

**SOCIAL DISCRIMINATION AGAINST TEENAGERS IN THE
MALL ENVIRONMENT: A CASE STUDY IN MİGROS
SHOPPING MALL**

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ABSTRACT

SOCIAL DISCRIMINATION AGAINST TEENAGERS IN THE MALL ENVIRONMENT: A CASE STUDY IN MİGROS SHOPPING MALL

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This study focuses on the issue of social discrimination against teenagers in shopping malls. Young people, as often being perceived to be threats to the dominant forces of adult world, experience constraints of the adult values in different public spaces. Considering the teenagers' use of leisure time and spaces, the shopping mall has been observed as an extensively used space by this group for various reasons. In this research, Migros Shopping Center is the survey site, since its physical and social structures are appropriate to analyze the perceived social discrimination against teenagers. The main purpose of this research is to obtain clues for the sources of perceived discrimination patterns against teenagers in the mall environment, which is expected to indicate physical and social aspects of the problem, concerning the mall space of Migros. Information on these issues was obtained through observation and in-depth interviews. The results indicate that, although there are some dislikes, problems, injustices and perceived discrimination patterns of the respondents, most of the teenagers in the mall do not perceive social discrimination that has a mall origin on the contrary to their foreign counterparts. However, teenagers' presence in the mall can be argued as resulting from discriminating factors such as parental restrictions, financial dependence and limited financial resources.

Keywords: Social discrimination, leisure spaces, teenagers, shopping malls, Akköprü Migros Shopping Mall.

ÖZET

ALIŞVERİŞ MERKEZLERİNDE 13-19 YAŞ GRUBUNDAKİ GENÇLERE KARŞI UYGULANAN TOPLUMSAL AYRIMCILIK: MİGROS ALIŞVERİŞ MERKEZİ'NDE BİR ALAN ÇALIŞMASI

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Bu çalışma, alışveriş merkezlerinde 13-19 yaş grubundaki gençlere karşı uygulanan toplumsal ayrımcılık konusunu ele almaktadır. Gençler, çoğunlukla yetişkinlerin baskın güçlerine tehdit olarak algılandıklarından, farklı kamusal alanlarda yetişkinlere özgü değerlerin kısıtlamalarıyla karşılaşmaktadırlar. 13-19 yaş grubundaki gençlerin boş zaman ve boş zaman mekanları kullanımı göz önüne alındığında, alışveriş merkezleri çeşitli nedenlerle bu grup tarafından yoğun olarak kullanılan bir mekan olarak saptanmıştır. Bu çalışmada, fiziksel ve toplumsal yapısının 13-19 yaş grubundaki gençlere karşı algılanan toplumsal ayrımcılığı incelemeye uygun olmasından dolayı, Migros Alışveriş Merkezi çalışma alanı olarak belirlenmiştir. Bu çalışmanın temel amacı, 13-19 yaş grubundaki gençlerin algıladığı ayrımcılığın kaynaklarına yönelik ipuçlarını elde etmektir. Bu amaç doğrultusunda, Migros'un mekan olarak fiziksel ve toplumsal yönlerine ilişkin problemlerin belirlenmesi de hedeflenmektedir. Bu konuya yönelik bilgi, gözlem ve derinlemesine yapılan yüz yüze görüşmeler yoluyla elde edilmiştir. Sonuçlara göre, Türkiye koşullarında, sevilmeyen yönlerin, sorunların, adaletsizliklerin ve algılanan ayrımcılık örneklerinin varlığına karşın, yurt dışındaki örneklerinin aksine, görüşülen 13-19 yaş grubundaki gençlerin alışveriş merkezinden kaynaklanan, toplumsal ayrımcılık algılamadıkları belirlenmiştir. Yine de, bu gençlerin alışveriş merkezlerinde bulunuşlarının, ailenin uyguladığı bir takım kısıtlamalar, mali olarak aileye bağlı olmak ve sınırlı mali kaynaklar gibi bazı ayrımcılık etmenlerinden kaynaklandığı düşünülmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Toplumsal ayrımcılık, boş zaman mekanları, 13-19 yaş grubundaki gençler, Akköprü Migros Alışveriş Merkezi.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Discrimination, which is being defined as “general feature of social life” (Banton, 1994, p.4) is widespread in human history like the term prejudice (Giddens, 1997). While analyzing the term ‘discrimination’ and other related concepts, it is significant to emphasize the importance of social differences among people. Thus, it becomes crucial and appropriate to analyze the concept under the title of ‘social discrimination’.

There exist different types of social discrimination that have social bases concerning differences among people including, sex discrimination, racial-ethnic discrimination, age discrimination, and social class discrimination. Age discrimination, or in other words, ‘ageism’ is the main focal point for this study concerning teenagers.

The defining age for children can change over space and time. Sometimes children are described as those under age 18, at other times, to refer to young people terms such as ‘adolescents’ or ‘teenagers’ are used. The role of the state sometimes becomes important in defining entry into adulthood through some legal, educational or other responsibilities (Valentine, 1996). And this is also the case for Turkey, where legal entry into adulthood for young people is defined as the age of 18. For this thesis, the term ‘teenager’ is largely used to refer to young people, of whom the age range is 13 to 19. Sometimes, the terms ‘children’ and ‘adolescents’ are used when referring to other scholars’ text, considering that they use the terms by covering the same age range as this study.

Holloway and Valentine (2000, p.7) indicate that like in many other disciplines of social science, children are not accepted as a traditional focus of concern in geography. They continue that “nevertheless, the efforts of a few key individuals mean that we have a small but significant literature about children’s environments which dates back to the 1970s and includes studies of children’s spatial cognition and mapping abilities as well as their access to, use of attachment to space”. As Cahill (1990) argues, “since approximately 1979, popular concern about children’s safety in public spaces has mushroomed [...]” (cited in Valentine, 1996, p.586). At this point, the conceptualization of space becomes crucial to understand the issue of social discrimination against teenagers concerning the efforts to include some and exclude others from particular spaces (Massey, 1998).

One of the main fields of analysis of social discrimination is in leisure practices and spaces, to which attention is being directed in today’s world. The questions of how leisure makes us enjoy without being discriminated and excluded from social sphere and which factors discriminate us while realizing our leisure are significant to consider in the analysis of social discrimination in leisure practices and spaces. In such an analysis, physical sphere, which involves the spatial characteristics of the leisure spaces, should be considered as an important complement of the social sphere, which reflects the ‘perceived discriminatory values’ to the physical sphere. In this study, the shopping mall is chosen as the leisure space, in which social discrimination is analyzed. Bauman (1996) defines the mall as “tracts for strolling while you shop and to shop in while you stroll [...], shopping malls make the world [...] safe for life-as-strolling” (cited in Miller *et. al*, 1998,p.25). The contextualization of the shopping mall begins in 1950s America (Jewell, 2001), but it is a new trend in

the conditions of Turkey. Nevertheless, the adaptation to shopping malls by Turkish people seems easy (Erkip, 2003). “Safe, sheltered, climatically-constant, traffic-free, pedestrianized environment” (Jewell, 2001, p.320) of the shopping malls supported rapid adaptation of them by people.

The arguments that define mall spaces as strongly bounded exclusionary spaces, in which diverse and different group of users are served take the attention to the competing usage of the shopping malls by different users, of whom some are marginalized groups of the mall space. And, one of the marginalized groups that the mall appeals is the teenagers (Vanderbeck and Johnson, 2000; Lewis, 1989; Haytko and Baker, 2004). The scholars who have published empirical studies about teenagers in shopping malls usually emphasized the teenage behavior without having much consideration on the spatial characteristics of the mall in terms of its social and physical environment. Concerning the ageist discrimination against teenagers, the link between shopping malls and ageist discrimination becomes crucial. As stated by Copeland (2004), with the growing number and size of shopping centers, the problematic interaction between shopping center management and security and young people will continue to be researched. In the light of this statement, in this study, teenagers in the mall environment are analyzed with particular attention to perceived discrimination in the mall space. As a result, social environment and its reflection on the physical environment are questioned. Thus, the research is shaped around the question of *‘do shopping malls reflect social discrimination regarding different groups of teenagers with respect to social and physical environments of the mall space?’*

1.1. Aim of the Study

The main purpose of this research is to obtain clues for the sources of discrimination against teenagers in a shopping mall in Ankara (Akköprü Migros Shopping Mall), which is expected to indicate social and physical aspects of the problem through the analysis of the social and physical environments of the mall concerning the issue of social discrimination. This main aim of the study can be told as being shaped through some other objectives that include the identification of the sources of discrimination that the teenagers faced in different leisure contexts and the things that the teenagers like about shopping malls.

While emphasizing what it means to belong to a particular age group and the experience of being a teenager, it is important to mention other characteristics of that age group, such as gender, family structure, school, peer relations etc. (Valentine, 1996). Within this context of differences and diversities among children, another important aim of the study can be stated as to explore the perception of discrimination by teenagers concerning the physical structure and social construction of the mall environment along socio-demographic characteristics, such as education, gender, family structure, peer relations, income, school and age. The data on these socio-demographic characteristics as well as the leisure patterns in Ankara are aimed to be gathered to identify the sources of discrimination in different leisure contexts. Their perception of discrimination is explored in relation to the above-mentioned variables.

The findings of the research may suggest some improvements in the physical structure of the mall. They may also point out social implications. With this research,

the importance of involvement of teenagers in the process of design and management of the mall environment is emphasized by underlying the crucial role of shaping the social and physical environments around them through their right and responsibility of being part of the society.

1.2. The Structure of the Thesis

The study focuses on the issue of social discrimination in the mall space concerning the teenagers who are assumed to face the discrimination patterns in social and physical environment of the shopping mall.

The first chapter is the introduction. The second chapter examines the issue of social discrimination and different types of social discrimination. Firstly, the definition of social discrimination is given together with its differentiation from other related concepts, i.e., stereotyping, prejudice, and exclusion. Secondly, different types of social discrimination are told about by giving special emphasis to the ageism, which is a type of social discrimination. In order to form the linkage with the sample group, ageism against teenagers is argued. Thirdly, the link between social discrimination and leisure is formed by emphasizing the conceptualization of leisure spaces to understand social discrimination. Then, shopping malls as leisure spaces are analyzed by covering the important elements and roles of their social and physical environments. This leads to the discussion of competing usage of the mall space by different groups of users who have different aims of visiting the mall space depending on their socio-demographic characteristics that result in different perceptions of the mall space.

The third chapter explains the issue of social discrimination in the mall environment emphasizing the arguments that concern the mall space as a public space and as a space of social control and exclusion. Mall space as open or closed space is discussed in order to take the attention to the dichotomy of the mall space in terms of being either spaces with strict boundaries or spaces that are open to anyone through celebration of difference and diversity. The social and physical environments of the mall space are analyzed with respect to the social discrimination patterns they reflected. Then, different kinds of social discrimination regarding differences among shopping mall users are briefly explained in order to lead the discussion to the difference in the usage of shopping malls by adults and teenagers. Finally, particular emphasis is given to the ageist discrimination against teenagers in shopping malls, which is the main focus of analysis of this study.

Chapter four begins with the analysis and description of the site, Akköprü Shopping Mall, where the case study was conducted. Current situation of Ankara is summarized in terms of shopping malls. In addition, together with the literature concerning teenagers in the mall space, observations on the shopping malls as teenage hangouts in Ankara are discussed. Next, analysis of the site is followed by the details of the case study and the methodology. Finally, results are evaluated and discussed.

In the last chapter, major conclusions about the social discrimination patterns against teenagers in the mall space and different behaviors as the outcomes of social discrimination against teenagers along the differences among them are presented. Suggestions for social implications and some improvements in the physical structure

of the mall are made regarding teenagers. The importance of involvement of teenagers in the process of design and management of the mall environment is discussed by highlighting the importance of shaping the social and physical environments around them. Lastly, suggestions for further research are generated.

2. THE ISSUE OF SOCIAL DISCRIMINATION AND DIFFERENT TYPES OF SOCIAL DISCRIMINATION

The issue of social discrimination constitutes an important area of study in social science research, which is still in the course of development (Feagin and Eckberg, 1980; Banton, 1994). One of the main fields of analysis of social discrimination is in leisure practices and spaces, to which attention is being directed recently. It has various attributes that are discussed in the following sections.

2.1. The Definition of Social Discrimination and Its Differentiation from Other Related Concepts

Banton (1994, p.1) defines social discrimination as “the differential treatment of persons supposed to belong to a particular class of persons [...]” and he continues that “it is not possible to determine that an action is discriminatory without indicating the basis of the differential treatment [...]”. While defining the concept of discrimination, it is necessary to differentiate some other related concepts to make its meaning more clear and to prevent the misconception regarding different usages of the term. Bytheway (1995, p.9) asks the question: “what is an ‘ism’?” and this can be considered as a congruent question to start dealing with the discrimination and some other related concepts. The terms that end with ‘ism’ such as, racism, sexism, ageism, etc. are told to be defined as ‘...ism is a **prejudice**....’ (Banton, 1994; Bytheway, 1995; Giddens, 1997) and so that it might be useful to define prejudice

first in order to distinguish it from the term discrimination. Giddens (1997, p.212)

claims that:

“prejudice refers to *opinions or attitudes* held by members of one group toward another. A prejudiced person’s preconceived views are often based upon hearsay rather than on direct evidence, and are resistant to change even in the face of new information. People may harbor favorable prejudices about groups with which they identify and negative prejudices against others”.

At this point, the term **stereotype** needs clarification as a concept that leads to prejudices. Stereotypical thinking represents fixed and inflexible beliefs and expectation about members of groups on the basis of their membership in those groups (Feldman, 1996; Giddens, 1997). Sibley (1995, p.29) points out that “in local conflicts, where a community represents itself as normal, a part of the mainstream, and feels threatened by the presence of others who are perceived to be different and ‘other’, fears and anxieties are expressed in stereotypes”. Stereotypes that result in prejudices often have some harmful consequences. Discrimination as a negative behavior toward members of a particular group is one of these harmful consequences of stereotypes (Feldman, 1996). Giddens (1997, p.213) claims that different from prejudice, i.e., opinions or attitudes, “discrimination refers to *actual behavior* toward the other group”. The effects of this behavior either create or increase **inequalities** between classes of persons. **Exclusion** from jobs, neighborhoods, some spaces, educational or social opportunities, operates with the help of discrimination as the main leading factor of inequalities (Banton, 1994; Feldman, 1996). By looking at these differentiations and links between the definitions of these concepts, it is possible to make a diagram as the following:



Figure 1 – The linkage between the concepts of discrimination

However, as Giddens (1997, p.213) argued “although prejudice is often the basis of discrimination, the two may exist separately. People may have prejudiced attitudes that they do not act upon. Equally important, discrimination does not necessarily derive directly from prejudice” and this non-obligatory linkage is also valid for other components of this diagram as being in a flexible relation.

In some cases, stereotyping can lead to paradoxes when **positive** or **reverse discrimination** occurs (Feldman, 1996). Feldman (1996, p. 645) defines reverse discrimination as, “behavior in which people prejudiced toward a group compensate for their prejudice by treating the group’s members more favorably than others”.

According to him:

“reverse discrimination, based on unfounded stereotypes, may often be as damaging as overt, negative discrimination [...]. Ultimately, such ‘positive’ treatment becomes detrimental [...]. People who are the recipients of reverse discrimination may feel as if they are ‘tokens’, specially treated, not because of their own talents, but because of their membership in a specific group” (p. 646).

“Discrimination is a concept of increasing importance both in social sciences and in the world of action to protect human rights. It is also a concept that is still in the course of development. Its implications have not been fully worked out and even its basic character is not always understood” (Banton, 1994, p.9). One of the aims of this study is to analyze this concept as a social issue that emphasizes the importance of some social differences of people, so from now on the term ‘social discrimination’ will be meant in order to refer the analysis of discrimination as a social issue in the society that is based on social differences concerning, gender, income, age, educational background, etc. and the term discrimination will be used in the sense of social discrimination.

2.2. Different Types of Social Discrimination

There exist different types of social discrimination that based on the above mentioned social differences. According to Discrimination Convention of the International Labor Office discrimination is “any distinction, exclusion or preference made on the basis of race, color, sex, age, religion, political opinion, national extraction, or social origin...etc.” (Banton, 1994, p.7). In other words, “discrimination is action taken in relation to all members of a certain group [...]. The important point about discrimination is that it occurs through the power to systematically exclude individuals belonging to designated categories” (Bytheway, 1995, p.117).

Sex discrimination as a type of social discrimination results from customary notions that defines the appropriate roles for males and females (Banton, 1994). **Sexism** reflects the stereotypes about gender roles in terms of negative attitudes and behaviors toward a person regarding that person’s sex (Feldman, 1996). Feldman (1996, p.359) also argues that “people in western society hold particularly well-defined stereotypes about men and women and those stereotypes prevail regardless of age, economic status and social and educational background”.

Feagin and Eckberg (1980, p.9) define **racial and ethnic discrimination** as “practices and actions of dominant race-ethnic groups that have a differential and negative impact on subordinate race-ethnic groups”. In **racism**, socially significant physical distinctions are highlighted through invention and the diffusion of the concept of race, symbolic antagonism between white and black, and the exploitative relations of Europeans with non-white peoples (Giddens, 1997). Andersen and

Collins (1992) state that racism or ethnic discrimination does not exist in a vacuum; race, gender and class are intersecting systems that are experienced simultaneously, not separately.

In **social class discrimination**, social position is largely determined by socio-economic differences between groups. In other words, people who occupy a similar economic position tend to exclude people who have a different economic position with the creation of differences in terms of prosperity and power (Giddens, 1997). For Freysinger and Kelly (2000), social class is some combination of income, occupational status and level of education. They claim that “the higher one’s income, occupational status and level of education the higher one’s social class” (p.173). Social class is important in the determination of social status and it can be defined by neighborhoods, shopping, eating venues, destination for holidays, being in limited membership community organizations such as a Rotary Club (Freysinger and Kelly, 2000).

Ageism or **age discrimination** can be mentioned as another type of social discrimination, which is about “age and prejudice” (Bytheway, 1995, p.3), and is elaborated in the following section.

2.2.1. Ageism as a Type of Social Discrimination

Bytheway (1995) points out that the concept of ageism as a type of social discrimination is neglected in the literature and this neglect leads to formulation of a definition for it, which can underline the importance of ageism as a type of social

discrimination. “Ageism is prejudice on grounds of age, just as racism and sexism is prejudice on grounds of race and sex ” (Bytheway, 1995, p.9). Butler and Lewis (1973) (cited in Bytheway, 1995, p.115) state that “ageism can be seen as a process of systematic stereotyping of and discrimination against people because they are old, just as racism and sexism accomplish this for skin color and gender”. Ageism as a prejudice can work against different age groups. For instance, while people over certain age can benefit from cheaper rates when using public transport or some public facilities, like cinemas (Banton, 1994), young people are often perceived to be the threats to the social order. Ageism experienced by young people is the same phenomenon as that experienced by older people, but the experience itself is radically different (Bytheway, 1995).

Ageism as a type of social discrimination has a biological basis (Bytheway, 1995).

Bytheway (1995, p.11) states that:

“ageist prejudice is based primarily upon presumptions, sometimes about chronological age and sometimes about different generations. It is by linking age to such presumptions – that ‘five-year-olds’ are incapable of making applications, and that ‘young people’ are unable to cope – that young people suffer from the ageist prejudice of their elders”.

2.2.2. Ageism as a Discrimination against Teenagers

Bytheway (1995) argues that younger people experience the denial of their personhood as fundamental form of prejudice just before they acquire their adulthood. Holloway and Valentine (2000, p.2) dealing with teenagers as children, argue that “children, it is commonly assumed, are those subjects who have yet to reach biological and social maturity – quite simply they are younger than adults, and have yet to develop the full range of competencies adult possess”. Many young

people face with different kinds of discrimination patterns that result from adult and parent-imposed restrictions on their choice of friends, choice of leisure practices, and even, definition of leisure time. All these restrictions and discrimination patterns can be argued as resulting from economic dependency of young people to their parents (“Milli Eğitim Gençlik ve Spor Bakanlığı”, 1986; Gaster, 1991). With the changing attitudes towards age, children are started to be treated as a particular class of persons (Valentine, 1996) and this acceptance of children and young people as a particular class, can be claimed as crucial in terms of ageist discrimination against them.

Valentine (1996) talks about the importance of 20th century, in terms of invention of teenager in 1950s, which is the era of consumption, style, and leisure together with a range of facilities and commodities such as discos, record shops, magazines, fashions etc. For this position of teenagers as being targeted in this new market, Valentine (1996, p.587) adds that:

“teenagers therefore lie awkwardly placed between childhood and adulthood: sometimes constructed and represented as ‘innocent children’ in need of protection from adult sexuality, violence, and commercial exploitation; at other times represented as articulating adult vice of drink, drugs, and violence. These multiple constructions of teenagers thus enable adults to represent their own adolescence (and sometimes their own children’s) as a time of innocent fun and harmless pranks whilst perceiving other people’s teenagers a troublesome and ‘dangerous’ [...] childhood has been understood through the oppositional discourses of ‘angels’ and ‘devils’ ”.

Sibley (1995, p.33) illustrates contested boundary of child/adult by Venn diagrams

(See Figure 2). According to him:

“the boundary separating child and adult is decidedly fuzzy one. Adolescence is an ambiguous zone within which the child/adult boundary can be variously located according to who is doing the categorizing. Thus, adolescents are denied access to the adult world, but they attempt to distance themselves from the world of child [...] Adolescents may be threatening to adults because they transgress the adult/child boundary and appear discrepant in ‘adult’ spaces” (pp. 34-35).

Besides, Matthews and Limb (1999) also illustrate that geography of children and young people is moving away from its environmental psychology roots towards a social and cultural geography, which involves the processes of exclusion, socio-spatial marginalization and boundary conflicts between them and adults.

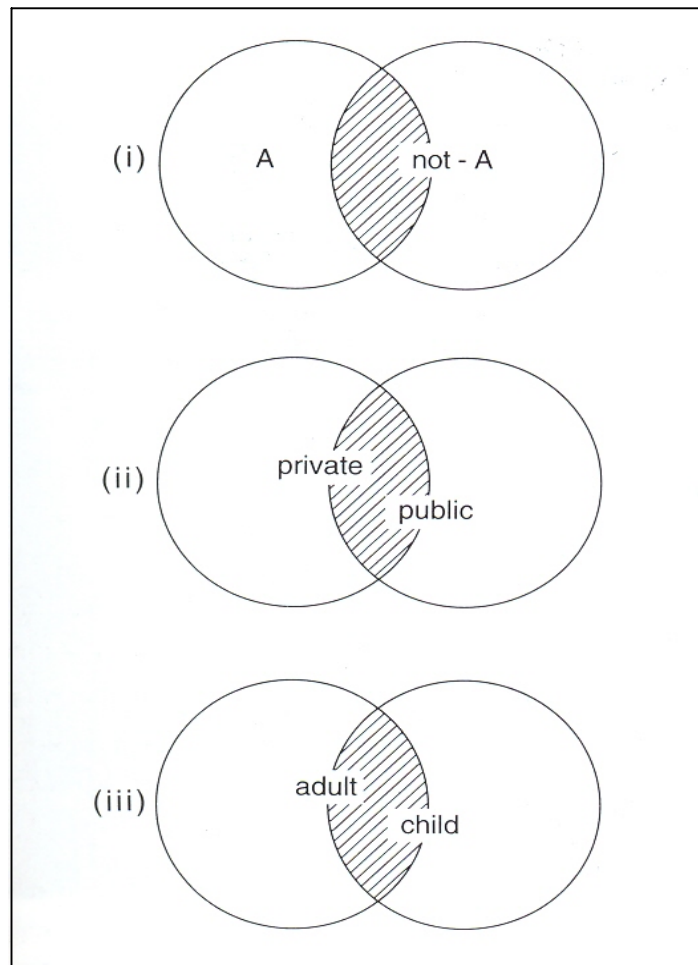


Figure 2 – Zone of ambiguity of adult/child boundary in spatial and social categorization (Danger, or at least uncertainty, lies in marginal states).

(Source: Sibley, 1995, p. 33)

Amit-Talai and Wulff (1995) claim that general view regarding youth among many adults expresses them as occasionally amusing, yet potentially dangerous and disturbing without taking them seriously. Negative media images also portray young

urban males as dangerous, and young urban women as vulnerable (Breitbart, 1998). Resulting anxieties of adults about those dangerous young people lead to an assumption that young people can only be permitted in certain public spaces when they are accepted as being socialized into ways of behaving and of using space that suits the appropriate 'adults' ways (Valentine, 1996). Caputo (1995) argues that youth in general are considered as passive receptors of adult culture and this leads to marginalization of youth in the social spaces. Young people as being closer to the edge become victims of exclusion by being exposed to the hegemonic values of the adult world (Matthews and Limb, 1999). They are denied the chance to express their own identity and spatial freedoms, just because adults want to maintain their own spatial hegemony (Valentine, 1996). All these assumptions concerning teenagers as a threat to the 'adult world' and so-called 'adult spaces' result in restrictions on their activities and use of many spaces (Valentine, 1996) and those restrictions are undeniable evidences for discrimination based on age for teenagers, i.e., ageist discrimination against teenagers.

