

SHOPPING MALLS IN ANKARA AS THE NEW “NON-PLACES” OF THE GENERIC
CAPITAL CITY

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ABSTRACT

SHOPPING MALLS IN ANKARA AS THE NEW “NON-PLACES” OF THE GENERIC CAPITAL CITY

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The primary aim of this study is to question the economic, social and spatial transformation processes in contemporary world and the influences of the late-capitalism on cities and architectural spaces especially by the rise of technological developments. In this respect, the study analyses the importance of the shopping malls as the new archetypes in these restructuring processes by reading “cross-cultural” theories on economy and society, and the spatial reflections of the changes in such structural relations. The city of Ankara and the surrounding shopping malls together have been chosen to discuss the significance of local agents, their limits, parameters and actions in order to understand the dialectics of these restructuring processes of the information age at the local scale.

Keywords: Globalisation, City, Power, Space, Time, Economy, Society, Ideology and Space, Consumption, Production, Shopping, Shopping Malls, Conceptual Space, Information Age, Technology, Global and Local, Dialectics, Networks, Things and Structures

ÖZ

JENERİK BAŞKENTİN YENİ YERSİZ KENT MEKANLARI OLARAK ANKARA'DAKİ ALIŞVERİŞ MERKEZLERİ

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Bu çalışmanın asıl amacı, çağdaş dünyada, ekonomik, sosyal ve bunlara bağlı mekânsal dönüşüm süreçlerini ve özellikle teknolojik gelişmelere koşut olarak çağdaş kapitalizmin şehirler ve mimari mekanlar üzerindeki etkilerini sorgulamaktır. Bu hususta, bu çalışma “kültürler arası” ekonomik ve sosyal yapısal ilişkileri ve bu yapısal ilişkilerin yansıması olan yeni mekânsal arketipler olan alışveriş merkezlerinin önemini araştırmaktadır. Bu dönüşüm süreçlerinde, yapısal ve yerel ilişkilerin, bilgi çağında, karşılıklı ve ikircikli yapısını anlamak adına, bunlara etmen, yerel ajan ve etkenleri, bunların sınırlarını ve dahi bunlara bağlı yerel parametre ve eylemlerin önemini tartışmak adına, yerel ölçekte Ankara şehri ve şehri saran alışveriş merkezleri ‘stratejik’ araştırma konusu olarak seçilmişlerdir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Küreselleşme, Şehir, Güç, Mekan, Zaman, Ekonomi, Toplum, İdeoloji ve Mekan, Üretim, Tüketim, Alışveriş, Alışveriş Merkezleri, Düşünsel Mekan, Bilgi Çağı, Teknoloji, Yerel ve Küresel, Çelişkiler, Şebekeler, Durumlar ve Yapılar

**to the repressed humanity,
& to my family**

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ABBREVIATIONS

ABB: *Ankara Bykehir Belediyesi* (Greater Municipality of Ankara)

AKM: *Atatrk Kltr Merkezi* (Atatrk Culture Centre)

AO: *Atatrk Orman iflięi*

METU: Middle East Technical University

TUIK : *Trkiye İstatistik Kurumu* (Turkish Statistical Institute)

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This study aims to focus on cities and shopping malls in the spatialisation practices within a certain framework to depict the relationship between ideology and space, and ideology and shopping malls, in that framework. In other words, it is the quest onto the space; onto the city space and its architecture through shopping malls with ideological relations, to understand the significance of the shopping malls in the ideological practices of space, within the city structures. The ideology and space is the most general concern of the study that the relations between ideology and space, ideology and city, and ideology and architecture are the general subjects; with the major question on the study as where (the) shopping malls stand in this framework (Figure 1.1).

In this respect, the thesis not only aims to understand and to question the economic, social and spatial transformation processes in contemporary world, and to understand the influences of the late-capitalism on cities and architectural spaces especially by the rise of technological developments, but also the importance of the shopping malls as the new archetypes in these restructuring processes to depict the ideological relations especially generated through late-capitalist structural relations. As, philosophically, it is thought that the specific conditions and the structural relations always evolve together, the specific conditions of the ‘capital’ city of Turkey, the city of Ankara, in its certain context are evaluated parallel with the emergent structural relations in the conjuncture. So, the city of Ankara and the surrounding shopping malls together have been chosen to discuss the significance of local agents, their limits, parameters and actions in order to understand the dialectics of these restructuring processes of the information age at the local scale. In this respect, it is to show the inter-connected structural relations between global structural relations and local geographies throughout the production of city spaces and architecture, such as shopping malls, mostly engaged with economic concerns and related social and political relations. Thus, shopping malls, as common architectural structures in cities especially in the contemporary age, are the objects of the study to find the subjective reasoning processes behind the spatialisation practices of them in the urbanisation and conceptualisation of urban spaces as a result of ideological relations derived from social, economic and political concerns (Figure 1.2). So the concern is to get the emergence of shopping malls within the city structures to quest whether they are the spatial practices of certain ideological relations concerning economic, social and political aspects together with power relations.

The cities, as certain concentration points of production, consumption activities besides the dwelling and other cultural and social relations organised under certain interactions between men and men, and men and nature depict the emerging power struggles and political relations in the production of city space. So, cities could be seen as the spatial and social products of these social and economic relations as open to be influenced by ideological and cognitive conditions of mankind, in this respect.

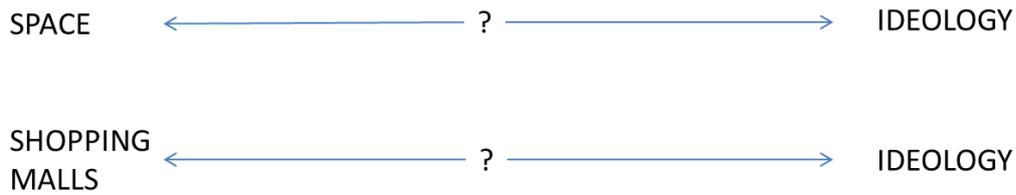


Figure 1.1 Introducing the problem of the study

Thus, it is to question the structuring and restructuring processes in cities with spatial practices, and to understand that whether these spatial practices could be engaged with economic, social and even political aspects, i.e., with certain power relations in production and consumption activities. In this context, it is to quest for the existence of power relations in the production of space and especially the city spaces engaged with economic, social and political aspects in a historical materialist view. So that, it is better to understand the historical subjective reasoning processes of mankind creating power struggles and ideological contradictions, which are also engaged with spatialisation practices in cities.

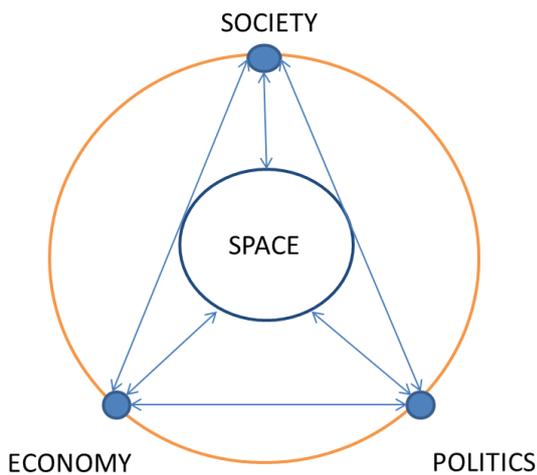


Figure 1.2 Social, economic and political relations interacting with/through space

Therefore, the main argument in the dominant power relations influencing the economic and social aspects besides the spatialisation practices is the capitalism and its transformation within the processes of the power and production relations depicting the emerging power struggles, as they are also engaged with spatialisation practices as observed significantly with urbanisation. So, the quest is onto the ideology, the ideology of capitalist power relations in economic and social relations that, whether capitalism dominates and influences the spatial practice processes in cities with economic, social and political structural relations (Figure 1.3). So, shopping malls become significant, in this respect, to understand the ideological influences of power relations over social, economic and spatial practices especially in cities.

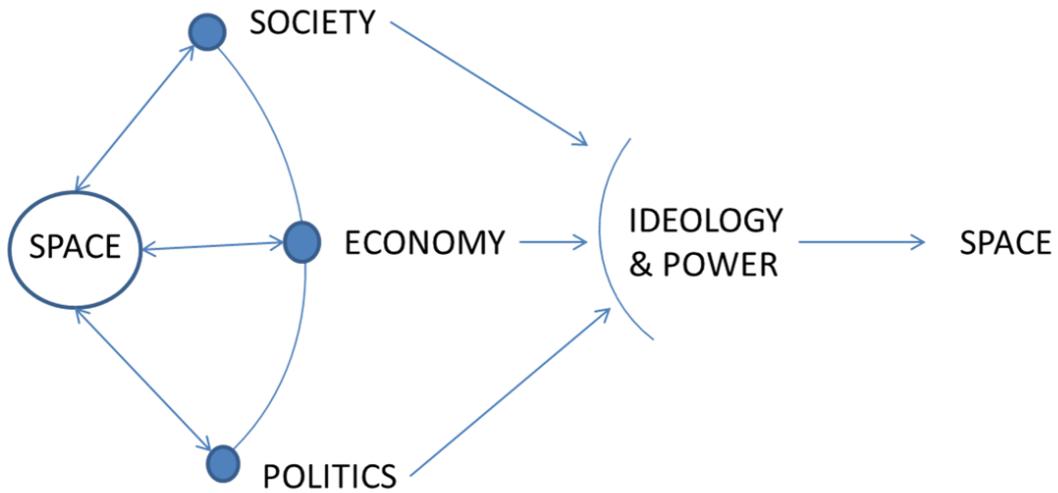


Figure 1.3 Ideology and power relations emerged onto the space through structural relations

As a result of the interaction of men and men, and men and nature, the processes that to be analysed could not escape from social and economic organisation processes and dependencies of mankind to these relations as hidden in the history of humanity. Even the power relations mostly dominated by capitalism especially after the emergence of new organisation relations initiated before Industrial Period and advanced in the following period are the part of these relations. Thus, as the emerging condition in the global world depicts the intercultural economic and social relations, the spatialisation practices of globalisation under certain power and accumulation relations focuses on cities as strategic concentration points and spatial practices in cities; not only significant for capitalism, but also for humanity to be understood. In other words, globalisation, under certain power relations of production and consumption concerning capital accumulation mostly dominated by ever-organised capitalist production and accumulation relations expressing the subjective reasoning processes of mankind, depicts the influenced spatial practice relations from social, economic and cultural concepts emerged and dominated by certain power relations. So, the space and especially the urban space, in between the city structures and architectural practices, becomes the common environment as an interface within these relations that to be questioned together with the emergence of shopping malls within the city structures as a result of these interactions (Figure 1.4).

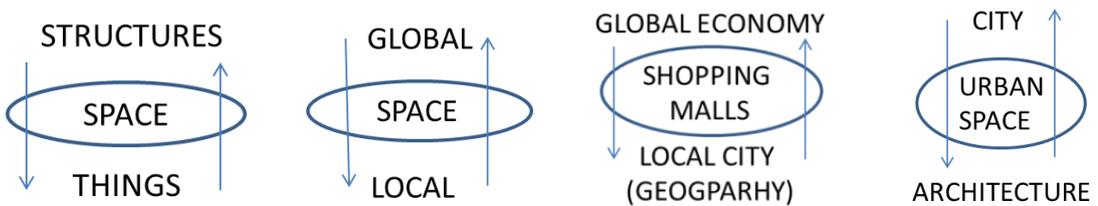


Figure 1.4 Space as the interface between dialectical interacting relations

In this respect, the dialectical relations between emerging structures as raised by the interactive and intercultural actions and the specific conditions integrating and integrated to these relations under certain dependency relations become significant to understand throughout the spatial practices. Thus, shopping malls, in these inter-relations of structural and specific conditions, could be seen as not only the spatialisation practices in cities, but also part of these structural relations superposed onto specific conditions in a sense.

Thus, it could be said that shopping malls with structural relations are superposed onto the specific conditions with certain consumption, production and accumulation relations as they become to be analysed not only in its own dynamics, but also in these specific conditions with regulation and legitimisation processes engaged and dependent to these relations. In this respect, the city of Ankara with its strategic conditions integrating and integrated to the global structural relations becomes to be understood with shopping malls and the production of city space under the influence of global and regional investment and capitalist power relations.

Therefore, by analysing the aspects of influenced and influencing strategic conditions of city spaces together with political, economic, and social structural relations transformed in the history of mankind, it is to understand the conceptualisation of city spaces with certain spatial practices, as especially shopping malls. They are concentrated at certain areas as a result of strategic objectives of capitalist accumulation and flow engaged with consumption and production engaged to consumption.

With respect to that, it is not only to understand the strategic conceptualisation of city spaces under certain spatial practices, as through shopping malls, but also the structural relations engaged with the spatialisation practices of shopping malls including social, economic, political and spatial aspects. Thus, it is to prove the four main hypotheses in the study to understand the conceptualisation of city spaces by the conceptual and ideological spatial practices of capitalist investment; as the three of the hypotheses try to explain the strategic concentration and condition of shopping malls in city spaces in the conceptualisation of city spaces, and the last hypothesis is to get the unified homogenisation of capitalist accumulation and flow through conceptual spatial practices, shopping malls, within the city spaces:

- Shopping malls could be functioned as the new control spaces of the dispersed urban geography, re-formed by the rise of suburbanisation and segmentation-differentiation of the city spaces. Shopping malls are here the control tools of capitalist economy, especially concerning consumption and related production, for space at the “strategic environments” of the urban environments including the peripheries of the metropolis opening to the expansion; the junction points of significant roads and districts; centre of the significant ‘districts’ as the segmented parts of the city distant from city centre, as the new “sub-centres” of the city and as a part of generic urban transformation including the dialectical relations of dispersion and control, growth and dependencies.
- Shopping malls are significant actors and factors in the urban transformation processes and projects, changing the existing urban fabric form with gentrification processes not only as an architectural pieces of the city but also part of the infrastructural transformation which influence on the macro-form of the city.

- Shopping malls could be seen as the tools for land speculation, rent of land, division of urban space and domination of the fragmented urban plots in the dispersed urban space as parcels by the global capitalist economic structures as shopping malls on those. So, they are the objects of the disputed case that shopping malls are whether private or public spaces through property and ownership relations.
- Seen as “non-places”, as the centrality of decentralized geographies with the connection and relation between them through ‘networks’; and connection to the global world through the global capital flows and product networks, shopping malls are one of the significant architectural/spatial reflections of “the Network Society” as the “spaces of flows”. In other words, by being at the junction points of the networks of transportation and flows with the external effects to their surroundings; and as part of global capitalist investment environments as the significant part of the global and regional capitalist investment networks; they are the part of conceptualisation and homogenisation of the urban environments including the transformation of economy, daily life and way of interaction through the city spaces.

In this respect, shopping malls with their internal and structural dynamics as “architectural archetypes” engaged with the structural relations interacting with the specific and strategic conditions become significant to be understood further as the object of conceptualisation with transformation of the city spaces for the global capitalist investment, ideologically.

Thus, the structure of the study is based on cross-cultural theories of economy and society in the information age. The analyses of these theories with local geographies are not only to understand the existential cases together with the emergent social structure and spatial reflections with specified analysis, but also to analyse the specific urban geography of Ankara and the social, economic and spatial transformation processes to understand the structural relations and to criticize the restructuring processes. So, in the study, first it is designated to understand the power relations and ideology over space with structural relations and strategic, specific conditions together with city structures.

The strategic conditions of Ankara and shopping malls become the specific objects of the study, in this respect, as playing significant roles in the restructuring processes of the urban environment. They are analysed with local actors; limits and parameters; and actions and reactions between them to understand the structural relations of an existent urban environment in relation with the theoretical framework. Thus, the general structure is tried to be read through the shopping malls in Ankara with their spatial and tectonic characteristics to understand the capabilities of global operation, organisation and control as they especially have been increased with the development of information technologies and the use of new technological tools in the production processes together with strategic and specific conditions of local geographies integrated and dependent to these relations.

The direct relationship between shopping malls and city through structural relations, namely structural relations, formal (spatial) relations, ownership (property) relations become significant to get the whole structural relations in the cities interacted with global structural relations under certain dependencies. It depicts not only strive of localities to get global investment, but also the global hegemony over local space through the homogenisation of spatial practices. Therefore, it is about to explain the power relations engaged with

production of space and city space by deciphering especially the subjective reasoning processes of capitalism in production, consumption relations and ownership and property relations engaged with these aspects besides the social and political transformation processes influenced from these. So, the social theories with theories on cities engaged with economic and social aspects are significant to mention on that to understand the dominant relations of capitalism on the production of space and city space in a historical materialistic view to better question the subjective reasoning processes of capitalism with its crisis-prone nature and restructuring processes.

In this respect, regarding the interacted relations of these structural conditions with specific and strategic aspects, it is also seen as necessary to understand the dialectical relations between the conceptual and specific conditions, in other words 'structures' and the 'things' in a unity that interacting and influencing to each other with certain aspects and in certain conditions depicting the dependency relations of one to the other. So, in the study, theoretically, the 'structures', as emergent norms, laws and determined relations; and 'the things' with their certain specific and strategic conditions are seen as together. In other words, the conceptual phenomena and existential conditions are thought as the sets of relations interacting, relating and influencing to each other, contradicting and uniting in a dynamic way, at the same time, dialectically.

Thus, it is to understand not only the structural conditions influencing the spatial practices of cities by certain cognitive and ideological aspects, as 'structures', which are also emerged in the history of mankind, but also the specific conditions of cities that strategically related with these structures with certain dependency relations. So, the capitalist power relations emerged as structural relations not only in the production and consumption, but also in the spatialisation practices are evaluated together with the cities as strategic and specific conditions, in a dialectical way. Regarding the fact, although capitalism depends on cities to develop certain economic and social relations and organisations to create its own structural relations, the cities also become to be dependent on the emerging structural relations dominated by capitalism, at the same time.

So, the cities become significant specific structures in the emergence of power relations in economic, social relation, as also part of the following spatial practices in the subjective reasoning history of mankind. In these processes, the formalisation practices including technological developments also play significant role that in the regulation of interacting relations of structures and specific conditions, formalisation processes of subjective reasoning. In this respect, they become also the means for the legitimisation and organisation of certain power relations that emerged. Thus, it is also to point out these formalisation processes of certain hegemonic forces, i.e., capitalist power relations, influencing the 'spatialisation' practices besides economic and social relations and influencing the sets of relations between structures and things through the formalisation processes, used for the sake of self-referential aspects.

Therefore, to minimize the subjective evaluations and generalisations in the analysis of specified cases, the methods in the study are selected as cartographic analysis with maps, drawings, social network analysis; socio-matrix, matrixes analysing including local data, parameters, actors together with structural relations, theories under the general economic, social, historical, cultural, technological and political concepts; data from different

institutional sources such as TUIK, ABB (as from different times, ideologies), studies on the city, and other institutional studies; media sources; photographs, drawings and observations.

In this context, the thesis study is based on the organisation through a matrix study (**See APPENDIX A**). The matrix study, as designed as a research database, tries to organise and analyse the structural and specific conditions in an inter-related way to depict the economic, social, political, historical, cultural and technological (instrumental, formalised) structural relations not only with the emerging concepts and theoretical frameworks but also parallel with the local actions, agents and parameters, as a way of understanding the dialectical relations of 'structures' and 'things' together.

Therefore, dialectical cases proceeding with theoretical framework are tried to be read with local actors, local parameters and interaction between them as actions and reactions with these selected methods mentioned, to read them again with structural relations of mainstream of the global capital restructuring processes reading 'in two directions'; as from specific to general, and then general to specific, in a duality to understand the dialectical cases of global capitalism as a whole.

With respect to the matrix study, (**See APPENDIX A**) the structural relations, as also emerged after certain interactions between man and man, and man and nature including economic, social, political historical, cultural and formalised relations (as even philosophy and critical theory also could be added to these relations, as the matrix study is designed as open to be development in every aspect) are organised at the top of the matrix above not only theoretical concepts that emerged with these phenomena, but also specific conditions to be analysed together with these concepts and phenomena. Thus, these relations are organised around a cross creating interlacing and interacting sets of structural and specific relations with the information cells at the intersection of these relations representatively. The every information cell creates research aspects in between these structural and specific relations not only in the way from "top-to-down" but also from "bottom-to-up" to understand the dialectical relations of things and structures in a dually, dynamic way. So, these information boxes are the parts of every evaluation, in fact, in the thesis study, reflected together with maps, charts, analysis including local data, parameters, actors together with structural relations, informative texts and even critical thoughts as tried to be integrated in this organisation of the matrix study within the thesis itself.

So, the matrix study is not only a mere tool for the study to compile all necessary and unnecessary information, data and structural and specific aspects, but also as a major analytical organisation tool that the study also based on with the organisation of these data, facts, information and even critiques, with respect to the matrix study.

In this respect, the following chapter starts with the exploration of economic, social and political structural relations with the city structures in a critical view. It starts intentionally 'with' the analysis of spatialisation practices of cities, as they are the concentration points of production, consumption and social relations with political relations and power struggles, to depict the influences of ideological and dominant power of capitalism on 'spatialisation' practices in cities and in architectural spaces, 'not as a trivialisation of spatial practices', but to better understand the ideological and hegemonic relations emerged in "the production of space" in a critical view, at first.

The structural relations concerning economic, social, political and spatial relations are explored through certain power relations, together with the conceptualisation of city spaces and the specific conditions of cities parallel with these relations within the subjective reasoning processes in cities; mostly influenced by capitalist production and consumption relations creating structures. Thus, it is also to analyse the capitalism and its mode of production relations with social analysis, work and ownership relations parallel with the historical analysis of the emergence of city structures to get certain power relations besides the economic and social transformation processes. The analysis are done with respect to a historical materialistic view; which is seen as the most significant way to understand the uneven nature of capitalism, its evolutionary character with its crisis and restructuring processes with the hegemony on economic, social and spatial practices in a dialectical way, in this framework.

The capitalist power relations on economic and social structural relations, and the 'spatialisation' of these practices in cities; with the industrialisation and urbanisation of developed countries as dominant forces in the emergence of capitalism are to be questioned, as engaged with other specific geographies, 'dependent' to that hegemony through the strategic way of capital flow and accumulation of capital. So, especially the geography of Turkey depicting the socio-economic processes with the spatial practices in the same historical way, with the dependency relations of the geography of Turkey to capitalism are analysed parallel with the structural relations in the conjuncture to explain the subjective reasoning processes in a historical materialistic view. It is to depict the dependency relations of the geography of Turkey to capitalism which is started even in the age of Ottoman Empire and maintained today under the influence of globalisation of late-capitalist structural relations. Together with these analyses, it becomes also possible to better understand the rising consumption economy and the shift in the spatialisation practices as a strategy of capitalism to increase the competition and the flow of capital at different geographies with certain state-based regulations legitimising these operations in local geographies.

Thus, it is the capitalism today that controlling the consumption and flow again by the rising globally networked economy models and technology as a result of restructuring processes of capitalism influencing not only the industrially developed countries, but also the countries in the process of integration to globalisation processes and global market relations, such as Turkey. So that, to better understand the emergent globalisation as the reflection of capitalism as a domain on economic and social relations with the spatialisation processes, shopping malls become the significant part of these restructuring processes in cities, with the ideological relations engaged with the structural and restructuring processes in the cities.

Therefore, these are to depict the specific and strategic conditions interrelated with much more structural relations through the state-based regulations in the operation of global structures in the specific geographies such as Turkey, with the rise of liberalisation of economy-politics of these geographies. It depicts the legitimation of globalisation processes in these geographies under the influence of capitalism and the dialectical relations with the conjuncture. As the countries such as Turkey are integrated to the global market structures, the countries also become more depended to them, as a way to express the interlaced relations of local and structural organisations under certain power relations and ideological aspects together.

In the proceeding chapter then, as also based on the analytic organisation as developed with(in) matrix study, it initially starts with the definition of space, to create the base structure of the aspects to understand the restructuring and transformation processes of spaces, produced with certain social, economic-political relations.

Then, spatial transformation processes are tried to be explored within certain social, economic and political relations to quest whether there is any domination and hegemony relations in the production of space, i.e., the role of capitalism in the production of space by the domination on time-space relations; and production and consumption; to question that whether there are ideological spatial practices in urban spaces for the sake of capitalism.

So, the historical materialistic view of reading capitalism and the transformation in the time and space perception are also seen in this chapter as the most significant way to understand the subjective reasoning processes concerning spatial practices.

Thus, it is further mentioned in the chapter that the emergence of domination of capitalism on space by the time regulations especially in the production relations, creating time-space compression (Harvey, 1989) is explored with the new notion of spatial practice understanding engaged with these relations, besides the crisis in time-space perception and compression; and the new labour, work and ownership relations as they are also paralleled with the emergence of urbanisation together with the rise of capitalist industrialisation in cities.

Therefore, the centrality of capital with the spatialisation of capital accumulation and the disperse and flow of capital, as depicting the dialectical nature of capitalism, are depicted in contradictory ways as a result of subjective restructuring processes of capitalism with the crisis. These are also seen as the reason for new crisis in the shift of time and space perception in society with the changing labour and ownership conditions besides the production and consumption activities in space.

In this respect, it is in the third chapter to explain the new definition of spaces, as the spaces are the interfaces in between dialectical relations. The notion of “non-places” as a result of the emerging spatial practices of capitalism, which are seen as contradictory to the spaces of places resistant to capital accumulation and flow, in this respect, becomes significant. Thus, it is towards a new notion of spatial practice annihilating first the space of places by time compression over space and capital flow, and then re-spatialisation processes of capitalism to create idealised and ideological space for capital accumulation defined as “non-places” beyond the notion of place.

So, shopping malls, with the emergent notion of space are depicted as superposed onto the city space as a result of capitalist accumulation and flow processes, with rising universalization and globalisation of capital flow explained through the new notion of space engaged with certain ideological relations. So, it depicts the spatialisation of “timeless time” that belongs to nowhere but to global market relations depicting the spatialisation practices of globalisation.

Therefore, the emergent city structures from the initial forms of cities to contemporary age are to be analysed with their dependent relations to global economic structures creating new structural relations in city spaces, including urbanisation and industrialisation processes with new social and economic organisation relations. In this respect, it is to explain the

interrelated relations of 'structures' and 'things', i.e., the way of global structural relations interacting with specific geographies, cities dependent to these relations. Thus, the management of global capitalism in cities is explained through the state-based regulations legitimising the global spatial practices in specific geographies, especially emphasising on the condition of Turkey and the cities with dependent relations to the emergent processes and to the others with the definition of "generic cities" depicting these dependency relations.

In these processes, shopping malls are seen as the emergent spatial practices superposed onto the emergent city structures in competition together with the pressure of dependencies to globalisation. So, it is also to understand the dialectical way of capitalist spatial practices in cities and to decipher the inter-related practices of global markets and specific geographies, in this respect.

In the following chapter, as the fourth chapter in the thesis study, the specific conditions of the city of Ankara are selected as a way to depict the "conceptualisation" of cities through the globally designated spatialisation practices as strategically located on certain specific environments. So, it is to understand the "strategic specific conditions" as city structures, interacting and integrating with globally networked relations concerning especially investment and property relations besides the other economic, social and political factors on these specific geographies. The city of Ankara in the period of the globalisation, is evaluated with its specific conditions within the "conceptualisation" of cities under the influence of globalisation in the information age with its strategic conditions its specific agents and relations parallel to the structural relations of global and local actions and reactions.

As to better understand the strategic and specific conditions of a capital city with certain economic, social, political and spatial relations, it requires to analyse with its history together with its physical and social dynamics parallel with the structural processes and transformations, which are also engaged with economic relations, as also there relations are organised analytically with the matrix study that mentioned earlier.

So, the city of Ankara is evaluated as a capital city of country that in the processes of growth and development, with its specific history, geography and processes of development under economic, political and social influences to better understand the relations of cities with their initial and specific conditions in relation with global structural conditions with spatialisation practices, as shopping malls and integrated conceptual projects, in cities as a way of transformation of cities into globalised geographies together with the local political and management processes. Therefore, it assists to understand the state and government based regulation processes including development plans and studies that legitimising those of transformation processes under the influence of global capitalist investment into different geographies with spatialisation practices in cities.

Therefore, the significant processes in the strategic condition of the city of Ankara, are related with emergent power relations with social, economic and political organisation processes through the production of city spaces in the history integrated with specific geography. The power struggles over the city through the ages becomes significant to understand the ideological forces over the 'spatialisation' processes in the evaluation of transformation processes of Ankara as a "generic city", depicting the generated restructuring processes by certain power and dependency relations in the history of the city, in fact.

In the last chapter before the conclusion, as the fifth chapter, it is to determine shopping malls as emergent “architectural archetypes” as significant spatial practices of globalised time-sharing practices concerning consumption and integration of different activities together in a unified and homogenised conceptual space produced under ideological and economic concerns of global and regional capitalist investment. It is especially as a result of the restructuring processes of capitalism after 1980s and 1990s to control the rising consumption and capital flow activities and production processes related to these actions together with concentrated capital accumulation besides to understand the influence of globalised spatial practice in the conceptualisation of spaces, in the city structures.

So, the structural global relations of capital accumulation and culture through shopping malls in Ankara are analysed to understand the global strategies and structural relations on local geographies as a strategy to connect dispersed and segmented geographies with ‘systematized’ global spaces for accumulation and consumption for the mass customization as a dialectical case of capitalism. As mentioned before, it is to understand whether shopping malls are globally connected spatial practices within “systematised” global networking through the flow and accumulation of capital and mass products to overcome the dispersion of capital accumulation. It is also to testify whether they are control spaces of capitalist investment and accumulation or not; by analysing the ten shopping malls in Ankara with their architectural and architectonic characteristics and with their internal aspects. In this respect, to understand the structural relations of global spaces as defined by Marc Augé as “non-places”; by Castells as “space of flows”; and by Rem Koolhaas called as “Junkspace” in the transforming and conceptualised city spaces for certain ideological relations, ideology of capital accumulation, shopping malls become significant with their own social, economic and spatial dynamics as archetypes.

As the study also regards the relation of globalised spatial practices of capitalist investment as shopping malls, with the relation of conceptualisation of city space with respect to the production of capitalist consumption spaces, shopping malls are analysed with their economic, social and spatial aspects. Although they isolate the city space first from their interior spaces by isolating themselves from the city space, they also try to reintegrate the structural relations of city (economic and social), as a result of economic and ideological reason of capitalist investment. Thus, it requires the analysis of internal dynamics of shopping malls in the conceptualisation of city spaces into globally related spaces. Thus, it becomes significant to show the homogenisation of spatialisation practices of shopping malls in the city space and the regulations of the city space through these practices under certain power relations and regulations.

CHAPTER 2

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RESTRUCTURING PROCESSES OF CAPITALISM IN CITIES

In this chapter, it is to understand the ‘subjective reasoning processes’ behind the emergence of shopping malls, which become common architectural structures in cities especially in the contemporary age. The concern is to get the emergence of shopping malls within the city structures to quest whether they are the spatial practices of certain ideological relations concerning economic, social and political aspects together with power relations.

As the city spaces are the concentration of production and consumption activities and social processes under certain political relations and power struggles, it is questionable in the study that could these relations have influenced the spatial practices of architecture today, as especially shopping malls are the parts of practices of economic market relations with social and even global relations within the city space, in fact.

Thus, the quest is onto the ideology, the ideology of capitalist power relations in economic and social relations that, whether capitalism dominates and influences the spatial practice processes in cities with economic, social and political structural relations. Thus the question is related with these facts and onto the ‘spatialisation’ practices, which are also all transformed through the history of mankind and through the evolution of capitalism as a result of subjective reasoning and formalisation processes of capitalism, in which shopping malls have significant role in the contemporary age.

So, the study intentionally starts with the economic, social and political relations together with the ‘spatialisation’ practices of cities, as the concentration points of production, consumption and social relations with political relations and power struggles to depict the influences of dominant power of capitalism on ‘spatialisation’ practices in cities and in architectural spaces. But this intention is not a result of a ‘trivialisation of spatial practices’, but to better understand and criticise the ideological and hegemonic relations in “the production of space”, at first.

In this respect, the study starts with the definition of city space. The quest is onto the production of city space with power relations including the ideological purposes of capitalism, with subjective reasoning processes in cities. It is also to analyse the capitalism and its mode of production relations with social analysis, work and ownership relations; parallel with the historical analysis of the emergence of city structures together with certain

power relations besides the economic and social transformation processes, in a historical materialistic view, which is seen as the most significant way to understand the uneven nature of capitalism, its evolutionary character with its crisis and restructuring processes with the hegemony on economic, social and spatial practices, in a dialectical way.

Thus, the study proceeds with the analysis of capitalist power relations on economic and social structural relations, and the ‘spatialisation’ of these practices in cities. It requires the

analysis of industrially developed countries as dominant forces in the emergence of capitalism, together with other specific geographies, as 'dependent' to that hegemony through the strategic way of capital flow and accumulation of capital especially including the geography of Turkey depicting the socio-economic processes with the spatial practices in the same historical way. So, the local geography of Turkey depicts the dependency relations with capitalism, which is started even in the age of Ottoman Empire, and maintained today under the influence of globalisation of late-capitalist structural relations together with the rising consumption economy as a strategy of capitalism to increase the competition and the flow of capital at different geographies, while controlling the consumption and flow again by the rising globally networked economy models and technology as a result of restructuring processes of capitalism influencing not only the industrially developed countries, but also the countries in the process of integration to globalisation processes and global market relations, such as Turkey. So that, it is better to understand the emergent globalisation as the reflection of capitalism as a domain on economic and social relations with the spatialisation processes as shopping malls. Shopping malls become the significant part of these restructuring processes in cities, with the ideological relations engaged with the structural and restructuring processes in the cities, influencing all geographies of countries and cities 'dependent' to the globalisation. Thus, the fact also depicts the state-based regulations in the operation of global structural relations in the specific geographies such as Turkey, with the rise of liberalisation of economy-politics of these geographies, as Turkey. It depicts the legitimisation of globalisation processes in these geographies under the influence of capitalism and the dialectical relations with the conjuncture. It is the fact that as local geographies as Turkey integrated and integrating to the global market structures, the countries also become more depended to them, dialectically.

2.1. City and Power

“The constitution of commodities as a basic cog of the economic system, the technical and social division of labour, the diversification of economic and social interests over a larger space, the homogenisation of the institutional system, brought about an explosion of the conjunction of spatial form, the city, with a sphere of social domination by a specific class, the bourgeoisie.”

(Castells, 1977)

The initial formations of cities are the result of the rising need for urban agglomeration by gathering to maintain the vital activities of humanity together (Castells, 1977; Giddens, 1981, 1995; Lefebvre, 1991; Soja, 2000). As an evolving form of this formation, cities are depicted as the emergence of complex social production and social organisation processes centred in the cities within the ‘territorially-defined’ forms of social and spatial control under certain power relations such as regulations based on kingship, military power, bureaucracy, class, property, slavery, patriarchy and empire (Ibid).

The evolution of the city structure, as also Henri Lefebvre, the French social theorist points out, have depicted the direct relation of production with the space where the set of operations occur in to production of simple objects from natural sources for the demands of people in the following period. Thus, Lefebvre relates the production of objects with the production of space, which he calls here as ‘social space’ and tries to define the social space as the cluster of social and economic relations that comes out within the process of production and (also consumption today as seen in the emergent social forms). So, he defines social space, in his book ‘the Production of Space’ in another way as:

Social space contains a great diversity of objects, both natural and social, including the networks and pathways which facilitate the exchange of material things and information. Such ‘objects’ are thus not only things but also relations (Lefebvre, 1991).

Thus, the evolution of these social production processes rise with the development of radical transformation processes in the size and internal organisation of city space defined as the rise of urbanisation especially with the rise of Enlightenment thought¹. The relation with that urban space, in other words the city, and the social space in these cases intersects at the production and the accumulation of products and the desire to consume by coming together also for producing living beings, things, objects, works, signs and symbols. So, Lefebvre defines the ‘Urban Space’ as:

¹ As a thought to achieve the liberation of humanity under the objective and universal law of nature leading to the development in science and technology as the formalisation processes of Enlightenment and as a result of Industrial Revolution by legitimisation of urban agglomerations of humanity in cities as a reflection of this unification.

Urban space gathers crowds, products in the markets, acts and symbols. It concentrates all these, and accumulates them. To say 'urban space' is to say centre and centrality, and it does not matter whether these are actual or merely possible, saturated, broken up or under fire, for we are speaking here of a dialectical centrality (Lefebvre, 1991).

So, although the nature is the source for the raw material for the production; accumulation of surplus value from production and the consumption of the products take places within the urban space, within the social space under certain social and economic relations by the nature of centrality of urban spaces as Lefebvre also depicts. Thus, the next question is whether there are any hegemonic relations on this centrality of space, as a way of control, especially on the modes of production and accumulation. That is the question on the capitalist power as Lefebvre questions capitalism with the right to the city, which is constituted with diverse breeds of capital along with a variety of overlapping markets – commodities, labour, knowledge and land, which result in political, economic and social organisation and reorganisation processes for many times in history (Lefebvre, 1991, Harvey, 1989, 2001; Marx, 1963; Castells, 1977; Giddens, 1981, 1985; Hobsbawm, 1987). Therefore, city space becomes the object of question as whether the city is a part of ideological restructuring processes of capitalist organisation and production processes especially starting with the rise of industrial revolution. Manuel Castells tries to answer this by defining the cities as attractive spaces for industrial development and for the need on the development of services and the rise of urbanisation with establishing the relation between urbanisation and industrial capitalist mode of production (1977). He clarifies this by defining the emigration of population to cities as labour forces for industrialisation and shift from domestic economy to a small-scale manufacturing economy, then to a large-scale manufacturing economy. It means as a concentration of man power, for the creation of a market and the constitution of an industrial milieu (Castells, 1977).

As Castells says “The theoretical perspective underlying this approach postulates that societies are organised around human processes structured by historically determined relationships of ‘production’, ‘experience’ and ‘power’” (Castells, 1996). It is the city space for these relations as the city space is the form of occupation of space by a population as the residential form adopted by those members of society, resulting from a high concentration and density within the process of organisation and development of productive forces, social classes gathering for creating surplus value within the production processes and cultural forces including the production of space by actions and reactions (Castells, 1977). So, it becomes obligatory to understand the relationship of capital and its nature with its hegemonic power relations in social, spatial and economic structure of the city to dominate the social, economic and political relations within the city, by using especially the totalitarian nature of thought of Enlightenment, with the formalisation processes for its own sake leading to many crisis, destruction and re-structuring processes not only in economic and social dimensions but also in the form of city space. Namely, it questions the capitalist mode of production, control of consumption and the impact of it on the socio-cultural dimensions, as the issues to be comprehended in the hegemonic relations on the production of space, in this context. Therefore, the nature of capitalism and the organisation processes within the cities are to be analysed next within the study.

2.2. Nature of Capitalist Power

Creation and the accumulation of surplus value within the production processes under certain power and domination relations as the main objective of the capitalist class, creates not only the feature of centralisation of power and money with its totalitarian nature, but it is also prone to the distribution of capital to new geographies to increase its profitability in new geographies by establishing new power relations on these geographies (Giddens, 1981, 1984, 1995, Harvey, 1989, 1996, 2001, 2006; Marx, 1963, Castells, 1989, 1996a; Sassen, 2001, Soja, 2000). So, as a reflection of dialectical nature of capitalism, although it needs for centralized space for accumulation and production as cities and/or control of distribution and accumulation of product and consumption of product such as shopping malls as the contemporary examples of the capitalist economy, it also needs for breaking spatial barriers of geographies to access to new geographies for the sake of accumulation processes. Within these processes capitalism always need some regulations and restructuring processes for the legitimation of its rent, which have also caused new crisis and processes as Jürgen Habermas explains as:

Crises in social systems are not produced through accidental changes in the environment, but through structurally inherent system-imperatives that are incompatible and cannot be hierarchically integrated. Social systems, assert themselves in a hyper-complex environment through altering either system elements or goal values, or both, in order to maintain themselves at a new level of control (Habermas, 1976).

Thus, social systems are organised around the production processes and to increase its rentability, surplus value, as capitalism tries to reconceptualise the relations between economic, social organisation processes. Habermas defines the regulation of the production, and common values in society and the institutionally permitted learning capacity; in other words 'knowledge', 'information' and the 'learning capacity' as the constituents of social systems and exchanges between these social systems and their environments with the technology, role of state, regulation of laws, norms, apparatus of state, from education to production, strategy on demand-supply; regulation of needs of people so that economic growth is regulated through a mechanism that establishes and at the same time partially conceals a relation of social power (Habermas, 1976; Castells, 1989, 1996a). Because the production of value is controlled through the private appropriation of surplus value signifying the hegemonic bourgeois, a spiral of contradictions results that can be reconstructed within systems theory (Habermas, 1976). The crises have emerged from the problems of these processes control of accumulation and the dispersion of capital similar to the dialectical cases in the totality and the individual in the thought of Enlightenment. Manuel Castells also mentions in his studies on the integration of spatial and socio-economic restructuring processes under the dominant classes leading to new social, economic and spatial transformation processes which have also led to new crisis (Castells, 1983).

Harvey in this context explains the characteristics of capital and relation with the spatial restructuring processes with the nature prone to flow to the geographies and search for more money to maintain its accumulation which he also calls this concept as "spatial fix" (Harvey, 1989, 2001) as:

How does capitalism survive and why is it so crisis prone? To answer these questions I first describe the conditions necessary for capital accumulation to flourish. I will then identify the potential barriers that exist to perpetual growth and examine how these have typically been transcended in the past, before going on to show what the principle blockages are this time around....Capital is not a thing but a process in which money is perpetually sent in search of more money.....Continuity of flow in the circulation of capital is very important. The process cannot be interrupted without incurring losses. There are also strong incentives to accelerate the speed of circulation. Those who can move faster through the various phases of capital circulation accrue higher profits. Innovations which help speed things up are much sought after. Our computers, for instance, are becoming faster and faster (Harvey 2010).

Harvey depicts the need of capital for the distribution and circulation of the flow of capital through different geographies in a dispersal nature to overcome the interruption of money flow, which is a reason for the crisis of capitalism (Harvey, 2006). But as a dialectical nature of capitalism and as a reflection of the totalitarian nature of Enlightenment, it also needs to control the capital and profit accumulation within a centrality. For example, **shopping malls** today as the reflections of contemporary market “**non-places**” of private manufacturing and entrepreneurship of late capitalism as they are the spatial reflections of the control of capital flow, products and consumption. Harvey explains this centrality in the dialectical nature of capitalism as:

But the form of capital accumulation that has come to dominate from the mid-eighteenth century onwards is that of industrial or production capital. In this case the capitalist starts the day with a certain amount of money, and, having selected a technology and organisational form, goes into the market place and buys the requisite amounts of labour power and means of production (raw materials, physical plant, intermediate products, machinery, energy and the like). The labour power is combined with the means of production through an active labour process conducted under the supervision of the capitalist. The result is a commodity that is sold by its owner, the capitalist, in the market place for a profit (Harvey, 2010).

Max Horkheimer, one of the important figures of the Frankfurt School, also explains the hegemonic relation of capitalism on the space and especially on the spaces for consumption by signifying the dialectical nature of it similar to dialectical nature of Enlightenment with its thought for human liberation and totalitarian characteristics over the individual and humanity; and similarity to the Myth of Homer by saying:

The irrationalism of totalitarian capitalism, whose way of satisfying needs as an objectified form determined by domination which makes the satisfaction of needs impossible and tends toward the extermination of mankind, has its prototype in the hero who escapes from sacrifice by sacrificing himself (Horkheimer & Adorno, 1996).

Thus, it is to understand the evolution of hegemonic relations, the relations of capitalism, especially with the productions relations and the reflections of those on the social sphere together with the domain on 'spatialisation' practices through the historical materialist perspective to better get the 'subjective reasoning processes' of capitalism through the ages.

2.3. Processes of Capitalism with the Crisis and Restructuring Processes through the Ages

So, although the thought of Enlightenment is a thought for the liberation of humanity from the dogma and power of domains, its universal and totalitarian characteristics depicts the dialectical cases between the particularities and totalities. The rise of capitalism, as a dominant class, can be observed with the rise of Enlightenment and industrial age with the 'formalisation processes' leading to scientific and technological developments and changes in the production processes and society. So, by using the totalitarian characteristics and the processes of formalisation of Enlightenment and the notion of particularities for its own sake, capitalism has become dominant in social and economic relations and has found solutions to the crisis. Therefore, to better understand these parallel relations, it is designed in the study to analyse the epochs and evolution of capitalism that has passed in these dialectics.

Manuel Castells tries to depict the crisis prone nature of structural organisations of power relations, i.e. capitalism, parallel with the restructuring processes and historical events as a result of the other as:

When the system changes the institutionalised means by which it aims to achieve its systematic goals, there is a process of social restructuring. Each restructuring process leads to a new manifestation of the system, with specific institutional rules which induce historically specific sets of contradictions and conflicts, developing into new crises that potentially trigger new restructuring processes. This sequence goes on until the social equation underlying both structures and processes makes possible historical change to replace the old system by a new one (Castells, 1989).

Starting with the rise of industrialisation and urbanisation, capitalism in cities has get a new spatial dimension as a result of the relation between the social production of city-space with the development of capitalism as a result of accelerated economic expansion and growth with an increasing centrality and densification especially in north-western European cities, also as the geography of the rise of modernity after the Industrial Revolution (Harvey, 1989; Castells, 1977; Soja, 2000; Tekeli, 2009, v.8). The acceleration of economic growth in certain geographies has brought the over-accumulation and under-accumulation processes and as Harvey defines, it brought an uneven geographical development, depicting the uneven nature of capitalism in the concentration of capital flow and accumulation on geographies leading to poorer and richer environments, leading to the crisis, decelerated capital accumulation and finally new restructuring processes, which have also led to new crisis (2006). As also Edward Soja points out, the first significant restructuring and crisis period is the "Long Depression" following the "Age of Capital" especially in the 19th century after the Industrial Revolution (Soja, 2000; Harvey, 1989). In this period the rise of the

competitive free-market and the classical economic thought leading to the free industrial capitalism is followed then with the emergence of large corporations and other new organisational forms with the control and domination over domestic or national economies and reduction in free-market competition under the emerging power of corporate monopolies and oligopolies as a reflection of the hegemonic totality (Soja, 2000; Castells, 1977; Giddens, 1984; Harvey, 1989). In this context, the universalization of the power of capitalism has been observed in local geographies in the relations of nations as a reflection of the dominant class in the power of state together with politics and military. For example, even the Ottoman Empire, influenced by the rise of European civilisations after Industrial Period up to the Great Depression, had been the object of unification of industrial capital as a new geography for the market place until the Turkish Revolution after the First World War. As the case can be multiplied with many examples, this shows the legitimization of power relations in the level of nations by the agreements between European countries on economic concessions and control of local geographies for European countries showing the imperialist mode of capitalist development even within the relations of nations at the universal state.

In the following period, another significant era for the transformation of social and economic structural relations, which have been also the concern of capitalism, are the rise of Modernity and “the Great Depression” following the modern epoch. Modernity, after the Industrial Period, has been influenced from the thought of Enlightenment and brought the new restructuring processes especially by leaving behind the traditional and conventional systems and values. The idea of universalization and tendency to centralisation strengthen in this period. In addition to the Taylorism, as a new and universal system for the administration of production, Fordism becomes the new modes of capitalist development leading to mass production, mass consumption, mass suburbanisation observed (Harvey, 1989; Castells, 1996a; Soja, 2000). Following the Modernity, the Great Depression have led to the process of fragmentation processes after the period of unification and urbanisation by migration of labour force from rural to urban areas resulting of crisis especially in the organisation of labour and city space as Soja explains as:

Backed by the powerful alliance of big government, capital, and labour, the growth of mass production and its space-consuming assembly lines, along with the even more space-demanding rise of consumerism and mass suburbanisation, led to an increasing dispersal of the once highly centralised location of factories and blue-collar workers in and around the downtown area of the central city. What was emerging was the Fordist regional metropolis, with its increasingly split personality and mentality, simultaneously yet separately urban and suburban (Soja, 2000).

In the modern period, the city spaces have become expanded and the variation between individuals with the rise of migration and density becomes apparent as a conflicting issue to the unity of modernity. The internal differentiation within the city led to the heterogeneity and fluidity of different classes within the city space with an increase in the differentiation and diversification of activities as a result of the split and the differentiation within the society and city space, as the reflection of economic and social crisis (Castells, 1977) depicting the emerged class conflicts within the spatialisation practices in cities.

As a response to the Great Depression, Fordist-Keynesian phase of capitalist development proposing big government intervention in the economy to stimulate the growth and provide

for social welfare with the rise of large labour unions had also lead dialectically into a crisis period as a result of powerful labour class, which becomes a barrier for the capital accumulation later especially in 1960s, while the capital has needed cheaper labour (Harvey, 2010). The crisis in 1960s have led to the new restructuring processes of capitalism which could be defined as the beginning of post-industrial period, although it could also be seen as a proceeding part of capitalist structural relations, with the search for new labour force shifting from the 'core labour' to the cheaper and less qualified workforce with a highly fragmented manner under certain power relation. David Harvey critically explains it as a solution to the revolt of labour classes in 1960s:

How then are we to interpret the current mess? The answer depends on a class project that coalesced in the crisis of the 1970s. Masked by a lot of rhetoric about individual freedom, liberty, personal responsibility and the virtues of privatisation, the free market and free trade, it legitimised draconian policies designed to restore and consolidate capitalist class power (Harvey, 2010).

Additionally, to increase the competition in local geographies, dispersion and reinvestment of capital to local geographies and the rise of notion of locality as a deviation from the thought of universality of modernity have been used by capitalism for the "spatial fix" to reorganize the city space in the mode of "flexible accumulation" in the postmodern period as a result of the crisis in the Fordist mode of production resulting from the increase in the surplus production and profit with over accumulation, while the consumption was less than accumulation leading to deflation (Harvey, 2010).

Following the conditions of postmodernity, the rise of the technological developments, the de-materialisation of money to increase the flow of money and capital accumulation leads to the new restructuring processes especially starting from 1980s that many regions in the world have experienced today defined with the regulation of economy as Harvey summarises the chaotic processes and responses of capitalism in this period as:

The heads of leading corporations set in motion the radical reconstruction of the state-finance nexus (the national and then international deregulation of financial operations, the liberation of debt-financing, the opening of the world to heightened international competition and the repositioning of the state apparatus with respect to social provision). Capital was re-empowered vis-à-vis labour through the production of unemployment and deindustrialisation, immigration, offshoring and all manner of technological and organisational changes (Harvey, 2010).

These changes with the economic regulations have also been maintained within the social life leading to the changes in the social organisations and the daily life of human being as Harvey shortly mentions:

New forms of niche consumerism and individualised lifestyles also suddenly appeared, built around a postmodern style of urbanisation (the Disneyfication of city centres coupled with gentrification), and the emergence of social movements centred around a mix of self-centred individualism, identity politics, multiculturalism and sexual preference (Harvey, 2010).

David Harvey concludes these phenomena as the manipulation of capitalism on the emerging processes within the contemporary world including the dialectical cases of extreme unification, globalisation; and individuation together as Manuel Castells defines this age as “the Information Age”. So, Harvey sees the processes as the hegemonic control of dominant classes on the evolution of economy and society with some set of manipulations, while these manipulations have also near to breed new crisis especially with new social, economic and cultural problems by saying:

Capital not create these movements but it did figure out ways to exploit and manipulate them, both in terms of fracturing hitherto important class solidarities and by commodifying and channelling into niche markets. New electronic technologies with widespread applications in both production and consumption had a huge impact on labour processes, as well as on the conduct of daily life for mass of population (laptops, cell phones and iPods are every-where). That new electronic technologies held the answer to the world’s problems became the fetish mantra of the 1990s (Harvey, 2010).

Thus, the processes depict the dialectical relations in the nature of capitalism with its centralising and totalitarian nature on the accumulation of capital at certain points; but at the same time the disperse and the flow of capital at different geographies, which is to break the rigidities of capital accumulation dialectically, again to increase the profitability within the flow of capital through rising competition and consumption economies in different geographies. However, capitalism is also tended to re-control this dispersion with concentrated capital accumulation and flow by the regulations, restructuring processes including ‘spatialisation’ of ‘**shopping malls**’ under the rising global economy structures.

So it becomes obligatory to analyse the economic and social restructuring processes in details especially after the Industrial Period to understand the achievement of the domination of capitalism over the social and economic problems within the spatial dynamics of city and urban form.

2.4. Economic Development and Restructuring Processes of Capitalism

The emergence of the thought of the Enlightenment for the liberation of human by exploring the nature and law of nature has also led to the advent in the research for science and the developments of new technologies and inventions. One of the most important inventions relating with the significant changes in the modes of production and economy in history is the exploration of steam power and the invention of the technological tools using steam power to increase the mechanical power in the production. Because it shows the shift from brawn as the term for the muscled power in production to the power of steam emerged in physical and chemical reactions and used in the mechanical systems as the technological inventions (Tekeli, 2009, v.8). So, the shift from ‘brawn’ to steam power led to the shift from agriculture and the peasantry, animal husbandry and pastoralism to the industry and commerce and retail trade which is called as the Industrial Revolution (Ibid). This shift has also brought the many restructuring processes in economic, social, political and spatial

organisation processes. Centralisation of political and administrative authorities and planning, class formation and class struggle in the form of cities are the new formation processes for the Industrial age (Harvey, 1989; Castells, 1977, 1989, 1996a; Soja, 2000).

The need for more labour force by the increase in the amount of production and decrease in the time of production has led to the migration of many people from rural areas to cities as many industrial areas had established near or within cities with the mobilisation of classes within the city spaces. As a result, the differences of social classes in city space as immigrants and inhabitants of cities leading to the class struggles and exploitation of classes with the rise of bourgeois as capitalist class have been emerged as a reason for many regulations, destruction and restructuring processes later.

The material practice was also changed with the steam power that, the new energy sources and raw material have been needed for the new production processes. Additionally, Industrial Revolution based on the extensive use of information and on applying and developing pre-existing knowledge in the production processes (Castells, 1996a). The acceleration of the technological change with the development of science and innovation has also led to the electricity and other energies such as fossil fuels and even nuclear power that the industrialisation needs more and more generation and distribution of energy later (Ibid). These needs for the new energy source and raw material, are significant in the search for new geographies for the new raw material and energy sources as the major reason of the world wars later.

Changes in the practice of material and energy are also observed in the changes in the value system. To increase the circulation of accumulation of capital, commodity-money-commodity (C-M-C) and money-commodity-money (M-C-M) circuits becomes significant as a result of financialisation of the material and the 'value' to increase the speed of circulation and flow of product and capital in the processes of exchanges (Marx, 1963). The thought of Enlightenment for the unification and the universalization of humanity would be used later at this period by capitalism in the expansion of market in the universal scale with the search for new local markets as in the case of the Ottoman Empire mentioned earlier for the sake of organised capitalist accumulation. So, these changes in the capital accumulation and the '**productive forces**' which can be seen as the tools, instruments, technology, land, raw materials, human knowledge and abilities by definition, has led to the new modes of production and new relations of production constituting the economic structure of society and the organisation of labour classes and workforces (Marx, 1963; Harvey, 1989; Castells, 1977, 1996a; Lefebvre, 1991; Giddens, 1981, 1984, 1995). In addition to that the regulation and control of the surplus value has brought the control of workforces and the wage of labour increasing the issue of ownership and the domination of capitalism over production processes, which creates also the class struggle within the society (Shaw, 1978).

The domination of capitalism in this period showed its influences also on the local geographies to overcome the conflicting nature of power relations called as the "double-sided" power relations as "the top-down power" of the dominant that is interested in maintaining the control over the others similar to the developed industrial countries to dominate the "the bottom-up power" producing the local resistance (Sargin, 2000). The Ottoman Empire, for example was the concern of the need of capitalism for the market place and also the need for raw material and to maintain the dependency of Ottoman Empire to developed countries while The Ottoman Empire was a resistant enemy for developing

countries. It is also denoted in Boratav's book mentioning the history of the economics of Ottoman Empire and Turkish Republic that the Ottoman Empire was seen one of the biggest market places for the western capital as an independent country different from African colonies (Boratav, 2012, 2003). Although the Ottoman Empire had not had a complicated industry and bourgeois class beyond the non-Muslim minorities, which were completely engaged with the western capitalism, at that time, the politics for the expansion of capitalism under the certain power relations to new geographies was significant. So, the Ottoman Empire under the influence of the development of western countries was the object of the integration of new geographies to the capitalist control on market places. But, the Empire was also restricted with many economic agreements in debts with credits and war compensations after the losses in wars and depended on the western capital, which shows the desire of capitalism for making the less developed countries depended to the organised capital accumulation while the organised capitalism developed under the technological advents and certain power relations (Boratav, 2012).

The more advent of the technology and science-based developments and new organisational changes led to the more changes and the age of Modernity as a system of thought breaking the traditional and conventional rules emerged following the Industrial Revolution. One of the misleading processes of development in the age of Modernity in these processes is the emergence of "creative destruction" (Harvey, 1989). As mentioned earlier, the need for labour force had led to the immigration of workers from rural areas to the cities and the increase of density, pollution and congestion especially at the centre of the city. So, the city of Paris, for example, in this context, has been combined with the idea of modernity against the tradition and with the formalisation of the thought as the tools and technology of Modernity (Harvey, 1989) and led to the destruction processes to reconstruct the city under the reaction of unity, but under certain power relations.

In the modern age, another significant development concerning the economy and capitalism is the development of scientific management of the production processes as depicted early that initially F.W. Taylor proposed the separation between management, conception, control, and execution to overcome the complex processes dividing them in units and later Henry Ford, following the idea of Taylorism has developed the idea of production line, or in other words the automated car-assembly line. This depicted the new transition in the mode accumulation, with the stabilisation over long period of allocation of the net product between consumption and accumulation, and association in the mode of production and social and political regulation (Harvey, 1989).

The foundation of production line includes the separation of production units and processes and it includes the specification of work for the labour leading to the differentiation of workforces and has led to the alienation of labour from its tools, the whole processes of the work and finally alienation from the labour itself contrasting the idea of unification. The idea of production line has accelerated the production processes and increased the number of product as a result of mass production. So, these changes led to the new regulations in the relations of production. As a solution to the changing labour force, Ford established a new system of reproduction of labour power, a new politics of labour control and management. In addition to that, with the increase of the mass production, Ford proposed the mass consumption to increase the profit and made the workers of the company of the users of Ford cars by campaign (Harvey, 1989) as a way of reinforcing the capital flow by stimulation on consumption of production besides the capital accumulation with production, dialectically, at

that time. The rise of the control of production and consumption in the Fordism and the increase of the split in the labour force show the domination of ‘organised capitalism’ especially in the modern period. In addition to the authoritarian command and operational management especially in Fordism, the mass production with uniformity and standardisation can be defined in the modernist period. It includes the single task for worker with no learning experience within a vertical labour organisation in the spatial division leading to the individualisation of labour and the rigidity in the organisation of capital accumulation (Harvey, 1989).

The emergence of World War I also occurred in this period as a result of the tension between the expanding powers rising by the industrial revolution, and it held many destructive processes and impasses for many countries especially less developed in the industry. In this context, The Ottoman Empire, as a dramatic case, had been driven to the collapse and became the object of the abuse and the share of dominant powers and countries including capitalist classes winning the world war. But, the Turkish Independence War kept the country from the share of countries winning the World War, although the agreement at the end of the war had had many sanctions and restrictions in the economic dimensions especially restricting the industrialisation of Turkey as a strategy of the dependence of less developed countries to the organised capitalism (Boratav, 2012). The rise of the idea within the country, Turkey, on the development of a national economic model was also restricted as a result of the dependence of economics to capitalism, although it has become very successful in the unification of the economic processes of the country especially in the agriculture as dispersed before the Independence War, as a synergetic power for the country and the public; and the development of the idea to create the national bourgeois class alternative to the non-Muslim and dependent bourgeois class (Boratav, 2012). In this period, the main idea was the conservation of national economics generally from the organised capitalism of western countries as a result of the rising dependence and debts of the collapsed Empire and the influence of Bolshevik Revolution although it was also open to the capitalism as a result of the expansionary and influential impact on the less developed countries. Thus, the unification of national economics and some significant developments has been observed such as the development of national capital by the regulation and the investment of the state as a result of conservative economy until the Great Depression, that the similar model to the Turkish model would be used as a solution to the crisis with the idea found by Keynes for the sake of capitalism (Boratav, 2012).

The Great Depression, one of the biggest crises in the history of capitalism, in the 1930s as a result of the bankrupt of the stock market in USA within a monopolised organised formation of capitalism, led to the several changes in the regulation of capital. The regulation of economics with the concept of state intervention and regulation to the capital as the idea of J.M. Keynes brought the stable rates of growth again to the capitalism under the centralisation of concept of state and the indirect intervention of state in markets through income and price policies, and the international agreements for the stability between the countries affected from the depression until the World War II, which is also a result of the power tension between countries (Harvey, 1989).

The outbreak of the Great Depression and the start of the payback for the debt of the Empire from Turkish government coincide at the same time that the collapse in the western capitalism and the big amount of debt led the Turkish Government to the maintaining the

conservation mode in the economics enclosed to the national sources (Boratav, 2012). But the collapse of the organised capital had led to the development of many less developed countries including Turkey and Latin American countries as a result of the decline in the domination and dependency politics of hegemonic countries and organised capitalism over them (Boratav, 2012). So as an opportunist attitude towards the crisis of capitalism, Turkey tried a series of development strategies including the industrialisation and the development of national capital with the regulation of state and the regulation of laws such as restricting the export and the control of the prices as a reflection of conservative economic model developed due to the reasons as mentioned before. The emergence of the Second World War, however, led to the increase of the expenditure in the military forces and decelerated the process of development that achieved especially after the Independence War. So, it could be seen as one of the inflection points in the history of economy of Turkey and also for the world.

