be perceived at a superficial level to be utopian modern environments, but as places which are owned privately, which only open at very particular times and which monitor our every move, they in fact provide a physically tangible justification for the dominant and controlling role of consumerism in contemporary society. In this sense, the shopping mall might be seen not only as a symbol of the virtually global domination of consumer capitalism but also of the personal infringements that such domination engenders. Shopping malls are in this respect symbolic of the ideological impact of retailing and consumerism upon contemporary society (Miles, 1998a: 61).

The surreal atmosphere created in the malls are based on the assumption that the more a person feels away from the real world and be in another world, the more he or she tends to consume. Malls are centrally planned and coordinated. They are built for a certain aim and they try to focus attention inward. Malls generally have no outside windows, temperature and light is adjusted artificially that any kind of distraction element is prevented, connection with cardinal directions is lost and consumption becomes the mall's compass. Another world that is totally independent and disconnected with the outside world is created inside the mall (Sack, 1992). The mall is the city of imagination, the idealized city that realizes our dreams free from our fears and offering a dream world of joy and "isolation is the mall's attraction, escape motivates its visitors" (Backes, 1997).

The mall is seen as the symbol of the post modernity reflected to the city space. Mall combines the consumption urge, marketing, visual focus of the image oriented culture, homogenization and segregation. Over the history, starting from the mid-nineteenth century, the world has been experiencing a movement toward visual language as a prime transmitter of culture. Especially in Western societies, films,

videos, television are primary sources of visual expression. The shopping mall is an experience of the visual in a more direct form that the shoppers are free to play with the images and create a personal story, “however brief, ephemeral, or surreal” (Backes,1997). Friedberg (1993) relates the mall atmosphere with visual experience of cinema. The shopping mall creates the feeling of subjectivity similar to the one cinema creates by the feeling of timelessness and shopping malls puts people in a position of cinematic spectatorship (Friedberg, 1993). Like in the cinema, a gaze to what is offered and a voyage to another virtual reality is experienced in front of the shop window. Shopping is fed also by the virtual wealth created by credit cards and shopping activity becomes consumption of the imaginary.

The segregation injected through the veins of the city appears on the scenes of the malls. Even malls differentiate among themselves that a mall situated in a district where lower-middle class lives and a mall situated in the middle of high-income residents live is totally different in terms of physical security and symbolic codes of inclusion/exclusion. Access is a very important point in the creation of exclusion. The bottom-line of the society, homeless people, people with inappropriate clothing, people who look like potential criminals are not let in from the doors of the malls. The security control does not end at the entrance point. Surveillance cameras and private security are always watching the customers inside the mall. Suspicious behaviors are reported, in other words there are codes of behavior for the mall. In the mall, you are not as free as you are in the street. Thus surveillance does not always used in a positive way. Siebel and Wehrheim (2006) gives examples of precautions that people take in order not to be detected as suspicious. For example, old women take shopping

bags with them into malls in order not to attract attention and to spend time there without actually shopping or young people avoid hanging around in groups in the same point within a shopping centre and they keep on the move. On the other hand, people who pass the test from the entrance and who are not detected suspicious inside, but who cannot afford shopping inside are exposed to symbolic exclusion that in a luxury shop, sales people can psychologically make you leave if they think that you cannot afford to buy the goods inside. Thus, in a luxury mall, the targeted customer group is differentiated with their clothing, lifestyle and behavior that a person from a lower class does not feel belong to that place and implicitly excluded. Miles (1998b) cites the futuristic scenario of Lovegrove (1997), where in his dystopian city people are classified according to their access to Days:

One building casts a broader shadow, darkens more with its penumbra, than any other. It rises at the city's heart, immense and squat and square. Visible for miles around, it would seem to be the sole reason for which the houses and tower blocks and factories and warehouses around it exist... The building has seven floors, and each floor is fourteen meters high. Its sides are just over two and a half kilometers long, so that it sits on seven million hectares of land. With its bare brick flanks it looks like something that weighs heavy on the planet, like something that has been pounded in with God's own sledgehammer... This is Days, the world's first and (some still say) foremost gigastore (Lovegrove, 1997, p. 1).

In his scenario, the identity of people has one main determinant: access to Days. There are two groups of people in this future, people who are let in the mall and people who are not let in and have to stare inside from outside. The axis of life is settled around this identity. This futuristic scenario seems very dystopian however, not impossible.

One major importance of the shopping malls comes from its being a public space via the push power of consumption activity. Malls are not only a market for shopping but also are social meeting places and entertainment complexes. In other words, they are re-staging the public space since they are increasingly popular. If these privately owned public spaces attract more people than public streets and gain importance, exclusion from these spaces becomes an important problem impairing the social relations. In order to be heard and recognized, politically weak, non-dominant and powerless groups have to be in the public space (Siebel and Wehrheim, 2006:23). However, if public space is carried to privately owned and managed spaces and if those people are not let in, then, they would have no chance to be a part of the society, social relations deteriorate and result in political disengagement, reactive behavior and even violence (Zukin, 1998; Sassen, 1996).

As globalization emphasizes the consumption-led growth and this living culture shapes the world economy, shopping malls become major nodes where social life is shaped and experienced in cities. They become even public spaces that are apt to exclude some parts of the public. Thus, understanding the shopping mall activity will give clues for understanding the consumption culture, symbolic powers and exclusion that exist in the urban sphere.

Consumerism is the product of global capitalism. In the postmodern culture, consumption and consumerism has risen in an environment where the symbolic and the visual gained importance. After production activities left the metropolis and are replaced by consumption oriented economic activities, cities are restructured and built

with consumption spaces. Service sector and consumerism shaped the urban sphere and new spaces for the lifestyles of the new society emerged. Shopping malls, in these terms, were very significant in carrying the features of the postmodern times that they are full of symbolic attributes. They offer an imaginary world of purified consumption and existence opportunity. The unwanted elements of the streets are eliminated in the mall and an environment of visual with symbolic. Being a privately owned public space, they lack some segments of the public to be a totally public place, but they are a public place since they have become a place for getting social, for gathering and for expressing the self. Thus, as a public space with increasing importance, they cause bonds within the public to deteriorate harming the excluded groups for the sake of the upper segments.

Turkey, a country increasing its importance on the international arena and an economic leader for its region, with its potential creating high population and it face always turned to the West, is not exempt from these impacts. Within these processes, Istanbul is the most evident case for Turkey that social changes are observed and felt most strongly in this city. Being a globalizing city and with its increasing importance in the world arena, Istanbul is the new rising star of the East and with its high potential of consumption and wealth, a case of postmodern socio-spatial exclusion.

CHAPTER 4

ISTANBUL AS A GLOBALIZING CITY

As discussed before, globalization is one of the most powerful and effective phenomena of the world. It is everywhere and impossible to escape from or to be isolated from. Although, almost any corner of the world is under the impact of global forces and technologies, globalization manifests itself most in the cities, the living bodies of the integrated world. Just like the cells in a body, which come together and combine their own roles to form the body function, cities are the little living entities performing different functions to form the countries and the world. Thus, cities perform a crucial role in globalization and world being a whole body.

Istanbul is a major node in this body of cities and has a crucial role in its region and an increasing role in the world. Recently elected as the cultural capital of Europe for the year 2010, it proved its importance among the globalized cities in the global cultural life of the Western world. As globalization conquered the world after 80s, Turkey and Istanbul took their share from this impact. All the changes and transformations experienced in Turkey during this period are experienced more deeply in Istanbul.

Within the important role of Turkey in the international culture, Istanbul has the most part of it and it pays the burden of this importance. It is more prone to negative impacts of globalization than any other city of Turkey. Its face is changing fast and it is surrendering the wave of consumerism and commodification. Today, it is marketed as a touristic commodity and as a consumption temple. Its spatial face is also supporting this aim with openings of sterilized consumption areas one after another. However, behind this face of commodity, there emerge social changes, gaps and destruction of the social coherence.

In this chapter, I intend to take a closer look to the city of Istanbul within the context of consumption economy and globalization, and the social transformations took place under these influences. First, transformations took place with the globalization are described, then, the role of Istanbul in the global arena is discussed. After a look at the social structure of the city, the spatial transformations through the globalization efforts are analyzed and, in this context, shopping malls are examined as spatial consumption entities.

4.1. TRANSFORMATIONS OF THE GLOBALIZATION ERA

Beginning from the 1980's, at the same period when globalization increased its pace enormously with the help of developing technology and eroding economic barriers, Turkey switched from an import-substituting industrialization to a market-

oriented economy. Behind that shift, lies the belief of inefficiency of the domestic economy under import-substitution system. This market oriented economy brought the positive approach to foreign capital and importation of consumer goods, where consumption patterns and retailing are restructured. Before 1980, the main economic activity was the manufacturing in Turkey, however, after foreign capital entered the country, it preferred to invest in service sector like consultancy, banking, insurance, tourism. Non-banking financial services and information services are among other investment areas of foreign capital. Consequences of this shift is critical that first, it served as a basis for integration to the world economy and second, it created a new employee group of white-collars, high-paid, high educated professional segment while the real income of wage earners in manufacturing decreased. This segment constituted the ideal population for the high-end consumption. The experience of Istanbul fits the theories of Sassen (1996), who theorized the situation for global cities, that this global lifestyles and consumption patterns of service sector employees deepened the inequality between the wage earners by including in the inequality not only monetary income but the huge difference in the lifestyles. While the city centre is more and more occupied with the service sector businesses, the manufacturing sector left the city center and even moved to the surrounding cities in order to survive because of the high land prices and to take advantage of the state incentives given to decentralize the industry. These transformations fostered the fragmentation of population of the city. Middle and upper income groups moved to the suburban residences following the global examples leaving the cultural and historical heritage in the urban center to the non-residential use. The state promoted the new consumption patterns by provision of public land to private universities, hotels,

shopping malls, etc. These global influences are accompanied by the high consumption of upper income groups especially in globally promoted goods and life styles creating greater inequalities among citizens. Erkip(2000) cites Cox (1995) that “local economic development policies to attract business in a competitive environment are likely to sustain and even support the inequalities in the distribution of benefits. Power relations are expected to redistribute the benefits in an increasingly uneven way” (Erkip, 2000).