However, as it is argued by many scholars, while analyzing social discrimination against teenagers, the dangerous point is to deal with those teenagers as if they are homogenous, without recognizing the relative distinctiveness of each from the other in terms of diverse social grouping and perception of their social world (Matthews and Limb, 1999; Jackson and Rodriguez-Tomé, 1993 and Amit-Talai, 1995).

Differences among young people influence the way they interact with different contexts (Silbereisen and Todt, 1994). As it is argued by Mathews and Limb (1999, p.65):

“children can come in all shapes and sizes and may be distinguished along various axes of gender, race, ethnicity, ability, health and age. Such differences will have an important bearing on their geographies and should not be overlooked in any discourse. We emphasize the need to recognize the importance of ‘multiple childhoods’ and the sterility of the concept of the ‘universal child’ ”.

And depending on these arguments, the socio-demographic differences of teenagers are taken as the focal point in the analytical framework in order to grasp the differences among teenagers in terms of perceived discrimination in this research.

2.3. The Link between Social Discrimination and Leisure

The concept of leisure has been attempted to be defined in various ways. Wilson (1980) mentions that the technological improvements of today’s post industrial-world have channeled us to escape the obligations that are provided for us. Thus, taste and leisure have gained importance. Because work is an obligation, leisure time becomes the time in which self-realization of person occurs (Erkip, 2001). According to Green, Hebron and Woodward (1990, p.3), “the term ‘leisure’ conjures up a hazy vision of endless time to pursue the pleasure(s) of one’s choosing in the form and quantity required to satisfy personal appetites-necessarily individualized menu and one which defies generalized definition”. However, in today’s world, acknowledgement of differences, plurality of voices, and multiple leisure practices replace the universal explanations of leisure (Scraton and Watson, 1998).

The studies of social discrimination in leisure and recreation participation have been the subject of a number of empirical investigations (Floyd and Gramann, 1995). As Floyd and Gramann (1995, p.192) stated “in these studies discrimination is treated as an explanatory variable in relation to recreation behavior. This approach reflects the

longstanding concern with matters of equality and equity regarding minority access to public recreation facilities”. Banton (1994) explained that the belief of equal rights had been emphasized, particularly by entertainment industry through the development of empathy, which is crucial to the recognition of discrimination. So, it can be argued that one of the main fields of analysis of social discrimination lies in leisure practices and spaces, to which attention is being directed in today’s world.

Wilson (1980) claims that in order to find out who is most likely to participate in what leisure activity, most social scientists have turned to socio-economic variables. They have assumed, presumably, that ‘primary’ individual characteristics like income and occupation determine ‘secondary’ behavior such as leisure choices. With the individualistic perspective, the significance of consumption as allowing people to improve their well-being through opportunities that highlight the leisure freedom and the pursuit of happiness is emphasized (Mullins *et. al*, 1999). This emphasis brings along the issue of equity as a field of study. Mullins *et. al* (1999, p.49) argue that:

“because consumerism is a core component of contemporary culture, any consideration of a household’s quality of life must therefore take into account not only ease of access to places such as public hospitals that offer goods and services regarded as necessities but also must take into account ease of access to consumption spaces: places offering opportunities for satisfying wants and desires” i.e., mainly leisure spaces.

The sociological school that addresses the interrelationship between society and leisure is the main area of study in order to emphasize differences in leisure behaviors and to demonstrate the link between social discrimination and leisure (DeVries, Eisen, Gerson and Ibrahim, 1988). Henderson (1996) mentions that social discrimination does not involve the development of linkages between social units and does not include sharing values about goals and roles. She (p.19) adds that

“integration to occur [...], all individuals should have the opportunity to perform successfully and the members of the group should feel they are working or ‘playing’ together in attaining group and individual goals”.

Bright (2000) points out that the benefits of leisure that include varieties of human existence such as, psychological, sociological, psycho-physiological, economic and environmental, are not equally distributed to all parts of society. The questions of how leisure makes us enjoy without being discriminated and excluded from social sphere and what kinds of social discriminations we faced while realizing our leisure are significant to consider in the analysis of social discrimination in leisure practices and spaces.

2.3.1. The Conceptualization of Leisure Spaces within the Framework of Social Discrimination

Leisure can be defined differently in terms of the activity, time and place. These three scopes of leisure are significant in definition of leisure (Freysinger and Kelly, 2000). According to this definition it is possible to mention that leisure-space relation is usually highlighted in the definitions of leisure. For example, Stewart (1998) explains the term as emerging states of mind, as a transaction between individuals and their environments, and as personal experiences having spatial qualities. So, while talking about leisure-space relation, some important characteristics related to the space should be mentioned. Hence, it might be easier to grasp the meaning of the leisure activity and social discrimination related to that activity pattern and its space.

The human landscape can be described as a landscape that serves the process of exclusion (Sibley, 1995). Malone (2002) claims that as it is illustrated by the history, exclusion and intolerance of difference are not new arguments in spatial and social organization of the city life. She (p.159) continues that “while lamenting the privatization of public space in the postmodern city, many observers have tended to romanticize its history, celebrating the past openness and accessibility of streets, and grieving its loss. We may well ask if there was ever a time when street spaces were free and democratic, equal and available to all”. Monopolization of space by wealthy groups and the exclusion of weaker marginalized ones express power relations through socio-spatial hierarchy of winners and losers (Chatterton and Holands, 2003). At this point it is crucial to emphasize that different types of discrimination in social sphere are complemented by social discrimination that is seen in physical sphere, which makes the spatial characteristics of leisure spaces more significant for an analysis. As Massey (1998) argued, the conceptualization of space is important to understand that both individuals and social groups are engaged in efforts to include some and exclude others from particular spaces. She (pp.126-127) adds that “in more material practices, fencing off particular areas may be part of wider strategies to protect and defend particular groups and interests. Fencing off space may also, on the other hand, be an expression of attempts to dominate, and to control and define others”. As Sibley (1995) states, the nature of the difference can vary, but the construction of geographies of exclusion remains constant. This relationship between social discrimination and leisure spaces forms a theoretical framework that includes the significance of different contexts as well as individual and social behavior (Readdick & Mullis, 1997).

2.3.2. Shopping Malls as Leisure Spaces

In order to focus on the link between social discrimination, leisure and space, shopping malls can be claimed as appropriate sites for analysis. As it is argued by Sibley (1995, p.xi) who describes the shopping mall as “a significant mode of retail service provision in the developed capitalist economies, projected by both commercial and civic interests as progressive, and providing an improved environment for consumption and leisure for all the family”. According to Zukin (1998), shopping malls are the markers of modern cities, in which “something else other than mere shopping is going on” through the manufacture of designers (Goss, 1993, p.19). Shopping malls offer packaged spaces, in which modern city life can easily be consumed by the citizens (Yılmaz, April 2001/January 2002). Lewis (1989, p.881) defines the mall space as “more than just central locations for shopping, [as] these covered and climate-controlled monoliths have become meeting places – easily reachable and safe spots in which many activities only marginally related to the economics of the stores take place”. Salcedo (2003), by emphasizing the variations of the malls, examines different examples of malls, including small regional malls that involve cluster of ordinary retail stores, megamalls that offer a combination of shopping and carnival like diversions, festival malls that cover recreational shopping and ghetto malls. According to Goss (1993), the modernist nostalgia that is reflected in shopping malls for the authentic community is perceived to exist only in past and distant places. So, many shopping malls, which refer to the nostalgic evocations of the Parisian boulevards, Mexican paseos, Arabic souks and casbahs “reclaim, for the middle class imagination, ‘The Street’ – an idealized social space free, by virtue of private property, planning, and strict control, from the inconvenience of the weather and the danger and pollution of the automobile, but most important from the terror of

crime associated with today's environment" (Goss, 1993, p. 24). Concerning these accounts, shopping malls can be claimed as an idealized version of the city street (Jackson, 1998; Goss, 1993).

By emphasizing the difference of the mall from traditional high street, Beddington (1991, p.21) argues that the mall is "the predominant element setting the scene and providing at the same time safe, relaxed, comfortable, easy-to-follow circulation routes for customers between the entrances and the shops, and leisure and pleasure as well as window-shopping. [...] Obviously a design character must be adapted and co-ordinated throughout". Malls' initial role as being an economic entity is crucial to make them community centers for social and recreational practices (Bloch, Ridgway and Dawson, 1994). In other words, in the mall space, the activity of shopping is combined with other leisure and recreational facilities in order to increase the pleasure that is gained in those 'life spaces' (Kaya and Akyol, April 2001/January 2002). For Shields (1992), shopping malls as being consumption sites, bring together the leisure and commerce with some additional functions that are provided by restaurants, cafes, cinemas, etc. With global capitalism that intertwined with visual images, the amusement of society is turned out to be a central issue. Isolated and controlled environments of shopping malls display the fantastic images of the global capitalism to many people that spent a lot of time in malls (Langman, 1992).

Consumers now prefer settings that offer a favorable climate, a high potential for social interaction, ease of access, a perceived freedom from safety concerns, and a large selection of consumable goods and experiences with reduced price (Bloch, Ridgway and Dawson, 1994; Shields, 1992). In response to these preferences, the promise of a wide assortment of stores and merchandise available in a single location

together with interiors that have evolved comfortable, architecturally rich through lavish materials, sophisticated design elements and ambitious managers and staff who aim to institute many special events to answer the needs of customers begin to characterize the malls (Bloch, Ridgway and Dawson, 1994).

2.3.2.1. The Social and Physical Environments of Shopping Malls

Shopping malls are designed to persuade the target group of users to adopt certain physical and social behaviors related to the shopping (Goss, 1993), and this makes both the social and physical environments of the mall space crucial to shape the users' aimed dispositions and behaviors. It is possible to gather the characteristics of the social and physical environments of the shopping malls by underlying some considerable features:

a) Social environment of the mall;

- should involve elements and activities that promote the theme of social inclusion.
- should form a link between people from different parts of the city regardless of their gender, ethnicity, age, income, personal interests, etc. (White and Sutton, 2001).

b) Physical environment of the mall;

- should form an atmosphere that is safe, inviting and as secure as possible.
- should provide the promise of a wide assortment of stores and merchandise available in single location together with interiors that have evolved comfortable, architecturally rich through lavish materials, sophisticated

design elements and ambitious managers and staff (Bloch, Ridgway and Dawson, 1994; Donovan and Rossiter, 1982; White and Sutton, 2001).

Physical environment of the mall space has a crucial role in the excitement of shoppers, which in turn may influence their behavior such as desire to stay at the mall, mall repatronage intentions and outshopping (Wakefield and Baker, 1998).

According to Goss (1993, p.30), consumers in the mall space are usually characterized:

“as an object to be mechanistically manipulated – to be drawn, pulled, pushed, and led to flow magnets, anchors, generators, and attractions; or as a naïve dupe to be deceived, persuaded, induced, tempted, and seduced by ploys, ruses, tricks, strategies, and games of design”.

Crawford (1992, pp.13-14) also states that “all the familiar tricks of mall design- limited entrances, escalators placed only at the end of corridors, fountains and benches carefully positioned to entice shoppers into stores-control the flow of consumers through the numbingly repetitive corridors of shops”. Elements such as arcades, furniture, lighting, music, layout, ambiance, sightlines, regulated signage, and store design are important components of the physical environment of the mall space (Goss, 1993; Zukin, 1998; Baker *et. al*, 1992; Wakefield and Baker, 1998) that have effects on emotional states of the mall users (Baker *et. al*, 1992; Wakefield and Baker, 1998). In other words, physical environment and its elements are aimed to serve consumers and users of the mall space to help them meet with all possibilities and opportunities that a shopping mall can provide. Gottdiener (1995) categorizes five strategies in design process of the shopping malls; all activities in malls are turned inward, a mall welcome consumers as they enter it, an important amount of space in the mall is dedicated to fast-food restaurants, a mall is an open space of

social communion and sign systems are used to aid mall users. Salcedo (2003) takes the attention to some characteristics of the physical environment including internal climate control and efficient and planned use of space to point out the advantages of the mall space that allows shopping throughout the year and maximizes the profits of retailers and developers. Zukin (1998) mentions that new materials and technologies such as plate glass, cast iron, steel construction and colored electric lights are used in shopping centers in order to display goods dramatically. She continues that starting from 1950s, shopping mall designers started to utilize plate glass, electric lights and air conditioning in order to enclose malls and make shopping more comfortable in those spaces. “Malls throughout the world share common features of aesthetics, architecture and design. Functional necessity may explain some of the uniformity. However, a more direct reason is the fact that a high percentage of malls are planned and built by a few transnational and architectural and design firms” (Salcedo, 2003, p.1095). Moreover, White and Sutton (2001) by taking the attention to the security and safety in the mall environment, argue that physical environment and design of the mall are influenced by people’s perception of safety and how they used the space, in which they can congregate, walk and sit.

One of the important features of the physical environment of the mall space is its location. Salcedo (2003, p.1094) indicates that the malls in Chile “have been located in places with easy access to public transportation and along important avenues that are usual routes for inter-municipal travel [...]. Thus, despite the absence of many malls in lower class districts, these sectors are easily connected to malls through major roads and members of working class are encouraged through advertisement and transportation facilities to visit the mall”. Furthermore, Bloch, Ridgway and

Dawson (1994) also discuss the importance of location of the malls to make travel to mall as a pleasurable experience that the visitors have. Such a determination and choice of the location of a shopping mall are significant to highlight the term 'location' as a characteristic of the physical environment of the mall space. While talking about Hillside Mall in Australia, White and Sutton (2001) list some important elements of the physical environments of the mall space. According to them, clear sightlines are needed in the physical environment of the mall space in order to ensure natural and functional surveillance. They suggest appropriate low-level shrubs and non-screening trees to ensure a 'cool' and 'green' offset to existing or proposed paving. In addition, they underline the importance of comprehensive signage system of amenities as a part of physical structure, which should be considered to be reflecting the cultural diversity in terms of both language and values in the served society. Finally, they point out that furniture, paving and coverings should be constructed with durable materials and should be well maintained at all times. This is important to prevent any form of vandalism, and other forms of anti-social activities in that environment.

Besides the physical characteristics of shopping malls that complement the orientation towards consumption, social environments of the mall spaces are also important to encourage "feeling connected and sensing the excitement and the exhilaration of being in and around others" (White and Sutton, 2001, p.67). Miller *et. al* (1998, p.10) argue that "consumers gather around objects which define their identity and become centerpieces of particular routines of sociability". Thus, the most important duty of the mall space is to response the identity need of people and this makes shopping malls meaningful social spaces. White and Sutton (2001) by

describing a mall space, bring together the characteristics of social and physical environment of shopping malls around the shared aim for provision of sense of order, safety and security that people need. Social environment of the mall spaces includes elements such as the number and friendliness of salespeople, managers, other employees, users of the mall environment (Baker *et. al*, 1992) and their behaviors, attitudes, manners towards each other and towards the space regardless of socio-demographic differences among them. In addition to these, prices of goods and activities, facilities and stores in the mall space are the elements of social environment that promote either social inclusion or exclusion depending on the variety among consumers in the mall space.

Social environment of a mall should be effectively monitored, but at the same time should be tolerant for diverse activities and diverse usage of diverse groups of people (White and Sutton, 2001). In the social environment, community and commercial use of the mall should reinforce each other by complementary design elements of the physical environment to establish the mall as a preferred meeting and congregational place that creates demand for commercial outlets, such as cafes, boutique stores and coffee shops (White and Sutton, 2001). In other words, in addition to these core elements and necessities that the social and physical environments of a mall space is expected to provide, additional 'community' facilities or 'amenities' such as free concerts, children's playgrounds, exhibitions, movie theatres, hair salons, cafes, restaurants, post offices video arcades, etc. are also provided (Bloch, Ridgway and Dawson, 1994; Zukin, 1998; White and Sutton, 2001). These facilities can be considered as part of both social and physical environments of the mall space. Their function to attract wide range of interest groups and keeping shopping longer (Goss,

1993; White and Sutton, 2001) serves to the same purpose as the social environment of the mall space. In this respect, in the following sections, the facilities of shopping malls will also be mentioned as being parts of both social and physical environments of the mall space, unless problems concerning physical and social characteristics of facilities are highlighted as specific problems of either social or physical environments.

2.3.2.2. The Competing Usage of the Shopping Malls as Leisure Spaces

As it is indicated by the findings of the study of Haytko and Baker (2004) and Zengel (April 2001/January 2002), it is possible to claim that malls have transformed from purchase sites to centers for many activities. As a result of this, the usage of the shopping malls as leisure spaces can show variations according to the users and their aims of visit. Erkip (2003), while talking about the Turkish case concerning shopping malls, mentions that depending on global and local interaction, spatial arrangement in shopping malls are flexible, in which different user groups are attracted by different occasions. Zukin (1998, p.830) takes the attention to different usages of the shopping malls according to socio-demographic differences among users by claiming that “non-working women arrange to meet at malls to go shopping with their fiends. Elderly people exercise in malls, especially in the mornings when business is slow. [...], with a more fluid network of friends, teenagers demonstrate the malls’ usefulness as public space”. Furthermore, Erkip (2003) states that activities of browsing and socializing are indications of leisurely use of shopping malls. Bloch, Ridgway and Dawson (1994), qualifying malls as habitats that attract large numbers of people who spend long time in those spaces, argue that individuals within

consumer habitats can be categorized according to variations in their patterns of behaviors such as browsing, buying, or shopping. In their research on these differences and variation with respect to usage and disposition activities in the mall spaces, they (1994) cluster the mall ‘inhabitants’ into four groups:

- *Mall enthusiasts*: are the individuals who engage in a wide range of behaviors including high levels of purchasing, experiential consumption and usage of the mall.
- *Traditionalists*: are the groups of individuals who take the advantage of typical mall services. They are unlikely browse or consume the services. They have higher than average on mall focused activities (e.g. walking in the mall for exercise).
- *Grazers*: are inhabitants who have higher than average tendency to pass time in the mall browsing and eating. They are impulse purchasers during their browsing, but their socialization and engagement in mall-oriented activities are very rare.
- *Minimalists*: are the groups who rarely participate in the mall activities they seem to be uninvolved with eating, browsing, mall services and socializing facilities. They engage a few activities in the mall in order to get in and out of the mall as efficiently as possible.

In recent debates of geography, meaning and the uses of the shopping malls have figured out concerning different individuals and social groups (Jackson and Holbrook, 1995; Miller *et. al*, 1998; Vanderbeck and Johnson, 2000; White and Sutton, 2001). Shopping center developers believe that malls should attract as much

as customer as possible and must keep those customers (Haytko and Baker, 2004).

Nicola (2000) (cited in Copeland, 2004, p.42) states that:

“shopping centers, like individual shops, are prima facie open to the public during ordinary shopping hours. There is an implicit invitation to the members of the public to enter a shop, either for the purpose of doing business, or with a view to doing business, or for no particular purpose at all”.

Regarding the different purpose of visiting and using the mall environment, Copeland (2004, p.42) also points out that “because of the design of centers, the provision of public seating and amenities, it probably also includes an intention to simply be in the space to use the provided seating or meet up with people”. Shopping malls, as consumption spaces with their own properties can intervene in the construction of difference (Miller *et. al*, 1998). Lewis (1989) states that “[...] because of the reputation a mall can build within a community, it becomes a social magnet, drawing others inside its walls – people who come not to buy or participate in the staged events, but out of curiosity, to meet friends, to hang out and pass the time in its controlled and temperate environment” (p. 881). White and Sutton (2004) indicates that “different people want different things in and from public spaces, at different times of the day and this might lead us to the emphasis of Vanderbeck and Johnson (2000), about the tensions between different users of the mall environment in order to draw attention to the marginalized groups. Goss (1993, p.25) argues that “by virtue of their scale, design, and function, shopping centers appear to be public spaces, more or less open to anyone and relatively sanitary and safe”. However, Erkip (1997) points out that although urban public services are defined as public goods and benefits that are consumed by many citizen-consumers, from which exclusion is almost impossible, there is a long-lasting debate over the condition of non exclusion that result from some distribution problems. She continues that some

factors such as, the amount of resources available, geographical concentration of socio-economic characteristics of the users, and the number and intensity of political demands may affect service distribution for public services. Thus, particularly higher income groups are expected to affect the distributional patterns. Although this debate is valid for public services, it can be used to analyze the provision of mall space, whatever the level of publicity is expected. And this takes the attention to the diverse groups of users with diverse forms of expectation from the mall space and different forms of attitudes, behaviors they faced with respect to their expectations and socio-demographic differences. These arguments concerning competing usage and users of the mall space and the debate over shopping malls as public spaces or spaces of exclusion will be approached in the following chapter within the framework of social discrimination.

3. THE ISSUE OF SOCIAL DISCRIMINATION IN SHOPPING MALLS

As it is claimed by Chatterton and Hollands (2003), spaces of consumption are important sites for social exclusion. Shopping malls, being the most dominating of these consumption spaces, are surrounded with discrimination policies that may result in different forms of social exclusion. Erkip (2003, p.1090) indicates that “the shopping mall is the space where global and local meet successfully, yet with potential problems”, pointing out that shopping malls creates new forms of exclusion, particularly for the urban poor. The effects of physical structure and social construction of the shopping mall on consumers impose power and control mechanism over different cultural, social and physical roles of users, of which projection over individual will be different kinds of stereotypes (Jewell, 2001).

Jewell (2001, p.328) points out that:

“in its attempt to create a ‘global appeal’ the shopping mall instead offers safety, efficiency, predictability and intelligibility. In targeting a particular socio-economic group the mall gives an identity to that lifestyle but also segregates it into spatial ‘cluster’ [...] based on the perception of being your own kind”.

In the following sections, the space of the shopping malls is analyzed in the framework of social discrimination.

3.1. The Mall as a Public Space and the Mall as a Space for Social Control and Exclusion

Miller *et. al* (1998) claim that shopping malls are heterogeneous machines that serve heterogeneous consumer groups. According to Goss (1993, p.25), “by virtue of their scale, design, and function, shopping centers, appear to be public spaces, more or

less, open to anyone...”. Moreover, Erkip (2003, p.1089) proposes that in Turkey, “the malls invite and attract all age and income groups at present, which may be interpreted as a democratic consumption pattern”.

However, in other arguments, shopping malls are defined as strongly bounded and purified social spaces that exclude a significant majority of the population. Malone (2002) argues that boundaries as markers of the landscape are the products of society. She also emphasizes the role of boundaries in construction of sense of identity in the inhabited places and in the organization of the social spaces of people through geographies of power. Malone discusses the terms “open and closed spaces” (p.158) as shown in Table 1. According to this, she indicates shopping malls as “strongly classified spaces” with “strongly defined boundaries”, in which difference and diversity are not tolerated by the help of design regulations and visible internal boundaries (Malone, 2002, p.158).

Table 1 – Characteristics of open and closed spaces

<i>Open</i>	<i>Closed</i>
1- Ritual order celebrates participation and cooperation	1- Ritual order celebrates hierarchy and dominance
2- Boundary relationships with outside blurred	2- Boundary relationships with outside sharply drawn
3- Opportunities for self-government	3- Very limited opportunities for self-government
4- Mixing of categories	4- Purity of categories

Source: Sibley, 1995, p. 79

This acceptance of shopping malls as closed spaces with strict boundaries contradict with other arguments that claim shopping malls as public spaces that open to anyone through the encouragement of difference (Bloch, Ridgway and Dawson, 1994; Miller *et. al*, 1998; Shields, 1992). For that reason, some scholars, such as Valentine (1996) and White and Sutton (2001) prefer to define shopping malls as ‘semipublic spaces’ or spaces with ‘semi-private interior’ (Sibley, 1995) or ‘privatized public spaces’ (Zengel, April 2001/January 2002). The overall contexts in which the malls are located appear to be important to define their function in a particular society.

“After 1945, the dense, morally ambiguous and socially heterogeneous consumption spaces of the cities were replaced by the suburbs’ clean, sprawling, socially and visually homogeneous shopping centers” (Zukin, 1998, p. 829). Also Jewell (2001, p.318) argues that shopping malls are leisure spaces that include variety of leisure practices in a “[...] privatized and exclusionary world; one where the environment is predicated towards security”. According to Salcedo (2003), malls are spaces in which tendencies of homogenization and segregation appear. Through their physical environments they attract consumers come to the mall and make them stay as much as possible, while at the same time, they continue to enact discriminatory policies to some marginalized groups.

This dichotomy of the mall environment leads competing usage of the mall environment by different users, who are targeted by the mall space as consumers in general, while at the same time, to be excluded from the mall space through social environment, and even through elements of physical environment, which reflect the social environment. According to Salcedo (2003), there exist two opposing narratives

concerning malls. One argues the mall space as a public space that facilitates community and the other argues about the mall as a space of contrived hyperconsumption and social control.

