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The rise of the shopping mall in Turkey: the use and appeal of a mall in Ankara

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The shopping mall as the site of contemporary consumption has long been attracting the attention of various researchers analyzing socio-spatial dynamics in different cultures. It is the focus of this study of recent transformations in Turkish metropolises, due to its primary influence on urban life. As an initial attempt to understand the Turkish situation, a field survey was carried out in Bilkent Shopping Center, a newly built shopping mall in a high-income suburban area of the capital city, Ankara. Some long-lasting assumptions about Western consumption trends and shopping mall development were tested to provide clues for dynamics in a developing country. In addition to statistical analyses of data obtained from structured interviews, various observations were used to enrich the survey. Although shopping mall development seems to be a part of a global trend, there exist socio-cultural influences creating local patterns in the use of the mall. These patterns differ with user characteristics, such as gender, age and occupation, as well as the time of visit. This paper suggests that shopping mall development poses a number of policy issues for planning bodies and these issues need to be addressed with an awareness of the local context.

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Introduction

Shopping mall development is now well established in many countries, particularly in the USA and England. 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. The shopping mall, as a part of the recent transformations of the Turkish urban lifestyle, is the focus of this research. Characteristics of the mall that attract Turkish people and the various patterns created by different user groups are investigated and analyzed through a case in Ankara, the capital of Turkey.

This development in Ankara is particularly important, due to historical processes that made the city a prominent aspect of the nation-building project, fol-

lowing the establishment of the Republic in 1923. Bilkent Shopping Center, a newly established shopping mall near to an upper-income suburban area, has been the focus for the empirical part of this study. This shopping mall is an appropriate example of spatial transformations under the influence of global forces, which may also give clues about changes in the Turkish urban lifestyle.

Beginning from the mid-1980s, Turkish society has witnessed a rapid transformation in many aspects, due to economic restructuring. The structural reform in the economy, that placed an emphasis on a liberal, market-oriented, and outward-looking development strategy, resulted in the rise of corporate power and the introduction of foreign capital through partnerships with Turkish firms, which made possible the large investments required to meet new consumer demand. Increases in the average income, and organized financial support of consumption through bank credits, have added to the consumption potential

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of Turkish citizens.¹ Although this potential is disturbed by the frequent economic crises in Turkey, consumption patterns are expected to persist. (See *Table 1* for a general outlook of the Turkish economic structure and development in recent years.)

However, what the aggregate figures fail to indicate is the fact that the rich people in large cities have been associated with a disproportionate share of this increase in income. Income distribution figures indicate a salient inequality in large cities. The income share of the highest and the lowest quintiles in the two biggest metropolises—Istanbul and Ankara—with a population of more than 10 and 4 millions, respectively (according to the results of the 2000 census, *SIS, 2003*) was very disproportionate, even before the recent economic crisis.²

As a result of these income inequalities and increasing exposure to other cultures, higher income groups have constituted the basis of a new consumer culture and lifestyle under the influence of global consumption patterns. Higher levels of personal mobility—more car ownership, more foreign holidays and newly-introduced cellular phones—have been matched by a greater awareness of other cultures, with more international coverage on domestic television (including satellite TV), and more exposure to other lifestyles. Given that they are exposed to global products relatively late, Turkish people are eager to consume international brands, in shopping malls, as they have seen in Hollywood movies and in foreign countries.

There are also historical reasons of this quick adaptation.³ The demand to consume more products in a more leisurely environment has created a new

¹ GNP per capita has doubled between 1980 and 1998 (*SIS, 2003*). Average consumption expenditures have also increased particularly in urban Turkey (*SIS, 1997*). The number of credit cards and the share of credit in consumption expenditures have saliently increased since 1992, when credit cards were first issued (*BKM, 2001*). The share of payment in installments in total consumption expenditures has increased between 1994 and 2002 (*SIS, 2003*). The rate of private car ownership has also increased in large cities within the same period (*SIS, 2003*).

² According to the last official data (1994), the percentages were 4.2 for the lowest and 64.1 for the highest quintile in Istanbul and 6.3 and 46.0 in Ankara (*SIS, 1998*). Average consumption expenditures—again disproportionate across quintiles— in these two cities are seven times the amount in the remaining urban areas of Turkey (*SIS, 1997*). The total number of private cars in Ankara and Istanbul is double the national average (*SIS, 2003*).

³ Turkish people find the well-maintained comfort of the mall space convenient for daily life, particularly in crowded urban areas. Malls provide them with the modernity that has been lacking throughout the period of the Turkish Republic, despite the ideological importance of western style modernity for the urban elite. It is the required “public space” by many segments of urban society, including the suppressed groups such as traditional women, young people and people with an apparent Muslim identity who are excluded from urban public life due to the strict ideology of modernity of the Republican elite; (for a thorough discussion of these issues see *Erkip, 2003*).

Table 1 Recent indicators of Turkish economic structure and development^a

Years	1990	1993	1994	1995	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002
Total Population	56,473,035						67,803,927		
Urban Population	33,326,351						44,006,274		
%	59.0						64.9		
GNP per capita (US \$)	2682	3004	2184	2759	3255	2879	2965	2123	2584
Gini coefficient ^b			0.49						0.44
Human development index (HDI)	0.681		0.14	0.54	5.16	11.40	22.20	0.734	33.50
Cellular subscribers ^c				0.712		3.02	3.71	26.60	6.18
Internet users ^c				0.54				5.11	
Number of private cars		2,619,852		3,058,511	3,838,238		4,422,180		

Source: *SIS, 2003; UNDP, 2003*.

^aYears selected to provide the maximum possible information. The data are not complete due to incompatible periods of different measures.

^bIndicates a slight change towards a more equal distribution. However, the change occurs in the urban areas whereas the rural distribution stays stable.

^cPer 100 population (%).

consumption style that requires new spaces, other than small retailers and the streets (see [Tokatli and Boyaci, 1998](#) for the changes in Turkish retail industry). Shopping malls and office-towers as the complements of luxurious housing are the responses of 'big capital', which has been looking for new investment areas. New mall openings, even after economic crises, support this claim ([Radikal, 2003](#)). As the housing demands—from luxurious housing for those with high incomes, to satellite towns for middle-income urban citizens—have been extensively satisfied, it is not surprising that other aspects of city building would now be of interest (see for example [Oncu, 1997](#), for the changing housing requirements of middle and higher income groups under the influence of global trends). It is not hard to promote shopping malls and office towers as a complement to well-established housing areas (see [Figures 1 and 2](#) and as examples of these newly emerging housing sites in Istanbul and [Figure 3](#) in Ankara).