The history is not free from exclusion, it existed somehow also in pre-globalization time. The lives and consumption patterns differed among classes. However, the difference is separation is more deep and visible today. The other is excluded physically and is avoided with the help of walls built between and surveillance via high technology. It can be argued that post-80s wave of change that Istanbul had experienced in socioeconomic terms while getting involved in the capitalist economy is not unique. In this respect, the experiences of the city in pre-1914 era and the current post 1980 period are very similar. In the pre-1914 era, in the sphere of urban commerce, in terms of changing power relations, the transformation was through the shift of power from the state and the guilds to foreign capital and local merchants of minority groups. In spatial terms, the hub of urban commerce shifted from the Grand Bazaar to Grand Rue de Pera. The westernization efforts turned Istanbul into a dual city, Istanbul proper at one side and Pera on the other side of the Golden Horn. This division also transformed the division of labor and hierarchy between the ethnic religious groups. The Armenian and Greek communities prospered while the Muslim population weakened deepening the division of the city. Similarly,

in the post-1980 era, similar power and spatial shifts are observed. In terms of the power relations the shift was from traditional, small traders to large domestic and foreign corporations. The spatial transformation, on the other hand, was from the individual small shops towards the free-standing stores, multiple establishments scattered in the city under a common ownership and large, purpose-built shopping centers.

On the other hand, the economic policy of the country changed drastically with the 80s. Pre-1980 period is characterized by the import substitution economic strategies however, it is realized that although it became successful in creating the industrial base for consumption goods, it failed in producing intermediate and capital goods. A new model of outward looking export oriented strategy is implemented opening up the country to the foreign capital and foreign impact. This brought the foreign firms into the country threatening the small family businesses. These corporations mainly in the service sector generated its own employee and managerial labor force and its own social class. Thus not only the capital, the lifestyles and the consumption patterns of the Western world are also imported, changing the urban landscape and consumption spaces and forms.

The similarities are evident between the pre-1914 and post-1980 periods both when a strong Westernization and modernization efforts are seen and as a result new economic divisions and social distinctions appeared favoring some newly rising groups while putting some others to a disadvantaged position (Tokatlı and Boyacı,

1998). What is significant in the present condition is that walling between the groups is increasing and contact is diminishing.

4.2. ISTANBUL, A GLOBAL CITY?

Istanbul is always wanted to be a global city and the beautiful face of Turkey to be presented to the West. However, whether it is a global city or not is a matter of debate. Various classifications about globosity of cities are available in the literature. The term global city refers to the cities which are the centers for finance, home for global headquarters, where cultural productions influences the whole world and where business service sectors serve to the whole world from (Fainstein and Campbell, 1996). The term “world city” also can be used referring to global cities. On the other hand the term gateway city, developed by Grant (1999) and Grant and Nijman (2000) refers to the cities serve as a gateway for transmission of economic, political and cultural globalization. Almost any city can serve as a gateway, being a world city or a global city is not needed. World cities dominate the world; however, gateway cities may have great importance in their own regions for shaping the experience of globalization (Short, 2000). Another definition of globosity is made by Ercan between concepts of global and international. Ercan (1996) makes his differentiation as global cities and internationalized cities as such: “internationalized cities are centers where money, commodity and symbolic flows are intensified; as such they facilitate the transfer of these flows to subordinate areas. Global cities, on the other hand, are

centers, which control and command global flows”. According to Aksoy and Robbins (1997), global cities are defined as places where different identities can develop and where the existence of these identities is considered as a source of wealth.

Whether Istanbul is a global city or not is an issue of debate for some long and the consensus is on that Istanbul is under huge influence of global forces even if cannot be considered a global city yet. However, these global forces bring about their inequalities besides their opportunities. Yardımcı (2001) summarizes the similarities and differences of Istanbul when compared to other global cities as “Its high concentration in terms of the service economy and the finance sector, the media, opportunities of speculative profit, incoming immigration (although internal), and the informal economy emerge as common points between Istanbul and other so-called global cities. Especially after the end of the cold war, the city has been configured as a gate to the Balkans, the Middle East, the Black Sea region and Caucasia. However, country’s economic weaknesses and the lack of information and communication infrastructure hinder Istanbul’s possibility of becoming a global city”. According to Ercan’s (1996) classification, Istanbul is an internationalized city yet not a global one. However, According to Aksoy and Robbins (1997), Istanbul is a very candidate of becoming a global city because of its high variety of identities and because it values these identities.

Istanbul is a major node in the intersection of Asia and Europe, both geographically and culturally. It contains elements of both East and West and has major importance as a gate between two worlds, between different civilizations,

between religions. Thus, although it is not a totally global city which commands and shapes the world trends, it is widely accepted that Istanbul is a very “globally important” city in hosting and communicating identities and differences.

4.3. SOCIAL STRUCTURE IN TURKEY

Global forces not only effect economic functioning, but consequently have an impact on social relationships and how they interact with each other. Those relationships are open to impact from economic, international and technological reasons. Turkish social structure has its share of postmodern socioeconomic structure with increasing division between social groups and separation of classes. Neoliberal economic policies and postmodern city life created its own kind of living and social structuring in major cities, Istanbul being the most important of them.

Characteristics of poverty and social segregation differ in developed and developing countries. In developed countries urban poverty is mainly a problem in city centers and this population is mainly composed of ethnically disadvantaged groups and immigrants. On the other hand, the case in developing countries is different. The poor regions are also spread around the city center and these regions are formed mostly because of intense internal migration that these countries experience. Thus, the poverty in these cities is mostly the rural poverty carried to the urban sphere. Because the formal sector is incapable of giving employment to this huge

mass of people migrating to cities, those people generate strategies of living in informal sector based on the traditional collaboration structures and kinship ties. However, after the 80s wave of increased globalization, increased unemployment and inequality of income distribution, these traditional ties and collaboration have become inadequate to overcome these factors. As a response to this situation, these groups generate a more fierce and offensive and sometimes even illegal strategies of living and create their own behavioral characteristics that highly resemble to the case of city center poverty of developed countries (Bıçk1, 2006).

In the light of these differences between developed and developing countries, the scene in Turkey is, as expected, similar to the developing countries' case. On the other hand, the details of transformation differ according to regions also. In terms of regional similarities, the case of Turkish cities mostly resemble to the cases of Eastern Europe and Latin America. Resemblance to Eastern Europe is for the fact that after the 80s, governments abandoned the state-led development policy and shifted to a more liberal, market-led economic strategy. On the other hand, resemblance to Latin America is that poverty and segregation is mainly because of rural disintegration and following internal migration to cities that form the new city population. The commonness with the west is that the conformable population of squatters is turning into the population willing to upgrade easily and for that purpose, capable of pursuing more offensive entrepreneurial strategies with the support of informal relationship networks, although the chances of upgrading in this way is very low (Bıçk1, 2006).

4.4. SPATIAL IMPACTS OF NEW GLOBAL ECONOMY

The impacts of the new rules of the world relationships show themselves on the living spaces of the cities, as argued before, and Istanbul has its share of it deeply. Some groups of population gained advantage in the new service economy and some groups lost their position in the economy and became excluded. Social structure experienced a change by newly emerging and disappearing classes.

The changes in the economy and emerging new occupational classes form a new group of consumers consisting of mostly single people or couples without children. This group of residents mostly prefers the inner-city locations which will be close to both work and cultural amenities. The new classes emerged with their new tastes and styles; old refurbished houses, gentrified neighborhoods or luxury city center residences. As a result city centers are dedicated to the service sector and consumption activities while production is pushed from the city center. Thus, employees of production sector are also moved to the suburbs and rent of city center increased. Keyder, (2000) argues that for two decades, Istanbul has been reshaped according to the new values of the global culture of consumption. New malls and restaurants, five star hotels and touristicized history make itself a commodity to be marketed and a commodity to be consumed. However, these marketing facelift operations on the city create deeper cuts behind the surface. The faces of the city, which look to the outsiders, are sanitized, sterile, good and wealthy looking. Life that is presented and marketed are stylish in good looking spaces, design oriented tastes and nostalgic history. However, behind those specially designed spaces, lie the

outsiders of the city, those worsened off with the global impact, those who cannot reach the required good look, thus ignored and tried to be considered as non-existent. As a result, public spaces are getting more and more walled, are tried to be made more secure, more homogenized, more visually appetizing. Moreover, the investments are made to the good-looking faces of the city and the inaccessible wealth becomes more and more visible to the excluded through gated communities, malls, restaurants, and communication media (Sennett, 1994). The variety required for a city to be global is used only to advertise the city as an interesting place. Variety is not to live in and experience, it is to look at and be surprised of.

