

UNFOLDING AND REFRAMING HETEROTOPIA WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF  
PERIPHERAL CONSUMPTION SPACES

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CONTEXT OF PERIPHERAL CONSUMPTION SPACES**

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## **ABSTRACT**

### **UNFOLDING AND REFRAMING HETEROTOPIA WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF PERIPHERAL CONSUMPTION SPACES**

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The term heterotopia, which has come to be known with the conceptualization of French social philosopher Michel Foucault, provides a new way in understanding the space by shaking the accustomed boundaries of our thought. Foucault accentuates space as the concern of today's anxiety and identifies it as the form of relations between emplacements. In this conception, heterotopias appear as real arrangements that have uncanny and contradictory juxtapositions. However, the ambiguous nature of the concept eases its expansion across a range of disciplines which in turn obstructs its control as a clear-cut tool in analysing the space. Hence, a delicate scrutiny of heterotopia rises as a necessity to reveal essential peculiarities of these other spaces. This study claims that the concept of heterotopia can be used as a proper tool of analysis in understanding peripheral urban consuming sites that have been developing aftermath of neo-capitalist economic policies. In that sense, the study adopts a twofold inquiry. The concept of heterotopia first appears as the object of analysis. After a thorough clarification of its base lines, the principles of heterotopology, which is the

systematic descriptions of heterotopias, are deployed in examining the characteristics of retail built environments that are emplaced at the peripheries of the cities.

**Keywords:** heterotopia, privatized public space, peripheral consumption sites, urban space, Muğla

## ÖZ

### **HETEROTOPYANIN ÇEPERDE YER ALAN TÜKETİM MEKANLARI BAĞLAMINDA ÇÖZÜMLENMESİ VE YENİDEN ÇERÇEVELENMESİ**

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Fransız sosyal filozof Michel Foucault'nun kavramsallaştırması ile bilinegelen heterotopya (başka-yer) kavramı, mekânı anlamada yerleşmiş düşünce biçimlerini sarsarak yeni bir yol sağlar. Foucault, mekânı çağın kaygısı olarak vurgular ve onu yerleştirmeler arası ilişkilerin biçimi olarak tanımlar. Bu kavramsallaştırmada heterotopyalar esrarengiz ve çelişkili bir aradalıkları olan gerçek düzenlemeler olarak belirir. Ancak, kavramın muğlaklığı onun çeşitli disiplinler arasında genişletilmesini kolaylaştırır ve bu da kavramın sınırları tanımlı bir analiz aracı olarak kullanılmasının kontrolünü engeller. Bu nedenle, kavramın detaylı bir şekilde incelenmesi bu başka mekanların özsel farklılıklarını açığa çıkarmak için bir ihtiyaç olarak gözüktür. Bu çalışma, heterotopya kavramının yeni kapitalist ekonomik politikaların sonucu olarak oluşan ve çeperde yer alan tüketim alanlarının incelenmesinde heterotopya kavramının doğru bir çözümleme aracı olarak kullanılabileceğini iddia eder. Bu anlamda, çalışma iki yönlü bir inceleme benimser; heterotopya kavramı ilk olarak çözümleme nesnesi olarak belirirken, kavramın temel çizgilerinin kapsamlı bir şekilde netleştirilmesinden sonra, heterotopyanın prensipleri kentlerin sınırlarında yer alan ticari fiziksel çevrelerin karakterini incelemede aracı olarak kullanılmıştır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** heterotopya, özelleştirilmiş kamusal mekan, çepersel tüketim mekanları, kentsel mekan, Muğla



To the guidance of curiosity...

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1. RECAPITULATING THE ONGOING DEBATE: HETEROTOPIA

On 14 March 1967, the French social philosopher Michel Foucault was invited to speak to the Cercle d'études architecturales (Circle of Architectural Studies) and gave a lecture in Paris.<sup>1</sup> Through this lecture, originally a medical term: 'heterotopia' has been introduced to urban and architectural discourse. The text, based on the transcript of the lecture, appeared under the title "Des Espaces Autres" in the French journal *Architecture Mouvement Continuité* in 1984 and two years later, it was translated into English by Miskoweic as "Of Other Spaces" and published in the texts/contexts section of *Diacritics*. This text is a collection of ideas on how to see 'other spaces' from an agglomeration of real-world perceptions. The literal translation of this Latin word that was borrowed from medicine means "the presence of a tissue in an abnormal location."<sup>2</sup> Emancipation of the term with "Of Other Spaces" and its elusive character allowed it to be extended to several directions by scholars from a range of disciplines, particularly art and architecture, literary studies, social and cultural geography, sociology and urban studies.

In this pioneering essay, Foucault embarks on to explain the history of the space to provide a backdrop to his spatial identifications. It is the "hierarchic ensemble of

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<sup>1</sup> Details of the process including the radio talk that preceded the lecture are explained by Lieven De Cauter and Michiel Dehaene in Preface to their translation of the text. Lieven De Cauter and Michiel Dehaene, "Of Other Spaces," trans. by Michiel Dehaene and Lieven de Cauter, in *Heterotopia and the City*, ed. Michel Dehaene and Lieven De Cauter, (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), 13.

<sup>2</sup> Merriam-Webster dictionary, accessed December 2016, <http://www.merriam-webster.com>

places” that led him to call medieval space as “the space of localization”. In Foucault’s remarks, when relentlessly hierarchical symbolic system of medieval culture opened up with Galileo, not only the perception about our location in the Universe changed, but infinite and infinitely open space came to light. The place of the medieval period was dissolved; it became nothing but a point in its movement. In other words, after Galileo’s discovery in the seventeenth century, localization was replaced by extension.

In contemplation of current understanding of space, Foucault refers to the word “emplacement” which he explains as “the relations of proximity between points and elements”. Whereas the obsession of the nineteenth century is remarked as “history”; the present is the epoch of space. As he notes, “we are in the epoch of simultaneity; we are in the epoch of juxtaposition, the epoch of the near and the far, of the side-by-side, of the dispersed.” According to Foucault, in this epoch, “space is given to us in the form of relations between emplacements”. Thus, today’s anxiety concerns space more than time. In contrast with completely sacralized medieval space, contemporary space is not completely desacralized. This is indicated by Foucault through the existence of certain number of oppositions in the present; for example, these of “between private space and public space, between family space and social space, between cultural space and useful space, between the space of leisure and that of work”. All these are animated by an unspoken sacralization.<sup>3</sup>

Narrowing his concern down to outer space, the “heterogeneous space” in which we live, he embarks on to explain the set of relations that “delineate emplacements”. What is distinctive in this account is his focus since he occupies a range of ‘different spaces’ that challenge or contest ‘normal’ spaces of everyday life. These are the abnormal tissues that leaked into our everyday spaces. Foucault divides these spaces into two main types; utopias and heterotopias. Utopias are emplacements with no real place; they are unreal spaces that have “a general relation of direct or inverted analogy with

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<sup>3</sup> Michel Foucault, “Of Other Spaces,” trans. by Michiel Dehaene and Lieven de Cauter, in *Heterotopia and the City*, ed. Michel Dehaene and Lieven De Cauter, (London and New York: Routledge, 2008) 14-16.



the real space of society”. In contrast with utopias, heterotopias are real arrangements; they are ‘the other’ of normal places which are positioned at the intersection of real/imaginary and normal/other dichotomies. These localizable spaces specify their existence with the relationship they establish with the environment. This relationship might be complicated, contradictory, or reflective.<sup>4</sup> As a prosperous tool that triggers novel remarks, heterotopias appear at the junction of space and culture by enabling further explorations into the relationship of these two.

Signification of heterotopia is puzzling since the concept does not have a single and stable appearance under which its manifold functions are executed. Along with the ambiguous character of heterotopia, this manifoldness varies with the principles presented by Foucault. Denominated as “heterotopology”, a method of examining particular sites, these principles amplify a new way of looking and pondering on space. They both reveal different facets and different types of heterotopias.

## **1.2. AIM, METHODOLOGY, AND LITERATURE REVIEW**

The concept of heterotopia has been adapted, expanded, and used many times. The lecture it came about was an address to architects. Since then, it has not ceased to circulate among architects and other scholars. In this respect, after five decades of its introduction, obviously it is not a fresh and novel conception. However, intrinsically heterotopia is a chameleon constitution which might possess several outlooks. Even the examples Foucault gives do not conform to one another. When consecutively collocated, they remind the bizarre categorization appeared in Chinese Encyclopedia<sup>5</sup>. Accordingly, assigning a fixed and stable definition was already precluded by Foucault while he was introducing heterotopia. Based on the transcript of the lecture, in “Of

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<sup>4</sup> Michel Foucault, “Of Other Spaces,” 17.

<sup>5</sup> Michel Foucault, preface to *The Order of Things* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1971).

Other spaces” he initiates a discourse of heterotopia and constructs the emergence surface of this discourse such that following discussions do not reach any certain conclusion for an ultimate definition of the term. What he rather does is to open a new way for spatial configurations by distinguishing some spaces that have particular conditions in relation to time, in relation to other spaces surrounding them and in relation to society in which they exist.

Looking from the aperture that Foucault opens, this study aims to use heterotopia to construct a new approach to explore particular spaces, namely peripheral consumption spaces. Embracing space as a socio-cultural constitution, heterotopia provides the much-needed tool of analysis for such an attempt. However, due to the unclear constellation of the term, it is not a ready-made tool of analysis. The need to construct a clear understanding of it necessitates a dynamic process. Methodologically, this process endorses the idea of “working without rules in order to formulate the rules of what will have been done”<sup>6</sup>; which results with a method of overlapping the object of scrutiny and the tool of analysis. Clarifying the implied facets and possibilities of heterotopias prepares the concept as a spatial tool. A simultaneous analysis and revelation of a particular understanding of heterotopia thus can be used in unfolding peculiarities of peripheral consumption spaces. In effect, the open-ended nature of Foucault’s approach, and his stance against metanarratives encourage to trace and develop this new and unique interpretation. Thus, with the explained two-folded attempt a fresh understanding for the peripheral consumption spaces can be developed.

The reason this case study was selected is the observed peculiarities of the recently emerging spaces and the rupture they cause. Heterotopia appears as a useful tool to probe this rupture and to provide a new perspective to grasp their spatial production. A further inquiry of the term in relation to a specific case has also potential to crystallize it to be used in similar studies. Hence, the meaning of the term in the

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<sup>6</sup> Jean-François Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge* (United Kingdom: Manchester University Press, 1984), 81.

contemporary urban space can be clarified and latent mechanisms embedded in the area can be unbound.

In the current literature of the concept, there are some arguments pointing out the heterotopic character of consumption sites; however, either heterotopia or consumption sites are not at the center in these studies. In that sense, a more comprehensive study that responds main principles of heterotopia is needed. Moreover, architectural studies for Muğla generally concern the historical structures at the city centre. Considering the expansion of the city towards two directions, current architectural and urban development appear as an urgent issue that needs further investigation.

Foucault's account of heterotopia sheds light on 'other spaces' and their specificity. When the examples he gives are examined, it is not surprising to see how the concept has been adopted repeatedly and thus, expanded depending on the interpretation. In "The Geographies of Heterotopia", an article appeared in 2013 in the journal *Geography Compass*, Peter Johnson, who describes himself as a theorist of heterotopia, elaborately delineates the varying approaches that incorporate the notion. The significance of Johnson's study lies behind the critical look that he provides both for Foucault's usage of the term and more importantly for the varying adoptions, expansions and interpretations of the concept. Hence, Johnson draws attention to "contradictions and weaknesses" of the concept and accentuates "trends and emerging themes" that include it. Differing geographies of heterotopia are designated and categorized by Johnsons according to a variety of spaces that have been explored through the concept. Collocation of these spaces next to each other exhibits the wideness of the range in adopting the notion. Johnson's thirty six pointed list includes the examination of British parks in the late nineteenth century by Joyce in 2003; the cybercafé by Liff in 2003; the public nude beach by Andriotis in 2010; burial sites in Kinshasa, Congo by De Boeck in 2008; hospitals by Coleman and Street in 2012; the syringe and the shooting gallery by Vitellone in 2010; Vancouver's New Public Library by Lees in 1997; gated communities in South African security parks by Hook

and Vrdoljak in 2002; Off-shore pirate radio station by Soffer in 2010, Chinatown in Washington DC by Lou in 2007.<sup>7</sup>

After collocating these, Johnson points out the contradictory and opposing uses of the term which in some cases reaches to an incomparable extent. By supporting his argument with other remarks<sup>8</sup> he correlates this extensiveness to the lack of “critical engagement” with the text.<sup>9</sup>

Tackling with the intricacies of heterotopia, Johnson contends heterotopian thinking as “a form of archaeology”, a descriptive method, a tool for diversifying space. The context, in which Foucault introduced and presented his conception, enables Johnson to make connections with *The Archaeology of Knowledge* where main task was “making difference: to constitute them as objects”. Despite being in a different register, he suggests; heterotopias “make difference and unsettle spaces”. Underlying how our world is full of spaces that fragment, punctuate, transform, split and govern, these ‘other spaces’ evoke a life full of different ‘worlds’: miniature, transient, accumulative, disturbing, paradoxical, contradictory, excessive and exaggerated. Precisely, Johnson

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<sup>7</sup> In addition to the given examples, the list includes Arab-Islamic architecture (Tonna 1990); an environmental installation (Genocchio 1995); the Museum of Pacific Island Culture (Kahn 1995); the Citadel LA – the civic centre of Los Angeles (Soja 1995); gardens in Vienna (Rotenberg 1995); the Palais Royal, masonic lodges and early factories (Hetherington 1997); a performance prototype (Birringer 1998); local exchange trading schemes (North 1999); women’s colleges at the turn of the nineteenth century (Tamboukou 2000); sites in Fascist Italy (Burdett 2000); landscapes (Guarrasi 2001); Buddhist Site of Swayambhu in Kathmandu Valley (Owens 2002); underground band rooms in Hong Kong (Kit-Wai Ma 2002); the nineteenth century ship narrative (Casarino 2002); British parks in the late nineteenth century (Joyce 2003, p. 223); pornographic sites on the Internet (Jacobs 2004); the vampire (Davies 2008); Norwegian and English prisons (Baer and Ravneberg 2008); patterns of disclosure among heterosexuals living with HIV (Persson and Richards 2008); the shopping mall (Kern 2008; Muzzio and Muzzio-Rentas 2008); masculinity practices along the Tel Aviv shoreline (Allweil and Kallus 2008); the group dynamics of a climate camp (Saunders and Price 2009); Derek Jarman’s garden (Steyaert 2010); Abney Park Cemetery in London (Gandy 2012); The Persian Garden (Kive 2012); The Lunar Cemetery (Damjanov 2013), see Peter Johnson, “The Geographies of Heterotopia,” *Geography Compass*, 7, no. 11 (2013): 790-803.

<sup>8</sup> For these remarks, see Roland Ritter and Bernd Knaller-Vlay, *Other Spaces: The Affair of the Heterotopia* (Graz: Haus der Architektur, 1998) and Benjamin Genocchio, “Discourse, Discontinuity, Difference: The Question of Other Spaces” in *Post-modern cities and spaces* ed. by Watsons and Gibson, 35-46 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995).

<sup>9</sup> Johnson, 797.

summarize this common ground as ‘a brief exercise’ to disturb the accepted set of relations in our thought.

In the editorial book, *Heterotopia and the City*, Michiel Dehaene, a scholar at Eindhoven University of Technology, and Lieven De Cauter, a scholar at KU Leuven, compile different studies concerning the concept in order to clarify and investigate heterotopias which exist throughout our contemporary world. In addition to this rich collection, editors’ introduction “Heterotopia in a Postcivil Society” and Hilde Heynen’s text “Afterthoughts” explicitly analyse the concept and enable one to understand heterotopias after four decades with the changes in the contemporary city.

The most prominent study interpreting the term in a large scale is provided by David Shane, a scholar of urban theory and design. The concept of heterotopia appears as the incorporating element of Shane’s triad in *Recombinant Urbanism* where he embarks on to explain ever changing structure of the contemporary urban practice and elaborates the main approaches that have evolved to deal with the fragmented contemporary city. As actors unite and recombine urban elements, urban systems and fragments change. For Shane, heterotopias can enrich these fragmented urban conditions because they are dynamic bridges between city theory, city models and urban design. In Shane’s conception, city is an entity that is composed of layered structure of heterotopic nodes and networks. “Multicellular internal structures” are compiled and various bonding systems exist in these heterotopic nodes. Shane’s contribution to the studies of heterotopia is crucial in that his interpretation fills a gap in terms of the connection of heterotopias to the contemporary city. In this sense, Shane provides a novel look towards the concept.

Kevin Hetherington’s substantial study *Badlands of Modernity* that had an impact beyond cultural and social geography attempts to resolve the evolution of specific social spaces during the formative years of modernity. In this endeavour, he presents three specific examples of heterotopia: the Palais Royal in Paris, Masonic Lodges and early factories of the Industrial Revolution. The first example, the Palais Royal of the 1780s is presented as the precursor of the famous Parisian arcades which in turn

became the forerunner of later department stores and shopping malls. Hetherington asserts that in some ways, the consumer culture of the 1790s' Palais Royal was not that different from the consuming sites of today. The parallels between the Palais Royal in 1780s and today's consumption oriented sites find a common ground in being a site of pleasure, consumption and civility. The significance of Hetherington's study is that it underlies the conditions in which modern society was shaped through heterotopia.

Hetherington highlights the importance of spatiality in understanding modern society and gives Foucault credit for his contribution. His understanding of heterotopia opens many fruitful questions along with significant explanations. Hetherington asserts that being a heterotopia is not an intrinsic quality of some place. It is the heterogeneous combination of the materiality, social practices and events that were located at a site and phenomena that they represent in contrast with other sites; that allow us to call it a heterotopia.<sup>10</sup> Hence, in the attempt to create a new understanding of 'privatized' public spaces, it is necessary to look beyond corporeality of retail built environments and trying to capture the social practices in which they are shaped.

Another distinctive interpretation of heterotopia can be seen in the study of Stavros Stavrides, In *Kentsel Heterotopya: Özgürleşme Mekanı Olarak Eşikler Kentine Doğru* Stavrides interprets heterotopias as spaces that are located outside of generalized disciplinal order of a society where the otherness describes not the character but the boundaries of social. His approach is distinctive in that he rigorously endeavors to integrate power and space in developing different views for the concept. The question he poses in the epilogue that was written especially for the Turkish translation, instils hope to conceive heterotopias as generators in creating alternative urban experience.<sup>11</sup>

In *Heterotopia of the theme park street*, Kathleen Kern considers heterotopia as a useful tool to analyse contemporary public space, and narrows the analysis down to

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<sup>10</sup> Kevin Hetherington, *The Badlands of Modernity* (London: Routledge, 1997), 8.

<sup>11</sup> Stavros Stavrides, *Kentsel Heterotopya: Özgürleşme Mekanı Olarak Eşikler Kentine Doğru* [Towards the City of Thresholds] (İstanbul: Sel Yayıncılık, 2016).

examine ‘streetscaped malls’. Kern states that: “the shopping mall and even more so the lifestyle centre is the ultimate heterotopian, phantasmagorical, enclosed, safe havens, the realized utopias of the cult of today: shopping”.<sup>12</sup>

Douglas Muzzio and Jessica Muzzio-Rentas consider the cinematic mall as the uttermost heterotopian place. Focusing on the ‘mall-centred’ movies<sup>13</sup>, they open different visions of the mall and finalize their analysis by asserting the reel /real mall as the heterotopia; the cinematic mall is a heterotopian projection of a heterotopia as movies themselves are heterotopian.<sup>14</sup>

As demonstrated, the joint experience identified by the concept of heterotopia resonates in many studies. This effective tool that is used to expose invisible features of cultural and social spaces also mediates to invent new ones. Hence, on the basis of principles presented by Foucault, consumption sites which interrupt the urban experience as a leakage, can be conceived as contemporary heterotopias. However, it is the aim of this study to identify peculiarities of peripheral consumption spaces with regard to the concept of heterotopia.

## **STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS**

As heterotopias are cultural and contextual arrangements, this study entails two extensive surveys. Conducted in two separate chapters, these surveys can be denominated as to disentangle heterotopia and to deepen the cultural importance of consumption. In accordance with these aims, the second and the third chapters differ

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<sup>12</sup> Kathleen Kern, “Heterotopia of the Theme Park Street,” in *Heterotopia and the City*, ed. Michiel Dehaene and Lieven De Cauter, 105–116. (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), 16.

<sup>13</sup> These movies are: *Dawn of the Dead*, *True Stories*, *Mallrats* and *Bill and Ted’s Excellent Adventure*.

<sup>14</sup> Douglas Muzzio and Jessica Muzzio-Rentas, “A Kind of Instinct: the Cinematic Mall as Heterotopia,” in *Heterotopia and the City*, ed. Michiel Dehaene and Lieven De Cauter, 137–149 (London and New York: Routledge, 2008).

in approach and attitude. While chapter 2 is formed by adhering to important points of the seminal text “Of Other Spaces”, chapter 3 follows rather a loose path and covers a large variety of issues. Chapter 4 aims to demonstrate the developed discussions in a real context. Finally, in the chapter 5, the results obtained from the developed analysis and identifications adopted from the case study are concluded.

The second chapter starts with aiming to situate heterotopia within the overall approach of Foucault. In this attempt, a broad frame investigating the concepts which are frequently dealt by Foucault are expected to provide a deeper understanding of heterotopias. Prominent among these, ‘power’ and ‘knowledge’ are deployed to provide an acquaintance with him; they are used as a spring board to grasp Foucauldian thinking. On the other hand, in the section where space is investigated, its mostly implicit yet sustained existence in Foucault’s agenda is attempted to be dissolved. Its central position for the French philosopher and his distinctive approach to space come to forth. Thus, before passing to the history of space, a genealogy proposal, an introduction of the ideas of Foucault is established in the exploration of his ideas on power, knowledge, and space. Consequently, this chapter is expected to provide the basis in constructing a new and fresh understanding of space through heterotopia. For this purpose, the details of the text “Of Other Spaces” appear as the main object of scrutiny. This chapter is concluded with the principles provided in this text and their interpretation in relation to consumption spaces.

The third chapter of the study aims to conduct an analysis of the phenomenon ‘consumption’. This analysis is executed through investigating the first surfaces of its emergence, its relationship with modernity, its dissemination and transformation. As the predominant phenomenon of today’s societies, consumption has a tremendous impact on the cultural. The way this impact started to take form, how it is penetrated and dominated daily routines and thus created its precepts form the central inquiry of this chapter. The third chapter of the study also tackles with the peculiarities of heterotopias that can be found in contemporary urban space. In this attempt, transformation of public space will be the main concern of the chapter. Contribution



of the dominant economic system to this transformation will be opened in detail to canalize the discussion towards the case study whose function is related to dominance of consumption over present culture.