The Turkish urban context and shopping mall development in Ankara

Turkish metropolitan cities have been attracting a large population from smaller cities and rural areas since the late 1960s. Although the rate of migration has slowed down in the last two decades, it has caused a considerable increase in the population of the big cities of Turkey. Densely populated squatter areas caused metropolitan areas to be segmented on the basis of income level and place of birth. Public areas are crowded and dense, both with pedestrian and vehicle traffic. An increase in the number of private cars is also visible and disturbing. Thus crowding, traffic problems and a lack of pedestrian safety in the city center can be listed as the major complaints about the city center in most cities, and particularly in the metropolises (see [Figure 4](#) for a view of a crowded city center in Ankara.)

These factors explain the huge demand for new types of suburban settlements, which became gated



Figure 1 Example of a new Housing Site in Istanbul.



Figure 2 Example of a new Housing Site in Istanbul.



Figure 3 Example of a new Housing Site in Ankara (photograph by Aydin Ramazanoglu).



Figure 4 A crowded city center in Ankara (photograph by Guliz Mugan).



Figure 5 Car parking on a pedestrian street (photograph by Guliz Mugan).

communities for the high-income groups. A difference from many Western cases should be noted here. The Turkish urban environment is quite safe when compared to many other countries (Ozdemir, 2001). Koskela (2000) and Ellin (1997) point out the increasing fear due to the privatization of urban space in postmodern cities. According to many documented cases (see Ellin, 1997 and Wilson-Doenges, 2000), people perceive the crime rate to be much higher than the existing situation indicates. This is probably the case in the Turkish perception of crime in the city. Recent urban crimes may be a result more of increasing exclusion through privatized spaces, than a reason for their development. It serves as a part of the promotion of gated communities, which are also attractive for being profitable investment areas for the urban rich.⁴ Increases in the amount of news coverage of urban crimes indicates a new trend in the mass media, who are using crime as a populist issue, and not necessarily an increase in the number of crimes in public spaces. However, the reasons for, and types of crime, might change due to the increasing segregation and poverty in many cities in Turkey. For instance, the number of street crimes increased in recent years and recently attracted media attention more than before.⁵ Either true or perceived, the fear of crime is reflected in the web site of the Turkish security departments, providing suggestions against street crime, particularly for women shopping (General Directorate of Security, 2003).

Traffic congestion in the crowded urban core and lack of pedestrian areas—often, even proper sidewalks—are more important safety concerns for the Turkish citizen (Odekan, 2001; see Figure 5 for car parking on a pedestrian street.) As Jackson (1998, p. 178) states “...the contrived spaces of the shopping mall are a direct response to the perceived incivility of the city street”. This is extremely valid for Turkish cities, yet the “incivility” is mainly due to traffic conditions and lack of infrastructure and maintenance in the city, rather than the potential for crime. Under the existing conditions, disabled and elderly people are particularly excluded from urban public life. A general lack of maintenance

⁴Real estate investment has always had a notable share in household income in Turkey. People see it as a secure investment under the condition of high-inflation in an unstable economy. Although there is a decline in the income share of real estate investments in recent years, it is still an important component with 45.8% in urban and 54.9% in rural areas in 2002. The same ratios were 56.6% and 84.9% in 1994, respectively. (SIS, 2003)

⁵Unfortunately, the statistics of urban crimes have not been well documented to support this claim. Government officials claim that media exaggerate the number of crimes and use the extreme cases as the examples. They also claim that despite the increase in the number of crimes in recent years, it is still very low compared to many metropolitan cities in Europe (Ozdemir, 2001). The very low number of registered crimes supports their claim; although there are doubts that most crimes are not registered (SIS, 2003).

and cleaning, even in upper-income districts and high streets, add to the attractiveness of well-maintained mall spaces (see [Figure 6](#) for an example of an unattended pedestrian area).

Turkish people have adapted eagerly to the use of shopping malls, mainly due to the above reasons; its existence in Turkey as a newly developing public space is discussed elsewhere ([Erkip, 2003](#)). Turkish people are looking for a new modernity in these global spaces through consumption and leisure patterns provided by a more “civilized” space than the existing urban center and the street, although, despite the negative aspects stated up to this point, traditional shopping areas—particularly district bazaars—are still popular and lively public spaces (see [Figure 7](#)). As [Salcedo \(2003\)](#) points out, cultural patterns, such as bargaining, persist as a part of informal community relations.



Figure 6 An unattended pedestrian area (photograph by Guliz Mugan).



Figure 7 A Traditional District Bazaar (photograph by Guliz Mugan).

Here, the specific characteristics of Ankara should be briefly discussed to explain the importance of its transformation under global influences. Istanbul has long been open to global influences, being the largest city with a lot of international links and relations, whereas Ankara has always been more locally oriented in its business and population characteristics. Being the capital of Turkish Republic makes the city representative of national values and lifestyles. Governmental and educational institutions that were located in Ankara as part of the modernization project also contributed the local character of the city ([Tekeli, 1982, 2000](#)).

Shopping mall development in Ankara is an interesting process as an indication of the increasing control of corporate and global capital versus national values. Unlike some developing countries, particularly in the Middle East, the nation-state has no involvement in shopping mall development, despite the existence of frequent economic interventions by the state in Turkey (for those cases with the state as the developer and the manager of shopping malls, see [Salcedo, 2003](#) and [Al-Otaibi, 1990](#)). The Turkish mall is characterized by private development and ownership, yet with support given by the state through those legal arrangements that make the formation of real estate investment trusts possible in Turkey. This is the financial aid for large investments like shopping malls, office towers, luxury hotels and tourist sites (see [Tokatli and Erkip, 2003](#) for a detailed analysis of this development).

The first mall in Ankara was built in 1989. Currently, there are eight and a number of others undergoing construction (see [Table 2](#) for a full list and characteristics of these malls in Ankara). In order to understand the characteristics that differentiate Bilkent Shopping Center among the others in Ankara, a brief explanation of the development and use of other malls is necessary (see [Figure 8](#) indicating the location of shopping malls and main shopping districts).