This exclusion is reflected to the city space which is shaped not via participation of all groups of society but via the decisions of power holders with close connections to the government administration, land speculators and owners. The inequality created and division of the city, making the excluded invisible, which is called 'cold violence', consequently results in 'hot violence' executed by the state and the police. The aim of the state becomes not to end this violence, but to keep it within the 'invisible area'. Although a visual city of spectacle requires this, it does not become totally possible and divisions have to exist near each other and have to always be in touch.

Exclusion deepened in the city space and urban life created its own areas of living different from the ones in the past. Upper-middle and upper class residence and work environments are the results of a total separation from the old traditions. Classic apartments are replaced by luxury residence sites and huge shopping malls are added

to this style of living as consumption fetishism characterizes the time. In business environment, skyscrapers are the reflection of the characteristics of the era. This trio of luxury residence sites, malls and skyscrapers are totally attached to each other in forming the lifestyle of today (Karaveli, 2003).

The spatial formation of the cities with glorious buildings and marvelous lifestyles are a reflection of the visuality oriented culture of the postmodernity. Show-off is the dominant aim of modern life. Image world necessitates the visual presentation of power. Thus, skyscrapers are the symbolic visualization of power of capital since these buildings host the companies of money. Buyukdere Street line is the case in Istanbul. The areas around this line are presenting a lifestyle of residences, shopping malls and high office buildings that all have an implicit, sometimes explicit code of dress, behavior and lifestyle. Secured by private guards, doors in the building only opened by magnetic cards and dress codes for appropriate and approved dressing are all means to separate themselves from the people living very near to those sterile areas, living in Gultepe, Ayazaga, etc. Those people, who worked in the construction of the citadels, are not and never will be allowed to enter the end product of their labor. This fact is put into words in the campaigns of Akmerkez: “there are people coming from squatters, but fortunately they are only a very small minority”. This sentence itself shows the reality that homogeneity is shaping the city life (Karaveli, 2003).

4.5. THE SHOPPING MALL IN TURKEY

As it is discussed before, Turkey experienced a huge transformation process which has started at the beginning of 80s and was towards a more open, liberal, market oriented and outward-looking economy allowing foreign capital and investments and freeing imports. In this environment of liberalization and globalization, foreign capital entered the Turkish market with partnerships with Turkish firms. As a result, corporate power emerged and extensively increased its impact as a force to shape and direct the economy. Open economy brought foreign capital injected into the market as increased income and demand for consumption. However, these injections did not always distributed equally in the society and while some of the population enjoyed the increased income and consumption opportunities, the others suffered the increasing gap of income (Erkip, 2005).

This new economic structure and globalization created its own consumer classes in a similar way observed in other cities. The fragmentation and segregation of the city population that is seen in other global and globalizing cities applies to Istanbul. Diminishing borders and increasing interaction between cultures and economies, with the help of technology, created international service sector and its own demographic class. Erkip (2005:90) describes the scene of this new economy as such:

As a result of these income inequalities and increasing exposure to other cultures, higher income groups have constituted the basis of a new consumer culture and lifestyle under the influence of global consumption patterns. Higher levels of personal mobility—more car

ownership, more foreign holidays and newly-introduced cellular phones—have been matched by a greater awareness of other cultures, with more international coverage on domestic television (including satellite TV), and more exposure to other lifestyles. Given that they are exposed to global products relatively late, Turkish people are eager to consume international brands, in shopping malls, as they have seen in Hollywood movies and in foreign countries.

These lifestyles are experienced through luxurious housing, gated communities and secured consumption places which are the responses of big capital looking for new investment areas and shape the axis of post-modern time's city life in Istanbul, the new rising capital of the Eastern Europe.

4.6. SHOPPING MALLS AND SOCIAL EXCLUSION IN ISTANBUL

Istanbul is in a great effort of catching up the time and is a city in a rapid flux. Changes are experienced too rapidly in the economic, spatial, and social level. For example, the first shopping mall is built in 1956 in United States, in Istanbul the first shopping mall is Galeria in 1988 however, today; Istanbul is seen as a top market in Europe for shopping mall developers. Every development and trend in the Western world is held and consumed in a surprisingly fast way in this city. That's why the side effects and the downsides of these trends are experienced also more deeply and sharply.

Development of shopping mall concept and the speed the growth of the market and the number of new constructions reached in impressing. According to the reports

of International Council of Shopping Centers (ICSC) Turkey and especially Istanbul and other big cities are very appetizing markets for new investments on shopping malls. In 2006, Turkey ranked 5th in the most active markets of Europe for the new mall openings in terms of square-meters of area. For the projection for 2007, Turkey is expected to be the second active market with 2.2 million square meters, following Russia and just ahead of Italy and Poland (Moss, 2007). By Moss (2007), the potential for development and the projections for future of Turkish mall market are explained as:

Turkey is also booming, and is one of the fastest growing and largest emerging economies. The population of 74 million will grow faster than any other European country over the next five years, and the principal city of Istanbul, one of Europe's four 'mega cities' alongside Moscow, Paris and London, will see its population rise by 14%. An increasingly urban and very young Turkish population—70% under age 35, compared with less than 50% in Western Europe—is becoming richer and embracing Western shopping habits. This is driving the retail sector and inspiring the development of new malls, with 26 new openings in 2006, including the highly innovative Kanyon shopping center in Istanbul which is anchored by Harvey Nichols, Britain's upmarket fashion department store. Over the next two years more than 60 new centers are scheduled to open. The main share of the pipeline (43 schemes) will be developed in Istanbul and in the capital, Ankara, but regional markets are gaining in importance, with another 18 schemes due for completion in cities such as Bursa, Izmir and Antalya.

From these projections, we can expect that we are going to witness more and more mall openings every year and malls are going to be a harder and harder to ignore, be more and more important and effective and be more powerful parts of our urban life. Thus, economic and social impacts of malls in urban context will gain importance.

These gated segregation areas market themselves usually with the mottos of respect to difference, plurality, choice and peace however, in fact, the customers of these spaces demand homogeneity, similarity, status and security. Those pluralist concepts are also reflected by the architecture in order to reinforce these feelings of plurality and existence with differences. However, such an inclusionary strategy only appears in the form of the living space but not in the norms of it. The norms of the belongingness to that community are strict and away from inclusionary tendencies.

Another interesting point to take attention is the basis of exclusion, or the bases of it. In Istanbul, segregation criteria are not only money and wealth, but also origin and cultural status in the society. New middle class differentiates itself by education and status and income rise gained by this education. New middle class also differentiates its tastes and lifestyle from other groups of similar or higher income, who has emigrated from Anatolia and earned money through entrepreneurship, and considers itself as more intellectual and sophisticated. New middle class considers itself culturally more elite than the entrepreneur class even though Anatolian entrepreneurs earn more income than the new middle class, and middle class preserves its status by emphasizing cultural identities, education, elite tastes and lifestyles. (Daniş, 2002) Thus, the places where these groups go to and feel belong to differ. This is valid for many types of gated spaces in Istanbul.

This is the new classification system of the postmodern life. Yet, previously, in Ottoman times, separation of groups in society was made according to the ethnic

and religious roots. People with different income levels but same ethnic and religious background used to live together. In old neighborhoods, the public life used to be shaped around streets, temples and bazaars, where in postmodern society; public life is shaped around shopping centers (Danış, 2002). Şimşek (2002) summarizes the transformations Istanbul experienced since 1950s in his article named “Burası Üsküdar, Karşısı New York!”, of which name is coming from the title of an advertisement of the 1996 new year party held in Çırağan for the new elites of the city, which is a very good indicator of the inherent thinking of the time. The classification criteria other than the ethnic and religious roots started to emerge in the 1950s. Those years were the time when high migration from Anatolian cities to Istanbul started. That is the time the term of “real Istanbulite” emerged. Those emigrated from Anatolia were separated from the local elite Istanbulites however, this separation was highly gentle and limited to the separation of aristocratic classes. The exclusionary social affects were soft and not very much visible because of the state economic policies and the social structure that these policies create. However, since the start of 80s, the neoliberal economic policies started to be implemented as it is the case in most of the world. The Özal years of the government are the years that import-substitution based economic policies are quitted and neo-liberalism conquered Turkey. Open economy combined with the increased opportunities of technology and communication led to the way that capital turned its face to the global and growth is imagined on the axis of “global cities”, good examples of which are New York, London, and Tokyo. Such a change in mind, of course, changed the spatial formation of the cities that are the candidates of being global cities and Istanbul is no different. New city is characterized by the high buildings and offices of financial institutions,

residential areas of international standards and leisure facilities and shopping centers which are in line with the new consumption trends of the new middle class which consists of mainly white-collar workers of financial sectors. Global city is mainly the city of services (Şimşek, 2002).

In the wave of neoliberalism and in the aim of being a global city, the major steps are taken in the time of Bedrettin Dalan being mayor. The city is reconstructed by getting rid of the old buildings and poor residents of the city center and instead building necessary infrastructure, buildings and facilities for attracting global capital. Skyscrapers, plazas, huge shopping malls were built and a Manhattan silhouette is added to the historical view of Istanbul. Such a silhouette needed its suitable citizens, its own New Yorkers. These are the new middle class: white-collar professionals of service sector, mainly financial institutions, which adopted a “yuppie” lifestyle in 80s and a New Yorker lifestyle in 90s (Şimşek, 2002).