These opposing narratives can be explained through characteristics of shopping malls as being places publicly accessible but privately owned sites (White and Sutton, 2001; Erkip, 2003; Copeland, 2004). As it is stated by Erkip (2003, p.1073) “although malls appear more public and democratic than the streets for the time being, the potential for segregation is implicit in their private character”. According to Zukin (1998), rapid growth of visitors in shopping malls make these privately owned, privately policed consumption spaces a public space (in most people’s minds, but not in law). White and Sutton (2001, p.66), while summarizing the key features of shopping malls as “a primary function of retailing, constituted on the basis of profit-making private investment; commercial rationales for decision making (rather than public needs or interests *per se*); and management control, defended and justified on the basis of private property rights, over what is allowable within a shopping center”, at the same time, take the attention to ‘public-private’ dichotomy inherent in the definition of the malls. Furthermore, they (p.69) point out that “public places, are ‘for the people’. Nonetheless, some people are made more welcome than others [in the mall]”. This argument can be related to the concern with the publicity and appearance of the mall environment regarding the diversity of consumers as a target group that the mall environment appeals. “The way they are designed, their signage, provision of parking, advertising and provided amenities such as seating and water fountains, all suggest there is clear intention that the public may enter” (Copeland, 2004, p. 42). However, clear social costs in terms of democratic access

and public accountability are appeared through less efficiency of mall security forces compared to their public counterparts, if efficiency is measured in terms of crime rates (Jackson, 1998; Salcedo, 2003). In this respect, security guards can evict ‘undesirable’ group of users, not just from the building but from the precinct as well, and such actions remark the fact that shopping malls constitute a kind of ambiguous, seemingly public, but in fact private space (Sibley, 1995). Thus, with the consideration of main concern as preventing crime in those highly accessible places, it becomes necessary to exclude or at least to marginalize some groups through purification and privatization of the mall environment, which leads to increased social exclusion and heightened inequality (Jackson, 1998; Salcedo, 2003; White and Sutton, 2001). And this social exclusion and heightened inequality in the mall space will be the main concern for this study in order to question the social discrimination in the shopping malls regarding their characteristics and necessities of being publicly accessible but privately owned sites.

3.1.1. The Role of the Social Environments of Shopping Malls

Context, as a combination of the social and cultural environment has immense influence on the identity development (Güneri, Sümer and Yıldırım, 1999). The role of the social environment of the mall space on the issue of social discrimination becomes important with “increasing social diversity of groups who use shopping malls” (Zukin, 1998, p. 830). According to Goss (1993) elderly people, those without shopping bags, and suspicious visitors (teenagers, single men, the unkempt, and social science researchers) can easily take the attention of the security as being out of context of the expected social environment of the mall space. Social environment of

the mall spaces may be defined as exclusive in nature through the rule-driven and coercive regulation both in terms of actual people and with respect to types of human interaction and behaviors allowed for the target use of the mall space by the mall managers (White and Sutton, 2001). As the primary concern of the shopping malls is “to trap the consumer in the world of consumption” (Goss, 1993, p.32), class-based segregation and social differentiation in the mall space are provoked by the prices that are aimed to target certain class of people. Social discrimination in the social environment usually appears in the form of uniformed personnel such as police and security guards. As it is mentioned in the previous chapter, the mall space as a mixture of private and public ownerships, is matched by the mixture of state police and private security, of which objectives can vary from being concerned with maintaining public order to enforcing dress and certain codes of behavior. All these regulations in the social environment of the mall space can be seen as common problems in the relationships of the social environment of the mall space with certain disadvantaged groups (White and Sutton, 2001) through a tendency towards discrimination.

“[...] It is important to note that private security guards have no more powers than any other member of the public. This means they can make a citizen’s arrest if they actually witness a criminal act but they have no special powers to search, ask for name and address or detain people” (Copeland, 2004, p.43).

However, ‘zero tolerance’ in the mall environments by authorities, relies heavily upon intervention by those private police and security guards, of whom the power of control in the social environment is manifested in the stepped-up use of ‘name checks’ that demand name and addresses and ‘move-on’ powers that cover the right to ask, for example, young people and other selected groups to move away from certain areas (White and Sutton, 2001). Zukin (1998) also pays attention to the

problems and coping strategies with those problems in the social environment. She points out that security guards pay special attention to minority group members, especially young men and they routinely interrogate all teenagers. Moreover, she mentions the guards' offices and police sub-stations that are placed at the entrances of the malls in order to control access to the space, even sometimes by imposing curfews on youth. Despite the fact that these restrictions and constraints can be accepted as necessities for the provision of safety and security in the social environment for mall users, there lies another fact that the aim of discrimination against certain user groups with respect to their age, ethnicity, race, etc. is something deniable under these strategies.

Salcedo (2003, p.1099) states that "it is not just that mall developers want to exclude certain groups to ensure profits but also that middle-class consumers wish to separate themselves as well". All these are clear evidences for the role of the social environment in the creation of discrimination patterns in the mall space.

3.1.2. The Role of the Physical Environment of Shopping Malls

Physical and built environments are designed and managed as documents of power and they are used to dominate victims of marginalization and exclusion (Matthews and Limb, 1999). Shopping malls can be approached from this perspective with physical environments that can be designed and organized to serve the hegemonic values of powerful groups that may result in discrimination. Developers and designers manipulate behaviors of shoppers by consciously designing a symbolic landscape that provokes related and associative moods and behaviors for the

shoppers, which are aimed to understand how the mall environment works and how the consumers might work against it (Goss, 1993). Jewell (2001, p.371) points out that:

“the environment of the mall always encourages segregation rather than a collision of the functional elements that comprise its whole. Space, in this sense, is not designed with a productive idea of appropriation in mind, but instead for ‘single-minded’ activity, the perceived result of which is the ensurance of a model of behavioral constancy that we supposedly crave as consumers”.

Social environment of a mall space has a substantial role in planning the physical environment of the same space, which means physical environment is as important as the social environment concerning the issue of social discrimination. Spatial system of the shopping centers structures, both opportunities and constraints for movement and social interaction (Goss, 1993). Lynch (1976) (cited in Goss, 1993, p.22)

proposes that:

“the sense of place is also a political fact. What can be done to the look of a locality depends on who controls it. . . . People can be excluded, awed, confused, made acquiescent, or kept ignorant by what they see and hear. So the sense of the environment has always been a matter of moment to any ruling class”.

Physical environment of a mall can serve to varied forms of discrimination patterns against certain group of people through its different elements and components.

Within built environment of the shopping mall, social segregation and differentiation are consciously reproduced (Goss, 1993). For example, Zukin (1998, p.829) claims that “exclusivity was reinforced by locating many suburban malls far away from bus lines and train stations, surrounding them with gigantic parking lots, and turning the shops inward, effectively walling them away from the outdoors”. Thus, it may be necessary to look for discriminating factors in the framework of such patterns that aim to reach and serve for certain group of people as the main target consumer group

of the mall space. Hazel (1992) gives the examples of such patterns in the physical environment of the mall space that are either omitted or reluctantly provided, including, for instance, “drinking fountains, which would reduce soft drink sales” or “restrooms which attract activities of drug dealing or sex” (cited in Goss, 1993, p.26). These examples of social discrimination patterns that are reflected in the physical environment of the shopping malls against potential minority tenants, employees and mall users are the significant actors to consider the exclusion process of minority groups to protect patrons from confusion of social difference and diversity (Goss, 1993).

3.2. Different Kinds of Social Discrimination regarding Differences among Shopping Mall Users

Sibley (1995), Jackson (1998), Miller *et. al* (1998) and Vanderbeck and Johnson (2000) draw attention to tensions between different users of urban public spaces and the ways in which the dominant members of the society, so the dominant user group of these spaces, (white, male middle-class adults) often consider the presence of certain marginalized groups within these spaces to be problematical and disturbing. “Various social groups – the elderly and the young, women and members of sexual and ethnic minorities – have, in different times and places, been excluded from public places or subject to political or moral censure” (Jackson, 1998, p. 176).

The main purpose of the shopping malls as providing a safe consumption site results in an increase in the number of visitors and the rates of consumption. Thus, it is needed to exclude or marginalize certain social groups, who are considered to be

nonconsumers or disruptive, through discriminatory policies (Salcedo, 2003). White and Sutton (2001) cites the arguments of a number of critics (Davis, 1990; White and Sutton, 1995; Worpole and Greenhalgh, 1996), by emphasizing shopping malls' tendency to be designed and managed in order to exclude and discriminate particular groups, such as unemployed, homeless, and young people. Salcedo (2003) indicates one of the typical groups that are tended to be excluded from the mall environment as the poor. According to him, location of the mall provides the necessary conditions for such exclusion. White and Sutton (2001) also state that socio-economic status and ethnicity have a greater bearing on discriminatory policies in the mall life. Malls discriminate against some ethnic and minority populations like African Americans. In addition, groups that make demonstrations, religious manifestations and gatherings are not allowed and are considered as undesirable guests (Salcedo, 2003). Finally, regulatory policies to separate out different sections of community on the basis of age is common in the shopping malls (White and Sutton, 2001). Teenagers can be declared as undesirable visitors that form a challenge for the mall environment and management (Salcedo, 2003). Discrimination against teenagers in the mall environment is analyzed in detail in the following sections.

3.2.1. The Difference in the Usage of Shopping Malls by Adults and Teenagers

As it is indicated by numerous studies (See Anthony, 1985; Lewis, 1989; Matthews *et. al*, 2000; Vanderbeck and Johnson, 2000; Copeland, 2004) one of the important marginalized groups to whom the mall appeals are adolescents. For this study, young people's use of shopping malls is considered as "a particular type of street site where boundary disputes between adults and children are common" (Matthews *et. al*, 2000,

p. 282). It is argued that malls have become crucial components of teenagers' social worlds (Vanderbeck and Johnson, 2000; Lewis, 1989; Haytko and Baker, 2004). However, the academic researches that have been devoted to understand adolescents' role as primary consumers in the mall environment are not sufficient (Haytko and Baker, 2004; Lewis, 1989).

The 'leisure' for young people is the realm, in which they become themselves (Hendry *et. al*, 1993). Young people might have acquired certain stereotypes in childhood and during their adolescence they try to explore the implications, constraints, demands, etc. that social boundaries have for them and their social behavior. Hence, their attitudes towards leisure, the meanings and constraints they impose on it and the social forces that influence their involvement and perception of leisure can be shaped (Hendry *et. al*, 1993). Although, they have more time, opportunities and less responsibility than at any other time of their lives, at this age, young people are also restricted by lack of power, by lack of transport and by legal and parental limitations (Hendry *et. al*, 1993). Furthermore, as it is stated by Punch (2000), the use of space limited for children in urban societies in terms of some threatening and dangerous factors such as assault, traffic, etc. For teenagers, concerning these factors, the time spent at the mall is argued as being much more than in any other setting, as a common venue (Anthony, 1985; Lewis, 1989; Hendry *et. al*, 1993) and this can be claimed as an important reason that makes the mall a significant context for the leisure of teenagers. Mall space, concerning the usage of teenagers, is defined as a "third place" – a place for enjoying social life, a place other than home and school – (Anthony, 1985; Lewis, 1989) or, one more step ahead, it can be defined as a "fourth environment", "which is globally defined as the

environment outside the home, playground, and specifically child oriented institutions” (Viet, 1983, p. 567). “Fourth environments” include youth clubs, sports centers, discotheques, and shopping malls (Silbereisen and Todt, 1994). For young people, shopping malls are prime sites for unstructured activities (White and Sutton, 2001). Silbereisen and Todt (1994, p.7) point out that:

“[...] adolescents not only visit, occupy, and even defend territories they were not able to access during childhood, they also have their own understanding of proper use. Conflicts with adult users (shop owners, guards, etc.) are part of the game. [...] the genuine role context play in adolescent development seems to be beyond any development”.

According to Anthony (1985) and Matthews *et. al* (2000) the mall is a crucial place for young people, which assists them to develop their own social life and to escape from the monotony between home and school. It is a meeting place and ‘hang out’ for them (White and Sutton, 2001). They spend up to five hours in shopping malls by watching each other, playing video games, having snacks and cruising round (Anthony, 1985). Lewis (1989, p.881) points out that:

“many younger children are happily dropped off there during the day on weekends in the winter and any day of the week during summer vacation by their parents, with enough change for the video games and lunch at a fast-food stand. Older teenagers arrive by themselves, or more typically, in small groups, to hang out and see their friends”.

Depending on these arguments, it is possible to claim that shopping malls is a setting of “social inclusion, a convenient and accessible meeting point where they [teenagers] can gather to assert their sense of belonging and group membership” (Matthews *et. al*, 2000, p.287). However, according to different arguments, the mall environment is considered to be a contradictory and exclusionary space for many young people because of their limited resources in the mall environment, which is mainly a consumption space.

The arguments that concern the differences in the usage of malls by adults and teenagers can be explained by analyzing the mall environment as an ageist environment. White and Sutton (2001) claim that it is not possible to say that there exists a typical consumer in a typical shopping mall. They (p.68) explain that:

“different people want different things in and from public spaces, at different times of the day. This holds true as much for older as for younger people. [...] Different people exhibit very different sorts of relationships with such environments, and engage in significantly different kinds of activities while in such a setting. Too often, however, young people are lumped together as causing ‘problems’ in public space, and older people are lumped together as an amorphous entity – ‘the public’ – concerned about such problems”.

Copeland (2004) in her article mentions a saying of a shopping mall manager. In manager words: “our responsibility is to our shareholders, to maximizing profits, which means attracting shoppers that will spend money, not young people who might scare real shoppers away ...we are not community center” (Copeland, 2004, p. 44). This point of view of a shopping center manager is important to underline the perception of differences between adults and teenagers in the usage of the mall space and the possible outcomes of such a perception.

3.2.2. Ageist Discrimination against Teenagers in Shopping Malls

Matthews, Limb, and Taylor (2000), by using the term ‘street’ as a metaphor for all public spaces, such as roads, walkways, car parks, alleyways, vacant plots and shopping areas indicate that children and their lives are bound up with the societies, cultures and spaces and all these spaces are a border zone, in which young people can develop their identities, but have difficulty in overturning the hegemony of adults. As it is stated by Vanderbeck and Johnson (2000, p.8) “[...] few geographers

actively engaged these young people in their research to explore the meanings of these spaces and the roles they play in their lives”.

Malbon (1998) argues that spaces of social interactions are the key elements in terms of the opportunities they provide to refashion one self and make identification with others. However, in these spaces, there is a tendency of individuals and social groups to territorialize spaces (Massey, 1998). Massey (1998, p.217) states that “a range of ‘authorities’ in wider society invent and implement rules for the spatial ordering of the population in term of age” and teenagers are the parts of this population which are affected from this ordering. Apart from the home environment, which is an unsatisfactory social environment for teenagers (Sibley, 1995), they have limited choices and they try to socialize within whatever spaces they can find (Chatterton and Hollands, 2003). Moreover, a great deal of planners and architects, who have not attempted to derive guidelines for the design of the environments specifically designated to children and teenagers, raise the difficulties for that group (Vliet, 1983). White and Sutton (2001, p.69) indicate that “the fact that young people tend to hang around in groups, are vulnerable, socially and politically, and are highly visible due to modes of dress and sheer numbers, means that hey are easy targets for various kinds of ‘moral panics’ with regard to their presumed behaviors”. Breitbart (1998) also argues that urban teenagers are increasingly considered as undesirable occupant of public space and their access to these spaces is tried to be limited. She (p.307) adds that “negative images of youth and increased privatization of public space both result in public policies that seek to remove young people from public places, delimit their geography and enforce their invisibility”. However, what contradictory is, while adults try to provide trustful and safe social environments for teenagers, at the same

time, they consider teenagers as factors of risk for their ‘world of authority and control’ and let the process of exclusion and marginalization work for them. As it is argued by Holloway and Valentine (2000, p.16):

“though the understanding of children as either angels or devils in some ways contradictory, both ‘stories’ reproduce the same spatial ideology that children’s place is in the home, and in the straying outside this they either place themselves s risk in adult controlled space, or their unruly behavior threatens adult hegemony of public space”.

Shopping malls as being one of these public spaces, worth of in-depth analysis by highlighting the spatial characteristics of it, which bring together the constraints placed upon teenagers in gaining access to shopping malls as a precaution to shopping mall security (Anthony, 1985; Breitbart, 1998).

When we look at the 21st century, exclusion of young people from public spaces is very widespread (Copeland, 2004). Children and young people are seemingly invisible on the landscapes and in the built environments (Matthews and Limb, 1999). Vanderbeck and Johnson (2000, p.7) point out that “adolescents are often viewed as rowdy, disruptive, and in some cases, potentially dangerous, and their very presence in ‘public’ spaces is often viewed as a challenge to adult authority”. This view can be considered as a result of the redefinition of the public domain by adults as their own private space (Matthews, *et. al*, 2000; Vanderbeck and Johnson, 2000) and such a hegemonic acceptance probably affects the participation of adolescents in many leisure spaces including shopping malls. For the public spaces which are accepted as ‘adult space’, and the position of young people in those spaces, Valentine (1996) points out that “where young people are expected to show deference to adults and adults’ definitions of appropriate behaviors, levels of noise, and so on” (cited in Vanderbeck and Johnson, 2000, p. 7). Their position as a challenge and threat for the

mall environment leads to establishment of discriminatory policies in the social environment of the mall space (Salcedo, 2003) that ignore the commonalities across generations by undermining the association of young people with the idea and practices of ‘community’ (White and Sutton, 2001). Although officers in the mall environment should have the ability to communicate with a wide range of people (White and Sutton, 2001) to prevent any kind of social discrimination in the social environment of the mall space, the private security firms in the malls police the mall space in order to look for ‘undesirables’, mostly groups of teenage boys who did not meet with the family image targeted by the company and mall management (Sibley, 1995). These discriminatory policies in the social environment of the mall may include curfews, parent escort policies, and strict control by security guards or removing from the mall. “While many of the methods used to move them on have remained the same (loitering/trespass provisions, curfews, banning notices, even architectural and planning practices), the increase in the use of private security, [...] has had a major impact” (Copeland, 2004, p. 40). This sort of discrimination in the social environment can also be reflected to the physical environment of the mall. At this point, it is necessary to emphasize the importance of the physical environment of the mall space including physical and built landscapes, on which the discriminatory adult values are imprinted concerning teenagers.

As Sibley (1995) stated that response of mall managements to adolescents in the mall space is shaped through the connection between the function and design of the space, as determined by design professionals and commercial interests and the construction of one group as ‘deviant’, and threatening the projected image of the malls. Goss (1993, p.26) states that:

“rowdy teenagers may spill out of the amusement arcades designed purposefully to keep them on the periphery, or use the parking lot for cruising, disrupting the comfortable shopping process of adults and particularly elderly. [...] Passed ordinances and erected barricades in parking lots to prevent unnecessary and repetitive driving. [...]”.

He also adds that public telephones in some malls, which may be monopolized by teenagers, may be omitted or only reluctantly provided. Salcedo (2003, p.1090) points out that “installation of mechanical devices that impede skateboarding or biking in mall parking lots” is also one of the discriminatory policies that the social environment of the mall space enacted through the usage of the physical landscape. Of course, there exist many other elements not necessarily aiming to discriminate teenagers but favoring adults, in order to lead them consumption. Nevertheless, these design features can also be considered as forming feelings of discrimination against teenagers who have limited financial resources (See “Milli Eğitim Gençlik ve Spor Bakanlığı”, 1986 and Gaster, 1991).

In summary, it can be argued that “the control of spatiality is part of the process of defining the social category of ‘youth’ itself” (Massey, 1998, p. 127). As Sibley (1995, p.xii) points out that in the mall space, “exclusion may be an unintended consequence of commercial development”, by which adolescents are acutely aware of discrimination against them, while their exclusion is less likely evident for the adults.

With this linkage between youth and control policies of shopping mall in mind, the issue of social discrimination in the mall environment that is assumed to be a consequence of its social environment with its reflections on the elements of the physical environment should be analyzed. So, the main research question arises as

'do shopping malls reflect social discrimination regarding different teenagers with respect to social and physical environments of the mall space?'

4. THE CASE STUDY: AKKÖPRÜ MİGROS SHOPPING MALL

In the case of Turkey, shopping malls began to spread in 1990's (Erkip, 2003; Güzel and Sönmez, April 2001/January 2002; Zengel, April 2001/January 2002; Sayar and Süer, April 2001/January 2002). The first malls were built in 1987 in İstanbul and in 1989 in Ankara (Erkip, 2003). Small retailers and streets are replaced by new consumption and leisure spaces that serve for consumption of new and distinct products (Tokathı and Boyacı, 1998). They become a part of Turkish daily life (Dogu and Erkip, 2000). Erkip (2003, p.1073) argues that "the shopping mall as a postmodern site matched the changing shopping and consumption requirements of Turkish urban citizens. The development of the shopping mall turns out to be timely for the Turkish urban citizen searching for modernity through new identity components in consumption patterns". She adds that as Turkish citizens being exposed to global products late, they are eager to consume international brands in shopping malls. Shopping malls in Turkey, show most of the characteristics of typical shopping malls through their imitated design of the examples in foreign countries (Sözer, 2002). As it is argued by Zengel (April 2001/January 2002) after 1980s, consumption habits of Turkish people have changed by a tendency towards big shopping malls and single-unit retail shops. However, "the shopping mall development in Ankara reflects social and spatial segregation. Existing malls are shared between lower and upper social strata, according to the location and characteristics of the mall, mainly through the variety and quality of the goods and services provided" (Erkip, 2003, p. 1078). In this study, this aspect concerning shopping malls will be analyzed from the perspective of issue of social discrimination of teenagers. There exist nine main shopping malls in Ankara;

Atakule (1989), Karum (1991), Beğendik (1993), Galleria (1996), Bilkent (1998), Akköprü Migros (1999), CarrfourSa (2001), Armada (2002) and Arcadium (2003). For this study, Akköprü Migros Shopping Mall was chosen as the site, in which the case study was conducted.

4.1. Analysis of the Site

In this context, Akköprü Migros Shopping Mall was chosen, concerning its significance in the urban public life of Ankara, with its location, diversity of users and the variety of leisure activities on offer (See Appendix A, Figure 1a and Figure. 1b). Sözer (2002) indicates that Akköprü Migros is dissociated from the rest of the city by creating an introverted, controlled and self-adequate space with many stores and a variety of leisure activities. Unlike many malls in suburban areas that were aimed to be accessible primarily by private transport by locating them far away from bus lines and train stations (Zukin, 1998), Migros Shopping Mall was placed at hubs of mass transport such as public buses, mini-buses, and especially subway that rise efficiency of the mall by increasing accessibility. It has harmonious relations with the transportation system of the city of Ankara (Sözer, 2002).

Migros takes its name from the market chain it houses (See Appendix A, Figure 1b). It is an inner-city shopping mall, which was put in service on 27 August 1999 as the biggest shopping center in Turkey by the time it was built. With a total construction area of 126,60m², it is located at the intersection of İstanbul and Konya Highways (See Appendix A, Figure 2). The center is mainly a four-storey building with seven

gates. The building provides accommodation for the 14,440 m² Migros Store, 129 stores, a cineplex with 10 movie theatres, a multi-purpose hall for entertainment and cultural activities, food court that includes both different kinds of international fast-food chains and Turkish food chains selling traditional Turkish food and deserts, an open parking area for 2000 cars, and a closed parking area for 1000 cars (See Appendix A, Figure 3a and Figure 3b). One of the seven gates is the main entrance placed on the ground floor, for the visitors who use subway and open air parking lot, and other six gates placed on the basement floor for those who use closed parking area (See Appendix A, Figure 4). In each gate, visitors confront with access points that are controlled by x-rays and security staff. This controlled environment of Akköprü Migros that does not allow everybody to come in seems as far from being a real public space in Ankara (Sözer, 2002). The basement store houses the sunken waterfall pool, Toys R Us, a video game area for children, some other amenities (such as dry cleaning, hairdresser, tailor, etc.), stores (besides the multi-purposed entertainment facilities such as competition, advertisement for certain products) and the closed car park (See Appendix A, Figure 5a and Figure 5b). The ground floor houses shops, stores and the Migros Hypermarket, which is placed on an area of 14,440m². There are stores mostly for textile products and some kiosks at the first floor (See Appendix A, Figure 6a). The second floor provides accommodation for the food court, movie theatre, multi-purpose hall, art gallery spaces and a large music and book store, in addition to some other stores (See Appendix A, Figure 6b, Figure 7, Figure 8a, Figure 8b and Figure 8c).

There are two sets of elevators on each side of the main shopping mall and escalators “that alternate in order to prevent the shopper moving quickly between floors without

maximum exposure to shopfronts” (Goss, 1993, p. 29) and large corridors that provide circulation within the building (See Appendix A, Figure 9a and Figure 9b). The lack of transparent openings in the building, except the two sides of the entrance façade in the first and second floors, prevents the natural light, which can only be taken inside from the opaque vaults; so lighting is provided with luxurious artificial lighting (See Appendix A, Figure 9b). Migros Shopping Mall is incorporated by some “traditional urban elements as quasi-‘streets’ of shops and benches” as stated by Zukin (1998, p. 829) and is decorated by palm trees and a sunken waterfall pool (See Appendix A, Figure 9b and Figure 9c). Moreover, a rich, luxurious, elegant atmosphere is reflected on the decoration of the shopping mall (See Appendix A, Figure 9d). As it is stated by Sözer (2002) this decoration and architecture in Akköprü Migros serves for the aim of making people feel important, comfortable so that they can spend more time and money as being directed exclusively towards consumption.