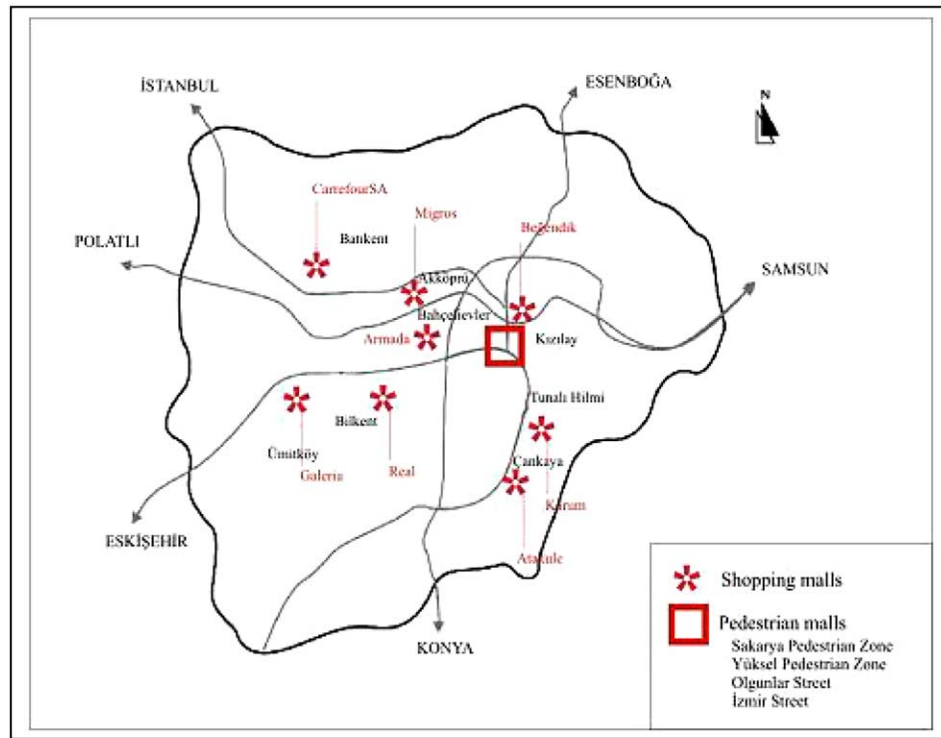
Atakule, which was the first mall built in Ankara, is located in a prestigious and high-income district of the city. Although it has a typical design, with a small atrium and shops around the corridors on three floors, it serves as a symbol of the city, because its tower has a panoramic view of the city. It still serves as a landmark, due to this tall and visible tower. However, it lost its appeal as a shopping mall within a few years, partly because of the changes in the district that became occupied by offices, and partly because of the opening of another mall, Karum, in 1991. Karum is also located in a central and prestigious district, with a lot of vehicular and pedestrian connections to other districts. This is one of the dominant reasons why its appeal has lasted until today, although the shops inside the mall have changed hands from time to time, due to the recent economic crises. The design of the mall is again typical, an atrium surrounded by shops

Table 2 The list and characteristics of shopping malls in Ankara^a

Name	Date of establishment	Location	Scale	Size (m ²)	Income level ^b
Atakule	1989	City center	Urban	23,500	Middle
Karum	1991	City center	Urban	62,000	High-middle
Begendik	1993	City center	Urban	25,000	Middle
Galeria	1996	Suburban	Local	20,000	High-middle
Bilkent Center	1998	Suburban	Regional	65,000	High-middle
Migros	1999	Suburban	Regional	126,000	Middle
CarrefourSa	2001	Suburban	Local	15,000	Middle
Armada	2002	Suburban	Urban	32,000	High

^aInformation on the date of establishment and sizes are gathered from the web pages of the malls, Gurcel, 2003 and Soysal, 2003.

^bIncome levels that are given here are derived from the quality and target groups of the shops that are located in these malls and do not necessarily represent the income level of visitors of these malls.



The Map of Ankara

Figure 8 Ankara Map indicating shopping malls and main shopping districts (from Gurcel, 2003; Aksel, 2000).

alongside the corridors of the three-storey shopping area. The building has 9 floors; three shopping floors, and office spaces at the higher levels, and car parking at the lower levels. It attracts a wide range of users from various districts of the city, as well as from the neighborhood, despite its small scale (Gurcel, 2003). Another reason for its appeal is that it is connected to the most prominent high street of the city—Tunalı Hilmi Street—which is very crowded, particularly at weekends. Visitors to the street usually begin with or end up at Karum Shopping Mall, as it is a well-known node. These two, Atakule and Karum, are the urban malls.

Begendik is at the heart of the city and attracts a huge clientele, yet it is hard to include this in the definition of a mall. With its spatial and commercial

characteristics, it is more like a huge market or department store within the city center. It functions as a market more than a mall and it attracts people via this quality. However, with the lifestyle transformations after 1980s, those who could afford to do so preferred to live in newly developed suburban areas and required complete settlements, with nearby shopping malls. Galleria was established in 1996 as the first suburban mall of Ankara and the surrounding neighborhood was the first high-income suburban settlement. The design characteristics are similar to the existing ones, with an atrium and shops alongside the corridors of a three-storey building. But its appeal has stayed limited with neighbouring communities, due to its location.

Migros Shopping Center was built in 2001, as the third suburban mall after the Bilkent Center, and is currently the biggest in Ankara. It attracts a huge number of people from many districts of the city, as it is located at one of the stops of the recently opened underground that connects the main arteries of the city. The design is similar to other malls with an atrium and circular corridors surrounded by shops, yet the scale provides the standard characteristics of a global mall, with some natural elements—trees, pools, running water—a movieplex with 10 theatres, and a mix of restaurants serving various tastes, besides numerous shops, usually of high quality (Gurcel, 2003).

CarrefourSa and Armada are the latest additions to Ankara suburban malls, and their appeal mostly comes from the novelty factor. Armada is located halfway from the city center to high-income suburban areas, and its target seems to be upper-income levels, considering its quality and expensive shops, most of which are prominent global or Turkish brands. CarrefourSa, although quite new, seems to serve the neighborhood, as does Galleria, with its location in a dense suburban area with a population of 400,000 inhabitants.

Bilkent Shopping Center was built as Ankara's second suburban mall in 1998, and surprised even the developers with the demand it created. Its particularity is discussed in detail in the following sections, within the framework of the field survey. It seems to be a very appropriate case for the discussion of the interaction between the "global" and the "local" in many respects, although this debate is far beyond the reach of this research. Still, some aspects of this interaction are covered as the basis for discussions of findings of the field survey. Before going into the details of the field survey, shopping mall development is examined within a conceptual framework with a focus on the critical issues for the Turkish case, which constitutes the basis for the questions raised in this research.

The shopping mall as a new site in a transforming society: critical issues

The shopping mall deserves the attention of researchers as an appropriate site for the existing state of globalization and modernization in many respects (*inter alia*, Jewell, 2001; Miller et al., 1998; Csaba, 1999; Gottdiener, 1995; Goss, 1993). As Jewell (2001, p. 319) states "as a typology, the shopping mall is one of the most recent additions to the lexicon of built forms which constitute a sense of formal order in the modern, man-made landscape of Western capitalist societies". It is designed as an environmental complex, which provides a new experience for postmodern consumer/citizens in Western cultures. This experience changed the nature of shopping, now merged into leisure and entertain-

ment; a development that makes a new definition of urban life possible. Recent research indicates that leisure has been increasing (Nicholls et al., 2002), despite the decline in mall patronage (Wakefield and Baker, 1998). Due to the global nature of the changes, such spaces reflect various cultures at the same time, regardless of local characteristics. Zukin (1998) notes the discrepancies between daily consumption habits and new consumption spaces making the shopping mall a globalized and standardized simulation of urban life. Another missing point is the different retailing practices in developing countries, involving both local and cultural factors and global influences, which lead to "so-called modernization of retailing through the import of western retail institutions and western types of consumer behavior" (Paddison et al., 1990, p. 5).