In this period, the technological development has maintained the development and the war period in addition to that led to the new modes of developments and class relations in the world. The state took new roles to build new institutional powers to increase profitability and organised labour and the regulation in labour markets and production processes (Harvey, 1989).

Thus, after the World War II, Turkey also had significant changes especially in the dynamics of politics concerning mainly the property and ownership relations and as a result of the economic inclination in the changing world and power relations. The integration of the economy to the external trade with the liberal economic models concerning the foreign investment to Turkey especially with the politics of Democrat Party, when came to the power, has initiated a new process for the country engaged with the foreign capital accumulation, but dependent on the credits especially starting with the integration to IMF and exportation from foreign countries as a reflection of the totalitarian and expansionary politics of capital accumulation in the world (Boratav, 2012).

Meanwhile, in the main conjuncture of the economic conditions, the rigidity of the Fordist system and the conflicts between the rise of capital accumulation by the increase in the technological change and the acceleration in the turnover time besides the fall in the consumption (while the only flexibility was in the monetary policy to print money) led to the over-accumulation problem in the post-war period especially in 1960s and 1970s (Harvey, 1989, Boratav, 2012). To overcome the rigidity in the process of accumulation and production, new modes of accumulation and production has been emerged as Harvey coded it as “flexible accumulation”, which is still a form of capitalism, by defining it as:

Flexible accumulation is marked by a direct confrontation with the rigidities of Fordism. It rests of flexibility with respect to labour processes, labour markets, products, and patterns of consumption. It is characterised by the emergence of entirely new sectors of production, new ways of providing financial services, new markets, and, above all, greatly intensified rates of commercial, technological, and organisational innovation (Harvey, 1989).

One of the significant changes has been observed in the organisation of labour and labour classes. The increase in the market flow and the heightened competition between local geographies to get the capital investment, which is the strategy of the capitalism for increasing the capital flow to overcome the accumulation problems leading to the crisis in 1960s and 1970s by increasing the competition as mentioned earlier, has also led to the 'flexible' work regimes and the restructuring processes in the labour market structure (Harvey, 1989; Castells, 1989, 1996a). The flexible employment arrangements has led to the emergence of new labour market structure including full time employees with lesser skills; and even greater numerical flexibility and part-timers, casuals, fixed term contract staff, temporaries, sub-contractors with less job security called as the "periphery group" of workers as the new alternatives of "core workers", who were within a well organised labour relations as the resistant formations to the capital accumulation processes, with full time, permanent status and centralised to the long term future of the organisation, which is not positive for workers in terms of wage levels, pension rights, job security and insurance coverage (Harvey, 1989; Castells, 1977, 1989).

The changes in the organisation of labour class, has led to the changes in the industrial and administrative organisations for better labour control with the competitive pressures. The greater range of market needs with quick changes have led the integration of Fordism with a whole **network** of subcontracting and 'outsourcing' for the 'flexibility' showing the transition from Fordism to flexible accumulation.

The flexible production systems has led to the acceleration in innovation as a result in the crisis in the mass standardisation and the development of new technologies allow the transformation of assembly lines of the large corporation into easy-to program production units sensitive to the variation in the market concerning the consumption of product as a response to the crisis of the over-accumulation and decreasing consumption (Castells, 1996a). The tendency to increase in the consumption in the period of transition, has also led to the emergence of service employment and the development of the service sector such as finance, insurance, real estate, health, education besides the retailing, distribution and transportation and the emergence of new sectors such as legal marketing, advertising, typing for the manufacturing firms (Harvey, 1989; Castells, 1996a). As a response to the quick changing fashions and the flow of products and goods with the cultural transformation, competition and control in the consumption processes needed as the dialectical cases of capitalism. Harvey explains the conflicting cases of centralisation and the dispersion in the free market as:

The enhanced capacity for geographical dispersal, small-scale production, and the pursuit of custom-markets has not necessarily led, however, to any diminution of corporate power. Indeed, to the degree that information and the ability to make swift decisions in a highly uncertain, ephemeral, and competitive environment become crucial to profits the well organised corporation has marked competitive advantages over small business (Harvey, 1989).

Thus, specification in the consumption, with the flexible accumulation, in the following period, however, has also led to the tighter organisation and centralisation of capitalism, which Harvey calls as 'Deregulation' defining it as the increased monopolisation especially in sectors such as airlines, energy and financial services as a tension of capitalism between

monopoly and competition and between centralisation and decentralisation (Harvey, 1989; Castells, 1989, 1996a).

In this conjunction, Turkey's economic politics based on the external capital accumulation has increased especially within the strategy of the increase in the consumption and the distribution of flowing capital to new and less developed geographies of countries to overcome the over-accumulation problems of Fordist accumulation. So, it can be said that the rise in the consumption of goods and the rising importation of products from foreign countries were observed. External borrowing and the import substitution is the general strategy for the development of industrialisation restricted before by the agreements with western capitalist countries, as a result of the changes in the accumulation strategy of the capitalism to disperse the money to overcome the deflation (Boratav, 2012). But this also has increased the dependence of Turkey to external forces such as IMF and capitalist investments. The entry of big amount of foreign currency was also very significant issue showing the strategy of the distribution of capital to new geographies. As the petroleum prices was stable up to the mid1970s and the external and state investments together with import substitution led to the advent in the industrialisation of Turkey and also especially the profits from import substitutions has led to the rise of trade in Turkey (Boratav, 2012). But, at the same time, the rise in the migration from rural areas to cities and the conjuncture of the flexible accumulation in the labour needs and relations have led to the featureless and less-waged work force in Turkey and together with the rise of the tight labour organisations, this led to the tension between emerging bourgeois and the workers besides the social and political upheaval in Turkey ending with the 'coup'.

Role of state, in these periods, in the mode of flexible accumulation can be defined as the focus on deregulation and re-regulation processes with the division and individualisation with local or firm-based negotiation with direct state intervention in markets through procurement; and privatisation of collective needs and social security within the decentralisation processes which have risen by the increased geopolitical tension and interregional/intercity competition in the world (Harvey, 1989), which could also be seen as the subjective reasoning processes of economic relations behind the emergence of **shopping malls** in the following period.

2.5. Towards the Informational (Global) Economy

One of the most significant developments in the context of deregulation and regulation is the reorganisation of global financial system to overcome the problem of over dispersion of capital through the decentralisation of capital accumulation and the emergence of greatly enhanced power of financial co-ordination that as a dual movement, rapid decentralisation of financial activities and the rising export-import relations between countries, as they are controlled within this process of regulation with the formation of financial conglomerates and brokers with an extraordinary global power (Harvey, 1989). This has led to the massive flow of capital all over the world and led to the changes in the phase of the money with the financialisation of values and the 'paper entrepreneurialism' as Harvey calls, which is similar to the money-money chains, giving much more autonomy to the banking and financial

system relative to corporate state, and personal financing (Marx, 1963; Harvey, 1989; Gottdiener, 2000).

This leads to the new understanding on the concept of knowledge, not only in financial processes but also in production processes as the key term in the ever-changing tastes, latest techniques, the latest product, the advance in the information-based technologies within the increasingly organised system of competition as Harvey openly explains it by saying “Control over information flow and over the vehicles for propagation of popular taste and culture have likewise become vital weapons in competitive struggle” (Harvey, 1989). The rise of the technological development and the increase in the commercialisation of the technological inventions and products in number and the rise of international commerce between countries have led to dominant countries such as USA and Japan and Europe as well, which creates a new quasi-hegemonic organisation of world order defined by the commercial, financial and technological networks within the increasing consumption and need for control of these as the signal of order of globalisation processes. Harvey tries to depict this fact as:

Imports from developing countries increased almost tenfold, and foreign imports (particularly from Japan) surged to claim a major share of US markets in areas as diverse as silicon chips, television and videos, numerically controlled machine tools, shoes, textiles and cars. The balance of payments in goods and services for the United States rapidly moved that country from a net global creditor to the status of the world’s largest debtor. Meanwhile the financial power of Japan grew, turning Tokyo into one of the world’s important financial centres simply because of the vast quantities of surplus funds controlled by the Japanese banks (Harvey, 1989).

The boom in the petroleum prices after the mid-1970’s, not only led to the crisis in the more developed countries but also influenced deeply the countries that dependent on the external material and financial sources such as Turkey. So, in these circumstances, Turkey had also been driven to the new economic, social and even political crisis leading to serious restructuring processes. As the petroleum prices increased and interruption of the financial flow from the external sources became a problem as a result of the international crisis that the industrialisation processes in Turkey suddenly decreased. Stock crisis and the emergence of black market in Turkey were observed (Boratav, 2012). Then, the value of Turkish money devaluated by the speculation of internal and external bourgeois especially on the flow of products and goods while the attitude towards the consumption had increased as a result of cyclical strategies of international capital on local geographies leading to the inflation and floating exchange rates in Turkey resulted in the rent profits of some opportunists in paper entrepreneurialism, in land costs, even on cultural objects as a result of degeneration processes in this period (Ibid). This negative developments affected the social and political relations and alignments leading to the political crisis ending up with the intervention of military in 1980. After the military intervention and especially when Turgut Özal came to the power after intervention, Turkey has initiated a new economic and social processes moving directly to the new neo-liberal politics under the influence of rising power of developed countries especially USA. So, this has started the new restructuring processes in Turkey that the influences of these can be observed even today in contemporary Turkey. The

rising tension between the emerging bourgeois class growing rich by the profits of external substitution; and the working class tried to solved for the advantage of bourgeois class similar to the cyclical processes with the increasing need for the control on worker classes, prices and uncertainties by new restructuring processes in the world; and the emergent bottleneck in the economics tried to be solved by the increasing dependency to IMF, World Bank and other external investments (Ibid). The increasing consumption dependent on the imported products and good has maintained under the influences of free economy leading to financial liberalisation and the dependency to the external money exchanges and cyclical economic relations under the new restructuring processes not only in the world but also in Turkey (Boratav, 2012).

2.6. What is the Informational (Global) Economy

The rise of the prices of raw materials in the production processes, dispersion of capital to new and local geographies with the flexible accumulation with the strategy to increase the desire for consumption through export and import processes as a response to the crisis of Fordist accumulation; and the ascending tension between the capitalist classes and workers, which are segregated in the flexible accumulation period led to the crisis in the economic and social organisations and processes. This crisis induced the unstable economic conditions and uncertainties in these areas. Thus, the ‘knowledge’ itself as in the mode of informational flows becomes the key commodity for the control within the restructuring processes to overcome the uncertainties as a regulative input not only in the production processes through knowledge-based production tools developed by the advent of the technology, but also in the control of the social and labour organisation and administration processes, in social organisations and relationships for the control of needs and demands to overcome the uncertainties in the consumption and inherently in the production processes. Therefore, although this transformation can be seen as a continuation of flexible accumulation processes, the new technological and informational mode of development in these processes especially in economics can be coded as the “informational economy” as Manuel Castells calls to define the transformation of production processes and apparatuses from industrial to informational, as a global mode of control of the dispersion processes in the flexible accumulation. Castells defines this phenomenon in a short way as:

It is informational because the productivity and competitiveness of units or agents in this economy (be it firms, regions, or nations) fundamentally depend upon their capacity to generate, process, and apply efficiently knowledge-based information. It is global because the core activities of production, consumption, and circulation, as well as their components (capital, labour, raw materials, management, information, technology, markets) are organised on a global scale either directly or through a ‘network’ of linkages between economic agents. It is informational and global because, under the new historical conditions, productivity is generated through and competition is played out in a global network of interaction (Castells, 1996a).

Therefore, Castells tries to depict the emergence of new restructuring processes especially after the crisis in prices of raw materials and the solution to the control for the over-dispersion of capital flow and the uncertainties rising with the flexible mode of accumulation not only by maintaining the flexible accumulation but also establishing new control and regulation mechanisms at the global scale as a dual way of accumulation especially with the emergence of a new technological paradigm. Castells sees the core of this paradigm of technology in the discoveries of the information-based technologies, in other words microelectronics together with the software technologies, and the application of these technologies to work processes in factories and offices as a shift in the production processes (Castells, 1989). İlhan Tekeli compares the shift from industrialisation to informational development with the shift from pre-industrial period to the industrial period which can be seen as a revolution in the efficiency to produce and create power (Tekeli, 2002). So, the emergence of especially information-based technologies have created new potentials and efficient techniques to go beyond the capabilities that made in the industrial period with the tools of industrial age. The most significant issue is here as also Tekeli denoted the information has become a productive force as important as labour and capital; and as Castells defines the information, similarly, as the new raw material of evolving technological production tools working under the networking logic by controlling the flow of information in the production processes (Castells, 1996a; Tekeli, 2002). Information, in this context can be seen related with power relations in economic and restructuring processes that the control of information means the control of power in the processes of flowing information and as a tool for the re-creation of power within the social processes by using tools and systematic processes, which information also is integrated to regulate the legitimation of new restructuring processes (Tekeli, 2002).

So, as a resultant factor of the evolving technology and the information in production processes, it has held new restructuring and organisation processes not only in the structure of the global economy in the modes of enterprise and financialization processes, but also in the division of labour, work and employment and social and economic relations together with reorganisation of interaction spaces.

In the sphere of production, the emergence of large corporations as the predominant organisational form of production and management with the large-scaled production and centralised management; and the shift of productivity sources from capital and labour to other factors such as science, technology and management with the instrumentalisation of capital with emerging technology are significant in the restructuring processes (Castells, 1989). In the sphere of **consumption** as Castells signifies, the need for information-gathering systems and information-distributing flows for the **specific marketing and effective distribution** to supply the **constitution of mass markets** and to establish the connection between the **increasing distance between buyers and sellers** and the emergence of **information-based technologies to satisfy control** for the emerging social demands with the increasing consumption evolving to the **'collective consumption'** in the formation service delivery agencies with an assisting a gigantic system of information flow (Castells, 1989). So, the emergence of **shopping malls** especially to control the spatialisation of this emergent demand on the control of the consumption and the production at certain concentration points of capital can be related to these facts. The state intervention, in this context, also has a new administration model, entirely made up of information flow and information-based decision processes that Castells depicts this by saying:

This is the process by which the state sets up a framework within which large-scale organisations, both private and public, define strategic goals, which may be geared toward international economic competitiveness or military supremacy, that permeate the entire realm of social activities without necessarily institutionalizing or formalizing the strategic guidance of these activities (Castells, 1989).

Thus, in these restructuring processes not only in production but also in consumption and state intervention that the changes in the technological developments parallel with the needs and changes have initiated the complex structural transformation and organisation processes not in a rigid structure but within the interaction between technology and organisations. Castells summarises the major structural changes in the capitalist mode of accumulation as:

- 1) The appropriation by capital of a significantly higher share of surplus from the production process.
- 2) A substantial change in the pattern of state intervention, with the emphasis shifted from political legitimation and social distribution to political domination and capital accumulation.
- 3) The third major mechanism of the restructuring of capitalism is the accelerated internationalisation of all economic processes, to increase profitability and to open up markets through the expansion of the system (Castells, 1989).

Therefore, the role of information technologies in these restructuring processes can be summarised as the increasing the rate of profit by several means, assisting the state intervention for the accumulation and domination functions and the internationalisation of the economy through advances in telecommunications, microelectronic, flexible manufacturing and the development in the transportation and the infrastructure by the organisational components of the informational mode of development as the growing concentration of knowledge-generation and decision-making processes in high-level organisations with flexibility of the system and of the relationships among its units and additionally the shift from centralised large corporation to decentralised networks (Castells, 1989, 1996a). They provide the organisational basis for the transformation of socially and spatially based relationships of production into flows of information and power that articulate the new 'flexible' system of production and management as Castells explains to create the plurality of sizes and forms of organisational units (Castells, 1989). Castells depicts the 'generative characteristics' of the segmentation of global economy, as an uneven geographical development through capital concentration at certain geographies, emerged by these processes as:

The global economy emerging from informational-based production and competition is characterised by the interdependence, its asymmetry, its regionalisation, the increasing diversification within each region, its selective inclusiveness, its exclusionary segmentation, and, as a result of all these features, an extraordinarily variable geometry that tends to dissolve historical, economic geography (Castells, 1996a).

Local reflections of these structural changes to be competitive especially in the ability to use new information technologies, in processes and products have affected the international division of labour especially starting with the Asian Pacific, Western Europe and North American countries and shifted later Latin American, some other Asian and European, even

some developing African countries and Middle East region including Turkey that the diverse regions of globe have been influenced in different periods by integrating to the global networking of emerging structure under certain dependencies to the dominant powers as a reflection of international capitalism which Castells tries to be theorised as:

The architecture of the global economy features an asymmetrically interdependent world, organized around three major economic regions and increasingly polarized along an axis of opposition between productive, information-rich, affluent areas, and impoverished areas, economically devalued and socially excluded. Between the three dominant regions, Europe, North America, and the Asian Pacific, **the latter** appears to be the most dynamic yet the **most vulnerable because of its dependence upon the openness of the markets of the other regions** (Castells, 1996a).

The rise of the global networking system as a solution to the global organisation of capital to manage the local economic, social and political relations in their contextual cases led to the integrated global capital network with global financial flows and global investments in all sectors of activity, whose movement and variable logic ultimately determine economies and influence societies, and labour is increasingly individualised and disaggregated in its performance leading to new division of labour based on the attributes/capacities of each worker rather than on the organisation of task.

The features of the new international division of labour is constructed around the producers of high value, based on informational labour; the producers of high volume, based on lower-cost labour; the producers of raw materials, based on natural endowments; and the redundant producers, reduced to devalued labour as Castells clarifies, which shows that the differentiation between labour forces initiated in the flexible accumulation period becomes much more segregated and segmented with the differentiation of locations, types of labour, markets, and the over-specification of work for the labour force and these could be variable in different countries with the role of local state, governments, entrepreneurs as a flexible nature of the emergent mode of development not for the sake of labour but for the sake of international capitalism which Castells tries to emphasize as:

The newest international division of labour is organised on the basis of labour and technology, but is enacted and modified by governments and entrepreneurs. The relentlessly variable geometry that results from such processes of innovation and competition struggles with the historically produced architecture of the world economic order, inducing the creative chaos that characterises the new economy (Castells, 1996a).

The economic changes including the transformation of labour by the changes in production relationships, and technological and managerial changes have created the fragmentation and individualisation of work due to the reasons mentioned before with the informational economy could be defined also as 'Post-industrialism'. So, the significant features of Post-industrialism different from the previous modes of production can be summarised that the source of productivity and growth lies in the generation of knowledge, extended to all realms of economic activity through information processing (Castells, 1996a). Additionally, **the rise of 'the service economy' as a shift from goods production to services, which also depicts the shift from production to consumption**, and the emergence of new professions and occupations with a high information and knowledge needs such as managerial,

professional and technical occupations are significant in the new social structure (Castells, 1996a). So, Castells sees the distinction between post-industrial and industrial economies especially in the notion of “services” including producer services, social services, distributive services and personal services that especially the personal services depicts the social dualism characterising the informational society (Castells, 1989, 1996a). **Namely, it holds the dichotomy between the work and leisure; production and consumption that the rise of personal services can be seen as ‘working to increase the collective consumption’**. The rise of the eating, drinking sectors and the desire for the leisure activities have shifted the personal services and the places for these services leading to the ‘hamburger society’ as Castells denotes (Ibid), which also depict the emergence of shopping malls in cities as the spatialisation practices of the transforming economic models. Castells also depicts the fragmentation of the work relations and jobs in these processes as:

The main remark to be made on employment in personal services is that it is not fading away in the advanced economies, thus providing ground for the argument that the changes in the social/economic structure concern more the type of services and the type of jobs than the activities themselves (Castells, 1996a).

As a result, the phasing out of agricultural employment, the steady decline of traditional manufacturing employment, the rise of produces and social services with the increasing diversification in addition to stability of a substantial share of employment in retail trade, increase of the upper and lower levels of occupational structures and the formation of “white-collar” proletariat made up of clerical and sales workers are the general employment structures in informational society as Castells denotes:

By the networking of global finance, investments of capital on all activities such as information industries, media business, advanced services, health, education, technology, old and new manufacturing, transportation, trade, tourism, culture, environmental management, real estate, war-making and peace-selling, religion, entertainment and sports have increased leading to new business and labour relations together with social ones (Castells, 1996a).

2.7. The Network Enterprises, Retail and Trade Markets, Corporations, Service Sectors in Global Business Networks and the Relationship between Capital and Labour

The changes in the technological development and the transformation processes in economics have also affected the relations between capital and labour and the business relations in the world. The technological development has eased the control of the whole production and consumption process including the control of labour class and the demand and supply analysis but also created the flexible production system. As Castells mentions in his study as kan-ban to explain these processes as:

...system of supplies, by which inventories are eliminated or reduced substantially through delivery from the suppliers to the production site at the exact required time and with the characteristics specified for the production line: “total quality control” of products in the production process, aiming at near-zero defects and best use of

resources; workers' involvement in the production process, by using team work, decentralised initiative, greater autonomy of decision of the shop floor, rewards for team performance, and a flat management hierarchy with few status symbols in the daily life of the firm (Castells, 1996a).

The technological development has also eased the formation of corporate organisational firms at the global scale as Castells mentions especially with multidirectional network model enacted by small and medium businesses, the licensing-subcontracting model of production under an umbrella corporation as inter-firm networking and corporate strategic alliances based on the horizontal and/or vertical corporation models and business networks (Castells, 1996a). For example, "Benetton Model" is a kind of production network, as Castells also exemplifies, on the basis of licensing commercial franchises, which is also effective at the production level by putting outwork to small firms and homes in Italy and other Mediterranean countries, such as Turkey as a horizontal network to adapt to the conditions of unpredictability ushered in by rapid economic and technological change, which adds flexibility to the system (Ibid). In the horizontal corporation models most significant strategies in the business activity are the multi-domestic market strategy investing abroad from their national platform; integration within an articulated global strategy; and cross-border networks by trying to integrate the market shares and market information across borders rather than controlling markets from the outside (Ibid). In the vertical corporations, however, there are some hierarchical relations, centred subcontracting networks in large enterprises and oligopolistic markets under the power of few large corporations. **Shopping malls today as the spaces of consumption** to control the dispersed capital accumulation at local geographies have the both corporation systems related with the firm strategies including sub-contracting, franchising services and other economic models that mentioned here.

So, the types of networks in these transnational corporations and multinational enterprises are the supplier networks to include subcontracting; producer networks to enable the competing producers to pool their production capacities, financial, and human resources; customer networks as the forward linkages of manufacturing companies and distributors, marketing channels, value-added resellers and end users; standard coalitions initiated by potential global standard setters; and technology corporation networks to facilitate the acquisition of product design and production technology that the new organisational processes leads the globalisation and competition in large corporations in the web of multidirectional networks, as the actual operating units, as the predominant forms of business organisations as the successful organisations to able to generate knowledge and process information efficiently to be flexible to the fast changes. So, Castells signifies the importance of network enterprises as significant forces in economic, but also cultural and social organisation processes by saying "The network enterprise makes material the culture of the informational/global economy: it transforms signals into commodities by processing knowledge" (Castells, 1996a).

So, it can be said that the restructuring processes of capitalism are diversified in production relations, in productive forces, work employment and labour classes in property and ownership relation as the economic organisations in society, but also influence the social relations and organisation processes to dominate the social and cultural transformation processes, which leads to understand the social organisation and reorganisation processes and the socio-cultural dynamics and practices parallel to the restructuring processes to get the condition of contemporary world under the influence and domination of capitalist class.

2.8. Social Reflections of the Transformation in Restructuring Processes in Cities

“...what is the process of social production of the spatial forms of a society and, conversely, what are the relations between the space constituted and the structural transformations of a society, within an intersocietal ensemble characterized by relations of dependence?”
(Castells, 1977)

The urban space can be defined as the geographical locus under the established the politico-administrative superstructure of a social development with the differentiation of product, system of distribution and exchange leading to system of social classes, social ensemble and the domination of one class, the institutional system of investment and external changes in the society effecting the social organisations and relation in the mode of agglomeration (Castells, 1977; Lefebvre, 1991, Giddens, 1981, 1995; Harvey, 2001). So, with the rise of the industrialisation and the rapid urbanisation processes, as a result, has led to the significant social organisation and reorganisation processes. The rise of the migration from rural areas to city becoming the agglomeration spaces for the practice of production and consumption together with habitation, i.e., social life, has emerged as a result of rapid urbanisation processes and leading to restructuring and reorganisation processes within the city space. Castells defines this new social processes initiated with the rapid urbanisation within the changes in ‘dimension’, ‘density’ and ‘heterogeneity’ of the human urban areas that the ‘dimension’ comprises the bigger city, the wider spectrum of individual variation with the greater ‘differentiation’ leading to the loosening of community ties replaced by the mechanisms of formal control and social competition with the rise of ‘schizoid’ character of urban personality producing the ‘social segmentation’ as a result of the economic processes and political system including the fragmentation and utilitarianism of urban relation with the specification of activity; division of labour and market economy; and the changes in the communication means and ways (Castells, 1977; Harvey, 1989; Sennett, 1974). The ‘density’ signifies the internal differentiation with the conflicts of “time-space compression” as Castells says “...paradoxically, the closer one is physically the more distant social contacts” leading to the different social milieu; and the ‘social heterogeneity’ with the fluidity of class system as a result of the migration and substitution processes with social mobility with the diversification of the market economy and a political life based on mass movements (Castells, 1977). So, it can be said that the formalisation and socialisation processes of the thought of Enlightenment has not only affected the economic practices but

also the notions on social and cultural systems including the knowledge, morality, art, language and laws and orders together with ‘the self’ as the individual of humanity and the social state (Tekeli, 2009, v.8).

The influences of the Enlightenment together with Industrial revolution and modernity in the continuing period at the geography of Turkey at the Ottoman Empire period also observed in the changes in social and political re-organisation processes not only as the attitude of Ottoman Empire as a response to the development of industrializing countries but also the imposition of developed countries on Ottoman Empire as a huge market place for industrialisation. The initial reformist movements held in military and in some administrative units in the state. In the following period the regulations with laws on the restriction of the Empire’s forces on society and the initial regulations for the parliamentary to encourage ‘the self’ to the participation of the management of state were significant in the Empire. But the most destructive process in the Empire is the rise of nationalistic movements and the breakup of the Empire as a result of French Revolution and the forces of European countries to be fragmented the Empire, although it would be just the opposite in terms of the Enlightenment thought; and the idea was the creation of the nation-state as a strategy of developed countries on the less developed countries for holding the dependency and the control of local markets at that time (Tekeli, 2009, v.8).

In the continuation of Industrial Revolution, the great economic depression in 1847-1848, which started from Britain, is regarded as the example of economic crisis that it did not be related to the natural phenomena or God, but as a consequence of over-accumulation, reckless speculation, over-production up to that date leading to the great depression and disconnection between surpluses of capital and labour resulting in the changing employment conditions, raising the rate of exploitation and destroying traditional skills have led to the ‘crisis of representation’ in the sense of economic, political and cultural life and changes in the sense of time and space together with the technologic developments as David Harvey defines it “time-space compression”² and Anthony Giddens calls as “time- space distanciation” (Giddens, 1981, 1995) leading to the new understanding as the ‘modernity project’ (Harvey, 1989).

² David Harvey explains the time-space compression generally as the annihilation of space by time, which means that the time taken to traverse space and the shrinkage of space especially by the changes of the experience of space in time and the changes of time to experience the same space. Harvey tries to explain more this phenomenon as:

As space appears to shrink to a ‘global village’ of telecommunications and a ‘spaceship earth’ of economic and ecological interdependencies – to use just two familiar and everyday images – and as time horizons shorten to the point where the present is all there is, so we have to learn how to cope with an overwhelming sense of compression of our spatial and temporal worlds (Harvey, 1989).

The sense of physical and social time brought together in the Enlightenment thought began to diverge at that time, the certainty of absolute space and place gave way to the insecurities of a shifting relative space that Europe had had a spatial integration at that time and this led to the changes in the meaning and the role of money as a result of the perception of spatial boundaries in the economic, financial but also social life with new financial systems and struggles in the working class with diverse local groups who found themselves in a series of events and political shifts with no obvious boundaries in addition to the cognition of the world space by the advent of technological inventions to make the world space unified. So, the changes resulted in the crisis of internationalism, representation of heterogeneity and difference, synchrony, insecure temporality, tension between measure of value and financial system, monetary and commodity base under the homogenising power of money in the art, literature, philosophy and science (Harvey, 1989).

In this case modernity tried to reconcile the perspective of place with the shifting perspectives of relative space. The cultural movements developed as a response to the crisis of representation to create 'the new and non-traditional' as modern especially in art and literature was proceed with some economic and technological regulations as the new credit systems and corporate forms of organisation of distribution, technical and organisational innovations such as railway network, advent of telegraph, steam-shipping, radio communication, bicycle and automobile transportation, building the Suez Canal, new ways of viewing space and motion applied to the production of urban space such as photography and balloon-traveling led to the changes in the sense of time and space leading to the new modes of thinking about the experiencing time and space and asserts that the interpretation of class structure, diplomacy and war tactics (Harvey, 1989).

Foundation of assembly line of Ford in 1913 for fragmenting the task and distributing them in space to maximise the efficiency and to minimize the friction of flow in production by the virtue of control established through organising and fragmenting social order has signified the totalitarian role of centralisation of the dominant classes in society with the purpose of determinacy in production of monopoly capital and led to the paranoia, fragmentation and alienation of social classes as a dialectical case (Harvey, 1989). Moreover, the first radio signal from the Eiffel Tower emphasizing the capacity to collapse space into an universal public time and 38 million telephone calls in US in 1914, the spread of the usage of public time, flow of money at global scale have showed the domination of sense of time over space and the homogenising power of universalization but together with the fragmentation of 'the self's together with the localized competitive strategies, dialectically (Ibid).

The emergence of the World War I caused the destructive processes and ends at that time and the Ottoman Empire was collapsed as the predicted end as a result of the strategy and politics of developed countries on the geography of the Empire with the desire for the fragmentation of Empire to control the local geography. But, after the World War, the Turkish Independence War took place leading to the foundation of new Turkish state and later the Republic as the reflection of influences of regulations in Ottoman Period. In this period Turkey had many modernisation processes in social, cultural, economic and political regulations including modernisation of laws and revolutions as a continuation of these influences but as semi-closed to the western developed countries to keep the distance from capitalist hegemonic relations, which had led to the collapse of the Empire that Tekeli calls this period as the "radical modernisation period" of Turkey (Tekeli, 2009, v.8). It can be said

that the radical modernisation period especially starting with the foundation of the republic pioneered with Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, and maintained even in 1930s, at the period of the Great Depression, with the consistency in state-regulated development processes up to the World War II, and led to the integration of Turkish society influenced by the Independence War and the revolutions.

The rigidity of Fordist system, rise of the dominant classes and the processes of universalization later, not only led to the economic crisis, the Great Depression, and World Wars, but also the social tensions together with restructuring processes, new forms of organisations influencing the cultural and social systems. The rise of the well-organised labour classes as a response to the rising power of unification and universalization after world wars but for the sake of monopolised economy under the rigidity of capitalism by using the rising technological developments have not only brought the tension between labour classes and capitalism but also new crisis of representation in economic, social and political practices together with the changes in the “time-space compression” which can be coded as the reason for Postmodernism.

Overcoming the rigidities of Fordism by flexible accumulation and accelerating turnover time not only led to the acceleration in the de-skilling and re-skilling the labourers to meet new labour needs, but also accelerations in exchange and consumption. Improved systems of communication and information flow integrated with the rationalizations in techniques of distribution made it possible to circulate commodities through the market system with greater speed. Electronic money and plastic money and financial services and markets have also speeded up to increase the consumption as a response to the crisis of over-accumulation (Harvey, 1989; Castells, 1989, 1996a).

The rise of the migration processes especially after the World War II not only in the cyclical conditions but also Turkey has led to the duality within the dynamics of the city as the tension between immigrants and the residents in cities leading to class conflicts (Tekeli, 2009). As a strategy of the contextualisation of modernity project to the local geographies such as Turkey have influenced from this strategy, which proposes the domination of localities under organised capitalism. The emergence of the duality of the society and the rise of the consumption culture together in this period is coded as “populist modernity project” in Turkey by Tekeli (2009, v.8); and in this period, the rising tension between the riches and the poor, the habitants and the immigrants resulting in the segregation of the society in Turkey with an increasing demand on the consumption, which Boratav also relates this with the rising dependency of Turkey to the external capitalist organisations with the liberalisation politics of country especially after the second world war (Boratav, 2012).

The rise in the consumption and the acceleration in the turnover times of capital, have led to the ephemerality and volatility production techniques, labour processes, fashions, ideas, ideologies, values and practices as Harvey calls this case as the emergence of “throwaway society” by throwing away values, life-styles, stable relationships and loyalty to meanings, places with the diversification of values within a fragmenting society (Harvey, 1989). Manipulation of taste and opinion by the construction of new sign systems and imagery is an important aspect of postmodernity that advertising and media images become integrating role in these cultural practices with the production of signs and with the consumer turnover time of certain images. Creation of images such as mediatisation of politics, imaging the aura

of authority and power to establish the identity of 'the self' in the market place has become the search for individual identity, self-realisation and meaning as the reflection of consumption strategies. Pure image production and marketing is significant in this period, and 'Simulacrum', the perfect replication of the original, is the tool for replications of identities that making art objects by piling images from the past and from other places eclectically to transform those images into material simulacra in the form of built environments, events and spectacles in the image production period depicting dramatically the crisis of representation in Postmodernism (Harvey, 1989). Adaptation to mobility, fast-moving in response to the market shift, masterminding volatility, short-term planning rather than long-term planning and managerial performance in such an environment and increased need for the performance of talented people addicting to work leading to schizophrenia and the individualism as a result of the strategy of capitalism to increase the competition at local scales with the desire for 'de-centring' from values and eternal meanings.

As the ephemerality increased in this period, search for eternal meanings and truths also increased that the revival of interest in basic institutions such as family and community, search for historical roots, valued experiences and activities, memories of significant life, events and search for personal and/or collective identity and for secure values to establish a secure social order in this shifting collage worlds. But the irony is that, as Harvey also points out, tradition is used as a 'commodified' and marketed image as a "simulacrum" or 'pastiche' to evoke of some folky past in addition to the fashioning localized aesthetic images to construct some limited and limiting sense of identity in the midst of a collage of imploding 'spatialities' (Harvey, 1989).

Representation and meaning of value also changed the money that it has been dematerialized by de-linking of the financial system from active production and from any material monetary base with the money-money transformation and global system of exchange rates between the different currencies of the world.

The dematerialized and shifting central value system created the confusion that time and space have disappeared as the meaningful dimensions to human thought and action leading to the transition in mental maps as a result of the transition from Fordism to flexible accumulation and this changing experience of space, time and money that distinctive systems of interpretation and representation of politics reassert itself with the complex sign and significations including language games (Harvey, 1989).

The rise of the ephemerality and individuality with the dispersal of capital accumulation and the competition strategy on local geographies together with consumption has needed the re-centralisation of power of capitalism on the world especially after the oil crisis with the increasing consumption and price speculations. The collapse of the spatial barriers by the technological developments especially with the invent of satellite communication systems led to the experience a rush of images from different spaces simultaneously that world's spaces are seen as the series of images on a television screen such as The Olympics, The World Cup, fall of a dictator, a deadly tragedy were watched at the same time by satellite systems creating the new centre of capitalism's dynamic (Harvey, 1989) depicting the influence of mass media on society (Castells, 1996a). Annihilation of space through time has also changed the daily life and commodity mix in the market place that different culinary styles and goods from different geographies could be sold in the same market as the increase

in the imports and exports as the reflection of time-space compression in the market place.

So, diminution of spatial barriers results in the reaffirmation and realignment of hierarchy within a global system and local qualities and differences have been used as the accumulation strategies by capitalism in the markets with exploiting the spatial differentiations by deindustrialisation of some regions, while industrialisation of some other regions leading to the uneven geographical development; and the destruction of traditional working-class communities creating class struggles leading to dispersed and flexible labour supply as a strategy for local labour control resulting in the production of fragmentation, insecurity, and ephemeral developments within a highly unified global space economy of capital flows and extraordinary decentralisation of industrial production, while it also has brought the over-accumulation problem. So, as a result of the crisis in the representation of value with the devaluation of money as a result of crisis, people tried to find alternative means to store values such as collectibles, art objects, antiques, houses and the like (Harvey, 1989). The rising consumption has maintained to sustain the dependency and especially the production and the exportation of technological inventories and products from developed countries such as USA and Japan becomes significant as the reflection of the desire for the global control of these fragmentation, heterogeneity, individualisation, localisation and differentiation processes pioneering to the new restructuring processes in economic, social and political organisation processes as Castells calls the information age and “the rise of the network society” (Castells, 1996a).

2.9. The Rise of the Network Society

As also Castells asserts, the emergent domains, power relations and the domination of functions and processes in this period called as “information age” are organised around the networks³, just similar to the “theory of structuration” (1984, 1995) of Giddens depicting the

³ Concept of network is defined and concretised by Castells as:

A network is a set of interconnected nodes. A node is the point at which a curve intersects itself. What is a node, concretely speaking, depends on the kind of concrete networks of which we speak. They are stock exchange markets, and their ancillary advanced services centres, in the network of global financial flows. They are national councils of ministers and European Commissioners in the political network governs the European Union. They are coca fields and poppy fields, clandestine laboratories, secret landing strips, street gangs, and money-laundering financial institutions, in the network of drug traffic that penetrates economies, societies, and states throughout the world. They are television systems, entertainment studios, computer graphics milieu, news teams, and mobile devices generating, transmitting, and receiving signals, in the global networks determines that the distance (or intensity and frequency of interaction) between two points (or social positions) is shorter (or more frequent, or more intense) if both points are nodes in a network than if they do not belong to the same network. On the other hand, within a given network flows have no distance, or the same distance, between nodes. Thus, distance (physical, social, economic, political, cultural) for a given point or position varies between zero (for any node in the same network) and infinite (for any point external to the network) (Castells, 1996a).

'interaction of specific actors and conditions with structures creating a system as a whole in social relations and the Hegelian dialectics as Harvey also mentions (Harvey, 1996); but with the difference of 'the autonomy of the technology' as a part of the instrumentalisation of intellectual thought, in the relation and the mediation of 'things', as specific conditions depicted as nodes; and 'structures' as the domain of regulations, norms, as webs in a network; as different from the theory of Giddens and the dialectics of Hegel that 'network' is defined by Castells as "a set of interconnected nodes that node is the point at which a curve intersect itself" by Castells and which are business networks as supplier networks, producer networks, customer networks, standard coalitions and technology cooperation networks as mentioned before; together with production networks, social networks and political, administrative networks emerging in the restructuring processes that Castells points out the significances of networking logic:

Networks constitute the new social morphology of our societies, and the diffusion of networking logic substantially modifies the operation and outcomes in processes of production, experience, power and culture. While the networking form of social organisation has existed in other times and spaces, the new information technology paradigm provides the material basis for its pervasive expansion throughout the entire social structure (Castells, 1996a).

So, networks can be seen as appropriate to the principles of dialectics in themselves as they include both nodes and web of relations, structures interconnecting these nodes. Harvey points out the principles of dialectics that derived from the thought of Marx's and based on Hegel's dialectical thinking as "Dialectical thinking emphasizes the understanding of processes, flows, fluxes, and relations over the analysis of elements, things, structure, and organised systems." (Harvey, 1996); and it is also similar to the "theory of structuration" of Giddens proposing the interactive relations between the 'structures' and 'specific conditions'. So, the "things" and "structural systems" are together within the networks including "nodes" and "system of webs" applicable to the materialistic thinking and relations.

As a system of structural relations including webs, networks are appropriate to the configuration of domination processes such as the global control of capitalist class and also open structure to expand without limits integrating new nodes as carrying specific relations, meanings, things in themselves that networks are also open to the reorganisation of power relationships.

As the need has risen to establish the global systemisation organised around global networks and to maintain and control the local economic, social and political dynamics for the sake of competitiveness and capital accumulation at the same time, networks becomes significant in the restructuring processes of capitalism as a response to postmodern fragmentation and to the crisis in oil prices with the restructuring processes with the changes in the material practice leading to the new economic and social organisations:

Since networks are multiple, the inter-corporating codes and switches between networks become the fundamental sources in shaping, guiding, and misleading societies. The convergence of social evolution and information technologies has created a new material basis for the performance of activities throughout the social

structure. These material basis, built in networks, earmarks dominant social processes, thus shaping social structure itself (Castells, 1996a).

So, the rise the globally organised capital and the increase in the individualisation and localisation of labour can be observed as in the reorganisation of social systems and practices as Castells codes it as “the rise of the network society” depicting the transformation of economic, social and political relations under the globalized neo-capitalist system.

The differentiation between capital and labour relationships including the global organised capital on network systems and highly individualised labour with specifications have resulted in the separation of capital from labour in different spaces and times with the annihilation of space by time and global control mechanisms including information technologies and networking systems, creates the production of disconnection in the actual existence of social relationships, which can be called as the social segregation that Castells try to explain the emerging cases as:

Capital tends to escape in its hyperspace of pure circulation, while labour dissolves its collective entity into an infinitive variation of individual existences. Under the conditions of the network society, capital is globally coordinated, labour is individualised. The struggle between diverse capitalists and miscellaneous working classes is subsumed into the more fundamental opposition between the bare logic of capital flows and the cultural values of human experience (Castells, 1996a).

So, the cultural expressions in addition to the segregation of classes are transformed by the changes within the differentiations and ‘mutations’ in the practice of information. As a social phenomenon, ‘information’ has the power for coding and symbolising cultural values, meanings and practices in daily life, the knowledge, the social structural relations, in short, as Tekeli denotes (2002); and as the reflection of the changes in the practice of information has been used as an input in the production processes, it has also been used in the restructuring processes of social organisations and daily life, internalising of its nature to re-establish the power relations in certain modes of symbols, representations and processes together with the communication, learning, production and consumption processes (Ibid; Castells, 1989, 1996a). As the information is organised and controlled in the production processes by capitalism, it becomes also open to be dominated in the social processes under certain power relation to create the hegemony of one onto another.

The new mass media and the diversification of mass audience, for example, are one of the most significant examples of the global organisation processes to control the information to dominate the communication and social organisations and relations in this age. Castells denotes in his study the media have become indeed globally interconnected, and programs and messages circulate in the global network, as he says “...we are not living in a global village but in customized cottages globally produced and locally distributed” (Castells, 1996a). In addition to the rising mass media, the rise of computer mediated communication and the mobilisation of the communication technologies, which becomes also the part of the business networks today, and the social networks and interactive media and virtual communities especially founded for the communication in daily life that the mode of information within the system of social networks becomes the tool for the production of social relations and the knowledge but in a different phase of space, as virtual spaces, connected globally on the networking systems and

distributed locally to the very cells of residents, offices, schools, institutions and mobilised with the rise of information technologies creating the social realities in the daily life with the annihilation of space by technology as Castells signifies it in the production of information within the communication processes on the virtual spaces:

It is a system in which reality itself (that is, people's material/symbolic existence) is entirely captured, fully immersed in a virtual image setting, in the world of make believe, in which experience is communicated, but they become the experience (Castells, 1996a).

So, the rise of the technology not only penetrating into the social production processes, but also 'becoming' the most significant tools for the communication and the daily life by annihilating the space has led to the social transformations as also Castells denotes that first of all, widespread social and cultural differentiation, leading to the segmentation of the users/viewers/readers/listeners that not only the messages are segmented in the market, but also the users of the mass media are diversified according to their interests taking the advantage of interactive capacities. Secondly, increasing stratification among the users together with the cultural/educational differences and the choices; and thirdly the integration of all messages in a common cognitive pattern leading to the crisis of representation in social life and finally multimedia captures the all diversities and shares as open to abuse it for the sake of power relations and the creation of domain on the whole system of web as in the dialectical cases of the Myths and the Enlightenment that the system sacrifices 'the self' for 'the self', as Castells denotes:

...the most important feature of multimedia is that they capture within their domain most cultural expressions, in all their diversity. Their advent is tantamount to ending the separation, and even the distinction, between audiovisual media and printed media, popular culture and learned culture, entertainment and information, education and persuasion. Every cultural expression, from the worst to the best, from the most elitist to the most popular, comes together in this digital universe that links up in a giant, a historical supertext, past, present, and future manifestations of the communicative mind. By so doing, they construct a new symbolic environment. They make virtuality our reality (Castells, 1996a).

Thus, the network society, as a capitalist society, linked globally and segregated specifically and distant from autonomous practices under certain power relations, not only reflects the shift from the industrial production processes to the 'production with information' and the shift in the cognition of time-space compression changing the perception of space and time but also shows the certain forms of communication, daily life and consumption. The increasing individuality and the segregation of social and cultural relations are formed by the individual preferences organised within a globally interlinked systems as forms of networks which Castells depicts the "**collective consumption**" as a result of highly increasing demand of the individual consumption reflecting the rise of the fragmentation and consumption but focusing on monopolistic or oligopolistic markets, brands, preferences generally interlinked and organised around the global networking systems as in the case of shopping malls (Castells, 1978). Thus, the reflection of the restructuring processes of capitalist mode of production especially after 1980s with the rise of technological developments can be summarised as the re-creation of environments for production and consumption for 'the self'

with certain power relations organised around globally interconnected relations and networks again by sacrificing ‘the self’ as the individualised labour and consumer under the changing perception of time and space together with the crisis of representation.

Changes in the time and space compression are also the part of social issue concerning the production of space and social relation as Castells denotes “Space is the material support of ‘time-sharing social practices’ that the space brings together those practices simultaneously in time” (Castells, 1996a; Harvey, 1989, 1996; Giddens, 1981, 1995).

Consequently, the transformation processes in economic and social restructuring processes together with the changes in the time, space experiences as a result of the technological and instrumental changes have resulted transformation in the definition of space and the changes within the city spaces, that the restructuring processes are also influenced with the changes within the city space.

2.10. Ending the Chapter

Thus, shopping malls could be seen as the spatial practices of emergent global market structures with the increasing control on mass consumption within the cities. As the cities are the concentration points of production and consumption relations besides the social, political and power relations together with the regulation in work and ownership relations, the production of space, under certain power relation dominant on the structural relations as mentioned earlier, depicts the hegemony of especially capitalism on the economic, social relations and even in the spatialisation practices especially, in cities. It is through the evolutionary processes of capitalism, as initiated from Renaissance and developed in the Enlightenment period and especially in Industrial Revolution with rising urbanisation and industrialisation.

So, the dialectical nature of capitalism, with its centralised and totalitarian nature besides the dispersion and the flow of capital with the strategy to break the rigidities of capital accumulation with rising competition in different geographies leading to increasing consumption patterns in internationalisation of economies, and the re-control of that dispersion of capital, all have brought together the integration of capital flow and accumulation with certain concentration strategies with rising uneven geographical and spatial development such as shopping malls and segmented city structures in the globalising environments. The condition has depicted the fact that shopping malls could be seen as the spatialisation practices of capitalism in cities under certain economic, social and political relations with power struggles. Thus, it also requires to be understood the processes legitimised by the globally structural networks in macro-economics and by the state-regulated legitimation of capital accumulation and flow at certain, specific geographies, in the changing mode of production, consumption through new formalisation processes of the thought and information integrated with production of space.

CHAPTER 3

SPATIAL RESTRUCTURING PROCESSES OF CAPITALISM IN CITIES

In this chapter, it is to understand the shopping malls as a mode of spatial practices emerged in the evolution of time and space perception under the influence of structural relations mostly manipulated by capitalism. In this context, shopping malls with city spaces becomes the major object of the study in the spatial practices.

Thus, the chapter initially starts with the definition of space, to create the base structure of the aspects to understand the restructuring and transformation processes of spaces, produced with certain social, economic-political relations. It is to quest the domination and hegemony relations in the production of space, i.e., the role of capitalism in the production of space by the domination on time-space relations; and production and consumption; to question that whether there are ideological spatial practices in urban spaces for the sake of capitalism.

For further growth of this critical view, it is thought that the historical materialistic view of reading capitalism and the transformation in the time and space perception is the most significant way to understand the subjective reasoning processes concerning spatial practices.

Therefore, it further mentions about the emergence of domination of capitalism on space by the time regulations especially in the production relations, creating “time-space compression” (Harvey, 1989), as creating new notion of spatial practice understanding, besides the crisis in time-space perception and compression besides the new labour, work and ownership relations, which are also to create crisis in cyclical relation.

So, these processes are paralleled with the emergence of urbanisation together with the rise of capitalist industrialisation in cities and even the relations of these structural relations and transformation processes with other geographies.

Thus, it is related then with the dialectical nature of capitalism including both the concern of capital accumulation and flow; and the expression of these on the spatialisation processes both in relation with time and space; and with the city spaces under the influence of capitalist power relations.

Therefore, the centrality of capital with the spatialisation of capital accumulation and the disperse and flow of capital, are depicted in contradictory ways as a result of subjective restructuring processes of capitalism with the crisis, which are also the reason for new crisis in the shift of time and space perception in society with the changing labour and ownership conditions besides the production and consumption activities in space. Thus, these processes are also analysed in the structure of city spaces, as social and economic phenomena, especially influenced after Enlightenment and Industrial Revolution, initialised with the increasing urbanisation, with the concentration of capital and production relations at certain points. Thus, the processes depict the dialectical relations of capitalism, including the

fragmentation, segregation, suburbanisation and re-regulation of city spaces with increasing uneven geographical development.

In this respect, the emerging spatial practices of capitalism are seen as contradictory to the spaces of places, which are seen as resistant to capital accumulation and flow. Thus, it is towards a new notion of spatial practice annihilating first the space of places by time compression and capital flow and then re-spatialisation processes of capitalism to create idealised and ideological space for capital accumulation defined as “non-places” beyond the notion of place.

Consequently, it is to relate shopping malls, with the emergent notion of space superposed onto the city space as a result of capitalist accumulation and flow processes, with rising universalization and globalisation of capital flow. So, it depicts the spatialisation of “timeless time” that belongs to nowhere but to global market relations depicting the spatialisation practices of globalisation.

Thus, the emergent city structures are to be analysed with their dependent relations to global economic structures creating new structural relations in city spaces. In this respect, it is to explain, the way of global structural relations interacting with specific geographies, cities dependent to these relations. The management of global capitalism in cities are explained through the state-based regulations legitimising the global spatial practices in specific geographies, especially emphasising on the condition of Turkey and the cities with dependent relations to the emergent processes and to the others.

In these processes, shopping malls are seen as the emergent spatial practices superposed onto the emergent city structures in competition together with the pressure of dependencies to globalisation. So, it is also to understand the dialectical way of capitalist spatial practices in cities and to decipher the inter-related practices of global markets and specific geographies, in this respect.

Therefore, the global structural relations and local regulations legitimising global structures within city space are both to be understood, as they (structures and things) are thought as together interacting with and creating a system of network, networks of globally interlinked economic, social and political relations.

3.1. Definition of Space in Social Theories

“Space is the expression of society. Since our societies are undergoing structural transformation, it is a reasonable hypothesis to suggest that new spatial forms and processes are currently emerging... This is because space is not a reflection of society, it is its expression. In other words, space is not a photocopy of society, it is society.”
(Castells, 1996a)

The definition of the conceptual space in physics in the dynamics of matter, referring beyond the cognition and the perception of living beings, is much more related with the ontological questions that beyond the interpretation of a three-dimensional translation of social values as if it is agreed. However, the space that we lived in, within certain materialistic relations and the state of the cognition and perception of living being directly related with the networks, interactions, perceptions, experiences, communication and exchange relations directly relates with the ‘spatial practices’ in certain dimensional space as Lefebvre denotes, which means that it is related with society.

So, the materialistic and physical practices including social activities, production relations, social interaction leading to spatial experiences and practices within defined physical space have brought the notion of “social space” that Lefebvre defines it in ‘dualities’ together with the conceptual space as “illusion of transparency” as an expression of philosophical and mathematical thought; and “the realistic illusion” as a reflection of ‘specific’ materialistic practices in space (Lefebvre, 1991). In other words, social space can be seen as tied to the materialistic practices of political, economic and cultural activities occurred in a certain time within absolute space defined by certain coordinates. In these definitions, Lefebvre conceptualise and classifies the space in a triad that ‘spatial practice’ is related with the production and reproduction within particular locations in a level of competence and a specific level of performance as ‘perceived space’; and ‘representation of space’ is concerned with the relations of production, knowledge, signs, codes and frontal relations in space as also called as ‘conceived space’; and the third one is the ‘representational space’ reflecting complex symbolisms related with social life as ‘lived space’ (Lefebvre, 1991).

This definition relates with “the unitary theory” (1991) of Lefebvre integrating the lived, perceived and conceived spaces relating together with energy, space and time and the duality between conceptual and materialistic space, which signifies the validity of dialectical thinking of Hegel, of which Harvey also analyses (1996) in structures and things constituting the whole. This definition also notified by Bernard Tschumi who called this unification as “experienced space” (1994a) relating the experiencing within social space with actions and reactions to explain the space in social theories.

The relation of social processes with space and especially the urban space can be defined under the dialectical relations of “structures”, as normative and conceptual phenomena; and “things”, as specific and special conditions, depicting the economic, political and social structural relations between the social, local agents and the emergent actions and reactions as Keskinok denotes:

Urban space is socially produced. It is a product of a dialectical relationship between the 'space-as-a locus' of affairs and the 'focus' of agents. And this social production of space is not realized autonomously. Space is structured, restructured, produced, reproduced and transformed by the 'conscious and unconscious' efforts of the agents and by the mediation of all of these. Here, the relationship of structure-agency is a dialectical one (Keskinok, 1997).

So, social space has the social relations of reproduction as physical relations between the sexes, between age groups and along with specific organisations of people and the relations of production as division of labour and its organisations in the form of hierarchical social functions in itself under certain time needed to certain energy within defined space and within a process (Lefebvre, 1991). To understand the production of space with the social and production relations, it is significant to understand the materialistic practices in the absolute space to get the social and economic relations and actions and reactions and the time-sharing practices. Harvey says on that:

...from a materialistic perspective, we can argue that objective conceptions of time and space are necessarily created through material practices and processes which serve to reproduce social life... It is fundamental axiom of my enquiry that time and space cannot be understood independently of social action (Harvey, 1989).

Thus, time and space are the fundamental, material dimensions of humanity and social life and since space and time work together in nature and in society, and the space brings together the materialistic practices together simultaneous in time they become the object of the study that whether the new spatial forms, organisations and processes are emerging as a result of dominant power relations and restructuring processes leading to the changes in the material practices or not.

3.2. Space and Domination

Castells regards that the society is constructed around flows, which are purposeful, repetitive, programmable sequences of exchange and interaction between physically disjointed positions held by social actors in the economic, political and symbolic structures of society, as these relations are also depicted in the triad of space conception of Henri Lefebvre, and he sees these flows as the expressions of processes of 'dominating' our economic, political and symbolic life that these dominant social practices are embedded in dominant structures as the arrangements of organisations and institutions with strategic roles in shaping social practices and social consciousness for society (Castells, 1996; 2000; Lefebvre, 1991). Alternatively, domination as explained by Giddens concerning the nature of space is the reproduction of structures including power relations, as it includes the domination of human being over the material world and over social world (Giddens, 1981, 1995). By this definition, the domination in the materialistic practices in production affects the 'spatial practices' and the 'perceived space'; and domination in political and ideological structures changes the 'representations of space' or in other words the 'conceived space'; and the dominant processes in symbolic structuring are reflected in the mutations of 'representational spaces', which can be called as 'lived space' in the triad of Lefebvre

(1991). Thus, the 'social space' as a whole, becomes influenced by the dominant spatial practices and structures generally organised with flows together with the changes in the time-sharing practices.

As time and space are basic categories of human existence, the social meaning of space and time; and the transformation of space and time under the productive, social and political relations are the concern of the study. The spatial organisation processes of the domination bases on the 'double-sided' power relations and dualities that related with the dialectical nature of capitalism with the organisation of dominants and the disorganisation processes of other groups within changes in the time-sharing material practices, which can be defined as the 'restructuring processes'. Manuel Castells strengthen this hypothesis as:

The fundamental form of domination in our society is based on the organisational capacity of the dominant elite that goes hand in hand with its capacity to disorganise those groups in society which, while constituting a numerical majority, see their interests partially (if ever) represented only within the framework of the fulfilment of the dominant interests. Articulation of the elites, segmentation and disorganisation of the masses seem to be the twin mechanism. In short: elites are cosmopolitan, people are local (Castells, 1996a).

The spatial organisation of these processes of organisation of domination generally observed as a result of the capital accumulation in relation with the production and consumption in space and in time together with the expansionary activity of capital. The development of technological development to create spaces for the production and accumulation of capital has eased these processes in the existence of surplus and labour. This initiates the emergence of agglomeration of societies and surpluses on specific geographies as differentiating from other spaces which led towards an uneven geographical development as Harvey denotes (Harvey, 2006). But, the progress of accumulation at certain spaces and geographies creates new barriers for the capital accumulation, although capitalists constantly tend to expand the mass and total value of commodities on the market at the same time as a dialectical reflection of the integration of production and consumption together to maximise their profits (Harvey, 2001). So, while the production has the nature of centrality and totality in itself, the need of capital accumulation, distribution and consumption stimulates the expansion and flow of capital to the new geographies and spaces, which can always be seen as the reason of capitalist crises and the causes for the restructuring processes. So, to overcome the spatial barriers and the resistant power relation in social, economic and political practices, capitalism tends to reorganise the time-sharing material practices, in other words the social practices and space, for the sake to increase the capital accumulation and profit, dialectically. Therefore, the spatial barriers and boundaries are the objects of the transformation processes of capitalism especially with the changes of technological developments used in the processes of "appropriation" and the "domination" of space and materialistic practices by changing the way of practices, organisations in economic and social organisations and the time and space perception. Harvey explains this as:

From the materialist perspective we can argue that objective conceptions of time and space are necessarily created through material practices and processes which serve to reproduce social life... Since capitalism has been (and continues to be) a revolutionary mode of production in which the material practices and processes of

social reproduction are always changing, it follows that the objective qualities as well as the meanings of space and time also change (Harvey, 1989).

Therefore, one of the significant phases of domination over space is the domination of space by time, as the space is the material support of time sharing practices (Castells, 1996a; Giddens; 1981, 1995). In this context, Harvey explains the search for the tearing down of spatial barriers especially with the changes in the technological developments effecting the time and space experiences simultaneously has led to the ‘annihilation of space by time’ as also called as ‘becoming’ as an opposition to the term ‘being’, depicting the focus of space with the meaning of place-based spatial memories, and practices, which can be seen as a barrier for the expansion of capital as a static state (Harvey, 1989; Castells, 1996a).

It can be inferred that capitalism tries to regulate the time and space, needed for the regulation of time-sharing special practices with production and accumulation, by annihilation of space by time regulations and restrictions to increase the production and profit besides the technological influences on space and time perception leading to the break of spatial barriers and tries to re-spatialise the environment by using the notion spatialisation of universalised time defined as ‘being’, also as a mode of modernity project for culture and space, but for the sake of capitalism against the notion of traditional and memorial space, which can be defined as place¹ seen as a “statis” and resistant against the flow of capital creating the tension between place and the annihilation of place.

So, this tension has also brought the time and space dichotomy together with the place and annihilation of place leading to new set of experiences of time and space, which can be defined as the changes in ‘time-space compression’ or the theory of time-space distanciation, evoking the changes in the cognition and experience of space and time especially starting with the changes in the social practices (Harvey, 1989; Giddens, 1981, 1995). The definition of the ‘industrial time’ for deskilling and reskilling the labour forces is one of the significant changes in the social practices influencing the time-sharing practices in space (Harvey, 1996).

¹ Place is defined by Christian Norberg-Schultz as the space of “place” with an existential philosophy as a phenomenon that to be lived in; experienced throughout the senses and feelings as separating notion of place, which he also defines as ‘genius loci’ from conceptual spaces as ‘tabula rasa’; with its depiction of place with that term which also depicts the existential space with actions and especially as the phenomenal space in Roman Age besides the further definition of place as:

A concrete term for environment is ‘place’. It is common to say that acts and occurrences ‘take place’. In fact, it is meaningless to imagine any happening without reference to a locality. Place is evidently an integral part of existence.

So the place is existent with its specific condition and determined by its location with its general spatial configuration as it depicts the “identity” of that “place” (Norberg-Schultz, 1984).

Thus, the working days and hours are not only depicts the regulation of labour power, but also the initial differentiation processes and the changes in the time and space expression and depicts the cultural change and transformation of the dynamics of the political economy (Marx, 1963). The defined finite time for eating, working, consumption and sleeping activities in certain 'stations' and 'domains' as spaces to complete these practices and the distances defined to overcome in the restricted period in these processes initiate the time and space compression, in other words the compression of time over space. So, the concept of hegemony in order to build a new social order and new social space under the changes of material practices and time compression over space can be observed in the initial structural definitions of time to regulate the work hours and in the complexities of spatial and temporal practices. Harvey analyses (1989) these complexities and contradictions in four dimensions based also on the ideas of spatial practice that Henri Lefebvre's *The Production of Space* (1991), but dependent to each other as:

1. Accessibility and distanciation speak to the role of the 'friction of distance' in human affairs.
2. The appropriation of space examines the way in which space is occupied by objects (house, factories, streets, etc.) activities (land uses), individuals, classes, or other social groupings. Systematized and institutionalised appropriation may entail the production of territorially bounded forms of social solidarity.
3. The domination of space reflects how individuals or powerful groups dominate the organisation and production of space through legal or extra-large means so as to exercise a greater degree of control either over the friction of distance or over the manner in which space is appropriated by themselves or others.
4. The production of space examines how new systems of land use, transport and communications, territorial organisation, etc. arte produced, and how new modes of representation (e.g. information technology, computerized mapping, or design) arise².