The fourth chapter of the study focuses on a specific case study. Located in Muğla, which is a city in the Aegean part of Turkey, this specific area composes the main object of scrutiny for this chapter. This analysis starts with the history of the city and traces the developed categorization in Chapter 2. By integrating current developments as well, this chapter investigates the heterotopic peculiarities of the selected area.

Finally, in the conclusion chapter, it is aimed to articulate how heterotopia finds an equivalence in contemporary urban space. As an objectifying example of the developed analysis, selected case study elucidates the heterotopic qualities of peripheral consumption spaces.



## CHAPTER 2

### EMPLACING HETEROTOPIA IN FOUCAULTIAN UNDERSTANDING OF SPACE

#### 2.1. ENTANGLED RELATIONS AMONG POWER, KNOWLEDGE AND SPACE

Unravelling the relations of power, knowledge, and space in the studies of Michel Foucault can be regarded as a tremendous endeavor which exceeds the scope of this study. Yet, an introductory and preliminarily presentation of Foucault's ideas seems crucial for one who attempts to disentangle the concept of heterotopia abiding by his conceptualization. The search for "possible relations between power and knowledge" appears as the central concern of Foucault. He acknowledges that his appeal on spatial terms is also about to search for these relations.<sup>15</sup> In effect, the reason his ideas on power and knowledge come to the fore here is to provide a broader acquaintance with him. Thus, the information provided below aims to open things up rather than conclude, and to complicate rather than simplify, just as Foucault did. Although the discussion of power, knowledge and truth is not directly related to heterotopias, due to the comprehension level on which they operate they embody numerous links with the ideas embedded in his conceptualization of heterotopia. Metaphorically speaking, the niche Foucault opens with his discussions on power, knowledge, space, discipline, and

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<sup>15</sup> "People have often reproached me for these spatial obsessions, which have indeed been obsessions for me. But I think through them I did come to what I had basically been looking for: the relations that are possible between power and knowledge." Michel Foucault, "Questions on Geography: Interviewers: The Editors of the Journal *Hérodote*," in *Michel Foucault: Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972–1977*, ed. C. Gordon (Brighton, UK: Harvester Press, 1980), 69.

truth can be regarded as a heterotopic zone within the body of knowledge which he attempted to shake.

### **2.1.1. Power and Knowledge**

For Foucault, knowledge and power are indecipherably linked; any circumstance in which power is exercised is at the same time a place of knowledge production.

“Power produces knowledge ... there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations.”<sup>16</sup>

Foucault professes that rather than a subject of knowledge, these power-knowledge relations are to be examined by relying on “the subject who knows, the objects to be known and the modalities of knowledge”. In brief, “the processes and struggles” that bisect power-knowledge and those of which it is composed decides “the forms and possible domains of knowledge”.<sup>17</sup>

To guarantee its legitimacy, power must produce its own bodies of knowledge, its *truths*.<sup>18</sup> Foucault enables one to see different kind of relations between truth and power, where power is “a matter of the production of truth, and truth is itself a thing of this world, intrinsically bound to apparatuses”, for instance the prison, the hospital, the school and the clinic for its production and circulation. It is valid in all societies that the social body is constituted by multiple relations of power which are inextricably linked with a discourse of truth. The foundation of a true discourse, its accumulation, circulation, and its arrangement to work are all integral to any execution of power.

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<sup>16</sup> Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of The Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1977), 27.

<sup>17</sup> Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of The Prison*, 27-28.

<sup>18</sup> Vernon W. Cisney and Nicolae Morar, *Biopower. Foucault And Beyond* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2016), 1.

Power constantly intervenes in institutionalization and systematization of the search for the truth. The way people to be judged, to be condemned, and to be forced to perform certain tasks are adjudged by the discourse of truth.<sup>19</sup>

For Foucault, it is a weak pose to construe power as something about legislation, or the constitution of the state and its apparatus. Foucault conceives power as a denser and more complicated phenomenon than the mechanisms of state. Unless the apparatuses of power are taken into consideration, one cannot understand the development of the productive forces of capitalism, nor even conceive of their technological development.<sup>20</sup> For the present epoch, power is not a constitution of “mass and homogenous domination”, it cannot be divided between those who have it and those who hold it, those who do not have it and those who subject to it. Power is something that circulates, something that functions. It is exercised “through networks”, and individuals do not merely circulate in those networks; they are able to “both submit to and exercise this power”. They are not targets of power but its relays. Power passes through them, rather than being applied on them.<sup>21</sup> In this “impersonal understanding of power,” it functions as a spread throughout the social body rather than a force coming from above.”<sup>22</sup>

Foucault’s ideas on power accompany his interest on discipline which he conceives as a type of power. “The birth of disciplinary form of power historically coincides with the multiplication and expansion of the human sciences, which are made to serve as the legitimating discourses of this new form of power.”<sup>23</sup> It is the physics or anatomy of power which entails technical procedure and application standards. Foucault

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<sup>19</sup> Michel Foucault, *Society Must be Defended: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1975–1976* (New York: Picador, 2003), 24-25.

<sup>20</sup> Michel Foucault, “The Eye of Power,” in *The Impossible Prison/ A Foucault Reader*, ed. Daniel Defert (Nottingham Contemporary, 2008), 8-16.

<sup>21</sup> Michel Foucault, *Society Must be Defended: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1975–1976* (New York: Picador, 2003), 29.

<sup>22</sup> Stuart Elden, *Mapping the Present: Heidegger, Foucault and the Project of a Spatial History* (Continuum International Publishing Group Ltd., 2001), 105.

<sup>23</sup> Vernon W. Cisney and Nicolae Morar, *Biopower, Foucault And Beyond* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2016), 4.

focuses on specialized institutions of discipline, institutions that apply it as an indispensable instrument for a particular end, such as schools and hospitals. However, it is his research on clinical medicine that led him to discover Jeremy Bentham's Panopticon<sup>24</sup> which made him known with prisons. During his research on clinical medicine, he examined different architectural projects and came to realize "the problem of the total visibility of bodies, of individuals and things, under a system of centralized surveillance." Later while he was studying the problems of penal system, he noticed that majority of the projects that dealt with the reorganization of prisons referred to Jeremy Bentham. It was hardly neglected in texts or projects that concern prisons.

Given a substantial portion of acknowledgement, the Panopticon<sup>25</sup> must be understood as a generalizable model of functioning; a way of defining power relations regarding everyday life of people. In this "cruel, ingenious cage" the diagram of a mechanism of power is reduced to its ideal form;

...its functioning, abstracted from any obstacle, resistance or friction, must be represented as a pure architectural and optical system: it is in fact a figure of political technology that may and must be detached from any specific use.<sup>26</sup>

The Panopticon is a type of deployment of bodies in space, of dispersal of individuals in relation to one another, of "hierarchical organization, of disposition of centres and channels of power, of definition of the instruments and modes of intervention of power". Whenever one is dealing with a multiplicity of individuals a particular form

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<sup>24</sup> Jeremy Bentham's Panopticon is a work that was published at the end of the eighteenth century and has remained unknown until Foucault reawaken it. For Foucault, it is "an event in the history of the human mind," and "a revolutionary discovery in the order of politics." Michel Foucault, "The Eye of Power," 9.

<sup>25</sup> "The principle is simple: on the periphery runs a building in the shape of a ring; in the centre of the ring stands a tower pierced by large windows that face the inside wall of the ring; the outer building is divided into cells, each of which crosses the whole thickness of the building. These cells have two windows: one corresponding to the tower's windows, facing into the cell; the other, facing outside, thereby enabling light to traverse the entire cell. One then needs only to place a guard in the central tower, and to lock into each cell a mad, sick or condemned person, a worker or a pupil." Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 205.

of behaviours must be imposed, the panoptic schema may be used. The importance of the Panopticon is that for Foucault it can be integrated into any function. When integrated it can increase the effect of this function and can construct a mixed mechanism in which relations of power -and of knowledge- may be adjusted. The most striking thing about the Panopticon is that it acts directly on individuals without any physical mechanism other than “architecture and geometry”. This schema intensifies any apparatus of power by way of assuring its economy and “efficacy.”<sup>27</sup>

### 2.1.2. Space

From architectural plans for asylums, hospitals and prisons; to the exclusion of the leper and the confinement of victims in the partitioned and quarantined plague town; from spatial distributions of knowledge to the position of geography as a discipline; to his suggestive comments on heterotopias, the spaces of libraries, of art and literature; analyses of town planning and urban health; and a whole host of other geographical issues, Foucault’s work was always filled with implications and insights concerning spatiality.<sup>28</sup>

Given the inextricable condition it has, a worthwhile investigation of the concept of heterotopia inevitably concerns Foucault’s approach to space. Thus, despite heterotopias’ being exceptional spaces, resorting the overall idea of space in Foucault’s understanding might be helpful to extricate overlooked aspects of heterotopias.

For Foucault, if “history of spaces” was to be written, concurrently it would be “history of the powers” and it would involve all the political and economic executions, from the large-scale strategies of geopolitics to modest tactics of housing. Foucault finds it stumping that it took too long for the problem of spaces to be conceived “as an historical and political problem”. Space has long since either referred to “*nature*” as a

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<sup>27</sup> Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 205-06.

<sup>28</sup> Jeremy Crampton and Stuart Elden, introduction to *Space, Knowledge and Power: Foucault and Geography*, ed. Jeremy W. Crampton and Stuart Elden (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2007), 1.

form of something given, or to “*physical geography*”; it was treated as a “*prehistoric stratum*”. Briefly space was analysed “either as the ground on which people lived or the area in which they existed”; “foundations and frontiers” were the foremost considerations in this respect. After marking these designations, he recognizes spatial arrangements as the political and economic forms to be studied in detail.<sup>29</sup>

A certain neglect regarding spaces is associated with “the discourse of philosophers”. When a reliable “politics of spaces” was developing at the end of the eighteenth century, the advancements in the theoretical and experimental physics took over philosophy’s right to speculate on “the world, the cosmos, the space”, be it limited or limitless. This attachment of space both by “political technology and scientific practice” causes philosophers to concern with “the problematic of time”.<sup>30</sup> In addition to that, a “correlative disqualification of space” exists in human understanding; as consequences of “the truth and the shame of the nineteenth century philosophy”, “life and progress” are believed to be measured in terms of time rather than space.<sup>31</sup>

Nigel Thrift speculates that Foucault’s inclination to think of space in terms of orders made him cognizant of space as an agency through which change could be affected, but concomitantly this tendency made him non-susceptible to a good part of space’s aliveness. This blindness, for Thrift, affected Foucault to the extent that he wanted to signal this spatial quality and he often found other non-categories for it, like heterotopia. “Everywhere in Foucault, there are ... markers of his sensitivity to spatial order- as a key to the constitution of power, as a marker of the self, as a requisite co-ingredient of numerous practices.”<sup>32</sup> It is worth noting that Foucault repeatedly reflects the substantiality of space for the present epoch.<sup>33</sup> Actually, it is space that concerns

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<sup>29</sup> Michel Foucault, “The Eye of Power,” 10.

<sup>30</sup> For Foucault, from Kant on, time occupies the philosopher’s agenda. He exemplifies this with Hegel, Bergson, and Heidegger. Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 10-11.

<sup>32</sup> Nigel Thrift, “Overcome by Space: Reworking Foucault,” in *Space, Knowledge and Power Foucault and Geography*, ed. Jeremy W. Crampton and Stuart Elden, (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2007), 55.

<sup>33</sup> Foucault draws attention to substantiality of space remarkably in his texts “The Eye of Power” and “Of Other Spaces”. Michel Foucault, “The Eye of Power.” in *The Impossible Prison/ A Foucault Reader*,



our epoch. In contrast with time that was prevailing mode of existence in the nineteenth century, space appears in Foucault's ideas as a central element in constructing social and political forms. For Thrift, Foucault had "a spatial sensibility", "one that arose naturally from his critique of the architectonic space of the transcendental project."<sup>34</sup>

Obviously, the most apparent example that represents Foucault's ideas on space is Bentham's Panopticon. Arose from his study of Panopticon, discipline itself is "an analysis of space", "it is individualization through space, the placing of bodies in an individualized space that permits classification and combinations". As a technique of power, discipline accommodates a steady and continual control of individuals. It is not adequate to see them occasionally or to check their obedience to the rules. It is necessary "to keep them under surveillance" to make sure activity is held all the time and submit them to "a perpetual pyramid of surveillance."<sup>35</sup>

Resorting the idea of space in Foucault is not a general tendency in the studies that deal with the concept of heterotopia. In varying degrees, his ideas on power, knowledge and space are reflected to decipher heterotopias from different perspectives. The prominent among these, Edward Soja conceives Foucault's approach as a method of "*reading*" particular sites. Reified in the concept of thirdspace,<sup>36</sup> Soja's approach finds a whole new way of seeing and thinking about space which subsumes a range of "radical postmodern perspectives". Besides heterotopias, Soja includes an appropriation of Henri Lefebvre's work in this conceptualization.

Another important elucidation to Foucault's approach comes from Arun Saldanha who highlights "the particular kind of spatiality" that Foucault influentially imagines. As

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ed. Daniel Defert (Nottingham Contemporary, 2008), 8-16., Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," 13-30.

<sup>34</sup> Thrift, 55.

<sup>35</sup> Michel Foucault, "The Incorporation of the Hospital into Modern Technology," trans. Edgar Knowlton Jr., William J. King, and Stuart Elden In *Space, Knowledge and Power: Foucault and Geography*, ed. S. Elden and J.W. Crampton (Basingstoke: Ashgate, 2007), 147.

<sup>36</sup> Edward Soja, *Thirdspace* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996).

Saldanha argues, Foucault integrates to this imagining “the scales of the body, architecture, city and the nation-state through a singular understanding of power/knowledge as fundamental mechanism in modernity.”<sup>37</sup>

Although Foucault’s work has largely been acknowledged by those who want to emphasize the importance of space, his own use of space in his works is relatively less understood. Elden touches on some reasons of this. First, there is only a small number of writings in which Foucault directly addresses “the question of space”. Other than intense emphasis on the Panopticon, the second frequently referred work is the lecture where the concept of heterotopia was introduced. Using space not as an area to be analysed but “as a central part of the approach itself” is the norm for Foucault. Spatiality is not solely a tool of analysis; it is rather an integral part of a larger concern. “From the madhouses of *Histoire de la folie*, the hospitals of *The Birth of the Clinic* and the Rio lectures on the history of medicine, to the plague town, army camp and prisons of *Discipline and Punish*”, Foucault always bears in mind “the spatial elements of the historical question he was addressing.” For Elden, second reason is related to lack of understanding; these historical works of Foucault have not been completely understood by the English-speaking world because some important materials have not appeared in English and Foucault’s intellectual heritage was partially dealt.

In his book *Mapping the Present: Heidegger, Foucault and the Project of a Spatial History*, Stuart Elden aims to provide “a theoretical approach toward a spatial history”. Elden suggests that Foucault’s understanding of space and his use of spatialized history should not be obliged to merely his reading of Nietzsche but the impact of his reading of Heidegger should acutely be considered.<sup>38</sup> Embraced through a Heideggerian understanding, concepts of Foucault such as “the *connaissance/savoir* distinction,

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<sup>37</sup> Arun Saldanha, “Heterotopia and Structuralism,” *Environment and Planning A* 40, no. 9 (2008): 2081.

<sup>38</sup> “The necessary conceptual apparatus to shape his approach” should not be supplied by Nietzsche alone, because the influence of him cannot explain the importance of space to Foucault. In Elden, *Mapping the Present: Heidegger, Foucault and the Project of a Spatial History*.

ontology, dispositif, technologies, the history of the present, space, knowledge and power” gains lucidity and effectiveness.<sup>39</sup>

Elden asserts that rereading two of Foucault’s most celebrated historical studies as spatial histories, the history of madness, and the history of the disciplined society, enables one to be more “attentive to theoretical foundations” which in turn eases to see “the role of space within them”. While the former shows the scope of the early Foucault’s concerns, and allows to grasp the use of space as a political instrument in relation to the mad<sup>40</sup>, the latter<sup>41</sup>, within this wider project allows one to see that “the model for the disciplinary society is not punishment, as is usually thought, but the interrelation of a number of mechanisms, notably those of the army and medicine”. Such a reading facilitates to shift the emphasis of spatial analysis away from the Panopticon, and to recognize the importance of space in other areas.

For Elden, both histories reveal the relation between conceptualizations of space and their practical executions, the intertwined deployment of “space and time within a historical study”, changes occurred in the view of space over time, and manifestation fundamentality of space to “any exercise of power”.<sup>42</sup>

For Foucault, space, knowledge and power were necessarily related and interpenetrating notions; as he stated, “it is somewhat arbitrary to try to dissociate the effective practice of freedom by people, the practice of social relations, and the spatial distributions in which they find themselves”. When separated, they become impossible to understand.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Ibid., 6.

<sup>40</sup> “Showing the exclusion, ordering, moralization and confinement” that were applied on the situation of the mad. Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> These include “Discipline and Punish, the central text in a much wider project that encompasses *The Birth of the Clinic* and a number of shorter pieces, lectures and courses at the Collège de France.” Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., 6.

<sup>43</sup> Michel Foucault, *The Foucault Reader*, ed. Paul Rabinow (Pantheon Books: New York, 1984), 239–56.

## 2.2. IN-DEPTH ANALYSIS OF ‘OF OTHER SPACES’

Space and time provide a basis for people to apprehend the world, and orient their experiences through this framework. Spatial and temporal positioning of oneself in the world affects one’s way of thinking about the world, perceiving things, incidents, conditions, and these all affect the behaviours of individuals, social groups and the development of the societies.

Time and space are experienced subjectively in different geographies and cultures, at different stages of social development, by different individuals. These are the basic guides that pinpoint human beings’ existence by forming a foundation on which life takes place. A sense of time is not something innate. Temporal and spatial concepts are in the same vein endowed by the culture to which one belongs. For instance, industrially developed society was conscious of time.

In “*Of Other Spaces*” Foucault initiates a discussion regarding the changes the way space and time conceived in the development of societies. By attempting to give an account of the history of space, he denotes three different phases; space of localization, space of extension and space of emplacement, respectively.<sup>44</sup> While the obsession with time remains in the past for Foucault, the centrality of space appears as the main concern for “our epoch”. His account of history of space reveals some essential identifications to envisage what the concept of heterotopia stands for. Therefore, looking into the rough compartmentalization of Foucault, which is employed as an allocation of ideas to prepare the ground for the upcoming delineations, has a profound potential in constructing a better apprehension for the concept.

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<sup>44</sup> In this study, periodization names are kept as it is deployed in the translation of the text “Of Other Spaces” by Michiel Dehaene and Lieven De Cauter. Michel Foucault, “Of Other Spaces,” trans. by Michiel Dehaene and Lieven de Cauter, in *Heterotopia and the City*, ed. Michel Dehaene and Lieven De Cauter, (London and New York: Routledge, 2008) 13-30.

### 2.2.1. Space of Localization: Pre-Industrial Space

In attempting to retrace history of space Foucault bypasses Greek city states and the Roman Empire, instead starts his demarcation with medieval space which he identifies as “space of localization”. By tampering the history of space, Foucault propounds that in the medieval period there was a hierarchic ensemble of places. This hierarchy was relied on differentiations; “sacred places and profane places”, “protected places and open/exposed places”, “urban places and rural places” and all these concerned the real life of men.<sup>45</sup>

In speaking of medieval space, Foucault underlines “cosmological theory” which deploys “the super-celestial place as opposed to the celestial, and the celestial place opposed to the terrestrial place”. The latent dimension of hierarchy in that period starts to be disentangled as Foucault explains; “there were places where things had been put because they had been violently displaced, and then on the contrary places where things found their natural ground and stability”. Medieval space, the space of localization is constituted by “this complete hierarchy”, “this opposition”, “this intersection of places”.<sup>46</sup>

Foucault’s concise account on medieval space encapsulates pivotal concepts for spatial ordering in the old city. Although it can be construed as a preparation phase for the up-coming analysis of the present-day, tracing the changes that space underwent paves the way for finding the tacit and explicit set of values with which human beings construct their world throughout the centuries. In the context of medieval space, this set of values correlates with key elements of medieval culture. Among these, hierarchical order, analogy, microcosm, and macrocosm appear as the prominent concepts which necessitate a closer scrutiny for a precise view of medieval

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<sup>45</sup> Foucault, Michel. “Of Other Spaces,” trans. Jay Miskowiec, in *Diacritics* 16, no.1 1984, [1967].

<sup>46</sup> Michel Foucault, “Of Other Spaces,” trans. by Michiel Dehaene and Lieven de Cauter, in *Heterotopia and the City*, ed. Michel Dehaene and Lieven De Cauter, (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), 15.

space. Obviously, such an elaborative approach entails the task of unravelling the context of medieval space. The specific way in which medieval people perceive the surrounding space was formed with the contribution of several factors.

To start with conceptions that concretely concern 'space', human's measuring the nature by means of the body and its movements demonstrates that human being was construed a physical "measure of all things" and above all the earth. Length, area, or breadth were not determined by any absolute measures or standards in abstraction from the actual/concrete situation. Under these circumstances, medieval people's envisagement was limited with the concrete realities which were seen every day. The things that were seen were scant also due to the constrained means of movement. Links between the settlements were restricted with irregular and superficial contacts. Travel was a dangerous and protracted business which explains the slow-paced dissemination of important events. For example, it took four weeks for the English to learn their king Richard the Lion-heart had been taken prisoner in Austria. Space of localization primarily stemmed from the stability existed in the era.<sup>47</sup>

The profound link between the human and nature comes out as another fundamental characteristic of that time. The world view of the period does not differentiate the human body and the world that is being inhabited. Thus, the nature was conceived as an extension of human being. This link seems as the key determinant in the consciousness of the people living in this period.<sup>48</sup> Being utterly connected to the nature, the extent they make sense of nature is carried to their views of themselves. This can be seen medieval people's view of microcosm and macrocosm concepts, their making sense of similitudes.

Space of localization specifies the centrality of the world in the universe. The concepts of macrocosm and microcosm are validated in that farmstead was seen as the centre of

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<sup>47</sup> For Gurevich, these factors were basically the relationship of human being with nature, production patterns, the dispersal factor, and the distances among settlements. Aron T. Gurevich, *Categories of Medieval Culture* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1985), 42.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

the world and the world as the centre of the universe. The names of the inhabited places manifest this focus; “Medalhus, Medalland, Medalfell, Midgard, Midhus, Midberg (‘Middle Enclosure’, ‘Middle House’, ‘Middle Mountain’, etc.)”.<sup>49</sup> Thus, space of localization as indicator of medieval reality of space can be said to reflect the concept of a closed and localised cosmos.

