Power Struggles in the Production of and Changing Perceptions over the Contemporary Public Space: An Insight toward Experienced Reality

Thesis presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the

Newcastle University

Tugce Sanli

School of Architecture, Planning and Landscape

January 2016

Abstract

Cities have been invaded by the tools of the capitalist systems which transform the built environment while leaving the scars of this transformation on the societies. The demands of market forces generate new life styles and social contexts reshaped via relations of power and expression of political and economic hegemony. The nature of urban landscape, particularly the condition of public spaces, has shifted towards most profitable use while private interests have taken over public spaces and contemporary public spaces have emerged such as shopping malls.

This study contributes to the debates that explore the 'veiled' side of planning and hegemonic relations of power in decision making processes that actually in a strong relation with cultural structuring and traditional praxis of a community. In addition, the study has a comprehensive approach by exploring societal influences emerging through power relations and their reflections on contemporary public spaces via exploring perceptions. The study conducts an investigation using qualitative methods and adopting case study approach via three shopping malls from Ankara (Turkey) to answer how urban power relations are generated and become effective on planning and production of contemporary public spaces and how the perceptions upon these public spaces are being transformed? Therefore, the study is founded on two main themes as pillars: *power relations* and *public spaces*. In addition, the empirical chapters at the end are set in parallel with the research objectives and data is gathered via archive analysis of the municipalities and interviews conducted with key informants and users of the selected cases.

The thesis concludes with contributions to the fields of policy and theory through the above mentioned themes. On one hand, it emphasise the urgent necessity for a comprehensive transformation in Turkish planning structure, on the other hand draws an attention to the inefficiency of 'western' literature to elucidate different cultures and power relations that shape the cities of those cultures. In addition, the study also highlighted that the nature of the public space is changing while engendering further change in the perception of public.

Acknowledgements

There are a lot of people and various feelings that I need to thank as all helped me during, before and after this PhD process. I am really grateful for all these situations and people, despite not all were positively contributing, yet still pushed me to complete this journey of PhD, which until now has been one of the exciting, sometimes frustrating and proud thing I have ever done.

Among the people there are some who deserves special attention. First of all, I would like to deeply thank to my supervisors Tim Townshend and Ian Thompson for their guidance and intellectual support which I much appreciate. Without their support the completion of this project would have been impossible. I also would like to highlight a special tutor, Nihan Ozdemir Sonmez, even if she may not be aware; she has been my inspiration during all my undergraduate and master's degree. She has been a perfect example for me (as a tutor, as an academic and as a person) and use this chance to sincerely thank her. I am also very much thankful to Tuna Tasan-Kok for her valuable comments and supports during the period of EMSDP in Leuven. I should also thank all my interviewees, both professional and public ones, for sparing their time and knowledge and trusting me in this project.

I strongly feel in need of sharing my gratitude for all my friends, some of whom have been and will be with me for a life time, yet I will have to mention few of them as their support will be appreciated forever like their friendship. I am thankful to Lale, Aslihan, Ayca, Ozlem, Chryssa, Kerrie, Burak Kaan, Joy Hatice, Adem, Kallia, Ekaterina, Dareen&Ibrahim, Gokmen, Ozge, Hakan K. and Hulya Abla whose kind supports have always been with me. Especially to Sahin, even though words would not be enough to thank, for his caring love and support that make me feel special and lucky. I also feel thankful to my landlord Imran Ahmad, who I assume is a real angel yet put on earth among humans by accident. And to Alkin who once more reminded me that whatever happens we all should try to stay as positive as and as happy as possible, who I met and lost in the last period of this journey, I hope my friend you will rest in peace.

But most of all, to my great mom Aysegul, amazing brother Tuna and kind father Ibrahim who have been giving unlimited and unconditional love and support. Surely without them I would not be able to even to graduate from nursery. Therefore, I dedicate this thesis to my brother and mom, to my hero and heroine; and to my beloved dad for whom I dedicated myself to this adventure just to make him proud, yet I lost at the very beginning of this journey. Babacigim, I hope you are somehow able to see what is happening here and hope your soul would rest in a better peace after I get this degree…

Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Abbreviations

ANAP – Anavatan Partisi – (Motherland Party – centre-right position)

AKP: Adalet ve Kalkinma Partisi (conservative-right position) – Justice and Development Party

AMM: Ankara Metropolitan Municipality

ATO: Ankara Ticaret Odasi meaning The Chamber of Commerce of Ankara

AYD: Alisveris Merkezi Aytirimcilari Dernegi - Turkish Council of Shopping Centres.

CBD – (MIA): Central Business District (Merkezi Is Alani)

CCCAA: Contemporary Capital City Ankara Association (Local NGO) – Cagdas Baskent Ankara Dernegi

CM: Cankaya District Municipality

CUP: Chamber of Urban Planners

DOP: Development readjustment share

FAR: Floor Area Ratio

GLA: Gross Leasable Area

GYODER: Gayrimenkul Yatirim Ortakligi Dernegi – The Association of Real Estate Investment Companies.

ICSC: International Council of Shopping Centres

TA: Urban Transformation Areas

SA: Urban Services Areas

TBMM: Turkish Parliament (Turkiye Buyuk Millet Meclisi)

TOKI: The Mass Housing Administration

YM: Yenimahalle District Municipality

WA: Urban Working Areas

CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION

1.1 Problem definition

> The phenomena like public space and public sphere and public interest, in reality, are like doctrines in the Turkish context … Even the professionals, who are responsible for providing public interest and are responsible for development of public spaces, have been misusing these terms. They interpret these as terms favouring the interest of the institution they belong to. Surely in such a country that the citizens have misdirected perceptions is not surprising. They don't have the awareness … they don't think these spaces are theirs and they think those spaces merely belong to the state and its institutions … and eventually they think 'I don't have a direct benefit from that so why should I bother?' They don't have the awareness of reclaiming[1] those spaces. Planning also unfortunately is perceived as a practice aiming to camouflage what could be done within legislation without considering anything beyond, thinking that the only obstacle is the legislation, so that should be somehow dealt with some sort of networking, but not the planning ethics or public interest (Planner from CUP[2] January 2013).

> What is odd recently is that we as the users and as the public do not feel the need of having that greenery or traditional public spaces anymore. That need is erased from peoples mind … Now we have many shopping malls instead and we all got used to them. Therefore we no longer feel a need for an alternative so we don't demand it. We got used to what has been provided; I think that is something also cultural that we don't have this appreciation of public space as we perceive it as a state institution (User from Armada Shopping Centre November 2011).

Cities are invigorated arenas for social, political and economic interactions, as they also demonstrate a great diversity of changes, like every living organism, starting from their external shape to internal settings, from large-scale geographical conditions to individual differences. Without a doubt, the changes in the political and economic structures of nations, and globalised[3] pressures on these structures and improved technologies have changed the way we live and the way we shape our urban spaces. Urban public spaces have been appearing in the middle of these changing processes, with their visible and invisible forms of meaning and complexities. Especially in large cities of developing countries, there has been a relentless commodification and privatisation of urban land, which on the one hand has reshaped the spatial condition

---

[1] However, nearly three months after this interview, at the end of March the Gezi park protests erupted, and Turkish people gathered to gather to reclaim their open space park in central Istanbul which was about to be developed and a replica of the Russian Barracks, operating as an shopping centre, was planned to be built.
[2] Chamber of Urban Planners
[3] Here the aim is not to depict 'globalisation' itself as the main reason of all urban changes or transformations, but rather to understand its intricate structure across the globe, agreeing that 'globalization itself changes while it is changing the very nature of economic activities in cities – a form of co-evolution' (Tasan-Kok and Weesep, 2007, p.3) driving urban change.

of urban space and on the other hand has reformulated the urban power relations operating in urban development via exploiting planning in practice. In this regard, the nature and relationship between the public and private sectors in the socio-spatial production and management of built environment has been altered. Consequently, the inexorable changes in urban space, driven by the ephemeral urban politics focusing on possible economic benefits, have not only spawned spatial transformation but also led various societal impacts. The nature and conditions of the production of public space, and the perception of it and of 'publicness', have also shifted. This shift holds the basis for this two-fold research on *power relations* in the production of contemporary public space and changing *perceptions* towards those spaces.

The hegemony of power relations shaping and reshaping the above-mentioned built environment is also supported through the continuous gaining of power over that environment. Originally legitimate tools of urban development, particularly planning, have been crafted to generate superiority (Flyvbjerg and Richardson 2002) while distorting existing structures and widening the gap between planning theory and practice. There, as Zukin emphasises, 'people with economic and political power have the greatest opportunity to shape public culture by controlling the building of the city's public spaces in stone and concrete' (1995:11). Therefore, power is able to alter and reshape itself through networks and relations that are also symbolically infused within the cultural codes of the society (Castells 1977, 2010) generating its own complexity and traditions in practice.

The planning literature with regard to relations of power can mostly be categorised under two main streams of approaches. The first is suggested by researchers holding an optimistic approach and following Habermesian thoughts in suggesting solutions (Healey 1996, 1998, 2003; Forester 1989; Hillier 2002; Albrechts 2003); and the second criticises the first stream for being too idealistic while missing the conditions and complexity of reality and following Foucauldian thought (Flyvbjerg 1998; Flyjbverg and Richardson 2002; Yiftachel 1998). This research targets these two approaches in power analysis in planning via a critical approach by highlighting the gaps in these thoughts for the Turkish context, where the former stands as currently too idealistic and the latter lacking in suggestions for appropriate ways forward. Within the same context, urban power relations, the main dynamic of this research, are defined through the tangible and intangible processes of the decision-making processes of urban development. Furthermore, planning practices of shopping malls (that have become

contemporary public spaces of large cities), include the implicit and explicit interventions and networks of the actors.

In Turkey, urban power relations among various explicit and implicit actors have usually been the basis for the decision-making processes and production of urban space. Urban populism, through urban planning and urban development, has been perceived as a good new business with short-term profit inquiries (Ersoy 2001; Tekeli 2001). Moreover, electoral appeal and network relations of power have led to clientelistic relations and distortion of the system where the decisions and/or the processes of urban planning are perceived as a structure that can be 'relaxed, modified … in response to particularistic and individualistic demands' (Oncu 1988:44–45) or as a camouflage of the relations of power. Means of integration to global economy, labour market conditions, policies concerning social cohesion and regulations on urban land development and real estate have had a consequential impact on the social and spatial condition of Turkish cities (Eraydin 2008). There, the political/economic milestones of the country (especially after 1980s and post-2000 as the latest two periods) further altered the urban management structure (from centralisation to decentralisation and later recentralisation) by using, and in some cases reshaping and crafting, the legislative tools that inherently manipulated public perception on built environment. Therefore, understanding the shifts and changes in the spatial condition and its social impacts by the actors requires a detailed examination and uncovering of power relations that cannot be taken for granted.

Within the same process reshaping built environment that also emerges as a consequence of hegemonic power relations, the urban public spaces have experienced an aggressive transition towards the most profitable use, as private interests taking over public and its spaces (Low and Smith 2006; Oc and Tiesdell 1999; Minton 2006; Nemeth 2009) and some become 'publicised private spaces' (Banerjee 2001:12) via contestation between public and private (Madanipour 2003). For some cultures these are informally (not directly through formal documents but through promoting their actions) endorsed as public services both by developers and decision makers and in the case of this study shopping malls. Therefore, this thesis focuses on shopping malls for their potential to be promoted as public services under the mask of public good by the decision makers, however, this also adds to the contemporary 'public' space quality of these structures. It is also because shopping as an activity has always been more than exchange of goods, providing a stage for entertainment of civic

life (Carr et al. 1992). Thus spaces of shopping implicitly convey some public space qualities and therefore may be experienced as such. However, the Turkish context, in which the meaning of public space has its own ambiguities and misuses, provides significant differences within the analysis of the above-mentioned changes. The existing cultural codes embedded and evolved through this shift have had a significant impact on perceptions by both decision-makers and the public. As also stated in the above quotes (from a mall user perspective and a professional planner perspective), the failure to internalise the understanding of public space prevails on both sides. Therefore, the concept become vulnerable to misuse by the power holders and the experience of it is also shaped accordingly. The appearance of strong connotative links and tradition of public space with the state and its institutions within the culture also have consequences. Although in the western literature, 'public space' and 'public sphere' mostly refer to political representation while being rooted and positioned between society and state (Arendth 1958; Habermas 1989), the Turkish context has a strong assemblage with the state, and therefore the meaning and perception of public and private is rather different (Tanyeli 2005). Within the same context, the impact of religion and the culture of submissiveness embedded in the cultural structure have also been influential, especially when considering different historical periods: starting from the Islamic empire to the transition to a secular republic and new adaptations appearing within it.

In each period, the perception of public space has inevitably been exposed to changes, as well as changes appearing in its spatial configuration. However, accumulated on the initial periods, that may differ from the West, the more recent periods followed a similar pattern, aiming to attract large amounts of capital to the retail sector, due to the increased appeal of short-term returns (Tokatli and Boyaci 1999; Erkip 2005) enabling cathedrals of consumption to emerge (Ritzler 2010). This also enabled the corporate power of the public and private sectors, and the national and international investments, while allowing the metropolitan sites of the country become colonised by real estate-driven growth (Aksoy 2012). Therefore, it can be said that Turkish cities have experienced a series of changes emerging through global trends that have concurrently had a cumulative effect on existing cultural codes, traditions and perceptions that not only operated at the societal level in the use and consumption of urban space but also at the level of decision-making, production and promotion of that

space. There, one of the consequences of the power relations on built environment emerges as changing understanding over and transformation of public spaces.

The concern of this study, is therefore to uncover the power relations that emerge within the reality of urban planning practices, which on the one hand manipulate the exercise of policy, and on the other hand reconfigure the built environment, which then gives rise to further social impacts through shifts in the perception over built environment. However, for the purposes of this study, the focus is narrowed down to the production of and perception over shopping malls as those become by use and the way they have been promoted by some of the decision makers as the representative of contemporary public space. It is also important to highlight that this thesis, accepting the publicised private spaces as one form of contemporary public spaces intends to resist narrowing down the complex, dynamic and divergent understanding of public space to the matters of ownership and management. It instead aims appreciating the experiences of the public themselves and the approaches of the professionals (stakeholders), both of which are accumulative and are able to redefine the space constantly. In that regard, this present study aims to uncover and elucidate the urban power relations that operate at every scale and level of the production process of mall development. To achieve that, the complexity of the basic dynamics of contemporary public spaces from the production phase to the consumption phase, in connection with changes/transformations, needs to be resolved and analysed.

1.2 Research question, aims and objectives

Urban development which evolves through relentless investment in the built environment, especially for developing countries like Turkey, is usually recognised as the main pillar of success of local and national governments; therefore, it usually has a central position in local and national agendas. However, the consistent reshaping of the urban built environment also reformulates the operation and actors of urban power that; consequently generate a further impact on the socio-spatial dimension of urban space. There, while the nature of urban space, particularly public space, is transforming the perceptions of it are also inevitably exposed to a similar transformation. Urban power relations, their actors and roles lead to a constant reshaping of urban public space and also reshapes public perception through manipulative actions and promotion of these actions in favour of the particular interests

of the power holders contributed via global trends. As a result, the argument of this thesis is that urban power relations are in a 'cogwheel' relationship with permeable boundaries with the built environment and society, where the driving force of the perception of society and understanding of publicness is prone to changes and transformations by this relation emerging from the political-economic dimension of urban space (Figure 1.1).
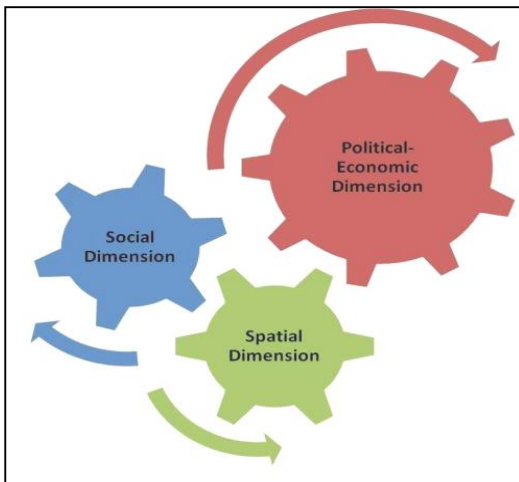
Figure 1.1. Dimensions of contemporary public space and their relation

Therefore, shift within the meaning and transformation of public spaces is influenced by two main dimensions: the political-economic and the socio-spatial. The former includes the practice of urban power relations through different scales and levels of the decision-making process, and the formal production of the built environment; the latter dimensions (representing the results of the former's actions) comprehend the use and the consumption of the built environment by both spatial and social means; this is also where public perception is being formed. In other words, consumption of built environment is manifested through the production, promotion of that environment with the cover of public good. There, the implicit intersection of these cogwheel relations includes the hidden side of the power exerted in the decision-making process regarding development of the built environment.

Within the urban development process, the built environment is the product, the visible representation, produced through the various visible and invisible dynamics of the urban power relations that are embedded in the existing practices. In this study, the concepts of space, production of space and its relation with power is defined in terms of their generation, existence, practice and impacts through the development of the built environment. For the purpose of this research, the analysis of *who*, *how* and *why*

questions are also crucial in order to understand power relations within the praxis of urban space (Flyvbjerg 2002, Flyvbjerg et al. 2012). There, 'how' and 'why' this power operates through 'what' kind of agency by whom are the essential questions to uncover the elusive concept of urban power. This is because the production is positioned between the conceptual and the practical level with strong interrelations with both sides. In this respect, this research seeks to answer the main question:

> *How are urban power relations generated and expressed through planning practices in reshaping and promoting the built environment and how do they shape social perceptions?*

The study therefore aims to reveal the gaps and shades between formal processes and practical reality and to reveal how urban planning, as a state apparatus and as a legitimate instrument, is being manipulated to favour the interests of power holders. The investigation also aspires to uncover the socio-spatial dimension of the process via conducting an investigation into the perceptions of the actors (powerful and powerless; active and passive; producer and consumer) as these perceptions are prone to changes via intentions and interventions of the power holders. Moreover, in searching for an answer to the main research question, sets of subsidiary questions and objectives emerge throughout the research (Table 1.1), that are refined from the literature and the initial empirical research.

Who are the real actors of planning practices and how do they engage in reality?	Identifying actors of urban power (including the powerless) and their roles	CHAPTER 7
	Exposing the operation of urban power and the interrelations of the actors	
	Analysing the formal tools and tactical actions within the process	
What are the conditions that characterise the shades and driving forces of power relations?	Analysing the practical procedures of the mall development	CHAPTER 8
	Revealing the explicit and implicit driving forces behind the process	
	Identifying urban power and its operation in the Turkish urban planning structure	
	Assessing the role of urban planning in the exercise of urban power	
How are perceptions of public and professionals influenced as a response to the actions (proclaims and promotions) of decision makers?	Identifying the formal existence of the notion of public space	CHAPTER 9
	Identifying public space and shopping mall development procedures	
	Identifying perceptions of the notion of public space	
	Identifying the main dynamics that influences the perception of professionals and users	
	Identifying the relations between urban power and perception of public space	

Table 1.1. Subsidiary questions, objectives linked with relevant empirical chapters

Supporting questions and research objectives are structured in accordance with the flow of the main argument where the investigation of power relations requires exposing all actors of the whole process of production (before, during and after decision making processes), analysing legislative instruments, investigating their traditional and practical operation and influences on societal perceptions. Through the empirical research, the planning praxis is unpacked in order to provide an investigation of the explicit and implicit drivers of the production process and to identify the levels at which power relations occur, how and among which actors. The research further aims to elucidate on the influence of urban power relations over societal perception via manipulation of the built environment. There, the discussion over contemporary public spaces and their changing nature are also exposed both from professionals' and users' perspective, where the powerful strata of the former group generates tactics in promoting their interventions as 'public services' – in a way serving their actions on a 'silver platter'. Therefore, the discussion expands to how, in response, the latter would experience these spaces. However, it is important to state that the understanding of public space needs particular attention, as culturally and historically the use and the meaning of the term 'public space' has been peculiar to Turkey, therefore, different from Western use. These aims and objectives are set in order to reveal the 'reality' and the real politics (Flyvbjerg 1998) reflected through the shopping mall development process that not only materialised through various temporal relations and networks of actors, but also their explicit and implicit negotiation processes and manifestation of their strategies in sponsoring their actions as providing public services that inevitably manipulated public perception through the transformation of the urban landscape.

1.2.1 Significance of the research

Although there has been a significant focus of research studies on the increased development of shopping malls in Turkish metropolitan cities, investigations into the complex and implicit development processes with reference to urban power relations and the actors involved have been very few and only have an indirect focus on the power relations of planning practice (Sahin 2007). As Hillier emphasises, 'the reality of planning often disappoints' (2002:3). Urban power relations as the essential dynamic of the practice of urban planning consist not only of the negotiations between planners and authorities or developers, but also comprise those between a wide variety of actors; each may change depending on the project and therefore may be temporal, but

cannot be determined until a research study on particular development projects is carried out.

This thesis first targets the uncovering of the 'realpolitik' (Flyvbjerg 1998, 2002) of contemporary urban development in Turkey and seeks to clarify its impacts through urban power relations and tactical actions emerging from it in planning practice and its aftermath through provision of *'publicised' private space*[4] production. With this consideration, this study aims to go beyond the existing theoretical and policy approaches, demonstrating the reality of urban planning practices and revealing the offstage actors and processes within particular contexts, in order to set the scene for better, more democratic planning experiences in the future. To achieve that, analysis is provided of the three shopping centres, echoing the multiple voices of its users and producers in consideration of the notion of 'publicness' and public space and production of public space. By providing that analysis, this research aims to raise awareness of the public perception of the built environment that has been reshaped and manipulated by the producers. However, their intentions are revealed through their strategies, especially in promoting profit based private investments like shopping malls as services to public, as a 'public good', therefore they do not have strong enthusiasm to provide instead traditional public spaces. For that reason, this research, although it provides its readers with narratives of three different case studies in the empirical chapters, also presents a deep investigation not only through practical stories but also through providing historical background and bridging it with the current formal procedures and responses in practice with reference to the perceptual understanding of the users and the producers of the selected spaces. Therefore, the research consequently contributes to two aspects: policy and theory for both power relations and public perception and their intertwined relationship on the basis of action (of decision makers) and reaction (how public receives those actions).

1.3 Research settings

The capital city of Turkey, Ankara, had a population of 4,868,418 in 2011 and, unlike the old capital, Istanbul, was considered as a planned city due to the planning and development interventions implemented since the declaration of its capital city status in 1923. However, the urbanisation of capital and the recomposition of the urban form

---

[4] This term was first used by Banerjee (2001).

with regard to the changing conditions of the political economy have been effective in the capital and in other metropolitan cities of the country. Therefore, Ankara, which initially provided a strong representation of the secularist and modernist face of the nation through its public spaces, later become a site for investors' and power holders' interests. In addition, the development of the retail areas has emerged as another problematic issue in planning, as there has not been any particular retail development or planning strategy produced. The development of the retail areas in the city was either through city centre development or organic yet unplanned development on the ground floors of residential apartment blocks. Although urban planning, as a state apparatus, has the aim of managing land use within the city, in reality the redundant flexibility of the land use terms and lack of limitation in using them has become the mode of city management, which is left in the hands of the few. In the city, the excessive development of the Eskisehir Road and significant celebration of those investments as if those equate to the provision of public services, and the emerging shopping mall growth on that road and in the city in general has been the result.
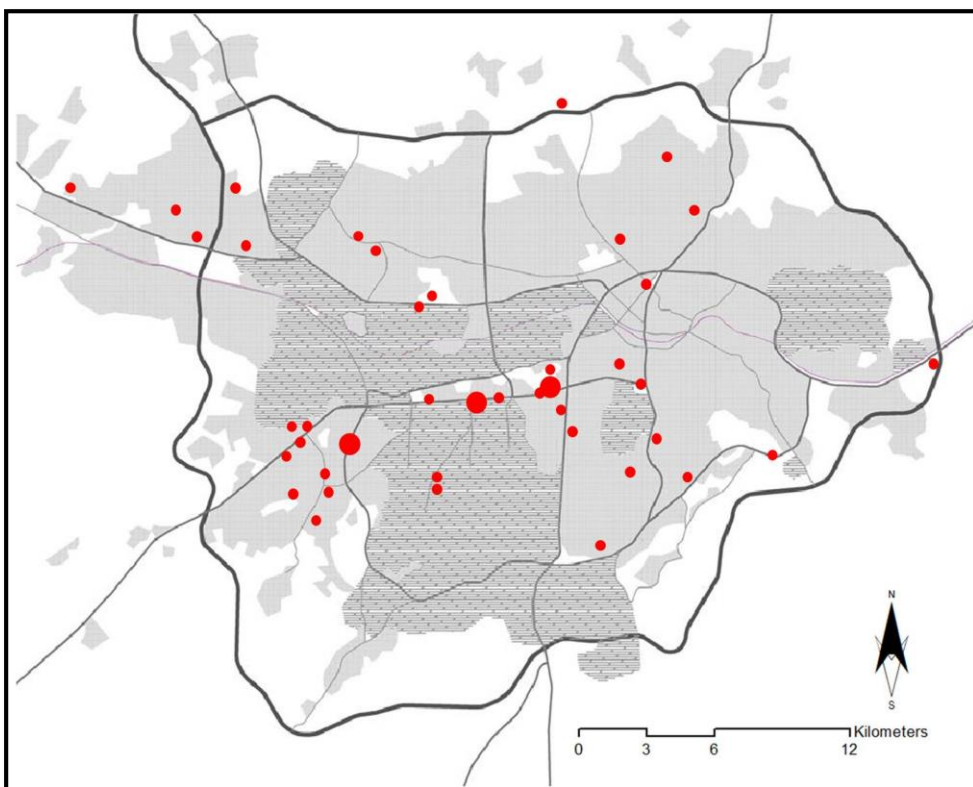
Figure 1.2. Shopping malls and their locations in Ankara[5]

---

[5] The three big dots resembling the selected cases

10

The emergence of the shopping malls/centres[6] started at the end of the 1980s in Turkey (the first mall, Galleria, was built in 1988 in Istanbul, then one was built in 1989 in Ankara called Atakule); from that point on, the development of malls increased dramatically, especially after the 2000s (Figure 1.2). This period witnessed land value focused development interventions supported by legislation; mall developments have been one of the most significant products of this period in Ankara. However, these contemporary public spaces, following global trends, were mingled with peculiar local characteristics and, therefore, inherently generated a unique subject to be investigated.

At the time that this study started (2010), there were 38 shopping centres in Ankara, some of which were under construction and not fully in service. Although each of those shopping centres could have been selected as a case study, in order to gather the most expressive research data and, thus, productive results, at the very earliest stage of the study a pilot study was conducted to narrow down the potential cases to investigate in more detail. Following that, primary selection criteria for the case studies were developed from the inputs of the thesis objectives and theoretical framework. In addition to that, the impacts of the local characteristics were analysed in different scales from neighbourhood to city. Through that investigation, three representative malls were chosen: Galleria, Armada and Kentpark. Among the selected three cases Galleria, built in 1995, represents the first period of mall development. Armada, built in 2002, has a larger GLA (Gross Lettable Area) as well as an office block; Kentpark, built in 2009, is the most recent of the three and includes residential blocks and a sports centre in its proposal, in addition to the retail and office functions as the main centre.

1.4 Research methodology

This thesis carries out qualitative research as a strategy, with a case study approach, in order to provide satisfactory answers to the research questions and to gather rich data. Undertaking a qualitative approach is also important due to the lack of such approaches to urban public space development, especially in investigating urban power relations in the Turkish context. This research has two main strands: *urban power relations* and the *perception of public spaces*, where the former, through its

---

[6] This study acknowledges the existing definitions and distinctions between shopping mall and shopping centre based on ICSC's approach;(see Chapter 3) on the other hand, there are contextual considerations, as within the Turkish context neither a clear classification nor a distinction between shopping mall and shopping centre exists. Hence, within this study, these two terms are used interchangeably.

operating mechanisms and praxis, is in a position to be effective in manipulating the latter, building up the main argument of this thesis, which become stronger during the research process. Through this argument, the research questions are shaped accordingly, with 'how' question sets leading this research to learn from practice. In that regard, the case studies were selected for empirical data and the actors to be interviewed were defined. The interviews have been carried out starting from political representatives, to managerial ones, and then to professional ones from both the public and the private sector, some of whom can be considered to be urban elites. In addition, each selected shopping centre was observed in terms of its spatial condition and use, and concurrently users were interviewed using semi-structured interviews. The analysis of the data operated both through forward and backward steps, starting with an inductive approach which was divided into sections later (through new data both from literature and from case studies) and then inferred again. Although there was a continuous analysis of the data gathered through the pilot study, the main fieldwork and the literature review, the body of the analysis became clear after the completion of the fieldwork analysis. There were 36 interviews; 16 with both types of urban professionals and 20 with users of the selected malls. The municipal archive documents, and those provided by the lawyers, constitute the main framework for the empirical analysis. Nevertheless, this research study is not a linear one; this is because the initial sets of questions and frameworks have faced continuous refinement in the actual process of research. Each step towards uncovering the practice, actors, their engagement and relation between the research themes also revealed new refined questions. Therefore, the present research has a spiral and dynamic nature that is perpetually reshaped via practices and daily solutions within those practices.

1.5 Structure of the research

This study consists of nine chapters, excluding the introduction. The first two chapters (Chapter 2 and Chapter 3) are positioned as introductory chapters leading to a theoretical framework in relation to the two-fold nature of the thesis. Of these, the first, on the **production of space through power and planning**, deals with the concepts of space production and power relations as two interrelated concepts and clarifies them with reference to urban planning. The second introductory chapter, on the **production of and the perception over public space: the contemporary dimensions**, aims to present an insight towards the notion of public space, its evolution and transformation

through history; and presents critiques of this transformation and the emergence of shopping malls as a new typology. Therefore, the theoretical framework of this thesis starts with the analysis of space and power within the urban context, which is then associated with the following chapter investigating public space, its production and transformation through urban politics and economics of the urban contexts, and including consequential societal experiences and the perceptions of the public itself.

Chapter 4 focuses on the **methodological approach** of the research, revealing the justification and reasons of using a qualitative approach and providing the grounds for using case studies. The chapter then continues with an overview of the project by setting the scene; it presents the sources of data, and gives an insight into the case studies and the pilot study, where the justifications for the selection of the cases are provided. Then, a detailed explanation of the data collection process, fieldwork and interviews is given with regard to the main aims of this research. Finally, the chapter demonstrates an overview to the analysis of the data collected.

Chapter 5, on the **understanding of public space in Turkish urban history**, and Chapter 6, on the **emergence of 'publicised private spaces', shopping malls and the urban development of Ankara** provides an insight into the Turkish context via background information on public space and related notions, and their evolution in Turkish history, from the later Ottoman period to the more recent periods of republican Turkey. The section later has an additional exploration of the emergence of shopping centres, with particular attention on Ankara. In addition, both chapters present an investigation on recent legislative grounds regarding urban development, public space and related concepts.

The following three chapters (Chapters 7, 8 and 9) are dedicated to the empirical investigation of the study. The first of the three empirical chapters, **power struggles and interplays through production of 'publicised private space'** aims to identify each actor of the production phases of each case study, in order to reveal the comparison between official roles and the practicalities of the planning process. The chapter also examines the distorted strategies, the influences of the actors upon each other and their motives in relation to legitimate tools in the development processes of the selected cases. The second empirical chapter offers **an insight through the development processes of Galleria, Armada and Kentpark** by investigating the formal development processes of the selected cases in detail. Each case study is

13

thoroughly explored through its historical planning background and emerging conflicts of these processes are revealed via illustrating and analysing the authentic municipal archive documents, court documents and key informants' remarks so as to elaborate on the previous chapter. The final empirical chapter on the selected cases provides a further investigation of the **spatial and the social dimension** by voicing the perceptions of the public and professionals on the notion of public space so as to bridge the gap between theoretical considerations on the issue of publicness and the perception of public spaces by highlighting the link between the relations of power in planning practice with perception of malls as contemporary public spaces based on the actions of the decision makers and response of public through the way they experience those spaces. In this chapter, each case was understood as a different socio-spatial site, where cases have their own spatial qualifications and users attribute meanings to social qualifications during their practice.

Finally, Chapter 10 seeks to draw out the main findings of the research in relation to the research problem, aims and objectives that are defined at the beginning of the research. The chapter sets out the **discussion and conclusion: production and the consumption of contemporary public spaces**, based on the synthesis of the empirical chapters with the theoretical ones, in order to compose a discussion with reference to the multi-dimensional condition of the public spaces and the complexity of the power relations. By doing so, suggestions for future research and possible strategies that would go beyond the existing practices are provided.

CHAPTER 2 - PRODUCTION OF SPACE THROUGH POWER AND PLANNING

2.1 Introduction

The aim of this, the first of the two introductory literature chapters, is to analyse and to understand the production of space and the concept of power as two interrelated concepts within urban planning experience. The introduction to the theoretical framework of this thesis starts through the analysis of production of space and power relations in the urban context associating with the following chapter, which investigates the (contemporary) public spaces and perception over these spaces.

This chapter has an initial attempt to answer the main research question by exploring the literature on relations of power in urban space and by investigating the generation of these relations in various concepts operating through the complexity of a multitude of day-to-day decisions. In addition, the chapter also elucidates the relation between the concepts of power and space in order to produce a framework to relate the background and the case study analysis in later chapters.

With these aims, the chapter commences with an exploration through a conceptualisation of space starting from its abstract recognition and continuing through its relational, representational reflections to the urban dimension. In addition, a similar investigation is set for the notion of power. The investigation of these two concepts and their interrelation and contribution to urban politics is exemplified at the end through the presentation of various theoretical approaches. Finally, the urban planning dimension and its relationship with the exercise of power are presented.

2.2. Conceptualising space and space production

The spatial character of globalisation and capitalism or as it may be called, global capitalism, and its relation with urban space, have received much attention by many researchers. Some draw attention to Marxist class relations via urban growth and consumption concerning the processes of modernism; postmodernism and advanced capitalism and their impacts (Castells 1977, 1978; Soja 1989; Harvey 1985, 1989-b, 2001; Smith 2008). Others propose conceptualisation of space focusing on spatial

quality and quantity, reaching to representations and relativity, where the space is socially produced through networks and social relations and where the perceptions and lived experiences are expressed (Lefebvre 1991; Massey 1994; Harvey 2005-a). However, while each approach has its own merits for conceptualising space, none can be considered enough on their own to have a complete grasp of space. This is because space is neither just a geographical or architectural container nor a material product that merely accommodates human action. Although space is 'an essential unit between society and nature' (Vidal, cited in Gregory, 1994:49), it cannot be understood through only perceptions of it either (Dimendberg, 1998). Therefore, it cannot be perceived as something formed accidentally, but is reflected through its existence, expression and transformation, meaning the concrete expression of historical particularity (Castells 1977) including abstract images, maps and perceptions (Lynch 1960). In addition, space also includes expressions accommodating capitalist social relations and accumulations of these relations within neoliberal conditions (Harvey 1973, 1985, 1989-a, 2005-b 2012), referred by some as 'urbanisation of injustice' (Hubbard 2011:99). Therefore, space is both the producer and product of these economic, political and social relations, and also inherently a determinant of the manifestations of the relations of power emerging in day-to-day experiences in social forms, this is why this research takes 'conceptualising of space' as a start point.

One of the mainstream works on the production of space is by Lefebvre (1991), where he suggests a triadic form of relations. The relation starts with material space, where the tangible spatiality and experience is described; in which he also reframes the non-spatial condition of space through the lenses of social production constructed by human activity and social relations (Ronneberger 2008; Smith 1998). This approach goes beyond the material existence and spatial production of space through social processes and argues for different phases of space, placing the focus on the social production of space, where the product can be *experienced*, *conceived* and/or *lived* (constituting his second triad) (Lefebvre 1991). Following that he suggests space in three different yet interrelated grounds: first, the spatial practice that is *perceived* as the product of physical space with social appearances; second, the *representation of space*, where space is conceived by expertise and produced by professionals through knowledge; and finally, the *spaces of representation*, where space is lived by its users through 'moments of presence' (ibid.; Shields 1999:161). However, in acknowledging each sphere, it is also important to understand that while each sphere continuously

produces space, they also concurrently produce each other therefore cannot be separated.

Nevertheless, Harvey (1973) plays down space's container activity and rather suggests an investigation of the ways of understanding how space is being produced and reproduced. The tripartite approach of Harvey (1973) suggests three different identifications to understand space: first is the *absolute* space expressed as a thing in itself, pre-existing and independent of matter; second is the space being *relative*, dependent on the standpoint of the observer and to the relation between objects; and the third is the *relational space* where space is being embedded in the process: 'the external influences get internalised in specific processes of things through time' (Harvey 1973; 2005-a:96) yet again in reality these three identifications operate concurrently and constantly reshape each other. Although the Marxist view of space, until very recently, 'externalised and neutered' the spatiality of social assets and therefore criticised for reducing that spatiality to 'little more than backdrop or stage' (Soja 1989:85), Harvey, focusing on the Marx's explorations on value and capitalism widens this approach and associates his concepts with Cassier's (1944),[7] where space is categorised into three spatial experiences: *organic*, *perceptual* and *symbolic* space. There, Harvey states that 'if we are to understand spatial form, we must first enquire into the symbolic qualities of that form' (1973:32). In addition, in his later works, Harvey associates his tripartite also with Lefebvre's,[8] highlighting that each categorisation of space is interrelated and simultaneously exists in a common reality while having a dependence on the conditions that surrounds that reality, where either one or all of the dimensions can coexist at the same time[9].

Moreover, considering that the space is a social product, Massey refers to space as a ground for different places that have 'permeable boundaries' through their social dimension, consisting of complex social relations (Massey 1995:116), which become visible through *identity* that shapes the experiences of people and generates a sense of belonging (Hubbard and Kitchin 2011). In addition, in her later works Massey (2005) brings her ideas of space together on three grounds. First, space is being produced by *interrelations*, *interactions* and *identities* from global to individual scales and is embedded in practices. Second, space is the field of *multiplicity* and *heterogeneity*,

---

[7] See Harvey, 1973, pp.28–29.
[8] See the chart in Harvey, 2005a, p.105.
[9] The practical example given by Harvey, 2005a, pp.98–99 reveals the constant interplay among the three dimensions.

where diversities coexist. Third, space is never completed or finished, yet always uncompleted as a 'simultaneity of stories-so-far' (ibid: 9). She later concludes this explanation by saying space is political and the product of relations which inherently generate multiplicity with 'loose ends and missing links' (ibid: 12). In contrast, Harvey (1989-b) implies that, through social movements, the connection is actually between the *place* and the social identity rather than the space. Therefore, place as both *concrete* and *symbolic* production of space embodies *identity* relations. This embraces not only *personal* but also *cultural* and *economic* representations through both collective memories (Boyer 1994) and individual feelings and meanings that are beyond daily experiences (Massey 1995). Therefore, the conceptualisations of Massey and Harvey may be linked on the basis of social practices that are generated through relations and the continuous production of space. Unfolding the pillars of production of space in consideration with its material spatiality and social geography also provides an introduction to production of public space and perceptions, which this study tackles in the following chapter (Chapter 3).

However, this research reminds that space and production of it both as a process and a product of multiplicity of various relations and experiences, dynamically coexist and constantly reproduces each other. Therefore, space, although not being a mere container, is inclusive for the urban context, being reshaped with the diverse dimensions of the political, economic and social, through their permeable boundaries, as reflectors of society and social relations being enriched by human behaviour. Having said that, it is a prerequisite to explore more critical concepts on space and its production in order to grasp its dynamic and divergent nature and to be able to connect power relations, which are fed by political economic geography and run at the background of that production.

2.2.2 *Critical concepts over the understanding of space through contemporary explorations: reproduction of space*

Although space might be considered as a natural given setting, it is actually permeable and consists of power relations and social interactions that coexist. Thus, the urban space becomes central as it is the visible ground of the expression of all these relations. It is because '*space* now more than *time* that hides things from us, that the demystification of spatiality and its veiled instrumentality of power is the key' to understand the contemporary configuration of space and to make sense of daily

experiences, politics and theories (Soja 1989:61 emphasis added). Similarly, Smith proposes that 'geographical space is on the economic and political agenda as never before' (2008: 5), and thus that what matters in the contemporary condition is not just the impacts of capitalism on geography but rather what geography can do to offer to capitalism. Here, the relation between geography and capitalism, dominated by the latter, is an important tool for urban power that produces and reproduces urban space. Therefore, as revealed by Soja and Smith, apart from including spatial settings, space also reveals implicit consequences for physical settings, coming from the synchronisation of the explicit and implicit political and economic changes in capitalist and globalising geography.

In this regard, in the recent capitalist globalisation era, the transnational impacts of globalisation and capitalism also led to an accumulative standardisation of the neoliberal geography and there the cities have become 'the commodity take on flesh' resembling the capital and capitalism (Clark cited in Gregory, 1994: 211) and dressed-up version of commodity fetishism (Harvey 2012). There the urban *land rent* becomes the commodity of that fetishism, and thus becomes the capital of urban space: 'a fictitious form of capital that derives from expectations of future rents' (Harvey 2012: 28). There, urban space is affected by the relations of capital and the relations of power which are actually interrelated and dependent on each other. Harvey suggests that, urbanisation absorbs the capital, and thus is central to capital accumulation, especially through investments in the built environment, while also triggering the value and surplus value production, as the main drivers. Therefore, space is rather a lively, dynamic and interactive setting that continuously reshapes and is being reshaped via global, territorial, economic, political, societal and individual relations, including the tacit relations that emerge in between, and within temporal conditions.

Another critical concept of space is *placelessness*, where spaces and their spatial representatives, places, transform into a condition of placelessness through the inauthentic experience of cities 'supported by mass communication, mass culture, big business, powerful central authority and economic structure' (Relph, 1976: 90). Similarly, there are some other critiques of the production of space centralising attention on postmodernity where the spatiality of space becomes blurred within the accelerated time expressions. Among them Virillio, similar to Harvey's *time-space compression,* where globalisation and capitalism generates accelerated relation of time and space (Harvey 1989), suggests a *speed-time* concept. There, one

participates in that space through time and virtual existence instead of physical existence[10] (Virilio and Armitage 2001). Another critique with similar concern presented by Marc Auge referring to 'non-places'[11] as the accelerated transformation of the contemporary world on the basis of *space*, *ego* and *time* as a new geography of *supermodernity*, where the world becomes 'a single immense conurbation' emerging from the intersection of consumption, communication and circulation (Auge 2008: xii) leading to sameness as the 'globetrotting tourist' (ibid.). There, supermarkets, shopping malls and big transport hubs like airports are given as examples of non-places and the spaces of placelessness.

However, the supermodernity argument, perceiving the metropolitan cities as the encapsulation of the globe, disregards the inherent authenticity and novel power relations of different geographies. This is because, if this perception is merely taken for granted, it undermines the diverse nature of ethnicity, culture, religion, social, political and economic dimensions. Therefore, it is important to emphasise that different societies still 'produce their own kind of space' through 'social translation, transformation and experience' and present the organisation of space as a social product (Smith 1998:54; Soja 1989: 80). Space, therefore, is being produced through purposeful social practice, where different human practices create different space conceptualisations during the process of analysis of space, rather than providing a definition prior to it (Soja 1989; Harvey 1973). Therefore, space is dynamic, conditionally fluid and contextual. It also reshapes itself in accordance with the various scales of experience (collective to individual) and various relations (social–political–spatial and economic) and time.

With these different arguments in mind, the starting point for providing a meaningful understanding of space will also depend on the researchers' point of view (through which lenses s/he is going to look to the subject). It would also be central to any related argument, as to claim a generalised formulation of space and its production is impossible. Therefore, although acknowledging the spatialised existence especially of metropolitan cities has been shaped and reshaped by global capitalist geographies and thus contribute to the concerns of supermodernity and placelessness,

---

[10] Here Virillio uses the example of TV and other high-tech communication materials where one does not need to be physically involved.
[11] Presenting a quite pessimistic view Auge states the places and the world of supermodernity: 'where people are born in the clinic and die in hospital, where transit points and temporary abodes are proliferating under luxurious or inhuman conditions … where a dense network of means of transport which are also inhabited spaces is developing; where the habitué of supermarkets … credit cards communicates wordlessly ... with unmediated commerce; a world surrendered to solitary individuality' (Auge, 2008: 63).

concurrently their emergence and processes of production and reproduction would generate their own authenticity and their own kind of space, while simultaneously generating its own relations of power, which this research considers as the main pillar of urban space production, development and which then therefore also becomes the manipulator of the social environment. Thus, while the *political*, *economic*, *spatial* and *social dimensions* are being reformulated, with time generating a time–space relation, different *cultures* still would produce their kind of space; while different *experiences* and relations also produce their own kind of space and *perceptions* of space and therefore the meaning becomes contextual. Thus, this thesis has a focus on a particular context and the following chapters (Chapters 5–6) provide an investigation of the Turkish context to understand the divergences and determine the driving forces in terms of *process*, *product* and *impact*, which this study aims to do.

2.3 Conceptualising power

> The city … is the point of maximum concentration for the power and culture of a community (Mumford 1938: 3).

Power is an elusive concept, as Booher and Innes (2002) stated; therefore, it requires a deeper analysis, particularly in the context of urban space and urban politics, as it can also alter and become mobilised through relations, conditions and history. Through its intangible – and in some instances veiled – nature, *power is capable of running in the background* of the urban space production process. Therefore, as put forward by Foucault: 'space is fundamental in any form of communal life; space is fundamental to any exercise of power' (1994: 361) and as power is able to endow itself with processes that are adjusted to the situation it is a prerequisite to untangle the scope of power in urban space and urban politics. In addition, as urban space is produced via social processes, it is also politically represented and economically defined by market forces. There over time, its simultaneous existence has been synchronising with geography and history, embracing the interactions of all actors and institutions. Urban power also follows a similar path, as it produces space and is being produced through space. Power in its multi-layered forms is (re)produced in various ways in daily life: starting from state power (institutional and statutory) to individual power or to a combination of these two while encompassing through different types of *capital*.

The urban conflict is reshaped via favouring the prevailing class by the state and its institutions (and tools), including their interrelations (Castells 1977). These, producing their own relations of power through reshaping processes, are visible at every scale of the urban life from the individual to the governmental scale, as Massey (1995) argues and from concrete physical manifestations to more abstract relational ones. Added to the socially constructed nature of space that is also the product of the relations of power, power can also be represented through the state apparatus through law in diverse social hegemonies (Foucault 1990) yet not structured merely through sovereignty that is dispersed throughout society (Gregory et al. 2009). In addition, with reference to Lefebvre, who states that the space of contemporary capitalism is organised via the reproduction of social relations, Soja echoes that the organisation of space is in close relation with the 'reproduction of the dominant system of relations' (1989: 91). Within this system, 'networking' is the new way of living and 'the flows of power generate the power of flows, whose material reality imposes itself as a natural phenomenon that cannot be controlled or predicted, only accepted and managed'; thus, 'people live in places, power rules through flows' (Castells 1989: 349). However, although Castells' arguments are convincing, they appear to underestimate the overt expression of power while putting focus merely on the subtle condition of flows, which on the other hand is also inadequate, as the reference to subtle flows also misses the further complexity of power relations. The interconnected power relations of other agencies and their exercises may be both explicit and oppressive or implicit, and also embedded in the cultural codes and therefore appropriated in the long run and pass unnoticed in daily politics.

Therefore, power 'comes from everywhere' (Foucault 1990) and works with daily relations and comes from practices of *everyday distance*.[12] Thus, 'people both exercise power and are on the receiving end of the power at different times every day, in all realms of life' (Gregory et al. 2009: 575), while it is most effective ability when it is least observable (Lukes 2005). Therefore, power, through its inherent disguised nature, is hard to observe and to be evaluated. Therefore, to understand it within the context is required. To do so, deconstruction of its elements (the actors and relations constituting those intangible dimensions of power) is required; also because power is a

---

[12] Additionally, while this form of power practises itself in everyday life, on the other hand, 'this form of power applies itself to immediate everyday life which categorises the individual, marks him by his own individuality, attaches him to his own identity, imposes a law of truth on him which he must recognise and which others have to recognise in him. It is a form of power which makes individuals subjects' (Foucault, 1982: 781).

manifestation of multiplicitous force relations that have the ability to alter, control and reorder, coexisting in each other.

Nevertheless, although power is embedded in the state apparatus in different forms, Foucault also emphasises that it should neither be perceived as a mere tool of state or authority, nor merely as negative and oppressive. For him, power needs to be understood through its different abilities, which can be productive; for example, producing discourse, forming knowledge and permeating through networks of the whole social body (Foucault, cited in Rabinow 1991; Flyvbjerg 1998). Moreover, Foucault's analysis of power requires an investigation into systems of differentiation, where each power relation presents differentiations; types of objectives, referring to actions upon actions of others (i.e. profit accumulation, interest maintenance); tools to exercise power; forms of institutionalisation referring to traditional structures (i.e. legal habits, hierarchy, regulation and relative autonomy); the degrees of rationalisation referring to effectiveness, certainty and cost (Foucault 1994: 344). However, these bullet points (some can also be seen in empirical chapters) still fail to unveil some structures of power and mutually embodied relations within. Here – although in some conditions it would be difficult if not impossible – identifying some actors and their legal positions as well as their positions in a particular power structure (especially informal relations), and identifying the inputs coming (rather accumulating) from past relations and cultural and traditional conditions, needs separate attention. This is also because relations, actions relative to these relations and common knowledge are socially constructed notions. Knowledge, truth and discourse formed by power, however, carries the risk of being used in a subtly oppressive way. This is because power also has a 'slippery and ever-changing' nature, which actually is capable of adapting and camouflaging itself (Dovey 1999: 16). Therefore, it is better to analyse power and its relations through a set of mechanisms: 'where and how, between whom, between what points, according to what processes, and with what effects, power is applied' (Foucault 2009: 2) and how a particular context contributes to the production and exercise of power. The empirical stages of this study, therefore, attempt to present the answers to Foucault's questions above to provide a better understanding of urban power mechanisms.

2.3.1 *Power and relations of capital*

Each scale of power has a representative and productive relation, e.g. economic power and political power are also supportive to each other (Landry 2006) where the existence of one type of power can empower or disempower the other, depending on the purpose and conditions. The variety of different types of power inherently requires different types of capital within its networking that is, beyond the commonly known type of economic capital. The forms of capital, in which power is being exercised in various ways, and which may be called *powers of capitals,* are also determining factors in power relations, thus in urban space. Among the types of capital, economic capital has its roots in the economic model of capitalism in the Marxist approach, where the attention is on the accumulation of economic capital and where that accumulation generates economic power.

Capital as a concept is accumulative and has the capacity to be reproduced and needs to be perceived without being limited to economic theory as its sub-types resemble the social world (Bourdieu, 1986). As Bourdieu argues capital is not a concept that can only be limited to the economy, yet can also be presented 'under three fundamental species (each with its own subtypes) … economic capital, cultural capital, and social capital'; and among them, social capital is the sum of actual and virtual resources (Bourdieu, in Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 119). Social capital, Bourdieu argues, represents networking capacity and relationships: 'the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition ... which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively-owned capital, a "credential"' capital that is to be used later when needed in practice (1986: 248). However, Landry (2006) argues that the types of capital are not limited to economic, cultural and social capital either. There are also other types, each of which needs to be acknowledged by urban professionals: human capital (representing the knowledge and the abilities of people); intellectual capital; creativity capital; leadership capital (motivation to lead and taking responsibility for the purpose); and environmental capital, which represents the spatial and visual diversity (ibid).

Among the researches focusing on social capital, Coleman (1990) builds his argument on social relations and human capital. According to him, the latter refers to having skills and capabilities, and social capital is embodied in relations between individuals to facilitate actions. There, *mutual trust* and *expectation* and *obligation creation* is crucial,

as these lead to credential slips and the relations of *authority* and of *trust* and *norms* constitute different configurations of social capital (ibid: 300). In addition, similarly to Bourdieu's explanation of credential capital, Coleman's analysis of social capital also obtains 'credit slips'[13] that are more relevant for the social structures and *less self-sufficient*[14]. Although Coleman has a focus on the social relations perspective, his analogy can also be applicable for political settings and authority relations, as well as the production of the built environment, where the particular actors building up their relations and gaining mutual credits from each other would be drawn from in the case of urban projects (for project approval or similar cases) or legislative approvals (see the example in Coleman 1990: 308). In this case, the built environment, which we may call the *spatial capital,* to differentiate Coleman's physical capital that provides private good, can be used as a tool (and as a resource) by social capital and *political capital*[15] to increase economic capital. This relation, generating its own power, then would lead to an increase in the importance of spatial capital by increasing its profitability, and thus making the processes interdependent and perpetual.

Furthermore, Harvey (1985: 24) uses the Marxist term 'fixed capital' in relation to space production and urbanisation, where the fixed capital, as a physical asset, generates an exchange value that is locked up in a particular space until amortisation, and until that time if a new fixed capital appears then the existing one will be devalued. That applies to the built environment via investments, and for the cases in this study especially in the Galleria and Armada examples. There, creating use value of the economic capital, via spatial fixes, is not only effective for the built environment but also for social actions, interactions, administrative and legal structures, and hierarchies of power (Harvey 1989-a). For Harvey, the impacts of capitalism and capital accumulation by the production of space is a way of 'spatial-fix', where the capital is fixed into built environment through long-term investments to keep economic capital in the built environment in order to bypass a possible economic crisis (Harvey 1981–2001). Here, while capital is being fixed in the built environment, it also constantly renews itself through existing structures (Castree et al. 2004). However, it is not only economic capital that is fixed in the built environment, but also other types of capital are in act in

---

[13] Through the social relations of particular individuals or groups, a trust relation is built, and through that 'credit slips' are held by A to be redeemed by some performance by B; and thinking that these credits are increased in number by building up several relations then it would also raise the social capital to be used if needed.
[14] See the example given on the market place in Cairo (Coleman, 1990: 303–306).
[15] Here the intention is not to give any source the title of 'capital', but to present a coherent understanding of the system operating through power relations. In this sense, 'political capital' refers to the use of state apparatus, and its institutions, policies and rules.

the production of that built environment and that each separately and /or together generates interrelated flows of power.

Considering these explanations of the types of capital and the concept of power, it may be said that *power* in the everyday practice of urban space is subject both to having the ability to lead and to manipulate the different types of *capital* while at the same time *producing* them and being the *product* of them. In addition, while above mentioned different types of capital and their operation are apparent in production process of urban space they are also inherently embedded in power relations and therefore decision making processes of urban development. Thus following section will explore how power and urban politics intersects through decision making processes.

2.3.2 *Positioning power in urban space and urban politics*

> City-making is about making choices, applying values, using politics to turn values into policies and exerting power to get your way … Power determines the kind of cities we have and politics is its medium (Landry 2006: 14).

Different approaches and connections to urban planning have been made through spatial perspective and development; however, Low (1991) critically stated that in order to provide a thorough investigation of the planning discipline, the inquiry should be mainly on the connection of planning practice and political theory. Therefore, this section deals with the connection between urban politics and decision making relevant to planning. There have been competing theories relating to political theory and decision-making processes (Hunter 1953; Dahl 1961; Stone 1989–2006; Judge 1995; Harding 1995; Stoker 1995). Among the prominent theories, the pluralist approach aims to provide an empirical description of how things really are in the decision-making process of urban politics, where the specific outcome should be analysed (observable in the case of conflict through the analysis of concrete decisions) and where power, influence and control can be used interchangeably (Dahl 1958; Polsby 1980). According to the research undertaken by Dahl in New Haven, Connecticut, connecting the idea of dispersed power system with different actors from different sectors, asks the question of who actually governs 'in a political system where nearly every adult may vote but where knowledge, wealth, social position, access to officials, and other resources are unequally distributed'? (Dahl 1961:1). For Polsby (1980), this is where small interest groups (whose interests may intersect or overlap) exercise the power to have an influence on urban decisions – on specific outcomes, while rejecting the

26

stratified hierarchical view of power, which, for Judge (1995) is at the core of elite theory that claims an implicit redirection in the decision-making process. However, this view of pluralists is also open to critique due to its methodology of analysis, which accepts western democracy as the most advantageous form of governance and omits the possibility of the permanent exclusion of any minority groups from the political arena (although being aware of the inequalities).

The elitist theory, on the other hand, bases its approach on the relations of few elites as decision makers. There the main concern is on the *rulers and ruled* and 'whoever thinks about the world in terms of what they are *doing to* or *for* us carries an implicit elite theory', and in a sense they would 'have a mental picture of the way power is distributed' that was actually 'concentrated in the hands of a few' within the city's bureaucracies, therefore seen as 'a *necessary evil* for the functioning of the society' (Harding 1995: 35–37, emphasis added). However, these two approaches are criticised, as they ignore the implicit exercise of power through not bringing the salient issues to the public agenda, thus treating them as *non-decisions* as the second face of power (Bachrach and Baratz, 1962), or 'the neglected face of power', through the manipulation of agenda setting which is more subtle (Clegg and Pitsis 2012: 68) and including a way of organisation that mobilises the bias (Schattschneider, 1975).

According to Przeworski the decision-making process is secured by consent that emphasises the production and reproduction of capitalist relations via a system of organisations corresponding to the real interests of those who give the consent (1985, cited in Lukes, 2005). In this regard, the one- and the two-dimensional views of power are criticised by Lukes (2005), who adds the three-dimensional view through criticising the first two dimensions on the basis of *embedded structures*. His criticisms are based on two main matters; first, he believes that both approaches are too individualistic and ignorant of the 'socially constructed and culturally patterned behaviour' transmitted from the past (2005: 26) and second, the insistence on the focus on the exercise of power only in cases of conflict cannot be a rule for him, as power can be exercised through influencing and shaping others' wants through manipulating information contributed by the mass media and the process of socialisation (ibid). These two criticisms are also supportive of the main concern of this research, aiming to reveal the power relations experienced in Turkish urban politics in the production of contemporary public spaces, where the various actors from the public and private sectors form their own tactics and inevitably generate authentic relations of power based on various

factors and ways of exercising power are also contributed by cultural and habitual distinctiveness, as well as other ways of overtly and covertly exercising power.

Nevertheless, the shifts in the decision-making process and the power follow a similar path with the shift from urban managerialism to urban entrepreneurialism, also shaping the thinking of the Marxist approach to power relations. The Marxist approach has its focus on the class struggle (the generation of the middle class) and capital accumulation. There, relations are based on the domination of resources and profit generation through the survival of capital accumulation. The urban regime theory, acknowledging the complexity of urban governance, has some parallels with both Marxist and neo-pluralist views, in terms of acknowledging the privileged position of business and of the fragmented and complex structure of decision-making process in urban development. This approach has *network* as the keyword at its centre, and its focus is on the 'interdependence of governmental and non-governmental forces' including the formal and *informal* cooperation and coordination among the political and business elites to facilitate economic development (Stoker, 1995: 54; Judge 1995: 27). The urban regime approach also presents a shift from *power over* as a social control to *power to* as a social production, moving away from a mayor-centred decision-making process (Stone 1989; Stoker 1995). This approach does not perceive *power over* and *power to* as two distinct exercises of power, and for regime theory it is crucial to move beyond the perception of power as 'the ability to get another actor to do something' instead involving actors in a kind of coalition regime (Stoker 1995: 69) and reformulating preferences within the power networks as a 'perceived feasibility' (Stone 2006: 23).

Although acknowledging the inputs of above mentioned theories, this research suggests that all the above-mentioned approaches need to be understood in relation to each other as in some contexts – depending on the levels and processes of decision-making – may be seen operating in conjunction. Especially, issues involving decision-making, like urban planning, may include all three concepts at different levels within the same process. For instance, while institutional authority and various levels of government may present an urban regime approach (e.g. the coalition between public and private stakeholders as well as the coalition among different levels of government like metropolitan, local or state), within the local governments the decision process may conclude through the decisions of high-ranking officials resembling the elitist approach. In addition, taking for granted the current democratic representation as the

best would generate a pluralist approach, which would take place through the negotiations of small interest groups that may change depending on the scale of the projects in the same process. It is also because, in this process, as Chubb (1982) would agree, patronage, clientelistic and *mafiosi*[16] relations probably exist, which are hard, if not impossible, to track through ethical research; such relations may apply depending on the contexts. Hence, building on the conceptual approaches to power relations, as well as considering the explorations within urban studies and urban politics, this research deliberately avoids adopting one certain approach, either as a concept or as a theory. This is because this research positions itself acknowledging the flexible, relative, contextual, embedded and relational conditions of power and relations bred from it, and acknowledges that these features, reflected in urban development, generate slippery grounds in decision making process. Therefore, it is a prerequisite to unpick the complex relations of power and its agencies and structures in a particular urban context, as it is power, as oppressive or progressive, explicit or implicit, and which operates through knowledge or practice while being dynamic, and perpetual, which transforms experience in the process of production of urban space.

2.3.3 *Power to plan or power over planning*

> If planners ignore those in power they assure their own powerlessness. Alternatively, if planners understand how relations of power shape planning process, they can improve the quality of their analyses and empower citizen and community action (Forester 1989: 27)

The urban spatial problem arose around the relations between political economy and urbanisation. However, while urban planning is being criticised for serving for the interests of the dominant classes through space production of capital accumulation and consumption (each dialectically requiring the other to survive), a constant and inevitable need emerges that keeps the operation of the process alive by producing more space by using the tools of state and local governments to attract more capital to be fixed in urban space (Harvey 1981; Molotch and Logan 1987; Logan and Molotch 2010). There, the spatial fix in the local economy refers to land and property markets, investments and ownership relations reshaping the built environment and serving as a development strategy, especially after the 1980s (Healey, 2006), which ignore long-term consequences and have actually been neither a 'placebo' nor a 'panacea' in the

---

[16] Judith Chubb (1982) refers to the urban development of Italian cases, especially in the post-war period. Yet, here *mafiosi* refers not to the criminal society, but to the subtle activities of individuals that operate through networks establishing private power (pp.138–139).

regeneration of local economies, as they lead to land speculation and short-term growth benefits (Turok 1992). Therefore, local governments' structure in the decision-making processes and the approaches concentrating on space production and the role of power became an important instrument, not only for revealing administrative processes but also for investigating the direct and indirect roles of power, as this power became capable to craft legitimate instruments to favour the *capital holders*. Here, 'capital' refers not only to economic capital, as explored in the previous sections, but also various other types of capital, each of which is intertwined with the others. As Bourdieu (1986), Latour (1987) and Coleman (1990) also suggest, networks of relationships generate and develop various types of capital, each of which would have its own unique position in the power struggle of the urban context.

On the other hand, planning and planner ideally appears to be as the problem solver. Therefore, urban planning is considered to be a political and a professional practice (Low 1991), and a powerful instrument that produces and reproduces urban space, *ideally* aiming for democratic social change (Forester 1989); moral praxis as well as a technical and an utopian discourse (Friedman 1989), which recently has become more entrepreneurial (Friedman 1998-a). Moreover, in practice the planners face with various challenges and dilemmas, which cannot be limited to subjective individual values nor mere preferences although by some argued the otherwise (Hendler 1995) and can be partially beyond the planning profession. This is where the participation of the planners themselves is superficially provided and instead the only effective practice is operated via various hegemonic power relations. However, planning as 'the expert's realm of true essence or idea, striving to partake of the ideal good within the physical world' (Gunder 2003: 238), in reality 'often disappoints' (Hillier 2002: 3). This is because the practice of planning ends up serving the political economy for urban development, due to its deployment in power relations and planners 'on the side of those with power, specifically powers of the state' (Friedman 1989: 129), especially in some contexts and cultures more than others where the ethical considerations are also challenged through contextually occurred conflicts.

This research, therefore, concentrates on the dark side of planning and intends to unfold the operation of power in urban planning and the driving forces behind them. Urban power relations concern on above stated urban spatial problem and problem solving considerations attracted many researches (Forester 1989; Hillier 2002; Albrechts 2003; Flyvbjerg 1998; Flyjbverg and Richardson 2002; Yiftachel 1998; Stein

and Harper 2003; and in later editions of her book Healey 2006). Although these researchers have some commonalities in their thoughts, their divergence is based on two groups of movements. The first group briefly addresses the matter of power and attempts to review planning and planner's role with regard to Habermasian communicative approach (Forester 1989; Hillier 2002; Albrechts 2003; Healey 2006). The other group, on the other hand, following Foucauldian approach provides a critique of planning practice (Flyvbjerg 1998; Flyjbverg and Richardson 2002), even some extend their criticisms to the very nature of planning referring to planning as the agency of social control and oppression (Yiftachel 1998; Huxley and Yiftachel 2000). Therefore the following two sections explore these two approaches in detail while being critical to both.

Communication rooted approaches

The first group, although acknowledges the existence of complex power relations, rather focuses on what should be done and what planners could do by offering the Habermasian communicative approach (1984), where common principles should be accepted to generate communicative exchange, and suggests communicative and collaborative approaches (Innes 1995; Healey 1996, 1998, 2003; Forester 1989; Hillier 2002; Albrechts 2003; Booher and Innes 2002). Moreover, the representatives of the communicative and collaborative approaches highlight the interactive action in urban planning, although refer to the constraints of the power struggle among the interest groups, put the planner at the centre of solution as the mediator (Inners 1995; Healey 1998–2003; Forester 1989–2001; Hillier 2002; Albrecht 2003) among them some has a focus on the individualistic conditions and the position of the planner (Tewdwr-Jones 2002; Tewdwr-Jones and Allmendinger 1998).   Instead of providing nominal and 'romantic promises' (Forester 1989: 27), this approach put the emphasis on the role of planner as the main problem solver and mediator using his/her 'prudence in dealing with the vagaries of political will' (Hillier 2002: 3) and as the main provider of citizens' democratic participation. There, the centre of attention is the moral obligation of the planner, whether s/he is a public- or private-sector planner; and the planner's 'thought' (consisting of the interaction of values–behaviours and ideals) as an expert privilege prior to action (Tewdwr-Jones 2002). The followers of the communicative approach also suggest that the grounds for collaboration and communication should be promoted by planners who should have the aim of promoting participatory democracy rather than encouraging 'hierarchical forms of representative democracy' (Healey

1996: 230). There, while Marcuse (1976) put the emphasis on the planner as the median of ethics in practice; Hillier (2002) emphasised the importance of the role of planners within planning systems and practices, where the planner and the government has a primary and a fundamental power to define (redefine), to organise (reorganise) urban space in order to generate a place of their choosing.

Nevertheless, although the followers of this approach criticise the Foulcauldian approach for being over-generalised, presenting a mere practical judgement and underestimating the role of planners and providing an ambiguity rather than any solution (Forester 2001; Peattie 2001); among them Hillier holds a more critical position. Referring to Foucault in terms of anticipation in agonistic relations requiring strategy and tactic building, she highlights the action or reaction to possible action in power structures and practices, where anticipation becomes more critical than domination (Foucault 1994; Hillier 2002). Hillier also very critically adds that within collaboration and negotiation, even if an agreement may be reached, 'that still may not change the fundamental power relationships' (2002: 261). However, although acknowledging the critical points of Hillier, it can be said that, the communicative and collaborative approaches still give little attention to the already existing distortions generated via the traditional, cultural and contextual ways of dealing with urban development which become normalised through time and are even converted into planning tradition. This approach although is critical to providing nominal and romantic promises (Forester 1989), may still fall into that criticism. This is because this approach underestimates the subtle empowerment of other actors and power plays among them which are beyond any planner and cannot simply be referred to as a non-decision process (Bachrach and Baratz 1962) (or simply as another face of power) or cannot either be defined as mere corruption. The power generates itself through different types of capital and acts through the complexity of urban reality. Therefore, this research provides a realisation of context specific and authentic conditions instead of accepting what has been suggested as idealised – in a way utopian – types of solutions.

'Power' focused approaches

The communicative centred approaches are usually lacking in addressing the more veiled and informal conditions of power, as they mostly set more idealistic conditions and contexts. Therefore, they become weak in revealing the conditions where the state or its institutions themselves become the underlying apparatus for mutual interest (with

capital holders) for the production of urban space (Yiftachel 1998). Therefore, contrary to the above mentioned approaches that may be called more optimistic, there are other researchers holding a more pessimistic view, basing their understanding of power relations on its complexities and concealed conditions. For them, although 'power may become the acid-test of planning theory' as Flyvbjerg and Richardson emphasised (2002: 44), specific factors and traditional praxis requires a better acknowledgement within the current planning practice. This is because, as this research also presents in the empirical chapters, so-called public-interest representatives (referring to planners and legitimate instruments) have themselves become the agent of the hidden exercising of power and the protection of individualistic interests by revealing how legitimate instruments and frameworks of planning 'are crafted' 'in favour of particular interests' (ibid.; Flyvbjerg 1998). This approach, criticises the Habermasian communicative approach for ignoring the nature of the capitalist condition and the strong structural position of the state and its institutions, and instead states that focusing only on the communicative processes would blind the approach to the non-communicative (or implicit communicative) processes in which most of the decision-making processes take place. The analysis of *real rationalities*[17], using phronesis[18], is seen as the main pillar of any power investigation as it helps to reveal the asymmetrical relations between power and rationality (Flyvbjerg 1998-2002). There the latter is dominated by the former within the complexity of the dynamic reality, while at the same time producing that reality (ibid.), in which the domination and production concurrently weakens modern democracy and planning by generating distortions; therefore, planning practice and democracy within that praxis have gone 'astray' (Flyvbjerg 2002: 357). In addition, Huxley and Yiftachel (2000) remind us of the dependence of planning on state regulations; thus, regardless of the inclusiveness of the communicative and collaborative approaches on the surface and the good intentions of the planners (Yiftachel 1998), in the background the state and its legitimate instruments will be driving the process through its interests. Hence, urban planning practice, being responsible for the production–reproduction and organisation of urban space and inherently a state apparatus, becomes vulnerable to power relations and ethical distortions while at the same time being their active partner.

---

[17] Flyvbjerg uses this term frequently in almost of his research on power relations.
[18] To investigate these relations Flyvbjerg (1998) suggests a "new" methodology called phronesis to reveal the real rationalities by exploring the relation between power and rationality.

Although the communicative approach is criticised by the latter group for being 'too idealistic and often unrealistic' (Yiftachel 1998: 297), the Foucauldian approach is also criticised for not suggesting any solution but providing mere narratives (Forester 2001). In addition to these two broad approaches, there are others who suggest a different perspective and advocate the importance of *trust* in the planning profession and criticise the privileged use of the word 'power' in the planning vocabulary (Stein and Harper 2003). They state that power-centred research undermines positive productivity and blinds us to the distinction between what should be done and what is actually being done (ibid). However, while it is important to realise that 'obsession with power is dangerous' (ibid: 125) it is also critically relevant to not to ignore the intertwined and dynamic nature of power which is able to generate its own actors and its own strategies to by-pass potential obstacles that are initially suggested by the idealised planning approaches.

Furthermore, as a final point, another aspect is provided by De Neufville (1983) about the hardship of bridging the gap between practice and theory that is usually associated with planning education and planning profession. However, these approaches, although partially touched upon, including the ones above, are not able to cover power relations and their driving forces for diverse cultures at all times, and underestimate the contextual constraints and other obstacles coming from the structures embedded in existing systems. Therefore, in order to provide a better understanding of these constraints and other driving forces of power relations, the historical and traditional ties need to be shown in relation to theory and practices (Marcuse 1976; Fischler 1995). It is also important to keep in mind that the gap that emerges via subtle power relations is not only between theory and the reality but also in the structures and levels of the implementation process. Therefore, instead of adopting one of the abovementioned approaches to the existing Turkish context throughout this research, the investigation will concentrate on revealing the dimensions and the possible reasons for this theory-practice gap, to be bridged later by policy practice, providing historical and current perspectives.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter presented an entry into the analysis of the conceptualising of space and production in relation to the urban context. Space as a social product (Lefebvre 1991) that is being represented through daily experiences and social qualities (Soja 1989; Massey 1995) embodies various representations and perceptions. These representations occur through material and immaterial, abstract and social terms, and include a bounded relation of historical perspective (time) in the background as well as a strong bounded relation with economic and political conditions. Thus, this chapter demonstrated that space involves various dimensions, and is also being constantly produced by them. Concepts of space have been altering (via space–time relations) in parallel with the political–economic conditions of capitalist globalisation. Thus, space needs to be understood dynamically, contextually and simultaneously, and also dependent on time. This introductory section showed that the spatial character of global capitalism, shaped via political and economic conditions, presents an accelerated transformation towards a new geography of supermodernity (Auge 2008). This capitalist geography is inclusive of cathedrals of consumption (Ritzler 2010) and dressed up in commodity fetishism (Harvey 2012) where urban space is also materialised through capital accumulation and fixing this into the built environment (Harvey 1981). Through this chapter, it also became clear that space, especially urban space, by both being represented and being representative, has close relations with different types of capital, as stated by Bourdieu and Coleman, each of which also encapsulate the actors of urban power and urban politics. Therefore, the chapter also provided an exploration of the different approaches in urban politics, to be linked with urban space and urban power in the following section.

Moreover, a detailed insight into the analysis and the conceptualisation of power in the urban context is provided in the second section of the chapter by exploring power in urban politics and urban planning by enabling a possible comparison of Western practice with the Turkish through the following chapters. This chapter revealed the role of power that perpetually runs in the background and that comes from everywhere (Foucault 1990) and people are capable of both exercising it and being a victim of it (Gregory et al. 2009). Furthermore, the chapter clarified that urban planning, supposedly operating for the public good and society's benefit, actually holds a more subtle role as, due to inherently being part of the state apparatus and facing diverse interest groups, is also both on the exercising and the receiving end of power relations.

Finally, prominent researchers' approaches to power and planning are presented in relation to each other, reaching the conclusion that some following the communicative action are on the idealistic side and put the power emphasis on the *power of planning* and the *power of the planner* (although at the same time they give a little attention to the micro-politics of the planning experience). In contrast, others are on the Foucauldian side, providing a critical approach with an analysis of *what is happening and how* in relation to subtle and complex power relations, but lacking sufficient alternatives for what should be done.

CHAPTER 3 - PRODUCTION OF AND PERCEPTION OVER PUBLIC SPACE: CONTEMPORARY DIMENSIONS

3.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to present an insight into the notion of public space. Its evolution and transformation through history, critiques of this transformation and the emergence of shopping malls as a new typology are investigated. In addition, this chapter also puts a strong emphasis on the analysis of 'publicness' in order to then provide a framework interrelated to public space and perceptions of it, which connects later to the case studies in the empirical chapters. This also initiates the investigation of one of the research questions of this thesis concerning the perception of publicised private spaces that is constantly being reshaped via power relations. Therefore, this chapter, like the previous one, elucidates the key concepts that underpin this study.

Given these points, this chapter is divided into six sections. The initial sections are dedicated to the detailed investigation on public space, public-private relationship and critique of public space. Following that initial sections the chapter continues with the analysis of publicness with an attempt to provide a framework, leading the discussion towards the evolution of shopping malls, and malls as public spaces, in the following section. Then, the chapter explains the legislative approaches of different countries towards public spaces and towards the development of shopping malls. Finally this chapter explores various approaches on perception in retail spaces and public spaces to reveal the relation between the two.

3.2 From public sphere to public space

The two prominent works on the *public sphere* are by Arendth (1958) and Habermas (1989), emphasising the condition of the public sphere that is constructed through various political and social representations of public through its realm. Arendt refers to Aquinas' translation of Aristotales: 'man is by nature political, that is, social' (1958: 23), and points out that space is socially constructed, which Lefebvre (1991) also echoes, and cannot be separated from its bonded connections. In addition, Arendt views the

public space as the space for political representation[19] and explains it through the communal life of individuals, away from their private life, in which they have representation through action and speech. Nevertheless, Habermas (1989), who references Arendt in his work, highlights the Greek and Roman roots of the words public and private, and positions public space somewhere between civil society and the state. However, Habermas continues his work by elaborating on the transformed nature of the public sphere emerging from the changing condition of political and economic relations, which were once led by feudal powers (church, throne and nobility), and were then run by early capitalist commercial relations.