So, dependent to each other, every dimension initiates new structural changes with the material spatial practices in the perception and the representations of space. In the conceptual (cognitive) spaces, as the spaces of representation leading to changes in the relations of productions, social organisations and spatial practices under the restructuring processes of hegemonic forces as social powers, i.e., capitalism, lead to new class meanings and struggles as a result of given set of rules to generate much more social energy with the shifts in the objective qualities of space and time. The processes also lead to the changes in the spatial and temporal practices together with the materialisation of meanings given to money, time and space.

² Harvey mentions on the Lefebvre's spatial trivialisation including the 'spatial practices' to get the changes with the complexities and contradictions in the spatial and temporal practices in the construction of 'spatial grid'. For more analysis, please see Harvey, D. (1989), pp.218-221.

The role of capital accumulation, i.e. money, for example, in the changes of time and space experiences initiates with the **expansion of the monetary sphere of circulation**, and the **organisation of commercial networks over space** in the early medieval period, forcing the merchant to construct ‘a **more adequate and predictable measure of time for the orderly conduct of business**’, which is also acceptable today even in the consumption habits that even **shopping malls** are the reflections of the time and space regulations on the consumption and capital accumulation. For the better measurement of time and the rise in the symbolisation of time with clocks and the establishment of universal time are important changes in the spatial and temporal practices.

In the context of production, the emergence of the notion of ‘turnover time’ especially with the rise of industrialisation and the desire of capitalist power to shorten turnover times to increase the production in certain time can be seen one of the significant aspects of the time-space compression reducing the time horizons of decision-making and speeding up social processes leading to new spatial and material practices. The idea of assemble line, as mentioned before, has been founded to speed up the production processes and so does the social processes leading to the differentiation not only in the means of production and the productive forces but also in the spatial practices. The production of physical infrastructures for the communication and transportation such as the railways for train transportation to access the distances in shorter times, and usage of radio waves and telegram for the communication; and the rise of flow of good, money and people as a result of the technological changes has been observed. Additionally, the processes of materialisation of space and time has led to the rise in the private property in land and state and administrative divisions of space with social control as a reflection of domination and control of space (Harvey, 1989). These have led also the changes in the land uses and built environments with the rise of urbanisation and agglomeration together with social networks. Thus it leads a new issue of controversy bringing the power struggle that **the cities and the spatial and temporal practices and changes in the restructuring processes came** under the influence of the dominant powers besides the changes in the notion of space that lived in, together with the materialisation and dematerialisation of everything including space in a time line as a process especially influenced by the restructuring processes of dominant powers such as capitalism and the local reactions to the changing conditions. So, it depicts a need for a critical historical materialistic reading on the spatialisation processes of capitalism with its restructuring processes.

3.3. Spatial Transformation and Restructuring Processes in Cities through the Ages

As the evolved case of the agglomeration of people to create unity, reconstitution of power relations inside and outside these agglomerations as cities, which can be called as social governmentality, is seen as the Urban Revolution affecting the social and production relations (Soja, 2000; Castells, 1977). The emergence of ruling class and the rise in the private ownership with control and the emergence of new subclasses of the private land and the rising trade class and entrepreneurial merchant-financiers in these authorities can be denoted as the significant processes in the emergence of ideology of order with hegemony and

dependency especially on the lands and private residents, institutional workshops, temples and palaces and the city-state formation leading new classes redefining the difference between city and countryside, urban and rural areas. Many cities and nations including the geography of Anatolia such as Ankara, which is known as the established city by Galatians and many examples from other geographies were in that form of city organisation.

But the most obvious differentiation and the changes together with the transformation of time-sharing social practices can be based on the Renaissance and Enlightenment project and the Industrial Revolution in the following period leading to great deal of urbanisation together with geographical differentiation. Depicting the shift in the dynamics of urban space Edward Soja explains this as:

...we can pass quickly through (and leave to others the challenge of spatially rethinking) the long and fascinating geohistory of the city-state and its globally uneven geographical development, to enter another time and place, a new point of origin for a third convulsive transformation in the social production and reproduction of city space that bring us much closer to the present. From Mesopotamia and its immediately surrounding regions we shift to Western Europe in the aftermath of the Renaissance and the Enlightenment, to the early stages of the Industrial Revolution (Soja, 2000).

The idea of globalisation and the universality emerged especially in the Enlightenment thought, in this context, can be seen as the revolutionary part of the globalizing network of colonial metropolises and mercantile capitalist cities. As Soja (2000) also denotes that the Age of Enlightenment and the rise of collective consciousness of modernity in addition to the social production of city space with the development of capitalism emerged around sixteenth century are the major reason of the rising urbanisation at that time.

Following the feudal world with class conflicts, disputes over rights, ecological instabilities, The Renaissance with the radical reconstruction of space and time especially with the voyages and discoveries have initiated the idea of globe leading to the flow of especially geographical knowledge over the globe. As a result of the accumulation of wealth, power and capital with the personalised knowledge and individual command over space, at that time, people with profit-consciousness and the radical changes in the power struggles not only led the relation of domination and hegemony in societies, but also in the power tensions between different nations and Empires (Harvey 1989; Castells, 1977). The shift in the cognition of the representation of space and the geographies together with scientific explorations on time and space have resulted in the notion of navigation and expression of new geographical knowledge leading to rational ordering of space and later to the reorganisation of cities in unitary plans with planning and construction ideas together with new space and time perception, as a result (Harvey, 1989). In addition to that, changing spatial and temporal practices have influenced the social relations and spatial practices in the following period. The rationalisation of space seen as a part of nature as a response to the emancipation of humanity by the domination of nature has been observed and the idea of liberation of 'Man' leads to new landscapes as an expression of secular thought of Enlightenment, which has also changed the dynamics of forces and the relations of domination with the emergence of the stronger and the weaker in the world. Rational city planning, emergence of parts and parcels of capitalist modernisation and the desire for the

research on science, future and power with scientific prediction, social engineering and institutionalisation of rational systems of social regulation and control as totalising thoughts have become significant that the idea of the organisation of the world has emerged as the initialisation of globalisation in this period (Ibid). The recording time by the chronometer not only led to the universal time conceptions and idea of control of time but also usage of time conceptions for the profit and capitalist decision-making processes leading to new social and economic orders and spatial practices as a result in the domination of human action.

Thus, the rising 'progressive' thought together with the new secular science and new understanding of knowledge led to the new socio-spatial actions in this age, however, evolving in a multiplicity of uneven geographical developed regional forms as a result of specific agglomeration and the need for room as the specific geographies for the capital accumulation and surplus value as Harvey and Marx also denotes, together with the exportation and the expansion of mercantile trade in the modernizing world system with the rising notion of rationality for the space and time (Soja, 2000; Harvey, 2006).

The idea of control of space by the division of it in parcels and parts to achieve the homogenisation in administration and control has led to the issue of private ownership, profitability from space and the fragmentation of space together with the search for new production practices in the changing time and space perceptions leading to the capitalist mode of production and industrialisation as a result of the advent in the technological means of production with the rise of scientific researches. The usage of maps together with the parcelisation and pulverisation of geographies and the rationalisation of nature and space has led to the new spatial practices leading to the urbanisation processes with the uneven geographical development excluding the rural areas and new power relations as Harvey denotes as:

The production turnpikes, canals, systems of communication and administration, cleared lands, and the like put the question of the production of a space of transport and communication clearly on the agenda. Any change in space relations wrought by such investments, after all, affected the profitability of economic activity unevenly, and therefore led to a redistribution of wealth and power. Any attempt to democratise and disperse political power likewise entailed some kind of spatial strategy (Harvey, 1989).

Dialectically, Harvey denotes that these processes have also led to the new restructuring processes in cities as a result of economic and social changes in the city space with destruction and construction processes to speed up the processes for the increase in the profitable activities in city space especially for the dominant power of emerged capitalist class again resulting in the deeply rooted changes in the spatial practices especially in cities as Harvey says:

...the fact that space can be conquered only through the production of space. The specific spaces of transport and communications, of human settlement and occupancy, all legitimized under some legal system of rights to spaces (of the body, of land, of home, etc.) which guarantees security of place and access to the members of society, form a fixed frame within which the dynamics of a social process must unfold. When placed in the context of capital accumulation this fixity of spatial organisation becomes heightened into an absolute contradiction. The effect is to

unleash capitalism's powers of 'creative destruction' upon the geographical landscape, sparking violent movements of opposition from all kinds of quarters (Harvey, 1989).

Thus, the rise of the universalization in thought and the changes in the time-sharing social and productive practices leading to the rationalisation and regulation of space and time together with the rise of technology and science have increased the need for the unified spaces with increasing population and changes in the mode of production in a density leading to the rise of urbanisation.

As a result of the idea on rising urbanisation for the need for core space of productive activities and accumulation, the insertion of the industrial areas into city spaces and the advent in industrialisation by the technological developments together with rising migration from rural areas to cities lead to expansion in the size of the cities and re-composition of new orders. Soja says on that:

This unprecedented societal urbanisation cum-modernisation was brought about primarily by the entry into city space of millions of representatives of the two new classes that defined urban-industrial capitalism, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, each as definitively and pre-suppositionally urban as industrial capitalism itself. This extraordinary mass migration radically restructured earlier distinctions between city and countryside, urban and rural, polites and idiots, the sacred and the profane, to inscribe a new urban order in which the production of a social surplus was not only coordinated by the city but, for the first time in history, also took place predominantly inside the city proper, in and around the dense core of city space. On a very basic level, this revolutionary reorganisation of city space required not only making room for the millions of new migrants and for the infrastructure of industrial production but also for the development of new ways to keep this emerging industrialized space economy of urbanism together, to administer and reproduce the social and spatial relations of capitalism at its now tightly nested global, national, regional, and local state scales (Soja, 2000).

So, the emergence of urban-industrial capitalism with industrializing cities such as Paris, London, Manchester, Chicago led to the insertion of large-manufacturing industry into city space as a result of "spatial fix" of capital accumulation for the surplus value. Need for the dense core of city space for labour power and capital has led to the symbiotic and expansive relation between urbanisation and industrialisation processes resulting in the rise of urbanisation and increase in the size of cities with the expansive re-composition of the urban population together with migration, which caused the class differences and segregations in new urban-industrial capitalism as proletariat and bourgeoisie (Soja, 2000; Castells, 1977; Harvey, 1989, 2001).

The influence of the industrialisation and the urbanisation on different geographies with non-industrialisation reflected differently such as in Ottoman Empire. Although it was affected by the changes in the industrialisation, but in later periods as a result of the decrease in the power of Empire and the disregard of the development of western countries since the discoveries, the notion of urbanisation was not common in the Empire. The notion of the hegemony of industrially developed countries, however, on the Empire had pushed a series

of modernisation in the Empire including regulations in the development plan decisions together with the increasing relations of dependency to the industrialised countries (Tekeli, 2009). So, at that period, some initial movements for the modernisation in the Empire was observed but under some relations of dependencies, as a strategy of the developed countries for other geographies that some restructuring processes especially in the capital city, Istanbul due to the big fires in the city were operated with the influence of rational thought of modernisation processes leading to large and straight boulevards in the historic urban fabric of İstanbul. In addition to that there were some restricted attitudes for the initial development plans especially for the city İstanbul and some regulations in the ownership of land in the Empire (Tekeli, 2009).

But, there are also different transformation processes such as the transformation of city-states to nation-states. The cities became as the centre of coordination, control and administration of territorial cultures and modes of production based primarily in agriculture, mining, and other primary sector activities, as well as the systems of the trade and commerce based on primary production complexes (Soja, 2000). Many cities in Anatolia including Ankara, similarly, were based on this logic of transformation as a result of the uneven enterprise of the capitalist accumulation and geographical development with the lack of mercantile capitalism and industrialisation. So, although it is seen as that industrialisation and urbanisation with industrial-capitalist development had no relation and influence at some geographies such as Anatolia including Ankara, the influence of the industrialisation with the idea of rising globalisation would affect much the geographies missing the industrialisation period resulting with the dependencies to the developed countries in industrialisation and the strategy of industrial-capitalist powers to maintain this dependency for the advantage of globalizing capitalism.

Therefore, this fact could be observed that the rise of micro-technologies for the labour discipline and the new macro-technologies of social and spatial control have been initiated at that time supporting this hypothesis as Soja also explains the fact with how these developments would reflect in the desire of globalising power of capitalism with the regulation of nation-states dialectically as:

The nation-state was both a material expansion of territorial culture of the city-state and also an abstraction and consolidation of its more tangible control over the nexus of space, knowledge, and power. What was formerly the fluid accretion of city-states and their tributary regions into an imperial mosaic became the more formal establishment of the nationally bounded territorial state, bent on erasing the regional borders and cultural identities of the city-states contained within it through its homogenizing powers and those of the expanding market (Soja, 2000).

Urbanisation, in this conjuncture, as a spatial concentration of population as the agglomeration for activities as production, consumption and for the needs of services, refers to constitution of specific spatial forms of human societies and it have resulted in the over-concentration of human populations on certain geographies. This has left the other spaces less developed and populated creating the distinction between town and country, rural and urban (Castells, 1977; Harvey, 2006). In addition to that the rising migration to the city spaces has led to the differentiation between inhabitants and immigrants, which also led to the spatial segregation and the movement of people within the city space. The advent in the

industrialisation and the increasing fragmentation as a result of this tension also reflected in economic specifications and the functional specialisation of activity, the division of labour and the market economy resulting in the differentiation of working spaces of the bourgeoisie and less waged groups (Harvey, 1989; Castells, 1977; Giddens, 1981, 1995). “The differentiation between classes also reflected within the labour class itself that, the production space of the workers became specified and differentiated with the changes in the modes of production and the diversification of activities and specification of need for labour. The operation of working hours in the production environment also have brought the compression of time over space in the production processes and led to the crisis of time and space, which later led to the project of modernity.

The most significant and dramatic example as the result of mass migration is the emergence of new urban forms and concentration of social articulation in city space with relations of hierarchized articulations with urban networks. The rise of the industrialist-capitalist urbanisation with the implantation of factory systems in cities, and buildings related with production processes such as warehouses built in city centre with the rising pollution and potential for population and these led to the abandoning of the city centres to the immigrant workers as a strategy to establish the control over the inner city at certain spaces especially by the rising bourgeoisie and middle-classes resulting in the shift in the form of urbanisation processes and the initial form of suburbanisation in cities with the mobilisation of bourgeoisie to the outer parts of the city space (Soja, 2000; Harvey, 1989; Castells, 1977). So, the old, inner city becomes home for working classes and the outer parts of the city are the new residential areas for rising bourgeoisie. The emergence of understanding of Central Business District can also be based on these occurrences with the rising control over inner city squeezed with the rising density and population together with the new factories nearby and elaboration of market place. So, urban-industrial development not only led to the segregation of classes but the differentiation in the form of city with initial dualities and theoretical observations in the city space. Soja denotes these restructuring processes with the rising industrialisation and mass migration:

From the beginning, then, the new classes of urban-industrial capitalism (proletariat) entered the city in spatially segregated concentric zones; workers and the reserve army in the densest and most haphazardly jumbled inner zone, the new “middle-class” bourgeoisie settled in the more regularly gridded second ring, and the upper bourgeoisie in a suburban commuting zone of gardened villas and country estates (Soja, 2000).

Thus, the segregation of proletariat as an ‘underclass’ with the conditions of poverty and destitution at the city centre with the rising mass migration and industrialisation as a result of the intent of bourgeoisie to create a pool of potential workers but also a reservoir of “non-workers”, the unemployed, the landless to increase the dependency to the city centre and the bourgeoisie, had increased and led to the health and pollution problems together with the social and economic ones. The classes only connected with the transit routes from outer city to inner city leading to the changes in the experience of time and space in daily life. Thus, in the industrialisation period it can be said that city models with the transportations roads extending to the outer parts of the city from city centre has become increased besides the centralisation of cities.

The intense centralisation of population, employment, and production created a well-defined concentric zonation of classes and resident quality together with the changing technology, transforming the production modes in the space of production. It is the change in the places as a result of migration changing the conditions in the inner city with the segregation and compaction of working class as a potential source of strength as a solution of industrial-capitalism to the need for productive forces. It was also for the control of them, which has resulted with the crisis of representation in time and space especially for the working class as a social fact, besides the increasing health and pollution problems and economic crisis in the working class.

So, the segregation of the classes in city spaces also led to the spatial specifications of urbanism with mapping of transportation networks, income differences, rent geographies, commercial establishments, housing markets, and land-use patterns of city spaces produced by the locational strategies of 'independent households' and business establishments (Soja, 2000; Castells, 1977, 1996a; Harvey, 2010). These also led increase and the specification of housing markets, parallel to the mass migration pushing the boundaries of the city even-outward with the concentration and zonation. So, the urban land market with increasing desire for profit together with the dynamics of residential land use and household decision making became significant effects in the formation of city and urbanisation but also increased the tension between social and spatial dynamics of the city initiating the social and economic crisis (Castells, 1977) in the rising social dichotomies with class conflicts and spatialisation practices of these dichotomies in cities.

Moreover, the profit desire from land, speculations on financial markets and over-accumulation and over-production problems and the disconnection between surpluses of capital with labour class as a result of segregation socially and spatially led to the economic great depression in 1847, starting from Britain. This affected especially the capitalist industrialisation that this case resulted in the changing employment conditions, raising the rate of exploitation and the destroy of the traditional skills towards the modernisation in economic and social life (Harvey, 1989). The cultural dimension of this period is depicted by Harvey as 'the commodification and commercialisation of a market for cultural products during the nineteenth century forced cultural producers into a market form of competition that was bound to reinforce processes of 'creative destruction' within the aesthetic field itself' (Harvey, 1989). Parallel to the economic crisis and the changes in time and space compression leading new perception and understanding beyond the traditional values, together with health problems and the rising pollution and population, especially in the city centre of Paris, as a result of migration and speculations on urban land, led to the one of the specific examples of rooted modernisation projects in urban areas, but in a way of 'creative destruction'. The decision to reconstruct the city centre in a non-traditional and rational manner led to the destruction of old city centre by establishing the large boulevards by cutting through the old Paris of dense and irregular medieval alleyways into rationally-designed large avenues by the Haussmann's creative destruction of Second Empire Paris with the order of the Empire Napoleon that Paris has today similar to the New York's reconstruction processes (Harvey, 1989). But the creative destruction processes not only be criticised as the reflection of political dominating power on social space, these processes of destruction and reconstruction created also a new social and spatial reorganisation that the rise of the rent at the city centres as a result of restructuring pushed the poor working classes

to the peripheries of the city and appeal again the bourgeoisie to the core of the city, dialectically as a reflection of creative destruction. In addition to that, the rational attitude in the spatial restructuring processes in urban areas especially eased by using the technological tools, which has initiated the domination of rational planning especially on the traditional city centres. This rationality has developed in a non-traditional understanding of modernity in the following period as a part of modernity project especially as a response to the rising fragmentation, ephemerality and chaotic changes before the modernity to create a singular, unified and rational image rejecting the defined traditional values parallel with that fragmentation.

Even in Ottoman Empire, at that time, especially in İstanbul with rising population, the big fires in the city resulted in more rationally-designed avenues and city zones but the more radical reflections were seen at later periods in the geography of Turkey. So, the idea of modernity in the urbanisation with the rationalisation of nature and geography with the technological tools were influential not only in the industrially developed countries but also the countries dependent to these developments such as Ottoman Empire, at that period. So, it can be said that, although there were not many revolutionary operations of modernisation especially in the urbanisation of the geography of Empire, the idea of modernity was initialised at that period but also fostered the desire of the developed countries in the Ottoman Empire with the rising relations of dependencies (Tekeli, 2009) to get a homogenised world space with the integration of different geographies under the notion of universalization of time-sharing practices and the notion of the shrinkage of global space influenced by changes in the time-space compression, but under certain power relations especially controlled by the industrially developed countries and the capitalist classes.

Thus, the spatial integration in the economic, financial and socio-cultural changes after the crisis and with the rise of rationality, technology and science also led to the modernist formation in urban areas together with the universalization of money in the world. The notion of place has also changed that unification and rationalisation of space beyond the traditional values and meanings become the 'modernity project' reflected in art, cultural and political cases with the searches beyond the traditional and old values, forms, structures and systems. The notion of universality and rationalisation and unity become significant in every area that this also led to the dichotomy between the idea of space as depicted by Harvey as "The certainty of absolute space and place gave way to the insecurities of a shifting relative space, in which events in one place could have immediate and ramifying effects in several other places" (Harvey, 1989).

So, these ideas have brought the rational ideals of homogenous and absolute spaces. Modernity questions the fact that how the spatial fragmentation as a result of segregation and concentric zonation could be rationalized and homogenised through the planned co-ordination. As the new senses of relativism and "perspectivism" emerged were applied to the production of space and ordering of time, new cultural forms by a non-historical attitude tried to be established by the concern for purity not only in architecture but also in language, music and literature (Harvey, 1989).

David Harvey explains the dialectic between the homogenising and the fragmentation of space that as the space becomes more unified and the flow of internationalised money

increased across the globe, these have brought the localised competitive strategies and a sense of awareness making a place special as a reaction to the identification of place, which could be seen as a new attitude for modernism trying to establish its own culture to achieve the cultural project successfully by making its own modernist place by the “spatialisation” of time, defined as “Being”, but not in a traditional manner. Harvey says on that:

Modernism, seen as a whole, explored the dialectic of place versus space, of present versus past, in a variety of ways. While celebrating universality and the collapse of spatial barriers, it also explored new meanings for space and place in ways that tacitly local identity (Harvey, 1989).

The advent of Russian Revolution at that time is one of significant example for a radical break with the past ideologies in the age of Modernity. Although there was tension between international and rational aims by the revolution, nationalist strains were challenged by a new sense of connection between the aims of modernism and those of socialist revolution and internationalism (Harvey, 1989). But this connection between socialism and modernism had brought a bad reputation in the capitalist world and experimentation was short due to financial resources.

Similar to the modernity project in Russian geographies the modernisation in Turkey held with many changes especially in Ankara at that period. As mentioned earlier, although the idea of modernisation in the city spaces was initialised at the earlier periods of the Empire, the radical and revolutionary modernisation processes held in the period of the republic. So, the difference and the success in these modernisation processes were especially in the non-dependent modernisation movement to the industrially developed countries (Tekeli, 2009). So, in this period pioneered by M. Kemal Atatürk, one of the most influential modernisation projects held in Turkey that especially with the modernisation of Ankara, as the symbol of modern republic, when established as capital city of Turkey, with the urbanisation in a way of modern attitude was operated including the regulations on the architecture and urban design. International competitions for development plans and public buildings were opened to be constructed especially in Ankara as a central city in Anatolia for the even development and the distribution of services to whole geographies. Besides that one of the most important development was the construction of railway network to the whole geography of Anatolia connecting the significant centres to reach a homogenised and integrated nation-state, which was triggered especially in the Independence War after the First World War with the integration of people (Keskinok, 2006). In addition to that, the integration of rural and urban areas, interaction between regions, industrialisation with semi-dependent relations to developed countries were significant developments, although the industrially developed countries tried to block this development to increase the relation of dependencies. Central planning and the ‘publicisation’ of land and ownership besides the creation of public sphere in urban areas were also significant developments in Turkey up to Second World War (Keskinok, 2006). So, it can be said that the culture of modernity and the urbanisation were operated successfully in the age of modern republic although the idea of modernity was embraced in the earlier period in the age of Empire with the increasing relations of dependencies. So, this period had to be short due to the emergence of Second World War leading to a new world order later.

Parallel to this period, after the First World War, the idea to dominate the crisis in the experience of space and time to fight off nationalist and geopolitical sentiments and unification of the fragmentations was significant, however, opposing to this semi-dependent development as a reflection of the idea of universalization of the thought of Enlightenment and modernity. Otto Wagner, as a significant example, at that period, accepted the universality of modernism and set out to impose order upon chaos, to rationalise the organisation of movement on the basis of efficiency, economy and to overcome the uncertainty of fast moving world that his explorations of image of machine as an ultimate form of efficient rationality became fashionable in 1920s with Le Corbusier, Walter Gropius, Mies van der Rohe with the search for spatialising the flowing and expanding processes (Harvey, 1989). In 1928, the Congress of International Modern Architects (CIAM) established showing the internationalisation and unification processes with the rationalisation of ideas especially on architecture and the urban designing by the series of meetings in the modernist development.

One of the critical point, however, was the aestheticized politics and abuse of the formalisation processes for the sake of capitalist and dominant restructuring processes in the modernisation projects as a result of the spatialisation of time creating a social system the open to creative destruction processes. As projects and plans tried to be spatialised in the historical processes and contexts and the condition of power certain relations also led to new dialectical cases in modernity. This case can be similar to the dialectic of Enlightenment that as the thought of Enlightenment liberates ‘the self’ and searches for the universal truth escaping from the myths, although it becomes totalitarian in nature and similarised to the myths by sacrificing ‘the self’ for the universal thought. Thus, David Harvey obviously depicts the fact of the abuse of modernisation by certain power relations as:

But even Le Corbusier recognised that such an act had to invoke the power of myth. And here the real tragedy of modernism begins. Because it was not the myths favoured by Le Corbusier or Otto Wagner or Walter Gropius that in the end dominated matters. It was either the worship of Mammon or, worse, still, the myths stirred up by an aestheticized politics that called the tune. Le Corbusier flirted with Mussolini and compromised with Pétain’s France, Oscar Niemeyer planned Brasilia for a populist president but built it for ruthless generals, the insights of Bauhaus were mobilised into the design of the death camps, and the rule that form follows profits as well as function dominated everywhere. It was, in the end, the aestheticization of politics and the power of money capital that triumphed over an aesthetic movement that had shown how time-space compression could be controlled and responded rationally (Harvey, 1989).

The emergence of the Second World War and the reconstruction processes for the cities in the increasing power of developed countries and the emergence of the Fordist-Keynesian system in the economics reinforced the rising hegemony with the universality with standardisation after 1945 with corporate capitalist version of Enlightenment thought in a politically and economically dominant way (Harvey, 1989).

After the Second World War, changing the world order with the rising power of USA besides the United Kingdom became the influential forces with the slogan of liberalisation and this idea becomes influential through the many geographies. Turkey, with changing dynamics in the politics has also been influenced from this movement that the integration of

Turkey to the global capitalist economy admitting the foreign investments to the country completely could be seen as initiated at that period. The rising bourgeoisie class and the land owners in Turkey became significant factors at that time in the integration to the global capitalist economic regulation, which have led to the uneven geographical development for the advantage of larger cities in Turkey with the increasing migration and over-densification in cities at that period with increasing centralisation similar to the conjuncture (Keskinok, 2006).

Therefore, it shows the dialectical cases of the need of the dispersion of capital accumulation to new geographies with 'spatial fix' to increase the capital flow and the profit from new geographies together with the increasing dependencies in local geographies to global capitalism; and the centralisation of capital accumulation in certain areas such as larger cities to get the control of capital and production with the increasing need for services, which are organised within cities.

Thus, the idea of the annihilation of space through time, called as "Becoming" to break the spatial barriers for the capitalist mode of accumulation has brought the duality of Being and Becoming in the modernity era and the opposition between Being and Becoming has been the central dispute of modernism's history (Harvey, 1989). As the changing meaning of space and time created the modernity project, the duality within the modernity parallel to the rising economic crisis also led to new restructuring processes with the crisis of representation. The conceptual production of space of modernity, in this context interpreted as non-traditional and generally with the standardisation of aestheticization called as 'tabula rasa' together with destruction of the old but to create its own "culture" against the "genius loci" with the meaning of historical roots and traditional meaning as a static condition of space, which can be seen as resistant in nature to the rising capital accumulation.

Therefore, the rise of the over-accumulated capital and the rising control of bourgeoisie over labour classes, which became well-organised towards the 1960s, created the tension between the labour and capital and the processes of over-accumulation with the rising centralisation and standardisation and conceptual production of space caused new economic and socio-cultural crisis also leading to the crisis of representation in the conjuncture together with the organised revolt of labour classes started in May 1 in 1968.

The crisis of the capitalist accumulation of this period initiated new restructuring processes and shifts, changes not only in economic structures but also in social and spatial production processes. The crisis of over-accumulation of capital squeezed at the centralisation processes has pushed the capitalist classes to increase the distribution of capital through new geographies. To create new geographies of accumulation, consumption of the production and the service sectors to increase the desire for consumption becomes significant within this period. One of the significant strategies is to increase the competition between local geographies to create solutions to the centralised crisis of capital. So, the focus on the production shifts to the consumption and the age of industrialisation is shifted to post-industrialisation together with the expansion and the distribution of service sectors with the form of rising decentralisation and dispersion. Therefore, the changes in the organisation of economic structures have reflected on the social and spatial, geographical processes that leading to a new period, can be called as postmodernity. The city space becomes increasingly specialized for the collective consumption.

The changes within the industrial space production and the changes led also changes in the city structures that David Harvey explains the idea of capitalism in to seek for re-organising the specific urban and regional geography “for the fresh room of capitalism” as he called this as ‘spatial fix’ dispersing or exporting capital and labour surpluses into new and more profitable spaces (Harvey, 2001).

Change in the industrial and residential areas of labour classes also influential in this period that, the shift for the labour force from the core worker groups to the peripheral labour force as also mentioned in the earlier parts, led to the migration of new people to the cities resulting in the ever-expanding city to the outer zones of urban areas from city centre together with new business establishments. The rise of the service sectors in this period also led to the emergence of new ‘middle-classes’ with more skilled and educated working group. Together with the rise of mobility and the development of transportation and car ownership, the movement from the inner city to outer areas of urban areas becomes significant depicting the processes of suburbanisation and decentralisation of urban areas to the peripheries including also some business foundations of big corporations with the rising need for the ‘spatial fix’ (Castells, 1989; Harvey, 1989, 2001; Sassen, 2001; Soja, 2000).

The crisis of the rigidities of Fordist- Keynesian system with increasing capital accumulation with the centralisation, led to the development of idea of the dispersal and flow of capital to new geographies and reflected also in the geography of Turkey, which could be notified as the period of flexible accumulation. The increasing urbanisation has maintained at that period that the rising migration from rural areas to cities such as İstanbul, Ankara, İzmir have brought the chaotic urban development processes with the fragmentation of urban spaces for the dwellings of the immigrants in a sudden with non-healthy conditions and the irregular development forms in the city space. The increasing differentiation between the immigrants and the residents of the city and the class segregations in income groups have been held in the urban geographies leading to fragmentation and the atomisation not only in society but also in the city space. The immigrants from different regions are accumulated at different parts of the cities with an uncontrollable growth of the population in cities as a result of the increasing urbanisation under the influence of the idea of dispersal of capital to new geographies such as the larger cities of Turkey (Tekeli, 2009, v.8). Besides the increasing population and the pollution in the centres and at the peripheries of the core of the cities, the rising upper middle-class and the increasing automobile transportation have initiated the suburbanisation processes in Turkey similar to the cases in the conjuncture with the dispersal of capital to peripheries (Tekeli, 2009, v.8). Thus, this processes increased the fragmentation and social segregation in society and in urban spaces with increasing competition and the rising crisis of representation together with the emergence of the idea of consumption as a reflection of the postmodernity in local geographies. It can be strengthened with the example that even in the squatters there were television antennas at the roof of the every dwelling in the city with the irregular growth showing the dramatic growth of the development of cities (Tekeli, 2009, v.8) under the influence of global capitalist strategies.

Although, there were also strict regulations in these changes to prevent chaotic development processes in some countries such as Britain, the general attitude was the increasing fragmentation and individualised articulation in the production of space, which can be related with the rising need for consumption and individualisation together with the time-space compression resulted with the contemporary communication collapsing the spatial boundaries. These have led to the ‘produced fragmentation’ in transport and communication

technologies. So, architecture and the urban forms get opportunities to diversify spatial forms with dispersed, decentralised and de-concentrated urban forms (Harvey, 1989). In addition to that, the rising technology becomes to ease to produce the individual and personalised desires and products with a great variety of styles shifting from mass production and mass repetition to flexible mass production reinforcing the rising consumption in this age.

Therefore, the response to the client needs as an architect and urban designer with the rising communication processes in the market power and political influences with the rising localisation of global power; and competition between local powers to globalise, with increasing consumption even influenced the production of space together with a fragmented and personalised manner leading to differentiation in urban design. The effect of 'symbolised capital' as a cultural phenomenon in the aestheticized symbols and spaces became observable in this period as a self-explanatory process, dialectically. The standardised qualities in modernism, in addition to that, stimulates in this period much more diversified urban environments and architectural styles as a response, but resulting in extreme fragmentation in urban space.

To overcome this ephemeral and fragmented structural formation, the creation of collective memory together with fixed monuments, museums, country houses, reconstructed and rehabilitated urban landscapes recovered and established evoking the idea of past and tradition, but these also push the local cultural and social values leading again to differentiation of localities together with the competitive free market, also seeking for the profit from cultural and traditional values (Harvey, 1989). The internationalisation of some of geographies, however, together with the rising migration from different countries and regions as a labour force and the internationalisation of free market in this period together with the chaotic differentiation of the notion of localisation in an eclectic way leading to the ethnical segregations within the city spaces in this period is depicted by Harvey as:

The geography of differentiated tastes and cultures is turned into a pot-pouri of internationalism that is in many respects more startling, perhaps because more jumbled, than high internationalism ever was. When accompanied by strong migration streams (not only of labour but also of capital) this produces a plethora of 'Little' Italies, Havanas, Tokyos, Koreas, Kingstanes, and Karachis as well as Chinatowns, Latino barrios, Arab quarters, Turkish zones, and the like. Yet the effect, even in a city like San Francisco where minorities collectively make up the majority, is to draw a veil over real geography through construction of images and reconstructions, costume dramas, staged ethnic festivals, etc. (Harvey, 1989).

So, the emergent idea has been the fragmented, ephemeral urban development, while the big cities cannot be command in fragments. The lack of the traditional values in the modernist areas, in the postmodernity, tried to be re-imposed with vernacular traditions, local histories, particular wants, needs generating specialised architectural forms showing the break from modernist idea of planning and development as a new form of search for cultural sensibilities (Harvey, 1989). But, the relations with capitalism and the need for profit are influential even these processes creating marketing of traditional and historical forms of cultural and built environments to increase their profit in this period as 'becoming' market oriented.

Additionally, the construction of individual buildings for the specified activities in this period becomes significant increasing the fragmentation and differentiation of buildings and styles not only in regional areas but also in the every plot and for the every building together with the increasing individual styles and tastes. Historicism in styles as a search for image making to re-establish some cultural values in this changing and varying period also became significant (Harvey, 1989). But the fashioning localized aesthetic image allows construction of some limited and limiting sense of identity in the midst of a collage of imploding spatialities that the expression of a new historical dilemma also leads to the insertion of individual subjects as a part of collective consumption into a multidimensional set of realities ranging from still surviving spaces of bourgeois to the decentring of global capitalism (Harvey, 1989). So, it signifies a demarcation point in the history of capitalist time-sharing practices with the transformation of time and space perception and the changes in the material based activities including production and consumption and the changes in the spatialisation of these, which shopping malls can be seen as one of them.

3. 4. Towards the Space of Flows and New Forms of Cities and Urban Spaces:

Re-understanding “Non-places with “Generic Cities”

The increasing fragmentation and the chaotic changes with increasing uncertainties have been created the needs for a networked system of localised and dispersed geographies to create a homogenised global financial system and market needing the spatialisation of capital with different time-sharing practices again.

Parallel with the crisis in the oil prices and the technological development such as communication systems, satellite and computer technologies and micro-information processors as a reaction to the crisis in social and economic organisations together with the rising resistant and organised ‘core’ labour class after the revolt in 1968, to control the labour organisations and the rising uncertainties with the postmodern consumption culture, have created new perception of time and space together with the changes in the mobility, speed and the spatialisation processes of dispersed capital accumulation under networked relations and systems in the restructuring processes, (Castells, 1996a; Harvey, 1989) which have been observed as a reaction to the crisis of capitalism at that period.

The boom in the petroleum prices and the rising political and sociological tensions after the 1968 revolts in cities also affected Turkey that the increasing negative developments led to the intervention of military to the administration of Turkey has paralleled to the crisis in the global capitalism depicting the new restructuring processes not only in the world but also in Turkey (Tekeli, 2009).

So especially the development in the technology have transformed a new time and space practices and perception leading to new crisis of representation. The emergent case is the rise of dual cities as a ‘processes’ of spatialisation in this networked society and economy with globalisation and internationalisation and homogenisation of webs, systems, networks; besides the increasing alienation and fragmentation in the nodal scale, as a disorganisation of labour and society with rising individuation and segmentation, dialectically and dually.

The emergent understanding of space, however, not actually based on the annihilation of space by time to break the spatial boundaries and dispersion of capital accumulation to new geographies, but to control the flow of capital over the geographies together with the 'spatialisation' of time and capital accumulation just similar to the dialectics in the modernity as "Being" opposing to the "Becoming" (Harvey, 1989). So, it is not as a cultural idea and entity as in the modernity project but for the sake of domination of capitalism with the spatialisation of "timeless time" signifying a global, homogenous and non-historical and non-traditional as a continuing process of hegemony of capitalism. Thus, the new emergent space, which Castells calls as "space of flows" (1989, 1996a) has dialectical relations in the time-space compression that the spatialisation of time for the control of accumulation and flows in globally homogenised environments that space folds over time, but also it has the annihilation of the sense of place especially by the technology and dominant time regulation over spatial practices.

By analysing the domination of technology over space annihilated by time, Castells sees the reflection of social organisation processes with the changes in base structures over space in the definition of "space of flows", which is the material organization of time-sharing social practices that work through flows. Castells sees that our society is constructed around flows and he explains the space of flows in his book "The Rise of the Network Society" as:

...our society is constructed around flows: flows of capital, flows of information, flows of technology, flows of organizational interaction, flows of images, sounds and symbols. Flows are not just one element of the social organization: they are the expression of processes dominating our economic, political, and symbolic life... Thus I propose the idea that there is a new spatial form characteristic of social practices that dominate and shape the network society: the space of flows (Castells, 1996a).

So, in this new spatial logic, space of flows opposes to the logic of the historically rooted spatial organisations, as the space of places. The space of flows is spaces 'becoming' the dominant spatial manifestation of power and function as Castells notes by breaking the spatial boundaries of places seen as resistant spaces for capital flow as spaces of 'being' especially in metropolitan urban areas which have been evolved in multi-centred, flexible and networked formations. So, the spaces of flows are the spatial reflection of the networked and 'systematized' dispersion of capital accumulation, production and people as consumers, labour and owners not only including the nature of 'Becoming', but also especially 'Being' as a response to the dispersed and decentralised flows in the postmodernity to recreate the fix of capital accumulation at certain focal points.

The notion of the new and non-traditional spatialisation process signifies the condition that space and time become emptied out from the meanings, and they are ready for the designated actions and objects serving to these as the world economy, which becomes autonomous from local time-sharing practices and the new interaction through spaces especially with the rise of information technologies. Marc Augé defines this as the "textualisation" of spaces shifting from the notion of the memory as the anthropological space with the qualities of place to define the annihilation of time by information that generated through new technologies to regulate the time-sharing social practices and the spatialisation of these practices at the global scale under the control of information technologies and the notion of time and space connected to a global networking system, which he calls that "non-places" (Augé, 1995). So,

shopping malls, airports, offices and highways become the part of that network and connected and connecting this designated spatialisation of timeless time. In other words, it is the spatialisation of globalised time-sharing practices controlled under the regulations of globalised systems. Shopping malls, for example, are the examples of the “textualisation” of space through time especially with the rise of information technologies to regulate the production and consumption processes and habits that consumers circulate within these well-controlled spaces well-defined with the information for the regulation of trade in it to control the every aspect such as the definition of entries, exits, circulation paths and means, the program and the function of spaces in malls and the designation of actions and objects placed in the spaces (Auge, 1995; Yırtıcı, 2005). The products are also defined and coded with special barcodes, which defines the products by means of information technologies to control the consumption and production, naturally (Auge, 1995; Yırtıcı, 2005). So, these practices can be spatialised everywhere for the regulation of consumption and the production of the products to increase the profit as being flexible to the changing conditions but in a defined and centralised conditions by means of information technologies decreasing the uncertainties to adapt the changing conditions, fashions, needs, desires as a response to the condition of postmodernity with rising variations. Therefore, this informationalisation or in other words the textualisation of space is defined by Augé as a reflection of the age of “supermodernity” depicting a new phase in the linear time and a shift from the postmodernity by increasing centralisation of globalisation at certain and defined spaces and geographies as a response to the dispersion and decentralisation in the postmodernity. This leads also the extreme changes in the time and space perceptions with the rise of information and transportation technologies leading to the shrinkage of globe and space together with the rise in the flows of the capital, objects and people with extreme physical motion and the flow of information through spaces with rising densification and the accumulation (Auge, 1995; Yırtıcı, 2005; Castells, 1989, 1996a; Soja, 2000; Harvey, 1989).

Thus, this notion of space by changing the all aspects of traditional and anthropological places, as ‘genius loci’, signifies the new notion of ‘tabula rasa’ depicting the new time-sharing practices regulated by the flows and interactions with these flows at the regional, continental and global scale.

Which is significant with the emergence of these “non-places” with the local geographies and networked global relations is that the spatialisation of globally regulated time-sharing practices at the every local geography and the actions, consumption and production facts are controlled and regulated by the connection of these localities at the global scale defining the flows through the globe at local geographies, dialectically.

So, “space of flows” with the similar definition to the spaces of “supermodernity”, but with more emphasis on the domination of capital flows over space and time, can be defined that this new understanding of time and space parallel to the globalisation and unification depicting the superposition of time and space at the different conceptual mode of time-sharing social practices with no relation to the historical and traditional ones. It is based on the domination of capital flows at certain time and space with defined actions and reactions by the refining and homogenising the space with the spatialisation of globally designed time-sharing practices but beyond the traditional and settled time-sharing practices, which can be seen as resistant to the capital flows. **Airport, shopping malls, financial and business offices connecting to global entities, hotels highly equipped with the rising networking technologies and relations can be seen as the reflections of space of flows in this context.**

Thus, Castells defines the new spatial form with spatial practices dominating and shaping network society made up from flows:

The space of flows is the material organisation of time-sharing social practices that work through flows. By flows I understand purposeful, repetitive, programmable sequences of exchange and interaction between physically disjointed position held by social actors in the dominant economic, political, and symbolic structures of society. Dominant social practices are those which are in dominant social structures...arrangements of organisations and institutions whose internal logic plays a strategic role in shaping social practices and social consciousness for society at large (Castells, 1996a).

Manuel Castells describes the space of flows in the combination of **three different layers that the first material support is supported by circuit of electronic impulses** such as microelectronic, telecommunications, computer processing, broadcasting systems, high-speed transportation also based on information technologies as the major part of the networking idea emerged as different from the earlier stages that societies and capitalism have passed (Castells, 1996a). So, the dominance of networking technologies shaping the societies in the organisation and reorganisation processes with the restructuring processes of capitalism especially after 1980's, has reflected on the spatial configurations as Castells depicts:

...places do not disappear, but their logic and their meaning become absorbed in the network. The technological infrastructure that builds up the network defines the new space, very much like railways defined "economic regions" and "national markets" in the industrial economy; or the boundary-specific, institutional rules of citizenry (and their technologically advanced armies) defined "cities" in the merchant origins of capitalism and democracy. This technological infrastructure is itself the expression of the network of flows whose architecture and content is determined by the powers that be in our world (Castells, 1996a).

Therefore, Castells tries to explain that the logic of space of flows, emerged as a form of space in the restructuring processes of capitalism, based also on the idea that flows annihilate "places" for the "spatialisation of flows and time, time-sharing practices" but for the sake of dominant processes, i.e., the capital accumulation. In other words, the dominant flows and networks 'capture' the places with their time-sharing practices and transform and regulate them for the sake of capital flows besides the restructuring of new spaces for flows.

One of the intriguing examples that capturing the social spaces by flows is the rise of the communication systems especially by the development of networking and satellite systems that these have also led to changes in everyday life activities with the non-physical social activities from shopping to communication on virtual and non-physical environment by

Internet, mobile phones and similar media. But it also has led to the decrease in the importance of public places which results in the 'dematerialization of common spaces and activities'.

Thus, one aspect of the technological innovations and their influences on social spaces is the 'dematerialization of social spaces' into non-physical virtual environments and activities with the increasing dispersion and atomization of individuals but the unification of the management over time and space. Another influence of the technological innovations on the notion of space is **the rise of the paradox between places and non-places and the creation of new generic spaces** as new physical environments which becomes the common virtual environment especially for the social interaction rising individualisation and control of that by networking with the annihilation of "places" by time and flows parallel to the spatialisation of time in the same period, dialectically, as a response to the both centralization of certain activities for capital accumulation and the localization of some networks to maintain the flexibility especially in the consumption and control and management of localities. So, these localities and fragmentations are captured by the domination of systematized networks by creating a unified and global atmosphere for the flow of capital.

The development of the technological innovations from transportation to the information-processing and telecommunication technologies have influenced and changed the social organizations including the economic, cultural, social and political aspects leading to a new formation and structural processing of social organization. Besides the changes in the experience of everyday life from working habits and environments to the consumption and communication, the technological changes have broken the spatial boundaries and changed the perception of time and space. As a result of these transformations spatial dimensions have been influenced significantly as the space is the material support of time-sharing social practices (Castells, 1996a; Harvey, 1989; Giddens, 1995).

As Henri Lefebvre describes the "social space", which directly refers to the 'real' experiential dimension of space, by saying "Social space 'incorporates' social actions, the actions of subjects both individual and collective". The actions include especially the action of production, set of operations, great diversity of knowledge, set of relations between objects and products, action of everyday life from consumption to socialization, the action of management and actions of social relations including mass of relationships and network of communication and information. As a result of the changes by the technological development, the phase of space and the experience of space have tended to be transformed. Thus, the experiential space as Henri Lefebvre names it as "representational spaces" (Lefebvre, 1991). It refers to the notion of 'place', and it becomes dematerialized especially by the advent of virtual environment by the development of information technologies which are used for the wide range of actions from economical, management and business issues to the actions of social relations influenced by computer-mediated communication and by the Internet. For example, the development of telecommuting system has led to the home-based automated office work without the requirement of a new office building by the networking system. So, working on a virtual environment becomes a new way of business life (Castells, 1996a). Big corporations could organize their local service suppliers without much more efforts by means of networking systems. Information-processing activities have brought the digital tools as the new media for the production and information became the raw material in many production processes which results in changes in spaces of production as an important part of social organization.

The other layer that Castells sees the space of flows constituted by is **the nodes and hubs of space of flows** depicting the specific and structural relations, global and local “inter-relationships” together dialectically. So, although the idea of networking (economic, social and technological) as a structural system is placeless as a global entity, its nodes and hubs signifies the certain specific spaces, things and structures as Castells says:

The space of flows is not placeless, although its structural logic is. It is based on an electronic network, but this network links up specific places, with well-defined social, cultural, physical, and functional characteristics. Some places are exchanges, communication hubs playing a role of coordination for the smooth interaction of all the elements integrated into network. Other places are the nodes of the network that is the location of strategically important functions that build a series of locality-based activities and organisations around a key function in the network. Location in the node links up the locality with the whole network. Both nodes and hubs links up the locality with the whole network (Castells, 1996).

In this context, nodes and hubs can be seen as the city formations and urban structures with technological infrastructures centralising the local activities especially in the system of decision making of global economy and to the financial systems by needing support services, specialized labour market and professional labour force.

So, Castells examines the global cities, which he calls as megacities, as the spatial products of the spatialisation processes of global capitalism with the strategy of urbanization and densification as the nodes of the global economic structures on geographies, as many other significant theorists such as Harvey, Soja and Sassen examines the metropolises as the spatial objects of economic and social restructuring processes of neo-capitalism through the rise of transportation and communication technology and the increase in the industrialisation and the flow of the capital (Castells, 1996a; Harvey, 2001; Soja, 2000; Sassen, 2001). These have not only increased the rate of migration from rural areas to cities but also the expansion of the metropolitan areas within/through the cities resulting with the diversification and expansion of urban areas with decentralisation and centralisation dualities and even with the segmentation of urban areas as a result of these concentration of nodes of networks and space of flows.

The changes in the technology and the development in the transportation not only proposes the development of megacities with the concentration of capital accumulation but also the integration of national-local geographies and the economies into the globally connected systematics of capitalist accumulation by breaking the spatial boundaries of localities and the re-spatialisation processes with the globally time-sharing social practices also in local geographies captures by the global capital accumulation (Keskinok, 2006; Ersoy, 2009). So, this depicts the fact of the extreme atomisation and the loss of public sphere as defining the emergent fact of the metropolis in favour of growth, speed, event (Sargin, 2000).

Therefore, these concentration points of global network signify the fact of capturing local places and appropriating them to the global atmosphere by increasing the dependencies of local nodes to the systematic of globally controlled networks. Because these nodes, also dominated by global networks and links, operate as a part of processes of domination over their near and local geographies and environments by transforming and generating them for the sake of global flows, dialectically. So, similar to the global city structures, shopping

malls including big variety of activities together in the same unified space with non-historical qualities, for example, are the nodes of global network enterprises especially to control the consumption and the near geographies to capture and connect them to the global flows and networks by controlling the habits of consumption and the uncertainties in consumption and production processes with the spatialisation of consumption activities on a “timeless time”. So, shopping malls becomes the nodes of inter-linked global and organised firms at the local scales to control the consumption and production relations together with the intersection of spatialisation of globalised time-sharing practices and the superposition of timeless time and space each other at certain areas, dialectically.

So, basically as a concern of management, nodes and hubs of the space of flows are effective especially in the regulation of social and economic organisations and practices defining the sites of production and service sites. For example, regulation of financial markets in the global cities and central cities for continental, national and regional economies becomes significant. Especially the rise of the technological development in this period, as a reaction to the crisis, change the power relationships between management and organised labour that the centralisation of management becomes easy for the large corporations while flexibility of all labour levels with deregulations, sectoral and geographical mobility, networking and subcontracting, and constant redefinition of working conditions become significant (Castells, 1989, 1996a; Borja and Castells, 1997). So, the reorganisation of labour by technology creates a duality in the business and economic organisations creating centralised and increasing management and service for people but alienation of labour and social relations, at the same time.

The rising centrality especially with the networking technologies and the creation of inter-firm linkages for the homogenising global business creating new jobs for the service sectors have also the goal of the flexibility of labour and markets in local areas leads to the decentralisation of production facilities to other regions and countries, while maintaining the links with other productive units with the markets; sub-contracting of production and distribution to other firms in which labour works under different, generally less favourable conditions (Castells, 1989). These changes not only depict the shift from industrial mode of production and organisation to the informational one with new spatial division of labour and high-technology manufacturing, but also initiate the spatial changes in the city space together with the spatial segregation by class and business as Castells notes with the specialised nodes as centralised organisations of financial business at certain localities:

With most of the new jobs being created in the advanced services clusters of the large CBDs, and many of the disappearing traditional jobs being concentrated in the old urban industrial cores surrounding these CBDs, it follows that the new expanding labour markets are concentrated in nodal centres of large metropolitan areas, as are the pools of obsolete labour, no longer employable, which are made up predominantly of ethnic minorities (Castells, 1989).

But these changes in the economic, financial managerial structures in the organisation and the spatialisation of networking structures with specific hubs and nodes in cities, which are also nodes of that network, bring **the third important layer of space of flows as the spatial organisation of the dominant, managerial elites** as a concern of class conflicts in cities.

Manuel Castells explains the restructuring processes of capitalism especially initiating around the second half of the 1970s after the oil crisis and in 1980s and the spatialisation of these changes together with the expanding metropolitan areas with ever expanding boundaries as a result of mass migration and post-industrial development that mentioned earlier. These become the significant concentration points on different zones and regions in the world especially together with the global financialisation and the establishment of global business networks by technological developments as a response to the rising fragmentation, localisation and the uncertainty and the polarisation and differentiation within the urban spaces as a result of segregation and even segmentation as a more concentrated form of segregation within the city. He relates this fact with the changing economic structures and influences on labour forces by saying:

The polarisation and segmentation of the labour force under the impact of the process of techno-economic restructuring has specific spatial manifestations. Although much attention has been given to the regional disparity of the processes of new growth and decline, often simplified under the summary opposition between the sunbelt and the 'rustbelt', probably the most significant spatial expression of the restructuring of labour is taking place within the largest metropolitan areas, particularly in the dominant world cities (Castells, 1989).

As a result of the flexible accumulation strategy of capital to disperse new geographies for lower labour and land prices and for the rise in the demand for production and capital accumulation, the local geographies have opened to the competition for the sake of capital accumulation as Harvey denotes leading to the dispersal of capital accumulation through new geographies increasing the concentration of infrastructural development at certain localities resulting in uneven geographical development (Harvey, 1989, 2006).

As a "re-territorialisation" process of the dispersion as "de-territorialisation", Castells sees the global city as the phenomenon connecting the advance services, producer centres, and markets in a global network by saying, "...the networking architecture reproduces itself into regional and local centres, so that the whole system becomes interconnected at the global level" (Castells, 1996a).

Castells defined the emergence of the dialectical formation in the structures of cities as the over-concentration and over-segmentation as "rise of dual cities" (1989). Similarly, Saskia Sassen also mentions on the dialectical character of the influences of global capital on space in her book "The Global City" by saying:

There are two hypotheses that we explored. One is that the spatial dispersion of production and the reorganisation of the financial industry over the last decade have created new forms of centralisation in order to manage and regulate the global network of production sites and financial markets. The second is that these new forms of centralisation entail a shift in the locus of control and management...The spatial dispersion of production, including its internationalisation, has contributed to the growth of centralised service nodes for the management and regulation of the new space economy (Sassen, 2001).

So, the cities with globalised networking business relations not only become economic and social concentration points together with their centralised and concentrated business districts and zones as a result of the rise in the finance and service sectors, and the result of uneven geographical development of the accumulation of capital at certain areas, but also internalizes the segmentation and decentralisation processes as ever-expanding formations.

The new form of that urban dualism related with the restructuring processes and the expansion of informational economy with the growth and decline of industries, firms, processes at nodal points in the large metropolitan areas, where the knowledge-initiative activities concentrated, have been resulted in the polarization and the segmentation of city structures. As a result of the emergence of informational mode of production, the segmented labour markets as skilled and unskilled; and knowledge-based and traditional labour forces have created the stratification, differentiation and segmentation in social structure. This has also brought the unequal urban development processes with certain differences in service distribution and the speculation on the land of the city.

As a result of the concentration of informational economy in largest and dynamic metropolitan areas, particularly in central cities, have increased that segmented social and economic structures more. Additionally, the residential areas become effective in the decision of the dynamics and the formation of city spaces creating the segmentation of workers due to the class, ethnicity, national and regional differences. In addition to that, the differentiation between 'the upper tier of the society' and 'the lower tier of the society' increased by the new information-based development in the restructuring processes (Castells, 1977, 1989). The upper tier, usually connected to global communication and to vast networks of exchange, open to messages and experiences embracing the entire world, occupies the selected spaces both in the inner core near CBDs and in exclusive suburbs maintaining a separate circuit of lifestyle, services and leisure protected by both public and private security forces (Castells, 1977, 1989). Conversely, the other tier is segmented in local networks, based on national, regional and ethnic identities and class relations within the lifecycle of the crisis of representation with the shrinkage of the world to their specific culture and their local experience, penetrated only by standardised television images and mythically connected, in the case of immigrants leading to culturally segmented and segregated city and social structures but not to eligible to constitute a class due to the extreme differentiation in the new production relationships (Castells, 1977, 1989).

So, this interprets a new hegemonic social and spatial structural relation. The differentiation together with the social segmentation within the emerging structural relation as Castells signifies, depict the dominance of centralised social structure together with the global connection to the networking system within the increasing individualisation and alienation as a result of squeezed local networking, which always brings the relationship based on the dependencies of the latter to the former, dialectically:

This social group is not a ruling class in the traditional sense. It is a hegemonic social class that does not necessarily rule the state but fundamentally shapes civil society. The spatial articulation of its functional role and its cultural values in a very specific space, concentrated in privileged neighbourhoods of nodal urban areas, provides both the visibility and the material conditions for its articulation as a hegemonic actor. In contrast, the endless social and spatial fragmentation of the diversified segments of restructured labour at the lower level fixes their cultural and territorial

identities in terms irreducible to other experiences, breaking down the pattern of social communication with other communities and among different positions in the work process. And this probably the essence of the dual city in our society: an urban form that articulates the rise of the new socially dominant category in the informational mode of development, while disarticulating and opposing the fragments of de-structured labour as well as the components of the new labour incorporated into the emerging economic structure (Castells, 1989).

3. 4.1. Understanding the Concept of “Non-places” with(in) “Generic Cities”

The hegemonic relations and the spatialisation of the segregation in city space have brought the new urban space understanding. So, space and especially the city space itself becomes the tool of the segmentation of classes with spatialisation itself instead of class tensions of social relations, in this context. It depicts the significance of spatialisation of class segregation under the relations of capital accumulation leading to homogenised sub-centres within the city showing the extreme segmentation of classes in the urban spaces in this new age (Keskinok, 2006). So, the legitimization of segregation of classes at the spatial dimension becomes significant together with the integration of the uneven geographical developments by the notion of the homogenisation of these segregations in themselves in urban spaces with the specified concentrations of activities and people at certain spaces. For example, **shopping malls** are the part of this strategy of homogenised segregation in certain areas as “**non-places**” that they are the part of the regulation and the control of consumption activity and the production, manufacturing and the retail relations of these specific environments, which are tried to integrate them at a larger scale of networking relations including regional, continental and global interactions by these hubs and nodes at certain homogenised and segmented environments.

So, metropolis as a part of the globalising capitalist space in the restructuring processes depicts the increasing urbanisation showing the shift from rural areas to cities with the spatialisation of the hegemonic relations. This lies within the increasing centralisation with agglomeration and the suburbanisation and segmentation together with sub-central development areas within cities, which can be defined in a form of sprawl, which can also be defined for the contemporary condition of Ankara (Tekeli, 2012) depicting the role of state-regulated activities in local geographies such as Turkey, Ankara parallel and dependent to the transformation of the conjuncture with the legitimization of globalisation processes in specific conditions. As Tekeli also denotes that the emergence of multi-central development forms with the new concentration hubs and nodes in the city spaces becomes significant as a result of the spatialisation of the segmentation and it is better to understand this fact with the analysis of significant spatialisation processes of capitalist accumulation **including the variant activities such as** the construction of **shopping malls** to increase the concentration and the control of flow of capital, goods and people in these concentration points as in the case of Ankara (Tekeli, 2012).

So, the “non-places”, or the “space of flows” as a more radical definition for the signifying the flow of capital through spatialisation processes becomes important especially in the definition of the new dynamics in the city space, which has the dispersion and the concentration at the same time as a result of the duality in the strategies of capital

accumulation and the uneven nature of capital in addition to the dispersion of the accumulation to increase the flows and profits in new geographies but in a segregated and homogenised way to control the dispersion.

So, it becomes important to mention that how global capitalist space can be organised and legitimised in the local geographies. Thus, it can be explained in the context of the state regulated legitimisation of restructuring processes in the reorganisation of local-national spaces (Keskinok, 2006) The administrative qualities besides the networking technologies and integration of these local geographies in relation with global capitalist environments by the state regulated liberalisation politics have constituted the management of cities of local-national histories (Borja and Castells, 1997).

Increasing the dependencies to global capitalist economies, it becomes significant to comprehend the fact why Ankara is important, in this context, is related with the idea that as it is the centre of the management of the country and the centre of the state regulation activities. So, as Ankara also is the subject of these regulations, it is important to understand the significance of the national-local geographies trying to integrate to global scale trade together with the state-regulated changes based on the liberalisation of the economy leading to uneven geographical developments and the spatial segregation and the segmentation within the city space together with the rising notion of privatisation of ownership.

Therefore, the new notion of space, defined as space of flows, has dualities as the concentration and dispersion; construction and deconstruction; centralisation and decentralisation with regulation and deregulation and the global and major regional cities and development areas with their hinterlands as the influential centres on their near environments with the rise of globalisation. These become significant, in this context, that as global economy expands and incorporates new markets with the organisation of the production of advanced services, it requires new areas leading to ever-expanding city structures with immense geographical dispersal to their peripheries in a sudden growth, depicting the dependency and capital flow relations in between global structures and cities. In this context, New York, Tokyo, London, Paris , Chicago and Honk Kong, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Singapore, Frankfurt, Amsterdam, Osaka, Madrid, Sao Paolo, Buenos Aires, Mexico, Taipei, Moscow and İstanbul can be defined as the globalised cities and many other cities developing, in Pasific Asia, in America and in Middle-East such as Dubai, Abu Dhabi and including Ankara can be added to that list as the candidates with the development processes emerged in a sudden trying to integrate to the global economic environments. At that point the definition of **“the Generic City”** is much more subsidiary to better understand the sudden emerged development processes in cities to be integrated to global economies. Rem Koolhaas, the Dutch architect, depicts the condition of ever expanding cities with the non-historic and non-contextual development processes as a result of the space of global flows that mentioned in the internal dynamics of the cities in his essay **“the Generic City”** written in 1994. According to him, the Generic cities can be seen as the spatial reflection on the present urbanity of new emergent case coming from technological innovation similar to the modernization period with the non-historical attitude, but also with a process of scattered, segmented and separated delocalization with an ever-expanding way of growth, which Koolhaas points the issue out in his essay **“The Generic City”** by saying:

As the sphere of influence expands, the area characterized by the center becomes larger and larger; ...inevitably the distance between center and circumference increases to the breaking point (Koolhaas, 1994).