Medieval concept of the cosmos retained its sense of ‘order’ from antiquity and the hierarchical ordering of the world sustained within it. In this mystical world, sacred spiritual ranks constituted hierarchy. In such circumstances, the visible world can hardly have an independent role. System of symbolically interpretation and allegorical simile served as a means of drawing up a general system classification for the widest possible range of things and events, and their correlation with eternity.<sup>50</sup>

For the medieval mind, the concepts “beauty”, “orderliness”, “harmony”, “proportion”, “comeliness” and “propriety” were very close to each other.<sup>51</sup> That conforms with “convenience”<sup>52</sup> principle of Foucault in *The Order of Things* where he enucleates the rules that govern the relations among things and underlines the constructive role of resemblance in the knowledge of Western culture. Convenience appears as an important element of his quadrupedal equation accounting the formula of similitude in the sixteenth century. In addition to “convenience”, emulation, analogy and sympathy compose the rest of this quadrupedal.

The world of symbols was bountiful and symbolical reduplication of the world was complexifying the way things were understood and interpreted. At this point, appropriating Foucault’s similitude account as a meta concept that guides this

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<sup>49</sup> In the Middle Ages, subject-object relationship between people and the surrounding world was simply impossible Ibid., 56-55.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 58.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> “...by the linking of resemblance with space, this *convenience* that brings like things together and makes adjacent things similar, the world is linked together like a chain. At each point of contact there begins and ends a link that resembles the one before it and the one after it; and from circle to circle, these similitudes continue, holding the extremes apart (God and matter) yet bringing them together in such a way that the will of the Almighty may penetrate into the most unawakened corners.” Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1971), 21.

complexity eases grasping medieval culture. He propounds resemblance as a concept that largely guided “exegesis and the interpretation of texts”, that organized “the play of symbols, made possible knowledge of things visible and invisible, and controlled the art of representing them.”<sup>53</sup>

With the transition from paganism to Christianity, the structure of medieval conception of space radically transformed. Cosmic space, social space and ideological space were all given hierarchic structure. All relationships were vertical running from above to below; all creatures were distributed on diverse planes according to their quality of perfection which depends on their proximity to God.

Considering the medieval ethos, the space of localization can be said to encompass the following specifications: centrality of the human being in the world, its reflection in the universe as centrality of the world, lack of abstract conceptions, dominance of stability and hierarchy. Grasping these details is significant in that Foucault’s use of history as a method of analysis is deployed here to comprehend subtle connections or substantial modifications that today’s understanding of space underwent since then. As opened by Foucault, sacralization of space, and its incomplete desacralisation still affects our spatial configurations. Thus, what is aimed here was to put emphasis not on the meaning and use of the word ‘space’, rather on the way it is conceived and to trace the effects of this understanding on the medieval mindset. Therefore, these analyses can be considered as enlarging a point in the spatial history of the present.

### **2.2.2. Space of Extension: Industrial Space**

In “Of Other Spaces”, Foucault poses that space of extension replaced the space of localization. This phase started with Galileo’s discovery of telescope which ended up

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<sup>53</sup> Ibid., 19.



with his confirmation of Copernicus' theory that suggest the Sun as the centre of the Universe. For Foucault space of localization in the medieval period opened up after these discoveries and the way people conceived the world dramatically changed. Although the "extension" that Foucault mentions does not refer directly to the literal extension of cities, it is still a fruitful and valid conceptualization through which the transformation of cities in the industrial era can be traced.<sup>54</sup>

In *The City in History: Its Origins, Its Transformations, and Its Prospects*, Lewis Mumford, American historian sociologist and architectural critic, comprehensively accounts the historical transformations that cities underwent. Within this scope, Mumford approaches to the dissolution of medieval space from the point of market relations. With capitalism's alteration of the equilibrium of power, the impetus to urban expansion came mainly from the merchants, the financiers, and the landlords who served their needs by the seventeenth century. Only in the nineteenth century did "the pressure of mechanical invention and large-scale industrialism" tremendously amplify these forces. The commercial city grew at a slower pace since it encountered resistance in both "the structure and the customs of the medieval town". Freedom that had meant freedom from "*feudal* restrictions and the religious order" in the medieval period started to mean freedom from "*municipal* restrictions, freedom for *private* investment, for private profit and private accumulation"<sup>55</sup> in the new trading cities. The new commercial centres, with their increasing populations, set the pace for intensified land uses. The transition from marketplace to market economy brought forth the mobilization of goods, for "their rapid interchange and distribution was the great achievement of market economy". These developments preceded the technological exploits of the coal and iron ages. The canon of urban growth, as dictated by the capitalist economy, meant the relentless annihilation of all the natural features

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<sup>54</sup> Based on Foucault's rough categorization. David Shane conceptualizes the pre-industrial, industrial and post-industrial cities as space of localization, space of extension and space of emplacement. Operating on a more literal manner, Shane's approach to urban transformations presents a strong interpretation of these concepts. David, G. Shane, *Recombinant Urbanism* (Chichester: Wiley-Academy, 2005).

<sup>55</sup> Emphasis added by Mumford, see Mumford Lewis, *The City in History: Its Origins, Its Transformations, and Its Prospects* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1961), 410-415.

that please and entrench the human soul in its daily rounds. During the nineteenth century, all over the Western World, new cities were founded and old ones extended. As Mumford explains:

The first sign of a boom would be the extension of skeleton streets, consisting of curb-stones and standpipes for the water systems. Multiplication of these streets prematurely extended the city and added to the amount of expensive pavement, expensive sewer and water mains forcing growth to take place in the most-costly fashion possible, by scattered individual houses, spotted at random in time and space, instead of in compact settlements, built within a limited time. For any purpose but speculation, this system was extremely wasteful, and the cost of such premature exploitation fell back on the rest of the city.<sup>56</sup>

The changes of the transportation systems of metropolitan areas can be the best graphical representation of the changes that cities underwent with industrial developments. Industrial developments enabled people to cover long distances and this fundamentally altered both the geography of the cities and people's perception of space. In Britain, the period between 1820-1830 was the initial phase of urban railroad location. In the U.S.A. the opening phase spanned the period 1828-1840. These two examples are sufficient to demonstrate how the early geography of cities started to be adjusted to the modern ways of living through new transporting technologies.

Dwelling and working places started to be separated at the outset of factory production. Development of low-cost public transportation sharpened this separation. Expanding industrial city brought forth the development of suburban areas. Since higher income groups are agglomerated in the central areas of the city, suburban areas hosted a population formed around rather lower density. Whereas suburbanization process was dependent initially on the development of suburban railway, modern suburbanization is based on the use of car.

Although the extension Foucault mentions does not directly refer to the physical transformation of space; these developments stated above facilitate the comprehension

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<sup>56</sup> Ibid., 427.

of the increasing importance of space that Foucault speaks of. Instead of the obsession with time in the nineteenth century, how space came to be understood as a central aspect that have an impact on zeitgeist of the era can thus be understood. The space of extension concerns a broader change that occurred in the view of the Universe, a change stemmed from the extension of the boundaries that had known until then. This new way of conceiving space, indicated as space of extension, corresponds to a Cartesian doctrine of extension.<sup>57</sup>

Extension in the cartesian view entails the ideas of French philosopher, mathematician and scientist René Descartes.<sup>58</sup> In his work a description of the visible universe as a sole physical system in which all its activities, from the light transmitted from the Sun to the generation of planets, to the “physiological processes of human and nonhuman animal bodies”, can be reasoned through the mechanism of matter organized into shapes and structures that are “moving according to three laws of motion.”<sup>59</sup> Descartes systematically specified “the modern version of the mind–body problem.” In metaphysics, he brought forth arguments “for the existence of God, to show that the essence of matter is extension, and that the essence of mind is thought.”<sup>60</sup> Giving rise to a distinction between mind and body, cartesian method conceives space as matter that can be described via geographical coordination. This understanding underlies the precepts of modern architecture and planning that believe the existence of an ultimate truth that can be reached through calculations. The abstracted approach to space

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<sup>57</sup> As indicated in the translator’s note. Foucault, *Heterotopia and the City*, note: 7-8.

<sup>58</sup> Cartesian means “of or relating to the French philosopher René Descartes or his philosophy,” accessed July, 2017, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/Cartesian>,

<sup>59</sup> For Descartes, the essence of matter is extension in length, breadth, and depth. Descartes did not conceive space as a separate entity from matter. “Cartesian matter does not fill a distinct spatial container; rather, spatial extension is constituted by extended matter (there is no void, or unfilled space). This extended substance possesses the further modes of size, shape, position, and motion. Modes are properties that exist only as modifications of the essential (principal) and the general attributes of a substance. In addition to its essence, extension, matter also has the general attributes of existence and duration. The individual parts of matter have durations as particular modes. All the modes of matter, including size, shape, position, and motion, can exist only as modifications of extended substance.” “René Descartes” last revised Jan 16, 2014, <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/descartes/>

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

disregards the context and leads to comprehend space as a phenomenon separated from the body. Given these, space of extension might be a hint which indicates the period subliming the positive science and its ethos.

Due to its presupposition of the replacement of the previous world-view, when the extension that Foucault mentions is conceived as a different indication of the Scientific Revolution, the immediate crack of the closed and stable universe that occurred with Galileo gains another dimension; it can be argued that with this break-through a new way of perceiving the world, a perspective ultimately came to be known as 'science' developed, the dawn of modern times began with Galileo's look his spyglass.<sup>61</sup>

A century after Johannes Kepler's declaration of his goal "to show that the celestial machine is not some kind of divine living being, but similar to a clock", the 4th Earl of Orrery commissioned a beautiful model of the solar system, the apparatus named the orrery, whose gears not only represented planetary motions but could also function as a calendar or timepiece. If the stars were not living beings, it came to be thought, then neither were flora and fauna, in scientific terms, since they were driven by internal gears and springs rather than by the immaterial spirits or occult vital forces that former times identified with "life."<sup>62</sup> All these discoveries signify how the space of localization opened and it became space of extension. Although different accounts of scientific revolution have been debated for ages among historians of science, the common point of the prominent three versions<sup>63</sup> is a definition of the Scientific Revolution that clearly opposes the methods of science to the nomadic experiences of imagination. "Breaking icons, building machines, and reducing nature to mathematics

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<sup>61</sup> Another version of the story of the Scientific Revolution shifts the emphasis from smashing idols to designing machines. Leading seventeenth-century scientists such as Pierre Gassendi and Robert Boyle preferred the term "mechanical philosophy" to the older "natural philosophy," on the grounds that nature itself was best conceived as a sort of machine. "The leading metaphor of this philosophy became the model of clockwork, whirring its wheels and ticking away without any hand or interior soul to guide it." See: Lawrence Lipking, *What Galileo Saw: Imagining the Scientific Revolution* (Cornell University Press, 2014).

<sup>62</sup> Ibid.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

all whack up a skeptical view for myths and fictions” that prevailed in the medieval period, in the space of localization.<sup>64</sup>

In brief, what Foucault refers as “space of extension” primarily indicates a paradigm shift that occurred from the geocentric model, which is the description of the cosmos as having the Earth stationary at the centre, to the heliocentric model that locates the Sun at the centre of the Solar System. This paradigm shift that resulted from the Copernican Revolution<sup>65</sup> changed the way human habitat is conceived; it no longer framed within the ideological and historical concept of the city as a centrality but it started to be configured as a potentially infinite space that extends beyond the centres of cities according to the technological and economic capabilities of a productive society.<sup>66</sup>

Considering all these, space of extension can be expounded as a two-folded change occurred in the world view and the physical transformations cities underwent. For the former, cartesian extension brought along understanding of space as an object, which results with radical and ultimate solutions that modernism prescribed for the future of the cities by separating functions according to a fixed truth. Advancements in transportation technologies coupled with growth of commercial city brought forth increase in trading and new routes among the commercial cities. Dissolution of medieval space was followed by urban expansion with the contribution of mechanical invention and large-scale industrialism. While adapting this expansion, physical configuration of cities took form according to modernist precepts stemming from cartesian understanding.

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<sup>64</sup> Ibid., 5.

<sup>65</sup> The Polish astronomer, Nicolaus Copernicus stated that the Sun was the centre of the Universe and that the Earth had a triple motion around this centre. Almost eighty years later, the Italian scientist Galileo Galilei provided new evidence and arguments supporting the earth’s motion in favour of the Copernican model. Maurice, A. Finocchiaro, *Defending Copernicus and Galileo: Critical Reasoning in the Two Affairs* (Dordrecht; Heidelberg; London; New York: Springer, 2010).

<sup>66</sup> Pier Vittorio Aurelli, *The Possibility of Absolute Architecture, Toward Archipelago* (Cambridge, London: MIT Press, 2011), 10.

### 2.2.3. Space of Emplacement: Post-Industrial Space

In pursuit of the history of space in his seminal text 'Of Other Spaces' Foucault avers space of emplacement as the last phase which replaces space of extension. For Foucault, "relations of proximity between points or elements" define the emplacement and these proximity is generally converted to systems such as "series, trees, or grids" to describe these relations.<sup>67</sup>

Foucault addresses the problems of emplacement in contemporary technology which might be concerning "the storage of information, or the intermediate results of a circulation in the memory of a machine".<sup>68</sup> However, it is "the problem of place in terms of demography" that primarily concerns Foucault. He describes the problem of human emplacement as the problem of knowing "what relations of propinquity, what type of storage, circulation, spotting, and classification of human" elements, should be adopted in particular situations in order to achieve particular ends. He notes the significance of emplacement for the present epoch as following: "we are in an epoch in which space is given to us in the form of relations between emplacements."<sup>69</sup> Based on this explanation, the form of relations intrigues one who deals with characteristics of space for the present epoch. Such an inquiry entails to dismantle fundamental social, cultural, economic, and physical configurations of the present to make clear what Foucault envisages.

For a start, Manuel Castells' ideas in *In The Information City, The New Economy, And The Network Society*, can be used as a springboard to pinpoint the character of the epoch. In this study, Castells embarks on to scrutinize interactions between the transformation of the economy and of the spatial environments. By addressing to the central components that define the direction of the present, he draws attention to internet as the incorporator

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<sup>67</sup> Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," 15.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid.

of “all kinds of organizational innovation”. Besides that, internet embodies “managerial strategies that introduce new rules of the game”. Innovation and knowledge go hand in hand in generating productivity. This knowledge and innovation based “productivity” and “the ability to increase the capacity of knowledge-creation” compose the foundation of “The New Economy”. While the former is “the actual source of wealth”, the latter is directly supported by “new information technologies.”<sup>70</sup>

As a consequence of this “New Economy”, Castells collocates four major challenges that society undergoes: individualization and fragmentation of society; increasing divide between people with different cultural and educational resources, which is summarized as the digital divide; the notion of multiculturalism; and territorial divide between places that are connected throughout the world in dynamic networks.

Although interconnectedness of spaces that Castells draws attention purports a potential and immaterial connection, as centres of this “New Economy” and this new cultural capacity cities reflect both tangible and intangible consequences of the flows and networks. Uttermost reflection of this effect can be traced through transportation means and their impact on the environment and on the individuals. The relations among emplacements that changed with the advent of transportation technologies has taken up a completely different form with the prevalence of automobile in urban life; predominance of automobiles has enabled the urban space to function as a multi-focused system. Thus, it can be argued that transition from space of extension to space of emplacement represents the transition from binary system of the modern to polycentric system of postmodern.<sup>71</sup>

A consequence of this transition in the perception might be an unprecedented way of seeing. As the discovery of perspective revolutionized the way surroundings are seen, the jump cut, the violent fragmentation of montage would become a new part of human cognition, a code of perception that would surpass the norms of the perspectival code

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<sup>70</sup> Manuel Castells, “The Information City, the New Economy, and the Network Society,” in *The Information Society Reader*, ed. Frank Webster (London; New York: Routledge, 2004), 151.

<sup>71</sup> Shane, 114.

that precedes it. With the radical impact on the perception of space “theatrical order” of the urban street was converted into “a cinematic one”, composed of diverse shot techniques, “closeups, pans, the accelerated montage of jump cuts.”<sup>72</sup> At the same time, human consciousness became accustomed to the magic of cinematic montage, its fragmentation of time and space.

Many of the morphological changes that cities underwent took place in the grip of spatial necessities of the automobile. “The dense urban fabric of the centre was eroded to serve automobiles.” Determined by “highways, ring roads, feeder roads, and flyovers” the new city scale drastically changed. Attracted by the dominance of the roads, new settlements away from the centre emerged and city fabric fragmented with interventions easing the access of automobile. The invention of automobile, in the long run, triggered the scattered development. Sprawl commenced along “the high-speed lanes” in a topology interspersed by “isolated buildings and composed of ambiguous in-between spaces.”<sup>73</sup>

Concisely, the prevalence of service sectors to industrial one, multi-centred configuration, changing perception with the speed introduced by automobiles all these appear as the basic features of the post-industrial cities. On the one hand, information society, knowledge economy and liquid modernity started to define the cultural geography of post-industrial space.<sup>74</sup> On the other hand, new commercial and administrative centres and extensive residential zones define the spatial properties of post-industrial cities. Emerged as satellite constitutions, these new areas function sometimes symbiotically, sometimes in direct conflict with existing city centres. In effect, insatiable interventions and subordination of nature to make room for more people, or to supply larger areas for the existing inhabitants, consuming more of everything can decipher the overall schema that portray post-industrial city. Putting aside demographical concerns as Foucault did, probing the relational

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<sup>72</sup> Richard, Ingersoll, *Sprawltown*, (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2012), 85.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., 76.

<sup>74</sup> Castells describes the society of the innovation age as “a society of individualism which is extraordinarily dynamic, but at the same time a society of potential isolation in terms of the cultural meaning that could be shared by society.” Manuel Castells, “The Information City, the New Economy, and the Network Society,” 163.



conditions in designating these emplacements can be used as a tool to understand their inner dispositions.

### 2.3. SIX PRINCIPLES OF HETEROTOPOLOGY

There are also, probably in every culture, in every civilization, real places - places that do exist and that are formed in the very founding of society - which are something like counter-sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted. Places of this kind are outside of all places, even though it may be possible to indicate their location in reality.<sup>75</sup>

This initial address of Foucault has a preparatory yet comprehensive account of heterotopias. As he explains, distinctions and discrepancies embedded in the conceptualization of the term start to disentangle. However, applying or expecting a fixed taxonomy, at any rate, conflicts with the overall approach that brings forth these spaces. Foucault explains characteristics of heterotopias through some principles which he entitles “heterotopology”, “the science of absolutely other spaces”.<sup>76</sup> This distinguishing tool is employed by Foucault to provide a systematic description of heterotopias which in turn enables one to think and conceive spatial configurations differently, with a new outlook. Passing beyond conventional descriptions of space, controversial and open-ended characteristics of heterotopias are unwrapped by these agglomerated principles.

In the first principle, Foucault highlights that being constant of every human group, heterotopias exist in every culture and take quite varied forms. One absolutely universal form of heterotopia cannot be found (Foucault, 1984). Yet he classifies them under two categories; heterotopias of crisis which are sacred or privileged places exist in primitive societies and heterotopias of deviance where people whose behaviour is

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<sup>75</sup> Foucault, Michel. “Of Other Spaces,” trans. Jay Miskowiec, in *Diacritics* 16, no.1 1984, [1967].

<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

deviant from the required form are placed. These are treated as the substituents of heterotopias of crisis in modern-day.

As the second principle, Foucault draws attention to dependence on context; the function of heterotopias may change in accordance with the society in which they exist, for 'each heterotopia has a precise and determined function within a society and the same heterotopia can, according to the synchrony of the culture in which it occurs, have one function or another' (Foucault, 1984). He gives the example of cemetery, which is 'certainly another place' compared to ordinary cultural spaces; it is a space that is connected with all the emplacements of the city or the society since every individual has a specific place there. The important changes that cemetery has undergone in Western society becomes the point where Foucault traces the transformation of cultural presuppositions through the heterotopia of cemetery. This cemetery, which was indwelled in the very heart of the city, in the sacred space of the church until the end of the eighteenth century, has acquired a disparate look in modern civilizations. With this change, Foucault asserts, Western culture has inaugurated what is called 'the cult of the dead' (1984).

The first and the second principles of heterotopology are complementary in that they cast light on the authentic nature of heterotopias which may change in line with the conditions of the society analysed. These two complementary principles provide the base of the ground that is necessary to mark heterotopias in the real environment. Furthermore, they reveal that heterotopias are systems which manifest alterations in different societies or those of occurred in the same society with time.

Every epoch has its own space to signify or embody 'the cultural world-view'. While behaviour is affected by built environment directly; physical environment indirectly has "a discursive impact on thought and cultural practices."<sup>77</sup> In that sense, consumption can be considered as the predominant cultural and social identifier of this epoch and socio-spatial organization of retailing come into sight as the

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<sup>77</sup> Rob Shields, *Lifestyle Shopping* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), 3.

“representational space” of this dominance.<sup>78</sup> It embraces “a system of signification”, which supplies symbolic representation to the cultural values of consumerist society. Thus, it “refers to other times and places and attaches preferred meanings to commodity displays.”<sup>79</sup> Since consumption composes the basic and prevalent social activity of the society, the places that are specified for consumption can be conceived as both the “structures and discursive statements” of the epoch of consumption.<sup>80</sup> The eager to catch global trend through commodities that are sold under the name of ‘trustworthy’ international brands, crystallizes in these consumption sites. With their ever-changing concepts and names, all types of consumption sites can be agglomerated under this umbrella.

For the third principle, Foucault points the capacity of heterotopias to juxtapose “in a single real place several spaces, several emplacements that are in themselves incompatible”.<sup>81</sup> He exemplifies these unexpected appositions with theatre and cinema where whole series of places that are foreign to one another are brought together. Reflection of this principle in consumption spaces might be the illusion of detachment from the real word. This detachment primarily stems from the phantasmagorical experience embedded in the consumption. Besides, a broad array of spaces that are continuously juxtaposed next to each other exhibit a bizarre collection of discrepancies regardless of their organization. Apart from a great number of shops that are different from each other, spaces that are allocated to leisure activities sharpens the incompatibilities in a retailing environment.

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<sup>78</sup> Representational space is a term borrowed from Lefebvre’s trilogy; it indicates the totality of spatial practices and social relations in a certain environment. Lived space which is also designated as representational space, is the equivalence of what is lived through and experienced with all the symbols and codes carried by space. Thus, the meaning of the space for the inhabitants is hidden in the symbols and codes that are attributed to the space. See Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford, UK: Blackwell, 1991).

<sup>79</sup> Jon Goss “The Magic of the Mall: An analysis of Form, Function and Meaning in the Contemporary Built Environment,” *Association of American Geographers* 83, no. 1 (1993): 19.