Figure 3.1. Cartoon representing the year 1853: state, political representation and public in public sphere

Source: Library of Congress – I

The core of public space and the public sphere, 'public', includes ambiguities and different meanings. These differences are brought out in different cultures that have evolved through different histories, languages and codes, which therefore shape the epistemology of the notions as well as the etymology of the words. For instance, while the word 'public' may suggests accessibility for all to 'public buildings' it may also include (ironically) the symbolic presence of state institutions, where access may or may not be universal/controlled. Hence, depending on the case, the scope and the meaning of 'public' and related notions might hold different meanings. Supporting that view, the translators' note on Habermas' book also highlights the elusiveness in the meaning, where he states that the word '*Öffentlichkeit*', used in many places by Habermas (also in the original title), can be translated as 'the public' or 'the public

---

[19] She provides an initial reference to the Greek city *polis* in this political representation.

sphere' or 'publicity'. A similar situation generating an ambiguity and synonymised connotations for different cultures can also be seen in the Turkish context (see Chapter 5). Therefore, the emphasis on the notion of public space, differs from one culture to another as well as one instance to another (Carr et al. 1992; Low and Smith 2006). However, as the word 'public' is usually connoted with its opposite 'private' unpacking the relation between the two as also necessary, therefore the next section is dedicated to that purpose. .

3.3 Public–private relationship: the intertwined dichotomous and the non-linear relationship

> Together, public and private created what would today be called the 'universe' of social relations (Sennett 1974: 19).

One of the concerns of this research is the contemporary public space and its meaning for the public. The word *contemporary* in this study refers to the periods of globalisation and neo-liberalisation, which have been accused of fragmentation of cities, driven by globalised economies generating a postmetropolis (Soja 1989) via the 'straddling' of *public* and *private* through capital reinvestment (Zukin 1991). Therefore, this section presents a brief investigation of the relationship between public and private, it is also because the understanding of the word public is usually challenged through its relationship with its opposite private (Weintraub 1997; Madanipour 2003) and are considered as a 'grand dichotomy' (Bobbio 1993 in Weintraub 1997) in which public space is considered as a site for private individuals to come together to form the public (Habermas 1989; Stevenson 1998). In addition, within the investigation of the public and the private, some put the emphasis on the notion of publicness and the privateness in social life (Benn and Gaus 1983), while some refer to the contrasting relations of 'public' versus 'private' by pointing out the similarity to 'hidden' versus 'accessible' and 'collective' versus 'individual' (Weintraub 1997). In addition, some others conducted their exploration with a spatial focus, by perceiving the relation between the two as a key organising principle of cities with reference to the complexity of the transition from public to private as there are several overlaps among (Madanipour 2003). However, due to the scope of this study, the investigation into the relation of 'public' and 'private' is framed through public space and therefore its publicness.

The dichotomous relationship of public and private, although seeming to preserve contrasting conditions, as if both were located at opposite ends of a continuum, is, in

reality, intertwined and more complex. In contrast to what Jacobs (1961) suggests on making a clear demarcation between the public and the private, the reality of daily conditions brings out various convoluted relations rather than inherited characteristics of public and private (Kilian 1998). Therefore, the relation is an intertwined one where the dichotomous position of these two notions has blurred with permeable boundaries between them (Figure 3.2). It is also therefore; this thesis perceives privately owned yet publicised spaces including public qualities as a contemporary typology of public spaces rather than narrowing these down to private spaces.

Figure 3.2. The intertwined relationship of public and private with permeable boundaries

Added to the intertwined relationship of public and private, it should also be kept in mind that the linear explanation of this relationship also undermines the complexity of the relation, as completely public and completely private actions cannot exist (Staeheli and Mitchell 2008; Nemeth and Schmidt 2011). Therefore, a non-linear relation of public and private where the boundaries are permeable and blurred is suggested in which the contextual differences are also definitive as they change from one instance to another. Below figure represents the non-linear relation of public-private where a clear demarcation line cannot exist and instead an intertwined relation is presented.
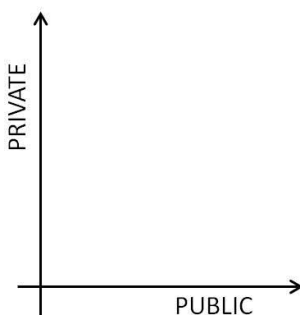
Figure 3.3. The non-linear relation of public and private

3.4 The characteristics of public spaces

If the public sphere permeates an abstract zone between society and state (Habermas 1989) or between the privacy of individual and state (Banerjee 2001), and encompasses the tension between private and public, then how do we define public spaces in relation to its complexity and ambiguity? Although it is a very hard task to provide one definition of public space that would correspond to all contexts and

conditions, the definition given by Carr et al. is relevant to highlight: 'Public space is the stage upon which the drama of communal life unfolds' and a dynamic stage of human exchange between the sites of home and work 'providing channels for movement, the nodes of communication, and the common grounds for play and relaxation' (1992: 3). In addition to that definition, the table below shows the explorations of the values and qualities of public space, each of which gives the characteristics of public spaces while at the same time providing a list of 'must haves' of these places provided in the literature.

Values of Public Space	Qualities of public space
Political (democratic and representative)	ownership
Economic	accessibility
Social (interaction and health)	intersubjectivity
Spatial and environmental	(Kohn 2004)
Symbolic	
(Carmona et al 2008; Varna Tiesdell 2010)	

	Qualities of public space		Key elements
tangible and intangible qualities	clean and tidy	inclusive	buildings
	accessible	vital and viable	landscape
	attractive	functional	infrastructure
	comfortable	distinctive	uses
	safe and secure		
	robust		
	healthy and natural		
	sense of belonging		
	(Carmona et al 2008)		

Qualities of public space	Basic needs in public spaces	
Generating connection :	responsive	comfort
between physical and social relations	democtaric	relaxation
between place, personal lives and larger world	meaningful	active-passive engagement
	accessible	discovery
(Carr et al 1992)		

Table 3.1. Characteristics of public space

Although acknowledging the necessity of above given values and qualities of public space, it is also important to realise that, first, public space is not merely an external site or an empty container, or a place to be defined through the simple exclusion of home and work spaces. Second, although public space is socially constructed by the public itself, it is also vulnerable to manipulations of powerful forces (developers and decision-makers) which have a power to control political representation, collective memories of citizens and lifestyles via the manipulation of urban space. Therefore, public spaces that are exposed to these relations of power are not only vulnerable to their actions but also adaptable to the complex and dynamic conditions (either local–global or private–public or both) and therefore cannot be limited to any idealised or structured list of conceptual prescriptions.

It is also because public space has been prone to become vulnerable to the transforming conditions of built environment that is affected via global and local political economic alterations and this affection has become the centre of attention within the discourse of the critique of urban public space. Therefore, it is a prerequisite to unpack the discourse and the critiques concerning public spaces in order to understand how

the perception of users and the professionals have been reshaped and what driving forces have been behind this. With this intention, the following section is dedicated to the investigation of critiques and the current discourse on the dynamics of and conditions transforming public spaces, which will also further help to reveal the multiplicity of the characteristics of public space.

3.4.1 *The critiques over and the emergence of contemporary public spaces*

This thesis argues that urban space has continuously been reshaped via various power relations that are driven by political and market interventions and are followed by a further change in the perception of the public. Recently, there have been discourses focused on the critique of changing and/or transforming meaning of traditional public spaces via the contestation of public and private, induced by economic and political changes and developments in technology and their influences on society as a consequence. The changes in the mode of production and the demands of changes in cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986), followed by the significant growth of the middle class, have reshaped both the urban space and the way we live (Zukin 1995). As stated in the previous chapter, urban entrepreneurialism is eager to continuously invest in urban space, via large investments like malls aiming quick returns and speculative outcomes (Harvey 1989-a), which have reshaped the patterns of urban spaces, and therefore the understandings of that spaces. In this context, the specialisation of spaces with industrialisation and improvements in transport and communication technologies has led to a further change on the countenance of urban space and undermined the cohesive, comprehensive, integrated form and characteristics of the city with despatialisation of activities (Madanipour 2003). This further led a decline in society through interpersonal conflicts seeking a more individualistic identity (Sennett, 1974) and through a downturn in the spontaneous livelihood of the public spaces (Jacobs 1961).

The majority of the critiques put their emphasis on the exhaustive impacts of the modern city that is being reshaped via global capitalisation demands, inducing privatisation and commodification that transform cities into inhospitable '*Disneylands*' where collective memory is diminished and the meaning of its spaces evaporated (Boyer 1994; Zukin 1991; Sorkin 1992; Davis 1990, 1992). There, privatisation that seeks safe investment returns for private developers aim for an increased level of consumption and commodification (Minton 2006; Nemeth 2009; Madanipour 2000; Zukin 1991; Sorkin 1992; Wilson 1995; Ritzer 2010) with high security concerns

(Graham and Aurigi 1997; Graham, 2011) and contestation through transnational market demands (Sassen 1998). This, on one hand leads to a political and economic hegemony on the landscapes through their expression and on the other hand generates new lifestyles in social contexts (Zukin 1991); all of which have reshaped the nature and the meaning of urban public spaces. This prominent critique also generated new terminology in identifying the typology of public spaces: 'publicized private spaces' (Banerjee 2001); 'pseudo-public space' (Carmona 2010: 134) where a fee might be needed to enter, and generally refers to indoor spaces (Carmona et al: 2010); *disneyification*[20] of public spaces; and 'private-public spaces' (Minton 2006) for privately owned and managed public spaces, some of which are developed for the return of a bonus floor area ratio (FAR) (Nemeth 2009).

Similarly, neo-liberalisation and its urban-scale companion, 'urban regeneration', have also been criticised for being *floating signifiers* (Lovering 2007) especially for large developments like malls. In this concept, an empty floating signifier means what its hearers (or users) want it to mean by using vague terms, in this case *urban regeneration*[21], which is also considered to be the latest episode of the series of methods of 'R's[22] to deal with the urban crisis at local planning level (ibid; Roberts and Sykes 2005). In addition, the practice of the signifier with reference to regeneration aimed to reconfigure urban space resulting in the building of new malls, waterfront walkways, high-rise residential apartments and officially designated new public spaces (Lovering 2007: 344). Here, the act of urban regeneration is not merely a choice made by its actors nor it is just a reflection or result of global economic power on the local scale; it is rather part of strategic tactics, negotiations that operate contingent on (and as a result of) particular struggles (ibid). Therefore, this approach has similarities with the Foucauldian approach concerning tactical actions in power relations at the planning scale (see Chapter 2), where a form of reaction against a possible action is exerted to ease the ways for capital to be fixed in the built environment under neo-liberal circumstances. However, the Turkish cases (in Chapter 8) presents more complex relations also including urban regeneration projects as a tactic in control of planning

---

[20] In this case the word 'disneyification' stated by Mitchell refers the criticism of Disneyland like constructions, themed, commodified, marketable, secure and highly controlled. For more detail see Zukin (1991) and Sorkin (1992).
[21] In Turkey the term may be considered together with urban transformation as both contains similar ambiguities in practice and often confused.
[22] The terms urban regeneration, urban revitalisation, urban renewal and renaissance have all been used on different occasions; some of these have been used synonymously as well as urban transformation.

practice rather than securing planning ethos, which for retail and mall development is mostly underdeveloped (Chapter 6).

Furthermore, some researchers referred to the condition of contemporary public spaces with a focus on their provision and management (Carmona et al. 2008; De Magalhães and Carmona 2009). The under- and over-managed conditions of the public spaces, where the former represents neglect, poor design and gives an unpleasant feeling of insecurity to its users; and the latter represents high commodification and privatisation concerns, aiming at high consumption by its users; yet both lead to similar concerns like exclusion from and homogenisation of the place (Carmona et al. 2008). However, over-managed spaces may have special functions and restrictions like museums, libraries, cafes, restaurants, cinemas, theatres and shopping malls, and centralise consumption by embracing commercial features, with their central focus on profits (Figure 3.4). In their research, the recent provision and management methods have also taken the attention. Especially in UK the recent trend responding to the shortcomings of the state-led delivery of public space is to contract them out (similar to the provision of some other public services) that reformulate the public space provision and management functions (rights, roles and responsibilities) and in a way contracting out the publicness (De Magalhães 2010).

Figure 3.4. Apple store in Louvre museum
Source: Author, 2012

Moreover, in a quite critical manner, some other researchers focused on the impacts of these changes on society with regard to the lack of meaningful contact, exclusion and security. Public spaces, which are ostensibly open to everyone, actually serve certain groups only (Low and Smith 2006; Iveson 1998, 2003) and are spaces where

marginalised groups have become the victims of exclusion and the minimised image of undesirables has been criticised (Mitchell 1995, 2003). There, the concerns about security and fear of crime (Pain 2000) are actually being reshaped and also manipulated (Oc and Tiesdell 1997), within purposefully framed places (Dovey 1999), causing lack of meaningful contact (Valentine, 2008) and lack of fair gender representation, which is underpinned by hegemonic ideologies (Tetrault 1998). However, the concerns of homogenisation of place and lack of diversity may not always reflect the reality, as the research held by Townshend and Madanipour (2008) proved, even though some public spaces seem to become standardised, the public, as the user, may feel the opposite.

Considering all above criticisms that provide a common narrative on the 'loss', 'shrinking', 'withering', 'evaporating', 'ended', 'fortress' condition of public space, it should also be highlighted that public space has never been truly public by being accessible to all, as even the Greek *agora* excluded women and slaves (Robbins 1993). Robbins (1993) states that the public is now a phantom and asks a fair question: was public space ever accessible to all? Similarly, Atkinson (2003) proposes a different perspective by questioning the idealised image of 'unconditional access for everyone' by posing a different question, 'even if this means the exclusion of certain groups', 'should everyone be allowed access to these spaces at all times or should this be restricted to ensure safety?' (Atkinson 2003: 1830–31). Following these concerns, it is important to highlight that the exclusion and securitisation have reciprocal influences on each other: while the high security measures (laws/rules; design/image; surveillance/policing; access and territoriality (Nemeth and Schimidt 2007)) supplement the perception of being safe, they concurrently highlight fear and mistrust; thus, the feeling of insecurity (Nemeth 2009 - 2012; Ellin 1996). This consequence, over time, also has a significant impact on the perception of individuals and collectives about public space, deriving from these changing modes of experience.

Added to all these adverse opinions, this thesis claims that it is not the meaning of public space that is being lost but rather that there is an inevitable shift to a new term, fulfilled by globalised capitalism and its undeniable impacts, that constantly reformulates the meanings we associate with spaces via reshaping the spatial contexts. "Publicness" is no longer the main concern nor free representation within the public spaces as they often rather prefer to be in pseudo-public spaces that are sanitised; sheltered; securitised and managed by professional actors and appeal to

45

their desires. This new mode of experiencing and perception are attempted to be presented through the selected cases, where the already vague meaning of public space is being constantly reshaped through the traces of mistrust mentioned above. Therefore, it also becomes prominent to explore models for investigating the publicness with reference to above mentioned qualities, values and critiques, thus next section has this purpose. Having said that, this thesis does not claim these shifts should be taken for granted and accepted without any resistance; on the contrary, this study has a standpoint of emphasising the importance of the public as the rightful citizens with access to the means of life (Amin 2008) provision of fair publicness and better awareness on public spaces that should be acknowledged and guaranteed by powerful actors and institutions, instead of following market demands.

Echoing that need, especially recently, due to the economic crisis in the global south and in some European countries and the increased awareness of solidarity for public representation through public spaces also increased the importance of public spaces, some of which become iconic through this realisation period. Compatible with what Habermas and Arendt suggest regarding the public sphere as political representation, and Lefebvre stating that space is the site of the representation, the protests in those countries enabled the 'oppositional political activity with unmediated interaction' while giving an opportunity to reclaim the public space (Mitchell 1995: 115). Although the examples may differ, in Syntagma Square in Athens, Tahrir Square in Cairo or Taksim Square and Gezi Park in Istanbul (see Chapter 6 for details of Taksim Square – Gezi Park), they have become the sites of political representation of the public more than ever in the last few years. This is also because the public could established a higher awareness of solidarity that helped them to generate their own public space which may differ from any specified and purposefully formulated spatial settings.

3.4.2. *Seeking investigation models on publicness*

There have been several attempts to provide models to analyse publicness with regard to the spatial assets of urban public space. The earlier works regarding to the analysis of publicness were based on the analysis of three dimensions provided by Benn and Gaus (1983): *access* (physical access, access to activities and to information); *agency* and *interest* (also referred by Madanipour 1995, 1999; Akkar Ercan 2010). In addition, Kohn (2004), although she referred to her analysis as 'qualities of public space', her outputs of *ownership*, *accessibility* and *intersubjectivity* (encounter and interaction of

people) have been called 'dimensions of publicness'. Moreover, more recently, Nemeth and Schimidt (2011) suggested a triaxial model where the axes representing *ownership*, *management* and *use/users*. Following this research, Varna and Tiesdell (2010) (claiming a critical realist approach) suggested a star model by synthesising the previous research and naming five meta-dimensions: *ownership*;[23] *control*; *civility* (consisting of management and maintenance); *physical configuration* (including centrality/collectivity, visual access, thresholds/gateways) and *animation* (active and passive engagement with the space and providing its users with discovery and display). There, each dimension spreads from a common core and if all axes (which are also independent from each other) reach out and fulfil the star shape (if all dimensions separately are more public) then the subject space is considered to have a high quality of publicness. However, if the star is not complete, then the publicness is distorted. The figure below presents the triaxial and star models.
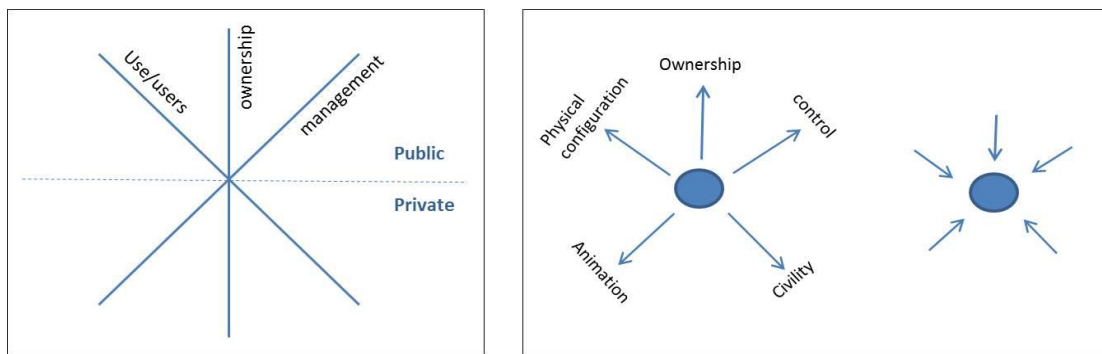
Figure 3.5. The triaxial model and the star model right
Source: redrawn from: left Nemeth and Schmidt 2011; right Varna and Tiesdell 2010)

Nevertheless, Iveson (2007) emphasises three important factors where the publicness is rooted: *addressing the public* (the kind of action), *the public* (a collective actor); *the public space* (a context for action) which then recalls the importance of differentiated use and experience, thus the perception of the public itself. Moreover, Steaheli and Mitchell (2008) also present a different point of view by highlighting the need in unfolding the relationship between public and property. They suggest publicness as regime of publicity and link it to property regimes that consist of: interrelations between property; social norms and community membership; and strategies.

---

[23] Referencing to Marcuse's (2005: 778) detail conceptualisation on ownership:
  - Public ownership, public function, public use
  - Public ownership, public function, administrative use
  - Public ownership, private function, private use
  - Private ownership, public function, public use
  - Private ownership, private function, public use
  - Private ownership, private use

Although it is important to perceive public space as multidimensional (Kohn, 2004) and the star and triaxial models although provide in-depth analysis models, they are still weak in analysing publicness in all its dimensions; and although these research studies have made valuable inputs in enriching the research of publicness, they still fall short of providing a comprehensive approach. First of all, realising that political representation is contingent on laws and the will of power holders weakens the civility claim of star model. Second, some are limited to simplified categories and therefore do not realise the dynamic and complex nature of publicness and public space. In addition, by suggesting simplified dimensions, they also disregard the richness in the values and qualities of public space (see Table 3.1) which would inherently provide a higher level of publicness. Third, some contextual differences may not fit into its given assessment, yet these differences are also important because the social, cultural and physical environments are not meaningfully separable (Ittelson 1978: 197). Moreover, the above given researches are also limited to either the practical or the conceptual level, and are therefore ignorant of the level of production, as they rather suggest analysis of the space once it is produced. However, it is important to highlight the De Magalhães' (2010) research on publicness, where he acknowledges the importance of the relativity of publicness, relevance of provision methods and relevance of appropriation of the space. Through analysing contract agreements on the provision and management of public spaces in UK he, unlikely the others, emphasises the production level as a necessary influence, though still keeps the main emphasis on access, use and control.

This research therefore, adds on the importance of production processes in investigating publicness, where the process of production has strong linkages with the practical and conceptual level; and refers to the built environment that is manipulated and reshaped via hegemonic power relations and that is capable of emerging also through administrative processes and planning practices. For example, the empirical chapters of this research presents that, the decision makers during 'production level' allies with investors providing publicised private space (i.e. shopping mall). This on one hand would mainly benefit the investors and encourage decision makers to claim providing a service for public through that investment. On the other hand, in the meantime the public adapts to that new provisions and therefore their experience of public space is being reshaped by power holders and their operations.

The figure below represents a different multidimensional and multilevel approach that includes the production level. Within this new approach, this research also suggests flexible and adaptable considerations for contextual differences by not providing a certain list of public space qualities and values in publicness research, as these are always dynamic and has strong linkages with the background of the context.
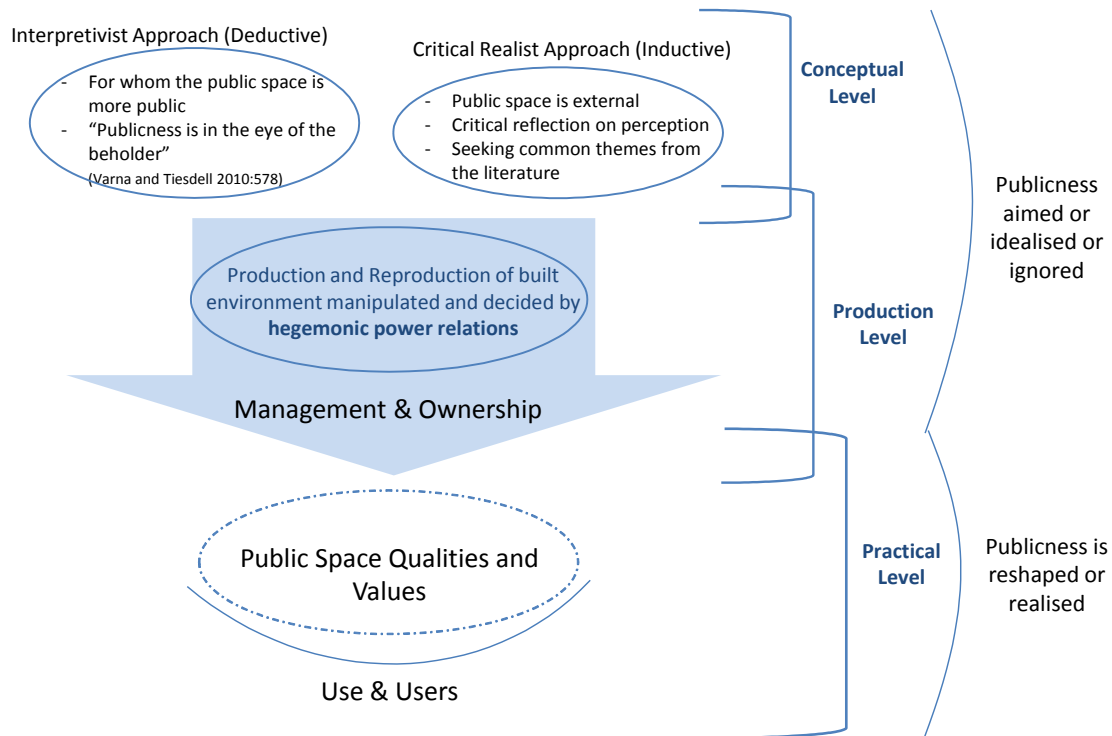
Figure 3.6. The comprehensive analysis of publicness

3.5 Evolution of shopping malls and shopping malls through the lenses of public space

> Shopping malls are considered by many extreme examples of the erosion of genuine public space in the contemporary city (Graham and Aurigi, 1997: 22).

Among the contemporary examples given, shopping malls are the most clear example for the transformation of public space, as these aim to serve as a new 'life area', resulting in becoming the 'new downtown' (Rybczynski 1993, cited in Banerjee 2001). In other words, malls started to imitate the city centres: by including some of its public spaces and third spaces (Oldenburg 1989) and some include mixed projects imitating the city as a whole (including residential and office blocks added to mall buildings and leisure centres – see Kentpark's initial project) under one roof. Therefore, this study puts special attention on malls and their evolution as contemporary public spaces; and this section elaborates on that.

Although malls are evaluated as a contemporary phenomenon, the emergence of them as the 'store of stores' (Underhill 2004: 19) and public space qualities within retail environments can be traced back to the arcades/passages and department stores (where the private owners display their goods and public pass by through imitated streets of this place). For instance, within the uncompleted work of Walter Benjamin on the Parisian arcades, he defines 'the arcades as temples of commodity capital' (Benjamin 1999: 37). There, that space also provided its shoppers with a public environment not only for shopping but also for wandering around, eating and drinking, gambling, leisure and, in some cases, prostitution (Ritzer 2010: 63); and when the arcades were not enough, larger versions called *galleria* emerged (Bednar 1989), which still survive (Figure 3.7).
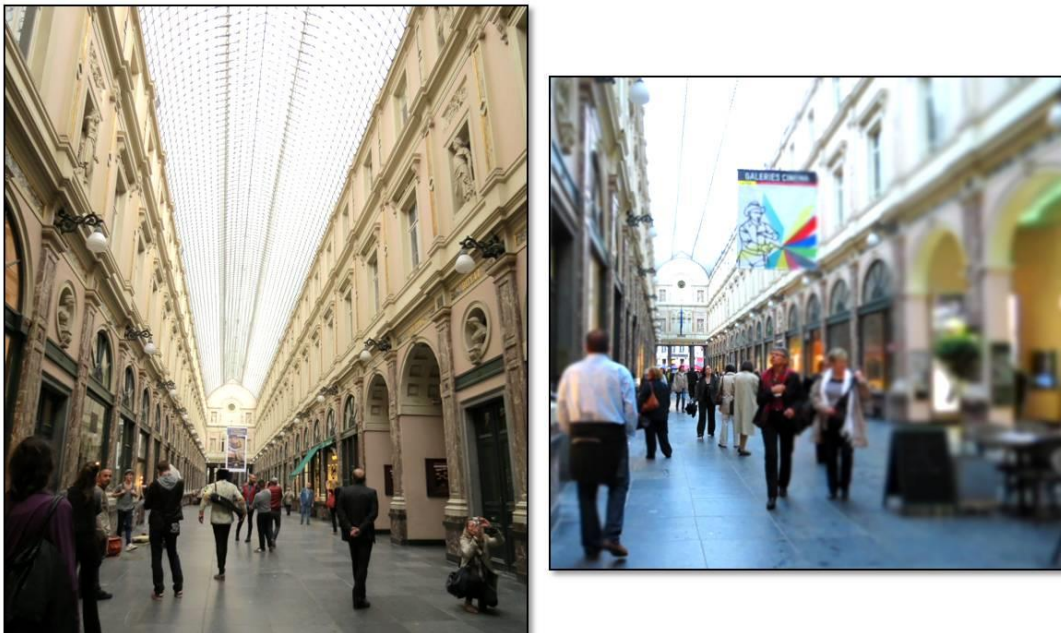
Figure 3.7. Galleria in Brussels: Galerie de La Reine
Source: Author, 2012

Therefore, the journey from open market places/shopping streets to arcades/bazaars, to bigger-scale or even gigantic-scale shopping malls as 'escapist cocoons' (Crawford 1992: 22), where not only public space qualities but also themed fantasies are put in one place, briefly reveals the transformation of retail space with public space features. As mentioned in the previous section, the changes in the mode of production and lifestyles required new spaces to adapt, which reconfigured the urban space. The rise of suburban areas and the suburban lifestyle has also been seen as a prominent reason for the emergence of shopping malls, and also because they have been more than a sprawl on the periphery, altering the meaning and the function of public and private spaces (Goldberger 1996).

The first appearance of a fully enclosed shopping mall was in the US, in Edina, Minnesota in 1954 as a consequence of suburbanisation. However, in contrast to the US, in British cities the concept of the shopping mall did not emerge as a suburban necessity; instead the city centres remained strong owing to the well organised public transportation (Bednar 1989). For the UK and more generally for Western Europe, these new shopping centres were fitted into the existing retail structure (e.g. Eldon Square in Newcastle-upon-Tyne) and the out-of-town centres emerged much later, as compared to the case of the US (ibid; Guy 1998). Victor Gruen, the designer of the first enclosed mall in the US, initially visualised (and hoped for) the mall as a new structure for cultural and social institutions that would provide an integration of society in a better designed environment with a high quality of publicness. However, later he even described malls as the 'bastard developments' which 'destroyed our cities' (The Gruen effect, 2012). However, it would not be fair to hold a completely pessimistic approach and label malls as dystopias (Davis 1992-2002) nor to put all the blame on these constructions, especially thinking of the high demand and usage and considering the users' points of view celebrating the coexistence of leisure and shopping and are able to pursue these activities all year round in a climatised condition. Therefore, this research does not aim to blame these constructions, instead aims to provide binary investigation where power relations continuously reconfigure urban public spaces in compatible with their interests and the public (on the receiving side of experiencing the space) inevitably adapts, re-adapts itself constantly to the changes, where public space experience is replaced with shopping mall experience in their function and use.

3.5.1 *Shopping malls as public spaces*

The alteration in the ways in which we consume, the amount we consume and the importance of consumption in society led to a new culture of putting consumption in the centre, seeking a more comfortable life while colouring it with leisure and entertainment. However, as the activity of shopping has always been more than the exchange of goods and has involved 'recreation, even celebration ... a scene of animation, it is not a new claim to state retail spaces as a point of meetings, a stage for the dramas and entertainments of civic life' (Heckscher and Robinson 1977: 337–338 in Carr et al. 1992: 40). There, the critique of the new consumption style is referred to, where the environment of the consumer society becomes man-made fauna and flora, and instead of ecological or natural laws the law of exchange of value operates (Baudrilliard 2002) including commodification of the experience as well as the space.

The experience of 'the life between the buildings' (Gelh 2011) is stimulated by our needs and desires, which are also shaped by the impacts of *experience economy*[24] (Pine and Gilmore 1999), also leads to new typologies of public spaces. The transformation journey of, the activity of shopping was also supported by the involvement of family in the activity and became 'having a day out' (Guy 1998: 954) and experiencing 'shoppertainment' (Landry 2006). Therefore, 'not publicly owned – not only department stores, but shopping malls, whole city shopping centres, leisure complexes' have become the places where much of public life takes place (Wilson 1995: 158–159) and these new 'cathedrals of consumption' become the place of *hajj* for the middle class to 'practice their consumer religion' (Ritzer 2010: 7–8).

Moreover, having similar qualities to skyscrapers, which are seen as the 'totems' of organised capitalism (Gregory 1994: 334) through their 'visibilities'[25] and 'imageability' (Lynch 1960), and 'clothed in a fantastic scenography' (Gregory 1994: 334), malls have also generated a new typology of symbols in urban space and have also become the representatives of urban power relations, which are also constantly reorganised by putting 'upward pressure on urban rents' in capitalist systems (ibid.). There, the focus of the spatial design and development is 'to anticipate consumers' preferences … and to control them' (Clarke and Bradford 1998: 874) via seduction instead of coercion (Baumann in ibid,). However, this thesis claims the coercion and seduction operates at the following each other, where the coercion runs at the level of production level and seduction appears through the product of coercion at the level or practice.

Providing this typologies either as a product or service, or simply the physical settings, which are assessed through the users' memory of that space, contributing to the idea of experience creation (tactics to increase the attractiveness of the place through branding or aesthetication) or more specifically the creation of a memorable experience have become the new trend and a business that needs to be provided (Pine II and Gilmore 1998; Lorentzen and Hansen 2009). There, the changing condition of shopping activity through new typologies like shopping malls, in order to increase the attractiveness of the place (although for commercial purposes) provides more for leisure (Holbrook and Hirschman 1982; Howard 2007; Jansen-Verbeke 1987 – 1991) and public space qualities (Chiu and Yau 2007; Oppewal and Timmermans 1999).

---

[24] The experience economy emphasises the changes in daily economic experiences, that time in itself becomes a commodity (see the example in Pine and Gilmore 1999: 97), where people pay and buy the experience, rather than creating it.
[25] See the section on *visibilities* and knowledge in Deleuze (1988) on Foucault (p.52).

These additions are seen as 'non-income generating' but a 'necessary evil' to increase attractiveness via providing the essential layout for a social setting (Chiu and Yau, 2007: 302). Therefore, it is the experience of public space that has been sold on purpose by increasing the attractiveness of the spatial assets, resulting in an increase in public space qualities in retail environments, especially in shopping malls.

Nevertheless, although malls have mostly been criticised for their privateness and especially the lack of free representation of public, this sitiuation is changing in some states of the US. As Underhill (2004) and Kohn (2004) remark, since 1968 the changing decisions of the Supreme Court with regard to the exercise of First Amendment rights within shopping malls (in 1968, 1972 and by the 1980s)[26] have been decisive on the matter of whether these malls should behave as public spaces in terms of political representation and expression of ideologies or not. Although it does not seem that this intervention will expand to other contexts, it once more highlights the phenomenon of perceiving malls as public spaces. With these qualities, although some researchers do not acknowledge shopping malls as public spaces at all (Gottfdiener and Hutchinson 2006) – and to a certain extent they have a rightful claim as these spaces do not fulfil all requirements of publicness (see Figure 3.6) – these claims may fail based on two main reasons. First, the full publicness of traditional public spaces has never existed, and second, such a claim would ignore the users' points of view and their perceptions although *the public* and the experience creation by the public themselves. This becomes apparent in Chapter 9, which presents the changes in perception of both professionals and the public with regard to the cultural codes detailed in Chapter 5.

---

[26] Initially the decision of the Supreme Court stated that shopping malls should behave as public spaces, providing freedom for e.g. distribution of anti-war leaflets, but later (in 1972) revised the decision and empowered the malls to decide that; by 1980 it was decided that individual states should be empowered on the matter (Underhill 2004).

3.6 Planning for public spaces and planning for shopping malls

> As materials for culture, the stones of the modern city seem badly laid by planners and architects, in that shopping mall, the parking lot, the apartment house elevators do not suggest in their form the complexities of how people might live. What once were the experiences of places appear now as floating mental operations (Sennet,1990, p.xi).

Following Sennet's quote above, it should once more be recalled that the critique of public space and the emergence of new typologies are not merely the results of globalised capitalism and the new consumption culture, but are also the reflection of power relations arising from complex networks of a decision- making process which is constantly underpinned by regulatory structures that are embedded in the planning and city management systems, and deliberately implements its own reformulations on built environment. However, after presenting discourses on public spaces, its evolution and new typologies, it has become a prerequisite to present the position the notion of public space and shopping malls within the existing administrative structures and consequences in reality, as in for the Turkish case in Chapters 5 and 6, and later in empirical chapters. Therefore, the next section is dedicated to public space and shopping malls within planning regulations to understand how these terms are positioned and determined within state tools.

3.6.1 *Position of public space within regulatory systems*

In developed countries like UK, public space has a strong position in legislations and governmental researches, which does not apply in Turkey. Although the governance of the public space has not been defined as public service (De Magalhães 2010) and although both in primary legislation and the National Planning Framework, reference to public spaces seems relatively minimal[27], at the local level (as the local governments are primarily responsible for city-scale planning, aiming to provide a sustainable and good quality built environment) it is not so. In addition, as illustrated by a report prepared by the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister called '*Living Place: Caring for Quality*', public space is an officially recognised concept. Within that report, which was prepared consulting with academics from planning schools, public spaces are defined as follows:

---

[27] Within primary legislation, 'public space' has a status within the Appropriation Acts and the Anti-Social Behaviour, Crime and Policing Act, whereas within the National Planning Framework it is positioned within the aim of delivering sustainable development, requiring good design and promoting healthy communities.

Public space relates to all those parts of the built and natural environment where the public have free access. It encompasses all the streets, squares and other rights of way where predominantly in residential, commercial or community/civic uses: the open spaces and parks; and the 'public/private' spaces where public access is unrestricted (at least during daylight hours). It includes the interfaces with key internal and private spaces to which the public normally has free access (ODPM, 2004).[28]

Although some detailed reports were provided, there are still strong criticisms over governmental approaches to the matter in the UK. The aforementioned critiques over public space, especially its privatisation and commodification, is seen as the result of 'the absence of strong planning controls to rectify the situation, and a general unwillingness of public authorities to take on the responsibility and cost of managing new spaces themselves' (Carmona 2010-a: 135). In addition, Minton (2006) also strongly criticises the government's approach. She gives the examples of London's Docklands and Canary Wharf, which according to her took their shape through the changes triggered by economic and political conditions (deregulation of financial markets, bringing about corporate architecture trends followed by privatisation and regulatory changes in planning, some of which operated without much notice): for instance, compulsory purchase of the land, which has a strong frame of reference to provide greater *public benefit* and is supported through an Act of Parliament of 2004 (Minton 2006: 22). There the notion of public benefit became a tool that disguised real interventions and instead increased the capacity of decision-makers in reshaping the built environment. Whereas, providing public benefit via enriching the visual appearance and environmental quality, and economic development should be the main claims of the public- or private sector developers for aspiration to produce public spaces (Carr et al. 1992). Moreover, another criticism is aiming for 'cities for citizens' (Friedman and Douglass 1998) and providing 'conviviality' are not the prime focus of the local governments and planners (Peattie 1998). It is also therefore, corresponding to previous chapter, planning practice, and the role of planner needs redefinition.

The notion of public benefit (or public interest), due to its wide conceptual understanding and elasticity has always been prone to be subordinate to the interests of the actors concerned, which sit on more slippery grounds. The concept of public benefit does not have a clear definition within the legislation, although most of the conflicting planning and decision-making matters are built on the term. Similarly, the matter of public benefit also has a flexible but bounded connection within the planning

---

[28] Although the initiative of the ODPM no longer exists, the definition of public space provided in their report is still relevant.

system and has also been the basis for conflicts in the planning practice of Turkey (see Chapter 5 for the traditional background and Chapters 7 and 8 for the practical application).

3.6.2 *Position of shopping malls within regulatory systems*

International research, analysis and descriptions of shopping malls have been undertaken by the International Council of Shopping Centers (ICSC), the European Shopping Centre Trust (ESCT) and by James R. DeLisle for ICSC.[29] As stated in ICSC reports, 'the term "shopping centre[30]" has been evolving since the early 1950s' (DeLisle 2005 - 2009). According to them a shopping centre is:

> A group of retail and other commercial establishments that is planned, developed, owned and managed as a single property, with on-site parking provided. The center's size and orientation are generally determined by the market characteristics of the trade area served by the center. The three main physical configurations of shopping centers are malls, open-air centres, and hybrid centers (ibid).

However, the laws and regulations regarding shopping mall development vary and are sensitive to economic, social and cultural characteristics and changes; therefore they are contextual and divergent across various countries (Table 3.2). In different countries various types of tenure arrangements exist 'in order to reconcile the political imperative to build with the capitalist demand for liquidity' and, therefore, 'states have developed mechanisms to make the built environment more flexible and responsive to investment criteria of real estate capital' (Weber 2002, in Delledestima 2006). Especially in EU accession countries, the restrictions seem to be weaker than in others, reflecting the condition where the need for increased living standards are closely associated with increased retail spaces by governments, which resulted in significant number of mall and alike profit based constructions.

---

[29] See the appendix for more details on the classification of shopping malls derived from the research studies mentioned.
[30] It is important to mention that in this thesis the terms 'shopping mall' and 'shopping centre' are used interchangeably. This is because although there is a difference in the sector between the two, they have been used interchangeably by the public and most of the other professionals outside the sector, as also confirmed by ISCS.

Germany	Highly restricted and regulated via strong policies (i.e. if there is not an applicable planning law or a plan for a proposed mall the process might take 1–5 years, yet out-of-town retail parks may experience shorter delays)
Netherlands	No specific legislation for development of shopping mall; these kinds of developments are subject to laws and regulations that apply to any other development
Portugal	These kinds of developments should pass through 3 steps: urban, economic and environmental licensing, specified for retail developments
Spain	No uniform procedure due to fragmented administrative levels, where each level has its own procedure and policies
Italy	Specified definition of shopping centres exists, in relation to their size and are subject to levels of administrative control
Greece	No specific legal instrument and licensing procedure for these developments; the development of such a mall will be subject to strict environmental and town planning regulations
Russia	As most land remains under the ownership of the state, these developments continue through lease options or following outright ownership.

Table 3.2. Legislative grounds for shopping mall development for different countries
Source: adapted from ICSC 2012

Nevertheless, according to Guy in the UK the government approaches to mall developments have the motto of: 'the market ... knows best how to serve the consumer effectively, and should thus be free to develop' (1998: 965). In addition, according to Underhill (2004), in the US, such developments, owned by real estate developers (who are powerful), might be promoted by the state government (even if the particular township disagrees), because if development is restricted, it would be easy for the developer to move the investment into another state and brand that state. In contrast to the US, in the UK 'land use plans are not binding on developers, and there is much greater flexibility for both developers and local authorities to override existing plans' (Guy 1998: 969). This was so especially until the 1990s, when there was a tradition of 'planning gains' that was occasionally abused either by the developer or by the local authority (Guy 2002:325). However, more recently this trend changed in favour of local authorities as they have achieved much greater empowerment on urban development matters. Similar to other Mediterranean countries shown in Table 3.2 Turkey has its own lacks, ambiguities and flexibilities in mall development, each of which is presented in Chapter 6.

3.7 Experienced sociality: dynamics shaping perceptions

Perceptual understanding of spatial experience is required in order to provide realisation of social space (Harvey 1973). In other words, understanding and exploring the building of perception and experience are as important as investigating the formal and conceptual approaches in the production of space. Therefore, this section is structured to follow up the contextual and regulatory condition of public space and shopping malls with the experiences and perceptions of the public. Public space which does not have clear boundaries with private space is exemplified by Harvey, through a café in Paris; where he defines that setting as a neither a public space nor a private one, but a setting where a 'selective public is allowed for commercial and consumption purposes' (2006: 20) (Figure 3.8). As this research also deals with publicised private spaces and public space perception via malls, it is primarily important to unpack how perception is constructed and evolved, and how the public/users define the place, rather than taking the conceptual norms and regulatory-defined roles for granted.

Figure 3.8. Cafe in Paris; in Oude Markt in Leuven; in Main Square in Brugge
Source: Respectively top left, top right and bottom Author, 2012.

Environmental perception of people is one of the most important steps to understand the relation between society and the built environment. Vision, hearing, smell and touch are the initial determinants of this perception, and among these, vision is the

'dominant sense' (Lawson 2001; Carmona et al. 2010: 111), which therefore signifies the importance of design in the built environment. Therefore, the study of perception (environmental psychology) also concerns with the image (Lynch 1960), environmental values, preferences, aesthetics and quality (Ittelson 1978). However, not only the 'physical, interpersonal and cultural' but also 'status, needs, actions, motives and cognitions' are also pillars influencing perception (ibid: 197); as based on these, an individual can explore, categorise and systematise the space into a meaningful and functional whole (ibid: 200). In addition, Lawson treats the architectural space as a container that accommodates; joins and disjoins; formulates and manages spatial behaviour, where at the same time the space works to integrate individuals together and/or to isolate them from each other, requiring three main spatial needs: the need of *stimulation*; the need of feeling *secure* and *sense of belonging* through the need of *identity*, each of which are expected to be satisfied through the non-verbal language of space in the designed built environment (Lawson 2001). However, for Auge (2008) these are de-generated via experiencing the new geographies of supermodernity, namely non-spaces. Yet still this thesis argues it is more of a shift or reshaping of the symbolic meaning and perception, instead of an evaporation by the 'non'-condition of 'non-places' or mere adaptation to the 'container' condition of the space.

At this point, it is also important to emphasise that the new geography of supermodernity consists of the transformation of ego, space and time (ibid), each of which is directly related to perception. There, although not fully agreeing with the pessimistic approach of 'non-places' claiming an extensive sameness through supermodernity, it is also a rightful claim to emphasise that shifts in the perception (through supermodernity and sameness claim) is also an *education of gaze*, where this new geography and media and the changing culture reshapes perception (ibid: xiii). However, this is not a one-way transformation or education, as the spatial needs mentioned above are required for all at any time. Therefore, although the process is not equal on both sides, as the market forces are powerful and have the ability to ally with decision makers, the transformation and education evolve reciprocally. On one hand, the gaze and perception of the public is educated by the profit-focused provisions of market forces and decision-makers (in the level of production where power relations occur); on the other hand the social and spatial needs of the public become a catalyst that inevitably reshapes the interventions of the power holders (consequences in practical level also feeds back the production level for the future). However, it is not a

fair reciprocity, as the sense of place is accumulative (Relph 1976) dynamic, and especially in some contexts, such as Turkey, what is provided by the power holders may have a stronger capacity to reshape perception, compared to socially produced and accumulated experiences and needs. There, the experience of space through 'experience creation' (Lorentzen and Hansen 2009) aims to provide successful places to 'stage experiences' (Pine and Gilmore 1998) through the attempts of professional actors aiming at the 'experience economy' (ibid) have become a leading tool.

Therefore, the analysis of perception can also be two-fold: professional perception and public perception as the interventions of the former have a significant impact on the generation of the latter. The professionals' perception is enriched via professional knowledge and expectations and therefore under the influence of cognitive conditions, professional education, expectation, knowledge (Lawson 2001), agency and interest. On the other hand, public perception is under the influence of *accumulative and repetitive*[31] daily practices that are prone to the former's interventions, yet still reshapes itself by its embedded codes in culture. In addition, similar to professional one the public perception is also influenced by its agency (as status), interest (expectation and motives), needs and actions. Although both professional and public perception have agency and interest (as expectations or motives) in common, the interests, needs and actions of the public are vulnerable as these can be reshaped by the professionals' interests.

Moreover, perception within retail environments, providing organised commercial activity, has usually been assessed by some researchers through the perspective of the public being the consumers and perceiving space merely through the lenses of the retail function (Downs 1970; Timmermans 1993; Hackett et al. 1993; Luomala 2003; Nevin and Houston 1980). The common factors that affect the perception of retail space in these research studies can be summarised as follows: design; size; efficiency and internal movement (including parking); atmosphere (both visual and social); accessibility and distance (Downs 1970; Timmermans 1982; Van Raaij 1993); personality; shopping orientation; experience; mood; time pressure; shopping goals and social interaction (Luomala 2003). In addition, there are some other researchers who have provided a perspective of shopping satisfaction via social configuration in

---

[31] For instance, the public may create its own shortcut path next to an 'officially designed' pathway; or a place which is not designed for sitting may become a 'hanging out' and sitting place for young people through their accumulative and repetitive behaviour and preferences.

retail spaces (Eroglu et al. 2005; Feinberg et al. 1989), where another factor that appear is crowdedness in human behaviour (Seagert 1973; Machleit et al. 2000).

However, there are few research studies that combine the public space notion within the retail environment (Oppewal and Timmermans 1999; Chiu and Yau 2007). The first study concludes that there are four factors of influence: the quality of maintenance; appeal of window displays; street activities; and greenery (Oppewal and Timmermans 1999). The other study concludes by referring to public spaces as 'necessary evils' for shopping malls and highlights the factor of circulation (Chiu and Yau 2007). Still both studies have the perspective that users are consumers in the retail environment to analyse if the public space qualities increase the attractiveness of the environment in the perception of the users (Oppewal and Timmermans 1999), and if the rental increases in the mall have any dependence on the public space qualities of the malls (Chiu and Yau 2007). Therefore, the investigations on the transforming perception of public space and shopping mall beyond the consumerist approaches of users – who not only exist within that space as consumers but also as the public to experience that space, either perceiving it as a public space or merely as a private retail space – and professionals with the same perspective remain limited.

Moreover, echoing Goheen (1998), citizens themselves endow public spaces with meaning through their attitudes and the use of these spaces for their own purposes. In addition, it is also essential to acknowledge the changing condition of public spaces and retail spaces where the need for consumption is greater than the satisfaction of daily requirements and has become for pleasure, recreation, leisure and fun. Therefore, an analysis of the perception of private spaces that behave and are treated as public spaces needs recognition for spatial needs, factors influencing perception in retail spaces, public spaces within retail spaces and the qualities of public space.

3.8 Conclusion

This chapter aimed to provide an investigation into the cognition of public spaces and their current condition in order to bridge this introductory investigation to the concept of shopping malls as public spaces. The chapter also presented the evolving perception of these structures within contemporary society and their recognition of the built environment through 'publicised private spaces' (Banerjee, 2001), after describing

the transformation of public spaces through history, starting with the conceptual analysis of Arendt (1958) and Habermas (1989) on the public sphere.

The chapter provided an inquiry into the diverse critiques of contemporary public spaces and their driving forces. The chapter then continued with an investigation into publicness and revealed the lack of attention to this at the level of production, which embraces the main steps to the practical level, and where the actual power relations within urban development occur. Later, the chapter revealed an insight into the emergence of new typologies of public spaces, among which the shopping malls, due to their aim of replacing city centres, are the most prominent, bringing leisure, recreation and socialisation together with commercial activity in a sanitised and climate-controlled environment under one roof, away from the unpredictable nature of the city centre. Moreover, this chapter provided an exploration into the legislative grounds for the development of public spaces in the UK and into shopping malls in various contexts and countries, in order to enable a comparison with the Turkish context in the following chapters. It became clear that, while the legislation and formal research reports in the UK put a strong emphasis on the importance of public spaces for sustainable development and a healthy society, in the case of shopping malls, the emphasis and the expected strong relationship with legislative grounds became loose and flexible. Throughout this chapter, it also become apparent that the development of shopping malls has as many variant legislative conditions as countries; some of which, compared to others, have fewer restrictions whereas a few lay down strong conditions for such developments.

Finally, as this chapter made clear, shopping malls imitating traditional public spaces and changing the symbolic meaning of public spaces and their historical evolution also generate a very strong influence also on people's perception. The chapter put forward that the notion of perception cannot be thought of as a singular matter which can be bestowed on society as one body but instead should be considered with its varying features in a coherent approach. In particular, depending on who the perceiver is and what the roles and the interests of this perceiver are within the existing power relations of urban development should be considered within that coherence. Furthermore, the investigation of the current literature concerning people's perception of retail environments and public spaces, and of public spaces within retail environments, revealed that the current literature fails to acknowledge the 'public' quality of the users and instead treats the public as consumers. Therefore, the possible impacts of their

perceptions were investigated for commercial purposes. By providing a comparison among these research studies and recalling the qualities of publicness, this chapter provided a basis for empirical investigation which aims to provide an analysis of the perception of users as 'the public' (within publicised private spaces) that has constantly been reshaped via power relations.

CHAPTER 4 - METHODOLOGY

4.1. Introduction

This chapter aims to explain the methods and research strategies used in this research. First, it reveals the justifications and reasons in using a qualitative approach and case studies and then relates these reasons to the existing literature on methodology and to the aims of this present research. The chapter then continues with an overview of the project and introduces the cases by setting the scene. Then, the chapter presents the data sources and an insight into the cases and pilot study, where the justifications for the selection of the cases are provided. Then, a detailed explanation on the data collection process, fieldwork and interviews are explained. Finally, the chapter provides an overview of the analysis of the data collected.

4.2. Qualitative research as a research strategy

Before going any deeper into the methodological approaches that are used in this research, it is worth to stating that this research is not linear. What is meant by that is this study is a dynamic and a spiral one, which continues to evolve from beginning to end. The research questions that were initially set and the strategies to achieve the most accurate answers for the research questions have changed within the process. This is because the complex and hidden nature of power relations could only be uncovered with forward and backward steps, each reinforcing the other. Within this process, the delimiting nature of the research and data collection was also effective. This was because the matter of urban power and relations portrayed within was not explicit but embedded in the system, the culture and daily experiences; therefore, some of the information given by some actors was impossible to prove via formal documentation. This emerged as another challenge in the research and, therefore, the methods to be used. Therefore, the strategies to achieve these methods required extra sensitivity and care. In addition, the two-fold structure of this thesis, based on the two main phenomena and the all-important relationship with each other, *urban power relations* and *perception over public spaces* also continued via a dual structure throughout the research process, from data collection to analysis. Therefore, the main research argument, encompassing these two themes, was driven by three subsidiary questions and supplementary research objectives refined within the research process.

Qualitative research, as Silverman (2001) states, is based on the exploration of *what is going on here* to encounter the matter first-hand and to direct us to a wide spectrum of observation. Therefore, this study aimed for detailed fieldwork to enable simultaneous observation at first-hand, and created ways via greater in-depth participation to a deeper understanding. The principal interest of this research is to provide an analysis on the tacit condition of the urban power relations exercised in reshaping the built environment, with particular attention to public spaces, which through history have been in a constant socio-spatial shift that is experienced differently from one culture to another. Therefore, investigations to reveal these interrelated matters are based on the question of *what is going on there* and *how this is operating in practice*, requiring qualitative exploration instead of seeking quantified knowledge.

The qualitative research that has a multidimensional focus and portrays the researcher as a quilt maker, who seeks and reveals the reality via montaging different slices (information and data in the case of research) together (Denzin and Lincoln, 2013, pp.8–9) and can be categorised into four features, where each feature is supportive to the others, as shown in Table 4.1 (Flick, 2009).

Appropriateness of methods and theories

• Complexity of the research
• Objects are not reduced to single variables
• Study represents objects in their everyday context

Perspectives of the participants and their diversity

• Participants' knowledge and practices are studied
• What is the meaning of the matter for the participant
(Social and subjective meanings attached)
• Different subjective perspectives and social backgrounds attached to them

Reflexivity of the researcher and the research

• Subjectivity of the researcher, her/his reflections, observations,
impressions, irritations and feelings have become data in their own right.

Variety of approaches to be used

• Different variant approaches to be used (case studies, ethnography, interviews etc.)

Table 4.1. Features of qualitative research
Source: Flick, 2009

As can be seen from the table, the position and subjectivity of the researcher is also a piece of data, which is embedded throughout the research process. There, the diverse condition of participants while providing different perspectives also enriches the input to the research. As mentioned above, the nature of power relations is a hidden one

that breeds complexities; therefore, it cannot be reduced to a single variable even if some results are the ordinary products of daily practices. Thus, agreeing with Flick (2009), this research is a qualitative one and enriched via the case-study approach, including interviews with a wide variety of actors, observations and detailed archive investigations.

4.2.1. *Case studies*

Case studies provide advantages for presenting research that is conducted in a real-life context; therefore, they are more than a data collection technique (Yin, 2009). This approach is required, when *how* and *why* questions are proposed and where the researcher does not have control over the phenomenon (ibid.). The case study research can also serve an investigation over perceptions, opinions, values, behaviours and beliefs of particular people in a particular place at a particular time. As a contextual phenomenon, case study research is an investigation to find out in depth and provide wider understanding by exemplifying the current situation in a particular place at a particular time, thus, in a way, like the genuine animals of the natural sciences are constantly changing by conditions external to the researcher. Yet, many of them fail to analyse currently gathered data through a historical and social context (ideologies, social, economic, political and cultural structure); or fail to connect the theoretical grounds and its findings with the social and/or daily practices (Diefenbach, 2009). In particular, the exploration of *what is going on here* is thought to be best suited through a case study, in which the historical and cultural aspects become more and more important to present comprehensive understanding.

However, there are also misunderstandings in case studies, and these can be summarised in five groups, according to Flyvbjerg (2006), requiring greater attention to grasp them:

- Underestimating the value of practical research
- Considering them non-scientific
- Considering them inadequate for hypothesis testing
- Claiming that they are biased
- Claiming that they are lacking in general value

However, these claims are misunderstandings, as Flybvjerg (2006) stated. This is because these claims ignore the power of examples, the value of the researcher and his/her knowledge or contextual structures which on their own are also data. These

misunderstandings also ignore the fact that attempts to draw generalised conclusions can endanger the authenticity of the narrative of a study.

As mentioned above, this research has two main strands: *urban power relations* and *perception on public spaces*. The former, through its operating mechanisms and praxis, may be effective in manipulating the latter as this study argues. Therefore, the research questions are shaped accordingly, based on the *how* question sets leading to qualitative research. This approach, therefore, requires learning from practice: a practical wisdom, which in the Aristotelian term is called *phronesis* developed by Flyvbjerg (2001) and Flyvbjerg et al. (2012). Thus, the two-fold nature of the research highlights the importance of practices similar to phronesis, where "phroenetic social science explores historic circumstances and current practices to find avenues to praxis" (Flyvbjerg, 2001, p.140). Phronesis (see also Chapter 2) is not a mere methodology but an attitude to uncover reality on the basis of a social-historical foundation. Moreover, by aiming to analyse power relations the study puts prime attention on identifying actors and their roles within the shopping mall development process in planning and in existing structures because:

> Actors and their practices are analyzed in relation to structures and structures in terms of agency … that structures are found as part of actors and actors as part of structures. (ibid, p.137)

Furthermore, the second part of the empirical research deals with the transformation of contemporary public spaces and public perception of the new generation of public spaces have to be dealt with in a similar way. In this part, the focus is on the culture, context (similar to the first part) and perceptions that are influenced by the built environment. Therefore, due to the two-fold nature of the research, various types of data collection are required.

4.2.2. *Overview of the context and setting the scene*

This PhD project was started in October 2010. Turkey was chosen due to several reasons; first of all, it was the researcher's homeland where she grew up and received her planning education; therefore, she was quite familiar with the structure and had the advantage of language. Thus, she had a comprehensive knowledge of the culture and was aware of the traditional ways of dealing with challenges specific to the context. Second, which was the main motivation of conducting such research, was the complex and quite distorted nature of the Turkish planning structure and practices that have

been generated via mechanisms that have emerged as a result of cumulative experiences and traditions, also reflecting cumulative influences in politics, the built environment and society over time. Moreover, the complex nature of urban power mechanisms and the perception of public space, which can be considered neither as a mere result of adaptation to the western lifestyle nor a mere interpretation of eastern or Middle Eastern traditions, promised to generate rich and authentic research.

In addition, while the country has its own dynamics, at a smaller scale Ankara has been generating its own kind of path through the process. Having been given the role of capital city, Ankara has always been a representative of the country and a centre for public affairs and the bureaucracy, which supposedly developed through the planning processes as mentioned in Chapter 6. Therefore, Ankara was chosen as the main scene for the research due to its features and the researcher's knowledge of the city through her professional and student experiences. Moreover, another reason that made Ankara a unique case was that although the city has a population three times lower (5,150,072 in 2014) than Istanbul, the centre of finance and the largest metropolitan city in the country (14,377,018 by 2014), the proportion of shopping malls (gross leasable area (GLA) per person) is higher than that of Istanbul. According to the sectoral analysis report of the Council of Shopping Centres Turkey (AYD, 2013), in Ankara the shopping mall areas are 246m² per 1000ppl, and in Istanbul 227m² per 1000ppl, while the country average is 106m² per 1000ppl.

4.3. The sources of the data

This research is based on two main themes and three intertwined parts in relation to the research questions and objectives (see Chapter 1) in which the links between the themes became increasingly apparent during the fieldwork reflecting upon the selected cases and within the broader research process. The research process has been developed and enriched through the collection of various types of data from various sources: the literature review, the pilot study, the main fieldwork, Postgraduate Training Program in HASS,[32] feedback from supervisors and colleagues, conferences and the EMSDP[33] programme in Leuven. Below, the linear and circular models of the process of research are provided (Flick, 2009); in this research the circular model is used including its own unique aspects (Figure 4.1). With reference to the above-mentioned spiral nature of the study, the circular model of Flick (2009) is adopted. However, the present research treats this model as dynamic and continuously evolving, rather than a closed loop, or strictly structured; therefore, using the term *spiral* fits the nature of the study better.
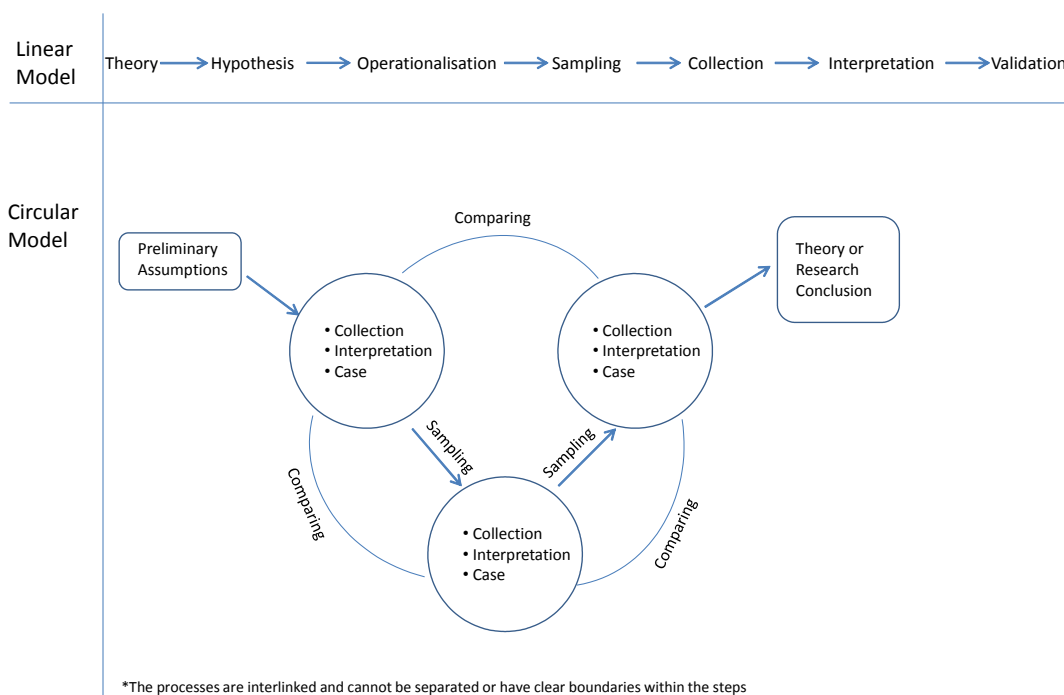
Figure 4.1. Models of process of research
Source: Flick, 2009

The figure below demonstrates the nature of the data collected and its position within the research. The list of chapters in the figure, from the start of the research until the end, was designed in a coordinated manner, with the chapters contributing to and reformulating each other. Concurrently with library use, media sources and the initial literature review, a pilot study was conducted to set the scene and to narrow down the potential cases. Through the main fieldwork, municipal and some key informants' personal archives were accessed while formal and informal interviews and interactions were conducted. Throughout the study, especially in the empirical chapters, most of the archive documents were used – particularly planning proposals, parcelling plans and some architectural documents – approvals, objections and court documents in order to maintain the authenticity of the documents; even the legibility of some was not of high quality due to the age of the document.

Literature
(Chapters 2 & 3)
- Legislative Sources
- Books
- Journals
- Online Articles
- Documentaries
- Historical sources (international libraries for visual sources)
- Contemporary Visual Sources (Photos)

Theoretical Framework and practices from the literature

Cultural - Contextual Background
(Chapters 5 & 6)
- Books
- Journals
- Online Articles
- Magazines
- Legislative Sources
- Media and Web Sources
- Historical sources (Visual and written)
- Contemporary Visual Sources (Photos and Maps)

Contextual Framework and practices from Turkey

Empirical Work
(Chapters 7 & 8 & 9)
- *Built on the data collected above and:
- Municipal Archives (Authentic maps; plan proposals-approvals and formal petitions)
- Lawyers' Archives (Court documents)
- Photos from the fieldwork and pilot study
- Interviews
- Observation on the site
- Informal interactions
- Media and Web Sources

How and Why : Response of the selected cases in real life practices

Figure 4.2. The data collected and its position within the study

4.3.1. *Pilot study and selection of the cases*

The aim of conducting a pilot study was to have a primary analysis for all shopping malls in the city in order to generate initial data for case study selection. In this pilot study (conducted in June 2011) the rationale for selecting cases in relation to the theory was set. By the time that the pilot study was conducted, there were 38 shopping malls in Ankara, some of which were still under construction. During the pilot study, all 38 malls were visited and briefly observed, and some informal interactions were made

with the planners of the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality with regard to the planning conditions of the malls. These informal interactions (as well as actual interviews) helped to refine the research questions further while highlighting the significant link between the relations of power in planning practice and the response of public. Moreover, it became clear that this was on account of the decision making authorities also having power to promote their actions (and in effect 'sell' their product) with the mask of public service and public good. These interactions also revealed some signs of limitations of accessibility to the formal documents about the malls, and the archives in general, and therefore a need for a different strategy emerged. The initial communications with planners in the municipality made clear that the urban power relations and conflicts among actors (administrative and non-administrative) had been emerging significantly in the Çankaya region due to high real estate and land values, which added to the general popularity of the area (see Chapter 6). In addition, in order to narrow down the cases, a context-specific classification need emerged. However, this led to another challenge appearing, in that Turkey did not have specific classification standards. Therefore, an appropriate classification was sought by searching worldwide examples (Table 4.1; see also the Appendix for classification in different contexts). Through this initial search, Delisle's global standardisation of shopping malls was combined with the existing other examples used to evaluate current conditions in Ankara.

Themes / Concepts	General or traditional	* entertainment-oriented * high-end centres * lifestyle centres * discount centres * outlet centres * value centres
	Speciality	* power centres * resort centres * convenience centres * other recreational centres (some also may have special target groups)
Size	Size of the centre	
	Size of the land	
	Gross leasable area (GLA)	
Design	Location of the anchors	
	Number of stories	
	Quality of the design [34]	
Location	Urban core	
	Suburban	
	Rural/airport and regional conjunctions can be considered similarly	
Number of Anchors - Tenants	Nature of anchors (department stores, variety stores, speciality stores)	
	Price point that they represent (value, discount and high-end)	
	Ratio of anchor tenants to other tenants	

Table 4.2. Global Classification of Shopping Malls
Source: DeLisle (2009)

According to the table the global classification of the malls includes five common elements: themes/concepts; size; design; location and number of anchor tenants.

---

[34] Although this category, as also stated by DeLisle, is 'inherently qualitative ... and [does] not fall into a clear category' (2009, p.29) is an important feature, especially in investigating perception of space.

However, it should be kept in mind that the classification standards given above were prepared for retail and marketing research purposes. Therefore, although the dynamics of a social research in analysing a shopping centre might be fed from this work, a different, case-focused framework is needed. Thus, in this study, these classifications are synthesised and simplified in consideration to the research aims to generate a particular categorization for the case of Ankara. As one of the focuses of the research is on the changes in relations and the transformation of public spaces, the *time* factor was added as the main catalyst to the categorisation. Therefore, a chronological process of transformation is targeted.

First, themes are specified for the malls in Ankara based on initial observations and the above-mentioned examples: retail with public spaces and entertainment combinations; outlets and specified malls (i.e. home decoration); and retail parks (which are combinations of several specified malls). Later, location and size features were used for further delimitation. After setting the initial classification features, the two extreme ends (malls that have GLA smaller than 9000m² and less; and larger than 85000m² and more) were excluded. In addition, as mentioned above, the assessment concerning the transformation requires time factor to be taken into account; therefore, the two extremes of the newest and the oldest needed to be included. However, before taking the newest and the oldest for granted, a further rationale which included the location factor had to be taken into account. This was because the suburban malls and the inner-city malls have different natures, and by the time of the pilot study the newest inner-city option dated from 2007, whereas there were newer options in the suburbs. In addition, the oldest mall, Atakule, the first mall of the city, by then was under a demolition decision and all stores had been vacated. Due to this unforeseen situation, the study was directed towards suburban malls in order to include richer cases which would provide better comparisons. In short, the case selection was first narrowed down to suburban malls with a focus on large- and medium-sized malls (in European terms, eliminating the extremes); later time factor was added including representatives of older, newer and mid-term malls to present richer time perspectives. In that regard, three case studies were chosen:

- Galleria: the first representative of the period
- Armada: the mid-term representative
- Kentpark: representing the most recent period
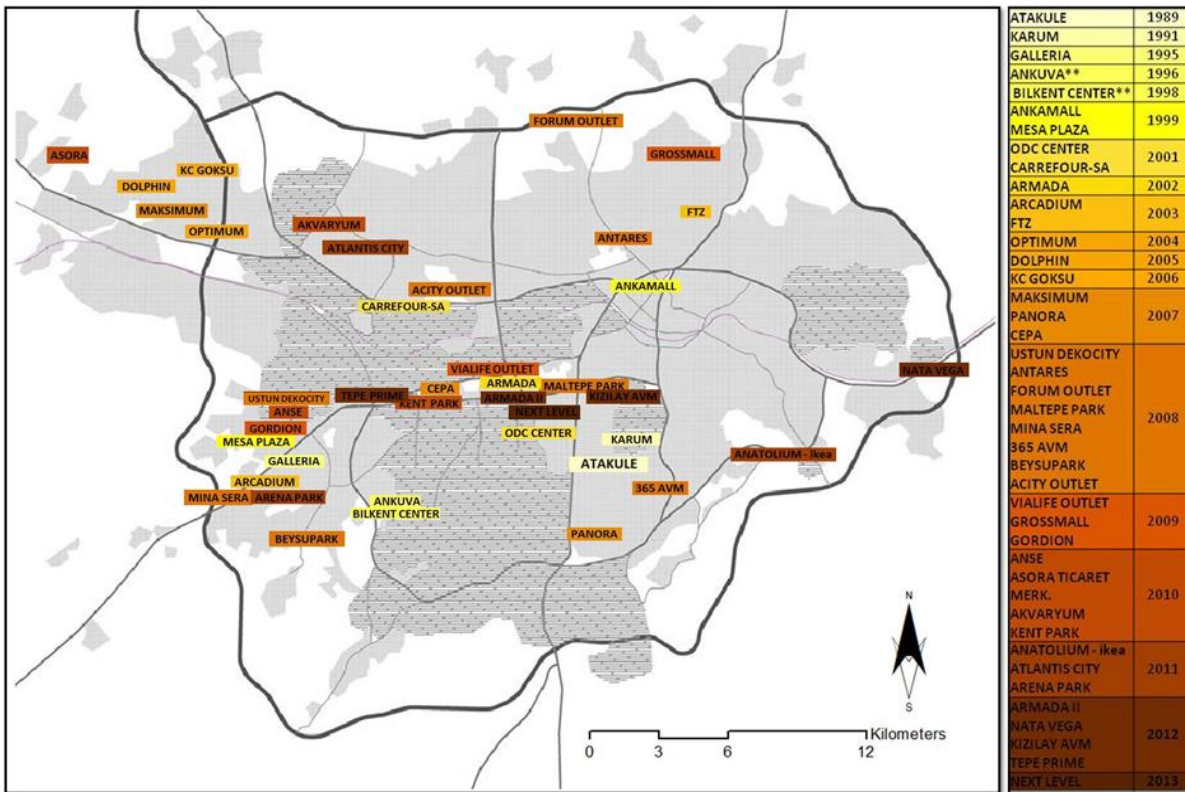
Figure 4.3. The locations of the shopping malls in relation to their construction dates (up to 2013)

In Ankara the transformation of shopping malls may be traced back over 20 years. Galleria, built in 1995, represents the first period of mall construction. Armada, built in 2002, is of a bigger scale and has office block additions. Kentpark, built in 2009, while being the most recent among the case studies, also has differentiated features in addition to the retail and office facilities; there is also a residential block project (although not implemented due to ongoing formal conflicts) and sports centre within the site. However, during the fieldwork, Armada was renovated (on the existing site) and integrated with an expanding project (to build the new Armada II centre on the next plot); therefore, it has also become representative of both the mid- and the recent term.

4.4. Empirical data collection and limitations of the research

The data collection process itself is as important as the results obtained, if not more so, as Wolcott (2001) stated. This is also because the process of data collection on its own also can provide a good example of the discovery of urban power relations, revealing traditional exercises in planning practice and the shifting perceptions of the public breed from the previous two. Therefore, in this research, the process of empirical

74

data collection has become data itself. The complex and hidden nature of the research themes also required a particular type of network for the researcher to be part of in order to access all the necessary documents concerning the process, because transparency and monitoring have been problematic issues in the Turkish planning structure and for the institutions that are involved in the decision-making process. For instance, it would be nearly impossible to gather some of the municipal data (or it would be more likely to be given manipulated data), if the researcher had not had her own personal contacts in selected municipalities. The traditional motto: "if you have any business with the municipality, you need to know someone to get it done" had to be overcome in this study, which from the start the researcher was already aware of owing to her previous work and research experiences. Although municipalities usually claim that they have transparency and would claim to provide access to planning documents, the legal procedure for an application to obtain access to planning and planning-dependent documents would start with a formal petition, which would be put into an assessment process for a long period and even then the response will be through a brief petition and will reflect the interests of the municipality. Moreover, another challenge in accessing municipal documents emerged consequent to changes in authorisation among municipalities (see Chapters 5-6-7-8). For instance, some of the legal documents of a particular planning decision were in one municipality whereas the rest of the documents for the same plot or the same planning decision were in another municipality. In addition, the archives of some of the district municipalities were very disorderly managed; some files were strewn around or on the floor of the archive. Furthermore, an intense investigation of the planning documents, particularly court records – where the majority of the complaints and defences in response were based on the vague notion 'public good' – further highlighted the connection between the two main themes of this research. There, on the one hand NGOs, CUP or district municipalities when disagreeing with a planning approval, focussed their complaint on the 'lack of or disregard to public good' whereas in return the decision makers fortify their reasoning of their actions by explicitly claiming them as *public good*. Contributing to this approach some interviews with the users were also emphasised that they were convinced that shopping mall developments are public services provided 'thanks to' local and national governments. Therefore, the data collected, especially from the case studies, underscored the strong relation between the relations of power and provision of mall developments as provision of public services, therefore generating a unique connotation equating malls with public spaces for some of the users and professionals.

The attitudes of some of the key informants were also discouraging and non-cooperative, and some the interviews had a non-informative flow and instead based on the interviewee criticising all academics as troublemakers and generating obstacles. Moreover, due to their authority and power, while some of the key informants were not hesitant for researcher to reveal their identity (as they were not really sharing much information and thus their position was relatively safe); some non-empowered ones (such as ordinary planners) were very much hesitant for their identity to be revealed in the research, as they were critical of how things have been done in practice and how the institution in which they worked operated in its daily practices. Furthermore, besides having these two main challenge of accessing information and informants, another challenge was that some information was given but the consent of the use of this information was not given stating the content of the information has been (for the informant) life threatening and beyond any academic proof. However, each of these struggles in data collection process, although initially seemed be negative as an input within the process realised that each turned to become a data on its own.

4.5. Fieldwork

From November 2011 to January 2012, the first piece of fieldwork was conducted and all three cases were observed on a weekly basis. Three weeks were dedicated to each case, for observation, interviewing and informal interactions, and archive investigation. The initial interviews with eight key informants were completed. In addition, 15 other interviews were completed with users. However, the distribution of the number of the interviewees was not equal between the cases, which became another factor representing the use of the malls, as the sequence of the distribution portrayed similar structures to the popularity of the chosen malls. On the other hand, informal interactions were also made concurrently with users, shopkeepers and with the mall security in the malls and with administrative authorities, to obtain a richer grasp of mall use and planning practice.

Moreover, the second piece of fieldwork was conducted in January 2013 and the selected cases were further observed; key informants who were inaccessible at the time of the first piece of fieldwork were interviewed. The second piece of fieldwork was dedicated to filling in the missing pieces that emerged after assessing the initial data

from the initial fieldwork and inputs from the literature. The dynamic and evolving nature of the research required new data in which new actors emerged to be interviewed. Moreover, some of the court cases were still outstanding; therefore, more recent follow-ups needed to be obtained.

4.5.1. *Conducting interviews: interviews with key informants*

As the research is structured on two main pillars it has two main groups of participants: the key informants and the users to address the main themes. The initial interviews were held with decision-makers, managerial actors and professionals, from both the private and the public sectors, some of whom can be considered as urban elites. Therefore, the interviews with that group required a different strategy, because:

> Elites are as difficult to define as they are to access when compared with other social groups … Interviewing elites also presents researchers with a number of practical challenges associated with the question of power … elites seek to restrict access and truncate critical social research (Rice, 2010, p.70).

The responsibility of the researcher becomes more challenging when the interviewees are from elite groups. This is because the role and the position of the interviewee has a clear impact on the responses. The interviewee usually prefers to give responses reflecting general beliefs or aiming to satisfy general expectations rather than reality or real thoughts. However, understanding 'socially expected answering patterns', tactical answering and being aware of the 'deliberately misleading' (Deifenbach, 2009, p.892) has prime importance in transferring this to an advantage of the researcher as:

> Such 'tactical answering' is in itself an important data and evidence for the dominant ideology/mainstream thinking – if it is discovered and revealed (ibid.)