Thus, within this dispersed and decentralized model of growth form of the cities called as “Generic Cities” growing without any reference to centre, history, culture and identity; depicting the dispersion and the segregation of city fragments and the annihilation of public sphere, as also Bilsel defines (Bilsel, 2004), with the notion of non-places including the non-historic forms of buildings such as shopping malls suggesting the “death of the street” with the rise of private ownership in “the generic city”³ (Koolhaas, 1994).

Thus, the definition of **“the Generic city” is used for the city of Ankara** to depict the condition of ever-expanding city structure without reference to the current city centre leading to the breaking point between core and the periphery with increasing suburbanization and segmentation in the city space, as a result of the uneven infrastructural competition. It is significant for these national-local cities with regional influences as Koolhaas denotes, within the city space of Ankara under the influence of contemporary global capitalist networks and flows of economies and structures with ever expanding urban geography together with increasing migration and population. So, it depicts the internal conflicts within the city space and the increasing concentration and the fragmentation with segmentation that these create the city spaces with rising dependencies to the private enterprises and increasing networking relations connected also with global capitalist enterprises, which can be seen as the end of the prescriptive notion of urbanisation.

Thus, within this segmentation with the internal dynamics of the cities and the shopping malls in city space, as mentioned earlier, become the significant part of metropolis as a part of the globalisation of capitalist space in the restructuring processes. They are engaged with the centralisation with agglomeration; networking relations and technologies; and the suburbanisation and segmentation together with sub-central development areas within cities as they can be defined in a form of sprawl.

³ Generic City is depicted by Rem Koolhaas (1994, as published in *S, M, L, XL* in 1995) as ever-expanding form of cities with the rising circumference of metropolitan area from centre as it increases to breaking point, it depicts the sudden transformation processes with conflictual conditions as the construction of skyscrapers in a city with squatter areas, conceptual spaces with any references to contextual and historical meanings within a city of tradition as just with certain dependencies on economic and social conditions as Koolhaas explains “Generic City” as:

The Generic City is the city liberated from the captivity of center, from the straitjacket of identity. The Generic City breaks with this destructive cycle of dependency: it is nothing but a reflection of present need and present ability. It is the city without history. It is big enough for everybody. It is easy. It does not need maintenance. If it gets too small it just expands. If it gets old it just self-destructs and renews. It is equally exciting – or unexciting – everywhere. It is “superficial” – like a Hollywood studio lot, it can produce a new identity every Monday morning (Koolhaas, 1994).

So, the emergence of multi-central development forms within the city spaces becomes significant as a result of the 'spatialisation' of the segmentation and shopping malls are seen in these restructuring processes as a part of the 'spatialisation' of the regulation processes at local geographies concerning the consumption and the control of production dependent to it. In other words, shopping malls in the city space may not only be seen only as independent entities and structures as a part of global enterprises, but also have direct relations with the restructuring processes of city spaces concerning the economic and social aspects related with the control of consumption and production in the information age. Departing from this point, shopping malls, which can be seen as the space of flows of capitalist economies, take the place of memorial places such as city squares, plazas, promenades and historical bazaars for the sake of distribution of products and to increase the capital accumulation in the city spaces by creating the homogenised atmosphere of the global time-sharing practices.

But the study does not only propose a functionalist point of view to the city space in the global system. It is seen as a requirement for the query of local agents and the actions to completely understand the specific conditions of Ankara; and the shopping malls in Ankara with their influences on the 'spatialisation' of the urban space and the effects on economic and social transformation processes to get a much more specific conditions beyond the structural relations. Thus, it is to find a dialectical relation between structural and specific frameworks to better understand the restructuring processes and the local specifications with the relation of dependencies by analysing the city of Ankara with more specific conditions together with large-scaled shopping malls with the influences on the city and the global economic and social circumstances.

3.5. Ending the Chapter

As it is depicted earlier that shopping malls are ideological spaces of globally networked capital investment, and as strategic spatial practices of capitalism in urban environments with consumption, production and ownership relations, to control the dispersed consumption patterns with certain concentration of capital accumulation and flow against the notion of place in cities as resistant to capital flow and accumulation. Shopping malls are superposed onto the city structures not only depicting the hegemony of capitalist economic relations on "the productions of city space", but also increasing /increased dependencies of specific geographies to the globally networked economic structures and 'spatialisation' practices.

Thus, the interactive relation between globally networked structural relations and specific geographies, resulting with transforming city spaces with ideological spatial practices of capitalism, such as shopping malls, depicts the desire of capitalism on the control of time-shared practices in city spaces. As consumption and related production relations and practices in space, in different geographies depict not only the management of globalisation processes in cities through spatial practices, but also specific conditions interacted with global structural relations through state-regulated legitimation and liberalisation politics increasing the growth of uneven geographical development, with the increasing

dependencies on globalisation, it requires the necessity to focus much more on the 'strategic' and contextual analysis to get the relation of global structures with specific conditions in the transforming economic and social conditions under the influence of globalisation.

CHAPTER 4

READING ANKARA WITH/THROUGH SHOPPING MALLS

In this chapter, it is to understand the “strategic specific conditions” as city structures, interacting and integrating with globally networked relations concerning especially investment and property relations besides the other economic, social and political factors on these specific geographies. Thus, the city of Ankara in the period of the globalisation, is evaluated with its specific conditions within the “conceptualisation” of cities under the influence of globalisation in the information age and with its strategic conditions, its specific agents and relations parallel to the structural relations of global and local actions and reactions.

Thus, to better understand the strategic and specific conditions of a capital city with certain economic, social, political and spatial relations, it requires to be analysed with its history together with its physical and social dynamics parallel with the structural processes and transformations, which are also engaged with economic relations. So, the city of Ankara is evaluated as a capital city of country that in the processes of growth and development, with its specific history, geography and processes of development under economic, politic and social influences to better understand the relations of cities with their initial and specific conditions. Moreover, it is also the specific condition of Ankara in relation with global structural conditions with spatialisation practices, as shopping malls and integrated conceptual projects, in cities as a way of transformation of cities into globalised geographies.

With respect to that, it is significant in the study to understand the state and government based regulation processes including development plans and studies that legitimising those of transformation processes under the influence of global capitalist investment into different geographies with spatialisation practices in cities. So, the study tries to understand the both relations that interlinked as the attitude of local governmental and operational processes with specific conditions in the integration processes to global structures, and the influence of globalisation practices with structural relations onto specific geographies, as creating an interactive relation between ‘structures’ and ‘things’ in a networked social and economic relations.

Therefore, the significant processes in the specific condition of the city of Ankara, is related with emergent power relations with social, economic and political organisation processes through spatialisation practices in the history integrated with specific geography. The power struggles over the city through the ages becomes significant to understand the ideological forces over the ‘spatialisation’ processes in the city starting with the erection of the citadel to shopping malls in a narration of historical processes of Ankara as a “generic city”.

Thus, the influence of capitalism on geographies especially after Industrial Period with urbanisation and rising globalisation in the following periods have influenced the many geographies as establishing relations with that influences in time as an inevitable process

interaction of mankind. So, it creates certain social and economic relations within certain power and political struggles between geographies and emergent structural systems derived also from these interactions. In the period of globalisation, these interaction and structural relations emerged as conceptual forms in these interactions could be seen as mostly influential almost any geography on the globe, as Ankara also becomes one of the significant environment, in these relations. Thus, it leads to be understood how these relations and interactions are established especially in the spatialisation processes concerning urbanisation within the specific geographies with spatial practices in the city of Ankara.

In this respect, even the emergence of dependency relations to the structural relations mostly controlled by developed countries and economic market relations are dominant in these countries. So, it becomes significant to understand the spatialisation practices even with the lack of operational qualities, with increasing uncontrolled development plans and urbanisation processes; increasing land speculation and power struggles in social, economic relations and in property relations in the society creating segregation and segmentation within the city. Following urbanisation and migration processes under the influence of capitalist investments into geographies, creation of new structural and spatial formation processes in the city with centralisation, dispersion, suburbanisation, segregation and segmentation processes as a result of spatialisation of emergent structural relations between capitalist investments are significant together with the increasingly dependent liberalisation of the local politics. As a result, the state-regulated operations and developments including uncontrolled urbanisation and migration processes including even the legitimisation of squatter areas for certain political aspects; and creation of well-controlled suburbanisation processes, shopping malls and skyscrapers in the same city depict the contradictory conditions legitimised in the city through the state-based regulations also legitimising globalisation with/through shopping malls conceptualising the city as defined in the study as 'generic city'.

In this respect, there are four main hypotheses in this section as designated in the study to prove the conceptualisation of specific local environments, the city of Ankara, through of practices of 'conceptual' and 'generated' spatialisation processes engaged with globally and regionally inter-linked capitalist investment relations; as three of them are to establish the relation of specific spatialisation practices with conceptual and global structures and the last one of them finds the general relation between conceptualisation practices on specific geographies with the globalisation and homogenisation of geographies under global networked relations.

4.1. Reading Ankara as ‘the Generic Capital City’

Ankara, settled in the Middle Anatolia Region in Turkey with the number of 4.965.542 inhabitants and 836 population density according to 2012 statistics based on TÜİK data (Table 4.1), and it is the capital city of Turkish Republic since 1923, when the Republic was established; and was the symbol of planned urban developments in the early years of the Republic. When Ankara was accepted as the capital city of Turkey, it has held many social, economic, spatial changes and development projects with the momentum of the revolutionary character of the Republic in the modernisation project of Turkey with ‘semi-dependent’ relations to global conjuncture as a reason of the success of the development with pioneering Turkish leader M. Kemal Atatürk, who gave the mission of passing the contemporary civilisations in the world to Turkish Republic.

So, according to the number of inhabitants (the second most populated city after İstanbul) and (the third biggest area for a city) area according to the TÜİK data, Ankara is regarded as one of the most developed city with the increasing growth of urban environment and the rising urbanisation. But, the increasing growth of the city and the transformation processes of Ankara have not only depicted the development of the services, economy and urbanisation in itself, but also have hidden the increasing relations of the dependencies to the global economy and the dependencies to cities, which are vastly more integrated with the global economy. It could be claimed to prove this fact that even in the national geography of Turkey, although Ankara can be seen as a dominant metropolitan area for the near geographies including Middle Anatolia with its ‘hinterland’ and increasing integration to global economy. It is also dominated by the cities and global structures such as the domination of İstanbul over the country especially after 1980s with the integration of Turkish economy completely to global economic conjunctures and the uneven development of Turkey fostering the urbanisation and growth of İstanbul more as a result of internal strategic politics of Turkey at that time, as İstanbul is a larger city and much more integrated to the global economy. So, it can be said that although Ankara is a developed city, which becomes less dependent with its increasing services, economy, the integration to global economy with semi-dependencies to external factors, with the domination of cities more integrated to global economy even such as İstanbul in the national geography of Turkey has signified the dependent relations of Ankara with the global cities and global structures as a result of the mission to pass the contemporary civilisations in the world, dialectically. Thus, Ankara not only has the internal dynamics and specific relations within itself, but it also has semi-dependent and semi-integrated relations especially to the global conjuncture and structural relations. These relations become significant and dominant on the decision of the growth and transformation of the city Ankara as a result of the shift of the economy to the liberalisation politics with increasing dependencies but also the integration to the global economy, dialectically. The title of “the generic city” as mentioned before has chosen as a result of these dialectical relations to show the domain of external relations on the city structure leading to uncontrollable growth processes. Although these can also be seen as a result of internal dynamics with the desire to integrate to these structures to lessen the relations of dependencies, this increases the dependencies to external forces, dialectically.

Thus, the city of Ankara, even with its radical development processes, could not be seen completely independent from the external forces and structures beyond its specific characteristics that even the city İstanbul and even İzmir. The national conditions of Turkey besides the global conjuncture and structures are the influential on the formation of spatial economic political and social structures of Ankara, as a “generic city”, carrying the sudden growth processes even in its whole history, in fact, dialectically.

Thus, it could be better to understand by the analysis of national and specific facts of Ankara and Turkey to get the theoretical position of Ankara that mentioned earlier in the study with the internal dynamics, actors, actions and reactions with global structural relations.

So, as mentioned earlier Ankara has around 5 million inhabitants as the capital city of Turkey with 75 million people following the most populated city, İstanbul with approximately 15 million people (Table 4.1) habiting in it, which is defined and listed in many studies in the world as one of the significant ‘global cities’.

Table 4.1 Population of cities of Turkey in the list of Global Cities

Population according to 2012 statistics	Address based population (2012)
Turkey	75.627.384
İstanbul (most populated city in Turkey)	13.854.740
Ankara (second populated city in Turkey)	4.965.542

P.S.: All statistics arranged are based on the data from TÜİK accessed on 06.04.2013 from Internet

According to these statistics both İstanbul and Ankara are in the list of the most populated urban areas in the world that İstanbul is in the most populated 25 cities and Ankara in those of 100 and even İzmir in those of 200¹.

So, this depicts the influence of 3 big cities on their near geographies but also on Turkey and even in global relations that the total population of the only 3 of these cities with ever-increasing growth constitute one third of the country, Turkey (Table 4.2). Turkey, in this context, is supposed to grow much more especially with the more development these three cities with increasing migration and fragmented urbanisation (Table 4.3).

¹ The data is get from Wikipedia.com that the site depicts the biggest three city of Turkey as İstanbul as 21. , Ankara as 87., and İzmir as 145. the most populated city in the list showing the most populated metropolitan urban areas in the world according to the assumption of 2012 populations . Data accessed from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_urban_areas_by_population on 07.04.2013.

Table 4.2 Increasing rate of the population of 3 big cities according to the population of Turkey

Population statistics according to year of 2012	Address based population	Rate of population to the total population
TURKEY	75.627.384	-
İSTANBUL	13.854.740	% 18,3
<u>ANKARA</u>	<u>4.965.542</u>	<u>% 6,6</u>
İZMİR	4.005.479	% 5,3
TOTAL (of 3 cities)	22.825.761	% 30,2
TOTAL (of 3 cities in 2008)	17.250.876	% 24

Table 4.3 Population projection of Turkey with 3 big cities

Population projections to 2023 (100. years of the republic)	Population 2012	Population 2023	Population 2050
TURKEY	75.627.384	84.247.088	93.475.575
İSTANBUL	13.854.740	16.568.500	-
ANKARA	4.965.542	5.927.209	-
İZMİR	4.005.479	4.406.279	-

As it is seen, İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir constitute the big amount of population of Turkey depicting the significant conditions of three cities in Turkey with the influential role over their near geographies in economic, social and political aspects. So, especially İstanbul with the control over the economy and media with the aspects of the integration to global relations of Turkey is much more dominant in the concentration of population and economy than Ankara and İzmir. İzmir, in this context, can be defined as one of the most important cities in Turkey especially controlling the western part of the country and the aspects of tourism, trade and especially the maritime trade in the global, continental and regional trade as a significant port in Turkey. And, finally Ankara, as the capital city of Turkey is not only important as a big metropolitan area with the concentration of population and one of the most important city in the service sector, but it is significant in the concentration of the central administrative forces on the development processes that mentioned here as a capital city especially for the regulation of management of the integration of globalising national geographies such as Turkey. So, it can be admitted that Ankara is a part of the notion of the ‘global cities’ and the concern of structural relations with the desire of globalising the world with the absolute transformation of nation-state geographies such as Turkey. To strengthen this hypothesis, there are many studies that depicting the city of Ankara as a significant part of globalisation besides İstanbul, as a domain in the geography of Turkey.

One of the most significant studies showing the ‘global cities’ is the study of the ‘Economist Intelligence Unit’ as a part of ‘the Economist Group’ that according to the study İstanbul is

ranked in 75 with 45.5 points and Ankara is ranked in 95 with 40.9 points, which points are considered to sign the ‘competitiveness of global cities according to their demonstrated ability to attract capital, businesses, talent and visitors’ in which system the New York City is the first with 71.4 points in 2012².

Another significant study to find out the cities in relation with global economic integration processes is the study of Loughborough University in the United Kingdom (see Appendix B). According to this study cities are categorised and ranked due to their ‘connectivity through four advanced producer services, accountancy, advertising, banking/finance, and law’, i.e., global economic conditions that “The GaWC inventory” identifies levels of global cities and several sub-ranks as ‘Alpha Level Cities’, ‘Beta Level Cities’, ‘Gamma Level Cities’, and ‘Sufficiency Level Cities’. In this study, İstanbul is categorised in ‘Alpha- level cities’ with the meaning that these cities are linked to major economic regions into the world economy; and Ankara in the list of ‘High-sufficient level cities’ which have ‘a sufficient degree of services so as to not be obviously dependent on world cities’³. Thus this fact not only depicts the position of the significance of Ankara in the global economic conditions but also hides the maintaining ‘dependencies’ to global structural relations and even to İstanbul seen as a domain in Turkey.

To reinforce this idea, it is significant to mention the studies on global cities including the city of İstanbul that in Global City Index, based on the consultancy of Saskia Sassen as one the most significant figure in the definition of global cities, which shows İstanbul in 37th row with 2.1 points in the list updated in 2012 depicting the world’s biggest, and most interconnected cities helping to set global agendas, and serving as the hubs of global integration as they are seen as “the engines of growth for their countries and the gateways to the resources of their regions”, while Ankara has not been ranked yet⁴. Additionally, İstanbul is also ranked in the Global Power City Index study as 25th in 2012⁵.

So, the city of Ankara can be seen a significant city not only in the regional and national relations but also as a part of globalising national relations and increasing dependencies to the global structural relations under the influence of competitive globalisation strategies

² "The Global City Competitiveness Index". Managementthinking.eiu.com. 12 March 2012. Accessed on 07.04.2013.

³ "The World According to GaWC". GaWC. Accessed on 07.04.2013. <http://www.lboro.ac.uk/gawc/world2010t.html>

⁴ "2012 Global Cities Index and Emerging Cities Outlook". Accessed on 07.04.2013. The main parameters are "Business activity" (30%), "Human capital" (30%), "Information exchange" (15%), "Cultural experience" (15%) and "Political engagement" (10%).

⁵ "Global Power City Index 2012". Tokyo, Japan: Institute for Urban Strategies at The Mori Memorial Foundation. October, 2012. Accessed from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Global_city#cite_ref-GaWC_Intro_26-1 on 07.04.2013.

besides the domain of İstanbul as a 'global city'. So, it is not only to understand the specific conditions of Ankara, but the strategic structural relation of the city with external influences, i.e., global economic structures and capital investments. So, it is first suggested to understand the specific conditions of Ankara and then the relation with structural conditions in the procession.

4.2. Reading 'the city of Ankara' with its Conditions

The capital city of Turkey, Ankara, is settled at the middle-north part of the country and surrounded by the cities of Bolu and Çankırı from north; Kırıkkale, Kırşehir, Çorum from east; Aksaray and Konya from south and Eskişehir from west having 24 districts including Altındağ, Çankaya, Etimesgut, Gölbaşı, Keçiören, Mamak, Pursaklar, Sincan and Yenimahalle near and within the metropolitan boundaries of the city. So, the city settles at the intersection point of high north Anatolia geography and the Konya Plain at Middle Anatolia Plateau. So, **the specific geography of the city of Ankara** can be described as:

Located at the junction of Çubuk and Mogan valleys, the city of Ankara enjoys a geographical setting suitable for settlement. The city is surrounded by a series of heights that form a horse shoe shaped topographical basin opening westwards. The 1050 m. high Etlik Hills, and the 1200-1500 m. high Karyaağdı series form the northern limit of the city. The 1415 m. high Hüseyin Gazi Mountain at east, and the Elmadağ series at south surround the city at the east and south respectively. The altitude of the city ranges between 800-1200 meters (Tekeli, Altaban, Güvenç, Türel, Günay & Bademli, 1986).

So, as depicted in the study of METU City and Regional Planning Department Study Group for Municipality, Ankara is settled at the altitude ranging between 800 and 1200 and surrounded by mountains and there are plains at the west part of the metropolitan area as Mürted and Polatlı, and Haymana and Kızılırmak Plateaus at south, Mürted and Çubuk Plains at north; and Elmadağ Mountain at south and İdrisdağı at east limiting the major metropolitan area. The plains and flat valleys extend from "Hipodrom" up to Sincan, Yenikent and Malıköy, including Atatürk Experimental Farm, and the Çubuk plain besides the Esenboğa and Mürted plateau residing the airports. Extensions around Ankara Çayı are approximately totally urbanised at lower terraces besides the Maltepe, Yenişehir (Sıhhiye), Bahçelievler, Etimesgut and Sincan and at the higher terraces between the altitudes of 900 and 1000 district of Etlik, Keçiören, Küçükesat, Ayrancı, Kocatepe, parts of Bahçelievler are settled; and Dikmen and Topraklık have developed on unsuitable sections of high terraces. At the higher levels, Northern parts of Dikmen and Çankaya are settled and even at the higher plateaus OR-AN settlement is situated on high terraces and plateaus (Ibid). The additional factors to the geography of the growth of the city besides the very natural factors such as plains, water and plateaus, are the major roads to Eskişehir and İstanbul and the Highway surrounding the metropolitan area developed later.

‘The grassroots of the city’ in this specific geography is based on up to B.C. 8th century that the name of the city is thought as derived from the term Ancyra with the meaning of ‘Anchor’. So, one of the major idea is that the city is thought as the capital city of Galatians up to B.C. 25 with the name depicting the victory against Egyptians by getting their anchors. Another significant idea for the initial history of Ankara is that the city was established by the Phrygian king, Midas, founder of the anchor, and king gave the name of Ancyra to the city, where the king’s tomb was founded at Gordion, as one of the antique cities of Phrygians near Polatlı in Ankara today. The first ruins including some tools for human, however, founded in 1937 near Çubuk River and Keçiören depict that the tools belong to the period of B.C. 10000-45000. After captured by the Lydians in 7th century, and later by Persians in B.C. 6th century, Ankara became a small trade centre besides the function of dwelling as being on the route of the King. The ruins belonging to later periods from B.C. 3500-1.000 shows that the city was under the power of Phrygians and Hittites at that time (Ana Britannica, 1986, v.2). The most significant structure in Ancyra can be seen as the Ankara Castle belonging to that period that its history is seen as it extends up to the period of Hittites that the castle had many additions then from different periods.

The first inscription mentioning about Ankara depicts the conquer of Alexander the Great of Anatolia that as the Empire of Helens had driven his armies to Anatolia, he came to Ancyra and captured the city by defeating Persians in B.C. 331 which led to the new age. At that period Ancyra had lost its importance due to the lessening significance of the Route of the King in the Hellenistic Period. In the following period, however, after the death of Alexander the Great, the control of Ancyra was shifted to Pergamons and later to Galatians at the period of B.C. 2nd century until B.C. 25 as the capital city of Galatians, when the geography of Galatians captured by Romans at that time. The ruins belonging to that period are mostly under the modern structures (Ana Britannica, 1986, v.2; Güven, 1998).

After the capture of Romans, Ankara became a significant Roman city that the city became one of the important centres for military and trade on the route of the Romans in Anatolia geography. The new routes that opened at the period of Romans in 2nd century lead to the increasing significance of Ankara as a centre for the interaction of western Romans with eastern parts of the Empire. After the division in Roman Empire, the city of Constantinapolis (İstanbul) was founded as the capital city of Byzantine Empire (Eastern Roman Empire) leading to the increasing significance of Anatolia geography for Byzantians, so was Ankara, that Ankara maintained its significance as a centre for logistic, dwelling especially for military and a significant point on the trade networks of Romans, but under the domain of İstanbul as Constantinapolis. The rising significance of Anatolia geography also affected the economy in the city that some production activities including textile were developed in the city leading to the growth of the economy on these routes besides the administrative and military regulations of Romans in the city (Ana Britannica, 1986, v.2).

The most important structures can be defined as the part of Ankara Castle besides the many ruins belongs to that period that the many antique structures in the city are based on that period and the following ages, in fact. In this context, *nymphaion* under Kiraner Han on the Ulus-Dışkapı road today; Caracalla Bath at the same route, besides another bath structures under modern buildings; and Augustus Temple in Ulus area are the significant structures belonging to the Roman Period. In addition to that, The Column erected for Julian for the sake of visit of the Empire to the city in 4th century and theatre structure belonging to two

different periods (2nd century and 5-6th century) near Castle area are another important structures as a ruin of Romans in Ankara.

After the invasion of Sassanians and The Abbasids to Anatolia in 7th century, the growth of Ankara was ended with the big amount of damages in the city in 9th century. But the increasing exchange relations of Byzantines in Anatolia led to the further growth of the city until the plague disease in 11th century. Then the city had a chaotic period with power struggles and the changing rulers such as Seljukids, Danishmends and Byzantians especially after the Turks came to Anatolia. In the 13th century the great Mongolian invasion to the west, leading to a new age, resulted in the migration of many significant artisans from Middle Asia to Anatolia and to Ankara that the economy and the social organisation in the city were sharply transformed. The organisation of Ahiler depicting the well-organised artisans also with social influences became significant not only in the economic structure of the city but also in social and political structure of the city that the city became an important trade centre in Anatolia with increasing economic and productive activities including leather works, viticulture and '*sof*' production and agriculture before the period that Ottomans came to power in Anatolia (Ana Britannica, 1986, v.2). The oldest Turkish structure in the city is Alaeddin Mosque within the inner Castle area at that period. Additionally, Arslanhane Mosque (Ahi Şerafeddin Mosque) besides Saraç Sinan Masjid and Akköprü were constructed in 13th century that as they belong to Seljukid Period (Ana Britannica, 1986, v.2).

In the following period, Ottomans captured Ankara in 1354 at first leading to power struggles between the Karamanians and the Ottomans. So, the only structure that known as completed in 14th century is Ahi Elvan Mosque in Ankara. After that chaotic period, city also held the Ankara War between Ottomans and Mongolians resulted in the defeat of Ottomans in 1402. But as Mongolians had left many geographies in the following period leading to new chaotic changes, the city completely came under the power of Ottomans in 1413 after that period. In the Ottoman Period, the city was initially used as a military centre in Anatolia besides significant economic activities. The economic activities included the production of '*sof*', shoes with the export of products to İstanbul, Aleppo, Bursa and even to Venedic, (Lehistan) and England at that time. In the early 15th century, the construction processes were also increased including mosques, masjids that Karacabey Mosque, Bath and Tomb; Hacı Bayram Mosque and Tomb; and Kurşunlu Complex besides the Mahmut Paşa's Grand Bazaar (Ana Britannica, 1986, v.2; ABB, 2006).

In the early 16th century the population of the city was 15.000 including 1.500 non-Muslims that at that period the production and service activities increased leading to 43 different trading activities and 25.000 inhabitants at the end of the century. But the rising revolt of people against administration in the geography of Anatolia had also affected the growth and the population of the city for a short time that the city had to retreat into the castle with decreasing population at that time. But as Evliya Çelebi denotes, as he visited the city in the middle of 17th century, Ankara had 6.066 dwellings, 2.000 trade units, and the great bazaar besides the significant bazaars such as Uzunçarşı, Sipahi Pazarı, Kalealtı and 30.000 inhabitants with the significant '*sofuculuk*' activity. The most significant structures belongs to that period are Cenabi Ahmet Paşa Mosque and Tomb designed by the architect, Sinan (Ana Britannica, 1986, v.2; ABB, 2006). In the following period, however, only Çengel Complex, Hasan Paşa Complex and Çukur Complex could be preserved as a result of the decreasing power of production and trade as Ottoman Empire had become weakened.

The development of relations with the western industrialised countries as a result of the development of industrialisation in other countries and the weakening Empire increased the dependencies in political and economic aspects to the industrialised countries. In 19th century in Ottoman Empire, as a result of these dependencies influencing the notion of some administrators in the country with the idea of modernisation in the political and social structures with the laws and regulations besides the modernisation of military under the influence of developed countries were also reflected on the modernisation of city spaces. So, in the late 19th century, the city had some construction and modernisation processes including train station and storage and housing buildings and the opening of Talatpaşa Boulevard with a modernist understanding and the development of Ulus area together with the extension of trade areas from old trade centre up to Karaoğlan Bazaar by the shift in the new economic structures with new trading activities influenced from the increasing relations with foreign nations and developed countries but under the relations of increasing dependencies (Ana Britannica, 1986, v.2; ABB, 2006; Tekeli, 2009, 2010). The most significant urbanisation movements could be seen mostly in the capital city of Empire, İstanbul and the other cities like Ankara had had a stabilised condition in this respect. Thus, the city maintained its number of inhabitants as 30.000 under the changing economic and social conditions of the rising domination of industrialised countries on Ottoman Empire not only in political and military areas but also in the regulation of social life by influenced administrators in the Empire. But the uneven geographical development that started even in this period have prevented the less developed countries in the urbanisation together with rationalisation with respect to the core countries that the development processes in the industrially-developed countries could not be seen completely in these countries (Tekeli, 2010; v.15).

The emergence of the First World War, as a result of the rising competition between these developed countries in fact, in the very early period of 20th century, together with the defeat of Ottoman Empire leading to devastating conditions with capture of winning countries of the geography Anatolia led to the Turkish Independence War pioneered by Gazi Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and Ankara, in the middle of Anatolia, became the centre of the resistance in these processes. So, the strategic and central position of Ankara under chaotic conditions led to the foundation of Turkish Parliament beyond the administration of Empire, which had lost its legitimacy after the World War and the treaty agreements, and Ankara became the centre of the new Turkish government and later the Turkish Republic as it was chosen as the capital city of Turkey with its strategic position to create a much more unified and connected geography of Anatolia controlled by more centralised location, Ankara.

So, Ankara became much more centralised and strategically significant city in the context of the developments of infrastructural network including railways for the unification of Anatolia geography and connection of central areas to the others stimulating the centrality of Ankara in this transformation process. The city of Ankara has been created with the idea of centrality leading to the development of the significance of the city not only in the position of national economy but also to create the relation of Anatolia geography with the international economic relations due to its central position with growing development processes (Ana Britannica, 1986, v.2; Keskinok, 2006; Tekeli, 2009, 2010).

Thus, especially after Ankara became the capital city, it held many modernisation processes as a significant example of modernisation not only in the national geography but also in the

international movements as it was also the product of the idea that influenced form international modernity movement, although it was tried to be developed out of the dependent relations to international conjunctures as much as possible, as they have resulted in destructive processes for the Empire, in the modernisation processes of Turkey and Ankara, dialectically.

So, it can be said that Turkey had the most influential and radical modernisation projects including modern urbanisation and regulations not only in economics but also in society and politics in the very early age of the Republic but together with the idea of development a 'nation-state' revolution different from international movements (Tekeli, 2009, 2010; Keskinok, 2006; Şengül, 2009).

The initial development in this context was the foundation of 'Ankara Şehremaneti' for the regularisation of construction and development processes within the city similar to İstanbul, by the establishment of factories providing the tools and materials especially for the construction besides the providing electricity for the city and the purchase of land (AOÇ) for the development of public areas with the idea of 'publicisation 'of land by the state. In addition to that, the idea was legitimised by the law regulations to create a 'new' and modern city besides the old city initialising the first radical modernisation processes in cities, in Ankara (Ana Britannica, 1986, v.2, v.12; ABB, 2006; Tekeli, 2009; Keskinok, 2006). So, for the development of new city, the lands from Ulus to Çankaya area were purchased by the regulations to construct new city, depicting the role of the 'nation-state' development processes, and city form became to be generated as a result of these processes. So, in 1927, the development plans were prepared to Heussler Company for the old city, which was declined later, and to Karl Lörch for the new city plans (Ana Britannica, 1986, 1987, v.12).

Lörcher Plan (see Appendix C) proposed the development of Sıhhiye (Yenişehir) area, as a result of the state regulations, in fact, which was operated in Jansen Plan later. It was urgently implemented as a result of the immediate housing needs while the plan proposed housing units with maximum two floors leading to problem of 'inhabitançe' and the fragmented development processes due to the increase in the population of the city, which required much more homogenised and unified development plans (Ana Britannica, 1986, 1987, v.2, v.12; ABB, 2006). So, the administrative unit for development plans are entitled to open a restricted international competition to overcome the development problems in 1928 and H. Jansen, urban designer, who also won the Berlin City Plan competition, won the competition with his project proposing not only humble housing units with large green areas besides the development area of the city generated before, but also proposes the extension of old city centre in south direction to the new development area (Ibid).

Thus, **Jansen Plan** (See Appendix C) proposes the growth of the city in north-south direction with the main boulevard as Atatürk Boulevard today and the development of the south part of the city with the administrative buildings of the state; and sports and recreation areas between Ulus as old centre and train station as 'Gençlik Parkı', 19 Mayıs Sports Complex, 'Hipodrom' in addition to the idea of green belt system. So, the city was proposed the growth of the city in north-south direction and mainly to the south by shifting the old centre from Ulus to Yenişehir (Sıhhiye today) and Kızılay and two main arteries passing through the city as Atatürk Boulevard in north-south direction and Talatpaşa Boulevard in East-west direction (ABB, 2006; Tekeli, 2009).

The plan was implemented in 1932 shaping the areas of the city including Yenişehir, Cebeci housing areas, Bakanlıklar, New Turkish Parliament, some part of universities, Gençlik Parkı and 19 Mayıs Sport Complex. But, when the plan started to be operated, the growth developments out of plan also became problematic especially as a result of Bahçelievler Yapı Kooperatifi leading to new growth areas in west-east direction in addition to south-north direction and Jansen was fired in 1939 due to conflicts rising in the city plan. Thus, although the plan practiced successfully in initial years, the problems in the operation of the plan later with the uncontrollable growth of the city and the rise in the land speculation with the lack of specialized people in Turkey for the city growth leading to the overpassing the proposed population in 1978 as 300.000 in 1950s that even Saraçoğlu Quarter could not be sufficient against the uncontrollable growth and migration and the squatter areas became the emerging problem within the city even within the city (Ana Britannica, 1986, 1987, v.2, v.12; ABB, 2006).

Especially after the Second World War, Turkey has also had the changing political conditions with the rising liberalisation politics of USA, dominating the World War with Great Britain, that the rising bourgeoisie class and the desire of the increasing private land ownership in Turkey pushed the social dynamics to the shift in liberalisation politics (Keskinok, 2009; Tekeli, 2009). Besides the liberalisation politics, the migration to the cities including especially Ankara became significant without any control. So, the rising irregular growth and the increasing squatter areas became chronic as a result of the political attitudes to get the support of immigrants by the regulation of laws leading to squatters with migration not only in other big cities such as İstanbul but also in Ankara that even Yenimahalle area, as planned growth area, could not decrease the irregular development processes in the city as Altındağ area with squatter areas was legitimised as a central district in the city as a result of these politics that mentioned earlier (Ana Britannica, 1986; Tekeli, 2009, 2010; Keskinok, 2009).

Thus, a new development plan was required to control the growth of the city with passing the population proposal of Jansen Plan for 50 years even in 1950s. In addition to that, the emergence of Second World War in 1940s had led to destructive processes in the whole world leading to many restructuring processes also in re-urbanisation of cities in the world at that time (Tekeli, 2010). In addition to that, the changes in the power dynamics in the world after the war besides the political changes also reflected upon the geography of Turkey with the shift to more liberalised and economically dependent conditions to foreign investment at that time. It led to many restructuring processes in Turkey with many regulations and increased urbanisation processes besides the increasing migration to cities. So, another competition was held for the development plan for the city, Ankara, which was won by Yücel and Uybadin in 1955 and implemented in 1957 proposing 750.000 populations for the year 2000 (Ana Britannica, 1986, v.2; ABB, 1986, 2006; Tekeli, 2010).

Yücel- Uybadin Plan (See Appendix C) proposed much more homogenised with densification proposal with the form of central attitude to increase the densification in central areas and the surrounding roads of the city. But later, there were some changes on the plan leading to rentable housing construction processes and much more increase in the immigration to the city by the change doubling the number of housing floor regulations. In addition to that, the plan was also not efficient in the assumption of population projection.

So, the problems of the plan were the underestimation of city growth and the increasing population by migration that most of areas out of the plan have become the illegal erection processes, and the over-densification of the central areas. In addition to these negative aspects, ‘*Kat Mülkiyeti Kanunu*’ accepted in 1965 and ‘*Bölge Kat Nizam Planı*’ accepted in 1968 which have opened the practice of the small and irregular apartments blocks to the constructors, have led to the chaotic construction processes within the city near central areas such as Keçiören, Altındağ, Mamak, Yıldız, Yenimahalle by passing the estimate of the plan proposing the year 2000 even in 1970s. Kızılay became completely the new central business area with the shift from old city centre Ulus to southern parts of the city especially as a result of the position of embassies and habitants with high-income settling at southern parts of the city, which led to the segregation of the city. So the city was segregated as the new and modern part at south and the elder and traditional part at north as a result of Gençlik Parkı, railway and some institutions and public buildings in the middle of these areas resulting with breaking points between these areas, although Kızılay was integrated with Ulus area later in 1970s as a result of the extension of central business area of Kızılay with Tandoğan Square and Cebeci area leading to mono-centralised business centre again (Ana Britannica, 1986, v.2). At that time, smaller industrial areas were established at the peripheries of the city centre as a result of the surrounding roads proposal that Yeni Sanayii Çarşısı, Büyük Sanayii ve Ata Sanayii Çarşısı, Demir Sanayii Çarşısı and Keresteciler Sitesi on Konya-Samsun Road together with bigger industrialisation movements especially by the state-regulated liberalisation politics with the constructing production factories and buildings for gun, arsenal, machines for agriculture, cement production belongs to Makina Kimya Endüstrisi (Ana Britannica, 1986, v.2). So, these have increased the population and the uncontrolled urbanisation immensely that the city of Ankara grew approximately 6 % every year up to 1975 besides the increasing migration of featureless and less-waged workforce to the city with the increasing segregation on the specific areas of the city based on the notion of regional and local relations with chaotic densification and urbanisation processes besides the massive air pollution especially up to the 1980s, which can be seen as a new period not only in Turkey, but also in the global conjuncture concerning the neo-liberal and international economic structures as a result of the crisis of postmodernity as Harvey, Castells and many other theorists also depicts the changes in the conjuncture at that time. So, the 60 % population of Ankara became the immigrant people from Anatolia mostly living in squatters together with the increasing notion of rent speculations on urban land and increasing construction of apartment buildings by the destruction of elder buildings build based on Jansen Plan as a result of the irregular and non-organised development processes in the city.

Baykan Günay summarises the increasing speculative developments on the urban spaces in Turkey as:

Liberal land policies of the rightest policies of 1950 and 60’s perpetuated the transformation of the city which was reacted by the efforts of the liberal left in 1970’s to initiate public property ownership. And lately de-regulative approaches of the new right to consolidate large speculative investments, and populist efforts of liberal left in transforming possession into ownership in squatter zones, all require a deep understanding of the issue of property as an institution (Günay, 1999).

Thus, in 1969, Metropolitan Plan Development Office was founded in Ankara that this office prepared the **1990 Development Plan for Ankara**, (See Appendix C) which is implemented

in 1982 first proposing the population growth between 2.8 and 3.6 million that in 1990, the population was 2.5 million. The condition in Turkey can be seen that the urbanisation in cities became immensely increased at that time (Ana Britannica, 1986, v.2).

So, the plan, 1990 Development Plan, basically proposes the new growth direction for the city opening a new main corridor in west direction from the north-south growth direction by passing through the surrounding topography especially through Eskişehir Road to decrease the air pollution in the housing areas proposing Batıkent, Eryaman, Sincan Housing Areas and new industrial areas in addition to these developments. Besides the development of western corridor, the city centre also grew to the southern parts with the extension of Kızılay to Tunalı Hilmi (Ana Britannica, 1986, v. 2). Thus the integration led to the transformation of housing areas in Gazi Osman Paşa and Çankaya into offices for the business functions with international relations. Besides the development of service sector, smaller producers have dispersed from the city centre to the areas on İstanbul, Eskişehir, Konya and Çubuk (Esenboğa) Roads. Besides the development of new housing areas, rising automobile usage in Ankara have led to the initial suburbanisation processes in Ankara as a result of the rising dispersion that OR-AN, which can be seen as a central part of the city as a result of the growth, and MESA Area in Çayyolu can be seen as the initial examples of the suburbanisation in Ankara. In addition to that, the development of Batıkent Housing Area by the regulations of the Municipality and another specialised housing areas for Military and for parliamentarians besides other specialised housing areas in OR-AN and Gölbaşı can be seen as suburbanisation examples in Ankara besides the increasing squatter areas in other segments of the city that even illegal housing areas with multi-storey apartments in Demetevler emerged as a result of the lack of controlled growth of the city (Ana Britannica, 1986, v. 2). One of the most significant problematic case also for this plan was the implementation of Ankara Highway surrounding the metropolitan area by conflicting with the city's macro-form and geomorphology and harming the natural environs and increasing the land and rent speculation of many areas with the connection to highway (ABB, 2006).

As depicted earlier, the shift to the neo-liberal, global economy and politics in Turkey, which was the restructuring processes of Turkey especially after the military interventions to the administration of the country, has led to chaotic changes also as a result of chaos, it was to get the new economic model similar in global structures, as the country is shifted to the dependent economic relation to foreign investments in Menderes period, in fact, after 1980s again.

Thus, at that period especially after Turgut Özal came to power in Turkey, the urbanisation and the growth of the cities and especially İstanbul, which was also seen at that time as the centre for the capitalist growth became significant besides Ankara, although its urbanisation rate became even decreased slightly especially after the shift to completely neo-capitalist economy models with dependencies to the foreign investments, while the city of İstanbul was developed as the centre for these relations at that time. Thus, these also increased the uneven geographical development problems not only in between the cities as leading to one giant metropolitan city, İstanbul, and other larger cities as Ankara and İzmir, but also in the urbanisation rates and the differences between urban and rural areas (see Table 4. 4; Table 4.5; Table 4.6).

Table 4.4 Rise of the uneven geographical development of urbanisation especially with the shift to the globally dependent economy

Years		3 Big Cities			Country
-		ANKARA	İSTANBUL	İZMİR	TURKEY
2012		4.965.542	13.854.740	4.005.479	75.627.384
	Urban (Rate of Urbanisation)	4.842.136 (% 97,5)	13.710.512 (% 99)	3.661.930 (% 91,4)	58.448.431 (% 77)
	Rural	123.406	144.228	343.529	17.178.953
2008		4.548.939	12.697.164	3.795.978	71.517.100
		4.395.888 (% 96,6)	12.569.041 (% 99)	3.450.537 (% 90,9)	53.611.723 (% 74,9)
		153.051	128.123	345.441	17.905.377
2000		4.007.860	10.018.735	3.370.866	67.803.927
		3.540.522 (% 88)	9.085.595 (% 90,7)	2.732.669 (% 81)	44.006.184 (% 64,9)
		467.338	933.136	638.197	23.797.743
1990		3.236.626	7.309.190	2.694.770	56.473.035
		2.836.719 (% 87,6)	6.753.929 (% 92,4)	2.134.816 (% 79,2)	33.326.351 (% 59)
		399.907	555.261	559.954	23.146.684
1980		2.854.689	4.741.890	1.976.763	44.736.957
		2.238.967 (% 78,4)	2.909.455 (% 61,4)	1.059.183 (% 53,6)	19.645.007 (% 43,9)
		615.722	1.832.435	917.580	25.091.950
1970		2.041.658	3.019.032	1.427.173	35.605.176
		1.467.304 (% 71,9)	2.203.337 (% 72,9)	753.041 (% 52,7)	13.691.101 (% 38,5)
		574.354	815.695	674.132	21.914.075

So, İstanbul became even larger and larger that today it is in the list of one of the biggest cities not only in regional geography but also in the world. Additionally, Ankara and İzmir also developed as differentiated from other less developed cities in Anatolia although even the two cities could not reach to the growth of İstanbul especially after the shift to neo-liberal economy-politics in Turkey as a nature of the capitalism with the uneven geographical development processes as concentrating on certain regions, areas and points.

Table 4.5 Urban-Rural population depicting the changes in 5 years in 3 big cities and in Turkey in total

Urban-Rural population statistics		Urban Population	Rural Population	Total
TURKEY	2012	58.448.431	17.178.953	75.627.384
	2008	53.611.723	17.905.377	71.517.100
İSTANBUL	2012	13.710.512	144.228	13.854.740
	2008	12.569.041	128.123	12.697.164
ANKARA	2012	4.842.136	123.406	4.965.542
	2008	4.395.888	153.051	4.548.939
İZMİR	2012	3.661.930	343.529	4.005.479
	2008	3.450.537	345.441	3.795.978

Table 4.6 Year by year changes in Urban-Rural Populations in Ankara in 5 years

ANKARA- Urban-Rural Population Stats.(acc. to years)	Urban Population	Rural Population	Total
2012	4.842.136	123.406	4.965.542
2011	4.762.116	128.777	4.890.893
2010	4.641.256	130.460	4.771.716
2009	4.513.921	136.881	4.650.802
2008	4.395.888	153.051	4.548.939

As a response to the increasing urbanisation and population not only in Ankara, but also in other larger cities, the regulation of Greater Municipalities in Turkey for larger cities have been founded in 1983 that by this regulations Ankara has been divided into 5 different districts of the metropolitan areas including Çankaya, Altındağ, Yenimahalle, Mamak, Keçiören and the central district of the city has been annihilated by the administrative regulations depicting the rising segmentation in the districts of the city to response the different service and administrative needs in the different parts of the cities with varying infrastructural, spatial, social and politic; and economic conditions leading to more

fragmentation and segmentation within the city and the annihilation of the central district as a result of the dispersion in this context (see Table 4.7).

Table 4.7 Population growth of the districts of Ankara

District	1965	1970	1980	1985	1990	2000
“Centre”	130.520	114.419	77.168	—	—	—
Çankaya	496.953	683.210	968.668*	667.351	714.330	769.331
Keçiören	—	—	—	443.390**	536.168	672.817
Yenimahalle	122.166	175.528	330.908	382.205	351.436	553.344
Altındağ	229.228	348.254	624.313**	406.948	422.668	407.101
Mamak	—	—	—	379.460*	410.359	430.606
Etimesgut	—	—	—	—	—	171.293
Sincan	—	—	—	59.451	101.118	283.783

*District of Mamak was in Çankaya

**District of Keçiören was in Altındağ

P.S.: All statistics arranged are based on the data from TÜİK accesses on 06.04.2013 from Internet

Besides the inner core of the city, the surrounding districts around the municipality area have also grew that to control these transformation processes, the **Middle East Technical University City and Regional Planning Study Group** were entitled to prepare a new development plan and the research to collect about the macro-form of the city in 1986. So, the plan was prepared for the **2015 Development Strategies** (See Appendix C) proposing 5 million population projections besides the 1/1.000.000 scale structural plan as a response to the expansion of metropolitan diameter up to 35-40 km including the analysis of location of buildings, organisation of urban transformation, infrastructural systems city centre and restructuring processes, control of land prizes, location of industrial areas such as OSTİM in İvedik. It is determined in the study that Ankara has a decentralised attitude as a result of the development and expansion processes of the city from core to the periphery as seeing especially the west corridor (Eskişehir and İstanbul Roads) as the route for the dispersion for housing, business and institutional areas. But as the plan was not officially approved, the fragmented attitudes at Çayyolu, Beytepe, and Gölbaşı areas for housing and industrial areas in İvedik (OSTİM), road projects and land speculations has changed the proposed plans which was to establish a control system by proposing the more complex collaborative studies including administrative relations (Tekeli, 1986, 2010).

With respect to the uncontrolled development processes of Ankara that going on, leading to increasing segregation and dispersion in the dynamics of socio-spatial structure of the city, there are significant studies especially for detecting the emerging condition in Ankara, at the period of following 2015 Development Studies, as one of those is **Murat Güvenç's status-based differentiation analysis together with the districts of Ankara with segregation analysis**, depicting the segregation and differentiation in the structure of the city especially as a result of uncontrolled urbanisation and migration, besides the changing and differentiating income groups under the influence of liberalisation politics.

In this respect, İstanbul and Samsun Roads (Fatih Sultan Mehmet Boulevard and 19 Mayıs Boulevard) passing through the east-west direction in the city have created a strict boundary dividing the city into two different demographical conditions as Murat Güvenç says (1998), as north and south parts of the city according to the studies conducted on the geography and demography of Turkey in 1990. According to that, the most wealthy and most poor income groups are settled at the south part of the road, while low and middle-low income groups mostly working in service sectors or as being small and middle tradesmen are located at the northern parts of the city.

Thus, if some parts of Keçiören, Kavacık Subayevleri, Kalaba, Yen,mahalle; and Siteler with business areas are excepted, the northern parts of Ankara include lower and middle-low income groups mostly as small and middle tradesmen and paid labour force (Güvenç, 1998). The poorer groups at the old central parts of the city and the wealthier income groups are located in much more southern parts of the city as the city is divided by those road systems and other physical structures, leading in a fragmented and segregated physical environment besides the changing status and income groups (Ibid).

So, the poorest are at the central section of the city in between the road, i.e., Samsun Road (19 Mayıs Boulevard) and railway station, which separates the city physically, as the much wealthier income groups are settled at the southern parts of the railway station.Çankaya, Kavaklıdere, OR-AN, Gazi Osman Paşa and Bahçelievler are segregated and differentiates from their neighbour, adjacent quarters with lower income groups significantly, especially segregated by roads and other topographical and physical structures besides the status and income-based differentiation (Güvenç, 1998).

In this respect, the railway station could also be seen as a significant physical structure at the centre of the city segregating the city physically and demographically.

There are other specialised parts in the structure of the city, such as OR-AN with specialised housing areas for military and people of parliament (Park OR-AN Residences, today, surrounding Panora Shopping Centre), besides other residential areas especially through Turan Güneş Boulevard in between Çankaya and OR-AN; and the industrial and business areas around Siteler and OSTİM with middle tradesmen and entrepreneurs.

The integration between the wealthier and the poor income groups, however, are also observed in the certain parts of the city, where the development plans are operated that, the fact of the integration of some of wealthier and poorer groups in the same parts of the city could be better explained through the construction of squatter environments within the city, which creates much more strict segregation, in fact, in the city structure, physically and demographically (Güvenç, 1998).

Thus, according to another mapping study that developed parallel to that study, it is also depicted that the lower and middle-lower income groups working especially in service sector of free tradesmen as located at the northern parts of the city. The poor income groups, located in squatter areas are settled at the central parts of the city, within and around of the 'castle', as the oldest part of the city, also depicting the shift of city centre from old city centre, to the southern part, as the wealthier groups are located much more at the southern part of the train station (Güvenç, 1998).

As the wealthier groups becomes to disperse in the processes of the study to the peripheries of the city, especially at the south part of the city, even in a form of "gated-community", and the transformation of the central business district with respect to the functional processes and needs and larger scale restructuring processes held in the city could also be depicted as the increasing fragmented way of development in the city structure, that especially have risen as a result of uneven liberalisation politics in the country after the mid 1980's.

The structure of the city, Ankara, depicts also the migration based segregation and unification processes together at that period as a significant "hinterland" for its region and near, surrounding environment of the city, according to analysis that conducted by Güvenç in 1990s that the most of inhabitants (almost 75%) at that time was born in Ankara and other cities near Ankara such as adjacent cities (Güvenç, 1998), although it also creates the fact of the struggle between inhabitants and the immigrants in the city structure in the previous and following periods.

As depicted earlier, especially İstanbul and Samsun Roads create significant boundary in the demographical and physical structure of the city based on 1990 analysis especially on status and income parameters. As concluding the analysis of Murat Güvenç, it is the regional based and mostly lower income groups that located at the northern parts of the Ankara; while the lowest income groups are located around the castle and in between the railway station and Highway of Ankara at northern parts. The higher income groups are settled at the southern part of the city, as the study depicts the condition of Ankara in the year of 1990 and in the following years in 1990s, mostly under the influence of liberalisation and internationalisation politics.

In the following period, there are also different developments studies made by the Municipality of Greater Ankara. In 1998, for example, under the power of the president of the Municipality, Melih Gökçek, who has maintained the liberalisation politics and still the president of the Municipality since 1995 in Ankara, although he came from Islamic fundamentalist and nationalist roots at the earlier periods, **2025 Development Plan Studies** are prepared that the study tries to continue as a response to the fragmentation processes in the urban area of Ankara as dictated by Metropolitan Municipality, such as uncontrolled growth areas as Pursaklar, Sarayköy, Bağlum, Altınova, Esenboğa, Yenikent out of the metropolitan areas and it is proposed the expansion of the metropolitan boundaries further to control these areas and open up the west corridor to the growth further. Although the study aims to come up with a conceptual plan, there can only be made some fragmented revision

plans for the parts of the city such as Southwest Ankara Metropolitan Development Plans, 1990 Ankara Development Plan Revision, Çubuk-Akyurt Environmental Plan, Temelli-Malıköy Environmental Plan, Kazan-Sarıköy Environmental Plan, Gölbaşı Environmental

Plan (ABB, 2006) leading much more segmentation and the dispersion within the urban space besides the increasing speculations on those lands. So, the plan could not solve the rising fragmentation and the segmentation within the city space and even increased the fragmentation of city land as a result of the inefficient environmental plans that only could regulate limited and specific environs within the city.

In 2006, another study was completed by the Municipality again under the power of Gökçek, with the name, “**2023 Başkent Ankara Nazım İmar Planı**” **Development Study** (See Appendix C). Thus the study has the land use studies belong to 2005 to get data on macro-form of Ankara while it not only has fragmented plans, but it divides the metropolitan areas in six parts in terms of their directions. In the study it points out the rise of the dispersion and segmentation of the city ‘beyond the decentralisation’ with fragmented plans and uncontrollable developments without focal points and growth directions (ABB, 2006). With the expansion of the municipality area, it becomes around 855.000 hectares (See also Appendix D) according to Municipality statistics (ABB, 2006). It is seen also in the study that Kazan, İstanbul Road, Akyurt-Esenboğa Road, Samsun Road, Temelli-Eskişehir Road and Konya Roads are seen as significant corridors opening to the industrial areas and open to the growth. (See Appendix D).

This depicts the immense segmentation and segregation between the districts and the different parts of the city that even any district became a city in itself as a result of the uncontrolled growth and the segmentation initiated with differentiation as a result of uncontrollable migration and urbanisation processes (see Table 4.8).

In addition to that there are **15 ‘strategic’ sub-centres** and a new business district (See Appendix D) suggested in the study as an attitude to shift the centre from Kızılay to the dispersed geographies of the city in the proceeding development and growth processes of Ankara (ABB, 2006).

Mebusevleri, Balgat, Öveçler, Mustafa Kemal, Çukurambar, Çetin Emeç Boulevards and Turan Güneş Boulevard; Eskişehir Road and Sabancı Boulevards are seen as the new business districts in the study as a shift from Kızılay seen as old business district. The fifteen strategic sub-centres are also mostly distant from Kızılay and Ulus area and near/or at the centre of the cities districts, which are:

- 1) Bahçelievler; 2) Demetevler; 3) Çayyolu (8. Street); 4) Turan Güneş Boulevard, Or-An Sitesi; 5) Batıkent; 6) Eryaman - Göksu; 7) Pursaklar - Saray; 8) Siteler; 9) Hatip River-Mamak; 10) Natoyolu Boulevard – Mamak; 11) Beytepe; 12) Tuluntaş (Southwest part of Ankara); 13) Sincan-Saraycık; 14) Etlük Boulevard-Ovacık; 15) Susuz-Yuva Strategic ‘Sub-Centres’.

Table 4.8 The districts of Ankara over the population of 100.000

Population statistics of Districts of Ankara*	Population 2012	Population 2008	Area (km ²)	Density (population/km ²)
ANKARA (Including Urban and Rural areas)	4.965.542	4.548.939	5.938	836
Keçiören	840.809	779.905	189	4.449
Çankaya	832.075	785.330	268	3.105
Yenimahalle	687.042	609.887	446	1.499
Mamak	559.597	520.446	308	2.231
Sincan	479.454	434.064	384	1.249
Etimesgut	425.947	313.770	145	2.938
Altındağ	363.744	367.812	174	2.090
Pursaklar	119.593	91.742	148	808
Gölbaşı	109.261	82.968	740	150
Polatlı**	101.012	89.024	3.473	34

*Districts with population over 100.000 according to 2012 statistics are included

**Polatlı is the district out of the boundaries of the metropolitan area of Ankara

4.3. Reading Ankara with/through Shopping Malls

So, these strategic development areas depicts the segmentation of economic and social activities in themselves under regulated and controlled environments within the city with increasing dispersion, fragmentation and control with expansion at the same, dialectically.

Moreover, it is noted in the study that the Municipality has made as shopping malls and hypermarkets are the other important sub-centres and these must be near to these strategic sub-centres and not to the central areas of the city as signifying the roles of the location of shopping malls in the macro-form of Ankara as sub-centres of this dispersion and decentralisation processes of the capital city. It is explained in the study that the most significant factors in the development strategies for the projection of the growth of Ankara, big shopping malls and their strategic “positions” (ABB, 2006).

This fact could be supported with another fact that the shopping malls are today placed at the concentration points for capital accumulation leading to uneven geographical developments. In other words, they are placed in larger cities and at certain areas much more, while there

are many smaller cities that any shopping mall is constructed as in the case of Turkey depicting the differentiation of bigger and larger cities and areas from the other cities and regions (see Table 4.9) (See Appendix D). Thus, in this respect, shopping malls in larger cities has a certain population potential for the average population and in this respect that as any district and strategic development area with certain population and regulation processes where have the existence and the advantage or the potential of shopping malls in the near environment at certain points as a result of the concentration of capital accumulation on these areas as a result of uneven geographical development, which also increased these unequally development further.

Table 4.9 Shopping malls with the relations of growth and population

Population statistics according to year of 2012	Address based population	Rate of population to the total population	Number of Shopping malls In 2013* and rate of the malls in cities to the total number of malls in Turkey	Number of people for one shopping mall
TURKEY	75.627.384	-	265	285.386
İSTANBUL	13.854.740	% 18,3	(% 30,5) 81	171.046
<u>ANKARA</u>	<u>4.965.542</u>	<u>% 6,6</u>	<u>(%11,3)</u> <u>30</u>	<u>165.518</u>
İZMİR	4.005.479	% 5,3	(%6) 16	250.342
TOTAL (of 3 cities)	22.825.761	% 30,2	(% 47,9) 127	179.730
TOTAL (of 3 cities in 2008)	17.250.876	% 24	-	-

*Source: Internet; <http://www.sabah.com.tr/Ekonomi/2012/02/28/avm-sayisi-347ye-cikacak> accessed on 14.04.2013

Thus, the strategic urban and the environmental influences analysis are made according to the strategic placements of shopping malls beyond being the global consumption spaces with decision phases from regional and urban districts, environments that the malls to be constructed, the socio-economic and demographic structures for these near environments and spatial dynamics as seen as the most significant issue as also denoted in the study of the municipality that shopping malls are seen as the strategic urban structures with the influences on the business and trade of the near environment (See Appendix D), with the aspects of scale, accessibility, urban fabric form, infrastructural conditions and transportation cases, distances to significant places and the technical and social infrastructures that needed to be analysed with the shopping malls in that respect (ABB, 2006). So the shopping malls are needed to be analysed as significant factors in the urban geography not only with economic and cultural influences but also with the spatial aspects of urban form and architecture. This leads the study to analyse the aspects that mentioned in the influential conditions of shopping malls with these strategic areas and architectural pieces to get a critical view in the segmented city space.

So, in the study it can be claimed as a hypothesis concerning the notion that whether **shopping malls are new control spaces of the dispersed and segmented city spaces and economies** by defining:

- Shopping malls could be functioned as the new control spaces of the dispersed urban geography re-formed by the rise of suburbanisation and segmentation-differentiation of the city spaces that shopping malls are the control tools of capitalist economy, especially concerning consumption and related production, for space at the “strategic environments” of the urban environments including the peripheries of the metropolis opening to the expansion; the junction points of significant roads and districts; centre of the significant ‘districts’ as the segmented parts of the city distant from city centre, as the new **“sub-centres” of the city** and as a part of generic urban transformation including the dialectical relations of dispersion and control, growth and dependencies.

Thus it requires the analysis of the significant strategic sub-centres especially integrated with these strategic architectural pieces, shopping malls, that the scale of the shopping malls as the criteria for the efficiency of the control of these strategic conditions also becomes important in the study to get a much more clear view. So, the shopping malls, Ankamall, Antares, Armada, Cepa, Kentpark, Forum Ankara, Gordion, Nata Vega – Ikea – Anatolium, Optimum Outlet Center and Panora are especially selected due to their large scales and their strategic positions and conditions together with the sub-centres, districts and new development areas that mentioned earlier. So, these shopping malls not only play significant role in the definition of strategic sub-centres of the city, but also influencing the significances and the fates of the other smaller shopping malls, dialectically, as a result of uneven geographical development and the engagement of the shopping malls as an archetype for satisfying certain needs and requiring the specific analysis one by one with their strategic environments.

So, the specific analysis of shopping malls includes in this section, the rentable area; distance to the city centre (as Kızılay); significant roads and networks connection; transportation and

accessibility; construction date; demographic facts of the surrounding environments, population of the nearest district, economic-social-political-environmental conditions; city form and growth conditions; transformation projects, big projects around them; infrastructural aspects; characteristics of the environment (transformed-transforming-to be transformed); design developers; case of ownership (Land-space); additional activities-programs in the malls; marketing and commercial aspects; brand markets concerning the global and regional economic structures.

Thus, **ANKAmall**, which was the largest shopping mall when was constructed and the second biggest shopping mall today in Turkey after Cevahir Shopping Centre in İstanbul, has 299.300 m² land (plot) area with 116.910 m² car park for 1300 car as open that it has also closed car park for 4700 vehicles⁶.