<sup>80</sup> Shields, 3.

<sup>81</sup> Foucault, “Of Other Spaces,” 19.

The fourth principle of heterotopology suggests that heterotopias are most often linked to slices of time. “The heterotopia begins to function fully when people find themselves in a sort of “absolute break with their traditional time.”<sup>82</sup> In consumption centred environments, visitors are implicitly asked to “exit reality” to take part in a collective fantasy.<sup>83</sup> Exiting reality marks the entrance of the heterotopia and the interruption of the regular time starts to process. Foucault exemplifies the relation of time to heterotopia in two different ways; first it is the heterotopias where the time is accumulated; museums and libraries. Secondly, the opposite of the former; the heterotopia of festivity where time is in its most futile, most transitory, most precarious aspect. These are the temporal arrangements. Consumption spaces create the break with the regular time. This break functions in the transitory direction. They present a celebratory and transitional condition of time by detaching the individual from the responsibilities of daily setting. Starting from the entrance, their timing system, which is different from the regular time, runs.

In the fifth principle Foucault suggest that “heterotopias always presuppose a system of opening and closing that both isolates them and makes them penetrable.” He first explains the system of entrance as a constrain or a requirement of rites of purifications; the entrance necessitates a certain permission or a certain number of gestures; partly religious and partly hygienic, such as the hammam<sup>84</sup> of the Muslims, or else purification that appears to be purely hygienic, as in Scandinavian saunas. On the other hand, there are others, which look like pure and simple openings but in fact present the illusion of entrance; “everybody can enter into these emplacements but in fact it is only an illusion: one believes to have entered and, by the very fact of entering, one is excluded.”<sup>85</sup> Entrance in a mall functions in both directions; as the rite of purification,

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<sup>82</sup> Ibid., 20.

<sup>83</sup> Hugh Bartling, “A master-planned community as heterotopia: The Villages, Florida,” in *Heterotopia and the City*, ed. Michiel Dehaene and Lieven De Cauter, 165-179 (London and New York: Routledge, 2008).

<sup>84</sup> Hammam, which is also known as Turkish bath is the name given both to the activity of traditional cleansing rituals and the space where this activity takes place. Hammam is a form of steam bath, that is wet relative to the sauna.

<sup>85</sup> Foucault, “Of Other Spaces,” 21.

the passage from the check point located in the entrance of a mall necessitates some certain gestures. In order to prove that the body is disarmed, security guard controls the visitor with a hand-held metal detector. Much as this entrance requires some specific acts, it also leads to an isolation from rest of the space. The illusion of entering causes an exclusion emanating from the extraneous nature of consumption spaces. System of opening and closing functions disparately for the workers. Just as Foucault's example of famous rooms that existed on the large farms of Brazil, the entrance door does not lead workers to the central space where the life flows; it provides a nook for them to fill their working hours. Thus, considering their emplacement within the space, they become overlooked stable bodies for the rest.

The last trait of heterotopias is defined through their relation to the rest of space. Their function unfolds between two polar extremes: Heterotopia of illusion and heterotopia of compensation. In the former 'all the emplacements where inner worlds of individuals are segregated and enclosed' are revealed through a space of illusion. Contrarily, the latter provides another real space that seems as ideal and well-constructed as ours yet fails and becomes disorganized and 'sketchy'. Foucault explicates that certain colonies, played the role of heterotopias on the level of their terrestrial organization. He thinks of Puritan societies that the English had founded in America, which were absolutely perfect other places for Foucault.<sup>86</sup>

Beyond being the last trait, the relation heterotopias establish with the rest of space signifies the common point of heterotopias and utopias; they both embody a different world and the relation of this constructed world might be to suspend, to reverse, to reflect, or to mirror the outside. This trait can be thought as the most substantial identification to conceive consumption spaces as heterotopias because in these spaces the real world coincides with the utopia of the mirror where individuals are captivated by a perfect and illusory world. Johnson points out that spatial intensity of heterotopias is produced in part by the fact that they are "either more macrocosmic or more microcosmic than everyday spaces". They "replicate, exaggerate, or reduce" another

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<sup>86</sup> Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," 21-22.

world in varied forms.<sup>87</sup> Consuming sites are firmly connected to the outside world and mirror its properties. Their claim to “contain the entire world” turns them into a kaleidoscope of unreadable images that represents the world of abundance.<sup>88</sup> Every commodity that has an exchange value can find a place in such environments; they form a microcosm. They are both sterilized replications of the real world and materialized utopias constructed through mirror.

As the most significant delineation in disclosing heterotopias’ character, the relation with the rest exhibits a fine line for consumption spaces; in many studies, such a relation is overlooked and the heterotopic quality of the space is merely regarded as a consequence of the inner configuration. However, when located on the outskirts of the city, as it is usually observed in the emplacement of outlets, the heterotopic character of a consuming site gains another dimension. These are secluded arrangements located outside of an existing, functioning centre; they are not shopping centres, they are not a part of the existing territory when it comes to conventional relations established among the emplacements existing in the city. Thus, adding the inherent heterotopic peculiarities of consumption spaces, these spaces can be argued, to possess an intersection of different features of heterotopia. The stance against the real conditions of the site merges with duplicable, unauthentic fragments of ‘international culture’. With their emplacement, peripheral consumption spaces correspond to Shane’s Tella-Citta<sup>89</sup>, where city is fragmented and development of peri-urbanization is observed accordingly. In brief, these principles of heterotopology highlight the spatio-temporal contradicted and ambiguous nature of heterotopias that inevitably exist in peripheral pseudo public spaces dominated by consumption. They have heterotopic character with their idiosyncratic logic of exclusion, illusion and mirroring the outside world.

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<sup>87</sup> Peter Johnson, “The Geographies of Heterotopia,” *Geography Compass*, 7, no. 11 (2013): 798.

<sup>88</sup> Margaret Crawford, “The World in a Shopping Mall,” in *Variations on a Theme Park: The New American City and the End of Public Space*, ed. Michael Sorkin (New York: Hill and Wang, 1992), 3-30.

<sup>89</sup> David, G. Shane, *Recombinant Urbanism* (Chichester: Wiley-Academy, 2005).

## CHAPTER 3

### IDENTIFYING SOCIO-CULTURAL CHARACTER OF CONSUMPTION SPACES

#### 3.1. DISPOSITION AND TRANSMOGRIFICATION OF PUBLIC SPACES

Space is not a “passive locus of social relations”; it is not merely the scene in which combination of social relations fuse an entity. The active role of space touches upon different territories; the physical, the mental, and the social. Space is a constitutional element in structuring social, cultural, economic, and political configurations; patterns of behaviour, set of thoughts and movements. Thus, what public space signifies cannot be speculated separate from the web of relations that form the conceptions public/public sphere and from its relationship with private/private sphere. In this respect, a closer approach to three fundamental studies<sup>90</sup> each of which uniquely frames a discussion of publicity may provide a basis for an accurate apprehension of the nature of public space.

In *The Structural Transformation of Public Sphere*, the German philosopher Jürgen Habermas provides a historical-sociological account for the rise, transformation and the dissolution of the bourgeois public sphere, a realm for the practice of critical discursive interactions. Conceptualized as a phenomenon between civil society and the state, public sphere is not equated with the public, rather Habermas designates it as an institutional nascence which takes on a concrete form through the participation of people. In this study, Habermas amalgamates macro-analysis of large-scale structural

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<sup>90</sup> These three studies are *The Structural Transformation of Public Sphere* by Jürgen Habermas, *The Human Condition* by Hannah Arendt and *The Fall of the Public Man* by Richard Sennett.

changes with shifting meanings and the contextual variations of the terms public, private, public opinion, and the like. Starting with the “representative publicness” of the feudal powers<sup>91</sup>, their disintegration led a process of polarization which ends up with division of public and private elements.

Central inquiry of Habermas, a bourgeoisie public sphere which had emerged with the rise of the modern state and growing capitalist economies supplied a venue in which rational and critical discourse of citizens can take place. Focusing on the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in Britain, France and Germany, Habermas explicates the self-consciousness of this emerging class in association with remarkable socio-cultural changes. In doing this, new objects and places of culture arise as developmental traces for the bourgeoisie public sphere. Coffee houses and salons appear as spaces where discussions of general interests and concern took place. These are the spaces created by vast quantity of people who forgathered to tackle with reasoned argument over key issues of common interests and concern. Political journalism and expansion of reading societies were the other developments that fuel the emergence of the political and literal self-consciousness of the bourgeoisie class. These all contributed to the proliferation of a critical public opinion and its diffuse by the press and broadcast media.

In his introductory text, Thomas A. McCarthy, one of the foremost English-language interpreters of Habermas, underlines the significance of Habermas’ study; “the historical structures of the liberal public sphere reflect the particular constellation of interests that gave rise to it and the idea it claimed to embody composes the central

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<sup>91</sup> By the end of the eighteenth century, “the carriers of the representative publicness” were the Church, the prince, and the nobility. “They split into private elements, on the one hand, and public ones, on the other.” The status of the Church changed as a result of the Reformation; religion, the authority it represented, became a private matter. The visible mark of the polarization of princely authority was the separation of public budget from the territorial ruler's private holdings. The bureaucracy and the military became independent institutions of public authority separate from the progressively privatized sphere of the court. Out of the estates, finally, the elements of political prerogative developed into organs of public authority, partly into a parliament partly into judicial organs. See, Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1991), 11-12.



question of democratic theory”.<sup>92</sup> Although in the post-liberal era a public sphere in the classical sense is not socio--politically feasible, the hopes it left are crucial to envisage a public space where public opinion can be formed without the intervention of state. Along with deciphering social history of publicity, Habermas helps unfold production and consumption processes of public spaces that are located on the front line in urban life.

In another fundamental study, *The Fall of Public Man*, Richard Sennett scrutinizes the socio-historical character of public sphere by providing insightful and thorough analysis of the dissolution of public realm with the developments accompanying the rise of capitalist and secular urban culture. Dwelling upon the changing manners in the public and personal expressions, Sennett associates the unbalanced personal life and empty public life with the conversions that began with the fall of ancient regime<sup>93</sup> and the rise of new urban culture.

Differing from Habermas with incorporating psychological identifications, he delineates a thorough outline of public life. What “public” contained and where was the place when one was out “in public” gained prominence in the early eighteenth century both in London and Paris. The cities bourgeois people inhabited were containing a world that hosts the interaction of various groups of people. Meanwhile the word “public” gained its modern form of usage and came to signify a public sphere which embraces a heterogenous social realm apart from family life. In the complex and disparate relations of the public life, contact among diverse social groups was inevitable. As the cities grew, the places where strangers can regularly meet expanded. It was the era of the first attempts at building large urban parks. Streets were arranged conforming to the needs of pedestrians who make excursions as a form of relaxation.

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<sup>92</sup> Thomas A. McCarthy, introduction to *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere, An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1991).

<sup>93</sup> Ancien regime is a term frequently used as a synonym for feudalism, referring to a time period from before 800 to after 1800. However, Sennett keeps the usage established by Tocqueville and refers to the eighteenth century, specifically the period when commercial and administrative bureaucracy grew up in nations along with the persistence of feudal privileges. See Richard Sennett, *The Fall of Public Man* (New York; London: W.W. Norton, 1992), 47.

Coffeehouses, cafés and coaching inns turned out to be social centres. Theatres and opera saloons which once served for aristocracy were opened to a wide public. Rather than a small elite circle, a broader spectrum of society started to reach urban amenities, thereby even the laboring classes were adopting some habits of this sociability, for instance promenades in parks.<sup>94</sup>

For Sennett, fundamental changes on the ideas of public and private occurred following great revolutions at the end of the eighteenth century and with the rise of industrial capitalism in more modern times. Sennett collocates three main reasons for that change. First, the binary relationship between the metropolis and industrial capitalism brought the pressures of privatization and then “mystification” of material life in public. Second, the establishment of new understanding of “secular” changed the way people interpret strange and the unknown. The third reason was a strength which became a weakness, built into the structure of public life itself in the ancient regime. For this one, Sennett gives the example of athletes who have been especially strong, thereby survive beyond youth, then the decay eroding the body is manifested all at once.

The consequences of these changes are remarkable since they, to a certain extent, can be traced in the present era. Sennett embarks to explain these consequences and relates the withdrawal from the public into family life to the traumas of the nineteenth century which led people to protect themselves from the shocks of an economic order. People put more emphasis to protect themselves from what they could not understand and family became one of these shields. As an idealized refuge, it came to represent a higher moral value than the public realm. With fixed and stable order and authority, bourgeois family was perceived as the security of material existence and that led the public realm to be perceived as morally inferior to the higher standards of family. The penetration of capitalism to the geography of publicity induced the decay of public life; this decay was withdrawal from public and “a new confusion about the materials

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<sup>94</sup> Richard Sennett, *The Fall of Public Man* (New York; London: W.W. Norton, 1992).

of public appearance”. Associated with the formation of social order earlier in the ancient regime, public experience came to be connected to the formation of personality in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Changing traits of the public sphere inevitably interest the quality of physical environments. According to Sennett, cities are in a state of decay and public space is reduced a mere function of motion, losing any independent experiential meaning of its own. While visibility is increasing, people started to behave more isolated. He exemplifies the paradox of isolation and visibility with open-floor office plans, which decrease the sociability because of the increased intimacy. Sennett notes silence as the form of protection and he draws attention to dead public space where “isolation in the midst of public visibility and overemphasis on psychological transactions” appear complementarily. For Sennett, this paradox of visibility and isolation haunts so much of modern public life. Putting the broad forces such as capitalism and secularism aside, he expresses four psychological consequences of the transformation, which are “involuntarily disclosure of character, superimposition of public and private imagery, defense through withdrawal, and silence”.

In *The Human Condition*, Hannah Arendt, a prominent political theorist of the twentieth century, idiosyncratically approaches to the issue of human existence through the term “vita activa” and states three basic conditions of human existence, which are work, labour and action. The broader discussions that Arendt initiates reveal some significant identifications for the character of public and private realms. Alternative to Sennett and Habermas, Arendt identifies a realm which is neither private nor public; a “social realm” whose rise coincided with the emergence of modern age. For Arendt, social realm found its political form in the nation state and its rise led the dissolution of the boundaries between private and public realms, between the sphere of polis and the sphere of household.

In addition to the existence of social realm which enriches the transformation of public sphere, Arendt’s identifications of public keep providing different perspectives and to some extent it conforms to the ideas presented by Sennett. Arendt explicates two

interrelated yet not altogether identical phenomena that signifies the term 'public'. First, she remarks that "everything that appears in public can be seen and heard by everybody and has the widest possible publicity". In that sense, "our feeling for reality rests on appearance", accordingly on the existence of a public realm into which "things can appear out of the darkness of sheltered existence". This especially concerns Sennett's ideas regarding the expressions in public and their transformation in the nineteenth century. Secondly, she explains the term 'public' as the signifier of the world itself, inasmuch as it is common to all of us and distinguished from our privately-owned place in it; "the world that fills every in between."<sup>95</sup> In this conception of ideal public realm, Arendt connects these two phenomena as the following:

Being seen and being heard by others derive their significance from the fact that everybody sees and hears from a different position. This is the meaning of public life, compared to which even the richest and most satisfying family life can offer only the prolongation or multiplication of one's own position with its attending aspects and perspectives [...] this family 'world' can never replace the reality rising out of the sum total of aspects presented by one object to a multitude of spectators.<sup>96</sup>

Conceiving public realm as the common world that gathers us, Arendt delineates the problem of mass society; the world between people has lost its power to gather them together to relate and at the same time to separate them. Under the conditions of mass society or mass hysteria, "all people suddenly behave as though they were members of one family, each multiplying and prolonging the perspective of his neighbor". All imprisoned in the subjectivity of their own singular experience. Under modern circumstances deprivation of "objective" relationships to others and a reality guaranteed through them has become "the mass phenomenon of loneliness".<sup>97</sup> The mass society not only destroyed the public realm but the private as well. Consequently,

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<sup>95</sup> Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 1958).

<sup>96</sup> Ibid.

<sup>97</sup> David Riesman, *The Lonely Crowd* (London: New Haven; Yale: Nota Bene, 2001).

both the public and private spheres of life are disappeared, “the public become a function of the private and the private has become the only common concern left”.<sup>98</sup>

In this attempt to understand the nature of society, Arendt dwells on the private realm as much as she does on public realm. Associating private realm with property, she asserts that the borderline between private and political has blurred with the emergence of the social from the shadowy interior of the household into the light of the public sphere, but this also changed the meaning of those two words, and their significance for the life and for the individual. Contrary to ancient feeling which marks the privative as a state of being deprived of something, we no longer think of private as a deprivation. Arendt attributes this partially to the enrichment of the private sphere through modern individualism and remarks that modern privacy is opposite of not the political but social sphere. The dissolution of private realm into the social can be observed “in the progressing transformation of immobile into mobile property” to the extent that the distinction between property and wealth loses all significance because every tangible thing becomes an object of consumption. Losing its private use value which is determined by its location and gains a “social value determined through its ever-changing exchangeability”. This extensive approach points that a public sphere in the sense of being an organizer and integrator for the society, apart from family or state’s institutions is dissolved. Stealing the roles of both public and private realms a social sphere emanated.

In architectural and urban milieu, there is not a consensus on the meaning and current forms of public space. On the one hand, there are some who mourn for the end of public space<sup>99</sup> and on the other hand, there are others who conceive privatized areas for collective use or alternative spaces as new forms of public space. Although equivalence of a public realm in the sense it was lived in the eighteenth century cannot be captured in modern world, its dissolution brought about other/alternative spaces which serve for the collective use of people. Since consumption is the prevailing mode

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<sup>98</sup> Arendt, 69.

<sup>99</sup> Michael Sorkin, *Variations on a Theme Park* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1992).

of cultural production, a great mediator in the production of everyday life, the spaces where consumption take place amalgamates these two realms.<sup>100</sup> They are intimately related with the public life of the epoch that is being lived. They are “dream houses of the collective”<sup>101</sup>. Although these dream houses mentally function as separate cells, yet these acts take place in the real spaces provided for the use of collectives, for people who occupy the same space and execute almost same practices. The dubious character of these spaces stems from the fact that both the act and the experience of consumption are intrinsically private; be it for individual or for the family, the act of consumption concerns the private life.<sup>102</sup> Furthermore, individualism and freedom of choice, which are introduced with modernity, actualise in the experience of consumption within the sphere of the private.

In the increasingly privatised condition of the world, it can be said that consumption spaces spearheaded the dissolution of public life by providing a space in which attention can glide on commodities rather than people and common interests. Trademarks that carry the association of a familiarity become the unifier bond among people in different geographies. Upheaval of individualism, freedom of choice and self-expression through commodities ended up with creation of identities in public spaces. The ideal public space of street transformed into controlled, danger and pollution free environments. Overcoming the inconvenience of the weather, the closures devoted to consumption provided relatively sanitary and safe environments which are more or less open to anyone. They offered “a third place beyond home and

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<sup>100</sup> The division between public and private realms, sphere of the polis and the sphere of the household and family, corresponds to the activities related to a common world and those related to the maintenance of life, is entirely blurred in today's understanding. See, *The Human Condition*.

<sup>101</sup> Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard UP, 1999), 405.

<sup>102</sup> Etymological investigation of the word “economy” reveals its connection to “household”. As a noun, roots of economy rests on the meaning “household management,” from Latin *oeconomia* and from Greek *oikonomia* “household management, thrift,” *oikonomos* “manager, steward,” which is derived from *oikos* “house, abode, dwelling” + *nomos* “managing,” from *nemein* “manage”, [http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?allowed\\_in\\_frame=0&search=economy](http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?allowed_in_frame=0&search=economy) accessed on April, 2017.

work/school, a venue where people, old and young, can congregate, commune,” and be in sight.<sup>103</sup>

“Contemporary retail built environments”; malls, shopping areas, lifestyle centres which are “instrumental spaces designed for the efficient circulation of commodities” intersect the public and private realms.<sup>104</sup> To comprehend inner dynamics of these arrangements, it is crucial to scrutinize their configurations from a broader perspective. In this respect, they can be considered as the consequence of the “changes in contemporary urban cultures and the political economy of commodity exchange”.<sup>105</sup> Stemming from the hybridity of public and private they possess, another definition is required to probe them. The concept of heterotopia potentially can disclose this hybridity and reveal the essential qualities of these spaces. Employed as a fruitful tool in analysing consumption spaces, it provides a way to construe the elusive character of the alternativity embedded in them. Since Foucault’s approach to heterotopias concerns a broader web of relations, to grasp the peculiarity of their spatiality, one needs to understand consumption as deep as consumption spaces. Investigating the history of consumption, its place in the cultural continuum of the world, are crucial to identify the relations these heterotopic constitutions reflect, contest or suspend. In brief, such an attempt necessitates a profound understanding of the culture of consumption and to see the web of relations out of which consumption emanates as a fundamental identifier of the epoch, its relation to modernity appears as crucial as the characteristics of consumption spaces.

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<sup>103</sup> Goss, 25.

<sup>104</sup> The term “contemporary retail built environments” is used by Jon Goss to indicate shopping centred areas. Ibid.

<sup>105</sup> Rob Shields, *Lifestyle Shopping* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992).

### 3.2. THE CULTURE OF CONSUMPTION AND MODERNITY

As an integral part of cultural production in the present era, consumption is a substantial phenomenon to make sense of modern and post-modern society. Since understanding the long-standing importance of consumption in the organization of human sociality has become increasingly important, the analysis of the entangled relationship between modernity and consumption necessitates a close look. In addition to this, from the early modern period on, that is from its emergence on, consumer society itself evolved and changed. Achieving the balance between the acknowledgment that consumer society carries the fundamental traces from its modern ancestors and the understanding that foregrounds its affinity with postmodern thought should be the primary concern for one who deals with the consumption spaces of the twenty first century. It is vital to posit that such an approach derives from an understanding of postmodern as contested yet integrated to modern. As Zygmunt Bauman suggests, “modernity remains very much with us and around us, perhaps never more than now, in its posthumous life”<sup>106</sup> or in Kuspit’s words, “the term postmodern implies contradiction of the modern without transcendence of it”.<sup>107</sup> Thus, the examination of these two different, yet somehow interwoven approach and the character of consumption that will arise between this clash will be the contribution of this part. With this aim, while the fundamental characteristics of consumer society will be pursued in the premodern period, in its emergence, the invisible lines between modern and premodern and between postmodern and modern will make their presences felt in the subsequent discussions.

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<sup>106</sup> Zygmunt Bauman, “The Sweet Scent of Decomposition,” in *Forget Baudrillard*, ed. Chris Rojek and Bryan S. Turner (London and New York: Routledge, 1993).