4.2. Research Objectives and Hypotheses

Sibley (1995) argues that while analyzing the assumptions of exclusion and inclusion, which are implicit in the design of spaces, account of barriers, prohibitions and constraints on activities from the point of view of the discriminated and excluded are required to be explained. In this study, the main purpose is to analyze the issue of social discrimination against teenagers in the mall environment from their point of view as being the group who face with discrimination in different leisure spaces due to their age.

Matthews and Limb (1999) argues that the types of environmental setting, which young people can enter, are often more restricted than that of adults. They claim that:

“young people have much in common with other ‘outsider’ groups in society, such as the disabled and the elderly, in that their behavior is often constrained by care taking conventions, physical ineptitude, limited access to transportation, lack of money and roles which separate them from a larger and more diverse daily round” (p. 66).

In addition, the statement of “perceptions of ‘youth’ as a problem need to be tempered by the realization that many of the behaviors that are the target of condemnation and chastisement are not unique to young people” is important to deal with the position of teenagers in the society (White and Sutton, 2001, p. 8). With the consideration of this unjust position of teenagers, a shopping mall in Ankara is chosen as the site to analyze the perceived social discrimination against teenagers in the social and physical environments of the mall from teenagers’ point of view. With this research, it is expected to answer such questions;

- Do shopping malls reflect discrimination patterns regarding teenagers with the physical characteristics and social construction of the mall space?
- What are the discriminating factors particularly in the mall environment?
- How does the discrimination differ along socio-demographic characteristics of teenagers?
- What factors are effective on different mall preferences of teenagers? What do young people like about shopping malls?
- Is the mall space different from other leisure spaces that are utilized by teenagers in terms of perceived discrimination?

The main objectives of this study were given in the introduction section. It is possible to gather these objectives under main topics as follows:

1. to obtain clues for the sources of discrimination against teenagers in a shopping mall in Ankara.
2. to analyze social and physical environments of the shopping mall concerning the issue of social discrimination.
3. to identify the sources of discrimination the teenagers faced in different leisure contexts.
4. to find out what teenagers like about shopping malls.
5. to explore the perception of discrimination by teenagers concerning the physical structure and social construction of the mall environment with respect to the socio-demographic characteristics, such as education, gender, family structure, peer relations, income, school and age.

The related hypotheses of the study can be given as follows:

1. Shopping malls' social environments reflect discrimination patterns regarding teenagers.
2. Shopping malls' physical environments reflect discrimination patterns regarding teenagers.
3. Discriminating factors in the malls differ along socio-demographic characteristics of teenagers.

4.3. The Methods of the Case Study

The research was based upon a field survey that attempts to focus on the issue of social discrimination of teenagers and shopping mall has been observed as an extensively used space by this group for various reasons. In this research, Migros in Ankara was the survey site, since its physical and social structures were found to be

appropriate for the purpose. Information concerning the discrimination against teenagers was obtained through observation and in-depth interviews with this group. The data on their socio-demographic characteristics, such as education, gender, family structure, peer relations, income and age as well as the leisure patterns were gathered to identify the sources of discrimination they faced in different leisure contexts.

The case study was conducted in Migros Shopping Center that is considered appropriate with heterogeneous users belonging to different gender, age, income and so forth. A questionnaire (See Appendix B for the Turkish and English versions of the questionnaire form) was handed out 52 female and 52 male respondents, of whom age range was between 13 and 19. The school range covered secondary school, high school and the beginning of the university, chosen by stratified sampling on the basis of sex difference. A stratified sampling method was used by keeping the number of females and males respondents equal in number. Random sampling from each stratum allowed to be more exact in the estimation of the population characteristic in order to see the gender differences. Besides, time sampling method was used to grasp the differences in the preferred time among teenagers for their mall visits, concerning week times that cover their school time and weekends as the main leisure time for most of the teenagers. So that the questionnaires were given both during the week times and weekends within the setting, between 11 a.m. and 7 p.m. to avoid the bias due to age and school differences.

A pilot study was carried out with 13 respondents at the site to test the clarity of the questionnaire, to measure the required time for each respondent. The duration of

each questionnaire was approximately 20 minutes per respondent. All respondents were informed about the aim of the study. Each respondent was questioned separately from the group in order to prevent the influence of others on the respondent.

Most of the questions were open ended in order not to skip ideas and not to restrict the responses of teenagers. Questionnaires were prepared in the form of in-depth interview, based on 49 questions. The first part of the questionnaire aimed to obtain demographic information about the teenagers such as sex, age, education level, income level and available pocket money. In the next part, teenagers were asked about their leisure time activities, preferred leisure spaces, parental restrictions on their leisure time and spaces. The third part comprises of questions on their shopping mall preferences in Ankara. The known malls, the most preferred mall, transportation mode, frequency of the mall visits, the aim of visiting the malls, the mall that is addressing to teenagers, mall preferences of their parents concerning them, the addressed age group of the mall environments and the things that they want to include in their ideal mall were asked. The last part asked specific questions on Akköprü Migros Shopping Mall such as the preferred time of visit, the time spent in the mall, the aim of visit, mode of transportation to the mall, evaluation of Migros with respect to the things they consider as a mall should cover, the money spent in Migros, the things they liked and disliked in Migros, the things that are considered as missing or insufficient in the social and physical environment of the mall, special reasons of visiting Migros compared to other malls in Ankara, evaluation of the colors and the music in the environment, evaluation of the prices, attitudes and behaviors of the staff and security personnel of the mall, the problems that they

confront in the mall concerning shopkeepers, staff and security personnel of the mall, the most and the least preferred floors of the mall, the most preferred shops/restaurants/cafes of the mall, the evaluation of other teenagers in Migros, the target age group of Migros, and the mall they would prefer if they were adults. This last part of the questionnaire was aimed to collect information for the discrimination patterns and the discriminating factors that the teenagers faced in social and physical environments of Migros Shopping Mall. Direct questions about the issue of social discrimination were avoided in the interviews to prevent bias. The issues related to the role of the shopping mall on the perceived social discrimination emerged through the things they declared as problems, dislikes, injustice that they confront in the social and physical environment of Migros Shopping Mall.

In addition to the questionnaire, observations were also done to examine the teenagers' general profile. In the observations, the clues that point out their income, life style, family structure, peer relations and attitudes were monitored and some photographs were taken. The importance of difference and diversity among teenagers and multiple realities that define how each of them encounters the mall space are considered throughout the field survey.

4.4. Results and Discussions of the Statistical Analyses

In the following section, the general characteristics of the malls in Ankara as teenage hangouts are examined. After that, the results and discussions of the statistical analyses concerning the perceived social discrimination against teenagers in Migros are analyzed

4.4.1. The Shopping Malls as Teenage Hangouts in Ankara

According to Erkip (2003) modified global factors are influential in making shopping malls as a part of the Turkish urban identity. Development process of shopping malls in Turkey is a recent one, but adaptation of Turkish people of the malls seems easy (Erkip, 2003). Instead of negotiation in other public spaces of the city, Turkish citizens seem to prefer privatized and controlled mall spaces for the modernity they require. Ankara as the capital of Turkey has nine shopping malls that serve as main public consumption and leisure sites.

Shopping malls, for many middle-class youths, who have unresolved, difficult social problems at home and school, offer a “third ground” or a “third place”, in which congregation is possible and troubles, organized activities, structures and schedules are minimal; it is a respite between home and school (Anthony, 1985; Lewis, 1989). Matthews and Limb (1999) state that children and young people value a wide variety of places and there is consistency in their preferences of social, activity, personal and solitary places, where they can be with their friends, engage in sports, leisure and recreational pursuits, have a sense of ownership, belonging and be alone. Matthews *et. al* (2000, p.291) propose that “the mall symbolizes the modern and the exciting and by hanging out there teenagers are demonstrating an awareness of an international (youth) culture that (re)invigorates their attempts to be counted as visible and full members of society”. In the US, almost anywhere, large numbers of teenagers use shopping malls as places for hangout as they are pulled by social and physical qualities of the mall space (Anthony, 1985).

The researches and sources that discuss various groups' use of shopping malls in Turkey are not sufficient. A few researches are more interested in adults and general characteristics (See Erkip, 2003). So, while analyzing shopping malls as teenage hangouts in Ankara, in addition to some research findings, observations and the questionnaire that was conducted for this study are used in order to give information about leisure patterns and shopping mall usages of Turkish teenagers in Ankara in general. The in-depth interviews with 104 teenagers demonstrated that the main leisure activities with the highest frequency among those teenagers are hanging out with friends, listening music and going to the movies (See Table 2) (See Appendix B Question 7).

Table 2 – Leisure activities that are mostly preferred by teenagers

Preferred leisure activities	# of Cases	% of Cases
Going to movies	63	20.4
Listening music	68	22.0
Spending time with family members	11	3.6
Hanging out with friends	75	24.3
Shopping	31	10.0
Killing time at home	32	10.4
Dealing with sport activities	14	4.5
Dealing with art activities	4	1.3
Dealing with computer	9	2.9
Playing video games, billiards, etc.	2	0.6
Total	309*	100

* Total of multiple counting for leisure activities

The leisure space that is mostly preferred by the sample group is the shopping malls with the highest percentage (See Appendix B Question 8). Cafes and restaurants and the friends' houses follow the shopping malls in the list of mostly preferred leisure spaces (See Table 3).

Table 3 – Leisure spaces that are mostly preferred by teenagers

Preferred leisure spaces	# of Cases	% of Cases
Shopping Malls	73	33.0
Play areas	2	0.9
Streets	13	5.9
Café/restaurants	61	27.6
Friends' houses	52	23.5
Game-areas/saloons (billiards, computer games, etc.)	20	9.0
Total	221*	100

* Total of multiple counting for leisure spaces

Furthermore, while teenagers asked for the leisure spaces, in which they feel secure and comfortable by concerning their age group, they mentioned mostly shopping malls (See Appendix B Question 10). Secondly, home/districts close to home are mentioned and thirdly friend's houses are told (See Table 4 below).

Table 4 – Leisure spaces that are mentioned as secure and comfortable

Secure and comfortable leisure spaces	#	%
Shopping Malls	41	40.6
Friends' houses	19	18.8
Home/districts close to home	25	24.8
Café/restaurants/movie theatres etc.	16	15.8
Total	101	100

Parental restrictions on leisure activities do not seem to play a key role on teenagers' preferences (See Appendix B Questions 11, 12 and 13). However, most of the teenagers mentioned that their families interfere in the time that they realize their leisure and the leisure time that families allowed them to spend change according to place they go (See Table 5 for interference of family in leisure activities, interference of family in leisure time and the change in family interference according to leisure space).

Table 5 – Interference of family in leisure activities, interference of family in leisure time and the change in family interference according to leisure space

Interference of family in leisure activities	#	%
Yes	39	37.5
No	65	62.5
Total	104	100
Interference of family in leisure time	#	%
Yes	83	79.8
No	21	20.2
Total	104	100
The change in family interference according to leisure spaces	#	%
Yes	70	68.6
No	32	31.4
Total	102	100

Shopping malls are one of the leisure spaces, about which some restrictions of families on their children become evident. More than half of the respondents claim that their parents are effective in their mall preferences. While interfering in the mall preferences of teenagers, social environments of the malls are significant for families such as the elements of familiarity of the mall space, security, the socio-economic characteristics of people coming to malls. In addition, location and ease of transportation are important determinants while they are guiding their children for their mall preferences. Erkip (2003, p.1089) while discussing the teenagers' use of the malls states that "the fear of traffic is a more dominant concern both for them and for their parents than is the fear of crime or sexual harassment". In this respect, location of the mall and the transportation modes that enable accessibility becomes crucial, especially for the teenagers who can use public transportation modes [buses, mini buses or subway] or try to reach where they want to go by walking most of the time (See Appendix B Questions 9 and 18) (See Table 6 for the interference of family in mall preferences of teenagers and for the reasons of interferences of families in the mall preferences of teenagers and Table 7 for the transportation modes that teenagers use in their leisure time).

Table 6 – Interference of family in mall preferences of teenagers and the reasons of family interferences

Interference of family in mall preferences of teenagers	#	%
Yes	54	51.9
No	50	48.1
Total	104	100
The reasons of family interferences in the mall preferences of teenagers	#	%
Social environment (security, familiarity, socio-economic status of people in the mall)	20	48.8
Physical environment	18	43.9
Facilities and variety in the mall	3	7.3
Total	41	100

Table 7 – The transportation modes that teenagers use in their leisure time

The transportation modes that teenagers use in their leisure time	# of Cases	% of Cases
Family car/taxi	31	20.3
By walking	13	8.5
Bus/mini bus	65	42.5
Subway	44	28.7
Total	153*	100

* Total of multiple counting for transportation modes

For teenagers, physical environment characteristics are the most important determinants for their mall preferences, especially the location of the mall influencing accessibility of the mall. Very few of them also mentioned design characteristics such as external view of the mall, regularity and cleanness (See Appendix B Question 16). Moreover, facilities and variety in the mall are also significant for the most preferred mall (See Table 8 for the reasons of mall preferences of teenagers). In this respect, like most of the people in Turkey, who seem to have more interest in the location, facilities and variety offered by shopping malls rather than their design characteristics (Erkip, 2003), teenagers also have such an intention and interest in the location, facilities and variety on offer by shopping malls in Ankara.

Table 8 – The reasons of mall preferences of teenagers

The reasons of mall preferences of teenagers	#	%
Social environment (security, familiarity, socio-economic status of people in the mall)	15	15.2
Physical environment (design elements)	50	50.5
Facilities and variety in the mall	34	34.3
Total	99	100

In the light of these reasons, the most preferred mall of the respondents in Ankara is Akköprü Migros Shopping Mall. Armada and Atakule Shopping Malls follow Migros, respectively (See Table 9).

Table 9 – The most preferred malls by teenagers in Ankara

The most preferred malls by teenagers in Ankara	# of Cases	% of Cases
Karum	8	7
Armada	34	29.8
CarrefourSA	3	2.6
Atakule	14	12.3
Real-Ankuva	8	7
Galeria	-	-
Arcadium	3	2.6
Migros	44	38.6
Total	534*	100

* Total of multiple counting for shopping malls in Ankara

In this study, most of the respondents stated that they visit the malls at least once in two weeks time (See Appendix B Question 19) (See Table 10 for frequency of mall visits of the teenagers).

Table 10 – Frequency of mall visits of the teenagers

Frequency of mall visits of the teenagers	#	%
Several times in a week	25	24
Once a week	21	20.2
Once in two weeks	27	26
Once a month	20	19.2
Less than once a month	5	4.8
When it is necessary	6	5.8
Total	104	100

According to Lewis (1989) some teenagers spend a great deal of time for networking in the shopping malls. After roaming from shop to shop, playing video games, or cruising, they tend to go to the food court, where they can sit, talk, smoke cigarettes and try to avoid the attention of security guards (Lewis, 1989). The reasons for young people coming to malls in Turkey show similar patterns with other countries (Erkip, 2003).

For most of the teenagers, main aims of visiting the malls are going to movie theatres in the malls, meeting and hanging out with friends, shopping, going to food court and spending leisure time (See Appendix B Question 20). According to this, they claimed that the most important things that a mall should offer are a variety of facilities and stores (See Appendix B Question 28). Social environment elements like security, socio-demographic status of people inside the mall, prices, attitudes and behaviors of the staff of the mall are secondarily important for them (See Table 11 for the aim of visiting the malls and Table 12 for the most important things that a mall should provide).

Table 11 – The aim of visiting the malls

The aim of visiting the malls	# of Cases	% of Cases
Shopping	66	16.7
Eating/spending time in food court	59	14.9
Browsing/Networking	28	7.1
Meeting and hanging out with friends	77	19.5
Killing time	56	14.2
Forming friendship with the opposite sex	8	2
Going to movie theatre	84	21.3
Window shopping	17	4.3
Total	395*	100

*Total of multiple counting for the aim of visit

Table 12 – The most important things that a mall should provide

The most important things that a mall should provide	#	%
Social environment elements	11	10.7
Physical environment elements	6	5.8
Variety of facilities and stores	86	83.5
Total	103	100

Shopping is not an obligation for teenagers and involves leisure for most of them. This situation can be considered as resulting from dependency of teenagers to their parents or families due to financial constraints. According to behavioral observations, which coincide with what Anthony (1985) found, most teenagers in the malls in Ankara travel in groups of two or three and they enjoy watching the activities taking place around them by using the escalators and elevators. Most teenagers come with friends, which indicate the social aspect of the mall (See Appendix B Question 25). Meeting or companionship with friends makes the mall space more leisurely (Erkip, 2003), particularly for teenagers (See Table 13).

Table 13 – The companionship patterns of teenagers during their mall visits

The companionship patterns of teenagers during mall visits	# of Cases	% of Cases
No companion (alone)	7	5
Family	36	25.9
Friends	96	69.1
Total	139*	100

* Total of multiple counting for the companionship

After analyzing the leisure patterns of teenagers and their usage of shopping malls in Ankara as important leisure spaces for hanging out, now it is required to analyze the results concerning particular site, Migros Shopping Center.

4.4.2. The Results and Discussions for the Socio-demographic Characteristics of the Respondents and Visiting Patterns of Them for Migros

In-depth interview was conducted with 104 teenagers within Akköprü Migros Shopping Mall. The age range of teenagers, which varies between 13 and 19 was categorized into three groups (13-14, 15-17 and 18-19) concerning the education level of them (primary school, high school and the beginning of the university with respect to the age groups) and the highest number was at the interval of 15-17 that covered the teenagers who attend a high school. Since all the respondents were financially dependent on their families, income level of their families was asked. Majority of the respondents belongs to middle and high-middle income families. In addition to the income level, they were also asked about whether they have pocket money or not and whether it is sufficient or not. All respondents claimed that they have pocket money and majority of them mentioned that their pocket money is sufficient for them (See Appendix B Questions 1, 2 ,3, 5 and 6) (See Table 14 for socio-demographic characteristics of the sample group, Figure 3 for the education level according to gender).

Table 14 – Socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents

Sex	#	%
Male	52	50
Female	52	50
Total	104	100
Age	#	%
13-14	25	24
15-17	59	56.7
18-19	20	19.2
Total	104	100
Education Level	#	%
Primary school	21	20.2
High school	67	64.4
University	16	15.4
Total	104	100
Income Level	#	%
Low – Low-middle	3	2.9
Middle – High-Middle	87	83.7
High	14	13.5
Total	104	100

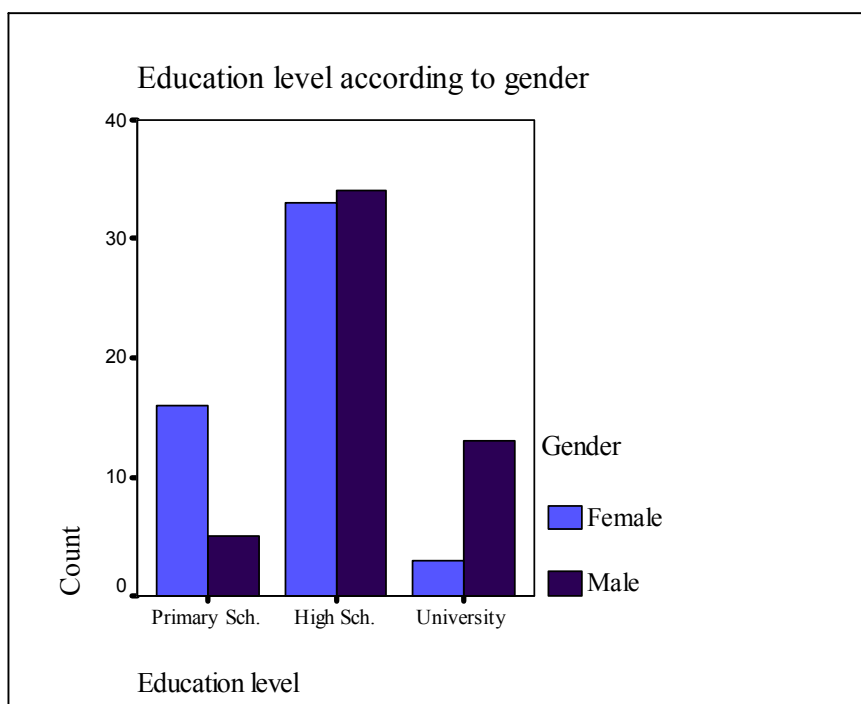


Figure 3 – Education level of teenagers according to their gender

When the visiting patterns of teenagers for Migros is analyzed (See Appendix B Question 27), weekends' afternoon as being the main leisure time for many teenagers, were observed as the most preferred time to visit Migros with a percentage of 52.1. More than half of the teenagers (55.8 %) claimed that they are spending more than 3 hours in Migros in every visit and the rest claimed that they are spending 1 to 3 hours (See Appendix B Question 26) (See Anthony, 1985; Lewis, 198; Mattherws *et. al*, 2000 for the mall visiting patterns of teenagers in general). Although, 26 % of them stated that they are visiting Migros once a month on the average, the ones who stated that they visit Migros in once in two weeks (22.1 %) and several times in a week (22.1 %) are close to this percentage (See Appendix B Question 23) (See Table 15 for the preferred time of visiting Migros, the time spent in Migros and frequency of visiting Migros).

Table 15 – The preferred time of visiting Migros, the time spent in Migros and frequency of visiting Migros

The preferred time of visiting Migros	# of Cases	% of Cases
Week times-morning	5	3.0
Week times-afternoon	23	13.6
Week times-evening	17	10.1
Weekends-morning	9	5.3
Weekends-afternoon	88	52.1
Weekends-evening	27	16.0
Total	169*	100
The time spent in Migros		
	#	%
1-3 hours	46	44.2
More than 3 hours	58	55.8
Total	104	100
Frequency of visiting Migros		
	#	%
Several times in a week	23	22.1
Once a week	9	8.7
Once in two weeks	23	22.1
Once a month	27	26.0
Less than once a month	16	15.4
Other	6	5.8
Total	104	100

* Total of multiple counting for preferred time of visiting Migros

4.4.3. The Analysis of Social and Physical Environments of Migros in the Framework of Social Discrimination

Chi-square analysis was applied to analyze the factors affecting the perceived discrimination patterns of the teenagers in Migros Shopping Center (See Appendix C for the variable list and see Appendix D for the results). Besides, frequencies and contingency tables were also given to point out the relationships between each of the two variables. In addition to statistical analyses, some of the findings were given through narratives in qualitative terms to state the topics that the teenagers themselves brought up during the interviews.

The first two hypotheses were about perceived discrimination patterns in social and physical environments of the mall spaces. It was hypothesized that social and physical environments of Migros Shopping Mall reflect discrimination patterns regarding teenagers. With the third hypothesis it was aimed to see the impact of socio-demographic differences among teenagers on perceived discrimination patterns and discriminating factors. It was hypothesized that discriminating factors in the mall differ along socio-demographic characteristics of teenagers.

While talking about social discrimination patterns, an important aspect of it is that exclusions in social spaces can be unnoticed that they take routinely, without most people noticing (Sibley, 1995). In other words, some problems or injustices in the social environment might not be perceived by user groups or at least they might not accept them as exclusions. To deal with this problem, discriminatory or exclusionary patterns in the social spaces are better to be analyzed by letting people to think of and talk about those patterns in the assistance of certain clues about the issue. For this

study, without orientating the teenagers through direct questions, they were expected to claim perceived discrimination patterns against them with the examples of injustices, problems and dislikes. Besides, respondents were also expected to state important elements of social environment for themselves in order to see how they perceive the environment around them. Depending on the problems and injustices they mentioned, the related categories of social environment of the mall space were analyzed in terms of perceived discrimination patterns.

The findings of the field survey indicated that social environment is secondarily important for teenagers compared to variety of facilities and stores that are on offer in the mall (See Appendix B Question 28). Only 10.7 % of the respondents talked about social environment elements including security, prices, the social status of visitors and attitudes and behaviors of staff as the things that a mall should provide (See Table 12). Moreover, 82.5 % of the teenagers stated that Migros is sufficient according to the things that they have expected from a mall space (See Table 16 for the evaluation of Migros with respect to the things that teenagers expect from a mall).

Table 16 – Evaluation of Migros with respect to the things that teenagers expect from a mall

Evaluation of Migros with respect to the things that teenagers expect from a mall	#	%
Sufficient	85	82.5
Not sufficient	10	9.7
Average	8	7.8
Total	103	100

When we look at the relationships between socio-demographic characteristics and the most important things that a mall should offer according to teenagers, it is not possible to talk about significant relationships between the things that teenagers expect from a mall concerning the elements of social and physical environments and facilities and age, gender and income level of the families of teenagers (See Appendix D1). In other words, the list of most important things that the teenagers expect from a mall space does not have a significant relationship with their age, gender and income level.

Social planning of the mall environments and the arguments concerning management of the social planning are crucial in the exclusion of young people and other disadvantaged groups (White and Sutton, 2001). The staff, shopkeepers and security personnel of the mall spaces are important elements of this social planning process. In this respect, the evaluation of attitudes and behaviors of these groups of people by teenagers was used to test the first hypothesis of the study (See Appendix B Question 39). According to the results, 76.9 % of the teenagers claimed that they do not notice

any difference in attitudes and behaviors of staff and security personnel of Migros Shopping Center and they evaluated them in a positive manner as being very polite and sensitive.