Although the research on shopping malls is largely dominated by the cases from Western societies, a few researchers in other cultures indicate that the social dynamics and the factors affecting the use of malls are quite different than Western examples (Erkip, 2003; Salcedo, 2003; Abaza, 2001; Drummond, 2000; Al-Otaibi, 1990). These observations and findings are valuable, as they point out the local characteristics, which transform the experience provided by global spaces. As Jackson and Thrift (1995) suggest, site and design characteristics should not be overestimated when explaining cultural transformations in consumption patterns. Furthermore, some changes have occurred in the shopping patterns of mall users through time, although the demographic characteristics seem to stay similar (Nicholls et al., 2002). One of the important findings of the latter research is that leisure has become more dominant in the activities in a mall. This seems to be the case in many non-Western cases, including the Turkish mall. People spend longer hours in a mall for socialising, family gathering and recreation and are willing to commute to the mall from distant districts. Location and transportation may create some problems related to accessibility, more for the urban poor than the well off. However, exclusion is not limited to accessibility. Mullins et al. (1999, p. 66) claim that "...location of consumption spaces has little to do with further privileging the advantaged and further disadvantaging the poor" believing that what matter more are urban inequalities. However, this claim needs to be analyzed in local contexts.⁶

⁶Salcedo (2003) observes this pattern in crowded Asian contexts, whereas Erkip (Beler) (1997) notes a similar pattern for well-maintained public parks. Thus, it is expected that distance and location may not be the main reason for exclusion, although it leads to different levels of convenience for the car-owners and people using public transportation to reach the shopping mall. Most of the shopping malls provide private transportation from the city center to attract users, particularly the ones without private cars.

The private character of the shopping mall stands in opposition to the public street as it leads to the exclusion of some groups—mainly the urban poor and teenagers (Salcedo, 2003; Uzzell, 1995). However, this exclusion seems to be less visible in non-Western contexts, with the promise of a more civilized and democratic space (Erkip, 2003; Durakbasa and Cindoglu, 2002). Discouraging people by new values and norms adopted from other cultures, such as “having a cappuccino” is an effective way of excluding people. Social and cultural codes creating an awareness of others may lead to a threatening change in public life (Mitchell, 2000).

Fear of crime is used to market the security of the mall (Salcedo, 2003; Koskela, 2000; Ellin, 1997). Either perceived or real, fear of crime is an important threat for both Western and non-Western societies. It seems to be a part of urban life although empirical research findings do not support the claim that private control decreases neither the threat nor the actual rate of crime (Wilson-Doenges, 2000). With the provoked fear of crime, an awareness of “the enemy inside” or “otherness” has been created and supported. The shopping mall, as one of the most popular urban spaces in Turkey, is a promising site to observe this pattern.

Standardized mall space as a global design is often criticized (see Jewell, 2001; Goss, 1993; Crawford, 1992; Shields, 1992; Ferguson, 1992 for details). The role of atmosphere in the choice of a particular mall seems to be more limited than the social/cultural concerns. Bloch et al. (1994, pp. 37–38) claim that this would be because of the user attitude taking pleasantness as a part of the environment and “...perhaps, the atmospherics of a mall that lacks an attractive, updated design will be most noticed, but in a negative manner”. Frequent upgrading of many malls supports this claim. In the Turkish case, lack of comparison due to the newness of the mall in daily experience might be another cause of disregarding the aesthetics. This aspect needs to be tested empirically.

However, the mall provides different advantages for different groups, especially in non-Western societies. Females are one of the categories of people who benefit most from the mall (see Featherstone, 1998 for the ‘feminization of the flâneur’ and Morris, 2000 for ‘women’s cultural production of modernity’ in the mall.) As they are excluded from some public spaces, particularly at nights, their situation is historically specific (see also Abaza, 2001 and Drummond, 2000 on this issue). However, as stated by Morris (2000, p. 22), men also have formed a new relationship with the shopping center. There are indications that male experience in a mall exhibits differences among cultures. Erkip (2003) notes extensive male usage of a particular mall in Ankara, Turkey. Teenagers and the elderly as well use the mall space more conveniently than the streets, for several reasons to

do with culture (Erkip, 2003; Abaza, 2001; Vanderbeck and Johnson, 2000; Lewis, 1990).

Another issue to be addressed is the influence of privatized shopping/leisure spaces on previously used recreational sites. The meaning of this change may be prominent for urban life and development as a planning issue. Streets and traditional commercial spaces (open and closed bazaars) seem to be communal spaces with more informal social relations—bargaining, invasion of personal space and crowding are possible outcomes—with little segregation. Segregation may occur according to the location of these sites. This trend may be different from the newly emerging segregation potential in the shopping mall. Does increasing leisure create potential demand for all types of leisure spaces and activities, including the shopping malls, or does it stay limited only with the use of shopping malls, instead of previously used sites such as urban parks, traditional shopping areas and streets? Western cases exemplify the latter, however, there are indications that the former is valid for Turkish society (Gurcel, 2003). This issue needs to be addressed further, through the change in shopping and leisure habits of mall users.

Due to the concerns stated above, motives for, and patterns in visiting a shopping mall, should be analyzed for different users according to their socio-economic and demographic characteristics. In this study, empirical analyses are utilized to address the different meanings that are given to a specific site by different user groups, with the belief that places are created culturally through experience (Miles, 1998; Jackson, 1998). In this study, Bilkent Shopping Center provides the context for investigating local user characteristics.

Bilkent shopping center: site characteristics

Bilkent Shopping Center was built mostly in 1998 and is located approximately 15 km from the city center, near a recently established high-income housing settlement and a private university. The entire environment is called after Bilkent University, which is an investment of Bilkent Holding, owned by the same family. The university was established in 1987, whereas the housing settlements have been ongoing investments in different phases with various qualities, targeting mostly the upper-income citizens. The shopping center is within the reach of the surrounding neighborhood and attracts an unexpectedly large volume of users from the city as well. Creating a new and global life-style in the area has been one of the prominent claims of the developers, which turned out to be very timely in satisfying the demand of the people living in nearby settlements (Kantur, 2000). Self-sufficiency was the goal, achieved through facilities offering all the needs of a global citizen, like shopping, entertainment, education and culture. There are kindergartens, elemen-

BİLKENT SHOPPING CENTER



Figure 9 A general view of Bilkent Shopping Center (photograph by Aydin Ramazanoglu).

tary and high schools, a sports center and a concert hall in the area, in addition to the university.⁷ In short, this area provides the opportunity to trace the formation of a new life-style under global influences. (See also *Helvacioğlu*, who expresses the contradictions of adopting a global site so eagerly in the locality, using the newly established Bilkent neighborhood as an example; 2000).