<sup>107</sup> Donald Kuspit, “The Contradictory Character of Postmodernism” in *Postmodernism: Philosophy and the Arts* ed. Hugh J. Silverman (New York: Routledge, 1990), 90.



### 3.2.1. Emergence of Consumer Culture

Social changes presuppose the accompaniment of long processes of developments and combination of different circumstances. Consumer society is the product of a long historical evolution, at once “material and mental.”<sup>108</sup> Although it is neither must nor possible to pin down a specific time period as the initiator, the process in which the consumer society came about is crucial to identify the foundations of that manifestation.

Principally, it is important to highlight the intricate relationship between consumption and culture. Understood as the ideas and activities with which human beings construct and construe their world, culture has an unprecedented relationship with consumption in the modern world.<sup>109</sup> In *Culture and Consumption*, Grant McCracken approaches to this intricate relationship from two different disciplinary perspectives, anthropology and consumer behaviour. McCracken collocates a series of developments that led anthropologists to take up the study of culture and consumption and remarks that the notion that entails consumption as a “nasty combination of self-indulgence, greed, vanity and irrationality that does not deserve systematic study” is no longer at stake. His notes regarding the current approach in the broadening field consumer behaviour suggests that consumption is less often defined as a small slice of the individual’s reality but more often as a set of diverse, systematic, immersive and fully cultural phenomena.<sup>110</sup> In the same study, deeply engaged relationship between culture and consumption from the sixteenth century onwards is attempted to demonstrate with three different moments in the history of consumption; sixteenth century England,

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<sup>108</sup> Rosalind H. Williams, *Dream Worlds: Mass Consumption in Late Nineteenth-century France* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1991).

<sup>109</sup> Grant McCracken, *Culture and Consumption*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), 11-12.

<sup>110</sup> McCracken attributes this broadening of the field to architects and makes a list of architects and their studies that contributed. Notes for Introduction, Note 1. See, Grant McCracken, introduction to *Culture and Consumption*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990).

eighteenth century England and nineteenth century France, respectively. This compartmentalization is based on some fundamental studies that capture arising characteristics of a change in the habits of consumption.

An astonishing consumption boom was staged in the last quarter of the sixteenth century in England. Spending started to take place with a new enthusiasm and on a new scale especially for the nobleman of Elizabethan England. Two important developments, Elizabeth's use of expenditure as an apparatus of government and the social competition that took place among the Elizabethan nobility were the causes of this consumption boom.<sup>111</sup> This radical new scale consumption gave rise to some essential transformations in the family and in the locality. The cult of family status and the practice of local hospitality were deeply affected by the withdrawal of nobleman from the reciprocal bargains on which these two social units were founded. The consumer decision process prioritized the immediate needs of status competition over the long-term status needs of the family unit and initiated a shift from *patina* to *fashion*<sup>112</sup> by changing the symbolic qualities of the consumer good. The mind-set that postulates patina of the long-term ownership as the satisfier of the symbolic needs was abandoned. As consequences of the hospitality of locality, the close relationship between the subordinate and the superordinate started to decay and uniformity of lifestyles began to splinter. While superordinate and subordinate parties became disunited and divergent, the context of consumption is perilously changed. From these changes, a new round of developments in the history of consumption were to take place.<sup>113</sup>

*The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth Century England* is a thorough and meritorious study in which a consumer revolution in England as early as the eighteenth century is identified. McKendrick *et al.* (1982) confidently state that "the first of the world's consumer societies had emerged by

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<sup>111</sup> Grant McCracken, *Culture and Consumption*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), 11-12.

<sup>112</sup> Emphasis in original.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid.

1800” but neither *all*<sup>114</sup> the features of modern consumer society were accomplished by 1800 nor the period was a birth that does not necessitate “a long period of gestation”. Having its roots deep in the past like most revolutions, consumer revolution was a multi-causal phenomenon that shares these causes with commercial and industrial developments. In effect, its relation to industrial revolution was not unilateral. Consumer revolution was the necessary analogue to the industrial revolution; “the necessary convulsion on the demand side of the equation to match the convulsion on the supply side”. Colin Campbell acknowledges these accounts of McKendrick *et al.* and points the misconception in general tendency which regards the consumer revolution as a feature of late or developed capitalism.<sup>115</sup> Consequently, the eighteenth century marked a major watershed and its results were as profound as Neolithic revolution in agriculture which began some eight thousand years before the birth of Christ.<sup>116</sup>

While some of the changes that have been witnessed in the sixteenth century were well-established by the eighteenth century,<sup>117</sup> there were also new developments; the explosive growth of markets, the explosion of consumer choices and the increase in the participation rate were specially pertained to eighteenth century. The subordinate groups that could only spectate the nobility cultivated consumption could become a part of this consumption. The frequency of consumption, the groups of consumers and the places in which activities of consumption take place increased. New social and cultural needs emerged. The West was experiencing an august experiment in which a grand togetherness of culture and consumption indistinguishably engaged. One of the most fundamental changes that this brought about was the increasing effect of fashion on social groups and on products. Fashion as a ‘contagious’ phenomenon which

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<sup>114</sup> Emphasis in original.

<sup>115</sup> Campbell propounds McKendrick’s study as the proof that falsifies this inclination. Colin Campbell, “Romanticism and The Consumer Ethic: Intimations of a Weber-style Thesis,” in *Sociological Analysis* 44, no. 4, (1983): 280.

<sup>116</sup> McKendrick, et al., *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Europa Publications, 1982).

<sup>117</sup> Some examples to these changes are the purchase for self instead of for family and the growth of obsolescence through fashion change. See McCracken, 17.

transforms the tastes and preferences of modern day introduced great changes into the lives and expectations of the consumers. Thus, in the eighteenth century, an entirely new mind-set and behaviour pattern proliferated with the progress of fashion. Appearance considerations superseded the utilitarian ones. The decisive factor for the use and the preservation of a good shifted from usefulness to its condition of fashionableness. Another substantial dimension was that the idea of status and the use of goods to express status were radically redefined. A new relation between the novelty and status was being constructed. In the eighteenth-century the world of goods was firmly making itself the world of social life.<sup>118</sup>

For the third moment, using Rosalind Williams's *Dream Worlds* as the guide, McCracken examines how the nineteenth century marked a constant interaction between consumption and social change and suggests the dialectical relation between these two forces created a generator that helped drive the great transformation into the nineteenth and twentieth century.<sup>119</sup> In this study, the attention is drawn on the condition of France. The consumer revolution already positioned as a "structural feature" of social life by the nineteenth century. The minor activation that was confined to one corner of the society started to be felt predominantly in the whole civil entity. By this time, the transformation that had begun in the sixteenth century and developed in the eighteenth century was a constant social fact. Significant changes in the consumption and that of in the society ensued by being at times the cause or the consequence of the other.<sup>120</sup>

The major difference in consumption patterns during the revolutionary years was that luxury moved out from the private realm of noble households into the public realm. Revolution in 1789 accelerated this ongoing movement. Examples that demonstrate

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<sup>118</sup> McCracken, 19-22.

<sup>119</sup> McCracken, 22.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid.

this shift include the chefs who moved from aristocratic hotels to public restaurants, the public shops of dressmakers and tailors who once served the noble patrons.<sup>121</sup>

For Williams, the nineteenth century consumption was diagnostic in that it marked the end of the predominance of courtly model of consumption. More importantly three additional styles of consumption emerged, which are mass, elitist and democratic, respectively. Significance of these groups<sup>122</sup> lies behind the claim that the system that is formed by them still characterizes modern society. While the aristocratic/courtly model of consumption indicates bourgeois life style, the life style of mass consumption was emboldened by the advancements of department stores which will be discussed in detail in the following parts. In pursuit of an alternative, the other two, elitist and democratic consumers directed towards opposite poles. Elitists conceived themselves a new sort of aristocracy which is originated from not birth but spirit. They propounded that a new aristocracy can be established through a special form of consumption. Democratic consumers followed a path aiming to make consumption 'more equal and participatory' raising the consumption to the level of political and social statement. The division proposed by Williams stresses the nineteenth century as a watershed since the cultural homogeneity in consumption were transformed into differentiated groupings of individual lifestyles.<sup>123</sup>

Using the aforementioned studies, key points in the history of consumption are thoroughly analysed. After all, the basal point is not to specify certain dates and geographies for the emergence of the consumer society but to grasp its premature character and its impact on social changes. In this respect, these studies provide essential indications to comprehend the dispositions of the societies whose social practices developed around consumption.

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<sup>121</sup> The predominance of marketplace over patronage was facilitated with a law in 1791. This law abolished the corporations that control the quality and the quantity of production and artisans had to establish their own standards and position their own buyers. Williams, 48.

<sup>122</sup> Williams refers to courtly model of consumption as the lifestyle of bourgeoisie. Therefore, these groups are categorized as bourgeois, mass, elitist and democratic. Williams, 110.

<sup>123</sup> Williams, 110.

### 3.2.2. Mass Consumption

Emerging during the early years of the twentieth century and reaching its maturity in the immediate post-war years, the dominant system of accumulation characteristic of advanced capitalism has been that of Fordism<sup>124</sup>. Taking its name from the American automobile manufacturer Henry Ford who revolutionised the productive processes, Fordism represented the emergence of an intensive regime of accumulation formed on a general system of mass production with the adoption of semi-automatic assembly lines, Taylorist<sup>125</sup> forms of job fragmentation and delimitation, along with the implementation of single-purpose or dedicated machinery. Hence, the possibility of the first high-wage, mass production-mass consumption economy was set up by the Fordist regime of accumulation.<sup>126</sup> Fordism provided a prosperous yet empty contentment. It led “colonization of everyday life by corporations and consumption norms which rendered it status-driven and conformist, mass and anti-individualist.”<sup>127</sup>

Following the post-war period, the culmination of Fordist mass production coupled with Keynesian economic managerialism, produced “a stable affluence”. This stable affluence was gestating to its own destruction; moral destruction through conformity or hedonism, socio-economic destruction through the triumph of collectivist regulation, and so on. However, the spread of social themes and arrangements, in

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<sup>124</sup> A system of production based on mass standardization and especially the use of assembly lines.

Accessed April 2017,

<http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195123715.001.0001/acref-9780195123715-e-634?rskey=1pGy4G&result=9>

<sup>125</sup> Taylorism is defined as “a factory management system developed in the late nineteenth century to increase efficiency by evaluating every step in a manufacturing process and breaking down production into specialized repetitive tasks” Merriam-Webster, accessed April 2017, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/Taylorism>, It was named after the American engineer Frederick W. Taylor (1856–1915) who expounded the system. Accessed April 2017, <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/taylorism>

<sup>126</sup> In terms of the system of accumulation and its corresponding form of regulation Fordism is generally regarded to retain firm until the early 1970s, when it could no longer reproduce adequately and broke under the pressure of a massive crisis of overaccumulation see, J. Lee Martyn, *Consumer Culture Reborn*, Routledge, 1993.

<sup>127</sup> Don Slater, *Consumer Culture and Modernity* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 1997).

effect, can be said to inaugurate in the previous era. The 1920s fostered a strong connection between “everyday consumption” and “modernization”. In this period, the world was to be modernized partly through consumption; being modern was a norm that dominated everyday life. “Consumerism itself was being sold as the shiny path to modernity”. Mechanization of everyday life extended to the houses, electrification of the durables; vacuum cleaners, washing machines, fridges, telephones, and the automobile as modern sense of movement. From modernization of the houses to the transportation means modernization was being lived “as a state that had been reached by the population in general.”<sup>128</sup>

The appearance of 1920s as the first consumerist decade is deceptive since it is the harvesting of a much longer revolution which is commonly periodized as 1880-1930. The emergence of a mass production system of manufacture prioritized producing consumer goods rather than the heavy capital goods with acceleration.<sup>129</sup> In this period all the constituents making up the consumer culture matured. A modern norm emerged concerning how consumer goods are to be produced, sold and absorbed into everyday life. Designed with standardized and replaceable components goods are produced “in large volumes at low unit cost through a rationally controlled and automated technical division of labour”. Fordist model of flow-past assembly lines manned by Taylorized workers was the lattermost exemplification of this development. Geography and sociality of the markets enlarged; goods are sold at regional, national global markets whose formation is made possible by the interconnection of local markets through new transportation and communications infrastructures, such as rail, mail, telegraph, telephone. “This massive volume of cheap standardized goods sold through ever larger markets and sold to a population which is increasingly seen as consumers.” They were not classes or genders who consume but they were “consumers who happen to be organized into classes and genders”.<sup>130</sup> In

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<sup>128</sup> Ibid., 13.

<sup>129</sup> Production of the heavy capital goods, which are exemplified as steel, machinery and chemicals, dominated much of the nineteenth century. Slater, 13.

<sup>130</sup> Slater, 14.

brief, from the 1920s on, the geography of the consumption started to be configured by mass production and mass participation in consumption.

### **3.2.3. Commodification of Culture**

When expanding prevalence of production and consumption patterns in constructing the social and cultural life considered, their eventual diffusion to every sphere of life including comes to the fore which an impact that still continues to construct norms and values of the present epoch. At this point, contextualizing the role of consumption raises as a necessity and this evidently requires making sense of today's world with an understanding that centralizes commodification of culture. Such an understanding can be enabled by an apprehension of the changing relationship between culture and the commodity form, and of the growing interpenetration of the cultural one to the economic one.

In *Consumer Culture and Modernity*, Don Slater, a scholar whose research focuses on material culture and technologies in everyday life, dwells on the processes which made consumer culture visible and distinctive as a phenomenon to modern thinkers. Consumer culture, a mode of cultural reproduction extending from the eighteenth century<sup>131</sup> to the present, is not fully formed in the postmodern era. Slater embarks on to analyse the inextricable relationship between consumer culture and modernity. Positing consumer culture as the “dominant mode of cultural reproduction developed in the West over the course of modernity”, he suggests consumer culture as a central phenomenon in the practice of everyday life by way of bringing up its connection to the essential values, institutions and systems that define western modernity, such as individual choice, freedom, and market relations. Slater points at the contradicting,

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<sup>131</sup> As remarked in the previous discussions, the emergence of consumer culture is dated as back as sixteenth century in some studies. General tendency regards it as a phenomenon whose roots firstly proliferated in the eighteenth century.



dual character of this relationship. On the one hand, consumer culture was as an integral element in the West's assertion of "its own difference from the rest of the world by being modern, progressive, free, and rational"; on the other hand, it is an output of universalizing project of Western modernity as the transporter of values that have a universal character. Slater opposes to the ones who conceive consumer culture as a formation developed in postmodern era, and elucidates its inseparable bounds with modernity with two different points. First, he claims that the core institutions, infrastructures and practices of consumer culture originated in early modern period and consumer culture was part of the very making of the modern world. Second, the idea of modernity, constitution of modern subject and modern experiences are bound up with consumer culture; the figure of the consumer and the experience of consumerism is both the exemplary of the new world and integral to its constitution. This new world that broke its bounds with tradition is driven by flux, rational organization and scientific know-how. The experience of individually free and rational social actor is the respond of the modern to this new world.<sup>132</sup>

Fordist mass consumption, was commencing a newer consumer culture of target or "niche" marketing in which a disentangled identity would be executed in a plural world which is subjugated by the play of image, style, desire and signs. The transformation of modernity itself into a commodity, with its experiences and exaltations, into a ticketed spectacle, its overbear of nature with domestic comfort, its transfigure of knowledge into "exotic costume", and the commodity into the goal of modernity: it was all primarily infused by mass production oriented towards mass consumption.<sup>133</sup>

The move of consumer culture was realized in two contradictory yet interconnected directions; on the one hand, it arose from the production of public spectacle, from the overstimulated<sup>134</sup> world of urban experience, vigorously animated in the Baudelaire's

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<sup>132</sup> Slater, 8-9.

<sup>133</sup> Slater.

<sup>134</sup> "Just as the body cracks under the strain of environmental overstimulation, the "mind" and its decision processes behave erratically when overloaded. By indiscriminately racing the engines of change, we may be undermining not merely the health of those least able to adapt, but their very ability to act rationally on their own behalf." This "overstimulation" can take place at least three

figure of the flaneur: in modernity, all the world is consumable experience and all is display, materialized in the spaces of consumption. On the other hand, consumerism is made respectable during this period by relating it to the “construction of private, bourgeois domesticity”.<sup>135</sup> Thus, it became an inextricable part of today’s culture.

As a result of its spread and dominance, not only physical entities but every realm of the life invaded by commodification. This is expressed by different theoreticians with varying concepts; theories of reification by Lukacs<sup>136</sup>, the commodification of reality by Marcuse<sup>137</sup>, the objectification of the self by Lefebvre<sup>138</sup>, society as spectacle by Debord<sup>139</sup> and culture industry by Adorno and Horkheimer<sup>140</sup>. In all these theories of consumption it is pointed that the dominancy of industrial capitalism over the reproduction of culture led to the commodification of all social relations, formations and objects.<sup>141</sup> This incident is still being experienced as the exchange of all social activities as commodities.

German philosopher and revolutionary socialist Karl Marx who lived in the nineteenth century foresaw the suffer that would arise from commodity fetishism of modern culture. Originated in Marxist political theory, while commodity refers to material and immaterial goods, services, or anything that purchasable, commodification indicates the process that entails the transformation of becoming a purchasable thing, having a commercial value. As Marx explains, the commodity “is an external object, a thing which through its qualities human needs of whatever kind” is satisfied. The nature of these needs, whether they arise, for example, from the stomach or the imagination

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different levels: “the sensory, the cognitive and the decisional” Alvin Toffler, *Futureshock* (New York; Toronto; London; Sydney: Bantam Books, 1971).

<sup>135</sup> Slater, 15.

<sup>136</sup> Georg Lukacs, “Reification and the Consciousness of the Proletariat,” in *History and Class Consciousness: Studies in Marxist Dialectics* ed. Georg Lukacs (London: Merlin Press. 1971).

<sup>137</sup> Herbert Marcuse, *One-Dimensional Man: Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Society*, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964).

<sup>138</sup> Henri Lefebvre, *Critique of Everyday Life* (London; New York: Verso, 2008).

<sup>139</sup> Guy Debord, *The Society of The Spectacle* (Detroit: Black and Red, 1970).

<sup>140</sup> Theodor W. Adorno and Max Horkheimer, *Dialectic of Enlightenment* ed. G. Schmid Noerr (the U.S.A: Stanford University Press, 2002).

<sup>141</sup> Slater.

makes no difference. Creation of new “use values” and the colonization of old ones contribute to the development of this “commodity fetishism”. While the former follows the paths of advertising and mass media to manipulate material preferences, in the latter, commodity form dispreads to the areas of cultural and personal life once insulated from the corruption of commerce; that corresponds to commodification of culture.<sup>142</sup>

Stephen Crook, Jan Pakulski and Malcom Waters, the editors of *Postmodernization: change in advanced society*, identify three theoretical approaches to explain societal change. In addition to Marxian tradition which identifies the direction of modernization by process of commodification, the other two approaches that are associated with Durkheimian and Weberian traditions specify the direction of modernization by the processes of differentiation, rationalization, respectively. These three concepts are intertwined in the most intimate way and they define the transformation of premodern into modern systems.<sup>143</sup> For them, while a *regional stability* generated by aforementioned processes is the best way to understand modern culture, post modernization culture can best be construed as an extension and intensification of differentiation, rationalization, and commodification.<sup>144</sup>

Going through commodification and commodity forms that extended to the areas of cultural and personal life inevitably necessitates to include the ideas emanated from the Frankfurt School, a school of social theory and philosophy founded during the interwar period. In the works of Frankfurt School, it is stressed that commodification and associated processes of rationalization led “a phase shift within the development of capitalism”. Occurring between 1920 and 1940, the new phase is identified by the transfer of commodification from economic realm to cultural-ideological realm. Its interpretation as “the triumph of instrumental over emancipatory reason” ideologically

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<sup>142</sup> Karl Marx, *Capital A Critique of Political Economy Volume I Book One: The Process of Production of Capital*, tr. Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling (Progress Publishers, Moscow, USSR: 1887).

<sup>143</sup> Stephen Crook, Jan Pakulski, and Malcolm Waters, *Postmodernization* (London: Sage Publications, 1992), 3.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, 36.

demonstrated by the dominance of positivistic scientism and technicism which displaced “the reasoning processes and value-commitment of everyday discourse and experience”. The growth of commercialized, homogenized and digitalised culture industry is its cultural demonstration. In brief, the milieu of mature modern culture is defined by a tension between cultural differentiation and dedifferentiation, by formal rationalization, and by a process of commodification which projects a disingenuous distinction between ‘high’ and ‘mass’ culture.<sup>145</sup>

In *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, Adorno and Horkheimer, early members of Frankfurt School, asserted that “capitalism with its insistence on standardization, rationalization, objectification, and pressures to consume has led to the commodification of society”. The term culture industry appears in the chapter “The Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception”. Adorno and Horkheimer formulates the term to indicate a system that encompasses cultural mediums, the media, marketing agencies and advertisers. The system of the culture industry originated in the liberal industrial countries and its advancements proceed from “the general laws of capital”. The system of culture industry is governed by those who has the strongest economic position in a society. Manipulation of masses through effective marketing strategies and using technology to gain power over society rest on the same basis. In the culture industry, differences between the products are illusory. From novel to film, the exultation of invested capital can be observed in every sort of media; the whole world is filtered by the system of culture industry. Through it, the power of industrial society is “imprinted on people once and for all.”<sup>146</sup> All branches of intellectual production are subordinated to impose on the senses of human beings, throughout the time between their out from the factory to the time they “clock on”. The most substantial critique raised by Adorno and Horkheimer is the claim that culture industry actively accomplished the transposition of art to the consumption sphere.

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<sup>145</sup> Ibid., 7-8.

<sup>146</sup> Adorno and Horkheimer, 100.