Such a shopping pattern minimizes the interpersonal contact and removes socialization content of the shopping activity. The social and spatial segregation in Istanbul is causing collective living spaces to disappear and as a result, the rise of feelings of threat, fear and anger. This cyclically reinforces the isolation of higher ends of the society from lower classes. Diminishing welfare state adds to the poverty and these groups get more and more inclined to crime, feeding the fear and isolation of the new middle class (Damış, 2002).⁵

⁵ Appeal of the mall to the urban people may differ from person to person. Malls are thought to be preferred because of the safety they offer to the customers. However, according to Erkip (2005) the case of Turkey is a little different from its Western examples. The safety concern is slightly secondary

Private control over the public spaces and supposedly public spaces privatized may signal some dangers for the social structure of Turkey. As Zukin (1995, p.191) suggests “...ordinary shopping districts frequented by ordinary people are important sites for negotiating the street-level practices of urban public culture in all large cities”. The shopping mall, privately controlled and managed, may reduce the opportunity for this social negotiation since not all layers of society are and can be existent in the shopping mall context (Erkip, 2005). Tarhan (2005) suggests that the malls are not more of hybridization and a public space where differences are visible but a more of an escape and isolation examples. Although the fashion and the advertising always try to emphasize the differentiation, these spaces are seem like to be the places existing among the similar for the middle-upper class city dwellers. “Other” is totally invisible in this consumption atmosphere. The argument here is not that public places were totally open and inclusive for every layer of society in the past and they became totally excluding today with a drastic transformation. In fact, urban public spaces has always been somehow exclusionary, city streets were never equally open or welcoming to every citizen. Throughout the history, characteristically, there has always been some kind of exclusion in the urban public spaces in terms of race, gender or class. It can be argued that segregation is inherent in public spaces, however, today, with technological developments and high-tech surveillance systems,

among the reasons for preferring malls and gated living spaces. Turkish people prefer shopping malls not because of the safety reasons but because of the incivility of the streets that the areas for pedestrians are not well-structured, the sidewalks are not proper and even not empty. In other words the streets lack the infrastructure and maintenance when compared to the well maintained streets of shopping malls (Erkip, 2005). Erkip also suggests that, social characteristics, rather than the design of the mall influence the user choice in Turkey. Novelty, popularity and the social characteristics of the clients of the mall are more important than design or security although security is a concern for some groups like single women and teenagers.

and gated and privately secured urban spaces this segregation and exclusion is started to be more visible and be is now felt more deeply (Tunç, 2003). Public spaces are now are owned privately and controlled privately. Thus, now, there is explicit control over the entrances to these spaces and there are rules -other than the legal regulations- implemented inside. Another effect that technology is the reason is that with the improved visual media and advertisements, now, the higher end lifestyles are available to any person on the world and those people who cannot pass from the gates deeply know what they are excluded from and the feeling of exclusion is now stronger and deeper.

Turkey, trying to be a major player in the global market, is playing its part in order to be a global city in the game which the rules are set by the already dominant powers. Global communication availability and increasing emphasis on consumption brought the lifestyles emerged in the Western countries into Turkey quickly. This affected the spatial construction of the urban areas, especially in big cities where the opportunities for global culture to flourish is most favorable.

Most significant of these effects are experienced in Istanbul, the cultural capital, the global face of Turkey. With its commoditized image and developing service sector, Istanbul is a laboratory for consumption culture and socio-spatial segregation. As global economy imposed new class formations and new lifestyles and pushed people for the search of new identities, society of Istanbul experienced these impacts deeply. New spaces of lifestyles emerged with increased walling between classes, security precautions and refinement from the unwanted elements. In this

context, shopping malls emerged as privately owned public spaces that have both symbolic and physical walls for those in the lower classes. As an emergent public space, some part of the public is non-existent and unable to exist there. Thus, social coherence, conscious and communication deteriorate. Especially the specialty mall-office-residence complexes become a source of identity related with quality, stylish and not being like others. While malls are encouraging consumption and definition of the self through consumption on one hand, on the other hand, they become an agent of social exclusion and marginalization.

CHAPTER 5

CONSUMPTIVE EXCLUSION AND KANYON

The literature of social research on social exclusion mostly focused on the urban poverty, usually on the basis of inequality. This intention of focusing on the poor is maybe because it is easier to reach the poor, they are more willing to talk and more easy to analyze. Meanwhile, if poverty exists, there have to be the opposite, and there is the wealth accumulated somewhere. However, the wealthy are not that easy to reach, the rich is not available on demand, and the security that has to be passed is an important challenge itself (Aksoylar, 2007). That's why; my focus is on the upper side of the segregation and focus of my research is the luxury consumption spaces as an agent of segregation.

As it is discussed in the previous chapters of this thesis, I argue that shopping malls have great importance in urban life and they are more than just a place for shopping. Today, they are significant places where city life is lived; they have an important role in forming the axis of the urban culture, they are places of social contact, they are private public spaces. Thus, they take their places as important urban

spaces that are matter of research and they are symbols of consumption culture and agents of social segregation.

Spatial structure of Istanbul entered a new phase with the opening of Kanyon Levent, a luxury high class shopping mall which is designed to be more than a mall but a place of quality living. It is a good example of how a spatial entity can be a symbol of social status, a touristic place and an agent of segregation.

In this chapter, first the market of shopping malls are taken under analysis, and then, Kanyon, as a luxury and exclusionary shopping mall complex is analyzed in aspects of its role, structure, identity and impact in comparison with some other examples.

5.1. MALL MARKET IN TURKEY

Mall market has risen as an emerging market with an increasing pace of development for the last two decades of Turkey. With opening borders and increasing information flow, new lifestyles and new spaces of life became available and reachable and entered the country, one of which is the shopping mall. Quickly spread especially over large cities, malls became a central point in the urban life offering a promising market for the investors.

Shopping mall market is becoming more and more dynamic and is offering appetizing opportunities to investors. Large investment groups and companies are starting to invest in this market seeing the opportunities for profit. With its high density of young population and high population growth, Turkey has a great potential for consumption and a great potential for utilization of different consumption spaces. Such a potential is attracting many investors and new mall openings follow one another. In 2006, twenty six new mall openings are made and in the following two years, another sixty new openings are planned. Although most of these constructions are continuing in Istanbul and Ankara, Bursa, Izmir and Antalya are rising as other cities with potential (Moss, 2007:53).

In this market, of course, Istanbul is the most important city with the biggest opportunities. Istanbul, being a globalized city and owning an increasing importance in international arena and increasingly taking an important role in the global cultural economy, is showing similar characteristics with other similar cities, so the newly built spaces and the characteristics of these spaces. Shopping mall complexes are one of those spaces that gains importance in the city life and becoming more and more influencing in social structure. Malls are opening one after another and each is trying to differentiate itself in this market with fierce competition. In these circumstances, malls offering a lifestyle and exclusive atmosphere are moving one step ahead among the others. Exclusivity became important for the malls to be chosen and malls became an ingredient of identity formation. They are no longer just spaces of consumption, but spaces of identity, spaces of visuality and spaces of existence.

5.2. DIRECTION TOWARDS EXCLUSIVITY

Societies always had layered structures throughout the history. Different classes are formed and these classes are one way or another differentiated from each other and made their difference visible. However, this visibility used to be used because of differentiation among the community since differences used to live together. Differentiation existed however; differences existed together and in each other. Oppositely, in today's postmodern world, exclusion is added as a strong trend to the desire for differentiation and the reality of living together with the others became only a conceptual trend and a marketing motto. Walls have risen between differences and homogeneity within the walls became the practice. Exclusive spaces of sterile lifestyles are built; contact with the others is minimized via malls, gated communities, residences and gentrified areas.

The first mall in Istanbul was Galleria opened in 1989. At that time, a shopping center was a new and unknown place and was considered as a step for great transformation in order to integrate into the world economy as an important player. Malls became a symbol for the modern life and were seen as the future of urban architecture. From then on, new mall openings followed each other. They offered an enclosed, secure and comfortable space for the middle-class to spend time, to shop and to socialize. At this point, in 1993, Akmerkez entered the lives of Istanbulites as the node of gathering and a natural social environment for the upper segments of the society. Its aim has been more than becoming a shopping mall and it was the most significant example of the new lifestyle. It says "Akmerkez, which targets to meet

also the visitors' demands other than shopping, aims, with social and cultural activities it arranges, to be the pioneer of **a new lifestyle, a new understanding**'⁶.

After post-modernity has deeply entered Turkish life and social structure and demands has changed, the design and uniqueness and exclusivity of the spaces gained importance. In these terms, the trend of new significant mall establishments followed a line towards higher-end consumer targeting. The high-end consumption demand for spaces combined with the visualization and image oriented postmodern culture and specially designed malls are built in order to meet the demands of the postmodern customer whose identity is formed by the symbolic meanings of the visual. As a result, new establishments are built for new demands of special customers.

During the time malls spread in Istanbul in different locations, they started to differentiate according to status. As form of the cities get more and more divided and segregation between groups get more and more visible, consumption spaces are also became different for different groups of people. At first, malls were a new trend for the upper-middle classes of the society, but afterwards, they became increasingly popular also among lower classes causing new openings in different districts targeting different group of consumers. While Akmerkez is situated as the luxury mall that upper classes and celebrities prefer, some malls are preferred by lower-middle class families. Regular malls offer an enclosed space where families can spend their time together, do the shopping with reasonable prices and abundant choice options, on the other hand, luxury malls in the city center became a place of living, offering a

⁶ <http://www.akmerkez.com.tr/About.asp> Bold parts of the sentence are also bold in the internet site in order to emphasize the new lifestyle.

different lifestyle, a dream world isolated from the unwanted elements of the streets. They are a piece of gentrification of the city centers; symbols of consumption replacing the production and consumption related structures dominating the city centers pushing the production related structures out of the center. They also have a symbolic meaning for the effort of the upper-classes to segregate themselves from the community. For example, Carrefour shopping center in Maltepe is visited by a different group-mostly lower-middle income families, while Akmerkez or Mayadrom in Etiler is visited by a more higher-income group, mostly service sector workers and celebrities and artists who also reside nearby. Although location of malls is effective in determination of the profile of the visitors, it can be argued that the positioning of the mall in the market is more effective. Kanyon, as an example, is located in Levent, a business district, but also next to Gültepe, a low-income district. However, businesspeople of Levent appear in Kanyon while Gültepe people are non-existent. Thus, the trend of living next to each other but separately shows itself in the mall utilization. As malls became a trend in lower classes, upper classes try to find a way to differentiate and segregate themselves and their spaces from the others.