Bilkent Shopping Center was completed in phases like the dwellings, as the idea of building a shopping center was not the part of the original development plan. For this reason, no overall design effort took place initially, which resulted in incoherent structural and design characteristics. Now, it does not represent all the design characteristics of a standard mall with its horizontally extended layout (*Figure 9*). As *Jewell* (2001) claims for Brent Cross in Britain, the priority is given to the mall interior as a contrast to its inhospitable exterior; (see *Figure 9* for a general view of Bilkent Shopping Center).

The section (called Ankuva) in which most restaurants and quality shops are located was first built to serve the neighborhood (*Kantur*, 2000; see *Figure 10* for the interior of this section.) There are also the branches of prominent banks and a recreation cen-

ter, including facilities for bowling, billiards, etc. in Ankuva. (See *Figure 11* for the recreation center.) The exterior of this section is more appealing with the use of small pools and fountains, as suggested by standardized mall design and used by the restaurants when the weather permits (*Figure 12*).

Seeing the future of the construction sector in Turkey and the global influences that are mainly influential upon the life-style of the well-off, developers decided to add a larger extension which is now used by Real and Praktiker, both owned by German capital through Metro AG. Within this part, there is a small food court (*Figure 13*) and small shops selling products of international brands like Sauder, Camel, etc. Besides, Marks and Spencer, Toys R Us, and Burger King are located within the center in addition to an international Cineplex, named Cinemaxx (*Figure 14*). A huge home store owned by Tepe is another important attraction for consumers. The total enclosed area is more than 50,000 m² including six stores over 500 m² (*Soysal*, 2003).

Considering the particular characteristics of this mall, a few observations are to be tested in the empirical part of this research, utilizing the local and cultural as well as the site characteristics. Although the mall attracts a heterogeneous citizen group, coming from all the districts of the city, there occur varied use patterns of different age, gender and occupation groups. These patterns include leisure—using it without buying anything—and socialization—using the mall with family and friends. It is expected that males turn out to be a more active part of the shopping and leisure patterns than their traditional role presupposes. Segregation in terms of time and territory—using the mall at different time periods and using different sections on the basis of demographic and socio-economic

⁷One of the earlier slogans of the advertisements on the neighborhood was “let the city miss you”. However, even the developers could not envisage the eagerness of people visiting such consumption and entertainment spaces, which caused a lot of traffic and transportation problems. A daily average of 20,000 people visit the Center, which causes crowding and traffic jams around the Center and the neighborhood especially during weekends (*Tulgay*, 2002). Developers believe that the increasing land and property prices due to Bilkent Center could compensate the complaints of local residents about crowding created by visitors (*Kantur*, 2000).

BİLKENT SHOPPING CENTER



Figure 10 The interior of the Ankuvu Section (photograph by Aydin Ramazanoglu).

BİLKENT RECREATION CENTER



Figure 11 The recreation center in Ankuvu (photograph by Aydin Ramazanoglu).

characteristics—is also expected. Second, rather than the design, social characteristics influence the user choice, a claim which may be also valid for the Turkish malls in general. Perception of other users is the defining factor in social characteristics. The influence of other people using the mall is also expected to occur due to novelty and popularity of this mall. More importantly for a Turkish urban space is that the security is not amongst the dominant reasons of visit, although it seems to be a concern for some groups, such as teenagers and single women.

The field survey

For the field survey, after several on-site observations and a pilot study, a questionnaire with a rating

BİLKENT SHOPPING CENTER



Figure 12 Restaurants outside Ankuvu (photograph by Aydin Ramazanoglu).

scale consisting of 20 questions related to site and user characteristics, was utilized. Gender, age and occupation of the respondent (see [Table 3](#)) in addition to the opinions asked about various characteristics of the mall and use patterns (see [Table 4](#)) were recorded, as well as the time and hour of their visits.

The sample size was 427 and the questionnaire was randomly applied as exit interviews at the four exits of the Center. Upon the completion of one interview, the next person leaving the site from the same exit was asked to participate in the research. The findings are also tested through on-site interviews with the users, shop-owners and managers of the mall. For the evaluation of the questionnaire results, cross-tabulation and chi-square analysis were applied in order to analyze the characteristics of the user groups, in addition to the principal components analysis ([Howitt and Cramer, 1999](#); [Stevens,](#)

BİLKENT SHOPPING CENTER



Figure 13 The food court in Real section (photograph by Aydin Ramazanoglu).

BİLKENT CENTER MOVIE THEATER



Figure 14 The Movie Theater – Cinemaxx (photograph by Aydin Ramazanoglu).

Table 3 Socio-demographic characteristics of users

	Weekdays	Weekends	Total
Sex			
Male	88	118	204
Female	78	126	206
Age			
15–20	16	17	33
21–45	99	146	245
46–65	44	78	122
65+	10	12	22
Occupation ^a			
Self-employed/professional	16	21	37
Employer/manager	5	2	7
Employee/professional	60	132	192
Retired/unemployed	18	24	42
Housewife	15	29	44
Student	60	45	105
Total ^b	174	253	427

^aOccupations are grouped under first three categories, as they are very diverse consisting of more than 30 professions.

^bDue to the missing data in sex and age distribution, grand total is given according to the occupational distribution with complete data.

1986) to cluster the factors affecting the use of the mall.

Analyses and evaluation

As can be seen from *Table 3*, the number of male and female users is quite similar, even for the weekdays. This can be explained by one of the shops, Praktiker, selling construction materials that attract male users working in the construction sector, as well as the increasing leisure character attached to shopping for both genders. The dominant age group is 21–45, followed by 46–65. According to the distribution of occupation, students are the dominant group using the mall on weekdays, which may also explain the age factor. About 35% of the users on weekdays are students, a situation supporting the claim that the nearby university, with its students coming mostly from upper income families, creates a good source of consumers for this mall. The largest occupational group appeared to be professional employees, which is followed by the student group.

Table 4 Responses to the questionnaire (percentages)^a

	Yes	No	Sometimes	Not appropriate
Like shopping	73.8	9.6	16.0	–
Come here only for shopping	42.6	45.7	11.5	0.2
Shopping is convenient here	67.1	13.1	19.2	0.5
It is a beautiful place	86.9	5.4	7.0	0.7
It is easily accessible	47.9	35.9	16.0	0.2
Park my car easily	28.1	24.4	18.0	29.5
Like activities other than shopping	60.3	8.9	19.7	11.0
This place changed my habits	42.0	5.9	50.9	1.2
Come here for other activities	44.3	34.9	17.8	3.0
Come here for browsing	51.1	30.9	17.8	0.2
This place is secure	79.6	12.2	6.8	1.4
Feel comfortable here	85.7	3.0	11.2	–
Like people coming here	56.7	5.9	30.9	6.6
Like people working here	79.9	4.9	13.8	1.4
Service is good	72.6	9.1	17.6	0.7
This mall is different from the others	59.3	33.3	7.0	0.2
Come here on own	35.7	53.8	10.3	0.2
Come here because everybody does	13.6	81.0	4.7	0.7
Come here because my family and friends do	46.4	40.3	13.3	–
Like this place being crowded	21.3	52.5	26.0	0.2

^aDue to missing data, a few of the sums are slightly less than 100%.