In brief, culture industry is the instrumental use of cultural means to manipulate masses by way of imposing certain sets of lifestyles, thoughts and behaviours through these means. Adorno's and Horkheimer's critique is still effective today; culture industry continues to have similar impact on individuals. However, technology of culture industry accelerated and slightly differed the way this process takes place. A new dimension has started to be implemented in the guise of digital world; this significant change concerns the way technology of culture industry operates. It can be argued that culture industry, through technology and communication means, has spread to individual level. The distinction between product and consumer has blurred. Managerial strategies of culture industry are being executed through identities of individuals on social networks. Marked by visual codes of the mainstream culture industry, self-production which ends up with commodified identities are distributed through digital mediums and it serves to manipulate masses. In the article "Meat, Mask, Burden: Probing the contours of the branded self", Alison Hearn draws attention to erosion of distinction between notions of the self and capitalist processes of production and consumption. She raises the notion self-branding to explain the phenomenon; "the production of a branded self involves creating a detachable, saleable, image or narrative, which effectively circulates cultural meanings." This branded self either positions itself or it is positioned as a site for the extraction of value. In other words, self as a spectacle, "marked by the discourses and practices of post-Fordist modes of capitalist production", imprints latter days culture industry. New identities, exciting and rewarding lives that can be achieved through adopting the imposed mode of living are disseminated through.<sup>147</sup>

As every sphere of our lives has been invaded by the mindset of consumption; from culture to leisure, and politics, the economic relationships of class positions in defining the status are surpassed by consumption hierarchies; necessary information to understand a status is being distributed by advertisements. Under the circumstances, construction of the self is realized through obtaining commodities or simply occupying

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<sup>147</sup> Alison Hearn, "'Meat, Mask, Burden' Probing the contours of the branded 'self'." *Journal of Consumer Culture* 8, no. 2, (2008), Accessed July 2017.

consumption spaces with the dreams of better experiences and better selves. Thus, it is a necessity to scrutinize spatial configurations of this process that is still capable to mark the mind-set of the present epoch.

### **3.3. METAMORPHOSIS OF CONSUMPTION SPACES**

Embarking on to analyse consumption spaces holds a potential to reveal socially and culturally intertwined and instrumental position of these spaces in the development of modern consumption practices. Besides that, how consumers' immunity against the effects of commodification developed can be diagnosed through the similarities and differences of these new 'kind' of spaces.

The cult of consumption was inaugurated by arcades in the nineteenth century. As this early protagonist of modernist ethos started to be disfavoured, department stores, representatives of the mass production, took over their holy halo. This is followed by the emergence of enclosed malls in the mid-1950s in America and their sprawl all over the world. Malls are diversified with outlets, life-style centres and theme parks which compose the geography of consumption in the latter-day.

Implications of new cultures, spatial practices and representations, may be seen through the changing role of consumption sites.<sup>148</sup> Starting from their early phases, disquisition of these spaces will potentially demonstrate the profound link between them and the ethos of their time.

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<sup>148</sup> Shields.

### 3.3.1. Arcades

Emerged as novel architectural space for new pattern of urban consumption, arcades appeared in Paris and other major European cities in the early nineteenth century. These were the spaces designed to offer the visitors the pleasure of looking, to attract the seekers of pleasure. The fabulous life contained in the arcades hosted by the sensual display, “fascinating view, the enticing game of shapes and colours”.<sup>149</sup>

These arcades, a recent invention of industrial luxury, are glass-roofed, marble-paneled corridors extending through whole blocks of buildings, whose owners have joined together for such enterprises. Lining both sides of these corridors, which get their light from above, are the most elegant shops, so that the arcade is a city, a world in miniature.<sup>150</sup>

Arcades are the first architectural forms that are specific to consumption. The sort of consumption which is beyond the everyday needs of family or individual was what the arcades were depended on. They brought a new world under the glass and cast-iron vaults with the phantasmagorias they provided.

In the period when Walter Benjamin, a German critic, culture historian and thinker, started to study arcades they were either semi-derelict or listed for demolition. However, Benjamin saw them as the dream-worlds in which layers of past remained present.<sup>151</sup> He devoted himself to a *Project* that centralizes the nineteenth century Paris arcades and worked on it over the period of thirteen years but the *Project* remained unfinished. In this study, the most important architectural form of the nineteenth century, arcades were the basis to which Benjamin attached and associated a number of phenomenon that characteristics of the century.

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<sup>149</sup> Zygmunt Bauman, “Desert Spectacular,” in *The Flâneur*, ed. Keith Tester (USA-Canada: Routledge, 1994), 146.

<sup>150</sup> Benjamin, 31.

<sup>151</sup> Steven Miles and Malcolm Miles, *Consuming Cities* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 98.

In the *Arcades Project*, Benjamin delineates a dreamy picture of these phantasmagorical spaces with interpenetrating layers of time and meaning. For him, the nineteenth century Paris was the site of the “transformation of artistic and literary practices and sensibilities” and the *Project* analyses the “origins”<sup>152</sup> of modernity. His study was as an urban archaeology of the recent past specified in the critical-historical exploration of the nineteenth century Paris.

Arcades are passages; metaphorically they represent the passage from bourgeois interior to city streets. In spatial terms, they host the collective “under the shadow of interiority”.<sup>153</sup> They are neither interiors nor exteriors. They harbor that ‘passage’ experience embedded in the modernity. With the break of dwelling, the shell of the bourgeois, streets become the interior. The array of goods in an arcade conjures an intimation of plentifulness as well as the desire for consumption the sellers intend. The collective dreaming activates a buried desire for a more luxurious and relaxed existence.

As a historical figure, the flaneur was born in the arcades of the Palais Royal in the revolutionary gestation of the 1780s. Around 1830s he took on a much greater significance in France. He was renowned as a figure of enticement in the popular literature of the day, but died with the barricades of 1848. Being not exactly at home in the world of the bourgeoisie from which he came, the flaneur was a young and dissolute figure from popular French novels and stories of the 1830s. By the 1860s, when Baudelaire tried to give him a second birth he was already outmoded, as the arcades. Hetherington suggests that while the figure of the flaneur might work well with the arcades of the 1830s, he does not sit easily with the department store of the 1860s and especially not with the world of consumption after about 1890 when those stores had become fully established across the Western world and beyond. The female

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<sup>152</sup> Benjamin, 117.

<sup>153</sup> Detlef Mertins, “The Enticing and Threatening Face of Prehistory: Walter Benjamin and the Utopia of Glass,” in *Walter Benjamin and the Arcades Project* ed. by Beatrice Hanssen (Continuum International Publishing Group: London-New York, 2006), 255



counterpart of the flaneur, flaneuse took over his rank when consumption firmly established in everyday life.

### **3.3.2. Department Stores, Malls, and Peripheral Consumption Spaces**

The emergence of the department stores in the late nineteenth century was dependent on the same growth of prosperity and transformation of merchandising techniques that lay behind the international expositions. The Bon Marché was the first department store opened in Paris, in 1852, the year after the Crystal Palace exposition, the opening of Louvre followed it three years after.<sup>154</sup> By the 1860s, the arcades had been replaced as principal sites of bourgeois consumption by department stores. Designed like exhibition halls, the goods of different kinds were collected in one place, “department” where human interaction between shoppers and assistants, and the appearance of assistance were as important as the goods on display.<sup>155</sup>

The department store introduced a completely new “set of social interactions” to consumption. The replacement of “active verbal interchange with passive and mute response of consumer to things” presents a striking example of “the civilizing process that tames aggressions and feelings toward people while encouraging desires and feelings directed toward things”. Department stores were arranged to ferment these desires and feelings. Even if the consumer were free not to buy at that time, techniques of merchandising pushed him/her to want to buy sometime. Successive developments of retail trade induced the department store to retain a feeling of a middle-class shopper’s utopia in which a desired lifestyle is embodied through its goods.<sup>156</sup>

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<sup>154</sup> Williams, 66.

<sup>155</sup> Steven Miles and Malcolm Miles, 95.

<sup>156</sup> Williams.

As environments of mass consumption, department stores were, and still are, places where “consumers are audiences to be entertained by commodities”, where selling is mingled with amusement, where “arousal of free-floating desire is as important as immediate purchase of particular items”. For Williams, “expositions, trade fairs, amusement parks,” and contemporarily, “malls, large new airports or even subway stations” cause the enervated trance as a form of sociability that is typical symptom of modern mass consumption, while the sociability of the salon was typical of pre-modern upper-class consumption. Department stores marked the beginning of shopping as “being with things” which one might want to buy, rather than shopping as interacting with other people.<sup>157</sup>

As a vital component in the development of modern consumer culture, department stores gave place to shopping malls as contemporary representatives of consumption. With extensive surface of car parks and delivery yards, the first enclosed malls with artificial lighting and air-conditioning was built in America in the mid-1950s.<sup>158</sup> Whereas the first enclosed malls came out in mid-1950s in America, the etymological root of mall was found in an arena of game that was played in seventeenth century London. Both the game and the playing alley were called “pall-mall, or simply mall”.<sup>159</sup> Based on this, it can be said that the innate spirit of the word is being enliven in the essence of the shopping mall.

In *Pedestrian Modern*, David Smiley dwells on to demonstrate the relationship between places of consumption and emerging modernist precepts. He draws attention to significant transformation that resulted from the integration of malls to America’s modernizing and suburbanizing landscape. They, within the evolving discourse of

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<sup>157</sup> Ibid.

<sup>158</sup> In October 1956, between farms and single-family home subdivisions outside Minneapolis, a fully enclosed shopping centre opened its glass doors. The Southdale was the first realized large scale, fully enclosed and air-conditioned centre, later known as “shopping mall”. In David J. Smiley, *Pedestrian Modern: Shopping and American Architecture, 1925-1956* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013), 1.

<sup>159</sup> Turo-Kimo Lethonen and Pasi Maenpää, “Shopping in the East Centre Mall,” in *The Shopping Experience*, ed. Pasi Falk and Colin Campbell (London, UK: Sage Publications, 1997), 136.

architecture, were framed as modernist research into the transformation of the mid-century metropolis. In that sense, the store and the shopping centre were particular mechanisms for “experimentation” as Modern Architecture. Essentially organizational requirements in the design of consumption spaces are compatible with rational thought of modernist approach. According to Smiley, modern architecture was best established in the design of stores and through their alliance a new modern building type would emerge.<sup>160</sup>

In *English Shops And Shopping* Kathryn Morrison provides a detailed analysis of the architecture of retail buildings in England. In this study, the spread of ‘mall’ culture from America to Britain and its reflections in England are delineated with great delicacy. Morrisons analysis is executed through the primary malls in England; the Elephant and Castel Shopping Centre in Southwark, London, built in 1965 and the Bull Ring Centre in Birmingham, built in 1964. These were also forerunner shopping centres of their kind in Europe. They both were peripheral to established city-centre shopping facilities. In addition to these, with the contemporary open-air Merrion Centre in Leeds they all compose a part of multi-use development. These multi-use developments are comprised of podium and a tower or towers that host the offices. In contrast with glass curtain walled façade of towers, shopping and entertainment facilities were windowless and situated at the below level. The concrete malls were stalemated by a sea of traffic and are reached through the unfriendly pedestrian access. Neither of the malls described offers a pleasurable environment for the car-borne shopper. Inside of the malls exist three levels with galleries and atria. Although some daylight is provided through the material covering the atria, they are mostly artificially lighted and ventilated. For Morrison, the technological advances encouraged the adoption of the windowless wall for pre-war American department stores and post-war American malls, and they are having a similar impact on Britain. Throughout the 1960s and early 1970s large mall developments followed the standard set by almost-blind

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<sup>160</sup> Smiley, 9.

facades of Elephant and Castle and the Bull Ring<sup>161</sup>. For the exterior material commonly used shuttered concrete was later replaced by aggregate or textured concrete panels or oblong cream, orange or brown tiles. Regardless of the exterior material the fenestration was kept to minimum in the façade articulations. In the late 1960s automatic sliding doors or powerful air curtains replaced double-swing aluminium-frame doors. By the 1970s the daylight provided by clerestory or roof level were omitted and a completely artificial lighting is preferred for the sake of having no visual contact with the outside. Low lighting levels and dark walls, ceiling and floor finish intentionally featured the brightly lit shop fronts.<sup>162</sup> Throughout the 1970s, the department stores were relocated from the high street to the mall. Instead of bad weather conditions, poverty and urban decay that high street shoppers can be exposed to, the enclosed and air-conditioned malls provided them with comfortable and safe shopping experience in a sterile environment including leisure activities and restaurants.

Essentially, cultural shift that is reinforced by new consuming habits can be described via the accounted spatial metamorphosis; the luxurious arcades of the nineteenth century and department stores where the commodities circulated have been replaced by malls, shopping centres and most recently theme parks and lifestyle centres. What is significant in these consumption places is not the novelty in the “content of their characteristic social activities and spatial practices” but the fact that practices and behaviours that were kept apart within classical account of modernity are now combined. Contemporary consumption sites are characterized by “a new spatial form which is a synthesis of leisure and consumption activities” that were previously held apart by “being located in different sites, performed at different times or accomplished by different people.”<sup>163</sup> Jon Goss, a scholar whose research focuses on the geography

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<sup>161</sup> The Elephant and Castle Shopping Centre was designed by Boissevain and Osmond. Built in 1965 it covered 18,765,8 sq. m. The Bull Ring Centre was designed by Sydney Greenwood and T.J. Hirst. It was constructed in 1964 and covered 32,515 sq. m. It was demolished in 2001. See Kathryn A. Morrison, *English Shops and Shopping: An Architectural History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003).

<sup>162</sup> Ibid.

<sup>163</sup> Rob Shields, *Lifestyle Shopping* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992).

of popular culture, claims that to compensate the “culturally perceived emptiness of the act of shopping” for which the main social space is provided, designers create the illusion that “something else other than mere shopping is going on”. This illusion also mediates the materialist relations of mass consumption and disguises the identity and rootedness of the shopping centre in the contemporary capitalist social order.<sup>164</sup>

### **3.4. PROJECTIONS OF HETEROTOPIA ON PERIPHERAL CONSUMPTION SPACES**

The reason why adults create utopias, or so Foucault surmises, is in order to efface the body, to escape to a non-place outside all places, where they can dream of a bodiless body more beautiful, powerful and swift than in reality. In this utopia, they erect a completely fictitious land filled with all kinds of fairies and magicians that aid their own transfigurations.<sup>165</sup>

As Foucault primarily implies heterotopias embody a hidden affinity to utopias. Their contrast to utopias stems from their localizable condition, but they share a common ground with the “curious property of being in relation with all the other sites”. This relation might be “to suspend, neutralize, or invert the set of relations designated, mirrored, or reflected” by all the other sites.<sup>166</sup> At the intersection of utopia and heterotopia, the approach adopted here suggests utopia as a niche carrying both the ideals and illusions of the future within the experience of consumption spaces. That relation with all ‘other spaces’ is constructed through utopia which embedded in the heterotopia.

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<sup>164</sup> Goss, 19.

<sup>165</sup> Christine M. Boyer, “The Many Mirrors of Foucault and Their Architectural Reflections,” in *Heterotopia and the City*, ed. by Michiel Dehaene and Lieven De Cauter (London; New York: Routledge, 2008), 54.

<sup>166</sup> Foucault, “Of Other Spaces,” 17.

Foucault explicitly expresses that his essential concern is on “outer space”, the space in which individuals and things are placed, the space which is not a void but a set of relations. These set of relations delineate the emplacements which cannot be superimposed or equated, but they can be placed adjacently, they can have awkward juxtapositions as heterotopias have. At the intersection of public and private, consumption spaces have always been “places of refuge”, with providing an escape from the intimidating life outside.<sup>167</sup>

### **3.4.1. Experience of the Consumer**

The central role of the consumer in contemporary post-modern society causes it to be a cultural phenomenon which needs a closer scrutiny. As a realm of social action, interaction, and experience the significance accorded to consumption increasingly organizes the everyday practices of urban people. Thus, the nature of the daily routine embedded in the experience of these privatized public spaces needs to be specified.

Diverse features and incorporating depictions of the world, culture and society are substantial tools to cogitate and diagnose the spirit of the age. In this sense, along with material and immaterial goods and services, the experience of consumption includes the representations associated with them. Various relations embedded in this experience are the execution of a merge composed of the imaginary, experiential and reflexive.

Colin Campbell professes that “Romanticism played a critical role in facilitating the Industrial Revolution and therefore in the character of the modern economy”. In contrast with the prevailing assumption which emplaces the link between consumption

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<sup>167</sup> Steven Miles, “Consuming Cities; Consuming Youth: Young People’s Lifestyles and the Appropriation of Cultural Space,” in *Consumption and the Post-Industrial City*, ed. by Frank Eckardt and Dieter Hassenpflug (Peterlang: Frankfurt am Main, 2003), 150.

and its romantic constituent to the advertising strategies, Campbell suggests a reverse examination of the relationship with the argument that romantic ingredient had a crucial part in the development of modern consumerism. Within this framework, Campbell undertakes to delineate an alteration between the traditional dreamer and the modern one. Being a common human faculty, imagination has a part in traditional hedonism where images emanated principally in the memory are carried to consciousness with the consequence of creating an effective anticipation of events; a process essential to the birth of desire itself. In this process, largely retrieved from the past, such images are employed as they are. So, imagination is not under the direction of the self to the extent that it is in modern cultures. Contrastingly, in the self-illusory hedonism of the modern cultures, the individual appears as an artist of the imagination; gathered images from memory or the existing environment are rearranged and become more pleasing. No longer are they “taken as given” from past experience, but crafted into unique products, under the guidance of pleasure.<sup>168</sup>

As a “dream artist” contemporary hedonist has distinctive “psychic skills”; the convincing day-dreams created have an impact on the individuals as if they were real. The nature of hedonism is altered in the experience of the individual such a way that acquiring delight from the day-dreams completely transformed “modern people’s view of the place of pleasure in real life.” Thus, the seek for pleasure may cause individuals to withdraw from the real life since they pursue the isolated delight that can only be found in their dreams. This definite “other worldly” hedonism portrays the contemporary culture.<sup>169</sup>

Basing on aforementioned elucidations it can be suggested that it is not the products to which individuals’ satisfaction directed but it is the self-illusory experience that is being constructed from the associated meanings of these products. Thus, principal process of consumption is not the real selection, transaction or use of product but the

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<sup>168</sup> Colin Campbell, *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism* (Oxford and New York: Blackwell, 1987).

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*, 77-81.

imaginative pleasure seeking that is embedded in the product. Real consumption is the consequence of this “mentalistic” hedonism. This comprehension unlocks the novelty and insatiability which are integral parts of modern consumerism. The novel is always preferred to the familiar, obtaining and use of the novel has a potential to generate new experiences that are not encountered in reality yet. The hallmark of *new* applies a dream pleasure to the product. Hence, the palpable practice of consumption appears just a small part of manifold system of hedonistic behaviour whose majority occurs in the imagination of the consumer.

The desire felt by contemporary consumers does not spring from the mechanism which compels people to want goods but it proliferates from the desire to experience the pleasurable dramas which are already enjoyed in the imagination. The vicious cycle in which individual's endless search for new products is initiated and repeatedly sustained by the disillusionment of reality. Since reality can never provide perfected pleasures of day-dreaming, the individual keeps searching for it in the novel one. This intense interplay between illusion and the reality is vital to comprehend modern consumerism. Longing as a constant mode is created by the tensions between the two. Wish directed day-dreaming turns the future into a perfectly illusional present that will be never captured.

Concisely, day-dreaming forms the delightful imaginative exposure from which the desire emerges. It is this desire that also generates a dissatisfaction with reality. The novel products are believed to soothe this dissatisfaction emanated from acquiring what is beforehand wanted. This illusory play is a modern constitution and composes the backbone of modern consumerism.

As discussed earlier commodification contaminated every aspect of life. In marketing, “indirect commodification” technics are used to sustain and intensify its effect. Indirect commodification means a process by which unmerchantable objects deliberately placed in the commodified world of the mall. “Adjacent attraction” marketing principle which rests on the emplacement of divergent items next to one another for a mutual support is adopted. “Temporary suspension of use value” decontextualizes the



products and that causes the unexpected to be stimulating. Crawford epitomizes this with the transformation of an ordinary pot into something exotic, mysterious and desirable, when it is displayed as part of a Moroccan harem. Thus, non-commodified objects strengthen the commodities, but also previously non-commodified objects become a part of the commodified world.<sup>170</sup>

Passing beyond the significance of consumption experience in the everyday life and looking into the experience of particular groups may yield different perspectives. Most prominently, the critical role of women, as agents of modernity comes into play when consumption conceived as an important aspect in understanding the configuration of modern society. Cultural theorist Mica Nava draws attention to women's massive participation in the intense culture of consumption and asserts that "everyday lives of large numbers of ordinary woman were deeply affected by processes of modernity".<sup>171</sup> The relationship between women and consumption is a two-folded entity whose first materialization takes place in the department store in the late nineteenth century. These spaces specifically designed for and used by women presented by Nava as a primary setting for experiments in modernity.

In probing the experience of consumption in detail, it is vital to touch upon the experience of the classical figure flaneur who makes arcades his house.<sup>172</sup> Baudelaire's flaneur, "the carrier of the bacillus of modernism", was a hero. For Bauman, in the post-modern world flaneurisme takes a heroic constitution to refuse being a flaneur.

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<sup>170</sup> Margaret Crawford, "The World in a Shopping Mall," in *Variations on a Theme Park: The New American City and the End of Public Space*, ed. Michael Sorkin (New York: Hill and Wang, 1992), 14-15.

<sup>171</sup> Mica Nava, "Women, the City and the Department Store", in *The Shopping Experience*, ed. Pasi Falk and Colin Campbell, (London: Sage, 1997).

<sup>172</sup> In the experience of flaneur "the joy of strolling" becomes "the joy of playing". Being costless and being free is what sets the play apart from "the ordinary, normal, real life". While reality is "oozy, ubiquitous, straggly", the play is firmly preserved behind its tempo spatial walls. The flaneur, the *travelling player*, carries his playing with him wherever he wanders. His play is "to make others play, to make the world a play" in which he is in full control. Rehearsing the world "as a theatre and life as a play", arcades comes out as the prominent stages on which flaneur plays a mingling of reality and fantasy. See Zygmunt Bauman, "Desert Spectacular," in *The Flâneur*, ed. Keith Tester (USA-Canada: Routledge, 1994).

<sup>173</sup> In this vacation from reality, following words of Bauman worth noting in that he distinctively explicates the relationship between flaneur and flaneuse. Additionally, departing from the contrast between flaneur and flaneuse, he stresses the crucial social condition of women in the present era.

The custom made (shopping) spaces, for the play of *flaneurisme* offered the would-be female flaneuses the safe haven not to be found elsewhere. The flaneur could pick and choose where to play his game - to the flaneuse, most of flaneur's favourite haunts were out of bounds. The historic link between playfulness of the flaneur and modern/ post-modern consumerism, between looking and making the looker into an object of looking, between buying and being bought, had been, one may say, originally forged through the social construction of women as a consumer and object of consumption.<sup>174</sup>

The post-modern urbanite, a hybridization of flaneur/flaneuse and modern consumer, strolls through pseudo public spaces which are constituted by the dominance of consumption. These pseudo public spaces also embody many controversies; they exist in a zone arising from the elastic boundaries between public/private, individual/collective, inside/outside. Shielded from the uncontrolled space, this new and improved kind of public spaces are arenas "to move through" rather to be in. These are the places that want the visitors to stay in, to stop and look around. Thus, they rail themselves with steel. Moreover gun-carrying or electronic guards protect them from the publicness of the street. The affluence they have as opposed to the decay of street strengthens their enticement; the fabulous, spectacular, and pleasurable inside provides hygienic day-dreams.

