

DISTINCTIVE CONSUMPTION PRACTICES
IN URBAN EVERYDAY LIFE
“A CASE STUDY OF KANYON SHOPPING MALL IN İSTANBUL”

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GÜNDELİK HAYATTA AYIRICI TÜKETİM PRATİKLERİ
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- 1) cultural capital
- 2) aestheticization of everyday life
- 3).social distinction
- 4) shopping mall
- 5) consumption

ABSTRACT

DISTINCTIVE CONSUMPTION PRACTICES IN URBAN EVERYDAY LIFE

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In this study, distinctive consumption practices in urban everyday life are examined in the case of Kanyon shopping mall. Consumption as a process of signification and classification functions as a source of social differentiation in consumer capitalism. Mass consumption has provided the goods and experiences to lower classes however privileged groups find new ways for differentiation. Thus consumption spaces have become the arena of struggle where people establish and reproduce group identities. The study tries to understand how distinctive sense of place is experienced in the case of Kanyon from the perspective of two different groups who use the site in different ways.

Cultural capital and aestheticization of everyday life are considered in this study as resources for distinctive consumption practices in global consumer culture. The stylized shopping malls enriched by the codes and symbols associated with global elite culture meet lifestyle pursuits of the modern and globalised elites and at the same time produce symbolic violence on the lower classes reproducing social exclusion.

ÖZET

GÜNDELİK HAYATTA AYIRICI TÜKETİM PRATİKLERİ

“KANYON ALIŞVERİŞ MERKEZİ ÖRNEĞİ”

İpek Tan Çelebi

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Bu çalışmada kentte gerçekleşen ayırıcı tüketim pratikleri Kanyon alışveriş merkezi örneğinde ele alınmıştır. Tüketici kapitalizminde tüketim pratikleri statü göstergesi ve üstünlük sağlayıcı olarak işlev görmektedir. Kitlesele tüketim, toplumun alt sınıflarının da metalara erişmesini mümkün kılmıştır ancak ayrıcalıklı sınıflar kendilerini farklılaştırıcı yeni yollar bulmaktadır. Bunlara örnek olarak dev alışveriş merkezleri kimliklerin kurulduğu ve yeniden üretildiği mücadele alanları olarak değerlendirilebilir. Bu çalışma ayırıcı mekan algısının nasıl deneyimlendiği ve tüketildiğini Kanyon örneğinde iki farklı grupta yapılan derinlemesine görüşmelerle anlamaya çalışmaktadır.

Kültürel sermaye ve gündelik hayatın estetikleştirilmesi bu çalışmada küresel tüketim kültüründe ayırıcı tüketim pratiklerini mümkün kılan öğeler olarak ele alınmıştır. Küresel elit kültüre ait sembol ve kodlarla donatılmış stilize alışveriş merkezleri modern ve küreselleşen elit sınıfların hayat tarzı taleplerini karşılamaktadır. Aynı zamanda alt sınıflara yönelik sembolik şiddet üreterek toplumsal dışlanmayı perçinlemektedir.

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INTRODUCTION

This study aims to analyze different consumption practices as signs of distinction in everyday life particularly in and of a shopping mall. Shopping has become one of the most important social activities since the last decades of twentieth century and malls are the major places that it takes place in consumer capitalist society. Malls as the spatial organisation of post-industrial capitalism are monuments of consumer culture as factory was for the industrial capitalist era¹ (Ritzer, 1999; Yırtıcı, 2005). Furthermore, they themselves are objects of consumption. It is also the sense of the place that is consumed in malls, not merely the objects displayed (Morris, 1999). Spaces of consumption with their distinctive sense of place and clientele play a part in the construction of difference (Miller, 1998; Zukin, 2004). Different sites represent different shopping and consumption experiences and become resources for identification (Miller, 1998).

In this dissertation, I will argue that aestheticization process in terms of product, store (display window and interior), architectural design and activities serve for distinction as a source of cultural capital particularly in the stylized shopping malls called as 'lifestyle centres' by the retail sector. Lifestyle centres are mostly open-air malls imitating (acting as if) a high street in town centres. These new global forms of malls are designed to appeal to upper classes of the population, located in affluent districts and feature upscale specialty stores, services, and restaurants². They differentiate themselves from typical enclosed malls which are appropriated by popular classes and are the spaces of mass consumption. As Harvey (1990:77) states product differentiation and aesthetics in urban design has gained more importance due to the pursuit of consumption expenses of the affluent. Consumer capitalism which has accommodated middle classes in

¹ Shopping malls and large retail centers employ large number of people as factories. To give an example a shopping mall employ 1.500 people on average. Retail sector in Turkey employs 2.5 million people and modern retail employs 300.000 people (figures by May 2007 AMPD) and automotive sector employs 35.957 people (2005 figure, State Planning Organisation, 9th Development Plan, Automotive Sector Report 2007) to make a comparison.

² <http://www.easternct.edu/depts/amerst/MallsTerms.htm>

enclosed and protected spaces of shopping malls, now designs new hyper spaces for the globalised elites in globalising cities. By offering differentiated tastes and aesthetic preferences architects, urban designers and real estate developers reemphasize an important aspect of capital accumulation; the production and consumption of symbolic capital (Harvey, 1990). The symbolic capital, as used by Bourdieu (1989) can be defined as the labels, brands and diplomas that are perceived and recognized as legitimate by the society which provides social prestige and honour to its owner. Hence these stylized shopping malls make symbolic capital visible and allow it function as a distinction mechanism for the favour of the upper class consumers.

Kanyon shopping mall which is recently opened in İstanbul is chosen as the case of this study. *Kanyon* addresses itself as a lifestyle centre and aims to be a ‘living space’ for ‘elite people’ imitating the spirit of a neighbourhood. I consider this new form of malls as consumption spaces where lifestyles of the upper classes that have mostly become part of the global networks are maintained and reproduced within global consumer culture. This new layer of society is employed in service and finance sectors and working in professional and managerial jobs that have access to either higher educational qualifications, expertise or capital (Ayata, 2002). They have globalised consumption patterns, seeking global brand names and international cuisines in shopping malls and gentrified areas (Keyder, 2005).

Consumption practices have become a source of cultural and symbolic capital in the global arena. In this sense *Kanyon* with its luxury world brands, elegant restaurants, cafes and recreational events is a space that produces and consumes symbolic capital. It represents a global upper class lifestyle and provides the elements of a cultural practice where clientele may be styling themselves as elites as well. Hence, *Kanyon* is a cultural battlefield where people may style themselves as elite and at the same time they are also strategically stylized by the overall *Kanyon* myth constituted by discursive and non-discursive practices such as its distinctive architecture, open air visual design (use of water, lighting and

natural material), luxury brands and stores, strategic arrangement of the stores, the sales staff in stores, elegant (highly stylish, classy) cafes, restaurants and bars with foreign cuisine menus, spectacular movie theatres, gourmet market, 'quality' art performances, publicity, management, the discourses of the managing director and shareholders, the rumour about the rules of the management, 'smart' security staff dressed like police officers with soldier boots and police pants, visible in the corridors as well as the entrances and special guards located in the entrance of the fashion store, Harvey Nichols as well as the retail and real estate institutions. Foucault's notion of *dispositif* (apparatus) consisting of discursive and non-discursive elements well elucidates the unintended effects of the strategy of Kanyon. What Foucault (1980: 194) means by the term *dispositif* is a 'thoroughly heterogeneous ensemble consisting of discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophical, moral, and philanthropic propositions – in short, the said as much as the unsaid'. Hence the concrete arrangement of Kanyon, the implicit and explicit set of rules to be there and all the practices around it constitute distinctive subjective experiences. Thus Kanyon functions as a distinction machine.

Consumption practices beyond pleasure and satisfaction function to mark out differences among groups. Bourdieu's (1984) concept of cultural capital and symbolic capital are used in the study to understand how lifestyle consumption beyond mass consumption functions as a means for social distinction. It is important to state that what I am going to discuss in this dissertation, involves those who have a purchasing power beyond subsistence level, particularly the middle and upper classes. The lower classes with little purchasing power do not have the opportunities to establish a lifestyle based on an 'aestheticized mode of involvement with objects' since their practices are in the frame of 'taste of necessities'. Consumption society which is argued that it brings freedom of choice and abundance of goods to the society excludes the lower income groups from the process (Bauman, 2001). Thus the major concern for the consumption society which is self-creation through the accessibility of consumption practices remains a weak application for the poor. They only find a way of appropriating the ideas of

the dominant groups, longing for them, reinforcing the distinction in the eyes of themselves, too (Bourdieu, 1984). Though it can be argued that expansion of the opportunities in discount stores³ (BİM, ŞOK, For You, one million shops) provide lower class' access to goods that represent a middle-class style of life, this is again limited to the ones with adequate purchasing power.⁴

I will investigate the ways shopping malls are experienced and consumed by upper and lower classes in general and the meanings of these experiences through the case of Kanyon shopping mall. And I will try to examine to what extent mall practices function as a social distinction mechanism. Though malls have become social centres, they are not primarily designed to provide social interaction. Yes, they become social centres; people begin to spend their time in these places, meet friends there and besides shopping, go to cinema and eat in these places. However, mall concept cannot be defined as a social integration practice. On the other hand, though it does not have a goal of social distinction, the space embellished with the cultural codes and symbols of a global consumer culture and the discourse constituted around them, as an effect may serve for social distinction. Particularly, the case of Kanyon exemplifies new representations of global wealth in leisure space as part of the affluent lifestyle just like gated communities in İstanbul⁵.

Economic growth that Turkey has experienced after 1980s increased the living standards of the upper classes which have led to higher levels of consumption and change in consumption patterns. There emerged a quest for a new way of life that

³ Now items such as camping equipment, facial cleansing milks are available at these stores which *Tchibo* stores does for middle classes is done by *BİM* and *For You* chain stores in Turkey, in lower qualities, less seductive designs and packages but still may give the sense of participating to popular well-being and lifestyle practices.

⁴ The consumption statistics in Turkey reveal the drastic inequality in consumption between the groups with the most and least consumption amount. The 10% group with the lowest consumption level spends 1% of its total consumption on restaurant, cafe, hotel, culture and personal care, while the 10% group with the highest consumption level spend 40% of its total consumption for the same items which indicate lifestyle consumption. See Appendix B for a detailed table.

⁵ see Daniş, D. & Pérouse, F. (2006) "Zenginliğin Mekânda Yeni Yansımaları: İstanbul'da Güvenlikli Siteler" in *Toplum ve Bilim*, No.104, pp.92-103

is constituted around consuming with style and taste. Thus cultivation of lifestyle has gained importance in terms of maintenance of distinction among different classes (Ayata, 2002). It is mostly middle and upper classes that prefer malls for shopping in Turkey. Others prefer shopping in the street⁶. Thus though most consumption theorists mention that malls are the temples of consumer capitalism and an important field in everyday life, it should be noticed that it is mostly for middle and upper classes. On the other hand, talking about consumer society does not mean to suggest that everyone spends a lot of time in malls or even visits them with great frequency. Rather they stand as symbols of and monuments to an entire order (Langman, 1994).

In this dissertation, qualitative research methodology is used in order to examine different perspectives on shopping mall practices and their meaning to the informants as well as their views on the particular consumption site of Kanyon. For this, I conducted semi-structured in-depth interviews. I have also done on-site observation and used news and articles on Kanyon to enhance my analysis.

I have conducted 20 interviews in total based on two categories of interviewees: frequent Kanyon users and occasional visitors. Kanyon is located in Levent on Gültepe side⁷. The Levent side neighbouring with Etiler and Ulus districts, is an affluent residential and business area while the Gültepe side is a low income residential area⁸. Hence I have chosen the frequent Kanyon users mostly from people living or working in Levent, Etiler and Ulus who came out as middle and upper classes with high education levels⁹. On the other hand, for occasional users,

⁶ “Shopping Behavior 2007” research on ready-wear shopping conducted by KMG Research Company. The preferences of shopping place change according to socio-economic position: Lower socio-economic groups prefer more street shopping while upper classes favour shopping malls primarily. See appendix B for the complete table.

⁷ Though the address of Kanyon is registered as Levent, the complex is located on the Gültepe side, in the former Eczacıbaşı pharmaceutical factory area. The area was a complete industrial region with Roche, Renault Mais, Philips, Deva, Fako and Sandoz factories which by the deindustrialization of urban economy become a service sector and consumption area.

⁸ Gültepe is a middle and low income residential area transformed from a squatter (*gecekondu*) district whose dwellers immigrated after 1955s from Central Anatolia, Black Sea and East Anatolia regions, mostly from Sivas, Rize, Giresun and Kastamonu. Gültepe dwellers are mostly employed as workers, civil servants and self-employed in small retail business. (Avcı, 1994) One of the entrances of Kanyon opens to Gültepe.

⁹ All of them are university graduate, not as a criterion but as an outcome.

I have chosen Gültepe district as it is the closest district with lower income population. 11 interviews are conducted with frequent Kanyon users (*habitué*, at least once a week) from different age groups and occupations. Other nine interviews were with people who live or work in Gültepe, belonging to middle and lower middle class with middle education level. In the field analysis part, frequent Kanyon users are called as ‘Kanyon habitué’ and occasional visitors as ‘Gültepe interviewees’ to make it simpler to follow the text¹⁰. The method carried is not statistically representative since the interviewees were not selected necessarily as a sample of a larger population but because they have characteristics which are of interest to the study (Williams, 2003: 82). 16 of respondents were interviewed one by one and other four interviews were in the form of group discussions of two respondents.

I have employed purposive sampling in the selection of interviewees based on their relevance to my research questions (Silverman, 2000). For Kanyon habitué interviews, I have reached the informants through personal connections (networks of friends, students and yahoo groups). Gültepe interviewees are accessed through convenience sampling favouring people with time to spare (Arksey, & Knight, 1999). For Gültepe interviewees, I utilized İstanbul Bilgi University’s employees’ who are living in Gültepe, local dealers of a white goods store and a furniture store, and employees of some small enterprises in the district.

All interviews were conducted between April and May 2007. They are all recorded and analyses are done through partial transcript. The names of the interviewees are completely changed for the purposes of privacy.

The interviews are supplemented with small talks (chit chats) with people strolling in the site, sales staff of stores and cafes and people from Gültepe. In addition, I have utilized some of the comments in Ekşisözlük¹¹ under Kanyon entry to enrich my analysis.

¹⁰ The profiles of interviewees are provided in appendix A.

¹¹ Ekşi sözlük is an internet platform which is developed as a resistance field to the knowledge / power domain. (<http://sozluk.sourtimes.org>)

The following part examines the theoretical concepts which are relevant to the analysis of social distinction and aestheticization of everyday life in spaces of consumption. Consumer culture, consumption as a tool for social differentiation, the shift from mass consumption to lifestyle consumption and stylization of life with aesthetic elements as a new source of social distinction are discussed in this section.

The second part concentrates on the conceptualization of shopping malls, the roots of modern consumption, the newly emerged form of malls, 'lifestyle machines' which offer the most stylized and aestheticized form of consumption in contemporary consumer capitalism. Lastly I will focus on the development of malls in İstanbul with a brief look at the 'malldom' of İstanbul.

The third part is based on analysis of the interviews including the practices and perceptions of Kanyon and meanings attributed to consumption practices in and of a shopping mall. The narrations of the interviewees are analysed under four headings. The first heading 'Appreciation of Kanyon' examines how interviewees appreciate Kanyon with similar and different perspectives. The second heading 'This Place is not for us' discusses the sense of place in site of Kanyon. The following heading is based on the discourse of crowds, how it functions in building boundaries between oneself and others. Malls by definition, provide a distance from the city crowd. However, the degree of distance surpasses the gates of malls when they began to be appropriated by lower or popular classes. Today malls differentiate from each other with consumer profiles. Thus most of the Kanyon habitués tend to categorize and classify malls in terms of its crowd when they are making comparisons between Kanyon and other malls, to elucidate their preference of Kanyon.

Aesthetics and ambiance are two important criteria which make Kanyon habitués prefer Kanyon. The aesthetic taste is much related to cultural capital, knowledge and refined tastes in other fields make Kanyon as an extension of their aesthetic experience. 'The Aestheticized World of Kanyon' is the part where I will discuss

these issues which are of great importance for social distinction by offering privileged experiences to its consumers.

The conclusion draws final remarks on the discussed arguments in the light of field analysis and attempts to reveal to what extent aestheticized consumption practices offering stylized lifestyles in contemporary consumer capitalism reflect social inequality and distinction in the case of Kanyon shopping mall.

I THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

1.1 CONSUMER CULTURE

To understand the current consumer culture in Western societies where consumer capitalism developed first, it is worth mentioning the advices of both American and British administrators after the attacks on the twin towers of New York's World Trade Centre in 2001. They were told to go shopping. Zukin (2005) notes the words of the New York mayor after the attack in the beginning of her book on shopping: The mayor says: "Take a day off...Go shopping." What he thought was people could find comfort in shopping while Zukin expected him to advice them to stay at home with their families, relax and play a game, or to pray¹². Instead she tells: "he urged us to go shopping" (Zukin, 2005:1). Akcan (2003: 3) also notes the TV announcements after the events in the US: "This holiday season shop freely...You are doing it for the recovery of the global economy". The situation was not different in Britain: "Britain needs you to shop" was the headline of Daily Telegraph after Tony Blair's message to public. He asked people to go shopping and take holidays to prevent the economy going into recession. (Clarke, 2003:1) This well explains the role of consumption in the everyday lives of Western society¹³. It acts for the maintenance of both individuals' and capitalism's "well-being".

A similar call (invitation) came from Melih Gökçek¹⁴, the mayor of Ankara after a shopping center is bombed. He asked the public of Ankara to come and shop in Anafartalar Çarşısı (a shopping center with small enterprises appealing to lower classes) to show the union and solidarity. Though this call is more related with the place of the bombing and can be considered as an act to vitalize the centre, it is

¹² "shopping has taken over from politics and religion as a means of warding unhappiness – unhappiness produced by a loss of a sense of self, of identity" (Bocock, 1995: 153)

¹³ Turkey is not a mature consumer society yet, thus in a similar case, we would not be adviced as such, however, it is important to note that we are under the same affect within global culture of capitalism.

¹⁴ 24 May 2007, Radikal, *Çarşıda Alışveriş Çağrısı*

still in the framework of consumption as an action. Thus we are left with shopping either to fight boredom and unhappiness, or as a way of reacting to bombs.

Consumption is a social and cultural process involving cultural signs and symbols beyond economic, utilitarian process (Bocock, 1997:3). For Barthes 'there was always a dual aspect to consumption – that it fulfilled a need, as with food or clothing, but also conveyed and was embedded within, social, cultural symbols and structures' (Bocock, 1995: 145).

Modern consumption is very much related to development in production methods. Mass production of mass commodities is the era of Fordism. The shift from Fordist production method to a flexible and specialised production which allows high differentiation and rapid circulation of commodities is associated with Post-Fordism (Harvey, 1995). Thus consumption practices become more global with transnational companies and universal mall culture. The Fordist production mode in which consumption took over production in urban areas brought the rise (formation and maintenance) of consumption-based middle class cultures (Miller, 1998). On the other hand; the post-Fordist production process gave rise to the service sector and growth of professional and managerial jobs and deindustrialization of the urban centres which is the advent of new urban middle class whose members are more inclined to consumption-oriented lives. Thus culture of consumption corresponds more with post-Fordist period of late twentieth century.

In contemporary society, and more in globalised cities where occupational polarization and social inequality is high, independent of how much of the population live above subsistence level, all people are invited to day-dreaming about consumption if not by purchasing the goods or experiences everyone 'can become hooked into the consumption process via the images, symbols and representations which create, evoke and articulate desire' (Bocock, 1995: 124). Thus consumption has become the central issue for the analysis of contemporary society (Bourdieu, 1984, Bocock, 1997; Baudrillard, 1998; Corrigan, 1997; Slater, 1997).

Featherstone (1991) designates three perspectives on consumer culture: The first one emphasizes the expansion of capitalist commodity production leading to deployment of leisure and consumption activities in contemporary western societies. This situation is welcomed as leading to individual freedom and equality by some, while criticised by others as increasing the capacity for ideological manipulation. Second perspective underlines the satisfaction derived from goods related to their socially constructed meanings. It functions as a source of status differentiation as people use goods and experiences to 'create social bonds or distinctions'. The third perspective considers consumption as a source of fantasy and pleasure 'celebrated in consumer cultural imagery and particular sites of consumption such as malls which generate direct bodily excitement and aesthetic pleasure' (Featherstone, 1991:13). This dissertation is more focused on the second perspective which consumption is used as a status signifier and instrument for establishment and maintenance of social distinction.