Shopping malls of Istanbul were differentiated partly on the basis of the district they are located and then on the basis of prices of the goods and services offered inside. However, this differentiation was not on the basis of architecture of the malls. Whether in Maltepe or in Etiler, the designs of them are quite similar. Each is totally enclosed, each had a food court, and each is in line with general design of a mall. However, with the new millennium and with the growth of the economy, higher ends of the population got richer and started to demand more luxury, and they refused

to consume the same products and same spaces with middle strata. They needed places that reflect their exclusive identities and respond to their selective tastes and following the gated communities, consumption places became exclusive. These upper end malls promised a different concept of life, different experiences, a totally different lifestyle, and elegance. In other words, inside of the mall offers a total disconnection from the outer world that is full of dirt, ugliness, crime and negativity. Inside is a totally different world that totally fits your difference from the ordinary and offers you what you really deserve. Thus, new malls aim to make their customers feel like they are in the middle of the traditional city life with streets and corner shops; on the other hand they are totally free from the disturbing elements of the streets like dirt, mud, beggars and criminals.

Segregative trends emerging in globalizing cities lead to specialized exclusive spaces of living. In this terms gated communities, high rise offices and shopping malls are main elements of this system, sometimes three of them is combined in one architectural entity. These spaces offer an identity to its consumers with an isolated, homogenous and secure environment. A dream world of beauty is marketed.

5.3. EXCLUSION BEFORE KANYON

The researches in order to explore the exclusionary social characteristics of these urban structures, especially gated communities and shopping malls in Turkey revealed similar results verifying the exclusionary tendencies and a demand towards more sterile and quality lifestyle.

For example; on the research on Bilkent Center in Ankara, Helvacioğlu (2000) and Erkip (2003) concluded that these establishments appeal to the high-income segment of Ankara and a symbolic representation of a certain level of lifestyle. Helvacioğlu (2000) argues that Bilkent Center became a place where a global lifestyle is created for the upper-middle class who uses cars instead of public transportation, dresses similarly and lives similarly. The facilities established there created both an imaginary and a physical space of a lifestyle in line with the global cultural processes. Moreover, such formations of lifestyle oriented spaces are a part of the project of de-politicization of the society by imposing consumption and cutting the connection between social classes (Helvacioğlu, 2000). Similarly Erkip (2003) has reached similar conclusions as a result of her research on Bilkent Center of Ankara. She argues that shopping malls serve for purposes other than shopping for the Turkish society and a part of modernization project and way of turning to the West (Erkip, 2003).

On the research on Migros Shopping Center in Ankara, Tunç (2003) found exclusionary characteristics for the mall even it is not positioned for the highest

income segment and its location is available for the lower income groups. Physical availability does not eliminate symbolic unavailability of the spaces to some groups. It is noticed that the poor and people from squatter areas are almost non-existent (Tunç, 2003). Thus in a way, malls become a good and useful representation of the layering in the society.

Shopping malls are not the only mirrors of the social structuring happening in Istanbul. Gated communities and even the leisure places show similar characteristics of exclusion, identity and promise of a purified life.

According to Ertuna (2003), gated communities are manifestations of increasing socio-economic gaps in the society and with their dividing walls and security; they increase the process of fragmentation in the society since these establishments are a result of the rising new-rich class willing to isolate themselves from the others (Çınar et al., 2006). Gated communities are divided into two being suburban ones and ones in the city center, called residences and they usually are combined with shopping malls and office floors just like in the case of Kanyon. They give their consumers an opportunity of a living environment that is safe and meeting all the daily needs of residents within the walls and security surveillance. Such a separation and isolation from the real world of streets diminish contact and is destructive for the social bonds (Çınar et al., 2006). In Bartu's (2002) analyze of Kemer Country, she found out that the initiators of the project even worry that the position of the community which is very near to the city center can be a danger besides being an advantage. The danger is that, the community should be protected

against any possible “invasion” from the city. The word “invasion” (istila) is used in the publications of the community establishment for the danger created by the outsiders. In order to establish the awareness for the danger, and need for protection, that fear should be felt by the residents, too. As a result, high technology security systems, and private guards are employed and security systems become a criteria for choice of consumers. Thus, these gated establishments do not enforce new civil society formations as they promise, on the contrary, they prevent civil connection, any contact between real differences and enhance social segregation. If we simply define democracy as existing and living together with differences, such exclusionary formations even weaken the democratic thinking and democratic living. And, existence of social contract without social contact and citizenship that can be created under these circumstances is a question mark (Bartu, 2002).

The case studies also verify these outcomes just like the one made by Ertuna (2003) on Angora Houses of Ankara. The community is a source of identity and status. The main reason for choosing to live there is not the security but an expectation of a quality life. Ertuna (2003) concluded that even the high security precautions serve to the high-status image more than serving to provide the real security. Nevertheless, the others, especially the poor are perceived as a threat and a source of the feeling of insecurity. In this way, not the security itself but the feeling of security, which adds to the identity and status, is commoditized and sold. The community promised a dreamland that is different from the existing city life, which is purified and sterilized. Although, like its many similars, this community is marketed as the rebirth of the community life of the nostalgic times, the results never are like

that, the homogenous community does not have connections like in the old times of differences-exist-together communities. However, the residents are content with living with people at the same quality.

Leisure spaces even are differentiated according to status. Lortoğlu (2003) argues that, in Istanbul, night clubs as leisure spaces show extended version of the exclusion characteristics that are seen in the malls. The security at the gate is much more effective and selective when compared to the shopping malls, and they actively decide who to let in and who not to. People who are not dressed stylishly and appropriately, unless they are in the list of special VIP customers, are not let in the night clubs. Lortoğlu (2003) concluded that the elimination process is much more than the entrance elimination. The feeling of belongingness and comfort creates an auto-control for those who do not belong to the place. In fact, the results of the research revealed that regular visitors of these leisure spaces prefer those places since they can meet with familiar people and their friends are going there. The aim is to be in a homogenous environment and people out of the standards, a profile of an 'other' is a matter of complaint. In other words homogeneity is what is wanted (Lortoğlu, 2003).

As data shows, the trend of fragmentation and exclusion in the society of Istanbul, a globalizing city, shows itself in many aspects and many spaces. The upper classes have a tendency and demand to separate themselves from the others and to live in quality places eliminated from the unwanted elements of the streets. As a result, there appeared spaces of living that have these characteristics and serve these

aims like gated communities and shopping malls. However, these establishments are also ranked in terms of exclusivity and identity. Kanyon, in terms of this character, was a pioneer by being a totally luxury mall and a different concept and architecture of a street, like the streets of the city but away from the real streets at the same time. Thus, it is a place of interest, a place of living and it is worth analyzing.

5.4. KANYON LEVENT AS A PIONEER OF A NEW AGE

Shopping mall trend in Istanbul, started in 1989, followed its regular development path with spreading malls with similar constructions and identities. Akmerkez, was the first step towards identity reference to consumption spaces with soft and smooth indicators and regular architecture. In this path, Kanyon brought and unprecedented concept to mall operation, by being an exclusive space for the high-incomers, where they can preserve and impose their identities and where they can enjoy being with the similars.

Kanyon Levent is a real estate project that has been built and run by the joint venture of Eczacıbaşı Group and İş Real Estate Investment Trust. Two hundred million dollar project of residence, office and shopping mall buildings has 250,000 m² area, 179 residential apartments, 36,000 m² rental office area on 26 floors, and 37,500 m² open air shopping and entertainment area. The aim of the Kanyon project is defined as such in its general release:

Istanbul, while offering a vast collection of ‘places’, lacks a coherent center that can link shopping, working, and living in an environment that puts the priority on us as humans. With Kanyon, the aim has been to create a heart-of-the-city that connects the people working, living, and shopping in the region and beyond, which will function more as an organic part of the urban space rather than a standard mall, office, or residential project....Spread over 4 levels, in a primarily open air environment, the retail mix at Kanyon sets the stage for 4 totally distinct streets, each with its own energy and vibe. This innovative positioning allows visitors to really connect with brands, and makes finding your way around both intuitive and more exciting. Further, as most walking areas are covered and climate controlled, Kanyon blends open-air with comfort and allows visitors to experience the best of each season. More than this, Kanyon marries the convenience of the shopping center with the vibrant air of the street in an inspiring one-of-a-kind setting.⁷

Between June and December 2006, Kanyon received over 4 million visitors, 45 thousand of them being the visitors of the opening day and 2 million of them were on the first 100 days⁸. Kanyon was also featured numerous times in leading international dailies and magazines, including The New York Times, The Times, Times Magazine, the International Herald Tribune, and the Washington Post.⁹ It became one of the most famous touristic locations of the city and made Istanbul not only a historic tourist destination but also a modern metropolitan city of globalization era.