Staff and especially security personnel are very polite. Sometimes I think that there is something wrong with this. Because, they behave more respectful to me than they behave to my mom.

(14-year-old male)

However, 23.1 % of the respondents have complaints about the behaviors and attitudes of the staff and security personnel.

Shopkeepers treat us very differently compared to adults. They think that we do not have money and enough financial resources to afford the things they sell. However, this is not the case. We have money, sometimes a lot of money than they can imagine.

(15-year-old female)

Shopkeepers sometimes do not notice the real consumers. One day we entered a shop that sells mobile phone and they blamed us as making thieving. We got crazy. We shouted at them. But they lost. Because we had the money to afford those phones.

(16-year-old male)

It is expected to see age, gender, education level and income level differences between teenagers in their evaluation of attitudes and behaviors of staff and personnel. However, according to the results, the statements of teenagers about differentiated treatment by staff, security personnel and shop keepers do not have significant relationships with their age, gender, education level and income level of their families (See Appendix D2). The teenagers' 68.3 % also do not notice any difference in behaviors and attitudes of the staff and security personnel according to companion they have during their mall visits (See Appendix B Question 40).

The problems that the teenagers confront with staff and security personnel are an important indicator of perceived discrimination (See Appendix B Question 42).

According to the results, 83.7 % of the teenagers claimed that they did not have any problems with those personnel. Teenagers who had problems with those personnel had got only warning from the security staff due to reasons such as making noise, changing the order of tables in the food court, running and shouting in the mall and some improper behaviors in shops.

I had got several warnings from security due to noise I made. But sometimes, we face with angry looks of security guards just because we strolled in groups. In every time I got warning, I argued with those staff. We are not the only ones who make noise, but we are the only age group that takes warning. This is not fair.

(19-year-old male)

Once we had shouted to support the team we are fan of and security tried to send us away. We escaped. After that, we tried not to be recognized by that guy for a while. Now it is ok. We come here everyday.

(17-year-old male)

Younger, male and primary and high school teenagers might be expected as confronting more problems with staff and security personnel compared to older, female and university teenagers. When we look at the distribution of frequencies, out of 17 teenagers who state that they confront problems with staff and security people, 14 of them belongs to age group 13-17 and they are at the level of the primary and high school as it is expected. However, on the contrary to the expectations, out of 17, 10 of them are females who have problems with those people (See Appendix D3). There are no statistically significant relationships between the problems with staff and age, gender and education level of teenagers (See Appendix D3).

When problems that the teenagers confront with staff and security personnel were analyzed along with the differentiated treatment against teenagers by that group of people, it was observed that there is no significant relationship between these two (See Appendix D4).

After the evaluation of attitudes and behaviors of staff, security personnel and shopkeepers by teenagers in terms of perceived social discrimination, perception of teenagers by those people was also considered to take the attention to the other side, by which clues of social discrimination against teenagers can be obtained. The reason behind the fact that teenagers do not notice any differentiated treatment by staff and security personnel and do not confront with problems with those people can be explained as they behave like adult customers as the mall expects from them. So, they do not complain about those people as the manager of Migros emphasized. In her words:

“for us, there is no difference between a teenager and an adult person. We try to control the mall environment to provide peace, comfort and security for our all customers. Whether a teenager or an adult, if he does not obey the required rules of *appropriate manner and behavior*, we will not let him stay in our mall...we set a certain standard and age is not our concern. Our concern is to provide efficiency for shopping and teenagers as customers deserve to shop in an efficient environment as long as they behave in an *appropriate way*...we interfere some of our customers and some of these might be teenagers, but these warnings are for the benefit them and of other customers. Otherwise, there would not be any difference with a shopping mall and a public park”.

When we look at the things that teenagers disliked in Migros (See Appendix B Question 33), most of the dislikes they have claimed were about the social environment (See Table 17). The results indicated that 40.7 % of the complaints were about the crowding and noise and 14 % of them were about the prices of facilities in Migros as dislikes. Other dislikes were related to the physical environment and

facilities that are served in the mall. Although some of the dislikes (crowding, noise) are problems and dislikes of many other user groups as well, concerning these dislikes, teenagers pointed out some injustices due to their age, which can be analyzed in terms of perceived discrimination patterns. One of the interesting things is that, although they have complaints about discrimination in the social environment of Migros, they, themselves, provoke discrimination patterns against other visitors of the mall.

I do not like the crowding in Migros. It is very difficult to find a place to sit. I do not understand why all people are coming at the same time. Weekends should be young people's leisure time. Maybe it is better to separate the usage of such kind of places according to their age and the things they do.
(14-year-old male)

It is very difficult to stroll in crowding. Especially for our age group. We come here in groups and we want to stroll arm in arm but security do not let us.
(15-year-old female)

While you come here in groups and if it is crowded you take too much attention of the security. Then they start to follow you.
(16-year-old female)

I hate crowding. And adults are making the crowd. There are too many stores for them. Because of the crowd they made we cannot enter the shops or even we enter, shopkeepers do not serve us.
(16-year-old male)

There are many shops for adults and they are very expensive. We cannot even do window shopping.
(15-year-old female)

Sometimes I do not feel secure here. Especially beggars in front of the main entrances and on the path of subway make me anxious. They sometimes might even enter the mall. I wonder what the security guys are doing.
(14-year-old female)

Both during the week times and weekends I see many people in suits. And they make noise as much as we did, but they do not get any warning. There is something wrong with this. Then, I have complaints about them.

(15-year-old female)

I do not like the social status of some people coming here. The level is very low. The way they behave, the way they dress, the way they talk is very disturbing. Sometimes, we see harassment against girls by some irritating guys. Once I informed a security, but I do not know whether he paid attention.

(18-year-old male)

Table 17 – The dislikes of teenagers in Migros

The dislikes of teenagers in Migros *		
	# of Cases	% of Cases
Spending lots of money	3	3.5
Crowding, noise	35	40.7
Attitudes of staff and security personnel	3	3.5
Physical characteristics of the space (furniture, colors, lighting, cleaning etc.)	12	14.0
Location and transportation problem	2	2.3
Prices of facilities in the mall	12	14.0
The exterior factors (outside of Migros)	2	2.3
Giving lots of space to certain shops	9	10.5
Smoking and some restaurants that serve alcohol	3	3.5
Social status of some visitors and beggars in front of the entrances	4	4.7
Opening and closing times of Migros	1	1.2
Total	86**	100.0

*Highlighted elements indicate social environmental characteristics.

** Total of multiple counting for reasons of dislikes

As the stated dislikes are limited in number, it is not possible to talk about significant relationships between dislikes of teenagers and their age, gender and education level

(See Appendix D5). Nevertheless, observations during the interviews indicated that dislikes of teenagers can change according to some other factors, like personality, social and political attitudes and peer relations between them. For example, a 16-year-old teenage girl, wearing 'turban', stated that, she feels discomfort due to the cafes that serve alcohol (there is only one café in Migros serving alcohol) and Migros Supermarket that sells alcoholic beverages. Another interesting example was about the effect of peers. Although teenagers were separated from their groups while they were being interviewed, one of the teenage boys, after his interview was completed, tried to interfere his friends with mimics and coming close to interviewee. Especially, for the questions concerning likes and dislikes, he forced his friends to state some stores and shops as dislikes in Migros.

As it is also stated as dislikes and problems, the prices of restaurants, cafes, shops and facilities are important factors influencing the social environment of Migros. On the contrary to what Anthony (1985) and Lewis (1989) found in California Mall and New England Mall, the teenagers in Akköprü Migros Shopping Mall, spend lots of money at the mall (See Appendix B Question 30). According to the results, 68 % of the respondents pointed out that they spend 10 to 24 YTL on the average in every visit to Migros and 85.6 % of them stated that their pocket money is sufficient for the things they want to do in Migros (See Appendix B Question 43). There is significant relationship between the money spent in Migros by teenagers and income level of their families ($\chi^2 = 44.173$, $df = 8$, $p = .000$) as expected (See Appendix D6). Although it might be expected that younger teenagers spent less money compared to older ones, there are not significant relationships between the amount of money spent in Migros by teenagers and their age and education level (See Appendix D6).

The results indicated that 42.7 % of the respondents claimed that they spend their money in the facilities such as movie theatre and theatre whereas 39 % of them are spending their money in the food court (See Appendix B Question 31). Although, what the teenagers spent their money for can change according to their differences in terms of age, education level and income of their families, in Migros there were obtained no significant relationships between the variables (See Appendix D7). This makes the prices of these facilities more important in terms of perceived discrimination due to financial restrictions. To analyze the importance of prices for the mall visits of teenagers, they were asked whether the prices of facilities in Migros are influential in their preference of Migros (See Appendix B Question 34). Despite the fact that some stated prices among the dislikes, 69.9 % of the respondents argued that prices of facilities in Migros are not a determinant in their preference of Migros (See Table 18 for the average money spent in Migros per visit and what teenagers spend their money for in Migros. It might be assumed that evaluation of prices can change according to age and income level of the families of teenagers. However, there are not significant relationships between the evaluation of prices in Migros and age and income level of families of the teenagers (See Appendix D8).

Table 18 – Average money spent in Migros per visit and what teenagers spend their money for in Migros

Average amount of money spent in Migros	#	%
1-4 YTL	2	1.9
5-9 YTL	12	11.7
10-24 YTL	70	68.0
25-50 YTL	14	13.6
50+YTL	5	4.9
Total	103	100

What teenagers spend their money for in Migros	#	%
Stores and shops	30	18.3
Food court	64	39.0
Movie theatre and theatre	70	42.7
Total	104	100

However, financial limitations are stated by the respondents in terms of spending money for shopping. Although, they state their pocket money as sufficient for the facilities that they use, it is not found as sufficient for shopping. Moreover, 68.3 % of the respondents argued that they spend the least time for browsing the store floors and shops due to lack of money for shopping (See Appendix B Question 44). In other words, financial limitations may become one of the perceived discrimination patterns for teenagers if shopping activity is considered as one of the major aims of visiting Migros (See Appendix B Question 29). Shopping is mentioned as the third important reason of visiting Migros with a 17.7 % (See Table 19 for the aim of visiting Migros).

I do not want to spend my time by window shopping. I cannot do shopping, because I want to spare my money for other things. In other words, my money is not enough for shopping.

(13-year-old male)

I spend the least time in shops. Because I do my shopping with my mom. I do not have credit cards, if I would have, I could do shopping.

(14-year-old female)

I cannot shop here because it is expensive, I do my shopping with my parents.

(16-year-old male)

Table 19 – The aim of visiting Migros

The aim of visiting Migros	# of Cases	% of Cases
Shopping	67	17.7
Eating/spending time in food court	67	17.7
Browsing/Networking	18	4.7
Meeting and hanging out with friends	76	20.1
Killing time	55	14.5
Forming friendship with the opposite sex	7	1.8
Going to the movie theatre	79	20.8
Window shopping	10	2.6
Total	379*	100

* Total of multiple counting for the aim of visit

Another important aspect to evaluate perceived discrimination in the social environment is to look for the changes in behavior to adapt the social environment of the mall space. To accomplish this, teenagers were asked whether they are changing their behaviors to adapt the mall space (See Appendix B Question 41). According to

the results 69.2 % of teenagers argued that they do not need such a change in their behaviors to adapt the social environment of Migros. Most of the teenagers, who claimed that they behave differently, stated the reasons as to obey and adapt the general rules of society and they mentioned that these rules are not specific to Migros, but to society in general. There were not observed significant relationships between changes in behavior in order to adapt to the mall space and age, gender and income level of the families of the respondents (See Appendix D9). Whether the teenagers having or not having problems with staff and security personnel of Migros is analyzed along with changes in behavior in order to adapt to the mall space, to see if there is a relationship with the ones who confront problems with staff and the ones who change their behaviors in accordance with the social environment of the mall space, it was observed that there is not a significant relationship between these two (See Appendix D10).

Why I behave differently? I feel comfortable wherever I go. Migros is not an exception. I behave as I want to behave.

(16-year-old female)

I try to be careful why I am talking to my friends. For example I do not swear. But this is not specific to Migros. This is a general rule. Isn't it?

(13-year-old female)

I do not change my behaviors. But I try to sit and behave orderly in order not to attract attention, this is a community rule.

(19-year-old female)

In fact, I do not need such a change but, for example, I try to control my voice while talking or I walk properly. I do not shout, because I am not alone here, there are other people and we have to consider them.

(15-year-old male)

Besides, more than half of the respondents (53.5 %) argued that other teenagers have similar characteristics as they do (See Appendix B Question 47). This perception can be explained as they do not feel discrimination that might be based on certain differences of the same age group. Many of those, who stated that they are different, gave reasons specific to their characteristics and specific to the look of other teenagers. Some other reasons are stated as social class differences of families, which can be considered as a perceived discrimination in the social environment of Migros.

First of all, of course we are different. No one can be similar to each other. In addition, I prefer casual clothes, but I see girls who come here chic and stylish. So, we are different.

(13-year-old female)

I do not see any difference. We are all the same. They are also trying to adapt the environment by the way they dress and the way they talk, like me.

(16-year-old male)

Yes, we are different. Some of them are very *tikky* and some are very *kro*. I do not like these extremes. Because, they are both treated differently. The rich ones get more care than we do. And the other ones are dangerous.

(16-year-old female)

The second hypothesis was about physical environment of Migros. It was hypothesized that physical environment of the mall reflects discrimination patterns against teenagers. While analyzing this hypothesis, the socio-demographic differences among teenagers were also considered to see whether these differences have impact on the perceived discrimination patterns. As Matthews and Limb (1999) argued environmental planners and architects commonly reflect the dominant perceptions of a society in built environments and this leads to further marginalization of groups that are already at the edge. Only a small amount of

teenagers (5.8 %) stated the physical environment elements as the things that a mall should offer (See Appendix B Question 28) (See Table 12). According to the observations that were done during the case study, it can be argued that teenagers are not interested in the physical environment around them and they are not very aware of the physical characteristics of the space. For most of the teenagers (83.5 %) variety of facilities and stores are much more important (See Table 12) and considered and mentioned as the most liked elements as a part of both social and physical environments of the mall space (See Appendix B Question 32) (See Table 20 for the likes of teenagers in Migros). As in the case of dislikes, likes of teenagers in Migros do not have significant relationships with their age, gender and education level (See Appendix D11).

Table 20 – The likes of teenagers in Migros

The likes of teenagers in Migros*	# of Cases	% of Cases
Providing space for hang out with friends	24	8.2
Collection of variety of stores and shops in a single space	37	12.7
A proper space for leisure time	24	8.2
Being secure and comfortable space	28	9.6
Being clean, clear and ordered	15	5.2
Providing suitable climate conditions for every season	10	3.4
Variety of food, restaurants and cafes	49	16.8
Movie theatres, theatre and game area	68	23.4
The prices that suits my budget/sale periods	5	1.7
Colors, furniture, lighting, comfort etc.	27	9.3
Location and ease of transportation	4	1.4
Total	291**	100.0

* Highlighted elements indicate physical environmental characteristics

** Total of multiple counting for reasons of likes

As it is stated by Erkip (1997), in urban environments, especially metropolitan cities, spatial constraints are extremely influential and for most of the fixed urban services, physical proximity occurs. According to the results, 77.5 % of the respondents stated that they use mass transportation (47.4 % use subway and 30.1 % use buses and mini buses) for their visits to Migros (See Appendix B Question 24), which makes the location of Migros as an important reason for teenagers concerning accessibility without being dependent on their families (See Table 21).

Table 21 – The transportation modes that teenagers use for their visits to Migros

The transportation modes that teenagers use for their visits to Migros	# of Cases	% of Cases
Family car/taxi	23	17.3
By walking	7	5.3
Bus/mini bus	40	30.1
Subway	63	47.4
Total	133*	100

* Total of multiple counting for transportation modes

The location of Migros, which is placed at hubs of mass transportation, and physical proximity to home were highlighted as important characteristics of the physical environment and as important determinants for mall preferences of teenagers, when they were asked the reasons of preferring Migros compared to other malls in Ankara (See Appendix B Question 35). Physical proximity and location of Migros and convenient transportation took the highest percentage with 23.6 % and it was

followed by the variety of facilities besides the activity of shopping (19.3 %) (See Table 22 for the reasons of Migros preference of teenagers compared to other malls in Ankara). However, these reasons do not have significant relationships with their age, gender and education level (See Appendix D12).

Table 22 – The reasons of Migros preference of teenagers compared to other malls in Ankara

The reasons of Migros preference of teenagers compared to other malls in Ankara	# of Cases	% of Cases
Security	19	8.2
Cleanness, clarity and order	10	4.3
Interference of the family	16	6.9
Space that includes the favorite shops and stores	15	6.4
Location, physical proximity and convenient transportation	55	23.6
The prices that suits my budget	10	4.3
Physical characteristics of Migros (colors, furniture, lighting, comfort etc.)	23	9.9
Social environment (security, familiarity, socio-economic status of people in the mall)	38	16.3
Variety of facilities other than shopping (movie theatre, food court etc.)	45	19.3
Positive attitudes of staff	2	0.9
Total	233*	100.0

*Total of multiple counting for reasons Migros preference of teenagers compared to other malls

We live in Batkent and my school is also in Batikent. So, it is very easy to come here for me. If Migros is located somewhere far way from my house and school, I would prefer some other malls.

(16-year-old female)

I prefer Migros, because it is close to my house. Also, my friends prefer it.
(15-year-old female)

It is close to my sports center. I spend time here till my training start.
(17-year-old male)

I come here, because my parents are familiar with the environment. We have some relatives working here. So, they easily let me come here.
(16-year-old female)

If I go, for example, Armada, I have to spend lots of time on the way and also my parents will worry about me. Instead of that, I prefer coming here, but also I like the space.
(14-year-old male)

According to these statements, it is possible to argue that although location and accessibility are important determinants for Migros preference of teenagers, these are also important reasons and indicators of discrimination patterns for teenagers that constitute obstacles to visit other malls in Ankara due to other reasons such as family permission, legal restrictions for driving, being dependent on family in moral and material terms and place of residence rather than the social discrimination in the mall space. As a matter of fact, when the teenagers were asked about the malls that they could not visit in Ankara (See Appendix B Question 46), the small number of respondents (25 %) who says 'yes' stated the reason as the physical distance to the place of residence, transportation problem, not being familiar with the districts the stated malls are located and family permission.

When the dislikes of teenagers in Migros in general are analyzed, only a small percentage (14 %) was obtained concerning the physical environment (See Table 17). Most of the dislikes was about the hygienic conditions and disorder of tables in

food court, the ventilation problem and natural lighting. To obtain detailed information concerning perceived discrimination in the physical environment, teenagers were asked about the dislikes and insufficiencies in the physical environment (See Appendix B Question 36). Many of them criticized specific items in the physical environment. Lack of music is the dominant with a percentage of 36.4 (See Appendix B Question 38). It is followed by dislikes about the colors that are used in the space with 23.6 % (See Appendix B Question 37) (See Table 23 for dislikes related to the physical environment). When dislikes related to the physical environment are analyzed in relation to age, gender and education level of teenagers, it was not observed any significant relationships between them (See Appendix D13).

Table 23 – Dislikes related to the physical environment

Dislikes related to the physical environment	# of Cases	% of Cases
Movie theatres, restaurants, cafes	6	3.2
Lack of some entertainment facilities like bowling	14	7.4
Variety and number of stores and shops	3	1.6
Size and complexity	7	3.7
Lighting and ventilation problems	10	5.3
Toilets, cleaning and hygiene	7	3.7
Orientation and way finding problem	1	0.5
Colors and artificial greenness (palm trees)	53	28.0
Lack of music	82	43.4
Conceptual decoration for special days	4	2.1
Lack of smoking zone	2	1.1
Total	189*	100

*Total of multiple counting for dislikes related to the physical environment

Hygiene and cleaning of toilets sometimes are not sufficient. I think it is the most important thing in physical environment.

(16-year-old male)

Lighting is awful in Migros. Look, it is the daytime but we are living the night with lots of artificial lighting in the food court.

(19-year-old male)

We do not get natural air and light very much. They could design an open space or maybe ceiling can be designed as semi-closed for summer times. Thus, we can have fresh air.

(14-year-old female)

There is a ventilation problem in such spaces. It is too hot in winter and too cold in summer. In addition, they should locate toilets closer to this food court area.

(18-year-old female)

I do not like this decoration for special days. We do not have to have a lover. Why do we have to see all these posters and balloons?

(13-year-old female)

I do not like the design of Migros. I think Armada is more aesthetic.

(19-year-old male)

Although this question was about physical environment, some of the respondents made some critics about the social environment concerning heterogeneity of users and crowding. And also some insufficiencies about facilities and entertainments were stated under this question. By looking at the percentage of evaluation of physical environment elements among teenagers and according to observations that were done during interviews it is possible to claim that teenagers are not paying much attention to the physical environments around them and they do not have much information about what the components of physical environments are.

I think there should be some spaces, for live music or for book reading.
(19-year-old male)

I do not like Halil İbrahim Sofrası Restaurant. Beside, I do not want to see lovers in this space.
(13-year-old female)

There are many people coming from different districts of Ankara and their income groups are very different. I do not like this.
(15-year-old female)

Facilities are not enough in Migros. For example, there should be bowling billiard and internet café. They should consider our age group.
(17-year-old male)

Considering the dislikes concerning the social environment, teenagers who have complaints about crowding and noise due to the social organization of Migros were analyzed. While examining dislikes related to the physical environment, some teenagers also stated their dislikes about those issues as the problems about the physical organization of the space.

I think there is a problem with these sitting units. Maybe it is better to enlarge this food court area and put some additional tables. Due to the crowding, it becomes very difficult to find a place to sit.
(15-year-old male)

I do not understand why, but I think there is a problem with this noise in this food court area. I guess it can be overcome through some design elements, but I do not know how they manage it.
(14-year-old female)

Color preferences of teenagers for Migros also vary. But, most preferred colors are blue, red, white, green and orange. Color preferences of teenagers change according to their gender, personal interests and age. Some of them suggested the colors of the

team that they support. Most females preferred colors such as pink, purple and lilac. Nevertheless, most of the teenagers stated that they want lively colors instead of browns and beige tones of Migros. Some of them claimed that while deciding colors of such places, teenagers should also be involved in the decision process, otherwise all colors were determined according to preferences of adults. According to these statements, it is possible to argue that teenagers want to take part in the design process of the mall spaces as the user groups of those spaces. In other words, they perceive discrimination not resulting from the elements of physical environment but resulting from the process of design and management of those elements.

I cannot get the idea why they choose such colors. They do not take attention. They are very pale. I think they should use more lively colors like blue, green, orange. Here I feel as if I am drowning.

(14-year-old female)

If I were the designer, I would use metallic colors. It seems to me that it will be much more modern. With these colors, Migros seems old fashioned.

(19-year-old male)

The colors are harmonious with each other. But I think I would prefer more lively colors such as red.

(16-year-old female)

The colors are ok. But I prefer colors that suits girls such as purple.

(16-year-old female)

They do not let us to take part in the decision of those colors. If I were the manager of Migros, I would use more lively colors or maybe would change colors every year. These colors seem to be chosen for adults. It seems that they did not consider our age groups while choosing these colors.

(15-year-old female)

Lack of music is the most important insufficiency. Even some of the teenagers perceive lack of music as a discrimination pattern against them. Like color

preferences, music preferences of teenagers show variations according to their age and personal interests, but mostly they prefer pop music.

I think there should be music right here (*he talks about the food court*). Even, music can change according to the floors you are visiting. For example, here in food court, they can play music from the radio and in store floors they can play classical music.

(15-year-old male)

Yes, I would like to listen to music here. I prefer *Türk Sanat Müziği*.

(19-year-old male)

I do not think that music is necessary. Look at this noise. We hardly hear our voice.

(17-year-old male)

Yes. Music is necessary. Would you please inform the managers about this issue? I prefer foreign pop music.

(15-year-old male)

As far as I remember, there is music in other malls. It should also be here. I prefer pop music.

(14-year-old female)

I would like to listen to pop music here. But they do not do this and I believe that it is just because of our age. Guess the things that would happen if there was music! The ones, who are crazy like me, will start to dance, sing the songs. They do not want to deal with young people a lot, so there will not be music here.

(15-year-old female)

I believe music is necessary. But, according to me, the main reason that they do not do this is the young people, they afraid that the young people would use this place like a bar or disco, if they broadcast music to the environment.

(16-year-old female)

One of the interesting statements that can also be analyzed in the framework of perceived discrimination was the complaint of some teenagers about the play and

game areas in Migros. Matthews (1995) argues that playgrounds isolate and contain children within public spaces and lead to ‘a process of childhood ghettoization’ (cited in Matthews and Limb, 1999, p. 69) and according to Matthews and Limb (1999) the recent provision of children’s leisure spaces by private sector is an example of this process.