The nature of consumption has changed substantially during the century and specifically since the 1950s. The boundary between the world of goods and mass culture has become more diffuse, due to expanding commodification and because of the tendency that shifts the emphasis in consumption towards experiential. Mass

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<sup>173</sup> Ibid., 155-56.

<sup>174</sup> Ibid., 146-47.

culture transformed experiences into marketable products. In advertisement, marketable products ended up with being representations, images and then experiences once more. Thus, the experience of consumption and the consumption of the experience intertwined indistinguishably.

In brief, shopping is a private experience emplaced at the public setting; it is an activity “that is hovering somewhere between privacy and sociability”. It embraces the tension between “rational” and “impulse” and its experience yields “both pleasure and anxiety”.<sup>175</sup> Thus, the shopping experience is a point at which the tensions as well as the promises of modernity and postmodernity are perhaps most apparent.<sup>176</sup> The body raises “fictitious utopias to escape the awful presence it sees in the mirror, to achieve a place outside itself”, and yet the body rejects this disposal and raises utopias of its own, driving them merely from “internalized mind”, from representations that have dwelled there “yet come from elsewhere as mirrored reflections”. The experience in the consumption surpasses the body with “illusions of purity and mark it with imaginary images”.<sup>177</sup>

The citadel of leisure and pleasure, spaces that are dominated by the activity of consumption are surrounded by ‘illusion codes’ carried by commodities. These are the places where ‘fantasies of freedom’ are executed by different agents. However, their ability of incorporating several “incompatible”<sup>178</sup> spaces while providing freedom for some gives the hint that containing illusory codes is not the only face of their heterotopic character. Along with that, their relation to the surrounding space, the way they are located and they relate to other spaces yield alternative views for their heterotopic character.

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<sup>175</sup> Pasi Falk and Colin Campbell, *The Shopping Experience* (London, UK: Sage Publications, 1997), 11-12.

<sup>176</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

<sup>177</sup> Boyer, 55.

<sup>178</sup> Foucault, “Of Other Spaces,” 19.

### 3.4.2. Expression and Construction of Identity

The conception of space as a multitude of competing spatial representations enables to construe the imaginary, symbolically constructed spatial worlds of people and societies. Engaged in “self-construction” through the purchase of commodities of distinction and difference, the consumer signifies more than a mere subject of consumption. A modern phenomenon, individualization has an substantial effect on the contemporary mode of self-construction. This self-construction takes place on two different levels. In the first place, frequently associated to self-construction is a process of self-representation which is a perspective that conceives individuals more of “other related” subjects. On the other hand, in the process which can be identified as “self-relatedness”, consumers locate the experiential/ bodily self to the experience. This understanding suggests that individuals are more than subjects representing themselves on the stage of urban life. Their cognitive/reflexive selves open different dimensions of consuming, and incorporate “a variety of sensory experiences and acts of imagination”. Selves are mirrored in the potential objects of acquisition with questions that enable them to relate themselves to the particular goods.<sup>179</sup>

For the relationship between space and identity, Kevin Hetherington in *Expression of Identity*, draws attention to typical significance of particular sites “around which identities are constituted and performed”; having a social centrality, those spaces host individuals who are striving to possess some “alternative and expressive” identification. Thus, “the values and practices associated with an identity position” are executed around these “symbolic centres”. While analysing the issue of space and its relationship with marginality<sup>180</sup>, Hetherington suggests that the places that are likely to be social centrality of a marginal group are inclined to have “some sort of affinity

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<sup>179</sup> Pasi Falk and Colin Campbell, *The Shopping Experience* (London, UK: Sage Publications, 1997).

<sup>180</sup> For Hetherington: “margins are not only things pushed to the edge, they can also be in-between spaces, spaces of traffic, right at the centre of things. It is around such ‘marginality’ that new identities and collective processes associated with their formation are expressed.” See Kevin Hetherington, *Expression of Identity* (Great Britain: Sage, 1998), 107-108.

with the identity in question". Opportunities for being different and the constitution of new identities are expedited by such spaces. Moreover, Hetherington refers to Lefebvre's concept of representational space, Foucault's heterotopia and Turner's development of anthropological concept of liminal space to emphasize the significance that was given to the spaces associated with identity construction.<sup>181</sup> This identification might be valid especially for teenagers' articulation of identity and sense of belonging in consumption spaces.

In the attempt to read shopping mall as a text, Backes remarks that shopping mall provides an active and direct experience that contains the visual media, the signs, for subjects to manipulate into the terms of their own texts. Through playing with images, this manipulation enables shoppers to create a personal story, however brief, ephemeral, or surreal.<sup>182</sup> Strengthened with the successive proliferation of digital social platforms, ever-changing construction of the self in every medium, from virtual accounts of individuals to the ephemeral experience of the shopper, might be conceived as the newest obsession of the present society. This self-construction is reinforced with the idea to compensate deficiencies through consumption and its peak point in contemporary consumer culture is veiled with the term 'lifestyle' which connotes individuality, self-expression, and "a stylistic self-consciousness; one's body, speech, leisure activity, eating-drinking and dressing preferences, properties, choice of holidays, etc. are to be regarded as markers of the specificity of taste and sense of style".<sup>183</sup> At this point, the intention and effect of the consumption space steps in since it aims to liberate individuals from both the quotidian and the past by ensuring an illusion of ideal and hygienic life. In the consumption space, the optical illusion of the mirror is actuated when the future optimal self is started to be constructed with the products obtained or with the dreams produced. In that sense, the mirror functions both

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<sup>181</sup> Ibid., 106-07.

<sup>182</sup> Nancy Backes, "Reading the Shopping Mall City," *The Journal of Popular Culture* 31, no. 3 (1997): 1-17.

<sup>183</sup> Featherstone, Mike. *Consumer Culture and Postmodernism* (Los Angeles: Sage Publications, 2007).

as a utopia and a heterotopia. While constructing ephemeral identities heterotopia mirrors and reflects the utopia of the ideal.

The mirror is, after all, a utopia, since it is a place without place. In the mirror, I see myself there where I am not, in an unreal space that virtually opens up behind the surface; I am over there, there where I am not, a sort of shadow that gives me my own visibility, that enables me to see myself there where I am absent. Utopia of the mirror. But it is also a heterotopia in so far as the mirror does really exist, and as it exerts on the place I occupy a sort of return effect; it is starting from the mirror that I discover my absence in the place where I am, since I see myself over there. Starting from this gaze that is, as it were, cast upon me, from the depth of this virtual space that is on the other side of the looking glass, I come back towards myself and I begin again to direct my eyes towards myself and to reconstitute myself there where I am. The mirror functions as a heterotopia in the respect that it renders this place that I occupy at the moment when I look at myself in the looking glass at once absolutely real, connected with all the space that surrounds it, and absolutely unreal, since, in order to be perceived, it has to pass through this virtual point, which is over there.<sup>184</sup>

The unreal space is the ideal space where future self is located. Utopia of the mirror takes place in the heterotopia of consumption space. Discovery of the absence in the place occupied corresponds to dissatisfaction with the reality and lack of the dreamed in the space of the present, in the real space of the heterotopia. The experience of a shopper contains both reflections; it is the superposition of the real and the imagined selves. The mirrors of heterotopia and utopia give urban actors “the chance to identify themselves and their needs in a changing and flowing situation”.<sup>185</sup> In that sense, heterotopia of illusion comes out as a multidimensional formation; both the experience and the existing space contain heterotopic character. This place where past never experienced consumes present with the aim of reaching a better future self. Temporal wraps of heterotopias are tied in the sites specified to consumption.

Constructed identities might also belong to collectives. In that sense, consumption transforms into a conception of a dream world characterized by the desires of

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<sup>184</sup> Foucault, “Of Other Spaces,” 17.

<sup>185</sup> David, G. Shane, *Recombinant Urbanism* (Chichester: Wiley-Academy, 2005).

individuals. Heterotopias “socially” generated spaces, “the meaning of social beings” is revealed and at the same time recreated by them.<sup>186</sup>

Concerning with the cultivation of hopes and ideals, McCracken conceives consumer goods as devices to “cultivate what is otherwise beyond our grasp”. “Displaced meaning” is a phenomenon that is hinged on a cultural meaning which has purposely been removed from the daily life of a society and repositioned in a distant cultural domain. The role of consumption in the evocation of this meaning is crucial since consumption provides the means through which society access to this “displaced cultural meaning.”<sup>187</sup> Although the discrepancy between the realities and the moral imperatives of a community has no obvious remedy, there are several strategies in the possession of a culture in its treatment of this chronic aspect of social life. For a culture, which resorts to the “displace meaning” strategy there must be a place for ideals. In some cases, this can be a “golden age”, a historical period, a largely fictional moment in which social life is imagined to be coherent to cultural ideals. Sometimes it is not the magnificent past but the future as a versatile location with many alternatives can host the unmet ideals. As an asylum, the future is more accommodating than the past in some respects; it is more unconstrained, it has no limitation but the imagination, it is a tabula rasa while the past has certain sometimes inconvenient script. It is also possible to transport one’s ideals across the continuum of space, displacement in space works just as effectively as displacement in time. The imperfections of a given society can be dismissed as local aberrations. Somewhere on the spatial continuum there is always a perfect “other” in terms of which locally obtainable ideals can be cast.<sup>188</sup>

A universal discrepancy between the real and the ideal is one of the ways to contend with this discrepancy, the strategy of displaced meaning. Consumer goods help to

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<sup>186</sup> Edward Soja, “Heterotopologies: A remembrance of Other Spaces in the Citadel LA, in *Postmodern Cities and Spaces* ed. by S. Watson and K. Gibson (Oxford, UK: Blackwell, 1995), 14.

<sup>187</sup> McCracken, 105.

<sup>188</sup> McCracken, 106-107.

mitigate this discrepancy, before the act of purchase and when they have entered the individual's possession.<sup>189</sup>

### **3.4.3. Liminality in/of the Peripheral Consumption Spaces**

The experience of consumption inherently entails a great deal of 'betwixt and between' situations. Separated from the spheres of home and work, a journey to 'somewhere else' in the psychic ideals of the consumers constantly contests the real. Between the real and the possible, this oscillation fills the empty lands of consumption and produces the inherent rhythm of the experience.

As discussed, the first shopping mall that was constructed in the mid-1950s was in a suburban area in America. However, the rise of the shopping malls in the context of Turkey does not follow a similar path. For instance, the first big-scale shopping centre of Turkey, Galleria was constructed in 1988 in a very prestigious part of İstanbul, in terms of both position and the social strata living in the district. Followed by many, consumption spaces have come to be known as spaces that provide modern way of living. Thus, the more central the better they are was an idea adopted for a certain period. But incessant attempts to make use of physical environments to sustain capital rise led the agents of the capital to seek and transform rather available areas into 'consumption spaces' which were proven to provide surplus value when constructed and run efficiently. This resulted with haphazardly developed projects that are devoted to the pure act of consumption on contrived locations in between areas.

Due to the in-betweenness, these areas are deployed to serve both for the city dwellers and passers-by. While for the former they represent an escape from the city, the latter is included on his/her transitional condition of travelling. Although the surplus production has the capacity to drive masses, yet the experience they can expect to

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<sup>189</sup> Ibid., 110



enjoy is also taken into consideration to perform the investment as expected. Thus, their inferiority is sometimes attempted to be balanced with forced executions, through themed designs or injecting extravagant entertainment components. After all, these undefined in between areas create an abrupt caused by all these peculiar conjunctions.

For the physical configurations, the hygienic floors of inner city malls are long since waived in the outlet retail markets. Instead of luxurious marbles, concrete or stone paving defines the street-like circulation routes. The hesitancy that these spaces contain is observed in their architectural constitution as well. In the average examples, the temporality they subsume is usually reflected with patchy arrangements and the quality of the materials used. In contrast with the car parking facilities provided on the basement level in the malls, the crowdedness created by motor vehicles are utilized as the barrier separating these spaces from the rest of the space, which is usually a main road that connects the city centre to other nucleuses. The connotations of the car, speed and temporality do nothing but intensify severeness of the liminality of these spaces. On the one hand, they function as ephemeral slots of enjoyment, as compact medications that urbanite needs to use during the journey to compensate disillusionment of reality. On the other hand, they act as latent agents by signifying the proximity of a possible inhabitable space. The journey from a peripheral consumption space to city centre can be realized with a car, bus, or depending on the context, by foot or bike. However, the issue is not the physical distance, rather the configurational, formational, inherent distant that one situates these spaces in one's mind.

Turning back to real conditions these spaces encapsulate. The consumer and the tourist who in many ways share some commonalities meet on the common ground of the unexpected and new. Besides that, being 'somewhere else' forms the top coat that consubstantiate these two as similar experiences. After all, peripheral consumption spaces, namely, outlet retail markets at the edge of the cities, in the real sense of the word serve for the tourists. In these spaces, the shopper and the tourist literally mingle to the extent that they can hardly be separated from one another.

Liminality is associated with the middle stage of the rite, a stage that describes the threshold or margin, at which activities and conditions are most uncertain. It is during this period of the process that the person undertakes an empowered, transitional identity.<sup>190</sup> Having an important symbolic connotation, travel involves the process of removal and the search for a new start in a new place or elsewhere. It symbolizes pilgrimage to some new ‘other’ place, a freedom, a break with the past.<sup>191</sup> In that sense it corresponds to a liminal stage. Such an atmosphere in peripheral consumption spaces is primarily composed by would-be-tourists; the exotic aura distorts the conventional atmosphere of inner-city environment. Besides, these spaces form physical and symbolical thresholds between the city centre and suburban areas; their alternative condition, synthetic formation, hospitality to the individuals that are in a stage of transition enable this.

In the following chapter, the unraveled findings for the peripheral consumption spaces is examined through a case study. Since similar spaces can be observed in other cities, this case study could have been developed for a different city. However, the acquaintance that has been developed over twenty years enables the author to conduct a profound analysis of their configuration within the context.

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<sup>190</sup> Kevin Hetherington, *Expression of Identity* (Great Britain: Sage, 1998), 111.

<sup>191</sup> *Ibid.*, 127.

## CHAPTER 4

### HETEROTOPIC PECULIARITIES OF PERIPHERAL CONSUMPTION SITES: A CASE STUDY FROM MUĞLA

#### 4.1. MUĞLA: THE CITY AND ITS HISTORY

Etymologically, heterotopia designates the coalescence of two Greek words; heteros (other, different) and -topos (place, region, space).<sup>192</sup> In its medical and original use, heterotopia, presence of a displaced tissue, does not affect the functioning of the organism. It is the implicit and diverse meanings of “heterogeneity and difference” that “the relevance of heterotopia is best exposed as a condition that generically suggests a simultaneous state of spatial and morphological anomaly”.<sup>193</sup> In order to diagnose an anomaly at the intersection of spatial, cultural and social, intricacies of the context that is examined need to be unraveled. With this aim, a brief introduction of Muğla and its spatial periodization adopted from the analysis of “Of Other Spaces” might enable to grasp the anomaly that the specified case exhibits.

Located in the south-west of Turkey, Muğla is a city bordered by Denizli from the north and Aydın from the north-west direction. Although other directions are defined by the Aegean Sea, due to its altitude, the city centre does not have a direct physical

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<sup>192</sup> Online etymology dictionary

[http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?allowed\\_in\\_frame=0&search=topos](http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?allowed_in_frame=0&search=topos)

<sup>193</sup> Heidi Sohn, “Heterotopia: Anamnesis of a Medical Term” in *Heterotopia and City*, ed. Michael Dehaene and Lieven De Cauter (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), 42-43.

connection to the sea. The oldest settlement founded in the region in the ancient times was called *Karia*. As a coastal land, the area has always been important in terms of maritime commerce. Besides that, it has notable sources in terms of forestry and mining.

The geography of Muğla is composed of two main elements: plains and mountains. The most sustained and substantial urban element of Muğla, fortress at Asartepe was the preliminary setting for the city; the first settlement was founded on the hillsides of Asar Mountain<sup>194</sup> that hosts Asartepe in B.C. 335. The fortress was integrated into the mountain, and preserved its presence ever since then. After the twelfth century, with the domination of the Seljuk Turks, the town resettled outside the fortress on the southern slopes of the mountain. The route that connects fortress to city is still conceived as the oldest and enduring element of this pattern.<sup>195</sup> The initial growth of the city towards the south acquired a linear form that extends along the banks of Basmacı Creek.<sup>196</sup> Until the beginning of the nineteenth century, the city was located on the slopes of Kızıldağ and Asar Mountain, and the lands where mountain and plain met were “full of vineyards and orchards”.<sup>197</sup>

In terms of functions in the regional scale, the area possesses neither completely urban nor rural characteristics; it appears in the character of an intermediary centre and marketplace that mediates between upper stage commerce cities and under stage rural areas.<sup>198</sup>

Muğla was not a city with rapid population growth since 1990s. The population that estimated approximately 16000 in the 1900s, appears to rise 35605 people in the

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<sup>194</sup> This mountain is also named as Hisar Mountain and Oyukludağ.

<sup>195</sup> Necva Akçura, “Muğla’da Geleceğe Yönelik Çabalar Tarihi Çevre Koruması,” in *Tarih İçinde Muğla*, ed. İlhan Tekeli, Middle East Technical University Ankara: Faculty of Architecture Press, 1993), 246.

<sup>196</sup> Sevgi Aktüre, “19. Yüzyılda Muğla,” in *Tarih İçinde Muğla*, ed. İlhan Tekeli, Middle East Technical University Ankara: Faculty of Architecture Press, 1993), 246.

<sup>197</sup> Barış Yağlı, “Designing for the ‘new’ in the context of the ‘old’: A case in/for Muğla” (master’s thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2002), 113.

<sup>198</sup> Aktüre, 55.

1990s. With the foundation of Muğla Sıtkı Koçman University in 1992 population growth rate was increased, and city population was recorded as 64706 in 2012.<sup>199</sup>

When different phases the city underwent is sought in the physical transformation of the settlement, it can be said that in the period covering thirteenth and nineteenth centuries, the area was in the form of a frontier settlement that includes Byzantium and pre-Byzantium urban elements. Later this settlement lived as an independent principality centre and in the following years it was transformed into an Ottoman town and sanjak centre. After the foundation of Republic of Turkey, as other cities of the country, radical physical and cultural transformations are experienced in Muğla.

#### **4.1.1. Period 1: Space of Localization**

In the Middle Ages, Karya region was dominated first by Byzantium and later by Menteşe Principality. Although the information for the periods under the domination of Byzantium and Menteşe Principality is limited, for both periods, maritime appears as an important identifier of the form of life. In the period of Menteşe Principality, the commercial activities between Girit and Menteşe were notable.

As a settlement, Muğla had a secondary importance overshadowed by Milas and Peçin, which were centres of the Principality. In the fifteenth century Muğla appears in the form of a small, agriculture based village with limited administrative role in the region and distant to important trade routes. In the pre-industrial period, this type of villages was prevalent in all Mediterranean territory and West Europe.<sup>200</sup>

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<sup>199</sup> Mustafa Girgin, Mustafa Ertürk, İlker Aysel and Bayram Akça, "Other Spaces (Mekan) of Muğla / Muğla'nın Başka Mekânları," in 3rd International Geography Symposium GEOMED, 2013. 394.

<sup>200</sup> Suraiya Faroqhi, "Menteşeoğullarından Osmanlılara Muğla," in *Tarih İçinde Muğla* ed. İlhan Tekeli (Faculty of Architecture Press, Middle East Technical University, Ankara, 1993), 21.

The oldest structure that can be dated within the historical fabric is Ulu Mosque which was built by İbrahim Bey, the son of Menteşe, in 1344. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, quarters were formed around religious buildings like small mosques and there was no commercial area that can be specified in the city. Fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are the periods when the settlement was integrated into Ottoman administrative system. During these centuries, the city started to grow to the south part. The most substantial development for the urban area was the construction of Kurşunlu complex, which is composed of Kurşunlu (Yeni) Mosque (Figure 4.1), a madrasah, and a teachers' house. This complex is situated where the city and the plain met. Kurşunlu Mosque still exists and generates a dynamism for urban life.



**Figure 4.1:** Kurşunlu Mosque, 1493, Muğla (photograph by D. Simser)

In fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, there were small tanneries and textile guilds of tradesmen, along with a local bazaar area. Close to Kurşunlu Mosque, this local bazaar

still sustains its dynamic character. In the later periods, the Arasta<sup>201</sup> appears as the commercial centre of the settlement. Located close to Kurşunlu Mosque and other religious structures, the boundaries of small shops (Figure 4.2) and inns defined open public spaces shadowed by trees.



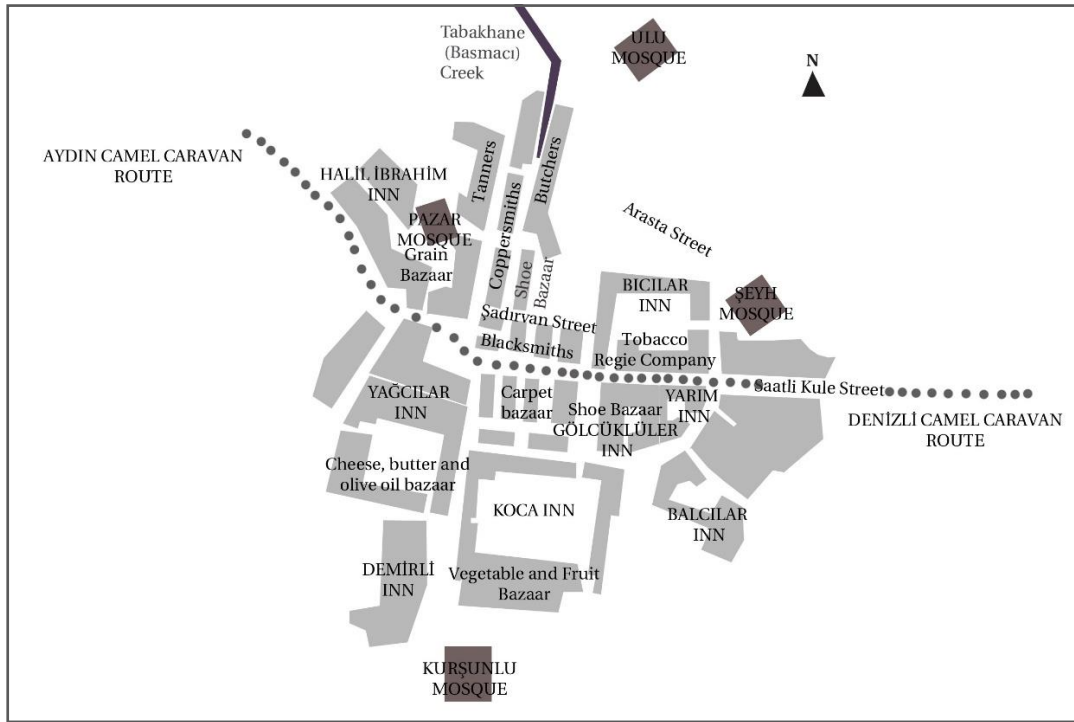
**Figure 4.2:** Some shops from Arasta (Photograph by D. Simser)

Proliferated around important trading routes in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, commercial spaces that were composed of small shops transformed into a trading center. Arasta hosted diverse occupational loggias. Butchers were located on the east edge of Tabakhane Creek that divides Arasta into two. On the south of butchers, there were craft workshops of hammersmiths, coppersmiths, tinsmiths and shoemakers. The west edge of Tabakhane Creek hosted leather tanners' workshops. The grain bazaar, cheese and oil bazaar in Yağcılar Inn, vegetable and fruit bazaar in Koca Inn, Bıcılar Inn that hosts local and foreign tobacco firms, Demirli Inn that hosts villagers who

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<sup>201</sup> Arasta is a traditional configuration which means trade shops in a row.

bring goods to weekly bazaar all exhibited a relation of proximity (Figure 4.3). These commercial elements were also close to religious facilities and they together formed a common square which served as resting area.<sup>202</sup>



**Figure 4.3:** The commercial centre and Arasta, until the end of 19th century  
(Rendered by D. Simser by adapting figures from Yenen, 1980 and Koca, 2015)

Essentially, religious and commercial spaces come to the fore as delineative components of spatial practices for this period. These spaces and their integration with open spaces appears as the key facilitator of every day routine. Especially in the organization of commercial spaces, relations of proximity among different units and other urban elements constitute fundamental characteristic of consumption for the city.