Total rentable area of ANKAmall is 107.804 m² with shopping units more than 320, besides a DIY market (Koçtaş) with 11.800 m², 5000 m² Tepe Home and 5000 m² Electro World. Number of floors of the mall are ⁶(2 for Car Park) and the number of Restaurants-Cafes-Fast Food units are 363. ANKAmall has opened first in 27.08.1999 that as it was mentioned, it was the largest mall in Ankara⁷.

Distance to the city centre, which is proposed as Kızılay, is 10.5 km that for 1999, this was distant from the centre regarding the metropolitan area of that time. So, the ANKAmall is situated at the intersection of Konya Road (Mevlana Boulevard); and İstanbul Road (Fatih Sultan Mehmet Boulevard), which are the two most significant boulevards in Ankara not only connecting the metropolitan area to the other cities but connecting the city centre and dwelling areas to the new industrial and business areas and also to suburbs at the sides of these roads as mentioned earlier in the development process of Ankara especially after 1990 Development Plan.

ANKAmall is situated at the nearest point to the administrative boundaries of Keçiören, Yenimahalle and Altındağ Districts, within the boundaries of Yenimahalle that the area has the service advantages of these facts. It is near the Central Police Department and the Metro station, which transfers people from/to Kızılay to/from the suburbs, besides another public transportation advantages (see Appendix D, E)

Population of the nearest districts as Keçiören is 840.809 and Yenimahalle as 687.042 that both Yenimahalle and especially Keçiören has grown after the increasing migration from other cities as a resulting in the regulation of 'Kat Mülkiyeti Kanunu' leading much more chaotic and dense urban growth forms with apartment buildings that the northern part of Ankara and especially Keçiören has many migrated inhabitants coming from Anatolia especially after 1970s up to today. So, ANKAmall was not only a central shopping mall in Ankara when was build, but it is a junction point today between the central area of the city and the northern parts of the city as a centralised location in the middle of state-owned lands.

⁶ Hürriyet; Internet, http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ankara/6411813_p.asp, accessed on 20.11.2012.

⁷ Ankamall; Internet, <http://www.ankamall.com.tr/tr/kurumsal.hmn>, accessed on 20.11.2012.

So, another strategic ‘positionality’ of the mall can be depicted that the mall is settled at the centre of the public areas and buildings, which are publicized by the state-regulated practices as mentioned earlier such as AKM, 19 Mayıs Sport Complexes, Atatürk Orman Çiftliği area (part of it is under transformation today), İskitler Industrial Area (part of it is under transformation processes today), that the land of the mall was also owned by the state in earlier periods by Et-Balık Kurumu and sold in 1995 depicting the privatisation of the areas that thought to be publicized at the previous periods. So, it becomes the significant example of the transformation of the state-owned area to the privatisation of the ownership of the land at the centre of the state-owned areas and buildings.

So, together with its significant position in the city it has variant activities in the same complex to be an attraction point not only for its near environment, but also for the whole metropolitan areas especially when was constructed as a giant building including capital flow and accumulation through shopping and consumption.

It has food court area with 1.400 seat, besides the theatre; 10 Cinema Halls; playground for kids; and even five-starred hotel with 500 beds, adjacent to the shopping mall as a significant single complex depicting the examples of environmental transformation functionally and socially. Thus ANKAmall has the known brands including Marks & Spencer, YKM Sport, Deichmann, Mudo City, Flo, Home Store, Diesel, Mango, Jack&Jones, Bershka, Stradivarius, Pull&Bear⁸ and many other well-known brands depicting the significance in the regional and even global economic relations especially concerning the consumption and consumption-based production and distribution of capitalism in the informational economy with the ‘network enterprising models’ as depicted in the earlier chapters (See Chapter 2).

Thus, ANKAmall has the significance of being a sub-centre in the form of urban growth with its central position in the middle of the city especially with its centralised position at the northern parts of the city, which have become dispersed especially after 1970s and 1980s as a result of migration and uncontrolled urban growth. As a result, the mall’s strategic position has had a central and controlled location especially for the northern parts of the city but also serving for the whole city as being on the significant location, on the intersection points of significant roads as Fatih Sultan Mehmet Boulevard, connecting the eastern parts of the city to north-western parts; and Mevlana Boulevard, connecting the northern parts of the city to the southern parts of the city. Thus, ANKAmall is not only a sub-centre for the function of shopping and entertainment, but it also has a strategic position in the increasing the notion of centrality especially at the northern parts of the city ‘becoming’ dispersed.

Antares Shopping Mall has 225.205 m² covered area with 82.750 m² rentable area that the mall is constructed in 2005-2008. It is situated in Etlik-Keçiören near the one of the most populated areas in the city at the intersection of the boundaries of Yenimahalle and Keçiören with the distance to the city centre: 7.9 km.

So, it is also said by the designers of the mall, which is designed by A Tasarım Architectural Design Studio, as one of the ‘dominant’ architectural studios in shopping mall designs in Ankara for Antares, in a very dense area as designers say on that:

⁸ Ankamall, op.cit.

Antares is situated in Etlik which has a dense residential fabric, on a plot surrounded with roads. The mix-use complex, which includes large commercial spaces, houses, social spaces, and offices, is designed to create an urban heterogeneity.”⁹

Thus, in fact, the heterogeneity is only in the regulation of different activities together at a concentrated point concerning the unification of different functions at certain points within the city to create a standardised and homogenised design and new centres for the capital accumulation as “non-places” similar to the other designs of the office located at different points of Ankara and in Turkey depicting the fact as the space of “supermodernity” at everywhere to create a homogenised space for the space of flows of capital accumulation as mentioned earlier in the previous chapter (See Chapter 3).

So, it has food court area with 2.000 seats, besides the big shopping halls including Real, Praktiker, Teknosa with 1.815 m² area, C&A, and other significant brands in the mall including Nike, Adidas and so on. In addition to that, the different activities besides the shopping are included within the shopping unit such as playgrounds for kids, Restaurants, the biggest Bowling Hall in Ankara: Rolling Bowling Hall, 10 cinema halls with 2.500 total seats, and car Park for 5.000 car depicting the significance of that shopping centre as a centre for many different activities within the district of Keçiören near Yenimahalle. The mall is not only situated near to the dense housing area but also not so distant from the areas that owned by the state near ANKAmall as mentioned earlier. Thus designed by A Tasarım Mimarlık – A.O.Öztürk with the consultancy of the international studio of Chapman Taylor LLP, it has also been designed and developed with Office Block and Residential Blocks with 619 housing units on a big area to create a new homogenised environment for “supermodernity” concerning the high profit from the land. But the housing units could not be sold much for a long time due to the high prices of these housing units for the area as the project is thought as a generic project to create rent speculations on the near environment by increasing the prices of housing as a part of “gentrification”¹⁰ for “spatial fix” of capital while the demand was very low for the high priced housing units at that area when the residents constructed, which is similar to the crisis in USA leading to more complicated credit crisis such as ‘mortgage’ and the collapse of some financial foundations as Harvey depicts in the Enigma of Capital as a result of the strategic capital accumulation and rent speculations especially on less developed environments (Harvey, 2010).

Thus, Antares has a central position especially in between Keçiören and Yenimahalle districts that the total population of even these two districts are around 1.500.000 people, which is much more from many cities in Turkey. Thus, it serves for a high populated and dense dwelling area at the northern part of the city, which becomes segmented and enclosed in itself especially with the rising population by migration from other cities from Anatolia and the dominant housing areas with commercial units at the entrance levels besides some industrial and commercial areas within Yenimahalle, however. (See Appendix D, E).

⁹ A Tasarım Mimarlık; Internet, <http://www.atarim.com.tr/#/projects/>, accessed on 18.11.2012.

¹⁰ See David Harvey, 2001, Spaces of Capital.

Therefore, it could be said that Antares has a sub-central position within the northern part of the city in between the two largest districts, not only in Ankara but also in Turkey (Keçiören is the most populated district in 2012 according to TÜİK data), with its shopping, entertainment functions besides its residential units and the office tower serving as a financial centre for a bank today as a gentrification project for the near environment.

Another very significant shopping mall in Ankara influencing not only the urban transformation but also economic and social restructuring processes is **Armada Shopping and Business Center**, settled on Eskişehir Road that the mall could be seen as one of the initial stages of the transformation processes of the development area that specified in the development plans as mentioned earlier. So, it settles on a significant area thought as the new route for the growth of the city. The designer verifies by saying “The design is based on the scale, location and program input, which are the results of the relocation of the city centre towards the western axis. Due to functional diversity of the project, it’s expected to be a part of various urban uses in Sogutozu city center.”¹¹

Thus, it has 125.000 m² constructed area on 30.000 m² land with 2200 Car Park capacity and the additional part to mall section (Armada 2) with 80.000 m² area has just been constructed at the end of 2012 and opened. Thus, situated on Eskişehir Road and as one of the significant projects leading the displacement of city center to the ‘west’ through Eskişehir Road, Armada is situated at the intersection point of Eskişehir Road, which is seen as the most significant boulevard today as the new route for the growth of the city under the influence of capital accumulation, and Konya Road (Mevlana Boulevard) connecting the city centre to significant business and housing areas as mentioned earlier.

Distance to the city centre of Armada is 4.9 km. depicting the slight shift from Kızılay to the west as a new centralised area for business growth situated at the intersection point of the districts’ boundaries Yenimahalle, Çankaya, Etimesgut depicting the service efficiency. So, the distances to the Districts’ Municipalities are to Yenimahalle as 8 km, to Çankaya as 7 km, to Keçiören as 10 km, and to Mamak as 16 km.

Similar to Antares, Armada is also designed by A.O.Öztürk and constructed with an iconic Office Tower as a part of transforming business geographies depicting the transformation of city spaces as a set of “non-places” as spaces under the influence of capital flows.

Söğütözü area near Armada today under many construction processes including the high-rised commercial and residential units as that area is thought as the new business development environment as an alternative to Kızılay area; as a shift from central business district to the western parts of the city reflecting the increasing flows in the city space influenced by the neo-liberalist economic structures proposed in the development plans and studies. So, Armada is one of the initial projects not only symbolising the rising consumption and shopping needs in Ankara but also restructuring processes within the city under the influence of neo-capitalist economy.

¹¹ A Tasarım Mimarlık, op.cit.

Thus, it creates a sub-centre within the shifting business district not only as a shopping and business centre but also as a symbol of the ‘generic’ urban transformation occurring in a sudden with no reference to historical and contextual references on Eskişehir Road, as the new segmented part of the city proposed for the growth of financial and commercial environments besides suburban residential areas (See Appendix D, E).

Cepa & Kentpark Shopping Centres: Cepa AVM and Kentpark are situated adjacent to each other that Cepa is completed in 2005-2007 and Kentpark in 2006-2010 on Eskişehir Road designed by Öncüoğlu + ACP, which is another ‘dominant’ architectural design studio in the design of shopping malls not only in Ankara , but also in other regions in Turkey and especially in Russia. Thus, the both shopping malls are distant to city centre as 9.9 km. on Eskişehir Road at the extension of the area to the west parts of the city, which was opened to growth as the new development area, as mentioned earlier. So, **Cepa** has 172.000 m² constructed area on 53.000 m² plot, with 68.500 m² rentable areas and 3768 Car Park capacity. It creates a central point on Eskişehir Road in between the suburban parts of the city such as Çayyolu, MESA, Konutkent at west and the city centre as Kızılay at east with the great variety of activities and significant economic structural relations, which are the dominant concerns influencing the design of the shopping malls while it must be the vice versa that space could be concerned first in the architectural design processes. Short explanation of design by its designers is depicting the fact that:

The large spaces and brands as two floor retail units of hypermarket and D.I.Y. store played an important role at the planning stage of the building. It is intended to obtain optimum size and solutions for vehicle and pedestrian circulation with respect to the large area of the site. For this purpose, the shops are designed at the ground, first and second floors despite the presence of a great variety of facilities and large number of shops.¹²

Kentpark, at the adjacent plot to Cepa has 386.000 constructed area including 232.000 m² shopping; 11.300 m² office and 80.000 m² rentable area on 73.000 m² plot with 1986 car park capacity. It has many variant activities in one single building such as 191 shopping units, 6.000 m² fitness area, 1.500 m² playground, 2000 m² artificial lake, dance academy, 3.000 m² Rolling Bowling hall, 7.000 m² “Thematic Bazaar Zone” organized around “interior street”. In addition to the shopping mall the residence project with 465 housing units with 2, 3, 4, 5 rooms are predicted near Kentpark¹³ depicting the generic urban transformation processes including the set of projects and “non-places” mostly proposed by the capital investors as the owners of the land with the major concerns on capital accumulation and rent.

Thus, just similar to the case of Armada, Cepa and Kentpark can be seen as the extension of the initialised development through Eskişehir Road to the west as a growth form of the contemporary Ankara that these shopping malls not only serve for the functions of shopping and entertainment, but also they are the sub-centres of the development processes through

¹² Öncüoğlu, ACP; Internet, [http:// www.oncuoglu.com.tr/index_eng.html#](http://www.oncuoglu.com.tr/index_eng.html#), on 18.11.12.

¹³ Kentpark AVM Ankara; Internet, <http://www.kentpark.com.tr/kentpark.html>, on 20.11.2012.

the Eskişehir Road as they are in the middle between the suburban residential areas such as Çayyolu, MESA, Konutkent; and the centre of the city, Kızılay; on Eskişehir Road connecting these two poles (See Appendix D, E).

Another significant ‘shopping complex’ is **Forum Ankara Outlet Centre** with 86.000 m² rentable commercial area, 11.000 m² retail space for technology products, 9.000 m² **“Thematic Fashion Street”** besides the Tesco Kipa Hypermarket, Bauhaus Hardware Store, Media Markt. The shopping centre is opened first in 2008 that it is located at the intersection point of Ankara Highway and Yozgat Boulevard, at the periphery of the city in Keçiören near Yenimahalle boundaries with the distance to the city centre as 10,9 km.

So, it is near Keçiören, Yenimahalle as dense housing areas, and near Pursaklar and North Ankara Urban Transformation Project as the transforming and developing parts of the city especially as a result of the being on the route to Esenboğa Airport (See Appendix D, E). Although the near environment of the mall can be seen as completely empty, the designers and the consultant firm, Multi Development as “one of the leading commercial developer of inner-city retail space in Europe and Turkey, comprising complementary companies in property development, investment, asset management and property management, depicts the strategic location of Forum Ankara as:

Located in Ovacık within Keçiören just to the north of Ankara, Forum Ankara Outlet offers easy and convenient access from anywhere in the city. Sitting on the intersection of the North Freeway and the new protocol road (Yozgat Boulevard) which provides city access, the shopping center is right at the entrance to Ankara. To the east of Forum Ankara Outlet lies the Northern Ankara Access Urban Transformation Project Area, with its planned residential areas, recreation areas, parks, hotels, convention centers as well as social areas.¹⁴

The most significant feature of Forum Ankara is its “Fashion Street” with the claim to be a centre not only for shopping but also a centre even for fashion activities including global brands such as Beymen, Diesel, Dior, Dolce&Gabbana, Ermenegildo Zegna, Etro, Giorgio Armani, Kenzo, Gucci, Prada, and Yves Saint Laurent; Demstock store with brands like D&G, Gianfranco Ferre, Hugo Boss, Cavalli, and Ralph Lauren; Bilstore with An Original Penguin, American Retro, American Vintage, Morine Comte Marant, Bil's, Fred Perry, and Austin Reed; Armani Jeans, Versace Jeans, Ferre, and Roberto Cavalli, as well as Gant, &Style and Vepa Outlet, in addition to the Kuki House ve Starbucks Coffee, as the administration of the shopping centre says “... for those who would like to take a pleasurable lunch, dinner or coffee break after a long day of shopping, in the Fashion Street. On **“its way to transform Ankara, the Capital of Turkey, into a Fashion Capital, as well”**¹⁵ depicting the specialised strategy of the shopping centre as a centre for the whole city. So, it can be derived from the position of the shopping malls situated at strategic points that they are also integrated with the strategic sub-centres proposed in the Development Plan

¹⁴ Forum Ankara; Internet, <http://www.forum-ankara.com/hakkimizda/>, accesses on 18.11.2012.

¹⁵ Ibid.

Studies of the Municipality in 2006 as a strategy to create a segmented city form with districts and sub-centre patterns together with concentration on certain points depicting the multi-central development model with rising segmentation within the city.

For example, Etlik Caddesi-Ovacık strategic sub-centre proposed within the Development Plan of the Municipality is integrated with the location of Forum Ankara that especially to gentrify the squatter areas near Etlik (Yozgat) Boulevard together with the integration to the North Ankara Development and Transformation Projects, which is also another significant sub-centre for the transformation processes, to create a 'generic', i.e., the growth in a sudden with no reference to context; transformation and restructuring processes increasing the segmentation within the urban environment by concentrating on certain strategic areas at certain parts of the city (See also Appendix D).

Another significant shopping mall on Eskişehir Road is **Gordion Shopping Centre** with distance to the city centre: 15,3 km that its gross leasable area is 49.950 m², together with 37.818 m² retail, 2.927 m² Food Court, and 2.222 m² supermarket, 4.126 m² Cinema, 2.857 m² electronics store; and 2.500 car park capacity, as it opened in 2009.

On Eskişehir Road in Çayyolu, in Koru Quarter near Konutkent, Ümitköy, Elvankent, Eryaman as the suburban areas of Ankara, at the part of the city developed and open to growth and transformation as the administration of the mall also says "The site is ideally located at the entrance of the Çayyolu district, which has become a prominent administrative and commercial centre and one of Ankara's wealthiest and fastest-growing neighbourhoods."¹⁶

Thus, the mall is located at the suburban parts of the city with the high-middle and high income groups that it has many variant activities and especially significant global brands for these inhabitants to create a centralised shopping and entertainment centre in the segmented part of the city. Thus, the significant brands in Gordion are Carrefour, Electro World, Zara, C&A and Marks & Spencer besides Cook Shop, Sushico, Cine Maximum, Zara Home, Massimo Dutti, Stradivarius, Bershka, Oysho, Pull and Bear, Network, Fabrika, Benetton, Electro World, H&M, Mango, Koton, LC Waikiki and Nike and many other global and regional brands.

Thus, located on the western development corridor near suburban areas such as Çayyolu, MESA and Konutkent, which have also been developed in a sudden, Gordion is related with the Çayyolu strategic sub-centre; together with the residential areas and the commercial areas besides other shopping malls serving for the near environment that it could be seen as a sub-central development to satisfy the increasing need for the 'third space'¹⁷ for these suburban areas dispersed especially after 1980s and 1990s influenced from neo-capitalist economic structures. It is not only a centre for the dispersed geographies in the city as suburban areas, but also as a part of the centralisation of the uneven geographical development and segmentation by stimulating the further growth around the near

¹⁶ Gordion Shopping Center; Internet, <http://eng.gordion-avm.com/about-us.aspx>, on 18.11.2012.

¹⁷ Third space is the space in the everyday life satisfying the needs of people for entertainment, leisure, shopping etc, as the other two spaces are for residing and working.

environment increasing the capital accumulation by centralisation at certain points besides its function of shopping and leisure.

Nata Vega & Anatolium & Ikea (Shopping Complexes); **Nata Vega** is a part of 450.000 m² a ‘Shopping Plateau’ “Alışveriş Vadisi”, with its 265.000m² constructed area and 87.000 m² rentable area¹⁸; that it is located in Mamak district with the distance to the city centre as 12.km, Near Mamak, Çankaya, Altındağ districts at the intersection point of Ankara Highway and Natoyolu Boulevard, as a road entering to the city by connecting the eastern and western parts of the city to the Highway and to regional roads. The general facts and significances about Nata Vega as denoted by its designers, again as A Tasarım Architectural Studio, as:

The project, which is close to the Mamak Viaduct on Ankara Highway is planned to be realized in phases. The first phase includes buildings for NATA, VEGA and Ankara Anatolium Shopping Mall. These buildings designed with recreational facilities consist of local and international shops, auto showrooms, food courts, entertainment halls and movie theatres. The outdoor design of the complex includes parking lots, green areas, and squares. The investment, which will be completed with the construction of the fifth store of Ikea in Turkey within Ankara Anatolium Shopping Mall, includes commercial units with different sizes and Leroy Merlin Building Materials Supermarket. VEGA is composed of outdoor facilities and indoor spaces. The shopping alley can be reached from different levels. The shops which are organized as an open market can have different uses. The floor where auto showrooms are located also includes the Aquarium. A restaurant accompanies the 360-degree Aquarium. The floor where the food court is located is organized as an entertainment area with its terraces. The project also includes housing blocks, with different sizes such as 1+1, 2+1, 3+1, 4+1, and duplex apartments. Housing blocks also include a social center, a kids’ club, and a fitness center. The complex is planned to be completed with the construction of the houses and their landscaping.¹⁹

Additionally, the project with its residences also designed by A Tasarım Mimarlık in the site, which is open to the urban transformation and gentrification processes as there are many squatters near the site.

The condition of Nata Vega within a ‘shopping plateau’ is also very specific related with the strategic sub-centres of the city fostering the segmented growth that, Natoyolu Strategic sub-centre is integrated with the Nata Vega and its residential units. As the Natoyolu Strategic sub-centre is depicted as a new development strategy for the restructuring processes especially in socio-economic and cultural aspects of the near environment besides its significant position with respect to the road connections, Nata Vega and the residential units integrated to it, as they are developed as a set of “non-places” having any contextual relationship with the near environments, which are the squatter areas, in fact (See Appendix D, E).

¹⁸ Nata Vega Outlet; Internet, <http://www.natavega.com.tr/icerik.php?id=17>, on 20.11.2012.

¹⁹ A Tasarım Mimarlık, op.cit.

Optimum Outlet Center is another shopping centre with 62.000 m² constructed area on 31.000 m² plot, 15.100 m² rentable area with 1345 car park capacity. It is located at the Intersection points of Ankara Highway, İstanbul Road and Ayaş-Ankara Road, near to Eryaman, Elvankent, Sincan, Yenimahalle, Batıkent, Çayyolu, Ümitköy as transforming areas at the periphery of the city with the distance to the city centre as 24 km. Additionally, 37.000 m² shopping area was later designed and constructed as the second phase of the mall leading to the constructed area over 100.000 m². Thus, the first phase was completed in 2004, and the second phase in 2006 (Optimum, 2012).

The mall as a significant sub-centre includes many variant activities such as ice skating ring, “Rollhouse Bowling”, cinema halls, retail area for technology products that the building is designed by one of the dominant architectural studio for designing shopping malls as Öncüoğlu ACP as mentioned earlier.

Thus, Optimum Outlet Centre is located near Sincan, Göksu and Eryaman areas, which are depicted in the Development Studies as the breaking point of the north-western growth of the city with the increasing dispersion and sudden growth with high-rising residential units. So, Optimum can be seen as a sub-centre for the satisfaction of the consumption and entertainment needs of those dispersed areas as a concentration point within the dispersion of the urban geography to the west. It also reinforces the further growth in near environments as a centralised point for the capital flow and accumulation as a strategic sub-centre (See Appendix D).

Panora Shopping Centre, as also one of the largest shopping centres in Ankara, which has 180.000 m² area, with a hypermarket of 10,000 m² located at the basement floor to be used intensely by the surrounding. It is located in OR-AN, Çankaya near Park Oran Residences on Turan Güneş Bouevard, near the intersection point of Ankara Highway and Konya Road surrounded by the residential areas with high rising blocks and many of specialised housing blocks as ‘Lojman’. Panora is also designed by A Tasarım Architectural Studio depicting not only the dominant factors of capitalist investment in economic structural relations in the foundation and construction processes of shopping malls, but also the dominant and monopolised design processes of shopping malls that only some firms, with more relations with capital investors could design shopping malls in the generic transformation processes in Ankara.

So, Panora is located near Dikmen Valley and METU-Eymir Forest, Çankaya, Kavaklıdere, Gölbaşı District and Yıldız areas with high-income groups that the mall can be seen as one of the significant shopping and entertainment centre for these districts and parts of the city (See Appendix D, E). It includes 12 movie theatre, shops, restaurants, cafes, multi-use activity areas, and a cultural, entertainment and sports centre besides aquarium facilities, bowling and billiard halls, game halls, playgrounds, restaurant, bar and cafes with the slogan of ‘7-starred Shopping and Life Center’ (Panora) depicting the idea of centralisation of segregation and the segmentation the city within itself.

Turan Güneş, OR-AN Strategic sub-centre is seen, in this respects as a significant part of the ‘southern planning area’ depicting the concentration on segmentation. The growth of the city to the southern parts with the development of OR-AN area has also led to the rise of a southern pole within the city with rising consumption services besides residents and prestigious office and commercial areas. So, Turan Güneş Boulevard is seen as a sub-centre

within this segmentation and Panora surrounded by Park Oran Residences constructed after the specialisation of plots of residences for parliament people (Milletvekili Lojmanları) as a result of the new restructuring processes to increase the appeal of the environment by specialised projects concentration on certain areas.

These facts depict the multi-central and segmented development strategies integrated with shopping malls in the city of Ankara, especially with the concentration of shopping malls at certain areas and regions to create the 'spatialisation' for the capital flows and accumulation for certain areas with increasing growth statistics and potentials within the city, while this has also increased the uneven geographical development and segregation between not only in the notion of classes but also 'spatialisation' of these segregations and differentiations in a homogenised and standardised environment including certain economic and social time sharing practices in homogenised environments as in the case of shopping malls in Ankara.

So, shopping malls become the sub-centres for the homogenisation of the segregation and differentiation in the city space as called as segmentation with the spatialisation of uneven geographical development and uneven capital flow and accumulation with uneven service distribution processes by constructing shopping malls and the other generated/generating (the generic) projects. As a result of these concentration of capital flows at certain points in shopping malls as the nodes of a systematised capital accumulation and flow through geographies, the whole city space became homogenised under the power of capital accumulation but with the domination of one onto another as a result of the uneven geographical development and segmentation, as a result of the strategies developed especially after the crisis in 1970s with the solution initiated in 1980s in global structures by the integration of financial markets across the borders incorporated into the regional and even global network of markets as Saskia Sassen depicts the developed strategies for economic models concerning spatial regulations (**See Appendix D**).

Another hypothesis that to be analysed in this respect concerning **the strategic location of shopping malls in specific geographies** is to analyse these largest shopping malls in Ankara **to quest the relation of rent speculation and generic urban transformation processes with the influence of the changing urban fabric form through shopping malls.**

- Shopping malls are significant actors and factors in the urban transformation processes and projects changing as the tools for land speculation, changing the existing urban fabric form with gentrification processes not only as an architectural pieces of the city but also part of the infrastructural transformation which influence on the macro-form of the city (See Appendix E).

Thus, depicted earlier in the text, the shopping malls in Ankara also are the objects of urban macro-form influencing and influenced by the transformation processes in the city. **ANKAmall**, in these respects, depicts the infrastructural transformation of its location that as shopping malls are constructed, they also led to the infrastructural changes and development processes in their near environment including transportation and accessibility, other technological developments and the increase in the service facilities related with infrastructures. Besides that, ANKAmall has a significant position in the middle of state-owned lands as a transformed commercial area from state-owned land to the privatisation of

the land depicting the urban transformation under privatisation besides the changing urban fabric form in its near environment (See Appendix E).

In this context, **Antares Shopping Mall** can be seen even much more significant in the transformation of the existing the urban fabric form besides urban macro form that as it is located within the dense urban environment in the city with its concentrated form together with the high-rising residential units and the office tower, it creates a differentiation and alienation from its near environment surrounded by 3 or 4 storey humble apartment buildings, as a part of gentrification of the environment as a generic project to increase the price of residential units constructed with shopping mall and the value of the surrounding areas including infrastructural transformation as a sub-centre for the concentration of capital accumulation and flow.

Armada, as also depicted earlier, is a significant architectural part of the transformation of Eskişehir Road as a business and commercial area by the concentration of capital accumulation at the specific points of the urban environ not only creating uneven geographical development of the parts of the city together with the extension and the concentration near the road, but also the segmentation of Söğütözü area as a new business district under the dynamics of globalising and liberalising economic structures within the city. So, the infrastructural development started especially with the construction of Armada on Eskişehir Road has been extended more to the western parts of the Road leading to the disperse of the central business activities of Ankara from Kızılay to the western corridor but together with segmented concentration at certain points through the road, dialectically. (See Appendix D, E). Eskişehir Road, as a result of transformation of certain areas through the road, depicts the integration with shopping malls, Armada, Cepa and lastly Kentpark with that transformation.

Cepa and Kentpark, in addition to the case of Armada can be seen as the later extension of the capital accumulation and the flow to the western part of the city as a notion of the extension of the shifting city centre, Kızılay, even to the western parts of the city, suburbanised, also as a result of the restructuring processes in the city as a result of the rising high-middle income groups and increasing automobile usage besides the increasing pollution within the city. Thus, Cepa and later Kentpark are not only the parts of infrastructural development of the area opened to the growth, but also as a part of the segmentation with the concentration serving for the suburbanised parts of the city besides the new business centre thought to be developed around Söğütözü area, centralised around Armada in between Kızılay and western parts of the city, which have resulted in the changing urban macro-form and fabric form of the near environment besides the increasing land speculation and rent through the Road.

So, **Gordion**, located at the western part of the city in Çayyolu, can be seen as another sub-centre influencing the urban transformation by certain concentration in the segmented parts of the city, suburbs as Çayyolu, Konutkent and MESA, in this context. Thus, Gordion also be seen as a part of the development of the infrastructural growth at Çayyolu leading much more uneven geographical development besides the maintaining the existing ‘generic’ fabric form at these suburbs differentiating from the central parts of the city with increasing segmentation. (See Appendix D, E). Thus, the suburban areas in Ankara as mentioned are concentrated in themselves by the centralisation of certain capital accumulation and services as a result of construction of shopping malls, as Gordion is the largest one in Çayyolu area

today, leading to compaction of the fragmentation of the urban environments, suburbs, by segmentation and multi-centralisation with different sub-centres as mentioned earlier.

Forum Ankara, located at the periphery of the northern part of the metropolitan area of Ankara, in this respect, has a very significant and speculative position on the urban geography. Although, there are any housing or commercial buildings and even any structure beyond Semerkand Cultural Centre adjacent to Forum Ankara, the area is proposed as a strategic sub-centre as a further development and growth strategy for the environment. There are only some squatters at Ovacık area and the uncontrolled and chaotic growth is wanted to be concentration at certain points by those development strategies. Thus, in this context, Forum Ankara has been concentrated on the intersection points of Yozgat (Etlik) Boulevard and Ankara Highway as the point connecting the region to other parts of Ankara through highway. Additionally, North Ankara Transformation Projects is very near to the area through the highway depicting the generic urban transformation process around the northern part of Ankara (see Appendix D, E). Therefore, the infrastructural development by the construction of Forum Ankara and North Ankara Transformation Project, the empty areas became ‘appropriated’ for the domination of the construction processes later around that strategic sub-centre as a part of ‘gentrification’ of the environment, while it can also be seen as the initial stage of land speculations and the changing urban fabric form with respect to the near districts as Yenimahalle and Keçiören.

Nata Vega, similar to the condition of Forum Ankara, depicts the development of a ‘gentrification’ area near Mamak located in the strategic sub-centre depicted in the Development Studies of the Municipality for 2023 as mentioned earlier. Thus, the ‘shopping plateau’ including Nata Vega is located at the intersection point of the extension of Turan Güneş Boulevard parallel to Ankara Highway as surrounding the metropolitan areas in circles; and Natoyolu Boulevard connecting to Highway (See Appendix D, E). Therefore, similar to Forum Ankara, the construction processes of ‘shopping plateau’ and high-rising residential units with infrastructural development creates a new urban fabric form for its near environment, as filled by squatters, and the danger of land and rent speculations besides the increasing land and housing prices by the gentrification of the environment together with these projects.

Optimum Outlet Centre, located in Eryaman, also significant structure for the changing urban environment that it became a concentration point for the extended part of the city to the north-west. Optimum is located at the intersection point of the extension of Fatih Sultan Mehmet Boulevard to Sincan area; and Ankara Highway, as on a centralised location surrounded by high-rised residential units and apartment blocks for housing in Eryaman and Sincan districts, which have grown in a sudden especially after the opening of the western parts of the city to the growth. So, within ‘the generically’ transformed environment, Optimum Outlet Center have made the infrastructural development further near Eryaman area together with increasing land and rent speculations (See Appendix D, E).

Panora, in Turan Güneş Boulevard, similar to the condition of Optimum has not only been constructed for satisfying the increasing needs on consumption and leisure services in prestigious OR-AN area with transformed residential areas besides specialised housing areas as ‘lojman’ but also increased the infrastructural development in OR-AN area (See Appendix D, E) and strengthening ‘the generic’ transformation processes depicting the destruction and reconstruction processes, in a sudden and with no reference to historical and contextual

meanings at all. Thus, Panora has a strategic location for increasing ‘the prestigious’ environment besides increasing prices of residences and land further as a ‘7-starred Shopping and Life Centre’ in Ankara.

To conclude, shopping malls in Ankara are also be seen as a part of the spatial restructuring processes in urban environments as being a part of infrastructural development and the transformation processes and projects, Thus, the influence on the prices of the land and the environment with the certain geographical development near and on the land of shopping malls not only increased the competition between the local environments as a capitalist investment strategy but also increased the value of the near environment respectively as a result of the infrastructural development. Besides this fact, the transformation projects and processes are increased as a result of the concentration on certain areas for the growth of these areas. Additionally, the private investment on the land of shopping malls have increased the capitalist control on the urban space and the privatisation of the property rights as Günay mentions in his studies much. So, all of these facts influence the formation of urban space in the restructuring processes by increasing land and rent speculation and the uncontrollable development projects concentrated on certain areas leading much more uneven geographical development besides the increasing notion of private ownership in the capitalist relations on city space.

Thus, another hypothesis that to be analyse concerning the shopping malls and the urban space is related with **the case of ownership of city space and public/private relationships in the creation of architectural urban spaces as shopping malls in metropolitan areas**. So, it is to analyse that:

- Shopping malls could be seen as tools for land speculation, rent of land, division of urban space and domination of the fragmented urban plots in the dispersed urban space as parcels by the global capitalist economic structures as shopping malls on those, so that they are the objects of the disputed case, shopping malls are whether private or public spaces.

To understand the fact that shopping malls are private spaces, it is significant to analyse the location of plots of the shopping malls (See Appendix F) within the urban environment and the relation these plots to the surrounding environments and to the public sphere. More significantly, it is important, in this respect that the conditions of ownership on these plots and on these specific architectural structures to get shopping malls are whether private of public spaces.

Thus, **ANKAmall** as one of the significant examples in Ankara, is located on a plot, which is distant for the pedestrian access and from other districts and even from other plots. Thus, the shopping mall is situated on a fragmented plot segregated from urban sphere and distant from pedestrian access. More significantly, it is private property that controlled by 24-hour security systems and security forces at the entrances and in the very part of the mall. The mall is opened and closed at certain hours as 10 a.m. and 10 p.m. sharply.

Antares, however, is much more near to the urban fabric at the dense area in Keçiören, although there are any smaller commercial units with dwelling areas beyond METRO Shopping Centre surrounding the plot to decrease the competition between shopping malls

and smaller trail areas to increase the influence of monopolised and enclosed consumption environments within and near the shopping centres. Thus, shopping mall is situated on a vast plot, disconnected from surrounding plots, together with its high-rising residences alienated from the existing urban fabric form. As similar to ANKAmall, Antares is also a private property with its certain security and working hour regulations as the same with ANKAmall.

Armada, located on Eskişehir Road, is also not very appropriate for the pedestrian access within the city although the two parts of Armada are tried to be integrated through a pedestrian alley open to public sphere. More significantly, the two blocks of Armada is owned by the very well-known capitalist investors in Turkey that the fact annihilates the naïve attitude between the two blocks of the shopping mall. The plot is also surrounded by other fragmented plots owned by private enterprisers as restricted to the access of the public. (See Appendix F). The working hours and security regulations are the same with other shopping malls not only for those in Ankara, but also for those in the whole globalising environments including shopping malls.

Cepa and Kentpark are also located on the plot fragmented from public sphere and especially from pedestrian access, as these fragmented plots are dominated by private ownership (See Appendix F). Thus, they are also private properties that the domination of capitalism is not only in the hegemony on service and working activities besides the domination of plots and blocks but also influential in the design decisions of the shopping malls as a natural result of private ownership.

Forum Ankara, constructed with the well-known international consultant firm, is located near Ankara Highway that the plot has not been surrounded by any other facilities beyond Semerkand Cultural Centre (See Appendix F). Thus, it is not appropriate for the pedestrian access and the plot is owned by the capitalist investors with working hour and service regulations.

Gordion Shopping Centre, located in Çayyolu area, is also near the road, Eskişehir Road, open to vehicle access and not appropriate to pedestrian access (See Appendix F). Thus, similar to other shopping centres, it is a private property on a plot surrounded only by some residential units and empty areas.

Nata Vega, located at the intersection points of Natoyolu Boulevard and Turan Güneş Boulevard, in Mamak as it is strategically designed in a 'shopping plateau' including shopping complexes and high-rising residents depicting the rise of mass consumption in Ankara that that area is surrounded only by some housing units including also squatter areas. Thus, besides its 'generic' transformation function by gentrification of the area, the 'plateau' that Nata Vega settles on, is a vast example of the space of private ownership and enterprising to develop the shopping culture besides increasing concentration on certain areas as a reflection of the monopolised economic structures or the 'oligopoly' in the market leading to uneven geographical developments (See Appendix F).

Optimum Outlet Centre, similar to other shopping malls, settles on a huge plot surrounded by Highways and empty lands. Thus, it is almost impossible to walk up to Optimum that the vehicle access is the unique choice to go Optimum (See Appendix F). Moreover, it is also a private property open to service in regulated working hours with standard security protections.

Panora, settled in one of the most ‘elitist’ districts in the city similar to Gordion, is surrounded by high-rising Park Oran Residences that Panora can be seen one of the most successful examples of the shopping malls that integrated to its near environment with its park in front of it and the entrance level opened to outside separately. But, the major problem does not lie in the integration of different entrance levels to the building that the shopping mall and its near environment is completely separated and segregated with an ‘elitist’ differentiation from the whole city (See Appendix F) as a result of the high-consumption culture and the target of high-income groups as customers for the environment besides the facts of the private ownership and commercial regulations similar to all shopping malls.

As a result, it is better to understand the notion of ownership and property relations on land in this context which is also concern of the political philosophy. So, the philosophical bases that lie in the notion of ownership over land could be related with even the idea of the creation of the eternity for the personality existent with the notion of authority, as a significant fact even in ancient kingships as Günay denotes (Günay, 1999). Thus, this not only depicts the search for the infinity for itself but a certain relation of ‘domination’ not only on the land but also on the rights of the other citizens over the land although the citizens born or live on those lands as a basis for the contemporary capitalist power relations even today. It is a way of transferring the finite to infinity through ownership relations especially on land as it is not finite for the authorities, of course.

Besides its philosophical roots, productions relations and the space are also directly related with the idea of ownership of land as a dominant and authoritarian notion of especially related with the capitalist mode of accumulation. So, as the capitalist production mode tries to dominate and control the production and labour relations as a part of the individual claiming the rights on his/her labour, and the land, as the space associated with the production processes is dominated by the ownership relations as a property. Thus, it has not only the philosophical relations but also capital, labour relations together with land in the production of space with the rising property relations (Lefebvre, 1991; Günay, 1999).

It can be summarised that the ownership of the plots as private properties in the city spaces depicts the domination of the property relations over the fragmented city space and the domination of the communal rights on the city spaces only by some privileged individuals, the capitalist class, that property relations also becomes a part of the domination of the city structure by the privatisation of fragmented plots especially regulated in a “grid-iron” system almost in every city today showing the regulation of the city space as a property for the ownership.

So, it also depicts the fact of the rent on land through the domination of space by ownership and the land and rent speculations associated with these relations as Günay also asserts (Günay, 1999). As a result, the property relations on shopping malls not only in Ankara but as a whole depicts the contemporary mode of domination on space including not only the service production relations but also consumption and rent relations embedded within a controlled space.

The relation of hegemonic property and ownership conditions derived from the relations within the city concerning the relations of privatisation and property ownership, Giddens depicts the class relationship engaged with the property relations associated with capitalist mode of production (and consumption today):

Capitalism is a system of commodity production, centred upon the relation between private ownership of capital and ‘propertyless’ wage labour, this relation forming the main axis of a class system. Capitalist enterprise depends upon the production for competitive markets, prices being signals for investors, producers, and consumers alike (Giddens, 1991).

This definition is also acceptable by the description of Sze Tsung Leong in the essay titled as “Control Space” in the book “Mutations”, especially depicting the contemporary structures with private property relation such as shopping malls and their property relations associated with the control over space by the notion of authority not only time sharing social practices but also on the urban space as:

Control space deforms what used to be considered the urban. Not only have the traditional distinctions between public/private, inside/outside, and near/far been eclipsed by this far more efficient, rapid, ubiquitous, and “invisible” cartography of informational analysis, saturation, and regulation; in the wake of control space, the three binaries have been surreptitiously mutated, topologically reconfigured, systematically coerced, while still (innocently) believing in their former authority (Leong, 2000).

So, it can be said that shopping malls are not only a part of sub-central development including economic and cultural aspects but also reforming the city space under the rising privatisation and the individual property relations associated with the increasing speculations on rent of land and capital accumulation processes at certain areas leading to uneven geographical development processes with increasing segmentation including differentiation and homogenisation at the same time. As a result, the privatisation of the public spaces by the transformation of state-owned areas to private properties and the dominant capitalist power relation with the control over the land properties depicts the restructuring processes of the city space under hegemonic capitalist power and property relation not only with uneven geographical development but also excessive differentiation in the society with class and income relations; and the ‘spatialisation’ of these differentiations with segmentation of city space into fragmented and privatised property plots reflects the homogenisation of city space with the ownership of capitalist and hegemonic powers on the city space with different transformation and restructuring processes and projects and state-assisting regulations legitimising these processes.

To sum up, shopping malls are not only significant in the control and the spatialisation processes of the concentrated spaces for mass consumption with the increasing and varying needs, but also important actors in the formalisation and the restructuring processes of the urban spaces with their strategic positions in the city concerning the growth and the population of the near environment besides the potential for the development of these areas not only economically but also spatially.

In this respect, shopping malls also create new conflicts in the city space concerning land and rent speculations on the urban land and the transformation processes and the growth of specific environments with increasing uneven geographical development and the segmentation of the spatialisation of differentiation occurred at earlier periods in the city. In addition to that, the increasing private investment and property relations through shopping malls and the urban lands requires to question more about the capitalist mode of relations on

urban land and architectural spaces with the desire of increasing control over capital accumulation and capital flow processes with production and naturally consumption, in the contemporary age. **It is the conceptualisation of city spaces through capitalist investment and control over the urban space to create a much more homogenised and controlled urban environment for the capitalist mode of consumption and production. It is achieved through the global capitalist investment networks concentrated at shopping malls and the transportations networks of the city transformaing the city space into only a mere corridor to pass through for shopping malls.**

So shopping malls could be hypothesised as:

- Seen as “non-places”, as the **centrality of decentralized geographies** with the connection and relation between them through ‘networks’; and **connection to the global world through the global capital flows and product networks**, shopping malls are one of the significant architectural/spatial reflections of “the Network Society” as the “spaces of flows”. In other words, by being at the junction points of the networks of transportation and flows with the external effects to their surroundings; and as part of global capitalist investment environments as **the significant part of the global and regional capitalist investment networks**; they are the part of conceptualisation and homogenisation of the urban environments including the transformation of economy, daily life and way of interaction through the city spaces.

Thus, it could also be possible that shopping malls are the significant parts of the spatialisation processes of capitalist relations especially concerning the control on consumption and capital accumulation and distribution processes integrated to regional and even global economic networks, which requires to question that shopping malls are whether emerging archetypes in the context of globally structured and locally distributed capitalist mode of services serving for consumption.

4.4. Understanding the Strategic Conditions of Cities (The city of Ankara) with the Concept of Globalisation: “The Management of Local and Global”

As it is depicted earlier in the study that the urbanisation and even the mode of “metropolitan cities” become the emergent dominant structure in the history of man as a result of the increasing dependencies of rural environments to larger cities and the dependency of these larger cities to the structural relations of globalisation in economic, social, political and communication relations. The processes not only depict the influential condition of global structures, but also the specific role of renewing of cities in a world of generalised ‘metropolitanisation’ leading to a much more dynamic and interactive relationship between the local and the global (Borja and Castells, 1997) depicting the domination of the emerged informational economy with the rise of networked social and economic systems on the globe, in fact.

As the city of Ankara becomes to carry the formalisation processes of segmentation with the homogenisation of segregation of local geographies and sections of the city, physically and demographically, the sub-central developments fostering multi-central growth, transformation processes leading to much more shift in the structural relations of the city concerning economic and social aspects with the increasing dependencies to liberalisation politics and impact of globalisation of environments besides the changing ownership relations in the city. The structural relations depict the spatialisation practices of global notion of spaces in the urban space, as first shopping malls isolate the city from themselves by isolating themselves from the city, physically, and then try to increase the integration with the city through the dependency relations with the city, not only economical and socially, but also spatially by triggering much more generated projects in the cities under the liberalised economy.

Thus, it depicts the management of local geographies under the influence of global structural relations networked by certain economic, politic and technological means depicting the fact that strategically dominant activities in the city structures organised in or for global decision making and exchange networks, from financial markets (Borja and Castells, 1997).

In this respect, shopping malls in Ankara not only depicts a renewing processes of urban spaces through creating homogenised and totalitarian consumption environments with monopoly by capitalist investors, as controlled by capital investment and isolated from direct relationship of city structures economically and physically, but, they are also the part of spatialisation processes of global market relations including certain ownership relations and the desire of the interaction with the city, with the users in the city, economically and socially. So, they stimulate new restructuring processes influencing not only economic and social processes, but directly the spatialisation and urbanisation processes of state and governmental operations with the impact of globally networked capitalism with, unfortunately; as the most significant aspect of that manipulated decision-making processes in the urbanisation and spatialisation of the city besides the economic and social structural relations. They are also the generation of new sub-central development areas in the studies for the development plans of Ankara by the municipality of Ankara as the authority of planning in the capital city, integrated with mostly shopping malls and/or the environment isolated by the general physical structure of the city, depicting the influence of generated global and regional capitalist investment environments in the decision making processes of local governmental management processes besides the continuation of fragmented operations and development processes through environmental and revision plans with the lack of an unified development plan.

Although the development of globally networked investment environments, as shopping malls in Ankara, have also very positive influences on the city structure with the rising growth and development especially in the dynamics of the city with economic and even spatial influences and with new transformation projects and development areas, these have not only create uneven geographical development within the city space as a result of the concentration of these investments only at certain parts of the city, increasing the existent tension between wealthier and the poorer, the developed and less developed areas and income groups, but also the rising domination of capitalist ownership on the city space itself as especially shopping malls have certain ownership relations and the increased dependencies in cities to globally networked capital investments, in fact.

The necessity to state-regulated legitimation of globalisation in strategic geographies with the increasing dependencies on capital investment leading to the impasse is explained by Borja and Castells as:

Cities, for their part, increasingly depend on the forms of their articulation with the global economy as regards their standards and modes of living. That is why new frontier for urban management consists in getting each city ready to face global competition, since the welfare of its citizens depends on that. There is however a simplistic view and one which is ultimately self-destructive, of the mechanisms and objectives of competitiveness in the case of cities: that investors must be attracted at any price, by reducing taxes and controls and accepting lower salaries and a lower level of social protection. When that policy becomes the norm, it generates downward-spiralling living conditions, and it ends up depressing and impoverishing all urban communities, thus proving detrimental for companies (Borja and Castells, 1997).

Thus, it is the state-regulated global domination on the spatialisation practices at “strategically” significant environments especially to increase the capital flow and accumulation at the same time at certain homogenised environments in the city and to influence the generation of capital by influenced environments under economic, social and even political relations, further. As one of the most problematic issue in the local decision making processes is the lack of negation within the specialists, this also creates the domination of state-regulated activities onto itself as a result of increasing dependent relations to capital investments and globally networked market relations in strategically significant geographies, such as the capital city of Turkey, Ankara.

Thus, with respect to that, ‘**the generic capital city**’, as Ankara, could be defined in relation with these structural relations and increasing dependencies to global and regional investment conditions. As a result, the city becomes a part of local competition of ‘generated’, ‘generic’ infrastructural and spatial environments for globally networked capital investment, while resulting in more increasing dependent relations to global and regional investments and even to larger city structures in that competition. Thus, the city space and structural relations become generated with respect to the global norms and investment networks, through certain spatial practices as refusing the existent urban fabric form and creating its own isolated and generic environment, as in the concept of in itself “**non-places**” and even for its near surrounding under certain regulation and transformation processes as in the condition of shopping malls in Ankara.

Thus, the influence of shopping malls in Ankara as “non-places” could be seen as a part of generated (generic) fragmented and also homogenised city space as a result of infrastructural competition within the city itself to get the capitalist investment, leading to controlled segmentation in city structure, besides the increasing dependencies of countries and cities such as Turkey, Ankara to the globally generated environments.

There is also a relation between the strategic condition of Ankara not only as a capital city but also with its strategic location for the capital investment in the homogenising impact of globalisation on the world. As Ankara is located at the central part of the country, Turkey, the country, where is at the junction point of Europa, Asia and Africa as still significant in

the connection of these continents physically, politically, economically, socially and culturally. So, Ankara has been becoming significant strategic point for global investment at the intersection points of these geographies in the homogenisation processes of the globe with the rising emphasis of the investment to developing countries in Middles Asia, East Europe, even Africa and to Turkey.

Thus, it is even possible to see the history of Ankara as ‘generated’ structural and spatial processes in history as the history of Ankara includes many growth and development processes generated by certain power relation in a sudden with no reference to previous historical and physical conditions, but its strategic location at the every age. Consequently, the fact points out the significance of strategic and contextual analysis as a possibility for interacting with structural relations and norms; together with the history of these strategic conditions depicting the whole subjective reasoning processes of mankind including capitalist structural relations.

4.5. Ending the Chapter

It is the ‘spatialisation’ practice of global capitalist investment at the “strategically” significant geographies for the homogenisation processes of globalisation influencing the economic, social and spatial practices and processes. Thus, city spaces with their strategic dynamics become significant in the global structural relations and the integration of global investment to local geographies as in the city structures to that networked global relations, dually. In this respect, the strategic condition of Ankara with its historical spatial and structural practices becomes significant to understand the integration of globally homogenised and designated environments through the spatial practices, i.e., shopping malls as conceptual spaced of global investment structures related with consumption, within certain specific conditions of cities.

As a result, it is to see how global structural relations with interaction and the influence on the urban environments, on city spaces have practiced through the shopping malls as globally-shared spatial practices. Additionally, it is to understand the role of state-regulated operations and development strategies influencing the structural and spatial relations in the city structures including the concentration points of growth as sub-centres, development processes in the cities with changing urban fabric and the transforming property and ownership relations through the ‘spatialisation’ practices of global environments superposed onto city structures as creating homogenised and dominated urban environments through certain global regulation practices in the competition of infrastructural developments. It is the relations of spatialisation practices not only in the cities, increasing the segmentation and fragmentation through increasing multi-central forms with districts in urban environments, but even between cities with the dependencies on globally networked investments. Thus, it is also necessary in the study to understand the shopping malls as global spatial practices imposed onto city structures as ideological spaces beyond the strategic relations with city structures with their own dynamics as emergent architectural archetypes of globalisation in contemporary age in the increasing the dependency relations of cities to global spatial

practices. This is not only the way of shift from the production of space, but also the shift from historical and contextual process of a specific city structure, which means also the expression of the autonomy of the production of shopping malls, as an architectural archetype beyond city structures for the conceptualisation of city spaces under certain economic concerns of capitalism.

CHAPTER 5

READING SHOPPING MALLS AS ARCHITECTURAL ARCHETYPES IN THE CONCEPTUALISATION OF CITIES

In this chapter, it is to determine shopping malls as significant spatial practices of globalised time-sharing practices concerning consumption and integration of different activities together in a unified and homogenised conceptual space produced under ideological and economic concerns of global and regional capitalist investment. Thus, it is to define shopping malls as emergent architectural archetypes, especially have risen as a result of the restructuring processes of capitalism especially after 1980s and 1990s to control the rising consumption and capital flow activities and production processes related to these actions together with concentrated capital accumulation. So, it also aims to understand the influence of globalised spatial practice in the conceptualisation of spaces, in the city structures.

Thus, it is designated to question the structural global relations of capital accumulation and culture through shopping malls in Ankara to understand the global strategies and structural relations on local geographies as a strategy to connect dispersed and segmented geographies with “systematized” global spaces for accumulation and consumption for the mass customization, as a dialectical case of capitalism mentioned before to understand whether shopping malls are globally connected within a “systematised” global networking systems through flow of capital and mass products to overcome the dispersion of capital accumulation. In other words, it is to testify whether the shopping malls are control spaces of capital investments in city structures or not; by analysing the ten shopping malls in Ankara with their architectural and architectonic characteristics and with their internal aspects to understand the structural relations of global spaces which Marc Augé calls them “non-places”; Castells calls “space of flows”; and Rem Koolhaas calls as “Junkspace”.

In this respect, the study also regards the relation of globalised spatial practices of capitalist investment as shopping malls, with the relation of conceptualisation of city space, with respect to the production of capitalist consumption spaces, shopping malls; as they isolate the city space first from the their interior spaces by isolating themselves from the city, while they also try to reintegrate the structural relations of city (economic and social) as a result of economic and ideological reason of capitalist investment, which requires the analysis of internal dynamics of shopping malls together with the conceptualisation processes of spatial practices.

5.1. Conceptualisation of Spaces in Cities

Although, Ankara has specific local characteristics and historical background with its certain geographical and physical constraints and its local agents, and action and reaction processes, the urbanisation process of Ankara have mostly been influenced generally from the industrially developed countries, which are also the pioneers of the modernisation and globalisation processes and the transformation of bourgeoisie class to the contemporary condition of capitalist class.

As Gönül Tankut also depicts, even in the most influential and revolutionary transformation period of the country and also for Ankara, the initial years of the republic, Turkey is influenced by the 'western' regulations for the modernisation processes (Tankut, 1998), also lasting in the developed countries, including law, education, health, cultural regulations and urbanisation processes concerning especially the modernisation of Ankara as the pioneer city for these regulations.

As a result of the awareness of the being less developed country especially in the industry and in the modernisation in country, it became one of the major objects of the country, Turkey, to attain to the civilisation level of the most developed countries in the world, as assigned by Atatürk especially to the next generations of the country, seeing the real conditions, in fact. Thus, this not only depicts a self-realisation of the country in the modernised civilisations developed especially in the industry, by the formalisation processes resulting in the advance of technology for production and communication, but it also hides an admit and submission to the power and hegemony of the developed countries and so to the developing capitalism in the world, which is similar to the condition of many countries, less developed from them. Although, the modernisation processes in Turkey, was tried to be achieved by less dependent relation as possible to the developed countries, even any regulative processes were influenced especially from the modernisation processes of European countries even at that period, in this respect.

Thus, the modernisation processes of Turkey, as a result, has always included the regulative power relations of developed countries and the influences on Turkey as a 'top to down' power relations including the economic and cultural regulations even lasting today with the attempts of Turkey including the submission processes to European countries for the entry to European Union and the increasing "semi-dependent" relations especially with the United States of America.

Therefore, these conditions and facts also requires to quest the relations of the conjuncture in the developed countries in the period of globalisation as a whole concerning the homogenisation and the restructuring of every local geography under certain regulation processes associated with structural relations of global economic networks and cultural transformation processes linked to these processes.

Consequently, the shopping malls as a reflection of the spatialisation processes of globally homogenised and networked relations of consumption and the control of capital flow and accumulation processes in the mode of concentration on specific nodes in the every geography under the influence of internationalisation and globalisation are required to be analysed with respect to the strategically developed features to control the localised

consumption and capital accumulation. This fact depicts the global accumulation in a way of 'non-contextual' contextualisation; that as once the shopping malls are constructed in a place as also Tschumi (1994, 2004, 2010) tries to focus on depicting the "contextualisation of concept" (Tschumi, 2004) engaged with the construction of a conceptual space such as shopping malls in any geography, associated with the placement of a 'non-place' in a certain environment strategically; concerning many parameters as mentioned in earlier chapters including economic, social, spatial and cultural dimensions and the "conceptualisation of a context" (Ibid); which is the 'generic transformation' of a certain environment without any reference to any context, history and local features for the sake of 'spatialisation' of structural relations of globalisation at the every environment as a homogenisation strategy of capital accumulation and flows; at the same time, dialectically.

Thus, this fact advances the questions on the idea that shopping malls are whether conceptual or, in other words, the ideal spaces of the global capitalist economic relations to centralise the dispersed capital accumulation through consumption geographies as a result of capital flow through different geographies by breaking the spatial boundaries. Therefore, it is to understand if shopping malls are the 're-spatialisation' processes of the annihilation of place by global time-sharing practices, but in a 'non-contextual', 'non-historical' and 'globally idealised' spaces of consumption associated with many different programmatic qualities embedded to them as an utopia, the utopia of the capitalist accumulation and flow processes on the every geography depicting the natural characteristics of a "type" for a globally homogenised architectural spaces as "the space of flows".

So, shopping malls, in fact, are the concern of the 'conceptual spaces' with certain economic, social and programmatic relation engaged with the globally and regionally networked structural relation. As a result, although the shopping malls became a part of context of an environment, when built in a specific geography, they are also conceptualise that environment for certain global and regional economic relations concerning consumption besides other 'spatialisation' and socialisation processes together with the spatialisation of an 'idealised space' for capital accumulation and flow suitable through any geographies with the processes and/or potential of growth and transformation.

In this respect, it is to evaluate shopping malls as the spatial archetypes especially emerged in the post-industrial period with the rise of controlled consumption and observed in the following period following in the contemporary age.

5.2. What is an Archetype

An archetype is depend on several 'structural relations' in 'one condition'. Thus, with respect to the fact, an architectural archetype also could not only be understand only by its architectonic qualities but also its economic and social aspects concerning generally structural relations with certain power aspects, i.e., capitalism (or bourgeoisie, or another power such as empire, god for example for a monument and/or a religious building etc.).

In this respect, the spaces of globalisation with the near meaning of ‘space of flows’ concerning the capitalist accumulation processes and/or “non-places” depicting the re-spatialisation of the annihilation of place by time under non-existent and non-contextual time-sharing social and economic practices depicting the age of super-modernity with globalisation; are the objects of the quest of the study and whether shopping malls constructed with certain economic and social concerns in the urban environments could be analysed as ‘global spaces’ and engaged with global structural relations and networks.

Thus, in this context, even Henri Lefebvre, who always asserts on the spatial practices and the production of space as focusing on the spatialisation processes beyond and together with structural relations, claims that global space could not be understood and reduced to certain spatial architectonic qualities without the economic and social dimensions of the conditions to determine an archetype, in fact. He not only sees the global level of relations influencing the partial effects at certain level, but also specific economic and social relation at certain environments, which is in fact as also an aim of this study.

So, Henri Lefebvre especially asserts on the specific economic relations to understand the global level of spatialisation as:

It may be asked whether global space is determined by architectonics (our discussion of which is about to come to an end and debouch onto other analytical perspectives). The answer must be no – and this for several reasons. First of all, the global level is dependent upon dialectical processes which cannot be reduced to binary oppositions, to contrasts and complementarities... They are, in other words, necessary but not sufficient conditions. The global level mobilizes triads, tripartite conflicts or connections... capitalism cannot be analysed or explained by appealing to such binary oppositions as those between proletariat and bourgeoisie, wages and profit, or productive labour and parasitism; rather it is comprised of three elements, terms or moments – namely land, labour and capital, or in other words rent, wages and profit – which are brought together in the global unity of surplus value (Lefebvre, 1991).

As mentioned earlier, shopping malls not only could be defined with their certain architectonic qualities but the relation with the city, land, rent and production and consumption relations as a part of regional and global networking relations and links concerning economic, social and infrastructural conditions influencing and influenced by specific relations. Moreover, as Lefebvre also points out the social relations of global space and even the domination of power relations are mostly derived from privatisation on the public relations for certain desires such as hegemony, authority and capital accumulation and rent as also mentioned earlier, which are much more associated with structural economic and social relations besides architectonic qualities at universal level imposing on the specific conditions as ‘conceptualised and idealised’ environments but for certain desires as a part of domination ‘structures’ on ‘things’. Lefebvre says:

The global level, moreover, has its own mode of existence, and its effects are qualitatively different from partial effects... Inasmuch as global space bears the inscriptions and prescriptions of power, its effectiveness redounds upon the levels we have been discussing – the level of the architectural (monument/building) and the urban. Where global space contrives to signify, thanks to those who inhabit it, and

for them, it does so, even in the 'private' realm, only to the extent that those inhabitants accept, or have imposed upon them, what is 'public' (Lefebvre, 1991).

As a result, first of all, it is to understand how an archetype, especially an architectural type could be defined. To assist to define this notion it is useful to look at the Van Berkel & Bos's definition for the type as they say "When form and content are superimposed: a type emerges. This is the problem with an architecture that is based on a representational concept: it cannot escape existing typologies" (Van Berkel, 1998).

As shopping malls are the reflection of the satisfaction of certain programmatic qualities surrounded by certain architectural forms, they become architectural archetypes in this respect. Thus, it is to analyse the architectonic qualities of shopping malls with the analogies to get whether they are conceptual spaces even with their architectonic and programmatic qualities operated in the every geography to increase the controlled consumption with rising capital accumulation.