I hate the game area in the basement floor and these game machines (*by pointing out the animated machines in the food court floor*). I believe that they put these intentionally. The aim is to distract children’s attention and to send them away from the stores and shops. They are laying traps to us.
(15-year-old male)

I do not like Toys R Us. I believe that they put such stores deliberately in order to take our attention. Once, I asked the floor, on which one of the shops is placed. And one of the security guys showed me the location of Toys R Us. He said here is your shop, go there and enjoy. They do not want to see us around.
(14-year-old female)

Look at this game area (*by showing the game area in the basement floor*). It has been located in a secret, invisible corner. They try to put us in it. So, we cannot disturb them. But they cannot force us to be there.
(14-year-old male)

According to the evaluation of the results to analyze the perceived discrimination in the social environment against teenagers, it is difficult to claim that teenagers perceive social discrimination against them in the social environment of Migros, since they do not think that they are treated differently by staff, security personnel. They do not believe that they confront problems with those people and other mall visitors, they do not have many complaints about the prices of facilities, which they think as the most important things that a mall should offer and they do not need to change the way they behave to adapt the social environment. They have certain dislikes concerning the social environment but most of these dislikes can be seen as

problems and discomforts for many other users of the mall space; but of course except the problems that they perceived as differentiated treatments due to their age. Moreover, with respect to the second hypothesis, except some arguments concerning lack of music and play and game areas that are considered as carrying a purpose to discriminate teenagers, they do not perceive discrimination in the physical environment of the mall space. In addition, according to the observation that was done in the site, there are not designed elements of the physical environment in Migros to discriminate teenagers intentionally like its counterparts in different parts of the world (See Vliet, 1883; Breitbart, 1998; White and Sutton, 2001; Salcedo, 2003; Copeland, 2004). Like in the analysis of the social environment, many complaints about dislikes and insufficiencies of the physical environment can also be problems for other user groups without being specific to teenagers. The highlighting points in the analysis of the first and second hypotheses can be related to; the social discrimination patterns that the teenagers themselves try to put forward for other people, the importance of location and accessibility as the reasons that become determinant for Migros preferences of teenagers compared to other malls in Ankara and the clues that indicate the enthusiasm of teenagers as being part of the design and management processes of the mall space.

Matthews and Limb (1999) and Valentine (1996) emphasize the danger of conceptually homogenizing teenagers as a universal category regardless of the diversity that based on gender, age, ethnicity, ability and health. Besides, Amit- Talai (1995) argues the importance of seeing young people as multicultural. They have multiple realities and multiple childhoods layered by contingencies such as place, parental caretaking practices, socio-personal characteristics of parent and child and

personality, lifestyle and choices of children themselves (Matthews, Limb and Taylor, 2000). To avoid this bias of seeing young people as homogeneous, socio-demographic differences among teenagers, which were analyzed in relation to possible and probable perceived social discrimination patterns in the social and physical environments of Migros, were concerned. According to the findings, there are some differences in the statements of teenagers in terms of evaluation of social and physical environments of Migros with respect to their age, gender, level of education, income level of their families, personal interests, social and political attitudes and life styles. Yet, it was obtained no statistically significant relationships along socio-demographic characteristics of teenagers.

In summary, on the contrary to foreign counterparts, the teenagers that were interviewed in a Turkish mall do not perceive social discrimination. Moreover, when they were asked the target age group or whether there is an age group that is addressed by Migros (See Appendix B Question 48), 48 % of them claimed that there is no target age group that Migros appeals. Only 27.5 % of them stated that Migros targets adults and this percentage is very close to the ones who stated the teenagers as the target group of Migros (24.5 %) (See Table 24). However, for the teenagers who claim that adults are favored in Migros, main reason of favoring is the financial independence, which can be considered as a perceived discrimination pattern for that group of teenagers. No significant relationships were found between teenagers' answers to the target age group of Migros and their age, gender and education level (See Appendix D14).

Table 24 – The target age group of Migros

The target age group of Migros	#	%
Teenagers/young people	25	24.5
Adults	28	27.5
No target age group	49	48.0
Total	102	100

Migros is addressing every age group. I do not see any favoring.
(19-year-old male)

The addressed age group starts with 13 and it goes up to 60+.
(17-year-old male)

Everyone can satisfy their needs here in Migros. There is no favoring of a single age group.
(14-year-old female)

I think yes there is a target age group of Migros. The ones, who are over 18, are targeted, because they have credit cards, they can earn their money, so they can buy whatever they want. They are not dependent as we are.
(17-year-old female)

Middle age group is targeted because they have money and they are the consumer group. This is the thing Migros wants like in the case of other malls.
(15-year-old male)

I think most of the time the target age group is teenagers. Because we want to buy whatever we like. We are the group that mostly eats in fast-food restaurants and those restaurants are the ones, which profit mostly.
(16-year-old female)

Young people are targeted. Migros wants to attract us because adults can visit here without spending any money or they can only come in order to satisfy their needs. But, we spend lots of time here and we spend lots of money during this time.

(15-year-old male)

In addition, to the question of which mall they think mostly addresses their age group (See Appendix B Question 21), 71.8 % of the respondents gave the name of Migros (See Table 25). Again, no significant relations were found between their answers to the malls that address their age group and their age, gender and education level (See Appendix D15).

Table 25 – The malls that address teenagers

The malls that address teenagers	#	%
Karum	6	7.1
Armada	14	16.5
Atakule	2	2.4
Real-Ankuva	2	2.4
Migros	61	71.8
Total	85	100

In the light of these evaluations, it is difficult to talk about perceived discrimination patterns in Migros regarding teenagers. According to Matthews *et. al* (2000, cited from Soja, 1996), stubbornly hanging out together in the mall can be interpreted as the spatiality of inclusion, but not of exclusion. However, the arguments that concern teenagers as being left with few alternatives, with the exception of the mall space, because society does little to reduce risks for them (Lewis, 1989) can indicate the

usage of malls by teenagers as a form of ‘necessity’ due to social discrimination they faced in other spheres of society. “Adolescents grow up and, for the most part, drift out of the mall culture as they are drawn socially, sexually, and economically into the adult world that has, until they come of age, so effectively excluded them” (Lewis, 1989, p. 888). When the sample group of this study was asked whether there are some leisure spaces, in which they face with bad or different treatment due to their age (See Appendix B Question 14), 74 % of them claimed that they do not confront with such bad or differentiated attitudes. Teenagers, who stated that they face with such a differentiated treatment mentioned bars and clubs for which some legal procedures are applied to prevent the entrance of age groups under 18 and some internet cafes that do not let teenagers in due to crowding and usage of computers for the groups under a certain age like 16.

Teenager’s evaluation of other leisure spaces with respect to perceived discrimination can also be explained through what Punch (2000) and Hendry *et. al* (1993) argued about their lack of knowledge and information about alternative leisure spaces other than mall spaces and limited and restricted usage of those spaces (See Table 3) (See Silbereisen and Todt, 1994 for the arguments that state shopping malls as ‘fourth environments’ and see Anthony, 1985 and Lewis, 1989 for the shopping malls as ‘third places’).

According to 41 (40.6 %) of the respondents, shopping malls are the most secure and comfortable leisure spaces that they can realize their leisure time and out of this group, 25 of them directly mention Migros (See Table 4). In addition, parental restrictions and interferences in leisure time seem to be shaping their usage and

preference of the mall, since 51.9 % of them claimed that their parents and families interfere with their mall preferences (See Table 5 and Table 6). As Migros is the most preferred mall among the teenagers' families with a percentage of 72, it can be considered as having an influence on teenagers to spend most of their leisure time there (See Table 26 for the preferred mall by families of the teenagers).

Table 26 – The preferred mall by families of the teenagers

The preferred mall by families of the teenagers	#	%
Armada	3	6.0
CarrefourSa	4	8.0
Atakule	3	6.0
Real-Ankuva	2	4.0
Galeria	2	4.0
Migros	36	72.0
Total	50	100

As it is stated also by Hendry *et. al* (1993), from the point of view of the teenagers the main reasons of their families' interference in their mall preferences are related to security, familiarity, location of the mall and accessibility (See Table 6). In other words, acceptance of shopping malls as secure places by teenagers is in accordance with the ideas of their families. In this respect, it is possible to argue that the concern for security is the most important reason that shapes their attitudes towards mall spaces as main leisure site and also shapes their visiting patterns. Besides, the concern for security can also be stated as the main reason of parental restrictions and interference in the mall usage of teenagers that might be perceived as a form of a discriminating pattern.

Concerning these arguments, usage of mall space as mostly preferred leisure space by teenagers can be examined as resulting from discrimination that most of the teenagers faced due to restrictions and discriminating patterns such as parental restriction and interferences due to the reasons of security, location of the mall, place of residence and accessibility, and financial dependence and limited financial resources depending on their age. This discrimination may lead to restrictions and exclusions in the realization of their leisure time and usage of alternative leisure spaces other than malls (See Hendry *et. al*, 1993). When teenagers were asked which mall they would prefer if they were adults (See Appendix B Question 49), 47.5 % of the respondents stated Migros and only 15.8 % of them indicated that they would not prefer mall spaces but would prefer other leisure spaces like bars, clubs etc. that they do not have the chance of using now due to some discriminating patterns they faced (See Table 27 for the mall they would prefer if they were adults). Besides, when the statements of teenagers were analyzed, it was observed that financial dependence to the family and financial restrictions (See“Milli Eğitim Gençlik ve Spor Bakanlığı”, 1986 and Gaster, 1991) seem to be perceived as discriminating both in their usage of Migros and in their preferences of other malls and leisure spaces.

Table 27 – The mall they would prefer if they were adults

The mall they would prefer if they were adults	#	%
Karum	3	3.0
Armada	23	22.8
CarrefourSa	5	5.0
Atakule	2	2.0
Real-Ankuva	4	4.0
Migros	48	47.5
Other leisure space	16	15.8
Total	101	100

I would prefer Real-Ankuva. I think it addresses to adults. There are some stores like Tepe Home. If I were an adult, I would have my own house, so I would shop from those stores.

(14-year-old female)

I would go to Armada. Because I would have money if I were an adult and one can spend lots of money in Armada.

(18-year-old female)

I would prefer Migros. Because Migros is addressing every age group.

(16-year-old female)

If I were an adult, I would go to Karum. It is more expensive than Migros and shops are also more expensive in Karum. So I would go there in order to shop if I would earn my money.

(15-year-old male)

I would come to Migros for Migros Market, if I were an adult. Because, adults do not like entertainment. The only thing that they like is shopping. And I guess I would be one of them.

(14-year-old male)

I would prefer the one that is close my house and this would probably be Migros.

(19-year-old male)

I will not go to shopping malls when I become an adult. I am planning to go to different places. I got bored with the mall space. When I become an adult, I would go to the places that I cannot go now like bars, clubs etc.

(16-year-old male)

I would go to Armada. Because it is very luxurious, I would spend lots of money there.

(16-year-old female)

I would come to Migros again, if I were an adult. Because there are some stores that I cannot shop now, I can shop from those stores, when I become an adult, as I would have money.

(15-year-old female)

The interesting point in their mall preferences when they put themselves in place of adults is that out of 48 teenagers, who state that they would prefer Migros if they were adults, 23 of them could not have the chance to visit other malls in Ankara except Migros and 7 of them have visited only three malls in Ankara including Migros. According to this, it is possible to state that, their lack of chance to visit other malls and leisure spaces due to restrictions and interferences that based on their age result in limitations and restrictions to produce alternative leisure spaces and malls except Migros for future part of their life. In other words, social discrimination concerning parental restrictions and interferences and limited financial resources that make them dependent on a single mall for their leisure time continues to restrict and exclude teenagers from alternative mall spaces' and leisure spaces' choices further.

Despite the clues about a hidden discrimination in the teenagers' mall choice and usage, findings of this case study indicated that the hypotheses on ageist discrimination against teenagers in shopping malls are not verified in the Turkish context. The reasons of this are discussed in the following chapter as the conclusions.

5. CONCLUSION

In this research, ageist discrimination as a type of social discrimination was analyzed by focusing on the group of teenagers who confront with ageist discrimination in different spheres of society due to negative images they have (Amit-Talai and Wulff, 1995; Breitbart, 1998). Firstly, the link between social discrimination and leisure was formed with the emphasis on inclusion and equity in leisure practices and spaces as the one of the main fields of analysis of social discrimination (DeVries, Eisen, Gerson and Ibrahim, 1988; Floyd and Gramann, 1995; Banton, 1994; Bright, 2000). Especially, by taking the attention to the conceptualization of leisure spaces within the framework of social discrimination, the arguments that concern the human landscape as a landscape of exclusion and monopolization of spaces by wealthy and powerful groups to marginalize weaker ones were stated (Sibley, 1995; Readdick & Mullis, 1997; Massey, 1998; Malone, 2002; Chatterton and Holands, 2003). Secondly, shopping malls as chosen leisure spaces for this study were examined. Both social and physical environments of mall spaces were described to underline the elements that form those environments and competing usage of the mall space was discussed in order to elaborate on the targeted diversity and heterogeneity in shopping malls.

Then, social discrimination in shopping malls was analyzed by questioning the mall space as either a public space that serve diverse and heterogeneous user groups having diverse and heterogeneous usage purposes (Shields, 1992; Miller *et. al*, 1998; Bloch, Ridgway and Dawson, 1994; Goss, 1993), or strongly bounded and purified social spaces that exclude certain groups (Malone, 2002; Jewell, 2001; Salcedo,

2003). After dealing with this dichotomy through the description of shopping malls as being places publicly accessible but privately owned sites (White and Sutton, 2001; Erkip, 2003; Copeland, 2004), attention was given to the social discrimination and marginalization of certain groups with the consideration of main concern as preventing crime in those highly accessible places (Jackson, 1998; Salcedo, 2003; White and Sutton, 2001). Within this context, social and physical environments of the mall space were analyzed as reflecting different social discrimination patterns against different marginalized groups such as the unemployed, homeless, and young people (Sibley, 1995; Jackson, 1998; Miller *et. al*, 1998; Vanderbeck and Johnson, 2000; White and Sutton, 2001; Salcedo, 2003). Finally, through the analysis of difference in the usage of shopping malls by adults and teenagers, ageist discrimination in the mall space against teenagers was discussed. In this discussion, first of all, malls were determined as the crucial components of teenagers' social worlds (Vanderbeck and Johnson, 2000; Lewis, 1989; Haytko and Baker, 2004). Secondly, by focusing on the perception of teenagers as risks for the 'world of authority and control' of adults and by underlying how the process of exclusion and marginalization work for them (Holloway and Valentine, 2000), shopping malls were indicated as spaces that have constraints placed upon teenagers as a precaution to shopping mall security (Anthony, 1985; Breitbart, 1998). And finally, the discriminatory policies in the social and physical environments of the mall space (Sibley, 1995; White and Sutton, 2001; Salcedo, 2003; Copeland, 2004) due to the challenging position of teenagers in the mall space were discussed by focusing on the control of spatiality in definition of 'youth' in social spaces (Massey, 1998).

Following this literature, a case study was conducted in a selected site, Akköprü Migros Shopping Mall to test the hypotheses that assume ageist discrimination perceived by teenagers in the social and physical environments of Migros against themselves. Without assuming the teenagers as a homogeneous entity, the relative distinctiveness of each from the other in terms of diverse social grouping and perception of their social world (Matthews and Limb, 1999; Jackson and Rodriguez-Tomé, 1993; Silbereisen and Todt, 1994; Amit-Talai, 1995) were recognized. In other words, socio-demographic differences and differences in life styles, personal interests and choices were taken into consideration to see the differences between teenagers in terms of their perception of social discrimination patterns against them in the mall space.

By this research, it was observed that shopping malls are the mostly preferred leisure spaces by teenagers. In addition to this, according to them, shopping malls, especially Migros, are the most secure and comfortable leisure spaces concerning their age group. Compared to other malls in Ankara, Migros was stated as being the most preferred mall. Their reasons of preferences are shaped around variety of facilities and stores in the mall and some physical environmental elements concerning physical proximity, location of the mall and accessibility. As it was claimed by teenagers, the mall preference of their families is also Migros due to some social environmental elements such as the security, familiarity, socio-economic status of people in the mall and some physical environmental elements including location of the mall, physical proximity and accessibility.

According to the results of the case study and observations, although there are some dislikes, problems, injustices and perceived discrimination patterns of some respondents, it is not possible to talk about perceived discrimination in social and physical spheres of Migros against teenagers. Besides, it is important to note that most of those dislikes, injustices, problems and discriminating factors are not unique to teenagers, since social discrimination patterns work for different groups of people in different spheres of the society.

Concerning the social environment, teenagers can be argued as not perceiving social discrimination against themselves, since they do not think that they are treated differently by staff, security personnel, they do not confront problems with those people and other mall visitors, they do not have much complaints about the prices of facilities, which they think as the most important things that a mall should offer. They do not need to change the way they behave to adapt the social environment and they do not think that Migros is targeting or favoring certain age groups. Besides, except some arguments concerning lack of music and play and game areas that are considered as intentionally designed to discriminate teenagers, physical environment of Migros was also perceived and observed as not discriminating through designed elements. Furthermore, when the perceptions of ageist discrimination in other leisure spaces were analyzed to make a comparison with mall space, it was again observed that most of the teenagers do not think that they have been treated differently or unfairly in any other leisure context.

Despite the fact that there are some differentiations in the perception of dislikes, problems, injustices and discriminating factors according to differences in teenagers'

age, gender, level of education, income level, peer structures, family background, life styles, social and political choices and personal interests, there were no statistically significant relationships were found between perceived discrimination patterns and age, income level, gender and education level of teenagers.

Considering these findings, the teenagers in a Turkish mall do not perceive social discrimination that has a mall origin on the contrary to foreign counterparts. For them, Migros can be seen as a space for hang out and social inclusion, in which they spend most of their leisure time due to the variety of leisure activities by assisting them to develop their own social life and to escape from the monotony between home and school. (See Anthony, 1985; Lewis, 1989; Matthews *et. al*, 2000; White and Sutton, 2001). However, even though they are not aware of the discriminating factors due to lack of knowledge, lack of information, lack of preference and lack of usage of alternative leisure spaces and malls, they are discriminated through parental restrictions (concerning, security, ease of transportation, location of Migros and place of residence) and financial dependence and limited financial resources. The discrimination of teenagers seems to be accepted by them inevitably thanks to the restrictions and exclusions from alternative leisure spaces and malls.

In this research, the mall space was appeared as not reflecting social discrimination patterns that are assumed to be perceived by teenagers. The reasons of this can be explained as; firstly, the mall space itself is designed and constructed as discriminatory against certain people, not being specific to teenagers (See Goss, 1993; Jewell., 2001; White and Sutton; 2001; Salcedo, 2003). In other words, the mall space as a controlled and privatized environment discriminate and exclude

certain group of people and certain forms of behaviors, with a concern for security. So, the teenagers, who come to visit the mall, behave in a conditioned way as the mall expect from them and as a result, they do not confront any differentiated treatments or attitudes, of which they can perceive as discriminatory. And secondly, social structure of Turkey, which does not accept improper behaviors of anyone that belongs to any group, including teenagers, is quite rigid. The mall space, as a part of this social structure, provides a more controlled environment compared to streets or some other public spaces due to its private character. The space itself gives clues to teenagers and other social groups for how to behave and this may affect the perception of ageist discrimination by teenagers as they behave like adults. This aspect is accepted as a limitation of this study and needs further and specific case studies on ageist discrimination that teenagers faced in different mall spaces and in different social spheres in general. By this way, it would be possible to make a comparison of the way teenagers behave in mall spaces to the way they behave in other leisure spaces and to argue on predefined sets of expectations and assumptions.

While analyzing perceived social discrimination against teenagers, one of the interesting points was the social discrimination patterns that the teenagers themselves try to put forward for other people. Although they complain about the differentiated behaviors and attitudes towards them, some of them try to differentiate other people and this issue seems to need further clarification concerning the point of view of teenagers towards the issue of social discrimination.

Another social implication of this study was related to the enthusiasm of teenagers to involve in the process of design and management of the mall environment. However,

according to the findings and observations, it was seen that most of the teenagers were not interested in the physical environment and its elements. At this point, further studies and researches are also needed to see whether this lack of concern for physical environment is different for adults and teenagers in different societies. In other words, a comparison is needed for the lack of interest and concern of Turkish teenagers with the interests and perceptions of the physical environment of Turkish adults and with teenagers in different societies.

Matthews and Limb (1999) indicate that involving children and young people in the design and management of the environment that they are a part of is valued and significant to make them developing competent and participating citizens. According to them “the voices of children are silent on the landscape” (p. 79). However, as it is claimed by Hart (1995), what is required is “a more radical social science [in which] children themselves learn to reflect upon their own conditions, so that they can gradually begin to take a greater responsibility in creating communities different from the ones they inherited” (cited in Matthews and Limb, 1999, p. 79). According to the findings of this study, the involvement of teenagers in the design and management process may lead to improvements in the physical structure of the mall concerning the needs, necessities and demands of different age groups.

Further studies are also needed on the impact of involvement of teenagers in shaping the social and physical environments. In the Turkish context, there is a lack of involvement in the physical environment in general and participation of children and teenagers when they are involved may turn out to be influential to make them more environmentally aware citizens when they become adults.

Beside the differences among age groups in mall spaces, other socio-demographic differences among users in general also need to be analyzed further to take the attention to different types of social discrimination in different leisure spaces concerning the location and target groups of users of those spaces.

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APPENDIX A



Figure 1a. General exterior view of Akköprü Migros Shopping Mall



Figure 1b. General exterior view of Akköprü Migros Shopping Mall



Figure 2. Site plan of Akköprü Migros Shopping Mall

Source: <http://burc.ankara-bel.gov.tr>



Figure 3a. Floor plans of Akköprü Migros Shopping Mall for the basement and ground floors



Figure 3b. Floor plans of Akköprü Migros Shopping Mall for the first and second floors

Source: Migros Alışveriş Merkezi Ankara “Aynı Çatı Altında: Migros Alışveriş Merkezi Ankara’da hepsi bir arada.”



Figure 4. Closed parking area in Akköprü Migros Shopping Mall

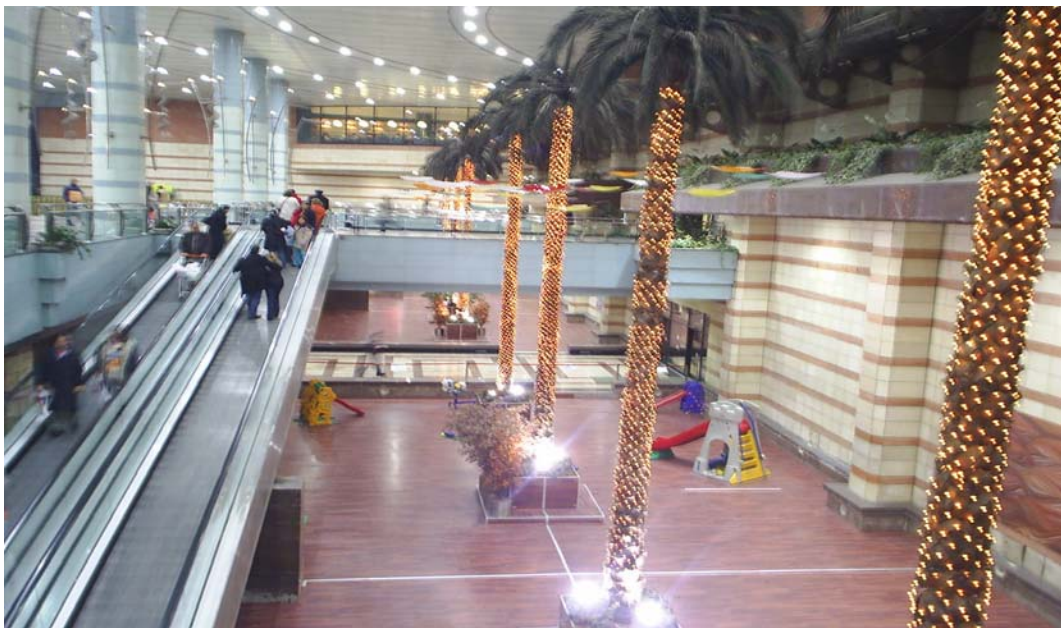


Figure 5a. Decoration at the entrance hall of Akköprü Shopping Mall



Figure 5b. Waterfall pool and video game area at the basement floor



Figure 6a. Interiors of Akköprü Migros Shopping Mall – first floor and kiosks

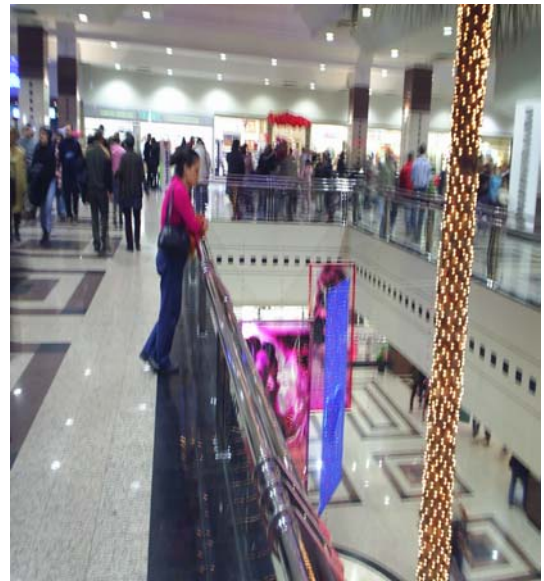


Figure 6b. Interiors of Akköprü Migros Shopping Mall – first and second floors



Figure 7. Movie theaters in Akköprü Migros Shopping Mall



Figure 8a. General view of food court in the second floor



Figure 8b. General view of food court and multi-purpose hall



Figure 8c. General view of food court and variety of users in Akköprü Migros Shopping Mall



Figure 9a. Escalators and corridors of Akköprü Migros Shopping Mall



Figure 9b. Elevators and corridors of Akköprü Migros Shopping Mall

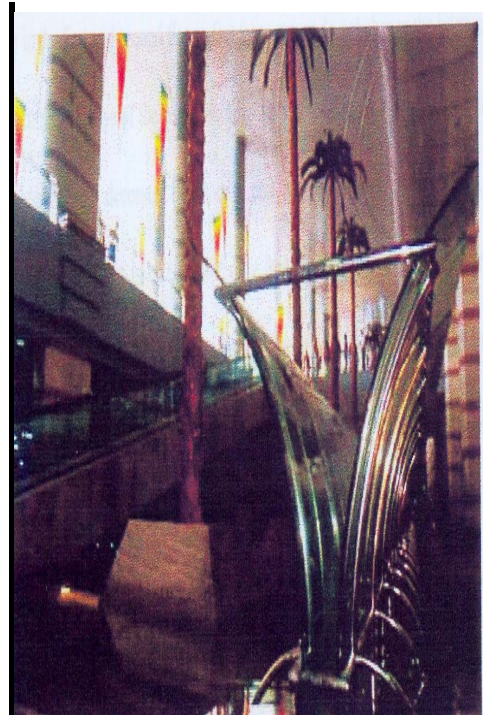


Figure 9c. Palm trees as decoration elements



Figure 9d. Conceptual decoration for St. Valentine's Day

APPENDIX B

Questionnaire form on which the semi-structured interviews were based.