Association of objects with meaning beyond their use-value that Marx conceptualized as commodity fetishism lies at the basis of consumer culture. We purchase the meanings of objects rather than the objects themselves. Symbolic dimension of consumption has expanded to lower classes with the availability of mass-produced goods in which pursuit of pleasure is not limited to the upper classes. However it did not bring equality since privileged groups find new ways for distinction and stylistic distinction has become important. Hence aestheticization of everyday life operated as a new distinction tool mostly in the form of cultivation of the self. On the consumer side, cultivation of the self meant consuming cultural products as artist's experiencing his self. The claim of the artist for freedom to create without restrictions brought a consequence on the modern consumer side as a claim for freedom to experience all artistically mediated experience (Campbell, 1983).

We have witnessed the commodification of almost all aspects of social life, and consumption increasingly constructs the way we see the world (Crawford, 1999: 11). As Zukin (2005: 7) argues, shopping is an arena of struggle through which

people pursue value. It is an experience beyond mere provisioning, it became a primary social practice since all self-creation activities and experiences are commodified.

One does not need to buy and own dresses, furniture items, any objects, but by thinking about them, dreaming about them, experiencing the spectacle presented with the display of images, shortly through the 'idea of that practice', one can get pleasure. Thus, the ideology of consumerism is not limited to those who can actually afford goods, but encompasses those who can dream about them, who can have access to that dream-world. Bocoock defines consumerism as:

an active ideology in which the meaning of life is to be found in buying things and pre-packaged experiences that pervades modern capitalism. This ideology of consumerism serves both to legitimate capitalism in the daily lives and everyday practices of many people in global world and motivate people to become consumers in fantasy as well as in reality. (Bocoock, 1997:50; 116)

People are also affected by social and cultural practices associated with ideology of modern consumption even if they cannot afford to buy the goods presented in media and displayed in shop windows (Bocoock, 1997; Langman, 1992; Slater, 1997). This dissertation argues that for a perception and participation of that dream-world, one needs a certain degree of cultural capital, knowledge to appreciate the goods and experiences belonging to the culture of the affluent in the case of Kanyon shopping mall. Cultural capital refers to culture, education and knowledge in using the codes of a legitimate culture. In detail, Bourdieu (1987: 243, cited in Featherstone, 1991) mentions three forms of cultural capital: the embodied state such as style of presentation, mode of speech, beauty, etc; objectified state including cultural goods like pictures, books, machines, buildings, etc and institutionalised state such as educational diplomas. The groups with high cultural capital have cultivated tastes in everyday consumption practices (Bourdieu, 1984). For the consumption of particular (luxury) commodities targeting the affluent, the ones who have the necessary knowledge may enjoy consuming them by dreaming process. So, even to be able to dream about objects, one needs to know about the dream-world constituted around these objects, one

needs to know the codes, signs of these objects to have these dreams. Hence, dreams are also shaped by our *habitus*. Bourdieu (1994: 12) uses the notion of habitus to define a set of dispositions which incline agents to act and react in certain ways. It is like a second nature of an individual. Our way of talking, the words we use, our way of eating, our relation to table manners, even our way of laughing, walking and standing are all part of our habitus. Growing up in a working class family, growing up in a province, being a middle class, being born into an elite family with books all around, or a bourgeoisie family with servants in a mansion, all these milieus shape our practices, perceptions and attitudes unconsciously in a taken-for-granted way.

Then to take pleasure, to evaluate consumption as a sign system as Baudrillard (1981) argues, one needs to be familiar with the signs, have knowledge about them which functions as a form of cultural capital in contemporary consumer society. This is important more than ever today where globalization of markets and culture has exploded established symbolic hierarchies with no fixed meanings. On the other hand, advertising and media do well function for creating meanings for products both creating and making use of the state of ambiguity (and anxiety).

1.2 SOCIAL DISTINCTION THROUGH CONSUMPTION

Consumption is not a simple economic process but a social and cultural process marking out differences between groups (Veblen, 1994; Bourdieu, 1984; Douglas and Isherwood, 1980). As Bocoock (1997: 80) points out ‘consumption patterns may be used to maintain and mark out differences between groups, to demarcate boundaries between identities, to mark out some as members and others as outsiders’. Beside their satisfaction and pleasure, goods are used to draw lines of social relationships. Veblen (1994) and Bourdieu (1984) analyse consumption practices as a way for indicating social distinction through the uses of goods.

Veblen (1994) had observed the American nouveaux riches in the late nineteenth

century as a new class imitating the aristocratic life-styles of the European upper classes. These groups used consumption to differentiate themselves from other groups and constitute an identity. For Veblen, people used two ways to demonstrate their wealth: conspicuous leisure and conspicuous consumption. With the rise of the bourgeois society, the upper classes began to set the standards to which the rest of the society aspired. Thus consumption patterns in society became more and more imitations of upper-class behaviour. Veblen assumed that all classes want to emulate higher classes, rather than they might live according to different and competing principles. Veblen and others (Bataille, 1988 and Tarde, 2004) agree that reputation rests upon some sort of wasteful expenditure which is beyond necessity.

In contemporary capitalist society, both conspicuous consumption and conspicuous leisure are signifiers of social status and prestige. This is because leisure practices too, are commodified in consumer capitalism. Leisure is also part of lifestyle construction (such as wining and dining, jewellery design, chocolate-making, bread-making, adventure holidays). In this respect, stylish restaurant and café experiences in Kanyon can be considered as distinctive leisure practices. As Corrigan (1997:17) points out 'there is permanent tension between distinguished goods and popularization of them (by imitation) which threatens their distinguished status'.

Bourdieu in his major work *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (1984) analysed how different ways of consumption among other things, were used to distinguish one class's way of life from another. He reveals how distinction and matters of taste are utilised in both establishing and reproducing group identities. The major distinction between groups was with access to different types of capital: economic capital and cultural capital. Economic capital includes material wealth in the form of money and property. Cultural capital as mentioned before refers to education, knowledge and other cultural acquisitions. What is important here is that one form of capital can be converted into another and when these capitals are perceived and recognised as legitimate, they become

symbolic capital indicating accumulated prestige or honour through display of goods and labels of economic or cultural capital. The construction of distinctive lifestyles functions as a source of social distinction for upper classes. For Bourdieu (1989:20), different than Veblen, the functioning of differences as signs of distinction 'happens outside of any intention of distinction, of any conscious search for conspicuous consumption'. Hence his account of distinction is not based on deliberate search for distinction but happens as an outcome of class habitus. The groups with high cultural capital have 'cultivated tastes' in everyday consumption practices (manners of food and drink, dressing, home decoration) as well as in the fine arts. Degree of cultural capital according to Bourdieu does work in the maintenance of social and cultural distinctions. Appreciation of aesthetic culture hence having cultural capital is important for symbolic consumption. Education, art and cultural practices are commercialized within contemporary capitalist system.

Taste as Bourdieu (1984) argues is a form of cultural capital and it enables discriminations and distinctions between various status groups. However as Featherstone (1991:17) argues it is 'more complex to read the status or rank of the bearer of the commodities with the over-supply and rapid circulation of symbolic goods and commodities in contemporary Western societies'. It threatens the readability of goods used as signs of social status, making it difficult to stabilize appropriate marker goods. However it does not change the use of symbolic goods to establish differences. There still exist the relatively stable sets of classificatory principles and dispositions which are socially recognizable and operate to establish the boundaries between groups. What has changed is that these categories themselves change rapidly with fashions and trends which make it difficult to follow for the lower classes and reading of these categories itself have become an asset of cultural capital.

The different styles and fashionable clothing and goods, however much they are subject to change, imitation and copying, are one such set of clues which are used in the act of classifying others. Yet as Bourdieu (1984) reminds us with his concept of symbolic capital, the signs of the dispositions and

classificatory which betray one's origins and trajectory through life are also manifest in body shape, size, weight, stance, walk, demeanour, tone of voice, style of speaking, sense of ease or discomfort with one's body, etc. Hence culture is incorporated, and it is not just a question of *what clothes are worn, but how they are worn*.¹⁵(Featherstone, 1991:20)

Hence, taste and classificatory choices do not diminish but have become an area of skill. As again, quoting from Featherstone (1991:17), 'it is in this context that taste, the discriminatory judgment, the knowledge or cultural capital, which enables particular groups or categories of people to understand and classify new goods appropriately and how to use them, becomes important'.

Baudrillard defined consumption as a process of signification and communication and secondly, a process of classification and social differentiation (Baudrillard, 1998). As he argues, wealth on its own no longer act as a source for the fundamental advantages of social power, enjoyment, prestige and distinction as it once meant. He stresses the importance of experts and organized technicians who exercise power, whom Bourdieu has called *cultural intermediaries*. These people, the new middle class, as Baudrillard (1998: 54) states, try to 'super-differentiate themselves, super-distinguish themselves by their manner of consuming, by style. They maintain their privilege absolutely by moving from conspicuous to discreet (super-conspicuous) consumption, by moving from quantitative ostentation to distinction, from money to culture'.

As Öncü (2003) argues the established categories that are observed in Bourdieu's work, *Distinction*, are not constant in the post-Fordist era where the globalization process led to a disappearance of these (pre)fixed symbolic hierarchies of modern culture. Thus, with the globalization of consumer culture, it is more important to find ways for differentiation. However, though the categories are not constant and hierarchical as in the past, this does not mean they do not exist anymore. They are rapidly changing, some become outmoded and new ones replace the old rigid hierarchic categorizations. Where the socially recognized hierarchies of art and

¹⁵ Italic is mine

culture are blurred we have witnessed the socially recognized hierarchies of brands substituting their function in the society. People are more and more getting distinguished via brands and consumption practices which leads to a 'social hierarchy of consumers'.

According to Baudrillard;

Men of wealth are no longer surrounded by other human beings, as they have been in the past, but by *objects*. The concepts of 'environment' and 'ambiance' have undoubtedly become fashionable only since we have come to live in less proximity to other human beings, in their presence and discourse, and more under the silent gaze of deceptive and obedient objects (...) (Baudrillard, 2003: 93)

Kanyon is an example of these sites where we experience less proximity to other people. The life within Kanyon *plays* in the presence of other people as a practice of *spectacle society*.

The ascendancy of the urban and industrial milieu is producing new examples of shortage: shortages of space and time, fresh air, greenery, water, silence. Certain goods, which were once free and abundantly available, are becoming luxuries accessible only to the privileged, while manufactured goods or services are offered on a mass scale. (Baudrillard, 1998: 57)

The regular shopping malls are today more accessible by lower classes, whereas the privileged has moved to stylized 'lifestyle centres', which Kanyon is an example. Thus as Baudrillard mentions, 'the inequality is not reduced but is transferred to elsewhere' (Baudrillard, 1998: 57). Now Kanyon functions as a new consumption space where social distinction is reproduced.

Segregation by place of shopping has integrated to other forms of geographical segregation. Though segregation is more symbolic in shopping malls -as they are open to all people- in other more prevalent forms, it is physical as well. 'Objects are less important today than space and the social marking of space' says Baudrillard (1998:57) in 1970s for Western societies. This has become visible for Turkey in 1990s with the proliferation of gated communities, suburb settlements

and gentrification projects¹⁶. Geographic space has a more differentiating function than other consumables as Baudrillard mentions, because most of the objects are easily imitated or produced in similar designs, hence it is mainly experiences that make the distinction today. Thus commodities are presented as offering unique experiences in advertisements.

1.3 LIFESTYLE CONSUMPTION

Consumption patterns, standard of living, lifestyle have become important factors for judging people in social field as much as their relation to production in the new logic of economy as Bourdieu (1984) put it.

How to dress, what to eat, how to eat (presenting, serving and eating), where to eat, how to care one's body, where to relax compose lifestyle choices. If consumption in a literary sense is to eat, to dress, to relax, to care for oneself, lifestyle consumption is how one all does these, thus 'the way' one consumes. The signs and meanings attributed to goods and experiences are what form lifestyle. The primary forms of lifestyle can be seen in conspicuous consumption (Veblen, 1994), however, in late capitalism, inconspicuous consumption practices as well, build up a lifestyle by refusing and devaluing everything pretentious which is another form of distinction (Bourdieu, 1984).

Featherstone (1991:83) defined the notion of lifestyle as one's body, clothes, speech, leisure pastimes, eating and drinking preferences, home, car, choice of holidays regarded as indicators of the individuality of taste and sense of style of the owner / consumer.

Lifestyle has become a popular term after 1980s particularly in marketing field to understand consumer behaviour. It is an outcome of the shift in the analysis of social relations from production relations to consumption practices. Featherstone (1991) argues that there are no fixed status groups in society where people adopt

¹⁶ see Kurtuluş (2005), Işık & Güvenç (1996), Daniş & Pérouse (2005), Ayata (2002)

lifestyles that are fixed to that specific group. Warde (2002: 199) in a similar way states that ‘there is no longer any very simple correspondence between class position and forms of cultural participation’. On the other hand, for Bourdieu (1984), the new conception of lifestyle can best be understood in relation to the habitus of the new middle class. He argues that individuals increasingly distinguish themselves from others on the basis of cultural capital rather than in terms of production and employment. However this is more valid for middle and upper classes. Still, the poor with a little purchasing power may desire to have similar lifestyles to that of the affluent which involves dining and wining in the stylish cafes and restaurants, participating packaged tours of travel agencies published in two-three full pages of mainstream newspapers¹⁷ or using the latest model of mobile phone on fashion displayed on TV commercials, but cannot because their consumption practices are constrained by their socio-economic position.

In appearance it has become more possible to adopt aspired lifestyle practices¹⁸ but when it comes to experiences, the lifestyle which is *a set of practices* is not completed. Thus consumer lifestyles emerge through the medium of shared symbolic codes of stylized behaviour, adornment, taste and habitus.

As Featherstone (1991:18) states, ‘consumption and lifestyle preferences involve discriminatory judgements which at the same time identify and render classifiable our own particular judgement of taste to others’. This is why lifestyle consumption is important in this study. Lifestyle consumption means knowing how to use and consume appropriately which either makes you a member or an outsider of a particular group.

The idea of lifestyle is produced through magazines and consumer guides¹⁹ and it

¹⁷ of course if they are buying or reading any of these newspapers.

¹⁸ With the mass production and imitation technologies particularly in textile industry, people can have not the same but similar looks, by dressing in the same style, which still a ‘refined eye’ with ‘subtle tastes’ will catch the ‘inferiorities’.

¹⁹ Zukin (2005: 176) claims that consumer guides are the textbooks of consumer society and calls authors of them as brokers of consumption. They are important in the aestheticization of

is experienced or consumed through shopping and various consumption sites, restaurants, cafes, shopping malls, sport centres, yoga studios, pilates courses, hairdresser's, etc. Zukin (2004:195) states that "lifestyle emerged in the pages of consumer guides as a way to reconcile two types of shopping: shopping to associate ourselves with a set of collective qualities like social status, and shopping to advance a set of individual qualities, like beauty or pleasure, related to the self".

Lifestyle practices do not only require spending money and time (leisure time), but they depend upon a set of acquired tastes for specific aesthetic (Bocock, 1997). Malls such as Kanyon are the spaces of these aesthetic experiences. Moreover they are where social distinction can be bought through a specific lifestyle experience. Shared patterns of cultural consumption and communication through shared tastes such as tastes of particular stores, brands, cuisine, presentation and serving of food in the case of Kanyon imply a particular lifestyle.

Different lifestyle practices associated with different social groups map out finely graded distinctions which operate within a society at a particular point in history (Featherstone, 1991:18). In consumer society, one's status is more often based on lifestyles of consumption (Langman, 1994:69).

The lifestyles of the status groups are reproduced to maintain the status position through various practices. Kanyon shopping mall does well function for this reproduction process with its attributions of *elitism* and *style*. In Kanyon, particular lifestyle practices enable groups to establish and reproduce the desired social distance.

When people are less and less distinguished by what they consume, ways of doing things has gained importance, thus lifestyle practices function as a social differentiation mechanism. Baudrillard pointed out this fact as a characteristic of affluent societies: "The *way* of consuming everyday goods may itself be a kind of

everyday life process, too. Bell & Hollows (2006: 4) call this *lifestyle media* and it 'does not only offer advice on how to construct the self but also contribute to changing ideas about the

scarce commodity. (...) Knowledge and power are, or are going to become, the two great scarce commodities of affluent societies” (Baudrillard, 1998:57). Hence the function of acquisition of rare products for the pursuit of social prestige is extended to ways of consuming.

When it is argued that consumption has a role in identity formation, this is not limited to material possessions but encompasses all experiences that can be purchased today, providing a lifestyle to the consumer. It includes all experiences that are commodified. Buying a book, a concert ticket, one’s experience in a restaurant, a hotel, where one spend his holiday, courses one have attended; one’s body, all of them together with other everyday life practices build an identity for the individual.

Aestheticization of everyday life, combining art and commodity with a touch of design²⁰ has a central role in lifestyle consumption. The next part explores the stylization of life drawing on Featherstone’s account of aestheticization of everyday life²¹, particularly based on the second sense where aesthetics is a criterion for the pursuit of new tastes and sensations for the construction of distinctive lifestyles. I contend that these aesthetically constituted practices also act as a way for social distinction in contemporary capitalist society.

self’ and society (Johnson & Lloyd, 2004 in Bell & Hollows).

²⁰ The term design is used as ‘specialization in inventing / creating new appropriate forms for the market focused on the attractiveness of the end product, rather than design as a discipline based on the function of the process.’ (Korkmaz, 2005: 2)

²¹ Featherstone (1991: 66-68) designates aestheticization of everyday life in three senses:

1. The attempt to breaking the boundary between art and everyday life, the avant-garde and surrealist movements. Thus, the boundaries between art and commodity are blurred. It has been taken up by advertising and popular media within consumer culture.

2. Project of turning life into a work-of-art; dandyism movement. This approach emphasizes the personal affections, aesthetic enjoyment in life and new sensations. It is appropriated by postmodern theory, where ‘the criteria for the *good life* revolve around the desire to enlarge one’s self, the quest for new tastes and sensations.’ The concept of lifestyle is developed through this approach; constructing one’s life with the ‘achievement of originality and superiority in dress, demeanor, personal habits and even furnishing.’ Featherstone relates these two approaches that come out as artistic countercultures in terms of aesthetic consumption and the need to form life into an aesthetic whole, to ‘the development of mass consumption in general and the pursuit of new tastes and sensations and the construction of distinctive lifestyles which has become central to consumer culture.’

3. Saturation of everyday life with rapid flow of signs and images in contemporary society. Featherstone cites from Haug: (1986: 52, 1987:123) “Commercial manipulation of images through advertising, displays, performances and spectacles of urban life which entails a constant reworking of desires through images. Thus consumerism confronts people with dream-images which speak to desires and aestheticize and de-realize reality”.

1.4 STYLIZATION OF LIFE

The way cultural capital is used among wealthy classes has become a stylization of life as a tool for differentiation. Thurlow and Jaworski (2006:105) take stylization as the 'strategic (re)presentation and promotion of particular ways of being involving language, image, social practice and material culture.' Individuals are offered plurality of choices as components of a stylized life by brands and commodities that help to distinguish themselves from the masses in consumer capitalism. According to Bourdieu (1984), the repetition of these styled acts forms a lifestyle and reshapes one's *habitus*. Kanyon shopping mall functions as a stylization machine offering new tastes and sensations thus aesthetic experiences to its clients. Bourdieu illustrates stylization of life as the primacy of forms over function, of manner over matter. As he states:

Nothing is more distinctive, more distinguished than the capacity to confer aesthetic status on objects that are banal or even common or the ability to apply the principles of a pure aesthetic to the most everyday choices of everyday life, e.g. in cooking, clothing or decoration, completely reversing the popular disposition which annexes aesthetics to ethics (Bourdieu, 1984: 5).