5.3. Spatial Archetype of Capitalist Consumption Spaces

Shopping malls, in this respect, are seen as the new archetypes emerged in the social processes besides the increasing variant activities in consumption to get a unified and even sacred shopping activity depicting a 'hyper' value focused on the shopping activity within the idealised space of consumption of capitalist space as the new monuments of the capitalist flow and accumulation with its universal notion in the globalisation processes as Baudrillard denotes:

Here we are at the heart of consumption as the total organisation of everyday life, as a complete homogenization. Everything is appropriated and simplified into the translucence of abstract "happiness," simply defined by the resolution of tensions. Expanded to the dimensions of the shopping mall and the futuristic city, the drugstore is the sublimation of real life...Just like the Roman Pantheon where the gods of all countries coexisted in a syncretism, in an immense "digest", the super shopping center, our new pantheon, our pandemonium, brings together all the gods, or demons, of consumption. That is to say, every activity, labour, conflict and all the seasons are abolished in the same abstraction. The substance of life, unified in this universal digest, can no longer have any meaning (Baudrillard, 1988)

At this point, it could be better to understand Marc Augé's depiction "non-places" such as shopping malls, airports with the notion of global spatialisation with certain global time-sharing practices not engaged directly with a certain, specific environment, but sharing the same architectonic qualities and time-sharing practices of other shopping malls and airports at different geographies on the world. A similar definition on the spatialisation of global time-sharing practices also comes from Rem Koolhaas, the well-known Dutch architect, as he calls the phenomena as "Junkspace".

Koolhaas evaluates the emerging period of contemporary age under the influence of capital flow and the “Junkspace” as the mega-structures to contain different activities together in a unity similar to modern understanding as a response to postmodern fragmentation, but without architecture, in other words, with the engineering of spatial and technical aspects and infrastructure of the building with programmatic regulations, which create a “type” in total. Thus, “Junkspace” is still an archetype without architectural concerns, but with architectonic and infrastructural elements creating an architectural type at the end (Koolhaas, 2000), under certain programmatic and spatial regulations trapped in an envelope surrounding the building as façade, while it has no fenestration and articulations for opening as not reflecting the interior space as inverse to modern understanding .

Thus, shopping malls have certain programmatic aspects with certain form surrounding these programs in a single building as defining it as a “type”, by definition. But, this fact requires more analysis and analogies between architectonic and spatial characteristics in typical examples to get the notion **shopping malls as an emergent architectural “type”**.

In this respect, the analysis of shopping malls as the emergent archetypes in contemporary age dependent on the economic and social relations are supported and controlled through a parametric matrix study (**see Appendix A**) analysing these each of interrelationships in both contextual and conceptual manner to get the specific, strategic and structural relations comprising shopping malls related with global and regional markets.

Thus, related to these studies and analysis, shopping malls, as the “spatialisation” of globalised markets in urban environments, are analysed as the emergent architectural archetypes through the scale and bigness; **enclosure from outside; control; services; infrastructural and technical aspects; accessibility; circulation; comfort conditions; openings; facades and spatial articulation conditions with programmatic aspects** besides the solid-void and circulation aspects in addition to the social and economic structural relations including the relations of brands and global markets with the notion of increase in profit; plot and ownership relations; users; consumer society; consumption activities and social reflections.

Mall of America, as one of the largest shopping malls in the world constructed in 1992, for example is one of the typical examples emerged as large shopping malls in the consumption economy especially.¹ With its spatial characteristics, it has become the inspiration object for many mall in different countries that today there are many shopping malls even larger than Mall of America today in Asian, Middle East, North American countries and even in İstanbul, Cevahir Shopping Centre, depicting the globalisation of spatial practices as shopping mall in different geographies on the every geography integrating to global market structure in the emerging informational economy and contemporary age.

¹ For more information, see the website www.mallofamerica.com.

Mall of America, (See also the interior photograph in Appendix P) is also depicted conceptualised space like a form of ‘architectural type’ by Mark Gottdiener with his spatial and tectonic analysis on it as:

The Mall of America covers 78 acres, with more than 4 million square feet floor area that includes 2.5 million feet of actual retailing space, has more than four hundred specialty shops and four large department stores, and contains a fourteen-screen movie-theatre, nightclubs, bars, nine areas of family entertainment, more than twenty-two restaurants, and twenty-three more fast-food outlets. But that is not all. At the centre of this three-story complex, beneath an immense hyperspace of skylights, mall developers located a seven-acre theme park run by Knott’s Berry Farm of southern California. The park has trees and bushes, a controlled climate, twenty-three amusements rides including a roller coaster, fourteen places to eat, and high-tech virtual-reality simulations.

...This mall is a totally themed environment, but its motifs, like the case for other malls as well, are subservient to the principal need of conformity with the decors of its tenant shops. Commercialism – and not the overarching themes of the classical city that is religion, cosmology, or politics – dominates the contemporary mall form (Gottdiener, 2000).

Thus, this creates a need of structural reading on the spatial tectonics of shopping malls and to analyse the architectonic elements with analogies to find common issues as the reflection of shopping malls and variations to decipher the strategic and specific deviations.

Scale of the shopping malls and their bigness in terms of their total areas and interior volumes, in this context, becomes one of the significant aspects in the analysis. So, according to Koolhaas (1995), as the architecture today also becomes transformed under new technologic, social and economic conditions, some significant architectural pieces become very large with their heights, and areas that they settling on beyond their contexts. In this respect, these architectural pieces becomes ‘cities within the cities’ competing with the city with their non-contextual and non-historical meanings, as depicted as “non-places” and/or as “Junkspace” by Koolhaas with the same meaning, that they include many different activities and action in themselves together just to maintain the life in itself in an enclosed and homogenised environments, with certain profit and property relations, of course manipulated by capitalist accumulation. Koolhaas depicts these facts with the notion of globalisation of spatial practices as:

If bigness transforms architecture, its accumulation generates a new kind of city... The street has become residue, organisation device, a mere segment of the continuous metropolitan plane where the remnants of the past face the equipment of the new in an uneasy standoff. Bigness can exist anywhere on the plane... Bigness no longer needs the city: it competes with the city; it represents the city; it pre-empt the city; or better still, it is the city... Bigness, through its very independence of context, is the one architecture that can survive, even exploit, the new global condition of the tabula rasa... Bigness is the last bastion of architecture – a contraction, a hyper architecture (Koolhaas, 1995).

So, when a building has overpasses the condition of a critical mass and volume, it becomes a giant structure leading the fact that the building could not controlled only by architectural concepts but the architectonic elements in the structure become differentiated in themselves and comprises the building as a whole (Ibid). In addition to that, the distance difference between the core area and the façade of the building becomes immensely much leading to the breaking point of facade from the interior or the building, inversely to the notion of Modern architecture with the desire of openness and reflection of interior at the facade as Le Corbusier depicts also in his studies and buildings.

So, scale of the building depicts the breaking point of contemporary not only from traditional, but also from the modern, as “super-modern”; outside from inside; concept from context; private from public. The notion of “Bigness” leads to the differentiation of the shopping malls, in this context, from the city and contextual meanings. In this respect, the building only becomes to relate itself to the transportation networks and the population of the city with potential users and investors; so, shopping malls are related with the roadways and certain concentration points of people with consumption demands and the potential areas for the growth engaged with the capital accumulation and flow.

Thus, shopping malls in Ankara analysed in the study that mentioned earlier, all have interior spaces larger than 100.000 m² usable areas as a parameter for bigness in the city and again most of them settle on the plots owned by the capitalist investment of the management of shopping malls more than 50.000 m² area, which equals a modest urban plot in the dense urban fabric that many apartment buildings settle on it (See Appendix E, F). So, it creates a breaking point in the ‘spatialisation’ processes in the city as a single unit, with its hyper-large interior ‘volume’ and also with the private property relations on such large urban plots.

As bigness creates breakage between inside and outside, the notion of interior space become significant in the shopping malls (Yırtıcı, 2005). Thus, it becomes the main the major issue for shopping malls to contain every activity and spatial practice that occurred within the city under the roof of a giant building, but of course under the circumstances of homogenised and controlled flow of people, products and money.

Service, in this respect, not only represents the transformation of economic structural relations from industrial mode of production to flexible accumulation and then to the informational mode of transformation, but also the changes in the spatial practices satisfying the needs of people with rising service sector with the anticipation for more flow of money that in shopping malls beyond other city spaces, many different activities and service infrastructures are contained in the malls to get more attention of consumers and capital flow in a unified structure, under the same roof owned by capitalist investors, which also requires founding the control of that flow.

So as depicted also earlier, shopping malls in Ankara also have many different activities and services together in the same complex that shopping activity is integrated with cinema halls, eating in food courts, bowling, ice-skating, theatre, aquarium and game halls besides other retail areas concerning the selling of different products and even hotels, business centres and meeting halls and/or residences created with shopping malls connected or adjacent to the malls creating a hyper world enclosed in itself as it becomes efficient to maintain its vital activities, so, the capital flow and accumulation under the same roof.

Thus, different functions come together as shopping, eating, leisure including theatre, cinemas, playgrounds, other space for games, and besides housing, business, hotel functions integrated to shopping malls in the mix-used projects to create a unified environments enclosed in itself by maintaining and surviving alone isolated form environmental conditions as a utopian space for capitalist accumulation.

So, it also evokes the notion of control in shopping malls by certain technologic and physical infrastructures leading to much more legitimate environment for the capital flow in the space depicting the utopian space for capitalist accumulation with no crime except the desire of profit of capitalism!

Thus, the technical infrastructure such as cameras, sensors, alarms controlling the users and consumer second by second in the malls and the shopping activity with the information that the products based on called as 'barcodes' to quantify the amount of shopping activity is the most significant aspects of the economic and social control in the shopping malls. In addition to that, the credit and credit card system in the emerging 'informational mode of economy' is an indispensable way of control the consumption activity of users to control the macroeconomics of capital flow and accumulation, in total, which is not only the aspect of shopping malls in Ankara but the malls and 'shopping atmospheres' linked to global market and financial structures as depicted here (See Appendix I).

This fact also reinforces the 'informationalisation' of 'spatialisation' in the age of consumption and information with advertisements, texts, codes, information, signs, and symbols, as the phenomena could also be clarified as 'textuality' of space by information technologies and advertisements within shopping malls to direct the users, consumers to certain activities, retail areas and spaces in the mall to create more profit and capital flow with the circuit of information, people and money in the space (See Appendix I).

So, the flow of money and people also evokes the idea of circulation within the space. Maximum circulation in the mall means maximum sales volume and so the maximum profit of capital. In this respect, the circulation elements, as architectonic elements, in shopping malls become much more significant in the flow of capital by motion of people. In this respect, for example, the escalator (See Appendix H), in shopping mall 'becoming' one of the most significant tectonic elements as a part of an architectural type constituted by elements such as elevator and especially escalator, with the meaning more than their mechanical and structural values in the homogenised capitalist spaces of consumption engaged with capital flow through the circulation of users as depicted as:

...no other invention has the importance or impact on shopping of the escalator. As opposed to the elevator, which is limited in terms of the numbers it can transport between different flows and which through its very mechanism insists on division, the escalator accommodates and combines any flow, efficiently creates smooth transitions between one level and another, and even blurs the distinction between separate levels and individual spaces. The escalator radically modifies architecture; it denies the relevance of both compartments and floors. The success and rapid acceptance of the escalator – which effectively enabled the department store at the beginning of the twentieth century – is due to its effortless ability to transform virtual space into retail area. As an instrument of smoothness, the escalator effectively triggered a vast new domain of construction, which – through the very

ease of connection – we now inhabit almost automatically and thoughtlessly, and without any sense of its true scale or radically. Paradoxically, the most radical architecture has been the most popular and the least noticed (Koolhaas, 2000).

In this respect, the conditions of accessibility and the infrastructures engaged to the access to the building becomes also significant to analyse the relation of tectonic aspects with capital flow and accumulation (such as relations of building with transportation road and near environment seen as the agglomeration of users, consumers, potential profit area as a result of the quantification of capitalist accumulation in the information age). So, shopping malls, in this context could be defined at certain significant junction points of roads in the cities as in the case of Ankara that shopping malls as also depicted earlier.

In this context, shopping malls are especially engaged with the road systems in cities as a result of the desire of capitalist accumulation to find the optimum conditions with profit and best location accessed by vehicles, especially automobiles depicting the automobile based consumer profiles as a result of mobilisation of society with capital flow strategies. Thus, in this context, road systems (highways) and shopping malls are engaged with each other and malls are generally at the intersection points of the significant roads. So, located at the junction points and significant parts of the roads, they could be seen as the “generated” urban environments under the influence of capitalist flow, depicting the networked capitalist flow and accumulation in the city.

So, highways and large roadways depict the web of that network representing the flow and motion of people, products and capital through city; and shopping malls as the concentration points of these flows served as the nodes for capital accumulation on these networks (See Appendix D, E, F).

Similarly, the condition shopping malls in Ankara can be made as the objects of the analogy analysing the relation of malls with highways an significant large roads in the city, which are mostly the product of the structural city plans and decisions also dictated onto the city structure with governmental legitimisation processes, also legitimising the flow of capital through the city (See Appendix D).

In this context, it could be said that Eskişehir Road; Mevlana Boulevard (Konya Road); Fatih Sultan Mehmet Boulevard (İstanbul Road); 19 Mayıs Boulevard (Ankara-Samsun Road); Natoyolu Boulevard; Turan Güneş Boulevard; Yozgat Boulevard and the Ankara Highway surrounding the metropolitan area of Ankara are significant and large boulevard and roads besides the inner road at the centre of the city Atatürk Boulevard that all of these roads connecting one side of the city to the other and even to other cities; and these road are also part of a network of transportation of people, products, and so, capital through the city structure creating a web of the network of capital flow in the city.

As also analysed earlier, the shopping malls in Ankara analysed in the study are at the ‘junction points’ of these significant roads that the fact not only depicts the importance of accessibility to malls at the intersection of roads, but also the impact zone of the shopping malls through the road networks on the city structure with the easy access from the roads surrounding the metropolitan area entirely. For example, Armada, Cepa, Kentpark and Gordion Shopping Centres are on Eskişehir Road, which is also the main growth direction

today for the city. Armada is also at the intersection point of Konya and Eskişehir Road, as one of the initial examples of shopping mall integrated with business structures of capital investment. Panora Shopping Centre is near the junction point of the roads Konya Road and Turan Güneş Boulevard, which also creates the contemporary growth direction through its route at the south part of the city. Nata Vega Shopping Centre besides Anatolium Shopping Centre on 'Shopping Plateau' is at the intersection point of Turan Güneş Boulevard and Natoyolu Boulevard and near the junction points of Turan Güneş Boulevard and 19 Mayıs Boulevard. ANKA mall is at the intersection point of Konya Road and İstanbul Road, as the oldest large shopping mall in Ankara; Antares, is near the intersection point of Yozgat (Etlik) Boulevard with Fatih Sultan Mehmet Boulevard, although it is much more at the inner section of the urban fabric. Optimum Outlet Centre is at the intersection point of Ankara Highway and the extension of İstanbul Road to Sincan, as the suburb of Ankara, on Ayaş Road; and Forum Ankara Outlet is at the junction point of Ankara Highway and Yozgat Boulevard at the north part of the city.

The accessibility and the automobile based transportation to shopping malls, in this context, also requires the infrastructural development including open and closed car parks of shopping malls especially regarding the primary choice as the automobile transportation. In this case, a basic analogy could be made that, large car parks with massive single-unit buildings in front of them around 2 or 3 floors, at the intersection points of large roads and boulevards could belong to shopping malls. In other words, almost every shopping mall have large open car parks in front of the building besides the enclosed car parks mostly under the building (See Appendix F, H). Besides the automobile-based transportation, it could also be hypothesised that other transportation means such as bus, metro, and other ways of public transport are maintained to shopping malls with regulations.

In this respect, it is also important in the decision of the location of shopping malls related with income groups that the location stimulated the automobile based transportation, which is much more suitable for gated communities and high and middle-high income groups in the city depicting the segmentation.

Thus it creates certain impact zones in the city with the increasing demands of consumers and profit of capitalist accumulation concentrated at shopping malls.

So, the strategic location of shopping malls based on road systems also supported with the areas with certain growth and social groups with higher income groups in society or areas for further development, transformation and gentrification with the potential of growth engaged with the road networks as mentioned in the text.

Another significant aspect that to be mentioned in the emergence of shopping malls as the 'type' is the technological and technical aspects concerning the comfort conditions, controlling the condition of interior space and the transformation of interior spaces into an utopian environment simulated by capitalist accumulation.

As technology advances, circulation in buildings eases, distances becomes less to pass, artificial interior spaces emerge with increasing comfort and control conditions by technical infrastructures controlling security, air conditioning, lightning, and weather conditions including elevators, escalators, air conditioners, steel and technologic infrastructures.

Koolhaas also writes much on the transformation of space through technological innovations to create a controlled comfort conditions for these global environments within themselves to create a homogenised spaces for a “systematised” globalisation through flows and networks. He says on the changes in the conditions of the production of space by analysing the technological conditions that:

When we think about space, we have only looked at its containers. All theory for the production of space is based on an obsessive preoccupation with its opposite, substance, i.e. architecture. Continuity is the absence of Junkspace: it exploits any invention that enables expansion, enlists any device that promotes any disorientation, (mirror, polish, echo), deploys an infrastructure of seamlessness: escalator, sprinkler, fire-shutter, hot-air curtain, air-conditioning... Junkspace is sealed, held together not by structure, but by skin, like a bubble. Gravity has remained constant, resisted by the same arsenal since the beginning of time; but air conditioning – invisible medium, therefore unrecorded – has truly revolutionized 20th century architecture (Koolhaas, 1995).

And he continues with his ‘architec(hnic)tonic’ analysis, which are the means for the alienation of ‘globalised’ interior space from outside conditions, from nature and places as resistant spaces of “being” to overcome the ‘statis’ to increase the flow of capital through/in one, homogenised and well -controlled space with comfort conditions especially focusing on the ‘climatisation’ of interior space by air conditioning by saying:

Air conditioning has launched the endless building. If architecture is what separates buildings; air-conditioning is what unites them. Air-conditioning has dictated ‘mutant’ regimes of organisation and coexistence that architecture can no longer follow. Like in the Middle Ages; a single shopping center is now the work of generations; air-conditioning makes or breaks our cathedrals. Because it costs money, is no longer free, conditioned space becomes inevitably conditional space; sooner or later all conditional space turns into Junkspace. Junkspace is always interior, so extensive that you rarely perceive limits; space was created by piling matter on top of matter, cemented to form a new whole. Junkspace is additive, layered and light weight, quartered the way carcass is torn apart by predators – chunks severed from a universal condition (Ibid).

Thus, air conditioning not only creates a huge and endless interior space that to be lived in it for a long time, but also it assists the space to be isolated from the environmental conditions, which could be resistant and negative for the capital accumulation processes in a homogenised consumption environment. Thus, it creates an artificial climate in the space, and windowless, sealed, interiorised environments. This fact also asserted in the study ‘Harvard Project on the City’ analysing the shopping and its tectonic elements as a phenomenon in the city structure depicting the alienation of interior spaces of malls with increasing technologic advances from urban environments creating its own urban environ in a single roof with capitalist desires as:

...mechanically engineered climates enabled an explosion of the depth of the interior, creating spaces increasingly inescapable, and increasingly able to

accommodate virtually any type and scale of human activity, in almost any combination.

Shopping has historically preferred to do away with the outside, seeing nature as an unpredictable interference with unfolding of commerce. Instead it created its own interior realms: the bazaar, the arcade, and finally the shopping mall all exits in a lineage of increasing control and increasing autonomy from exterior conditions. With the invention of air conditioning, natural light and air could finally be superceded and rendered obsolete, as “ideal” and completely artificial shopping conditions... By making interior space larger, more comfortable, more controlled, and more difficult to escape, and by combining in a single whole activities that used to dispersed, air conditioning radically altered the way that time was spent in public. Shopping time was not only prolonged as department stores and shopping centres began their steady encroachment on public activity, but capitalised upon as a domain to be optimised and exploited: greater comfort + greater willingness to spend increasing amounts of time indoors = greater likelihood to spend (Harvard City Project, 2000).

As the interior space becomes larger and larger with respect to advances technologic infrastructures and elements, the mass of the malls becomes immense. As the mass of mall becomes larger and larger, the core and the envelope of the malls become unrelated. In other words, interior space and the façade of the building become unrelated to each other opposed to modern understanding.

This creates the notion of artificial interior space beyond the outside of the mall, and the envelope, the façade of the malls becomes another significant parameter in the emergence of shopping malls as ‘type’.

As depicted earlier, in the notion of interior space, the façade, or the envelope of the building, mall, becomes mostly differentiated from the inner space and only works as the representation of the spatialised consumption space, integrated with texts, images, signs and symbols depicting the relation with consumption activities in the malls.

Thus, it escapes from the architectural concerns and become an architectonic element surrounding the building not only working as a way of advertisement but also as a filter separating the outside from the internal world of shopping malls. Bernard Tschumi analyses the condition of façade of malls and other contemporary buildings in the emerging structural relations as:

A prevalent area of discourse and research involves investigation into the nature of architectural envelopes. While a major part of the discourse on envelopes originated with the intention to eliminate the historical distinction between façade and roof, recent discussion tend to look at the envelopes as the separation between inside and outside, focusing on the latter, with the argument that interior of the building is increasingly dealt with by specialists in other disciplines rather than by architects. In some of the main building types of our time – shopping malls, cineplexes, libraries, and museums – where there is no cause and effect relation between the inside and the outside...(Tschumi, 2010).

The emergence of extra-large buildings as shopping malls led to the separation of envelope and the interior space completely beyond architectural notion by the invasion of capitalist practice in the construction. In this respect, façade works just as the advertisement board of the mall with minimum openings generally articulated with symbols, icons of well-known brands.

Thus it not only contradicts with the notion of modern architecture but also postmodern interpretation of façade of buildings as tectonic elements that it contradicts with modern architecture with the lack of openness and with the postmodern articulations with the lack of precision and concern with the integration of city and urban fabric. As a result, the only frontal facades tries to interact with public and the city, with certain formalised and signified relations based on consumption to increase the attention to mall. Thus, other facades only works as the envelope of the structure isolating the building from city to control users, consumers, and so the capital accumulation in it depicting the domination of capitalist accumulation on the spatialisation of globally-shared practices (See also Appendix H).

Thus, it becomes articulation of the fenestrations and the openings on the façade of shopping malls almost unnecessary with the rising interior comfort and control conditions, which is also depicted in the Harvard Project on the City as:

As interior conditions are perfected during the early history of air conditioning, the outside becomes increasingly unnecessary. As a result, it is possible for the first time to imagine that the window – long assumed to be done one of the most indispensable architectural elements – could become obsolete (Harvard City Project, 2000).

In this respect, it becomes necessary to understand the spatial articulation, which could be seen even as the engineered space beyond the architectural concerns to create the comfort and control conditions with the increasing flow and accumulation of capital besides the desires, motions and consumption activities of users.

Spatial articulation of shopping malls could be defined several ways as Baudrillard simply defines a shopping mall as:

...a two-story structure...organised around a central mall, with a main street and promenades on two levels; the reconciliation of the small and large shop and of the modern pace with the idleness of antiquity.”

The mall offers the previously un-experienced luxury of strolling between stores which freely (plain-pied) offer their temptations without so much interference as glare from a display window...An exceptional system of climate control, requiring eight miles of air conditioning ducts, creates a perpetual springtime (Baudrillard, 1988).

The interior space is artificially designated to create a utopian shopping and leisure environments not influenced by the exterior conditions as weather, climate, day and night, lightning, pollution, noise and even crime in the city; to maximise the optimum conditions for shopping and profit. Thus, it creates an abstract time and time-sharing practices globally shared and locally influential that in shopping malls, the users can not even perceive the outside condition whether day and night; hot or cold; lightened or dark as a result of the

homogenised and regularised comfort conditions in the interior space to maximise the profit by technical infrastructures, comfort and control tools.

In this respect, the interior space generally articulated through large volumes, atriums, halls; and corridors, paths (internal streets) integrated to these volumes. The programmatic areas are basically aligned through these corridors as artificial streets simulating the city streets with regulated comfort and control condition; and around these atriums, under the condition of utopian shopping environments isolated from day, night; summer, winter; hot, cold; crime; noise pollution conditions (See Appendix H).

Thus, the circulation through the malls also designated intentionally to increase the desire of mass consumption with the accumulation of different products are designed in a massive and unified position creating psychological attraction on consumer as Baudrillard says:

The display no longer exhibits an overabundance of wealth but a range of select and complementary objects which are offered for the choosing. But this arrangement also invokes a psychological chain reaction in the consumer who peruses it, inventories it, and grasps it as a total category. Few objects today are offered alone, without a context of objects to speak them. And the relation of the consumer to the object has consequently changed: object is no longer referred to in relation to specific utility, but as a collection of objects in their total meaning. Washing machine, refrigerator, dishwasher, have different meanings when grouped together than each one has alone, as a piece of equipment. The display window, the advertisement, the manufacturer, and the brand name here play an essential role in imposing a coherent and collective vision, like an almost inseparable totality. Like a chain that connects not ordinary objects but signifieds, each object can signify the other in a more complex super-object, and lead the consumer to a series of more complex choices (Baudrillard, 1988).

So, similar to that every shopping unit is designated intentionally with this respect in a sequence through circulation and each other is located near others to create a continuous shopping activity through the mall.

This requires the analogies and spatial analysis of shopping malls with their spatial articulations to get the notion, whether they are conceptual spaces based on certain norms and regulations.

It is thought to be useful to quest whether shopping malls have their internal dynamics as conceptual space of capitalist accumulation and flow engaged with consumption activities as emergent spatial archetypes in the contemporary age in rising global market structures. Thus, this idea supposes that shopping malls have generalised concepts in the practice of the spatialisation processes with certain spatial articulations and technical and infrastructural features that operated in every project with almost any exception.

Thus, the spatial articulation of **ANKA mall**, the interior space, for example, basically based on a continuous internal street at each of four levels; and big shopping halls including retail and other manufacturing sectors' shopping units integrated to that street and other smaller shopping units are aligned besides that street throughout the building (See appendix N, O).

There are gallery openings at the higher levels of the building to increase the effect of light and comfort conditions with the desire to create inner street effects in the malls, which becomes almost a general norm for every large shopping mall. Thus, the roof is suitable to get sun light into the building besides the artificial lightning creating 24-hour lightened interior space.

The entrance level is organised, as in the other levels, with respect to that street that the giant hypermarket Migros and Koçtaş have been placed at the two different ends of the street at the back side of the building with also their alternative entrances from outside. Thus, the entrance level also has other shopping units for men/women wear and other accessory, technological products markets and other consumption products. Basement level is also similar to the entrance level and mostly dominated by the shopping units selling technological products. First level is organised mostly for men/women wear shopping that streets have kiosk as in the other levels through the building to increase the exterior effect in the building; and the second level is also organised around the street and the additional part of the malls has again units for men/women wear and one giant technology retail and the elder part of the mall at the highest level has cinema theatre and food court, surrounded by café and restaurants, integrated to the internal street (See Appendix G, H).

Antares Shopping Centre, is also designed with respect to an internal street parallel to the road, and that street is articulated through gallery openings and 3 larger gallery openings under the atriums with circulation elements dominate the design, as the one is in the middle of the street and the other two are at the two sides of the street organising the retail units. Thus, with this respect, the entrance level is organised by that main internal street with small and larger shopping units. In addition to that, there is an alternative internal street starting from central atrium and ending with another entrance and the other atrium of the building that the hypermarket in the mall is integrated to that street besides other smaller units. Thus, this level includes a hypermarket, larger technology retail markets and other shopping units besides a wedding hall. The first level is also designed through the main internal street that at that level there are cinema halls and a giant food court surrounded by integrated to that street besides other retail units mostly for men/women wears. Thus, the planning schema is very similar to ANKAmall especially with the linear street organising retail units surrounding it. The basement level has one of the largest bowling halls in Ankara integrated with playground in Antares (See Appendix G, H).

Armada Shopping Centre, as one of the significant shopping malls with its impact on the city, is also designed with respect to the integration of street and atrium/gallery openings as almost a general model in the shopping mall designs. Thus, it has four gallery openings at four corners and these galleries are connected with internal streets in the building; and all of these circulation systems are surrounded by shopping units. So, at entrance level and first level there are larger shopping units as hypermarket and technology market and there are smaller retail units at the core of the building and surrounding the internal streets. At the second level, there are similar shopping units similar to other floors including basement level and at the third level, there is a large food court dominating the floor, surrounded by café and restaurants. At the highest level of the building, there are cinema hall integrated with cafes just similar almost all of the shopping malls that mentioned as a strategy to integrate the leisure and eating by the integration of restaurants, cafes with cinema halls especially. According to circulation schemata it could be said that Armada has a rectangular-shaped

circulation plan schema. Shopping unit is integrated with additional part by bridges to Armada 2 at different levels and to office section at entrance level (See Appendix G, H).

Cepa Shopping Centre, just similar to other shopping malls has internal circulation streets and gallery openings at top of these corridors to create lightening effect in the interior space with comfort conditions. The entrance level, with respect to that is organised by a rectangular-shaped circulation paths surrounding shopping units at the core and surrounded by shopping units. At the basement level there is a large hypermarket section and other shopping units mostly for wear. Basement levels has enclosed car parks and connection with Bauhaus at the back side of the building. The first level is also organised by the circulation corridors articulated by gallery voids at four sides with the shopping units surrounding and surrounded by these galleries mostly for wears. The second level is also similar to the first level that it has same plan schema and shopping units for technological products, services and units for clothes. The higher level as the third level of the building has very large food court with terrace at the front side of the building looking to METU Forest, and it is surrounded by café and restaurants and articulated by gallery one opening, different from other levels. Similar to all designs, the higher level is organised for eating units and cinema halls that the halls are situated at the backside of the building at the same level (See also Appendix G).

Kentpark Shopping Centre, has also similar spatial articulation features together with circulation plan schemas that it has one circular and larger atrium and gallery opening near to the entrance of the building at the one corner of the circulation routes as “internal streets” that these streets at four sides have rectangular-shaped like circulation plan articulated by large gallery openings through these streets and one side of these streets is much more emphasised, which is the one on the axis of two entrances, as one of them is the main entrance, as almost as a result of the volumetric articulation of the building with two different mass articulations, which is different from other buildings in design. Thus, the programmatic relations are organised through these streets just similar to other projects that the larger shopping areas are used for hypermarket sections and retail areas for mass produced products such as technological products. The other retail areas are organised through the streets, and some streets are treated as thematic streets to increase the attention of the users more. The second level has large food court extended at the two sides of the building as front and back sides and it has surrounded by cafe and restaurants at other sides. At the same level, cinema is located and at the other side of the main gallery, as mentioned earlier, there are offices and halls for meeting as different from other malls (See Appendix G).

Forum Ankara, as one of the largest shopping centres in Ankara, also shows the same common qualities in other shopping malls that, retail areas are organised at the sides of circulation paths and galleries as interior streets throughout the building. In this context, the building has atriums and gallery openings as the nodes of these circulation systems and interior streets which are intersect at these galleries. Thus, the main entrance is articulated with a large atrium that it has two intersected interior streets, the one proceeds throughout the front side of the hypermarket and small shopping units, as the street is lightened completely by tinted glass roof. Another street is also divided into two that the one continues through the axis of entrance up to the “Fashion Street” and other part of the mall including

shopping units for clothes and cinemas at the higher level. The other street system circulated in the building creating U-shaped circulation plan also articulated by galleries and kiosks with artificial landscape objects as similar to other malls to increase the reality effect in the interior space. It is significant to mention about the “Fashion Street of the mall as a thematic street to generate a “Fashion environment” as an interface between two different masses and shaded with membranes as a semi-open street that it is the most significant way of segmentation and segregation even within the shopping mall itself that the “Fashion Street” is open to the users with much more higher income groups that there is even limousine transport service for the activities, while the inner area is much more engaged with consumers belong to middle and middle-high income groups. Thus, beyond the “Fashion Street”, the entrance level is organised with retail areas for different consumption activities including hypermarket, men and women wears shopping, technological products, accessories, cafes and many other shopping units. At the higher level as the top level of the mall, there is an extended food court surrounded by café and restaurants, and also surrounded by other shopping units. And the food court is integrated with the cinema halls at the other mass of the shopping mall by a bridge over the “Fashion Street” depicting the generated utopian consumption spaces for capital flow and accumulation (See also Appendix G, H).

Gordion Shopping Centre is designed through a linear inner street articulated with angular and irregular paths and three atriums, the one in the middle of the inner street and the other two are at the ends of the street. Thus, again the shopping units surrounds the inner street that the two separated and irregular masses are organised with the central atrium and the street. In this context, the entrance level has hypermarket and technology retail sections with other smaller shopping units. At the first level, the shopping units for men and women wears are organised around the inner street. At the second level, again shopping units are organised at the sides of irregular gallery openings over the inner street. At the third level there is food court and café and restaurants surrounding it and at the highest level, again there is cinema halls at top of building similar to almost all of the shopping malls integrated with eating units (See Appendix G).

Nata Vega Shopping Centre, connected with Anatolium & IKEA with bridges, has also linear circulation paths articulated with gallery openings and atriums at top of the building organising the shopping units around them. The inner street is enlarged in the middle of the building with the central atrium. It has aquarium at the basement level and at the entrance level there are shopping units surrounding the inner street. The higher levels are articulated with gallery voids throughout the inner streets and one major atrium void at the centre of the building surrounded by shopping units and food court at top of the building (see Appendix G).

Optimum Outlet Centre is also designed similar to other shopping centres with the circulation plans in the interior spaces that there are rectangular-shaped connected internal streets surrounding shopping units at the core, which is also surrounded by retail areas. Thus, in this context, different functions and shopping units including men/women wear retailers, other technological products, hypermarket, food court, cinemas, bowling and ice-skating halls are designed due to circulation systems. It has two different entrance levels including smaller shopping units, hypermarket section, technology retail; and at the upper section there are food court and at top terrace, cinemas and game halls (See Appendix G).

Panora Shopping Centre, one of the most elitist shopping centres not only in Ankara, but also in Turkey, shares almost the same circulation pattern especially with Antares, as the designers of the buildings are the same that the same designs could be seen as practiced at different parts of the city. In this respect, the interior space is articulated through a main internal street integrated with 3 larger atriums as one is at centre and gallery openings throughout the streets. The entrance level of the mall is treated different from other shopping malls, where the area is designed with the cafes with their terraces open to entrance level, although the cafes are the most elitist ones in near environment. Beyond that, shopping mall has another entrance from the lower level at the level of hypermarket separated from the mall. Thus, the entrance level under the main entrance level includes hypermarket section and the main entrance level has cafes at the outside, other shopping units. At the highest level there are food court with café and restaurants at the back side of the food court looking to outside with panoramic view and cinema halls at the backside of the building on the same level of eating as in the case many other shopping malls (See Appendix G, H).

Thus, it could be said that, spatial articulation of shopping malls with their interior spaces and other tectonic aspects creates the notion of conceptual space. Although, this conceptual space cannot be reduced certain specific conditions and relations, it gets common spatial, tectonic and structural relations shared by most of shopping malls with the impact zones for their environments depicting the economic and social concerns in this respect at the same time.

Even the regulation of programmatic aspects in shopping malls through interiorised streets depict the ‘super-modern’ **rationalisation processes of spatialisation practices** of economically concerned activities in a certain environment.

So, integration of certain programmatic and functional relations organised with the service sector in shopping malls to create a homogenous and well-controlled artificial environment in any place with growth and development potentials and linked to the global market structures and transportation systems increasing the accessibility to the place, surrounded by a defined form creates the notion that shopping malls are **emergent spatial types** especially in post-industrial period in contemporary age (See Appendix I). This leads the development of infrastructure of certain environments creating local competence in the near environments, and the global and regional control of the capital accumulation and growth of the environments of the shopping malls that to be constructed on.

The process becomes the engineering of spatial practices to create well-defined, well-controlled consumption spaces engaged with the economic structural relations especially linked to global and regional market structures to control the desire and activity of users, consumers by certain technological infrastructure and tectonic qualities engaged with shopping malls. Therefore, the fact depicts that, shopping malls become a phenomenon of globalisation of economy and culture based on consumption activities, which is beyond the architectural concerns focusing on architectural qualities and context; but the economic and social aspects with certain property relations on the single-unit building depicting the capitalist mode of capital accumulation and flow dependent on consumption activities.

Thus, these show that architectural type, as shopping malls, could not be thought separated from economic and social aspects creating a new form of culture which could be coded as

‘culturelessness’ of global culture which tries to mean the notion of belonging nowhere but to everywhere; economically, socially, spatially.

So, shopping malls with their certain content, concept and the context of a non-contextual environment as the context of globalisation settled at the every local geography, where also becomes the reflection of global mainstream, in fact, as Baumann denotes (1998); are superposed in a certain form surrounding and isolating the interior space of malls from the condition of urban space.

Thus, in this context, shopping malls could be seen not only as conceptual spaces with the idealisation of the spatialisation processes for the universalised and global economic and social environments, but also as a reflection of the initial contextual (non-contextual, in fact, which could also be disputed separately) expression, expression of especially American shopping culture and the mode of control on consumption and production and the desires of people, which is especially initiated with the new restructuring processes after the oil-crisis as depicted earlier, and operated in the whole globe in time with minute alterations, as a strategy to increase the efficiency of capital flow and control through these spatialisation processes in specific conditions, which are also worth to regard.

Bernard Tschumi also mentions on architectural types with certain formalisation processes leading to the notion of a ‘type’ and their certain aspects that to be analysed not only in general relations but also in strategic and specific conditions by saying:

Throughout this history (forms of conceptualisation), architects have been fascinated by the temptations of utopia and universality, namely, by concepts that can be applied, unaltered, to all situations and cultures. Hence our obsession with ideal geometries, mathematical models, and social archetypes... This applies as much to the digital as it does to the analog era. If one was to try to reconstitute a genealogy of architectural concepts, one would no doubt find that architecture is filled with unquestioned presuppositions, including those preconceived ideas that dissimulate unauthorized, forbidden territories, precluding new inventions or discoveries. Such a genealogy would list general concepts such as order, structure, form, hierarchy, and specific ones such as base-middle-top, or plan libre. Most importantly, it might also uncover another history, I which concepts simply derive from the very contexts they have to address. It would also show that concepts evolve through their confrontations with context and/or content (Tschumi, 2004).

5.4. Economic Structural Relations in the Creation of Shopping Malls

As depicted, shopping malls could be seen not only as basic architectural structures but also as the part of conceptualisation of an emergent type in the restructuring processes of capitalism especially in the developed and hegemonic countries in the globally linked structural relations and the ‘re-contextualisation’ of these idealised spaces in specific environments also to conceptualise these geographies with these globally linked structural relations, dialectically. So, it is to maintain these restructuring processes and the homogenisation and the universality of all geographies with the growth processes and

potentials, but for the sake of capital accumulation and control of flow, flows of capital, people, products, information etc., in the contemporary age depicting the domination of digital onto analog, bigger to smaller, richer to poorer.

Shopping malls, in this respect, also depicts the domination of globally interlinked market relations on local economies; globally idealised spatial practices onto the urban environment, the city, although it is also analysed with the strategic relations together with shopping malls. Shopping malls, as a part of 'idealised consumption spaces' derived from global economic concerns to increase the homogenisation and control on consumption and production processes especially as a response to the fragmentation in economic conditions in the conjuncture as mentioned before earlier not only as a product of certain structural relations at the global level but also considering the strategic conditions of specific relations to create the influence of the structural relations more at specific scales, in fact, as an archetype for certain economic, social and even hegemonic desires and needs, of course, for capitalism and the 'controlled' collective consumption.

In this respect, shopping malls could be seen as a 'Trojan horse' of globally linked and networked market economies located in the specific geographies to expand the restructuring processes of globally linked relation in all geographies by also transforming and homogenising these environments with the fragmentation and segmentation together, dialectically. Thus, it could also be possible to mention about the influences of shopping malls on the structural relations of city concerning socio-economic aspects (See also Appendix D).

In this context, it is useful to depict the collective consumption processes, which are associated with the contemporary spatialisation processes of these consumption as shopping malls, in the Castells's study on collective consumption (1978) and urban contradictions to better understand that whether collective consumption and shopping malls could have significant roles in the formalisation processes of urban environments with the restructuring processes as a part of domination of networked global structural relations on urban geographies through mass-customisation and spatialisation.

Thus, the spaces created in the malls are the intersection points of users and products, which are controlled by certain product codes and information, shared with corporate structures after shopping activities end through informational technologies depicting the control over consumption of products and profits in shopping malls. In the space surrounded and isolated from the city environment, although with generating and transforming effect on city, economic and social structural relations with the impact to the surroundings, the financial system and globally linked market structure reinforced in the boundaries of shopping malls with regulated consumption space is another aspect that making the shopping malls as emergent types in the spatialisation of globalisation processes.

So, the need for shopping malls as control space not only could be based on individual needs but also the collective consumption strategy of capitalism as a social dimension beyond the production and the maximisation of profits besides its economic dimension to increase the control on economic activities based on consumption and to increase the local economic competition in local geographies under the control of global market economy as the economic dimensions of the emergent 'type'.

It is to expand the issue by mentioning about the emerging advertisement culture with rising service sector and the finance models creating the new notion of globalisation of economy, which are directly related with the spatial practices in shopping malls. In other words, practices concerning shopping and leisure activities on globally-shared market economy in shopping malls depict the significance of shopping malls in the globalisation of market economies. In the homogenised atmosphere of shopping malls, globally and regionally well-known brands have their own retailer areas with certain marketing models such as franchising, sub-contracting to maintain the services to consumers. So, although shopping malls have large interior spaces, the brands and even the articulation of their retail areas are generally almost defined and designed even before the project to be completed depicting the domain of capitalist mode of accumulation on the spatialisation practices of malls.

Moreover, the finance system with the de-materialisation of exchange value through credit cards and electronic money, which also depict the universalization of exchange value on global value systems, get the ultimate material and products in shopping malls depicting the financial control on consumption and even on the macroeconomics concerning global financial systems in total, with the rising popularity of electronic money in shopping as also Baudrillard depicts as by saying “Naturally, the shopping malls has instituted for those who desire, the most modern form of payment: the “credit card.” The card frees us from checks, cash, and even from financial difficulties at the end of the month.”(1988).

Thus, shopping malls are spatial responses to control the capital flow and accumulation in certain boundaries controlling the entry and the consumption of products with the information systems, so controlling dematerialisation of finance and materialisation of exchange value at the same time with codes and information, regularly shared with the large corporations as easing the management control of networked retail areas and network of entrepreneurship on different geographies.

As it was also mentioned in the initial parts of the study, the informational economy with the rising information flow in the production and consumption controls the emerging global market structures as depicted here. So, the ‘informationalisation’ of economy through the spatialisation becomes the absolute model in the emerging system as globally linked and locally dispersed to increase the service area and the competition with capital flow and accumulation. In this respect, the information is not only used to quantify the consumption and exchange values, but also control the desire of users on products especially with the rise of advertisement economy linked to consumption.

So, textualisation of space by advertisements, signs, images, information flows controlling the shopping activities is very significant in shopping malls that almost every shopping activity and campaigns are regulated, started and finished again by these conceptual regulations, to change the desires on consumers on products creating a manipulated consumption activity regularly (See also Appendix I).

Influence on the economic structure of city with shopping malls is also significant strategic dimension in the economic restructuring processes of capitalist through cities that in terms of investors and brands (Aksel Gürün, B., 2009) and within the restructuring processes of the

cities, shopping malls have become alternative centres for the concentration of capital flow and accumulation beyond the old business districts (Aksel Gürün, B., 2009) as in the case of shopping malls in Ankara stimulating the disperse from Kızılay area as the central business

districts to the new 'strategic sub-centres' as a reflection in the spatialisation of the segmentation of the city and social structure through the late-capitalist accumulation and flow strategies.

Thus, the strategy could be defined to some extent as "retail decentralisation" depicting the influence in the economic and spatial structures within the cities especially in developing countries (Aksel Gürün, B., 2009). So, retail decentralisation depicts the effects of market forces as a general processes of the rising decentralisation; and gated communities based on automobile-based transport that it has been further developed through strategic sub-central developments in the cities with economic growth provisions besides the significance of strategic locations of shopping malls together with increasing spatial competition and control at the same time, dialectically, in city structures, although they also could be seen as a type part of the 'spatialisation' of economic restructuring processes in the global conjuncture engaged with consumption.

Beyond these facts, shopping activity has become to be seen as the collective social and economic activity in the dispersal of geographies and the desires of consumers in the society, which becomes significant especially for the large corporations to concentrate the consumers at certain environments such as shopping malls, with an organised capitalist consumption space, as a reflection of the controlled and homogenised global economy through new management systems associated with technological and infrastructural development processes as a reaction against the dispersal of the capital accumulation and the geographical development processes. Thus the economic processes are maintained not only as a continuation of 'culture industry' associated with image-making processes including advertising and social engineering leading not only the fragmentation and variations in the demands of users, but also the collective consumption processes as a way of imposition of consumption activities and preferences on society formulated with monopolised market strategies. Moreover, these dominant processes on economic and social activities are controlled by the emerging models of networked enterprising structures engaged with global market structures as mentioned also in the second chapter of the study, not only comprise of infrastructural and technological support, but also certain incorporation models as sub-contracting and franchising to control the consumption activities at different geographies under the system of large corporations based on the monopolised market structures.

So, another significant aspect in the globalised and controlled way of economic activities concerning the shopping is the emergence of credit cards and electronic money systems regularised with certain informational technological and financial structures based on globalised money and market strategies concerning the practical and controllable exchanges.

Thus, shopping with credit cards are supported through everyday activities including shopping in the malls, where are the way of 'spatialisation' of counted and controlled consumption activities and products based on global and regional market relations generally united through large corporations and brands.

Thus, shopping malls becomes an idealised and homogenised space for economic activities based on consumption and leisure by comprising different activities together in the same structure to increase the consumption and capital accumulation and so, to increase the profit, which depicts that shopping malls are a type of the 'spatialisation' of economic activities of

organised large corporations and brands mostly based on global and regional market structures with monopolisation besides the relation of private ownership.

In this respect, it becomes also significant to analyse the organised retail market structures and the emergence shopping malls in the following period in Turkey seen as the developing geography in the global market structures. Thus, as Aksel Gürün also points out the emergence of organised retail market structure (2009) based on the period especially after 1950s when the changes in the dynamics of politics in the country has been occurred, as Democrat Party came to power with the liberalisation and internationalisation politics, as mentioned earlier, that the reflections of the international engagement of market structures has been observed initially with Migros's enterprising activities in Turkey as a Swiss retailer cooperative in İstanbul, as today it is the largest conglomerate depicting the organised retail market structures in Turkey bought by Koç Holding from Swiss cooperative (Ibid). In the following period, Gima A.Ş., was significant national retailing enterprising in Turkey and Tansaş founded in 1970s especially in Aegean Region up to the period of 1980s, as the period depicts the restructuring processes not only in Turkey but also in the global market structures as mentioned earlier.

So, especially after 1980s, Turkey has also influenced from liberal and market-oriented economic structures under the rising global competition and consumption period resulting in large corporations and foreign capital investment with certain networked enterprising models in Turkey (Erkip, 2005). Thus, as also depicted earlier, the national economy has been opened to export-oriented international and global markets and communities influencing not only economic but also spatial formation processes as shopping malls are one of the reflections of these processes in this respect.

Thus, in the following period, the corporations become increased in Turkey especially in 1990s that Carrefour in 1991 as a French corporation enters Turkey, which established a joint venture with the second-largest Turkish conglomerate Sabancı Holdings in 1996 and its name become Carrefour SA in 1997; besides the enterprises of Kipa, Metro Group and Tesco and Real in the following period in Turkey together with another national enterprises as Beğendik, Yimpaş, Özdilek dispersed and organised in the geography of Anatolia. As a result, in the late 1990s and in 2000s shopping malls in Turkey and in Ankara becomes observable not only organising these retail organisations in themselves but also another consumption activities and well known global and national brands in their organisations (Aksel Gürün, B., 2009).

Thus, shopping malls following the organisation processes of chain markets and organised retail markets, becomes not only significant structures for the global enterprisers in a monopolised market structure, but also concentration points of organised global and national retail markets integrated with other consumption activities as an emerging architectural and economic type.

Migros, Gima, Carrefour, Makromarket, Kipa, Real are the large chain retailers are the corporates in Turkey and some of them are also connected with international market. Besides, many global brands, today, are organised within shopping malls depicting the homogenising and globalising consumption environments within shopping malls under controlled and semi-monopolised economic environment restraining the brand choice in the space, while stimulating the collective consumption processes.

These structural changes much more reminds the urban sprawl just in the condition of Ankara depicting the metropolitan growth with emergence of endless development based on vehicle dependent urban growth with major transportation corridors outward from urban cores (Aksel Gürün, B., 2009) besides decentralisation and multi-central development processes based on sub-central growth that shopping mall within these structures play significant roles as a reflection of spatialisation of the economic restructuring processes of global market structures in the cities such as Ankara as a part of developing cities in global market economies.

In this respect, it is thought as necessary to analyse the socio-economic aspects of collective consumption in cities influencing the economic and social structure including the relations of large corporations with the city and the users in the spaces of consumption creating homogenised, idealised conditions for the consumption engaged with new mode of capitalist accumulation networked on global markets and financial systems and distributed locally at the geographies of consumption integrating to those systems, influencing the structural relations in cities.

5.5. Socio-Economic Relations of Collective Consumption in the Spaces of Consumption

Collective consumption also depicts another conflicting condition between ‘the self’ and ‘the society’. As mentioned earlier, the rise of individuation in the culture of consumption and the differentiation and alienation in between the preferences of the users are the facts of the postmodernity. But, the individualisation has always captured by the mass consumption and mass customisation processes depicting the annihilation of ‘the self’ within the collective consumption processes as a result of the mass-produced and mass-consumed products and objects of desires in the rising collective consumption processes for the sake of capital accumulation stimulating the collective consumption under the monopolisation of the market and the brands besides the homogenisation of the ‘spatialisation’ processes for the collective consumption environments under certain and defied time-sharing practices, shopping malls.

Thus, the individualisation, in other words, ‘the self’ is sacrificed by the society with collective consumption for certain satisfaction of needs under defined and determined consumption practices and formalisation processes and the society is annihilated by the mass-customisation and the monopolised capitalist markets to increase the desires on the same and similar products, activities and so on, while as a strategy for the sake of capitalist accumulation processes to homogenise the increasing differentiation in the consumption and production processes.

In the action of idealised consumption spaces of global capitalist investments as shopping malls comprise the dialectical conditions in themselves together as unity and fragmentation-dispersion; freedom and domination, associated with consumer culture emerged after the industrial period as in post-industrial age and information age today depicting the universally designated and specifically and strategically located and operated 'sacred' spaces for consumptions as a part of well-controlled capitalist accumulation, flow and production processes associated with consumption.

Thus, in this respect, the increasing materialisation of the desires and the needs of people through consumption and the dematerialisation of the control of these needs through technology and production, finance and management processes besides the rise of 'culture industry' depicting the mass media and the culture of advertisement and have created a world full of system of objects and signs and codes as the information flow controlling these sets of desire objects in the contemporary age.

So, the system of objects here depicts the objects of consumption and the signs as the signifiers to increase and control the desire on mass consumption. As a result, the materialisation of the world in the mode of consumption leading to multiplication of objects, services and material goods are followed by the de-materialisation of the capital accumulation and the control of the consumption to create more rapid and global control systems on consumption and capital accumulation by information and information technologies concerning finance, management, production and again consumption depicting the dialectical togetherness of the rise of the network society and consumer society in the universalization and globalisation processes of capitalism.

Therefore, these aspects not only associated with the rise of individuality and the social segregation, but also certain mode of unification and the collective consumption activities together as a mode of socialisation, of course under capitalist control. Jean Baudrillard explains the need for 'the self' to increase the activity of consumption as a mode of cultural entity besides its economic structural relations in the dominant capitalist mode of accumulation as:

The system needs people as workers (wage, labor), and as economizers (taxes, loans, etc.) but increasingly they are needed as consumers. Labor productivity is increasingly replaced by the productivity obtained through technological and organisational improvements and increasingly investments are being redirected to the level of the corporation (Baudrillard, 1988).

But at the same time, the individuality is encompassed and dominated by the hegemonic capitalist relations that all individuals become the common objects of the consumption leading to "consumer society" with the sacrifice of the self to the social and collective consumption, while the process also associated with the sacrifice of that society to the very individuals again as entrepreneurs, capitalists; which Baudrillard depicts these conflicting issues together as:

But as consumer, the individual has become necessary and practically irreplaceable. In the process of the extension of the techno-bureaucratic structures we can predict a bright future and the eventual realisation of the individualist system of values, whose centre of gravity will be displaced from the entrepreneur and the individual investor,

figurehead of competitive capitalism, to the individual consumer, subsequently encompassing all individuals.

At the competitive stage, capitalism still sustained itself, for better or worse with an individualist system of values bastardized with altruism. From this arises the profound contradiction of civil and political society as “consumer society:” the system is forced to produce more and more consumer individualism, which at the same time it is forced to repress more and more severely (Baudrillard, 1988).

Thus, shopping malls play significant role in the collection of individualised objects and activities of desire in a way of combination and sets of objects and activities, signs through articulated networks, paths etc. depicting much more collective way of consumption encompassing the variant preferences of individual desires under systematised way of doing of capitalist investments. Baudrillard depicts the idealisation of shopping and shopping malls through global and capitalist mode of accumulation to increase mass consumption with certain orders as:

We can observe that objects are never offered for consumption in an absolute disarray. In certain cases they can mimic disorder to better seduce, but they are always arranged to trace out directive paths. The arrangement directs the purchasing impulse towards networks of objects in order to seduce it and elicit, in accordance with its own logic, a maximal investment, reaching the limits of economic potential. Clothing, appliances, and toiletries thus constitute object ‘paths’, which establish inertial constraints on the consumer who will proceed logically from one object to the next the consumer will be caught up in a calculus of objects, which is quite different from the frenzy of purchasing and possession which arises from the simple profusion of commodities (Baudrillard, 1988).

The process depicts the commodification of values, material with the increasing desire on consumption as Marx depicts; and the socialisation of the mass consumption with the “fetishisation of commodities” (Marx, 1963) processes by the ‘spatialisation’ of “engineered” consumption in shopping malls as isolated from obstacles to capital flow and accumulation (Gottdiener, 2000).

In this respect, shopping malls have influential environments that designate to ‘seduce’ the consumer through the sets of objects within the space counted and controlled by certain technologies, information and formation of space, which Baudrillard associates the space of shopping malls even to a ‘drugstore’ in his analogies as a centre of collection of objects of consumption depicting the idealisation of space of shopping in malls for the sake of capitalist investment as he says:

We have reached the point where “consumption” has grasped the whole of life; where all activities are sequenced in the same combinational mode; where the schedule of gratification is outlined in advance, one hour at a time; and where the “environment” is complete, completely climatized, furnished, and culturalised. In the phenomenology of consumption, the general climatization of life, of goods, objects, services, behaviours, and social relations represents the perfected “consummated” stage of evolution which, through articulated networks of objects, ascends from pure

and simple abundance to a complete conditioning of action and time, and finally to the systematic organisation of ambiance, which is characteristic of drugstores, the shopping malls, or the modern airports in our futuristic cities (Baudrillard, 1988).

So, in this context, shopping malls acquire the materialisation of desires and needs on consumption activities with the goal of satisfying individual to make him/her feel comfortable in the activity of consumption depicting the rise of individuality and the maximum level of subjective reasoning processes leading to much more non-satisfied individual in the society. But, the 'collective' shopping activity including 'the self's separately is designated with certain social value systems and signs mostly developed by the 'culture industry' with advertising and social engineering to control the shopping activity, so the production and capital accumulation associated with them by the imposition of the freedom of choice on 'the self', depicting the domination of mass consumption on the freedom of 'the self', dialectically.

It is not only about the 'spatialisation' practice, however, but also to restructure the social relations associated with economic activities and especially with consumption. The culture industry with advertisement and mass media culture as engaged with the consumption, not only stimulates the individual desires on the materialised world with mass customisation but also leads to the domination of the self by that mass customisation as a way of increasing profits and surplus value by increasing individual desires on them, which also Horkheimer denotes in his book *Dialectic of Enlightenment* in the 'Culture Industry' similarly to the need to the self as a part of subjective reasoning processes increasing the desire on consumption and the sacrifice of the self in the mass consumption.

The fact is also denoted by Jean Baudrillard depicting the influence of mass customisation on individuals and on the society, which becomes separated, segregated, disorganised at the end after the individuation processes of capitalist way of consumption and get the form of collective disorganised society. In this respect, he also asserts the initial necessity to 'the self' to increase the subjective desires on products and objects of consumption, first and then the sacrifice of 'the self' again to increase the mass customisation and consumption just in the case of individuation:

...unorganised masses as "consumer society" comprised of the very individuals of the cultural products of subjective reasoning processes...leading to social differentiation and segregation within the spatialisation of homogenised activities defining the spatial and social segmentation in metropolises...

...consumption is primarily organised as a discourse to oneself, and has a tendency to play itself out, with its gratifications and deceptions, in this minimal exchange.. Or, as we saw, the object of consumption creates distinctions as a stratification of statuses: if it no longer isolates, it differentiates; it collectively assigns the consumers a place in relation to a code, without so much as giving rise to any collective solidarity. In general then consumers, as such, are unconscious and unorganised, just as workers may have been at the beginning of the nineteenth century (Baudrillard, 1988).

In these processes, it could be seen that social transformation with economic restructuring processes and the changes in the spatial practices are all parallel to each other. In this, respect, as also Baudrillard focuses on, the creation of idealised space for consumption is associated with the capitalist mode of accumulation, flow and production. The space idealised for consumption is created on a mode of different time and spatial practice shared globally and designed to increase the consumption activity, with technical programmatic and infrastructural regulations, creating a utopia, utopia of capitalist spaces for consumption, shopping malls, as Baudrillard depicts (1988) this phenomena in his essay 'Simulacra and Simulations'.

So, in simulations, every detail is supposed and organised in terms of maximising the homogenised consumption environment creating a "hyperspace" beyond the existential and contextual meaning sharing universal, global law of consumption economy maximising the profit with the flow of people, product and money in the space, isolated from climate, day and night conditions, crime, pollution, segregated populations, illegal customers, controlled second by second not only the shopping activity, but also the motion of people, creating the flow of capital in the space.

Thus, shopping malls becomes a utopia, utopia of capitalist accumulation, a hyperspace beyond the reality, creating its own reality, its own rules in itself. All activities are the simulations that to be supposed to be realised and then they are realised; the created images, signs to control the processes derived from in fact 'culture industry' (Horkheimer & Adorno, 1996) as simulacra to increase more the desires of people.

The space becomes the sacred space of capitalist accumulation as a type, an idealised conceptual space, engineered to be operated at the every consumption geography. So, 'simulation' annihilates the real, 'ideological' is superposed onto contextual, abandoning the city space, isolating the city space with shopping malls as a hyperspace, a utopia, utopia of capitalist and global economic structures.

Hyper-real become the real in terms of the atmosphere of the capitalism with the operations of simulations designated for shopping activity in the space. In the simulations, as Baudrillard denotes, for example, you don't pretend like you are ill, you become ill really but you don't die from that illness. So, Baudrillard depicts these striking conditions as the real and hyper-real substitutes with the other that utopia (capitalist utopia, of course) becomes the operated, and the real was to the basket of the traditional in the restructuring processes of capitalism in the generation of spaces of consumption of capitalism to increase the flow and accumulation of money in artificially designated spaces.

Consumption and the spatialisation of collective consumption become the tools of the culturalisation, spatialisation, i.e., realisation of the utopia, utopia of the capitalist accumulation through the illusory and hyper-real experiences designated earlier in simulations to get the maximum profit and efficiency from the flow of products, money and people in the homogenised environments.

But, in this context, it has also other dialectical and conflicting conditions in itself. The condition of city, the urban space, for example, has always the contradictory issue in the emergence of spaces of consumption, i.e., shopping malls. So, it is also dialectical in the relation of city structure with consumption that, as first the idealised space, shopping malls

are isolated from and isolating the inner space from the city space as resisting to the homogenised global consumption space, it also needs to the city as a social and economic phenomenon creating the agglomeration and accumulation with concentration of capital, people and services. Thus, it could also be possible that even though, the idealised consumption space escapes from the urban space isolating and isolated from that, then it is to 're-integrate' the city space to the consumption activity to increase the dispersion and the unity of consumption spaces at the same time by using the city space for its own sake. Besides that the city becomes also the object of property that to be homogenised by capitalist ownership scenarios, at the end.

Thus, collective transport integrates the different zones and activities together as a part of segmentation of city at certain parts and environments (Castells, 1978) which Castells sees the fact of collective consumption, in this respect as a part of social differentiation and as an urban problem with the spatialisation of this problem such as near mall environments.

Thus, collective consumption activity engaged with shopping malls has the dialectical relation of individualisation, alienation and mass consumption at the same time. The fact relates with the fragmentation and unity at the same time as a result of spatialisation of globalisation.

As a result of 'de-contextualisation' of an environment by globalisation and generating projects for the sake of capitalism annihilating, the tradition and notion of history and collective memory with place understanding, segregation and differentiation within the society increase as a dialectical nature of globalisation which Bauman depicts as :

Globalisation divides as much as it unites: it divides as it unites – the causes of division being identical with those which promote the uniformity of the globe...Being local in a globalised world is a sign of social deprivation and degradation. The discomforts of localized existence are compounded by the fact that with public spaces removed beyond the reaches of localized life, localities are losing their meaning-generating and meaning-negotiating capacity and are increasingly dependent on sense-giving and interpreting actions which they do not control...An integral part of globalising processes is progressive spatial segregation, separation and exclusion (Bauman, 1998).