- Turkish version

Akköprü Migros Alışveriş Merkezi için Akademik Araştırma Formu

- 1- Yaş:
- 2- Cinsiyet: K E
- 3- Okul/Semt:
- 4- Sınıf:
- 5- Harçlığınız var mı? E H Yeterli mi?.....
- 6- Ailenizi aşağıdaki gelir gruplarından hangisine yerleştirirsiniz?
 - a) alt c) orta e) üst
 - b) alt-orta d) orta-üst
- 7- Boş zamanlarınızda neler yapmaktan hoşlanırsınız? (Birden fazla seçebilirsiniz)
 - a) sinemaya gitmek
 - b) müzik dinlemek
 - c) ailele evde vakit geçirmek
 - d) arkadaşlarımla dışarıda vakit geçirmek
 - e) alışveriş yapmak
 - f) evde oturmak (kitap okumak, arkadaşlarla TV seyretmek vb.)
 - g) diğer (...) belirtiniz
- 8- Boş zamanlarınızda nerelere gitmeyi tercih ediyorsunuz? (Birden fazla seçebilirsiniz)
 - a) alışveriş merkezleri
 - b) oyun parkları
 - c) sokak
 - d) cafe ve restoranlar
 - e) arkadaşlarımla evleri
 - f) oyun salonları (bilyardo salonları, bilgisayar oyun salonları,vb.)
 - g) diğer (...) belirtiniz
- 9- Boş zamanlarınızda dışarı çıkarken ulaşımınızı nasıl sağlıyorsunuz?.....

- 10- Boş zamanınızı, bir genç olarak en güvenli ve rahat geçirebileceğiniz yeri/yerleri söyler misiniz? Neden? Bu mekanı/mekanları fiziksel özellikleriyle tanımlar mısınız?.....
- 11- Aileniz boş zamanlarında ne yapmanız gerektiğine karışıyor mu? Nerelere gitmenizi uygun buluyor?
- 12- Ailenizin dışarıda geçirdiğiniz zamanla ilgili bir sınırlandırması var mı? Varsa bu zaman aralığı nedir?.....
- 13- Ailenizin dışarıda geçirmenize izin verdiği süre gittiğiniz yere göre değişiyor mu? Nasıl?.....
- 14- Boş zamanınızı geçirirken yaşınızdan dolayı farklı ve kötü muamele gördüğünüz yerler var mı? Açıklar mısınız?.....
- 15- Ankara'da gittiğiniz alışveriş merkezi hangisi/hangileri?
- a) Karum e) Real – Ankuva
b) Armada f) Galeria
c) Carrefour g) Arcadium
d) Atakule h) Akköprü Migros
- 16- En beğendiğiniz hangisi? Neden?.....
- 17- Oraya nasıl gidiyorsunuz?.....
- 18- Ailenizin gitmenizi tercih ettiği bir alışveriş merkezi var mı? Neden?.....
- 19- Ne sıklıkla alışveriş merkezlerini ziyaret ediyorsunuz?
- a) haftada birkaç kez c) iki haftada bir e) ayda birden az
b) haftada bir kez d) ayda bir f) diğer(...)belirtiniz
- 20- Alışveriş merkezlerini ne amaçla kullanıyorsunuz? (Birden fazla seçebilirsiniz)
- a) alışveriş yapmak d) arkadaşlarla buluşmak g) sinemaya gelmek
b) yemek yemek e) zaman geçirmek h) vitrinlere bakmak
c) amaçsızca dolaşmak f) karşı cinsten arkadaş edinmek i) diğer (...) belirtiniz
- 21- Sizin yaş grubunuza en çok hitap ettiğini düşündüğünüz alışveriş merkezi hangisi, neden?.....
- 22- Eğer kafanızdaki ideal alışveriş merkezini yaratabilseydiniz içine neler koyardınız neler koymazdınız?.....

23- Migros Alışveriş Merkezini ne sıklıkla ziyaret ediyorsunuz?

- a) haftada birkaç kez c) iki haftada bir e) ayda birden az
b) haftada bir kez d) ayda bir f) diğer(...)belirtiniz

24- Migros Alışveriş Merkezine ulaşımınızı nasıl sağlıyorsunuz?.....

25- Migros Alışveriş Merkezine genellikle yalnız mı geliyorsunuz?

E Neden?..... H Kimlerle?.....

26- Migros alışveriş merkezinde ortalama ne kadar zaman harcıyorsunuz?

- a) yarım saatten az. c) 1-3 saat
b) yarım-1 saat d)3 saatten fazla

27- Haftanın hangi günleri ve günün hangi saatleri Migros alışveriş merkezine gitmeyi tercih ediyorsunuz?

	Hafta içi	Hafta sonu
Sabah		
Öğle		
Akşam		

28- Bir alışveriş merkezinde olması gereken en önemli şeyler nelerdir? Migrosu buna göre nasıl değerlendirirsiniz? Migros bunların ne kadarını içeriyor ne kadarını içermiyor?.....

29- Migros Alışveriş Merkezini ne amaçla kullanıyorsunuz? (Birden fazla seçebilirsiniz)

- a) alışveriş yapmak d) arkadaşlarla buluşmak g) sinemaya gelmek
b) yemek yemek e) zaman geçirmek h) vitrinlere bakmak
c) amaçsızca dolaşmak f) karşı cinsten arkadaş edinmek i) diğer (...) belirtiniz

30- Migrosa her gelişinizde ortalama ne kadar harcıyorsunuz?

- a) 1-5milyon b)5-10 milyon c)10-25 milyon d)25-50 milyon e)50+milyon

31- Migros Alışveriş Merkezinde paranızı nerelere harcıyorsunuz?

- a) mağazalar b) yemek yerleri c) sinema ve tiyatro

- 32- Migros Alışveriş Merkeziyle ilgili en çok sevdiğiniz şeyler nelerdir? (Nedenleriyle belirtiniz).....
- 33- Migros Alışveriş Merkeziyle ilgili sevmediğiniz şeyler nelerdir? (Nedenleriyle belirtiniz).....
- 34- Migros Alışveriş Merkezindeki mağazaların, cafe ve restoranların fiyatları burayı tercih etmenizde etkili oluyor mu? E H Neden?.....
- 35- Diğer alışveriş merkezlerine kıyasla Migros Alışveriş Merkezinde zaman geçirmenizin sebepleri nelerdir?.....
- 36- Migros alışveriş merkezini mekan olarak değerlendirdiğinizde eksikleri/beğenmediğiniz yönleri nelerdir? Bahsettiğiniz eksikliklere yönelik problemleri belirtir misiniz?.....
- 37- Migros Alışveriş Merkezinin genel yapısında kullanılan renkler hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz? Önermek istediğiniz başka bir renk var mı?
Neden?.....
- 38- Migros Alışveriş Merkezinde müzik olmasını ister misiniz? Siz olsanız ne tür müzik koyardınız?.....
- 39- Migros Alışveriş Merkezi çalışanlarının size karşı davranış ve tutumlarını nasıl buluyorsunuz? Diğer insanlardan farklı olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz?.....
- 40- Migros Alışveriş Merkezi çalışanlarının arkadaşlarınızla, ailenizle veya yalnız olmanıza bağlı olarak size karşı tutum ve davranışlarında bir farklılık hissediyor musunuz? Neden?.....
- 41- Migros Alışveriş Merkezlerinde davranışlarınızda mekana uyum sağlamak için bir takım kısıtlamalara gidiyor musunuz? Neden?.....

- 42- Herhangi bir davranışınız yüzünden hiç, Migros Alışveriş Merkezinden güvenlik görevlileri veya mağaza çalışanları tarafından uyarıldınız mı? Ne biçimde? Siz nasıl yanıt verdiniz? Ne yaptınız? Böyle bir durumla başka bir alışveriş merkezinde karşılaştınız mı? Ne yaptınız? Sizce kim haklı?.....
- 43- Migros Alışveriş Merkezinde istediğinizi yapmanız için harçlığınız yeterli oluyor mu?
- E H
- 44- Migros Alışveriş Merkezinde en çok/en az vakti hangi bölümlerde geçiriyorsunuz?
- Neden?.....
- 45- Migros Alışveriş Merkezinde en çok tercih ettiğiniz mağazalar, cafeler, yemek yerleri hangileridir?.....
- 46- Ankara'da gitmeyi isteyip de gidemediğiniz bir alışveriş merkezi var mı? Hangisi, neden?.....
- 47- Migros Alışveriş Merkezindeki diğer gençler size benziyor mu?
- E H Neden?.....
- 48- Sizce alışveriş merkezlerinin özellikle hitap ettiği veya kayırdığı bir yaş grubu var mı? Migros'un özellikle hitap ettiği veya kayırdığı bir yaş grubu var mı? Neden böyle düşünüyorsunuz?.....
- 49- Bir yetişkin olsaydınız vaktinizi hangi alışveriş merkezinde geçirmek isterdiniz?
- Neden?.....

- English version

Questionnaire Form

- 1- Age:
- 2- Sex: F M
- 3- School/district:
- 4- Year:
- 5- Do you have pocket money? Y N Is it enough?.....
- 6- How would you rate your family's income level?
 - a) low c) middle e) high
 - b) low-middle d) middle-high
- 7- What do you like to do in your leisure time? (You can choose more than 1)
 - a) going to movies
 - b) listening to music
 - c) spending time with family members
 - d) hanging out with friends
 - e) shopping
 - f) spending time at home (reading books, watching TV, etc.)
 - g) other (...) please state
- 8- Where do you prefer to go in your leisure time? (You can choose more than 1)
 - a) shopping malls
 - b) play areas
 - c) street
 - d) cafe/restaurants
 - e) friends' houses
 - f) game-areas/saloons (billiards, computer games saloons, etc.)
 - g) other (...) please state
- 9- What is the transportation mode you use when you go out in your leisure time?.....
- 10- Would you please mention the place/places in which you feel secure and comfortable as a teenager? Why? Would you please describe this place with its physical characteristics?.....

- 11- Do your family/parents interfere in your leisure time activities? Where do they prefer you to go? Why?.....
- 12- Do your family/parents restrict the time you spent outside? If they do, what is the permitted time interval?.....
- 13- Does the time interval that is permitted by your family/parents for your leisure time change according to the leisure space you prefer?
How?.....
- 14- Are there leisure spaces where you face with bad or different treatment concerning your age? Would you please explain?.....
- 15- Which of the shopping malls that you visit in Ankara?
- | | |
|--------------|-------------------|
| a) Karum | e) Real – Ankuva |
| b) Armada | f) Galeria |
| c) Carrefour | g) Arcadium |
| d) Atakule | h) Akköprü Migros |
- 16- Which one is your favorite? Why?.....
- 17- Which transportation mode do you use to go there?.....
- 18- Is there a mall that your family/parents prefer you to go? Why?.....
- 19- What is your frequency of visiting shopping malls?
- | | | |
|----------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------------|
| a) several times in a week | c) once in two weeks | e) less than once a month |
| b) once a week | d) once a month | f) other (...) please state |
- 20- What is your aim of visiting shopping malls? (You can choose more than 1)
- shopping
 - eating/spending time in food court
 - browsing/networking
 - meeting and hanging out with friends
 - killing time
 - forming friendship with the opposite sex
 - going to the movie theatre
 - window shopping
 - other (...) please state
- 21- Which mall do you think mostly addresses your age group? Why?.....

22- If you have a chance to create and design the ideal mall in your mind, what do you include or what do you exclude from it?.....

- 23- What is the frequency of your visiting Migros Shopping Mall?
 a) several times in a week c) once in two weeks e) less than once a month
 b) once a week d) once a month f) other (...) please state

24- What is the transportation mode you use when visiting Migros?.....

25- Are you usually visiting Migros alone?
 Y Why?..... N With whom?.....

- 26- How much time do you spend on the average in Migros?
 a) less than half an hour c) 1-3 hours
 b) half an hour – 1 hour d) more than 3 hours

27- In which days and in which hours of the day you prefer to visit Migros?

	During week times	At the weekends
Morning		
Afternoon		
Evening		

28- What are the most important things a mall should include? According to these, how do you evaluate Migros? Is it sufficient?.....

- 29- What is your aim of visiting Migros Shopping Mall? (You can choose more than 1)
 a) shopping
 b) eating/spending time in food court
 c) browsing/networking
 d) meeting and hanging out with friends
 e) killing time
 f) forming friendship with the opposite sex
 g) going to movie theatre
 h) window shopping
 i) other (...) please state

- 30- How much money you spend on the average in Migros?
 a) 1-5 YTL b) 5-10 YTL c) 10-25 YTL d) 25-50 YTL e) 50+ YTL

- 31- What do you spend your money for in Migros?
a) stores b) food court c) cinema / theatre
- 32- What are the things you liked mostly in/about Migros Shopping Mall? (Please state together with reasons).....
- 33- What are the things you disliked mostly in/about Migros? (Please state together with reasons).....
- 34- Are the prices of stores, cafes, restaurants influential on your preference for Migros?
Y N Why?.....
- 35- Compared to other malls in Ankara, why do prefer to spend your leisure time in Migros?.....
- 36- If you evaluate the physical environment of Migros Shopping Mall , what are the things you disliked or evaluated as insufficient? Would you please state the problems regarding these dislikes and insufficiencies?.....
- 37- What do you think about the colors used dominantly in Migros? Are there any other colors that you want to suggest? Why?.....
- 38- Would you like music inside Migros? What kind of music you prefer in Migros?.....
.....
- 39- How do you evaluate the attitudes and behaviors of shopkeepers and staff of Migros?
Do you think they treat you differently compared to other people?
- 40- Do you notice a difference in the attitude and behaviors of shopkeepers and staff of Migros towards you depending on whether you visit alone, with friends, with your family/parents? Why?.....
- 41- Are you restricting your behaviors or attitudes in order to adapt the social and physical environments of Migros Shopping Mall?.....
- 42- Have you ever got any warning from shopkeepers, staff or security personnel because of your behaviors or attitudes in Migros? How? How did you respond to? Have you ever faced with such a warning in any other malls in Ankara? What did you do? According to you, who is right?.....

43- Is your pocket Money sufficient for the things you like to do in Migros?

Y

N

44- In which parts do you spend the most/least of your time in Migros

Why?.....

45- What are the stores, cafes, restaurants that you prefer to go mostly in

Migros?.....

46- Is there a mall in Ankara that you wanted to go but you could not? Which one?

Why?.....

47- Are other teenagers in Migros similar to you or look like you?

Y

N

Why?.....

48- According to you, is there an age group that the malls favor or address? Is there an age

group that Migros Shopping Mall is specially favoring? Why do you think there

is?.....

49- Which mall would you prefer to visit if you were an adult?

Why?.....

APPENDIX C

Variable List

Question No.	Variable No.	Description
1	00001	Age
2	00002	Sex
3	00003	Education level
4	-	Year in the school
5a	0005a	Pocket money
5b	0005b	Sufficiency of pocket money
6	00006	Income level
7	00007	Preferred leisure time activities
8	00008	Preferred leisure time spaces
9	00009	Mode of transportation in leisure time
10a	0010a	Secure and comfortable leisure spaces
10b	0010b	Reasons in determination of secure and comfortable leisure spaces
11	00011	Interference of family in leisure activities
12	00012	Interference of family in leisure time
13	00013	Change in family interference according to leisure space
14	00014	Differentiated treatment or attitude in leisure spaces due to their age
15	00015	Preferred malls in Ankara
16a	0016a	Favorite mall in Ankara
16b	0016b	Reasons for favorite mall
17	-	Mode of transportation to favorite mall
18a	0018a	Interference of family in mall preferences of teenagers
18b	0018b	Preferred malls by families of the teenagers
18c	0018c	The reasons of family interferences in mall preferences
19	00019	Frequency of mall visits
20	00020	The aim of mall visits
21	00021	The malls that address teenagers
22	00022	The things that the teenagers want in an ideal mall
23	00023	Frequency of visiting Migros
24	00024	Mode of transportation to visit Migros
25	00025	Companionship during visits of Migros
26	00026	The time spent in Migros
27	00027	Preferred time of visiting Migros
28a	0028a	The most important things that a mall should provide
28b	0028b	Evaluation of Migros with respect to the things that the teenagers expect from a mall
29	00029	The aim of visiting Migros
30	00030	Average money spent in Migros per visit
31	00031	What they spend their money for in Migros
32	00032	The things they liked in Migros
33	00033	The things they disliked in Migros
34	00034	The influence of prices in their preference of Migros
35	00035	The reasons of preferring Migros compared to other malls in Ankara
36	00036	Dislikes related to the physical environment of Migros
37	-	Evaluation of colors in Migros
38	-	Evaluation of music in Migros
39	00039	Differentiated treatment by staff, security personnel and shopkeepers
40	00040	Differentiated treatment by staff and shopkeepers acc. to companion
41	00041	Changes in behavior in order to adapt to social and physical environments of Migros
42	00042	The problems that they confront with staff and security personnel
43	00043	The sufficiency of pocket money for their needs in Migros
44a	-	The most time spent facilities in Migros
44b	0044b	The least time spent facilities in Migros
45	-	The most preferred shops, restaurants and cafes
46	00046	The mall that could not be visited in Ankara
47	00047	Evaluation of other teenagers in Migros
48	00048	The target age group of Migros
49	00049	The mall teenagers would prefer, if they were adults

APPENDIX D

List of Chi-square tests

D1: The things that teenagers expect from a mall concerning the elements of social and physical environments and facilities vs. age

The things that teenagers expect from a mall concerning the elements of social and physical environments and facilities vs. gender

The things that teenagers expect from a mall concerning the elements of social and physical environments and facilities vs. income level

D2: Differentiated treatment by staff, security personnel and shopkeepers vs. age

Differentiated treatment by staff, security personnel and shopkeepers vs. gender

Differentiated treatment by staff, security personnel and shopkeepers vs. education level

Differentiated treatment by staff, security personnel and shopkeepers vs. income level

D3: Problems with staff ad security personnel vs. age

Problems with staff ad security personnel vs. gender

Problems with staff ad security personnel vs. education level

D4: Problems with staff ad security personnel vs. differentiated treatment by staff, security personnel and shopkeepers

D5: Dislikes of teenagers in Migros vs. age

Dislikes of teenagers in Migros vs. gender

Dislikes of teenagers in Migros vs. education level

- D6: Average money spent in Migros per visit vs. age
- Average money spent in Migros per visit vs. education level
 - Average money spent in Migros per visit vs. income level
- D7: What they spend their money for in Migros vs. age
- What they spend their money for in Migros vs. education level
 - What they spend their money for in Migros vs. income level
- D8: Evaluation of prices in Migros vs. age
- Evaluation of prices in Migros vs. income level
- D9: Changes in behavior in order to adapt to the mall space vs. age
- Changes in behavior in order to adapt to the mall space vs. gender
 - Changes in behavior in order to adapt to the mall space vs. income level
- D10: Changes in behavior in order to adapt to the mall space vs. problems with staff and security personnel
- D11: Likes of teenagers in Migros vs. age
- Likes of teenagers in Migros vs. gender
 - Likes of teenagers in Migros vs. education level
- D12: The reasons of preferring Migros compared to other malls in Ankara vs. age
- The reasons of preferring Migros compared to other malls in Ankara vs. gender
 - The reasons of preferring Migros compared to other malls in Ankara vs. education level
- D13: Dislikes related to the physical environment of Migros vs. age
- Dislikes related to the physical environment of Migros vs. gender
 - Dislikes related to the physical environment of Migros vs. education level

D14: Target age group of Migros vs. age

Target age group of Migros vs. gender

Target age group of Migros vs. education level

D15: The malls that address teenagers vs. age

The malls that address teenagers vs. gender

The malls that address teenagers vs. education level

Results of Chi-square tests

D1

Crosstabs

Var0028a: The most important things that a mall should cover (Q28)

Var00001: Age (Q1)

Case Processing Summary

	Valid Cases		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Q28A * Q1	103	19,3%	431	80,7%	534	100,0%
Q28A * Q2	103	19,3%	431	80,7%	534	100,0%
Q28A * Q6	103	19,3%	431	80,7%	534	100,0%

VAR0028a * VAR00001 Crosstabulation

Crosstab Count		Q1			Total
		1,00	2,00	3,00	
Q28A	1,00	1,00	8	3	11
	2,00	3	3		6
	3,00	22	47	17	86
Total		25	58	20	103

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	6,498	4	,165
Likelihood Ratio	9,862	4	,043
Linear-by-Linear Association	1,022	1	,312
N of Valid Cases	103		

a 5 cells (55,6%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1,17.

Var0028a: The most important things that a mall should cover (Q28)

Var00002: Gender (Q2)

VAR0028a * VAR00002 Crosstabulation

Crosstab

Count

		Q2		Total
		1,00	2,00	
Q28A	1,00	4	7	11
	2,00	1	5	6
	3,00	46	40	86
Total		51	52	103

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	3,894	2	,143
Likelihood Ratio	4,149	2	,126
Linear-by-Linear Association	2,211	1	,137
N of Valid Cases	103		

a 2 cells (33,3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2,97.

Var0028a: The most important things that a mall should cover (Q28)

Var00006: Income level of the families (Q6)

VAR0028a * VAR00006 Crosstabulation

Crosstab

Count

		Q6			Total
		1,00	2,00	3,00	
Q28A	1,00		10	1	11
	2,00	1	4	1	6
	3,00	2	72	12	86
Total		3	86	14	103

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4,810	4	,307
Likelihood Ratio	3,111	4	,539
Linear-by-Linear Association	,149	1	,699
N of Valid Cases	103		

a 5 cells (55,6%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,17.

D2

Crosstabs

Var00039: Differentiated treatment by staff, security personnel and shopkeepers (Q39)

Var00001: Age (Q1)

Case Processing Summary

	Cases		Missing	Total	Percent
	Valid	Percent			
Q39 * Q1	N 104	19,5%	N 430	80,5%	N 534 100,0%
Q39 * Q2	104	19,5%	430	80,5%	534 100,0%
Q39 * Q3	104	19,5%	430	80,5%	534 100,0%
Q39 * Q6	104	19,5%	430	80,5%	534 100,0%

VAR00039 * VAR00001 Crosstabulation

Crosstab

Count

		Q1			Total
		1,00	2,00	3,00	
Q39	1,00	6	16	2	24
	2,00	19	43	18	80
Total		25	59	20	104

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	2,482	2	,289
Likelihood Ratio	2,842	2	,241
Linear-by-Linear Association	1,010	1	,315
N of Valid Cases	104		

a 1 cells (16,7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 4,62.

Var00039: Differentiated treatment by staff, security personnel and shopkeepers (Q39)

Var00002: Gender (Q2)

VAR00039 * VAR00002 Crosstabulation

Crosstab

Count

		Q2		Total
		1,00	2,00	
Q39	1,00	16	8	24
	2,00	36	44	80
Total		52	52	104

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	3,467	1	,063		
Continuity Correction	2,654	1	,103		
Likelihood Ratio	3,520	1	,061		
Fisher's Exact Test				,102	,051
Linear-by-Linear Association	3,433	1	,064		
N of Valid Cases	104				

a Computed only for a 2x2 table

b 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 12,00.