Featherstone (1991) argues that stylistic eclecticism has become a common feature of consumption spaces through which consumption and leisure are constructed as experiences. The emergence of simulational environments which use spectacular imagery in malls, shopping centres, theme parks, etc. builds upon aesthetic fascination. Process of the articulation, transmission, and dissemination of the luxurious, aesthetic and distinctive experience of Kanyon by media to various audiences seem to achieve its goal: It is celebrated with overjoy by upper middle classes and the affluent whereas the same message decoded in just the opposite way by lower classes, as this is not a place for them. This study involves an investigation of the aestheticization of everyday life in Kanyon shopping mall where aesthetic tastes are privileged serving for the differentiation of elite lifestyle, maintaining and reproducing social distinction. How these places and activities there become objects of pleasure? How do they yield up aesthetic pleasures and for whom? Thus it definitely requires development, cultivation and institutionalization of new tastes in affluent classes. At this point discursive and

non-discursive elements are important. How does this place become a *centre of attraction* for these people while still some others do not or cannot conceive it as such?

If aesthetics revolves around questions of taste, Bourdieu (1984) has developed a distinction between pure taste in line with Kantian aesthetics and public taste. The former involves cognitive appreciation, distanciation, disinterestedness and the controlled cultivation of pure taste, while the latter involves what the former denies: the enjoyment of the immediate, sensory, grotesque bodily pleasures of the popular classes.

Benjamin (1999) celebrated the aesthetic potential of mass culture and the aestheticized perceptions of the people who stroll through the urban spaces particularly the arcades whose legacy continues in shopping malls today. He thought that aestheticized mass production would liberate creativity from art and allow it to circulate in the multiplicity of everyday objects. However it is again intensified in the hands of the privileged status groups, it is in use of middle classes and upper classes, aestheticized experiences do not penetrate the lives of the poor, or only as in the kitsch forms, or they do not have the required cultural capital to appreciate aesthetic value. It is the upper classes who value the role of aesthetics in lifestyle construction hence as Chaney (1996) argues, aesthetic discriminations and attitudes necessary for cultural discourse of the privileged are part of their habitus.

Lifestyle consumption functions as a form of both cultural capital and symbolic capital among affluent classes. Thus the aestheticized space of Kanyon is an important element of cultural capital. Then we can say that stylized shopping malls such as Kanyon are the spatial forms of cultural capital of the urban elite classes. And the aesthetic effect created in this space does involve a sense of distinction.

As Bourdieu (1984: 66) argues, the way we do things and the way we consume cultural goods, 'especially those regarded as the attributes of excellence,

constitutes one of the key markers of class and also the ideal weapon in strategies of distinction'. In the process of stylization of life, particular forms of cultural capital such as appropriation of aestheticized forms of popular culture and lifestyle consumption become regarded as more legitimate and source of prestige leading to symbolic hierarchy.

II DEVELOPMENT OF SHOPPING MALLS

2.1 THE CONCEPT OF MALLS

Shopping malls emerged in the United States as an extension of the suburbanization process in 1950s. Suburbanization movement is the separation of work and living space with the development of transportation and automobile technologies. The culture of suburb is based on the escaping from the cities to eliminate the negative aspects of the city life such as crime, dirt, pollution, violence, crowd and messiness. (Miller, 1998) This is the same dynamic behind the proliferation of gated communities in big cities either in the periphery of the city or within the city. Like malls which is a simulation, an image of the vital downtowns and marketplace, suburbia is a simulacra of a country living.

Shopping malls gather shopping and leisure activities under one roof where people can meet all their needs in a safe, comfortable and ordered environment. Thus the term shopping is not adequate to describe all practices performed in a mall, or we can suggest that the practice of shopping has extended to encompass other mall practices: Besides purchasing things, people eat, drink, walk around, look or gaze at people passing as well as the goods displayed in the shop windows.

Malls offer benefits of being outside but avoid problems of being outside. They provide protection from the negative aspects of street life and street shopping.

Nineteenth century arcades and department stores are the ur-form of shopping malls. Arcades and department stores cultivated the modes of consumer behaviour, transformed shopping as a leisure activity, seduced masses by the commodity spectacle, and be the space of distraction. Thus they form the first practices of consumer culture and the primary form of modern consumption. The arcades house the dreams of nineteenth century masses. As Benjamin (1999:405) states, arcades, winter gardens, panoramas, factories, wax museums, casinos, railroad stations are the dream houses of collective.

Department stores began to market themselves as being among the main sights of the big cities, long before the mall presents itself as an ‘attraction centre’. As an example, maps of the Paris region showing major monuments in the region include Bon Marche as the symbol of the city of Paris, where the city was represented by an illustration of the Bon Marche (Miller, M, 1981). Thus a visit to Paris meant a visit to the Bon Marche.

Arcades and Department Stores in İstanbul

Arcades have a relation with bazaars partly in terms of their functional purposes and partly in their architectural form. However, bazaars remained as spaces of traditional consumption whereas arcades developed as the form of western modern consumption patterns. Exploring the emergence of arcades in İstanbul besides traditional bazaars, arcades sheltered specialized goods from European markets and act as a way of separating people. Arcades are designed as socially exclusive spaces whereas bazaars are more communal spaces.

As Toprak (1995) states, arcades and bazaars present two different forms of shopping in İstanbul. Golden Horn divides these two spaces and Galata Bridge functions as a connector of these two different forms. Galata, Pera or Beyoğlu (Cadde-i Kebir) adopted the Western consumption patterns while the other side of the Golden Horn, mostly Çarşı-yı Kebir and Mısır Çarşısı continued the traditional form. It was late nineteenth century when big cities as İstanbul, İzmir, Selanik broke from the traditional structure and Western modes are introduced including the consumption patterns. This is also when the department stores opened in İstanbul. Bon Marche was one of the first comers and it became a generic name for this kind of stores as *Bonmarşe* in Turkish. Louvre, Au Lion, Bon Marche, Au Camelia, Bazaar Allemand, Carlman et Blumberg, Baker are the major stores at this period. They are the branches of grand stores established in the major cities of Europe such as Paris, Berlin, Vienna.

Beyoğlu was a place for “winter promenades”. It was the public marketplace²² for seeing each other. People, together with their children toured / strolled between stores (*Bonmarşe*) there.

Beyoğlu, by then hosting these department stores and arcades can be considered as a big shopping mall today. It is not covered, however, today, the urban planning considers these kind of places as mall, too.

Refik Halit Karay, in his book “İlk Adım” written in 1941 gives us some clues about the life in Beyoğlu functioning as a public space and the stores placed there.²³

We made a few tours between Galatasaray and Tünel, maybe we sat at a patisserie for a while. And at last we stepped into the *Bonmarşe*. Today where a store with messy Mahmutpaşa style is placed, was a tidy, fresh air, on fashion passage, a place for appointments, where courteous people also visit, thirty years ago.

Today, shopping malls promise us the function of that open air public spaces capturing all the facilities available out there with extra facilities such as air conditioning, being warm in winter and cool in summer, a proper lighting, clean toilets, elevators, etc.

Karay writes about the decay of *Bonmarşe* in his book of collected articles “Bir Avuç Saçma”. He feels pity for that not because he has any material interest in these stores but totally for an emotional reason as he explains:

This store getting closed today has a very crucial significance for people experienced its heyday. *Bonmarşe* on its own was omnipotence, an environment, a universe. It was the place where a three years old child get to know the meaning and value of commodities and develop desire and longing to own them.

These are the images collected in the mind of a child, the dreams of a child. He continues listing the wide range of commodities available in the stores, all

²² “Piyasa” is a special name for that in Turkish. Piyasa also means market.

²³ From the compilation done by Cem Akaş in Cogito Fall 1995. İlk Adım is a collection of short

described with a visual appeal that catch you in its display window. He also mentions the advantages of these closed spaces: “There lived a warm, fragrant, quiet atmosphere in *Bonmarçse* when outside was full of mud, cold and ugliness. And in summer times, it provided a cool, clean air with a scent of delicate cologne while the outside is hot, sticky and muggy”.

Age of Malls

According to Baudrillard the shopping mall “achieves a synthesis of consumer activities, not the least of which are shopping, flirting with objects, playful wandering and all the permutational possibilities of these” (Baudrillard, 1998:27). With these characteristics, he sees the shopping mall as more representative of modern consumption than the department stores (Baudrillard, 1998:27).

Hendrickson (1980) elucidates the role of shopping malls in the everyday life of American society with the findings of a research: people make friends there more than in bars, it functions as a meeting point for people, and touring in the malls is listed as the same pleasure as sex, being the two most loved entertainment facilities for Americans.

Malls provide a homogeneous lifestyle distance from the crowds of the city, traffic, dirt and mess. They offer a sterilized social space bringing together more or less the same *cultivated* people. They are privately owned and managed profit-oriented places. They are the spaces organized around consumption, leisure and the image and regulated by surveillance, gate keeping and disciplinary techniques. Be it open or enclosed, they are artificial complexes. Although city itself is a built environment, the basic difference is that mall is a monolithic project, planned and implemented. Urban design includes numerous separate projects at different times (Falk & Campbell, 1997:13).

City as a heterogeneous built-environment has escapes and allow new discoveries and creativity. However malls are monolithic built environment where each detail

is measured, there is no allowance for alternative routes. Kanyon has tried to create a feeling of discovery with its curved form corridors where you do not know what it is beyond, which makes it a space full of discoveries. If İstiklal Street in Beyoğlu shelters the radical elements; Kanyon shelters the ‘radical chic’. As Goss points out, through fashion radical soon becomes radical chic (Goss, 1993: 41).

Malls can be considered as privatisation of the street, public space because they produce a quasi street including almost all traditional equipments of the street, benches, trees, peddlers, stalls, pools and other street furniture. They do not care for the local environment of the location however; promise a different experience with the elements of a different geography such as artificial waterfalls, giant tropical trees, etc. They produce a *hyper reality* with climate and light control as well.

Malls offer the utopia of consumer society. The abundance of everything and many other things to discover give us that feeling of joy, utopia and good life. The atmosphere constituted in malls functions as a movie²⁴, or a kind of entertainment. In both cases we encounter ‘utopian sensibilities’, not a utopia in itself as an alternative order, but a feeling of that utopian form emerge in these places²⁵. All decorations, light, colours, monumental shapes, large images, marbles together with aesthetically designed stores and perfect service; offering abundance of goods of every kind as if in a timeless space; all give us a feeling of utopia. Everything is nicer than reality, or in other words nothing is real! The abundance of everything and many things to discover give us that feeling of joy and utopia and good life, though not itself. Consumerist capitalism does promise a dream-world, utopia, or express its longing for a utopian world in its marketing messages. Capitalism today reinforces itself through a nostalgic or utopian way,

²⁴ Friedberg claims that “shopping is a powerful metaphor for spectatorship, like cinematic spectatorship, the mall relies on a perceptual displacement; it defers external realities, retailing instead a controlled, commodified and pleasurable substitution” (Friedberg, 2002:452).

²⁵ ‘utopian sensibilities’ drawn from R. Dyer’s article ‘Entertainment and Utopia’(2001)

rendering its commodities as things that everyone longs for, which make them desirable in the market and for sure they are not for everyone, however they are presented as if they embellish everyone's dreams.

Shopping has become an experience due to design factors. As an experience malls cater to all: With food courts, mass products and popular events for the mass and chic cafes, luxury boutiques and refined cultural events for the elite. As Miller (1998: 77) points out in relation to privatisation of public space, there is the argument that shopping malls are 'socially divisive, excluding those who lack the necessary cultural or economic capital, who are marked out as *undesirable* because of their appearance or threatening behaviour, or simply because they are loitering (not spending money)'. This is exactly the case of Kanyon, if not the other malls which are appropriated by lower classes and which are perceived as free and democratic spaces by them also. That means the structure and design of these spaces allow their participation.

There are two main criticisms to the proliferation of shopping malls; one is homogeneity- sameness of the malls all around the world- and second is its acting as a public space.

Mall-city

Arcades were described as "city within city where you can spend your whole time" in Arcades Project (Benjamin, 1999) in a quotation.

Now shopping malls fulfil the same purpose of arcades as a global form. Though it seems so obvious that what arcades once were, are shopping malls today, malls are much more organized and controlled than the arcades and put a more strict limit with the street. They are not anymore part, components or extensions of the streets but totally place an alternative to open air space. Taking İstanbul into consideration, today it is possible to tour between shopping malls without getting out of the shopping zone; metro stations connect one to three biggest shopping malls: Cevahir in Şişli, Metrocity and Kanyon in Levent.

Koolhaas (2000) and others consider almost every public space as a mall, with the 'city is equal to mall' view, malls as a replacement or substitute for the city, placing the concept of shopping at focal point (Baudrillard, 1988; Jameson, 2002; Yırtıcı, 2005). Baudrillard states that a shopping mall can become a whole city, where art and leisure mingle with everyday life.

Jameson (2002:146) gives Bonaventura Hotel in Los Angeles as an example of a building 'aspiring to being a total space, a complete world, a kind of miniature city.' For Jameson, the hotel rejects the city outside of it and loses one's relation with the external world. Each mall due to its commercial objectives tends to be a total space. Kanyon is no different than others, enhanced with office and residential buildings, and with its emphasis on the leisure practices, it is a candidate to be a total space for its clientele.

2.2 STYLIZED SHOPPING MALLS

The stylized shopping malls such as Kanyon are called as lifestyle centres in retail terminology. They are mostly in open-air setting, imitate the downtown centre that combines the regular retail services with leisure activities targeting top affluent consumers.

As regular malls began to reflect the city crowds and diversity, upper classes began to search for new spaces where they can maintain difference from less prestigious communities. As the profit concerns of developers, 'malls are designed to attract a large number of shoppers, which meant they had to mix high-status and low-status stores'. The lifestyle centre form is a response to that homogeneous space demand by the affluent. Still, as it is also present in the case of Kanyon which is perceived as a high-end shopping mall, the lowest-status shops and restaurants are placed on the bottom level, with the more exclusive stores on top.

Though the first examples of lifestyle centers were in 1980s, the proliferation of

these retail spaces has been in 2000s in the United States. To give an idea, the number of lifestyle centres increased from 30 in 2002 to 120 at the end of 2004 according to International Council of Shopping Centers (ICSC). As Parija Bhatnagar writes in her column at CNN/Money²⁶ ICSC defines lifestyle centres within 'boutique' shopping concept featuring fancy stores aimed at well-to-do consumers. They are typically located near affluent residential neighborhoods. Different from a regular mall, they generally place wooden tables and lounge chairs made up of wood, leather instead of plastic ones. There is natural sunshine rather than fluorescent lighting. In place of plastic trees and flowers all around, they are embellished with trees, natural plants and aesthetically designed stress-relieving fountains.

The growth of lifestyle centres went parallel with the closing down of traditional malls in the US. However, in Turkey, we are witnessing the development of lifestyle centres along with the proliferation of regular and outlet malls.

The emergence of lifestyle centres is another retail strategy since people begin to spend less and less time in regular malls and pay less visits. Thus lifestyle centres aim to differentiate themselves as being more successful in imitating nature to avoid artificiality of built environment and being more spectacular than the older forms.

Lifestyle centres are the product of postfordist production era where aesthetics is emphasized over abundance of goods. This corresponds to a shift from mass consumer culture to *lifestyle consumer culture*. In Fordist consumer culture, people were subject to illusion of abundance. So many goods were presented in these sites; hence the shopper is captured by this imagery of abundance. The size of the building and the abundance of goods inside served were enough to awe people in mass consumption era.

In the case of Kanyon shopping mall which is a monument of global consumer

²⁶ Bhatnagar, P. (2005) Not a Mall, it's a Lifestyle Center, (visited on 21.04.2007) at

culture, design of the building (not its immensity²⁷) and aesthetic interior design awe people. Though Kanyon places some moderately-priced mass-produced commodities, the fashion stores and the luxury impression of the space exhibit a global elite atmosphere. The abundant use of marbles and ornaments are not favoured by lifestyle consumers, the display of wealth with these items has become popular and not demanded by the new middle class and upper classes who want to distinguish themselves from the rest of the society. According to shopper interviewees' opinions, too, the regular malls have lost their glamour and become the place of masses. Instead refined minimalist style is used which does not create an overloaded distraction and incarnates the idea of aestheticized and refined lifestyle.

2.3 SHOPPING MALLS IN ISTANBUL

Neo-liberal policies and privatisation process that took place after 1980s have led to integration with global consumer culture in Turkey. Finance and service sectors were the first fraction to integrate global economy. İstanbul, being the centre of these sectors and major foreign investments experienced a rapid integration into transnational networks. This also led to an emergence of new social groups employed in these sectors. As part of deindustrialisation and postfordism, İstanbul has become a consumption centre (Keyder, 2005).

Modern office buildings, five star hotels and big shopping malls have got their place in the urban landscape of İstanbul. The first shopping mall, Galleria, opened in İstanbul in 1988 by Turgut Özal, the prime minister of the era, in Ataköy Istanbul. It presented the first modern shopping experience detached from the urban context signifying the articulation with global consumer culture. Galleria at once became an attraction centre for all Istanbulites beyond its catchment area and clientele.

http://money.cnn.com/2005/01/11/news/fortune500/retail_lifestylecenter/

²⁷ this feature do not affect lifestyle consumers now, as well as it is a point which is criticised in interviews with reference to Cevahir shopping mall

The late 1980s were important in terms of changing consumption patterns, since the society has been introduced to the mass produced goods in abundance and new retail services as hypermarkets and shopping malls as an outcome of the internationalization of the retail sector as part of the liberal economic policies and integration with the global economy. This process juxtaposed with political climate of 1980s (political repression of the 1980 military coup era) lead to an introduction to consumerism as a new way of life. This new way of life was not conformed to the society as a whole; it was the new middle class of professionals and managers in big cities who have been the primary actors of that new ways of life. As Öncü (1998) describes they are the ideal consumers of the new era, playing a role in the integration to the norms and values of the global consumer culture.

Two other malls opened in 1999 in İstanbul: Akmerkez and Capitol. Akmerkez is located in Etiler, an upper class district known as modern and wealthy and Capitol, on the Anatolian side, in Altunizade, where middle class people inhabit mostly. Though the first mall opened in 1988, the proliferation of malls took place in the last ten years. They were introduced as the spaces of modern and civilized urban life surpassing the limits of shopping. Today, shopping malls are the major spaces of urban social and cultural environment for the middle and upper classes in İstanbul.

Malls have been new display sites in addition to existing public spaces in İstanbul which are also major shopping districts, namely, Beyoğlu, Şişli, Kadıköy, Bakırköy, Eminönü, Nişantaşı and Bağdat Street. The latter two are the high end shopping districts whereas others have a fairly heterogeneous character. Like the division of shopping districts, shopping malls reveal a similar classification. Akmerkez and Kanyon designate a high end shopping space whereas, Nautilus, Cevahir, Carousel, Capitol, Carrefour-Ümraniye are more accessible for diverse groups. This is both due to the structure of districts (being close to affluent residents as in the case of Akmerkez, or being in the access of business centres such as Kanyon in Levent) and design of the mall, the store-mix, physical

accessibility (transportation) also make the space more accessible or limit it to a certain social group (Ritzer, 1999; Miller, 1998). Malls shared the function of seeing and being seen with these public spaces. People learn the legitimate norms and 'improve' in manners through this urban experience (Uğur, 2002).

Malls accounted for 10 % of non-food retail sector with 6 billion \$ in 2006.²⁸ Currently there are 127 malls in Turkey with a total sales area of 2,556,513 sqm as of March 2007. 48 of these malls are in İstanbul. 36 malls are under construction and 31 more are planned in İstanbul²⁹. Though it is argued by retailers and mall developers that the per capita floor space in Turkey is very low when compared to Western countries, İstanbul is going to 'catch up' with them by the completion of under construction malls. By 2009 per capita floor-space will reach 163 sqm in İstanbul which is over the figures of countries such as Germany, Italy and Finland.³⁰

*Malling of Turkey*³¹ is rapidly increasing. Cities can maintain growth by developing new consumption sites such as shopping malls, luxury hotels, restaurants, museums and galleries. Thus malls are important as a sign for growth of the city economy and its competitive position (Harvey, 1995).

During the last three years 45 new shopping malls opened in Turkey. And in İstanbul, more than half of the malls (65%) opened after 2003. Istanbul currently has 43.9% of the total floor-space area of Turkey with 48 shopping malls.