Moreover, realisation of 'particularity of power … which concentrates power further in the hands of the already powerful' (Rice, 2010, p.74) and minimising potential limitations, the researcher should also have his/her own strategies for access, negotiation and convincing the interviewees to participate to the research. Therefore, informing participants beforehand and sending them the sample questions in advance was very important to prepare participants for the interview and to make them feel relaxed. In addition, not only when interviewing elites but also other groups of respondents, ethical considerations such as confidentiality needed to be addressed. Therefore, the required permission (both consent forms and permission to conduct the research from the University) were obtained.

However, even within the second fieldwork process one of the key informants,[35] although finally agreeing to an appointment after two years' effort by the researcher, withdrew from the interview after the arrival of the researcher at the place of interview, stating that he was very busy, and directed the researcher to the Armada construction supervisor, revealing that he did not read the questions that were sent in advance and therefore was not aware of the subject and was clearly disregarding the research. In addition, there were three key informants who did not give permission for recording during the fieldwork. Two of them (the Head of the Planning Department of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality and the Manager of Galleria) referred to similar misgivings. For instance, one of them said 'if you record now and if I want to change my statement later I can't do that', which clearly generated a mistrust of the information that he would give in the interview. The third key informant was among the lawyers who briefly stated that previously he had vital security problems during court periods; therefore he was requesting to not give recorded information.

The flow chart below demonstrates the schematic mapping of the actors as interviewees, their roles and their relational positions in the process (Figure 4.4). In that regard, the direct participants of the formal urban development processes, municipal actors, as the approving authorities, are determined. In each municipality one interviewee with a high level of authority to make decisions and one planner without any approval authorisation was selected. In addition, due to his higher level of authority, a council member was selected from Ankara Metropolitan Municipality who was also an AKP[36] MP, the party in charge of central government, as this party had the higher representation in the council. Later, the managers and the architects of the selected malls were interviewed, representing the private actors of the process.

---

[35] The architect and developer of Galleria, and the one of the developers of Armada, is actually the person who is currently the Head of the Chamber of Trade. Unfortunately all the researcher's attempts to get an appointment with him were unsuccessful as stated above..
[36] The ruling party of the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality and ruling party in the Parliament
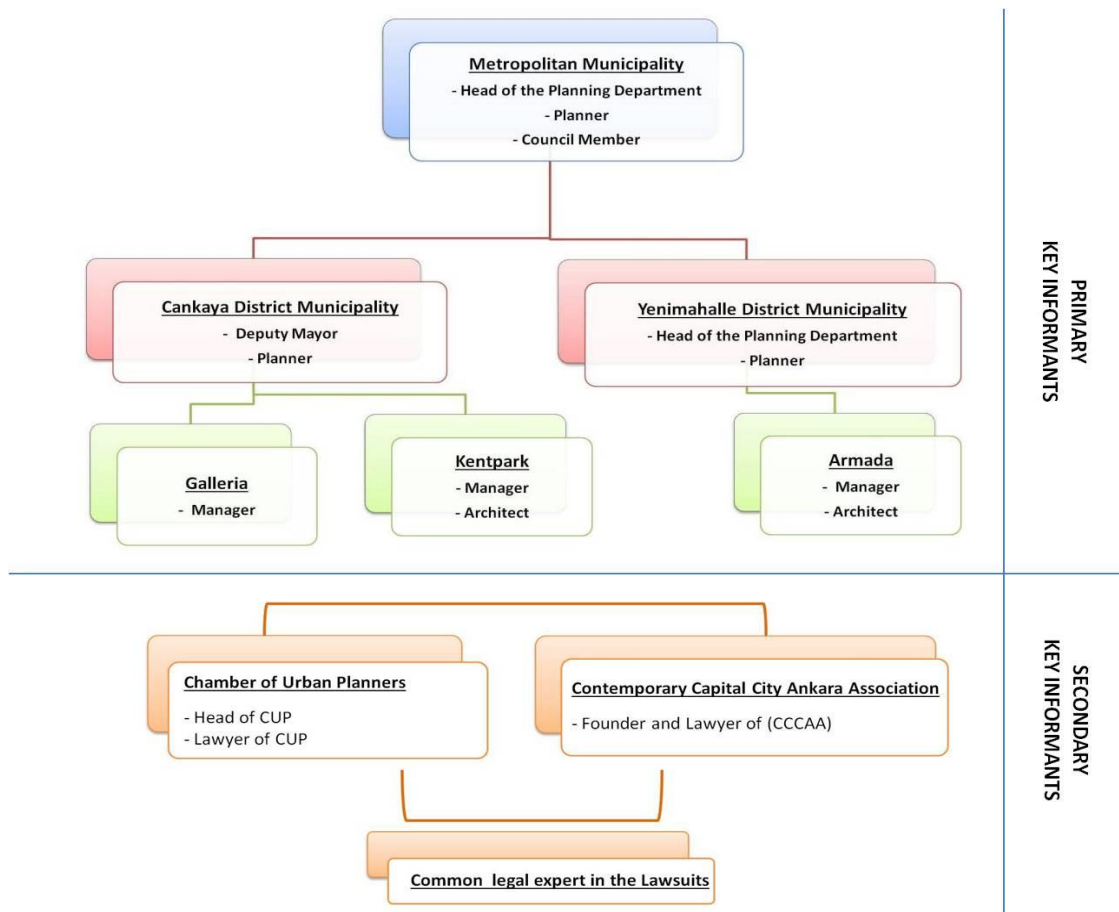
Figure 4.4. Actors as the primary and the secondary key informants

In addition, from the archive analyses it become clear that one of the major drivers of the process was the consecutive proposals and approvals of the plan modifications and oppositions to these approvals, which generated the inclusion of new actors. Secondary key informants emerged during that period via the investigation of opposing petitions and court documents. According to the common tendencies of the court processes, it was seen that the Chamber of Urban Planners, Çankaya District Municipality and the Contemporary Capital City Ankara Association were the main organisations that entered lawsuits against the plan approvals. Therefore, the representatives and the lawyers of these organisations were interviewed. Moreover, one of the experts who has been assigned for the lawsuits in selected cases, where a panel of experts are assigned by the court to give written report and opinion on the conflicting matters, and who has also been an Assistant Professor working in City and Regional Planning Department was interviewed.

The key informants were asked similar types of open-ended questions[37], first with regard to the production phases of the malls (plan proposals and approvals), also

---

[37] See appendix for details

referring to conflicts of authority and the decision-making process, and actors within the process and their interactions with each other and with the beneficiaries. Later, spatial and social aspects were discussed in relation to the meaning of public space, contemporary perceptions of it, the concept of publicness and its relation with shopping malls.

When it came to questioning power relations, a different and a more subtle strategy needed to be produced. This was because the investigations of urban power relations were very much related to the interests of the agency and the political positioning of those interests. Therefore, it needed to be sensitive in order not to offend the participant. Thus, the conversations continued with indirect reference to *power relations*. Instead, the interviewees were asked about procedures and daily practices, their roles in the process and their relations with other actors in the process (with both allies and opposing parties). The perception of public space, development processes, the impact of planning practices, and the dilemmas emerging between theory, policies and ethics were also discussed in the interviews. Court documents, planning documents from municipal archives and news from media outlets were referred to during the interviews to give hints and to let the participant speak more freely.[38] This strategy was helpful in extracting deeper information on the relations and practices which were initially disguised and to develop the conversation, which overall was a delightful task.

In this study, the word *planner* is used to represent the planners with reference to the municipality in which they work in their direct quotations, and their names have not been revealed at their request. Therefore, they are named as Planner_AMM for the planner from Ankara Metropolitan Municipality and Planner_CD from the Cankaya District Municipality and Planner_YD from the Yenimahalle District Municipality. In addition, the Deputy Mayor of Çankaya District Municipality, Bugra Gokce, the Head of the Directorate of Construction Affairs of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, Omer Faruk Erciyes, and the Head of the Directorate of Construction Affairs of Yenimahalle District Municipality, Gulsum Karakas, each of whom have a planning background, were interviewed and are referred to as Deputy Mayor_CM, Directorate_AMM and Directorate_YM respectively. However, although the head of the Chamber of Urban Planners works as a planner, he was interviewed because of his position in CUP;

---

[38] Each interview with the key informants took at least 1 hour (except the Head of the Planning Department of the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality) whereas the interviews with users were approximately 20 minutes.

therefore he is referred to as Head_CUP. Similarly, the interviewed expert is also a planner and an academic, but is referred to as *expert.* Finally, lawyers of the process (Lawyer of CUP and CCCAA) were also interviewed and some of their archive was explored.

4.5.2. *Interviews with users*

The interviewees among the users were initially intended to be chosen from various age groups in each mall in order to generate a matching representation with the historical representation of the selected malls. When considering 20 years of mall experience in Ankara, three age groups were attempted to be chosen: the first group from those 40 years old and above, who had the chance of witnessing the period before and after the malls' existence as an active user of them.[39] The second group was from those between 20 and 40 years old who became active users with the emergence of malls and who could only have witnessed the pre-mall period as children. The last group is from those around the age of 20 and under, who have become active mall users recently and were born in an era when the mall phenomenon already existed and therefore have not witnessed the pre-mall period. Interacting through different age groups is also important because the different generations have their own normative values and practices due to the particular socio-economic and political-economic contexts within which they grow up (Vanderbeck, 2007). However, during the fieldwork the first-term representative, Galleria, could mostly provide respondents from the first age group of above 40 years old, whereas Armada and, to some degree, Kentpark provided a better mixture of the selected age groups. Therefore, it was not possible to find an equal number of interviewees from each group. However, this also became contributing data as a representative of the use of the malls, as the distribution sequence showed a similar structure to the popularity of the chosen malls.

Moreover, the questions for users were structured to reveal general perceptions towards public spaces, towards malls in general, and of all three of the selected malls, and particularly of the one where the interview was taking place. With this in mind, the questions were formulated starting from the public space and shopping mall notion, features of the location and the users' mall experience, then passing through the physical and social notions of the mall including issues such as security, publicness,

---

[39] An 'active user' refers to those who would be at least young adults when participating in the experience of the space via shopping.

leisure and design. Moreover, the final question for each interviewee was set in order to understand their perceptions of the 20-year mall experience in the country and the city of Ankara and its relationship to the selected cases and public spaces. In that regard, 20 interviews were completed with users. Nevertheless, it should also be kept in mind that during the interviews, both with users and key informants, the questions presented in the appendix are only representative of the main direction of the conversation, as ad hoc questions also emerged during the interview.

4.6 Analysis of the research

The analysis of the data also followed a similar pattern to the research process itself, with continuous forward and backward steps. In other words, seeking an answer to the main research question gave this study a start. However, in the actual process, the approach had to change with the emergence of new pieces of data and actors, which were analysed to be brought back into one piece to achieve an answer to a refined research question. Although the data gathered through pilot study, main fieldwork and literature review was continuously analysed, the body of the analysis became clearer after the analysis of the data from all fieldwork was completed. There, while some of the data clearly underpinned some of the initial assumptions of the research, other data patently questioned the validity of those assumptions. For instance, the interviews with users revealed that the public does not necessarily seek the qualities of full publicness of a space (contrary to as espoused in the literature section 3.4.2) in order to perceive locales as public space. However, the court documents and interviews with decision makers contributed a further aspect to the discussion where the actions of them are usually presented under the cover of public good through equating those actions (even if those end up with profit based private investments) with providing public services. Neither of these aspect had been fully expected by the researcher. There were 36 interviews, 16 with urban professionals and 20 with users of the selected malls were conducted; the municipal archive documents and documents provided by lawyers constituted the main framework for empirical study were analysed, to which media and visual sources also contributed. However, the fact that all empirical data was in Turkish was also a challenging condition. A lot of effort was put in to keep the authenticity of data while translating it into English, especially with the court

documents (containing *old Turkish*[40] due to having legal language in it) and interviews of the mall users, for some of whom the notion of publicness and the concept of public space was already ambivalent due to ambiguous meanings and cultural codes. In addition, to keep the balance with the researcher's subjectivity (by virtue of her background and knowledge) the interpretation of the data needed sensitive handling. Therefore, using a multiplicity of the sources with an interdisciplinary perspective became crucial.

The analysis of the interviews, especially of those with the key informants, was also rather delicate, not only because of the translation but also due to the process of coding in order to obtain patterns. Each interview provided a different and unique narrative; therefore, it was hard to discover similar patterns in some subjects. However, some common themes did emerge, including the desire to equate the provision of malls with that of providing a public service or good. On the other hand, the coding process of the user interviews was rather easier as there was not much of a different narrative provided by the participants and the questions were more structured.

As mentioned, this study is based on the enquiry of two main themes: urban power relationships and perceptions of contemporary public spaces. Therefore, as the research has three supplementary questions followed by objectives, the analysis of the empirical and material data led the empirical part of the research to develop into a three-fold path, based on two themes. Not only conducting an investigation on these themes but also doing it with a strong connection between the two was rather a delicate matter. Therefore, this research contains three empirical chapters, following that structure. The first one (Chapter 7) refers to the political dimension and actors involved in power relations. There, the data from the key informant interviews and relevant archive documents is used in relation to the literature and the background analysis of legislative and traditional conditions. The question answered here is: 'who are the real actors of planning practices and how do they engage in reality?', and providing a phronesis also set the scene via identifying actors, their roles, their relations to each other and the practical processes of urban development through the lenses of urban power.

---

[40] Here wat is meant by old Turkish is the legal parlance which uses some of its words from older language (some similar to Ottoman and some legal terminologies was hard to grasp due to this legal parlance condition.

Later, within the following chapter, the real practices are exemplified via selected cases. There, the actors that are identified and explored in the previous chapter is presented in action, the authentic documents (plan proposals, approvals and court documents) and interviews are used in discovering the answer to the second supplementary question: 'what are the conditions that characterise driving forces of power relations'. Analysis of the planning documents concurrently with an investigation of the court documents shed light upon the differences between formal processes (provided in Chapters 5 and 6) and praxis, and revealed each step of production; explicit and implicit forces behind in those steps.

The power relations that 'are too complex to be accounted' and are 'of a pre-modern kind that could not be defended publicly' (Flyvbjerg, 2002, p.2) were the main challenge in this study. This was because the antagonistic relations involved generate their own methods and tactics in dealing with struggles in situations involving profits. In addition, the individual relations and negotiations that are carried out outside formal processes are hard to track and nearly impossible to prove. Therefore, the court documents have been the guide to track those alliances and relations and attitudes between these two groups. There, every document and petition was explored, together with the consultancy sourced from assigned lawyers. In that regard, substantial information was gathered and assessed. However, even then, some information that could have been used was restricted. This was due to some of the interviewees' statements, especially one emphasising 'there is a lot more to tell but that cannot go into any kind of academic research, it is beyond that, these relations are beyond an academic investigation'.[41]

The third of the empirical chapters (Chapter 9) refers to the social dimension of the study with regard to spatial configuration reshaped by the actions of decision makers and therefore concerns on the response of both users and professionals for the selected cases. Here, the interviews of both key informants and users (user interviews, however, are the main driver) and comments from informal interactions are evaluated in relation to the researcher's observations to answer the question: 'How are perceptions of public and professionals influenced as a response to the actions of decision makers?'. The literature on the analysis of publicness and perception of retail spaces and public spaces (Chapter 3) and their relations with socially and politically

---

[41] This quotation is not credited at the respondent's request.

constructed social codes in relation to the built environment (Chapters 5–6) contributed to this part of the analysis added to the fieldwork analysis.

Finally, it can be said that this non-linear but spirally evolving research is achieved via various methods and approaches that are enriched along the way. Each step bred new dimensions and directions to be explored further. Therefore, while the research started with the aim of exploring the problem of distorted planning practices caused by power relations and its impacts on social perceptions, the investigation itself expanded the scope of the research while concurrently refining the problem. Within this process, as a consequence, the research needed to keep up to date with the changing legislative system and each relevant by-law, as well as following up with the continuing court processes and recent media stories. The figure below briefly depicts the research and analysis process:
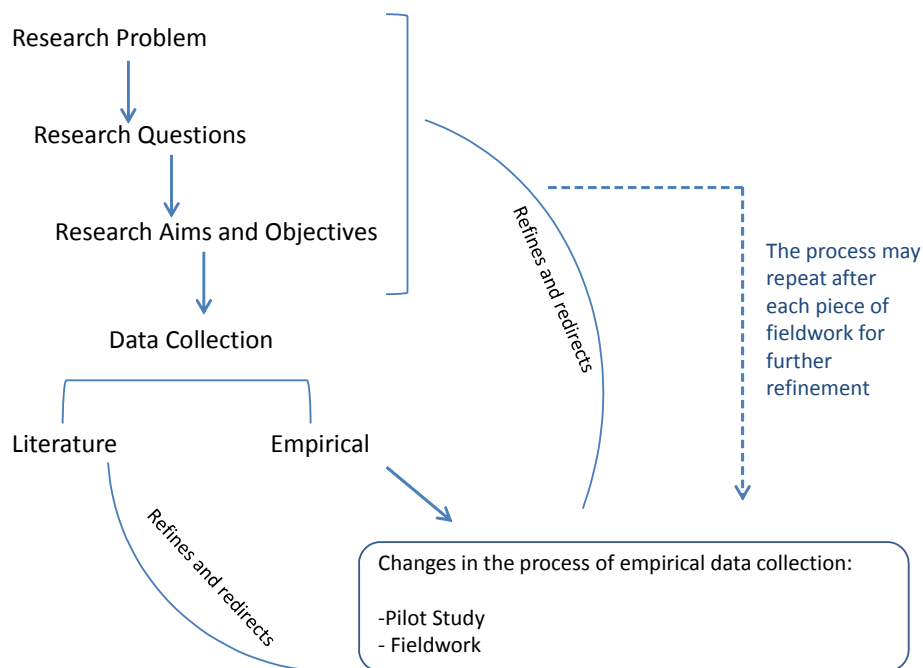
Figure 4.5. Research and analysis process

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter provided an insight into justifying the selection of the methodological approaches and research strategies. The qualitative approach was selected for this study due to the following summarised reasons (Silverman, 2001; Denzin and Lincoln, 2013; Flick, 2009; Diefenbach, 2009):

- To answer the question of 'what is going on here'
- To investigate the questions of 'how this is happening/operation and why'
- To encounter the matter at first hand

- The complexity of the study and its multi-dimensional focus
- The perspectives of the participants and their diversity
- The reflexivity of the researcher as data
- The data collection process as data

In addition, the chapter also revealed that the study of real-life experiences required empirical data via the conducting of case studies, which would enrich the research by presenting the *force of example* (Flyvbjerg, 2006). Moreover, the ambiguous conditions of power relations and making these the focus of the research require an inevitable process of learning from practice as another research strategy: phronesis (ibid.). The complexity of the matter (urban power relations and perception of contemporary public spaces) and the context (the Turkish context and Ankara in particular) demand different levels of emphasis in fieldwork by the interaction of various actors (in the case of this study it was one pilot study and two main pieces of fieldwork). The chapter also explained the process of the case selection and how the research questions were refined through the levels of the fieldwork, and how the relevant actors were determined. There, each level of the fieldwork revealed the subtle condition of power relations with greater visibility.

Furthermore, the chapter displayed the importance of developing unique tactics and research strategies throughout the research process. It became clear that, especially during fieldworks and interviews, this was a necessity due to the sensitivity of the of the matter of power relations (which are hidden and tacit in practice) and due to the positions and attitudes of the actors (some of whom were not willing to share real experiences and information, but rather provided the researcher with details of the existing formal and legislative procedures). However, that difficulty was used to the research's advantage by it being utilised as another piece of data. Finally, the chapter, apart from providing the main reasoning for the methods and research strategies used, presents the relationships of these methods and strategies with the research aim and questions and how the data is analysed to represent this relationship.

CHAPTER 5 - UNDERSTANDING OF PUBLIC SPACE IN TURKISH URBAN HISTORY

5.1. Introduction

National traditions and practices and international influences have formed and re-formed the urban areas of some contexts with similarities and dissimilarities to other contexts. As 'different societies produce their own kind of space' (Smith 1998), the production of space and its interrelated notions, to which Foucault refers and Soja echoes, needs an authentic investigation considering context's historical background including the social relations and social practices experienced, as well as physical assets.

With these merits, the following two chapters present an insight towards the notion of public space in relation to power relations and legislative grounds over a historical background in the Turkish context. The first of these two chapters addresses the understanding of public space, what it means for Turkish culture and how it has been transformed. Then, the exploration carries on through spatial grounds to urban planning endeavours. Later, the chapter draws attention to the legislative grounds of urban development in the late Ottoman period to bridge the gap with republican experiences of the today. Finally the chapter, while presenting the changing lifestyle and urban experience for the more recent period, also provides a deeper investigation of current legislations regarding urban development, public space and related concepts.

5.2. Turkish experience of public space: from traditional dynamics to globalised spatialisations

In Turkish culture the terms *public space* and *public sphere*, besides including ambiguities in their definitions, have been used as synonyms, and are mostly used to refer to governmental institutions and governmental places. This semantic difference has its roots in traditional practices which have evolved through history. Therefore, it is important first to explore the meanings and the spatialisations of public space, starting from the times of the Ottomans.

Important features in the culture – an Islamic background but a desire to adopt liberal policies – have followed the country's geographical position and have placed it between the East and the West, both in lifestyle and urban space. Although culturally and architecturally Ottoman society appeared to be inward-looking due to religious effects, social life was relatively outward-looking due to daily life and religious rituals, e.g. shopping and gathering in the mosque for prayers. In other respects, some researchers, like Tanyeli (2005) have emphasised the difficulties of transferring the meaning of *public* and *private* to Turkish, as the semantic labelling of those two terms have been different from western use. This is because according to him there was no need for such descriptions of 'public' or 'private'. It is because as life and spatial configurations were dependent on the layers of privacy and the sense of community, and thus the exact translation did not exist in the language. For instance, while explaining 'private', most of the attempts focused on *hususi* or *has*, which in some cases might refer to 'special' or 'features'; and 'privacy' translated as *halvet* which would mean 'secluded' or 'to be alone with' (Redhouse 1884; Kanar 2011). Moreover, for 'public' the focus was mostly upon *amm*, *amme* or *umum*, which could refer to 'general', 'people', 'folk', 'whole' or 'common' (Turkish Language Institution web site; Kanar 2011), and state and its institutions (Tanyeli 2005). Thus, it has been a struggle to create new terms to fulfil the meaning of 'public' and 'private' due to their connotations, while also it has been an effort to construct the realities of public and private similar to the western understanding (ibid). However, the emerging necessity to comprehend these notions within the global arena and within capitalist restructuring came forward, when the aspiration of building a new, modern and democratic republic appeared in 1923. There, although a new terminology was gradually introduced (public sphere: *kamusal alan*; public space: *kamusal mekan*), the understanding of 'publicness' as a principle could not have an effective place within the language and political culture (Ozbek 2010). For instance, the words *umum* and *kamu*, each of which have been used as a replacement for public, also have had the connotation of 'in front of everyone' and 'state' respectively. Thus, the notion of public space has found its place somewhere between these two different understandings in daily life, instead of specifying a space which is also socially constructed by the public aiming fair accessibility.

Another important notion to determine the relationship of public and private at the time was ownership at those times all investments and land ownership belonged to the

state[42]. In addition, holding private ownership would not, in reality, make the property fully private since the empire had the authority to intervene or to put restrictions on anything, thus had the ultimate power. The lack of legal adjustments over ownership issues like parcelling plans or other legal adjustments also led the public itself to have a relaxed perception about the terms. To illustrate, 'the proprietor who widened his ground or occupied an area of the street did not think that he was stealing from the public. In a culture where the 'public' was not defined, such a concern was consequently irrelevant' (Tanyeli 2005: 214). Hence, generations of informality over urban land presents that little attention has been paid to it since those times.

Furthermore, regarding spatial configuration, it can be said that typical traditional Turkish cities have been built including two main zones: the retail zone and the residential neighbourhood zone (*mahalle*) (Inalcik and Ari 2005). The first zone not only represents the externalities of the city, but also the main stage of public life (Kia 2011) and thus the main hub for networking and commuting. However, on a macro scale, this zone was also the site for display of power by the sultans (especially for rebuilding of conquered urban lands) through architecture and construction, i.e. building magnificent market places and religious institutions (including mosques and religious teaching buildings i.e. *medrese*). The second zone consists of *mahalles*, containing more inward-oriented configurations, such as residential areas built around religious institutions.

---

[42] In some cases the ownership and the investment might be gathered under a *vakıf* (a traditional association); yet still, although at first they might seem to be holding a non-governmental status, they also belonged to the palace/state.

LEGEND

🟥	Commercial areas
🟧	Mosque
🟫	Public Institutions (i.e. Post office)
🟦	Health Facilities (for the given examples only *hamam* is visible
🟦	Education Facilities (old *medrese*, primary school)
🟩	Residential areas (*mahalles*)
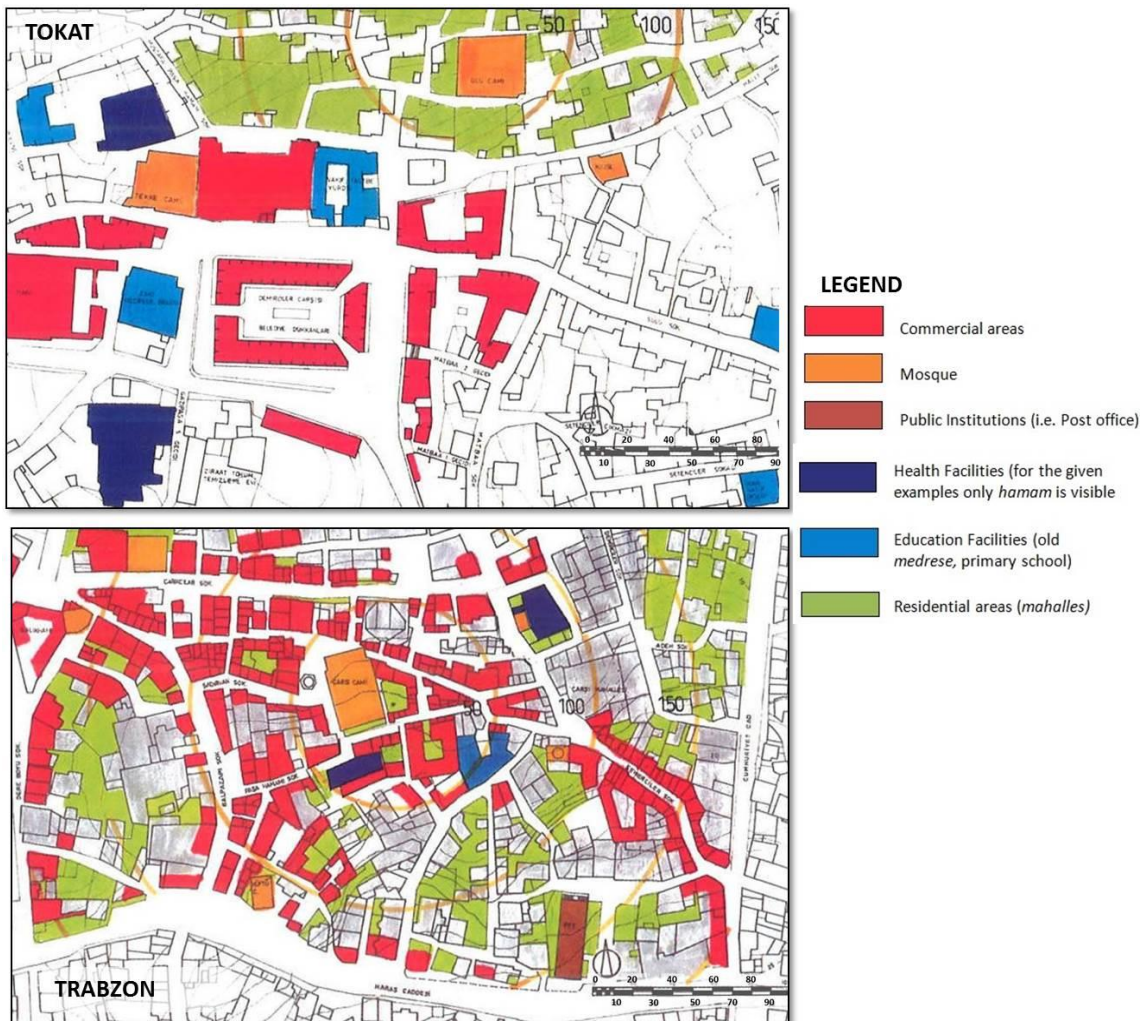
Figure 5.1. Traditional Turkish-Anatolian urban space; the relation of the market zone with neighbourhood zone

Source: Aru 1998: 188-192 (above: the city of Tokat; below: the city of Trabzon)

Figure 5.1 represents the spatial relations of the market place including traditional commercial structures, i.e. retail spaces (*hans* and *bedestens*) and religious institutions as these two were the hub of public life. The *mahalles* enfolded this main nucleus with their organic structure.

5.2.1. Public spaces of the late Ottomans

The religious places (mosques, *medreses* – religious schools) and the atriums of those (which usually include a *şadırvan/çeşme* – a fountain) Figure 5.2 ; and the retail spaces (i.e. open market places, bazaars, *hans, kervansarays-hostels*, *kahvehanes*-coffee houses, *hamams*-public bath) that usually evolves around religious structures Figure 5.3, can also be considered as traditionally representative of public space.

> "Always established as a pious foundation, an imaret consisted of religious and charitable institutions such as mosque, *medrese, mekteb*, hospice and hospital

on the one hand and mercantile establishments such as *bedestan (bezzazistan)*, caravanserai (*kervansaray*), *han*, covered bazaars, market places on the other. The latter group was designed to provide for the expenses of the former" (Inalcik, 1978: 208)

Figure 5.2. Public life around the *çeşme* around the late 19th century and early 20th century and market place in Tophane, where also the big *çeşme* and a big mosque were located (1839)

Source: Library of Congress A – left; Boyar and Fleet, 2010:164 – right
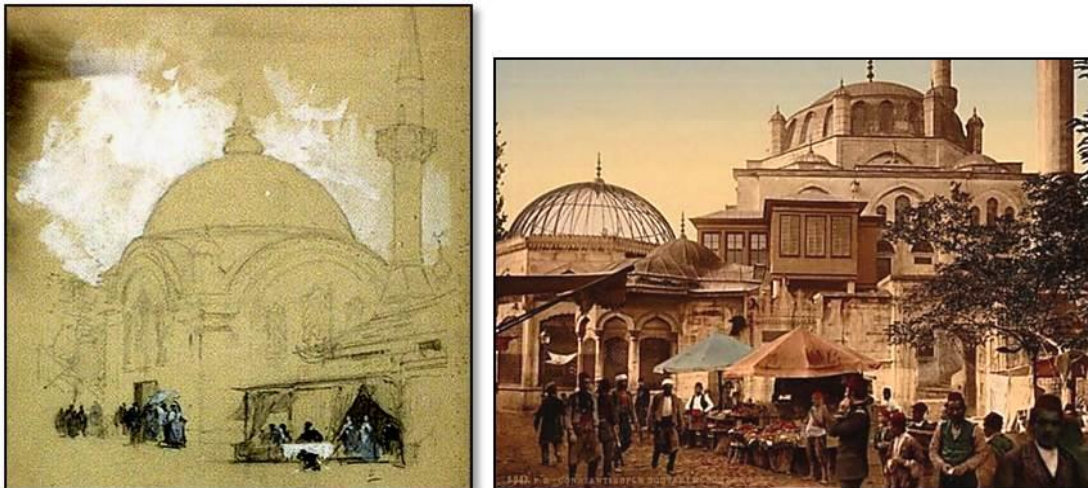
Figure 5.3. Commercial activity set around mosque through temporary stalls of late 19th century

Source: Library of Congress C – left and D – right

Public life mostly occurred around the religious institutions and people gathered in those religious places to talk, to look for their relatives, to receive news and greetings, to gossip or to complain about the sultan (Boyar and Fleet 2010). Thus, those places took the active role of public space; the level of 'publicness' was high, although it was male-dominated as the men were already committed to go there to pray every day.

"In the immediate vicinity of the mosque there were shops of all types, selling clothes, shoes and *fezes*, as well as itinerant barbers, bird sellers, and purveyors of all types of food-kebab sellers, those selling *ayran* (a drink made of yogurt) and lemonade sellers" (ibid: 152–153) (Figure 5.4).

91

In addition, during religious festivals such as Ramadan or the Sultan's welcoming in Friday prayers, the atriums of the mosques could be used for ceremonies or commercial activities, as well through erecting stalls for several kinds of trading. This was quite different from the western experience of the relationship between religion and commerce. However, there are also similarities in the relationship of the religious space, market and public space triangle between eastern and western cultures. As Zukin states, these 'socially constructed spaces … [were] inextricably bound up with local communities' and some of the 'local markets occupied a specific place and time, usually in front of the *church* on festive days' (1991: 6, emphasis added).

Figure 5.4. Street barbers (1890) and food sellers on the street (1890–1900)
Source: Library of Congress E – left and F – right

The *kahvehanes* and the *hamams* (Figure 5.5) (introduced to the capital in the late 16th century, and have become highly popular after that) have also been another source of attraction not only for public life and providing public spaces but also for a good source of investment, as those were the places that people spent most of their time: 'Indeed, coffee and tobacco took up so much of people's time that, according to one poem, people found they had no time left to pray' (Boyar and Fleet 2010: 190). Again, this can also be compared to contemporary use of coffee shops in society, where people spend a significant amount of their time.
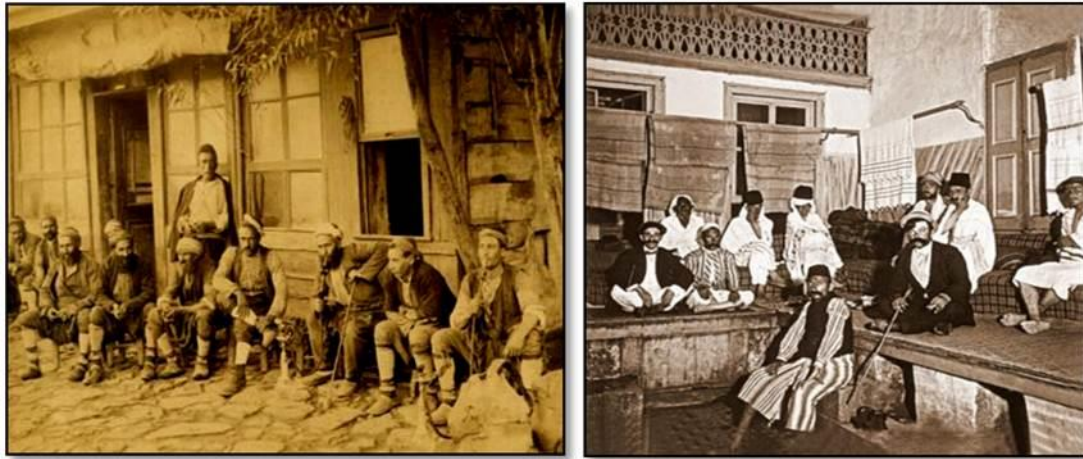
Figure 5.5. Traditional *kahvehane*; men gathering, smoking and drinking coffee- late 19th century; the cooling room of a *hamam*, 1900

Source: Library of Congress G; http://www.ottomanhistorypodcast.com/

The *hamams* were not mere washing places as they contributed greatly to social life and were the places for traditional rituals (e.g. the traditional washing of a bride, and washing of a baby on its fortieth day) (Boyar and Fleet 2010). Those places were the sites of social encounters outside the ordinary immediate circle of one's existing environment; there one could also eat, play music and dance.

However, not only Islamic rule but also the state-based juridical system and *vakıf*s (religious foundations peculiar to the Ottomans that still survives) generated differences from the western public space experience (Inalcik 1978; Aksit 2009). The *vakıfs* contributed to daily public life by investing in publicly used structures in nearly every part of social life: providing education, housing, medical treatment, washing (through installing or owning public baths/*hamams*) and even providing food for some cases was done by the *vakıfs* or the establishments owned by them:

> They went shopping in *vakıf* shops, they prayed in *vakıf* mosques, and the physical features of their city were to a very great extent shaped by the *vakıf* … could consist of property, shops, *hamams*, caravansarays or agricultural land, or they could be cash *vakıfs* (Boyar and Fleet 2010: 129)

93
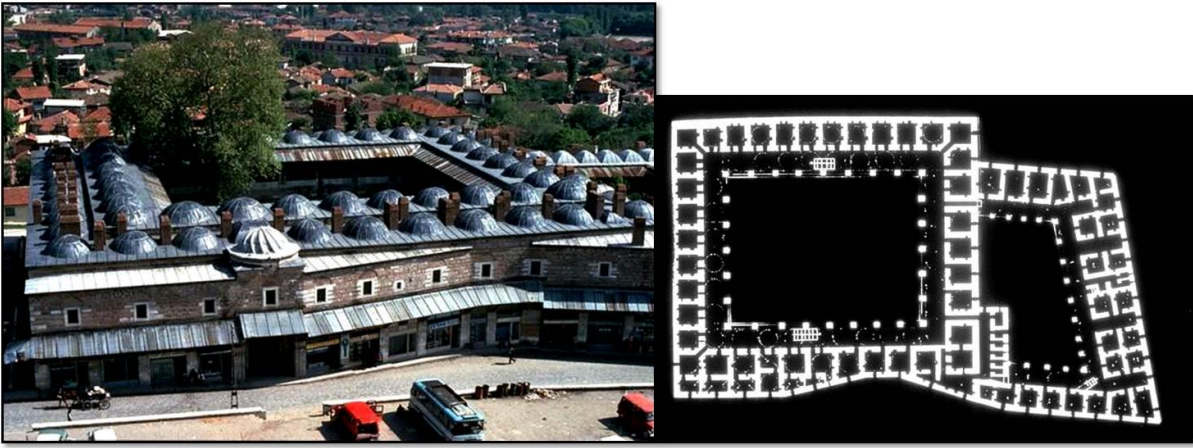
Figure 5.6. An example from a typical *han* structure: Rustem Pasha Han in Edirne, constructed in the 16th century and restored in the 20th century

Source: http://archnet.org/library/sites/one-site.jsp?site_id=84

Furthermore, the covered bazaars and market places (considered as the first example of shopping malls) have been another important place for public life. These, usually have very similar design configurations in Muslim cities, even if those places belong to different countries, due to the impacts of Islamic urbanism (Keles 2012). These may also be compared to contemporary shopping malls, where it is difficult to distinguish one mall from another due to the impacts of globalisation. Some of the examples of historical bazaars and market places still survive (Figure 5.6) i.e. Grand Bazaar in Istanbul.

5.2.2. *Publicness in residential (mahalle) area and representation*

Apart from these central public spaces, residential neighbourhoods also had their own levels of publicness and privacy with regard to the architectural design of the houses and configuration of *mahalles*. Starting from residential areas, *mahalles* and *semts* (districts), the public spaces and the levels of privacy and publicness became visible through cultural and religious traditions. Within the scale of mahalle some of the public spaces as stated previous section can also be visible but at a smaller scale. Behar (2003) used Kasap Ilyas Mahalle as an example to reflect the above-mentioned conditions of *mahalles*, where the mosque and hamam were the two places for residents to gather together or to become involved in social encounters, as the *mahalle* did not have squares and the streets were not able to provide bigger social spaces to trade or to communicate.

> "The Istanbulites, in their public life, often saw their *mahalle* as a direct extension of their untouchable individual private space, of their inner personal domain. The doorstep, their (often dead-end) street, and their *mahalle* were indeed

94

transitional stages between their private and public spheres of activity" (Behar 2003: 23–24)

Moreover, the representation of genders in Islamic countries has also long since attracted attention in relation to public spaces. Aksit (2009) relates the issue of publicness, public space and public sphere through the absence of the women in those spaces[43] and the transformation in the public education with same regard. In addition, Boyar and Fleet also portrayed the status of the women in public life: 'women were sometimes prohibited from wandering round openly in the markets among the men' (2010: 172). However, this was not always the case, as there were female shoppers, especially in the Grand Bazaar and other places, yet during Ottoman period to the early Republican period there was a clear lack of representation of women. The separation was started in the first meeting place: the house. The traditional Ottoman house was designed to reflect different levels of privacy, where the private rooms of the house would be connected to a common atrium, which would then be linked to the entrance of the house, and outsiders (guests) would be welcomed in the separate parts of that entrance depending on their gender and relation to the host (*haremlik* and *selamlik*). Even the windows of the houses were mostly inward-looking, and few looked outwards and were positioned in a way to not to abuse the privacy of the residents of neighbouring houses.

Due to above mentioned lack of fair representation of public in public space the inclusive and exclusive role of public spaces has become a debate. Conversely, Mahcupyan (1998) criticised 'western-style public space' and stated that the public spaces in the West led to social exclusion and alienation because, for him, the western societies set the individual as the basis of society. Turkish-Ottoman public spaces in contrast are portrayed as the 'real' ones by him, because the culture would never put the individual before society, and the relationships in society are based on loyalty and helpfulness, and a sense of community (ibid.). He also criticises the westernisation policy of the Turkish Republic after the dissolution of the empire, stating that this approach formed an authoritarian public space which monopolised public space through the state (ibid: 26). However, it should be kept in mind that the traditional public spaces appraised by Mahcupyan had been Muslim male-dominated and were inclusive mostly for such persons. Therefore, above criticism, based on appraising the religion,

---

[43] Here 'space' not only means the physical notions of space, but also political representation as well as social representation to refer to this absence.

95

would not provide enough justification of the lack of representation of the public (especially women) and limiting approaches implemented against them.

5.2.3. *The first steps of the transformation of public space and representation of public in public space*

After becoming a republic, the first attempts of inclusion were put through reforming public education aiming to include women by educating them in community centres, though even after that aim was put in act substantial number remained excluded. This was because children were not allowed in community centres and therefore mothers became intrinsically excluded (Aksit 2009). Furthermore, another important matter with regard to public space, gender, religion and the state, which over time form public perceptions, was regarding the change in the religious dress code. In the republican period (the early 20th century) the religious headscarf was banned from the public sphere, a sphere which did not have a clear description. Although this experience started to aim at equality for all through promoting a non-religious dress code (i.e. the headscarf and similar items of dress like the *fes*), it later became a restriction only concerning the headscarf in public institutions, due to the *fes* being quickly abandoned because it was not perceived as religious. This restriction on the headscarf, and women wearing a headscarf, has long been at the centre of discussions on public space, which still survive, and once reached to the European Court of Human Rights. Lately, owing to the policy of the conservative government (AKP), the restriction has been withdrawn. The discussion over the headscarf with reference to state institutions, which already had a meaning connoting public sphere and public space, highlighted the different perceptions about those spaces and for a long while public spaces were either directly related to state institutions or the headscarf in the perception of the public.

Although establishment of new republic and the secularist mentality were seen as the only reason of change, they were not the only reasons for the creation of western-style urban space, as the attempts towards modernisation and imitation of the West emerged during the late Ottoman period. For instance, refurbishing streets, constructing architecturally western-style public buildings and institutions, and street lighting were some of the reforms which appeared in the eastern Balkan region of the empire, which was considered as the reformation of public space (Sahara 2011). Those changes also happened as a result of municipal modifications which provided

new patterns of development. For instance, improving urban space through developing public spaces, enlarging the streets[44] and enhancing the quality of the pavements, maintaining the market places, and furnishing the cities with 'parks, fountains, and new Western-style public buildings' (Sahara 2011: 47) were carried out via legislative changes to support those developments. Nevertheless, in large cities, other land uses also emerged as the new face of 'modern':

> "This was a century of innovation ... came new forms of entertainment, the dance halls, the European theatres and the sea *hamams*, but these innovations were modelled, changed, smoothed and eased into a comfortable Ottoman version ...
>
> While many innovations were thus 'Ottomanised', other aspects of society were changed in a more radical sense. Muslim women became freer, and those from upper echelons of society became more educated, had foreign governesses, spoke French and played the piano. But the communication between the sexes was still conducted within strict boundaries, and women still wore veils, even if they were thin" (Boyar and Fleet 2010: 281, 285, emphases in the original)

During the reforms of *Tanzimat*,[45] the empire became more firmly based on capitalism. This was especially reflected in the lifestyles of the elites[46] of the time, who were living in Istanbul and were already trying to adapt to western lifestyles and generate an admiration for them. By that time, Istanbul had all the economic, politic and socio-cultural attention as the capital and the representative city of the empire. Thus, the city was the first to carry out major alterations together with the pursuit of integration with the West. In addition, it was at the time of the *Tanzimat* period when the matter of private property and ownership adjustments gained a sounder basis in law and the determination of the difference between private and public was set, which then made 'an appropriate capitalist description of private property' possible (Tanyeli 2005: 218). This triggered a shift from traditional approaches to urban land. In that respect, new expectations emerged against the existing spatial structuring, and new land uses like parks and recreation areas for socialisation needs were demanded. This also challenged the traditional conservative balance between private and public.

In the later period of the empire, the first comprehensive legislation regarding urban space came in 1848: *Ebniye Nizamnamesi* (Regulation of Buildings), which was

---

[44] Ottoman urban spaces typically had an organic structure with very narrow roads and wooden houses close to each other, thus fire hazards resulted in numerous destroyed buildings, and this structure also limited the fire service when entering the streets. Thus, widening streets and improving their quality by municipal legislation and encouraging the construction of masonry buildings were important.
[45] The reformation period which started in 1839.
[46] The royal members of the empire, businessmen, tradesmen-merchants (including foreign people who came from the West to conduct business relations).

prepared with Istanbul particularly in mind. This law was followed by another in 1864: *Ebniye ve Turuk* (Buildings and Roads), which had the main purpose of generating a modern capital city similar to Western cities through attempts at remodelling (Ersoy 1992: 336). In addition, the *Ebniye Kanunu* (Building Law) enacted in 1882 was the other (and the last) comprehensive piece of legislation enacted in that period. Each of these laws, while providing some rules for the width of the streets and the height of the buildings, had the aim of providing a safer environment against fire hazards, caused by the traditional structure of the neighbourhoods where the buildings were wooden and the roads were overly narrow for anyone to intervene.

The changes and adaptation of western approaches to urban land-use patterns and the transformation to 'modern' have paved the way for the dissolution of the organic structure of the traditional urban pattern piece by piece. Due to these changes, the period bred new urban spaces which looked alike and had few distinctive characteristics. Although Istanbul had the privilege of having particular building regulations, the legislation and its practice were not enough to manage the development of urban spaces. Possible future impacts were not taken into consideration; for instance, a potential sudden increase in population or other impacts of industrialisation on the urban land was not thought thoroughly, and therefore could not be eliminated. This was because the driving forces of these attempts either spurred from the desires of the political elites of the time or emerged due to the hazardous conditions of the existing urban structure. With this basis, the struggle of the political elites at either central or local government has evolved by forming its own new patterns of power plays over time and has generated ambiguous perceptions over the conceptualisation of public space.

5.3. Contemporary Turkey and the experience of public space: actors and powers of urban politics

The analysis of the urban politics of Turkey has long been explained through periods of prevailing economic development and changes in the country, which represent the turning points of Turkish political and economic structure with a consequential impact on urban space. While, for some, these periods can be characterised in accordance with the urban planning experience of Turkey as a modernisation project (Tekeli 2000), for others these periods represent an experience of urbanisation in relation to fluid

political and economic conditions (Sengul 2003; Isik and Pinarcioglu 2001), meaning significant economic and political changes. However, simply put, these may be summarised into five periods. The first period starts with late Ottoman times (the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century); the second period refers to the experience of the new republic and the modernisation of the new nation (1923–1950); the third period (1950–1980) saw the inception of multi-party politics, when at the same time rapid urbanisation due to industrialisation and labour power took place and extensive migration from rural areas to urban space occurred, generating new problems on urban land (squatter areas); and the fourth period is from 1980 onwards is considered as being one of the most significant turning points of the country's economic and social structure. Finally, after the 1980s, the dominance of neo-liberal policies generated a completely new urban landscape. Although there are many pieces of research focusing on the post-1980 period, there is very little detailed investigation to consider the very recent period after 2000, which has generated even more significant and aggressive changes in urban space influencing on public space and public perception over these spaces.

Among the researches focused on post 80s period, Sahin (2007) provided further periods with regard to urban politics of the country. According to him, the first period 1980–1984 represented the entry of foreign capital for new developments while practising neo-liberal policies; 1985–1989, introduction of large- scale projects with the support of the conservative government; 1989–1994, readjustments within the municipality system, with the further development of neo-liberal policies and the revival of personal/informal networking in urban politics and new clientelist relations; 1994–2002, city reform, concerning 'urban bosses' as brokers of political mobilisation in metropolitan areas; 2002 onwards, 'de(re)construction' of the dilapidated capital city, which was incapable of being integrated into the global system, and further restructuring by the new conservative government (ibid.).

However, the period of 2002 onwards needs separate attention, as after this time[47] the country has faced numerous sudden and significant changes both at the national and local levels, which clearly have had strong impacts on urban space, and thus urban public space. This contemporary period, although claimed to have better economic indicators for the country, saw significant changes in the legislative system, at both

---

[47] The conservative government (AKP) came to power on their own in 2002 after years of coalition regimes.

national and local levels, as well as in the urban planning structure and witnessed increased amounts of privatisation and vast urban transformation projects, most of which resulted in commodification of urban land.

5.3.1. *The neo-liberal transformation: from new republican period to post-republican period and legislative grounds*

The new republic and the modernisation of the new nation (1923–1950)

The changes that occurred during late Ottoman period continued with the establishment of the Turkish Republic by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk in 1923, with significant and accelerated reforms in the country. Changes in the alphabet (from using Arabic letters for Turkish language to the Latin alphabet), in the dress code (putting the veil and *fes* aside) and the initiation of state enterprises in the industrial sector were undertaken in order to create a new modern country. Many reforms were implemented in nearly every aspect of life, aiming to form a new country that could be cleansed from its highly inward-looking and bigoted lifestyle. After the capital was moved to Ankara, the representative and superior role of Istanbul had also to shift to Ankara. There were three main reasons behind that move. First of all, the location of Ankara was geographically more central compared to Istanbul, thus provided better security both on political and military grounds. Second, accessibility to and communication with the rest of the country were considered to be easier due to its central location. Finally, the liberation struggle and revolution attempts had originated in Anatolia (Asia Minor), free from the government in Istanbul who had bowed to foreign governments during the Ottoman Empire's period of decline. Thus, Ankara, due to this new role, had to face a significant amount of change first. Establishment of the parliament and public institutions, and new comprehensive plans for the new capital with a German[48] approach also started to change the appearance of the city from a small Anatolian town to a modern capital of a new nation.

---

[48] The initial planning attempts for Ankara were carried out by German architects and some of the legal codes were adopted from the German style.
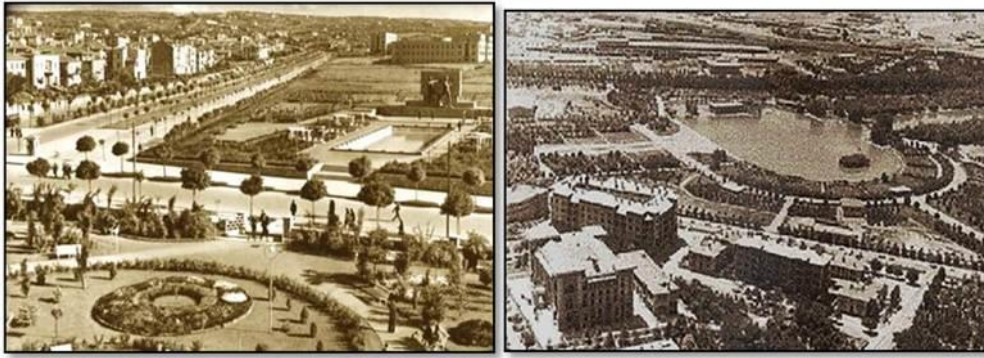
Figure 5.7. Early republican public spaces from the 1930s: Kizilay Garden-Park, Guven Park, central axis towards new city and the new parliament and Genclik Parki designed with in the first plans of Ankara by Herman Jansen
Source: Batuman, 2009: 45; Yapi 2009

In addition, as mentioned, 'public space' and 'public sphere' were used as synonyms without realising the inherent roots of the ideas, and this added to the statist perspective, where form and rules came forth and contributed to the generation of formalist approaches and underpinned the connotative meaning of public space. For example, the planning of the new capital and the undertaking of urban design projects including squares were designed initially to generate a form that would represent the new republican country, instead of providing spaces generated by societies in respect of their needs and level of publicness and privateness in their values (Carr et al. 1992). Moreover, in the case of Turkey, the shift was not only a simple capital city shift or one from an empire to a republic; it was also a shift in the way of life, and rearrangement of privateness and publicness, which were visible through the new politics and initially through the design of the new capital. Here, the representation of traditional public life that proceeded around the religious structures were replaced with open parks and squares, some of which included monuments (Figure 5.7, left: Guvenpark – meaning 'trustpark[49]' – with a monument, suggested by the Austrian architect C. Holzmeister); a statue of Ataturk to provide a new representation of the new republic and the statist understanding of this republic (Figure 5.8). Moreover, this period, while using the elements of 'visible politics' (Uluengin and Turan, 2005: 384) in architecture and urbanism to form new modern urban spaces could not provide deep-rooted principles for it. In that process, some of the symbols of the West like the dress code, leisure activities and lifestyles were perceived as the most important notions to illustrate

---

[49] Symbolising the trust of the citizens in the police and the military; representing the independence struggle including Ataturk and other important figures of the time; with villagers and farmers as representative of production and including a quotation from Ataturk)

western life (ibid). Therefore, the transformation of lifestyle appeared without having inherent roots regarding spaces.
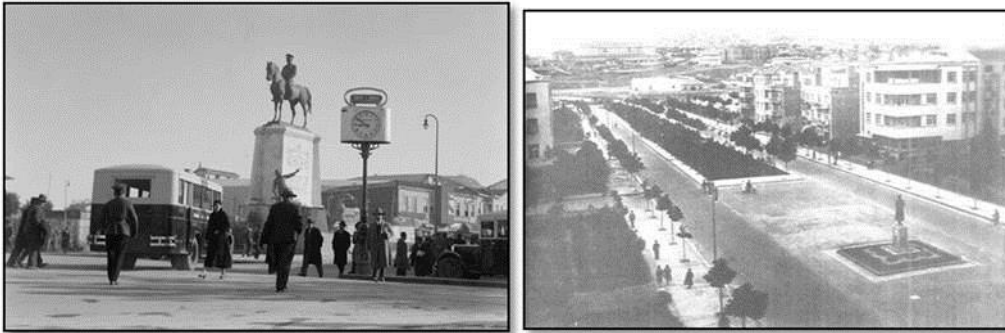
Figure 5.8. Squares built during the initial period of the Republic (Lochrer Plan) in Ulus Square and Zafer Square (both with an Ataturk statue from the 1930s)
Source: Library of Congress H; Aydin et al, 2005: 407

This modernising project and the generation of a new capital also contributed to the confusion over public space being the public sector's space. Due to significant emergence of public institutions and governmental and military interventions over public spaces, there were some obstacles 'to think of a public space out of state control' (Tanyeli 2005: 206). This understanding is still in place. Nevertheless, the manipulation of the urban space with statist attitudes in the republican period has been fed by the traditional religious background and perceptions, and has become definitive over the perception and use of public space. Therefore, various uses and perceptions appeared some of which could lead to discrimination, depending on the location and perception of the dominant user groups. For instance, different dress codes might have different level of appropriateness in different public space locations, while in some districts women can dress in a freer way than in some other districts of the same city, where such clothes may not be welcomed. Similarly, the coexistence and levels of affinity of the two genders may also not be welcome, depending on the location, which still exist. A recent example experienced by the researcher and another British academic in Ankara in a park located in Hacibayram,[50] where they were warned by private security guards saying because of resting on the grass next to each other that clearly disturbed the religious women stalling around and gazing on; whereas the same behaviour was welcome in some other districts of Ankara like Tunali[51]. Thus, freedom of the public in

---

[50] Hacibayram is a quite religious area in the old centre of Ankara, next to the Ankara citadel.
[51] Tunali is located towards the new centre of the city

public spaces and 'publicness' may have different limits through these unwritten location- and tradition-based conditions.

Nevertheless, within the period 1923–1950, which represents the single-party period, where there was 'absolute control by central government', two laws were enacted in 1930: the Municipality Law (law no. 1580) and *Umumi Hifzissihha Kanunu* (Public Sanitation Law). The Municipality Law mainly required street layout plans for settlements to establish administrations for local governments. The second law stipulated that municipalities had to prepare city layouts within three years, if they had a population over 20,000. Later, in 1933,[52] the 'Building and Roads Law' was enacted by taking a German example and aimed to form an 'ideal city' for all urban areas, which later become a regulation focusing only on the physical configuration of buildings and roads (Ersoy 1992, 2011). However, starting from that period onwards, urbanisation and urban planning started to be perceived merely as municipalism, as the municipalities were the main tools of the urban development.

Multi-party politics and rapid urbanisation period (1950–1980)

Due to the internal political conditions of the country until 1946 the nation was governed by a single-party system. Although that may be perceived as undemocratic, the consideration of the adoption of new principles and reforms, especially for a newly founded republic, proves that even the single-party regime was able to initiate many important ideas regarding democratisation for its time.[53] However, by the mid-1940s the single-party regime started to fail to meet people's needs, and added to the effects of World War II and internal disagreements within the governing party (CHP, Republican People's Party), this led to splits in the party and the generation of new political perspectives. As a result of this, by 1946 the multi-party system was accepted.

This period, which was called the 'urbanisation of labour power' by Sengul (2003), was another important threshold for the country, as massive immigration from rural areas to urban space started at this time, owing to modernisation attempts in the agricultural sector and entering the industrialisation period. In this period, the existing urban areas were not able to provide sufficient urban land for the newcomers; thus, informal settlements emerged. The undeveloped and particularly the peripheral areas of the

---

[52] After this law, nearly half of the municipalities prepared their plans, although they were long-term; however, the majority of them had not been implemented.
[53] For example, enfranchisement of women was adopted in 1934, even before some European countries.

urban sites became the main settlements for the newcomers and for their *gecekondu*[54].
However, this was not just a matter of change at the built environment level; the change
was also felt at the cultural and political levels, as this overwhelming number of people
was seen as potential voters, both on the national and local scales, and their informal
settlements became a new tool to be manipulated by the politicians. This new
experience of urban land, together with the unstable economic conditions of the
country, contributed to the immense growth of urban land rent as well (Oncu 1988).
Urban land started to become the main tool of the urban political actors, and the
possible benefit to be gained out of it (either electoral gain or investment) became the
centre of power relations of the urban actors.

Nevertheless, the transformation to a multi-party system did not create significant
change with respect to the local–central government relationship or in building a
democratic path for local administration. Although the local governments were seen as
an essential principle of a democratic system, this was not the case in reality. The
central government was still authorised to approve the selected head of the city council
revealing that the perception of local governments as the 'provincial organisation' of
the state remained (Ersoy 1992: 327).

By the 1950s, state control of the economy was abandoned and liberal economic
policies were introduced. A new Urban Development Law (*Imar Kanunu*, no.6785) was
also enacted during this time (in 1956). This new law gave planners and municipalities
substantial flexibility in providing detailed solutions through by-laws (Ersoy 1992).
However, although the basis of the by-laws was to improve the local characteristics of
the municipalities, the regulations were adopted without introducing local novelties. A
new device, the *plan note*[55], which later became a planning tradition, was also
introduced to the Turkish planning system with this new legislation (ibid), enabling the
generation of greater power than the legislation itself. In addition, due to perceiving
planning merely as land parcel adjustment, the urban development experience in the
country was stereotyped without considering local differences. Thus, improving urban
land as a commodity became the main aim, rather than aiming for harmonised urban
development. Even though the law was revised in 1972, the revision did not provide
significant changes and the compliance to the urban politics remained. As Ersoy put it:

---

[54] *Gecekondu* is the name of the informal settlements in the country, literally meaning 'built in a night'.
[55] Planning notes are particular notes and need to be presented with the plan proposal and in the report of the plan, and which in some cases confer higher validity than relevant legislation.

'the tendency belongs not to the law but to political factors on the one hand, and to the administration and related bureaucrats and technocrats on the other' (1992: 339).

Moreover, the post-1960s period witnessed the corporate representation of central and local administration significantly: mayors were appointed by central government and municipal councils were appointed via elections. Thus, mayors became the agents of central government and councils were the powerful actors (Ersoy 2001). In this period, the big interest groups were supported by the central government and the local-level entrepreneurs; thus investors gained their support through their level of agency and relationship. Political ideologies were also influential: shifts from social democratic views to liberal ones, then to conservative-liberal views, have had successive impacts on the built environment, and on the structure of urban development.

The dominance of neo-liberal policies: urban space as the site of investment during 1980-2000

The year 1980 was another milestone for the country and for the urban planning experience, which guided the country to a further liberalisation through the application of neo-liberal policies to the economic development of the country via the consultancy of the IMF and the World Bank. Within this period, the country faced reconstitution in both the political and economic arenas while preparing to embrace the global capitalism mentality. In addition, deindustrialisation occurred, and the private and public sectors had to redirect their investments from industry. As a result, capital accumulation found new directions in which to invest. Therefore, built environment and the construction sector started to get most of the attention (Sengul 2003). In addition, after the military coup in 1980, the party subsequently elected (ANAP, the Motherland party, holding a centre-right position) aimed for further liberalisation and privatisation, and won two consecutive elections, ruling the country alone without the need for a coalition during the period 1983–1991. This resulted in using monopoly power and eased the process of enacting new legislation. The start of the 2000s also demonstrated a similar pattern, when the Justice and Development Party (AKP) came to power without the need for a coalition, and the built environment, as urban space, became a new source of economic rent.

The sub-periods after 1980 were investigated by some researchers (Balaban 2012; Sahin 2007) with regard to the built environment; the political and economic conditions of the country in these periods are summarised in Table 5.1. After 1980s, consequently,

the economy became more market-oriented and liberal, and allowed foreign investors to create corporations with national firms via building partnerships. In the meantime, the country became attracted to new consumerist styles in society and in the built environment. This was the discovery of *urban populism*, brought into Turkish politics by ANAP (Keyder and Oncu 1994), which had the aim of driving forward short-term interests while ignoring long-term needs or sustainable approaches (Tekeli 2001). The commodification of the built environment increased further and urban development tools were used to generate a better commodity in which to invest more. Power relations were also in a transitional period: 'dominant interest groups have been articulated with the traditional forms of representation by using new channels' (Sengul 1993 cited in Ersoy 2001), i.e. urban planning. Thus, urban planning and networking power 'became big business' (ibid). For instance, through significant privatisation efforts, urban planning was gathered into new forms: increasing municipal revenues, renewal projects, clearance projects[56] for the squatter (*gecekondu*) areas and bringing in new planning authorities, as well as new regulations (i.e. metropolitan municipalities and regulations specified for and by them) and new ways of state housing funding (TOKI[57]) became the drivers of the period and transformed cities into investment arena. Therefore, the urban lands became a commodity and the citizens became the consumers of those spaces.

---

[56] Within the clearance projects, the dwellers of *gecekondu* were able to convert houses into multi-storey apartments through private negotiations that would be in both sides' interests. This was also a kind of amnesty project for them, which in turn became a new tradition and motto of the time: 'build even if it's unofficial, it will somehow get formalised anyway'.
[57] More detail can be found in appendix on TOKI

	Main Features	**Driving Forces**	
1983-1993 ANAP Government (Motherland Party)	Construction boom (especially in housing sector) with state support	New legislations regarding to built environment High incentives in the production of built environment Economic restructuring (new economic policies - liberalisation)	"Selective decentralisation of planning powers" (Balaban, 2008, 284)
1994-2003 Coalition Governments	Standstill and decline in the construction sector	Several economic crisis (major ones in 1994; 1998; 2000; 2001) Increased interests in credits Increased costs of production Economic instability State withdrawal in production of built environment Two big earthquakes (in 1999) and loss of trust for the construction sector	Decline in demand
2003-onwards AKP Government (Justice and Development Party)	Re-increase in the construction sector not only in housing but also regarding to big projects like malls, hotels, offices	Introducing new economic program: Program for Transition to a Strong Economy Increased privatisation Foreign capital flow Redirected capital on the production of built environment Low rates of interests Extended authorisation of TOKI (Mass Housing Administration) (Not only for housing but also for providing lands for the profit-oriented projects) Providing flexibilities to favour market forces and state in the production of built environment via further liberalising the legal and institutional frameworks, especially for the "speculative ones" (ibid, 282) to provide good climate.	Further decentralisation of the authorisation especially in the favour of metropolitan municipalities and then re-centralisation of planning powers

Table 5.1. Sub-periods from the 1980s to date with regard to the production of built environment

The aim of the government of the period was to manage the needs of international capital and internal struggles and conflicts within the party, and to maintain public attention over forthcoming elections as well as election promises on built environment development, which led to a significant focus on metropolitan centres as the representatives of internationalism 'and as the most likely bases of its clientelistic networks and electoral appeal' (Keyder and Oncu, 1994: 400). During this period of the 'urbanisation of capital', the local administration system was also revisited and the Metropolitan Municipality Law (no.3030) was enacted in 1984, introducing the two-tier municipal system. There, the status of the local administration, particularly metropolitan municipalities (Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir), was changed by dividing the administrative hierarchy into two levels – metropolitan and district – by giving increased powers to the former. Nevertheless, this change in the local administrative hierarchy and creation of an 'all-powerful metropolitan mayoralty' (Keyder and Oncu 1994: 405), although seemed to decentralise powers over the built environment brought about

additional conflicts of interest at the local level due to different representation of interests.

Therefore, cities became an investment arena; the 'non-material resources which do not have immediate monetary costs' and 'selective implementation of regulatory powers of local government' instilled a sense that the regulatory systems regarding the built environment might 'be relaxed, modified … in response to particularistic and individualistic demands' (Oncu 1988: 44–45). There, the urban entrepreneurships had a focus on gain through investing in the built environment and developing network and a capacity to manipulate elected officials (Keyder and Oncu, 1994: 415). The privatisation projects through government tenders and additional financial incentives also emerged; thus, a change in the decision-making process occurred: '[those] who have been on good terms with cabinet ministers have benefited from speculative deals in real estate, fictitious exports and development of tourist resorts' (Helvacioglu 2000). Urban planning was treated as municipalism instead of developing a better understanding of city-making. Therefore, in practice, urban planning gained its meaning from the non-professionals' perspective and thus made the condition of urban site more vulnerable to exploitation.

> "In Turkey, planning decisions are often transparently distorted or biased in favour of powerful individuals and businesses or are expedient populist measures to engineer political support. This short-termism and partisan nature of planning decisions is actually counterproductive" (Oc and Tiesdell 1994: 108–109)

Furthermore, in the mid-1980s, the Urban Development Law was further revisited and replaced by Law no.3194 (*Imar Kanunu*) in 1985, which is still in force and which initially aimed at a decentralisation of urban powers by authorising the municipalities to carry out plan approvals, while seeking for a consistency with the national-scale plans that are approved by the ministry. Another significant feature of this law was to permit more than one building on a single plot and to provide an increased municipality share (from 25% to 35%) in the case of private urban development projects (Ersoy 1992), which made municipalities become more eager to support private projects. In addition, in 1985, the 'Guide Book of the Principles to be used in Preparing Plans' was also introduced. This guide book, which is still in force, provides the main definitions of different kinds and scales of plans, and presents regulations and principles to carry out plan modifications.

Further neo-liberalisation; from decentralisation to (re)centralisation of power: 2000s and beyond

In 2000s, when the new liberal-conservative government (AKP – Justice and Development Party) came into power in 2002, noteworthy replacements in the existing laws and enacting of new ones, reformulated territorial power relations especially on managing urban land at the legislative level. In this period, various changes to the existing legislation, regulations and circulars were enacted by the AKP government aiming to strengthen their monopoly position and for the application process for full membership of the European Union,[58] but these were far from holistic attitudes (Erder and Incioglu 2013). However, due to the scope of the study, the focus is on the following changes in the legislation: the Municipality Law enacted in 2005 (no.5393) the replaced the old Municipality Law (no.5272) that was itself enacted in 2004 as a replacement for the older Municipality Law (no.1580).

Municipality Law	Significance of the changes
1580 → 5215 5272 → 5393	The rules to constitute a municipality are restricted, the minimum limit of the population is increased from 2000 to 5000.
	Previously listed duties and authorities was replaced by general authorisation principle.
	Municipalities are given financial autonomy
	Restrictions on close relatives to be participating in the same municipal council together is abandoned
	Overthrowing the mayor is made more difficult
	New adjustments were made to provide transparency (public announcements of the council decisions and reports) Definition of citizenship is changed, not the family registration place but the place of living become the basis of citizenship
	Municipalities are obliged to prepare strategic plan, via consulting NGOs, Chambers and universities, and performance programme.
	Municipalities are given the authority of declaring sites of at least 50,000m² in their border as "Urban Regeneration and Development Areas"
	City councils (Kent Konseyi) are introduced in order to provide better democratic grounds in urban administration, yet the effectiveness on the urban development is very limited.

Table 5.2. Main changes of the Municipality Law with regard to urban development from law no.1580 to no.5393[59]

Later another special law, the 'Law on Making Amendments to the Municipality Law' (no.5998) was enacted in 2010, proposing some changes to the Municipality Law on issues such as declaration of urban transformation sites, and authorised to the metropolitan municipalities to overrule district municipalities. In addition, the Metropolitan Municipality Law (5216) enacted in 2004 was brought in as the

---

[58] In 2004 the EU member countries decided that Turkey should start accession negotiations by 2005.
[59] Law no. 5212 was vetoed by the President, and thus the new law (no.5272) in place of no.5212 was enacted; however, this law was then rejected by the constitutional court, and law no.5393 enacted in the last instance in 2005.

replacement of the old law (no. 3030). In this period, the 'Law on the Protection and Use of Run-down Historical and Cultural Heritage' (no.5366) in 2005 and the Provincial Administration Law (no.5302), also in 2005, were enacted to enlarge the limits of the authority of the metropolitan municipalities. Therefore, despite these changes and the previous attempts at decentralisation contributed by new laws empowering metropolitan municipality, the mayor has now become the 'big boss' who has the final word.

Metropolitan Municipality Law	Significance of the changes
3030 → 5216	Definition of the metropolitan municipality is changed, new law suggested at least three district municipalities or first tier municipalities to be included
	Borders of the metropolitan municipalities is changed, new law suggested to include 10 km adjacent periphery of a municipality to be able to transform to a metropolitan municipality if the over all population is at least 750.000, considering the economic and physical conditions
	Some of the main authorities of the district municipalities are transferred to metropolitan municipalities via new law, especially on the production of built environment (plan preparations; approval and implementation)

Table 5.3. Main changes of the Metropolitan Municipality Law with regard to urban development

However, this period generated further conflicts due to these constant changes. Initially, the metropolitan municipalities were authorised to prepare master plans and/or approve those plans, whereas the district municipalities for the implementation plan preparations and/or approvals as well as the regarding construction and occupation permits. However, after the changes the scope of the authority of the metropolitan municipalities was widened (Article 73[60] of the Municipality Law and Article 1 of Law no.5998 depicts an example of the situation). These laws gave the metropolitan municipalities authority to designate a particular area as an urban transformation area, if the place concerned is within the metropolitan boundaries. Moreover, according to these laws, the metropolitan municipalities have the power to apply and approve any scale of related plans; to subdivision parcelling plans; to issue construction permits and building use permits; to deal with any other similar planning and construction works; and to undertake other responsibilities as specified in the Construction-Planning Law (no.3194). These additions further limited the power of district municipalities and aimed to reduce the possible first-step conflicts that could occur between the authorities; to the metropolitan municipalities' advantage (this is also apparent in the empirical chapters of the research). Furthermore, metropolitan municipalities gained further advantage especially if they are ruled by the same party with central government. They

---

[60] The details of the law are given in the appendix.

have used their ability and powers under the regulations to provide required modifications and cooperation to favour private partners, and the project returns are then shared with that authority, thus both sides benefit and achieve their goals (Uzun 2007).

Nevertheless, the continuing restructuring and further neo-liberalisation attempts, especially after the 2000s created its own patronage linkages. These linkages were generated through different sections of society creating new elites (anti-Kemalist conservative counter-elites) and generated pro-capitalist public–private partnerships including new business associations which take an active role 'in formulating domestic and regional policy initiatives'; and social solidarity organisations (having an Islamic base but represented in many sections of society through this solidarity) (Bank and Karadag 2012: 11). As Bank and Karadag point out, the AKP's organic linkages are strongly dependent on these sections of society and they 'cooperate most successfully within the municipalities under AKP control', and therefore have 'vast patronage capacities at its disposal' (ibid). Furthermore, as this new group was significantly visible in the social environment it soon became the dominant strata, generating its own lifestyle that would be prevalent in many other sections of society, and also in the built environment and social perceptions towards that. This is because the regimes that have religious bases would see implementing their rules as worship, through generating a new lifestyle at every level of life.

> "Due to the consolidation of new elite cartels, political fragmentation, and continuing systemic corruption involving networks comprising political and economic elites, what emerged as a result of restructuring is an oligarchic form of capitalism. It is currently undergoing further institutional changes, the outcome of which will depend closely on the power resources and strategies on the incumbent moderate Islamist Justice and Development Party (AKP)" (Karadag 2010:3).

This new restructuring, like the previous ones, would also reflect on its existence through the means of urban politics and the built environment, as these structures generate their own power and power relations, in addition to dominating social restructuring, which would require a further research study to investigate it properly.

The initial traces have already become visible through urban transformation projects;[61] tacit relations over the production of space and through imposing social restrictions.[62]

Recently in 2011, two new by-laws were enacted (nos.644 and 648) consecutively in July and August 2011 to assure the recentralisation process. Both by-laws are concerned on the organisation and duties of the new 'Environment and Urbanism Ministry' and widening the scope of the Ministry's powers. From the date of these new by-laws onwards, the Ministry would have the authority to carry out plan preparation; approval; implementation; issue building licences and occupation licences. As a matter of fact, enacting these by-laws and readjustments in the current laws has capacity to risk escalating the conflicts between authorities, as the authority with the higher status would have the capacity to overrule the others. Some researchers described this situation as the monopolisation of power (Ersoy 2011) while some others were echoing both the 'for' and 'against' perspectives, stating that the recent readjustment in the legislation had the power to end the corruption that occurred at local-level administration, thus it was needed; and on the other hand, for those against, the legislation's purpose was to monopolise a populist tool that would benefit their supporters within current power relationships (Erder and Incioglu 2013). From the date of the new law onwards, authority for any kind of higher-scale plans, special project areas, construction with special requirements, renewal areas or the areas to be invested with private ownership and implementations to be carried out by TOKI would be undertaken by the new (integrated) ministry[63] at every level.

Furthermore, a new law (no.6360),[64] enacted in December 2012 but becoming valid after the local elections in 2014, extended the metropolitan municipality boundaries as far those of the city itself, while naming 13 new cities as metropolitan. This new law suggested a council for the whole city instead of a metropolitan municipality council. In this case, the only powerful actor would be the mayor, thus the transformation would be towards 'powerful mayor – weak council' (Erder and Incioglu 2013). With that in mind, this law was criticised because of the existing conflicts at municipal scale that could later spread to city scale, while any possible opposition could also be easily

---

[61] See Bulent Batuman (2012) 'Minarets without Mosques: Limits to the Urban Politics of Neo-liberal Islamism' on symbolising religious references and attaching them to space; and the Gezi park protests.
[62] New legislation and public speeches referring to the use of public space and restrictions released by 2013 the most recent ones (alcohol, kissing and unmarried couples holding hands) (*Cumhuriyet*, 2013 and *Milliyet*, 2013)
[63] The Ministry of Environment and Forestry and the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement were merged before the general elections in June 2011 through by-law no.644 but after the elections these two ministries were separated again by by-law no.648 in August 2011.
[64] The full name of the law is 'The Law on Making Amendments to the By-Law Regarding the Constitution of Metropolitan Municipalities in 13 Cities and 26 Districts'.

disregarded (ibid). On the other hand, extending the boundaries of metropolitan municipalities in the same way for all cases (up to the city boundaries) was criticised due to the different features of different contexts. However, the new law was also seen as a positive attempt to prevent authority conflicts and disconnections among smaller-scale municipalities, through designating the metropolitan municipality as the only authority (Ersoy 2013).