Observations can be made using simple statistics given in *Table 4*. People like shopping in general and the group that doesn't like shopping consists of less than ten percent of the total. Shopping is not an obligation and involves leisure, as indicated by the responses to the related questions. The shopping mall turns out to be a social environment as well as a leisure space; the fact that 53.8% stated that they do not visit the mall on their own supports this claim. It may also be assumed that some of the people coming on their own may meet acquaintances inside the mall. The influence of family and friends is established (59.7% including occasional influences) and explains the concern of making shopping malls a family place (see *Miller et al., 1998* for this aspect and associated 'fear of others').

Responses also indicate that people like this particular shopping mall, finding it mostly convenient (67.1%), beautiful (86.9%), secure (79.6%), comfortable (85.7%), and providing good service (72.6%). However, only 59.3% find it different from the other malls, a lower ratio than that would have been expected due to the positive characteristics that they mentioned. It may be an indication of the increasing interest in shopping malls in general. In addition to these qualities, accessibility (47.9%) and parking facilities (28.1%) were evaluated less positively. Another interesting point to be noted is that 12.2% found this place insecure (19% including occasional complaints), which could be a basis for the debate on security of the malls against insecurity of the streets, as it indicates a problem of security also in the malls, although less strongly.

The data provided by the questionnaire were further analyzed statistically to see the relations between different user characteristics and preferences. The results are given in the following section.

Results of the statistical analysis

For a general evaluation of the data, principal components analysis is applied. It is considered as a valuable tool to group different characteristics of mall usage and to make comparisons easier with the previous analyses of similar environments. The analysis clustered seven components, which represented salient aspects of the use of Bilkent Shopping Center (see *Appendix A* for the rotated component matrix). These can be labeled as:

- (1) leisure—four items on activities other than shopping,
- (2) new experience—three items on aesthetic quality and habits,
- (3) retail environment—three items on service and people,
- (4) security—two items on security and comfort,
- (5) accessibility—two items on transportation and parking,
- (6) socializing—two items on friends and being on own,
- (7) social environment—two items on other people and crowding.

An analysis by van Raaij (1983) obtained five components that were labeled as: general evaluation, physical environment, efficiency, accessibility and social environment (cited in *Oppewal and Timmermans, 1999*). However, in this study, components focused more on the last three items and general evaluative and physical characteristics appeared as secondary factors. *Uzzell's (1995)* classification of shopping malls as a public environment, which involves sensory (physical comfort), proxemic (relation to others, crowding), retail (variety and quality of goods) and managerial environment (service and security) appeared to be valid for the Turk-

ish use of the shopping mall, whereas aesthetic and physical quality seemed to be taken for granted, as stated by Bloch et al. (1994).

It is interesting to note that service quality is related to service people and other users, whereas comfort is related to security. Social aspects are separated into two; namely being with family and friends/being on own (socializing), and other people and crowding (social environment). Findings support the earlier research (Oppewal and Timmermans, 1999; Eroglu and Machleit, 1990) on crowding in retail spaces, as people tend to like crowding as a part of the leisure experience (Component 1), whereas they tend to dislike it when they consider shopping convenience (Component 7). Previous researches claiming that crowding is a contextual experience, which is conditioned by the situation and expectations from the space (Baum and Paulus, 1987; Kaya and Erkip, 1999) are also supported.

However, the dominance of these factors is expected to be different for different user groups since "...mall users [are] social entities, individuals and groups [who] bring intentions to places, and [who] respond to the affordances the place provides" (Uzzell, 1995, p. 308); he also asks if different territories and hours are shared between different user groups. χ^2 analyses revealed these differences.

Results of the χ^2 analyses are grouped according to the responses on leisure, socialization and attitude toward other people in the mall including crowding in general as well as the specific characteristics of this mall. Demographic and socio-economic characteristics are also considered to differentiate user groups. Significant relations are given in detail with cross-tabulations (see Appendix B for the χ^2 results). However, some others, that did not appear significant, are also discussed when they indicate an important feature.

First of all, time of visit is significantly related only with occupation, indicating a preference for weekends for employees, the retired and housewives (see Table B1). It is interesting to note that the time of visit is not significantly related to gender and age.

As a general pattern, people like shopping, yet it is significantly related to gender (see Table B2). There is no significant difference between liking shopping with respect to age and occupation.

Leisure characteristics of shopping seem to become more important as indicated by related responses. Among those that are significantly related to gender is "coming for browsing" (Table B3), to age are "coming for browsing" (Table B4), and "coming only for shopping" (Table B5), to occupation were "coming only for shopping" (Table B6) and "coming for other activities" (Table B7).

When the socialization pattern is considered, age appears to be the most influential factor. Gender is

not significantly related to any of the responses, which are particularly important for socialising. Age is significantly related to "coming on own" indicating a more persistent socialising demand by teenagers and the elderly (see Table B8). "Liking other people", "liking this place being crowded", "coming because everybody does" are also significantly different between the age groups (see Tables B9, B10 and B11, respectively.) Occupation appears to be significantly related to "coming because of family and friends" and "liking other people" (see Tables B12 and B13, respectively).

For this particular mall, significant relationships appear between age and "finding the mall different from others" and "liking people working here" (see Tables B14 and B15). These two responses are significantly different also between occupations (see Tables B16 and B17). None of the responses about the mall appears to be significantly related to gender.

Some of the relationships that were not significant in χ^2 analyses are also given due to their important implications. Gender does not seem to be significant for being leisurely, feeling comfortable, coming alone or with family and friends, shopping convenience (accessibility, service, car parking, service personnel). It does not affect feelings about other people and crowding, finding this mall beautiful and different from others and perceived habit change. An important finding is about security, indicating no difference between genders. Besides, feelings of security do not appear to be related to either age or occupation. No time and hour preference according to gender is another interesting finding. Time preferences appeared related to occupation only.

The relationship between perceived habit change and age, which is expected to be significant from earlier observations (Erkip, 2003) is not revealed by the analysis. Also, the responses on site characteristics such as the shopping convenience, transportation, car parking, service facilities and staff, are not significantly different between gender, age and occupation. The attitude toward crowding is also similar, regardless of gender and occupation, whereas age appears to be significantly related with an indication that teenagers like crowding more in this mall (see Table B10).