²⁸ 2006 retail market is recorded as 137 billion \$, 52,8% is food retail. - AMPD – Dünya, 29/5/2007

²⁹ According to the latest reports of Association of Shopping Centers and Retailers (AMPD)

³⁰ See Appendix C for country figures.

³¹ derived from Kowinski's book titled, *The Malling of America* (1985) ; see Appendix C for mall figures in Turkey by years.

III DISTINCTION VIA STYLIZATION OF LIFE

3.1 KANYON SHOPPING MALL

Kanyon is a stylized shopping mall with more space to leisure activities where experience and form are given importance beyond material goods. With these features, it presents a good example of aestheticization of urban everyday life.

Kanyon embraces the globalized consumption patterns and cultural signs where one can not only witness global consumption practices but an establishment of “urbanistic global distinction”. Kanyon is constituted and experienced in such a way that it presents a spectacle of the aestheticized form of wealth.

The owners and managing director emphasized the distinctive architecture with open air design, the green space that build an aesthetic environment which more resembles a street than a regular enclosed shopping mall. Kanyon has put a *grey matter* in its environment as offering an elegant ambiance which is said to be absent or lost in other malls³². As mentioned in the article on ‘Turkey’s new delights’, indicating Kanyon shopping mall, the latest modern art museum and further city development plans, Kanyon is mentioned as an ‘example of the boom in *experiential malls* in America and the Far East, where quality of the experience counts as much as what's sold inside’ (The Times, August 15, 2006).

Kanyon is a mixed-use real estate project enhancing shopping, entertainment, office and residential components. It accommodates a 26-floor office tower and a residential block with 179 units. Foreign investment banks, information and business service sectors where globalised information elites are employed have offices in this office tower. The complex is owned by Eczacıbaşı Group and İş

³² As quoted in Baudrillard (1998: 28), a mall manager explains his mall concept: “just selling products doesn’t interest us. We want to put a bit of grey matter in there too...but in a new style, with something more, perhaps a bit of intelligence and human warmth.” Galleria and Capitol are two examples of sales generating updates of malls which changed their store-mix and added new amenities to offer an aestheticised atmosphere which may be considered as putting that grey matter, adding something more to that space.

Bankası Real Estate Investment Trusts.

The shopping mall part is opened by the prime minister of Turkey, Tayyip Erdoğan in May 30, 2006. He stated that he finds Kanyon inspiring for the urban vision of İstanbul (Radikal, 31 May 2006). Hence Kanyon is celebrated as it is a contribution to the cultural capital and prestige accumulation of the globalised side of İstanbul. The owners position Kanyon as the ‘most distinguished living center and monument’ of the city of İstanbul:

Ortağımız İş GYO ile Kanyon'u, kentimizin en özellikli yaşam merkezi ve anıtı olarak yaşatacağız. (Bülent Eczacıbaşı, Radikal, 31 May 2006)³³

Kanyon accommodates 160 stores in four floors. There are nine theatre halls with a capacity of 1,600 spectators, two book stores: D&R and Remzi Kitabevi. D&R is the largest of its chains and book store in size. The anchor stores are fashion department store Harvey Nichols and D&R. The gates are open 24 hours and the stores are open from 10 am to 10 pm as other shopping malls but the cafes are opened earlier for breakfast service and the restaurants and bars are open till 12 pm or 2 pm. depending on the individual enterprise decisions. There is one super market, Macrocenter, which is also in Akmerkez and known as a ‘gourmet market’.

Location

Kanyon is located in Levent (on the Gültepe side), a major internationalised business district where many multinational companies have offices in the city’s tallest skyscrapers. Thus it has an important role in the social and cultural life of professionals mainly in service sector. As Bilgin & Karaören (1993) argued huge business centres such as Sabancı Twin Towers, İş Bankası Towers, Yapı Kredi Plaza, Tekfen Tower do not belong to the place they are built; they are even designed to detach from the environment and to look at it instead. Their inner space design strengthens this situation. The sensory contact with natural and

³³ “With our associate İş Real Estate Investment Trusts, we are going to maintain Kanyon as the most distinguished living centre and monument of our city.”

urban environment is interrupted and the relation is reduced to a spectacle and visual relationship. This analysis does well apply to malls. Kanyon is built in that area of office buildings with the claim of a living space. Thus with proliferation of office buildings and shopping spaces in the area, the district has become a hyper environment, making the neighbourhood dwellers minority in their own area. They are altogether detached from the surrounding environment forming a 'hyper-real environment'. They do not have a context; however, these no-context buildings come together in a way that they leave existing fabric off-context, shaping the environment as their 'natural' space.



Kanyon has connections to metro, bus and minibus stops. It has high accessibility to business centres around Zincirlikuyu, Levent, Etiler and Maslak as well as residential areas in this region including Gültepe, Çeliktepe, Seyrantepe, Emniyetevler and Sanayi Mahallesi as well as Levent, Etiler and Ulus, the latter group being the middle and upper class districts, while the former ones are more working class and lower middle class neighbourhoods in general.

Though the US examples are better in being neighbourhood simulacras gesturing toward their environments, Kanyon cannot surpass the basic characteristic of

typical malls - turning its backs to its surroundings and concentrate the activities within itself. There is a big difference between being ‘outside’ and being in open-air. Lifestyle centres try to ‘convey a sense of being out and about in the world.’ This is a more subtle form than typical malls since we are face to face with a hyper reality which is perfectly an *image of a real life*.

Images are imitations or representations of things in real world. Kanyon as an image attempts to imitate the life in Nişantaşı which is known as an elite district of the elite Istanbulites³⁴. Kanyon allows us recognize the similarity and thus makes us interested in the place as it happens in the work-of-art (Sheppard, 1987).

Architecture

Kanyon differentiates from typical enclosed malls by its open-air and architecture. The aesthetic of architectural and interior design function as an instrument for distinction. The distinct design of Kanyon as a space of consumption provides an artistic spectacle.



Kanyon has a curvilinear architecture with the form of a natural canyon from which it takes its name. Gray stone is used instead of marble as it connotes the

³⁴ See Mağğönül (2004) for her work on Nişantaşı.

street. There is a fountain and a pool at the base floor which is said to create a water sound in nature as in a canyon. Each floor is thought as a street and offers an outdoor strolling to its clientele.

Kanyon in terms of its architecture is taken as a work-of-art. The architecture is much appreciated which is heavily supported by publicity. It won the 2006 Cityscape Architectural Review Award in the "Commercial Built" category.



The curved corridors create a sense of street to offer discoveries as in the street. You don't see everything at the same time. There are hidden spaces and small squares as if in a village square. The corridors are named and depicted as street names to enhance the idea of a street. As Jameson argues for malls in general, Kanyon indeed constitutes a modern-day main street (Jameson, 2003:70).

Even architecture and design framing the look of the mall do encompass symbolic violence. By symbolic violence, adopting the notion from Bourdieu (2001), I understand the subtle, embedded or accepted form of power relations which makes the building a source of gentle, invisible violence arising from admiration,

unfamiliarity and loyalty (the notion is elaborated in the next chapter). The main entrance is designed in such a way that it creates a feeling of entering an exhibition hall or museum. It is a very wide open space, where one feels to correct oneself as soon as one steps into the site. Museum-like inner space and abundance of luxurious brands with again display windows like art galleries create a deeper spectacle space. The continuity of display windows is broken with empty concrete walls while passing by, one meets walls, not continuous display windows which is a characteristic of museum architecture (Karadeniz, 2006). This form of architecture which emphasizes the values of the noble culture does also contribute to the practice of symbolic capital.

Absence of Food Court

There is no food court area at Kanyon with self-service fast food. The only fast food restaurants are McDonalds and Burger King. They are also different than typical store design; one eats hamburgers in leather armchairs. They are placed not in the front area but at the back part of cafes.

Food courts are very important in the experience of malls as public spaces at least for those with adequate purchasing power to buy food there. The food court area is the place where people from diverse groups mingle and are subject to same service. Thus it is the communal space in the mall. It is also the most common mall experience of lower classes. It is mass consumption of food where there is no aesthetics, ambiance in this mass area with plastic chairs and tables, plastic cutlery, plastic trays and people queues for both to be served & to get a table. Instead Kanyon has separate cafes and restaurants which appeal to the upper classes mostly. There is, certainly, nothing wrong with providing separate eating places offering better quality and aesthetics; nevertheless it creates enclaves within the mall which makes lower classes to perceive the space as a not-free space and intimidating.

The separate cafes and restaurants provide a segregated space for those who do not like to mingle with common people and crowds. These restaurants offer

numerous choices³⁵ to the affluent while the lower classes express that there is not much food choices. It is important to emphasize the fact that where there is many choices for the affluent, there is few for the poor. As Miller (198:78) points out, ‘the increased choice for the most affluent has led to decreased choice for poorer members of society.’ Thus the claim of abundance of choices in consumer capitalism is a class-based one.

Lifestyle in Kanyon

Kanyon is not a space of mass culture, it is a distinguished space with its emphasize on aesthetics. It is designed differently than typical malls as a feature of lifestyle centres. If aesthetics is the art of combining things in a coherence then Kanyon, no doubt, is an aesthetic place where architecture, store displays, café designs, and ‘people’ are within a harmony creating a perfect ambiance. Kanyon describes itself as follows: “It is beyond being a mere shopping mall, a new living space. Kanyon provides a place where you can breathe, entertain, renew yourself, meet your friends and spend a pleasurable time. The live performances, street performances, DJ shows add a novel dimension to one’s shopping experience in Kanyon” (from the press bulletin of Kanyon).

Kanyon is a pseudo public place / a gathering place designed to attract upper class and new professional riches and make them feel distinct and comfortable. It has very little almost nothing to appeal to its neighbouring Gültepe dwellers. Thus Kanyon as a ‘lifestyle’ (retail) project allows its clientele to avoid contact with those who aren't just like themselves.

The market produces new consumption forms to meet the lifestyle demands of the global capital. Kanyon also serves for the same aim in İstanbul which has become an important business center for the flow of global capital. It accomodates many

³⁵ Some examples are Wagamama, Hakkasan, Chinese in Town, Le Pain Quotidien, Cafe Wien, Kitchenette, Num Num which offer distinctive experiences from world cuisine. It is worth to mention that almost all restaurant and café names are in foreign languages. Some are chains of international restaurants and others such as Kitchennette, Num Num, Midpoint, Park Avenue, Porto Antico are local enterprises named in different languages.

stylish, hip places for wining and dining. Some international restaurants and cafes offer their clientele to experience the same lifestyle ambience that they can find in any other globalised city, which has led to universalization of consumption patterns in the world.

The managing director, Marcus Lehto states that they wanted to create a 'neighbourhood atmosphere' in Kanyon, like a street, a simulation of Nişantaşı. Strolling in Kanyon is a form of socialisation and being on display as it is for Nişantaşı. The only difference is that Kanyon lacks a history. It has no local memories, no context and organic connection to the surrounding environment and living which makes it a 'non-place' that is deprived of any meaning other than the one defined by the retail investors (Auge, 1995).

Malls, in general, are aestheticized commodity worlds. However, affluent classes have begun to lose their interest in 'the generic placeless aura of the malls'. "Build a fountain, they will come" says Price, "Developers install nature like a sign to affluent middle class shoppers, saying this place is a real place, and it is for you" (Price in Miller, 1998: 29). Kanyon with its natural elements appeals to the aesthetic taste of affluent groups. The everyday life of the big cities is aestheticized especially for the middle and upper classes who establish their lives within the circle of new aestheticized urban landscape.

The managing director of Kanyon differentiates Kanyon from other malls with its *city like* atmosphere. Though he said that target clientele of Kanyon is not only upper classes, by describing Kanyon as a gathering place for the estimated 50,000 professionals working in the area, the neighbourhood dwellers are not included in that figure. By indicating Nişantaşı, a high-income neighbourhood and commercial centre, as the competitor of Kanyon, the targeted profile has been made clear (Burcu Özçelik, "Kanyon'un Kanadalı Genel Müdürü Markus Lehto", Hürriyet İK, June 25, 2006). Kanyon is aestheticized by being defined as a place to buy a modern experience for a better life, not as a place only for shopping but for having good time as well (Sabah, "Şehrin En Lüks Adresi", June 19, 2006).

Recent news on Kanyon proves that the management achieved their target of

creating a meeting point for the urban affluent classes. The mall became an important meeting place especially for the business people and professionals. The restaurants in the mall attract around 3,000 visitors for lunch and the number of daily visitors has reached 6-7,000 people (Akşam, “Kanyon iş dünyası için yemek üssü oldu” May 15, 2007). The restaurant workers and shoppers interviewed in the research field also mentioned that there is a stream of people from surrounding office buildings to Kanyon during lunch time.



The management organizes live jazz and classical music concerts different from the entertainment activities of typical malls with popular programs.³⁶ One can listen to a cello trio or a transverse flute player at the corner of a corridor, imitating street musicians. What is absent is the hat in front of the musician. There are also distinctive concerts such as Ayhan Sicimoğlu and All Stars³⁷ which indicate the refined taste and culture of the urban elite. All these amenities offer a unique experience to Kanyon’s clientele which constitute them as elite-consumer subjects as part of this elite lifestyle.

³⁶ This is similar to the activities held in different gated communities. While Bahçeşehir hosts popular concerts Kemer Country arranges ‘jazz days’ as mentioned by Daniş, D. & Pérouse, F. (2005:109) in their work on gated communities.

³⁷ Okay Temiz concert, Vitra Exhibition, National Geography Exhibition, Children Workshops by İstanbul Modern are some of the activities held in Kanyon.

Kanyon, with its name and architectural form referring to the trendy taste in outdoor sports, with its stylish restaurants, cafes and luxury stores that appeal to the elite tastes is a space of symbolic capital. In addition, due to its location, it spatially merges young professionals in service sector and culture industries and the elite whom are part of the global networks and provides them opportunities to attain the global elite culture.

3.2 “DISTINCTION MACHINE”: KANYON

Appreciation of Kanyon

This section is concerned with the way Kanyon is perceived and practiced by the interviewees. The narrations of the interviewees are kept in native language within the text and English translations are added as a footnote for each quotation. The work and residential districts and the age of the interviewees are respectively denoted after their names in parentheses. My words are given in parenthesis within the quotation where necessary.

Interviewees are categorised as Kanyon habitu  and G ltepe interviewees.³⁸ Kanyon habitu s all state that they prefer malls for shopping because they find everything – all the brands - under one roof.³⁹ The interviewees in this category are mostly in upper middle income level with high education (university graduate). The choice of mall depends primarily on ease of access, its closeness to their residential or work area and variety of stores. However if there are more than one choice with more or less the same convenience, then other factors such as comfort and pleasure emerge.

Kesinlikle alışveriş merkezlerini tercih ediyorum  nk  b t n markaları aynı anda g rebileceđim ortamlar. (...) Alışveriş merkezleri i inde de Akmerkez tamamen evime yakın olduđu i in etkili. Kanyon'a da gidiyorum. Kanyon da, belli bir kalitenin  st nde olduđu i in. Yani oradaki biraz tabi Őey, farklılařtı Kanyon tarz olarak. (Cansu; Gayrettepe / Ulus, 37)⁴⁰

³⁸ Frequent Kanyon users are called as ‘Kanyon habitu ’ and occasional visitors as ‘G ltepe interviewees’ to make it simpler to follow the text. See introduction chapter for research method in detail.

³⁹ Except two Anatolian side dwellers who use malls and Kanyon frequently however, the primary shopping place is Bađdat Street where all brands and stores are ‘complete’ in that street as they stated.

⁴⁰ “I certainly prefer shopping malls, because I can find all brands at hand. (....) Akmerkez is convenient for me as it is close to my house. I also go to Kanyon because it has a quality beyond certain standards. I mean, Kanyon became a distinguished place by style.”

Alışveriş merkezlerini kullanıyorum ama aslında sadece alışveriş için değil. Alışverişinin haricinde, aynı zamanda gezme mekanı. Mesela sineması var, kafesi için de... (Nilay, Anadoluhisarı / Nişantaşı,24)⁴¹

Gültepe interviewees, on the other hand, are in middle or lower income level. They rather use the shops in their area for shopping. Although they pay visit to shopping malls, it is less frequent and mostly for leisure activities as promenade. In general, the main shopping places for lower classes for clothing are neighbourhood stores and open markets and for food and cleaning supplies supermarkets and discount stores such as BİM and ŞOK.⁴²

People go to Kanyon more for recreation and visibility rather than a purposeful shopping. Kanyon, for a very limited number of people is the place to shop in its narrow meaning, for purchasing things. It is mainly used as a place for other activities such as meeting friends, dining and wining, strolling, having a coffee, going to the cinema, seeing others and being seen. Especially for the youth, Kanyon means a place for outing, taking coffee and watching movies.

Benim için alışveriş merkezleri aslında son zamanlarda sosyalleşme yerleri, arkadaşlarla buluşma, hani oranın restoranından, kafesinden yararlanma yerleri. Kıyafet alışverişinden çok o kısmı beni daha çok çekiyor. Çünkü Starbucks mesela her zaman bir arkadaşınla buluşma ve sosyalleşme yeri. Kahvesi için gitmiyorum ben oraya, rahatlığı için gidiyorum. Onlar da alışveriş merkezlerinin içinde olunca çok daha cazip hale geliyor. Ya da arkadaşlarımla öğlen yemeği yemek, akşam üstü oturup sohbet etmek buluşmak için de oraları seçiyorum çünkü şık restoranların yada şık kafelerin şubeleri mutlaka bunların içinde açılıyor, iyi bir buluşma noktası benim için aynı zamanda. (Cansu; Gayrettepe / Ulus, 37)⁴³

⁴¹ "I use malls, but actually not only for shopping but also for strolling. There is a movie theatre, cafes inside."

⁴² According to the KMG research, 75% of lower classes primarily shop from neighbourhood stores on the street and in back streets. See also Durakbaşa & Cindoğlu (2001:78).

⁴³ "Lately, shopping malls, for me have become places to socialise: Places to meet friends, to go to its cafes and restaurants. This aspect attracts me more to the malls than the shopping itself. Starbucks, for example, is always a place to meet fiends and to get socialised. I go there not for its coffee, but for its comfort. These places become much more attractive when they are within malls. I, once more, choose these places as the stylish cafe and restaurant chains are undoubtedly located in these places. I meet friends to have lunch or to have a drink after work. It is, at the same time, a good meeting point for me."

In the same vein with Bourdieu's analysis of public place practices on the example of a pub, one does not go to a café only to drink coffee but also to participate actively in a collective pastime capable of giving the participants a feeling of belonging to a social group as Cansu narrates her Kanyon experience (Bourdieu, 1994: 99).

Gültepe interviewees visited Kanyon only a few times, some only just once to see the place, others have taken friends or relatives there on special occasions.⁴⁴ It has not become a regular practice for them to go there, though it is in walking distance. They do not visit other malls frequently either. However when they do, the malls they still prefer are Cevahir, Metrocity and Profilo⁴⁵ and not Kanyon. Economic capital and cultural capital are the two major criteria that shape the ways shopping malls are experienced and consumed by different socio-economic groups.

Shields (1992:103) states that 'the marginal, alone or simply idle go to shopping malls for the sense of presence and social centrality'. In the case of Kanyon, this is not a common practice for the marginal and the poor. They are not visible at Kanyon. As Arzu narrates:

Buraya gelen kitle rahat giyinip, rahat dolaşip kendini gösterip, yani burası küçük bir Manhattan. Ya da yani, öyle bir yer ve benim duyduğum kadarıyla kapı görevlileri, bilmiyorum ne kadar doğru, çok tıpsızleri almıyorlarmış içeri. Bunu geçen sene biri söylemişti bana. Burada hiçbir zaman o kadar kıro olmuyor yani. Ya girmeye cesaret edemiyorlar, ya çok didikleniyorlar kapıda, belki rahatsız oluyorlar...Burada öyle birşey var. Buraya haftasonu, Pazar günü dahi o kadar fena insan gelmiyor yani. (Arzu, unemployed, Ulus, 28)⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Menekşe visited the site two times, they took her cousin from Adana to Kanyon in their first visit, and the second visit was on 23 April Children's Day, she took her daughter to the site for the events organised for children.

⁴⁵ These are typical shopping malls accomodating both moderately priced brands and luxury brands and a food court area for middle class mass consumption. They are located in Şişli, Levent and Mecidiyeköy respectively as mentioned in the text.