Nevertheless, recently empowerment of TMMOB[65] was reduced through the aforementioned by-laws on 10 July 2013 and its powers have now been given to the ministry after the support of TMMOB for the Gezi park protests in 2013. This portrays an attempt to politicise professions which once had freedom from political interference. The recent condition of the urban politics in Turkey as a hotspot and the implicit relations of power in different levels started to come to the surface more through Gezi Park (see Chapter 6), and late 2013 witnessed another wave of representation of these relations and the perception of public space (via 17 December corruption operations).

5.3.2. *Practising planning in the Turkish context*

There are various tiers of urban planning in Turkey (Figure 5.9). However, due to the scope of this study the focus here is on two of them. First, master plans varying in scale from the urban scale and in some cases to the land parcel scale (from 1/50,000 to 1/5,000), over which the metropolitan municipalities have authority. Second, implementation plans where the district municipalities share authority with the metropolitan municipalities. However, as mentioned in the previous sub-section, the changes in the legislation and in the administrative levels, especially after the mid-2000s, had an impact on the tiers within the planning system and the roles were changed.

---

[65] The Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects.
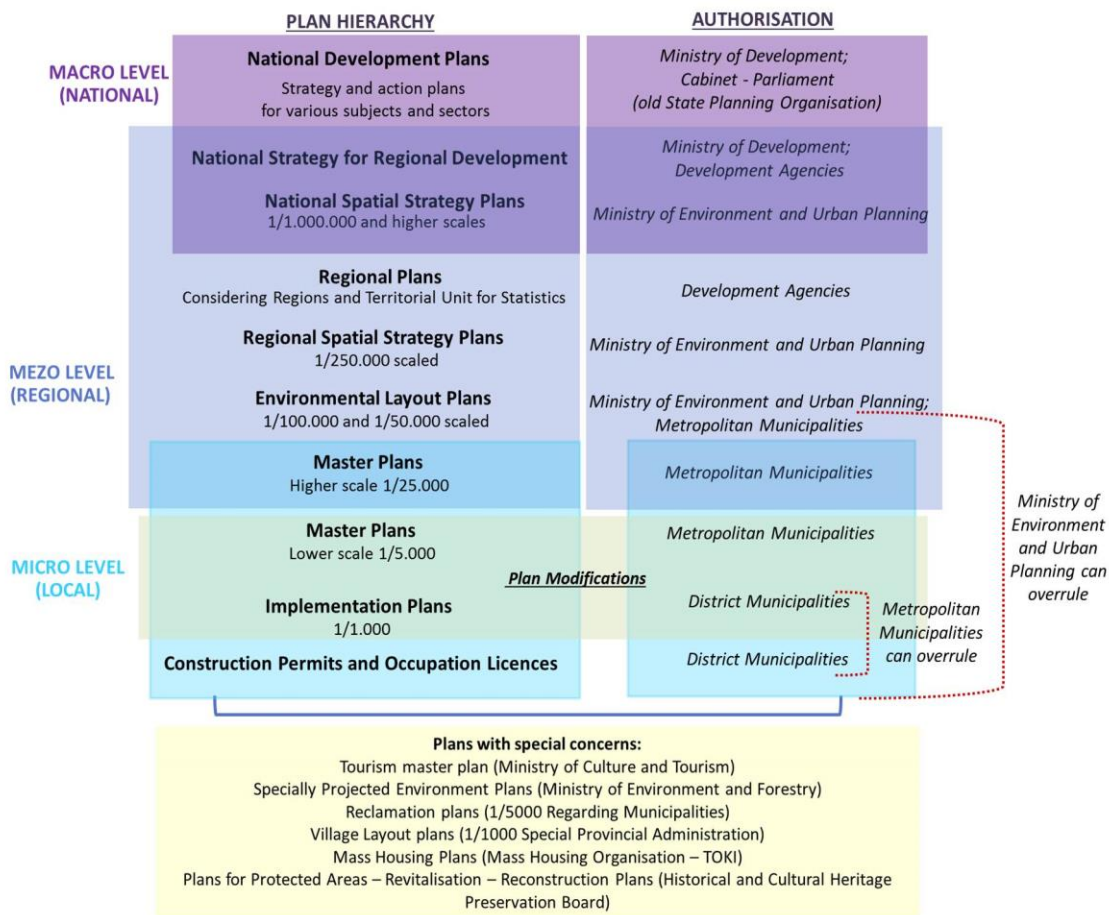
Figure 5.9. Planning hierarchy from national level to local level: general overview

Within the planning hierarchies, *plan modifications*[66] have become the widely used tool for urban development in most cases to change existing plan decisions and/or to generate more flexibility concerning urban land (Ersoy 2001; Tekeli 2001; Kilinc et al. 2009). Thus, plan modifications maintain a very important role in Turkish planning as they have become the praxis of the planning system, and through them existing plan decisions can be changed.

The process of plan preparation and approval by the institution authorised by the Environment and Urbanism Ministry is shown in Figure 5.10. Here, the ministry presents the idealised procedural processes in accordance with the given legislative system. The steps of the second part of the chart are valid for both the approval of the new plans and for the plan modifications of the existing ones. After these steps are completed, there is a 30-day objection process which is usually carried out via the announcement boards within the municipality and more recently through the websites

---

[66] The Guide Book of Plan Preparation Principles defines the plan modifications as: plan adjustments, which are done without conflicting with the main decisions; durability; comprehensiveness; the balance of social and technical infrastructure decisions of the current plan and those which can be justified via scientific reasons; objective and technical reasons within the necessity of the public interest.

of some of the municipalities. The objections are assessed by the relevant local government within 15 days and the plan decision is then finalised. In addition, after the final decision, there is a 60-day secondary consultation process, in which period opposition may be expressed through filing a lawsuit, and this is usually where the main praxis, via conflicts, lies especially for large private (or public-private partnership) investments.

Nevertheless, not only enacting laws or hierarchy of plan scales, but also using open-ended and flexible terminology, paved the way for the investors to work around the system in pursuit of their interests. For instance, the terms *urban Services Areas (SA)*; *urban Working Areas (WA); Central Business Districts (CBD)* and *urban transformation areas (TA)*[67] have been given the rights to be used for the same and similar land uses. In addition, these terms, which have become another planning tradition to be misused due to their vague configuration, have been given the capacity to allow shopping mall construction or alike large investments.

---

[67] Each of these land uses are defined via plan notes of the relevant plan. However, they refer briefly to most kinds of land uses other than parks, green spaces or housing – although for the lands specified as TA housing and many other uses can be included as the term does not obtain a clear specification for a land use.

Before the Approval

Municipality decides on need for a plan

The Municipality or The Private Planning Company take the job

Preliminary analysis regarding to the planning site
- Base maps
- Designation of the cadastral maps/parcelling plans
- Physical and environmental analysis
- Analysis of economic and social structure
- Analysis of current land use; ownership and infrastructure
- Analysis of previous and higher scale plans
- Assessing legislative grounds

Synthesis of the preliminary analysis

Plan decisions; producing alternatives; deciding among the alternatives

Finalising the plan:
- Documenting the plan on the layout;
  - Planning notes
  - Planning report

Presenting the plan to authorised municipality for the **Approval**

Approval process

Further assessment by the planning departments

Planning department of the municipality assess the new plan
- Relevancy check with regulations and higher scale plans

Council Meeting: Evaluation and approval

If any concerns are raised

If the plan gets approval

1 month declaration / announcement period

If there is not any objection then the approval for the plan become finalised

If there is any objection: 15 days of assessing the objection

Council Meeting: Final decision for the plan

If the plan changes process repeats

Figure 5.10. Preparation and the approval procedure of master and implementation plans

Source: The figure was adapted from the Ministry of Environment and Urbanism's official presentation on urban planning process

116

5.3.3. *Ethical considerations in Turkish planning practice*

The distorted urban development structures in the country is also related to ethical problems, however, the researches with regard to ethics and planning is very limited for Turkish context. Urban land rents, the weakness of legal sanctions, rapid urbanisation, the mechanism of expertise (the moral character and philosophy of the ethics regarding occupation, education, experience, place of work); moral duality; working conditions of urban planners; the lack of planned land; and the structure and profiles of the city and council members are possible sources of ethical problems in planning in local government level, as portrayed in the EU research project of Kilinc et al. (2009). In the praxis of urban planning at the local level, the councils take attention as they have the sole authority to give approval or to make any change, giving them a significant ability to exercise power. This becomes important; especially when one considers that the council members do not necessarily have much proficiency regarding urban planning.

Kilic et al's (2009) EU research also demonstrates that the proficiencies of the council members lead the way regarding urban development. For instance, the council members may be builders, tradesmen, managers and civil engineers, and as the majority of their proficiencies are related to construction, those members 'have a tendency to approve all the plans which accelerate the construction sector without any limitation or evaluation about whether the plan is good or bad' (ibid: 73). Moreover, conditions that are related to ethical distortion can also be referred as the unethical behaviour of planners, some of whom become active participants in power relations. The normalisation of corruption among professional actors, as well as public perception, is also presented as the final word on the subject: here, the new motto of 'they steal but they serve' (ibid: 75) for urban political figures has become the tradition.

5.3.4 *Formal basis of 'public space' and 'public interest'*

The problem with the unclear understanding and uncertain perception over public space has also been engendered by the legislative system as the legislations do not include a clear definition of public space. However, the investigation over the realisation of public space/public sphere became possible after 1990s in academia and also became the subject of the contemporary political discourses due to its dynamic and politically attractive nature.

> "Recently it has being discussed where the public sphere starts or ends, if it is principle or has a spatial meaning, or if it exists in the bodies of the police force. However, even though there have been some statements from the media including the public sphere, the concept hasn't had any place in the legislation." (Aksit 2009: 15)

> "I have been a lawyer for 50 years. I haven't seen anything called public sphere/space in the legislation. If there is anything please show me as well." (Aydin 2006)

However, none of the laws that are currently in force regarding urban development (Urban Development Law no. 3194, Municipality Law no. 5393, Metropolitan Municipality Law no.5216) clearly refer to public space. However, within those laws, the areas that can be considered as public spaces have been referred to as *umuma acik alan* (areas open to public) and/or *umumi hizmet alani* (areas serves to public), and specified in the law as: 'squares; roads; parks; green fields; car parking; mosques; police station; terminals and public transportation stations and similar common uses'. In addition, the common land uses are also determined within the *social infrastructure*,[68] *active green areas*[69] and *technical infrastructure*[70] areas in the Guide Book of Plan Preparation Principles. Moreover, the relevant rules over these areas in these legislations are: the process of condemnation; parcelling out and parcelling in procedures; obtaining the development readjustment share (DOP);[71] registration and control of these areas; maintenance; and setting out opening and closing times of the public service areas.

The public interest, although containing similar ambiguities, has been referred to within some of the legislation regarding urban planning, although without any definition or clear explanation. For instance, in order to propose a plan modification, the public interest should be stated even if that statement would merely stay on the paper without any actual representation. In the Turkish context the public interest is also referred to in Constitutional Law. First, Article 35 indicates the public interest with reference to property rights, and then raised as a separate title with regard to benefiting from coastal sites; expropriation; and nationalisation and privatisation.

---

[68] Within the same guide book: education; health; religious buildings; cultural and administrative structures; playgrounds; parks and similar green spaces in order to provide a healthy environment (Article 3/7)

[69] Within the same guide book: parks, playgrounds (Article 3/8)

[70] Within the same guide book: general name given to areas and constructions for the provision of electricity, gas, drinking water and water for other uses; sewage; every kind of transportation; communications and waste treatment; and open or closed parking areas (Article 3/9).

[71] *Duzenleme Ortaklik Payi* (development readjustment share) explained in the appendix.

However, the definition also differs depending on the interest of the agency, thus being reshaped in relation to the case and the agency. For example, the three main governmental powers (legislative, administrative and jurisdictive) define the public interest differently, due to their political and ideological nature, and due to different technical and juristic approaches, as well as different ethical considerations (Mengi 2012; Keles 2000). In addition, not only the differences among the powerful actors but the political, economic and social conditions of the country also contribute to the transition in the meaning of the idea. As mentioned before, 'public', 'public space' and 'public interest' are identical with 'state', and thus perceived as dependent on the state (Ozbek 2010). Therefore, the economic and political changes within the state generate new perceptions of the phenomenon and its effects on the production of the built environment. For example, after the 1990s, when the 'big urban projects started to replace comprehensive planning', the interest of capital started to replace the public interest; and the 'justification for development in terms of the "public interest" largely disappeared from the official statements or was reinterpreted to justify essentially speculative private projects' (Turkun 2011: 64) similar to Weber stated (2002), 'extracting the value from the city' became the new trend, shifting the emphasis from 'use values to exchange values'.

Nevertheless, the recent EU harmonisation has also been another reason for Turkish jurisdiction to focus on the public interest by the introduction of the term *superior public interest*[72] especially for mega projects. However, this new term, rather than eliminating unclear determinations, has engendered further uncertainty and led to a further power struggle among agencies. For instance, some agricultural or forestry areas, being under the responsibility of Ministry of Forestry and Water Affairs, have gained touristic investment status, claiming that there is a superior public interest to transform these areas into touristic areas, and responsibility for them is then handed over the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. Nevertheless, the awareness of the public itself about the public interest is also significantly weak; thus, the sense of participation to defend public interest is also weak, in addition to the unclear definition (Kilinc et al. 2009). Therefore, the perception of 'public interest' as well as 'public space' and 'publicness' have always been in transition, depending on the conditions noted above.

---

[72] The term was introduced in the Draft Law of Conservation of Nature and Biological Variety on 12 March 2012.

5.4. Conclusion

This chapter presented an historical insight regarding the use and understanding of public space with regard to urban development in the Turkish context. The chapter revealed that, although there have been strong attempts to modernise the country and adapt to Western ideas, the synonymised use of 'public space' and 'public sphere' and their strong connotations to the state, the rapid transformation from a religious lifestyle to a secular and statist one, and the use of 'visible politics' could not provide natural roots for 'publicness' and 'public space', thus had a strong influence while perceiving these notions differently from the West.

The Turkish context demonstrated that the changes in the administrative and legislative systems have moved away from long-term strategies. It also became clear that the competitive attitudes of local governments have 'undermined functional land-use separation' resulting in a 'patchwork-like cityscape' in order to attract capital to their cities while paving the way for it through distortion of urban politics by re-forming spaces through implicit power relations, while urban sites are controlled by 'anti-planning attitudes' (Robins and Aksoy 1996: 9). Moreover, while the formal mechanisms have been reshaping their systems concurrently, societal perceptions and ways of living have oriented themselves accordingly. To conclude, while the relationships of the power holders over the urban development experience have been gaining strength, the notions of public space and the public interest have become more blurred for all the actors.

CHAPTER 6 - EMERGENCE OF 'PUBLIC PRIVATE SPACES':

SHOPPING MALLS AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT OF ANKARA

6.1 Introduction

This chapter serves as a continuation of Chapter 5, recounting the genealogy of the notion of contemporary public space in the Turkish context. It sets up an introduction to the shopping mall experience in relation to the transformation of retail in Turkey. It also examines the connection between the changing political–economic circumstances and urban development practice, both at the national scale and local scales by providing various reflections from Ankara.

The chapter also presents a brief insight of how these manifest themselves in the built and the social environment. It attempts to answer the questions of how the shopping mall experience emerged in the country and reached significant numbers, and what the main driving forces behind this experience at the national scale have been. The chapter explores the current legislative basis for shopping mall developments, and highlights the initial and the latest examples and interventions to discover the relationship between shopping mall developments and political intentions.

The second part of the chapter starts out to illustrate the insights of the urban development experience of the city of Ankara. The section catalogues the master plans of the city chronologically from the very first one to the latest. Finally it ends by presenting the shopping mall development practice of the city in relation to planning experience and local administrative interventions.

6.2. New lifestyles and new public spaces: the introduction of malls to the Turkish context as contemporary public spaces

> Thanks to influences making the world a 'global village', the malls are also now a part of the urban scene in many countries, including Turkey (Erkip 2005: 89).

The introduction of shopping malls, the transformation in the retail sector and changes in the built environment follow a parallel pattern, owing to the political and economic restructuring and the events of the historical periods presented in the previous section. The rapid transformation of the retail sector and emergence of shopping malls during

the last 20 years through neo-liberal restructuring policies and the impacts on the built environment that became the reality of the country have been investigated by a wide variety of researchers (Tokatli and Boyaci 1998, 1999; Aksel Gurun 2005, 2010; Kompil and Celik 2009; Erkip 2003, 2005; Vural and Yucel 2006; Vural Arslan et al. 2010; Ozuduru et al. 2012).

Since the republic was established, a modernisation project has been the main target of the country as a whole and more specifically in the metropolitan cities. The creation of a new middle class who would generate economic prosperity in the country was another aim of the inward-looking economic policies initially, where the import-substitution industrialisation and oligopolistic structure were dominating the sector (Tokatli and Boyaci 1999). Due to capital weakness of independent retailers and their single location, the market was initially dominated by the state. Until the 1950s, the state established stores, which belonged to municipalities. By then, the municipalities were authorised to have the responsibility of establishing special supermarket-type shops, to sell foodstuffs to regulate prices. However, after the 1950s, foreign companies were partially welcomed. For instance, the first Migros in Istanbul had shared ownership: the Swiss firm Migros had a 51% share, while the rest of the ownership was shared between the municipality, the Soil Products Office and the Meat and Fish Authority (each of these are state-based institutions) (Tokatli and Boyaci 1998; Aksel Gurun 2005). In this period such state domination was evaluated as successful until the mid-1960s, due to the growth rate of the time (7% annually at that time). However, after the mid-1960s, the dependence of the national performance on import subsidies increased, and this become insufficient for the providing necessities in the urban space (Tokatli and Boyaci 1998; Aksel Gurun 2010).

During that period there was an increase in per capita income[73] that attracted large domestic and international investors to direct their investments towards the retail sector (Tokatli and Boyaci 1999). Also within that period, the corporate power of public and private partnerships became apparent (Erkip 2005). However, despite the international attraction, the majority of the commercial property investments initially remained internally driven due to the strength of local capital, the regulatory system and the extended process of neo-liberal transition (Tasan-Kok 2003). This also strengthened the already established networks of the actors in favour of private gain, which

---

[73] It should be noted that the increase in the per capita income was not distributed equally throughout society.

'disproportionately benefitted the established family business oligarchs' (Karadag 2010: 17) and thus the populist mentality had given way to downright corruption within the relationship between public authority and private businesses and in power relations (Gokce 2003). As a result of political and economic restructuring the construction boom experienced after the 2000s occurred and generated a 'good business climate' to invest in the built environment through profit-oriented and speculative projects, in connection with the deregulation of formal urban planning tools (Balaban 2012).

Due to the inadequacies of the national political economy, a new economic restructuring had to emerge, emphasising corporate power, a western focus and commodification in nearly all sectors to enable entry to the global market. Therefore, a new period of 'urbanisation of capital', referring to after the 1980s, dominated by market conditions and a shift in capital accumulation, occurred with the withdrawal of the state and private sector shifting their investment from industry to the built environment (Sengul 2003; Balaban 2012). Particularly after this period, a radical change in the economic restructuring towards liberalisation then further neo-liberalisation occurred, which also had significant impacts on social and spatial life. In addition, the resources have further been reallocated and commerce has been encouraged and therefore a 'recomposition of urban form' with regard to commerce and consumption has emerged (Tokatli and Boyaci 1999: 191–192). On the societal level a new middle class emerged that consisted of businessmen and professionals to match the new economy in a full new type of lifestyle, from special educational requirements to general daily life, and 'being ready to adopt (or at least adapt to) "the American way of life" or its French or German variants' to meet with the need of the 'most desired qualities for success in the new economy' (Rutz and Balkan 2009: 24). In this term, the distribution of power between local and national authorities has been affected. Decentralisation in the managerial structure was agreed and local governments gained more power in managing the built environment and governmental budgets and in establishing public–private partnerships. Therefore, urban land has been commoditised through these new attempts at entrepreneurialism and large private investments have been favoured and received support on administrative grounds.

Metropolitan cities that were 'colonized by the logic of real-estate driven growth' (Aksoy 2012: 93) have also been faced with increased population and car ownership, increased use of credit cards, rises in GDP rates (although with an unequal distribution among the various groups of city-dwellers), the demand for high quality of life, the

impact of foreign investments, attractiveness of business (short-term returns), the changing status of women (being involved in business and having their own income), changes in the consumption culture, technological developments, the attraction of global trends and the lack of maintenance and provision by public services appraising the private sector and their provision for a new lifestyle (Erkip 2005; Erkip et al. 2012; Kompil and Celik 2006, 2009; Vural and Yucel 2006; Aksel Gurun 2010). There the shopping malls have become displays, while these spaces have provided a secure, climate-controlled, clean, trendy environment, and quality prices[74] generated a new urban experience for the citizens, not only for consumption or shopping, but also providing a whole type of new environment for leisure and entertainment. The change in the consumption culture, while influencing users to seek a more leisurely environment, has also led investors to respond to this demand by seeking new spaces, different from traditional retail. This brought leisure and retail together as a new consumption pattern. With this transformation, the public spaces, while being the heart of the urban experience, have also become sites for consumption, and the perception of them gained a central position: to consume, not only via retail but also via leisure and recreation. Therefore, aggressive development of malls and hunger of the market forces aimed further increase in number of customers ended up in a constant competition among malls breeding new typologies (Varol and Ozuduru 2010). Gardens or open parking spaces of some of the malls were redesigned and started to be used for fairs or as sports facilities or as go-karting pits; while some malls adopted the completely different theme of the 'shopping street' with the need of attracting more customers (Figure 6.1 and 6.2).

Figure 6.1. Forum Shopping Centre, with go-karting and fair in the parking areas
Source: Author, 2011

---

[74] Compared to the local stores in malls, prices are usually under brand protection and fixed, whereas in some local stores, due to the lack of price controls, prices can be flexible depending on the negotiating ability of the customer.

Figure 6.2. Tepe Prime 'shopping street'-styled shopping centre, where the focus is more on gastronomy

Source: Author, 2011

However, it is also worth mentioning that, these developments have been welcomed by the public very smoothly, as Helvacioglu puts it: 'as if Turkey in general and the locals using the commercial center have known and lived in this environment all their lives' (2000: 338). Therefore, transformation of spaces and the habits of using these spaces have continued mostly unnoticed at the individual level. This also provides an insight on the perception of the public and how their life has quickly adapted without having concerns about notions like public space or publicness. In addition, according to the report of AYD[75] (2013), the shoppers' prominent perceptions over shopping malls are as follows:

- Add value to the region's real estate
- Increase employment
- Revive city life

6.2.1. *Evolving conditions of malls: mall developments in numbers*

The first shopping mall in Turkey was established in 1988 in Istanbul (Ataköy Galleria shopping mall) and then in 1989 in Ankara (Atakule shopping mall and the Leisure Tower). However, both of these shopping malls had two very distinctive features compared to their examples in the West, as both received support by the public authorities in the first instance, and were built via the *build-operate-transfer model* with public–private cooperation. They were both seen as landmarks of modernisation of their time and promoted by the government; as then prime minister stated: 'remember the end of the 1970s … remember the years when a light-bulb, an x-ray film could not be found, and now look all around you, there are various products from all over the

---

[75] Turkish Council of Shopping Centres.

world' (Uğur 2003: 131 cited in Vural Aslan et al. 2010). In fact, promoting malls as large private projects still survives and is usually encouraged by the members of the government, due to the potential entry of foreign investment groups (e.g. ECE; Carrefour; Multimall; Corio; Jones Lang LaSalle) in connection with domestic firms (Varol and Ozuduru 2010). This is also done because these investments are seen as representative of modernisation and contributors to the construction sector and employment opportunities, and have positive effects on the unrecorded[76] economy to be recorded; and are therefore seen as 'new factories without chimneys'.

Figure 6.3 illustrates the malls opened in Turkey during the period 1988–2011 by leasable area, while Figure 6.4 represents a comparison of the position of Turkey in shopping mall development with EU countries. The graphs below shows that shopping mall development in the country reached substantial numbers after the 2000s, especially for the years 2007, 2008 and 2011, despite the economic crisis that the country faced in 2001, 2008 and 2009 and the decrease in the growth rate in these years (−5.2%, 0.7% and −4.8% respectively). However, the report of Jones Lang LaSalle (2008) points out that, although the increases seem significant in numbers, there is still a need for mall developments in the country, especially when the population and the mall areas are compared (m² per person) with other EU countries (Figure 6.4). This report also presents the sectorial reasoning of the aggressive mall development in the country. According to the estimations and evaluations of GYODER,[77] in the near future, 82 more shopping centres will be opened with an additional 3.28 million m² (Gurlesel 2012b).
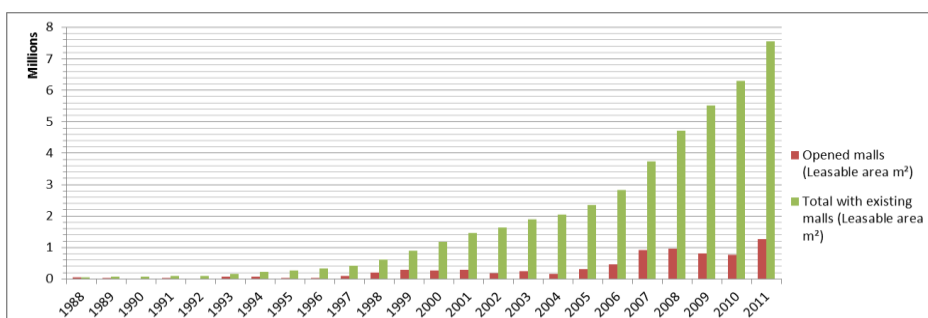
Figure 6.3. The malls opened in Turkey during the period 1988–2011 and their cumulative total by leasable area in m²

Source: Adapted from Gurlesel, 2012a

---

[76] Another reason that shopping mall investments were welcomed thinking that they would reduce informal economy. In Turkey informal traders in the street or some shops you can buy goods with reduced price if you negotiate but then you do not get a receipt and therefore having commercial activity through malls, where you cannot reduce price by bargain thought to be helpful in terms of having commercial activity in more institutionalised way

[77] Gayrimenkul Yatirim Ortakligi Dernegi – The Association of Real Estate Investment Companies.
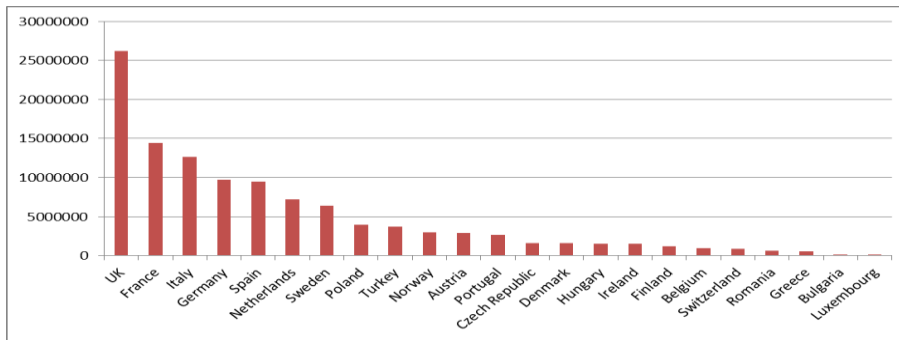
Figure 6.4. The mall stock in Europe in 2007 and comparison with Turkey by GLA (gross leasable area)

Source: Adapted from ICSC 2008 and Gurlesel 2012a

Moreover, the significant shopping mall developments have also contributed to the fragmentation of the structure of the urban sites. Metropolitan cities have become fragmented since the late 1980s, where the 'fragmented' pieces are built on the land without having much concern for the functional or practical cohesiveness with their surroundings nor with the urban space as a whole. The example in Figure 6.5, the Gordion shopping centre, is from a low-density suburban area of Ankara (Cayyolu) built with 49,950 m² GLA. It presents an example of a large-scale mall which fits on the parcel without leaving any open space around it, even, in some places, without proper pavements; and it neighbours a low-density villa style residential area and appears as a sudden change in the silhouette of the neighbourhood.

Figure 6.5. Gordion shopping centre, Ankara

Source: Author, 2013

Nevertheless, recent research studies state that there is an increasing concern about emerging 'dead malls' in the country (Aksel Gurun 2009). However, that situation also generates further opportunities for developers to renew the old malls (or dead malls),

127

where further speculation may emerge. Atakule (the first mall in Ankara, opened in 1989) can be considered as one of the examples that has already been involved in speculative concerns with regard to its ownership status on the initial project (*vakif* and municipality partnership, see the section 6.3 about Ankara). Recently, the mall is being renewed (although was left un-functional for a few years), with a cost of approximately 200 million Turkish Liras in collaboration of international Jones Lang LaSalle with national Avi Alkas. The new project will be built by demolishing the old mall, where the tower will be kept as it has long been the symbol of the city.

Figure 6.6. Atakule deconstruction; proposed project
Source: Above left author, 2014; above right Ego CCTV accessed on 20.06.2014; below Bayhan 2014

6.2.2. *Legal basis of malls and contemporary conflicts*

According to an investigation published by ICSC[78], current legislation requires compliance with the Urban Development Law (no.3194), Municipality Law (no.5393), Building Inspection Law (no.4708) and other laws relating to municipalities and special laws if needed (with regard to tourism, historical preservation, the Bosporus, metropolitan administration etc.) (Kirazoglu 2012). In addition, once the mall is constructed, it is obliged to have an building permit given by the municipality; obtaining this permit is considered as the most crucial step by ICSC: 'A building permit grants legal permission to the developer to start construction of the shopping centre' (ibid: 115). Perceiving that step as the most crucial one reveals that shopping mall

---

[78] International Council of Shopping Centres

developments mostly depend on obtaining the building permit as a priority, which undermines the power of planning and transfers that power to the building permit holders, which has also been in the cases of this study.

However, still there has been conflicting treatment of shopping malls within the Turkish context with regard to their legal status. First of all, there has not been any explicit definition of shopping centres or their classification in the legislative system. Two important attempts were made to limit the extensive development of shopping malls by preparing a draft law, first in 2004 and later in 2006, entitled the 'Draft of Shopping Centres, Warehouses and Chain Stores Law'.[79] However, this law was not approved, even after a long period of struggle, which created suspicions concerning tacit power relations. As Erten asks,

> 'Why couldn't these efforts have been brought to a conclusion during the three government and three ministry periods for this law? Who prevented that? From where did the "Shopping mall lobby" gain this restraining power?'; 'However, why, how and which kind of power is preventing this so that it doesn't reach to TBMM[80]!' (Erten 2011, 2012)

Although the draft law consisted of definitions of establishments, licensing for establishments, conditions for obtaining an establishment licence, obligation to provide parking spaces and art galleries, working hours, exceptions, payments, prohibitions, penalties, censorship and a guide book, and was seen a positive attempt in its field, it still had weaknesses and insufficiencies. First, although providing various conditions and a guide book, the law didn't provide any guidelines or specific adjustment models for site selection, which was one of the most important issues (Kompil and Celik 2009). The draft law suggested shopping malls and department stores should be built where commercial land use was shown in master plans, or in central business districts. However, as the existing laws regarding production of urban space were already lacking in providing any particular guidelines on how to determine commercial land uses in master plans, the new draft law was similarly lacking in suggesting further guidelines on the issue. Second, authorisation was also not clear for the approval of plans and projects. This was because the draft law authorised both the governorship and the municipalities to issue permission at the same time with regard to GLA sizes. Moreover, an Assessment Commission was suggested to be established, which would determine the necessary land use if the existing master plan was not able to provide

---

[79] See Appendix for details.
[80] TBMM stands for Turkish Parliament

one. However, in the draft law, the definition of the Assessment Commission was also ambiguous. Third, the law did not fulfil the need for a guideline to categorise retail centres and malls; therefore, any type and size of retail centre was treated equally. It was also not clear that who would be responsible and on what basis to prepare the Strategic Urban and Environmental Impact Assessment Report. Therefore, overall, the draft law was not able to resolve the conflicting issues or deficiencies and was also not able to provide any better public interest.

Moreover, in 2013 the power relations with regard to shopping mall developments and public space came to the forefront with the Gezi Park events, which on one hand briefly demonstrated the complex relations and on the other raised awareness at societal levels in appreciation of public spaces. By May 2013, the struggle for the protection of an open public space through civil protests, and the extreme use of force by police in return, added to the statements of the prime minister of the time, displayed a manipulative power for reshaping urban space through a urban transformation project attempting to built large project with a shopping mall where the park is locatded. In Taksim Gezi Park in Istanbul, which is one of the last green spaces left in the city centre, a new project, replica of Topcu Kislasi,[81] was proposed in a TA project, containing a shopping mall and museum units. The project initially received a rejection by the Cultural and Natural Heritage Preservation Board. However, the statements of the prime minister demonstrated a disregard of that rejection and showed that legal instruments may be crafted and the voice of the public may be ignored in accordance with the interests of the power holders, which added to the extreme use of force of the riot police, later escalated national scale unrest.

> "The Supreme Board rejected the project. So we'll reject the rejection … a section of the Barracks can be a museum, the middle area green space. The other part can be a shopping mall as the continuation of Istiklal Street; the upper levels of the mall can be private residences and a hotel. We are thinking of the build-operate-transfer model" (Tutuncu 2013 in Haber Turk news reports, emphasis added).

---

[81] Topcu Kislasi, the Artillery Barracks, was an historical construction that was demolished in the 1940s; however, the central government allying with a private developer wanted to rebuild to revitalise Ottoman connotations with commercial elements in it. This proposal is also assessed as a regeneration of an old conservative ideology combined with the current neo-liberal Islamist ideology.
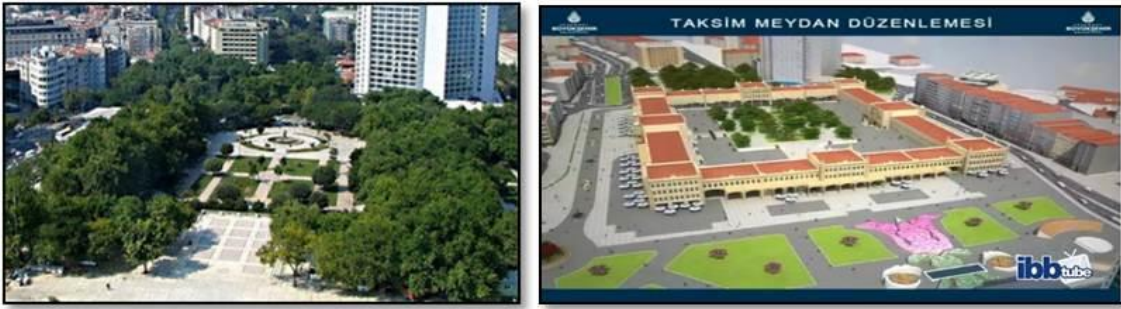
Figure 6.7. Current situation of Taksim Gezi Park and proposed Topcu Kislasi TA project
Source: Yapi 2013; Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality website project presentation

Shortly after that statement, the Higher Commission declined the decision of the Cultural and Natural Heritage Preservation Board without specifying a reason, according to the news reported by Ince in Radikal newspaper (2013). However, during that period the protests started but were faced with violent conduct by the police force and concurrently another statement of the prime minister was released:

> "The ones who speak on the name of environment first should visit Vialand.[82] We are not producing empty talk, we are producing a business. This and that happened in Taksim Gezi Park, they will come and make some demonstrations so and so forth. *No matter what you do*, we have already made up our minds and we will do it … We will recover the history there" (Guvemli 2013 in Cumhuriyet Newspaper, emphasis added).

After that reaction by the Prime Minister, which added to the excessive use of force by the police, protests blossomed all over the country and gained a new magnitude that transformed a local-scale park protection protest into nationwide unrest, not only against the mall project over the park but also against the suppression of protest by the central government. Nevertheless, despite the ongoing unrest, the Prime Minister, in his statement on the tenth day of the protests (6 June 2013), clearly showed that the barracks project for the area would be continuing: 'we are putting back the historical barracks there; we are putting back the original over the current implementation …. Environment is not only a tree, there is history, there is culture' (Radikal Newspaper WebTV 2013). However, although the government seemed to step back after long protests and civil unrest in late 2014, the project was once more put into the government's agenda and until now this situation continues with approvals and rejections following each other. Furthermore, recently on 26 November 2014, a new regulation was enacted with regard to the Environmental Impact Assessment Report[83]

---

[82] Another large themed shopping mall and leisure centre project that was opened on 26 June 2013 in Istanbul.
[83] The report has been changed 17 times since its first enactment in 1993.

(*CED raporu*) and exempted mall developments and some other developments[84] from providing that report in order to obtain building permission.

The increase in developing urban areas through large projects and mall implementations illustrates the relationship between administrative powers with capital power in urban spaces. In addition, the lack of provision of enough public spaces by local governments has led the situation to be less rigid, in terms of transferring the role of local governments to private investors, and concurrently the governmental authorities condone putting the latter's private aims ahead of public interests via political negotiations.

6.3. Urban development of the capital[85] city Ankara in the face of contemporary public spaces

After the foundation of Turkish republic Ankara became the new capital and reached a population of 4,868,418 in 2011 from 404,600 in 1927. Initially, Ankara was a small Anatolian town and therefore had to go through many changes after gaining its new status. By then the city had not had proper residential areas, hotels, restaurants or proper shops, and even the ambassadors gave it a nickname of the 'dust and mud region' and thus were not willing to move to Ankara, and instead wanted to stay in Istanbul (Gunver 1988 cited in Simsir 2006). However, by becoming the capital, Ankara captured all the national attention as well as becoming the national source for investments to transform itself into a new modern representative of the republic, and that inevitably required significant alterations to urban space and the way of life.

The urban planning experience of the city started with modernisation projects and the new role of the capital in mind. However, the required transformation could not be carried out comprehensively, and therefore became vulnerable to misuses and to land speculation. Although urban planning attempts were respected on paper, in practice internal dynamics like old ownership and new alterations the existing patterns and rushing for constructing new capital planted the seeds for the relations of power for the new capital. The city initially had two main parts: the old core and the new bureaucratic core (the new city) and both had their master plans since Ankara has become the

---

[84] Mass housing projects, golf facilities, 100km and shorter-scale railways (that once got attention due to constructing railway on migratory route of the birds), etc.
[85] The term capital city through the reading David Harvey and Derek Gregory, inspired me to think the playful synonym of capital as the *financial capital* and capital as the *capital city* of a country, in that sense we may ask is capital city to be capitalist city

capital city. However, the new dynamics were based on power relations among the newcomers, which consisted of 'bureaucrats and military elites': the bosses of the city had a strong impact on its urban structure, and since then power over urban land and speculations in this land have become one of the main problems of the city (Sahin 2006: 112).

> "… there would be a thought to take precautions when the land speculations in the capital reached their peak. Accordingly, opening shops on the ground floors of the buildings in the new Ankara was forbidden. However, a MP was followed by others when he placed a garage on the ground floor then transformed that into a shop. There had been some MPs who came to Ankara penniless but became millionaires from urban land … [who] issued extra floor permissions/licences for the construction companies and went into partnerships with those companies" (Ural 2005: 49).

The first urban plans of Ankara were made by foreign designers, architects and planners; thus, the reconstruction of public spaces had western influences, which also delivered western-style spaces by western professionals. However, in time, the plans were continually being modified; thus, the practicalities or 'exerting influence' led the built environment to be reshaped via total arbitrariness of the actors by exerting their influence in the process, which, over time, has become an indispensable part of Turkish collective culture (Cengizkan 2009: 240–241).
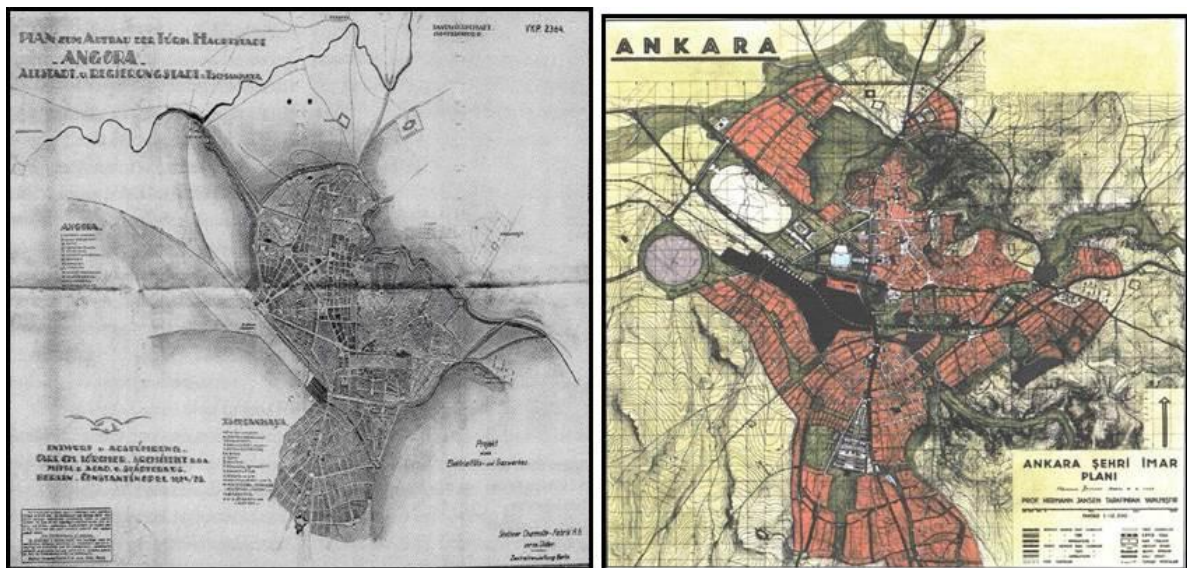
Figure 6.8. Lörcher Plan of Ankara prepared in 1924–25 and Jansen Plan of Ankara in 1932
Source: Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, 2006

The first planning attempt for the capital was the Lörcher Plan, which aimed to place and set up the main infrastructure and to provide the urban space requirements for a capital city. The plan put new residential settings on the south side of the city, in

133

Çankaya region, and also had a more detailed design scheme for public spaces like squares and some other open spaces, most of which were abused by later plans as well as later interventions. In terms of changing patterns of public spaces, the first two plans (the Lochrer and Jansen Plans, Figure 6.8) of the city were definitive. The former proposed many squares on the main axis of the city, connecting the old town with the new town, while the latter opposed to former for: 'proposing squares frequently on the main road without any system' (Jansen Plan Report, 1928 cited in Cengizkan 2009). However, after these two plans, in the long run, piecemeal changes were implemented on the squares (i.e. subway stations and entrances were built) and building rights were increased near the squares; thus the existing spaces of the squares were reduced. In addition, certain ideological policies have also contributed to this destruction as some of the central squares developed connotations with public protest (through the clashes of the left and right wing supporters), especially in the late 1970s and beginning of 1980s. Thus, the political power of the period (state and military) was also in favour of destroying those connotations (Cengizkan 2009; Batuman 2009).

> 12th September, morning: Kizilay[86] Square was invaded by military tanks and a totally new discursive frame was achieved; a new meaning in parallel with destruction of the public space and without permitting any activism by opponents ... For Kizilay Square this new identity is applied through three big projects: the transformation of Guvenpark; the Kizilay Facilities Building and the Kizilay metro station project (Batuman 2009: 44).

Moreover, the planning practice of the period became vulnerable to distortions due to the interactions between internal and external actors (internal actors have a direct linkage with the planning process, e.g. central and local authorities and planners; and external actors: have a relationship with the planning process starting from the point of implementation, e.g. landowners and investors). As Tankut (1993) stated, a 'de-planned' development emerged and became prominent in this period, in which legitimate approaches, as well as illegitimate ones, generated their own problems. Apart from legitimate problems like economic political constraints for the interventions, lack of technical knowledge, the attitudes of the central and local administrative levels, insufficient communication between the planner and other actors, illegitimate interventions by powerful actors (mostly landowners and members of parliament) to

---

[86] Kizilay is an institution similar to the Red Crescent, and after the 2000s the Kizilay building was transformed into a shopping mall.

influence planning decisions distorted urban development and generated urban land speculation also for Ankara (ibid.).

> "It shouldn't be forgotten that, within the pre-implementation period, some of the MPs were the owners of real estate in the area and the majority of the rest were candidates to be. From that perspective, the real driving force of the arguments in parliament depended on personal interests" (ibid: 93).

The projected population of the initial plans became out of date after a short while. This insufficiency received a quick response via the emergence of *gecekondus* which reformulated urban space. Industrialisation and the economic restructuring of the country in the 1950s had a substantive influence on Ankara, in which migration from rural areas to urban areas led to the appearance of large *gecekondu* areas. In addition, perceptions of space, various groups and publicness were also reshaped through shifting social experience in this changing society. According to Batuman (2009), 1960s' Kizilay reveals an example for this experience, where the space was transformed to serve the luxury consumption demands of the middle class through passages and terraced cafes that would provide sterile environments away from the heterogeneity of the existing space. These middle-class spaces were an indicator of status; therefore, the inhabitants of *gecekondu* areas felt obliged to visit them in order to be included in common urban life (ibid).
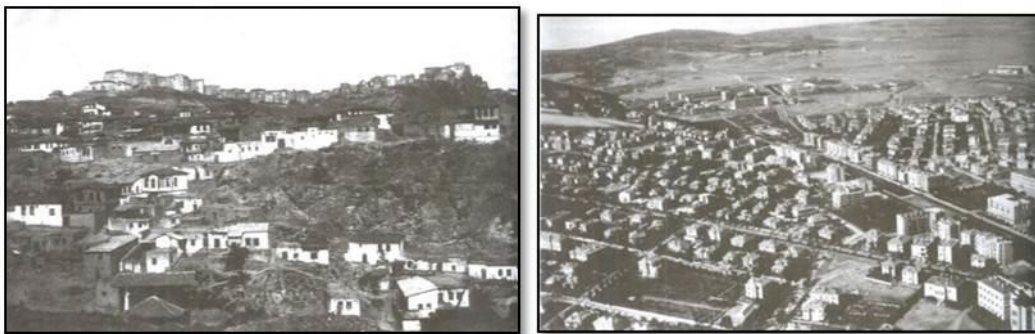
Figure 6.9. Ankara and its development: old city with its organic structure and new city development after the republic was established
Source: Aydin et al. 2005: 446-438

The city administration struggled to deal with these settlements due to insufficient sources; therefore, the implementation of potential solutions was postponed, to be solved later. With this attempt, while slum settlements continued to emerge, the *third attempt* to plan Ankara (Yücel and Ubaydin Plan, Figure 6.10) was presented. In this new plan proposal, the slum areas were accepted as residential development areas to legalise their status. This attempt generated a new terminology and tradition for the Turkish planning system of the 1980s with regard to reclamation plans. The new

tradition, which survived for many years and in some specific cases is still being used, stated that 'the current situation of the site is the planning situation site' and this shifted the status of the area in the plan documents from informal to legal (also apparent in one of the cases of this study in Chapter 8). Moreover, as the valleys of the city were becoming overrun by the *gecekondus*, once more the demographic limits were exceeded before completion of the planning period and an additional proposal suggested an increase of the building rights on top of that, appearing in more concrete and higher densities. In that respect, the city entered the *destroy then rebuild* term, in which low-density planned areas would be destroyed and new ones would be constructed according to increased building rights for floor ratio area.
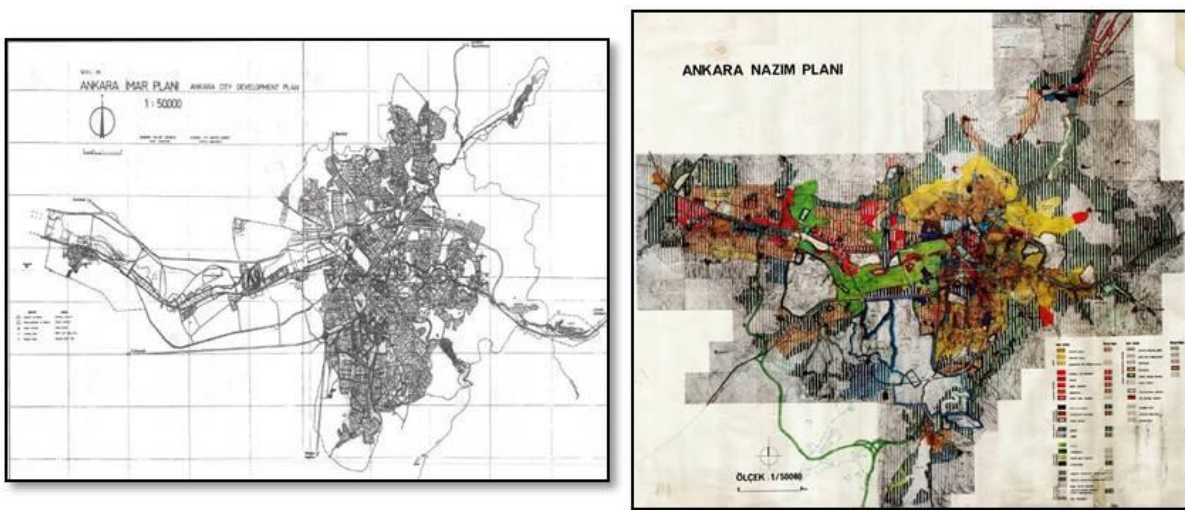
Figure 6.10. Yucel–Ubaydin Plan in 1957 and 1990 Master Plan
Source: Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, 2006

Nevertheless, being the governmental, bureaucratic and military centre of the country led Ankara also to have significant employment potential, and until the 1980s, employment opportunities were also contributed by the finance sector.[87] However, the city had already exceeded the capacity limits of the abovementioned plans and therefore was in urgent need of a new comprehensive plan. The '1990 Master Plan of Ankara'[88] (Figure 6.10) was prepared with that concern. The plan proposed a significant push towards the west of the city for new developments and the removal of some of the existing public institutions and important business area out of the city centre. The proposal focused on the west due to the continuous pressures of the *gecekondu* areas, which survived until very recently. That focus also triggered the desire of the high and mid-high income groups to live away from the city centre, and

---

[87] However, most finance services moved to Istanbul starting from the 2000s.
[88] The aims and objectives of the plan referred to its future (1990).

suburban developments emerged. During the same period, due to decentralisation attempts local government-led urban development was accelerated; however owing to the insufficiency of the resources, these attempts resulted in market-led urban development. In addition, by 1997, the Eskisehir Highway Public Institutions Revision Master Plan with particular focus on the western axis was approved; the plan proposed the land use of the west corridor as Service Areas (SA), which enabled various uses to be included:

- Public institutions
- Touristic institutions
- Health facilities
- Commercial bureau services
- Commercial centres
- Institutions for exhibition services and sales
- Institutions for leisure, resting and cultural activities
- Dormitories

In addition, the new proposal also provided formal grounds for large-scale private developments like shopping malls, and therefore attracted various private developers to the area, which later encouraged an increase in land values and land speculation attempts. Meanwhile, piecemeal approaches emerged, and parcel-scale planning practice was demanded by the developers, via proposing modification plans, which soon resulted in an inharmonious building and development pattern on Eskisehir Highway (Günay, 2005). Therefore, at the beginning of the 2000s, most of the south-western parts of the city were already covered with concrete, beyond the city planning boundaries, including the areas that were supposed to be protected for agricultural purposes. Therefore, the '1990 Master Plan's Partial Revision Plan' was prepared and approved to bring different modification plans together under one comprehensive plan. The plan also included 'special provisions for high-income groups' which referred to existing and upcoming luxurious residential areas, which were once designated as agricultural areas by the previous plan and where some of the gated communities and villas were now located, e.g. Angora Evleri.[89]

From the late 1980s until 2007, when the '2023 Capital City Ankara Master Plan' was approved (Figure 6.11), Ankara did not have any comprehensive Master Plan to control urban development. Consequently, the city was faced with more urban sprawl and

---

[89] Angora Evleri was initiated by Koop-18 with the contribution of some members of parliament, bureaucrats and some other famous business men in 1989, and the process from then until construction was completed (land provision, plan approvals etc.) displayed the power of well-off groups who used their positions of power, through which they could intervene in administrative decisions (Sanli, 2008).

modification plans, which has become the main planning tradition, and planning as a practical discipline were perceived as a bureaucratic obstacle to urban development.
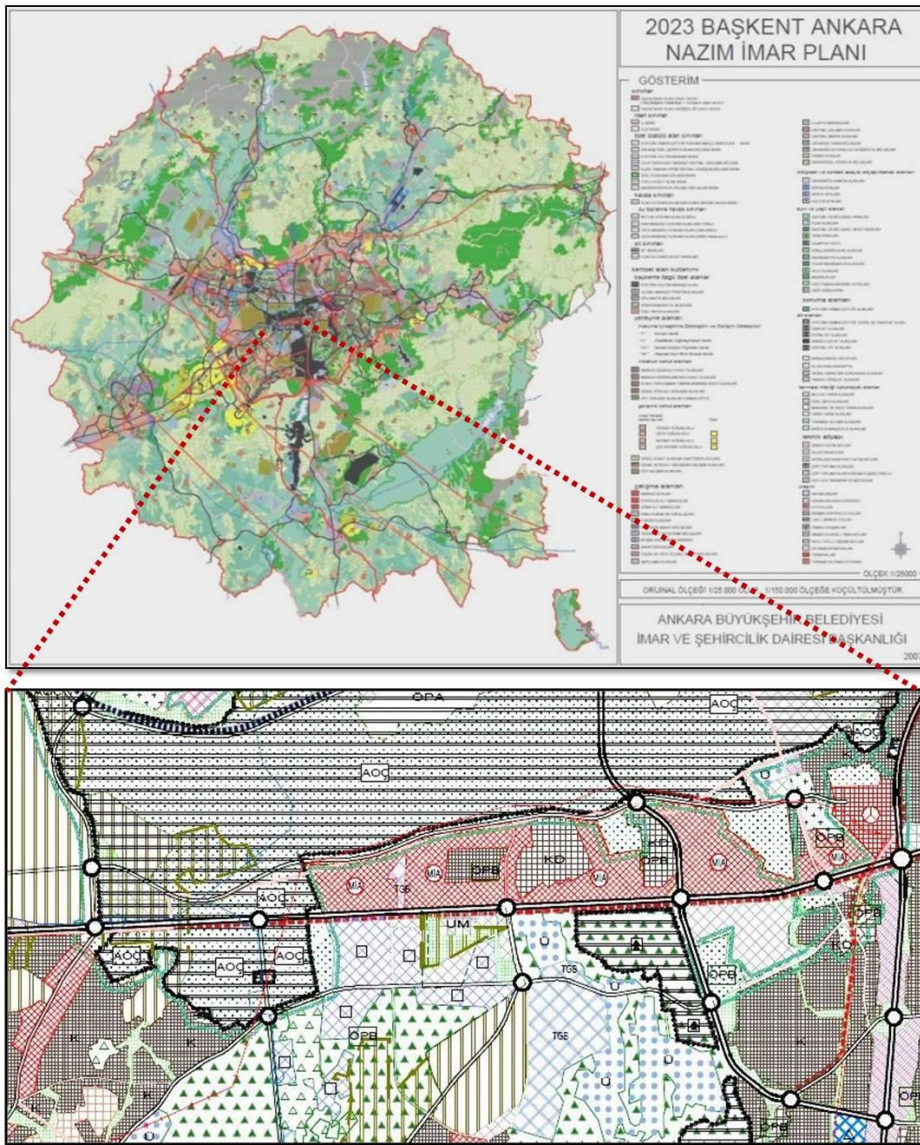
Figure 6.11. 2023 Capital City Ankara Master Plan and CBD decisions on Eskisehir Highway in detail
Source: Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, 2006

The plan of 2023, replaced the status of SAs, approved in the previous master plan, to Central Business Districts (CBDs) (called *MIA* in Turkish Figure 6.11). However, this decision tended to pose problems, owing to the plan report defining CBD areas in a very wide and flexible framework. This, on one hand, resulted in giving more flexibility for prospective private investments and on the other, provided a legal basis for the complexes already built, and inevitably contributed further to high-density private developments on the western axis.

In central business districts: bureau-office and similar administrative services; office blocks; restaurants; commercial centres; multi-storey shops; banks; hotels;

cinemas; theatres and alike social-cultural facilities; administrative facilities; education; health and similar facilities; and housing areas that would provide a liveliness, durability and security for the district can be built. In addition, mixed uses will be encouraged in and around the centres.

Furthermore, the 2000s were another milestone for Ankara as they were for the whole country. The term 'after the 2000s' represented new and renewed relations in urban planning and urban politics, having 'micro political' targets (in other words individualistic) and being based on 'protectionism' and political 'favouritism' (Sahin 2011). Sahin refers to a 'post-materialist condition' to explain the situation in Turkey, where local powerful actors – mostly the mayors – have generated a new type of representation through their own character and charisma (generating public character and public ego), rather than being involved with the popularity of the political party to which they belong. This has been apparent in examples especially from Ankara and Istanbul. For instance, the former Prime Minister, Mr. Erdogan who ruled the country for at least 10 years, was once the mayor of Istanbul and gained his popularity initially from that position. In addition, in matters concerning cities, he still refers to his experience as mayor that, claiming this gave him an inherent expertise in urban government, which however resulted in favouring and justifying profit-oriented large projects. Moreover, the mayor of Ankara has been another prominent example, as he has his public character beyond his party and has governed Ankara since 1994, and become the 'urban boss' of Ankara by his interventions and use of media and generated 'public ego' (ibid.) owing to his powerfulness in the city.

6.3.1 *The shopping mall experience of Ankara*

> Ankara is Turkey's number one mall city. The rentable retail mall space per 1000 head of population is 190 square metres, while it is 158 in Istanbul … (ATO[90] 2010).

Apart from concerns on public space, the development of the retail areas has been another problematic issue owing to the lack of a particular retail development or planning strategy. Traditionally, the development of the retail areas emerged either within the city centre development or developed automatically on the ground floors of residential apartment blocks. In addition, redundant flexibility of the terms used in plans and lack of restrictions in retail development left it in the investors' hands and interests. Consequently, the city has been faced with a boost in shopping mall development.

---

[90] Ankara Ticaret Odasi meaning Chamber of Commerce of Ankara

The first shopping mall of Ankara, Atakule emerged, unlike US examples, in the inner city (in the southern sub-centre), while the excessive rise of malls was encouraged in the western corridor, followed closely by the suburban region. Atakule was built in 1989, initiated by the public sector with a 'build-operate-transfer'[91] model, was given a name nominated by the local citizens and later became the main landmark of the city and appeared on postcards. Atakule has a tower (*kule* in the name also means tower) and three floors of shopping mall adjacent to it. The location of Atakule was in the southern, prestigious area of the city, Cankaya region, close to the presidential palace and foreign embassies, and was therefore surrounded by high-income residential areas. Although Atakule sustained its popularity for a long while, the aggressive boost in shopping mall development in the city and transformation in the neighbourhood's land-use pattern (from residential to office spaces) contributed to a loss in its popularity, and in the last few years it has become a dead mall; lately a new project has been proposed to rebuild it as a new luxurious mall (Figure 6.6). The second mall, Karum, was built in 1991, in the Tunali region within a comprehensive project including a five-star hotel (the Sheraton), which was constructed on what was once the vineyards of the Kavaklidere area. Tunali has always been a popular sub-centre of the city and particularly of the Cankaya region. However, although still being in use, due some managerial problems Karum has also lost its popularity. The problem was in consequence of the incompatibility between management and ownership, because individual stores were sold separately instead of being leased out, which eventually prevented comprehensive site management. Moreover, the first suburban mall was Galleria, built in 1995; it is also one of the cases of this study and is investigated in empirical chapters.

Figure 6.12. The first malls of Ankara Atakule 1989; Karum 1991; Galleria 1995
Source: Author, 2011; www.karum.com.tr; Author, 2011

---

[91] Within this model the company built and operates the mall then depending on the bilateral negotiation transfers it to the municipality.

Nevertheless, as mentioned, throughout the 1990s and especially the 2000s, disruption in urban politics and the commodification of urban space continued more severely, leading to further speculation in the built environment and the appearance of public–private associations based on the dynamic of relations of power, especially for shopping mall development. For instance, shortly after the establishment of Atakule, although it was built via the 'operate and transfer' model with a negotiation between private company and local government, it was privatised with an underestimated price soon after its establishment through a bidding process, which 'weirdly enough' had only one participant that also had strong links to the initial developer (Vakiflar Bank and supporting institutions); according to Saner, this was the result of the tacit relations between the mayor and the private company, and further, of a personal agreement on the sale between the mayor and the manager of Vakif Bank (Saner 2000: 49–50).

In addition, the example of Begendik has a different situation among the malls of Ankara. It has a united concept of mall and mosque that in later developments also became a popular concept to be used, as the status of a mosque can fall under *umuma acik alan* (public open area) and/or *umumi hizmet alani* (public service area) (see section 5.3.4) and therefore it is easier to get approval. The mosque, Kocatepe, completed in 1987, has a good central location in Ankara; there has been an innovative intervention of retailers to have the Begendik supermarket (completed in 1993) merging the existing building use with retail.

> Supermarket chain Begendik of Kayseri…managed to find a quite novel location in 1993 when it occupied the 48,000m² garage of a new mosque in the city centre of Ankara … The decisions were greeted with hostility by planners. However, the construction was realised and the occupation was allowed without an approved plan. Exploitation of unauthorised construction is quite common … periodic programs of amnesty during frequent election times legalise illicit construction, fuelling the exploitation even further (Tokatli and Boyaci 1998: 356–357).

Moreover, one of the important pillars of the transformation of Kizilay Square into a roundabout was through another mall project, initially called Kizilay Facilities Building project. The mall project has the main façade facing the traffic junction, with the entrance on the corner of the plot, different from the surrounding buildings, and providing public space qualities on the ground floor under the canopy of the entrance. However, the high-security controls at the entrance of the mall eliminated the previous public-space configuration on the same area (Batuman 2009), not to mention that the construction itself destroyed a whole large-scale traditional open public space (Figure

6.13). In addition, the space under the square, where the central subway station is located and an underground shopping centre is provided with further security (security guards, CCTVs and a small police station) also finalises the transformation of what was once a public space and the representative of the new city of the new republic into a shopping centre.
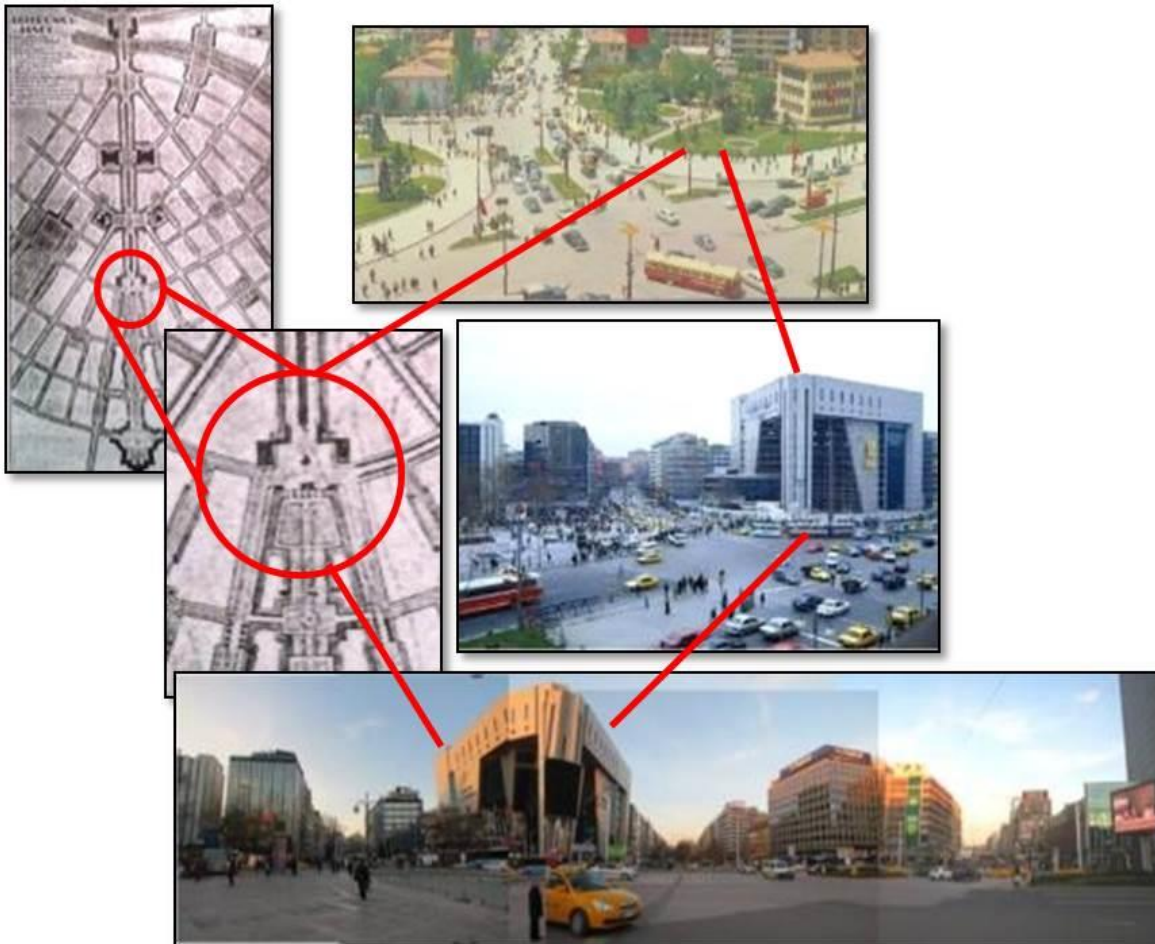
Figure 6.13. Transformation of Kizilay Square into a roundabout: Lochrer's design for the square; Kizilay in 1960s; Kizilay in 2012 and current air view

Source: Ankara Metropolitan Municipality 2006; Author 2012
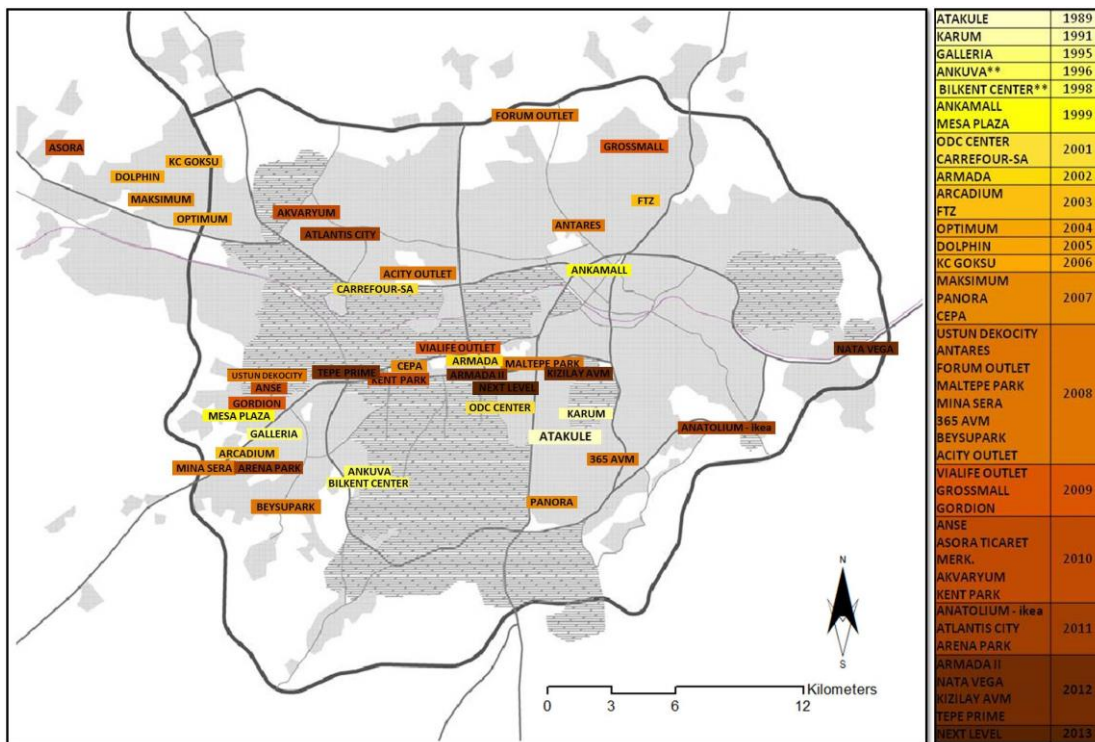
Figure 6.14. Shopping mall developments over time and their locations

As a result, shopping mall developments have been welcomed in the capital and represented themselves through the interactions of the public and private sectors, where the former has the ability to manage the legal status through planning and policies while the latter has the ability to manage economic and social capital; the actions of both have changed the pattern of urban space and generated their own power relations. The city of Ankara hosted 41 shopping mall developments by 2013, including outlet and specialised stores (Figure 6.14) and there was a significant increase in number after the 2000s.

6.4. Conclusion

This chapter demonstrated that national and local scale political and economic changes had an inevitable effect on the built environment in Turkey. The introduction of neo-liberal policies after the 1980s changed the patterns of retail and consumption, leading to inevitable shifts in urban fabric. In addition, each economic and political threshold in the country encouraged market forces to dominate the built environment through support of political and administrative forces which later became the source of continual commodification of urban space. For the Turkish case, it has been quite apparent that the built environment was reconstructed through tacit relations between

143

the interests of capital owners and those with political power, whose actions can be made 'legal' through tools crafted for this purpose. The emergence of shopping malls, reaching significant numbers, has been one of the consequences of this, particularly for the metropolitan cities of Istanbul and Ankara. The second part of the chapter, on the other hand, gave an insight into the urban development of the capital city, Ankara, in connection with planning practices and shopping mall developments. As a result, the chapter revealed that the main turning points that the country passed through have had a significant impact in Ankara, and urban development continued targeting movement of capital, which materialised while getting away from holistic attitudes.

CHAPTER 7 - POWER STRUGGLES AND INTERPLAYS THROUGH PRODUCTION OF 'PUBLICISED PRIVATE SPACE'

7.1 Introduction

Turkey has its own planning practice and planning dynamics for the development of shopping malls as contemporary public spaces. While the country has its own dynamics, which provide a contextual background, the city of Ankara has its own unique character and method of undertaking urban development. Here, the process of planning and implementation breeds its own actors and ways to deal with potential conflicting matters. This chapter reveals the shopping mall development processes through the exploration of the relations of the actors in the selected cases and how these relations operate through the use of formal instruments in reality.

This chapter starts by providing introductory information on the three selected cases, and later focuses, on revealing the actors involved throughout the planning processes of these cases and exploring their roles, which bridge their formal roles (as set out in previous chapters), with the practicalities of the specific context. After determining the actors of the process, the chapter then sets out the interactions among them and puts forward the driving forces behind and emerging impacts of these interactions. The third section of the chapter presents an insight into the tactical use of legitimate instruments by the defined actors, in order to understand how power in the area of planning is generated. Finally, the chapter analyses the notions of public space and shopping mall developments and answers the question of how these two ideas come together in urban planning practice.

7.2. Introduction to selected cases
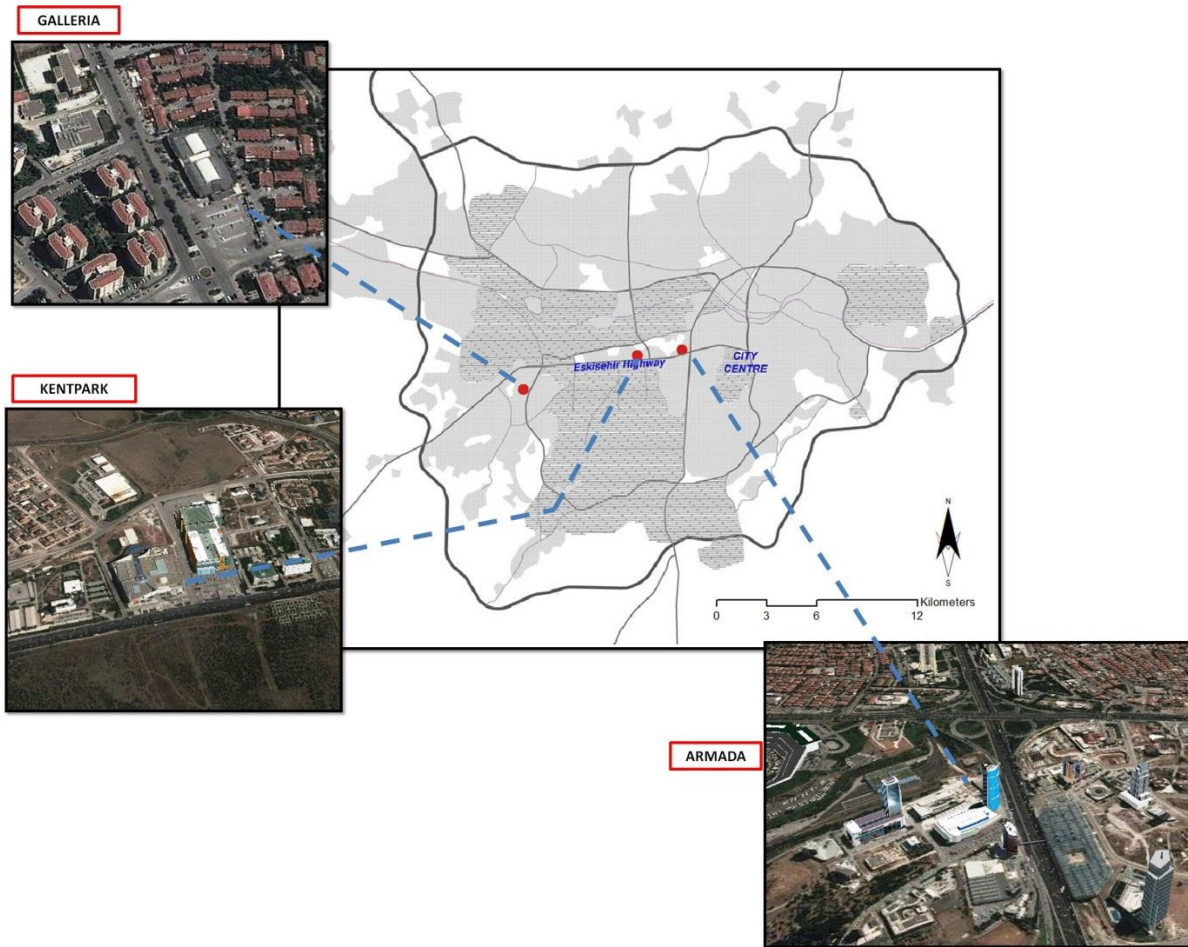
Figure 7.1. The sky view of the city and the selected cases and their location in Ankara
Source: Google Earth accessed 2012

As illustrated in Figure 7.1, the selected cases are located towards the western edge of the city. Galleria was built in 1995 and was the first shopping mall in Ankara's suburban residential neighbourhood and the third in the whole city. The other two cases, Armada (2002/2012) and Kentpark (2010) are located on the Eskişehir Highway and are situated in an area with a concentration of businesses, public institutions, university campuses, hotels, private hospitals and shopping malls. From this section on particular acronyms are used to refer particular actors, as given at the beginning of this thesis AMM (Ankara Metropolitan Municipality), CM (Cankaya District Municipality), YM (Yenimahalle District Municipality), CCCAA (Contemporary Capital City Association Ankara) and CUP (Chamber of Urban Planners).

The Galleria shopping centre has 20,000m² of usable area, with two main and three sub entrance–exit points, bowling and poolroom, 103 shops in total and parking areas with a capacity of 1,000 cars at the front and side of the mall. The mall is on 2432nd Avenue (formerly 8th Avenue) and has a wide variety of public transportation options

of both buses and *dolmuş*[92] from the central districts, and the southern and south-western suburban districts. The construction of the Galleria shopping centre was started in 1992 and completed in 1995 by the BESA Construction Company[93], whose headquarters is located in Armada shopping centre's office block. It built Galleria by using its own economic resources on 7,426m² areas and the mall has 7,771m² of leasable space. In addition, the centre has been managed by the same institution under the title of Galleria Ankara Management, and Huseyin Arslan has been the manager for the last ten years. The centre was the first to be situated in the western part of the city at the time it was built. However, the loss of popularity of the Galleria due to the boost of mall developments in the region also had a significant impact on customer profile where the initial customers from high-income groups were first replaced with middle- and relatively lower-income groups and also become limited to a small hinterland.