Observations on the site and interviews with mall managers indicate a tendency that Ankuva section is used more by the local residents and Bilkent University students, whereas supermarkets are used by a more heterogeneous group of people (interview with Tulgay, 2002; see also Erkip, 2003 for this discussion). Ankuva with its expensive shops and restaurants forms an up-scale territory for high-income people living in the neighborhood. However, their access to other sections—Real and Praktiker—is not restricted and they use all sections of the Center. The reverse is not valid for the visitors of supermar-

kets and they feel more restricted to have access in Ankuva (interviews with [Tulgay, 2002](#); shopowners and managers, 2001, 2002). Thus, one can conclude that territorial segregation occurred in Bilkent Center.

Results and implications

The research results verify the heterogeneous character of users of this particular mall despite the variations in the time of visit and territories used within the mall. An interesting finding is that the male population uses the mall also on weekdays, although occupation appears to be influential upon the time of visit. One of the shops selling construction materials (*Praktiker*) may explain part of these weekday visits by the male group, yet a more valid explanation seems to be the increasing role of leisure in the urban lifestyle in general. It is interesting to note that shopping has merged into leisure in general regardless of gender, age and occupation, although gender is still significant as women tend to express that they like shopping more than men. Browsing and socialising are the other indications of leisure use of this consumption site. Almost half of the visitors using the mall without doing any shopping points in the same direction. However, browsing is influenced by gender and age; females do it more frequently compared to males, the elder group does it less frequently compared to all other age groups.

Age is influential on the choice of visiting the mall on one's own. Teenagers and the elderly tend to come with others instead of being alone. In the case of teenagers, this tendency may be a result of parental guidance rather than being a preference. Although the mall attracts all age groups, the concerns of young people in [Vanderbeck and Johnson's research \(2000\)](#) about the lack of available spaces for this group are also valid in this case. Children and teenagers prefer to use these spaces more, as parental guidance is not too strict inside the mall due to its perceived security. Another interesting result is that although this mall is perceived as secure by most respondents, this issue does not appear significantly different for age, gender and occupation groups. Thus, mall visitors do not differ much in their security perception. As stated by the mall managers, petty crime and vandalism are reported from time to time. Vandalism occurs in a recreation center that serves alcoholic drinks and mostly attended by younger people, including university students ([Tulgay, 2002](#)). There is no indication that Bilkent Center and its surroundings are safer than the city center in terms of petty crime (burglary and vandalism) and traffic conditions. Complaints of visitors indicate traffic jam and car parking are real problems, particularly

at weekends. It seems that The Center resembles the city center, with similar problems.

However, the most important finding related to the security issue is women's perception, which is similar to men's. Having a similar frequency of responses, such as "coming on my own" and "coming because of family and friends" for both male and female groups supports the idea that mall space provides females freedom from problems of the street. It seems that previous biases in gender roles in consumption patterns have been dissolving, as male and female attitudes appear to be quite alike on many issues, except that women tend to admit that they like shopping more than men do. This finding also supports the research of [Otnes and McGrath \(2001\)](#), pointing out the changes in male shopping behavior. There is also indication that "feminization of the flâneur" happens in the Turkish mall. As [Abaza \(2001, p. 118\)](#) states "...women are increasingly conquering public space without the need for a male presence to protect them". In the controlled mall space, it is much easier than the street, particularly at night-time. Housewives' situation, which does not appear as leisurely as the other groups, also support earlier studies locating them at the mundane side of consumption (for a discussion on this issue see [Miller, 1995](#)).

The mall as a social space provides good opportunities for family use with the variety in goods available and services offered. The threatening aspect of this development for public life is that "the others" might be excluded for the sake of a safer environment for family use, meaning that malls will become more homogeneous in terms of user groups. There are indications that there occurs segmentation in various sections of Bilkent Center and some hostile attitudes toward other users ([Tulgay, 2002](#); see also [Erkip, 2003](#)). This is the negative side of this transformation, particularly in Turkey, in which many examples of exclusive behavior are observed in city life. Private control over the use of public spaces through gates and guards is a real threat for Turkish urban life. As [Zukin \(1995, p. 191\)](#) suggests "...ordinary shopping districts frequented by ordinary people are important sites for negotiating the street-level practices of urban public culture in all large cities". This is definitely true for Ankara, which has a lot of traditional shopping districts and open markets and bazaars, in addition to the urban core and a few high streets. The impacts of shopping malls on the use of such spaces—particularly public open spaces—may reduce the potential of this negotiation. The current situation in Ankara indicates a tendency to use both the newly established malls and the previously-used urban spaces ([Gurcel, 2003](#)). Yet, this may be because of the novelty of the shopping mall development, and change through time may favour the controlled spaces provided by the malls.

However, it is still early to make decisive comments upon positive and negative aspects of mall development in Turkey. The mall experience is still in its infancy, as opposed to Jewell's (2001) claim for Britain, yet it seems to be a long lasting one, considering the socio-cultural context. It may result in a decay of the urban core and open spaces such as parks and other recreational areas, or it may flourish alongside them. This is an important policy issue for the planning bodies of Ankara, which has been the spatial representative of the values of the Turkish Republic until recently. The direction of this transformation will be decided by the local cultural context. As Abbas (2000) states, Asian cities are facing a rapid transformation with the influence of global spaces, a contradictory pattern with the local spatial characteristics. The issue now is the way of adapting these transformations in the Turkish city.

Concluding remarks

This study can be seen as an initial effort to clarify the factors that have been influencing the use patterns of shopping malls in Turkey through a case in Ankara, the capital city. Bilkent Shopping Center was chosen as an appropriate case representing various aspects of mall usage. Findings of the research reveal that it represents the transformation in the consumption patterns in a new state of Turkish urban life under global influences. These findings are

important to indicate salient changes in consumption patterns of different citizen groups. In conclusion, this research suggests that shopping mall development poses a number of policy issues, which need to be addressed with an awareness of the local context. The mall experience in Turkey is quite new, making it difficult to draw conclusions about consumption and identity issues and proposed changes in lifestyle. Further research on newly emerging consumption and leisure patterns and their spatial implications is expected to contribute to understanding the nature of this experience.

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Appendix A

See Table A1.