International representation of Kanyon is also worth noting. It is represented as a touristic location, a place with the identity of the future and as a place with a taste of aesthetics. In New York Times, Gross (2006) gives a descriptive snapshot of the mall that he visited during his trip to Istanbul. He names Kanyon, as the ‘present of

⁷ Kanyon General Release

⁸ Bulletin of Visitor Numbers released by Kanyon

⁹ <http://www.eczacibasi.com/channels/1.asp?id=844>

Istanbul' after he spent time seeing the historic places and he defines the present with the word 'shopping'. This sentence is very inspiring in terms of describing the present situation of Istanbul in which urban life is more and more shaped around the axis of consumption. The modernity is perceived, or wanted to be perceived as the environment in Kanyon, with aesthetic beauty, prosperity and quality. He puts his observations into words as:

More aesthetically pleasing was our next stop, Kanyon, a futuristic mall that looks like a glass-and-steel canyon. But instead of hiking this ravine, well-dressed Istanbulites ride the escalators and spend millions of lira -new, not old!- at international chains like Cesare Paciotti and Georg Jensen (Gross, 2006).

As the description of Gross for Kanyon shows, the first impression that this futuristic touristic mall creates on a person is that this place is for the wealthy. It became a destination for the wealthy tourists also. The word "futuristic" is also reflecting symbolic meanings that the imaginary future in the minds in the environment in Kanyon. The dreamland of future is a place where everybody is happy, wealthy, and stylish and has a taste of quality. Similarly The Observer also recommended Kanyon for tourists visiting Istanbul with these words:

After the rabble of touts and salesmen at the Grand Bazaar you might crave a more subdued shopping experience, so hop on the metro at Taksim Square and go a couple of stops to Istanbul's latest retail wonder: the Kanyon mall in Levent. This is not your average enclosed American-style colossus: it's a climate-controlled outdoor complex in the form of a canyon, with towers and cooling or warming breezes, depending on the season (Able, 2006).

Istanbul, other than its historic background and cultural inheritances it owns, now has consumption temples with futuristic references. Thus, shopping is becoming a new touristic activity for exclusive visitors of Istanbul and even in international press, the advertisements of Istanbul are not only made on the history it owns, but also on the quality consumption places. This positioning for the future is verified by the General Manager of Istinye Park, Hakan Kurt. He declared that, with Istinye Park, they achieved to bring a wide variety of brand stores together and such a collection has a potential to attract tourists coming for shopping and they will utilize this opportunity.¹⁰ Similarly, the chief executive of Harvey Nichols Turkey, Celal Öğretmengil is quoted in International Herald Tribune saying that their targets are not only the local customers but also they are targeting the customers from Russia, Ukraine and Middle East. He declared that Istanbul can be the star of its region (Forden, 2006).

Kanyon is different from its counterparts in Turkey and also from those in Europe. In the Time Magazine, Hume (2006) quotes the reaction of a visitor to Istanbul about Kanyon: “I was absolutely taken aback. I would have expected it in America or Hong Kong, not Istanbul. We don't have anything like it in London, Paris or Milan” (Hume, 2006). It is different and encourages the difference by exclusivity and a unique identity to its customers.

Kanyon became a more touristic place than the historic places of Istanbul in a short time that even in international press; it took place various times with appraisals

¹⁰ Sabah, 22.09.2007

and advice. This is because it is perceived as the global face of Istanbul and Turkey which the West wants to see. It is a space of consumption but also has become a touristic consumption commodity itself.

5.4.1. Kanyon is Different

Kanyon Levent is the most significant product of the trend of demand for exclusivity and segregation. Kanyon was designed in a totally different logic than traditional malls. First of all, it is not totally enclosed. It is formed as streets and shops on a street. Streets of Kanyon are open air and shops are windowed. Thus, the feeling is just like you are shopping on a regular street in the city center with just one difference: everything is under control here. It is a design of a new district with its streets that are not as a straight line having turns just like the real ones, there are shops and cafes where you can buy goods or sit for a rest watching people wandering on the streets. You see the night and the day, there are waterfalls and green areas that will add to the natural look of the environment. Briefly, it is a small city district with beautiful architecture, high living standards, security and visual aesthetic and without crime, dirt, ugliness and problems. It is a new era in mall concept that malls evolve from being *places to go* to being *places to live in*, from being places of shopping, to being places of living. Since it is a place to live, more time spent inside with shopping, dining, socializing, etc. and the more time spent inside the mall, the more it separates the insiders from outsiders.

The implicit code of Kanyon is different from other shopping malls. With the opening of Kanyon, I argue that, Istanbul entered a different stage in its shopping mall concept. Kanyon is the first luxury mall of Istanbul, the first example of its kind that targets only the A and A+ socio-economic class of society. Previously, Akmerkez was partly filling this position; however, Akmerkez is classified as luxury because of its location in Etiler, a high-income district and because of the profile of its visitors, upper classes of the society. It emerged as the most high-income mall because of these characteristics. Gökarıksel (1998), in her research for Akmerkez, she supports the exclusionary character of the mall and the results verify the addition of the mall structure to the increasing trend of social segregation. As a predecessor of Kanyon in terms of upper-income group segregation, Akmerkez showed similar characters but in a softer environment. The segregative character of it was reflecting the trend in the society after the emergence of the newly rich groups in a period that the results of the globalization started to be felt strongly. The symbolic meaning of Akmerkez and the identity it provides to its consumers is also a dominant factor in its being preferred. The identity of the space as being 'exclusive' is the identity it gives to the consumers. Inside, far away from the unwanted elements of the city, those who belong to the place reach the city of dreams, the quality they deserve. Gökarıksel defines this environment as 'antiseptic', meaning eliminated from the ugly faces of the city, reflecting the definition of the 'modern' (Gökarıksel, 1998). With all these respects, Akmerkez used to be a major element in segregation of urban spaces. Recently, the exclusionary level of such complexes moved one step further with Kanyon. For a middle class customer that wants to spend time, eat and buy a few things to favor

herself, Akmerkez is a more convenient alternative than Kanyon. It is a place where you can go just for window-shopping. However, Kanyon is built to live in, giving a lifestyle, and image of luxury and difference. Life center concept malls are differentiated from regular malls via the car park facilities, open air architecture, elegant restaurants instead of fast food self-service food courts, and imitation of city street atmosphere (Evin, 2008). Kanyon is a perfect example of it. Shops are not designed to look at their windows but to enter and purchase things, visitors have to enter a café or restaurant to have a rest since there is not a self service food court and free chairs to take a minute to rest. Briefly, there is not much to do if you do not have the money in Kanyon. In order to live there you have to spend there. Kanyon is planned and positioned to be high-income. Thus, Kanyon is not a substitute for Akmerkez. General Manager of Kanyon also said that Akmerkez was not their competitor; the real competitor of Kanyon was Nişantaşı (Büyükköşdere, 2006)

This positioning in the market revealed itself from the very first day of the life of Kanyon, from the opening date.

The crowd wandering around with glasses in their hands, standing in front of shop windows and chatting was looking more of a group came for an opening for an art gallery rather than an opening of a shopping mall. Everybody was very well-dressed, maybe too well-dressed. There were as much English speaking people as the Turkish speaking ones. You were totally forgetting that you are in a shopping mall when passing in front of Buz Bar (Tuna, 2006).¹¹

¹¹ "...elinde içki kadehiyle salınan ve mağaza vitrinlerinin önünde durup, uzun uzun vitrini seyredip, sohbet eden kalabalık daha ziyade bir sanat galerisi açılışına gelmiş gibi görünüyordu. Herkes son derece şıktı, hatta fazla şıktı. Ortalıkta Türkçe konuşan insan kadar İngilizce konuşan vardı. Buz Bar'ın önünden geçerken bir alışveriş merkezinde olduğunuzu toptan unuttunuz..."

Tuna describes her impressions of the opening ceremony date of Kanyon with these words. As she puts it, it was not like other shopping mall openings where people come with their families and shops are decorated with flowers and ribbons. It is something like an occasion where the elite come together; it is something for the ones at the top, not for the ordinary to attend. Güray (2007) also points this situation that for the shopping malls in Istanbul, they are not only shopping malls but a sign of status for their customers. She argues that Cevahir is a simulation of Istanbul itself that people from very different social groups can exist together and families with children go there to shop, just like Capitol of Altunizade, Metrocity of Levent and Carrefour of Ümraniye. However, she claims that the case is different for Kanyon and Istinye Park which are specially designed for high society (Güray, 2007).

5.4.2. Why Kanyon But Not Cevahir?

Location is an important element that can determine the profile of the regular visitors to some extent. The popular line of Istanbul for shopping mall constructions is also the line of high land rents and the line of Metro transportation, Büyükdere Street line from Levent to Maslak. This area is the core of Istanbul's service sector business, on which many service sector firms', nearly all finance firms' and banks' management offices are located. Thus, main target customers of the malls located on this line work there and most of them live there in gentrified areas, residences or in

gated communities. In the malls around this area, in Akmerkez, Metrocity, Kanyon and newly opened Istinye Park, almost 1.3 billion dollars are spent in a year¹².

Although location is important, and A class spaces are built in districts where the target group works or resides, it is not the only determinant that other differentiating attributes are also important. At this point, the case of Cevahir Shopping Mall is insightful. Cevahir is located on the metro line, in the very center of the city, at the intersection point of Levent, Şişli and Mecidiyeköy, where the heart of Istanbul beats. It is also very near to Kanyon, two metro stops away, and it is the largest shopping mall in Europe. However, they have totally different target groups and there are reasons behind it besides the product mix and brand mix it offers which are different than luxury malls.