The second case, Armada (full name: 'Armada Shopping Mall and Business Centre'), was selected to represent the middle period of the mall development, but became a representative of the later period during this study due to its renewal project. The Armada Shopping Mall and Business Centre is located at the start of Eskisehir Highway, coming from the city centre, and is also adjacent to an important crossroads, where Eskisehir Highway crosses the Sogutozu (main road on the west of Armada) and Konya Highways (the highway on the east of Armada that connects the city to the south exit and to the city of Konya as a national highway, recently named Mevlana Highway). Therefore, the centre has advantageous physical accessibility in terms of public transportation options. In addition to the public buses and *dolmuş* options from main centres and various sub-centres, the terminus of the existing subway (Ankaray AŞTI[94] station) is also at a walking distance from Armada. Moreover, a new subway line (opened in 2014) connecting Kizilay to Cayyolu underneath Eskisehir Highway has a station adjacent to Armada. Armada commenced construction in 1999 and was completed and opened to its users in 2002 (Armada II was completed in 2012) by Söğütözü Construction and Management Company. The centre was initially a six-

---

[92] The *dolmuş* is a very popular national public transportation method, although it is run privately without any connection to the public sector. It is like a minibus which operates with the mentality of a shared taxi, which has pick-up and drop-off stations; however, a person can stop the *dolmuş* on the way at any point to get on or off. The word *dolmuş* translates as 'to be fully packed with', because unless the vehicle contains a sufficient number of passengers, the driver may not depart.
[93] The Administrative Board of the BESA Construction Company might be defined as a family business, as the ownership of the Galleria in the land registry since 2001 seems to be shared among two brothers and two sisters of the Bezci family, including Salih Bezci (who is also involved in the administrative board of Armada and Panora, and is the head of the Ankara Chamber of Commerce) (*Turkey Trade Register Journal*).
[94] AŞTI: Ankara Şehirlerarası Terminal İşletmesi: Ankara Main Intercity Bus Terminal.

storey mall and a 21-storey office block, and was the first on the highway. Armada I was built on 19000m² of 36000m² leaving the rest for Armada II project and have construction area of 125000m² and 80000²respectively. Since its opening, the centre has changed manager three times; at the moment, Çiğdem Gönen is the manager of the centre. The centre is managed by Jones Lang Lasalle, a British firm specialising in real estate services and investment management, which has had a partnership with a Turkish firm, Avi Alkaş, since 2008. Since its establishment, Armada's share of the mall market has been so high and successful that some of its partners continued to invest in other big mall investments in the city, these include national and local politicians, which has also led to a something of a monopoly within the sector (Aksel Gurun, 2009)[95] [96]. At the moment the centre has 56535m² leasable areas in total.

The third case, Kentpark shopping mall, is located on Eskisehir Highway 7 km from the city centre and adjacent to another shopping mall called Cepa in Mustafa Kemal neighbourhood. The centre is designed as a mixed-use project, including offices and residences – 465 flats were proposed, yet have not been built due to continuing formal conflicts. Similarly to Armada, Kentpark is also close to some of the decentralised public institutions and to campuses of some of the well-known universities (i.e. METU is adjacent, Bilkent University and Hacettepe University are fairly close) and has relatively good public transportation options: while the *dolmuş* operates on both sides from the city centre, buses are also available to and from the city centre and several sub-centres. The land preparation for Kentpark started in 2006 and was completed in 2009 by MegaTurk Construction Tourism and Business,[97] who are also responsible for the management of the mall, on 42,500m² out of an area of 70,000m², and the remaining area was left for residential project. Kentpark has 80,000m² of lettable area and 12,000m² of office space. As stated above, there is another shopping mall on the adjacent plot, called Cepa, which was designed by the same architect but opened a couple of years previously, and was initially planned to be one large project together with Kentpark. However, due to some disagreements between the owners of the plots the projects were developed separately. Kentpark has been chosen as the most recent

---

[95] According to *Turkey Trade Register Journal*, each of the associates of the selected malls can be found with their shareholdings. Armada has 34 associates, two of which are firms; one of these is Besa Construction and Hayat Building Construction, and Salih Bezci, who has the highest share in Besa and Galleria has had the highest number of shares in Armada since 2009. Rifat Hisarcıklıoğlu, who is the head of the Union of Chamber and Commodity Exchanges, has the second highest number of shares. In addition, another shareholder, Ihsan Ayrancioglu, is also one of the founders of Kentpark.
[96] The head of the company RTUK (the supreme board of radio and television) also has a large shareholding in Armada. In addition, some media sources also reveal that some local political actors, despite not having a direct share, have been favoured by subtle benefits (*Hurriyet*, 20.09.2008).
[97] By 2009 MegaTurk had 40 shareholders, some of whom also had shares in Armada (Turkey Trade Register Journal).

case study; however, it also proved to be the most contentious one in terms of its production processes.

7.3. Positioning the key actors: roles and their interactions

The investigation of municipal archives and interviews with key informants has revealed that the reality of planning, as Hillier (2002) emphasised, is disappointing. Through this investigation a new insight obtained which defines and redefines the actors and their multiple roles, some of who were hidden within the idealised formal processes defined by legislation (see Figure 5.10). The additional processes and actors of planning practice for the selected cases surfaced via plan modification proposals, approvals and formal objections; each step bred antagonism among the actors engaged in various tactics. Thus, the usual flow chart of the planning process needed to be revisited with regard to the selected cases (Figure 7.2).

Approval process

Further assessment by the planning departments

Planning department of the municipality assess the new plan

- Relevancy check with regulations and higher scale plans

Council Meeting: Evaluation and approval

If any concerns are raised

If the plan gets approval

1 month declaration / announcement period

If there is not any objection then the approval for the plan become finalised

If there is any objection: 15 days of assessing the objection

Council Meeting: Final decision for the plan

If the plan changes process repeats

If the plan changes process repeats

If the objection is rejected initial council decision becomes definite

60 days of secondary objection

If any lawsuit is entered

If no lawsuit is entered

Court consults for expert opinion

Court decision (mostly) depends on experts' report

If the decision is against the complainant the planning process continues

If the decision is against the plan: suspension of execution

Defendant to go appellate procedure or to superior court

Process repeats

In the meantime new plan proposal is presented and process repeats for the new proposal from the beginning

Figure 7.2. Redesigned flow chart of the formal processes with regard to real practices

For the urban development of selected cases, the common tendency is to start with a plan modification that comes from either a single investor or from a private company as the developer. Then, the process continues with the assessment of the proposal by the directorate of construction affairs of the relevant municipality. This later obtains approval from the council (councillors are not necessarily planners) by voting in their meetings. If there is any problem the proposals are then passed to the planning

department (consisting of ordinary planners with no approval authority) for further consultation. During this period the planning department delivers an assessment report, although the council may disregard the commissions' findings. As mentioned in Chapter 5, after the approval of the plan by the council, there is a period of one month in which any objections[98] should be raised in the format of a formal petition. However, according to the district municipal interviewees, such applications do not have any significance, as they can easily be rejected by the municipality. Therefore, the main conflicts and disputes start within the secondary objection process (a period of 60 days after the initial 30 days) where a lawsuit may be entered against the approval, in order to suspend (or cancel) the project (NGOs or even a private citizen may enter a lawsuit[99] and therefore can become a stakeholder in the process).

In the case of Ankara, it is usually the district municipalities, CUP[100] or NGOs (e.g. CCCAA[101] in this study) who raise objections and enter lawsuits; according to them they are the only organisations to reclaim the rights and represent the views of citizens and of the public interest in the city. Therefore, these organisations are the only ones which could be the potential participants of the planning process apart from decision makers. Thus, in the empirical chapters the word 'participation' is used to refer to their acts in the process in the name of public. In the planning process there is no direct participation by the public themselves; therefore, the power relations and planning process inherently omits them and instead continues between decision makers and opposing actors. This process is also the phase in which complex power relations surface. It is because, without any conflict raised by opposition, the relations of power in the decision making process would be completed unnoticed.

In addition, what is noticeable here is that the AMM is mostly subjected to lawsuits as the defendant, as they are the ultimate decision-makers on urban development by virtue of new legislation (Chapter 5). The developers aim to develop good relations with that authority and inevitably participate on its side in the courts. Thus, in those cases they act collectively, operating through various strategies with mutual interests. For example, if the lawsuit continues by a decision to suspend proceedings by the

---

[98] During the declaration process, anyone either a natural person or a legal person or public institution has the legal right to raise an objection.
[99] Lawsuits (Suits of Nullities) against planning decisions and regarding issues are considered as an administrative custom, thus dependent on the Administrative Jurisdiction Procedures Law (no.2577). Within this law, the suits of nullities are defined as: 'the suits that are entered by those whose benefits have been violated, for the cancellation of the administrative custom due to its illegitimate condition in terms of authorisation, format, reason, subject or purpose' (amended Article 2/1-a).
[100] More details on the legitimate and current condition of CUP can be found in appendix
[101] More details on the legitimate and current condition of CCCAA can be found in appendix

court, then in the meantime (during the time between the suspension decision and the application of the appeal procedure) another plan proposal is prepared by the private representative and approved by the AMM Council in order to be able to continue construction and gain time. However, this new proposal can also be (and mostly is) subjected to further objections, continuing with lawsuits, and the process then repeats. However, attending to these strategies requires an intense and a careful follow-up by the institution opposing the development, due to the lack of transparency in planning practice. Echoing that, during the interviews both the district municipalities and CUP members stated that they assign one of their members only to follow up with the new proposals approved by the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, in order not to miss the objection period as defined by law.

7.3.1. *The relations among the actors and pseudo-participation in practice*

In Figure 7.2, the flow of the process in actual practice displays the pseudo-participation of external[102] actors. It is 'pseudo' because it occurs only if the process includes a legal challenge, as the approval process does not provide any option for participation or does not either empowers the planners to promote participatory democracy that is a feature of most developed country practice (Healey 1996). In Turkish legislation, it is not mandatory for municipal authorities or private developers to include an additional consultancy or seek the participation of professional representatives, NGOs or citizens. Thus, the voices of these civil actors can only be heard in the event of objections. The most prominent term of practice by CUP in formal procedures is to provide a relevancy check on the form or the technical means as stated above. Therefore, even if the municipal actors or other governmental actors are able to take an initiative and request their participation or consultancy, which in some rare cases may happen, the real and active participation only starts in the case of lawsuits. The comment of 'Head_CUP' is critical:

> We have attended to some of the meetings of the parliament and presented our opinion, also submitted a report, they listened, but just listened and did otherwise or participation is requested in order to prevent possible opposition beforehand 'to test and to defuse the conditions.

Furthermore, the above-mentioned participation, emerging only in the case of opposition, also makes mutual trust building and reliability of the process vulnerable, which is suggested to be central to planning (Stein and Harper 2003). This is because

---

[102] Here 'external' refers to actors like CUP and CCCAA which are only able to participate externally through raising an objection.

the representation takes place only in the condition of opposition and thereby the purpose is synonymised with 'to oppose' and thus creates discontent. This also redefines the decision-makers' perception of the representation of civil action, claiming that it is biased and is done for the sake of opposing; therefore, NGOs and particularly CUP have been criticised for that and for being 'stubborn and raising opposition only to be obstinate' (Councillor_AMM and Directorate_AMM). This situation shed light upon the actors' perceptions of each other presenting agonism based on anticipation (Foucault 1994). On the one hand, the internal and powerful actors (decision-makers) present a conditional contentment for the participation of the external actors by welcoming it, but only if it is positive and/or supportive. On the other hand, the external actors (who claim to represent the public interest) are only given the chance to be part of the process through an objection.

The situation also uncovers traces of antagonism in the planning praxis through agonistic relations requiring strategy and tactic building (Foucault 1994; Hillier 2002).

> Who are experts? They are academics, they are also preconditioned. Think: the municipality has 500 employees and they gave a decision, then 3 professors are appointed by the courts to challenge that decision. How many plans have these professors done in real life? What have they done throughout their life apart from being an academic? They say urbanism principles, which principles? There is no such thing. You can't think everything is for the public interest … The experts should also investigate the daily conditions of how much money was spent for that investment, how many people will be suffering from their decision (Councillor_AMM).

> You academics![103] You put obstacles in the way of everything, in the way of every investment (Directorate_AMM).

> The CUP and other organisations should participate of course but only if they are going to give positive critiques not negative, if you are going to give a negative critique why would I invite you? The chambers are not giving up just to be obstinate (Councillor_AMM)

Therefore, the process suggests the representation of the non-governmental actors is limited to two aspects: the first one is non-functional and ineffective even if realised; and the second is redundant because there is a bias held by the authorised governmental actors who also question practice-related proficiency and disregard the planning profession.

---

[103] The interviewee was also making a clear criticism of the position of the researcher by referring to academics during the interview.

Turkish planning practice assigns greater authorisation to council members and their will; even if they do not necessarily have professional expertise in urban planning (see Section 5.3.3), their opinions have higher status than planners'. Therefore, urban development, based on the councillors' will, has been left to be influenced by their experiences rather than professional expertise. This situation reflects elitist theory, where the few powerful in the cities exert influence to decision making processes (Harding 1995) as it is also because they have been able to use their force and occupation (they may be builders, tradesmen, managers and civil engineers) and therefore eager in constant urban development via giving approvals (Kilinc et al. 2009).

> Author: But not everyone in the council is a planning professional or has planning knowledge, do they?
>
> Councillor_AMM: No, they know, well I mean it is the experience of years of being a council member, everyone has learnt what's what, and they don't need a degree for that.

Moreover, the cases revealed that, in contrast to planners working in the same institution being relaxed about criticising the position their authority takes, the AMM Council members and other empowered actors, depending on their position or authority, are highly politicised and usually act in accordance with the prevalent political position[104], in other words instead of echoing the public or other non-governmental actors' concerns. However, while the planners are able to have a relaxed position on criticising and being able to suggest alternative solutions, their concerns are not being heard or approved by the AMM Council.

There is also the 'dense and dynamic net of omnipresent relations' between the big investor groups and the members of the municipality, as was the case in Aalborg (Denmark) (Flyvbjerg 1998: 5). In addition, 'lawyer_CCCAA' underlines a similar criticism while also adding that the core of the real situation is much more complex than the parts on the surface which are open to any investigation. This is because the power is not merely dependent on the state apparatus but also has its roots within multiple, undefined power relations (Foucault 1994).

> Some of the gossips against us came from CHP as some of them were thinking we would reach some political position via our actions. We told them then you do continue to the courts, you are opposing things that cost a million dollars but you don't take any serious step and enter a lawsuit … CUP, they are also shady, before we establish this association

---

[104] Ankara Metropolitan Municipality is ruled by the conservative party (AK) that runs the country at the moment, whereas the Cankaya District Municipality and Yenimahalle District Municipality is governed by the main opposition party (CHP).

we proposed to work together but they said no, now how many actions to oppose do they proceed with? Not enough of course (Lawyer_CCCAA).

… the architectural project approvals are being done here in our municipality ... the municipality can resist and state that 'no, I will not permit a shopping mall in this zone'. However, has there been too much resistance like this up till now? The situation seems pretty obvious (Planner_CM).

The above critiques demonstrate that there are not just simply two conflicting sides consisting of the ruling political party and the opposition, as the process includes a complexity of relations and networks, management and domination of urban land and a high amount of capital invested in urban space, which is prone to speculation and works similarly to the stock market. Thus, it can be said that any objective or 'scientific' essence of the planning profession is undermined by the daily practicalities of conflicts. Thus, it is vitally necessary to understand ongoing power relations because only then can the routine of the distortion of planning practice be broken (Forester 1989).

7.3.2. *The implicit drivers in the process: behind the doors*

Actual power and its relations are generated when they free themselves from their visible image (i.e. domination, oppression and repression) (Foucault, 1980), meaning the power and relations bounded by it actually operate when they are least observable. However, what we observe is their impacts, especially for the subject of this study in urban space, where their material presence is asserted (Harvey 2005) over the built environment in various ways. Among these, although the power of economic capital and control appear to be the main generator of power relations, in practice other types of capital such as relational networks has the ability to generate and regenerate actual power by reinforcing themselves through experience. The 'growth builders' (Molotch, 1993: 32) of the urban environment – or we may say within the 'urban growth machine' (Logan and Molotch 2010) that works through 'urban entrepreneurialism' (Harvey 1989a, 2012) – are in relation with local government through obtaining permits and approvals; thus, this interaction 'alters spatial relations and social conditions of the built environment' while establishing further relations with officials (Molotch 1993). Concurrently, this generates a set of experiences that is ever dynamic and manipulated via these relations. Therefore, planners, who work for the developers, and also the developers themselves, have a significant impact on the process of urban development via their agency in power relations and through their credit notes and credential capital (Coleman 1990; Bourdieu 1986; see Section 2.3.1). The credit, within social capital, is

redeemed later, in accordance with how it is performed and when it is needed in practice. This situation has arisen considering that some of the actors (either private planners or developers) have continuously been involved in different projects but in similar ways. This was also emphasised once it was realised, through the municipal[105] archive investigation, the Turkey Trade Registry Journal[106] and interviews:

> Obviously these kinds of plans are prepared by certain names. However, it is not because of the powerful economic capital relations. It is a kind of closeness to the authority. 'Whose plans are able to get approval from this municipality without a problem?' This question is a frequent advertisement tool for those names (Head_CUP).

In addition, during the interviews, another side of the process was revealed, which was, however, revealed not through exploring the formal processes or through archive research[107]. This new realisation also presented how this new group of actors operated in different conditions and how they became an agency with which specific interests. Within the perpetuating process of power relations of different agencies (legislation, authorities, owners of capital, and professionals and their opponents) the interests are also redefined and cascaded through urban development. In the same practice, some of the actors, whom we may call external, manifested within the step-by-step exploration of practice in the case of conflict. It was also realised that this was the stage where implicit relations dominating power became observable. Having control over access to the various types of capital, time and expertise eases negotiation and communicative processes in 'formal-bureaucratic and informal settings' which then produces 'a systematic distortion' (Forester 1989: 22). However, in the context of the selected cases, the distortions might be even more severe than explained by Forester, especially if they lead to informality through informal networks (as was the cases investigated by Hillier 2002) and transformation of communication from organisational or institutional to individualistic grounds. Therefore, 'it is who you know, not what you know' appeared in the present cases as well.

---

[105] It has been realised that the recent plans of the Armada and Kentpark, which have been subjected to opposition and the continued court processes, were prepared by the same planner.
[106] The Turkey Trade Registry Journal is a journal for investor groups and companies and presents the latest important issues about them, e.g. who are the investors; when is the board of management meeting; if the investment group is merging with another group and similar items.
[107] Some of the interviewees, as presented in the following pages, referred to important but subtle networking structure that is effective in decision making process and interfering to opposing process and some of the opposing actors (i.e. threatening) and based on favouritism or in some cases Mafiosi relations. However, these kinds of relations are not open to any kind of academic research or formally documented.

> The capital that has been used in those investments are really different, different than usual, well … I mean it's even beyond us, it is better to not to speak about it (Planner_CM).

> Even since the beginning of the first planning experience, the rulings of plans were undermined. This might happen even more nowadays … At the implementation of a plan, *a request comes from an individual or friendship or old-boy network*, such that you are not able to refuse the request. This is what usually happens (Planner_AMM emphasis added)

The above quotation uncovers the level of patronage relations stated in Chapter 5, where accessing state institutions is vital for economic capital (powerful actors in business) and it is traditionally and historically embedded in political patronage networks (Karadag 2010) and planning decisions are biased favouring the powerful businesses and are also able to be manipulated by the elected officials (Oc and Tiesdell 1994; Keyder and Oncu 1994).The relations in the process are revealed through conflicts and these also uncovered uniquely antagonistic interactions. Due to this antagonistic condition, the actors tend to represent (very briefly) two counter-interests – the supporting side and the opposing side – which, however, in reality have more than two interests and aims. The cases of Armada and Kentpark revealed that, although the supporter actor (proposer of the project) and the opposing actors were expected to engage with hostility, and governmental actors were expected to have a more neutral position as a mediator, the reality demonstrated that the relations based on more complex dynamics reflected antagonism, and there 'anticipation' became more critical than domination, as stated by Hillier (2002) and Foucault (1994). These relations also include the individualistic conditions of the actors as well as formal necessities like manners; feelings, values; closeness; allied interests; political and ideological interests; and identities (Killian 1998; Hiller 2002). The process, in reality, continued with an alliance between the approving institution and private developer (the proposing side) engaging in various tactical and strategic actions for quick solutions to conflicts. On the one hand, this condition may be seen as strengthening and reshaping the essential social capital of the process, and on the other hand, establishing authority-supported reasons to ease the path to approval by crafting legitimate instruments. Therefore, the situation emphasises the 'slippery' nature of power (Dovey 1999) and devitalises communicative potential, while encouraging existing distortions in the practice.

> To reduce the land expenses they have been undermining plans or proceeding against the regulations and legislation by proposing other plans … this is result of mutual bilateral relations (Planner_AMM)

Therefore, the tacit relations of power show similarities to the southern Italian case of the late nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century, where, according to Cubb (1982), those having authority over legitimate instruments of local government, namely the 'municipal power' and the 'local notables', were also in relationship with the mafia to strength their position in the power structure. Although, in the Turkish case, there is no clear 'mafia', some of the interviews reveal that the ways in which the alliances operate in the power structure in urban development act similarly:

> There have been many interesting incidents that we had faced on these issues, well things that you cannot even take a note of them let alone recording, mafia style with brute force, let me only tell this much ... it is always hard to deal with the powerful, for the public prosecutors it is even harder to deal with the mayor … For private projects, there is a very powerful group that plays with real estate. It is impossible to uncover through academic researches, but if they gave me a proper public prosecutor I would reveal all. The problem here is also about the timing of the changes in ownership and the rise in the building rights of the plot. I might have called them land mafia, but I cannot now, because the group consists of businessmen (Lawyer_CCCAA).

The comment above associates the 'mafia' networking and acting in urban land development practice in Turkey. There, the land speculation and real estate market are manipulated and dominated by certain groups and their networking relations and any possible conflict is solved again through the merits of the power they hold, whether it is a high position of authority, that have the ability to craft and adapt legislative grounds, or the more direct use of power (brute force). However, due to the hidden condition of these relations and actions, as stated by the lawyer, it is nearly impossible to provide any academic evidence to support these claims, but only via interviews and revelations of conflicts.

7.4. The power on the site and the use of formal grounds in practice:

7.4.1. *Tactical actions and bending legitimate instruments*

The impact of power that reshapes planning is 'masked as technical rationality' (Flyvbjerg and Richardson 2002: 60), meaning adapting legal or technical obstacles within the legitimate process to the interests of power holder. Therefore, this section examines how legitimate instruments are being crafted in practice and thus, how power is being reproduced through the urban planning reality. In Turkey, the hierarchical authorisation, while having been recentralised (see Section 5.3.1), has also been generating conflicts within the layers of authority at local level. In the Turkish context,

the administrative members (mayor and councillors) of municipalities are selected by local elections and their administrative roles are defined in legislation. However, due to the continuous changes in the legislative system and conflict-based approaches in planning that usually ends in court cases – and become dependent on the judicial structure – concerns about the distorted conditions of democratic representation, as in the example of the withdrawal of the licence of CCCAA (see Appendix for details), has become prominent. Thus, the recent period has witnessed alterations in the existing structures and distortions bred from the realities experienced have leveraged the already powerful in the system, while causing the powerless to lose yet more.

> If you think of the constructor, land owner and municipality as the three pillars, the jurisdiction is also another sub-pillar now. Their interrelationship is very good (Lawyer_CCCAA).

Since 2004 (the enactment of Law no.5216), the metropolitan municipalities have been the higher authority and have been able to overrule the district municipalities, especially for shopping mall developments, regardless of the project relations with districts. In addition, this condition has also been contributed to metropolitan municipalities having the capability of regulation provision, which entitles them as qualified to produce their own guide book of regulations and also, therefore, gives them authority to propose new legislation. However, the changes in 2011 in urban development legislation meant that the central government ministry is now authorised to overrule all the district and metropolitan municipalities. However, this change has also led to additional conflicts of authorisation. For instance, there have been incidents where a plan proposal was first declined by the district municipality; then, the project owner applied to the regarding metropolitan municipality and to the ministry at the same time, but with some differences in each proposal, and both institutions gave approval. This situation, as far as the planner in Yenimahalle District was concerned, contributed to the existing vagueness and confusion in practice, as it is now possible to have two proposals approved by different authorities for the same area with some differences between them. Therefore, a new question would arise: who would govern the city and its planning practice, and who would have priority in the process of implementing plans.

In addition, the changes in current legislation, especially the laws regarding the declaration of TAs (Transformation Areas) redefines responsibilities and treats the metropolitan municipalities as the only competent authority in the case of a TA

declaration. The new situation not only widens the scope of authorisation of the metropolitan municipalities, but also eliminates possible opposition that might come from the districts. In other words, in some cases the opportunity for the district municipalities to participate democratically in the projects within their borders is further restricted and has allowed metropolitan municipalities to disregard the democratic participation of district municipalities.

> By legislation nearly all approval authorisations of the districts belong to the AMM, I wish they wouldn't be obstinate on these things, because at the end of the day you are just a district municipality (Councillor_AMM).

Moreover, another criticism raised by the key informants was the political representatives undermining the chance of common action, where different political parties controlled different districts, and each of them had their own political interest and power (Shapiro 1990 in Hillier 2002), depending on their ideologies or networks. This is reflected within this present study, regarding some districts being ruled by the main opposition party in the parliament whereas the AMM has been ruled by the main government party for more than a decade.

> Things might have been different, if we could have done some joint projects together with the AMM, frankly speaking if we could have been from the same political party (Planner_CM).

The opposing political representation between the AMM and district municipalities adds another dimension to the existing power relations. There, on the one hand, the more powerful authority takes advantage of (and even reshapes if needed) the instruments of legislation; and on the other hand have greater capability of domination by putting the districts out of action via that advantageous condition.

> The rises in the building rights … coincides with the time when whole informal settlements (Karakusunlar and Cukurambar)[108] were destroyed for the sake of urban transformation and became the high-end attraction centre of the city … where nearly each member of the parliament has at least two flats, where the leisure and gastronomy sector became rampant … the mayor, since then, bought Karakusunlar and Cukurambar parcel by parcel … or pass them to the possession of the AMM, for example 'the iron cage'[109] located right opposite the Armada which has long been discussed due to the land speculations ... Also the interventions of TOKI … there is no need to separate these two authorities (AMM and TOKI) as long as they favour each other. The prior reason to that is definitely

---

[108] These two regions are located right across the Armada to the south.
[109] This name has been given by the citizens of the city to the uncompleted (and long under construction) metro station which is supposed to serve the western axis of the uncompleted metro line.

political 'if I am not able to get the votes of Cankaya then I'd take the hold of the valuable lands' – this is their tactic (Planner_CM).

The above quote refers to the deliberate actions of the powerful decision-maker actors in Ankara for the popular region Cankaya–Cukurambar (to which Armada is also adjacent). These deliberate actions arise as corresponding tactical approaches and have the aim of reclaiming domination on the urban land via agonistic approaches through exploiting interventions of the potential opposition (Foucault 1994), although that approach was also criticised by Hiller (2002) due to not providing any mediating grounds, is also the case for Ankara. There, the already powerful actors find their own ways to generate domination and coercion – if not created via electoral processes (which would provide legitimate and wider authorisation), they were created via new strategies.

Furthermore, ethical considerations were also frequently brought up by the interviewees. Added to the results of Kilinc et al. (2009) (see Section 5.3.3) on ethics in the Turkish planning system, this present study puts forward that the lack of professional ethical considerations and aggressive yet hidden distortions are also fed by the existing relations of urban power. The legislative grounds, jurisdiction, individualistic perceptions of planning principles, actors and interactions have been changing in an interconnected mechanism while having a significant impact on the performance of the planning profession; and thus, on the ethics of the profession and values in planning. Following a similar pattern the relaxation that has happened within legislative structures and the ethos of planning that has also become relaxed by the actions of some of the planners, the ethical considerations and professional morals have also been reduced to a different way of thinking. According to municipal planners in this way the private planners think as: 'if I don't do this for that company someone will do it anyway, so why would I miss that job'.

7.4.2. *Between the lines: gains through bending regulations*

One of the main problems of planning praxis in the Turkish context is using open-ended and flexible terminologies, particularly the expression of them through planning notes, in particular proposals, and this paves the way for investors to build up their own strategies to deal with urban land. The terms *urban Services Areas (SA)* and *urban Working Areas (WA)* were used for the first time in the 1990 Ankara Master Plan, and

the gradual increase of the Floor Area Ratio (FAR)[110] and lately *Central Business Districts (CBD)* and *urban Transformation Areas (TA)* have become the most popular terms for particular land-use typologies like shopping malls.

> The flexibilities within the determination of WAs and SAs made the production of the shopping malls more convenient for the investors. Every sort of planning procedure has already completed with no extra planning processes with the municipality or any kind of bureaucracy … In addition to that, the gradual FAR[111] has been encouraging for them (Deputy_CM).

By 2006 in Ankara there were 50 urban transformation declarations; 30 of them were declared by the AMM, contributing to the argument above, the aim was to eliminate the aggravation generated by the urban planning bureaucracy (Sahin 2006). These urban transformation projects not only 'seize the urban rents' through public–private partnerships but have also 'become a tool to implement demands that cannot be legitimised through planning' (ibid, 119). The lack of clarity for proposing and defining different types of land uses within the relevant article in the law[112] regarding the declaration of TA has also contributed to the development of shopping malls and similar large developments. The use of this article also helped those projects to gain popularity and become a precedent for future ones, and has thereby become an instrument for the subtle relationship of public and private on which private actors and local public authorities base their own kind of negotiations.

In addition, the implementation of the graduated FAR (floor area ratio) was also another instrument to be bent in investors' favour, which was done as an incentive to them as was the case for some of the Western developments (Nemeth 2009). Benefiting from the gradual FAR has become a tradition among developers for merging divided land plots to get higher building rights and therefore encourages investing in large-scale constructions. However, Ankara Metropolitan Municipality abolished the use of the graduated FAR in 2008, providing a statement on improving and revitalising the central business districts and city centre, and thus limiting urban sprawl, decentralisation and

---

[110] KAKS/Emsal is a method of calculation of the construction rights on a particular plot of land (floor area ratio or FAR). The calculation is made by dividing the sum of all the floor areas of the buildings into the overall parcel area. For example if the area of the land is 1000m² and the FAR is given as 1.25, then 1000 × 1.25 = 1250m² is the sum of the floor area of the building excluding the roof, basement, mezzanine floor, parking garage, fire escapes and lifts.
[111] The graduated FAR was a form of increase which was adjusted in accordance with the land size, for instance, the plots up to 5000m² would obtain a FAR of 1.5 while those between 5000-10000m² would obtain a FAR of 2 and those over 10,000m² would obtain 2.5.
[112] Within Municipality Law no.5393, section 6 and article 73 refer to the urban transformation areas and their declaration. Details can be found in the appendix.

increased development of the shopping malls; yet, lately that limitation has also been cancelled.

Using these legislative instruments in favour of private investments and easing the path for the investors by the local authorities via relaxing and crafting the instruments in responding individualistic demands (Oncu 1988; Flybjerg and Rirchardson 2002) require mutual negotiations to benefit both sides in the end. On the side of the authority, the gain is to advertise a big investment and brand that as a service provided by them. On the side of the developer the gain is having a smooth path without much of a challenge by the legislative process.

> There wasn't even any inauguration system like that before … At the local level we know that these amenities are *personal and tailor-made*, specially adjusted according to the circumstances by saying 'as long as you make this investment, I'll do the rest in the care of state's potentials' (Deputy_CM)

A similar viewpoint was also held by the planners from the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality and the Cankaya Municipality, both stating the municipalities are usually in favour of generating financial activity rather than considering the public interest or striving to return the benefit to the public itself. However, the 'Directorate_AMM's' comments were strictly against putting the main emphasis on the required support for private investments, as for him these developments should be seen as beneficial for increased employment and because of the significant amount of taxes coming from the investment which would then be returned to the public as services. Therefore, in a nutshell, the analysis of the process and the interviews gathered around two concepts: first, those coming from the non-decision makers, referred to the lack of ethics in the planning practice and criticised the tailor-made amendments of the legitimate instruments that are encouraged by organic networks; second, those raised by the actors among the decision-makers, stated that these criticisms were unjust and biased as these changes, from their point of view, improved the greater common good and were therefore needed.

7.5. Positioning public space and shopping mall developments in the practice of legislations

As stated in Chapter 5, public spaces have not been recognised as having a basis in law in the country. The synonymised uses of 'public space' and 'public sphere' with the space of the public institution were also highlighted strongly during the interviews. The notion of public space and its relationship with shopping malls were emphasised by some of the key informants with regard to their profession and the legislative system in urban planning experience. Therefore, some of the participants, who holds a more critical point view and doesn't have authorisation for decision making in the planning process, emphasised the ambiguities in the concepts in both daily life and planning legislation, stating that the legislative definitions do not provide grounds for the determination of public space in relation to urbanism, but instead refer merely to public institutions. Thus, interests are also defined through the same understanding, and the perception in some cases defined as the interest of the relevant public institution not of the public itself. Most of the key informants had similar views on the significant lack of the concept in the legislative system as well as the non-existence of the criteria to refer to the use of those spaces. The planners' and the experts' views revealed that the essence of planning has been abused and the complications generated by the current structure of urban planning practice have contributed to that. Particularly for planners, due to the priorities of the institutions they work for and the conflicts engendered by the gaps in the legislation, production of public space and pursuit of the public interest are not being put on the agenda. This, on the one hand, was triggered by the withdrawal of the public sector due to privatisation and the private sector perceiving public spaces as liabilities (as they would not generate any economic benefit); and on the other hand, local authorities (as the main actor in the power relations) would not obtain immediate political benefits (Madanipour 2010). However, while the planners and experts had critical opinions about the issue, interviewees who were of higher status or decision makers were more defensive of the current practices in urban space.

In addition, as stated in Chapter 6, even if they do not hold a specific legislative basis yet merely depend on the commercial land uses, the mall investments in Turkey have been seen as the activator of urban and economic development (Aksoy 2012; Balaban 2012). Thus, they have been viewed as one of the main instruments to be used for plan modifications, especially for urban transformation projects. However, for decision

makers who are in favour of malls, these developments are required to be able to track the commercial activity and to eliminate unrecorded and unorganised trading, while concurrently generating significant employment potential. Therefore, the shopping mall developments have been received significant support from state and the leaders.

> The shopping malls are encouraged and many of these developments – I mean the inauguration of them – have been done by the prime minister and ministers. There wasn't even such an inauguration mechanism before ... This also led the planning processes to be approved by the municipalities quickly, especially for the problematic areas (Deputy_CM)

Furthermore, 'cathedrals of consumption' like shopping malls (Ritzer 2010), introduced as the globalised trend of new architecture and new lifestyle, especially for metropolitan sites and have also been considered as a sign of modernisation for Turkey, which would help to improve the construction and employment sectors. Therefore, regardless of the land use status given to the land, the shopping malls have mostly been chosen for investment, as they bring the highest and the quickest returns in profit.

> The investment of the shopping mall is still the most profitable on top of the other incentives given by the local governments through building rights which ease the way (Architect_K)

In addition, another flexibility given by legislation is the Law of Property Ownership, which by the approval of the stakeholders of the building, permits commercial activity on the ground floor for nearly any building. Thus, the development of commercial uses in the city centres and sub-centres has also continued in Ankara with this approach and has occurred fairly simultaneously and away from serious planning investigation. Another reason is, as specified in Chapter 5 and in the previous section, the flexibility of some of the land uses in the plans, such as TA, WA, SA and CBD, which can include commercial use without providing any zoning decisions specific to commercial use. Therefore, land-use proposals and permissions for commercial activities in general needs to be remarked as one of the main deficiencies in the current planning structure.

> Rather than proposing proper commercial land uses, we are able to draw the current reds[113] on the plan … But for the malls they have been developed through the misuse of WAs in the plans after the 90s (Deputy_CM)

---

[113] The colour code of any kind of commercial activity is represented by red in plans.

The condition of the formal production of the mall projects therefore depends on market saturation, which continuously has subtle negotiations with local authorities, disregarding the planning principles, thus disempowering them. *'It's completely freestanding you have money you have the land, "I have money my brother and I am going to do it" you say, then you go and get the licence from the municipality',* as the manager of Kentpark states. In addition, the comment of the 'Directorate_AMM' contributes to the argument from a decision-maker's point of view, where he sees the possible traffic congestion as the only disadvantage to the increase in shopping mall development in Ankara:

> I think there isn't any problem for those malls to be located next to each other, if there was one we would be condemned to use only that one. Thus they can continue to be next to each other … Here the only obstacle might be the traffic congestion (Directorate_AMM)

Within this quote there is an explicit defence for the mall developments in the city fuelled by inherent ties of the directorate's position in the institution in which he works. Through instinctive political behaviour, the institution and the decision-makers within it have achieved some of the highest positions in the local government power hierarchy, and therefore the interviewee (like some others who have a decision-maker status) reaffirms the rightfulness of what has been done by them for urban development in Ankara, especially with regard to shopping mall development, and thus they believe they should not be criticised.

> "Some Architects cannot understand. They are still acting with a mind of 50-100 years ago. If an investment regarding to health comes to us we resolve it and give the permissions at the latest within 40 days. They say this is distributing land rent, however the land rent belongs to the citizens. There are shopping malls; I saw this logic there too … We have given the same support for the shopping malls as well… Yet, I have seen some municipality mayors were putting crimp in for the shopping malls." (Hurriyet, 2009)

Following that and more importantly, the above statement of the mayor of Ankara further reveals the decision makers point view of equating the profitable investments on built environment for urban development with public interest, therefore intrinsically perceives malls as public spaces (see chapter 9).

166

7.6. Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the actors participating directly or indirectly in the planning process, in relation to their role in the process. The chapter also presented an insight towards the hidden exercise of power and the protection of special interests by the so-called public interest representatives. In addition, the chapter explored how legitimate planning instruments and frameworks are distorted to favour private interests. The points of view of the interviewees reflected the practice of the urban development experience where the planners, whether they work for the municipality or as an expert, are able to think critically about what has been happening and are able to relate this to their urbanism principles and professional ethics, while the decision makers were suggesting a 'content' and relaxed way of thinking of the same practice of planning experience. During the investigation, certain actors revealed that there is a strong prejudice among them against each other, depending on whether their opposition is related to their differences in political ideology or profession, or not. Moreover, the sources of conflicts are not limited to belonging two opposing parties, as in some cases, depending on the agency's interests, the opponents also provide an implicit contribution to the practice by not acting upon it and being silent about it. Furthermore, the chapter also once more highlighted the lack of determination both for commercial uses – particularly for shopping malls – and public spaces, where the latter's boundaries are ravelled out within perceptions and experiences of tradition and the former's developments have been made through the tactical actions and daily operations of decision-makers, instead of providing an engagement with the principles of the planning profession.

CHAPTER 8 - AN INSIGHT INTO THE DEVELOPMENT PROCESSES OF GALLERIA, ARMADA AND KENTPARK

8.1. Introduction

This chapter presents a detailed investigation of the development process of the selected cases and analyses how legitimate planning processes are being reshaped within the reality of daily practice. The chapter has three main sections, each dedicated to one case, following their chronological order of development. In each section the cases are examined through their particular planning and land development background, where applicable. The authentic documents from municipal archives and information and documents gathered from lawyers involved in the process are also assessed with consideration to interviews with the key informants and within the theoretical scope of this study.

The investigation elucidates the emerging conflicts while revealing 'what is happening in reality' and creates a concrete connection with the previous chapter on actors, roles and relations, and the power struggle in which they are involved. Each section starts with a brief introduction to the cases and includes an outline from the inception of their planning origins. There, not only the approved proposals and related emerging conflicts, but also non-approved attempts for the development are presented. Finally, each section – thus each case – concludes with the most recent conditions of the sites as well as an overall image of the whole process with regard to the actors, their roles and the levels of power in the process.

8.2. Galleria Shopping Centre
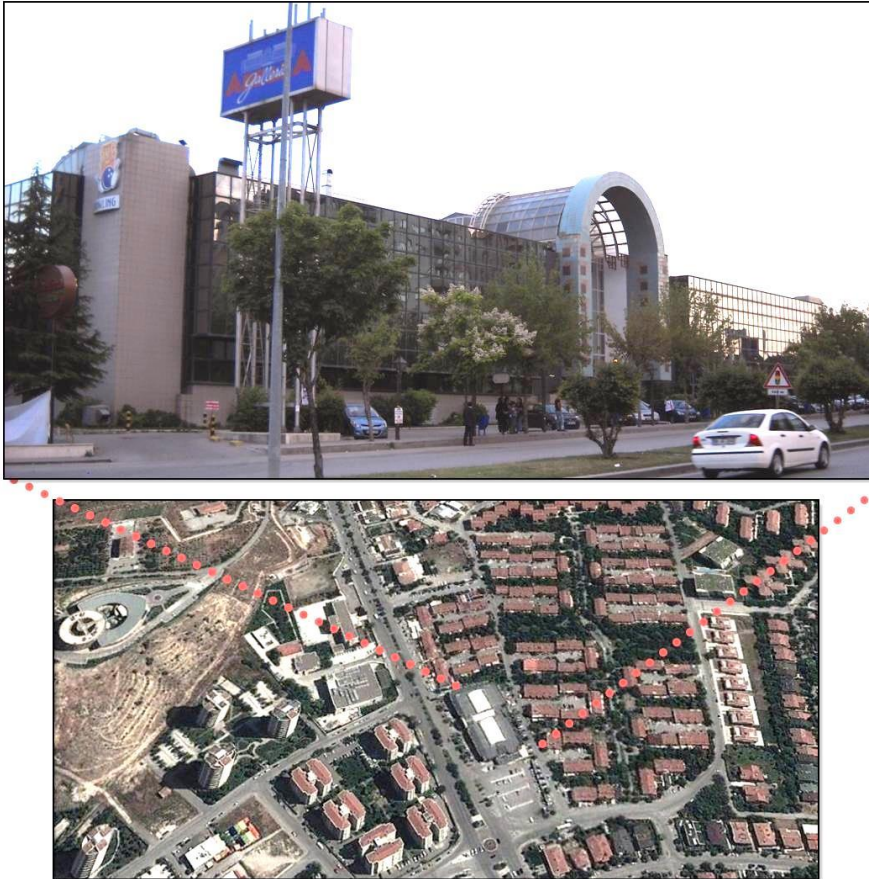
Figure 8.1. Aerial view of the city and the selected cases
Source: Author 2011; Google Earth 2012

The land development of Galleria first started in 1991 with a proposal for a land amalgamation of eleven adjacent parcels in plot no.13944. This plot consisted of 14 parcels (Figure 8.2). Previously, the proposal was for residential land use, specified for terraced or detached houses on two floors (at a proposed height of 6.50m) on each parcel. The first proposal for the site was for an amalgamation of the parcels[114] 3 to 13–and a land use change from residential use to commercial use through a plan modification.

Proposing a commercial use on the plot also included an increase for the building rights (referring to FAR and heights from 6.50m to 8.50m with a construction area of 8110m² specified) to enable to a shopping mall to be built. The proposal also included an exchange of uses between the parcels 12–13 and 3–4, where the former had a public use status proposed to be transferred to commercial use and instead suggested the public use (also including parking spaces) to be passed to parcels 3–4. In addition, it

---

[114] For the Turkish parcelling system see the appendix.

was suggested that the residential use of parcels 1–2 and 14 should remain. The proposal was first approved by the Yenimahalle[115] District Municipality Council in March 1991 (for the 1:1000 implementation plan) and then received a further approval from the AMM (for the 1:5000 master plan) in October. The approval of the AMM's planning commission's report stated the insufficiency of commercial land uses in the area and the advantageous location of the subject area in terms of accessibility. However, the district municipality set two conditions in order to issue land registration and to give approval for the implementation plan. The first was the provision of adequate parking spaces for the mall within the merged parcels; and the second was to maintain the public use status (including general parking spaces) of parcels 3–4, with an area of 211m².

Figure 8.2. Initial parcelling plan of Galleria consists of 11 parcels before and after the amalgamation of the parcels the new cadastral map[116]
Source: Çankaya District Municipality Archive 2012: Folder of plot 13944.

At the time of the proposal the location was a newly developing suburban area where there were few options for commercial requirements apart from small 'kiosk'-styled shops, which served a very small catchment area. Thus, Galleria was a significant attraction, being both the first shopping centre in the area and also one of the first in the whole city, until the new style shopping malls were opened nearby and on the

---

[115] The first plans; the start of the construction and the completion; and the use of earlier stages were while the area was still under the responsibility of Yenimahalle District Municipality, however, after 1997 this passed to Çankaya District Municipality due to border readjustments.
[116] The term 'ticaret' means commercial use, and the setback distances are also presented in the application figure shown, 10m from front facade and 5m from the sides and the rear of the construction area.

Eskişehir Highway. Mesa Plaza was the first that opened after Galleria in 1999, further along the Eskişehir Highway (3km away from Galleria) and then Arcadium (2km away from Galleria on the same highway) in 2003 with a larger GLA and a greater variety of shopping options and a cinema, and then the opening of Gordion (1.5 km away on Eskişehir Highway) in 2009 gained more attention than the others in the same area. These new developments serving similar catchment areas inevitably led Galleria to become out of fashion and to be used more as a local store, than an attraction with a wide catchment area.

Since the above-mentioned proposal, up until very recently the planning status of Galleria remained as it was. There were, however, a few interior changes: handovers of the shops (usually from famous brands which left of the mall to trade in the newer ones; their spaces were given to less famous, local ones); and an interior design change whereby the small decorative ponds were replaced by a children's playground, with a fee required for the games, surrounded by 1.40m rocks (Figure 8.3). However, by 2004, Çankaya District Municipality objected by producing a statement on the changes, stating that they conflicted with the original architectural project, and paid activities transformed the status of decorative ponds into extra benefit rather than aiming at public or customer benefit. The municipality continued with a notification of a fine (50 billion Turkish Lira)[117] and the cutting off of the electricity, gas and water to the whole building. A lawsuit was subsequently entered by the owners of Galleria to suspend the execution of the fines. Concisely, the lawsuit's first decision in 2005 went against the municipality after an expert report,[118] and following appeal procedures entered by the municipality in 2008 and 2009 were finalised by conditioning the subjected space to keep the rocks only if free public access to the new activities was provided.

---

[117] Approximately equal to 18,700 GBP at the time.
[118] Although the expert presented a report in support of Galleria, it also remarked that the leisure area within the rocks was generating an extra profit as the customers were being charged to use it; thus this led to an abuse of publicness.
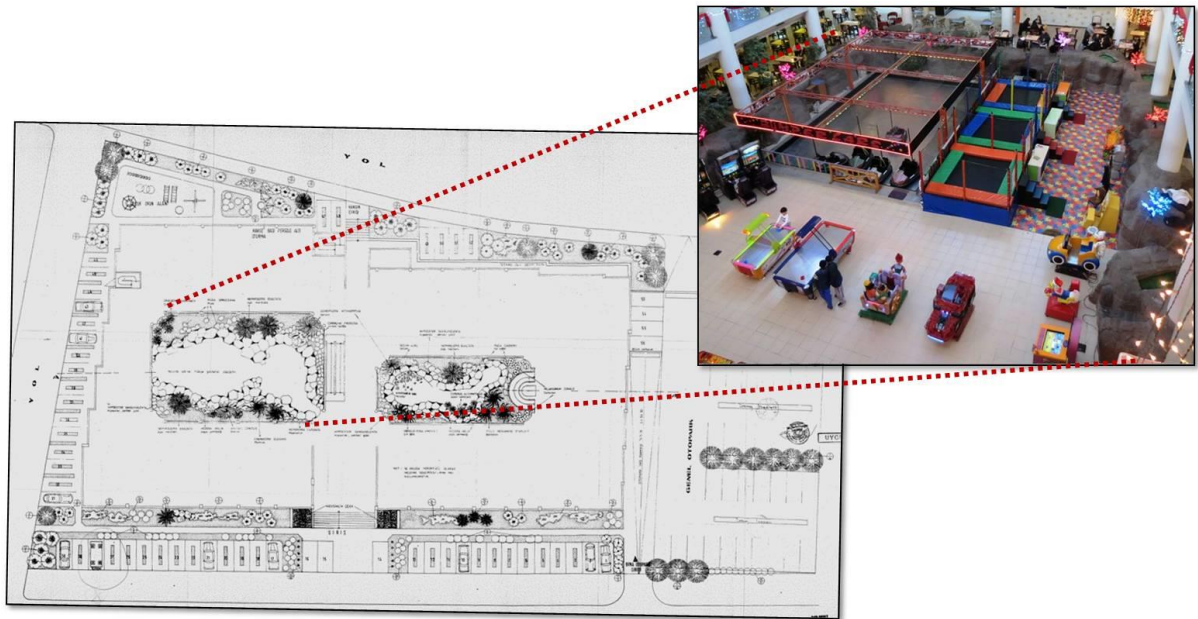
Figure 8.3. Galleria initial landscape project proposal and decorative rocks built subject to the case in 2004

Source: Cankaya District Municipality Archive 2012: Folder of plot 13944; Author 2012

In 2008, there was a proposal to amalgamate parcels 1 and 2, but keeping their residential status, and to create a new parcel (no.16). This was approved by Çankaya District Municipality Council, which fixed the condition of the plot until 2012 (Figure 8.4). However, in 2012 the owner of Besa Construction Company, who was also the architect of Galleria, Salih Bezci, proposed a plan modification in order to extend the boundaries of the area for commercial use reaching to those of the whole plot to transform the existing mall into a new, bigger mall. It is also important to mention that Salih Bezci is a quite a popular business man who either through himself or through his company has share (and also took part as the architect) in other large mall projects in the city (see Chapter 7 footnotes 93-95). Therefore, when all these approved and built projects are taken into consideration is not unreasonable to anticipate his closeness to local governments as a popular elite in mall and construction business.
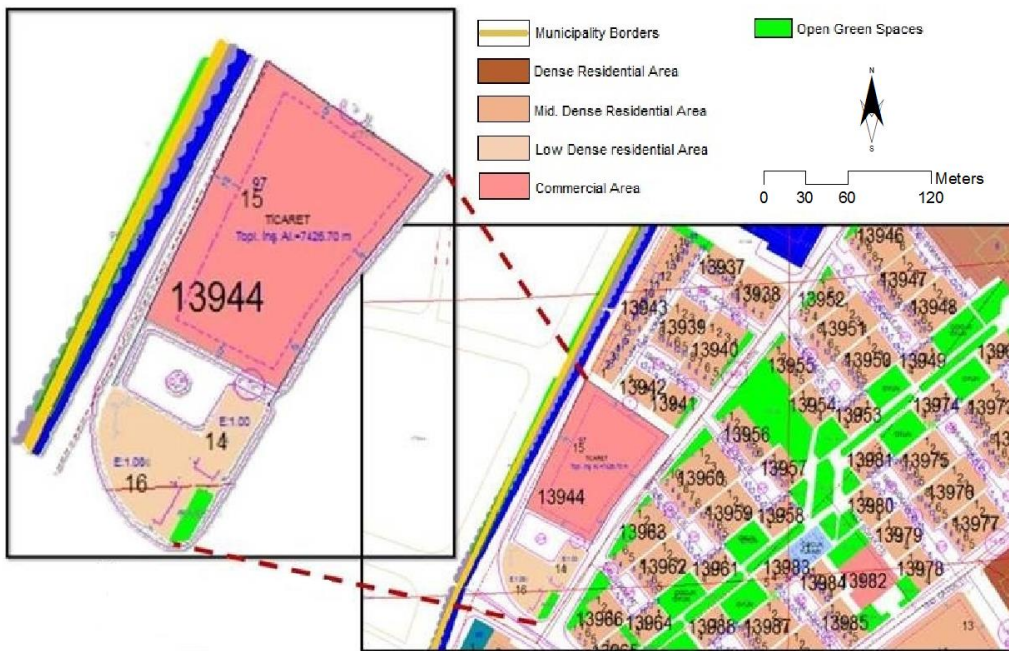
Figure 8.4. The plan of area including Galleria plot by 2011[119]
Source: Çankaya District Municipality Information Systems

The new proposal suggested an amalgamation of parcels 15 (which Galleria occupies), 14 and 16, and the unnumbered space left for parking and public use, all of which were also to be included in forming a bigger space for a new commercial centre. In addition, two of the planning notes of the proposal aimed for an extension of the scope from mere amalgamation to an increase in building rights and narrowing down the existing setback distance. However, these were highlighted as problematic by the planning commission of the municipality, stating that these would disregard the existing public use of the plot and also would generate a distortion in the existing façade.

Furthermore, the proposal for commercial use was also determined as follows: 'within the commercial area the urban management services like office-bureau uses, commercial complex, office blocks, restaurants, bazaars, multi-storey shops, banks, hotels, social and cultural facilities like cinemas and theatres, administration facilities, home-offices, and all other kinds of commercial activities like dormitories, training centres (private teaching institutions) can be built'. This new determination brought along new flexibilities to the planning area as it allowed all sorts of commercial uses, residential areas and educational institutions together but without any clear specifications. In addition, widening the scope of commercial use to new social facilities and public space qualities described in the literature (Feinberg et al 1989; Eroglu et al. 2005) was a strategy to make Galleria re-gain its attractiveness. Therefore, the public

---

[119] 'Ticaret' means 'commercial area', 'toplam insaat alani' and 'topl. Ins Al' mean 'total construction area'.

space qualities were treated as 'necessary evils' with a focus on mere attractiveness (Oppewal and Timmermans 1999; Chiu and Yau 2007) in order to compete with other malls in the vicinity. This on one hand aiming a re-enchanting the disenchanted space (Ritzer 2010) on the other hand fitting nearly all city experience in one building going beyond the discourse of new consumption habits of the contemporary society, as the experience in the mall is no longer limited to retail or entertainment.
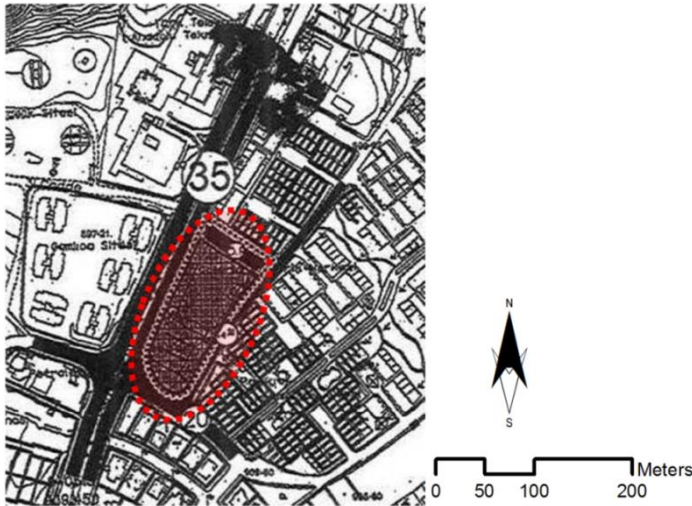
Figure 8.5. The plan modification proposal of Galleria
Source: Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Archive 2013: Folder of plot 13944

AMM gave a conditional approval for the proposal in April 2012 (Figure 8.5). The condition was to revisit the highlighted issues in the plan notes. With that regard, the setback distance was returned to the existing distance;[120] the home-office use was deleted from the determined commercial uses; and the main open parking area was assigned to public ownership. Finally, by September 2012 the 1:1000 implementation plan was approved by the Çankaya District Municipality in consideration of the reviewed planning notes. Due to the new project being very recent, there has not yet been any issue taken to court, but these may be anticipated. A brief summary of the planning process for Galleria is represented in Figure 8.6.

---

[120] The initial proposal suggested a 7m setback distance and the revised one suggested 10m.
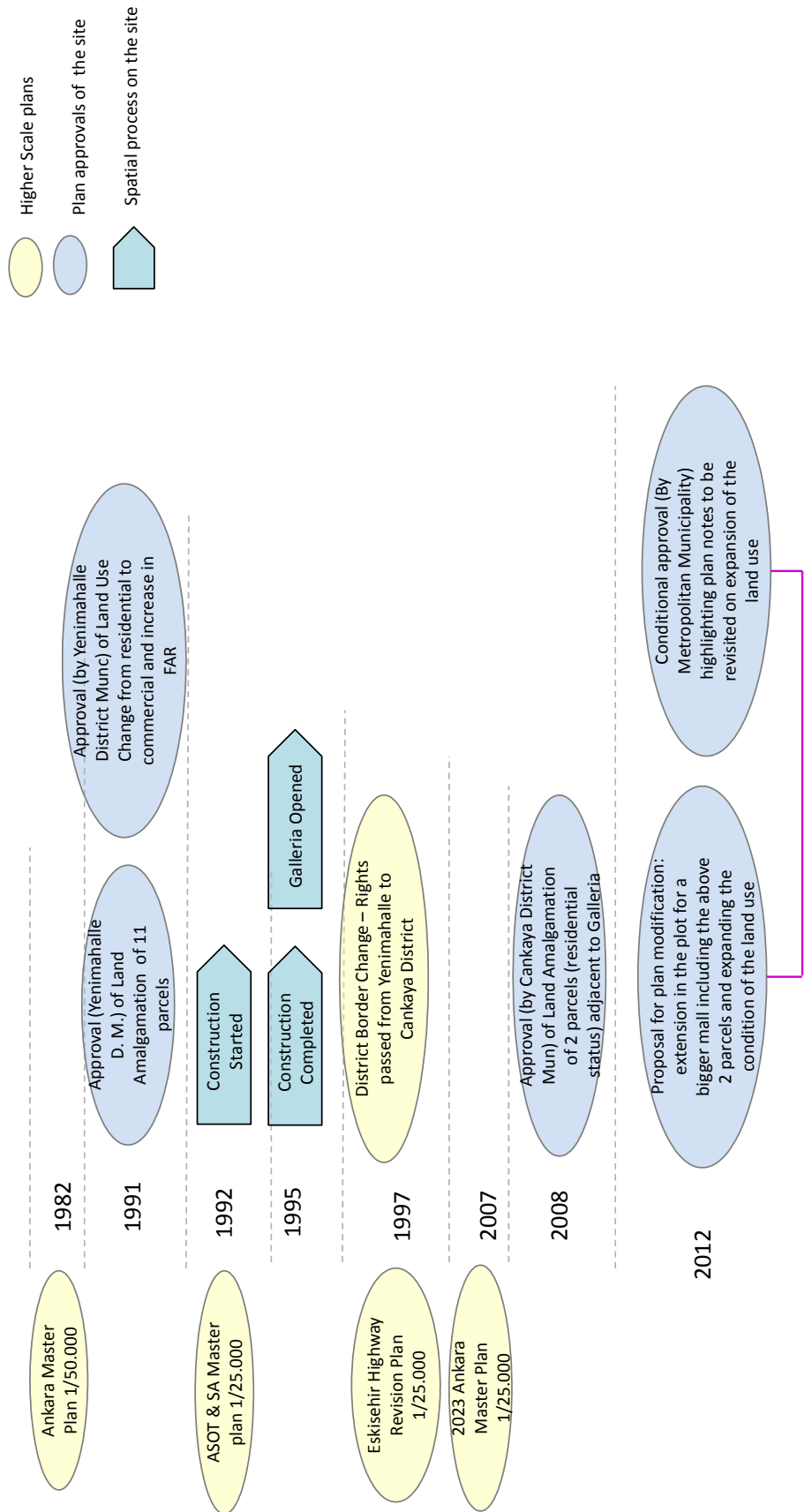
Figure 8.6. Planning and construction process of Galleria and actors; roles and their nature of power in the process

176

8.3. Armada Shopping Centre and office blocks and the Armada-II Project

Figure 8.7. Armada Construction phase 1999-2002, Armada in use after 2002, Armada sky view of current phase and the construction of Armada-II project
Source: A Tasarim Architecture; Google Earth 2012

The Armada project was built on land with an area of 36,000m², with 32000m² lettable area, and leaving 17,000m² for the Armada-II project (Ozturk, 2004). Similar to Galleria over the years, Armada, although at a lesser degree, had to face the threat of becoming old-fashioned due to newer malls being opened in the area, especially Kentpark and Cepa nearby. Therefore, although the project was initially chosen to represent the mid-term of the 20 years shopping mall experience of Ankara, it now represents both the mid-term and the latest period, due to the high competitiveness of the market and the renovation of Armada I through a new project completed in 2012 (Armada II). The centre now aims to be the latest representation of a shopping mall in the city. There the disenchanted space for consumption was aimed to be re-enchanted (Ritzler, 2010), to improve the commercial value, due to the amortisement rate of the existing structure (Harvey, 2005) The same aim applies to the recent plan proposal concerning Galleria.

As stated in Chapter 6, the western axis of the city has been significantly developed owing to the 1990 Ankara Master Plan and through other scales[121] of plans which laid the foundations of Armada and other private investments. However, particular to the

---

[121] The two higher-scale plans, one called 'Sogutozu ASOT connection Roads and Urban Services Area Piecemeal Master Plan' in 1992 and the other 'Eskişehir Highway Public Institutions Revision Master Plan' in 1997, emphasised the use of urban service areas and assured the new developments within the area.

development of Armada, the first proposal (plot no.13786, initially consisting of two parcels) and the adjacent plot (no.13784, initially consisting of three parcels) dates back to 1992 (Figure 8.8). The plan suggested a green area as a pedestrian link (called Alle in Figure 8.8) between the two adjacent parcels of Armada (13786) and plot 13784 (the prospective Armada II) with public ownership status. In addition, the plan also proposed service areas (SA) for the land use with regard to higher-scale plans that defined the western axis with SA and WA (working areas) in consideration of the new private investment potential, as well as the decentralisation of some of the public institutions[122] as a solution to the crowded city centre. As stated in Chapter 5 the use of vague terms for land use in planning (i.e SA, WA CBD and TA) have become the most used flexible alternative for urban development especially allowing private investments like malls.
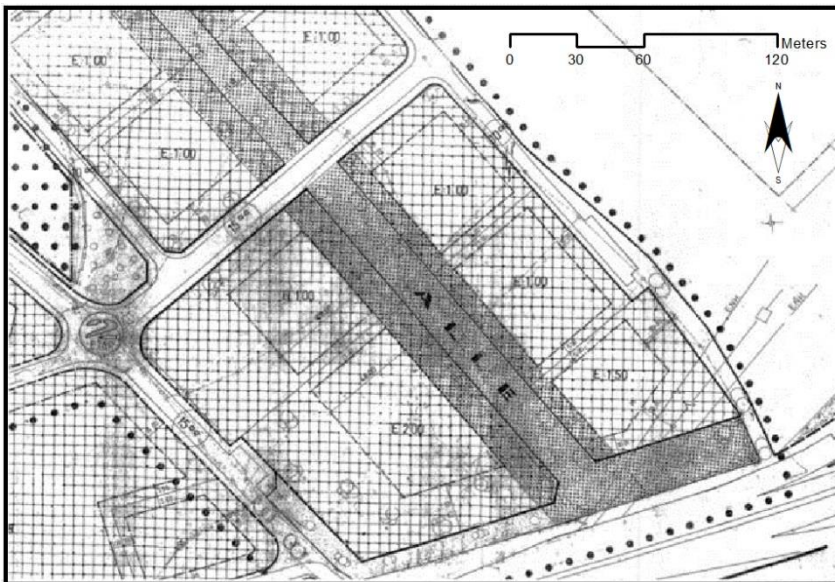
Figure 8.8. Armada implementation plan proposal in 1992
Source: Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Archive 2012: Folder of Plot 13786

However, within the planning notes of the proposal, the SA was specified:

- The minimum parcel area should be 5000m², and for the parcels with areas from 5000m² to 10000m² facing the Eskişehir Highway, the floor area ratio is 1.50 with a freestanding height. If the parcels areas' are

---

[122] By then all commercial, social and bureaucratic activities were concentrated in the city centre (Kizilay and Ulus districts), therefore the city centre was dense and new relaxation attempts were proposed through Ankara Master Plan by end of 80s with this intention some of the Ministries and some other bureaucratic centres moved to Eskisehir Highway (See Chapter 6 for planning process of Ankara)

above 10,000m², then the floor area ratio is 2.00. For the parcels not facing the highway, the floor area ratios are 1.00 and 1.50 respectively.

- The project for the pedestrian link (Alle) should be prepared by the relevant district municipality, considering the front gardens of the parcels facing it.

- In the urban services areas the following functions can be built:
  - Public institutions
  - Tourist facilities
  - Health facilities
  - Commercial office services
  - Commercial centres[123]
  - Showrooms and sales facilities
  - Cultural and recreational facilities
  - Dormitories

Later, the owners of the land (plot no.13783) proposed an increase in the building rights with a 'plan modification' proposal for plot no.19978 to Yenimahalle District Municipality (Figure 8.9). The proposal pointed out the unfair differences in the building rights of two neighbouring districts (Çankaya and Yenimahalle), although both facing the same highway. The plots in Çankaya had higher building rights, and therefore drew the attention of Yenimahalle District in terms of unequal benefit distribution and disadvantaging one district vis-a-vis advantaging the other. This also manifested the representation of local political power over the site, especially when the popularity[124] of Çankaya is considered. The proposal, asking for at least the same building rights as adjacent plots in Çankaya District, was immediately approved, first by Yenimahalle Municipality then by the AMM in 1998; the attractive condition of the Eskisehir Highway also contributed to this quick approval. With those approvals, the two adjacent parcels in plot 13786 were merged and had an increased building right[125] (Figure 8.9) to allow construction of the Armada shopping mall and a 21-floor office building on the plot, which was put into service in 2002.

---

[123] Even today the concept of 'shopping mall' does not have a place in the terminology nor in the plans; thus the possible commercial use proposals have been rather disguised under flexible terminologies as well as the planning notes given.

[124] Cankaya District, once the central district, due to its location and historical background, is the bureaucratic quarter, with residents who are a relatively high income group, thus have a rather higher purchasing level, and therefore the land values have mostly been higher than other districts. This, on the one hand, presents another level of power relations emerging from the intentionally generated hierarchy among the district municipalities over time, and on the other hand depicts the privileged condition of Cankaya where the elitist class also resides and works.

[125] Initially, plot 13786 parcel 1 had a floor area ratio (*Emsal*) of 1.00, and parcel 2 in the same plot had a ratio of 2.00, and after the merging of these parcels was designated a new number (3), and the reclaiming of an increased building right gave parcel 3 a ratio of 2.00 altogether. Detailed information on *Emsal* and a description of the calculation is given in Chapter 7, footnote 110.
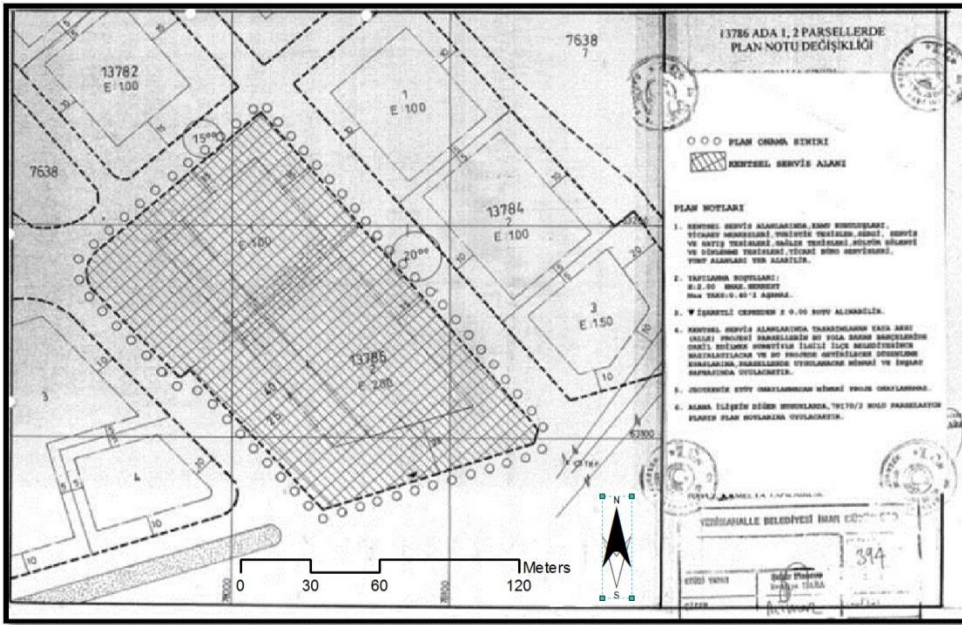
Figure 8.9. Plan proposal for Armada for changing planning note to reclaim higher building rights for plot no.13786 and 1-2 parcels in 1998[126]

Source: Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Archive 2012: Folder of the Plot 13786

In addition, the immediate vicinity of the area (opposite Armada), the Cukurambar[127] Neighbourhood, had long been a slum area. However, through the decentralisation policies in the city and the reclamation plans enacted (in 1982 and 1984 respectively) the region had a new status (Köroğlu and Ercoşkun, 2006). This new status first proposed low-density areas and was later revised by the AMM in 1993 to increase the population and density with high-rise blocks. The revision was carried out due to the developing attraction of the area, being close to the city centre and as the gateway of the main developing axis of the city on the western corridor (ibid). With this decision the initial residents of the area, people living in *gecekondus*, were excluded from the process.[128] Later, the new status of area gained immense attraction both from well-known bureaucrats and MPs, as well as high-income groups in the city; even some of the residential sites were initiated by ex-ministers and owned by MPs (Donat, 2009a-b-c) The process, although aiming to relax the congestion from the city centre towards the west in a morphologically suitable direction, ended up being managed by and placed in the hands of a few elite members of Ankara society (mostly political members). This demonstrated an elitist representation via a concentration of power in

---

[126] The legend of the plan refers: Plan Approval Border and Urban Services Area respectively.
[127] The word Cukurambar means the pothole granary, which also refers to the historical and morphological position of the area.
[128] Detailed information can be found on the driving forces of the transformation of the Cukurambar region and the socio-spatial impacts in Köroğlu and Ercoşkun (2006).

a few hands (Hardling, 1995) while presenting an example for the coalition of decision-makers – state institutions with non-governmental forces (Stoker, 1995).
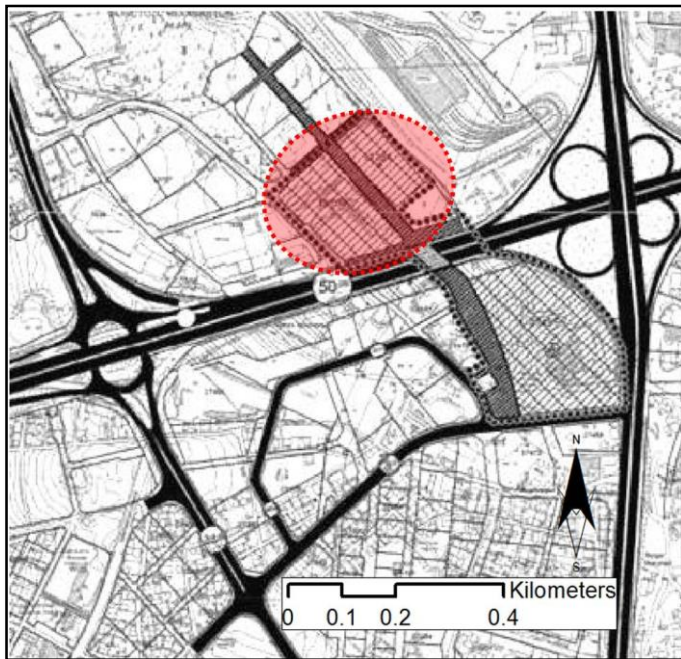
Figure 8.10. Plan proposal for 'Armada and Ufuk University Urban Transformation and Development Project' area

Source: Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Archive 2012: Folder of Plot 13786

No further changes occurred on the plot until 2008, when the developers proposed a new modification plan for a transformation area (TA) declaration for Armada, its adjacent plot, no.13784 (but only including parcels 1 and 2 and excluding parcel 3)[129] and the university area (Ufuk University) on the other side of the road to the south-east (Figure 8.10). The recent and new tradition of proposing a TA, as in this case and also in Kentpark (see following section), has been 'a floating signifier' and a new marketing face in urban space (Lovering, 2007, p.344) to maintain the aims of neoliberalism in urban development. The new proposal for an TA was based on articles 69 and 73 of the Municipality Law (no. 5393) providing investors more implicit and legalised convenience through re-authorising power, as discussed in previous chapters. The declaration in the proposal was reasoned by emphasising the attractiveness and importance of the highway and its hinterland: hosting prestigious residential areas and university campuses, as well as the easy access to the site and the progressive development of Eskisehir Highway, where an underground metro construction has

---

[129] During that period parcels 1 and 2 of plot no.13784 were merged and gained a new parcel (no.4), while parcel 3 remained but gained public institution status, and remains empty.

been in process with a station opposite the Armada, (the 'iron cage',[130] ignoring its unfinished situation[131]). This new proposal, similar to Kentpark and other large commercial investments on the same highway, demonstrated 'the orchestration of investment process dynamics' (Harvey, 2012:102). These attempts have similarities with the 'urban growth machine' phenomenon of Molotch (1993) as these have also become the 'speculative sort' and previous similar attempts have been proven to be profitable (i.e. decentralisation of some public institutions). Therefore, via excessive use of transformation projects the new type of development can be defined as (also in this present case proven to be) circular and instance of cumulative causality of metropolitan development (ibid.). With these merits, Eskisehir Highway, although not being a big transformation project as a whole, shows similarities of circulation and attraction through various shopping malls, hotels (in the area some five-star worldwide chain hotels have also been constructed) and luxurious residential areas built one after another, some of which have been initiated via piecemeal transformation plans.

In particular, the planning notes of the proposal enabled further flexibilities and tailored suggestions in addition to the issues mentioned above resembling the dark side of the planning, where the legitimate instruments can be crafted (Flybjerg and Richardson 2002) in favour of individualistic demands (Oncu 1988). For instance, the latest Master Plan of Ankara proposed CBD use on the north of the Eskisehir Highway, yet the particular planning notes of the recent proposal proposed service areas (SA) and additional residential uses (although these two land uses were not included in CBD definition in the Master Plan). Therefore, labelling the areas as CBD yet adding more flexibility via planning notes showed that the higher scale plans can also be circumvented if needed. In addition, proposing a new transformation project in this new proposal also clashed with another transformation project (Cukurambar TA projects) that was already approved. Moreover, in smaller scale further tactics were in act. By law all construction calculations and its proportion to plot should be clear and should match to the higher scale planning decisions. However, the bridges (between Armada-I and Armada-II) were not included in the over-all calculations therefore the planning commission of AMM referred this as hidden gain. Regarding all these conflicting matters, first the planning department of AMM and then the council of AMM, taking

---

[130] Chapter 7, footnote 106.
[131] At the moment there is a destruction decision on the iron cage.

note of the planning department, rejected the proposal. Although this rejection seem to have been an attempt that would correct the situation, the approval of the following plan proposal with same planning notes but with different title proves to be otherwise.

Later in 2011, the architectural company A-Architectural Design, which have also been involved with some other large shopping mall projects with the same investors in Ankara, proposed another modification plan. This time the proposal was merely on the construction of Armada II and referred to a renewal of Armada I and the adjacent plot (13784, parcel 4), which has been used as an open parking area and occasionally as a concert space. Of significance although the proposal was new, some of the conflicting planning notes were the same as those of the previous rejected proposal. Yet still, at the beginning of 2012, the AMM Council approved the proposal without regard to the adverse opinion of the planning commission. Here, rather than rejecting the plan or requesting a change in the problematic notes, the AMM council followed a different route for a solution and stipulated a new term to issue a conditional approval. The condition was that investors would build a school[132] in another TA project of the AMM in Altindag.[133] The situation was seen as a tactical manoeuvre (rather than a 'planning gain' as it would be defined in the UK, for example)[134] between the private and the public sectors, as the previously rejected notes were still the basis of the new plan without any changes and the new action has the focus on 'anticipation' in exerting power (Foucault 1994; Hillier 2002). This, therefore, can be claimed as a tactical action because, on one side, the private investor would benefit from increased building rights without any institutional challenge, thus would gain easy monetary benefits in return; while on the other side, the AMM would get a chance to further advertise their TA project in another district which is governed by their party; this would also provide benefit for the election campaign. This approach also has a few similarities with the 'bonus space' concept explored by Nemeth (2009). In this concept, provision of a public space is required even if these spaces are built and managed by the private sector in exchange for floor area ratio (FAR) bonuses. However, in the case of Armada, the project will be implemented by increased FAR in a specific area which would not

---

[132] It is briefly stated in the report that 'until the turn-key basis is completed for the school the occupation registry and use registry licence will not be given for the new extension'.
[133] Altindag is another district of Ankara which is located in the north-east centre of the city, and governed by the same political party as the AMM (AKP), which is also the ruling party of the central government.
[134] Planning gain is a term used in the British planning system referring to the opportunity (or, in a way, incentive) given to investors and developers to make them provide extra contributions or services for the public within their plan proposal submission.

receive any benefit from publicly accessible space in return but would become denser, while another district will benefit from that service, where the area chosen is usually among the districts ruled by the same political party as the metropolitan municipality.