Table A1 Rotated component matrix^a

	Component						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Do you come here for other activities?	0.806	^b	^b	^b	^b	^b	^b
Do you like activities other than shopping?	0.750	0.109	0.141	-0.238	0.143	^b	^b
Do you come here only for shopping?	-0.634	0.264	0.173	-0.178	^b	-0.113	^b
Do you come here for browsing?	0.573	0.201	^b	0.234	-0.361	-0.176	0.116
Is this mall different from the others?	^b	0.703	0.193	^b	-0.110	-0.142	0.159
Did this place change your habits?	^b	0.615	^b	-0.139	0.260	0.337	0.129
Is it a beautiful place?	^b	0.574	0.116	0.302	^b	^b	^b
Do you like people working here?	-0.118	0.226	0.740	^b	^b	^b	^b
Is the service good?	0.149	0.210	0.649	0.173	0.115	0.147	-0.233
Do you like people coming here?	0.129	-0.101	0.632	0.207	^b	^b	0.351
Is this place secure?	^b	^b	^b	0.730	0.120	0.101	^b
Do you feel comfortable here?	^b	^b	0.149	0.697	0.188	^b	0.152
Can you park your car easily?	^b	^b	^b	^b	0.713	-0.156	-0.128
Is it easily accessible?	^b	^b	^b	0.226	0.710	^b	^b
Do you come here because your family and friends do?	^b	^b	-0.130	^b	-0.109	0.717	0.282
Do you come here on your own?	^b	^b	-0.249	^b	0.128	-0.707	^b
Do you come here because everybody does?	0.156	0.172	^b	^b	-0.114	0.198	0.744
Do you like this place being crowded?	0.350	0.213	^b	0.192	^b	^b	0.413
Is shopping convenient here?	0.140	0.344	0.253	0.303	0.231	^b	-0.372
Do you like shopping?	0.338	0.269	^b	0.304	-0.136	0.240	-0.341

Extraction method: principal component analysis.

Rotation method: Varimax with Kaiser normalization.

^aRotation converged in 11 iterations.

^bindicates figures in the range (-0.1, 0.1).

Appendix B. Cross-tabulations for significant relations in χ^2 analyses

See *Tables B1–17*.

Table B1 Occupation versus time of visit

Occupation	Time of visit			Total
	Weekdays	Saturdays	Sundays	
Self-employed/employer/professional	21	11	12	44
Employee/professional	60	67	65	192
Retired/unemployed	18	14	10	42
Housewife	15	18	11	44
Student	60	24	21	105
Total	174	134	119	427

$\chi^2 = 22.493$, $df = 8$, $p = 0.004$.

Table B2 Gender versus liking shopping

Gender	Do you like shopping?			Total
	No	Sometimes	Yes	
Female	6	26	174	206
Male	35	44	125	204
Total	41	70	299	410

$\chi^2 = 33.162$, $df = 2$, $p = 0.000$.

Table B3 Gender versus coming for browsing

Gender	Coming for browsing			Total
	No	Sometimes	Yes	
Female	48	43	115	206
Male	76	30	97	203
Total	124	73	212	409

$\chi^2 = 10.144$, $df = 2$, $p = 0.006$.

Table B4 Age versus coming for browsing

Age	Coming for browsing		Total
	No	Yes	
15–20	5	28	33
21–45	66	179	245
46–65	48	75	123
65+	12	9	21
Total	131	291	422

$\chi^2 = 16.164$, $df = 3$, $p = 0.001$.

Table B5 Age versus coming only for shopping

Age	Coming only for shopping		Total
	No	Yes	
15–20	27	6	33
21–45	146	99	245
46–65	60	62	122
65+	10	12	22
Total	243	179	422

$\chi^2 = 13.192$, $df = 3$, $p = 0.004$.

Table B6 Occupation versus coming only for shopping

Occupation	Coming only for shopping		Total
	No	Yes	
Self-employed/employer/professional	22	21	43
Employee/professional	100	92	192
Retired/unemployed	21	21	42
Housewife	16	28	44
Student	85	20	105
Total	244	182	426

$\chi^2 = 35.598$, df = 4, $p = 0.000$.

Table B7 Occupation versus coming for other activities

Occupation	Coming only for shopping		Total
	No	Yes	
Self-employed/employer/professional	18	26	44
Employee/professional	77	109	186
Retired/unemployed	15	21	36
Housewife	20	23	43
Student	19	86	105
Total	149	265	414

$\chi^2 = 19.988$, df = 4, $p = 0.001$.

Table B8 Age versus coming on own

Age	Coming on own		Total
	No	Yes	
15–20	25	8	33
21–45	122	122	244
46–65	65	57	122
65+	16	6	22
Total	228	193	421

$\chi^2 = 10.994$ df = 3, $p = 0.012$.

Table B9 Age versus liking other people

Age	Liking other people		Total
	No	Yes	
15–20	11	21	32
21–45	100	124	224
46–65	42	75	117
65+	2	18	20
Total	155	238	393

$\chi^2 = 10.755$, df = 3, $p = 0.013$.

Table B10 Age versus liking this mall being crowded

Age	Liking this mall being crowded		Total
	No	Yes	
15–20	9	24	33
21–45	134	110	244
46–65	68	55	123
65+	12	10	22
Total	223	199	422

$\chi^2 = 9.40$ df = 3, $p = 0.024$.

Table B11 Age versus coming because everybody does

Age	Coming because everybody does		Total
	No	Yes	
15–20	19	14	33
21–45	216	27	243
46–65	93	29	122
65+	14	8	22
Total	342	78	420

$\chi^2 = 28.145$, $df = 3$, $p = 0.000$.

Table B12 Occupation versus coming because of family and friends

Occupation	Coming because of family and friends			Total
	No	Sometimes	Yes	
Self-employed/employer/professional	18	2	24	44
Employee/professional	93	28	71	192
Retired/unemployed	14	6	22	42
Housewife	13	5	26	44
Student	34	16	55	105
Total	172	57	198	427

$\chi^2 = 16.743$, $df = 8$, $p = 0.033$.

Table B13 Occupation versus liking people coming to this mall

Occupation	Liking people coming to this mall		Total
	No	Yes	
Self-employed/employer/professional	16	25	41
Employee/professional	69	108	177
Retired/unemployed	11	29	40
Housewife	11	32	43
Student	50	48	98
Total	157	242	399

$\chi^2 = 11.374$, $df = 4$, $p = 0.023$.

Table B14 Age versus finding this mall different from the others

Age	This mall is different from the others		Total
	No	Yes	
15–20	8	25	33
21–45	94	151	245
46–65	30	91	121
65+	8	14	22
Total	140	281	421

$\chi^2 = 8.092$, $df = 3$, $p = 0.044$.

Table B15 Age versus liking people working here

Age	Liking people working here		Total
	No	Yes	
15–20	9	24	33
21–45	55	185	240
46–65	13	109	122
65+	1	20	21
Total	78	338	416

$\chi^2 = 12.252$, $df = 3$, $p = 0.007$.

Table B16 Occupation versus finding this mall different from the others

Occupation	Coming only for shopping		
	No	Yes	Total
Self-employed/employer/professional	16	28	44
Employee/professional	55	136	191
Retired/unemployed	13	29	42
Housewife	9	34	43
Student	49	56	105
Total	142	283	425

$\chi^2 = 13.418$, df = 4, $p = 0.009$.

Table B17 Occupation versus liking people working here

Occupation	Liking people working here		
	No	Yes	Total
Self-employed/employer/professional	8	34	42
Employee/professional	29	160	189
Retired/unemployed	4	38	42
Housewife	4	40	44
Student	37	69	106
Total	82	341	423

$\chi^2 = 23.915$ df = 4, $p = 0.000$.

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