⁴⁶ "The type of people who come here are those who wish to dress, stroll and exhibit themselves at ease, just like in little Manhattan. I do not know how much of it is true, but as far as I know, the security staff does not let inappropriate, smutty people in. I mean, there are never any shabby, loutish people here. They either do not dare to step in, or they are so scrutinized that they feel uncomfortable. There is such thing here. Even at the weekends, including Sundays, there are no such bad-looking people here."

The lifestyle represented at Kanyon which allows for particular ways of acting and displaying oneself, functions at the same time as *symbolic violence* and class distinction. As Bourdieu (2001:2) defines, symbolic violence (sometimes called as symbolic power) is a gentle and invisible violence, exercised mostly through symbolic channels of communication, cognition, misrecognition or even feeling. It may be in the form of a language or a pronunciation, a lifestyle, or a way of thinking, speaking or acting. The magic of symbolic power for Bourdieu (2001:38) is that ‘the dominated, often unwittingly, sometimes unwillingly, contribute to their own domination by tacitly accepting the limits imposed, often take the form of bodily emotions such as shame, humiliation, timidity, an anxiety or passions and sentiments such as love, admiration and respect.’ Symbolic violence may lead to self-exclusion or admiration and submission.

In the case of Kanyon, the architectural style, the strategically arrangement of the stores, upscale world brand names, stylish cafes, the visibility of the security staff in corridors, and the dominant lifestyle and clientele profile who have particular cultural capital as well as a good amount of economic capital accumulation, sometimes altogether (as a *dispositif*), sometimes the dominance of one of these heterogeneous elements unintentionally and unconsciously (theoretically as such, however the strategy of the management may exercise some implicit mechanisms not to allow ‘vulgar’ people inside) lead to operation of symbolic violence on those who do not have the required cultural capital besides economic capital hence unfamiliar with the codes and signs of the lifestyle represented in Kanyon⁴⁷.

Young interviewees in the habitu  category are more excited about this place. They are the ones who are more likely to be named ‘mall strollers’. However they do not feel at all as ‘idle wanderers’ though they do not purchase goods from the stores, but sit at Starbucks, Gloria Jeans, go to cinema and dine at the restaurants hence they feel part of that lifestyle presented in Kanyon. The G ltepe youth on the other hand stressed that they do not go there for ‘idle wandering’. They don’t

⁴⁷ The next part provides more examples on the exercise of symbolic violence.

feel like to go there again after the first-second visits.

Kanyon deęişik bir alışveriş merkezi, halka yönelik deęil, bir sefer girip çıkar, yani benim gibi. Ben bir sefer girdim, baktım ve bana hiç uyum sağlamadığını gördüm. Oranın müşterisi farklı bir kitle. (Osman; Gültepe/Üsküdar;37)⁴⁸

This exemplifies that Gültepe interviewees excludes themselves from that consumption site as a result of the symbolic violence they are subjected to.

In general, all the interviewees expressed their appreciation for the site. They admire the distinctive architecture of Kanyon without exception, though the arguments and statements are more bold and detailed in habitué interviewees. Sometimes people, from both groups do repeat taken-for-granted opinions rather than sharing their actual opinions or practices. Hence it is difficult to overcome the normative pressure on people which I could manage for most but not for all.

The open air character of Kanyon is one of the first mentioned features, as being fresh and spacious keeping their reserves for the wind circulation. However, even it was a major complaint, this negative feature is outstripped by the symbolic value of the site allowing people to act or feel as members of the elite lifestyle symbolized at Kanyon.

Nilay narrates attractive features of Kanyon as follows:

(İnsan)Nişantaşı'nda alışveriş yapmayı niçin tercih eder çünkü hem hoş ve seçkin bir mekandır, havadar, yürürsünüz, etrafta insanlarla karşılaşursunuz, hoş bir ambiyans yaratmıştır size. Ama kapalı bir alışveriş merkezinde niye dolaşursunuz çünkü aradığınız her şeyi bir arada bulabilirsiniz, sizi zorlamayan bir mimari yapısı vardır ve hoş gelir. Kanyon'da ikisinin birleşimi vardı. Hem açık hava gibiydi, hem ambiyansı hoştu, hem farklı bir mimarisi vardı, dolayısı ile orası cazip geldi.(Nilay, Anadoluhisarı / Nişantaşı,24)⁴⁹

⁴⁸ “Kanyon is a distinctive shopping mall, it does not appeal to the general public. They would visit once and that would be it, just like, in the same way as I did. I felt that it does not suit me. It serves for a different kind of clientele.”

⁴⁹ Why would someone prefer to shop in Nişantaşı? Because it is a pleasant and privileged district: you walk along in open air and come across people, it creates a charming ambiance. Why would one visit a shopping mall? Because one can find everything that is looked for under one roof, it has a simple architectural plan. Kanyon offers both: It is like open-air space with a nice ambiance set in a distinguished architecture. That is why it has become an attractive place.”

Nilay emphasizes the similarity between Nişantaşı and Kanyon. Hence Kanyon has become the new ‘neighbourhood’ of the elite and elite lifestyle for the modern elite urbanites. Moreover, it has taken over the ‘elite’ reputation of Akmerkez which has become appropriated by common people and lost its distinctive feature as Hale elucidates:

Akmerkez Kanyon gibi değil. Akmerkez’de her türden insan var, orta hallisi de var, daha zengini de var. Eskiden Akmerkez deyince daha buranın hali gibiydi, şimdi öyle değil artık. (Hale, Levent/Etiler, 32)⁵⁰

The comments of Gültepe interviewees on Kanyon were ambiguous, and even the question of how do they find this place was a kind of symbolic violence application which was the difficult part of the conversation.

Hoş, güzel bir yer, yapılışı filan çok değişik, yani ilgi çekici, yani bana öyle geldi. Ama alışveriş için tabi ki biraz, bizlere göre, pahalı yani, bize göre. (Menekşe, Kuştepe/Gültepe, 33)⁵¹

(Nasıl anlattırısın Kanyon’u?) Güzel bir yer derim herhalde. Kötü bir yer değil de...Güzel derim de pahalı da derim, yani, üstüne. Çok “çiks” bir yer derim. (Arkadaşları güllüyor ve düzeltiyor, ciks diyerek)(Gültepe youth conversation)⁵²

Kanyon habitués as if inhabitants of that simulated neighbourhood have more to say about Kanyon, whilst Gültepe interviewees have tendency to give short answers as they are symbolically excluded from that ‘neighbourhood’. Still, all the interviewees have made positive comments about the architectural design of Kanyon in accordance with the general opinion. This kind of admiration is also reveals an act of symbolic violence.

⁵⁰ “Akmerkez is not like Kanyon. Akmerkez serves now up all kinds of people: middle class visits Akmerkez as much as the wealthier ones do. Whereas before, when one mentioned Akmerkez, you would have imagined today’s Kanyon. It has changed now.”

⁵¹ “It is a nice, pleasant place. Its construction is quite different, meaning attractive. I mean, this is the way I perceived it. However, it is a little –for us, of course – expensive to shop.”

⁵² “(How would do you describe Kanyon?) I would not say a terrible place. I would possibly, say a fine but also expensive place. A very “çiks place” (çiks is a made-up word indicating brand and fashion obsessed affluent youngsters who pay attention to their look in a great deal. ‘Çiks place’ is the place where these people frequent)”

Kanyon is praised by habitués for its caring facilities such as providing a motorcycle parking in the parking area and very clean toilets as features making them feel they are cared for and special in Kanyon, which constitutes the feeling of superiority and privileged.

Movie theatres were praised as well, with the aesthetic experience it offers to the clients. It is mentioned as one of the most favourite parts of Kanyon by the habitués, particularly by the younger ones, not only because it is comfortable with wider room for legs and high quality screening, but because of the elegant environment and aesthetic sensation in the entrance hall with lights, colours and sounds.

The individual opinions of the interviewees are not very different from general public opinion particularly for the description of Kanyon itself and its consumer profile in general. Kanyon as an elite, elegant and upscale shopping and leisure space has taken wide coverage in media. However the ways of saying, the way they articulate that same discourse is important to make an analysis for the reproduction of social distinction in such places. Their sayings about shopping activity as well include some everyday myth, as part of everyday language, words and phrases used mostly on magazines, newspaper and advertising. For example, Cansu gives importance to indulge oneself and practices in Kanyon are a way for indulging herself. This also reveals how our acts and thoughts are shaped through lifestyle media and advertising offering distinctive subjective experiences. Recent advertising slogans are based on indulging oneself, particularly women such as 'Fakir alın, evinizi şımartın' and '8 Mart, onu şımart'

Mesala Harvey Nichols açıldığı zamandan beri, medyada da çok fazla gündemde olduğu için ben de şey uyandı. Hah acaba, daha önce bu marka hakkında bilgim yoktu, ha nedir acaba! Bu kadar kıyafetleri eşsiz yapan insanları dünyada üç tane var beş tane var diye koleksiyonlar peşinden koşturan marka ve mağaza nedir diye. Mesela orası benim için o ambiyansı oluşturan, o Kanyon ruhunu oluşturan önemli yerlerden bir tanesi. Yani vitrini de öyle,...(Nilay, Anadoluhisarı / Nişantaşı,24)⁵³

⁵³ I was, for instance, curious about Harvey Nichols, because of its excessive and continuous presence in media ever since it is opened. Then I started to question: what is this brand that makes the clothes so unique and makes people run after its rare collections. For me, Harvey Nichols is one of the important places that creates this ambiance and generate the Kanyon essence. The display window is like that, too.

Kanyon with the opening of Harvey Nichols has become a social attraction centre where wonder and envy come together (Uğur, 2002:132). Though most of the interviewees did not visit this luxury department store, they do associate Kanyon with it in their narrations.

Kanyon is celebrated by the Kanyon habitu  with excitement whereas G ltepe interviewees are distant in their attitude which implies their feelings of not belonging. Thus, Kanyon as a dispositif constitutes those with necessary cultural capital as elite consumer-subjects and operates as a symbolic violence on others who lack cultural and economic capital. In the field work, it came out that G ltepe interviewees exclude themselves from the site by saying ‘this place is not for us’.

This Place is not for us

Though the Western malls indicate the shift from elite to mass form of consumption, the new forms of malls which Kanyon represents is a re-shift to elite consumption. Kanyon appeals to the upper classes with new forms of social distinction eroding the revolution of mass produced goods which promotes equality and free choice.

The wealthy classes and the professionals working in the area do (comfortably) use Kanyon in diverse ways. Though being a Kanyon habitu  does not mean being an upper class member as Vedat elucidates indicating that there is no simple correspondence between cultural tastes and class position. However, this indicates another form of symbolic violence, this time in the form of admiration and respect.

(burası senin tarzına uygun bir yer mi?)  yle s yliyeyim. Burası aslında bir yerde kişinin kendini neye uydurmak istediğine baėlı, yani Kanyon  ok l kst r, ben  ok zenginim bana uyuyor gibisinden deėil. Burada cebinde 20 milyon olan insan da burada gelir, Kanyon’da burada oturur (Starbucks) kahvesini i er, 1 milyar harcamak isteyen kiři de daha  stteki yerlere gider. Harvey Nichols’a gidersen, hi 

gitmedim ama, çok daha fazlasını ödersin, kişiye bağlı...(Vedat, Levent/Maltepe, 20)⁵⁴

However Gültepe interviewees keep distance from Kanyon. This again points out to symbolic violence in the form of self-exclusion. They tend to use Cevahir or Profilo for leisure pastime, avoiding Kanyon which is closer to their home and the latest opened mall. Thus people depending on their economic and cultural capital accumulation develop closer relationships with the sites which they identify themselves with. Cevahir and Profilo are associated with lower middle classes (common people, more heterogeneous) whereas Kanyon appeals to upper middle class and affluent groups in the interviews.

The quotations below indicate why Gültepe interviewees keep distance from Kanyon:

Sevmiyoruz açıkçası öyle ortamları ... Kasıntı tipler. ... Bize uygun değil Kanyon açıkçası. ... Oraya giden insanlar bizim ayarımız olmadığı için, biz de gitmek istemiyoruz genelde. İhtiyaçlarımızı karşılamak için, yoksa gezmek amaçlı değil.(Gültepe youth conversation)⁵⁵

Dediğim gibi sanki özgürlükleri kısıtlar bir hava var. Üstü açık belki o hava yakalanmak istenmiş ama (rahatlığı kast ederek) içerdeki işletmeler açısından o hava yakalanamamış. (Mete, Gültepe / Gültepe, 35) (Kaysu araya girerek) Evet, aşırı sosyetik duruyor yahu, böyle insanı sıkıyor. Metrocity öyle değil mesela. (Kaysu, Gültepe / Gültepe, 20)⁵⁶

⁵⁴ “(does this place represent your style?) It depends on what one wants to suit oneself to. It is not because Kanyon is a high-end luxurious place and it suits one because of one’s wealth. On one hand, those who have 20 YTL (\$15 approx.) to spend, come and drink coffee here (Starbucks) but on the other hand those who would like to spend 1000 YTL (\$800 approx.) would choose to go to the upper floor stores. They would go to Harvey Nichols – I have never went to - and would pay much more. It depends on the person.”

⁵⁵ “To be honest, we do not like this kind of places. The snooty people... Frankly speaking, Kanyon is not suitable for us. In general, we do not like to go there as those going there are not of our kind. We only go there for our needs, not for loitering.”

⁵⁶ “As I said, there is an impression restraining the freedom. It might be open, aiming to be free and spacious but this aim does not thrive well in its stores. (Kaysu interposes) Yes, it looks ultra classy, it annoys you. Metrocity, for instance, is not like that.”

In addition, the young Gültepe interviewees seem uneasy about being thought as *mall-rats* thus as Kaysu, the sales assistant, also emphasised that she did not like to loiter in malls. She resists to the self-definitions made by the established order for her, which leads to exclude herself from the legitimate space of the elite.

Ben fazla alışveriş merkezlerini gezmeyi sevmem. ... Boş zamanımda alışveriş yaparım (gülüyor) ya da arkadaşlarımla geçiririm zamanımı. Dışarda geçiririz ama böyle alışveriş merkezlerinde boş boş dolaşmıyoruz. (Kaysu, Gültepe / Gültepe, 20)⁵⁷

As Bourdieu (1984: 471) states the sense of one's place leads one to exclude oneself from the goods, persons, places from which one is excluded. Quoting from Bourdieu (1989:17), 'it is the sense of place that leads common people to keep to their common place and others to keep their distance to maintain their rank and to not get familiar. These strategies may be perfectly unconscious and take the form of what is called timidity or arrogance'. In the case of Kanyon, common people express their relation to Kanyon with "this place is not for us" statement. This reveals the symbolic boundaries⁵⁸ of exclusion. The space of Kanyon that is embellished with the codes and symbols of elite and affluent lifestyle distances those who are perceived to be different in dressing, talking, addressing and behaving thus taste as part of habitus works as an indicator of social distinction.

Orta sınıf veya halk oraya adaptasyon olamıyorlar, ... burası bana ait değil gibi bakıyor adam. ... Bilinçaltında o var yani...O kadar etkilemiş ki beni, tamamen gezmeyi düşünmedim, oturup birşey içmeyi bile düşünmedim. Ürkütüyor insanları. O şekilde bile beni şey yapıyor yani...Oraya ait olmadığınızı düşünüyorsunuz ama Cevahir'de ya da herhangi bir alışveriş merkezinde, Akmerkez de bile o hisse kapılmıyorsunuz. (Berat, Gültepe / Gültepe, 45)⁵⁹

⁵⁷ "I don't like much loitering in malls. ... I shop in my spare time (she laughs) or spend time with friends. We go out but we do not loiter idly to kill time in malls."

⁵⁸ Lamont (2001: 1) describes symbolic boundaries as 'the lines that include and define some people, groups and things while excluding others. These distinctions can be expressed through normative interdictions (taboos), cultural attitudes and practices, and more generally through patterns of likes and dislikes. They play an important role in the creation of inequality and the exercise of power. The term "symbolic boundaries" is also used to refer to the internal distinctions of classification systems and to temporal, spatial, and visual cognitive distinctions in particular'.

⁵⁹ "The middle class or the general public cannot adopt themselves there. One feels as if this place does not belong to him. This is what one feels unconsciously. It affected me so badly, I did not think of visiting the place thoroughly, not even to sit for a drink. It intimidates people. You think that you do not belong to that place. But it is not like that in Cevahir or any other shopping mall, not even in Akmerkez."

In the first week of Kanyon's opening, I have witnessed two women with their children in the entrance balcony of Kanyon. The women were looking downstairs with wonder. One of the girls (probably nine years old) said to her mother with a reproachful tone:

uff ne geldik buraya sanki. Boş boş bakınıyoruz. Parka gidecektik ne güzel. Bize göre birşey yok ki burada. ⁶⁰

The little girl how come conceived the excluding power relations in the social space of Kanyon from the entrance.

Gültepe interviewees were mostly reserved when talking about Kanyon and their visit to the site. Fulya was the only one who overtly expressed her uneasiness that she felt in the site.

Bana biraz fazla şey geldi, Avrupai geldi, yani çok bana hitap etmiyor açıkçası. Çok rahat hissetmedim kendimi. Türkiye'de değil gibiydi sanki. Herkes sevdi ama ben kendimi ait hissetmedim. Kendimi rahat hissetmedim, o yüzden de tekrar gitmedim zaten. (Fulya, Kuştepe/Gültepe, 27) ⁶¹

Mahir, one of the Kanyon habitués, mentioned a psychological boundary which may be operating on common people arising for the strategic positioning of Kanyon.

Psikolojik bir sınır yada engel de yarattı sanırım bütün duruşuyla Kanyon. ... Gelmişlerdir ama sonra tercihlerini başka yere kullanmışlardır. (Mahir, Ulus, Anadoluhisarı, 36) ⁶²

Gültepe interviewees do not feel that they belong to that dream-world when they have visited the centre which is luxurious in every aspect and do not accommodate any facilities in accordance with their habitus and way of life. Thus the atmosphere does not make people feel as if they belong to the affluent and

⁶⁰ "Uff!...why did we come here mum? We are just looking idly. We would have gone to the park, instead. There is nothing for us here."

⁶¹ "I found it European, hence it does not appeal to me. I did not feel comfortable there. It was as if it is not in Turkey. Everybody loved the place, but I did not feel like I fit in. I was not at ease thus I did not go there again."

⁶² "(for common people) I think Kanyon also built a psychological border, barrier with its whole positioning. ... They would come here but they would prefer other places afterwards."

elite culture but rather enhances their lower position in their own eyes, which makes them uncomfortable in the site rather than creating an intoxicating effect. They feel the existence of the *doors* which are closed for them.

Onu karşılaştırmaya hiç gerek yok bence. Cevahir çok daha iyi. Kapasite açısından da güzel. Biraz karışık ama, dediğim gibi anlattığım gibi. Özellikle yemek kısmı, işte masalar falan var. Şimdi McDonalds'ın önünden geçiyorsun, bakıyorsun ne yiyebilirim, yok Pizza Hut'a bakıyorsun beğenmedim, çıkabiliyorsun oradan, Kanyon'da öyle bir şey yok, cafeye girdin mi, yiyeceksin mecburen çünkü kapıları kapalı. (Kaysu, Gültepe / Gültepe, 20)⁶³

Dediğim gibi mağazalara rahatça giremiyorsunuz, çok yan yana, çok ufak mekanlar. Ufak mekan olduğu zaman içeride zaten az insan, biraz kalite olarak düşünülmüş bir yer, hemen başınıza birisi geleceği (gülümseyerek) hissi var zaten. Ondan dolayı itici geliyor işte. Mesela en basitini söyleyeyim, aşağıda bir gümüş mağazası var, altta girişte. Hoşuma giden bir kaç şey de var ama içeriye girip içerden daha detaylı bakamadım. İçeriye girebilsem belki hiç beklemediğim birşeyi alabileceğim içeriden ... Ama oranın, sekiz on metrekaare bir yerin bomboş olduğunu ve içerdeki tezgahlarla baş başa kalacağım hissi sıkıcı geliyor. Hiç girmeye gerek duymuyorsunuz. (Mete Gültepe / Gültepe, 35)⁶⁴

Though Kanyon's primary difference is its open-air construction, it is a defined, limited open-air space. It is not an open space; it is like a fortress with huge walls around drawing the boundaries with the outside. Thus being open-air does not provide an organic link with the streets of the city as it is claimed by its management and the form of architecture.