Furthermore, there had been another modification proposal within the process, pointed out by CUP, which was not encountered during the archive search. The Head of CUP referred to a further strategy sought by the developers which did not gain approval due to a counterstrategy by the AMM:

> There was an interesting incident concerning Armada and the parcel in front of it which belongs to a public institution; they said that they were going to present a proposal together for expansion. But the mayor said to them 'do not come with Armada; come and propose your plan separately' ... That means: 'do not come with Armada because the bargain that I would make with them would be different from yours'. Although both proposals are suspended, Armada finish construction with illegal bridges over the public space. Here the real ownership[135] relations should be revealed in order to understand is it really the persons who seem to be the owners? Who is the real beneficiary? When we are able to answer these questions then we can explain the last ten years of mall development processes for Ankara (Head_CUP).

Figure 8.11. The current planning status for Armada and adjacent parcels [136]
Source: Yenimahalle City Guide Information System, 2012

---

[135] Access to ownership information is another challenge for any researcher in Turkey. This is because, although it is relatively easy to access developer information through trade registry journals, it is nearly impossible to access the land registry and cadastral information if one is not one of the direct beneficiaries of the land.
[136] 'Hmax=serbest' refers to the freestanding building height
   'E' stands for the floor area ratio which would be use while calculating the building rights (the detailed description and the system of calculation is given previously)
   'Kentsel Servis Alani' means Urban Service Area, together with the hatched area below the title; 'Ticaret': Commercial ; "Resmi Kurum Alani': Public Institution Area (belongs to Public Procurement Authority).

184

Nevertheless, construction for Armada II started in 2009 based on conditional approval and the 1:1000 implementation plan was proposed and approved very quickly in order to allow construction.

8.3.1. *Objections to the project and subsequent planning decisions*

After the conditional approval, CUP entered a lawsuit against it, objecting to some particular planning notes, which were already considered inappropriate by the planning department of AMM but disregarded by the AMM council within the decision-making process. There, even institutional participation was disregarded thus revealed that 'participation'[137] attempt in decision making process can be disregarded depending on the will of the real power holders. Moreover, another significant matter worth discussion is the approval of the implementation plan, which was given while the lawsuit was still in progress. This again was a tactical action but this time the decision maker allying with developer in order to enable to continue the project. In the lawsuit process, the complaint of CUP referred to the incompatibility between the plan notes and legislation. There, CUP remarked that extra benefit would be gained by the investor by disregarding the public interest, which would lead to corruption in the current planning system:

> … the subject of the court carries the purpose of **'tailor made'** adjustments and the purpose of giving increases is personal; these adjustments are contradictory to the public interest and against the by-law of Type Building for Planned Areas (Lawsuit petition of CUP,[138] for the court numbered 2012/854 emphasis is original).

In response, the AMM focussed their defence on three main matters, two of which were not concerned with the project itself but merely criticised CUP, and the other was about the bridges that were subject to the court in the first place. The AMM strongly opposed the legal position of the CUP in court, claiming that CUP did not have the necessary standing to enter a lawsuit, since, according to AMM, as long as they had no direct benefit or loss in the development area they should not be able to continue their opposition with a lawsuit. In addition, AMM also highlighted the invalidity of the lawsuit

---

[137] This thesis use the word 'participation' in empirical chapters to refer to the attempts of opposing actors who are the only potential actors to reclaim public interest as in the planning practice of Turkey there is no actual direct public participation option, except opposing via courts; and usually it is the district municipalities or CUP or NGO's who undertake this responsibility (see section 7.3).

[138] Regarding the linking bridge between Armada I and Armada II, the note that provided the freestanding transfer of the building rights between the plots and excluding the underground construction from the overall construction calculations, the misuse of the 'plan modification' option in the legislation, and the appropriateness of the scale of the plan were challenged by the CUP.

entered by the CUP, and stated that CUP already exceeded the time limit for objections. The third matter raised in AMM's defence referred to the transfer of the building rights between two plots (Armada-I and II) as this matter was objected to in the court. There the objection included: transfer of the building rights – deficient calculation of the FAR and over all construction calculation (as underground and calculations for the bridges were not included). In response the AMM stated that the transfer of unused rights of one parcel to another is vital to keep the rights; and underground construction, for AMM, has no capacity to generate profit therefore these two matters cannot be subject to an objection. It becomes clear that the AMM perceive itself as the only authority and the only active participant of the planning process and the only authority to define public and public benefit and what is profitable. Therefore, actions of it are to eliminate potential opposing views and thus monopolising the planning practice into the hands of few.

The Söğütözü Construction and Management Company presented an additional defence on the side of the municipality as they were the owners of Armada I and 25% of Armada II. After receiving the defences, the court consulted an expert opinion against two of the planning notes. Although the experts were against the construction calculations of the bridges and underground facilities being omitted from the proposal, they were in favour of transferring building rights from one parcel to another if the total limits was kept the same. The experts also shared similar opinions to CUP on the matter of the bridges, stating that the bridges had private status (benefiting private premises) yet for them to pass over public space violated the nature of that public space. At the moment of writing this is the latest position in court, which has not finalised a decision yet. However, despite those challenges, the construction of Armada II was completed as soon as possible, to be able to run it. In addition, it is also worth mentioning that the latest planning process (proposals and approvals) were completed without Yenimahalle District Municipality's knowledge: '*that project hasn't come to us, it has been done through 1:5000 scaled plans ... in the reorganised local government structure, the district municipalities are no longer playing a part*' (Directorate_YM). There the YM was not only excluded from active participation but also not being informed on the planning approvals within their borders also reveals the aggressive power exerting of AMM that gain its authorisation through the law enacted

by themselves with support of central government as one of the steps of monopolised power in urban planning (Ersoy 2011).

Figure 8.12. The completed project of Armada II and the bridges subject to the court's decision
Source: Author, 2013

Nevertheless, the interviews with the CUP lawyer revealed that the lawsuits that they have entered regarding planning issues until now, had been resolved 90% in their favour. This suggests that there had been many building implementations approved contrary to the public interest, which does not have clear definition in the legislations. However, it is identified differently by different governmental institutions depending on their power and ideological nature (Mengi 2012); and is closely associated with state and its interest (Ozbek 2010) rather than public and public's interest. This situation revealed the privileged power of the investors over the jurisdiction, as those projects already constructed and in progress have not usually been demolished or given other serious sanctions. Figure 8.13 below illustrates the historical development of the site in relation to formal processes in order to present an overall picture of the development of the site.

Legend

- Higher Scale plans
- Plan approvals of the site
- Formal oppositions via petition or courts
- Court decisions
- Appellate procedures
- Spatial process on the site

Timeline

1982 — Ankara Master Plan 1/50.000

1992 — Approval (Yenimahalle D.M) of Implementation Plan: increase in FAR and expanded use in SA allowing commercial centres1/1000

1992 — ASOT & SA Master plan 1/25.000

1997 — Eskisehir Highway Revision Plan 1/25.000

1998 — Approval (by Yenimahalle dist. Mun.) of Modification Plan: further increase in FAR comparing the rights in Cankaya District 1/1000

1999 — Armada I Construction Started

2002 — Construction Completed — Armada-I Opened

2007 — 2023 Ankara Master Plan 1/25.000

2008 — Proposal of Modification Plan: RA declaration, proposing additional land uses –1/5000

2008 — Metropolitan Municipality did not approved the plan – clash of RA projects

2009 — Armada II Construction Started

2011 — Proposal of Modification Plan: for Construction of Armada II and renewal of Armada I (1/5000)

2012 — Metropolitan Municipality gave conditional approval — CUP Entered lawsuit against the modification plan (mainly for the bridges)

2013 — The experts assigned by the court submitted a report against Armada II

Armada-II Construction and Renewal of Armada-I completed

Armada-II Opened

Figure 8.13. Planning and construction process of Armada I and Armada II

188

8.4. Kentpark Shopping Mall

Figure 8.14. Kentpark Shopping Mall; aerial view together with Cepa
Source: Author, 2011; Google Earth 2012

Plot no.9014, where Kentpark now is located, had been used as the land for ORMAK (Agricultural Machinery and Equipment) with 0.2 floor area ratio shown in the parcelling plan approved in 1976 (Figure 8.15). Later, the land was owned by Koç Holdings[139] and was used as the showroom of Fiat–Tofaş[140] automobiles. By then, the area was planned as an SA similarly to the rest of the highway, and like the Armada case, in higher scale plans;[141] thus it obtained higher building rights and gained a gradual FAR from 0.2 up to 2.00.

---

[139] One of the largest investment holding companies in Turkey, which is also well known by the citizens as a family business of one of the wealthiest families in the country.
[140] Turkish Automobile Factory Corporation.
[141] 1990 Ankara Master Plan and Eskişehir Highway Public Institutions Revision Master Plan.
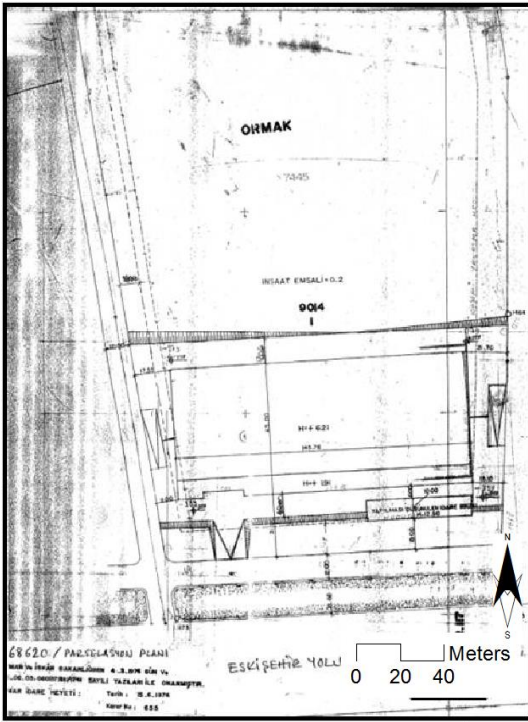
Figure 8.15. The first parcelling plan for plot 9014 approved in 1976 by the Ministry of Development and Housing

Source: Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Archive, 2012: Folder of Plot 9014
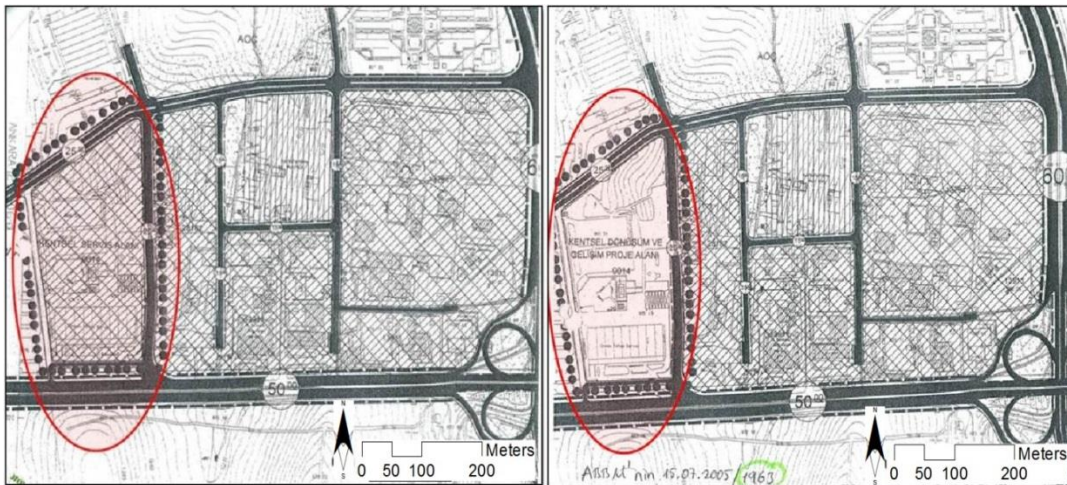
Figure 8.16. Plan modification proposals and SA use (left) and declaration of TA (right)[142]

Source: Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Archive, 2012: Folder of Plot 9014

Following that, the first modification for the plot was proposed in 2005 via two plans: the first was a master plan proposal and the second was transformation area declaration Proposal (Figure 8.16). The master plan proposal mainly suggested three

---

[142] Note that both plans seem almost identical, yet the only difference is the SA and TA land uses approved for the same plot. Although these plans are seem almost identical, they have two different purposes based on different pieces of legislation. Thus, they demonstrate how practical processes, determined by the procedures, lead to a distortion in the essence of planning. The only difference in the plan drawings are the SA hatching and TA title: 'Kentsel Donusum ve Gelisim Proje Alani'. Here, as mentioned in Chapter 5, within the current planning system, although there are different scales and purposes of planning, most of them have the same spatial language on paper, while the planning notes (which can be changed on easily and can be context specific) would make the only difference.

important changes: first, an increase in the building rights from E:2.00 to E:2.73; second, adding a residential use to the given SA land use, which is not part of the SA definition in the first place; third, a proposal for a gigantic statue of Nasreddin Hoca[143] (Figure 8.17). The aim of the proposal was interpreted by the lawyer of CCCAA as a power struggle among notable local and national figures:

> When the area belonged to Koc Holdings, the FAR was 0.2 but when some businessmen started to deal with investments on the urban land in Ankara the FAR suddenly raised to 2.73. This is pretty clear, the local forces can have even more power than Koc, the national businessmen, if they require it, and this is the tour de force of local actors.

In addition, at about the same time another modification plan for a TA declaration was proposed based on Article 73 of the Municipality Law. The main proposal for this TA was to enable a shopping mall construction together with the gigantic statue of Nasreddin Hoca and a residential area at the rear of the plot. Here, the planning notes promoted the statue both for commercial and cultural benefits, claiming that it would revitalise the tourism and the cultural prosperity of the city. The statue was presented as a cultural item, as a strategy to provide a connection with the 'public interest' visible to society and other professionals. However, this new proposal of a cultural-commercial centre with a huge statue paved the way to conflicts, of which some are still unresolved. The first objection came from the planning commission, with a particular criticism of the residential use proposed within an SA and the additional increase in the FAR from 2.00 to 2.73 regardless of that objection, both the master plan and TA declaration proposals were approved, by obtaining the majority of the votes in the AMM council meeting in July 2005. Once more, the example of Kentpark resembles the 'floating signifier' in dealing with urban crisis as the latest episode (Lovering 2007; Roberts and Sykes 2005) of urban development methods through – in their cases regeneration projects- but TA for Turkish cases as another flexible term when SA and WA stands weak and as TA may have blurred use similar to regeneration.

Proposing a TA declaration based on Article 73 of the Municipal Law has been one of the most frequently used strategies for metropolitan municipalities to attract big investors. In addition, it is also a strategy to eliminate district municipalities from the

---

[143] Nasreddin Hoca is a historical-cultural folk character of the nation.

process and empower the metropolitan municipalities as the only authority. Therefore, although Kentpark is located in Çankaya District, the regulatory status of it (for planning approvals and regarding permissions) was transferred to the AMM. Furthermore, it is worth mentioning here that constructing a statue of Nasreddin Hoca as one of the historical-cultural folk characters of the nation was one of the election promises of the City Mayor.[144] Before the elections in 2004 he stated that if he won the elections he would transform the city centre as a site of tourism: 'Within Gokcek's touristic Ankara there would be these wonders: a 180m tall flagpole which would project together with a restaurant and belvedere spaces in the Ankara Citadel; at the five entrances of the city, five different statues, each of which would be 50 m tall, statues of Ataturk, Fatih Sultan Mehmet, Nasreddin Hoca and Semazen, ten museums, a natural park which would include models of all animals in the world, a bird island, two zoos and a 1,700,000m² shopping mall' (24/02/2004, *Radikal*).

Figure 8.17. The illustrations of the Nasreddin Hoca project published by the media
Source: Segmen, 2009

Four years after the project, due to raising conflicts reflected on the media some newspapers reported on the matter revealing more on the intention of the mayor:

> It has come out that the project, where the building rights increased 14 times and the land rent became 1.5 billion Turkish Liras, was defended by the Mayor, Melih Gokcek, as 'these *friends* have promised me that they will build my dream, the Nasreddin Hoca statue, that's why I increased the building rights. *They should take it with my blessings and enjoy it* (*helali hos olsun*)', with reference to the plan that was approved in 2005 (Segmen, *Hurriyet*, 2009, emphasis added).

---

[144] Melih Gokcek has been the mayor of Ankara since 1994.

The Kentpark project and the declaration of TA obtained clear support from the mayor. Therefore it presents a strong mayor-centred governance approach, which is conflicting with the urban regime theory, where the decision making process is run through a coalition of public institutions with private actors and away from mayor-centred approaches (Stoker 1995). However, the case of Kentpark considering its all processes also presents some features of urban regime theory, where formal-informal relations through networks are produced in the decision making process, because the process had both mayor-centred and governmental- non-governmental networking together in decision making process. In this above mentioned approval and the approach of the mayor, it is also possible to observe the third face of power, where the media sources are used to manipulate collective bias (Lukes 2005). There, the statements of Mayor and news reports (even though some of them were critical) are helpful in appropriating the project. This support from the local government, similar to the other support from central government explained in Chapter 5, proves that the decision making process in Turkey in planning continues in favour of powerful political and private notables with short-term benefits and partisan nature and transparency is distorted through populist and political support (Oc and Tiesdel 1994) and clearly presents good allied relations among this two sided benefit holders, where they perceive each other as 'friends'. The 'urban entrepreneurialism' with the power relations on the site has raised mutual benefits not only for initiatives of the private actors but also a coalition with public authorities through a generation of combined initiatives. Therefore, what was revealed here was 'the mix of forces working within local conditions' (Harvey, 2012, p.101), to promote or to manage the urban development via proposals and approvals aiming at mutual benefit through the cooperation of developers and municipality. From the investors' side, the benefit was obtaining increased building rights without much of a challenge to their approval, due to backing through the involvement of mayor's election promise, which thus made them legislatively valid. On the other side, the mayor would have the chance to see his dream materialise by finding a financier. In that respect, the declaration would ease the way for both sides while leaving the possible objectors on the sidelines.

8.4.1. *Objections and new proposals: back and forward practices*

The first objection to the proposal came from the CCCAA in August 2005, who entered a lawsuit against the AMM criticising the approval of the TA decision and the increase

in the building rights. In response, the defence of the AMM focused on the legal conformity of their work based on Article 73, while concurrently raising a counter complaint against CCCAA. The complaint concerned the standing of CCCAA with regard to the project site; suggesting that as they did not hold any ownership or any direct economic relations through the site they should not have right to enter a lawsuit. After receiving these complaints and defences from both sides, the court decided to consult an expert report in order to reach a final decision, while the developer Mega Turk joined as a legal participant on the side of MM in the court.

The assigned experts were chosen from among urban planning academics, and in their analysis report they mainly referred to the misuse of TA declarations by local government and private investors usually (and also in this case) to favour market mechanisms. In addition, experts also criticised the scale and the scope of the proposal, stating the plan proposal was far from providing comprehensive approaches. Therefore, the experts produced a report against the TA declaration and the administrative court adopted a motion for stay of implementation following that report in August 2006. However, AMM then objected to the decision of suspension of implementation[145] as a further tactic in order to have some time to continue the project. Due to that objection, as a general practice the suspension decision was revoked until a new inspection was conducted. Later, an additional expert report was consulted by the court, which was again against the proposal and, therefore, the administrative court once more gave a decision[146] against the proposal on June 2007.

Nevertheless, while the court decision on CCCAA's objection was still pending, the CUP also raised an objection in September 2005 against the increase in building rights and the proposed statue, through a petition to MM. However, the objection was rejected by the municipality, claiming that the increased building rights and the statue was beneficial for cultural heritage, thus they supported the investment:

> Keeping the values of good, reputable persons, who are important to Turkish citizens, and appreciating their heritage in and around the cities, would help these cultural heritages to pass to the following generations and contribute to the development of tourism in those cities (Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Council Decision 2526).

---

[145] In the objection of the AMM it was also stated that the experts conducted an investigation on the modification plan proposal while the lawsuit was entered against the TA declaration, thus the municipality claimed a new investigation on that.
[146] Decision number 2007/1210 on 26.06.2007

This statement, while supporting the election promise of the mayor, also presented an obvious example of passing from urban managerialism to urban entrepreneurialism, especially when the 'over-malling' condition of the city is considered. However, due to the projected visions[147] for the city changing at every election period, such as focusing on tourism for that particular period, investing in urban space yields quick but *ephemeral* fixes for the built environment that often are speculative as Harvey (1989a) stated become apparent.

After the rejection of the petition CUP took their objection one step further by entering a lawsuit[148] in March 2006. This time the lawsuit was against AMM and ÇDM, claiming that both authorities were responsible for approvals. In addition to repeating the complaint presented in the petition, CUP also pointed out the risk of additional complications if the planning process continued through approvals given and the irreversible consequences for the future of continuing with further approvals on that building scale. In their defence, ÇDM emphasised that they did not participate in the approval process and they were not involved in any phase of the process, thus they did not have any responsibility. Moreover, the defence of AMM focused on two points. The first was the legitimacy of Article 73 and the second was the proposed common good via the Nasreddin Hoca statue, and therefore, for AMM, the project should not be objected to.

While the above lawsuit was pending, the administrative court decided to merge[149] the lawsuits of CUP and CCCAA, as both were objecting to similar matters. After that merger of the lawsuits, further defences were received and additional expert reports were consulted. Accordingly, the court once more gave a decision[150] in line with the experts and rejected the approval on October 2007. However, construction was meanwhile continuing in full flow.

While both decisions were still pending, as anticipated before the rejection of the above plan approvals, an implementation plan was quickly proposed by the developer and immediately approved by AMM in April 2006.[151] However, the implementation plan

---

[147] The mayor's aim for the city was to transform Ankara into a centre of tourism; however, it is also worth mentioning that the aim changes in every election period, from a tourism centre to a historical centre to a business centre to a fashion centre, etc.
[148] Issue number 2006/707.
[149] Thus the lawsuit of CUP was re-entered in the Regional Administrative Court on 01.11.2006 with new issue no.2006/2669.
[150] Decision no.2007/2208 in 31.10.2007
[151] AMM Council decision no.1000 approved on 14.04.2006

approval had a special condition to realise the election promises of the Mayor. The approval was conditional on the basis of the Nasreddin Hoca themed project, until that themed project was finished and handed over the occupancy permit would not be given.

Meanwhile, there was also another lawsuit[152] entered by Çankaya District Municipality in April 2007, opposing all phases of the project starting from the TA declaration, the modification plan, and the implementation of the plan proposals, the parcelling plans and the permission to excavate. The complaint by the district municipality emphasised the continuing construction and the excavation permissions already given, regardless of the ongoing lawsuits, which actually should have suspended the process, as all the 1:5000 scaled plans that should lead the planning process were rejected by the court and any construction in the site therefore become unofficial. In addition, the district municipality also criticised their elimination from participation in any phase of the plan approvals via the TA declaration, which also disregards their authorisation. While this lawsuit was pending, the district municipality took the initiative and affixed their seal at the construction site to prevent construction to continue, which was then immediately broken by the AMM, activating further antagonism between the two institutions.

Construction progressed regardless of the continuing court cases and rejections, while another modification plan was once more proposed quickly and immediately approved[153] by the AMM in May 2007. This time, as the construction had already reached a significant level, the following strategy was put in place to legalise what had already been built. The new proposal marked the site with Central Business District (CBD) land use (Figure 8.18). Moreover, this time the proposal also claimed a linkage with the 2023 Ankara Master Plan as support and stated that this linkage had been made to eliminate the inconsistencies among the scale of plans in the city, which should thus be enough to legalise the ongoing construction (Figure 8.19).

---

[152] Issue no.2007/463.
[153] On 18.05.2007 AMM Council Decision no.1359.
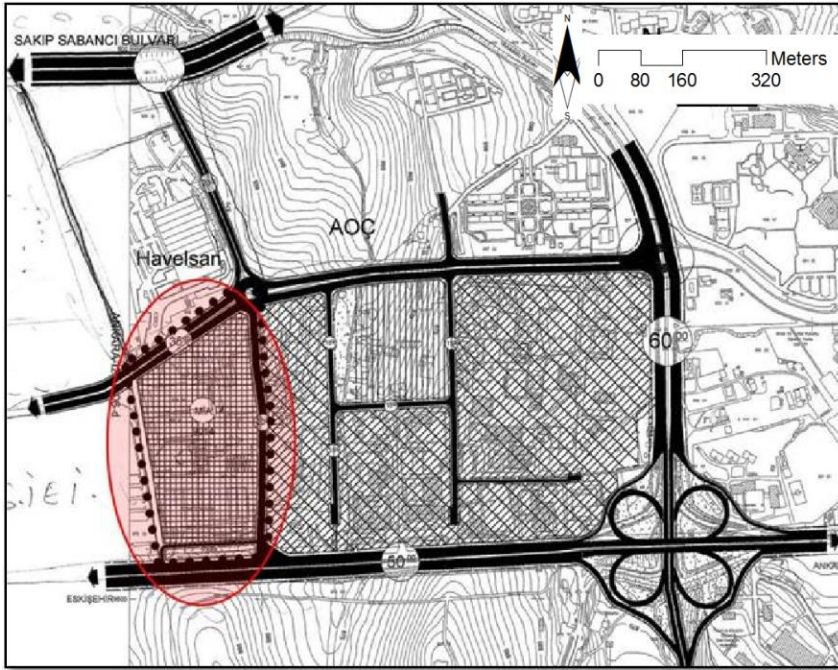
Figure 8.18. The modification plan proposal for plot 9014, with a new land use of CBD (MIA)
Source: Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Archive (resized from 1:5000) 2013: Folder of Plot 9014

Predictably, a new lawsuit was entered against the approval by Çankaya District Municipality[154] in July 2007, although their previous lawsuit was still pending, as was that of the CCCAA,[155] also entered in July 2007. The complaint of the new lawsuit concerned the use of the same planning notes with the rejected proposal. However, the complaint of the latter, in addition to the same concern, had the wider scope of challenging the CBD proposal in the 2023 Ankara Master Plan (Figure 8.19). In the lawsuit of Çankaya District Municipality, the court did not require a new expert report as the same planning notes were unchanged from the previous plan. Thus, the court followed the previous expert report as a reference and handed down a decision to suspend the project on November 2007, followed by a final[156] rejection in April 2008.

---

[154] Issue no. 2007/769 on 06.07.2007 then renumbered as new issue no.2007/1267.
[155] Issue no.2007/679.
[156] Issue no.2007/1267, obtained decision no.2008/589 on 09.04.2008.
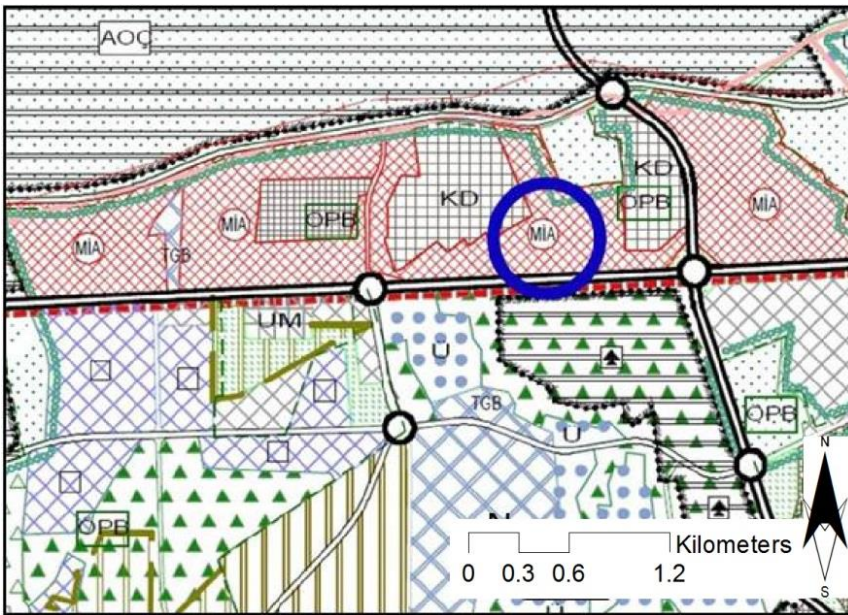
Figure 8.19. 2023 Ankara Master Plan and the subjected plot within CBD use (MIA)

Source: 2023 Capital City Ankara Master Planning Report

However, in the CCCAA's lawsuit, MM claimed superior status to authorise the proposal, whereas the administrative court decided to consult a new expert report due to the extended scope of the complaint. The new expert team assigned presented a report opposing the CBD approval, reflecting on the 'vagueness' of CBD land use, insufficient planning and management approaches for the CBD areas, and that Kentpark's plot was incapable of being designated as a CBD in comparison to other locations in the city. With those points, the administrative court finalised its decision[157] rejecting the CBD designation in the master plan in October 2009. However, the AMM once more went through the appeal procedure against the rejection decision which was still pending in October 2012.[158]

While the court cases were still pending, once more the AMM and the developer developed a new strategy through a new proposal that was approved immediately in October 2007.[159] The proposal again referred to the 2023 Master Plan but this time included the surrounding neighbourhood that was already declared as an TA (the top plan in Figure 8.20: KD means 'Kentsel Dönüşüm Alani') and aimed to include the Kentpark site in this new plan proposal. Once more the aim was to keep all power of

---

[157] On 15.10.2009 with decision no.2009/1883

[158] However, the withdrawal of the licence of the CCCAA to enter lawsuits (see Chapter 7 and appendix) had removed the association from the court process.

[159] In 25.10.2007 with AMM Council Decision no.2562.

authorisation with the AMM, to benefit from the flexibilities given by that declaration, and to provide a legal basis for the problematic site of Kentpark (Figure 8.20, bottom).
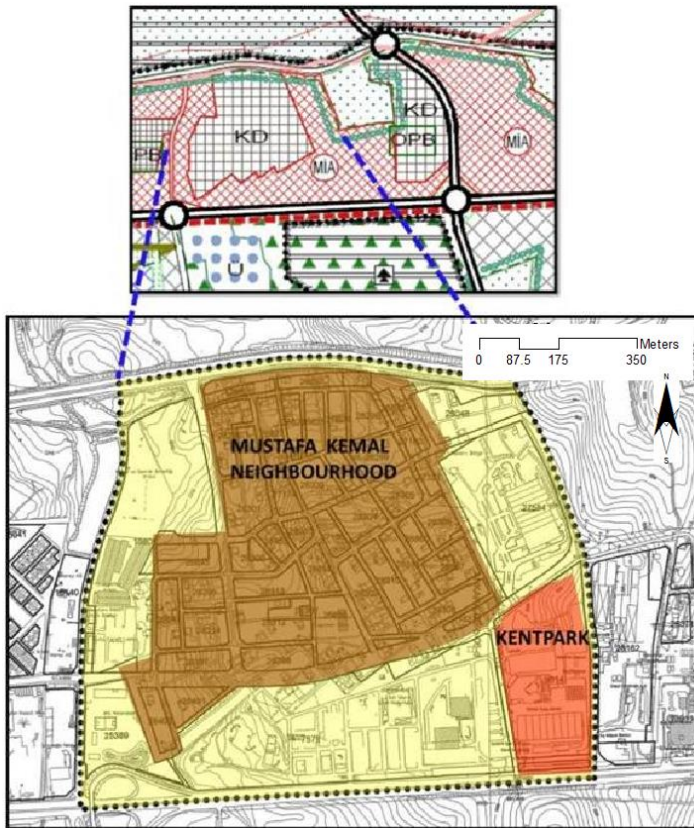
Figure 8.20. Mustafa Kemal Neighbourhood Urban Transformation and Development Project Area enlarged from the 2023 Ankara Master Plan and with regard to the new plan modification proposal (bottom)[160]

Source: Adapted from 2023 Capital City Ankara Master Plan Report and Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Archive, 2013: Folder of Plot 9014

As the *sine qua non* order of planning tradition– proposal-approval-objection-rejection by the approving institution-entering lawsuit – a new lawsuit was issued[161] by the Çankaya District Municipality at the end of 2007 and the process continued similar to the previous court cases. However, this time, after receiving the expert report, the defendant raised a counter complaint against the experts' objectivity. Here the claim was about the experts' CUP membership and therefore their non-objectivity, as there was also another court case entered by CUP. The court refused the complaint and the RA declaration was again rejected[162] in January 2009. In the case of Kentpark, as an overall view, lawsuits and additional planning processes have been referred to the courts; concurrently the implementation plans, parcelling plans and regarding building

---

[160] KD: Kentsel Donusum, meaning Urban Transformation.
[161] Issue no.2007/1526.
[162] Decision no.2009/31 on 14.01.2009.

permissions had also been issued by the AMM without a delay and regardless to the continuing court cases, in order to enable construction to start, continue and be completed as soon as possible. Simultaneously, while these smaller-scale plans were prepared and were approved with ease, their opponents had to face struggles where their own power was not enough, and their petitions of complaint received by AMM mostly went unheard. Therefore, for any objection, entering a lawsuit has become a must. The case clearly demonstrated that the alliance of and negotiation between AMM and developer, regardless of all official attempts to oppose the proposals and adverse court rulings, generated a peculiarly powerful relationship depending on mutual benefit and at the same time disempowered all possible opposition through this newly generated power.

What is more, despite the site did not have any valid plans remaining due to the court rejections, the AMM also issued building licences in 2008 and in 2009 and an occupancy permit in 2009, constituting the basis for ongoing construction. After the entire episode, the mall was completed and started to operate, and another plan was proposed and approved[163] in April 2011. The permits were given regardless of the suspensions decisions by the courts, to provide legitimate grounds for construction and to provide permanence in material form in the physical space. Therefore, the existing power relations among decision makers and capital holders in the process reinforced their representation and power. This has been done through reformulation of the physical condition of the site (from a piece of land with low building rights to one with high building rights) contributed via tactics embedded in legal instruments (new proposals and approvals and, after each rejection, trying new ways to obtain another approval from the approving authority, which is in alliance with the developers).

This latest proposal included a new strategy adopted from the old tradition of land development strategy that was once used for legalising *gecekondus* via reclamation plans (see Chapter 5 & 6). This stated: 'the status given in the building permits and the occupation licence for the site should be considered as the planning status of the site'. This statement, which can be seen on the planning notes of some of the conflicting plan approvals, has become another distorted planning tradition since the 1980s in case of conflicts. That clearly meant: whatever the structure is on the plot would be

---

[163] On 13.04.2011 with AMM Council Decision no.1002.

made legal with a formal planning status through the plan provided. This, in a way, made use of the 'sheer materiality of the construction' as it would carry 'its own weight and authority' as the representation of power (Harvey, 2005, p.114) via the crafting of legal instruments. However, that new planning attempt also went through another lawsuit[164] process in July 2011 entered by CUP and the lawsuit continued in a similar vein. Following expert reports, the court decided to reject the proposal in September 2012. Nevertheless, although there have been rejections from the courts, there has been no interruption in practice on the site or any sanction due to disregarding the court's decision; the project is still running at full pace at the moment, with only the residential part of the project uncompleted. Therefore the case reveals an undefeatable condition of allied force of power holders (decision making elites and business elites on the same side) involving in tactical action and anticipating possible constraints (Hillier 2002 and Foucault 1994). However, also illustrates that even the institutions of state and their actions may clash and at the end the networked power of the decision makers has the ability to go beyond the supremacy of law. There, in the decision making process, the crafting or relaxation of legislations (Oncu 1988; Flybjerg and Richardson 2002) or veiled Mafiosi relations over the state (Chubb 1982) have become both the producer and the product of the power relations, and, in contrast to the literature, none of them are isolated instances. Similar to previous cases a brief summary of the planning process is represented in Figure 8.21.

The case of Kentpark and Armada II proves that, in Turkey, urban planning practice, especially for large projects that provide quick returns, lacks consistent and just authorisation, and the correct use of legislative instruments; participation and monitoring have become mere rhetoric. In addition, planning practice has become an apparatus that is theoretically attached to the state but is operated by the hands of a few who favour holders of capital for mutual benefit. With its alliance strategy, the urban regime is generating a coalition within the complexity of urban development through networks and formal and informal cooperation (Stoker, 1995; Judge, 1995) with a multiplicity of force relations (including influence exerting of business elites) coexisting by increasing each other. All three cases proved that planning practice is based on plan modifications (see Section 5.3.2) that aim for further flexibility (Tekeli 2001; Kilinc et al 2009) and quick changes in favouring private interests and to deal with conflicting

---

[164] Issue no.2011/1496 on 26.07.2011.

matters in the planning process. That also further contributed by use of vague terms in land use (i.e. SA, WA and RA); and only active participation occurs in the case of opposition via lawsuits where clash of different parties reveals the dark side, the excluding and the monopolised side of power in planning. Therefore, this research, although acknowledges the valuable inputs and urgent necessity of the communicative, collaborative approaches and the important role of planners (Inners, 1995; Healey, 1998–2003; Forester, 1989–2001; Hillier, 2002; Albrecht, 2003; Tewdwr-Jones 2002; Tewdwr-Jones and Allmendinger 1998) proved that for some contexts, where the planning profession has become a mere instrument of the power holders (Yiftachel 1998, Huxley and Yiftachel 2000), these approaches stands as romantic promises and therefore the analysis of real rationalities and investigation of power relations (Flybjerg 1998, Flybvjerg and Richardson 2002) become more urgent.
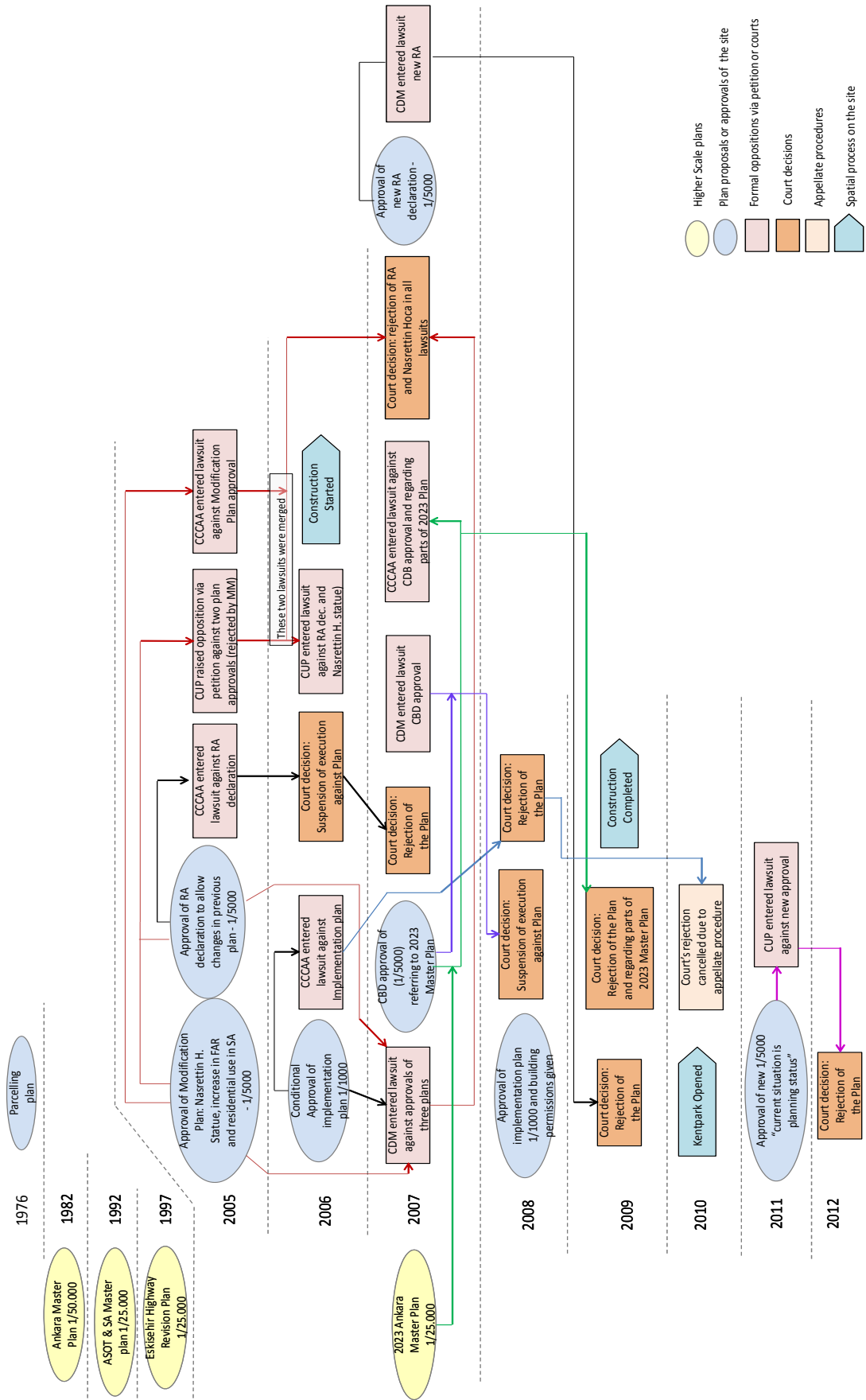
Figure 8.21. Planning and construction process of Kentpark

203

8.5. Conclusion

This chapter presented the reflection of the formal development process of three shopping malls in the real practices of planning. The chronology of the developments demonstrated that the early developments, Galleria and Armada I, were the first of their kind for their hinterland and for the city. Therefore, they gained support from government and the approvals of the plan proposals passed without any challenge. However, due to the shopping mall boost in the city, especially after 2000s, both malls had become out of fashion, and proceeded with revitalisation projects in which the Galleria had approval without challenge whereas Armada faced some challenges concerning the bridges connecting with its new project Armada II. On the other hand, Kentpark, the latest representation of the mall developments in the city, revealed the 'shadows of power' (Hillier 2002) within the 'real rationalities' (Flyvbjerg, 2002) of the planning process. This process proved that market forces, eager to reshape the built environment within the capitalist system, allied with governmental institutions in crafting legislative instruments to achieve an easier approval process. The chapter uncovered these processes via analysing the planning steps for each case in detail through the data gathered from municipal archives, court documents, media news and interviews with key informants. Therefore, the chapter could also identify the explicit and implicit actors and their operations within the daily practices of planning. Within these practices of allied powers, which cannot be explained simply as public–private partnerships, antagonistic relationships emerged, linking back to the literature mentioned in Chapter 2. However, the Turkish cases in particular proved that the alliance generation is based on implicit networks and their strategies within planning processes aim to eliminate any possible obstacle or opposition to plan proposals. Moreover, the case of Kentpark, in particular, proves that even the supremacy of law can become mere rhetoric when it came across the strong alliance of decision- makers with developers, which disregards participatory approaches from the start.

CHAPTER 9 - THE SPATIAL AND SOCIAL DIMENSIONS

9.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to provide an insight into the perception of everyday users of the selected cases. Here, the socio-spatial dimension of the selected malls is revealed in conjunction with the contemporary notion of public space. As mentioned in the methodology chapter, the study benefits from a rich variety of methods of research. The structured interviews were conducted with the everyday users of the space, selected from various age groups, whereas more relaxed semi-structured interviews were conducted with the professionals, including the managers and the architects; informal interactions with shopkeepers and security guards (where possible) were performed and site observation was completed.

Moreover, as one of the concerns of this research is the notion of public space and its publicness, the site analysis was done by focusing on the prominent public space features of each mall and their use through participatory and non-participatory experiences. The investigation is conducted through three selected cases on two levels: professional and public perception. Each case is to be understood as a different socio-spatial site, where the cases have their own spatial qualifications and where the users attribute meanings to social qualifications during their practice. With these features, this chapter seeks an answer for the last subsidiary research question regarding the socio-spatial dimension of public space.

9.2 Characteristics of Galleria, Armada and Kentpark

In this section the selected cases, their public space and retail qualities are explored in relation to public interviews, before going into a detailed analysis of perceptions of professionals and public towards public space and malls as public spaces.

9.2.1 Galleria

'The first shopping mall established in the west of Ankara' (Galleria official website)

Figure 9.1. Galleria front view
Source: Author 2011

The Galleria shopping centre has two main (front and rear) and three side entrances (from the side through the parking area; through the supermarket; through the bowling alley below the ground floor). Although the centre seems to have 103 separate shops, some of those are rented by the same brands (e.g. Polo rents four of the shops; others brand may rent two of them due to the inadequacy of the current shop sizes). In addition, there are 21 shops with regard to more neighbourhood scale commercial needs (locksmith, tailor, home textile and technical equipment, computer repair, shoe repair are some examples) instead of having large scale shops compared to other cases. In addition to those, there is a bowling alley below ground and two atrium areas on both sides which were initially designed with small decorative ponds and as an open space, yet were later rented by an open bookstore and a carpet gallery on one side and by a children's playground fitted with electronic toy equipment on the other (Figure 9.2). Moreover, there are ten fast-food shops on the basement floor (in Figure 9.2, coloured shops refer to the food court). In contrast to Armada and Kentpark, in Galleria the brands in the food court are mostly local, with fewer chain stores and there is a supermarket called Kiler on the ground floor.

Figure 9.2. −1 floor (basement); food court; playground and book and carpet gallery
Source: Plan adapted from Galleria official website; Author, 2012

The Kiler supermarket (Figure 9.3) is, at the moment, the most used store, keeping the centre alive, as highlighted both by users and the manager. Being located on the ground floor and having accessibility both from inside the mall and from the outside parking space provides the customers with a shopping option without being entering the mall. The market is also one of the two supermarkets in the neighbourhood, which contributes to Kiler attracting more customers than the shopping centre itself.

Figure 9.3. Kiler supermarket exterior and interior view
Source: Author, 2011, 2012

After the concept of the shopping mall become prevalent in Ankara, especially after the 1990s, the diverse amount of mall construction in the city, particularly in the Çankaya region, was increased. Therefore, within that period, Galleria had to face

becoming abandoned due to its loss of popularity. In addition, the mall was also unable to represent the demands of wider market trends as it was unable to adapt to these; nor was it able to provide a 'prestigious and symbolic urban landscape' via innovative design features to 'mastermind' market needs and tastes as the logic of profit (Gospodini 2002; Loukaitou-Sideris and Banerjee 1998). However, its location, closely surrounded by residential areas, has become an advantage by giving it the opportunity to serve daily and/or local needs and helped the centre to survive, as this location also provides quite convenient walking/access options from the nearby residential sites.

During the fieldwork in was observed that, although the neighbourhood provides open playgrounds, owing to its controlled climate conditions the children's playground in Galleria has been used as an ordinary neighbourhood park where young mothers bring their children to play, even early in the morning, and wander around. Another positive and distinct feature of Galleria compared to newer malls was to follow traditional retail practices in service. The relationships and the familiarity, where customers usually know the shopkeepers and vice versa and greet each other, is a very traditional feature that can usually be seen in old city centres and small neighbourhoods. Therefore, although being the oldest mall and therefore out of fashion, Galleria has adopted some of the traditional features of a neighbourhood retail area, and even a neighbourhood park or playground. Thus, the centre is now used for such daily needs and particularly for the supermarket located inside. Although the young interviewees from Armada and Kentpark were not able to remember Galleria, for the majority it was the contrary. However, their phrases were mostly concentrated on the negative aspects of Galleria and their dissatisfaction. When they were asked about their experiences of Galleria most of the respondents ignored the question and instead referred to other malls like Kentpark, Gordion and Arcadium and some others referred to their past experience of the centre when it was having its 'golden years' as the only mall in the neighbourhood.

> In the past Galleria was not just a shopping centre but also was a centre for leisure a centre for fun of the whole district maybe

However, it is not only the competitive environment of the malls in the region that has caused Galleria to lose its popularity, but also the inadequacies of some of the main facilities have also contributed to this, as stated by the users and as observed. For instance, there is only one set of toilets for the entire centre, poorly located in the basement, where there are very limited accessibility options for disabled persons. Moreover, insufficient common spaces like sitting areas or resting areas and spaces

dedicated to leisure are the most repeated negative features of Galleria, adding to its inhospitableness.

> I am not able to spend much time here although I wanted to, the place is not really welcoming in terms of design what it offers in the design and features, I just come here, do whatever I need to do and nearly run away.

> There is nothing much to hang around here or nothing to get attracted or to stop for.

> I use this centre only for the tailor or the shoe repair; I don't think I can actually shop here.

In addition, respondents stated that they felt unsafe and they found the existing security measurements inadequate. This might be because of the high security measures of other malls that respondents have become used to, yet another reason might be the desolate[165] image of the mall. In addition, the configuration of the food court and its condition does not provide hospitality and comfort compared to the food courts of the other malls. First of all, in contrast to the other malls, one needs to buy something in order to take a seat; second, except for the peak hours of lunchtimes and weekends, there are very few customers around, which may generate uncomfortable feelings, as acknowledged by one of the interviewees.

Furthermore, apart from its age, style and services provided, the traditional management style also puts the Galleria shopping centre back behind its competitors. In Galleria, the manager has no connection with a professional management company and works like an apartment superintendent, and is only obliged to collect the rents and use them for general expenses like electricity, water or gas. In addition, Galleria has only three team members responsible for general requirements, each of which works as technical personnel (two installers and one electrician), and eight security guards, yet the number of security personnel may increase during festival or celebratory periods like New Year and Ramadan. Therefore, Galleria has become a small neighbourhood centre that serves the daily needs of the residents like a small *han* with a small catchment area and has already been forgotten by the young people.

---

[165] Even while carrying out the research, the emptiness and male-dominated condition of the mall led to a feeling of insecurity.

9.2.2 *Armada*

Armada, not only serves for shopping but also everything regarding to life in being presented …. you will feel yourself and your child more special (Armada official web site)

Figure 9.4. Armada I before renewal and its office block
Source: Author 2011; A Tasarim

The Armada I project was the most prominent representative of shopping malls in the early 2000s, particularly along the Eskisehir Highway, where shopping malls rapidly developed by the end of the first decade of the 2000s. According to Ozturk (2004), the architect of Armada, the future vision of the 'modern capital city' would consist of towers and high-rise buildings, as the public institutions on Eskisehir Highway had already adopted. Therefore, the design of Armada I, especially the office block, was inspired from that vision, and Armada I was built following that type of design, consisting of 21 floors with a glass façade (Figure 9.4) and a shopping mall attached. The symbolic role of the Armada for its users also is shown in its design of the business block resembling a ship in Armada I[166]. It was one of the prominent examples of the time as one young adult user stated:

When Armada was first open, we all said wow! What a design, what a building! And then we started to go there even just to watch the building, therefore I feel like I have an emotional link to that mall, but now everywhere is full of Armadas.

---

[166] Also, the name Armada means navy.

Figure 9.5. Armada I, the hypermarket; food court and atriums
Source: Author, 2013

Before the renovation and the new extension, Armada had four entrances from three different levels. After passing the main entrance the mall splits into two main corridors, where the each end of these corridors is linked with atriums on the ground floor. Each of the atriums are rented by coffee shops or used as a display spaces (Figure 9.5, bottom three pictures). In addition, the centre initially had a parking capacity for 3,100 cars, both as open-air spaces at ground level or covered spaces below ground, and had 150 shops in total including the food court (Figure 9.5, top). Similar to Galleria, yet larger, Armada also has a supermarket (Figure 9.5, middle) called Kipa (the representative chain of Tesco in Turkey), which is still in use after the renovation as one of the anchor shops in the mall. The centre also had one cinema, which was renewed during the renovation period concurrent with the Armada II project. The centre has good transportation options and a good location, and therefore has a good catchment area and has users mostly from the surrounding business centres and public institutions.

However, in time, Armada started to become old-fashioned and needed revitalisation; this was not only because of the increased number of malls in the city but also because the new mall projects have usually enriched their projects via the extension of the scope of the shopping mall to leisure as a new trend, e.g. cinemas, music recitals,

temporary exhibitions, children's playgrounds and fun centres, as leisure has become one of the main indicators of the retail environment and public space. The new trends praised leisure (Holbrook and Hirschman 1982; Howard 2007; Verbeke 1991–2006); imitated the link between human needs and commercial activity (Sorkin 1992; Ritzer 2010) and viewed the public space features within retail as a necessary evil (Chiu and Yau 2007). Therefore, the new Armada project also followed a similar trend by renewing the existing centre and building the Armada II project through embracing different recreational and leisure options while also widening the shopping options, providing different varieties and brands. The new project also thematised the open space between Armada I and II as a 'life street', where coffee shops and restaurants are located and open-air activities (such as concerts) are organised (Figure 9.6).
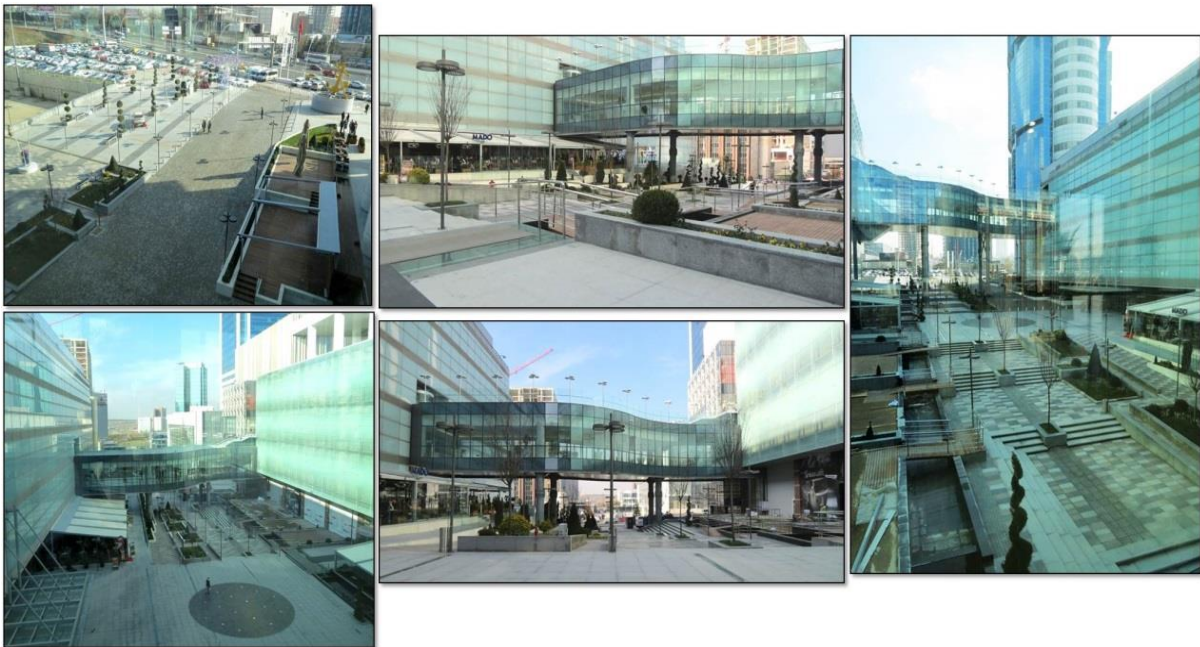
Figure 9.6. The connection between Armada I and II, called 'Life Street'
Source: Author, 2013
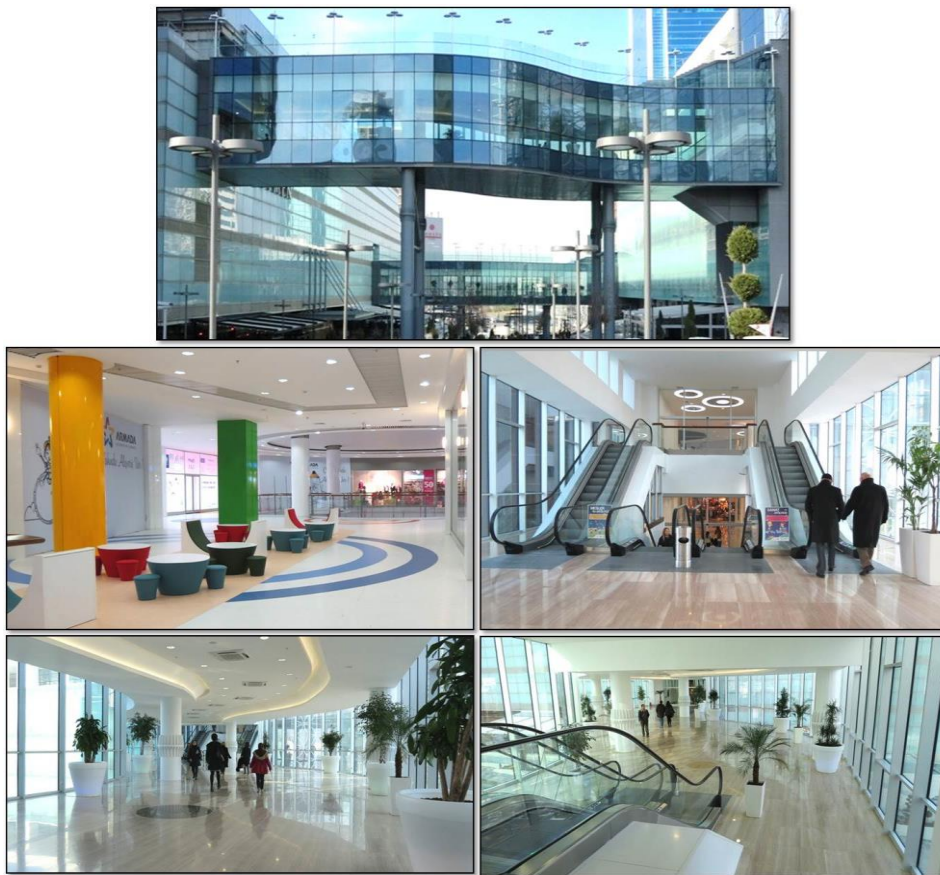
Figure 9.7. Interior and exterior condition of the connector bridges between Armada I and Armada II
Source: Author, 2013

In that respect, the Armada II project was built on the plot adjacent to Armada I that had long been used as parking space and as an occasional concert space. The Armada I and II projects both include interior and exterior connections; the interior ones are provided via both covered and open bridges and the exterior one is provided via a designed open space on the ground floor, surrounded by cafes. At the time of writing, the covered bridges have basic furnishings in place, but not all of them were in use at the time of research (January 2013). According to the manager, all connections will soon be furnished with lounges, kiosks or be used as a gallery space to serve as a 'pleasant' passageway (Figure 9.7). However, there has been opposition to the new bridges from CUP and CCCAA via lawsuits (see Chapter 8).

Figure 9.8. Armada II exterior and interior design
Source: Author, 2013

The design of the new part, unlike Armada I, has a glazed cube shape with a big atrium in the middle of the ground floor, equipped with furniture for people to rest and enabling shops to face this central atrium while providing wide visibility on each floor (Figure 9.8). according to its architects and manager one of the main aims of the new project is to provide a better social environment for younger customers and children, to attract families, as such an environment was missing from Armada I. Therefore, the number of social spaces has been increased; also, a sports centre and a centre for shows, which would work as a theatre or for stand-up shows, have been designed for the new mall. In addition, as the part of the same project, Armada I was renewed; there the old cinema and the common spaces were refurbished (new furniture was put in place); and the terraced areas of the food court were enlarged[167] and equipped with seating (Figure 9.9). However, during the interviews, though most of the young respondents (including the ones in Kentpark) celebrated the new project Armada II and the revitalisation of Armada, the majority of the actual users still stated that their reason to visit the mall was due to its accessibility and location, being close either to work or to home.

---

[167] The main reason of this change for the terrace areas, as the architect and manager stated, was because of the smoking prohibition and as the initial design did not allow many options for the smokers, the renewal aimed to answer that inadequacy as well.

Figure 9.9. Renewals in Armada I: rest areas and seating in the arcades of the mall; cinema; touch-screen navigation board and renewed terrace
Source: Author, 2013

Furthermore, in contrast to Galleria's old management structure, Armada is managed by a professional team by Jones Lang Lasalle in cooperation with Avi Alkas, who even deal with details like the hair of the cleaners and the uniforms of the security personnel in order to increase the attraction for the A+ customers, as stated by the manager. In the centre, apart from the uniformed female security guards at each entrance, security is provided through CCTV and civil security on all other floors with male staff. At the moment, Armada I and II have 56 clothing shops, 17 home textile shops, 11 children's stores, 11 for shoes and bags; ten stores for active sports (clothing and equipment), nine electronics stores, nine jewellery shops, five cosmetics shops, four watch shops, three opticians and three mobile network shops; two bookstores, a stationery shop, a tobacco shop, a pet shop, a pharmacy, a dry cleaner's, a small specialised marketplace[168]; a florist, a hairdresser, a tailor, a holiday agency, a carwash; a shoe repairer's, a bank (in addition to several cashpoints); a children's leisure centre;

---

[168] Well-known traditional and authentic products from the city of Malatya are sold here; this also became a tradition in other malls as an additional theme.

paintball site and go-karting site (both on the 5th floor); a temporary concert field[169] and 32 gastronomy-related shops (including those in the food court and the separate coffee shops and restaurants on different floors). Moreover, there are valet parking services, a *mescid* (prayer room), public phones, and cashpoints of nine different banks. In addition, the renewal and the Armada II project also brought nightlife and late evening use to the mall through new restaurants and cafe-pubs that would serve alcohol[170] after 10pm. As mentioned in Chapter 3, these centres have become cathedrals of consumption (Ritzer 2010) with a similar approach to all-inclusive five-star hotels. This was also spotted and criticised by an interviewee, who even after revealing her criticism presented a solution only through malls again:

> Malls have gone completely weird. We have everything now. More than that, for a certain part of society these are the only places to get socialised or to participate in any kind of social activities, even if that participation is a passive one. I am talking especially of Armada and Kentpark. Those people would not bother to use or go to any other places. Just for this reason these centres should have more public space, similar places and opportunities for free socio-cultural activities otherwise those people would become more ignorant.

Finally, it was also highlighted that Armada has its users not only from surrounding residential areas but mostly from the surrounding public (which once were decentralised) or private institutions from which the employees would come during their lunch break or after working hours to wander around of to shop.

---

[169] Especially during the summer, the 3000m² of the open parking area is designed as a concert field.
[170] In most of the malls in the country the options for gastronomy are limited to standardised food court and chain coffee shops like Starbucks; only very few new malls provide restaurants that serve alcohol.

9.2.3 *Kentpark*

The aim of the Kentpark[171] project is to bring the centre of the centres to Ankara (Kentpark official website)

Figure 9.10. Kentpark and Cepa
Source: Author, 2011

Kentpark was built next to another mall called Cepa (Figure 9.10). The mixed- use Kentpark project was designed with four themes, as the architect remarked: plaza, street, greenery at the front and backyard with indoor plants and recreation. To provide these themes, the setback distance in the front was planned to be wider than usual, to enable a design for an 'urban square' for outdoor activities such as mini football, basketball tournaments and trampoline areas for children (Figure 9.11, top). In addition, the arcades of the mall are also designed to be wide (minimum 8m), well-lit and decorated with plants in order to resemble streets in the city centre and to imitate city life (Figure 9.11, bottom). Moreover, Kentpark has shops of luxurious brands known worldwide, even some which opened in Turkey for the first time and also has an expansion programme to be considered in the future aiming at an 'expectation of urban rents' (Harvey 2012: 28) similar to Armada. Kentpark with its enriched themed project aims to provide an experience creation for its users (Lorentzen and Hansen 2009) with focusing on bringing together social assets (city centre imitation with public space qualities) of space with retail together (Chiu and Yau 2007; Oppewal and Timmermans 1999; Eroglu et al. 2005).

---

[171] The name *Kentpark* consists two words *kent* and *park* meaning *urban* and *park* respectively. Thus, the full meaning is *urban park* and has the aim of connotatively bringing the urban and recreational concepts together.

Figure 9.11. The 'urban square' theme front side of Kentpark; inner square and interior streets
Source: Author, 2011

Due to the emergence of financial constraints, as stated by the manager and the architect, the mall project, although initially having had an ambitious design, had to have modifications, both in design and the materials used during implementation. Initially, Kentpark was designed as a semi-open shopping mall, and the front square would be connected to the 'high street' like a designed entrance. The cinema was also located at the entrance of the semi-open street, where urban street functions would take place to generate a lively street life. This then would be connected to the terraces to have views towards the residences at the back and would have a pool in between on the ground terrace of the mall (Figure 9.12). The construction at the back of Kentpark for the landscape and residential blocks has not been completed due to formal constraints and economic restrictions on the construction of the residential part, which was planned to include 465 flats consisting of different sizes. Thus, the centre, since its opening in 2009, has continuously had construction work going on at the rear (Figure 9.13, top).

Figure 9.12. Initial design project of Kentpark
Source: Oncuoglu+ACP

The implemented project has 235,000m² closed area in which 12,000m² is left for office spaces; it includes 191 shops in total[172], of which there are 34 clothing stores, 16 jewellery shops, 14 stores for shoes and bags, 13 home decoration stores; nine children's stores, six electronics stores, six cosmetics shops, six optician's shops and watches, three mobile phone network stores; a large-sized sports equipment and clothing shop; two tailors; a pharmacy; a printing shop; a continental drugstore; a pet shop; a calligraphy service centre; a bookstore- stationery shop; a tobacco shop and 48 shops that serve food and/or drinks. Apart from the food court in Kentpark there are also some luxurious restaurants facing the terraces (Figure 9.13, middle).

Figure 9.13. Terrace spaces and food court

Source: Author, 2012 - 2011

---

[172] The different type of stores are given to reveal the wide diversity for each case.

Moreover, there is also an entertainment centre for children called *Macera Adasi* (Adventure Island); a kiosk-style playground; a fitness centre; a bowling alley (Figure 9.14) and an artificial pond, where the play of light and water through various sprinklers is provided if the pond is filled in the summer (Figure 9.13 top). In addition, a cinema, an art academy/dance school and the Association of Independent Architects' offices are also located in the mall. Referring to all these wide variety of uses in Kentpark, the interviewees revealed common responses:

> Malls provide you everything that one can ask for ... people come here with the whole family and they spend the whole day.

> Kentpark somehow pampers me, I feel like special. These malls have become symbols of your status of where you belong, at some point even if you don't belong there, in terms of affordability, you want to be part of it. Especially for young people like us, this is a place to show off.

In contrast to Galleria, the respondents at Armada and Kentpark presented their perceptions in a complimentary way. However, it should be mentioned that this was also due to the responses of the younger age groups that were not present in Galleria. Therefore, it was rather the age of the users, thus the time conditions of both malls and users that affected the cognition and perceptions through collective memories and experiences of the spatial context. The young respondents from Kentpark emphasised that they already internalised the shopping malls as the first choice for recreation, '*a place to come in free time*', and they did not have any perception of the time before malls as they had grown up with them. Therefore, these places have become their first choice for social interaction, and identity generation (Massey 1995; Hubbard and Kitchin 2011); and where public life is a performance, presenting symbolic meanings through exposure role of public spaces (Madanipour, 2003) as these young users admit that:

> The malls have become a way of expression of who we are and our lifestyle*.*

Figure 9.14. Adventure Island; cinema; kiosk as children's playground; art academy; bowling alley
Source: Author, 2011

In contrast to the other examples, Kentpark has terrace spaces on every floor, which was an important necessity, as highlighted by the managers and architects in all the case studies, following the prohibition on smoking in closed spaces. Moreover, there is also a specialised food market: District Bazaar[173] (Figure 9.15), including a supermarket called Cagdas Market, partially designed with a traditional, nostalgic theme in order to match the bazaar concept, selling organic products, dried fruits and nuts, local products from Hatay,[174] and traditional *sucuk*.[175] The reproduction of localised spatialities, added to through the effect of nostalgia, is very much visible in the case of Kentpark, 'fashioning of some localized aesthetic image' (Harvey 1989: 303). Moreover, several TV programmes have been broadcast in the mall, and temporary museum and exhibitions have also taken place in Kentpark.

---

[173] By giving the name District bazaar, a nostalgic *mahalle* image is imitated which is also influencing for generating perception and connotations.
[174] Hatay is a city in the south-eastern region of Turkey and has authentic local products similar those sold in Armada from Malatya.
[175] Turkish pepperoni.
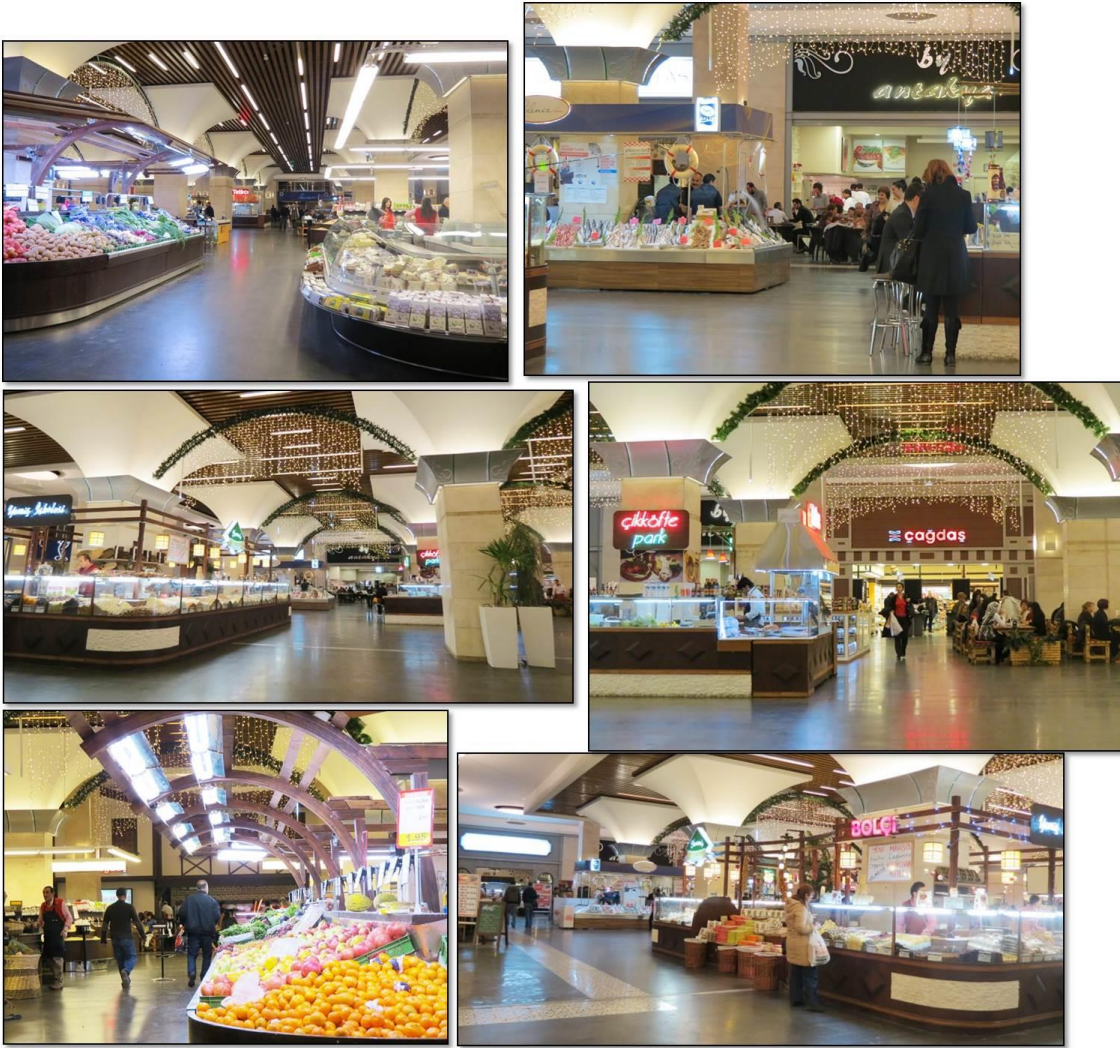
Figure 9.15. Specialised food market called 'District Bazaar'
Source: Author, 2011

Kentpark completed its project via equity capital and is managed by a Turkish management company, Megaturk, who are also the investor in the mall. The security in the mall is provided by a security team of uniformed members at the entrances and non-uniformed ones on all other floors. In addition, there are 356 CCTV cameras in operation, most of which are able to provide face detection to generate a blacklist,[176] as the head of the security team states; to be sure the mall is not prone to any hijacking by undesirable users, as Mitchell would have stated (2003). The security also had high importance for all interviewees (both users and key informants). In this regard, distinctive and locally context-specific conditions came to the surface. The high security measures in the malls (particularly in Armada and Kentpark), similar to those in airports, are not taken merely to provide a sanitised retail space, nor nominal security. The security team members and the managers of the malls, particularly in

---

[176] The blacklist is the list of people who have previously committed crimes in the mall, or whose presence in the mall has caused problems, or whose profile is revealed as dangerous by the city police department.

Armada and Kentpark, revealed the 'hot-spot' potential of the malls as prone to crime, due to being away from the crowds of the city centre and the main areas of police control. They stated that shopping malls, especially those newer and larger in size, are seen as convenient and thus become a backdrop for the trafficking of women and human organs. This also shows that the shopping malls, while imitating the city centre but with a claim of better, cleaner and sanitised space, are also prone to become deprived old city cores where urban crime might have a higher potential. In addition, the security in both Armada and Kentpark was mostly perceived as essential, where the most prominent answer was:

> We are a country of [affected by] terror, thus security and precautions are very important; you never know what might happen.

Nevertheless, both in Armada and in Kentpark, the main luxurious brand stores have a VIP entrance, where, according to the managers, 'VIP customers'[177] can enter the shop without having to enter the mall. These entrances are located within the luxurious brands' shops without any clear visibility from the outside.

9.3 Use of the case studies and user and professional perceptions

This section addresses globally transformed practice of spatial experience and its emergence in Turkey, where the education of the gaze in the spaces of supermodernity (Auge, 2008) has become the education of collective memory. Here perception is manipulated through the production and promotion of those spaces. Moreover, while it is a global phenomenon the conditions peculiar to Turkey were also observed in the research. The synonymised use of public space, referring to state institutions and their spaces (Ozbek 2010; Tanyeli 2005; Aksit 2009; see Chapter 5), and the connotative meanings resulting from it that generated its own 'image' and mental maps (Lynch 1960); 'knowledge' (Deleuze 1988); and 'consciousness' (Harvey 1989a) as well revealed, where the latter two are also politically manipulated (via various ways of endorsement, particularly through use of popular media), contributing to and transforming the overall image of public space and understanding of 'publicness'. In addition, the inability of the current legislative structures to promote truly public spaces (Aksit 2009) and publicness also enables the market and its forces to reformulate

---

[177] As some of the shopkeepers stated, VIP customers are considered to be important businessmen but are mostly cabinet ministers and/or other MPs, or even the prime minister.

space and provide market-driven alternatives; in essence, pseudo-public spaces, which are also well promoted and validated in the public speeches of some decision makers (particularly political power elites) for mutual benefit (See Chapter 8). Therefore, what has been provided as an alternative to public space is encouraging the experience of those alternative spaces (pseudo-public spaces as contemporary public spaces like shopping malls) and reformulating the practical knowledge and awareness that shapes perceptions.

9.3.1 *Professional perceptions*

During the interviews, the professionals revealed divergent perceptions in tandem with their *professional education*, *expectations* and *knowledge* (Lawson 2001). However, the 'expectations' of the actors in relation with their pro or 'anti' position in the planning process (See Chapter 7 and 8) were prominent in determining the main dynamics influencing their perceptions. Although some professionals were aware of the critiques concerning public spaces, there was no pattern revealed in the answers to present a common definition of public space. This was mostly due to contextual conditions (see Chapter 5) but also due to the positions of the particular actors in the production (planning-construction) process and promotion of the selected cases. For instance, the AMM_Councillor member was in support of market-driven development as a necessity and therefore for him these malls are must haves of successful cities, that were operated very well and were very nice artefacts; and for him existing conditions could not be changed or improved, so should therefore be accepted as they were:

> We have to be content with what we have regarding public space because the cities have already settled ... these inabilities are all because of the lack of money in municipalities ... I don't think that the municipalities are aware or cautious about public space generation, I don't think that they even think about it apart from leaving 40% for DOP[178].

In contrast, some other key informants, mainly planners and the expert[179], rather criticised the current conditions and put the emphasis on the procedural constraints, the inadequacy of legislative grounds and limitations of these to provide the essential requirements for public space and instead providing a fertile environment for promoting only what has been produced in the interest of certain parties. They also criticised the current planning practice, operating dependent on political power games at both local and national level, in which the provision of public goods and services by private power

---

[178] Development readjustment share; see Chapter 5.
[179] The expert is the assigned planner in court cases; see Chapter 7 for more detail on the actors in the process.

elites overwhelm public planning practices. This achieves two ends. On the one hand it trivialised the concept of public good, public services and public spaces. This was achieved by foregrounding them in key discourses (through, media, public speeches and in formal documents, in other words defences in court documents) while actually paying them scant lip service. On the other hand, the tactical actions of the powerful are not limited to their use of planning as a state apparatus but adding generous promotion of those actions have wider impact working as a new hybrid apparatus which also is able to manipulate collective gazes and memories through which they gain broad acceptance of the general populous (in other words, through their perceptions).