Var00039: Differentiated treatment by staff, security personnel and shopkeepers (Q39)

Var00003: Education level (Q3)

VAR00039 * VAR00003 Crosstabulation

Crosstab

Count

		Q3			Total
		1,00	2,00	3,00	
Q39	1,00	6	16	2	24
	2,00	15	51	14	80
Total		21	67	16	104

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1,390	2	,499
Likelihood Ratio	1,519	2	,468
Linear-by-Linear Association	1,229	1	,268
N of Valid Cases	104		

a 2 cells (33,3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 3,69.

Var00039: Differentiated treatment by staff, security personnel and shopkeepers (Q39)

Var00006: Income level (Q6)

VAR00039 * VAR00006 Crosstabulation

Crosstab

Count

		Q6			Total
		1,00	2,00	3,00	
Q39	1,00	3	20	4	24
	2,00	3	67	10	80
Total		3	87	14	104

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1,138	2	,566
Likelihood Ratio	1,801	2	,406
Linear-by-Linear Association	,753	1	,386
N of Valid Cases	104		

a 3 cells (50,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,69.

D3

Crosstabs

Var00042: Problems with staff and security personnel (Q42)

Var00001: Age (Q1)

Case Processing Summary

	Cases		Missing	Total	N	Percent
	Valid	Percent				
Q42 * Q1	104	19,5%	430	80,5%	534	100,0%
Q42 * Q2	104	19,5%	430	80,5%	534	100,0%
Q42 * Q3	104	19,5%	430	80,5%	534	100,0%

VAR00042 * VAR00001 Crosstabulation

Crosstab		Q1			Total
Count		1,00	2,00	3,00	
Q42	1,00	3	11	3	17
	2,00	22	48	17	87
Total		25	59	20	104

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	,600	2	,741
Likelihood Ratio	,621	2	,733
Linear-by-Linear Association	,108	1	,742
N of Valid Cases	104		

a. 2 cells (33,3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 3,27.

Var00042: Problems with staff and security personnel (Q42)

Var00002: Gender (Q2)

VAR00042 * VAR00002 Crosstabulation

Crosstab

Count

		Q2		Total
		1,00	2,00	
Q42	1,00	10	7	17
	2,00	42	45	87
Total		52	52	104

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	,633	1	,426		
Continuity Correction	,281	1	,596		
Likelihood Ratio	,636	1	,425		
Fisher's Exact Test				,597	,298
Linear-by-Linear Association	,627	1	,429		
N of Valid Cases	104				

a Computed only for a 2x2 table

b 0 cells (,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 8,50.

Var00042: Problems with staff and security personnel (Q42)

Var00003: Education level (Q3)

VAR00042 * VAR00003 Crosstabulation

Crosstab

Count

		Q3			Total
		1,00	2,00	3,00	
Q42	1,00	3	11	3	17
	2,00	18	56	13	87
Total		21	67	16	104

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	,133	2	,936
Likelihood Ratio	,133	2	,936
Linear-by-Linear Association	,132	1	,717
N of Valid Cases	104		

a 2 cells (33,3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2,62.

D4

Crosstabs

Var00042: Problems with staff and security personnel (Q42)

Var00039: Differentiated treatment by staff, security personnel and shopkeepers (Q39)

Case Processing Summary

	Valid Cases		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Q42 * Q39	104	19,5%	430	80,5%	534	100,0%

VAR00042 * VAR00039 Crosstabulation

Crosstab Count		Q39		Total
		1,00	2,00	
Q42	1,00	5	12	17
	2,00	19	68	87
Total		24	80	104

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	,459	1	,498		
Continuity Correction	,132	1	,717		
Likelihood Ratio	,439	1	,508		
Fisher's Exact Test				,534	,346
Linear-by-Linear Association	,455	1	,500		

N of Valid Cases 104

a Computed only for a 2x2 table

b 1 cells (25,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 3,92.

D5

Crosstabs

Var00033: Dislikes of teenagers in Migros (Q33)

Var00001: Age (Q1)

Case Processing Summary

	Valid Cases		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Q33 * Q1	73	13,7%	461	86,3%	534	100,0%
Q33 * Q2	73	13,7%	461	86,3%	534	100,0%
Q33 * Q3	73	13,7%	461	86,3%	534	100,0%

VAR00033 * VAR00001 Crosstabulation

Crosstab
Count

Q33		Q1			Total
		1,00	2,00	3,00	
Q33	1,00		2	1	3
	2,00	4	19	4	27
	3,00	1	1	1	3
	4,00	3	5	2	10
	5,00		2		2
	7,00	1	7	2	10
	9,00	1		1	2
	10,00	3	5		8
	11,00	1	1	1	3
	12,00	1	3		4
	13,00			1	1
	Total		15	45	13

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	17,881	20	,595
Likelihood Ratio	20,483	20	,428
Linear-by-Linear Association	,581	1	,446
N of Valid Cases	73		

a. 29 cells (87,9%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,18.

Var00033: Dislikes of teenagers in Migros (Q33)

Var00002: Gender (Q2)

VAR00033 * VAR00002 Crosstabulation

Crosstab

Count

		Q2		Total	
		1,00	2,00		
Q33	1,00	1	2	3	
	2,00	13	14	27	
	3,00	1	2	3	
	4,00	4	6	10	
	5,00	2		2	
	7,00	3	7	10	
	9,00	1	1	2	
	10,00	5	3	8	
	11,00	2	1	3	
	12,00	4		4	
	13,00		1	1	
	Total		36	37	73

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	10,525	10	,396
Likelihood Ratio	13,301	10	,207
Linear-by-Linear Association	1,593	1	,207
N of Valid Cases	73		

a. 18 cells (81,8%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,49.

Var00033: Dislikes of teenagers in Migros (Q33)

Var00003: Education level (Q3)

VAR00033 * VAR00003 Crosstabulation

Crosstab

Count

		Q3			Total
		1,00	2,00	3,00	
Q33	1,00	3			3
	2,00	3	20	4	27
	3,00		2	1	3
	4,00	1	7	2	10
	5,00		2		2
	7,00	2	7	1	10
	9,00	1		1	2
	10,00	3	5		8
	11,00	1	2		3
	12,00	1	3		4
Total		12	51	10	73

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	20,763	20	,411
Likelihood Ratio	21,640	20	,360
Linear-by-Linear Association	2,637	1	,104
N of Valid Cases	73		

a 29 cells (87,9%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,14.

D6

Crosstabs

Var00030: Average money spent in Migros per visit (Q30)

Var00001: Age (Q1)

Case Processing Summary

	Cases		Missing	Total	Percent	
	Valid	Percent				
Q30 * Q1	N 103	Percent 19,3%	N 431	Percent 80,7%	N 534	Percent 100,0%
Q30 * Q3	103	19,3%	431	80,7%	534	100,0%
Q30 * Q6	103	19,3%	431	80,7%	534	100,0%

VAR00030 * VAR00001 Crosstabulation

Crosstab Count		Q1			Total
		1,00	2,00	3,00	
Q30	1,00		2		2
	2,00		9	3	12
	3,00	22	33	15	70
	4,00	2	10	2	14
	5,00	1	4		5
Total		25	58	20	103

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	10,909	8	,207
Likelihood Ratio	15,400	8	,052
Linear-by-Linear Association	,908	1	,341
N of Valid Cases	103		

a. 10 cells (66,7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,39.

Var00030: Average money spent in Migros per visit (Q30)

Var00003: Education level (Q3)

VAR00030 * VAR00003 Crosstabulation

Crosstab

Count

		Q3			Total
		1,00	2,00	3,00	
Q30	1,00	2			2
	2,00	1	9	2	12
	3,00	17	41	12	70
	4,00	2	10	2	14
	5,00	1	4		5
Total		21	66	16	103

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4,542	8	,805
Likelihood Ratio	6,202	8	,625
Linear-by-Linear Association	,355	1	,552
N of Valid Cases	103		

a 10 cells (66,7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,31.

Var00030: Average money spent in Migros per visit (Q30)

Var00006: Income level (Q6)

VAR00030 * VAR00006 Crosstabulation

Crosstab

Count

		Q6			Total
		1,00	2,00	3,00	
Q30	1,00		2		2
	2,00	3	9		12
	3,00		61	9	70
	4,00		13	1	14
	5,00		1	4	5
Total		3	86	14	103

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	44,173	8	,000
Likelihood Ratio	28,703	8	,000
Linear-by-Linear Association	15,000	1	,000
N of Valid Cases	103		

a 11 cells (73,3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,06.

D7

Crosstabs

Var00031: What they spend their money for in Migros (Q31)

Var00001: Age (Q1)

Case Processing Summary

	Cases		Missing	Total	Total	Percent
	Valid	Percent				
Q31 * Q1	104	19,5%	430	80,5%	534	100,0%
Q31 * Q3	104	19,5%	430	80,5%	534	100,0%
Q31 * Q6	104	19,5%	430	80,5%	534	100,0%

VAR00031 * VAR00001 Crosstabulation

Crosstab Count		Q1			Total
		1,00	2,00	3,00	
Q31	1,00	3	14	3	20
	2,00	7	22	6	35
	3,00	15	23	11	49
Total		25	59	20	104

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4,008	4	,405
Likelihood Ratio	4,063	4	,397
Linear-by-Linear Association	,257	1	,613
N of Valid Cases	104		

a 2 cells (22,2%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 3,85.

Var00031: What they spend their money for in Migros (Q31)

Var00003: Education level (Q3)

VAR00031 * VAR00003 Crosstabulation

Crosstab

Count

		Q3			Total
Q31	1,00	3	14	3	20
	2,00	6	23	6	35
	3,00	12	30	7	49
Total		21	67	16	104

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1,171	4	,883
Likelihood Ratio	1,174	4	,882
Linear-by-Linear Association	,598	1	,439
N of Valid Cases	104		

a 2 cells (22,2%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 3,08.

Var00031: What they spend their money for in Migros (Q31)

Var00006: Income level (Q6)

VAR00031 * VAR00006 Crosstabulation

Crosstab
Count

		Q6			Total
		1,00	2,00	3,00	
Q31	1,00	1	17	2	20
	2,00	2	30	3	35
	3,00		40	9	49
Total		3	87	14	104

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4,417	4	,352
Likelihood Ratio	5,576	4	,233
Linear-by-Linear Association	2,598	1	,107
N of Valid Cases	104		

a 5 cells (55,6%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,58.

D8

Crosstabs

Var00034: Evaluation of prices in Migros (Q34)

Var00001: Age (Q1)

Case Processing Summary

	Cases		Missing	Total	Percent	
	Valid	Percent				
Q34 * Q1	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Q34 * Q1	103	19,3%	431	80,7%	534	100,0%
Q34 * Q6	103	19,3%	431	80,7%	534	100,0%

VAR00034 * VAR00001 Crosstabulation

Crosstab Count		Q1			Total
		1,00	2,00	3,00	
Q34	1,00	7	17	7	31
	2,00	17	42	13	72
Total		24	59	20	103

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	,285	2	,867
Likelihood Ratio	,279	2	,870
Linear-by-Linear Association	,156	1	,693
N of Valid Cases	103		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 6,02.

Var00034: Evaluation of prices in Migros (Q34)

Var00006: Income level (Q6)

VAR00034 * VAR00006 Crosstabulation

Crosstab

Count

		Q6			Total
		1,00	2,00	3,00	
Q34	1,00		27	4	31
	2,00	3	59	10	72
Total		3	86	14	103

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1,376	2	,503
Likelihood Ratio	2,232	2	,328
Linear-by-Linear Association	,141	1	,707
N of Valid Cases	103		

a 3 cells (50,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,90.

D9

Crosstabs

Var00041: Changes in behavior in order to adapt to the mall space (Q41)

Var00001: Age (Q1)

Case Processing Summary

	Cases		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Q41 * Q1	104	19,5%	430	80,5%	534	100,0%
Q41 * Q2	104	19,5%	430	80,5%	534	100,0%
Q41 * Q6	104	19,5%	430	80,5%	534	100,0%

VAR00041 * VAR00001 Crosstabulation

Crosstab Count		Q1			Total
		1,00	2,00	3,00	
Q41	1,00	6	21	5	32
	2,00	19	38	15	72
Total		25	59	20	104

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1,495	2	,474
Likelihood Ratio	1,516	2	,469
Linear-by-Linear Association	,030	1	,862
N of Valid Cases	104		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 6,15.

Var00041: Changes in behavior in order to adapt to the mall space (Q41)

Var00002: Gender (Q2)

VAR00041 * VAR00002 Crosstabulation

Crosstab

Count

		Q2		Total
		1,00	2,00	
Q41	1,00	13	19	32
	2,00	39	33	72
Total		52	52	104

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1,625	1	,202		
Continuity Correction	1,128	1	,288		
Likelihood Ratio	1,632	1	,201		
Fisher's Exact Test				,288	,144
Linear-by-Linear Association	1,609	1	,205		
N of Valid Cases	104				

a Computed only for a 2x2 table

b 0 cells (,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 16,00.

Var00041: Changes in behavior in order to adapt to the mall space (Q41)

Var00006: Income level (Q6)

VAR00041 * VAR00006 Crosstabulation

Crosstab

Count

		Q6			Total
		1,00	2,00	3,00	
Q41	1,00	1	26	5	32
	2,00	2	61	9	72
Total		3	87	14	104

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	,202	2	,904
Likelihood Ratio	,198	2	,906
Linear-by-Linear Association	,111	1	,739
N of Valid Cases	104		

a 3 cells (50,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,92.

D10

Crosstabs

Var00041: Changes in behavior in order to adapt to the mall space (Q41)

Var00042: Problems with staff and security personnel (Q42)

Case Processing Summary

	Valid Cases		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Q41 * Q42	104	19,5%	430	80,5%	534	100,0%

VAR00041 * VAR00042 Crosstabulation

Crosstab Count	Q42		Total
	1,00	2,00	
Q41	1,00	27	32
	2,00	60	72
Total		87	104

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	,018	1	,895		
Continuity Correction	,000	1	1,000		
Likelihood Ratio	,018	1	,894		
Fisher's Exact Test				1,000	,571
Linear-by-Linear Association	,017	1	,895		
N of Valid Cases	104				

a Computed only for a 2x2 table

b 0 cells (,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 5,23.

D11

Crosstabs

Var00032: Likes of teenagers in Migros (Q32)

Var00001: Age (Q1)

Case Processing Summary

	Cases		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Q32 * Q1	102	19,1%	432	80,9%	534	100,0%
Q32 * Q2	102	19,1%	432	80,9%	534	100,0%
Q32 * Q3	102	19,1%	432	80,9%	534	100,0%

VAR00032 * VAR00001 Crosstabulation

Crosstab
Count

Q32		Q1			Total
		1,00	2,00	3,00	
Q32	1,00	1	4	1	6
	2,00	3	9	3	15
	3,00		5	2	7
	4,00	2	4	3	9
	5,00		1		1
	7,00	5	8	4	17
	8,00	9	17	5	31
	10,00	4	9	1	14
	11,00	1	1		2
Total		25	58	19	102

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	8,044	16	,948
Likelihood Ratio	10,428	16	,843
Linear-by-Linear Association	2,811	1	,094
N of Valid Cases	102		

a 20 cells (74,1%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,19.

Var00032: Likes of teenagers in Migros (Q32)

Var00002: Gender (Q2)

VAR00032 * VAR00002 Crosstabulation

Crosstab

Count

		Q2		Total
		1,00	2,00	
Q32	1,00	4	2	6
	2,00	10	5	15
	3,00	4	3	7
	4,00	2	7	9
	5,00	1		1
	7,00	7	10	17
	8,00	16	15	31
	10,00	6	8	14
	11,00	2		2
Total		52	50	102

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	9,066	8	,337
Likelihood Ratio	10,435	8	,236
Linear-by-Linear Association	,595	1	,440
N of Valid Cases	102		

a 10 cells (55,6%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,49.

Var00032: Likes of teenagers in Migros (Q32)

Var00003: Education level (Q3)

VAR00032 * VAR00003 Crosstabulation

Crosstab

Count

		Q3			Total
		1,00	2,00	3,00	
Q32	1,00	1	5		6
	2,00	3	9	3	15
	3,00		5	2	7
	4,00	1	7	1	9
	5,00		1		1
	7,00	3	10	4	17
	8,00	8	19	4	31
	10,00	4	9	1	14
	11,00	1	1		2
Total		21	66	15	102

Chi-Square Tests

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	9,025	16	,912
Likelihood Ratio	11,472	16	,779
Linear-by-Linear Association	1,825	1	,177
N of Valid Cases	102		

a 21 cells (77,8%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,15.

D12

Crosstabs

Var00035: The reasons of preferring Migros compared to other malls in Ankara (Q35)

Var00001: Age (Q1)

Case Processing Summary

	Valid Cases		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Q35 * Q1	99	18,5%	435	81,5%	534	100,0%
Q35 * Q2	99	18,5%	435	81,5%	534	100,0%
Q35 * Q3	99	18,5%	435	81,5%	534	100,0%

VAR00035 * VAR00001 Crosstabulation

Crosstab
Count

		Q1			Total
		1,00	2,00	3,00	
Q35	1,00	2	4	2	8
	2,00	1	3		4
	3,00	1	2	1	4
	4,00	2	4	1	7
	5,00	5	12	7	24
	6,00		2		2
	7,00	2	9	1	12
	8,00	5	10	3	18
	10,00	6	9	4	19
	11,00		1		1
Total		24	56	19	99

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	7,941	18	,980
Likelihood Ratio	9,778	18	,939
Linear-by-Linear Association	,185	1	,667
N of Valid Cases	99		

a 25 cells (83,3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,19.

Var00035: The reasons of preferring Migros compared to other malls in Ankara (Q35)

Var00002: Gender (Q2)

VAR00035 * VAR00002 Crosstabulation

Crosstab

Count

		Q2		Total
		1,00	2,00	
Q35	1,00	5	3	8
	2,00	3	1	4
	3,00		4	4
	4,00	4	3	7
	5,00	13	11	24
	6,00	1	1	2
	7,00	6	6	12
	8,00	7	11	18
	10,00	9	10	19
	11,00		1	1
	Total		48	51

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	7,667	9	,568
Likelihood Ratio	9,652	9	,379
Linear-by-Linear Association	,902	1	,342
N of Valid Cases	99		

a 12 cells (60,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,48.

Var00035: The reasons of preferring Migros compared to other malls in Ankara (Q35)

Var00003: Education level (Q3)

VAR00035 * VAR00003 Crosstabulation

Crosstab

Count

		Q3			Total
		1,00	2,00	3,00	
Q35	1,00	2	4	2	8
	2,00	1	3		4
	3,00	1	2	1	4
	4,00	2	5		7
	5,00	4	14	6	24
	6,00		2		2
	7,00	2	9	1	12
	8,00	4	12	2	18
	10,00	5	11	3	19
Total	11,00	21	63	15	99

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	8,105	18	,977
Likelihood Ratio	10,481	18	,915
Linear-by-Linear Association	,114	1	,736
N of Valid Cases	99		

a. 24 cells (80,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,15.

D13

Crosstabs

Var00036: Dislikes related to the physical environment of Migros (Q36)

Var00001: Age (Q1)

Case Processing Summary

	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Q36 * Q1	101	18,9%	433	81,1%	534	100,0%
Q36 * Q2	101	18,9%	433	81,1%	534	100,0%
Q36 * Q3	101	18,9%	433	81,1%	534	100,0%

VAR00036 * VAR00001 Crosstabulation

Crosstab
Count

		Q1			Total
		1,00	2,00	3,00	
Q36	1,00	2	4		6
	2,00	1	5	2	8
	3,00		1		1
	4,00		3		3
	6,00	2	4		6
	8,00		2	1	3
	13,00	8	15	7	30
	14,00	9	23	8	40
	15,00	1	1	1	3
	16,00			1	1
Total		23	58	20	101

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	13,085	18	,786
Likelihood Ratio	16,717	18	,543
Linear-by-Linear Association	,342	1	,559
N of Valid Cases	101		

a 24 cells (80,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,20.

Var00036: Dislikes related to the physical environment of Migros (Q36)

Var00002: Gender (Q2)

VAR00036 * VAR00002 Crosstabulation

Crosstab

Count

		Q2		Total
		1,00	2,00	
Q36	1,00	3	3	6
	2,00	5	3	8
	3,00	1		1
	4,00	1	2	3
	6,00	4	2	6
	8,00	1	2	3
	13,00	13	17	30
	14,00	20	20	40
	15,00	2	1	3
	16,00		1	1
Total		50	51	101

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4,691	9	,860
Likelihood Ratio	5,502	9	,789
Linear-by-Linear Association	,555	1	,456
N of Valid Cases	101		

a. 16 cells (80,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,50.

Var00036: Dislikes related to in the physical environment of Migros (Q36)

Var00003: Education level (Q3)

VAR00036 * VAR00003 Crosstabulation

Crosstab

Count

		Q3			Total
		1,00	2,00	3,00	
Q36	1,00	2	4		6
	2,00	1	5	2	8
	3,00		1		1
	4,00		3		3
	6,00	3	3		6
	8,00		2	1	3
	13,00	6	20	4	30
	14,00	8	25	7	40
	15,00	1	1	1	3
	16,00			1	1
Total		21	64	16	101

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	16,018	18	,591
Likelihood Ratio	17,250	18	,506
Linear-by-Linear Association	,540	1	,462
N of Valid Cases	101		

a 24 cells (80,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,16.

D14

Crosstabs

Var00048: Target age group of Migros (Q48)

Var00001: Age (Q1)

Case Processing Summary

	Valid Cases		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Q48 * Q1	102	19,1%	432	80,9%	534	100,0%
Q48 * Q2	102	19,1%	432	80,9%	534	100,0%
Q48 * Q3	102	19,1%	432	80,9%	534	100,0%

VAR00048 * VAR00001 Crosstabulation

Crosstab
Count

		Q1			Total
		1,00	2,00	3,00	
Q48	1,00	6	16	3	25
	2,00	6	15	7	28
	3,00	12	28	9	49
Total		24	59	19	102

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1,532	4	,821
Likelihood Ratio	1,556	4	,817
Linear-by-Linear Association	,048	1	,827
N of Valid Cases	102		

a 1 cells (11,1%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 4,66.

Var00048: Target age group of Migros (Q48)

Var00002: Gender (Q2)

VAR00048 * VAR00002 Crosstabulation

Crosstab

Count

		Q2		Total
		1,00	2,00	
Q48	1,00	11	14	25
	2,00	13	15	28
	3,00	27	22	49
Total		51	51	102

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1,013	2	,603
Likelihood Ratio	1,015	2	,602
Linear-by-Linear Association	,927	1	,336
N of Valid Cases	102		

a 0 cells (,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 12,50.

Var00048: Target age group of Migros (Q48)

Var00003: Education level (Q3)

VAR00048 * VAR00003 Crosstabulation

Crosstab

Count

		Q3			Total
Q48	1,00	5	18	2	25
	2,00	5	17	6	28
	3,00	10	31	8	49
Total		20	66	16	102

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1,895	4	,755
Likelihood Ratio	2,037	4	,729
Linear-by-Linear Association	,155	1	,693
N of Valid Cases	102		

a 3 cells (33,3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 3,92.

D15

Crosstabs

Var00021: The malls that address teenagers (Q21)

Var00001: Age (Q1)

Case Processing Summary

	Valid Cases		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Q21 * Q1	85	15,9%	449	84,1%	534	100,0%
Q21 * Q2	85	15,9%	449	84,1%	534	100,0%
Q21 * Q3	85	15,9%	449	84,1%	534	100,0%

VAR00021 * VAR00001 Crosstabulation

Crosstab
Count

		Q1			Total
		1,00	2,00	3,00	
Q21	1,00		3	3	6
	2,00	4	6	4	14
	4,00		2		2
	5,00		1	1	2
	8,00	14	36	11	61
Total		18	48	19	85

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	7,764	8	,457
Likelihood Ratio	9,505	8	,301
Linear-by-Linear Association	1,838	1	,175
N of Valid Cases	85		

a 11 cells (73,3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,42.

Var00021: The malls that address teenagers (Q21)

Var00002: Gender (Q2)

VAR00021 * VAR00002 Crosstabulation

Crosstab

Count

		Q2		Total
		1,00	2,00	
Q21	1,00	1	5	6
	2,00	8	6	14
	4,00	1	1	2
	5,00		2	2
	8,00	32	29	61
Total		42	43	85

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	5,089	4	,278
Likelihood Ratio	6,106	4	,191
Linear-by-Linear Association	,663	1	,415
N of Valid Cases	85		

a 6 cells (60,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,99.

Var00021: The malls that address teenagers (Q21)

Var00003: Education level (Q3)

VAR00021 * VAR00003 Crosstabulation

Crosstab

Count

		Q3			Total
		1,00	2,00	3,00	
Q21	1,00		5	1	6
	2,00	3	8	3	14
	4,00		2		2
	5,00		1	1	2
	8,00	11	40	10	61
Total		14	56	15	85

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4,527	8	,807
Likelihood Ratio	6,047	8	,642
Linear-by-Linear Association	,327	1	,567
N of Valid Cases	85		

a 11 cells (73,3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,33.