Cevahir has an inferior image in the eyes of the A class consumer group and status seeking consumers. In an interview about the shopping centers with a student, she used the word 'avam' (a word used for the common people, lower classes of the society) for the Cevahir Shopping Mall, and she used her choice for spending time in favor of Kanyon, Akmerkez or Metro City. Although Cevahir is the largest mall of Europe, its positioning in front of customer eye is a more modest place where middle class, families with children, non-elite portion of population who has some level of consumption potential goes and consumes in. Additionally, from the informal interviews made with students and young working people, the interior design of Cevahir is also found unattractive. General opinion is that it is too big, too difficult to

¹² Sabah, 11.12.2007

wander and exhausting. It can be concluded that the internal layout and conceptual design is important for mall utilization and its position in the market. Although its available location and variety of brand stores it contains, it could not attract the high-income earning modern living class and it could not become a node of meeting for this group.

On the other hand, another reason to be considered as a basis for this inferior image of Cevahir is the profile and public image of the owners. In Turkey, is a general political tendency, the elite portion of the society is used to be near leftist political views and away from religious and conservative ideas which are seen to belong to the general lower level public. Thus, religious social groups, who are getting richer and increasing their impact on the social and economic life in the country, are never totally admitted to the elite league of the society. Cevahir also is exposed to such exclusion. 50% of the shares of Cevahir was once Istanbul Municipality's and the other 50% is of Cevahir family, both are known with their conservative and Islamic political position. Thus, from the beginning, Cevahir became the mall of "the others", not the real elite Istanbulites but the nouveau-riche of the conservative part of the society. In 2006, the shares of the Istanbul Municipality are sold to the Kuwait origin English firm, St. Martin¹³, meaning now Cevahir belongs to Arab capital. This image forming the basis of exclusion is enhanced with the mall's being a favorite place for Arabian tourists.

¹³ Star, 15.112006

In this manner, Kanyon is drawing a totally different picture. Kanyon belongs to Eczacıbaşı family who are known to be the old Istanbulites with a highly modern lifestyle. Thus the place they own is also reflecting modern face of the owners, the face looking to the West and the image among the high class is positive and inclusive.

In an analysis of a newspaper, Kanyon is defined as the West. During the holy month Ramadan, no sign of Islamic celebration is seen inside Kanyon while in Cevahir, a huge celebration of the month “Hoşgeldin ya şehir-i Ramazan” written in front of the entrance. Kanyon carries the atmosphere of Nişantaşı, it is like a huge boutique. On the other hand, the image of Cevahir is a huge *türbe* in the middle of Şişli. Its architecture is designed by Ayşe Cevahir, the headscarf wearing niece of the boss İbrahim Cevahir, and the architecture is not liked by the experienced architects and is even declared as “the ugliest building of Istanbul”. The customer profile of Kanyon is mainly businesspeople and women with money to spend. Cevahir’s profile is mixed, even people who can afford a tea come to Cevahir and spend hours inside. Cevahir is visited by regular families of middle class, middle-income conservative families and Arabian tourists and even Arabic announcements are made inside while Kanyon is far away from the East.¹⁴ Cevahir became a touristic shopping node for the tourists from Eastern and Arabic countries, while Kanyon appears in western journals and is visited by tourists from Europe and other Western countries.

Kanyon has been the beginning of a new era in urban exclusionary spacing, and successors have not been late to emerge. Newly opened Istinye Park, is like a

¹⁴ Milliyet, 15.10.2006

small model of the social stratification observed in globalizing societies with its floors rising as social levels rise.

Istinye Park opened in September 2007. Being a more cosmopolite shopping mall, Istinye Park has shopping opportunities appealing in a range from middle-class to upper class. It contains both regular Turkish brands and luxury world brands. However, as classes go up from lower one to the higher ones, so do the floors of Istinye Park. While the bottom floor appeals to the middle class consumer, the highest floor is for the highest class customers. This floor has a separate entrance that allows entering with car and directly reaching to the destination store and customers can also benefit from the valet service. At this level, everything is designed to emphasize exclusivity. It is described as such:

When you come to the top floor, the first word that comes to your mind is 'richness'. Even wandering in this floor, which class-A brand stores are located, you feel that you should smarten your dress... This section called Meydan is for the richest.... The thought that this section gives you, although seems a little exaggerated, is 'Is this place forbidden to the poor?' (Çoruh and Kılıç, 2007)¹⁵

Istinye Park is a perfect simulation of the vertical stratification being experienced in the society. The exclusive group feels no need to be in contact with the lower strata, and they prefer living separately without touching. Although Istinye Park

¹⁵ "...En üst kata geldiğinizde ise aklınıza gelen ilk kelime 'zenginlik' oluyor. A sınıfı markaların yer aldığı bu katta gezerken bile 'üstünüze çeki düzen vermelisiniz' hissine kapılıyorsunuz....Meydan adı verilen ve açık havadan oluşan bu bölüm 'en en zenginler' için.... Bu meydanın sizde yarattığı hava, abartılı bir anlatım gibi gözüксе de kesinlikle "Acaba burası yoksullara yasak mı?" oluyor..."

seems to be more inclusive since it appeals to different income groups, the high end luxury level is still exclusive, still tries to diminish contact with the others.

Kanyon and Istinye Park positioned itself as spaces for the upper segments and for those who can spend for luxury. Towards this aim, while many international exclusive brands open up their shops in Kanyon, Turkish brands complain that they are not allowed to open shops in (Büyükköşdere, 2006). Foreign brands are perceived as more luxury in the eyes of customers and people who shop from these stores are after the identity the brands bring to them rather than the high quality. CEO of Calvin Klein Jeans, Gaetano Sallorenzo, observed that Turks are willing to show the brands they carry and there is an increasing demand to the luxury goods –expected to reach 1 billion dollars in five years- which make Turkish market a great potential for profits from luxurious goods and services¹⁶.

As a result, exclusiveness and high status position is not only related with the location the mall is built, but also other factors from the capital owners of the mall project to the architecture, and also the brand mix, briefly the level of satisfactory answer it can give to the status-seeking customer. Kanyon is a product of expectations for growing luxury market and the willingness of Turkish high-income customers to identify themselves with luxurious consumption goods, services and spaces. In this manner, Kanyon is the first that is built according to these trends, creating a living space more than a shopping space, a space with exclusive identity and symbolic importance for the emerging new Istanbul.

¹⁶ Sabah, 22.11.2007

5.4.3. Kanyon as a Symbol of Transformation

As discussed in previous chapters, new service economy created its own social class that consists of service sector white-collars and capital owners that get richer via these services. This new social structure created its own lifestyle and own spaces that these lifestyles are experienced. Istanbul, being the economic and cultural capital of Turkey and an important city in its region, experienced similar processes of social transformation and new living and consumption spaces emerged.

City centers are left by the production sector and workers abandoned the city while service sector, its workers and offices replaced them. Kanyon is, in fact, a perfect example of gentrification and service sector replacing the production in the city centers during the capitalist globalization.

The land that Kanyon is built on is used to be a pharmaceutical factory belonged to Eczacıbaşı family. The pharmaceutical factory used to be an object of pride for the efforts of industrialization while the postmodern shopping mall is now worshipping the consumption based lifestyle of the post-industrialization society (Şahin, 2006).¹⁷

As Şahin puts it briefly, Istanbul, like many big cities, experienced the disposal of production industry and the worker class from the city center and service sector and service sector workers replaced it. In this context, Kanyon has an important symbolic meaning and is representative of this process. It is a perfect candidate to be

¹⁷ “İlaç fabrikası Türkiye'nin sanayileşme çabalarının övünç noktalarından biriydi, şimdiki postmodern alışveriş merkezi ise sanayi-sonrası toplumun tüketime yönelik yaşam tarzını kutsuyor”

the symbol of the postmodern times. Today, the factory is a history but Gültepe stays solid with its own realities living just behind Kanyon. Kanyon stands as a monument of the new social order of segregation and walling between the squatter area of Gültepe and skyscrapers of the business world (Gedik, 2006; Hakan, 2006). The symbolic power of Kanyon is not only political or economic that it reveals all the class struggles and class contradictions of Turkey (Tulgar, 2006).

Through an observation, it can be identified that there is a specific profile of the visitors. They look alike, behave alike and live alike. They are a minority in the population but the majority within the borders of Kanyon. The profile of the visitors of Kanyon is described as “different from other malls” by Şahin:

Some that are differentiated from ‘White Turks’ by mutation, I would say ‘Blue Turks’ but it would be misleading since it reminds nobility, let’s say ‘Purple Turks’ were the majority: ‘Purple Turks’ and the white, gray and black that came to watch them (Şahin, 2006).¹⁸

Kanyon became a famous place of the rich to come together and a famous place for the others to wonder. Thus, a mall became a place to see, something unreachable and something wondered by some groups. A kind of living that they have never seen and will never reach is continuing inside and people go there just to see it. On the other hand, those who can afford that living are spending in the luxurious shops of world high-end brands, the most popular of them being Harvey Nichols. CEO of Harvey Nichols foresaw that attracting only 5% of the wealthiest segment of Istanbul

¹⁸ “Beyaz Türkler'in içinden mutasyonla ayrılmış birileri, 'Mavi Türkler' diyeceğim, ama soyluluğu anımsattığından yanıltıcı olacak, diyelim 'Mor Türkler' çoğunluktaydı çevrede. 'Mor Türkler' ve onları seyretmeye gelenler beyazı, grisi ve karasıyla.”

is enough for them (Ürey, 2006) while Mark Mobius, one of the most famous fund managers owning 19 billion dollar worth Templeton Emerging Markets Fund, declared that Harvey Nichols entering Turkish market shows that there is a huge spending potential in Turkey and Turkey is his favorite among emerging markets. Similarly, Brian Hendley, general manager of Harvey Nichols Istanbul, shared his observations of Istanbul with Time Magazine: "...there's such a desire for fashion. They really push the boundaries and know all the Western brands. There's so much wealth, yet this is seriously undersaturated as a market" (Hume, 2006). Such an expenditure potential means that also, there is a huge potential of segregation and gap is deepening between the highest and lowest segments.