Moreover, Lawyer_CCCAA and the expert presented two distinctive perspectives. The former referred to the historical development of public space and its cultural connotations in the West and its dissimilarity with the Turkish background, stating:

> In the West they have earned public rights, public spaces, and in a way earned their public spaces and learnt respecting for regarding these notions and had an evolution of increased awareness, whereas in Turkey we didn't have this self-earning. Therefore, we don't have a similar awareness.

In addition, he added that the destruction of existing public spaces in the past (as a government strategy), pushing the public towards malls, aiming for a rise in their use by the less aware young population, who would be content with what was given and be uncritical has been in local and national agendas with eminent aim of urban development based on mere investment on built environment. Furthermore, the expert was the only interviewee who remarked on the production of public space as a social process experienced by the public itself, instead of a given and a concrete entity. According to her, the Turkish context reveals a binary structure, where the production of malls (planning and construction) is unfortunately separate from the concerns of public space, the public interest and publicness. Only after the place is made and starts to operate do the users themselves, their adaptation and perceptions generate a sort of publicness rather than having those considerations through policies or plans in advance. Therefore, it can be said that the perceptions of the users and spatial experience become dependent on and adaptable to what is provided. Thus, reclaiming true public spaces can be achieved only after awareness is generated, in which the awareness cannot also be limited to public yet should first and foremost include decision makers.

Nevertheless, during the interviews, nearly all of the powerful actors, the governmental, non-governmental and private actors, perceived the shopping malls as public spaces with reference to the economic restructuring of the recent past as an important influence of the time. However, while the group of actors who have been in support of such developments and particularly these given cases (seed Chapter 7 and 8) stated that, malls are public spaces, the ones who were opposing or critical implied that these constructions are in a way *forced pseudo-public spaces*, since notions of publicness are formed as a consequence of the actions of the powerful and their promotion during and after the production processes. While the responses of the decision-makers were in favour of the adaptation of the public to a constantly reconfigured urban space and promoting their actions with that regard, the critical responses of the opposing actors revealed a clear discontent:

> The Metropolitan Municipality gave a strong support for the malls. That is interesting to see: although the malls are not public service interventions but private, they have been treated as if the municipality provided a new service; every mall investment was reflected as if the municipality invested in a cultural centre or as if it opened a park (Head_CUP).

In the research by Townshend and Madanipour (2008) on 'public space and local diversity' in North East England, the users and producers of traditional public spaces, which had been influenced by global impacts and the withdrawal of locally-based expertise, desired cultural and economic vibrancy together. This was also partially observed in the interviews of the present research. It was partially so because the answers were gathered around two matters separately and without thinking about them comprehensively: cultural or social vibrancy as one item and economic concerns on the other hand. However, the cases in the UK dealt with public participation as a project and put forward the concerns of the quality of public spaces in local agendas, in which a university, a research unit, the regional development agency and a regional cultural consortium all participated. In contrast, in the Turkish context both for traditional and contemporary public spaces, decision-makers were the only active participant in actual practice. Therefore, the generation of awareness was left to the will of these agencies, which usually prefer economic vitality over quality of public space. Thus, the level of increasing awareness of the UK government on public space and the quality of the

space has not been reached by the planning authorities and decision-makers in Turkey, except for the spark lit by the Gezi Park protests at the user level[180].

In addition, some of the professionals who were excluded from decision-making processes referred to the existing discourse of privatisation, commodification and standardisation in public space development, which is influenced by globalised capitalism, contributing to exclusion and lack of meaningful contact in society. In return, the decision-makers, as the powerful actors, based their argument on the necessity of economic vitality via spatial fixes which for them is enough to generate public good, therefore can be proposed as if those are in some way equate in provision of public services. Thus, the importance of public spaces become secondary (if not eliminated entirely) and is dependent on economic concerns and will of the powerful of the decision making process. While the perception of decision-makers and private-sector representatives focused on economic vitality, visual quality and aesthetics, some of them also presented an interesting dilemma. The council member and Directorate_AMM on one hand emphasised their envy for the past with nostalgia of the way of life in the Ottoman Empire, bypassing the last 100 years of the republican period, and on the other hand were strongly in favour of malls and privatised investments, which present a recent example of a neoliberal capitalist approach through promoting both neoliberal and conservative ideology. This, on the one hand, supports the ideological position of the AKP members among interviewees (AMM_Council_Member and Directorate_AMM); on the other hand it contributes to the hegemonic structure of the capitalist Islamist context (Karadag 2010).

Moreover, the private sector representatives of the process: architects and the managers of the selected malls also had a common perception of the necessity of socio-cultural activities (such as cinema, theatre, playgrounds for children, temporary exhibitions of art and musical shows), and pointed out that these attractions are becoming more crucial for the vitality of the malls through their design and the interior configuration. However, their perspective was inherently analogous with decision makers as those actors have a client-boss relationship with those behind these development and would be expected to effectively 'toe the line'. Therefore, their perspective is limited to the provision of public space qualities that has inherently become a tactic to promote retail activity through stimulating a better environment for

---

[180] However, the Gezi Park protests erupted after the completion of all interviews and site observations; therefore, whether that made any change, and if it did how much, to the perception of public space, may be suggested as future research.

the users (Chiu and Yau 2007). Following this, the manager of Armada stated that the aim of generating public space qualities in malls was triggered by the increasing number of employees in the mall's hinterland who would visit it in their lunch-hour and after work, particularly on foot. For her this brought the need for open and accessible spaces as a prominent design requirement. The managers, and particularly the architects, of Armada and Kentpark therefore emphasised the importance of the common spaces and proudly highlighted how they have been reconfiguring the existing spaces and designing new spaces in consideration of socio-cultural activities and recreation to attract 'customers'. Similarly to their allied position on the production process of the selected malls, the decision-makers and private-sector representatives (especially some managers who stated that their views also reflected those of the developers) therefore gave similar responses and promoted the development of malls and stated there should be even more, because for them these structures are the only alternatives for citizens and therefore can be considered as similar to the provision of public services. Therefore, the manipulation of the built environment has become hegemony of these allied powers in society.

> There is not much left with regard to socio-cultural spaces, spaces that can provide recreation; leisure and socialising or spaces for kids have all faced the same [problem]. They have been all moved into malls ... we as a society have not developed a traditional street shopping habit or use for recreation as in Paris (Manager_Armada)

Powerful actors (Decision makers and capital holders)	Powerless actors (Planners (non-Authorised), CUP, NGO, Lawyer, expert))
Supporting party	**Opposing party**
- Economic vitality - Necessity for all - Investment for whatever it takes - Criticise planning and opposing actors for being a burden while opposing - Perceive these structures as public spaces	- Focus on the public interest and raising public awareness - Criticise the decision makers for aiming to generate uncritical youth and disregarding planning ethos - Perceive these structures forced pseudo-public spaces

Table 9.1. Powerful actors versus powerless actors in their perceptions and positions

Overall, it can be said that while the public space features in the malls have become a strategy (as necessary evils) to get more customers for private sector representatives in the process, traditional public space are appreciated superficially by the same team while disregarded through promoting the current development actions by their

partners: the decision-makers. This is because they equate privatised public spaces with public services and economic vitality to be the same as the public good. Whereas, similarly to the struggles in the planning process (see Chapters 7 and 8), the opposing actors were otherwise, showing an appreciation of public space qualities and were critical of privatised imitations of them. Yet, their criticisms were disregarded by the decision-makers, reflecting similarities with the formal production phases where their voice was ignored.

9.3.2 *User perceptions*

The role of Ankara as capital city, and therefore the bureaucratic centre, adds to the cultural connotations and collective memories which differ from the West regarding public space. In the city, the existence of many public institutions, and state or military interventions on existing public spaces (mainly squares where political demonstrations tend to happen) contributed to the mainstream perception among citizens of public spaces being the same as public institutions (Tanyeli 2005), underpinning the confusion of public space, the public sphere and the public realm as synonyms (Chapter 5). This pattern also clearly emerged during the interviews with users; some even gave some distinctive responses:

> Well, to say public space, there should be public institutions like health and education.

One said while another respondent interestingly stated that:

> Public space brings communism to my mind.

The statement above may start from the idea that neighbouring countries experienced communist regimes for many years, and Turkish governments had a fear of increased communist thought in society and had to deal with right-wing/left-wing conflicts during the 1970s. At that time, civil demonstrations used the main squares of the cities, which then faced the oppressive approaches of government to deal with them, and later a military coup in 1980. This also reflects the manipulated perceptions of the public where the actions (intentions and expectations) of the powerful are revealed and promoted in built environment and re-shape the meaning of that environment. In addition, the recent popular issue of religious representation within 'public spaces' and the prohibition of the headscarf in those spaces has had a strong influence on shaping perceptions and also revealed in the interviews due to the synonymised use of public

space, the public sphere and public institutions (see Chapter 5), even if the actual prohibition only covered public universities and military and public institutions.

Moreover, the semi-structured user interviews revealed that shopping malls, resembling all-inclusive holiday packages, have become one of the main settings of urban life in Ankara. Therefore, some of the interviews were strongly in favour of malls and perceive these as one of the main settings of urban space and daily life, supporting Helvacioglu's (2000) research, while few perceived shopping malls as places to be criticised. Due to current life conditions they have become a necessity to people:

> We have become addicted now to these structures that limit dialogue and change our life space and style, and nothing else is provided as an alternative anyway.

However, when asked about the relation between shopping malls and public spaces, initially the majority of the users did not think of malls as public spaces, due to the connotative linkage with public institutions; however, only after they were given qualities of public spaces (Chapter 3) they changed their answers to a definite 'yes', saying 'shopping malls are definitely public spaces then'. Yet, their opinion merely focused on malls as a meeting place, which is, for them, accessible to everyone[181].

> Malls provide us with comfort and help us to save time. Parking is free and available all the time, the place is accessible even for disabled persons, it is also secure and keeps you from harsh weather conditions, there is everything here, even banks, hairdressers and tailors, it's also the place that I meet with my friends. So it is a place for everything for every need.

Furthermore, after getting into the discussion of malls as public spaces, prominent themes in the perception of the shopping mall as a contemporary public space emerged. However, there the focus was mostly on physical configuration and facilities. Some important qualities of publicness and public space have either not been mentioned or were mentioned by very few. In particular, the qualities that would generate connections between the physical environment and social relations (Carr et al. 1992), and political and social values (Carmona et al. 2008) were not found. The idea of having inclusive, meaningful, democratic, responsive spaces that would provide active and passive engagement and discovery did not occur to the respondents. Instead of realising the importance of the function of the space generating a better social space (Townshend and Madanipour 2008) the design features were perceived

---

[181] Most of the users were very content to use shopping malls with people from similar strata of society with similar socio-economic status; they were not aware of the phenomena of exclusion or segregation. On the contrary, they revealed their preference of sharing the space with similar people and normalising that condition.

as of higher importance. However, there were also some distinctive responses celebrating the emergence and the significant increase in the number of malls, claiming that only after their arrival could society become socialised. Also, some of the answers from the younger age group demonstrated an example of the globalised trend of individualisation and individualised values of self-representation over other qualities. For instance, some of the interviewees even stated that putting up a Facebook status showing that they were in Kentpark or in Armada provides them a self-representation and a popular position among their peers.

In addition, the older respondents, referring to the younger ones, remarked 'they are fans of the malls as we once were fans of music groups or singers'; and the older interviewees also emphasised the use of the mall by the younger age groups:

> They are even studying here,

While an older woman pointed out:

> When we were their age we were taking our girlfriends to Atakule because of its interesting image, I suppose now the young people are taking their girlfriends to contemporary shopping malls.

Nevertheless, most of the young adults in Armada and Kentpark emphasised the need for open public spaces and their wish to use shopping streets and sub-centres like Tunali and Bahceli, and presented a *justification*[182] for shopping malls to be only good for working people who have limited time. In addition, marital status was strongly emphasised as affecting the perception of shopping malls as public spaces; if users are married or if they have any children then their perceptions would change accordingly, free from spatial assets or the features of traditional public spaces. Moreover, respondents from Armada and Kentpark remarked on the inability and inhospitality of the city in terms of public spaces and recreational activities, highlighting that '*nothing is provided but malls*' and therefore they have to acquiesce to what is given. Some criticised the local government authorities, and some even stated that this was an intentional approach to erase collective memories and to diminish traditional habits connected with public spaces that aimed to make the public feel content with what has been given.

---

[182] During the interviews, most of the young adults specified malls as places to not to be used frequently, also feeling that they needed to justify why they were present there. This was because the importance of the notion of public space and publicness were revealed during the interviews; therefore, the respondents felt obliged to find a good excuse for their presence in the mall by the end of the conversation.

On the other hand, it was also distinctly observed that some of the respondents presented their wish to have more public space qualities through malls rather than having traditional public spaces; some even presented an extreme view, where malls would be the provider of everything, starting from education, residence and health, adding to a better social life. This was due both to the architectural aesthetics of the mall structures and design assets, such as disability-friendliness, security, maintenance and comfort, as some stated. Nevertheless, there were also some interesting and quite reflective responses regarding the perception of malls and public spaces, where one of the respondents from the younger age group in Kentpark clearly perceived having shopping mall investments equal to having public services by the government with a strong supportive reference to AKP (the ruling party): 'it is thanks to AKP we have these mall services' while this response also gained strong support from his peers during the interview.

The above quotes and observations reveal a dilemma within user perceptions On one hand, the transformation of the uses, expectations and therefore perceptions of malls as contemporary public spaces have continued unnoticed at the individual level yet embedded as a process in parallel with intentions and actions of decision makers, as if people have been living with malls for all their lives (Helvacioglu 2000: 338). On the other hand, a few showed their strong discontent: 'there should be at least more greenery', 'there should be more cultural activities, even maybe a free library, local governments should do more to provide these qualities'. As a final remark there was one answer that stood out which included a strong wish and a hope for the reclamation of public spaces and the right to the city, instead of worshipping shopping malls as life assets and privatised public spaces:

> One day the public will come to their senses and start an uprising and resistance, asking for greenery and open public spaces instead of malls[183].

Reactions to actions: responses of public and professionals through their perceptions

Through this research it become clear that the tactical actions and antagonistic relations among actors (powerful versus powerless) also reflect on the perceptions of each. Where the former group (decision makers and capital holders as the powerful)

---

[183] Interestingly, that interview was completed 18 months before the Gezi Park protests.

reveal their content with what has been provided as a vital necessity for economic vitality. For them this is the source of ultimate public good. Moreover, the constant promotion of those projects (not only during interviews but also through media and formal documents see Chapter 6-7-8) is viewed as warranted. Whereas, the latter group, as the representatives of the public voice and *public good*[184] presented constant criticism in response to the former's perceptions and actions (both in using planning as a state apparatus and the promotion of their actions). These, they state, disregard the core value of public space and forcefully generate pseudo-public spaces. These manipulate and in time replace (rather undercut) the genuine experience of 'public' through the appropriation of investment focused urban development and equating it with public good. This therefore, let to the emergent of new experience within these contemporary settings, thus redefine the cognitive meaning of public space for public through production and promotion that encourage the new public experience.
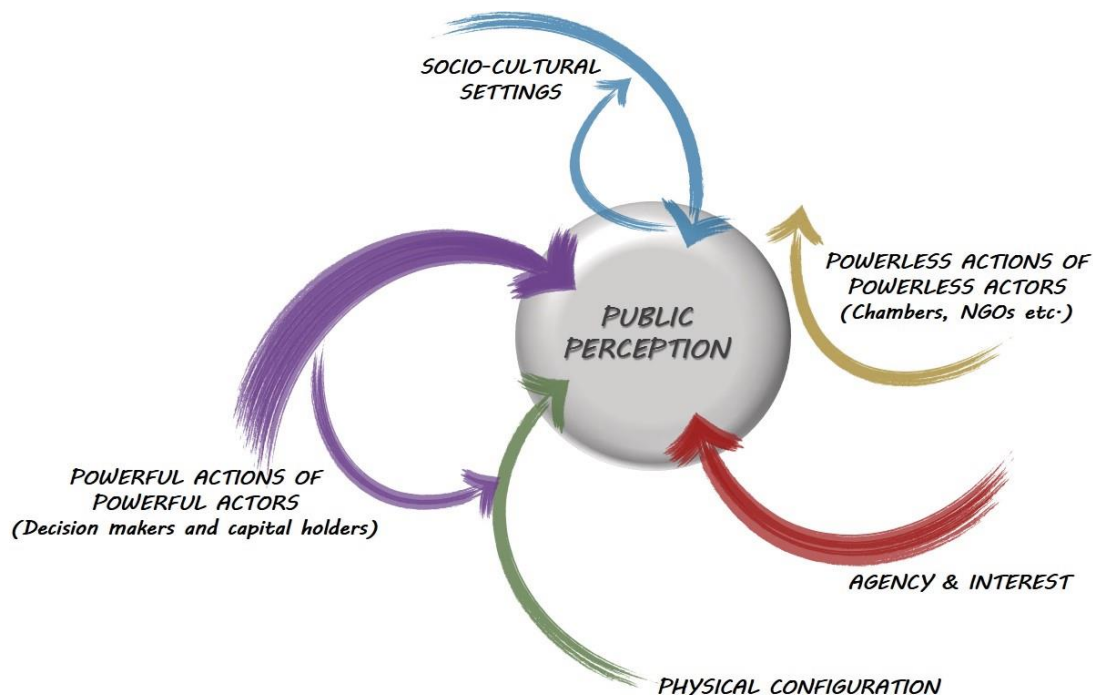
Figure 9.16. Dynamics influencing perception (Relations among and reflections of production, promotion and perception of malls as public spaces for users and professionals)

This section explored the selected cases and examined the ways in which the users and the professionals perceive the shopping mall, the notion of public space and shopping malls as contemporary public spaces. While doing so the section also elucidated the main dynamics that influences perception in particular to malls as contemporary public spaces. Throughout the investigation, it has been observed that

---

[184] They reveal this claim through their charters, complaints in the courts and during the interviews.

the *physical configuration* (design and function), *socio-cultural settings* (knowledge, connotations and practice) of the space and the *agency and interest* (the role of the actors in the structure)[185] contributed to perceptions of both users and professionals. The focuses of the perceptions of different groups of actors, users and professionals, were distinctive. There the dynamic of 'expectation' (among professional education, knowledge and expectation presented by Lawson 2001) prominently influenced both users and professionals. The relation between the actions of decision makers and reaction of public (and powerless professionals) in responding to those actions are highlighted and once more underpinned the relation of production, promotion and consumption of those spaces. The diagram above attempts to visualise those relations among and reflections of production, promotion and perception (via experience and consumption) for the users and professionals of the selected cases, attempting to illustrate internalisation of the factors that once was external. There the actions of the powerful actors and the dimension agency-interest have stronger capacity as an influence, where the former acts on both physical configuration and perception concurrently and for the latter the dynamic of above mentioned 'expectation' for professionals also falls in. In addition, the socio-cultural settings are on one hand enriches the perception on the other hand provides feedback from within itself (constant re-circulation), while the actions of the powerless actors, even though they have the claim of defending public good, in reality are not effective enough to be influencing. Moreover, the education of the gaze as Auge (2008) stated was in act but with an unfair reciprocity (see Chapter 2). This research also unfolded that, it was also the *education of collective memory* that developed simultaneously with education of the gaze as stated at the beginning.

Some of the professionals were aware of the discourse on public space and publicness and were able to recognise the critiques presented in Chapter 3. Therefore, they gave rather cautious responses during the interviews owing to their profession, contrary to the defensive responses given by decision-makers, and compared to the lack of awareness of users. However, although the awareness of the notion seems to be higher for these professionals, municipality members with high decision-making authority and managers had their focus and concerns on economic vitality. The user

---

[185] Users have interest and expectations as customers or with non-shopping interests as public wanting to have other activities as well. Professionals also their interest based on their position and profession in the process: i.e. architects design, managers manages to get more customers, decision makers have political and economic vitality focus whereas ordinary planners are flexible to criticise (see Chapter 7).

group, on the other hand, although they demonstrated less awareness of the notion of publicness notion and public space, also touched upon the need of the cultural meanings and unintentionally sought commonalities and emphasised the importance of togetherness.

It is important to emphasise that this study does not promote a generic critical viewpoint setting the qualities and values of traditional public spaces against contemporary shopping malls. It rather reflects upon the hegemonic power relations operating at decision making processes in which the actions of the powerful actors (both in producing and promoting urban space) have strong influence not only on the physical configuration of urban space but *also* the experience of that space for civil society; whose perceptions in time prove malleable to manipulative attempts of those productions and promotions.

9.4 Conclusion

This chapter presented an insight into the spatial assets of the selected cases; the perceptions of professionals and users contributed to the researchers observations while building up the linkages between the relations of power in planning practice with perception over malls as contemporary public spaces based on the actions of the decision makers and response of public through the way they experience those spaces. The decision makers, private sector representatives (similar to their allied status during production phases) and users perceived malls as public spaces. However, it was also observed that most of the users lacked an awareness that public spaces belonged to them and they have the right to claim them; instead, they were quick to adapt to the built environment conditions given by the decision-makers and market forces. On the other hand, the decision-makers put the economic vitality argument forward in support of their actions while their allies (architects, managers also on behalf of developers) remarking on the importance of the public spaces and public space qualities yet limited to those being necessary evils in promoting malls. The actors with less authorisation working in the municipality (those without decision-making power) and the non-governmental professionals on the other hand emphasised the importance of the publicness of these spaces in urban life, linking it to equality and the 'right to the city' in planning processes. Therefore, it can be said that agency and interest are important drivers of the professionals' perceptions, as their depicted

perceptions are either shaped by their profession or their position in particular processes.

Furthermore, it was also observed that malls in Ankara have been seen as the only options for socialising, or for other particular needs, either retail or social for the majority of the actors. This demonstrates the achievement of decision makers' actions of production and promotion of investment on built environment and appropriating these by equating with public services for common good. This, on one hand presented decision-makers' and developers' achievement in reshaping public perception via the built environment and, on the other hand, showed that the public, when they have no awareness through strong collective memories and practices, will be vulnerable to manipulations of market forces. Finally, it can be said that the main drivers of the changing perceptions of the public regarding the built environment and contemporary public spaces built within it are: physical configurations, socio-cultural settings and the interests of the agency. However, it should also be remembered that the public are exposed to these places only after they are built, and the manipulative nature of power relations is the main driver that constantly reshapes the built environment and simultaneously reshapes social assets. Therefore, the public itself and their experiences and memories are prone to manipulations (actions of powerful in producing and re-producing built environment) in the long term through the interventions and provisions of those that hold power.

CHAPTER 10 - CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

10.1. Introduction

This research sought an answer to the research question of "How are urban power relations generated and expressed through planning practices in reshaping the built environment and social perceptions?" The research was conducted in the capital of Turkey, Ankara, via the investigation of the production process of three shopping malls, each representing the chronology of mall history of the city. Through its empirical investigation and literature analysis, this study achieved contributions to both theory and practice by holding an in-depth investigation on the operation of planning practice in reality and impacts of the actions (the way they produce and the way they sell what they produced on built environment) of powerful actors on society.

This study mainly aimed to highlight the problem of planning practice that in reality fails to deliver what the profession aspires to, especially when the jewels of planning are considered (Blanco 1995). Therefore, the gap between theory and practice is getting wider. Here, the public also become more vulnerable, both through non-participatory conditions and being obliged to adapt to the actions driven by power relations on built environment. However, this particular research study not only holds significance in revealing these gaps and driving forces but also emphasises the implicit relations and cultural codes that are embedded in traditional practices, which may be the cause of disrupted planning practice and of the vague perceptions of public spaces. In doing so throughout the study, supplementary questions and objectives are posed, each of which leads to a discovery of real practices, and implicit and explicit actors of the process of urban development are explored. There, first of all the actors and their interactions with each other investigated, later the shades and the driving forces of the power relations as the main pillar of that development are unveiled, and finally reshaping of perception of both public and professionals to contemporary public spaces via selected malls as the product of the power relations are revealed.

10.2. Empirical findings: achieving the aims and objectives of the study

This research, proved that complex hegemonic power relations, which are sequential and embedded in the traditional praxis, are also significantly influencing for the whole process of urban development and are also in tandem with the changing condition of

the perceptions of professionals and public to the built environment, and more specifically, contemporary public spaces. This research contributed to both, theory and practice, each of which is addressed through the two main and intertwined themes of the research: power relations and public perception. This initial section presents the empirical findings and their significance that will then be linked to the theoretical impacts in the next section. By investigating three shopping malls in Ankara in detail (through their political, social and spatial dimensions) and linking that investigation with the current literature and the main research question, this study achieved some important conclusions.

It became clear through this research that the strategies, which once emerged as quick solutions to daily conflicts later become traditions and operate the real planning practice and power relations. Here, the gap between reality and the idealised steps of legislative grounds – and planning education – is widening. Within this widening gap, the other challenges that come to the surface are ethics and participation, where a lack of the former also distorts the nature of the latter. In addition, this research has proven that the understanding and awareness of the nature of public space at the user (public) level and by some professionals are missing; instead, the public tries to adapt themselves to what is provided, which on the other hand also contributes to the manipulation of the built environment by the decision makers' interventions and their interests.

Through the empirical chapters of this research, three prominent findings were achieved in relation to three supplementary research questions, where each finding contributes to addressing the gaps in the literature and to the policy perspectives provided as suggestions at the end of this chapter. The main empirical findings of the research are specific to the case study chapters (Chapters 7, 8 and 9) and this section provides a synthesis of these findings in relation to the research questions:

Who are the real actors of planning practices and how do they engage in reality?
This research sought an answer to the above question by identifying the actors on the stage and the processes, some of which were obscured by the idealised steps provided by the authorities. There, it was proven that the official steps are not followed, and instead each process generated its own actors and created its own steps and approaches in the case of conflict of interests underpinning the disruption in the planning ethos. Through this study, it become possible to uncover the allied

relationship between decision makers and developers; the pseudo-participation of some and non-participation of the rest of the actors; strategies in crafting statutory instruments, all of which revealed how power operates in reality and how the hypocrisy within planning practices is condoned by those who benefit from them.

The hegemonic relations of power were brought to the surface in two ways through empirical cases: the institutional (internal), built up through the hierarchies in the authorities added to the traditional structures; and the individualistic and unorganised, built through the interrelations of networks of external actors with internal ones. Here, what is meant by institutional in practice are the governmental structures that have their own hierarchical structures (mayor, council members, departments and hierarchies within the department), whereas the unorganised refers to private companies, developers and their legislative and non-legislative relations with the authority. Therefore, using legislative instruments in favour of private investments and easing the path for the investors by the local authorities via relaxing and crafting the legitimate instruments in response to individual demands (Oncu 1988; Flybjerg and Richardson 2002) led to a significant distortion of planning and of institutional ethics that require mutual negotiations to benefit both sides in the end, but excluding public representatives and the public itself.

Moreover, the cases revealed that the idealised steps provided by the ministry, which are also confirmed by the municipalities and have been taught in planning schools, are in reality not practised. These empirical cases proved that idealised structures become invalid within the struggle between power relations and the planning praxis. In reality, planning practice continues mostly through proposals of plan modifications and the use of the recent planning trend of "urban transformation area declarations". The additional processes and actors of the planning practice in the selected cases also surfaced via plan modification proposals, approvals, objections and court processes, where each step bred antagonism among the actors engaged in various tactics. In addition, it has become clear that the focus of the whole planning practice has been narrowed down to the approval process and generation of strategies to bypass potential challenges, and therefore any attempt to reach to a consensus among all actors via participation and focusing more on the elaboration of planning principles via planning practices has already become rhetoric. Through following up the reality of the planning practice, it also become evident that the public interest representatives could only raise their voice via opposing projects through the arbitration of the courts, which

even then still might be ignored. Thus, seeking the public interest and participatory approaches has become a mere discourse that is not experienced in real planning practices.

Finally, adopting the ways in which the planning is practiced in accordance with the beneficiaries' demands (i.e. using certain terminologies in the legislation which already encapsulate an indefiniteness and flexibility), the clash of authorities and lack of transparency pave the way to a distortion of planning and ethics; also, having no effective sanctions, to follow up with the decision of courts, causes the supremacy of the legislative system to be treated as nothing more than rhetoric in practice. Overall, as a result, the struggle in the power games within the urban space, while being reshaped via the interrelations of the powerful actors and their tactical actions, also incapacitates powerless opponents consistently, who also become weakened further by the degrading of perceptions of planning principles and ethics. Thus, the representation of the public interest and the essence of planning principles are also silenced through manipulative and hegemonic power relations.

What are the conditions that characterise driving forces of power relations? Being in an intertwined relation with the above findings, this research uncovered the "real rationalities" (Flyvbjerg 2002; See section 2.3.3) of planning practice that further contributed to identify the driving forces of power relations. The three selected cases revealed how urban power is exercised in Turkey in practice and how this complex nature is evolving. It became clear that, the urban power is the unification of the power of some of the state institutions with the power of economic and social capital where the former may have capacity to generate the latter. There, the authorisation capacity of the state institutions, in some cases is used in crafting the legislative instruments in favour of their allied interests while the rest of the potential participants are either excluded from the process or their opinions are disregarded. Through this investigation it has been possible to identify five conditions which characterise the driving forces of the power relations in the production of "publicized private spaces" (Banerjee, 2001): i) complexity and conflict in authorisation and gaps in the legislation; ii) generation of personal networks and benefits from the existing ones: the power of capital (economic and social); iii) lack of transparency and awareness; iv) domestic market conditions; v) the location and particular time period of the development.

Considering these steps, it becomes apparent that there is a form of disguised power in play, which is not evident when looking solely at the formal documentation of the planning process. First, the power system, depending on their capacity (access to different types of capital[186]: economic, political and social) is able to regenerate itself through the existing gaps in legislation, and is then able to exclude some of the actors from the process and keep them powerless, as well as disregarding participatory approaches. In addition, the use of the gaps in the legislation − being able to use certain terminologies in the legislation which already encapsulate an ambiguity and flexibility − further enables individual demands to be applied and also allows the legislative measures to be crafted with regard to beneficiaries' demands, which also puts the public interest on uncertain ground. In addition, having no effective sanctions emerges as another significant gap in the operation of the statutory structure. In addition, long periods of legislative practice also contribute to the process in favour of the allied power of market forces with public decision-makers, where each opposing action and long lawsuit process could enable them to gain time to generate new tactics in reaching their aim of completing the project regardless of any adverse decision given by the courts.

Second, the power relations in practice hinge on the mutually beneficial relations of market forces with the public decision-making authorities, generating an allied power that manifests itself through the built environment by using tailored proposals and approvals of plans. In this way, the notion of power is not only generated through explicit dynamics (like policies, laws and authorisations) but is also continuously being created by its own position and empowerment in the process that enables implicit relations to be raised via political and social capital. Third, the implicit condition of the process and lack of transparency within it has led to an inevitable lack of awareness by the public and consequently an absence of any resistance. As the given cases demonstrate, there are only a few public representatives who show any resistance to the manipulation of the built environment. Therefore, planning practice continues to exclude the public and the public interest and the process of urban development continues in non-transparent conditions as well as with non-participatory (or pseudo-participatory) processes.

---

[186] See section   2.3.1. for more detail on the types of capital

Fourth, although legislative regulations and court decisions should have a greater authority, the real practices, by generating their own methods, have become more powerful than the supremacy of law. This is because the main benefit comes from the pressure of domestic market demands dependent on the politico-economic condition of the context allied with the public decision- makers, while materialising urban land as a tool for profit and considering it simply as real estate. The mechanism of power in urban space is, therefore, neither a merely top-down nor a merely bottom-up process. Rather, it also has horizontal connections through cooperation of both market and decision-making mechanisms, which then intervene in the relations of top-down actors (in the authority hierarchy) and the limits of their empowerment.

Finally, the location of the sites has also contributed to the process through the political attribution that generates a sense of value, and thus power, that is also prone to further changes depending on the particular time periods concerned. This was visible through the initial examples of malls (Galleria and Armada I) which could obtain project approval and completion of the projects without any challenge, while the latter projects, Armada II and Kentpark, occurred during the period of aggressive development and demands of market forces allying with decision-making authorities and their clashes with actors excluded from the process. Nevertheless, what has become apparent is that the public are completely ignored during the process, and have no role in forming/re-forming urban space. They were treated only as potential future consumers who would contribute to the profitability of those spaces. Thus, the gap between policy and reality has been widened and all indicators suggest that in the Turkish planning praxis this gap is getting wider, not closing, and the civil voice becomes nominal without the actual presence of power.

How are perceptions of public and professionals influenced as a response to the actions (proclaims and promotions) of decision makers?

What has been built via power relations and their impacts on society (through perceptions for this study) is not merely an abstract image but has a strong agency, which constantly ties up the relation between the built environment and the social environment. The contemporary public, who have gone through similarly influenced changes to the built environment, do not have "publicness" or free representation within public spaces as their main concern; they would rather prefer to be in pseudo-public spaces that are sanitised, sheltered, securitised, managed by professional actors and that appeal to their desires, yet do not necessarily require the spending of money but

allow them to enjoy the setting that also inherently transforms the meaning of publicness and public spaces in their perceptions through the practice of contemporary space settings. This transformation and reshaping of perceptions emerges due to the changes in the physical configuration of the built environment. However, it is not limited to its provision but   also inherently (yet more implicitly) is dependent on 'how' this provision is done. The fieldworks of the study showed that the way the power holders proclaimed the development of shopping malls was intended to present these as if those are equal to the provision of public spaces as a public service.

With that regard, the exploration presented with regard to public perception in the empirical sections also led to some novel results. The forces of urban power relations, navigating and manipulating user perceptions through the built environment has shaped public perception to abide by what is provided for the public. In addition, it has been shown that the Turkish public have confusion in understanding what public space and publicness are, and why these notions are important and need to be appreciated. In addition, a similar ambiguity was presented regarding participation, as the respondents were not aware of the importance of their right to participate in planning and urban development, and they rather prefer to represent themselves by complaining about the decision-makers: "this is what they have provided us with" instead of asking for their voices to be heard beyond representative democracy. Moreover, it was rather difficult for the users, and also for some professionals, to grasp the notion of publicness and public space, due to the socially and traditionally constructed meaning of public space that was highly embedded in cultural codes which relates these notions with the public sector and its institutions, and thus the perception of some actors was based on that preconception until they were given examples of public space features and qualities.

Among the three dynamics stated by Lawson (2001), professional education, expectation and knowledge the dynamic of 'expectation' clearly has a stronger impact of professional perception. In addition throughout the investigation, it has been observed that the *physical configuration* (design and function) and *socio-cultural settings* (knowledge, connotations and practice) of the space, and *agency* and the *interest* (the role of the actors within the structure and also building on to the above stated findings on expectation)[187] have contributed to the perceptions of both users

---

[187] Users have interests and expectations as customers, or non-shopping interests as the public wishing to have other activities also. Professionals also have their interest based on their position and profession in the process: i.e. architects' design, managers

and professionals. There the dynamic of 'agency and interest' for the latter group also has its own power and capacity in influencing the former's perceptions through powerful actions as stated above. Therefore, the focus of the perceptions of different groups of actors, users and professionals, were distinctive. There the concept of 'education of the gaze' (Auge 2008 in Chapter 2) was also observed through the cases, however, this thesis puts forward that it is not only education of gaze but also education of collective memories in act, yet with a unfair reciprocity as what is provided by the power holders had a stronger capacity to reshape perception, compared to socially produced and accumulated experiences and needs. Another important dynamic of the change in the perception of privatised public spaces or pseudo-public spaces like shopping malls is identified as increased individualism. This leads to a non-collective thinking away from the concerns of society as a whole while generating a magnified focus on the self. Although this condition pushes private life to the fore while pulling the public one back and creates the meaning and the perception of spatial settings accordingly, it still generates collective memories, yet similar to the urban transformation projects that allow these mall constructions to emerge in increased numbers and push the traditional public spaces aside. However, overall it can be stated that Turkish cultural awareness in relation to public space and the right to reclaim public spaces emerges as an urgent need as some of the users were convinced that the provision of malls *were* public services. Moreover, not only but also for them these structures were definitely public spaces for this reason and therefore 'thanks to' the interventions of local and national governments, who also contribute to this way of thinking through their way of production and promotion.

10.3 Theoretical implications: taking back from theory and linking it with practice
This section presents the contribution of the research to the literature, achieved by synthesising the findings of the empirical work with existing theoretical understandings, and therefore identifies the theoretical implications. The study reached a conclusion that, within the two-fold nature of the research regarding both power relations in urban planning and publicness in public spaces and perceptions of it, there are gaps that need to be identified, which requires a renewed perspective on the various approaches. However, it is important to point out that this gap is wider in Turkish

---

manage in order to obtain more customers, decision-makers have a focus political and economic vitality, whereas ordinary planners are easy to criticise.

literature. It may be because, these types of topics are considered as "risky" and "ominous". This is because the nature of the subject is closely engaged with politics and its criticism at planning level and as most universities and research institutes in Turkey have public status therefore they themselves have to be in a fine balance when engaging with political matters.

In this regard, this section provides this new perspective first on the decision-making processes, which are referred by several political theories and are considered separate from each other, yet in reality they operate in conjunction and in a more dynamic condition, depending on the context and levels of the decision-making process. Among the prominent political urban theories, the pluralist theory suggests power as the influence of various interest groups over the decision-making process (Polsby 1980; Dahl 1998); whereas the elitist theory provides a hierarchical view of power and bases decision-making on the operation of rulers on the ruled as a necessity (Hardling 1995; Judge 1995); while urban regime theory suggests a coalition built between governmental and non-governmental forces (Stoker 1995; Stone 2006). This research, however, acknowledges the criticisms of these approaches that perceive real power through intentional non-decision making processes as the second or neglected face of power (Bachrach and Baratz 1962; Clegg and Pitsis 2012), highlights further the determining condition of embedded structures transmitted from the past (Lukes 2005). However, this research clearly demonstrates that the above theories may not have clear boundaries in real praxis and, instead, depending on the cultural context and level of decision-making, may be observed in conjunction. This is because the implicit conditions of the decision-making process via patronage and clientelistic relations may exist (Chubb, 1982); in Turkey this was the case especially after the 1980s (Keyder and Oncu 1994), in response to individual demands with a short-term emphasis (Oncu 1988; Oc and Tiesdell 1994). Therefore, this study, in revealing that gap, suggests, instead of picking one theory, a different approach in investigating the process of decision-making that allows the identification of flexible, relative, contextual conditions and urges the need to realise relational conditions and embedded structures in the decision-making process.

Second, it became clear through this research that research on power relations had two mainstream approaches, the Foucauldian approach and Habermasian communicative approach (see Section 2.3.3 for more details) , which both fail to provide a holistic understanding of power relations, as they are both limited to western

considerations of urban planning contexts. Within these two approaches, the first suggests communicative and collaborative approaches in a Habermasian manner (Innes 1995; Healey 2003; Forester 1989; Hillier 2002; Albrechts 2003; Booher and Innes 2002), some with a central focus on the role of the planner as the problem-solver of planning practice (Marcuse 1976; Tewdwr-Jones 2002; Tewdwr-Jones and Allmendinger 1998); while the second stream suggests in-depth analysis into the complex reality of power relations through a Foucauldian approach (Flyvbjerg 1998; Flyvbjerg and Richardson 2002; Yiftachel 1998; Huxley and Yiftachel 2000). However, although acknowledging the above research studies' inputs, this study demonstrates that they still fall short in providing a holistic approach, as the reality and the complexity of the relations of power are also embedded in traditional structures that are constantly able to reshape themselves within time. Therefore, this research first suggests an analysis of the historical background of the context and an in-depth analysis of both the implicit and explicit actors within the processes as a must for a better understanding of these relations. This is also because this research has proved that particular cases generate their particular actors, relations and actions that are context- and time period-dependent. Therefore, although communicative and collaborative approaches should be the one of the main aims of planning in any context, it is still a necessity to explore more the real complexities and power relations that drive the processes, operating in the background and generating invisible obstacles to reaching collaboration or even to participation.

Third, this research showed that the current explorations of publicness are in need of a revised perspective, as the existing models are failing to address comprehensive relations with multidimensional aspects and processes. Although the publicness models suggested by Nemeth, Nemeth and Schimidt (2011) (the triaxical model) and by Varna and Tiesdell (2010) (the star model) are the most extensive ones and provide some valuable inputs, they, like the others (see Chapter 3) fail to realise the importance of the production process of public spaces, and therefore do not provide a full realisation of the multidimensional, multilevel and dynamic nature and aspects of public space. However, the research also highlights the research of De Magalhães (2010) in emphasising the necessity of highlighting the production and management processes. This research, therefore, identifies this gap and highlights the need for revised investigations of publicness, which would encompass the above aspects and would not be limited to the practical and/or contextual levels of the existing research.

Therefore, this research put a strong emphasis on the need to provide an investigation about the 'production level' (see Chapter 3) within the exploration of publicness, because this would not only provide suggestions about how the spaces are being reformulated but also reveal the perceptions and aims of the decision-makers on the manipulation of the built environment, which would not only be effective on the physical dimension of the built environment but also on the social dimension, including the understanding of publicness for all.

10.4. Suggestions for future policies, strategies and future research

While there are a significant number of research studies that urges a realisation of the power of planners and democratic participation, the Turkish context, where ordinary planners do not have any real empowerment, requires a more radical change. Therefore, there is an urgent need to determine a new professional identity that should be radical (Sandercock 1998), aiming to balance the needs of the actors involved, with a strong emphasis on correcting the power distribution and the needs of civil society beyond immediate access to the state and representative democracy (Friedmann and Douglas 1998). Although the need for a transformative politics is suggested by Friedmann instead of revolutionary and reformist approaches, the case of Ankara calls for urgent reform in the redistribution of power, planning practice and participation (going beyond the existing triangular relation of approver, proposer and opposition). This should include a legitimate structure, the redefinition of the planners' role, planning education and the generation of public awareness at the social level.

Therefore, first, existing policies that are incompatible, overlapping and open-ended, leading to the distortion of planning practice, need to be revisited immediately. In addition, *re-decentralisation* of urban governance is needed, by which the local authorities would have the right of fair participation concerning the limits of their powers and those of the whole city. Therefore, the policies that lead to further centralisation, concentrating power in the hands of the few, raising conflicts and increasing the probability of unfair overruling of institutions, need to be rejected and changed, aiming at rightful participation for 'all affected voices' (Forester 1989) instead of favouring particular interests. The insurgent urbanism of the urban experience and planning practice need to acknowledge the heterogeneity of the lived experience as the ethnographic present, instead of focusing representation on utopian futures (Holston

247

1998, in Friedmann, 1998). Therefore, the "expansion of the societal equity and liberty" and "restructuring and democratising of state institutions" are needed to redefine the boundaries between civil society and state (Keane 1988, in Flyvbjerg 1998b: 185). This is also important in order to reach consensus between ideal and reality, and intentions and implementation (ibid: 192). In such conditions, the district municipalities should be given back their powers and the planning commissions of the municipalities should be given better and effective authorisation, free from aggressive domination by political parties. In addition, for matters of public space and other projects that also highly influence society, *neighbourhood councils* need to be founded that would first aim to increase the awareness of public participation in planning; work actively and hand-in-hand with local government and investors to improve the *interface relation* between civil society and state and private organisations; relevant planning institutions (universities and other research institutions) should also be actively involved. However, before doing that the public space, public interest and regarding notions should be defined also within legislations, especially regulations and legislations with regard to urban planning and built environment should be responsible and in support of public spaces and raising awareness of the public on these matters.

Urban systems are always dynamic and prone to long-term and short-term shifts. Therefore, the role and the position of the planning profession, which is supposedly actively interconnected with the state and the corporate economy, should have flexible approaches to be adaptive to these changing conditions through focusing on civil society. Therefore, the planners' role needs to be redefined by deconstructing the existing pillars of the planning system and reconstructing them by equipping the planners and the discipline with better and adaptive authorisation that would provide further flexibility "as pontoons" (Sandercock, 1998). In addition, rather than suggesting idealised but hard-to-achieve, mere bottom-up approaches or keeping the top-down processes, more realistic remedies should be introduced gradually by having a better realisation of different contexts. Planners should be positioned as mediators, generating horizontal relations instead of promoting hierarchical structures.

Moreover, instead of promoting participation of the actors "somehow", the aim should shift to building "qualified social capital" (Gedikli 2009) through appreciating and appraising the mediating role of the planner. However, it is also vital to generate better realisation of the "public interest" within legislation and among the public itself. Moreover, the generation of social capital on the side of public interest defenders is

needed to counteract the allied powers of the corporate economy and politics. As seen from the interviews, there is a significant lack of public perception about participation, as this research showed that most people hold an elitist perspective embedded in their thoughts, and thus had the mentality of "this is what they are doing for us", which needs to be replaced with questioning approaches by increasing awareness in the public. This is also important for learning more about and therefore *appreciating* the importance and the meaning of vital notions like public interest, participation and public space.

Nevertheless, in order to achieve the aim of these suggestions the *leadership role* of the governmental institutions also needs to be revisited, and the power of the state should be directed to enable these proposals. To accomplish that, a similar awareness should be raised of the planning profession, which should also be appreciated by decision-makers and power holders. This is currently lacking and rather obscured (if not completely ignored) under the corporate relations of power in the Turkish context. It is also needed because, without the consent and the willingness of the decision-making actors and state power, any attempt to provide reform would be superficial, while the ongoing relations of power would still survive and the change would be inconsequential, except to provide a thicker veil to conceal any disruption more effectively. Therefore, the leadership role of the government is needed to build up a coalition among all affected actors. Here, transparency, accountability and monitoring need better and careful consideration. As seen from the case studies, these qualities were non-existent in reality, leading to further mistrust of the profession and its practice.

In addition, planning education needs to be taken into consideration in terms of realising the gap between theory and practice, through the understanding of possible power struggle scenarios within the planning praxis. The utopian or often too idealistic theorising in planning should be synthesised with an exploration of more realistic conditions. Especially in the Turkish context, the exploration of past and present planning traditions within governmental institutions, the role of the planner in these institutions and in private planning companies needs to be inserted into the curriculum. In addition, planning ethics and moral values need greater emphasis, both within professional expertise and planning education, and should be also located as one of the main subjects within the curriculum. Moreover, there is also a need to balance participation, research and action (Greenwood and Levin 1998) aiming at action research: a democratic process of practical knowledge development (Reason and

Bradbury 2001) to avoid disregarding the reality of urban politics and the complexity of power relations that are context- dependent. Finally, planning schools and institutions should become active participants in planning processes and work as a central facilitators to provide natural grounds for exploration, negotiation and consensus building for large-scale projects; successful examples using this collaborative approach might be taken as an example.[188]

10.4.1. *Suggestions for future research*

In planning practices, different political and cultural concepts generate their own power plays, powerful actors and embedded a structure that further generates a unique potential (either positive or negative). In Turkey, which has always had the geographical role of bridging east and west (which has also had inevitable effects on politics, economics and urbanism due to this synthesised location and history), further investigations may be needed to seek an answer to the question of how public spaces would continue to be reshaped, especially if the awareness of some of the public of the right to the city and public space is raised. The Gezi Park protest could be taken as a milestone for a research study, to be considered as a "before and after" situation to compare public awareness, for in that case the local awareness was emerged to protect a park spread to the national scale. Investigating how the new meanings and public perceptions have changed would provide a rich analysis that could lead to further policy suggestions.

In addition, power relations also need a continuous analysis, as they are context-dependent and able to reshape themselves, depending on the scale of the project, changing legislative structures, the positions of the actors involved and their level of empowerment. This research provides such an analysis on relatively mid-scale projects, but similar research needs to be conducted also for national-scale projects in order to reveal the patterns of larger-scale power relations[189] and patterns of those relations, where the state is the main promoter of these new projects (and engaged with public-private partnerships). However, the public still is not an active participant

---

[188] For instance, the City Futures project held in Newcastle in collaboration with public and private participants, where the university was the facilitator.

[189] Especially in the Turkish case, where corruption claims emerged in 2013 involving significant government figures, among whom the former Minister of Environment and Urban Planning had to resign, and after that claimed a significant proportion of the construction projects and state bids that are under legal investigation, which were approved by the former Prime Minister and therefore he was also to resign (BBC Euro News 25.12.2013).

although being informed constantly (yet superficially) via adverts on TV and other media sources.

In addition, in the present era, although an individual may be physically apparent in any kind of public space, can actually be "absent" from that environment by experiencing the virtual (most commonly privately owned and managed) public spaces of the internet. Simultaneously, on the one hand, they may be avoiding the divergence of the reality of the physical and social settings of the environment that they are in, due to increased attention on the individuality and self. However, on the other hand, be prone to the globalised divergence of that virtual experience. This dilemma and the widening ambivalent condition of contemporary public spaces have led to a new generation of experiences and perceptions of the spatialisation and the meaning of public spaces that requires a further investigation.

10.5. Concluding comments

This study provided strong realisation of vernacular politics within the process of the urban development and planning practice of shopping mall development in Ankara. While the relationship embedded in the process by social ties built a close consensus between decision-makers and private developers, any attempt to intervene in that consensus or its decisions were defeated by the consensus itself, which obtained its power from the driving forces mentioned at the beginning. Through the analysis of the case studies it became clear that the already powerful public institutions, generating their power from gaps in the legislation and the status given by that legislation, formed an alliance with the capital holder, while the rest of the less powerful governmental institutions or non-governmental organisations were deliberately excluded from and externalised in the process. Also, aggressive approaches were put into action to deal with any opposition to the developments. Furthermore, due to the multidimensional condition of the urban experience, the distorted practices and tactical actions (production and promotion) not only led to an unjust built environment but also manipulated the perceptions through proclaiming the publicised private spaces (shopping malls) on the provision of public space as public services. This further influenced the collective memories of society, which became weaker and ignorant through their exclusion from these relations of power. Therefore, it can be concluded overall that there is an urgent need to change the distorted structure of planning

practice in Turkey and urgent need to revitalise the approaches to the discipline, and this can only be done with a better understanding of the complexity of ongoing power relations and by raising awareness of those relations and concurrently raising a similar awareness on a societal level with regard to planning, built environment and the right to the city.

Appendix

Appendix A. Shopping mall classification and definition standards

Type of Shopping Center	Concept	Square Feet (including anchors)	Acreage	Typical Anchor(s) Num ber	Typical Anchor(s) Type	Anchor Ratio	Primary Trade Area
MALLS							
Regional Center	General merchandise; fashion (mall, typically enclosed)	400,000–800000	40–100	2 or more	Full-line department store; Jr. department store; mass merchant; discount department store; fashion apparel	50–70%	5–15 miles
Super regional Center	Similar to regional center but has more variety and assortment	800,000+	60–120	3 or more	Full-line department store; Jr. department store; mass merchant; fashion apparel	50–70%	5–25 miles
OPEN-AIR CENTERS							
Neighborhood Center	Convenience	30,000–150000	3–15	1 or more	Supermarket	30–50%	3 miles
CommunityCenter	General merchandise;convenience	100,000–350000	10–40	2 or more	Discount department store;supermarket; drug; home improvement; large specialty/discount apparel	40–60%	3–6 miles
Lifestyle Center	Upscale national chain specialty stores; dining and entertainment in outdoor setting.	Typically 150,000-500,000 but can be smaller or larger.	10–40	0-2	Not usually anchored in the traditional sense but may include book store; other large-format specialty retailers; multiplex cinema; small department store.	0-50%	8-12 miles
Power Center	Category-dominant anchors; few small tenants	250,000–600000	25–80	3 or more	Category killer; home improvement; discount department store; warehouse club; off-price	75–90%	5–10 miles
Theme/Festival Center	Leisure; tourist-oriented; retail and service	80,000–250000	5–20	N/A	Restaurants; entertainment	N/A	N/A
Outlet Center	Manufacturers' outlet stores	50,000–400000	10–50	N/A	Manufacturers' outlet stores	N/A	25–75 miles

Table A.1. ICSC current Shopping mall classifications and definitions

Source: DeLisle, J.R. 2005

Format	Features		GLAR
Super Regional Centers	**A -** Shopping for all needs		85,000m²
	B -Comprehensive (including specialised retail) and Containing a combination of full line department stores, supermarkets, services, chain and other specialty retailers		
	C -Include a number of entertainment and leisure attractions (cinemas,game arcades, soft play centres)		
	D - A broad range of shopper facilities (car parking, food court) and amenities (restrooms, seating)		
Major Regional Centers	**A -** Shopping for all needs		85,000m² - 50,000m²
	B - Extensive (including specialised retail) and Containing a combination of full line department stores, supermarkets, services, chain and other specialty retailers		
	C -Include a number of entertainment and leisure attractions (cinemas,game arcades, soft play centres)		
	D -A broad range of shopper facilities (car parking, food court) and amenities (restrooms, seating)		
Regional Centers	**B -** Not as extensive as the Major Regional Centers but still extensive (including specialised retail) and Containing a combination of full line department stores, supermarkets, banks, chain and other specialty retailers		50,000m² - 30,000m²
	D - A broad range of shopper facilities (car parking, food court) and amenities (restrooms, seating)		
Sub-Regional Centers	**B -** A broad range of sub regional retail needs and dominated by a full line discount department store or major supermarket		30,000m² - 10,000m²
Neighbourhood Centers	**E -** Located in residential areas and service immediate residential neighbourhood		10,000m² - less
	F - Have extended trading hours and cater for basic day-to-day retail needs		
Bulky Good Centers (furniture, white goods & other homeware)	**G -** Located adjacent to large regional centres or in non-traditional retail locations (i.e. greenfield sites and industrial areas)		more than 5,000m²
	H - Purpose designed, built and operated, generally with a layout of outlets around a central, landscaped area and an overall design and colour theme to promote the appearance of an integrated development		

Table A.2. Australian Shopping Centre Classification

Source: Australia, P.C.o. 2008

Format	Type of Scheme		Gross Leasable Area (GLA)
Traditional	Very Large		80,000 m² and above
	Large		40,000 – 79,999 m²
	Medium		20,000 – 39,999 m²
	Small	Comparison-Based	5,000 – 19,999 m²
		Convenience-Based	5,000 – 19,999 m²
Specialized	Retail Park	Large Medium Small	20,000 m² and above 10,000 – 19,999 m²
			5,000 – 9,999 m²
	Factory Outlet Center		5,000 m² and above
	Theme-Oriented Center	Leisure-Based	5,000 m² and above
		Non-Leisure-Based	5,000 m² and above

Table A.3. International standards for European Shopping centre types
Source: Lambert, J. 2006

Appendix B. Interview questions

B.1 *Interviews with key informants*

Municipal Actors

Representatives of the NGOs

Lawyers and Experts

- Legislative structure and formal procedures of public space and mall production and relations with real practices in Turkey, Ankara and for the selected cases respectively

- Their role and the role of municipality in which they work and the process of production of public space, shopping malls and selected cases

- Remarks on other actors (public, private and non-governmental)

- Remarks on the relations with and among other actors (public, private and non-governmental) in general and in the context of Ankara and Galleria, Armada and Kentpark

- Future expectation and prudence for malls and public spaces and their relation to each other

- Experiences and remarks on the production process (planning, development including court processes; construction and use) of Galleria, Armada and Kentpark (how they relate the narrative of the process)

- Their perception of public space; shopping malls (how they define and how they define them and relate them to the city) and how they perceive transformations and changes (historical, cultural, political and personal narratives), and whether they perceive malls as public spaces and why or why not?

  (*with the less empowered municipal actors the issue of urban power relations was discussed more in depth with direct referencing*)

Managers and investors of the selected malls

- Investment and managerial history of the shopping malls (In general for Turkey and particularly for Galleria, Armada and Kentpark)

- Remarks on their role definition

- Public space features of the selected mall (Galleria, Armada and Kentpark)

- Shopping mall development with regard to formal procedures and praxis in reality

- Remarks on other actors in the process, their roles and relation to each other and public private relationship in the process of mall development

- Future expectation and thoughts for malls and public spaces and their relation to each other

- Matter of security and safety in malls (in general and for selected malls)

- Perceptions of public space; shopping malls (how they define them and how they relate them to the city) and how they perceive transformations and changes (historical, cultural, political and personal narratives), and whether they perceive malls as public spaces and why or why not?

- Perception of the users' perception (users as the public and users as the customers)

Architects of the selected malls

- Impacts of the built environment (particularly malls and pubic spaces) on society and impacts of malls on urban space (in general and for the selected cases)

- Main dynamics and features of mall design (to understand if they value public space features or not)

- Changing dynamics and trends in mall design and development

- Narrative concerning the selected malls, how they acquired the job and how it was designed, planned and developed

- Their relationships with the other actors in the process

- Planning and design tactics for mall development and for public space development

- Importance of security in malls

- Perceptions of public space; shopping malls (how they define and how they relate it with the city) and their transformation and changes (historical, cultural, political and personal narratives), and whether they perceive malls as public spaces and why or why not?

- Future expectation and thoughts on malls and public spaces and their relationship to one another

Table B.1: Nature of the questions for interviews with key informants

B.2 *Interviews with public/users*

Users	• Perceptions of public space; shopping malls (how they define them and how they relate them to the city) and how they perceive transformation and changes (historical, cultural, political and personal narratives), and whether they perceive malls as public spaces and why or why not? •How they define public space •How they define shopping mall • What importance does public space and shopping malls have in their life • Reasons for choosing to use the particular mall (where the interview takes place) • Reasons for choosing to use the mall versus city centres • Main purpose of using shopping malls (shopping or other activities) • How they perceive the 20 yrs of mall experience in Turkey and Ankara in particular (perceptions of the periods before and after shopping malls were first opened) • What to have more of the malls, what is missing • What would be the most important features of the malls that would generate attraction (to see if that would be shopping related or more related to expectations of public space) • Perception of security • Future expectations and thoughts for malls and public spaces and their relationship to one another

Table B.2: Nature of interview questions with users

Appendix C. Relevant legislative structures

C.1. *The Municipality Law 5393:*

The article 69 that put under "Land and Housing Development" and its regarding lines: "The Municipality carries the authority of developing infrastructured and improved lands excluding the areas to be protected and agricultural lands; building housing and mass housing, to sell or/and lend them or buying lands for that purpose, issuing expropriations, issuing land swops for those expropriated lands; and with those aims collaborating with other public institutions and organisations and banks, and practising common projects with them; by having the main purpose of providing planned urbanisation, answering the housing, industry and commercial area needs of the town within the municipality and/or metropolitan area borders."

Urban Transformation Areas (UTA) Article 73: "Municipality can implement urban transformation and development projects in accordance with the urban development; to re construct and restore the aging parts of the city, to build housing areas, industry

and commercial areas, technology parks and social facilities; to take precautions against the risk of the earthquake or with the aim of conserving the historical and cultural heritage of the city. The declarations for subjecting the areas as the urban transformation and development areas are done through the decision of the absolute majority of the municipal council. For the individual buildings that would be destroyed and reconstructed within the urban transformation and development areas one fourth of the regarding levies and charges are taken. To declare a place as an urban transformation and development project area this place should be within the municipality or urban area and it should be at least 50.000m². The process of the evacuation, destroy and the land acquisition should be done by the basis of a pledge. The entrance for the courts regarding to the urban transformation and development areas by the entity owners are conferred and finalised primarily."

C.2. *DOP (Duzenleme Ortaklik Payi: Development Readjustment Share)* is specified within the 18th article of 3194 Urban Development Law and this article explains the procedures how to get the development readjustment share from a plot/parcel if that parcel is within the private ownership and being planned for the first time. Due to the land value increase after the planning procedure the public institution have right to take max.%40 of the area for the mentioned common uses.

C.3. *The parcelling system in Turkey*

The parcelling plans in Turkey means transfer of the cadastral information in consideration to 18th article of 3194 and the current plans of the regarding area. There the cadastral information includes the ownership data used in entry in the land registry and performing the current condition of the land onto the master or implementation plans. While doing than the current condition of the areas are measured to be compared with the areas of the same location in the plans which then would help to calculate the size to expropriate (inconsideration to 18th article). The rest of the areas would be re-adjusted and delivered to owners. Within the process, if the land or plot does not have any number registered already, the new numbering stars from north west, if the plot already has a numeric system then the new parcels would adapted and have their numbers following the old numbers. The parcelling plans are approved by the municipal boards.

C.4. *TOKI - The Mass Housing Administration*

TOKI (the Mass Housing Administration) founded in 1984, together with the Mass Housing Law and Fund, was another new strategy to provide housing for the low-income groups. However by the early 1990s the fund was taken into the general budget; thus, the income of the administration decreased and it started to widen its scope to include profit-oriented projects. Later (by the 2000s) the fund was abolished, yet the administration was kept in act. In addition, recently the increased relationships of the administration with political figures, increased networking capacity with private actors led it to operate as a land provision office for private projects or luxurious profit-oriented projects.

Appendix D. Legal Unions and Associations and Their Charters and Roles

D.1. The Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects (UCTEA) legislation [190]

These institutions are professional organisations with public institution status and their centres' are in Ankara.

The Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects (UCTEA) was established in 1954 by the Law 7303 and the Decree-Laws 66 and 85 amending of the Law 6235. UCTEA is a corporate body and a professional organization defined in the form of a public institution as stated in the Article 135 of the Constitution.

UCTEA is maintaining its activities with its 24 Chambers, 197 branches of its Chambers and 48 Provincial Coordination Councils. Approximately, graduates of 70 related academic disciplines in engineering, architecture and city planning are members of the Chambers of UCTEA.

The objectives of UCTEA listed in the Law on the Union are as follows:

1. To separate engineers and architects to professional branches, with the condition of being within the framework of laws and regulations and in accordance with the present conditions, requirements and possibilities and to

---

[190] The Chamber of Urban Planners (CUP) depends on the legislation of UCTEA

also establishes Chambers for the group of engineers and architects, whose professional or working areas are similar or the same.

2. To satisfy the common needs of engineers and architects, to facilitate the professional activities and to ensure the development of the professions in accordance with the common benefits, to sustain professional discipline and ethics relations so as to ensure honesty and trust in the relations among colleagues and their relations with public. In addition, UCTEA takes all necessary initiatives and organizes activities aiming to protect interests of public and country; protect environment, historical sites, and cultural heritage; increase agricultural and industrial production; detect, save, and operate the natural resources and contribute to the technical and artistic development of the country.

3. In issues related with professions and its interests, UCTEA cooperates with official institutions and other organizations, and hence provides help and voices its proposals. It examines entire legislation, norms, scientific specifications and standard contracts and similar and relevant scientific documents related to profession and make suggestions concerning their amendment, improvement or re-application.

Parallel to the relations of its chambers with equivalent institutions, UCTEA is a member of the WFEO- World Federation of Engineering Organizations.

D.2. *Description and current condition of Chamber of Urban Planners and their legitimate aims defined in the main Charter*

The Chamber of Urban Planners (CUP)[191] has a legal status emanating from Article 135 of the Turkish Constitution, which refers to The Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects (UCTEA). By law, the UCTEA and institutions affiliated to UCTEA are defined as corporate bodies and professional organizations acting in the form of a public institution. This means while the workers and members of the chambers are not considered to be public officials, the chamber has the right to determine specific regulations for itself which are applicable to public institutions, and its members can also be put on administrative trial with regard to their acts as professionals. Therefore, the CUP has a semi-public status. Article 6 of the CUP guide

---

[191] In Turkey, one needs to be a CUP member after graduating in order to enter the planning profession.

book defines the main aims[192] of the organisation that, in summary, are the protection and the improvement of the profession and the public interest regarding the profession.

In addition, other responsibilities of CUP are issuing efficiency certificates (determining level of plan and planner) and vetting (before obtained any formal approval any plan needs to be vetted by CUP). However, the authority of CUP regarding this vetting is very limited. The chamber can assess the plan only on its technical and formal merit: whether the plan has been made by an efficient-certified planner,[193] the area calculations are correct and the drawings match the technical conditions. Thus, this technical and formal vetting does not provide any right to intervene in the plan. However, while performing the vetting, the plans are also listed by CUP, and if there are any problems determined regarding 'planning regulations, urbanism principles or the public interest' as stated by 'lawyer_CUP' then in the first place the relevant municipality is informed and an objection is raised.

Article 6: Main aims of the Chamber:

1. Regulating the duties and authorities of the colleagues' and profession's regarding to urban and regional planning profession within the frames of nation and public interests.
2. Protecting the ethics and the discipline of the profession to ensure the trust and honesty with public relations and among members of the chamber; defending the rights of the profession; improving the urban planning science.
3. Engaging activities to provide improvement of the implementation and the theory of the profession via collaborating with national and/or international public and/or private institutions.
4. Engaging activities to protect the national and public interest in the subjects regarding to the profession (protecting and improving natural sources and public wealth; improving the art and techniques)
5. Investigating the problems of the urban and regional planning students; proposing suggestions via assessing the implementation models of other countries; attempting to implement those models; engaging activities together with academics and student commissions on the mentioned issues.

---

[192] The full list of aims can be found in appendix.
[193] In the Turkish context, as the plans have different levels and scales the planners have also different level of efficiency certificates starting from 'F' (called the 'ration card') after graduation and can be upgraded as far as A depending on the experience.

D.3. *Description and current condition of Contemporary City Ankara Association*

and their legitimate aims defined in the main Charter

The Contemporary Capital City Ankara Association (CCCAA – Cagdas Baskent Ankara Dernegi) is a civil association consisting of lawyers. The legal status of associations depends on the Law of Associations (no.5253).[194] Unlikely the status of CUP the CCCAA is defined as a legal person.[195] The major aims of the association, given in the CCCAA Charter[196] with regard to this research can be summarised in two points:

- Raising the awareness of the citizens of Ankara with regard to contemporary conditions and development of the city
- Following up planning and construction implementation and proposed projects with regard to urbanism principles, the public interest and urban planning legislation.

Highlighting the aims of the association is important, as these have been determined in the legal charter, and thus have a legal standing in court cases. The association commits itself to follow up[197] the latest updates from the local governments regarding plan preparations and modifications, raising opposition if they are seen as problematic. However, recently, due to the rejection of the association's licence by the State Council, the association is no longer considered to be eligible to enter lawsuits. This rejection also gave rise to more suspicions, which are worth remarking on (Table A.1).

The court decision in **2009**	The court decision in **2012**
Subject: Change of land use via modification plan, from University use to private education space, in Golbasi (south Ankara).	**Subject:** Rise in building rights while reducing social infrastructure areas, including open spaces and parks, in Kecioren (north Ankara).
Complainant: CCCAA	**Complainant:** CCCAA
Defendant: Metropolitan Municipality	**Defendant:** Metropolitan Municipality
The first phase of the court: The licence of CCCAA was refused	**The first phase of the court:** The court decided against Metropolitan Municipality
The **appellate** procedure started by **CCCAA**	The **appellate** procedure started by Metropolitan Municipality
In the appellate procedure the court gave a decision in favour of CCCAA and the refusal of the licence was reversed. The decision was based on the charter of CCCAA.	In the appellate procedure Metropolitan Municipality raised a challenge against CCCAA and their eligibility to enter lawsuits (thus their licence). On this occasion, the

---

[194] By law, in article 2, associations are defined as legal persons consisted of at least seven natural person or legal persons which came together to constantly unify information and works aiming on a common target that has not been restricted by law and exclusive of gain sharing.
[195] Legal persona are social beings who are entitled as legal identity and agents of rights and legal system (Kucukyagci, 2013)
[196] Full list of aims can be found in appendix.
[197] i.e. if there is a new plan approval via modification plan on a plot proposing a change in the building rights – mostly increase – or a land use change without providing a strong reasoning then the association intervenes with opposing.

	court gave a decision in favour of Metropolitan Municipality and the licence of CCCAA was cancelled as a finalised decision.

Table A.1. The refusal of the CCCAA's licence and contradictory decisions presented in two cases

Rejection of the *licence to litigate* emerged after two conflicting adjudications given in two different courts, where CCCAA entered lawsuits against two different plan modifications approved by Metropolitan Municipality, one of which was against a status change of the land from public to private, which was seen as problematic, claiming that it would have a negative impact on the public interest and would also cause excessive increases in land prices. In that respect, in February 2009 the court issued a decision against the Metropolitan Municipality in the administrative court which was then followed by an appellate procedure in the State Council. During the appellate procedure, which usually takes a very long time, the Metropolitan Municipality raised a complaint challenging the eligibility of CCCAA to enter lawsuits and requested a rejection of the CCCAA licence. At the end, although the president of the court was supportive of the CCCAA keeping its licence, the majority of the court's members voted against the association and thus the licence of the CCCAA was withdrawn in May 2012. The court stated that the association had no standing in the subject of the lawsuit since it did not have a direct share in the plot.

However, in another similar lawsuit, the appellate procedure was started by CCCAA against the refusal of its licence and this time the state council decided on the side of CCCAA by November 2009 and the rejection of the licence was cancelled at the end of the case. Interestingly, the court based the reason of the decision contradictory to the one above by referring to the charter of CCCAA, aiming to protect 'public interest' and 'urbanism and planning principles'. Therefore, without having any direct linkage on an individual basis to the particular plot, the licence to act was maintained.

Through these two examples, it becomes clear that on some occasions, the judiciary can hand down conflicting decisions on similar situations, which needs to be questioned further within the socio-political conditions and on the basis of agency-interest relations in particular contexts. These incidents were also mentioned by the lawyer and the founder of CCCAA and also by 'Directorate_YM' during the interviews, and they both emphasised that in the near future there may not be much chance of raising objections through entering lawsuits, due to the changing judicial system, as

they have already started to lose court decisions for cases they would definitely have been able to win previously.

Article 2: The Aims

1. Generating urban space and urbanite awareness to contemporary life be performed in capital city Ankara and act with that aim

2. Attempting to provide the validity of any kind of planning and construction works (parcelling; land amalgamation; permission and project approvals) according to the urbanism principles; public interest, services requirements and urban planning legislations.

3. Prevent any kind of planning and project modifications depending on providing urban land rent without considering the public interest via making plan modifications on the building rights or land uses in particular cases.

4. Working on the provide the relevant use of spaces that are separated for the public use, that also should be benefited by all (roads; squares; parks; greenery; parking; kinder garden; mosque; police station etc).

5. Ensuring the realisation of the public transportation opportunities and use of contemporary transportation methods to solve transportation problems in the city.

6. Developing projects on to eliminate the air pollution of the city.

7. Protecting the aesthetic beauty of the city and preventing the amendments on the facades of the buildings that are inconsistent with the permission licence.

8. Act to take measures on the sale of the unhealthy nourishments.

9. Struggle on the sound and visual pollution that would have a negative effect on the urban citizens.

10. Act to support education

11. Working together with other NGOs; making applications to public institutions or other authorised officers to fulfil the aims mentioned above.

12. Entering lawsuits; continuing lawsuits or renounce from the law suits if necessary in accordance with the mentioned aims.

13. Advertising; publishing flyers-magazines-newspapers; organising seminars to encourage the participation of the citizens to contemporary urbanism movement and to introduce the association

14. Accepting the monetary helps and contributions in kind, within the frame of the legislation, from the members of the association o cover the expenses for the services mentioned above.

(CCCAA Archive, 2013)

Appendix E. Design projects of Galleria; Armada I; Armada II and Kentpark

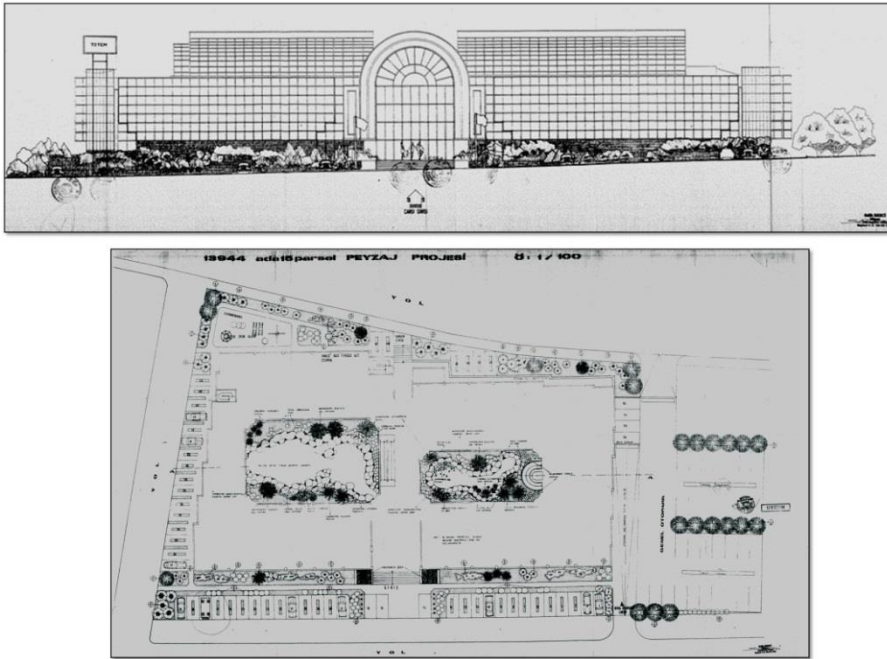Figure D.1..Architectural Facade and Landscape plan of Galleria
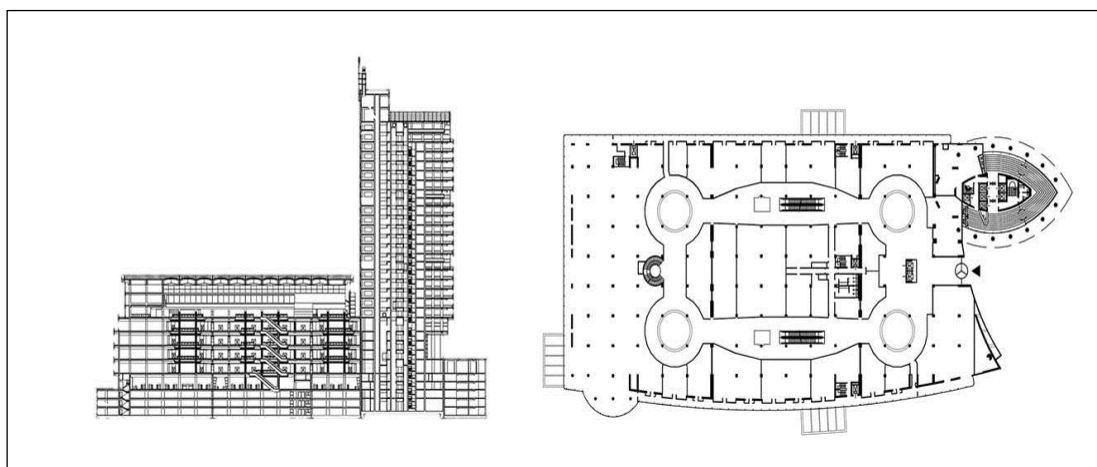Source: Cankaya District Municipality Archive 2013

Figure D.2. Armada-I initial project constructed in 2002
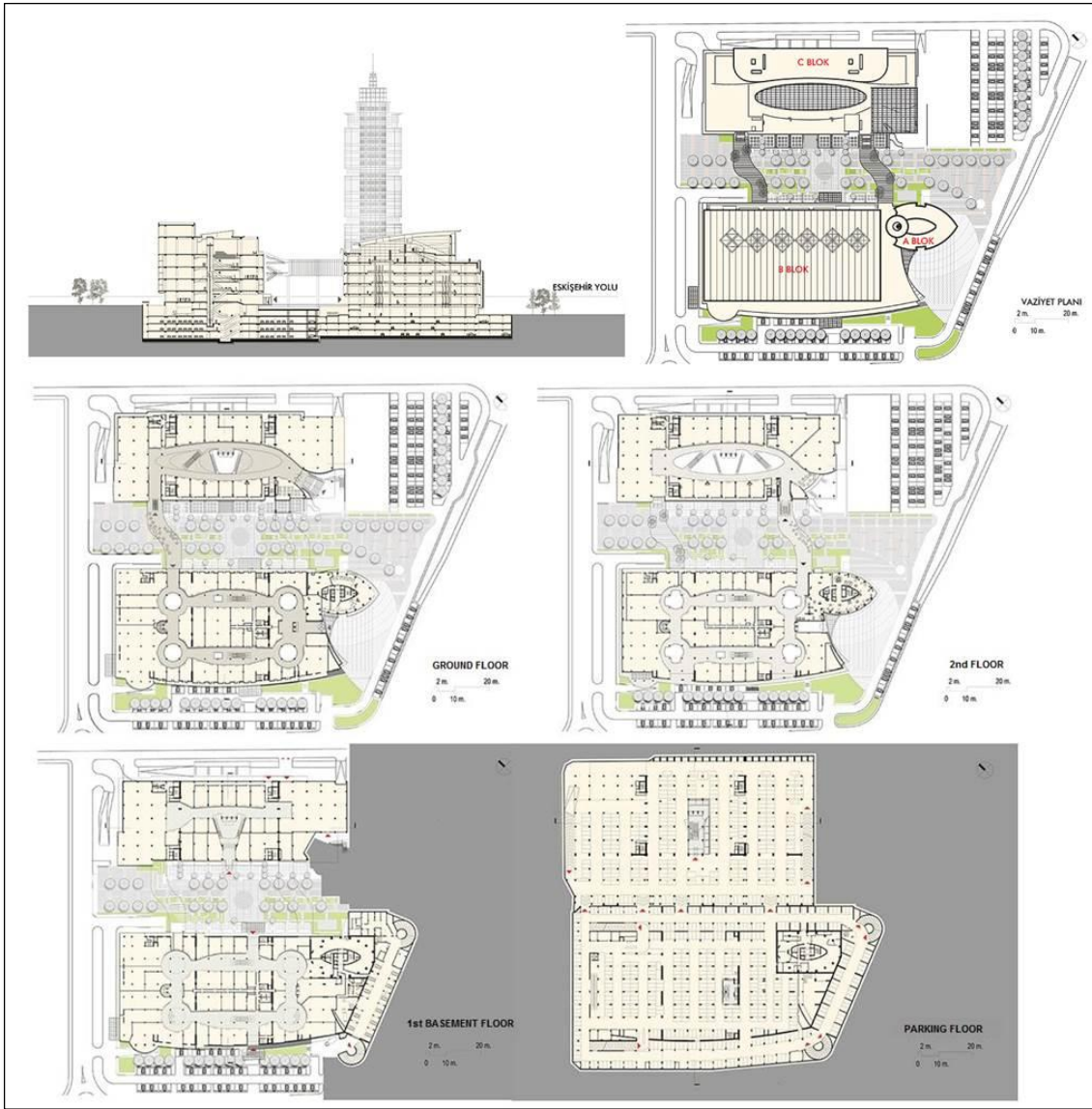Source: A Tasarim Archive 2012

Figure D.3. New Armada project (Armada-I and Armada-II): cross-section; layouts; floor plans

Source: A Tasarim Archive 2012

Figure D.4. Kentpark floor plans and cross section

Source: Oncuoglu+ACP Archive, 2012

References

Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Archive. (Accessed: 2012 and 2013).