Mentioning about the monopolisation on the control of consumption and capital accumulation processes on the whole city by calling this phenomenon as "Monopoly City" Castells focuses on the spatial segmentation in cities especially by collective consumption processes integrating different zones and activities of the metropolis together, dividing the internal fluctuations according to a tolerable time - space relations (Castells, 1978).

Thus, shopping malls, in this respect, depicts the monopolisation of the mass-customisation and collective consumption by changing not only the social practices and economic structures in the city but also changing the spatial practices associated with the production and consumption (see the photos comparing the forms of as the spaces of monopolised markets as shopping malls and smaller trade markets in the very centre of the urban fabric of the city associated with 'perfectly competitive market' conditions in fact depicting the low rent and profit conditions) as a place of monopolised and well-known brands defined and dominant in the consumption environs and mostly be maintained by the franchising models

in specific, local geographies (for more information in networked enterprising models, please see Chapter 2) with certain economical networking relations not only in global but also in regional environments with certain, defined time-sharing consumption practices by the spatialisation processes of these defined consumption, as shopping malls.

Thus, these require not only to understand the structural relations in the shopping malls concerning economic and social structural relations, but also certain spatial and architectonic qualities together with these structural relations, which defines an archetype altogether with these certain spatial, programmatic, economic, social and even political and hegemonic structural relations settles in certain and specific city geographies as the idealised and even utopian mode of 'spatialisation' but for the sake of capital flow and accumulation.

Therefore, it could be striking to understand the integration of the city structure to the consumption activity as a social and economic phenomena even as a part of the object of consumption as in the case of Ankara Shopping Fest, in which the city space is used to integrate the dispersed consumption geographies through the city space as an object of tourism activity engaged with consumption activities reinforced with festivals, concerts at night times, creating trips in the districts of the city connecting one shopping malls to the other in the trips, and activities, etc., using city space for the sake of capitalist production of spaces of consumption.

5.6. Integration of the “Consumption of Spaces” with the “Spaces of Consumption”: Ankara Shopping Fest

The consumption of space as a part of production of space is related with tourism activity through the spaces with the concern of profits, as the spaces are “appropriated” for tourism activity.

The city space, produced by certain social and economic processes, in this respect, also becomes the object of consumption with the commodification of land, as a property and ownership of certain power groups, such as capitalist investment. Additionally, the concern of globally linked capital investments in different cities creates the most significant aspect in the globalisation of geographies in the emergent case, as shopping malls also become the important part of that transformation besides the parcelisation of urban environments and consumption of natural spaces with the influence of globalisation (See also Appendix F, G). Gottdiener depicts these facts as:

Now things have changed in two broadly conceived ways. First, the production of space is directly and intimately part of the capital accumulation process that is increasingly tied to global linkages in the investment, disinvestment, construction, reconstruction, renovation, and redesign of real estate. In short, settlement space today is a source turned into a commodity by the political economy of contemporary capitalism that can be bought, sold, rented, constructed, torn down, used, and reused in much the same way as any other kind of investment.

Second, the vast uncharted domain of the natural world has disappeared...Every region of the earth is photographed, mapped, fragmented into parcels, homogenised, labelled, and either commodified for present capital investment or claimed by the state and expropriated by political interests (Gottdiener, 2000).

Beyond the commodification of city space, the spatial practices concerning the consumption activities in city space also becomes the aspect of consumption of produced and appropriated city spaces for public. In this respect, it is the consumption of city space through certain activities manipulated by desires on profit from the 'appropriation' of city space for the domain of the consumption of that place. It is even the trips in the city with the tourism activity with the idea of maximisation of profit enabling people to consume specially prepared and "appropriated" city spaces, in this respect.

So, Ankara Shopping Fest, by definition, becomes the part of consumption of spaces including the spaces of consumption in the activity. Ankara Shopping Fest, as first organised in 2012 by the Greater Municipality of Ankara depicting the legitimation processes of production of consumption of spaces with the spaces of consumption by the regulation of state-regulated activities, includes the trips within the city with defined routes connecting shopping malls through the city with concerts, exhibitions and other generated activities organised in the boundaries of shopping malls as the spaces of consumption. So, the city of Ankara becomes only the object that to be consumed through the trips completed at the space of consumption, i.e. shopping malls.

The spaces of consumption, in this context, as the dominant spaces in the production of space with certain capitalist regulations and the desire of maximisation of profits also dominate the city space integrating it to the activity of consumption. In other words, the city spaces, "appropriated" for the public good, with its parks, squares, boulevards are dominated by the consumption activity ending in the spaces of consumption as the dominant spaces of consumption and shopping in contemporary condition.

Thus, the festival both includes the "appropriation" and "domination" of spaces with the processes of production of space in itself, dialectically. It is first associated with the appropriation of dominant spaces for tourism activity and for other activities for the festival; and the appropriated city spaces and infrastructural developments are dominated by/through the conceptual/thematic events and shopping at the end, dialectically. So, even the whole city structure is "appropriated" for a certain period for shopping fest and the activities are "dominated" at the end in shopping malls to maximise the profit of capitalist investment as most of them are globally networked corporations in specific geographies.

The shopping fest has even a 'generic' feature for the city with the motto of "The capital city of Turkey, Ankara, as also the capital city of Shopping" depicting the generated concepts for the maximisation of profit through shopping superposed onto the city. The most significant fact in this generated activity is that the shopping fest is organised with municipality-based organisations. Thus, it not only shows the superposition of a non-contextual activity onto the city space, but also the state and government-based legitimisation and regulation processes, in the capitalist investment processes into a capital city, which is significant with those of management and state-regulated organisations and legitimisation processes for the whole country.

5.7. Ending the Chapter

Thus, with respect to the analysis of dynamics of spatial, economic and social aspects of shopping malls depicts that they are not only mere spatial practices in themselves, but also the part of a practice of an ideological and dominant power relations, i.e., capital investment. Thus, it is a way of 'spatialisation' of concentrated capital accumulation and flow containing diverse consumption and entertainment activities together even with the other functions integrated to them such as business and residential units creating 'homogenised and controlled freedom' for their 'customers' engaged with consumption activity.

So, the production of space in shopping malls with its architectonic qualities and infrastructural development processes are part of certain rent and profit concerns besides the property and ownership relations, as dominated by mostly globally and regionally networked capital investment. Thus, shopping malls have not only spatial dynamics in themselves but certain economic and social relations organised with spatial practice processes in shopping malls engaged with certain power and hegemony relations of the specific conditions of economy, society and space of urban environments, where are also the significant concentration point for capital accumulation that to be 'conceptualised' and dominated through capital-based spatialisation practices.

The conceptual spaces of shopping malls not only depicts the role of them for the conceptualisation of city spaces through global and regional capitalist investment with the changed time-sharing practices in the production of space, but also depicts the breaking point from the contextual and historical meanings, in a sense, through certain ideological impositions on space with economic, social and political concerns, mostly manipulated by capitalist investment.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

The history of mankind together with the emergent processes depicts the influence of economic, social and political relations over the production of space. In this respect, spatial practices of cities, as certain concentration points for production, consumption and dwelling, and the spatialisation practices in cities clarifies the structural relations over the spatialisation processes. It is today the influence of internationalisation and globalisation together with the domination of globally networked capitalist investment over power relations that shopping malls become to be engaged to the spatialisation practices of that domain in cities, in urban environments depicting the ideological relations of capitalism over space. So, that is to say that shopping malls have ideological bases in the spatialisation practices in urban spaces as they have certain economic, social and political relations which have influenced the production of city space (Figure 6.1)

Therefore, the ideological practices of capitalism with shopping malls depicts the desire of capitalism with certain economic concerns to maximise the profits at different geographies with certain political ties and regulations with that geographies together with the influences on social dynamics. It is the dialectical and cyclical nature of capitalism in spatialisation practices as a part of restructuring that the centralisation of capital accumulation and the distribution of capital flow have been practiced at the same time throughout the shopping malls as a part of the conceptualisation of city spaces under global time-sharing practices with certain consumption relations.

In this respect, the inter-linked relations that tried to be depicted throughout the thesis is in the title of the thesis study, in fact, together with the critical meanings hidden in the words of the title. So, the capital city, in fact, is not only a way of depiction on the condition of Ankara, but also a way of the production of space by the ideological forces as cities as conceptualised city space under capital.

It depicts the production of city space by social, economic and political relations. The generic cities, in this context, are to show under the influence of the production of cities with global economy superposed onto local geographies. That not only depicts a form of development of a city form but also dependency relations structured by certain social, economic, and political relations in between structures and things; between global and local. In this respect, shopping malls (in between) these relations; as non-places (so, non-places are the super-modern spaces under capitalist ideologies in contemporary age) depicts the inter-relating conditions of the structural relations with the specific conditions of cities, for example the conditions of Ankara. In this respect, shopping malls have significant roles to understand the ideological production of global capital investment superposed onto local geographies have specifically Ankara as a capital city. (Figure 6.2)



Figure 6.1 Depicting the relation between space and ideology

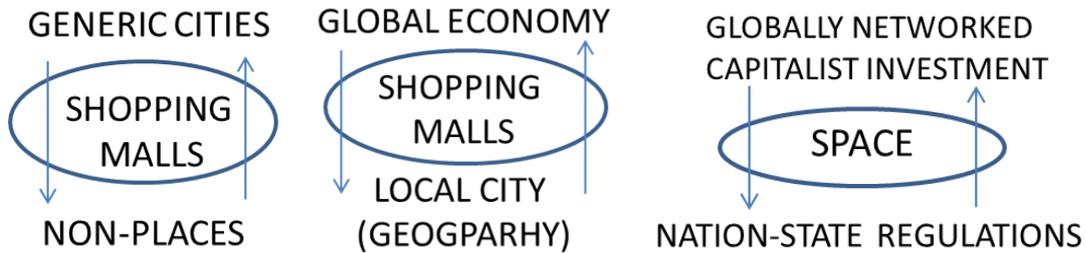


Figure 6.2 Interacting dialectical relations through spaces and shopping malls

So, it is significant to introduce the study with understanding the interaction in space with social, economic and political relations and the hegemonic forces derived from these relations, which are later becomes to domain over space ideologically. So, the ideology and power politics on space together with the understanding emergent global structural relations parallel with local conditions are the major problem of the thesis that tried to be depicted in the spatialisation practices of shopping malls in cities. Spatial restructuring processes with the new definitions on space are significant in the study to understand the shopping malls in this framework.

To understand these complex relations, the critical analysis on the power relations and ideology over space with understanding the dominant power over these relations throughout the historcial processes becomes significant first (Figure 6.3) which is to depict the domain of social, economic and political relations over the production of space.

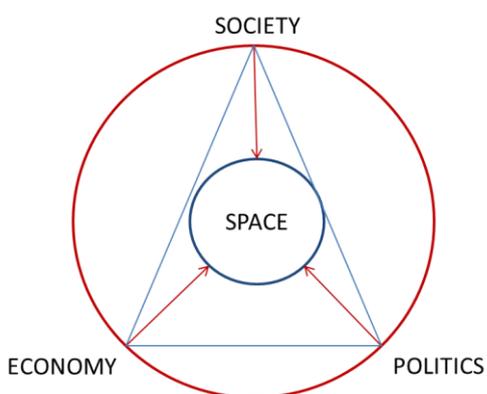


Figure 6.3 Structural relations over space

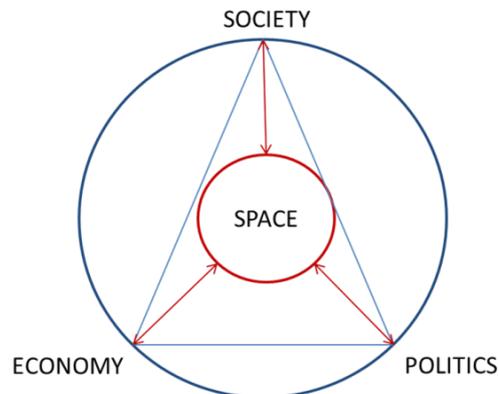


Figure 6.4 Space interacting with structural relations

Thus, it is the space and the city space, in this context, produced under certain structural relations and responses again to these relations as the natural environments of the interactions and actions of these relations that occurred in it. (Figure 6.4, Figure 6.5). So, it is to further understand the emerging spatial practices with the response of the space to these relations and the the new definitions of space.

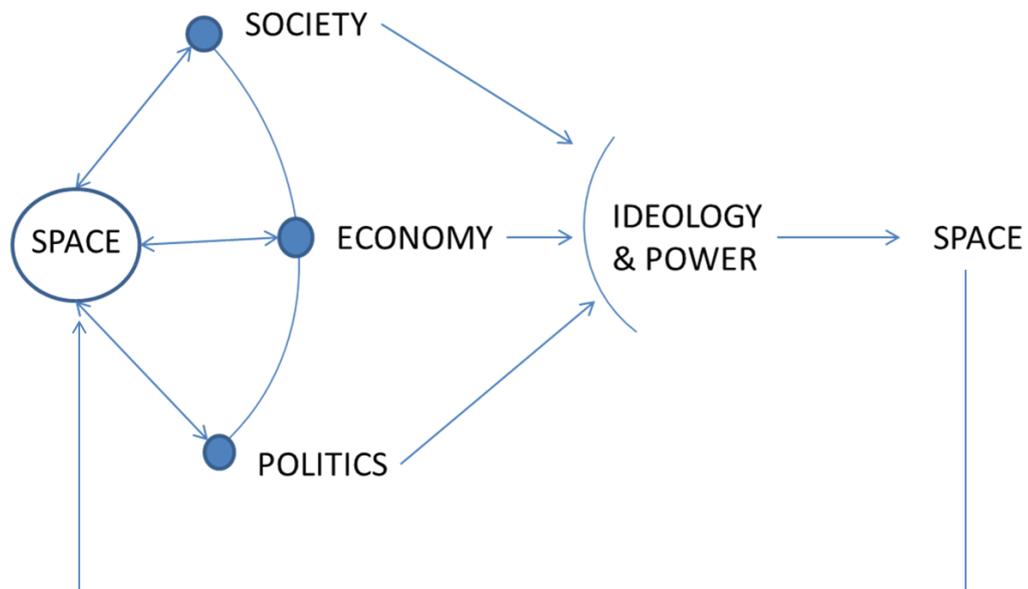


Figure 6.5 Cyclical relations in the production of space

As the space is the interface in between structural relations and the specific conditions that these relations occurred in it, it is to comprehend the emerging spatial practices, the spatial practices of shopping malls in urban environments as the architectural responses in the city structures (Figure 6.6).

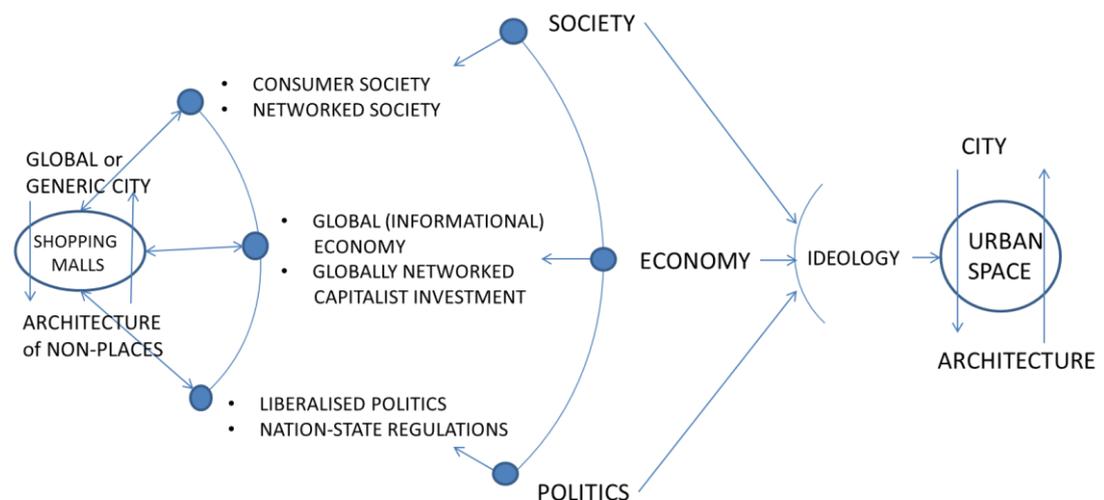


Figure 6.6 Significant themes with relations in the study concerning the space

In this respect, the global and local dependencies with power relations, ideology and space, nation-state based regulations and legitimisation processes in local geographies for the capitalist investments, political, economic and social shifts in specific geographies in Turkey parallel with global conjuncture together with global concepts, local strategies becomes to be significant with the spatial practices in cities through shopping malls in the contemporary age. Thus, it is the practice of shopping malls as the spatial practices of certain economic, social and power relations mostly dominated by globally and regionally linked capitalist investments and local, state and government based regulation and legitimisation activities of these spatial practices engaged with structural relations.

The interactive relations between globally networked structural relations and specific geographies, resulting with transforming city spaces with ideological spatial practices of capitalism as shopping malls depict not only the management of globalisation processes in cities through spatial practices, but also specific conditions interacted with global structural relations through state-regulated legitimation and liberalisation politics increasing the growth of uneven geographical development, with the increasing dependencies on globalisation, dialectically.

So, this creates the necessity to focus much more on the 'strategic' and contextual analysis to get the relation of global structures with specific conditions in the transforming economic and social conditions under the influence of globalisation to further concentrate on conceptualisation of cities through global practices. In this respect, Ankara with its historical spatial and structural practices, i.e., the strategic condition of the city, becomes significant to understand the integration of globally homogenised and designated environments through the spatial practices, i.e., shopping malls as conceptual spaced of global investment structures related with consumption, within certain specific conditions of cities with the increasing dependencies to globally structured market and political relations while it is also a way of growth for local geographies at the same time, dialectically.

The structural relations in cities including social, economic and political conditions together with the formal aspects besides the ownership and property relations becomes the part of the spatial practices of shopping malls depicting the interrelated dependencies as a part of global and regional capitalist investment. So, it is to see how global structural relations with interaction and the influence on the urban environments, on city spaces have practiced through the shopping malls as globally-shared spatial practices together with the role of state-regulated operations and development strategies influencing the structural and spatial relations in the city structures including the concentration points of growth as sub-centres, development processes in the cities with changing urban fabric and the transforming property and ownership relations through the 'spatialisation' practices of global environments superposed onto city structures. It is the creation of homogenised and dominated urban environments through certain global regulation practices in the competition of infrastructural developments not only in the cities increasing the segmentation and fragmentation through increasing multi-central forms with districts in urban environments, but even between cities with the dependencies on globally networked investments.

Thus, the notion of conceptualisation of city space under global structural relations, have signified the internal dynamics of shopping malls that it becomes necessary to understand the shopping malls as global spatial practices imposed onto city structures as ideological spaces beyond the strategic relations with city structures with their own dynamics as emergent

architectural archetypes of globalisation in contemporary age increasing the dependency relations of cities to global spatial practices.

So, it is to analyse shopping malls as archetypes beyond contextual meanings together with the formal, economic, and social aspects of an archetype that creating of an architectural archetype. So, shopping malls as an archetype is analysed formally with its spatial architectonics organised with programmatic aspects as they are engaged with economic and social aspects. Thus, it is further to understand the structural social and economic relations and conditions creating shopping malls and to reunderstand that emergent process is a result of ideology of capitalist space with practices of shopping malls superposed onto cities for the conceptualisation of cities depicting the global structural relations with cities through malls (Figure 6.7).

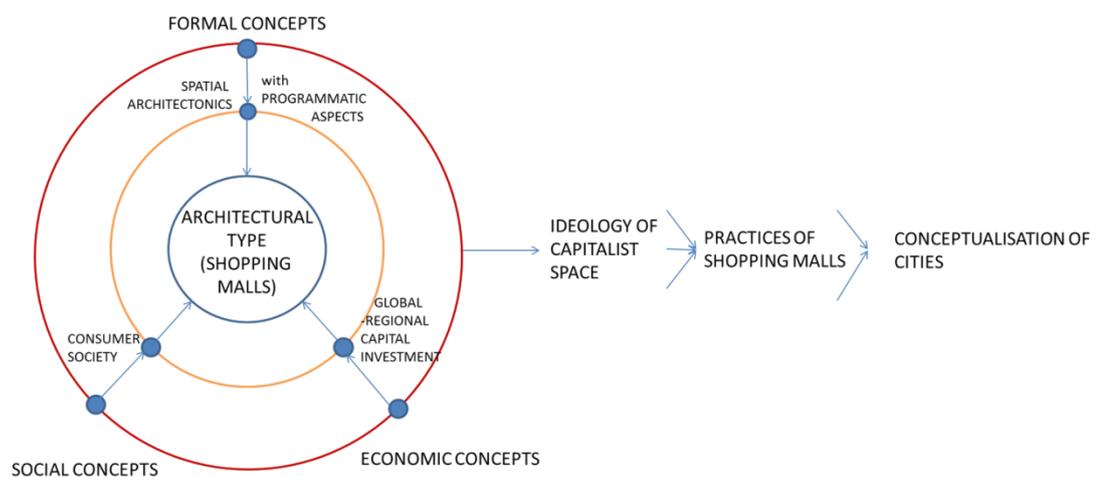


Figure 6.7 Scheme analysing shopping malls as architectural archetypes under ideological forces

Thus, the analysis of dynamics of spatial, economic and social aspects of shopping malls depicts that shopping malls are not only mere spatial practices in themselves, but they are the part of a practice of an ideological and dominant power relations, i.e., capital investment. Thus, it is a way of ‘spatialisation’ of concentrated capital accumulation and flow containing diverse consumption and entertainment activities together even besides the other functions integrated to them such as business and residential units creating ‘homogenised and controlled freedom’ for their ‘customers’ engaged with consumption activity. It is the spatialisation practices of capitalist investment into city structures through shopping malls for the homogenisation and domination of capital accumulation and flow with economic, social and political processes over spatialisation practices.

The spatialisation of practices of capitalist investment into the cities together with the conceptualisation of cities depicts the evaluation processes of capitalism by/through production of space for capital accumulation and flow. In this respect, the subjective reasoning processes together with the emerging notion of capitalism integrated with consumption become significant to be understood. The emergence of collective consumption under the conceptualisation of consumption within the cities of capitalism by the assistance

of commodification of nature and culture, i.e., culture industry, integrated with consumption activity becomes important to get these subjective reasoning processes of capitalism in the emergence of new structuring and restructuring processes.

Thus, it is to understand the commodification of nature and culture as a result of subjective reasoning processes of the mankind, dominated by hegemonic relations of organisations, i.e., by capitalism, especially through the formalisation processes of subjective reasoning developed as a result of the power struggles between man and nature, initially, although it becomes a tool with the means ending up with the domination of nature by mankind, even dominating itself under certain power tensions and inequalities.

6.1. Evaluations and Suggestions

Therefore, it is to further develop the argument in the study into the subjective reasoning processes of capitalism in the history of mankind, and the formalisation processes of these subjective reasoning leading not only to commodification of nature but also culture itself, dialectically. So, it is **the climax of commodification of culture and nature, just as the rise of “culture industry” together with “collective consumption” in the formalisation processes of subjective reasoning**, especially the dominant forces, as influential capitalism.

It is contradictory in nature that when the humankind was born, it is subjected to natural phenomena and conditions; and the rising frustration of ancient people subjected to natural conditions and disasters in the history of mankind reinforces that idea much more, in this respect. Thus, the ‘objective reasoning’ processes to find a unified and eternal universal law in the life of mankind including the ‘objectives’ of human liberation from the domination of nature as a search for objective reasoning could be related with those set of ideas derived from the self-preservation of subject from, hegemonic power of nature over mankind. Therefore, the emergence of the thought of liberation from phenomenal powers depicts the evolution of the search for a “real” depicting the universal and eternal law for the universe that the humankind trying to survive, as that though has been further developed in the Enlightenment period.

However, the process of the development of objective reasoning has many contradictory phenomena also in itself, dialectically. The formalisation processes of the thought, and the different interpretations to find a unified law for the universe becomes a tool for the contradiction of the thought in itself. In these formalisation processes, they not only become totalitarian in nature over things, but also become dominant on the idea itself that emerged at the initial conditions of mankind as a result of the thought of ‘freedom’ against the ‘fear’ of mankind under the power of nature.

The formalisation processes focusing especially on nature to get unified eternal natural laws of the universe have created of its own and generated power relations not only over the nature, but also in the society by dominating the society, i.e., dominating itself. In other words, concern over power relations of mankind, have created its own power struggles not only between man and nature, but also in between man and man as a social phenomenon of subjective reasoning processes. Thus, as some of men become much more powerful together

with the search of natural power, in fact, it has also been reflected into the social relations, as a power tension, creating power struggles and forms of hegemony and domination.

The formalisation processes especially in the natural law have created the development of technology as means for mankind, although the means becomes the subjective tools for those with power concerns not only in the domination of nature but also in the domination of man itself, leading to destructive and struggling ends (Horkheimer, 1947). Capitalism, for example, as a dominant power in the economic conditions in society has been emerged together with the formalisation processes of Enlightenment, as it can be seen as an evolving form of bourgeoisie with much more organised dominant force together with technological developments especially in the Industrial age in the following period.

Thus, it is the subjective formalisation processes of the thought to find the real, although it creates its own contradictions between man and nature and between 'the self' depicting the individual being as the core human being for the human liberation, and 'the society' depicting the unity of mankind under eternal and universal forms of law.

As depicted earlier, although the initial idea was to self-preservation of man from natural forces, the formalisation processes of subjective reasoning of mankind not only find ways to prevent many natural phenomena, but it also becomes to dominate the nature for its own sake. The most significant condition is the exploitation of nature and natural resources, to satisfy the subjective desires of man, even integrating that exploitation in the power struggles within the society. Thus, the issue is the 'commodification of nature' especially for the sake of capitalism, as a dominant power, in the society, in fact. The property and ownership relations of capitalism on nature and natural sources have increased with the advance in technology and the domination in production and consumption relations in society. So, the use value and exchange value of goods derived from nature has been transformed under the hegemonic relations of capitalism, depicting the commodification of material world into mere exchange values controlled mostly by capitalist forces by means of technological advances, depicting the annihilation of objective reasoning by subjective reasoning, and the domination of means on ends.

So, it is the domination of culture over nature as a contradiction of domination of nature over mankind including the domination of man on man through these cultural processes including the using the rationalisation of thought in the power relations with 'creative destruction', mass production and finally mass consumption. As shopping malls also have the significance in the mass consumption as called as 'collective consumption' depicting the domination of the self by mass customisation and mass consumption through the preferences of the society, and the domination of the society through the formalisation processes of capitalist subjective reasoning by homogenising and controlling the consumption and production activities with certain defined forms of consumption and production through spatialisation practices, as shopping malls.

However, it is not the end of commodification processes engaged with subjective reasoning processes, i.e., capitalist flow and accumulation strategies based on the contradictory nature of subjective reasoning as always creating crisis and restructuring processes in itself. Even the emergence of commodification of culture and cultural values engaged with consumption and entertainment activities related with 'collective consumption' is a phenomenon of subjective reasoning processes of mankind that also lies in the history of man.

As Horkheimer denotes (1996), the commodification of culture as 'culture industry' is a part of subjective reasoning processes including the technological and social differentiation depicting the domination of formalisation processes of the initial intellectual thought of man. With respect to that, the increasing power relations and desire on the hegemony of commodification processes end up with the rent speculations of capitalist organisations including the spatialisation practices in cities, and other cultural aspects as films, radio, television as mass media, advertisements engaged with consumption activities as a signified consumption culture and even other artistic practices just transforming into the values for rent and profit depicting the rise of 'culture industry' as an economic and social fact, as it also a part of domination of society by generated cultural representations for the sake of capital. Namely, it is the domination of the society by the reflections and representations of that society to control the social and economic dynamics in a homogenised environment of 'culture industry', just as in the case of spatialisation practices of shopping malls, depicting the whole subjective reasoning processes domination the initial intellectual thought of man derived for 'the self' and 'the society' under universalization of thought.

The culture industry, just as in the condition of mass consumption, is developed to influence the individual desires and thought of man. Namely, the every self in the society is dominated through the collective consumption and cultural commodification processes, as the main objective is to create a homogenised and influenced society, disorganised under the power of capitalist organisation and reorganised by the subjective preferences and representations in the culture industry, as also manipulated by the desires of capitalist investments. In other words, it is the sacrifice of 'the self' and 'the society' by creating 'cultural commodities' for those, dialectically, within a processes of commodification of cultural values, representations and preferences to increase the rentability of 'culture industry', which could also be seen as a controlled and organised phenomena to regulate the capitalist flow and accumulation at certain concentration areas just in the spatialisation practices of shopping malls. It is the fact that also Horkheimer denotes as the processes are also directly related with the consumption activities of users, manipulated by advertisements, and with the ideological and totalitarian forces and subjective processes over and with the consumption:

Today the culture industry has taken over the civilising inheritance of the entrepreneurial and frontier democracy – whose appreciation of intellectual deviations was never very finely attuned. All are free to dance and enjoy themselves, just as they have been free, since the historical neutralisation of religion, to join any of the innumerable sects. But freedom to choose an ideology – since ideology always reflects economic coercion – everywhere proves to be freedom to choose what is always the same. Then way in which a girl accepts and keeps the obligatory date, the inflection on the telephone or in the whole inner life as classified by the now somewhat devaluated depth psychology, bear witness to man's attempt to make himself a proficient apparatus, similar to the model served up by the culture industry...The triumph of advertising in the culture industry is that consumers feel compelled to buy and use its products even though they see through them (Horkheimer & Adorno, 1996).

Therefore, the spectacular depiction of 'culture industry' by Horkheimer and Adorno shows the whole subjective reasoning processes of mankind creating its own dominations

and contradictions in the history of mankind, which is derived, in fact, from the self-preservation of the subject from natural and other phenomenal forces. It leads to the 'self-realisation' of mankind with the culturalisation processes in the following phases and the domination of man on man and man on nature, even with the domination of culture by man again for certain subjective desires. That necessitates a critical understanding of the totalitarian history of mankind parallel with the intellectual thought processes, as also dominating the intellectual processes through formalisation of thought, dialectically.

Thus, it is to further argue the history of mankind in the subjective reasoning processes and the intellectual development of mankind, which also includes in a sense the subjective reasoning processes in the history of man and **the critique of "the concept of history" in "the concept of philosophy" to re-understand the totalitarian nature of subjective reasoning processes.**

As subjective reason creates its own contradictions and domain, it creates antagonistic concepts that always conflicting but requiring the togetherness at the same time, in a cyclical relation. The philosophy, in this respect, as the part of the intellectual thought to find the truth and the reality in the practice of thinking. Moreover, the philosophy is to eliminate the subjective reasoning processes as the concern of philosophy that would be the elimination of the feeling of "fear" as Horkheimer denotes (1947), depicting the subjective reasoning processes for self-preservation of the subject. The most paradoxical situation is here, however, the reflection of initial subjective reasoning processes starting with the contradiction of man and nature onto the emergence of the idea of 'objective reasoning processes' to find "the real", i.e., it is a reflection of subjective reasoning processes as objective reasoning, in which the idea, the intellectual thought represses itself.

Moreover, it is even critical for the philosophy itself that as philosophy tries to re-conciliate and mediate between the emergent contradictions in the history of man, it is to questionable whether even the process of philosophy becomes a compensation for subjective thought, unless there is critical thought, in this respect.

Thus, it is even contradictory in itself, the search for objective reasoning, as it also derived from subjective processes and leading to conflicting search thoughts focusing on nature, and spirit. So, both natural forces and spirit are to be seen as the reflection of the feeling of fear to overcome the nature for the self-preservation of the subject in initial conditions, in a way of expression of subjective thought reduced to certain modes of thinking.

Although the intellectual thought developed both in naturalism and in the faith of spirit to find a unitary and universal law answering all questions concerned about 'the real'; both nature and spirit always become not only totalitarian onto the other as a domain, but also the idea becomes dominant on itself. In other words, the belief of search on an eternal and static law dominates even the concept of nature and/or the spirit creating its own dominant force over itself. The search on a deterministic law of nature becomes a spiritual force over the nature and natural phenomena including man and the idea of spirit at the other side. So, every "thing" becomes a mere matter with respect to the naturalism, depicting the domain of subjective reasoning of the history of intellectual thought of man onto itself.'

The history of intellectual thought shows that both of the ideas contradicting, emerged in the history of the intellect of man, not only contradict with themselves, but also dominate the

initial conditions in the history of emergence of intellectual thought, i.e., intellectual thought itself, being totalitarian and static in nature.

However, the most problematic thing lies in the search of these concepts, in the subjective reasoning history of mankind, i.e. the history of intellectual thought. In other words, all of the reasoning processes dominating itself and the mankind and nature, is derived from the subjective reasoning processes of man in the initial conditions of mankind in the history of “the subject”, mankind.

Thus, it is ‘the assertion of the history of man’ creating its own ideas and evaluating once them by the concept of philosophy, where always stands the abstraction of ‘nature’ and ‘spirit’ or reduction of concrete existence, the specific condition; creating gap between initial conditions with the emergent structure. In other words, it is the man itself and the history of man that producing ideas concerned with itself; and reducing them to mere forms as a whole process of subjectivity, in fact.

It could also be emphasised that the relation of language and the concept of philosophy in this respect. Thus, the idea, in the search objective thought, is to be developed and expressed in philosophy is dependent on language, as it forms that idea into a mode of statement with its structural features, while reducing and changing the concrete meaning in the emergent idea, depicting the gap that mentioned, as both idea and language is concealed in the history of man, showing the whole processes of subjectivity, in fact (Horkheimer, 1947).

Thus, it is the domination of structural relations in any concept, which are derived from specific and initial conditions leading to the reduction in the practice of that initial condition with that structure. In other words, objective reason concealed in subjective history of mankind becomes to dominate the whole processes in the history of mankind, as a stasis, as a structure, depicting the domain onto itself.

So, it is the emphasis on the ‘initial conditions’ and (with) the ‘history of mankind’ concealing the whole subjectivity in intellectual processes; and whether it is a way to find a re-conciliation as a role of philosophy between the “thing” as specific, initial condition; and the “structure” emerged from actions and reactions of initial conditions through getting certain rules, norms, laws. The concept of philosophy also conceals the dependency on language in the expression of idea, which requires a language interacting with every specific idea and condition by not changing the concrete meanings; while the existent condition depicts the domination of historical concept of mankind, dialectically.

In this context, the philosophical mediation between the ‘thing’ and ‘structure’ could be based on the Hegelian dialectics depicting the togetherness of thing and structure in universe; and the “theory of structuration” (1984) of Giddens depicting the active relation of thing with structure in social relations as both influencing and interacting with each other in a ‘dynamic system’ to search for. Additionally, it is also to depict the significance of initial conditions related and interacted with structural phenomena in law of nature as “Complexity Theory” based on the idea that the initial conditions of the matter could lead and influence the end result although interacting with deterministic natural laws, creating different results at the end, in this respect, as it is to find new interactive models depicting the relation of structures with things, i.e., concepts with specific conditions.

The emphasis of initial conditions as creating different results at the end, interacting with structures again depicts and focuses on the potential of “concept of history” concealing the initial conditions in itself, hiding the reasoning processes of even of the idea of freedom with the feeling of fear and the proceeding processes, as the history is seen as a process of transformation, in this respect.

Consequently, it is to criticise “the concept of history” here, focusing and emphasising on initial conditions to create, to understand every specific conditions and concepts in themselves, as it is thought to create the whole, in total. Although, the idea is not critical in this sense, the problem lies in the notion of the ‘totalitarian concept’ of history that concealing every initial condition in itself, so that it also becomes a domain as a concept onto itself. In other words, it is not the history, but “the concept of history” that seen as problematic in this critical essay open to “misunderstood” and “mislead” the whole intellectual process, if it is seen as a “stasis”.

So, if the history itself becomes a “concept” to depict every reasoning process, it is the end of revolutionary thought and the end of utopia, the idea, in other words, against the “praxis”. Thus, there is a potential of being totalitarian if “the concept of history” becomes a mere tool to explain the whole reasoning processes of mankind, leading to the domination of intellectual and critical processes, but onto itself.

Therefore, it could be much more to search on an active and dynamic sets of relations between things and structures, between the self and society, between nature and idea, between the objectivity and subjectivity against the stasis, deterministic, eternal laws in a closed system of concepts.

As the things and structures could be active actors influencing each other, it could be acceptable to search for whether there are any social processes that “the concept of history” could not find in itself. It may be to search whether there is a particle that have not collided yet in any particular situation concealing its energy that have not emerged yet in historical conditions; in a universe that “ever-expanding” by through the interaction of particles and energies, which depicts “a concept of philosophy” not engaged with “the concept of history”, but lies “in future”, depicting the faith for “praxis”, as ‘it’ is seen to be necessary in the thought of philosophy trying to eliminate the “fear”. It is necessary for the search of a “philosophy of truth” preventing from the subjective reasoning processes in the intellectual thought.

Thus, “the concept of history” is also related with the totalitarian nature of capitalism in the history of man depicting the stasis to maintain the organisational processes of capitalism with the domination over man and nature through the formalisation processes of the thought, however, especially including the technological advance in the control of time, space and production processes with productive forces through the history of capitalism.

It is the domination of the intellectual though with its formalisation processes, in fact, under the power tensions and hegemony of subjective reasoning processes, although the formalisation processes of intellectual thought were to be the search for the liberation of mankind from its contradictions and domains.

Advance in the technological development, for example, as a means of intellectual thought. It has been used in the regulation and the acceleration processes of production together with

the domination of labour force and productive relations under certain norms and structures especially by capitalism to increase the profit and rent through production, and even today through consumption activities within the production of space, as it could also be seen as a part of the formalisation process of that ideology.

It is also significant in the contemporary condition of global capitalism that the rise in the technological development have created opportunities to capitalism to restructure and reorganise the capitalist production and flow relations through the geographies annihilated by the notion of informationalisation with globalisation, in the age of information society. It depicts the domination of capitalism over space and society with economic and politics aspects through formalisation practices of the very initial intellectual thoughts as transformed into subjective practices.

However, the autonomy of 'technology' as a part of formalisation processes of objective reasoning, in fact, has always hide the revolutionary character that could be integrated with "praxis" as a utopia of the intellectual thought integrating the practice and theory together, not for economic and political reasons but only for the common objectives of human being under democratic interactions.

Thus, the technology as an instrumentalisation of the thought, could be seen as a part of potential "praxis". It could be used to better understand the emergent global and capitalist world under power struggles and to search for whether there could be possibility for the revolutionary and autonomous way of practice, beyond the history of mankind, beyond the totalitarian nature of capitalism within ever-changing formalisation processes and ever-totalitarian ideological subjective reasoning processes dominating with/on those formalisation processes. Thus, it is to search the conditions under active and dynamic interactions of the specific and conceptual relations, the relations between existential and cognitive to find the interrelationship between things and structures, the self and society, man and nature with the idea and nature.

Instrumentally and formally, it is to suggest creating an informational system through technological means to understand and decipher the emergent conditions in global world with the notion of interacting structural relations and models with specific conditions by the analysis of all social, economic, politic, spatial aspects of the emergent conditions in a much more complex way as it is tried to be emphasized in the matrix study of the study, to find solutions for the emergent conditions together with the significance of philosophy and critical theory. Thus, together with the new way of study models with the research conductions and practices including spatialisation of cities and architectural spaces depicting the whole possibility of subjective reasoning processes to search for new routes in the "praxis" becomes significant, not in a closed and static set of relations but in a way of active and dynamic sets of relations interacting and evolving together, in this context. In other words, it is using the formalisation processes of subjective (objective) reasoning, against the hegemonic powers repressing the humanity itself to create the possibilities of a practice that 'the self' and 'the society' are integrated and participant in it.

Theoretically, it is a way to response to emerging structural relations, as globally networked relations trying to conceptualise the specific conditions through strategic operational practices. In this respect, the suggestion is to find a system of thought concerning the togetherness of specific and conceptual relations in an interrelated and dynamic way of

evolution processes. Thus, it is the idea, “to respond the globalisation of the system through the localisation of the managing and representing institutions, bringing together participatory democracy and informational development, administrative decentralisation and cultural integration” (Borja and Castells, 1997) that shared as a common hope for increasing the democratic processes in the management of cities and spatial practices that related to them.

Thus, it is not to assert on some “panaceas” as a quick response to the diseases of cities under the influence of global structural relations with urbanisation and metropolitanisation, but to stimulate the participatory and democratic processes to find dynamic and active ways of management of cities, as seeing the specific agents and structural relations interacted together, philosophically. It means that every specific conditions, agents, actors, actions have right to be considered in the decisions of practices in the management of cities and spatial, social, economic and political practices as a way of the expression of a set of interrelated relations as the things and structures evolve together.

It is just besides some minor suggestions to the conditions of cities including the practice of even new, sustainable cities together with these democratic processes of management. Moreover, it could be suggested for the emergent conditions of cities as the creation of new cities or the transformation of larger town and district into cities with service growth and the development of existent smaller cities as new concentration points for economic and social growth beyond the megacities and metropolitan areas to decrease the uneven geographical development. Thus, it is the critical suggestion for the uneven nature of capitalist accumulation through the geographies.

Moreover, it is also necessary in the reconciliation of the regulation of metropolitan areas. As the metropolitan areas, such as İstanbul and even Ankara, depict the expansion and concentration at the same time, it becomes not only the problem of uneven development within the city itself with non-well planned growth strategies, but also the problem of dispersion and segmentation within the city space. Thus, it necessitates much more complex and critical way of strategic planning in cities, in metropolitan areas. In this respect, it could be suggested for the less developed parts of cities, to find new growth and development strategies for these specific areas beyond the ‘private ownership’ on these environments, to prevent the uneven development. The creation and the re-definition of new public spaces become significant as a “praxis”, in this respect. Moreover, the reconciliation of sub-central development processes in cities is needed to be re-evaluated together with the central areas, and historic and contextual dimensions of the city to prevent the segmentations and the dispersion with fragmentation in cities.

Thus, it requires the controlled growth strategies at the edges of the cities together with the creation of new public spheres with new economic and social development strategies, not only including the revision of some of existent sub-central development strategies but the growth of the central areas, new transportation plans and preservation of historical contexts, but in a much more participatory and democratic processes integrating the specialists, the intellectuals and the public. Because it is not only as a necessity of the Republic and democracy but to find much more rational and humanitarian solutions together with new ‘critical management systems’ for the future of ‘sustainable’ cities, not only environmentally, but also economically, socially and culturally.

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*All images are accessed on 05.01.2013 and edited by the author as Appendix I.

APPENDIX B

THE GLOBAL CITY RANKINGS

Table B.1 The list of global cities

Alpha++	Beta+	Gamma+	High sufficiency	Sufficiency
LONDON	DUSSELDORF	GLASGOW	JACKSONVILLE	FLORENCE
NEW YORK	STOCKHOLM	NAIROBI	LEIPZIG	MEDELLIN
	PRAGUE	BRISTOL	RALEIGH	WINNIPEG
Alpha+	MONTREAL	HANOI	STRASBOURG	NANTES
HONG KONG	ROME	CINCINNATI	TUJANA	SACRAMENTO
PARIS	HAMBURG	CHARLOTTE	BRAZILIA	TOULOUSE
SINGAPORE	MANILA	ANTWERP	SALT LAKE CITY	RECIFE
TOKYO	HOUSTON	DOHA	ANKARA	DAR ES SALAAM
SHANGHAI	BERLIN	LAHORE	PRETORIA	KAOHSIUNG
CHICAGO	ATHENS	BALTIMORE	TIANJIN	MANAGUA
DUBAI	TEL AVIV	JEDDAH	BILBAO	PUEBLA
SYDNEY	BANGALORE	EDINBURGH	AHMADABAD	SURABAYA
	COPENHAGEN	AMMAN	LAS VEGAS	HAMILTON
Alpha	CAIRO	HYDERABAD (IN)	BELO HORIZONTE	CHRISTCHURCH
MILAN	BOGOTA	ZAGREB	LIVERPOOL	BORDEAUX
BEIJING	VANCOUVER	ADELAIDE	MALMO	TULSA
TORONTO		KUWAIT	NUREMBERG	DAKAR
SAO PAULO	Beta	PORTLAND	CANBERRA	HALIFAX
MADRID	BUDAPEST	BELGRADE	WROCLAW	SAN ANTONIO
MUMBAI	BEIRUT	SAN JOSE (CR)	QUERETARO	JOHOR BAHARU
LOS ANGELES	LUXEMBOURG	TUNIS	NASSAU	TRANA
MOSCOW	GUANGZHOU	SAN JOSE (US)	UTRECHT	CARDIFF
FRANKFURT	SEATTLE	RIGA	BOLOGNA	QUEBEC
MEXICO CITY	CARACAS		NEWCASTLE	LAUSANNE
AMSTERDAM	HO CHI MINH CITY	Gamma	LA PAZ	BAKU
BUENOS AIRES	AUCKLAND	VALENCIA (SP)	ASUNCION	LUANDA
KUALA LUMPUR	OSLO	KANSAS CITY	HARTFORD	BREMEN
SEOUL	KIEV	PHOENIX	SEVILLE	ABERDEEN
BRUSSELS	CHENNAI	ALMATY	LILLE	BIRMINGHAM (US)
JAKARTA	BUCHAREST	GUADALAJARA	KRAKOW	DHAKA
SAN FRANCISCO	MANCHESTER	LYON	NASHVILLE	NANJING
WASHINGTON	KARACHI	QUITO	NASHVILLE	CHIUAHUA
	LIMA	ST PETERSBURG	SALVADOR	HANNOVER
Alpha-	CAPE TOWN	LEEDS	ALGIERS	NAPLES
MIAMI	RIYADH	SANTO DOMINGO	DRESDEN	PROVIDENCE
DUBLIN	MONTEVIDEO	SAN SALVADOR	THE HAGUE	PENANG
MELBOURNE	MINNEAPOLIS	VILNIUS		OMAHA
ZURICH		ROTTERDAM		CHENGDU
NEW DELHI	Beta-	TAMPA		ABUJA
MUNICH	ABU DHABI	COLUMBUS		PORT OF SPAIN
ISTANBUL	NICOSIA	INDIANAPOLIS		LUSAKA
BOSTON	BIRMINGHAM (UK)	PITTSBURGH		ARHUS
WARSAW	RIO DE JANEIRO	EDMONTON		LEON
DALLAS	BRISBANE			FUKUOKA
VIENNA	GENEVA	Gamma-		HONOLULU
ATLANTA	CALCUTTA	TALLIN		GENOA
BARCELONA	DENVER	PUNE		KAMPALA
BANGKOK	DENVER	PORTO		HANGZHOU
TAIPEI	MONTERREY	PORTO ALEGRE		PALO ALTO
SANTIAGO	BRATISLAVA	ORLANDO		CORDOBA
LISBON	PORT LOUIS	GOTHENBURG		ABIDJAN
PHILADELPHIA	CASABLANCA	MARSEILLE		TBILISI
JOHANNESBURG	MANAMA	OTTAWA		QINGDAO
	STUTTGART	COLOMBO		SKOPJE
	SOFIA	LJUBLJANA		CAMPINAS
	COLOGNE	TEGUCIGALPA		ROCHESTER
	ST LOUIS	RICHMOND		WINDHOEK
	HELSINKI	ISLAMABAD		MEMPHIS
	PANAMA CITY	MUSCAT		NOTTINGHAM
	SAN DIEGO	DURBAN		CIUDAD JUAREZ
	LAGOS	AUSTIN		DALIAN
	PERTH	BELFAST		KYOTO
	SHENZHEN	GUAYAQUIL		ALEXANDRIA
	CLEVELAND	NAGOYA		SHEFFIELD
	SAN JUAN	TURIN		SANTA CRUZ
	CALGARY	SOUTHAMPTON		IZMIR
	GUATEMALA CITY	MILWAUKEE		GABORONE
	OSAKA	WELLINGTON		CALI
		CURITIBA		DORTMUND
		ACCRA		NORWICH
		GEORGETOWN (CI)		NEW ORLEANS
				VALENCIA (VENEZUELA)
				CEBU
				HARARE
				JERUSALEM
				BASEL
				MACAO
				MONTPELLIER
				MINSK
				LINZ
				HAIFA
				DOUALA
				LABUAN
				NICE

TheGaWC inventory, "The World According to GaWC". GaWC. Accessed on 07.04.2013.
<http://www.lboro.ac.uk/gawc/world2010t.html>

APPENDIX C

DEVELOPMENT PLANS AND STUDIES ON ANKARA

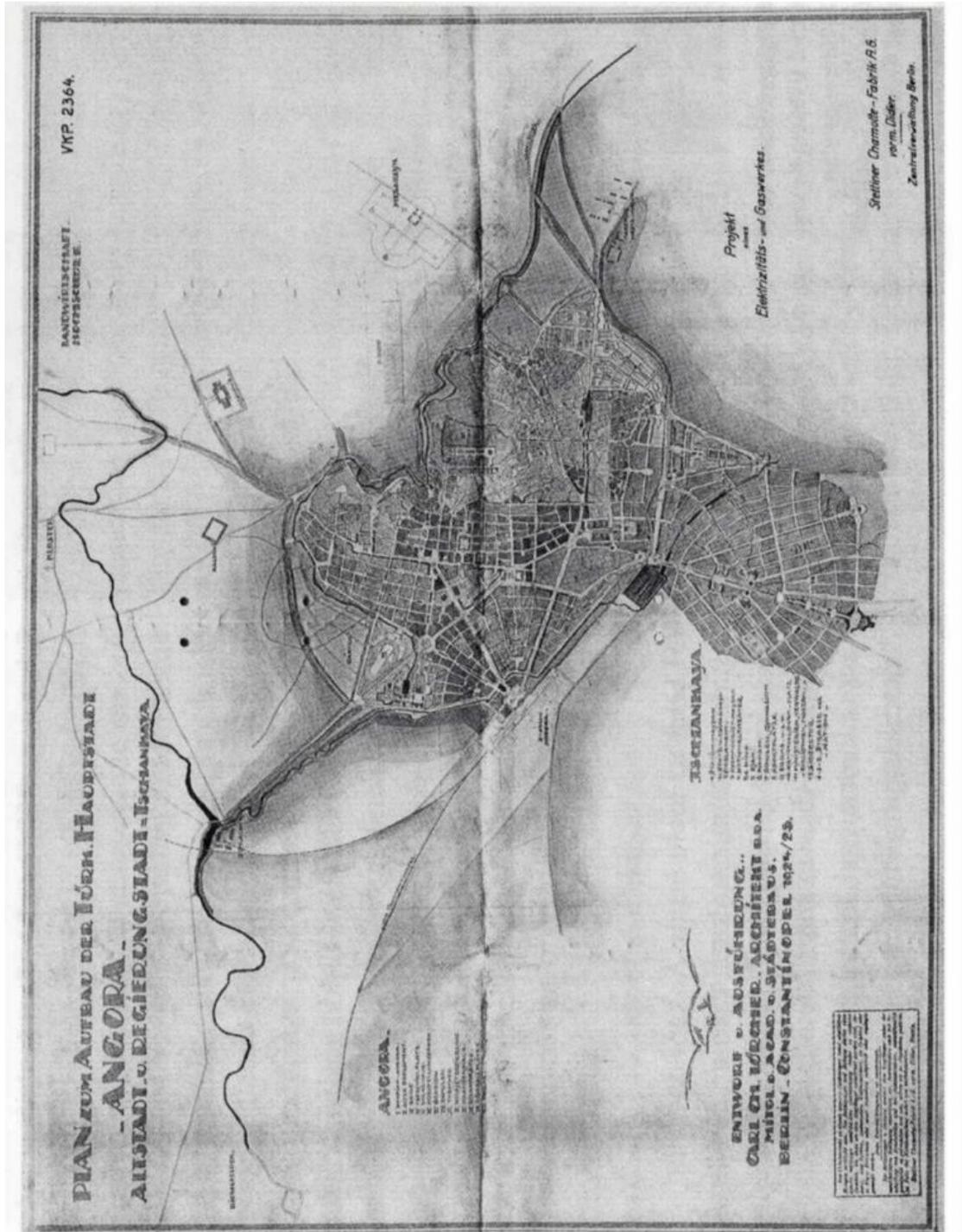


Figure C.1 Lörcher Plan

Source: ABB, 2006.

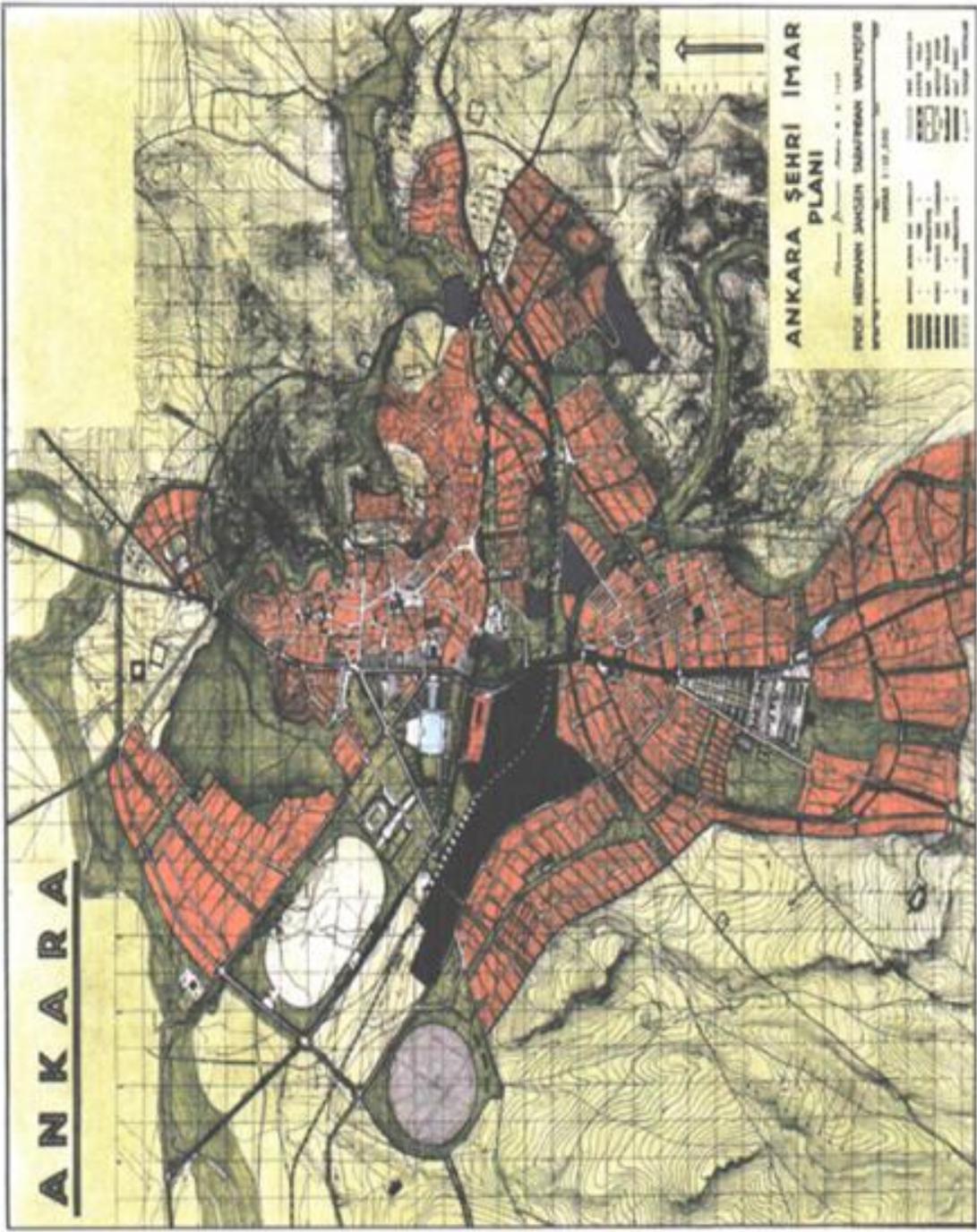


Figure C.2 Jansen Plan

Source: ABB, 2006.

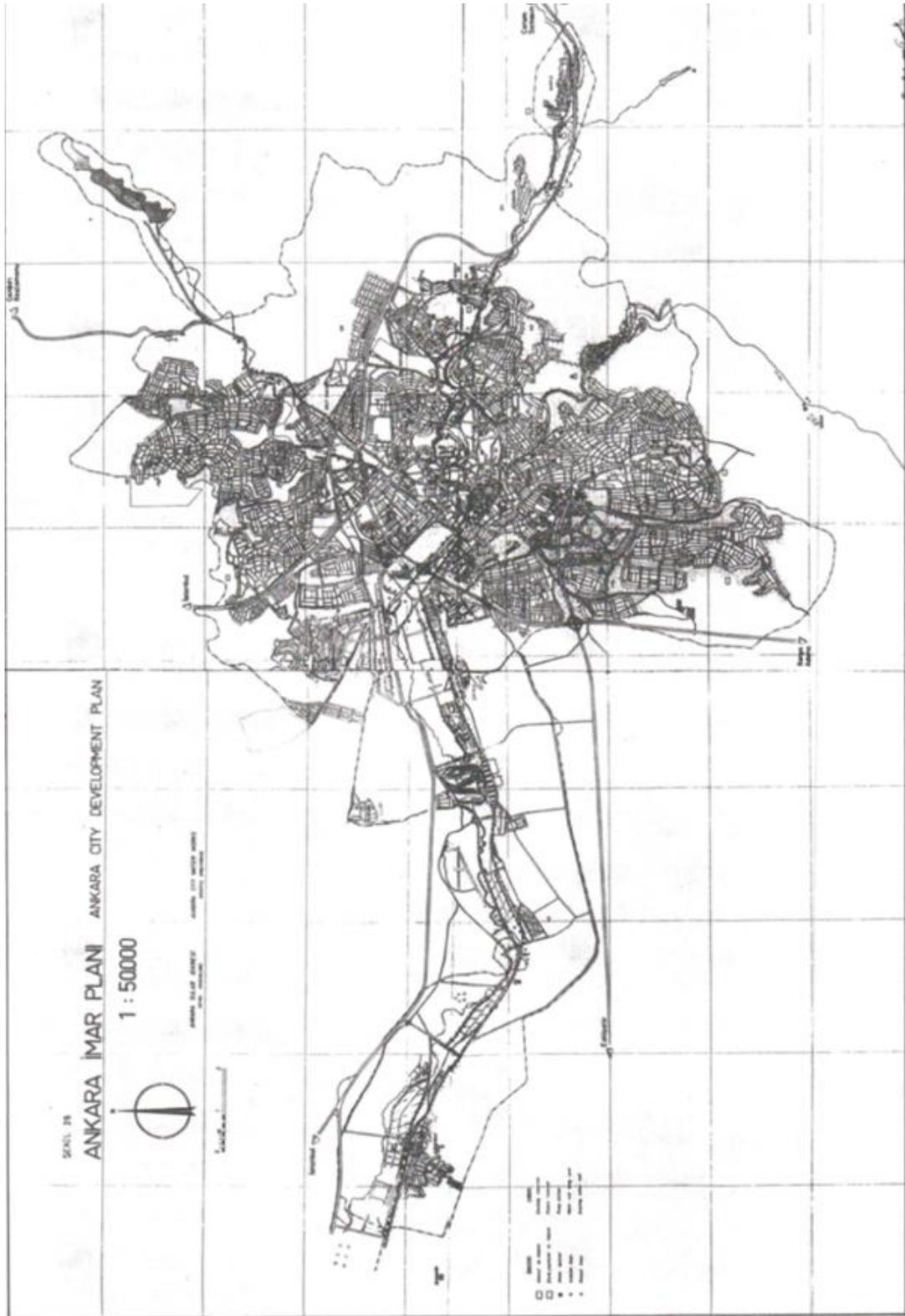


Figure C.3 Yücel – Uybadin Plan

Source: ABB, 2006.