⁶³ “There is no need to compare them. Cevahir is much better. Its capacity is also better although it is a bit complicated. As I said, especially the food area, tables and so on. You pass McDonald's, thinking what you can eat. Then you move on towards Pizza Hut and if you do not like, you can leave, any time. It is not like that in Kanyon. Once you step in to a place, you are obliged to stay & eat there because of its doors being closed.”

⁶⁴ “You cannot easily step in to its stores. They are next to each other and so small in size. Hence, it has little room for less people inside. It is intended to be a quality place. You feel like a sales-person will come any minute to question you. That is why it is unpleasant. For instance, there is a silver shop down there, at the entrance. There was some stuff that I liked. However I could not go inside and look. Maybe if I could, I would buy something which I did not expect. But the idea of being in that small space with the sales person is frustrating. You do not see any need of going inside at all.”

Most Gültepe interviewees representing common people felt uneasy to enter the site due to the symbolic boundaries constituted through discursive and non-discursive elements such as the strict control in the entrance (making one feel passing from customs inspection which is humiliating for common people, however praised by the habitu  for the sake of ‘security’), the presence of the security staff not only in the entrance but corridors as well, size of the stores, doors of the stores and restaurants, the demeanour of sales staff, the media discourse on Kanyon. The feeling of not belonging made them discomfort during the interviews as well. There is no congruent with their habitus and the social space of Kanyon, thus they do not have much to say as they do not enjoy the symbolic capital consumption in the site.

Fulya, who lives in G ltepe since her birth, did not even browse thoroughly in Kanyon though she was the most familiar person with shopping malls among G ltepe informants. During our conversation she repeated that she may have prejudices about the place, since the plurality of upmarket stores and cafes in addition to the people around make her feel uncomfortable at Kanyon.

As Slater (1997) mentions various signs through which ‘us’ and ‘them’ are identified could indeed be sites of competing meanings. In the case of Kanyon, we come across fashion clothes, solarium sun-tan, blonde hair, shiny shoes, accent, use of foreign language and words as signs that build associations linked to one’s identity and place in the social classification.

Vedat’s narration is an example of how one read others:

Y r d g n z yerlere bakarsanız, aynı sokak gibi ama  ok temiz. Nasıl s yliyim, gezen insanların  oğunun ayakkabısına dikkat ediyorum, hi   amur yoktu kışın, hep arabaları ile aşıağı geliyorlar, garajdan yukarı  ıkıyorlar, ama ayakkabısında  amur olan insan anla ki dıřarıdan geliyor. Ama burada  oğu insanda onu g remezsin. Yani herkes garajdan,  zel arabasıyla, řof riylen  ıktığı i in pırıl pırıldır. En yağmurlu havada bile pırıl pırıl ayakkabısı ile gezen insanı burada g rebilirsin. (Vedat, Maltepe/Levent, 20)⁶⁵

⁶⁵ “When you look at the floor, it is just like street except that it is very clean. How would I say, I look at the shoes of people here in winter, there is no mud on them. These people are coming by car through the car park entrance, whereas those with mud on their shoes are coming from the street. Most people are spotless here. Kanyon is the place where you can see those who walk around with their spotless shoes even in the heaviest rain.”

Here we see that shoes do not only have the function of covering and protecting our feet, they have become something more. They operate as class signals now. They signify wealth and an affluent lifestyle in the words of Vedat, where he reads the social position of people strolling in Kanyon. As Bourdieu (1989:19) states classificatory judgements as such ‘presuppose that as socialised agents, we are capable of perceiving the relation between practices or representation and positions in social space’. Hence direct social encounters in a shopping mall where people go to see and to be seen as well, referring to Featherstone (1991: 76), there is wider possibility to ‘detect, monitor and react to the *symbolic power* manifest in the unconscious bodily signs and gestures: the dress, style, tone of voice, facial expression, demeanour, stance, etc. which betray the social origins of the bearer’.

Kanyon is a place where average middle class members may feel themselves poor if not inferior depending on their degree of cultural capital. During my chit chats, Çiğdem, an administrative assistant in a university told that she feels herself “poor” in Kanyon. However this does not lead to a dislike for her, yet she is keen on the most popular café in Kanyon and admires the ‘concept’ of the mall as it provides a feeling of as if being in Europe.

Kanyon has become a homogeneous space mostly for upper middle and wealthy classes. The below quotation well elucidates the homogeneity of Kanyon:

Mesela Cevahir’e halk tipi insan⁶⁶ gidebiliyor. Kanyon’a gelemiyor. Geçen ben başörtülü iki teyze gördüm, Kanyon’da. İlgimi çekti, baktım yani. Onca insan içinde sırtıyor, fark ediyorsun. Sonra dedim, ne güzel gelebiliyor bu insanlar da buraya. (Çiğdem)⁶⁷

⁶⁶ it refers to the definition of ‘public’ in the eyes of the middle and upper classes, encompassing only the common people.

⁶⁷ “Public-type people (general public referring to the definition of ‘public’ in the eyes of the middle and upper classes) can go to Cevahir but cannot easily go to Kanyon. Recently, I have seen two old ladies with head scarves in Kanyon. I paid attention as it is spotted instantly among the others. Then I said, how nice that these people can also come to this place.”

Kanyon has created such an image that lower classes and those who are not associated with modern Istanbulites do not tend to be there. A member in Ekşisözlük, again, expresses his gladness to see people from the ‘neighbourhood’ with the same feelings of the above quotation:

giriş katında benim evlatla oturduğum kafenin önünde fıskiye ve çiçeklerden oluşturulan bir nevi minipark görüntüsünün üstüne koyun şimdi civar yakın semtten gelenleri, hem de dondurma yerken valla o kadar sevdim ki onları gidip kucaklamak geldi içimden. ... (camurr, 02.07.2006 21:05)⁶⁸

It is not only lower classes with low cultural capital that perceive Kanyon as not being a place for themselves. It is the same discourse from the perspective of the Kanyon habitué, thus, there is nothing for them in Kanyon. Thus as Bourdieu (1984:471) argues categories of perception of the social world are adjusted to the divisions of the established order and common to all minds structured in accordance with those structures. Thus they appear as objective necessities for all members of the society. Hence, in the case of Kanyon, people with different ways of life, particularly those who do not seem modern are unexpected to Kanyon. The common view is that there is nothing for them in Kanyon. Cansu, a Kanyon habitué did not take her mother to Kanyon for the same reasons. She thinks that there is nothing for her there. But they go to Akmerkez together.

Kanyon’a hiç götürmedik. Sanki anneme göre orada birşey yok gibiydi yani. Ne kıyafet bakabiliriz anneme orada, Faik Sönmez yok, Marks & Spencer yok, anladın mı. Ne de hani yemek içinde onun çok keyif al – mesela Akmerkez’de götürüp işte şey bulabiliyorum, hani BurgerKing’de bile yesek, yada işte ne bileyim Sosa’dan⁶⁹ sandviç bile alsak food court olduğu için orada daha rahat oluyor, herkes yemek yiyor orada çünkü. Kanyon’da her yere gidip oturuyorsun ya, food court ortamı yok. Ama bir Konyalı’ya götürürüm onları güzel bir kebab yiyelim diye. (Cansu; Gayrettepe / Ulus, 37)⁷⁰

⁶⁸ “Imagine the front of this stylish café surrounded by fountain, flowers set in a superficial mini park and those coming from the neighbouring districts, eating their ice-cream. I loved them so much that I wanted to hug them.”

⁶⁹ Sosa has a branch in Kanyon as well, in a cafe/restaurant form, but with a similar menu of the one in Akmerkez.

⁷⁰ “We did not take my mum to Kanyon. It seems that there is nothing for her there. No Marks & Spencer, no Faik Sönmez, We could find her neither a shop for clothes nor a place to eat ...But I can find appropriate places in Akmerkez for her. We can even get some food from Burger King or Sosa, as food court is convenient and cosier. Besides everyone eats there. This does not exist in Kanyon. But I would take her to Konyalı (an elite Turkish cuisine restaurant) to have a nice kebab.”

As Vedat identified the dominant clientele of Kanyon by their dressing and drivers, Cansu when talking about Gültepe people's existence in Kanyon, she identifies them with their dressing and food practices. Thus it is a very common way to use these signs in signifying one's social position and way of life. As Turner (1988) states it also indicates one's superior sense of taste and distinction while describing others.

(talking on Gültepe people) Metrocity'yi kullanıyor o kesim, feci şekilde. Metrocity'de gerçekten ayağında tokyoyla dolaşan insanları görüyorsun her zaman var, ama mesela Kanyon'da sanki onlar biraz rahatsız oluyorlar, ben onları görmüyorum orada. Kendilerinin ait olmadıklarını fark ediyorlar oranın. Çünkü ellerini attıkları herşey pahalı. Mesela Metrocity'nin içindeki food court'un ucuzluğu orada olmadığı için, lahmacuncudan da yiyorsun falan. (Cansu; Gayrettepe / Ulus, 37)⁷¹

Cansu refers to the class tastes of lower classes that are associated with Gültepe people in the conversation. Low price food variety is exemplified by lahmacun rather than other fast food choices such as burgers. Lahmacun is a characteristic food of south-eastern Turkey, similar to pizza. It has become a popular fast food among the migrants into İstanbul and one of the major signs for indicating these newcomers in a pejorative way by middle and upper classes. Osman, from Gültepe also puts his distance to Kanyon with a similar discourse on food practice as well as economic capital:

Ben bir sefer girdim, baktım ve bana hiç uyum sağlamadığını gördüm. Oranın müşterisi farklı bir kitle. ... Bir de fiyatlar. Bir lokantasına girip normal bir lahmacun yiyemem. (Osman; Gültepe/Üsküdar;37)⁷²

⁷¹ “(talking on Gültepe people) They dreadfully use Metrocity. You can see those with flip flops anytime. However, they seem to be uncomfortable in Kanyon, I don't see them there. They recognize that they do not belong there, as everything is very expensive. The convenience of the food court in Metrocity where one can eat from lahmacun stall, is not available in Kanyon.”

⁷² “I visited once and looked around. I then realised that the place does not suit me at all. The clientele is a different group. And the prices, they are high. I cannot eat a regular lahmacun in there.”

Shopping malls include shopping practices beyond purchasing. As Durakbaşa & Cindoğlu (2002:81) state contrary to small-shop experience where one is expected to purchase things, here people can just hang around, look at commodities and people around 'and still feel included'. This 'just looking' experience is constrained in Kanyon as Mete expresses (see page 54). In regular malls such as Metrocity, Cevahir, Profilo and even Akmerkez those who cannot afford the goods can still have the pleasure of looking and touching which is a characteristic of department store and shopping mall. However this is not that easy in Kanyon. Though this feeling is not limited to lower or traditional middle class members since some of Kanyon habitués also expressed constraints in the same way particularly for Harvey Nichols, it is Gültepe interviewees that feel excluded from the site, not the others. The habitués are using restaurants, cafes and movie theatres and do feel themselves as part of the social space of Kanyon.

There is no price tags on the shop windows, thus people cannot dare to enter the stores for more information. Besides, the sales staff is perceived as aloof and not very friendly as mentioned by Mete⁷³. He cannot find any common issue to talk about with them. On the other hand Cansu, one of Kanyon habitués expresses that sales staff in Kanyon is better in terms of care and serving than the ones in other malls or street stores.

Kanyon in a clearer way than regular malls constitutes opportunities and constraints for movement and social interaction. The atmosphere of Kanyon is more constraining for lower classes while it provides more opportunities for upper classes in terms of movement, activities, choices and interaction with other people. This is why Kanyon is a constraining space for Mete which makes Kanyon 'boring' and 'nuisance' (repulsive) for him.

As Bourdieu points out "the culture which unifies is also the culture which separates and which legitimates distinctions by forcing all other cultures to define themselves by their distance from the dominant culture" (Bourdieu, 1994: 167). 'This place is not for us' statement is a way of expressing the distance from the dominant culture and the lifestyle symbolized at Kanyon. It is not only monetary constraints at the surface but tastes as a form of cultural capital that build the distinction.

⁷³ This is an example of commodification of communication in contemporary service workplaces. Workers modify their speech not as a form of self-stylizing but because they are given a manual for their linguistic performances in the workplace (Cameron, 2000 in Thurlow & Jaworski, 2006).

Malls cater to different clienteles and are used in different ways, producing different memories and experiences (Jackson, Thrift, 1995:211). By preferences in using this mall or that mall for shopping or leisure people reflect decisions about self, taste, images of body and social distinction (Shields, 1994:15). Arzu while telling the difference of Kanyon from other malls mentions Cevahir and Profilo and describes their clientele as follows:

(for Cevahir) muhafazakar ve kapalı, ailesiyle gidenler yada genç gruplar var ama yani it kılıklı, nasıl söyliyim daha kibar (gülüyor) Profilo da öyle. Profilo'ya Gülbağ, Mecidiyeköy'ün altı, Kuştepe, o halk gidiyor. Bir sürü insan sevmez orayı ama o insanları görmezsen çok güzel bir yer orası. Hakikaten canlı müzik, piyanist falan...(Arzu, unemployed, Ulus, 28)⁷⁴

Kanyon habitués tend to classify these ‘unwanted people’ in terms of their districts such as Gültepe, Seyrantepe, Kuştepe, Gülbağ (which are all squatter districts) or with their traditional way of life. Hence classification, hierarchy and spatial segregation in urban life continue. Hence the argument that classificational hierarchies such as elite / popular, taste / tasteless, modern / rural are no longer apply in social life remains weak. The aestheticization of urban fabric and daily lives of people is not extended to the whole city, instead, the city is more polarised due to the increase of social inequality.

As Bell & Hollows (2006: 1-5) argues ‘the emphasis on lifestyle does not necessarily mean the end of class identities, but rather the heightened importance of consumption in the construction of class identities through lifestyle choices’ and ‘the construction of lifestyles needs to be understood in terms of transformations in, and movements within, the social space of class relations’.

In my chit chats in the site, I made a conversation with an employee of the distributor company of Harvey Nichols. Their office building is on the street just

⁷⁴ “(for Cevahir) You can see conservative and veiled people. People with their family or young groups mostly go to Cevahir. How would I say more politely, I mean bastard-looking people (indicating vulgar, uncultivated young men). Profilo is the same. People from Gülbağ, the lower part of Mecidiyeköy, Kuştepe, that kind of people go there. Most people don’t like Profilo, but if you don’t see these people, it is such a nice place; live music, pianist, really nice.”

behind Kanyon. He (Harun) was at the Starbucks for lunch break. He introduced himself as working in ‘Harvey’ (not Harvey Nichols) without first knowing that I was doing a research in the site⁷⁵. Then he told the details when I asked more questions. He was not shopping at Kanyon, just using the space for hanging around at lunch breaks. Even he was not using the supermarket there, except for buying cigarettes.

*(Harvey Nichols’da) bize %50 indirim var, (ironik bir ifade ile) bir milyar yerine beş yüz milyona geliyor, yine de almıyorum. (Harun)*⁷⁶

While he was expressing the way people in Kanyon are different, he said:

*Buradaki insanların şiveleri farklı. (Harun)*⁷⁷

This indicates the dominant manners of speech in Kanyon. People use different terminology and widely utilise foreign words and phrases in their talk. Further, there is a significant foreign population in the site due to the foreign professionals based in foreign bank investment companies and other global companies in the office buildings around and the one in Kanyon. It has also been a leisure space for their families and some amount of tourists as well. As a simple observation from the site, asking for a ‘double espresso’ is uttered in English by the young professionals at Starbucks, not as ‘duble espresso’⁷⁸ which is the Turkish transliteration. This is imposed by the coffee shop as well as by the users who are content about this articulation since this style of speech is an enactment of a particular identity, establishing their superiority. It is a subtle sign for cultural capital in everyday life. In this case, one can get the idea that the actor is familiar with this articulation, has knowledge of English as well as ‘coffee culture’ (connoisseurship). This is how someone appropriates a sense of exclusiveness and

⁷⁵ communication aims pursuit of symbolic capital besides information exchange and understanding. Bourdieu (1994) Thus Harun introduces himself as working in ‘Harvey’ as a source of symbolic profit transferring the meaning attributed to Harvey Nichols brand.

⁷⁶ “(at Harvey Nichols) there is 50% discount for us (he continues in an ironic tone) I would pay 500 YTL instead of 1000 YTL, still I don’t buy.”

⁷⁷ “Even people’s accent is different here.”

⁷⁸ Saying it as duble esspresso weakens the distinctive experience or disguises the display of knowing. Power of knowledge works in these two little words which loses its awe when it is uttered in Turkish.

belonging to a privileged group.

İnsan sınıflandırmak açısından değil, farklılık açısından söyleyeceğim. Bazı tipler burada yok. Metrocity'deki gibi. Yani, buraya gelen insan sınıfı daha farklı. En azından, dışarıdan gelen, dışarıda daha farklı konuşması olan insan dahi, buraya geldimi daha düzgün cümleler kurarak konuşuyor arkadaşıyla. Yani nasıl söylüyüm, buraya gelen bir şekilde ayak uydurmak zorunda kalıyor. Ama Metrocity'de bu zorunluluk yok. (Vedat, Maltepe/Levent, 20)⁷⁹

Both Vedat and Harun implied the existence of legitimate ways of behaving in Kanyon⁸⁰. This is part of a *stylization of life* which is defined as high level of control and constantly sustained attention to forms and formalities by Bourdieu.

As one rises in the social order, the degree of censorship and the correlative prominence given to the imposition of form and euphemization increase steadily, not only in public or official occasions (as in the case of lower classes) but also in the routines of everyday life. This can be seen in styles of dressing or eating, but also in styles of speaking, which tends to exclude the casualness, the laxness or the licence which we allow ourselves in other circumstances, 'when we are among our own kind' ” (Bourdieu, 1994: 84)

We encounter two forms of symbolic violence in Kanyon. The common people whom Vedat expresses as 'certain types of people' do self-exclude themselves from Kanyon with the feelings of discomfort, timidity, humiliation, anger or impotent rage. In this case symbolic boundaries work and they do not go there. The second group nourishes love, admiration and respect towards the symbolic value of Kanyon which is an example for the second form of symbolic violence. They aspire to participate in the life symbolized at Kanyon thus voluntarily accept the dominant norms in that space and go there frequently as in the case of Vedat. Hence as Bourdieu (1992: 168) conceptualizes symbolic violence, 'it is the

⁷⁹ “I do not mean to classify people, but to highlight the difference I would like to say following: You cannot see certain types here, as you would see in Metrocity. The people who come here belong to a different class. Even though they would talk differently outside, their manner changes here. They start to use appropriate language. How would I say?! In a way, those who come here have to adopt the codes and the valid style set for this place. But there is no such obligation in Metrocity.”

⁸⁰ Harun was in an attitude that he is in a way left outside of this practice (deprived of linguistic capital) whereas Vedat's habitus to some extent is compatible with the field of Kanyon.

violence which is exercised upon a social agent with his or her complicity', with their contribution.

Though Kanyon claims to be a modern living space for Istanbulites imitating a neighbourhood caring natural ambiance and human, it reproduces symbolic boundaries between social groups and the selected symbols of distinctive consumption practices serve for social distinction by making its users feel privileged.

Distant from the Crowd in the Quarter of the Noble

Kanyon habitués have complained about the crowd in other malls when they were expressing why Kanyon is a place of pleasure for them as if talking about a noble neighbourhood.

Crowd discourse is an important criterion to express dislikes and establish distinction, draw boundaries. It is most striking when one type of crowd is not expressed as discomforting (but vital) while another type is disliked. Thus it is not the crowd itself but the kind of crowd which does not have a particular (legitimate) way of life. Thus the word crowd is not only used to signify a large number of people gathered together but more to express the common people, the mass.

As Turner (1988: 71) points out “elite groups and privileged consumers attempt to distance themselves from the vulgar world of the masses. As the common mass of the population moves into previously privileged worlds of consumption, dominant groups attempt to establish new tastes and new lifestyles which preserve and develop existing differences and distinctions”.

When Kanyon is being compared with other malls, the interviewees primarily mentioned their dislikes about the crowd in them. They are so crowded that they do not provide a pleasurable atmosphere.