Kanyon, like many other, claim that it is a place to come together, for coherence and socialization, however, the aim of bringing together is performed only by being a bridge between out-of-town luxury gated communities and the city center. As Markus Lehto, CEO of Kanyon puts it; Kanyon is "a way to bridge the gap between city and suburbs, a chance to be in the thick of things in a quality environment but also have access to a community feeling" (Fowler, 2006). Kanyon is the place "to see and to be seen" (Çoruh and Kılıç, 2007). It is a place that will meet the needs of socialization for the upper segment without socializing with the unwanted part of the society. It has become the third address after work and home that these white-collars spend their time. It contains all ingredients needed in life; fun, food, outfit, socialization, open air and natural elements without the downturns of outer life; bad weather, danger, crime, poverty. It is a place where you can be in peace and in good look.

Some groups welcomed the new mall-office-residence complex of the city with cheers, some prefer to be critical on the missions the new space undertakes and possible results of the process it serves. One of the strongest critics to the project came from Tulgar (2006) in the anti-capitalist newspaper *Birgün*. He argues that Kanyon is “a labyrinth of desperateness that never lets the silent geography of class contradictions of a time of socioeconomic decadence created by the rich be forgotten”. He also argues that Kanyon is a new spacecraft of the rich of Turkey that is used to escape and be isolated from the middle class, who reminds them the nightmare of falling down from the high-level, who are always disturbingly followers and imitators of the rich (Tulgar, 2006).

Kanyon and Istinye Park are also examples of big holding companies entering the shopping mall operation market. Increasing popularity of malls and growing market became an appetizing opportunity for big companies which foresee high future profitability in this business. Kanyon is owned by Eczacıbaşı Group and İş Investment while Istinye Park is owned by Doğuş Group and Orjin Group. The interest of big capital owners in this market is a sign of growing potential for profits and socially a growing trend for these exclusive spaces. In the future, we have every reason to expect an increasing exclusive tendency in the higher segments of the society. With the successors of Kanyon like Istinye Park and the City’s newly opened in Nişantaşı, luxury mall complexes will more and more dominate the city life.

From the time the first enclosed shopping mall is opened in USA, malls have been an important part of the city life. After the wave of suburban malls ended and city center malls with specialized characteristics and luxury appeal are opened, the face of urban sphere has changed.

Turkey, with its high population with very young age average, with people who like to consume forming a potential for luxury spending, is an appetizing market for many sectors, one being the shopping mall sector. Demand for malls is increasing from every level of the society; as a consequence, the upper segments of the society try to differentiate and isolate their spaces from the others. The city takes a fragmented shape with increasing walls between the included and the excluded.

Istanbul took its part from the reshape of cityscapes with malls and residences appearing one after another in the skies of the city. Segregation was felt more strongly with Akmerkez and reached to a different stage with Kanyon, whose aim is building a space of living, a place like a district in the city, with a visual appeal and offer the utmost quality. The poor, the ugly, the unwanted of the society do not exist here and only the modern beautiful face exists in this city. Kanyon is designed to be exclusive, to appeal only those selected and to preserve the pure selection inside. In these terms, it is a pioneer of a new wave in mall market in Turkey, but probably not the last since followers started to be opened and are planned to be opened in wealthy locations. As a result, Istanbul is going to experience the widening gap between the rich and the poor with possible repercussions.

Deepening segregation of spaces that different classes of the society exist has some drawbacks for the social life. Different segments live separately without contact with each other however; the poor still has the knowledge of the life of the rich via television, press, etc. On the other hand, the rich, by separating the living spaces totally, has no contact with the poor and in time, the existence of the poor and the problems of the lower segments of the society disappear in the eyes of the high class. Moreover, since the high class has the power and authority in decision making of the country and rules the economy and politics, this disappearance of the lower segments inhibits the chances of the poor to be heard and be included in the political decisions. In time, the focus of future policies become the well being of the capital and capital owners, the poor become invisible and the scraps of the system. Since they can be avoided, the need of solution for their problems becomes secondary. On the other hand, the poor has every way to get the information of the lifestyles of the rich. Such discrimination has the potential for social disruption, destruction of social coherence and peace among people, or a focus for easy money in the lower income groups which may increase the rates of crime and illegality, which in turn has destructive effects on social order.

Inequality and discrimination has eventual social costs besides violation of the ethical value of equality. Social and economic health of the country and the world in the long run can only be maintained via equal opportunities and income distribution as much as possible and this can be only maintained if higher classes of society sees and solves the problems of lower income groups and rise their living standards instead of trying to separate themselves and ignoring those problems.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

The world has changed drastically in the last twenty five years with a speed not even seen before. Whole way of life that has been ongoing for several hundred years, has changed totally in the twentieth century, especially in the last two decades of it. Technological developments dominated this process of change that communication with any point of the world became only matter of seconds. Such an improvement showed its impacts on economic, political, social and even psychological areas of life.

New capitalism was characterized by the service and financial sectors leaving the real production as secondary. Main motive on economic development became international money markets rather than production amounts. Thus, countries tried to attract money inside their borders. Such an economic orientation also impacted social arena; traditional worker class diminished because of rising service sector, and also because increasing technology utilization instead of labor force. Instead, service sector employees started to dominate the urban sphere while production activity is pushed away from the city centers. These new social class created and demanded a lifestyle that is based on quality and exclusive consumption. The city space is started to be shaped accordingly. Since production is replaced by consumption in the

hierarchy of capitalism, consumption activity gained a huge symbolic power in identity formation. People are started to be defined by what they consume rather than what they produce.

At this point, shopping malls has risen as exclusionary spaces that create an imaginary world inside, a safe, clean and good looking place to consume freely. After a while, malls also started to differentiate among themselves according to their status. Spaces are separated with symbolic and physical walls; physical walls mostly for the prevention of the lowest segments of the society and the symbolic ones are to eliminate the ones who do not really belong to the community. Specialty malls and malls combined with office and residence buildings enhance the exclusive community structure. When looked from outside, walls rise around some space that some kind of a different lifestyle inside is known to be existing however, not to be reached.

Istanbul, being the only candidate of Turkey to be a global city, is experiencing these impacts deeply. Being a major center in its region, and the center of economic activities, it is like a laboratory for social changes. It is witnessing a drastic change in its city center that production facilities are taken out of the city and are replaced by luxury service buildings like shopping malls, hotels, skyscrapers and residences. City center is exposed to a rapid gentrification at the same time a deep social division between the lower and higher income groups. High skyscrapers rising near squatter areas and separated with high walls became a regular scene for the city.

Spaces of consumption gained exclusive characters. Shopping malls became widespread in the city, and also classified according to their status. The rich tried to create themselves spaces of living purified from the poor, declaring their exclusivity, showing their identity. All of these spaces offer their consumers exclusivity, a different lifestyle, and the opportunity of being different and original. Although they claim being heterogeneous and respectful to differences, level of difference to be tolerated is limited. Space with similar lifestyles and similar tastes, similar cultures is created for the comfortable living of the rich. Emerging into public spaces of expression, malls lack the characteristic of a public space that requires containing all the elements of the society. Some groups are non-existent in this public space where the holders of the government and decision making power are gather and live. Thus, the excluded remains unheard and gets more excluded.

Kanyon shopping mall took the mall market one step ahead in exclusivity with its high luxury focus and with its design as city streets rather than an enclosed mall. It is a symbolic representation of the tendency of the rich to create a city of their own eliminated from all unwanted elements of the society. It is a sign for future prospects of social exclusion. Akmerkez, used to function as the most exclusive mall in Istanbul for now, however, yet Kanyon became a place more selective, maybe a place where some Akmerkez customers do not belong to. Kanyon was a pioneer but not the only, Istinye Park opened in 2007, came on the stage as a perfect example of stratification in the society with floors getting more luxurious as they go up and at the top, a city simulation street exists with a separate entrance, and built for the most exclusive customers want to own the famous world brands. Such a layered structure destroys

social contact between the members of the society and diminishes the unity of the society. Unfortunately, a tendency to increasing segregation between the classes with its all negative aspects can be predicted for the future.

This exclusionary tendency in the urban sphere is creating shiny, elegant city centers, polishing the image of the city. However, behind the scenes, a huge population of out-groups of the system emerges with potential threats to the social order. Unless this globalization process is balanced with right social policies, the exclusion gets deeper creating an explosive situation behind the walls (Keyder, 2005). States and governments have to find the balance between going global and letting global forces to rule and maintaining the social peace. Managing the balance between the open free markets and the welfare state is the burden of governments and is a huge burden since global forces require welfare states to diminish and let the free market mechanism to replace. However, in the long term, the harms may outweigh the benefits of totally going global.

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