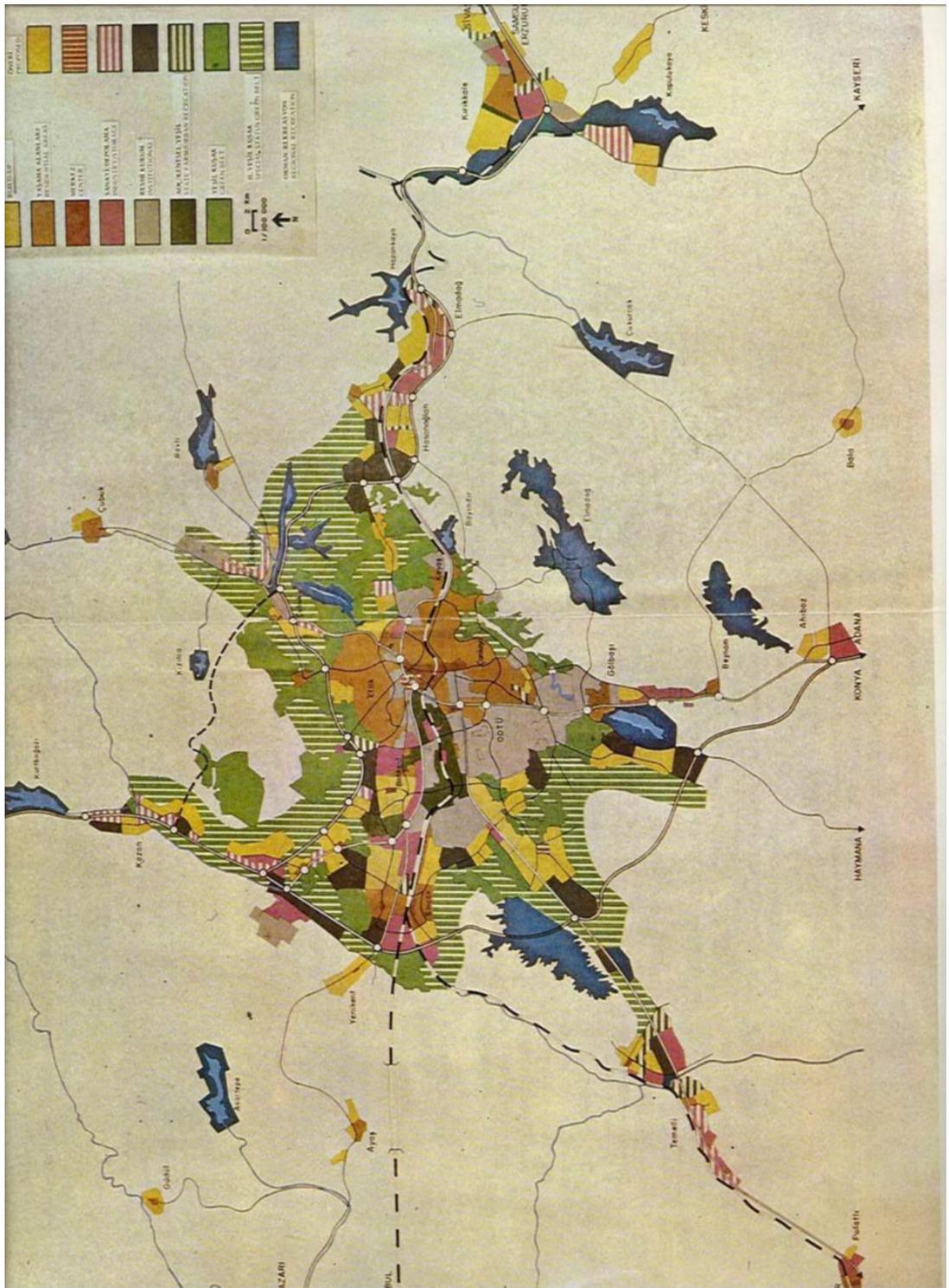


Table C.5 2015 Development Strategies Structural Plan

Source: ABB, 2006.

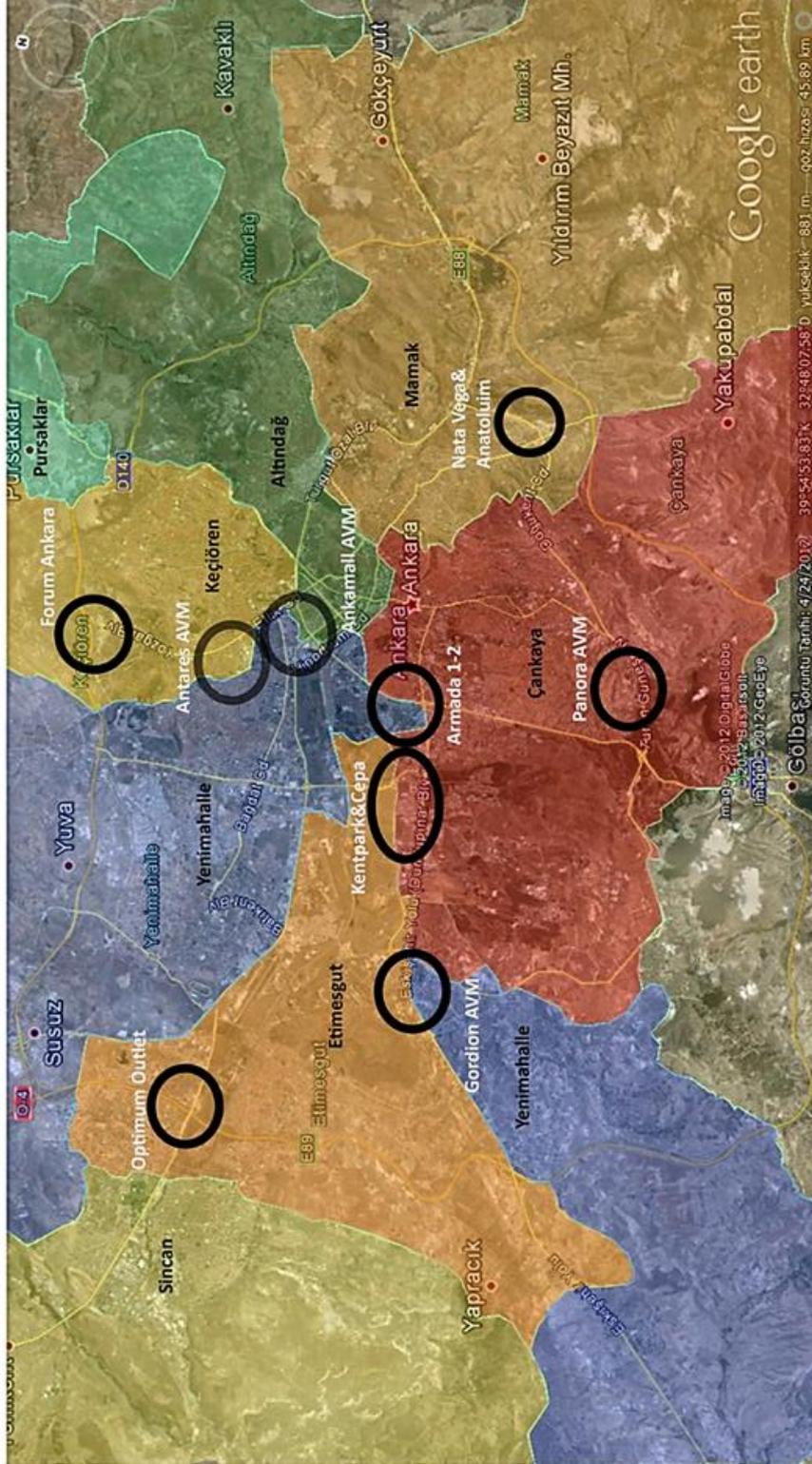


Figure D.2 Districts and strategic locations of large shopping malls in Ankara*
 *The satellite image is get from Google Earth and edited by the author

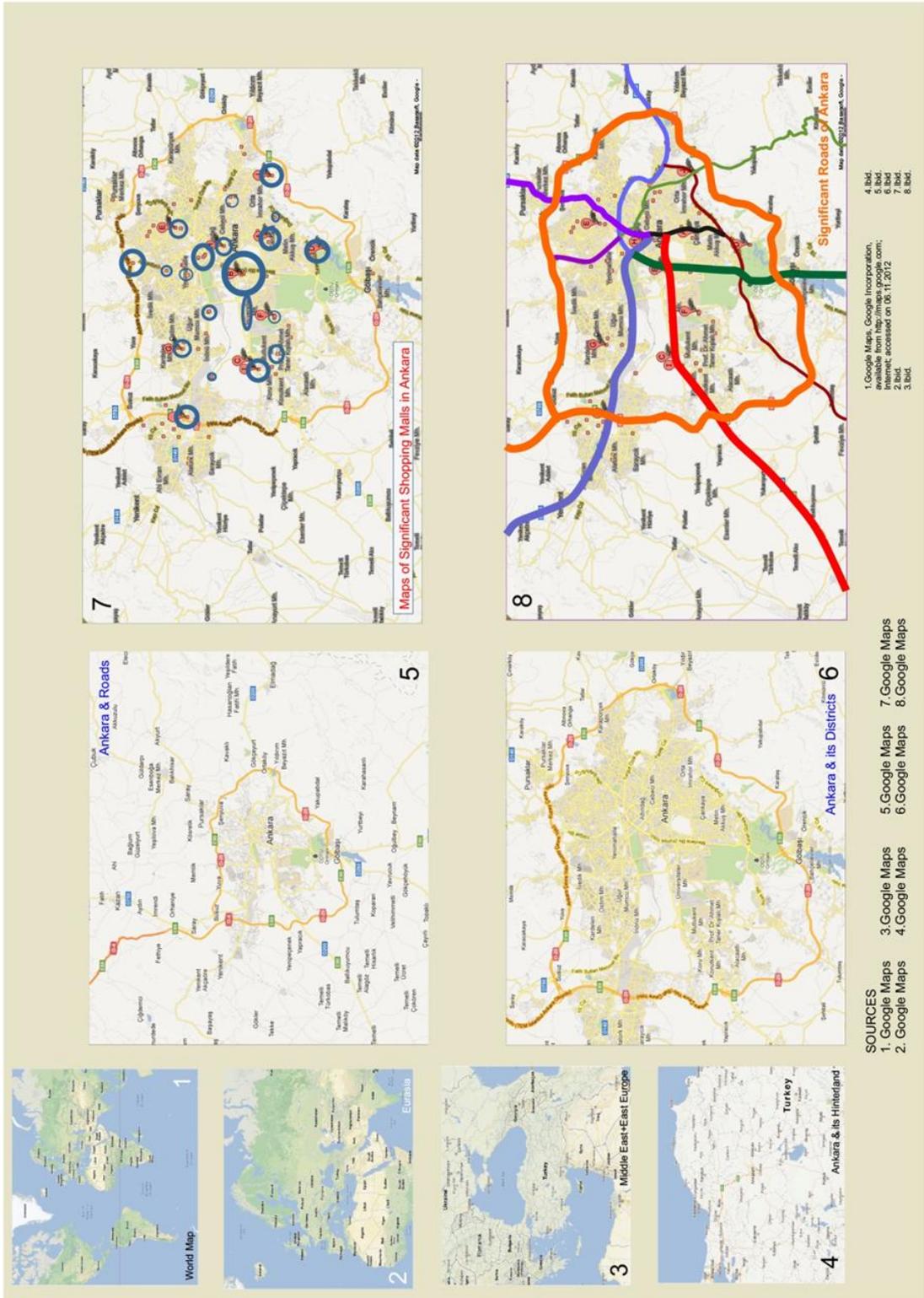


Figure D.3 Maps of Ankara

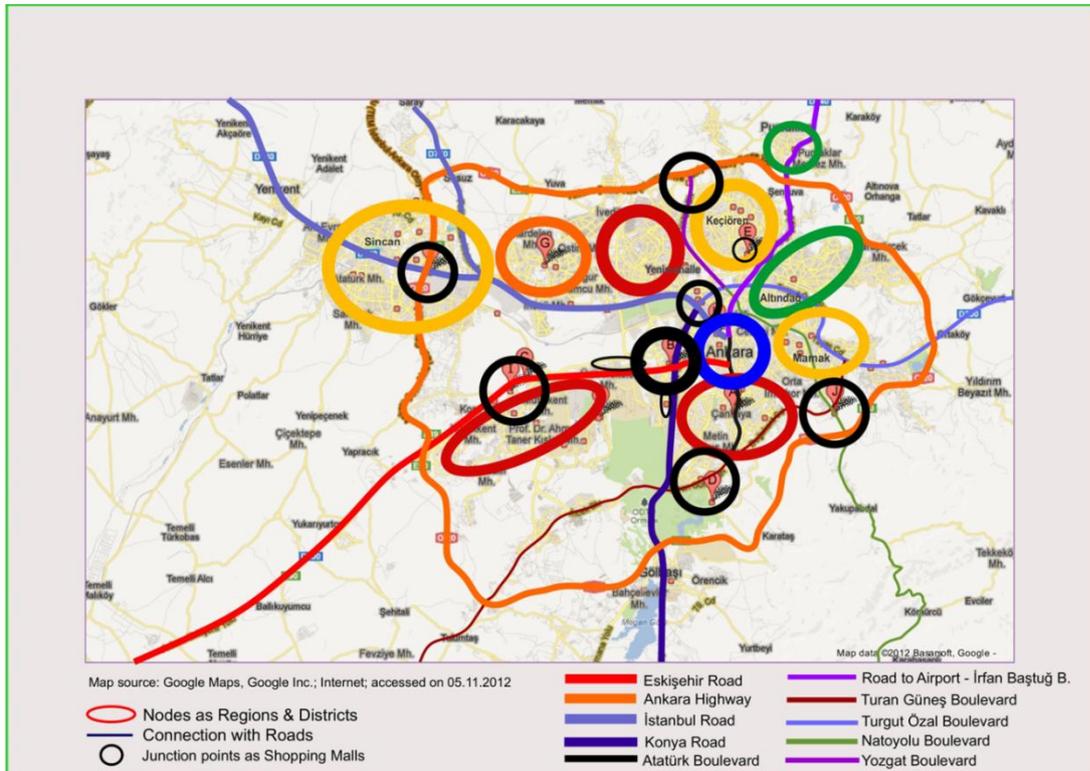


Figure D.4 Networked consumption geographies through shopping malls with socio-economic and political segments in the city of Ankara

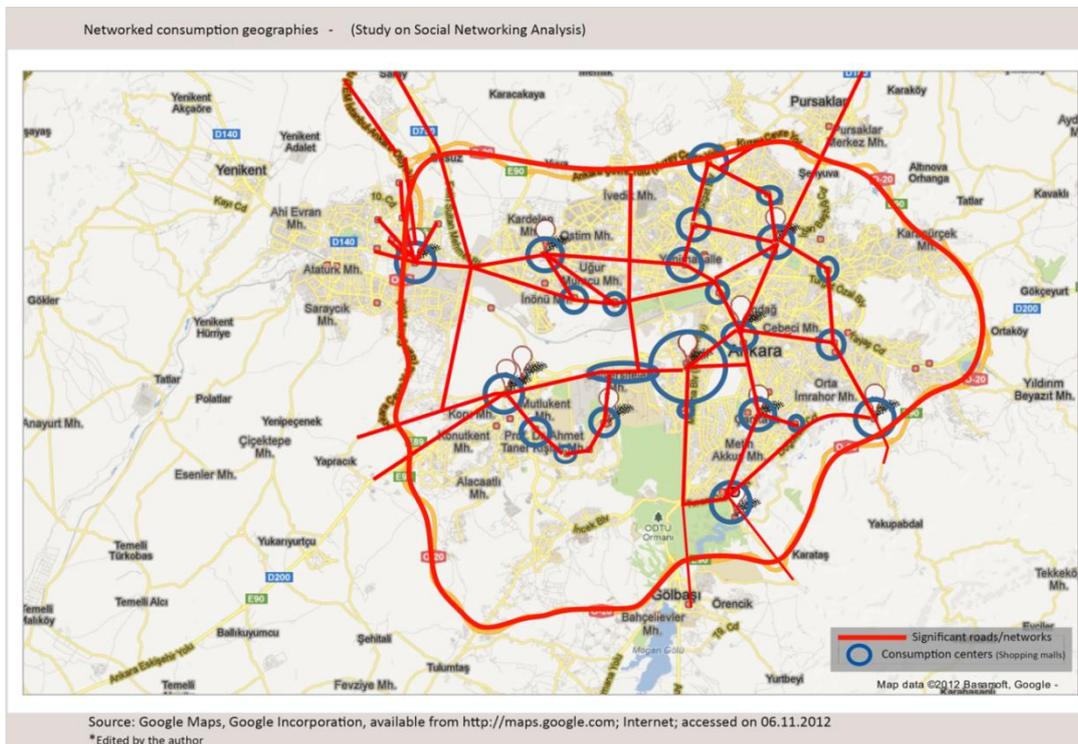


Figure D.5 Networked consumption geographies with large shopping malls connected with significant roads through the city of Ankara

APPENDIX E

SHOPPING MALLS WITHIN URBAN FABRIC FORM



Figure E.1 Forum Ankara and Antares Shopping Centre within urban fabric form



Figure E.2 ANKAmall and Antares Shopping Centre within urban fabric form



Figure E.3 From Antares to Gordion Shopping Centres through urban fabric form



Figure E.4 From Armada to Gordion Shopping Centres through Eskişehir Road within urban fabric form



Figure E.5 From Panora to Gordon Shopping Centres through urban fabric form



Figure E.6 From Kentpark to Nata Vega Shopping Centres through urban fabric form

APPENDIX F

SHOPPING MALLS WITH THEIR PLOTS



Figure F.1 Plot (property) of ANKA mall



Figure F.2 Plot (property) of Antares Shopping Centre



Figure F.3 Plot (property) of Armada Shopping Centre



Figure F.4 Plot (property) of Kentpark and Ceba Shopping Centres



Figure F.5 Plot (property) of Forum Ankara Shopping Centre



Figure F.6 Plot (property) of Gordion Shopping Centre



Figure F.7 Plot (property) of Shopping Plateau including Nata Vega Shopping Centre



Figure F.8 Plot (property) of Optimum Outlet Shopping Centre



Figure F.10 Plot (property) of Panora Shopping Centre

APPENDIX G

PLANS OF SHOPPING MALLS



Figure G.1 ANKAmall floor plans (Entrance and Basement Floors) Source: ANKAmall

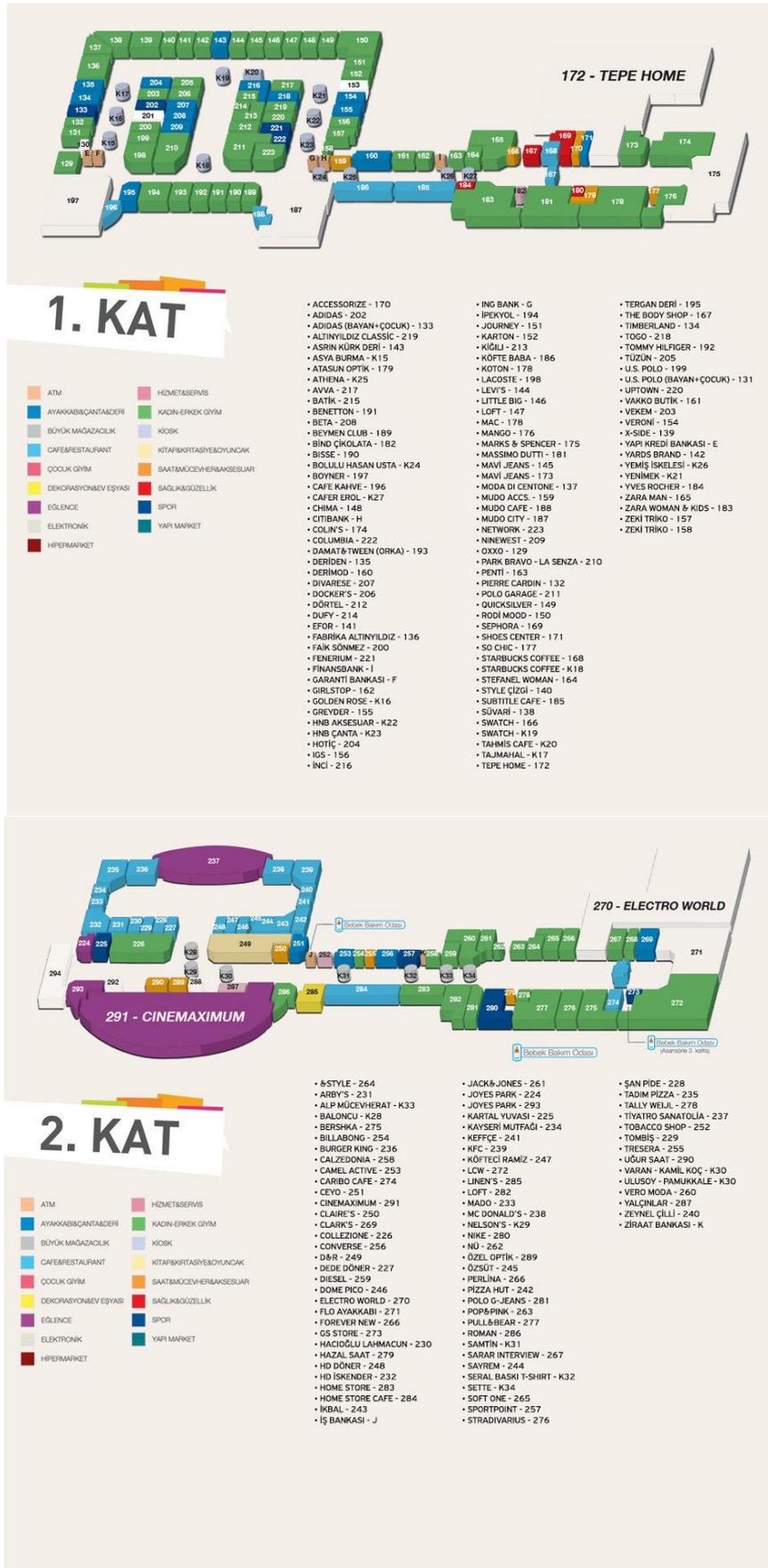


Figure G.2 ANKAmall floor plans (First and Second Floors)

Source: ANKAmall

ANTARES SHOPPING MALL FLOOR PLANS



(Antares Shopping Mall, Entrance Level)

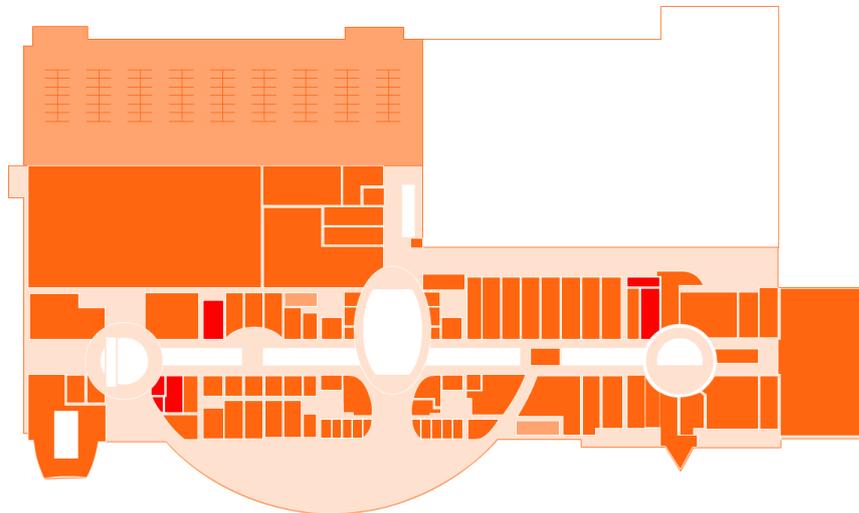


Figure G.3 Antares Shopping Centre, Entrance and First Levels

Source: Antares

ARMADA FLOOR PLANS*

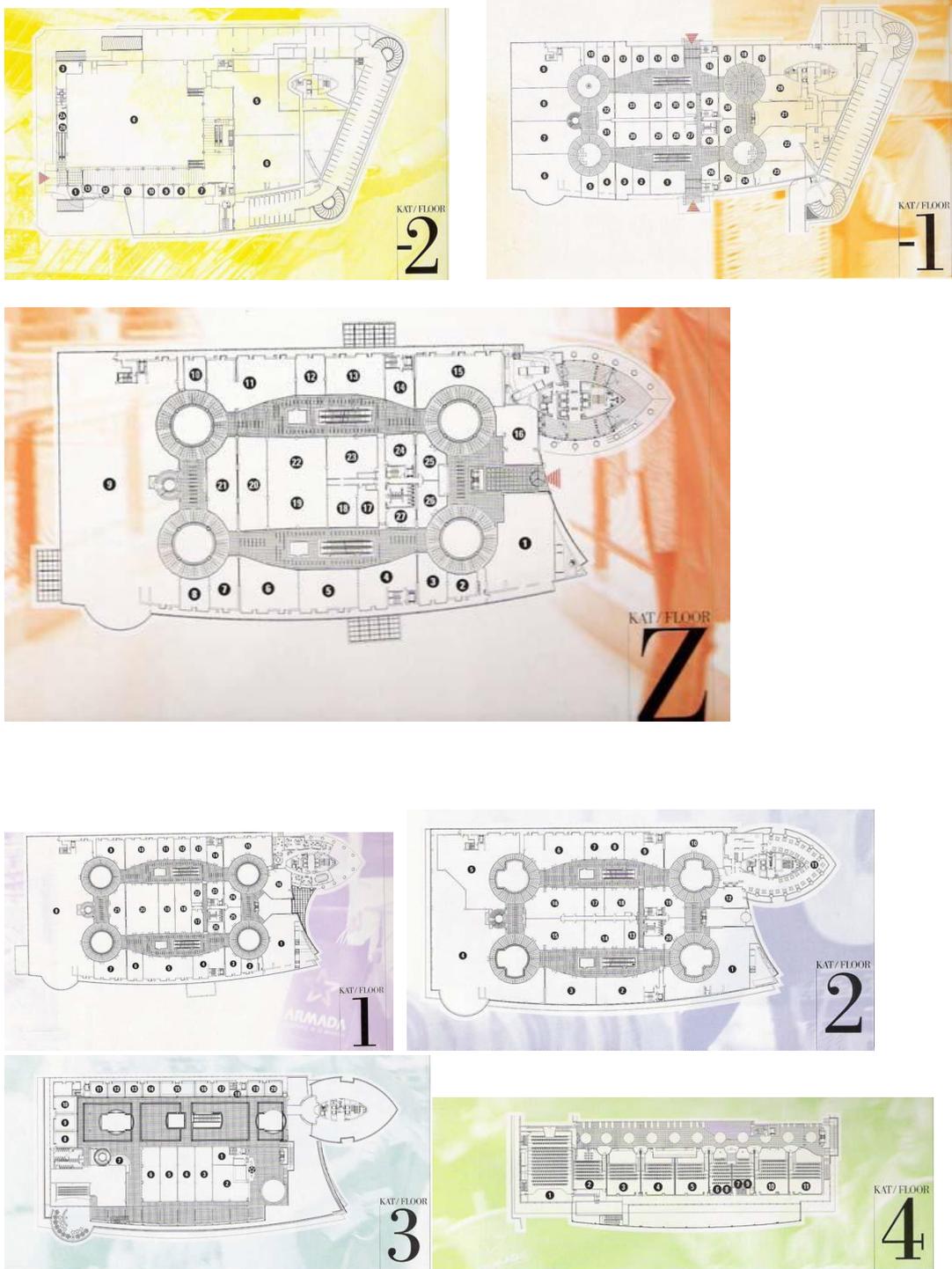
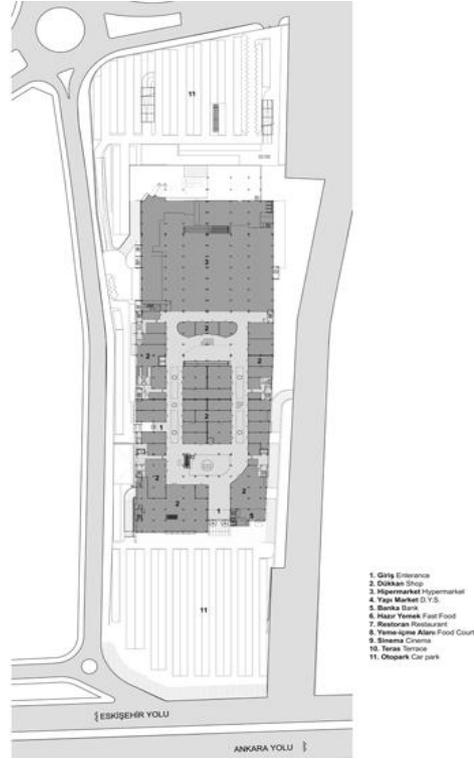


Figure G.4 Floor Plans of Armada Shopping Centre

*Source: Aksel Gürün, Banu (2009)

CEPA FLOOR PLANS



(Cepsa Shopping Mall, Entrance Floor)

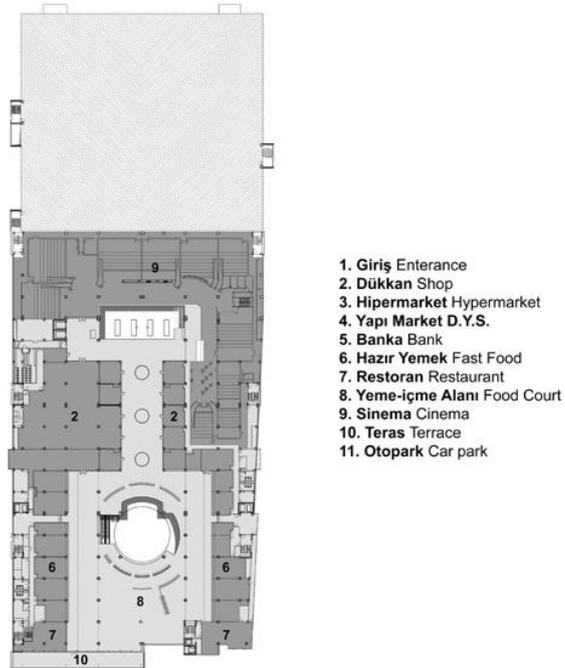


Figure G.5 Cepsa Shopping Centre Entrance and Third Floors

Source: Arkitera

FORUM ANKARA SHOPPING CENTRE SITE PLAN

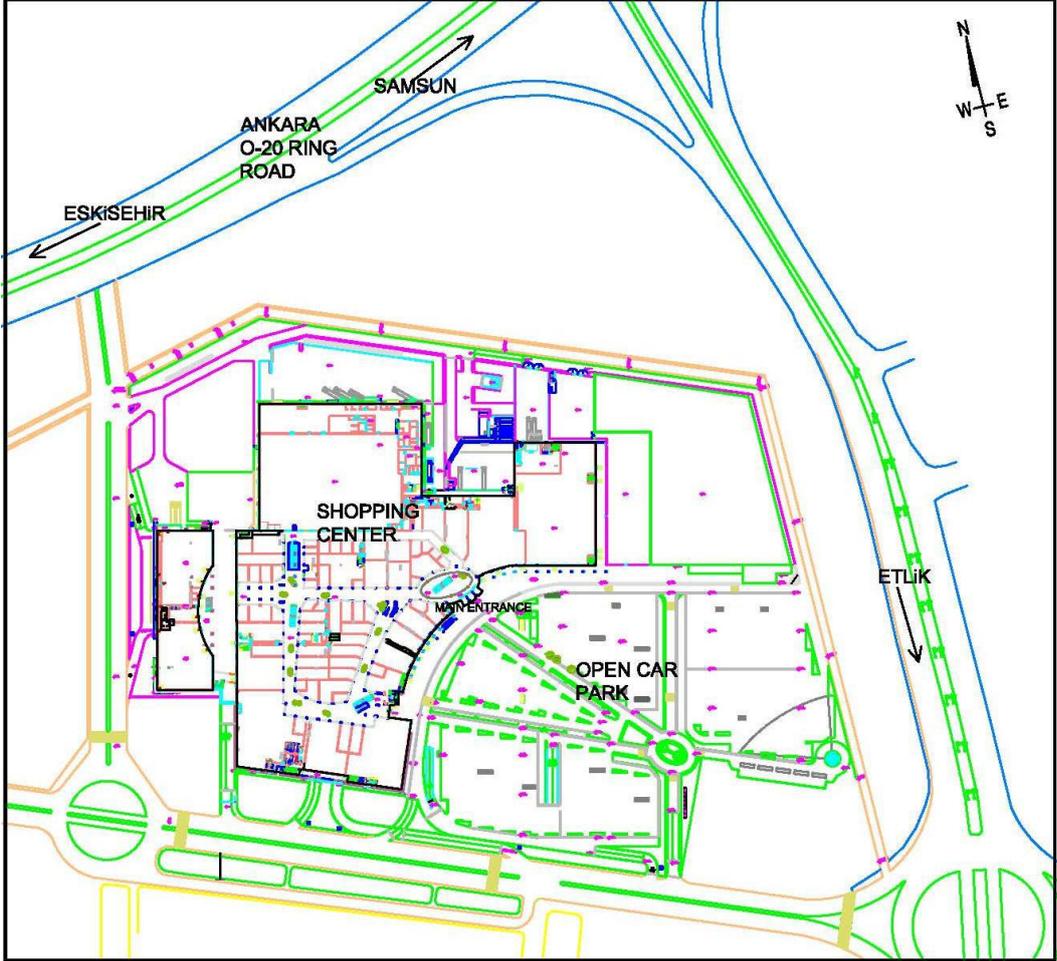


Figure G.6 Site plan of Forum Ankara

Source: Muhammed Sancar Sevik

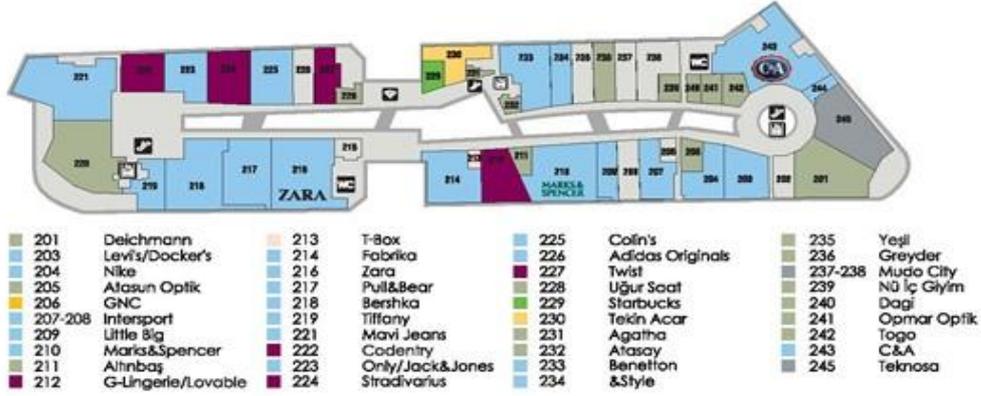
GORDION SHOPPING CENTRE FLOOR PLANS



Figure G.7 Gordion Basement, Ground and First Floor Levels

Source: Gordion

İKİNCİ KAT



ÜÇÜNCÜ KAT



SİNEMA KATI

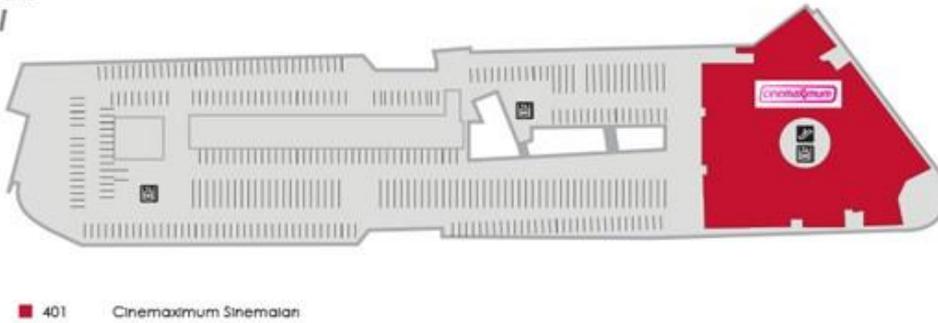
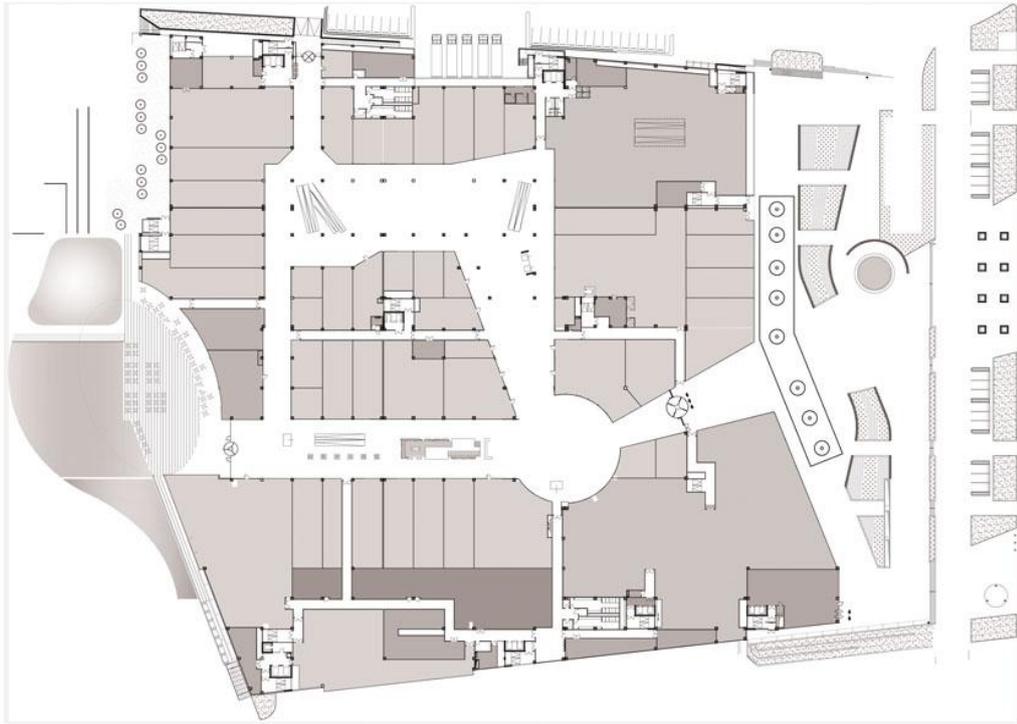


Figure G.8 Gordion Second, Third and Fourth Floor Levels

Source: Gordion

KENTPARK SHOPPING CENTRE FLOOR PLANS



(Kentpark Shopping Centre, Entrance Floor)

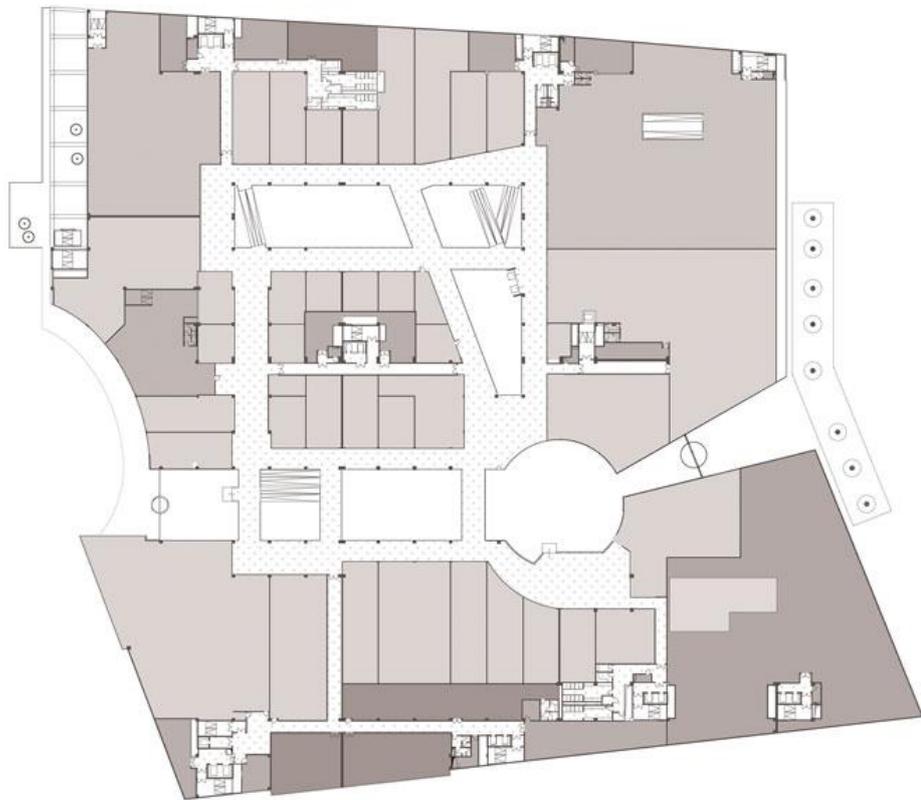


Figure G.9 Kentpark, Entrance and First Floor Plans

Source: VCMD

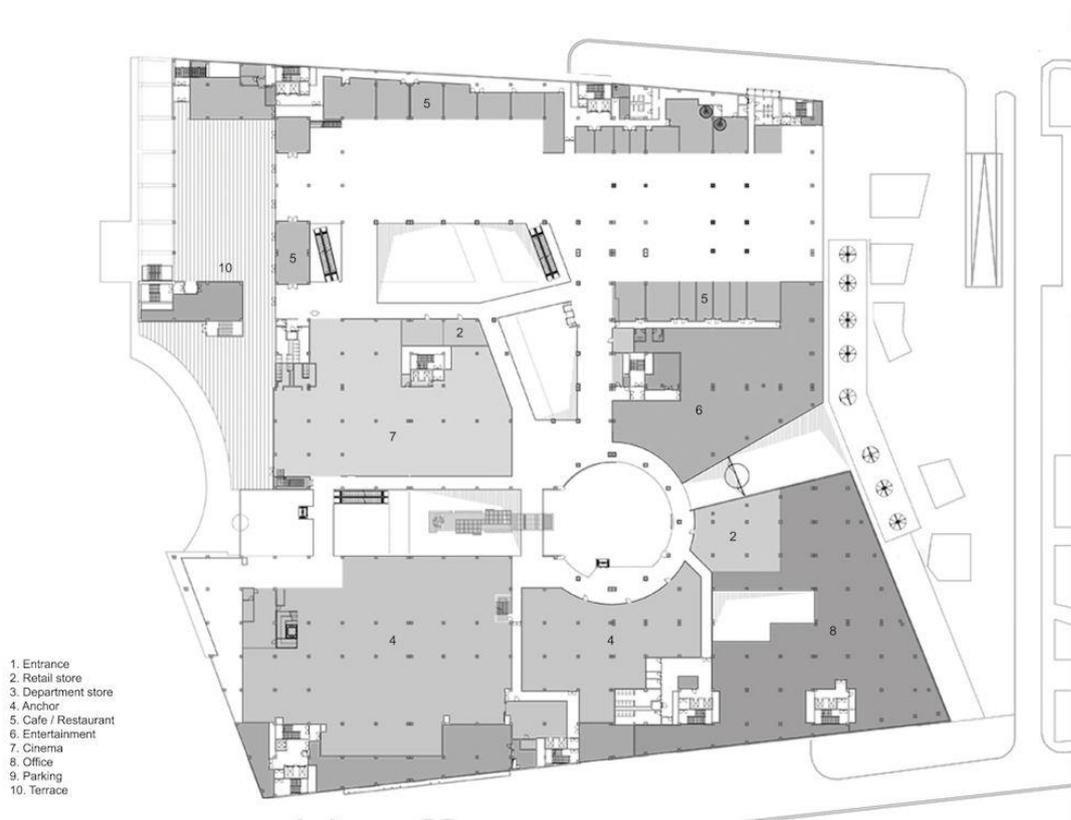
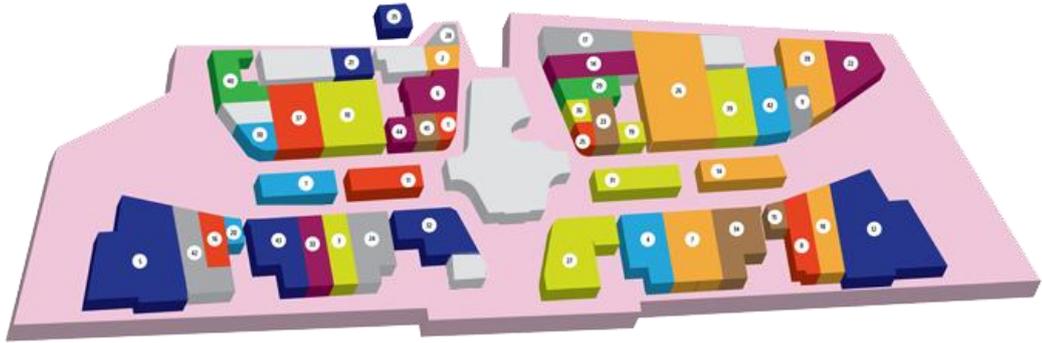


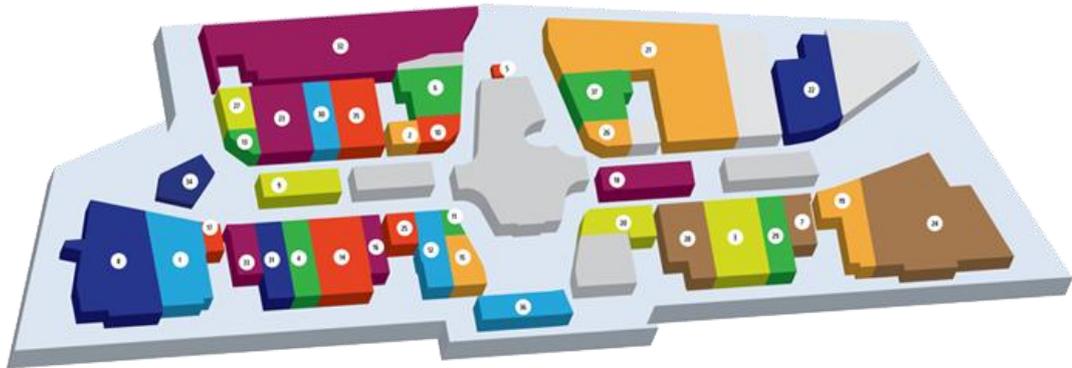
Figure G.10 Kentpark, Second Floor Plan

Source: VCMD

NATA VEGA SHOPPING CENTRE FLOOR PLANS



(Nata Vega, Entrance Level)



(Nata Vega First Floor Level)

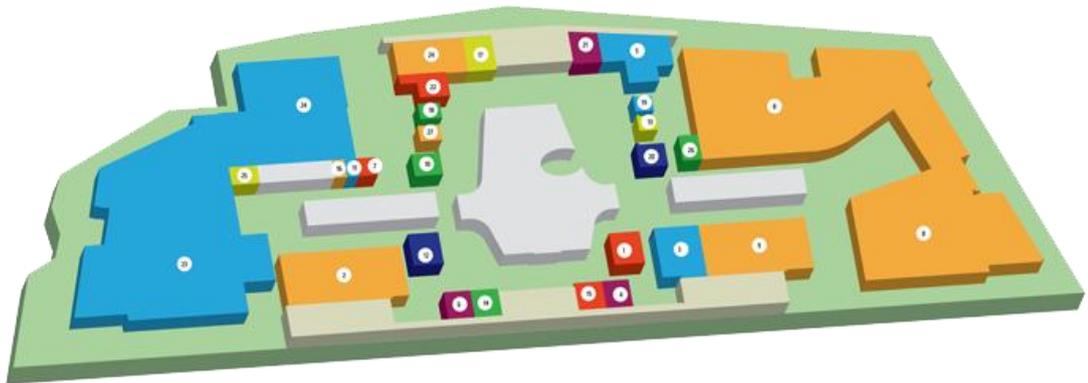
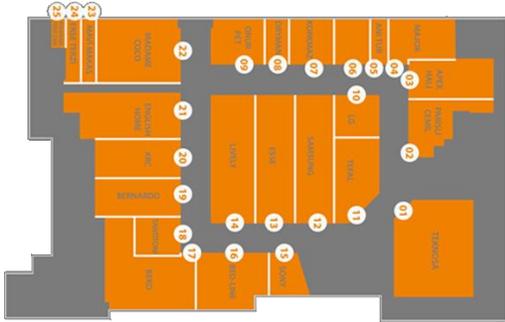
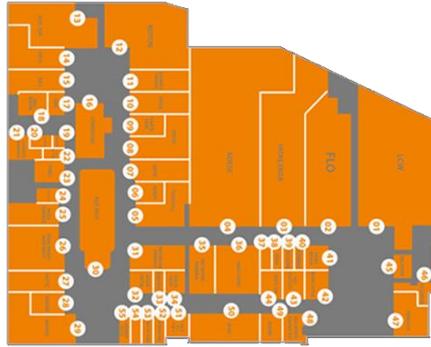


Figure G.11 Nata Vega, Entrance and first Floor Levels and Food Court Level
Source: Nata Vega Shopping Centre

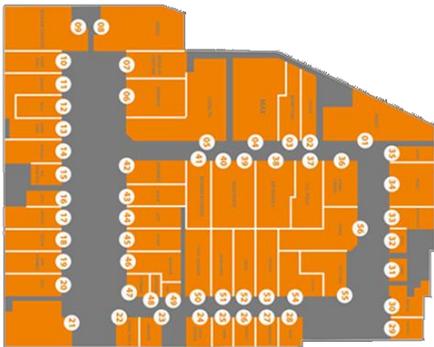
OPTIMUM OUTLET CENTRE FLOR PLANS



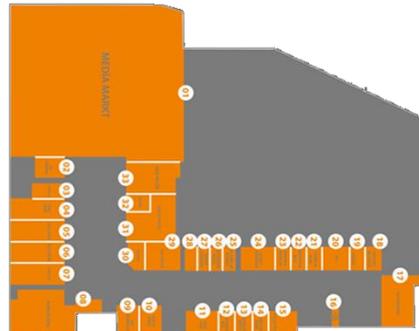
(Optimum, Lower Entrance Level)



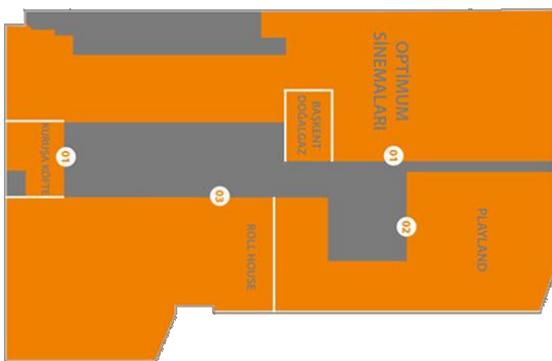
(Optimum, First Level)



(Optimum, First Level)



(Optimum, Second Level)

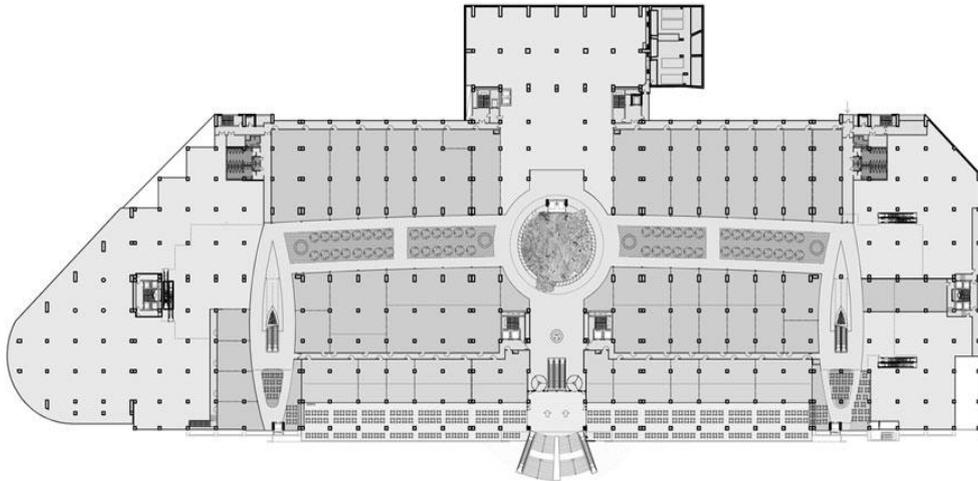


(Optimum, Third Level)

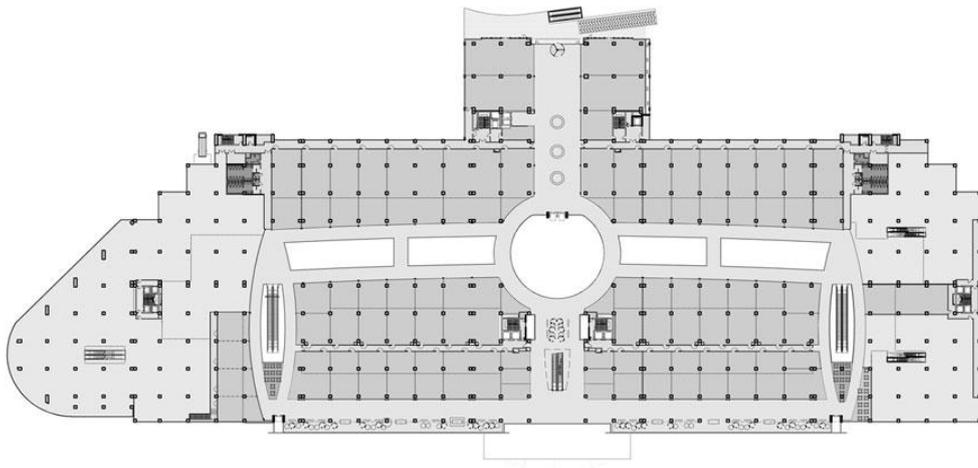
Figure G.12 Optimum Floor Plans

Source: Optimum Outlet Centre

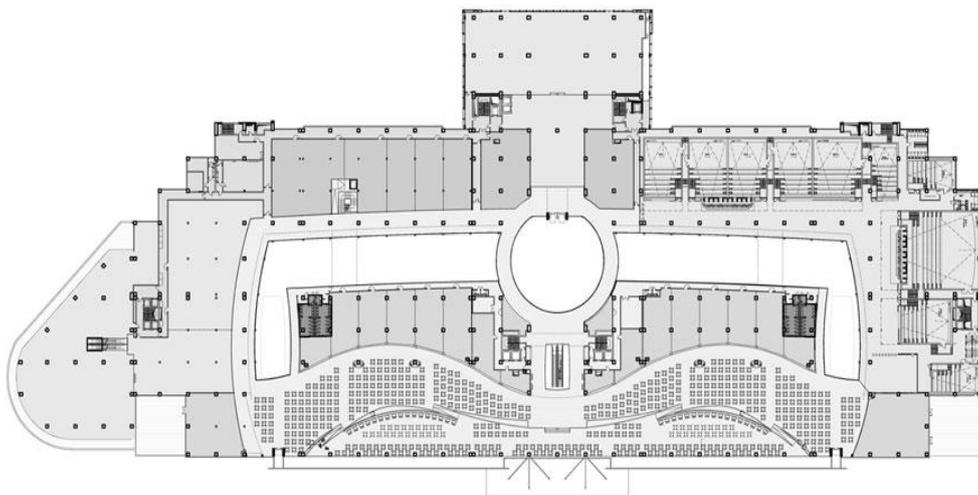
PANORA SHOPPING CENTRE FLOOR PLANS



(Panora Shopping Centre, Entrance Level)



(Panora Shopping Centre, First Level),



(Panora Shopping Centre, Second Floor Level)

Figure G.13 Panora Floor Plans

Source: VCMD

APPENDIX H

FACADES AND SPATIAL ARTICULATIONS OF SHOPPING MALLS



(Frontal view of ANKA mall)



(Frontal view of Antares Shopping Centre)



(Armada Shopping Centre and panoramic view of Eskişehir Road)

Figure H.1 Facades of ANKA mall, Antares and Armada Shopping Malls



(Ceva (in the middle) and Kentpark Shopping Centres (at left))



(Kentpark and Ceva (at right) Shopping Centres)



(Frontal Façade of Forum Ankara Outlet Center)



(Panoramic view of Forum Ankara)

Figure H.2 Facades of Ceva, Kentpark and Forum Ankara Shopping Malls



(Nata Vega (at left) and Anatolium Shopping Centres on “Shopping Plateau”)



(“Shopping Plateau”)



(Gordion Shopping Centre)



(Optimum Outlet Centre)

Figure H.3 Facades of Nata Vega, Gordion and Optimum Outlet Shopping Centres



Figure H.4 Panora Shopping Centre

SPATIAL ARTICULATIONS OF SHOPPING MALLS



(ANKA mall interior gallery)



(Circulation elements in ANKA mall)



(Antares, Atrium and Circulation)



(Antares, Atrium, Gallery and Circulation)

Figure H.5 Interior photos of ANKA mall and Antares Shopping Malls



(Armada, Gallery Space)



(Cepa, Circulation Element)



(Cepa, Gallery Space)



(Cepa, Circulation Elements)



(Antares, Gallery Space)



(Cepa, Atrium)



(Kentpark, Interior Street, Atrium, Circulation)



(Antares, Food Court)

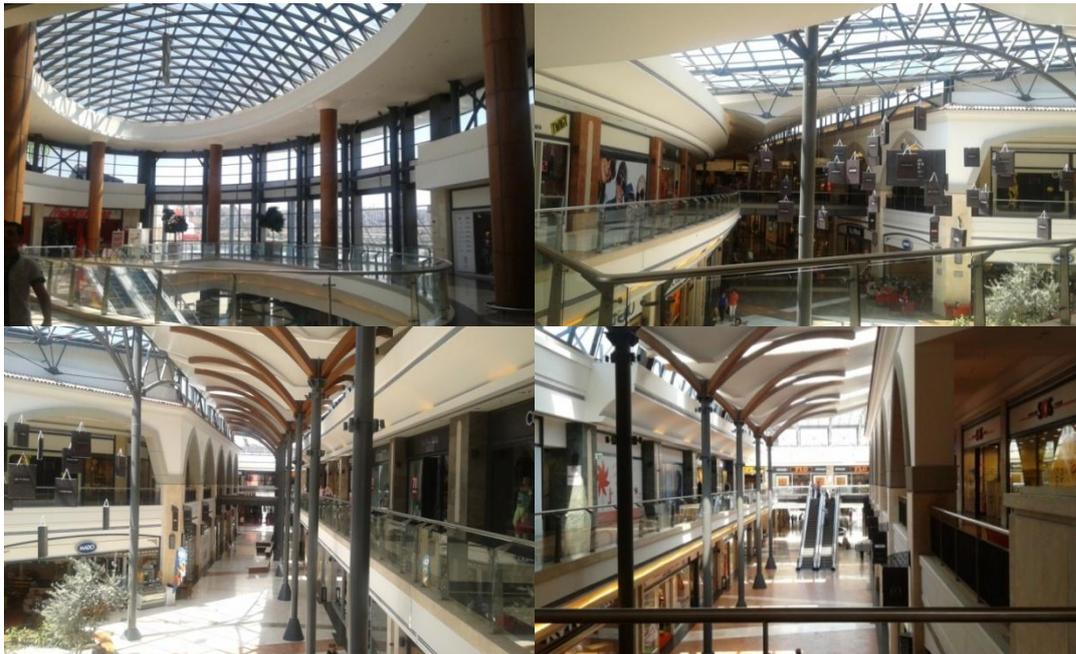


(Kentpark, Interior Thematic Bazaar “Kentpazarı”)

Figure H.6 Interior photos of Antares, Armada, Cepa and Kentpark Shopping Centres



(Images from Forum Ankara: Circulation, Atrium, Internal Street, Galleries, Fashion Street)



(Images from Forum Ankara: Atriums, Galleries, Interior Streets, Circulations)

Figure H.7 Spatial articulation details from Forum Ankara Shopping Centre



(Gordion Shopping Centre, Internal Street)



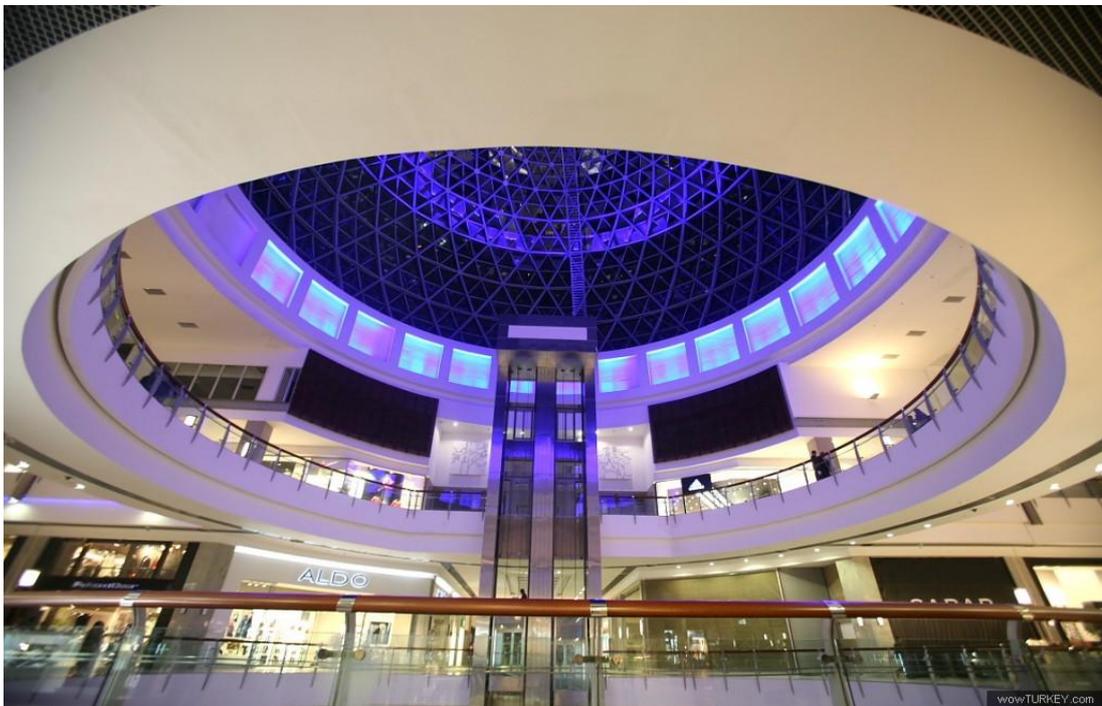
(Gordion Shopping Mall, Gallery)



(Nata Vega; Atrium and Circulation)



(Optimum Outlet, Gallery and Circulation)



(Panora Shopping Centre, Main Atrium, Galleries and Elevators)

Figure H.8 Interior photos from Gordion, Nata Vega, Optimum Outlet and Panora Shopping Centres



Figure H.9 Panora Shopping Centre, Gallery and Atrium

APPENDIX I**

READING CONTEMPORARY WORLD THROUGH IMAGES



HSBC 
 The world's local bank



**The images are from Internet and edited by the author