Cevahir'den hiç zevk almadım, açıkçası bana çok büyük ve yorucu geldi. ... Çok kalabalık geldi ve bana bir zevk vermedi oradan alışveriş yapmak. (Kanyon'da kalabalık olmuyor mu?) Kanyon da öğle saatleri kalabalık, ama hiç öyle seni rahatsız eden bir kalabalık olmuyor. Cevahir'e Ramazan ayında gitmişim iki kez, artık millet birbirinin üstündeydi. Şey çok kötü, mağazalarda insan yok, aralarda dolanan insanlar, sürekli bir dolaşma, alışveriş için gelmemişler. Gezmek için, korkunçtu, zor kaçtım. (Hale, Etiler/Levent, 32)⁸¹

What is disliked or cannot be tolerated is the diversity of the crowd which is perceived as a kind of invasion of these places by the rural people (traditional, uncultivated, lacking education) who do not know how to dress and behave:

(elit derken) Kanyon Levent'te olduğu için, genelde işadamları, o civarda oturanlar, ne biliyim, daha görkemli, lüks insanlar gidiyor oraya, ne biliyim yani, hani bir oraya köylü kıyafetleriyle gitmiş, işte böyle onbeş yirmi çocuğuyla gezmeye gitmiş – ya Capitol'de buna rastlayabiliyorsunuz cidden, yani böyle koşuşturan çocuklar, işte yok, şuna bakalım, buna bakalım, hani daha nezih bir ortam var. (Güzel, Caddebostan, 19)⁸²

As Stalybrass & White (1986: 191) states, “the bourgeois subject continuously define and redefine itself through the exclusion of what it marks out as low – as dirty, repulsive, noisy, contaminating. Yet the very act of exclusion is constitutive of its identity. The low is internalized under the sign of negation and disgust.” The middle and upper class members see the masses as a threat to their ways of life. The narrations tend to blame the masses rather than looking for responsibility of the situation (Lash, 2000:51). In this case the ‘who to blame’ is the disturbance that ‘threatens the purity’ of a privileged lifestyle and status which is a product of neo-liberalism.

⁸¹ “I did not enjoy Cevahir at all. It was too big and exhausting for me. ...and too crowded. (What about Kanyon, isn't it crowded?) Kanyon is also crowded during lunch time, but it is not disturbing at all. I had been to Cevahir twice throughout Ramadan. It was filled with full of people, packed like sardines. There is no one in stores but many people wander around, they do not come for shopping. It was awful to stroll, I hardly escaped.”

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Kanyon is associated with the elite, professionals and wealthy people. Though many young people use Kanyon for cafes and cinema; it is not appropriated by crowd of lumpen. Kanyon has not been (yet?) a major hangout for idle-wanderers and teenaged mall-rats as in the case of other malls⁸³.

Most Kanyon habitu  make negative comments on Cevahir shopping mall in terms of the crowd though they rarely shop there. On the other hand G ltepe interviewees praise Cevahir when it is compared to Kanyon since it provides more choices for them.

Onu karşılaştırmaya hiç gerek yok bence. Cevahir çok daha iyi. Kapasite açısından da güzel. Biraz karışık ama, dediğim gibi anlattığım gibi. (Kaysu, G ltepe / G ltepe, 20)⁸⁴

Cevahir inanılacak gibi bir yer deęil, tıklım tıklım, çok kalabalık. Yemek katında bir uęultu var. Her yer tikiş tikiş. Hiçbir alternatif yok yeme içmeye. Ben mecbur deęilim beş bin kişinin g r lt s yle yemek yemeye. Cevahir çok fena bir yer, halkı da  yle yani. (Arzu, Ulus, 28)⁸⁵

The crowd in Akmerkez is perceived as vitality whereas in other malls such as Cevahir, Capitol and Carousel, it is something people want to avoid and keep at distance:

Akmerkez'i ben severdim k çükken, halen de gitmekten zevk alıyorum çünkü hep o kalabalık bana iyi geliyor, çıktığım zaman Kanyon'da hissettiğimi hissedebiliyorum orada. (Peki dięerleri i in kalabalık demiştin...) Kalabalık ama oradaki kalabalık rahatsız etmiyor beni. Mesela, belki, hani oraya karşı daha sıcak hissettiğim i in olabilir. (Elvan; Caddebostan, 19)⁸⁶

⁸³ Galleria, Olivium, Capitol even Akmerkez host these groups. See G karıksel (1998; 2001), Yonucu (2005) for detailed examples.

⁸⁴ "There is no need to compare them. Cevahir is much better. It is better in terms of capacity, though it is a bit complex."

⁸⁵ "Cevahir is such an amazing place. It is chock-full of people, overcrowded. There is a constant mumble in the food court. Everywhere is stuffed with people. There is no alternative for food and drink. I am not obliged to eat with 5000 people whispering and chatting. Cevahir is an awful place, its people, too."

⁸⁶ "I used to like Akmerkez when I was a child. I still enjoy going there because I like its crowd, it makes me feel good. I have the same good feeling that I have for Kanyon. (You said crowded for other malls.) Crowded, yes, but it does not disturb me in Akmerkez, maybe it is because I look at it in a different way, with an affection."

Akmerkez and Kanyon inhabit a different crowd which allows strolling in comfort. When crowds belong to a homogeneous lifestyle distance from the crowds of the city, it is welcomed. It is welcomed as long as malls offer a sterilized social space that unites more or less the same cultivated people.

In a study of new middle classes living in suburbia, the perception of the crowd is similar to Elvan's view: 'Those interviewed in the *site* mentioned that they find the kind of diversity and heterogeneity in European ... cities ... pleasant' however they dislike the crowds in their own city, 'which they tend to associate with the *uncivilized* masses' (Ayata, 2002:28). Ayata describes city crowd perceived by the middle class members 'as utterly provincial, vulgar and uncivilized. They do not know how to live with others, how to behave in public, or how to participate in civic society.'

Middle and upper class people are particularly sensitive about the disturbances and intrusions commonly experienced in crowded places. They cannot tolerate the crowds of regular malls that serve the masses. They cannot tolerate the close proximity of bodies without feeling threatened as also mentioned in the works of Bourdieu (1984) and Featherstone (1991).

Carousel'i de, çoğu zaman tercih etmiyorum çünkü oraya giden insanların yüzde doksanı alışveriş maksatlı değil sadece gezmek için geliyorlar ve çok kuru bir kalabalık oluyor içeride. Birazcıkta insanların, nasıl diyeyim size, yapısından dolayı orada rahatlıkla gezemiyorsunuz, sağınıza baksanız erkek, solunuza baksanız erkek, sürekli laf atan falan, böyle tarzda insanlar olduğu için çok fazla tercih ettiğim bir yer değil açıkcası. ... Hafta sonu ben hayatta gitmem yani. (Seçil, Bahçelievler, 20)⁸⁷

The appropriation of regular malls by lower classes emerged a demand for the affluent to have a new distinctive space, thus Kanyon serves for this need to distance affluent classes to maintain their superiority and distinction. Most Kanyon habitués made comparisons and draw similarities between Kanyon and some other places and mention that they feel themselves in somewhere else. Hande told that Kanyon reminds her of London, and realised that is why she likes

⁸⁷ "I don't prefer Carousel either, because 95% of the people go there just for strolling, not for shopping, thus there is a crowd of idle onlookers. You cannot walk comfortably. How would I say?! I would not go there at the weekends as the presence of certain kind of people puts me off."

Kanyon. This elsewhere-ness experience changes for everybody. For Bülent Eczacıbaşı⁸⁸, Kanyon reminds him of the atmosphere of his home-town İzmir:

Babam İzmirli olduğu için İzmir benim çocukluğuma ait bir şehir. Kanyon'da da bu atmosferi hissediyorum. Kalabalık ama kimseye çarpmıyorsunuz. Dost bir ortam var.” (3 June 2007 Milliyet Pazar supplement)⁸⁹

Burası daha renkli, daha güzel geliyor. Böyle daha eski mahalle dokusu gibi birşey (Hissediyor musun sen öyle bir şeyi burada?) Ben o kadar hissetmiyorum (gülüyor) Kapalı bir dokusu var, dışarıdaki pis görüntüden insanı ayırıyor ve hani rafine bir yerde, rafine bir kutuda oturuyorsun hissi veriyor yani. (Arzu, unemployed, Ulus, 28)⁹⁰

Narrations in that line point out Kanyon as a noble neighbourhood. The distinct architecture of Kanyon creating a street-like perception strengthens its neighbourhood image. Kanyon is different than enclosed malls where time and climate conscious is lost. Unlike other malls, you are aware of time and weather conditions in Kanyon just like at the street. It presents an ‘ordered street life’, a hyper street to middle and upper classes where they can display themselves in the neighbourhood of the noble:

Bir de hani en önemli farkı açık hava olması, üstünün kapalı olmaması, ama hani biraz daha hani işte gözünü de rahatlatmak istiyorsan, güzel şeyler görmek istiyorsan, insanların giyim kuşamlarıyla, şık İstanbul insanını görmek istiyorsan, İstanbul'da yaşayan insanların şık halini görmek istiyorsan... (Cansu; Gayrettepe / Ulus, 37)⁹¹

⁸⁸ The president of Eczacıbaşı Group, landowner and shareholder of Kanyon shopping mall

⁸⁹ “İzmir is my father’s hometown and the city of my childhood. I feel the same atmosphere in Kanyon. It is crowded but you do not hit anyone. There is a friendly environment.”

⁹⁰ “Here, it seems livelier and nicer. It is like being in an old neighbourhood. (Do you feel it so?) In fact, I don’t feel it that much. (she laughs). It has a closed structure; it separates people from the messy image of outside. I mean, it gives the feeling that you are in a refined place, a refined box.”

⁹¹ “The open-air space is the most distinguished feature of Kanyon. If you want to see beautiful bodies around, if you want to see elegant İstanbulites, Kanyon is the right place.”

The experience of Kanyon is so interwoven with perceptions of the affluent / elite way of life that even drinking a coffee at Kanyon-Starbucks can be associated with the elite status. Vedat argues that even it is the same Starbucks chain store in Kozyatağı Carrefour or in Mecidiyeköy, these people will only use the one in Kanyon, and it is for the sake of Kanyon. Thus Kanyon presents a stylized environment through its discursive elements which either stylize its habitu  or reproduce their stylized lifestyle.

Őimdi bu kadar Őey s yledikten sonra, tam tezat bir Őey s yleyeceđim. Ben mesala hani Gloria Jeans ve Starbucks delisi olarak, oralarda da aynı yerlere y neliyorum aslında. Ama buradaki deđil de oradaki, farklı bir ortam ve ambiyans i inde olduđu i in. (Nilay, Anadoluhisari / NiřantaŐı,24)⁹²

Nilay explains her preference of Kanyon as being the last novel place for leisure with new cafes and brands; however she does not actually use them much and takes her coffee at Starbucks or Gloria Jeans. Thus new stores and cafes are not directly consumed but are experienced as part of a great ambiance, as a global image which belongs to the noble neighbourhood. It is neither the coffee, nor the food that is consumed there; they are rather substitutes for symbolic desires. It is the images and signs of the global elite culture, in other words the symbolic capital, that are consumed.

The shared symbols of the global elite culture functions almost as if traffic lights as indicating to whom this neighbourhood give pass to. Thus Kanyon embellished with the symbols of the global elite culture, builds up a noble neighbourhood where the privileged can stroll without touching the popular classes who do not fit in their aesthetic judgements of taste.

The next section is on the role of aesthetic taste and cultural capital in the case of Kanyon experience. As Langman (1994: 59) states shared patterns of cultural consumption and communication through shared tastes such as particular food,

⁹² “Now, having said that, I will say something completely opposite. I, as a fan of Gloria Jeans and Starbucks, I am attracted to the same places in Kanyon, too. But not the one here but there because it is set in a different environment and ambiance.”

stores, brands, cultural activities and style implies a particular lifestyle. Thus Kanyon has become a centre of attraction for Kanyon habitu  while G ltepe interviewees do not or cannot conceive it as such since they do not share these particular tastes with them.

The Aestheticized World of Kanyon

Aestheticization of everyday life has a central role in lifestyle consumption where mundane everyday objects and experiences have gained artistic qualities with a touch of design. Aestheticized space of Kanyon acts both as a lifestyle and distinction machine offering aesthetic goods and experiences to its habitu .

Aesthetic goods and experiences offering new tastes and sensations create the feeling of originality and superiority in the construction of one's life as a distinctive lifestyle project (Featherstone, 1991). The construction of distinctive lifestyles functions as a source of social distinction for upper classes. In the account of Bourdieu (1989:20), this is unintentional and unconscious, not based on deliberate search for distinction but as an outcome of class habitus.

In the case of Kanyon (*dispositif*), architectural design, the global brand names chosen, the elegance of the interior design, store displays, the selected art and culture events, absence of food court, elegance of cafes and restaurants and ambience, all, present an aesthetic taste, an affection of the senses in favour of the elite culture. It is at the same time, a detachment from mass products, mass experiences and masses. Instead Kanyon presents a (refined) dream world with aestheticized commodities and experiences distanced from a carnivalesque experience of the masses.

Absence of a food court itself is a performative act, the very absence of a common food area tells something about the place. It connotes luxury and prestige with elegant cafes and restaurants. By not placing plastic tables and chairs and cutlery, Kanyon as a *dispositif* constitutes its clientele as 'elite consumer subject'. Thus

people feel themselves special and superior. Vedat, when he is describing Kanyon for someone who did not visit before, states that it is the only first class mall:

Bir defa en basitinden rakipleri Akmerkez. 2. sınıf diyeceğim artık Akmerkez'e. Metrocity 3. sınıf. Carrefour tipi yerler 4. sınıfa bile koymuyorum. Burası 1. sınıf olan tek yer. (Vedat, Maltepe/Levent, 20)⁹³

There, the people wandering around are also elegant and are included in the ambiance of the space as beautiful figures:

Biraz rafine bir insansa da çevresinde biraz güzellik görmek istiyor, yani burada o güzellik insanlar açısından da gözükiyor, bu gerçeği yadsıyamayacağım. (gülüyor) Mimari açıdan da öyle. Bir Cevahir'e gidiyorum ama her defasında lanet ederek gitiğim bir yer orası. Bir giriyorum, hangar gibi, kocaman, 6 kat, mermer, iki kişi öldü zaten. İnsana nasıl bir duygu verebilir ki orası? (Arzu, unemployed, Ulus, 28)⁹⁴

(İlk seferler) üç, dört derken alışmaya başladım, çünkü insanlar da çok kaliteli, herkes güzel de giyiniyor, aa dedim burası bana göre, hani ben de o tip insanlarla bir arada olmayı severim (Vedat, Maltepe/Levent, 20)⁹⁵

The elegance and beauty of the people in Kanyon and its being praised indicates the value given to beauty and value of the effort to be beautiful. As Bourdieu (1984) argues, this value of beauty is associating aesthetic value and makes these people feel superior and also provide them perceived as superior by others.

Kanyon bence bir kaç tane tanımı var; bir kere gerçekten ne zaman gitsem insanların çok özendiğini kendilerine görüyorum, hani orada çok paspal yada işte kötü giyimli olmuyorsun, ben kendim Kanyon'a giderken dur ya bir makyaj yapayım filan diyorum. Çünkü gerçekten bakıyorum insanlar hep şık. (Cansu; Gayrettepe / Ulus, 37)⁹⁶

⁹³ “Let us see its competitors: Akmerkez that I would now position as second class. Metrocity would be the third class. Carrefour-type places do not even rank fourth class. This is the only first class place.”

⁹⁴ “If one is somewhat refined, one wants to see some beauty around. And this beauty appears also on the people strolling here, I can't deny this fact. (she laughs) It is the same in terms of architecture. For example, each time I go to Cevahir, I damn it. When I step in, it is like a shed, so immense, six floors, marble, two people died already. What kind of a feeling it can give people, I ask.”

⁹⁵ “First two visits, then the third, the fourth and then I got use to. Because people also have certain class & quality, everybody dresses well. And I said, yes, this is the place that suits me. I like to be together with these people.”

⁹⁶ “There are more than one description of Kanyon; I noticed that people strolling in Kanyon care for themselves, you do not go there in shabby clothes, when I go to Kanyon I care my make-up and how I look. Because people are always elegantly dressed there.”

Kanyon stylizes its subjects as Vedat and Cansu narrates. Others also mentioned that they cannot go there with sweat suit and without hair-do. There are tacit rules of being there. When an individual voluntarily obey these rules, then he accepts to be elite-subject of these subjective experiences constituted within that *dispositif*.

Shopping has become a means for accumulating cultural capital. Conversation about goods and stores is like talking about literature, music or politics. Knowing the origins of food and where to find the best is a knowledge that you use in a community. Kanyon offers the environment for the production and consumption of this symbolic capital where its habitu  can display their cultural capital as well as economic capital; enact elite lifestyle practices and consumer elite culture:

Bundan bir ka sene  nce Norve’te benim b yle ok beğendiğim sevdiğim bir takı markası, mağazası vardı. Ve tahmin etmezdim yani oradaki bir marka, ben ünkü orada gördüm ve tanıdım. Oraya ait bir marka olarak bilirdim. Aradan üç-dört sene geçtikten sonra burada görünce evet Pilgrim’dı galiba hatta markanın adı, burada görünce ok şaşırmıştım. Yani oradaki bir şeyi ilk defa buraya taşıdıklarını (Ne hissetin, şaşkınlık dışında?) (neşeyle) Haa ben bunu tanıyorum, bu da mı gelmiş buraya duygusu!! (Nilay,Anadoluhisari / Nişantaşı,24)⁹⁷

Social distinction mechanism functions depending on the knowledge and recognition of aesthetic taste. Similar to recognition of legitimate artworks, in the world of consumer, recognition of global fashion brands is a form of cultural capital. Hence design is used as a talent to create difference in sameness indicating aesthetic taste (Korkmaz, 2005: 3). Authentic, artisanal products became a sign for status in contrast to standardized mass produced goods for the new middle class and upper classes (Zukin, 2005:126).

⁹⁷ “Few years ago, there was a jewellery brand, store that I discovered in Norway. And I would not expect to see it here because I thought it as a brand that exists only in Norway. Its name was Pilgrim, I guess, yes it was, I was quite surprised when I saw it in Kanyon. (What did you feel apart from being surprise?) The feeling of ‘Yes, I know this brand, so it came here, too’.”

Vitra – orası biraz daha dizayn şeyleri koymuş, .. mesela Faruk Malhan'ın çay bardağı tasarımları vardı. Camın kristalleşmeden önceki formuymuş. İstanbul adı altında üç çeşit bardak vardı, çay bardağı, su bardağı bir de rakı bardağı galiba. Yurtdışındaki arkadaşşıma iki tane çay bardağı aldım, çay keyfi yapmak için. Orası da benim için değişik hediyeler almak için doğru bir adres. Gidip gerçekten bir dizayn aksesuar almak, mutfak şeyi almak için (Cansu; Gayrettepe / Ulus, 37)⁹⁸

Tasteful objects at *Karınca* (everyday design products designed by international visual design artists), *Intema Daily*, *Freshline* (natural home-made cosmetic products, soaps), and *Le Futur* (gift store) offer aestheticized gift alternatives of mundane everyday objects transformed to art-like objects with distinct designs. With the aestheticization of commodities, products are marketed to consumers with particular cultural codes and meaning, often linked to lifestyles. One floor of Kanyon accommodates the shops with this aesthetic concern.

According to Chaney (1996), those with cultural capital are both able and confident enough to experiment with established taste boundaries, while groups (be it members of middle or lower classes) who lack a certain degree of cultural capital (thus come out as ignorance and lack of self-confidence) tend to be more uncomfortable to experience new tastes and places. This is the case for most Gültepe interviewees in experiencing Kanyon.

Kanyon offers the medium both for acquisition and enactment of specific aesthetic experiences of a specific lifestyle. Hence it is a space where social distinction can be bought through shared patterns of cultural consumption and communication through shared tastes of particular food, cafes, music, brands and fashion/style implying elite culture.

⁹⁸ Vitra – it has more designer items in its store. For example, there were the ‘tea glasses’ designed by Faruk Malhan (a famous architect). It is the form of glass before it is crystallised. There were three types of glasses under the collection name, İstanbul; I guess, there were water glasses, tea glasses and rakı (a local anise flavoured Turkish drink) glasses. I bought two tea glasses for my friend abroad thinking of her enjoyable tea party. This place is a right address for me to buy distinctive gifts; to buy designed accessories, a kitchenware.