Armada Shopping Mall Official Web Site. Available at: http://www.armadasite.com/.

Cankaya District Municipality Archive. (Accessed: 2012).

Galleia Shopping Mall Official Web Site. Available at: http://galleriaankara.com/.

Kentpark Official Web Site. Available at: http://www.kentpark.com.tr/.

Shopping Centres, Warehouses and Chain Stores (Draft Law).

TMMOB - The Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects (UCTEA) legislation TMMOB.

Turk Dil Kurumu Guncel Turkce Sozluk - Turkish Languale Institution Dictionary. Available at: http://www.tdk.gov.tr/index.php?option=com_gts (Accessed: 13.05.2013).

'Turkey Trade Register Journal - Turkiye Ticaret Sicili Gazetesi'. Turkish Union of Chambers and Exchange Commodities - Turkiye Odalar ve Borsalar Birligi. Available at: http://www.ticaretsicil.gov.tr/.

'Yenimahalle City Guide Information System' [Town Plannig Database]. 11.10.2012. Yeni Mahalle District Municipality Available at: http://kentrehberi.yenimahalle.bel.tr:8080/EImar/.

(12.02.2013). . Yapi, pp. Yapi, Construction Sector News 18.02.2013. Available at: http://yapi.com.tr/Haberler/gezi-parkinin-ana-fikri-yok-edildi_104516.html (Accessed: 18.02.2013).

The Constitution of the Republic of Turkey.

Building Law (3194).

'Melih Gokcek'in Rukus Hayalleri (Chav Dreams of Melih Gokcek)', (2004) *Radikal*edn), 27.08.2012. [Online] Available at: http://www.radikal.com.tr/Radikal.aspx?aType=RadikalDetayV3&ArticleID=701786&CategoryID=98.

Metropolitan Municipality Law (5216).

The Metropolitan Municipality Law

Municipality Law (5393).

'Gokcek: Vazgecmedik (Gokcek: We didnt give up)', (2008) *Hurriyet*edn), 10 April 2008. [Online] Available at: http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ankara/8662069.asp?gid=140&sz=11095 (Accessed: 27.10.2012).

Turkey's Rising Stars: a region of opportunities (2008). Lasalle, J.L.

'Yerel yonetimler her yatirimi desteklemeli (The local governments should support any kind of investments)', (2009) *Hurriyet*edn), 21.10.2009. [Online] Available at: http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ankara/12737189.asp (Accessed: 04.11.2012).

Amendment Law Regarding to Municipality Law (5998).

Law Regarding to the Changes to be Made in the Municipality Law (5998).

'Turkey ministers Caglayan, Guler and Bayraktar resign amid scandal' (2013) 25.12.2013 [Europe News]. 26.12.2013. BBC. Available at: http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-25514579.

'Ankara'nın simgesi Atakule, yeni yüzüyle görücüye çıktı (Ankara's symbol Atakule made debute with its new face)', (2014) *Emlak Rotasi: Gayrimenkul Yatirim Rehberi (Property Route: Real Estate Investment Directory)* 22.10.2014.

Akkar Ercan, M. (ed.) (2010) *Less Public Than Before? Public Space Improvement in Newcastle City Centre*. Oxon: Routledge.

Aksel-Gurun, B. (2005) 'Alisveris Merkezine Karsi Kent Merkezi', *Planlama*, 1, pp. 63-74.

Aksit, E.E. (2009) 'Osmanli Imparatorlugu ve Turkiye'de kamusallik Kavraminin Donusumu ve Disladiklari', *Ankara Universitesi SBF Dergisi*, 64(1).

Aksoy, A. (2012) 'Riding the Strom: "New Istanbul"', *City: analysis of urban trends, culture, theory, policy, action*, 16(1-2), pp. 93-111.

Albrechts, L. (2003) 'Planning and power: towards an emancipatory planning approach', *Environment and Planning C*, 21(6), pp. 905-924.

Allen, J. (1999) 'Cities of power and influence: settled formations', in Allen, J., Massey, D. and Pryke, M. (eds.) *Unsettling Cities*. USA; Canada: Routledge, pp. 181-228.

Allmendinger, P. and Tewdwr-Jones, M. (2002) *Planning futures: new directions for planning theory*. Routledge.

Amin, A. (2008) 'Collective culture and urban public space', *City*, 12(1), pp. 5-24.

Amin, A. and Graham, S. (1997) 'The ordinary city', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 22(4), pp. 411-429.

Ankara Metropolitan Municipality (2006) *2023 Başkent Ankara Nazim İmar Plani: Plan Açıklama Raporu, Etüdler, Müdahale Biçimleri*. Ankara: Fersa.

Arendt, H. (1958) *The human condition*. University of Chicago Press.

Arslan, T.V., Isigicok, E. and Sezer, F.S. (2010) 'Turkey has Witnessed a Shopping Mall boom in 2000s: Local Dynamics Behind the Attractiveness of This "New Urban Form"', *22nd International Housing Conference: Housing Dynamics & Housing Change*. Istanbul, 4-7 July.

Aru, K.A. (1998) *Turk Kenti: Turk kent dokularinin incelemesine ve bugunku kosullar icinde degerlendirilmesine iliskin yontem arastirmasi*. Istanbul: YEM Yayin.

A-Tasarim-Architecture *Armada I indoor views*. A-Tasarim Architecture Company (Accessed: 2012).

A-Tasarim-Architecture (1999-2002) *Armada in Construction*. A-Tasarim Architecture Company.

Atkınson, R. (2003) 'Domestication by Cappuccino or a Revenge on Urban Space? Control and Empowerment in the Management of Public Spaces', *Urban Studies*, 40(9), pp. 1829-1843.

Atkınson, R. and Blandy, S. (2005) 'Introduction: International Perspectives On The New Enclavism And The Rise Of Gated Communities', *Housing Studies*, March 20(2), pp. 177-186.

ATO (2010) *Ankara Ticaret odasi*. Available at: www.atoankaraexport.org.

Atwal, G. and Williams, A. (2009) 'Luxury brand marketing–The experience is everything!', *Journal of Brand Management*, 16(5), pp. 338-346.

Augé, M. (2008) *Non-places: an introduction to supermodernity*. Translated by Howe, J. verso London.

Australia, P.C.o. (2008) *Benchmarks 2008 Survey of Operating Costs for shopping centres in New South Wales*. Australia: Property Council of Australia. [Online]. Available at: http://www.propertyoz.com.au/library/NSW_Retail_Demo_0.pdf (Accessed: 15.09.2011).

AYD, A.M.Y.D. (2013) *AVM GLA Dağılımı (m2 / 1,000 kişi)*. Available at: http://www.ayd.org.tr/TR/DataBank.aspx.

Aydin, M. (2006) '50 Yillik hukukcuyum, Mevzuatta Kamusal Alan Yok', *Zaman*edn), 17.02.2006.

Aydin, S., Emiroglu, K., Turkoglu, O. and Ozsoy, E.D. (2005) *Kucuk Asya'nin Bin Yuzu: Ankara*. Ankara: Dost.

Bachrach, P. and Baratz, M.S. (1962) 'Two faces of power', *American political science review*, 56(04), pp. 947-952.

Balaban, O. (2012) 'The negative effects of construction boom on urban planning and environment in Turkey: Unraveling the role of the public sector', *Habitat International*, 36, pp. 26-35.

The Gruen Effect: Victor Gruen and the Shopping Mall (2012) Directed by Baldauf, A. and Weingartner, K. pool doks.

Banerjee, T. (2001) 'The Future of Public Space: Beyond Invented Streets and Reinvented Places', *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 67(1), pp. 9-24.

Bank, A. and Karadag, R. (2012) 'The political Economy of regional Power: Turkey under the AKP', *GIGA working papers*, 204.

Barbosa, E. (2001) 'Urban Spatial Segregation and Social Differentiation: Foundation for a Typological Analysis', *International Seminar on Segregation in the City*. Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, Cambridge, Massachusetts, July 25-28, 2001. Lincoln Institute of Land Policy.

Batuman, B. (2009) 'Cumhuriyet'in Kamusal Mekani Olarak Kizilay Meydani', in Sargin, G.A. (ed.) *Ankara'nin Kamusal Yuzleri*. Istanbul: Iletisim.

Batuman, B. (2012) 'Minarets without Mosques: Limits to the Urban Politics of Neoliberal Islamism', *Urban Studies*, pp. 1-16.

Baudrillard, J. (2002) 'Symbolic Exchange and Death', in Poster, M. (ed.) *Jean Baudrillard: Selected Writings*. Second edn. Standford University Press.

Bauman, Z. (1987) *Legislators and interpreters: On modernity, post-modernity and intellectuals*. Polity Press Cambridge.

Bauman, Z. (1997) *Postmodernity & its discountents*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bauman, Z. (2000) *Liquid modernity*. Polity Press Cambridge.

Bayhan, B. (2014) 'Atakule yeni yuzuyle karsinizda (Here comes Atakule with its new face)'. 22.10.2014. Arkitera. Available at: http://www.arkitera.com/haber/23204/atakule-yeni-yuzuyle-karsinizda (Accessed: 22.10.2014).

Bednar, M.J. (1989) *Interior pedestrian places*. New York: Whitney Library of Design.

Behar, C. (2003) *A Neighborhood in Ottoman Istanbul: Fruit Vendors and Civil Servants in the Kasap Ilyas Mahalle*. USA: State University of New York Press, Albany.

Bell, D. (2007) 'The hospitable city: social relations in commercial spaces', *Progress in Human Geography*, 31(1), pp. 7-22.

Benjamin, W. (1999) *The Arcades Project* Translated by Eiland, H. and Laughlin, K.M. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Benn, S.I. and Gaus, G.F. (1983) 'The liberal conception of the public and the private', in Benn, S.I. and Gaus, G.F. (eds.) *Public and Private in Social Life*. New York: St. Martins, pp. 31-65.

Benn, S.I. and Gaus, G.F. (1983) *Public and Private in Social Life*. New York: St. Martins Press.

Benn, S.I. and Gaus, G.F. (1983) 'The public and the private: concepts and action', in Benn, S.I. and Gaus, G.F. (eds.) *Public and Private in Social Life*. New York: St. Martins Press, pp. 3-27.

Bilsel, C. (2004) 'Yeni Dunya Duzeninde Cozulen Kentler ve Kamusal Alan: Istanbul'da Merkezkac Kentsel Dinamikler ve Kamusal Mekan Uzerien Gozlemler' [Scientific Publish]. 20.01.2011. Metropol Istanbul. Available at: http://www.metropolistanbul.org/public/temamakale.aspx?tmid=10&mid=8.

Blanco, H. (1995) 'Community and the four jewels of planning', in *Planning Erhics. Readings in Planning Theory, Practice and Education. Center for Urban Policy Research, New Brunswick, NJ.* pp. 66-82.

Booher, D.E. and Innes, J.E. (2002) 'Network power in collaborative planning', *Journal of planning education and research*, 21(3), pp. 221-236.

Bourdieu, P. (1986) 'The forms of capital', *Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education*, 241, p. 258.

Bourdieu, P. (1989) 'Social Space and Symbolic Power', *Sociological Theory*, 7(1), pp. 14-25.

Bourdieu, P. and Wacquant, L.J.D. (1992) *An invitation to reflexive sociology*. Oxford: Polity Press.

Boyar, E. and Fleet, K. (2010) *A Social History of Ottoman Istanbul*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Boyer, C. (1994) *The City of Collective Memory: its historical imaginary and architectural entertainment*. Cambridge: The MIT Press.

Brown, G.M. (1999) 'Design and value: spatial form and the economic failure of a mall', *Journal of Real Estate Research*, 17(2), pp. 189-225.

Bryman, A. (1999) 'The Disneyization of society', *The Sociological Review*, 47(1), pp. 25-47.

Caldeira, T. (1996) 'Fortified Enclaves: The New Urban Segregation', *Public Culture*, 8, pp. 303 - 328.

Carmona, M. (2010-a) 'Contemporary Public Space: Critique and Classification, part One: Critique', *Journal of Urban Design*, 15(4), pp. 123-148.

Carmona, M. (2010-b) 'Contemporary public space, part two: classification', *Journal of Urban Design*, 15(2), pp. 157-173.

Carmona, M. and Magalhães, C. (2009) 'Dimensions and Models of Contemporary Public Space Management in England', *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management*, 52(1), pp. 111-129.

Carmona, M., Magalhães, C. and Hammond, L. (2008) *Public Space: The Management Dimension*. London: Routledge.

Carmona, M. and Tiesdell, S. (eds.) (2007) *Urban Design Reader*. Oxford: Elsevier.

Carmona, M., Tiesdell, S., Heath, T. and Oc, T. (2010) *Public Spaces Urban Spaces: The Dimensions of Urban Design*. Second Edition edn. Italy: Architectural Press, Elsevier.

Carr, S., Francis, M., Rivlin, L.G. and Stone, A.M. (1992) *Public Space*. London: Cambridge University Press.

Castells, M. (1977) *The urban question: a Marxist approach*. London : E. Arnold.

Castells, M. (1978) *City, Class and Power*. London: Macmillan.

Castells, M. (1989) *The Informational City: Economic Restructuring and Urban Development* Oxford: Blackwell.

Castells, M. (1997) 'The Power of Identity (The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture, Volume II)'.

Castells, M. (2007) 'Communication, power and counter-power in the network society', *International journal of communication*, 1(1), p. 29.

Castells, M. (2010) *The power of identity: The information age: Economy, society, and culture*. Second edition edn. John Wiley & Sons.

Castree, N., Core, N.M., Ward, K. and Samers, M. (2004) *Spaces of work: Global capitalism and geographies of labour*. Sage.

Cengizkan, A. (2009) 'Cumhuriyet Donemi Kamusal Mekanlari Icin Bir Calisma Programi', in Sargin, G.A. (ed.) *Ankara'nin Kamusal Yuzleri*. Istanbul Iletisim.

Chiu, S.M. and Yau, Y. (2007) 'A necessary evil or an income driver? A preliminary study of public space in retail facilities in Hong Kong', *Journal of Retail & Leisure Property*, 6(4), pp. 299-309.

Chubb, J. (1982) *Patronage, power and poverty in southern Italy: a tale of two cities*. Cambridge University Press.

Clarke, D.B. and Bradford, M.G. (1998) 'Public and Private Consumption and the City', *Urban Studies*, 35(5-6), pp. 865-888.

Clegg, S.R. and Pitsis, T.S. (2012) 'Phronesis, projects and power research', in Flyvbjerg, B., Landman, T. and Schram, S. (eds.) *Real social science: Applied phronesis.* Cambridge University Press, pp. 66-94.

Coleman, J. (1990) 'Foundations of social theory', *Cambridge, MA: Belknap.*

Congress, L.o. (1753) 'A Scene of scenes for the year 1853' *British Cartoon Prints Collection* 23.03.2013. Library of Congress. Available at: http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/94509121/. (Library of Congress – I)

Congress, L.o. (1838-1915) 'Mosque Sultan Selim' Hopkinson, S.F. *Cabinet of American illustration* [Drawing : pencil and wash]. 13.02.2013. Library of Congress. Available at: http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2010718107/ . (Library of Congress – C)

Congress, L.o. (1890-1900) 'Barbers near Seraskierrat (i.e., Seraskerat) Constantinople, Turkey' *Views of People and sites in Turkey in the Photochrom print collection* [Photomechanical print]. 13.02.2013. Library of Congress. Available at: http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2001699447/ . (Library of Congress – E)

Congress, L.o. (1890-1900) 'Cook in the rue de Stamboul, Constantinople, Turkey' *Views of People and sites in Turkey in the Photochrom print collection*. 13.02.2013. Library of Congress. Available at: http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2001699448/ . (Library of Congress – F)

Congress, L.o. (1890-1900) 'Mosque and street, Scutari, Constantinople, Turkey' *Views of People and sites in Turkey in the Photochrom print collection* [Photomechanical print]. 13.02.2013. Library of Congress. Available at: http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2001699429/ . (Library of Congress – D)

Congress, L.o. (1890-1900) 'A street at Stamboul with fountain, Constantinople, Turkey' *Views of People and sites in Turkey in the Photochrom print collection* [Photomechanical print]. 13.02.2013. Library of Congress. Available at: http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2001699425/ . (Library of Congress- A)

Congress, L.o. (1880-1900) 'Cafe Turc' Joaillier, [Photographic print]. 13.02.2013. Library of Congress. Available at: http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2009631581/. (Library of Congress – G)

Congress, Lo. Dept., A.C.J.P. (1935) 'Turkey. Ankara. Statue of Ataturk [i.e., Ataturk] ' *G. Eric and Edith Matson Photograph Collection*. 13.02.2013. Library of Congress. Available at: http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/mpc2010002221/PP/ . (Library of Congress – H)

Coskun, O. (2015) 'Turkish court orders investigation over spat in AK Party', *Reuters*edn), 24 March 2015. [Online] Available at:

http://uk.reuters.com/article/2015/03/24/uk-turkey-politics-probe-idUKKBN0MK1DM20150324 (Accessed: 30.05.2015).

Crawford, M. (1992) 'The World in a Shopping Mall', in Zukin, S. (ed.) *Variations on a Theme Park: the new American city and the end of public space*. New York: Hill and Wang, pp. 3 - 30.

Dahl, R.A. (1958) 'A critique of the ruling elite model', *American Political Science Review*, 52(02), pp. 463-469.

Dahl, R.A. (1961) 'Who governs? Power and democracy in an American city'. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Davis, M. (1992) 'Fortress Los Angles: The Militarization of Urban Space', in Zukin, S. (ed.) *Variations on a Theme Park: the new American city and the end of public space*. New York: Hill and Wang, pp. 154 - 180.

Davis, M. (ed.) (2002) *From City of Quartz: Excavating the Future in Los Angles*. Oxford: Blackwell.

De Magalhães, C. (2010) 'Public space and the contracting-out of publicness: A framework for analysis', *Journal of Urban Design*, 15(4), pp. 559-574.

De Magalhaes, C. and Carmona, M. (2009) 'Dimensions and models of contemporary public space management in England', *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management*, 52(1), pp. 111-129.

De Neufville, J.I. (1983) 'Planning theory and practice: bridging the gap', *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 3(1), pp. 35-45.

Debord, G. (1994) *The Society of the Spectacle, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith*. New York: Zone Books.

Decron, C. (2001) 'Speed-Space', in Armitage, J. (ed.) *Virilio Live: Selected Interviews*. London: SAGE Publications, pp. 69-81.

Deleuze, G. (1988) *Foucault*. U of Minnesota Press.

DeLisle, J. (2009) 'Toward the Global Classification of Shopping Centers ', [Online]. Available at: jrdelisle.com/retailwatch/GlobalRetailClassV55.pdf (Accessed: 12.08.2011).

DeLisle, J.R. (2005) *ICSC Working Paper Series Shopping Center Classifications: Challenges and Opportunities*. International Council of Shopping Centers. [Online]. Available at: http://173-254-37-135.bluehost.com/research/NewSCDef_V23_WP1.pdf (Accessed: 15.09.2011).

Delladestima, P. (2006) 'The Emerging Property Development Pattern in Greece and its Impact on Spatial Development', *European Urban and Regional Studies*, 13(3), pp. 245-278.

Demirkan, O. (2008) 'Armada 2 geliyor! (Armada 2 is coming!)', *Vatan*edn), 25 September 2008. [Online] Available at: http://haber.gazetevatan.com/Armada_2_geliyor_200548_1/200548/1/Haber (Accessed: 19.08.2012).

Denzin, N.K. and Lincoln, Y.S. (2013) 'Introduction: The Discipline and Practice of Qualitative Research', in Denzin, N.K. and Lincoln, Y.S. (eds.) *The Landscape of Qualitative Research*. USA: SAGE Publications, pp. 1-42.

Diefenbach, T. (2009) 'Are Case Studies more than Sophisticated storytelling?: Methodological Problems of Qualitative Empirical Research Mainly Based on Semi-Structured Interviews', *Qual Quant*, 43, pp. 875 - 894.

Dimendberg, E. (1998) 'Henri Lefebvre on Abstract Space', in Light, A. and Smith, J.M. (eds.) *The Production of Public Space*. USA: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, pp. 17-48.

Donat, Y. (2009a) 'Çukurambar'ın yakın tarihi', *Sabah*edn), 31.12.2009. [Online] Available at: http://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/donat/2009/12/31/cukurambarin_yakin_tarihi (Accessed: 14.02.2012).

Donat, Y. (2009b) 'Laz Inadi', *Sabah*edn), 31.12.2009. [Online] Available at: http://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/donat/2009/12/31/laz_inadi (Accessed: 14.02.2012).

Donat, Y. (2009c) 'Kim o laz?', *Sabah*edn). [Online] Available at: http://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/donat/2009/12/31/kim_o_laz (Accessed: 14.02.2012).

Douglass, M. and Friedmann, J. (1998) *Cities for citizens: Planning and the rise of civil society in a global age*. John Wiley & Sons New York.

Dovey, K. (1999) *Framing Places, Mediating Power in Built Form*. USA; Canada: Routledge.

Downs, R.D. (1970) 'The Cognitive Structure of an Urban Shopping Center', *Environment and Behaviour*, 2(13).

Ellin, N. (1996) 'Reconceiving the city and culture', in Postmodern *urbanism*. Princeton Architectural Press.

Eraydin, A. (2008) 'The conditional nature of relations between competitiveness, social cohesion and spatial inequalities: The evidence from Istanbul', in *Cities between competitiveness and cohesion*. Springer, pp. 99-115.

Erder and Incioglu (2013) *The emergence of local politics in Turkey*. Istanbul: Istanbul Bilgi Universitesi Press.

Erkip, F. (2003) 'The Shopping Mall as an Emergent Public Space in Turkey', *Environment and Planning A*, 35, pp. 1073-1093.

Erkip, F. (2005) 'The rise of the shopping mall in Turkey: the use and appeal of a mall in Ankara', *Cities*, 22(2), pp. 89-108.

Erkip, F., Kizilgun, O. and Mugan, G. (2012) 'The Role of retailing in Urban Sustainability: The Turkish Case', *European Urban and Regional Studies*, 20(3), pp. 329-342.

Eroglu, S.A., Machleit, K. and Barr, T.F. (2005) 'Perceived retail crowding and shopping satisfaction: the role of shopping values', *Journal of Business Research*, 58(8), pp. 1146-1153.

Ersoy, M. (1992) 'Relations between Central and Local Governments in Turkey: an historical perspective', *Public Administration and Development*, 12, pp. 325-341.

Ersoy, M. (2001) *World Planning Schools Congress*. Shangai, China.

Ersoy, M. (2011) 'Yerelden Ulusal Düzeye Aynılaşan Planlama Anlayışı', *5.Ulusal Yerel Yönetimler Sempozyumu*. Ankara University SBF. Ankara University SBF.

Erten, T. (2011) 'AVM'ciler Dorduncu bakani da Durdurur mu? (Do Shoping Mall'ers Stop the Fourth Minister?)', *Dunya*edn), 30 November 2011. [Online] Available at: http://www.dunya.com/avmciler-dorduncu-bakani-da-durdurur-mu-139070yy.htm (Accessed: 20.08.2012).

Erten, T. (2012) 'Perakende Tasarisina Ne oldu? (What Happened to the Retail Draftlaw?)', *Dunya*edn), 19 September 2012. [Online] Available at: http://www.dunya.com/perakende-tasarisina-ne-oldu-149611yy.htm (Accessed: 20.10.2012).

Feinberg, R.A., Sheffler, B., Meoli, J. and Rummel, A. (1989) 'There's something social happening at the mall', *Journal of Business and Physchology*, 4(1), pp. 49-63.

Fischler, R. (1995) 'Planning theory as culture and experience', *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 14(3), pp. 173-178.

Flick, U. (2009) *An introduction to qualitative research*. London: Sage.

Flyvbjerg, B. (1998) *Rationality and power: Democracy in practice*. University of Chicago press.

Flyvbjerg, B. (2001) 'Beyond the limits of planning theory: response to my critics'.

Flyvbjerg, B. (2002) 'Bringing Power to Planning Research One Researcher's Praxis Story', *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 21(4), pp. 353-366.

Flyvbjerg, B. (2004) 'Phronetic planning research: theoretical and methodological reflections', *Planning Theory & Practice*, 5(3), pp. 283-306.

Flyvbjerg, B. (2006) 'Five Misunderstandings About Case - Study Research', *Qualitative Inquiry*, 12(2), pp. 219 - 245.

Flyvbjerg, B., Landman, T. and Schram, S. (2012) *Real social science: Applied phronesis*. Cambridge University Press.

Flyvbjerg, B. and Richardson, T. (2002) 'Planning and Foucault: In Search of the Dark Side of Planning Theory', in Tewdwr-Jones, P.A.a.M. (ed.) *Planning futures : new directions for planning theory*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 44-62.

Forester, J. (1989) *Planning in the Face of Power*. London: University of California Press.

Forester, J. (2001) 'An instructive case-study hampered by theoretical puzzles: critical comments on Flyvbjerg's rationality and power'.

Forester, J. (2006) 'Making participation work when interests conflict: Moving from facilitating dialogue and moderating debate to mediating negotiations', *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 72(4), pp. 447-456.

Foucault, M. (1980) *Power/knowledge: Selected interviews and other writings, 1972-1977*. Random House LLC.

Foucault, M. (1982) 'Subject and Power', *Critical Inquiry*, 8(4), pp. 777-795

Foucault, M. (1990) *The History of Sexuality, vol. 1: An Introduction* London: Penguin.

Foucault, M. (1994) *Power: Essential Works of Foucault 1954-1984. Vol. 3*. London: Penguin Books.

Foucault, M. (2009) *The Will to Knowledge: The History of Sexuality Volume 1*. London: Penguin Books.

Fraser, N. (1990) 'Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy', *Social Text*, 25/26(56-80).

Friedmann, J. (1989) 'Planning in the public domain: discourse and praxis', *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 8(2), pp. 128-130.

Friedmann, J. (1998 - a) 'Planning theory revisited', *European Planning Studies*, 6(3), pp. 245-253.

Friedmann, J. (1998 - b) 'The new political economy of planning: the rise of civil society', in Douglass, M. and Friedmann, J. (eds.) *Cities for Citizens*. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, pp. 19-38.

Gedikli, B. (2009) 'The role of leadership in the success of participatory planning processes experience from Turkey', *European urban and regional studies*, 16(2), pp. 115-130.

Gehl, J. (2011) *Life between buildings: using public space*. Island Press.

George, V.R. (1997) 'A procedural explanation for contemporary urban design', *Journal of Urban Design*, 2(2), pp. 143 - 161.

Giddens, A. (1984) 'The constitution of society: Outline of the theory of structure. Berkeley'. CA: University of California Press.

Giddens, A. (1986) *Sociology: A brief but critical Introduction*. Secon Edition edn. London: Macmillan.

Goheen, P.G. (1998) 'Public space and the geography of the modern city', *Progress in Human Geography*, 22(4), pp. 479-496.

Gökçe, B. (2003) 'Ankara Metropoliten Alan Büyükkent Bütünü Merkezleri Dönüşüm-Çökünteleşme Süreçleri', *Kentsel Dönüşüm Sempozyumu Bildiriler Kitabı*.

Goldberger, P. (1996) *The rise of the private city*. na.

Google 'Google Eart Areal View of Ankara (Galleria; Armada and Kentpark)'. 18.03.2012.

Gospodini, A. (2002) 'European Cities in Competition and the New ' Uses ' of Urban Design', *Journal of Urban Design*, 7(1), pp. 59 - 73.

Gottdiener, M. and Hutchison, R. (2006) *The new urban sociology*. Westview Press.

Graham, S. (2011) *Cities under siege: The new military urbanism*. Verso Books.

Graham, S. and Aurigi, A. (1997) 'Virtual cities, social polarization, and crisis in urban public space', *Journal of Urban Technology*, 4(1), pp. 19 - 52.

Greenwood, D.J. and Levin, M. (1998) *Introduction to action research: Social research for social change*. SAGE publications.

Gregory, D. (1994) *Geographical imaginations*. Blackwell Oxford.

Gregory, D., Johnston, R., Pratt, G., Watts, M. and Whatmore, S. (2009) *The dictionary of human geography*. John Wiley & Sons.

Gregory, D. and Urry, J. (1985) *Social relations and spatial structures*. Macmillan London.

Gulick, J. (1998) 'The "Disappearence of Public Space": An Ecological Marxist and Lefebvrian Approach', in Light, A. and Smith, J.M. (eds.) *The Production of Public Space*. USA: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, pp. 135-156.

Gulumser, A. and Baycan-Levent, T. (2009) 'Through The Sky: Vertical Gated Developments In Istanbul', *The Urban Reinventors Online Journal*, (3/09).

Gunay, B. (2005) 'Ankara Cekirdek Alaninin Olusumu ve 1990 Nazim Plani Hakkinda Bir Degerlendirme', in Senyapili, T. (ed.) *Cumhuriyet'in Ankarasi*. Ankara: ODTU, pp. 60-118.

Gunder, M. (2003) 'Passionate planning for the others' desire: an agonistic response to the dark side of planning', *Progress in Planning*, 60(3), pp. 235-319.

Gunder, M. (2005) 'The production of desirous space: Mere fantasies of the utopian city?', *Planning Theory*, 4(2), pp. 173-199.

Gunder, M. (2010) 'Planning as the ideology of (neoliberal) space', *Planning Theory*, 9(4), pp. 298-314.

Gunder, M. (2011) 'Fake it until you make it, and then…', *Planning Theory*, p. 1473095210387542.

Gurallar, N. (2009) 'Kamu - Kamusal Alan - Kamu Yapilari - Kamusal Mekan: Modernite Oncesi ve Sonrasi icin Bir Terminoloji Tartismasi', *Mimarlik*, 350(November - December).

Gurlesel, C.F. (2012-a) *Main Indicators of Real Estate Sector in Turkey 2011* Istanbul: GYODER.

Gurlesel, C.F. (2012-b) *Real Estate Sector in the Vision of 2023*. Istanbul: GYODER.

Gurun, B.A. (2009) *Impact of Shopping Centers on the Fragmentation of the City Center*. PhD thesis. METU.

Gurun, B.A. (2009) *Impact of shopping centres on the fragmentation of the city center*. Middle East Technical University.

Gurun, B.A. (2010) 'Turkiye'de Degisen tuketim Mekanlari ve Alisveris Merkezleri', *Dosya*, 22 - AVM'ler(Kasim), pp. 16-29.

Guvemli, O. (2013) '3. Koprunun Temeli Dualar ve Mehter Marslari Esliginde Atildi', *Cumhuriyet*edn), 29.05.2013. [Online] Available at: www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/?hn=419652&kn=7&ka=4&kb=7 (Accessed: 29.05.2013).

Guy, C. (2002) 'Is retail planning policy effective? The case of very large store development in the UK', *Planning Theory &Practice*, 3(3), pp. 319-330.

Guy, C.M. (1998) 'Controlling new retail spaces: the impress of planning policies in Western Europe', *Urban Studies*, 35(5-6), pp. 953-979.

Habermas, J. (1984) 'The theory of communicative action, Vol. I', *Boston: Beacon.*

Habermas, J. (1989) *The structural transformation of the public sphere: An inquiry into a category of bourgeois society*. MIT press.

Hackett, P.M.W., Foxall, G.R. and Van Raaij, W.F. (1993) 'Consumers in retail environments', *Advances in psychology*, 96, pp. 378-399.

Harding, A. (1995) 'Elite theory and growth machines', in Judge, D., Stoker, G. and Wolman, H. (eds.) *Theories of urban politics*. London: Sage, pp. 35-53.

Harvey, D. (1973) *Social justice and the city*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press

Harvey, D. (1981) 'The spatial fix–Hegel, von Thunen, and Marx', *Antipode*, 13(3), pp. 1-12.

Harvey, D. (1985) *The Urbanization of Capital: Studies in the History and Theory of Capitalist Urbanization*. John Hopkins University Press.

Harvey, D. (1989-a) 'From Managerialism to Entrepreneurialism: The Transformation in Urban Governance in Late Capitalism', *Geografiska Annaler. Series B, Human Geography*, 71(1), pp. 3-17.

Harvey, D. (1989-b) *The condition of postmodernity*. Blackwell Oxford.

Harvey, D. (2000) *Spaces of Hope*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Harvey, D. (2001) 'Globalization and the spatial fix', *Geographische revue*, 2(3), pp. 23-31.

Harvey, D. (2005-a) *Spaces of neoliberalization: towards a theory of uneven geographical development*. Franz Steiner Verlag.

Harvey, D. (2005-b) *A brief history of neoliberalism*. Oxford University Press.

Harvey, D. (2006) 'The Political economy of Public Space', in Low, S. and Smith, N. (eds.) *The Politics of Public Space*. London: Routledge, pp. 17 - 34.

Harvey, D. (2012) *Rebel cities : from the right to the city to the urban revolution*. New York: Verso.

Hattox, R.S. (1985) *Coffee and coffeehouses : the origins of a social beverage in the Medieval Near East* Seattle: University of Washington Press

Haug, W.F. (1986) *Critique of commodity aesthetics: Appearance, sexuality, and advertising in capitalist society*. University of Minnesota Press.

Healey, P. (1992) 'A planner's day: knowledge and action in communicative practice', *Journal of the American planning association*, 58(1), pp. 9-20.

Healey, P. (1996) 'The communicative turn in planning theory and its implications for spatial strategy formation', *Environment and planning B*, 23, pp. 217-234.

Healey, P. (1998) 'Collaborative planning in a stakeholder society', *Town planning review*, 69(1), p. 1.

Healey, P. (1999) 'Institutionalist analysis, communicative planning, and shaping places', *Journal of planning education and research*, 19(2), pp. 111-121.

Healey, P. (2003) 'Collaborative planning in perspective', *Planning theory*, 2(2), pp. 101-123.

Healey, P. (2006) *Urban complexity and spatial strategies: towards a relational planning for our times*. Routledge.

Helvacioglu, B. (2000) 'Globalization in the Neighborhood: From the Nation-State to Bilkent Center', *International Sociology*, 15(2), pp. 326-342.

Hendler, S. (1995) *Planning ethics: A reader in planning theory, practice, and education*. Rutgers Univ Center for Urban.

Hillier, J. (1998) 'Representation, Identity, and the communicative Shaping of Place', in Light, A. and Smith, J.M. (eds.) *The Production of Public Space*. USA: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, pp. 207-232.

Hillier, J. (2002) *Shadows of power: an allegory of prudence in land-use planning*. Routledge.

Holbrook, M.B. and Hirschman, E.C. (1982) 'The experiential aspects of consumption: Consumer fantasies, feelings, and fun', *Journal of consumer research*, pp. 132-140.

Holston, J. (1998) 'Spaces of insurgent citizenship', in Sandercock, L. (ed.) *Making the invisible visible: A multicultural planning history*. London: University of California, pp. 37-56.

Howard, E. (2007) 'New shopping centres: is leisure the answer?', *International Journal of Retail & Distribution Management*, 35(8), pp. 661-672.

Hubbard, P. (2011) 'Manuel Castells', in Hubbard, P. and Kitchin, R. (eds.) *Key thinkers on space and place*. Sage, pp. 98-105.

Hubbard, P. and Kitchin, R. (2011) *Key thinkers on space and place*. Sage.

Hurriyet, 2009 'Yerel yonetimler her yatirimi desteklemeli (The local governments should support any kind of investments)', (2009) *Hurriyet*edn), 21.10.2009. [Online] Available at: http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ankara/12737189.asp (Accessed: 04.11.2012)

Hunter, F. (1953) *Community power structure: A study of decision makers*. University of North Carolina Press Chapel Hill.

Huxley, M. and Yiftachel, O. (2000) 'New paradigm or old myopia? Unsettling the communicative turn in planning theory', *Journal of planning education and research*, 19(4), pp. 333-342.

ICOMOS (2013) 'ICOMOS Turkish National Comittee Media Announcement', *Taksim Gezi Park Media Announcement*. Available at: http://www.icomos.org.tr/ (Accessed: 06.06.2013).

ICSC (2008) *The Importance of Shopping Centres to the European Economy*. New York: ICSC (International Council of Shopping Centres).

ICSC (2012) *Shopping Centre Development: The Planning and Building Permit Process Across Europe*. ICSC.

Inalcik, H. (1978) *The Ottoman Empire: Conquest, Organization and Economy*. London: Variorum Reprints.

Inalcik, H. and Ari, B. (2005) 'Turk-Islam-Osmanli Sehirciligi ve Halil Inalcik'in Calismalari', *Turkiye Arastirmalari Literatur Dergisi*, 3(6), pp. 27-56.

Ince, E. (2013) 'Kisla Nasil AVM'ye Dondu', *Radikal*edn), 30.04.2013. [Online] Available at: www.radikal.com.tr/turkiye/kisla_nasil_avmye_dondu-1131566 (Accessed: 30.04.2013).

Innes, J.E. (1995) 'Planning theory's emerging paradigm: communicative action and interactive practice', *Journal of planning education and research*, 14(3), pp. 183-189.

Isik, O. and Pinarcioglu, M. (2001) *Nöbetleşe Yoksulluk, Sultanbeyli Örneği*. Istanbul: Iletisim.

Istanbul Metropolitan Mubicipality [Animated Display of Taksim Square Project]. 06.06.2013. Available at: http://www.ibbtube.com/2955-taksim-meydani-duzenleme-animasyonu.html

Ittelson, W.H. (1978) 'Environmental Perception and Urban Experience', *Environment and Behaviour*, 10(2), pp. 193-213.

Iveson, K. (1998) 'Putting the public back into public space', *Urban policy and research*, 16(1), pp. 21-33.

Iveson, K. (2003) 'Justifying Exclusion: the politics of publci space and the dispute over access to McIvers Ladies' baths, Sydney', *Gender, Place and Culture*, 10(3), pp. 215-228.

Iveson, K. (2007) *Publics and The City*. UK: Blackwell Publishing.

Jacobs, J. (1961) *The death and life of great American cities*. Vintage.

Jansen-Verbeke, M. (1987) 'Women, shopping and leisure', *Leisure Studies*, 6(1), pp. 71-86.

Jansen-Verbeke, M. (1991) 'Leisure shopping: A magic concept for the tourism industry?', *Tourism Management*, 12(1), pp. 9-14.

Judge, D. (1995) 'Pluralism', in Judge, D., Stoker, G. and Wolman, H. (eds.) *Theories of urban politics*. London: Sage, pp. 13-34.

Judge, D., Stoker, G. and Wolman, H. (1995) *Theories of urban politics*. Sage.

Osmanli Turkcesi Sozlugu (2011) Istanbul: SAY Yayinlari.

Kanar, M. (2011) *Osmanli Turkcesi Sozlugu*.

Karadag, R. (2010) 'Neoliberal Restructring in Turkey: from State to Oligarchic Capitalism', *MPifG Discussion Paper*, 10(7).

Keles, R. (2012) *Kentleşme Politikası*. Imge Kitabevi Yayinlari.

Keles, R., Keskinok, H.C., Ersoy, M., Tekinbas, B., Gunay, B. and Madran, E. (2000) *Mekan Planlama ve Yargi Denetimi*. Ankara: Yargi Yayinevi.

Kern, K. (2008) 'Heterotopia of the theme park street', in M. Dehaene, a.L.D.C. (ed.) *Heterotopia and the City: public space in a postcivil society*. London: Routledge, pp. 105-115.

Keyder, C. and Oncu, A. (1994) 'Globalization of a Third-World Metropolis: Istanbul in the 1980's', *Review*, 17(3), pp. 383-421.

Kia, M. (2011) *Daily Life in the Ottoman Empire*. California: Greenwood.

Kilian, T. (1998) 'Public and Private, Power and Space', in Light, A. and Smith, J.M. (eds.) *The Production of Public Space*. USA: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, pp. 115-134.

Kilinc, G., Ozgur, H. and Genc, F.N. (2009) *Ethics for the Prevention of Corruption in Turkey: Academic Research Report on Planning Ethics at Local Level*.

Kirazoglu, T.E. (2012) 'Turkey', in Ashcroft, C. and Atwal, G. (eds.) *Shopping Centre Development: the planning and building permit processes across Europe*. New York: ICSC, pp. 115-121.

Kirby, A. (2008) 'The production of private space and its implications for urban social relations', *Political Geography*, 27(1), pp. 74-95.

Kirby, D.A. and Holf, G.M. (1986) 'Planning responses to Non-retail Uses in Shopping Centres', *The Planner*, 72(7), pp. 28-30.

Knox, P. and Pinch, S. (2009) *Urban Social Geography*. 6th edn. England: Pearson.

Kohn, M. (2004) *Brave new neighborhoods: The privatization of public space*. Psychology Press.

Kompil, M. and Celik, H.M. (2006) 'Modeling the Spatial Consequences of Retail Structure Change Of Izmir Turkey: A Quasi-Empirical Application Of Spatial Interaction Model', *International Conference on Regional and Urban Modelling*. Brussels.

Kompil, M. and Celik, H.M. (2009) 'The Development of Western-Type Large -Scale Consumption Areas in Turkey and Legal and Structural regulation Efforts in Urban Retail Environments', *Megaron*, 4(2), pp. 90-100.

Koruglu, B.A. and Ercoskun, Ö.Y. (2006) 'Urban Transformation: a Case Study on 7 Çukurambar, Ankara', *Gazi University Journal of Science*, 19(3), pp. 173-183.

Kurt, I. (1998) 'Putting the public back into public space', *Urban Policy and Research*, 16(1), pp. 21-33.

Kurtulus, H. (2006) 'Kentsel Donusume Modern Kent Mitinin Cokusu Cercevesinden Bakmak', *Planlama*, 2, pp. 7-11.

Lambert, J. (2006) 'One Step Closer to a Pan-European Shopping Center Standard: Illustrating the New Framework With Examples', [Online]. Available at: http://www.icsc.org/uploads/research/general/euro_standard_only.pdf (Accessed: 21.03.2012).

Landry, C. (2006) *The Art of City Making*. Taylor and Francis.

Latour, B. (1987) *Science in action: How to follow scientists and engineers through society*. Harvard university press.

Lawson, B. (2001) *The Language of Space*. Oxford: Architectural Press.

Lefebvre, H. (1991) *The Production of Space*. Translated by Smith, D.N. UK: Blackwell Publishing.

Light, A. and Smith, J.M. (1998) 'Introduction: Geography, Philosophy, and Public Space', in Light, A. and Smith, J.M. (eds.) *The Production of Publis Space*. USA: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, pp. 1-16.

Logan, J.R. and Molotch, H.L. (2010) 'The City as a Growth Machine', in Brown-Saracino, J. (ed.) *The Gentrification Debates*. New York: Routledge, pp. 87-102.

Lorentzen, A. and Hansen, C.J. (2009) 'The Role and Transformation of the City in the Experience Economy: Identifying and Exploring Research Challenges', *European Planning Studies* 17(6), pp. 817-827.

Loukaitou - Sideris, A. and Banerjee, T. (1998) 'Postmodern Urban Form', in Carmona, M. and Tiesdell, S. (eds.) *Urban Design Reader*. Oxford: Architectural press, Elsevier, pp. 43 - 51.

Lovering, J. (2007) 'The relationship between urban regeneration and neoliberalism: Two presumptuous theories and a research agenda', *International Planning Studies*, 12(4), pp. 343-366.

Low, N. (1991) *Planning, Politics and The State: Political Foundations of Planning Thought*. London: Unwin Hyman.

Low, S. (2006) 'How private interests take over public space: zoning, taxes, and incorporation of gated communities', in Low, S. and Smith, N. (eds.) *The Politics of Public Space*. London: Routledge, pp. 81 - 103.

Low, S. and Smith, N. (2006) *The Politics of Public Space*. New York: Routledge.

Lukes, S. (2005) 'Power: A radical view', *Hampshire and New York, Palgrave Macmillan*.

Luomala, H.T. (2003) 'Understanding how retail environments are perceived: a conceptualization and a pilot study', *The International Review of Retail, Distribution and Consumer Research*, 13(3), pp. 279-300.

Lynch, K. (1960) *The image of the city*. MIT press.

Machleit, K.A., Eroglu, S.A. and Mantel, S.P. (2000) 'Perceived Retail Crowding and Shopping Satisfaction: What Modifies This Relationship?', *Journal of Consumer Psychology*, 9(1), pp. 29-42.

Madanipour, A. (1995) 'Dimensions of Urban Public Space: the Case of the Metro Centre, Gateshead', *Urban Design Studies*, 1, pp. 45-56.

Madanipour, A. (1996) *Design of Urban Space: an inquriy into a socio-spatial process*. West Sussex: Wiley.

Madanipour, A. (1997) 'Ambiguities of Urban Design', in Carmona, M. and Tiesdell, S. (eds.) *Urban Design Reader*. Oxford: Elsevier, pp. 12 - 23.

Madanipour, A. (ed.) (1998) *Social Exclusion and Space*. London.

Madanipour, A. (1999) 'Why are the design and development of public spaces significant for cities?', *Environment and Planning B*, 26, pp. 879-892.

Madanipour, A. (2001) 'Multiple Meanings of Space and the Need for a Dynamic Perspective', in Madanipour, A., Hull, A. and healey, P. (eds.) *The Governance of Place: Space and Planning Processes*. Aldershot: Asgate, pp. 154-170.

Madanipour, A. (2003) *Public and Private Spaces of the City*. USA Canada: Routledge.

Mahcupyan, E. (1998) 'Osmanli'dan Gunumuze Parcali kamusal Alan ve Siyaset', *Dogu Bati Dusunce Dergisi*, 2, Kamusal Alan(5), pp. 25-53.

Marcuse, P. (1976) 'Professional ethics and beyond: values in planning', *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, 42(3), pp. 264-274.

Marcuse, P. (2001) 'Enclaves Yes, Ghettoes, No: Segregation And The State', *International Seminar on Segregation in the City*. USA, 25-28 July. Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, pp. 1-14.

Marcuse, P. (2005) 'Threat of Terrorism and the Right to the City, The', *Fordham Urban Law Journal*, 32, pp. 767-785.

Massey, D. (1995) 'The conceptualization of place', in Massey, D. and Jess, P. (eds.) *A Place in the World? Places, Cultures and Globalization*. New York: The Open University, pp. 45-86.

Massey, D. (2005) *For space*. Sage.

Massey, D.B. (1994) *Space, place, and gender*. U of Minnesota Press.

Mckenzie, E. (2003) 'Private Gated Communities In The American Urban Fabric: Emerging Trends İn Their Production, Practices, And Regulation', *Gated Communities: Building Social Division or Safer Communities?* Glasgow, 18-19 September. University of Glasgow.

Mengi, A. (2012) 'Kamu Yarari ve Ustun Kamu Yarari', in Ersoy, M. (ed.) *Kentsel Planlama: Ansiklopedik Sozluk*. Istanbul: NINOVA, pp. 173-174.

Minton, A. (2006) *The privatisation of public space: what kind of world are we building?* London.

Mitchell, D. (1995) 'The End of Public Space? People's Park, Definitions of the Public, and Democracy ', *Annals or the Association of American Geographers* 85(1), pp. 108-133.

Mitchell, D. (2003) *The right to the city: Social justice and the fight for public space*. Guilford Press.

Molotch, H. (1993) 'The political economy of growth machines', *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 15(1), pp. 29-53.

Molotch, H. and Logan, J. (1987) 'Urban fortunes: The political economy of place'. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Moura, C. (2003) 'And Open Spaces: New Arrangements In Brazil', *Gated Communities: Building Social Division or Safer Communities?* Glasgow, 18-19 September. Glasgow University. Available at: http://www.bristol.ac.uk/sps/cnrpapersword/gated/moura.doc (Accessed: 11.09.2005).

Mumford, L. (1938) *The culture of cities*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World.

Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Building Regulations and Related Legislations.

Nemeth, J. (2009) 'Defining a Public: The Management of Privately Owned Public Space', *Urban Studies*, 46(11), pp. 2463-2490.

Nemeth, J. (2012) 'Controlling the Commons : How Public Is Public Space', *Urban Affairs Review* 48, pp. 811-835.

Nemeth, J. and Schmidt, S. (2007) 'Toward a Methodology for Measuring the Security of Publicly Acessible Spaces', *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 73(3), pp. 283 - 297.

Németh, J. and Schmidt, S. (2011) 'The privatization of public space: modeling and measuring publicness', *Environment and Planning-Part B*, 38(1), p. 5.

Nevin, J.R. and Houston, M.J. (1980) 'Image as a Component of Attraction to Intraurban Shopping Areas', *Journal of Retailing*, 56(1), p. 77.

Oc, T. and Tiesdell, S. (1994) 'Planning in Turkey: The Constrasting Planning Cultures of Istanbul and Ankara', *Habitat International* 18(4), pp. 99-116.

Oc, T. and Tiesdell, S. (1999) 'The Fortress, the panoptic, the regulatory and the animated: planning and urban design approaches to safer city centres.', *Landscape Research*, 24(3), pp. 265 - 286.

ODPM (2004) *Living Places: Caring for Quality*. Office of the Deputy Prime Minister: London.

Oncu, A. (1988) 'The Politics of the Urban land Market in Turkey: 1950-1980', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 12(1), pp. 38-64.

Oncuoglu+ACP *Kentpark Initial Architecture Project*. Oncuoglu+ACP Company (Accessed: 2012).

Oppewal, H. and Timmermans, H. (1999) 'Modeling consumer perception of public space in shopping centers', *Environment and Behaviour*, 31, pp. 45-65.

Osmay, S. (1998) *1923'ten Günümüze Kent Merkezlerinin Dönüşümü*. Istanbul: Tarih Vakfi.

Ozaydin, G. and Ozgur Fridin, E. (2009) 'Buyuk Kentsel Projeler Olarak Alisveris Merkezlerinin Istanbul Orneginde Degerlendirilmesi', *Mimarlik*, 347(May - June).

Ozbek, M. (2010) 'Kamusal alanin sinirlari', in Ozbek, M. (ed.) *Kamusal Alan*. Istanbul: Hill yayinlari.

Ozturk, A.O. (2004) 'Armada Alisveris Merkezi', *Arredamento Mimarlik*, 2, pp. 52-55.

Ozuduru, B., Varol, C. and Ercoskun, O.Y. (2012) 'Do Shopping Centers Abate The Resilience of Shopping Streets? The Co-existence of Both Shopping Venues in Ankara, Turkey', *Cities*, http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2012.10.003.

Pain, R. (2000) 'Place, social relations and the fear of crime: a review', *Progress in Human Geography*, 24(3), pp. 365-387.

Peach, C. (1996) 'Good Segregation, Bad Segregation', *Planning Perspectives*, 11, pp. 379-398.

Peattie, L. (1998) 'Convivial cities', *Cities for citizens: planning and the rise of civil society in a global age*, pp. 247-53.

Peattie, L. (2001) 'Theorizing planning: some comments on Flyvbjerg's rationality and power', *International Planning Studies*, 6(3), pp. 257-262.

Pine II, B.J. and Gilmore, J.H. (1998) 'Welcome to the experience economy', *Harvard business review*, 76, pp. 97-105.

Polsby, N.W. (1980) *Community power and political theory*. Yale University Press.

Rabinow, P. (1991) *The foucault reader*. Penguin London.

Radikal Newspaper WebTV (2013) [News, Public Statement of Prime Minister]. 06.06.2013. Available at: http://webtv.radikal.com.tr/Turkiye/3760/erdogan-topcu-kislasini-yapiyoruz.aspx.

Reason, P. and Bradbury, H. (2001) *Handbook of action research: Participative inquiry and practice*. Sage.

A Lexicon English and Turkish (1884) Istanbul: J. W. Redhouse.

Relph, E. (ed.) (1976) *On the Identity of Places*. Oxford: Architectural Press, Elsevier.

Rice, G. (2010) 'Reflections on Interviewing Elites', *Area*, 42(1), pp. 70 - 75.

Ritzer, G. (2010) *Enchanting a disenchanted world: Continuity and change in the cathedrals of consumption*. Pine Forge Press.

Robbins, B. (1993) 'Introduction: the public as phantom', in Robbins, B. (ed.) *The Phantom Public Sphere*. University of Minnesota Press Minneapolis.

Roberts, P. and Sykes, H. (2005) *Urban regeneration: a handbook*. Sage.

Robins, K. and Aksoy, A. (1996) 'Istanbul Between civilisation and Discontent', *City&Community*, 1(5), pp. 6 - 33.

Ronneberger, K. (2008) 'Henri Levebvre and Urban Everyday Life, in search of the possible', in Kipfer, S., Goonewardena, K., Schimith, C. and Milgrom, R. (eds.) *Space, Difference, Everyday Life: Reading Henri Lefebvre*. UK: Routledge, pp. 134-146.

Rowley, A. (1994) 'Definitions of urban design: The nature and concerns of urban design', *Planning Practice and Research*, 9(3), pp. 179 - 197.

Rutz, H.J. and Balkan, E.M. (2009) *Reproducing Class: Education, Neoliberalism, and the Rise of the New Middle Class in Istanbul*. US: Berghahn Books.

Saegert, S. (1973) 'Crowding: Cognitive overload and behavioral constraint', *Environmental design research*, 2, pp. 254-260.

Sahara, T. (2011) 'The Ottoman City Council and the beginning of the modernisation of urban space in the Balkans', in Ulrike Freitag, M.F., Nora Lafi and Florian Riedler (ed.) *The City in the Ottoman Empire: Migration and the Making of Urban Modernity*. Oxon: Routledge, pp. 26-50.

Sahin Olgun, I. and Aksel Ensici, B. (2006) 'Istanbul ve Kamusal Alan' [Scientific Publish]. 07.03.2011. Metropol Istanbul. Available at: http://www.metropolistanbul.org/public/temamakale.aspx?tmid=10&mid=9.

Sahin, S.Z. (2006) 'Kentsel Planlamanın Kentsel Dönüşümden Ayrılma Sürecinde Ankara Kenti', *Planlama*, 2, pp. 111-120.

Sahin, S.Z. (2007) *The Politics of Urban Planning in Ankara Between 1985 and 2005*. PhD thesis. METU.

Sahin, S.Z. (2010) 'Bilinc Akisiyla Alisveris Merkezlerini Dusun(dur)mek', *Dosya*, 22 - AVM'ler (Kasim), pp. 1-4.

Sandercock, L. (1998) 'The death of modernist planning: radical praxis for a postmodern age', in Douglass, M. and Friedmann, J. (eds.) *Cities for Citizens*. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, pp. 163-184.

Saner, A.I. (2000) *Devletin Ranti Deniz*. Istanbul: Iletisim.

Sanli, T. (2008) *Socio-Spatial Segregation of High Income Groups, The Case of Angora Houses in Ankara*. MSc. thesis. Gazi University.

Sanli, T., Townshend, T. and Thompson, I. (2013) 'Struggles and interplays in the formal production of "publicized private space": an overview towards the legislation and the experienced reality', *International Conference on "Changing Cities": Spatial, morphological, formal & socio-economic dimensions*. Skiathos, Greece, 18-21 June, 2013.

Sassen, S. (1998) *Globalization and its Discontents: Essays on the New Mobility of People and Money*. New York: The New Press.

Saygi, O. (2008) 'RTUK Baskani Akman Armada'nin Ortagi (The Head of RTUK, the Akman, is Partner of Armada)', *Hurriyet*(edn), 20 September 2008. [Online] Available at: http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/9942324.asp (Accessed: 29.05.2012).

Schattschneider, E.E. (1975) 'The Semi-Sovereign People: A Realist\'s View of Democracy in America'.

Schimith, C. (2008) 'Henri Lefebvre's theory of the production of space:towards a three-dimensional dialectic', in Kipfer, S., Goonewardena, K., Schimith, C. and Milgrom, R. (eds.) *Space, Difference, Everyday Life: Reading Henri Lefebvre*. UK: Routledge, pp. 27-45.

Schmidt, S. and Nemeth, J. (2010) 'Space, Place and the City: Emerging research on Public Space Design and Planning', *Journal of Urban Design*, 15(4), pp. 453 - 457.

Segmen, L. (2009) '500 bin esege bedel esek heykeli (The donkey status that worthes 500 thousand donkey)', *Hurriyet*dn), 26 March 2009. [Online] Available at: http://arama.hurriyet.com.tr/arsivnews.aspx?id=11290394 (Accessed: 13.08.2012).

Sengul, T. (2002) 'Kapitalist Kentlesme Dinamikleri', *Evrensel Kultur*, 128.

Sengul, T. (2003) 'On the Trajectory of Urbanisation in Turkey: An Attempt at Periodisation', *International Development Planning Review*, 25, pp. 153-168.

Sennett, R. (1974) *The Fall of Public Man*. London: Penguin Books.

Sennett, R. (1990) 'The conscience ofthe Eye', *New York: Alfred Knopf*, 9.

Shields, R. (1999) *Lefebvre, Love and Struggle - Spatial Dialectics*. USA; Canada: Routledge.

Silverman, D. (2001) *Interpreting qualitative data: Methods for analysing talk, text and interaction*. Sage London.

Silverstone, R. (2007) 'Media and morality', *Cambridge: Polity*.

Smith, N. (1996) *The New Urban Frontier: Gentrification and Revanchist City*. London Routledge.

Smith, N. (1998) 'Antinomies of Space and Nature in Henri Lefabvre's Production of Public Space', in Light, A. and Smith, J.M. (eds.) *The Production of Space*. USA: Rowman and Littlefoeld Publishers, pp. 49-70.

Smith, N. (2008) *Uneven development: Nature, capital, and the production of space*. University of Georgia Press.

Soja, E.W. (1989) *Postmodern Geographies: the reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory*. London: Verso.

Sorkin, M. (ed.) (1992) *See You in Disneyland*. New York: Hill and Wang.

Staeheli, L.A. and Mitchell, D. (2008) 'The People's Property? Power', *Politics and the Public. London: Routledge.*

Stein, S.M. and Harper, T.L. (2003) 'Power, Trust, and Planning', *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 23, pp. 125-139.

Sternberg, E. (2000) 'An integrative theory of urban design', in Carmona, M. and Tiesdell, S. (eds.) *Urban Design Reader*. Oxford: Architectural press, Elsevier, pp. 33 - 42.

Stevenson, J. (1998) 'The Mediation of the Public Sphere: Ideological Origins, Practical Possibilities', in Light, A. and Smith, J.M. (eds.) *The Production of Public Space*. USA: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, pp. 189-206.

Stoker, G. (1995) 'Regime theory and urban politics', in Judge, D., Stoker, G. and Wolman, H. (eds.) *Theories of urban politics*. Sage, pp. 54-71.

Stone, C.N. (1989) *Regime politics: governing Atlanta, 1946-1988*. University press of Kansas Lawrence.

Stone, C.N. (2006) 'Power, reform, and urban regime analysis', *City & Community*, 5(1), pp. 23-38.

Swanstorm, T., Dreier, P. and Mollenkopf, J. (2002) 'Inequality And Public Policy: The Power Of Place', *City&Community* 1(4), pp. 349-371.

Tankut, G. (1993) *Bir başkentin imarı: Ankara, 1929-1939*. Altn Kitaplar.

Tanyeli, U. (2005) 'Public Space/Private Space: The Invention of a Conceptual Dichotomy in Turkey', in *Writings from the 9th International Istanbul Biennal*. Istanbul: Istanbul Foundation for Culture and Arts, pp. 210-222.

Tasan-Kok, T. (2003) 'New Commercial Property Investment Methods in the Course of Financial Deregulation', *QPE-Revista Electronica*, 5, pp. 50-70.

Tasan-Kok, T. and Weesep, J.V. (2007) 'Global–local interaction and its impact on cities', *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 22(1), pp. 1-11.

Tekeli, I. (2001) *Modernite Asilirken Kent Planlamasi*. Ankara: Imge.

Terzi, F. and Kaya, S. (2011) 'Dynamic spatial analysis of urban sprawl through fractal geometry: the case of Istanbul', *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design*, 38, pp. 175-190.

Tétreault, M.A. (1998) 'Formal politics, meta-space, and the construction of civil life', *Philosophy and Geography II: The Production of Public Space*, pp. 81-98.

Tewdwr-Jones, M. (2002) 'Personal Dynamics, Distinctive Frames and Communicative Planning', in Allmendinger, P. and Tewdwr-Jones, M. (eds.) *Planning futures: new directions for planning theory*. Psychology Press.

Tewdwr-Jones, M. and Allmendinger, P. (1998) 'Deconstructing communicative rationality: a critique of Habermasian collaborative planning', *Environment and planning A*, 30(11), pp. 1975-1989.

Tibbalds, F. (1992) ''Places' matter most', in Carmona, M. and Tiesdell, S. (eds.) *Urban Design Reader*. Oxford: Elsevier, pp. 9 - 11.

Timmermans, H. (1993) 'Retail environments and spatial shopping behavior', *Advances in psychology*, 96, pp. 342-377.

Timmermans, H.J.P. (1982) 'Consumer choice of shopping centre: An information integration approach', *Regional Studies*, 16, pp. 171 - 182.

Tokatli, N. and Boyaci, Y. (1998) 'The Changing Retail Industry and Retail Landscapes: the case of Post-1980 Turkey', *Cities*, 15(5), pp. 345-359.

Tokatli, N. and Boyaci, Y. (1999) 'The Changing Morphology of Commercial Activity in Istanbul', *Cities*, 16(3), pp. 181-193.

Townshend, T.G. and Madanipour, A. (2008) 'Public space and local diversity: The case of north east England', *Journal of Urban Design*, 13(3), pp. 317-328.

Trancik, R. (1986) 'What is lost space?', in Carmona, M. and Tiesdell, S. (eds.) *Urban Design Reader*. Oxford: Architectural press, Elsevier, pp. 63 - 69.

Turkun, A. (2011) 'Urban Regeneration and Hegemonic Power Relations', *International Planning Studies*, 16(1), pp. 61-72.

Turok, I. (1992) 'Property-led urban regeneration: panacea or placebo', *Environment and Planning A*, 24(3), pp. 361-379.

Tutuncu, U. (2013) 'Başbakan son sözü söyledi' [News Report]. 13.09.2014. Haber Turk. Available at: http://www.haberturk.com/yasam/haber/817086-basbakan-son-sozu-soyledi.

Uluengin, M.B. and Turan, O. (2005) 'Imparatorlugun Ihtisam Arayisindan Cumhuriyet'in Radikal Modernlesme Projesine: Turkiye'de Kentsel planlamanin Ilk Yuz Yili', *Turkiye Arastirmalari Literatur Dergisi*, 3(6), pp. 353-436.

Underhill, P. (2004) *Call of the mall: The geography of shopping by the author of why we buy*. Simon and Schuster.

Uzun, N. (2007) 'Globalization and Urban Governance in Istanbul', *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 22, pp. 127-138.

Valentine, G. (2008) 'Living with Difference: Reflections on Geographies of Encounter', *Progress in Human Geography*, 32(3), pp. 323 - 337.

Vanderbeck, R.M. (2007) 'Intergenerational Geographies: Age Relations, Segregation and Re-engagements', *Geography compass*, 1(2), pp. 200-221.

Van-Raaij, W.F. (1993) 'Postmodern consumption', *Journal of Economic Psychology*, 14, pp. 541 - 563.

Varna, G. and Tiesdell, S. (2010) 'Assessing the Publicness of Public Space:The Star Model of Publicness', *Journal of Urban Design*, 15(4), pp. 575-598.

Varol, C. and Ozuduru, B. (2010) 'Turkiye'de perakende Sektorunun ve Alisveris Merkezlerinin Orgutsel ve Yasal Durumlari', *Dosya*, 22 AVM'ler(Kasim), pp. 30-40.

Villaca, F. (2001) 'Segregation in the Brazilian Metropolis', *International Seminar on Segregation and the City*. USA, 25-28 July. Lincoln Institute of Land Policy. Available at: http://www.flaviovillaca.arq.br/pdf/segregation.pdf (Accessed: 23.11.2007).

Virilio, P. and Armitage, J. (2001) *Virilio live: Selected interviews*. Sage.

Vural Arslan, T., Senkal Sezer, F. and Isigicok, E. (2010) 'Magnetism of shopping malls on young Turkish consumers', *Young consumers*, 11(3), pp. 178-188.

Vural, T. and Yucel, A. (2006) 'A critical approach to the shopping malls as the new public spaces in our age', *ITU Dergi/a mimarlık, planlama, tasarım*, 5(2 - Eylul), pp. 97-106.

Wachs, M. (1995) 'Foreword', in Hendler, S. (ed.) *Planning ethics: A reader in planning theory, practice, and education*. Rutgers Univ Center for Urban.

Weintraub, J. (1997) 'The theory and the politics of the public/private distinction', in Weintraub, J. and Kumar, K. (eds.) *Public and private in thought and practice: Perspectives on a grand dichotomy*. University of Chicago Press.

Wilson, E. (1995) 'The Rhetoric of Urban Space', *New Left Review*, I/29(January - February), pp. 146 - 160.

Wolcott, H.F. (2001) *Writing up qualitative research*. Sage Publications.

Yalcin, B. (2009) 'Gokcek ve Saltoglu'nun Cocuklarina AVMler Kiyak Yapiyor (The Shopping Malls are Doing A great Favour to the Kids of Gokcek and Saltoglu)', *Hurriyet*(edn), 06.04.2009. [Online] Available at: http://hurarsiv.hurriyet.com.tr/goster/haber.aspx?id=11370458&yazarid=42 (Accessed: 12.08.2012).

Yapi (2009) 'Eski Halinden Eser kalmadi'. 25.09.2009. Available at: http://www.yapi.com.tr/Yazdir/eski-halinden-eser-kalmadi-72693.

Yiftachel, O. (1998) 'Planning and social control: Exploring the dark side', *Journal of Planning Literature*, 12(4), pp. 395-406.

Yin, R.K. (2009) *Case study research: Design and methods*. Sage publications.

Zacharias, J. (1997) 'The impact of layout and visual stimuli on the itineraries and perception of pedestrians in a public market', *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design*, 24(1), pp. 23-35.

Zukin, S. (1991) *Landscapes of Power: from Detroit to Disney world*. London: University of California Press.

Zukin, S. (1995) *The Cultures of the Cities*. Cambridge: Blackwell.

Petitions, Court and Council Documents

9014 plot 2 and 3 parcel, Mustafa Kemal Neighbourhood, 1/5000 Master Plan provision report by Murat Alan.

9014 plot 1 parcel, Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, Urban Transformation and Development Projects Area Suggested 1/1000 Implementation Planning Provision report by Murat Alan, no dates were found.

9014 plot 1 parcel, Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, Urban Transformation and Development Projects area Suggested Planning Provision report by Murat Alan on 2005

Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Construction-Property and Condemnation Commission Report number 38 on 25.10.1991.

Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Council Decision Report on *Nasreddin Hoca Urban Transformation and development Project Area*; decision no. 1963 on 15.07.2005.

Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Council Decision Report on 1/5000 Master Plan Amendment on 9014 plot 1 parcel, Decision no. 1955, 15.07.2005.

Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Council Rejection Decision Report for the petition of exception of the Chamber of Urban Planners than confirms the 1/5000 Nasreddin Hoca Urban Transformation declaration with the council decision previous number 1955 new decision no. 2526. 2005

Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Council Decision Report on 1/1000 Implementation Plan on 9014 plot 1 parcel, Decision no. 1000, 14.04.2006

Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Council Decision Report on 1/5000 CBD decision with the council decision number 1359 on 18.05.2007.

Armada and Ufuk University Urban Transformation and Development Project Area Suggested Planning Provision report by Murat Alan on 08.05.2008.

Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Council Decision Document, decision number 548 for 13944 plot 14 parcel 1/5000 Master Plan Amendment on 11.04.2012.

Additional expert report for the 2005/1782 issue numbered lawsuit by Tamer, N; Guzey, O; Sonmez, N on 01.02.2007.

The bill in equity of Koray Cengiz, the representative of the Chamber of the Urban Planners against the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality for the 13.04.2011 dated 1002 decision numbered Ankara metropolitan Municipality Council for "9014 plot 2 and 3 parcel, Mustafa Kemal Neighbourhood, 1/5000 Master Plan".

The bill in equity of Koray Cengiz, the representative of the Chamber of the Urban Planners against the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Council decision number 63.

The bill in equity of Koray Cengiz, the representative of the Chamber of the Urban Planners against the Metropolitan Municipality and the Cankaya Municipality for the 1955 decision numbered council decision and regarding decisions with the lawsuit issue number 2006/2669.

The decision report of the Ankara region Administrative Court for the Lawsuit issue number 2005/1782 on 16.08.2006.

The decision report of the 6th Administrative Court for the 2006/2669 issue numbered lawsuit with decision number 2007/2208 on 31.10.2007.

The decision report of the 6th Administrative Court for the 2006/2681 issue numbered lawsuit with decision number 2008/599 on 09.04.2008.

The decision report of the 6th Administrative Court for the 2007/463 lawsuit with the decision number 2008/600 on 09.04.2008.

The decision report of the 9th Administrative Court for the 2007/679 issued lawsuit with the decision number 2009/1883 on 15.10.2009.

The decision report of the 11th Administrative Court for the 2007/1526 issued lawsuit with the decision number 2009/31 on 14.01.2009.

The decision report of decision of the Supreme Court for the appellate procedure on the lawsuit 2008/9348 with decision number 2010/5997 on 11.06.2010, referring to the Ankara 6th Administrative Court's 2007/463 issued 2008/600 decision numbered lawsuit.

The decision of the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality the Directorate of the Construction Affairs for "Yenimahalle Municipality 13786 plot 3 parcel and 13784 plot 4 parcel's 1/5000 Master plan Amendment suggestion" with decision number 63 on11.01.2012.

The decision report of the 14th Administrative Court for the 2011/1496 issue numbered 2012/1063 decision numbered lawsuit on 26.09.2012.

The decision of the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality the Directorate of the Construction Affairs for "Yenimahalle Municipality 13786 plot 3 parcel and 13784 plot 4 parcel's 1/1000 Master plan Amendment suggestion" with decision number 1160 on 13.07.2012

The defence petition of the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality for the lawsuit issue numbered 2012/854.

The defendant petitions report of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality the Directorate of Construction Affairs to their legal consultancy department on 25.07.2006.

The defendant petitions report of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality the Directorate of Construction Affairs to their legal consultancy department on 22.02.2007.

The defendant petitions report of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality the Directorate of Construction Affairs to their legal consultancy department for the lawsuit 2006/2669 on 10.07.2007.

The defendant petitions report of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality the Directorate of Construction Affairs to their legal consultancy department for the lawsuit 2007/463 on 29.06.2007.

The defendant petitions report of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality the Directorate of Construction Affairs to their legal consultancy department for the lawsuit 2007/769 on 06.08.2007.

The defendant petitions report of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality the Directorate of Construction Affairs to their legal consultancy department for the lawsuit 2007/679 on 24.03.2009

The expert report regarding to the Lawsuit Entered by The Contemporary capital City Ankara Association issued on 31.08.2005 against the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Decision 1963, on 30.06.2006 prepared by Tamer, N; Guzey, O; Sonmez, N.

The expert report on the lawsuit issue numbered 2006/2669 on 07.06.2007 by Gunay, B; Uzun, N; Babalik E.

The expert report on the lawsuit issue numbered 2007/679 of the Ankara 9th Administrative Court by Sonmez, N; Gazioglu, N; Erol, D. on 03.03.2009.

The expert report on the lawsuit issue numbered 2011/1496 by Guzey, O; Gultekin, N; Aksoy, E. on 06.02.2012.

The final decision report of the 6th Administrative Court for the 2005/1782 issue numbered lawsuit, with decision number 2007/1210 on 26.06.2007.

The formal investigation responses petition of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality the Directorate of Construction Affairs to the Chamber of Urban Planners, Ankara Branch's petition on 02.09.2005, on 09.09.2005.

The investigation report on *"9014 plot 1 parcel, Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, Urban Transformation and development projects area planning provision report"* Ankara Metropolitan Municipality the Directorate of Construction Affairs; 12.07.2005

The investigation report of the Ankara metropolitan Municipality the Directorate of the Construction Affairs on the 1/1000 implementation plan amendment suggestion on 13.12.2007.

The investigation report on *"Armada and Ufuk University Urban Transformation and Development Project Area Suggested Planning Provision report"* by the Ankara Metropolitan municipality The Directorate of Construction Affairs on 04.07.2008.

The lawsuit entering document issued by the 10th Administrative Court with the issue number 2012/854 for the lawsuit entered by the Chamber of Urban Planners against Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Council decision number 63.

The lawsuit entering document issued by the 6th Administrative Court for Cankaya Municipality against Ankara Metropolitan Municipality on 10.07.2007 with issue number 2007/769

The lawsuit entering document issued by the 14th Administrative Court with the issue number 2011/1496 for the Chamber of Urban Planners against Ankara metropolitan Municipality 13.04.2011 dated 1002 decision numbered 1/5000 master plan.

The rejection decision report of the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality the Construction and Public Works Commission for *"Armada and Ufuk University Urban Transformation and Development Project Area Suggested Plan"* on 25.07.2008.

The rejection decision of the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality the Directorate of the Construction Affairs for "Armada and Ufuk University Urban Transformation and Development Project Area Suggested Plan" with decision number 2111 on 15.08.2008.

The suspension decision report of the Ankara 6th Administrative Court regarding to the lawsuit entered by the Contemporary capital city Ankara Association against the metropolitan Municipality decision 1963, with the lawsuit issue number 2005/1782, decision date16.08.2006.

The suspension of execution demanded lawsuit entered by the lawyer of the Cankaya Municipality against 1963, 1955 and 1000 numbered decisions of the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality on 02.04.2007, the issue number 2007/463.

The suspension of execution demanded lawsuit entered by the lawyer of the Cankaya Municipality against 1359 numbered decision of the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality (1/5000 Master plan with CBD decision) on 06.07.2007.

The suspension of execution decision of the 6th Administrative Court on the lawsuit issue number 2007/1267 on 28.11.2007.

The Yenimahalle Municipality Council decision report with decision number 42on 27.04.1998.

Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects, the Chamber of the Urban Planners, Ankara Branch, the formal petition of exception against 1/5000 Master Plan Amendment on 9014 plot 1 parcel, 02.09.2005