Mesela şu anda sinemaya gideceksek orayı tercih ediyoruz şık diye. (şık derken?) Oranın diğer sinemalardan farkı bekleme fuayesi, daha modern daha şık ve çok rahat hissediyorsun kendini. Bir cafede oturur gibisin. Cafe ortamı değil ama. Ve Akmerkez'den daha şık sineması. Koltukları ve salonları çok çok farklı değil fakat o iç ambiyansı, sinemanın mimari tasarımı genel hoş, kendine bir iyilik yaptığını hissediyorsun. Sadece amaç sinemaya gitmek değil de, işte o hep sosyalleşme ihtiyacı. (Daha özel bir deneyim) Aynen, yani hani şey gibi pahalı bir yemeğe gitmek nasıl insanları özel bir yere gidiyoruz orada sinemaya gitmek de öyle – çok pahalı değil sinema orada, belli bir ayarda – sinemaya gitmek de kendine yaptığın bir özel şıklık gibi. İyi bir paket oluyor yani sadece sinema değil de.(Cansu; Gayrettepe / Ulus, 37)⁹⁹

The area of movie theatres has become one of the most favoured objects of pleasure in Kanyon for its habitu . The ambiance there yields up aesthetic pleasures particularly for the aspiring groups for the elite lifestyle. Thus pursuit of aesthetic sensations in everyday life practices acts as an instrument for belonging and distinction.

The global collection of brands accommodated in Kanyon indicates its bond with the global elite culture as well. Window shopping as well as consumer culture magazines (or lifestyle media) is a source of cultural capital particularly for the aspiring groups using Kanyon. Vedat represents the aspiring groups that adopt a learning mode towards cultivation of an elite lifestyle:

⁹⁹ “If we are to go to cinema, we prefer Kanyon because it is chic. (what do you mean by chic?) The foyer is different from the others, it is modern, stylish and one feels very comfortable in it. It is as if you are sitting in a caf , yet it is not caf  ambiance. It is more elegant than Akmerkez. The seats and halls do not differ much but in general, the ambiance and the architectural design of the cinema are enchanting; one feels like treating oneself. It is not only the need of movie but also very need of getting socialized. (A special experience) Yes, exactly, it is just like going out for an expensive dinner, in a special place. The tickets are not so expensive though, they are affordable. Going to cinema in Kanyon, is like indulging yourself. It is a good package, not just cinema itself.”

(burada karşılaştığı markalar) Bazı saat markalarını gördüm, Patek Phillip gibi; çok pahalı olan, dergide baktığın zaman ne kadardır diye düşündüğün saat markasını. (ne kadardır sordun mu?) fiyatını sormadım, distribütörlüğüdür çünkü buradaki ama vitrinden gördüm. Ve dedim, böyle bir firma da buraya açtığına göre hatırı sayılır bir yer olduğunu yavaş yavaş anlamaya başlıyorsun. (Vedat, Maltepe/Levent, 20)¹⁰⁰

The struggle for social distinction is pursued through the establishment of distinctive taste and lifestyles in consumption practices (Turner, 1988: 74). The Kanyon habitués expressed their dislikes for the food courts in other shopping malls while praising the cafes and restaurants in Kanyon which offer ambiance and distinctive taste of the elite culture.

(Foodcourt) kaçma hissi veriyor. Çok açsam yiyorum food court'ta. (Hale, Etiler/Levent, 32)¹⁰¹

Kanyon'u tercih etme sebepim alışverişten daha çok aslında sineması ve yemekleri, restoran olarak çok fazla seçenek var. Num Num, Midpoint'i caddeden biliyorum, Wagamama ... Şık ve güzel yemekler oluyor. (Elvan, Caddebostan, 19)¹⁰²

The consumption practices conform to one's habitus and therefore give an idea of one's social status. Canan mentions her familiarity with global tastes in the example of the famous dessert of Austrian cuisine, strudel as one of her choices in Kanyon which is a speciality of Café Wien. On the other hand Hamza just says that there are places that make good desserts. He does not give any name nor indicates a particular experience. As an aesthetic experience, both are affected sensually probably in the same way, however still, their narration on the same aesthetic experience comes out differently. The knowledge and recognition of the tastes of the global cuisine is an indicator of cultural capital and social position.

¹⁰⁰ “(the brands he noticed in Kanyon) I saw some watch brands, such as Patek Phillip, which is very expensive. You see this in the magazines and wonder how much would it cost. (did you ask?) I did not, because it is probably the distributor company, but I saw in the display window and I thought: if this brand has a store here, too then you realize that this is a reputable place.”

¹⁰¹ (Food court) makes you run away. I only eat there when I am very hungry.

¹⁰² “I actually prefer Kanyon for its cinema, food & restaurant options, rather than shopping. There are a lot of choices. I am familiar with Num Num and Midpoint from their branches in Bağdat Street. I met Wagamam here. There is stylish and good food here.”

(Kanyon'u anlatırken) Güzel tatlı yapan yerler varmış derim. (Hamza, Sanayi Mahallesi/Gültepe, 21)¹⁰³

Cafe Wien açılmış ... Kanyon'da Ben gittiğimde bir vaktim olduğunda bir de orada oturayım kahve içeyim dedim. Severim çünkü Nişantaşında Cafe Wien'i anladın mı, hani strudel filan yemesi de. (Cansu; Gayrettepe / Ulus, 37)¹⁰⁴

Aesthetics function as a distinctive sign and the aesthetic design of Kanyon and layout of the stores and restaurants tell a lot about their cultivated tastes. Kanyon habitués talk about Kanyon's design and architecture, not only as an open-air space, but as a space which represents a taste that matches with their judgement of taste and develop a sense of belonging as if this space defines their lifestyle. Thus they appreciate Kanyon. Kanyon is like a 'saviour' for the upper classes in the age of ambivalence where boundaries between low and high culture blurred which used to establish social distinction. Moreover Kanyon represents the global elite way of life which makes it attractive not only for local elites but also for foreigners and tourists. The way we do things and the way we consume cultural goods, by Bourdieu's words 'especially those regarded as the attributes of excellence, constitutes one of the key markers of class and also the ideal weapon in strategies of distinction' (Bourdieu, 1984:66).

¹⁰³ "(while describing Kanyon) I would say there are places that offer good desserts."

¹⁰⁴ "Café Wien opened in Kanyon. When I went to Kanyon, I, too thought of sitting and having a coffee in there. I like Café Wien in Nişantaşı, eating strudel there is a delight."

CONCLUSION

In this study, I tried to examine distinctive consumption practices in the case of Kanyon shopping mall. I have considered Kanyon as an object of consumption, and focused on its symbolic meaning attributed, perceived and consumed by two different social groups. The first group constitutes those who frequently use Kanyon and the other who do not use the site except for occasional visits. The two groups have different shopping practices and experiences of Kanyon.

My arguments are based on the symbolic dimension of consumption. Consumption as a process of signification and classification functions as a source of social differentiation as people use goods and experiences to create social bonds or distinction. Mass consumer culture has provided the goods and experiences to lower classes as well however privileged groups find new ways for differentiation. Thus consumption spaces have become the arena of struggle where people establish and reproduce group identities.

I tried to understand how distinctive sense of place is experienced in the case of Kanyon and how it builds symbolic boundaries between social groups. The stylized shopping malls such as Kanyon appealing to the upper classes and globalised elite offer distinctive tastes and aesthetic experiences rather than abundance of mass produced consumer goods. It indicates a shift from mass consumer culture to lifestyle consumer culture. As regular malls began to be appropriated by the city 'crowds' and become more communal spaces, new form of malls called as lifestyle centers in retail jargon developed to meet global lifestyle pursuits of upper classes and new riches.

In Kanyon, it is the design of the building and aesthetic interior design that affects senses and awe people instead of the abundance of goods. Hence the aestheticization of everyday life in Kanyon through its luxurious and aesthetically designed discursive and non-discursive practices incarnates the idea of a global refined taste, representing the noble culture of the upper classes and the new riches of the global capital. Moreover, it may be said that it is the latest

architectural monument of globalising İstanbul.

The narrations of the habitués on Kanyon's being superior to other malls with stylish cafes, ambiance and other amenities reinforce the superior sense of social position. Hence it reveals that the consumption practices in and of Kanyon shopping mall function as a means to reproduce social distinction by which the habitués maintain their rank in social hierarchy.

Although both Kanyon habitué and Gültepe interviewees have stated that Kanyon is a beautiful place, it is Kanyon habitués who identify themselves with the lifestyle practices in Kanyon whereas Gültepe interviewees representing common people exclude themselves from the social space of Kanyon. By the words of Bourdieu (1989:17), people 'who occupy similar positions are placed in similar conditions and subjected to similar conditionings and therefore have every chance of having similar dispositions and interests'. Hence they produce similar practices as well.

The detachment between the life in Kanyon and Gültepe manifest the fragmented city where global material flows take place on one side producing the expected results in terms of class formation, consumption patterns and employment symbolized at Kanyon, and on the other side, where material life continues in the framework of traditional ways of life and social networks (Keyder, 2000). Kanyon as a social space in which global consumer culture is embodied is celebrated by the globalised modern elites of İstanbul.

As the similarity between Nişantaşı and Kanyon emphasised by the interviewees, Kanyon has become the new 'neighbourhood' of the elite and elite lifestyle for the modern elite urbanites. Kanyon practices represent an aestheticized lifestyle, maintain global elite identity and at the same time establish and reproduce inequality and privilege. Thus Kanyon functions as a 'distinction machine' differentiating itself from the mass consumption forms of malls through its distinctive architecture, luxury brands, elegant restaurants (absence of a food court), and use of materials (more natural elements).

The lifestyle practices of different social groups including the way of speaking, addressing each other do also reinforce distinction. It also creates symbolic violence on the common people. As mentioned by the interviewees, the ways of speaking, even the accent of the people is different in Kanyon. It is not the high-priced commodities alone but all discursive formation of a particular lifestyle which necessitates particular cultural capital creates this symbolic violence. The spatial configuration of the stores, where the client is in close contact with the sales staff, where glass doors requires more daring in stepping into a store as in traditional small shops may have an intimidating role for lower classes as elucidated by Gültepe interviewees.

Socio-spatial closure represents an attempt to attain a higher status. Kanyon as a consumption site, or as a 'living space' as it is called by its manager, succeeds in maintaining the physical and social distance though it is theoretically open to public as other malls. It is not appropriated by the unwanted others. Hence consuming Kanyon can be considered as a new sign of distinction as reproducing symbolic boundaries.

The urbanistic global distinction of upper classes does not only reproduce their identity but give way to a legitimate discourse on looking down common people as it is observed in the narrations on the crowd. Stylized shopping malls and gated communities lead to disappearance of social interactions, confining each class in its own place. And upper classes do not seem uncomfortable with the deepening social exclusion of the lower classes as they perceive them as unwanted others.

The research also revealed that Kanyon maintains a more rigid homogeneity in clientele profile (elite and wealthy) in comparison to other malls which are appropriated by popular classes. Hence typical malls are not preferred for general leisure practices other than purposeful shopping by Kanyon habitué where social distinction mechanism does not work. The store mix, the architecture and an intimidating presence of entrance security in Kanyon reduce the risks of unanticipated encounters with unwanted people. The striking point in the

interviews is it is accepted as natural to have sanitized places where only the wealthy people may enjoy. This legitimates the sense that different groups belong to separate worlds and have irreconcilable lives (Calderia, 1996). The aestheticization of urban fabric and daily lives of people is not extended to the whole city, instead, the city is more polarised due to the increase of social inequality.

Although there was no rigorous statement saying ‘we do not want them here’, the visible presence of popular classes in shopping malls is not welcomed by upper classes and they put a distance by not going these ‘popularized malls’ which is another distinction practice articulating exclusion. On the other hand, Kanyon stands out as being a shopping mall where not all classes can freely browse as they do in other malls. The concept of mall which offers free loitering for all groups (except marginal, underclass groups) has put a ‘crystal door’ for the lower classes that have appropriated malls during the last ten years.

Kanyon as an example of aestheticized consumption spaces is a pure representation of the refined (aestheticized) global consumer culture which is available to the select - if not elite – Istanbulites. The contradiction here is that, they imitate neighbourhood, town centres, however, only a particular group of people can enjoy this hyper real space. It offers an aestheticized living environment, a hyper real urban centre for the elite members of the society constituting a quarter of the noble, which is an extension of gated communities with the amenities of a pool, a fitness centre, a lake, a wood which only the affluent upper classes can use, avoiding the unwanted ways of lives which are perceived as a disturbance to their hyper real lives.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Interviewee Profiles

A. Kanyon Habitué (Frequent Users)

1. **Serdar**: 20 years old, university student, lives in Etiler with his parents, and visits Kanyon two-three times a week.
2. **Güzel**: 19 years old, university student, lives in Caddebostan with her parents, and visits Kanyon once a week.
3. **Elvan**: 19 years old, university student, lives in Caddebostan with her parents, and visits Kanyon once a week.
4. **Cansu**: 37 years old, working in advertising sector, as a manager. She lives in Etiler and works in Gayrettepe, has membership in a sports club in Etiler and also international professional unions. University graduate, married, has a child and visits Kanyon two-three times a week.
5. **Hale**: 32 years old, working in finance sector as a manager. She lives in Etiler and works in Levent. University graduate, not married, lives alone, and visits Kanyon four-five times a week.
6. **Nilay**: 24 years old, account executive in an advertising agency. She lives in Anadolu Hisari and works in Nisantasi. She has membership in a Leo Club and a sports club. University graduate, not married, lives with her parents, and visits Kanyon once a week.
7. **Mahir**: 36 years old, managing partner of a transportation company. He lives in Anadolu Hisari and works in Ulus. University graduate, not married, lives alone, and visits Kanyon once a week.
8. **Vedat**: 20 years old, management trainee in a bank in Levent. He lives in Maltepe with his family, has membership in a Sports Club. Open-university student, not married. He visits Kanyon four-five times a week.
9. **Arzu**: 28 years old, currently un-employed, former work experience is in marketing sector as a sales representative. She lives in Ulus, has membership

in a Rotary Club. University graduate, not married, lives with her family and visits Kanyon four-five times a week.

10. **Oğuz:** 21 years old, university student, lives in Caddebostan with his parents, and visits Kanyon once a week.
11. **Seçil:** 21 years old, university student, lives in Bahçelievler with her parents, and visits Kanyon once a week.

B. Gültepe Interviewees

They visited Kanyon once or at most three times from the date it opened.

1. **Mete:** 35 years old, textile store owner, lives and works in Gültepe for 30 years. High school graduate, married, has a child.
2. **Kaysu:** 20 years old, sales assistant, lives and works in Gültepe. High school graduate, not married, lives with her family.
3. **Menekşe:** 33 years old, security employee in a university, lives in Gültepe for six years. High school graduate, married has a child.
4. **Öykü:** 23 years old, administrative assistant, was born and grown up at Gültepe. Vocational high school graduate, not married, lives with her family.
5. **Fulya:** 27 years old, accountant, was born and grown up at Gültepe. University graduate, not married, lives with her family.
6. **Berat:** 45 years old, textile store owner, was born and grown up at Gültepe. High school graduate, married, has a child.
7. **Hamza:** 21 years old, university student, lives in Sanayi Mahallesi (a neighboring district to Gültepe with similar characteristics) with his parents, he is helping family business (textile sector) in Gültepe during his spare-time.
8. **Osman:** 37 years old, Gültepe dealer of a furniture chain-store, was born and grown up at Gültepe and now he lives in Üsküdar. Secondary school graduate, married, has children.
9. **İsmet:** 37 years old, Gültepe dealer of a white goods chain-store, was born and grown up at Gültepe and has been living in Sarıyer for five years. High school graduate, married, has children.

C. Small Talks

These are spontaneous interviews held in Kanyon and Gültepe during the field research. Wagamama is a planned visit of the Bilgi University students' club.

1. Group Interview: Gültepe youth – three unemployed males (ages 22,22,20)
2. Wagamama Visit: Wagamama is a restaurant chain first established in London and expanded its retail network to other countries. It is a Japanese noodle restaurant in European style. Bilgi University management club organised a visit to the restaurant to learn about their marketing strategies and applications in Turkey. Restaurant manager and marketing manager told their experiences and answered our questions. I made a conversation with the marketing manager on their consumer profile and Kanyon visitors in general and the perceptions about Wagamama and Kanyon.
3. Necmi: He works in a direct marketing company and supervises event marketing activities. I met him during the Nivea event in the site.
4. Harun: Foreign Trade Representative in Unitim, the distributor company of Harvey Nichols in Turkey
5. Çiğdem: administrative assistant in a university.
6. An architect in advertising sector
7. Sales staff in a watch store
8. The cook of a restaurant
9. Three young men from İskenderun who came to İstanbul for the building fair and visited Kanyon in the rest of their only day in İstanbul.

APPENDIX B

TURKEY* HOUSEHOLD CONSUMPTION EXPENDITURES ON SELECTED CATEGORIES, 2004
Monthly Average, Deciles ordered by household expenditure

	<u>1st 10%</u>	<u>2nd 10%</u>	<u>3rd 10%</u>	<u>4th 10%</u>	<u>5th 10%</u>	<u>6th 10%</u>	<u>7th 10%</u>	<u>8th 10%</u>	<u>9th 10%</u>	<u>10th 10%</u>	<u>Total</u>
Various Goods & Services	5,844,592	13,522,908	18,084,030	23,842,519	26,533,290	40,135,744	48,558,482	64,603,806	94,900,560	258,012,959	594,038,890
Share	1%	2%	3%	4%	4%	7%	8%	11%	16%	43%	100%
Restaurant-Cafe-Hotels	8,285,924	18,750,316	30,062,714	40,422,012	41,336,207	53,933,649	68,554,503	80,708,744	118,620,956	221,591,318	682,266,343
Share	1%	3%	4%	6%	6%	8%	10%	12%	17%	32%	100%
Recreation & Culture	2,001,526	6,619,160	7,937,452	10,549,731	15,585,079	20,300,634	28,397,308	41,412,293	58,686,102	183,095,236	374,584,521
Share	1%	2%	2%	3%	4%	5%	8%	11%	16%	49%	100%
Total	1%									40%	

* Urban and Rural

Source: Turkish Statistical Institute (TÜİK)

SHOPPING AREA PREFERENCES BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS GROUPS, 2007*

	Turkey	AB	C1	C2	DE
High street stores	50	50	51	54	51
Shopping centres	32	49	37	25	23
Street shopping areas with one-two stores	19	12	13	21	26

* in ready wear shopping, conducted in 11 cities with 1500 respondents
 socio-economic group classification in marketing includes income, occupation and education criteria.

Source: KMG Research, 2007

APPENDIX C

SHOPPING MALL FLOOR SPACE BY COUNTRY, 2006		
Country	Total GLA* (Mn m2)	GLA m2 per 1,000 population
Norway	3.2	710
Netherlands	5.2	319
Sweden	2.8	316
Ireland	1.1	262
UK	15.2	257
Denmark	1.4	251
Spain	10.1	248
Switzerland	1.8	245
Austria	1.9	241
France	13.2	221
Average 18 EU Countries	4.8	215
Portugal	2.1	199
Istanbul-2009**	2.2	163
Finland	0.8	162
Italy	9.0	157
Germany	12.4	150
Czech Republic	1.4	142
Poland	5.2	137
Hungary	1.2	117
Belgium	1.0	94
Istanbul-2006	1.1	89
Turkey-2006	2.5	34

* Gross leasable area / total sales area
 ** With addition of 1.1 million sqm of under construction shopping malls.
 Source: King Sturge and AMPD

SHOPPING MALLS BY MAJOR CITIES, 2007 1 st Quarter				
	Number	GLA (m ²)	Share GLA (m ²)	Share Number
Istanbul	48	1,126,685	43.9%	37.8%
Ankara	14	329,127	12.8%	11.0%
Izmir	9	192,287	7.5%	7.1%
Others	56	918,414	35.8%	44.1%
Total	127	2,566,513	100.0%	100.0%

Source: AMPD and Internet research

MALLING OF TURKEY (1998-2007 2ndQuarter)

Number
of Malls