<sup>202</sup> Zekiye Yenen, "The Relation Between Spatial Structure/ Urban Open Space / Urban Pattern in Anatolian Town, an Example: Muğla" (master's thesis, Middle East Technical University, 1980).



Along with adjacent open spaces, Arasta still continues to influence and enrich social and urban life of Muğla. Successive developments that occurred in the later periods have not damaged their strong engagement in urban life. Muğla, as a good example in integrating new functions to old structures, preserved centuries long physical environment. Although later developments led the extension and expansion of the centre to another direction, the interaction between traditional fabric and later developments did not cause severe disconnections for urban life.

#### **4.1.2. Period 2: Space of Extension**

For Muğla, the nineteenth century can be seen as the intersection of space of localization and space of extension. In this century, former physical elements started to increase in number and agglomerate next to each other. Thus, they formed some focal points. As described at the end of the previous part, these focal points were mainly the spaces for religious and commercial activities. Developments in transportation technologies and increased dynamism supported this progression. In the nineteenth century, Gökova<sup>203</sup> port and improvements in commercial life led a development in the direction of Konakaltı. In addition to Konakaltı Inn<sup>204</sup>, construction of Yağcılar Inn, Koca Inn, Government Building (Hükümet Konağı), the Court House (Adliye) and new school buildings were the new spaces emanated from vitality and dynamism that was seen in this century. As a part of the new urban image, clock tower was another substantial element remained from the period. In the nineteenth century, urban fabric started to be conceived as a constellation that can be directed. Instead of

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<sup>203</sup> The area that locates between Datça Peninsula on the south of South Aegean Sea, and Bodrum Peninsula on the north of the same sea, is named the Gulf of Gökova.

<sup>204</sup> Han is the name given to the structure that enables passengers' accommodation with their animals during a long journey.

organic layout, a more geometrical layout inspired from urban images of the West was attempted to attain.

After the nineteenth century, a new understanding that foregrounds outdoor space started to appear. Streets and squares were acknowledged as important elements of physical environment. Self-enclosed urban fabric especially observed in housing districts started to be more street oriented. Configuration of housing units was also affected from other changes in the urban life. The yard-type houses that were built by Turks started to be diversified with the effect of houses built by Rum master builders<sup>205</sup>. Prevailed after the nineteenth century, these Rum houses differ from yard-type houses with their façade and mass configurations. Today the synthesis of these two cultures can be observed especially in Konakaltı and Saburhane districts. The effect of the neo-classical stone masonry buildings and their extroverted plan layouts changed over all configuration of housing fabric after the nineteenth century.<sup>206</sup>

In the beginning of the twentieth century, an administrative centre formed around Konakaltı zone. Forming a square, Konakaltı, Gendarme Commandership and old prison buildings located by surrounding a square. In contrast with the previous settlement form, which did not follow any order other than allocation of the boundaries according to close buildings. Elements of physical environment started to be located following the order of outdoor spaces. Wide and smooth roads were attempted to be created.

The early Republican period engendered more radical transformations in the overall layout of the city, as it did in other cities of the country. Representation of the modern discourse of the new republic was aimed to attain with physical and cultural

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<sup>205</sup> The advancements and regenerations in the urban fabric can be explained with leadership of Rums who had attained a prosperous position and had acquired new rights. Rum master builders, millers, tailors, doctors and pharmacists were brought by the wealthy people who had migrated from the lands that had been lost by the Ottomans in the nineteenth century, especially from the Balkans, Crimea and Crete. Feray Koca, "The Historical Transformation of Urban Space Within the Context of Property-Society Relations in Muğla, Turkey" in *METU Journal of Faculty of Architecture* 32, no.1 (2015): 203-228.

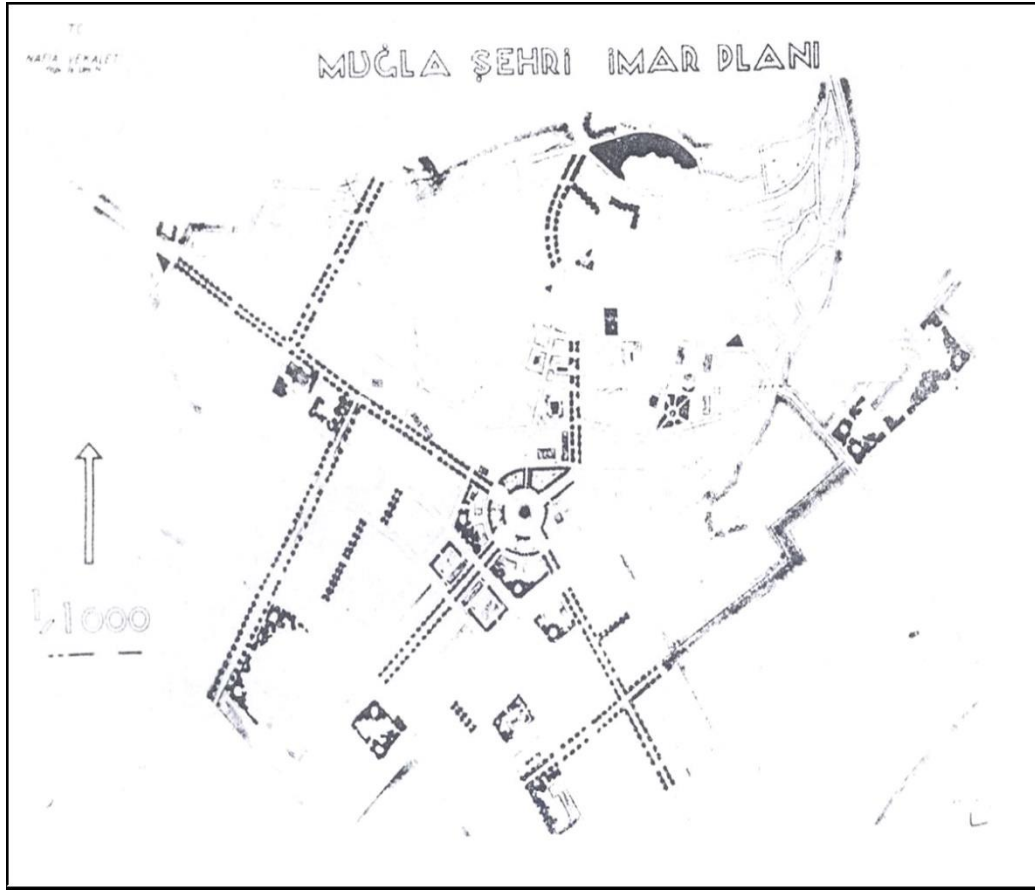
<sup>206</sup> Akçura, 253. translated by the author.

interventions. Operettas were held in casino. Two indoor and five open air cinemas were in use of public. The municipality was constructed a cinema with the capacity of 300 people. A newspaper named as İnkılap started to be published in 1921.<sup>207</sup> The modern and lively social life experienced in the period demonstrates how the city encountered the new and integrated it to its organism. Impacts of different periods, distinguishing attempts of each era both marked the city authentically and brought about social, spatial and cultural richness for urban life.

The first plan that was developed for the city was the Public Improvement Plan (İmar Planı). Prepared in 1936, this plan proposal was open to new developments while respecting to the presence of the old. This plan had a radical impact on the physical configuration of the city. The most important consequence of it was the Republican Square, which was conceived as the new focal center (Figure 4.4). Surrounded by buildings that represent the administration, such as government building and community centre (Halkevi), the spontaneous and fragmented urban pattern of the Ottoman era attempted to be replaced by with the interventions directed from the central authority. The square was a junction point at the intersection of main roads connecting Denizli, Aydın and Marmaris and secondary roads connecting to the city centre. While this plan was implementing, Aydın-Marmaris roads were opened as wide boulevards.

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<sup>207</sup> Yağlı, 110-130.

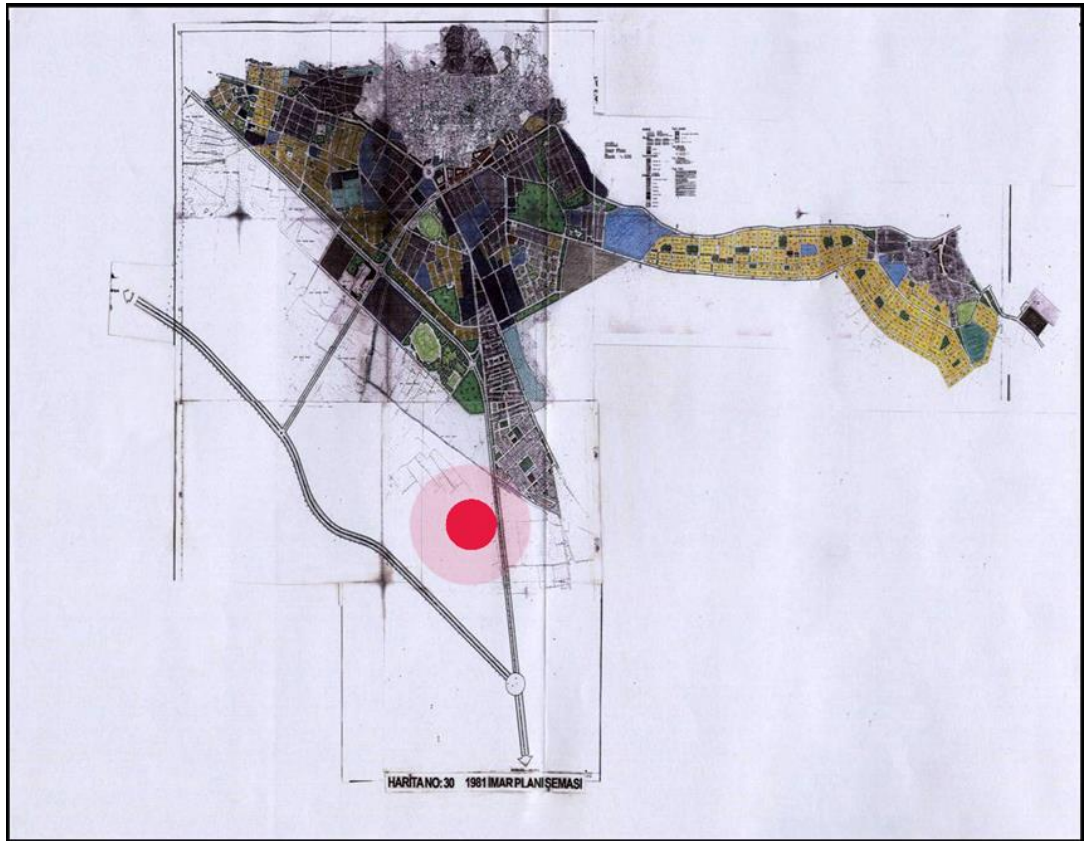


**Figure 4.4:** Muğla Development Plan, 1936

Republican Square and the surrounding buildings with their representative traces of the Republican period can be thought as the correspondence of space of extension. Remembering the cartesian logic implied with extension, Foucault's critique of modern architecture and urban planning find a correspondence in the implementations of the early Republican period. This contrasting spatial formation within the traditional urban fabric can still be observed.

Until 1950s construction activity was limited to revisions of social places by the municipality. The most radical transformation was the shift of former administrative center, which is located at the Konakaltı region, to the Republican Square. This

municipality area became the secondary administrative center.<sup>208</sup> In the period after 1950s, with the increase in construction activities new areas were developed in the southern part of the city. Young population shifted towards these areas and historical part of the city remained for the use of people with old ages and with low-income. The city became industrial and urbanised constitution by the 1990s.<sup>209</sup> Development Plan of 1981 represents the expansion of the city and the area marked with a red dot demonstrates the peripheral location of selected case area (Figure 4.5).



**Figure 4.5:** Muğla Development Plan, 1981

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<sup>208</sup> Ibid.

<sup>209</sup> Sevin Osmay, "1950-1987 Döneminde Muğla Kenti" in *Tarih İçinde Muğla* ed. İlhan Tekeli, (Faculty of Architecture Press, Middle East Technical University, Ankara, 1993), 214.

In brief, for the period covering the nineteenth and the twentieth century important turning points took place in the physical organization of the city. Organic layout that had transformed to a more geometrical order in the nineteenth century was strengthened by the implementations of 1936 Plan. The city centre shifted from historical fabric to new center. Representative of modernist discourse of Republican period, this administrative centre was constituted by the foundation of Republican Square and construction of administration buildings forming the boundaries of the square. New areas developed, and the boundaries of the city enlarged.

#### **4.1.3. Period 3: Space of Emplacement**

After 1990s, built environment of Muğla ‘progressed’ in two opposing manners. In the positive sense, there has been witnessed several attempts to preserve the collective memory of the city. These attempts aimed at to preserve traditional and historical urban fabric and to integrate these parts of the city to the new areas. In that sense, the most substantial intervention was the restoration and refunctionalization of Arasta, which is the earliest centre of the city that hosts local manufactural and commercial shops. The derelict Arasta that could not cope with technological developments of modern city has been regained as a remarkable gathering point. Its refunctioning as cafés, bars and small shops revived the city life. This intervention also affected the surroundings which were about to pass into oblivion, and exhilarated the local craftsmen.

To a certain extent Muğla excluded some ‘modern’ constitutions. The most apparent example of it is a shopping centre that was opened at the heart of the city. After its opening in 2004, Zihni Derin shopping center did not function as it was expected and spent a few barren years before it was condemned to refunction as a dersane<sup>210</sup>. As this example demonstrated, Muğla has always kept a sober stance while accepting the

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<sup>210</sup> Dersane is a Turkish word that stands for private teaching institution.

new until recent times. The city centre still presents synthesis of the different phases the city underwent in a harmonious fashion. Sustaining the historical fabric by refunctioning and integrating it to the contemporary needs appears as an exemplary attitude for the traditional urban environments. In that sense, relations between emplacements are sustained organically at the city centre. The compact formation of the physical environment enables to cover farthestmost distances on foot and bicycle roads accompany these pedestrian walkways.

After 2000, opening of Muğla Sıtkı Koçman University campus brought along many developments. 4-5 kilometers distance to city centre, the campus located on a hill adjacent to the district called Kötekli, which neighbours the hill on its east outskirts. Before the University, the district was a small village composed of one main road and numerous tracks among the roof topped squatter houses. There was only one school and a few grocery stores. In the area, inhabitation and farming was being performed intertwiningly. Since the locals were farmers, the houses were close to the farms and the geography of the area was composed of farms and squatter houses situated dispersedly. When Muğla Sıtkı Koçman University completely moved to newly developing campus after 2002, some rooms of these roof-topped squatter houses started to be rented by the students. After the change in the reconstruction permit in 2006, construction activities started. Especially in the period between 2010-2015, these activities reached a pick point. The area was completely transformed into a new center. The squatter houses started to be demolished one by one; apartments and dormitories, which are expected to serve for students, replaced the farms and houses. The main road was widened and several secondary roads were built. On these streets, a great deal of shops, cafés, pubs, grocery stores, etc. was opened. Thus, with the vitality achieved, it acquired an outlook alternative to city center.

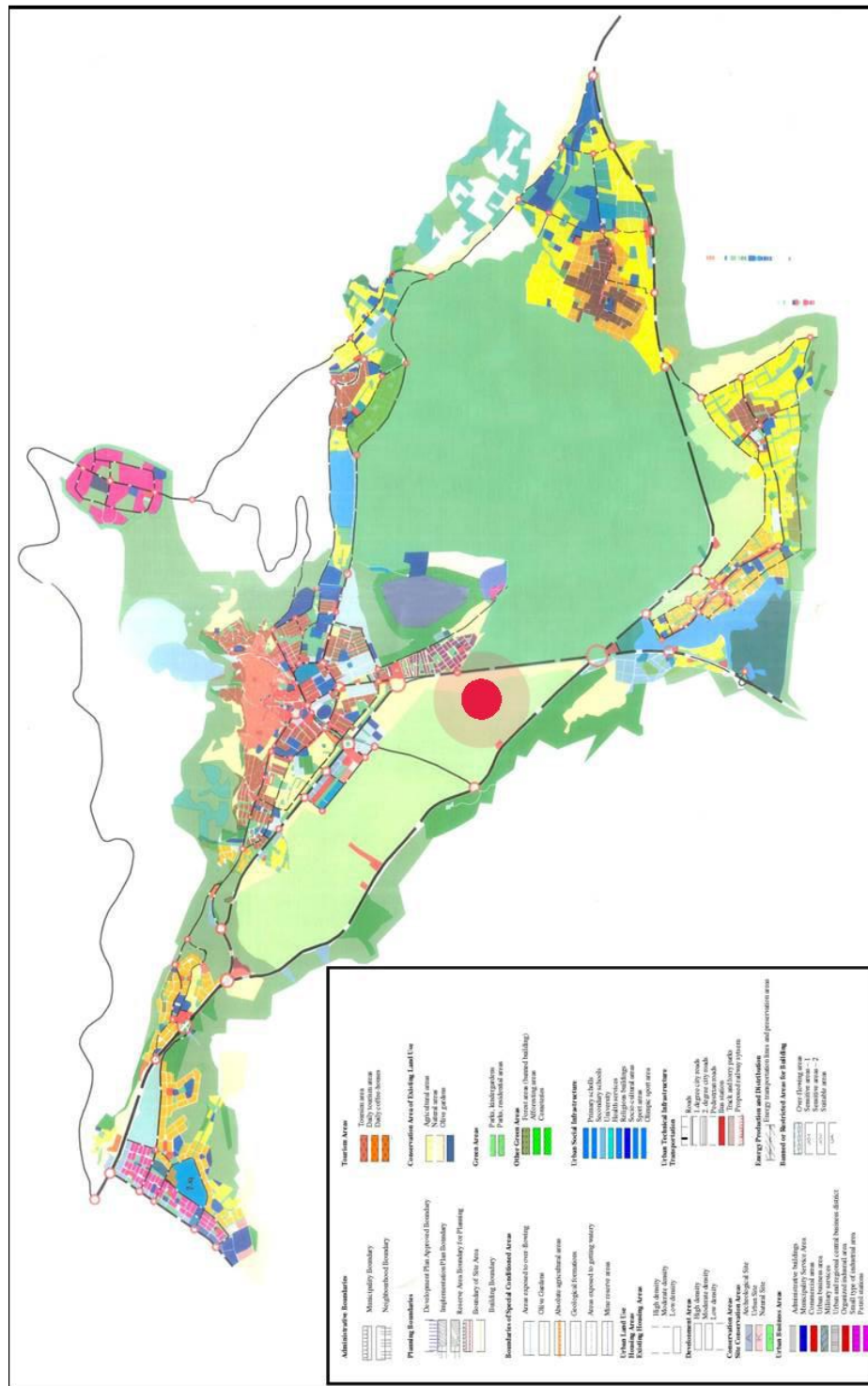
If there is any, post-industrial period of Muğla witnesses the creation of a new centre in Kötekli and the expansion of the city in two main directions; first, in the direction of Muğla- Marmaris highway, which also passes by the campus, and second Muğla-

Aydın highway. While the former invaded by constructions of TOKİ<sup>211</sup>, in the latter, as a typical example of post-industrial cities, some residential sites with restricted access has started to emanate. Although, the mountainous geography of the city does not allow such settlements, sub-urbanization sharply altered the forestry on the mountains and marked its insatiability with bothersome applications. As a consequence of these new developing areas, not surprisingly, dependency of car increased and this situation enabled the rise of traffic problems even for this city that has rather limited size. The red dot marked on Development Plan of 2004 marks the location of the selected case study. This plan also gives the information that the area was thought to be kept as agricultural land (Figure 4.6).

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<sup>211</sup> TOKİ is the abbreviation of Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı, which is an institution responsible to construct and manage housing estate all over Turkey.





## 4.2. CONTEMPORARY HETEROTOPIAS: PERIPHERAL CONSUMPTION SPACES OF MUĞLA

In contemplation of current urban condition, the ongoing transformations of the city, of social life, of the relation between the global and the local, heterotopia assists to construct new perspectives. As a “productive strategy to investigate these conditions,”<sup>212</sup> it enables to grasp inexplicit facets and to recognize the existing situation authentically. If one dwells on to identify spatial characteristics of the notion, this fundamentally concerns diverging context created by heterotopia. As opposed to the sustained and familiar order, heterotopias create a rupture and deploy a dissimilar system within their boundaries. This rupture can be observed in different parts of the city in different periods. However, this study aims to find out and draw attention to a contemporary correspondence of heterotopia within the existing fabric.

As explained, in space of localization, physical setting of Muğla was consisted of few monumental and religious structures, an unplanned organic layout was organizing traditional housing units. After the nineteenth century, the city was attempted to be organized in a more geometrical order. The introverted Muğla houses started to be more outdoor space oriented with their façade and mass configurations opening to streets. The period identified as space of extension was tremendously experienced through major transformations carried out by central authority. Conforming to the tenets of modernist discourse, which was influential in the era in all over the country, the Republican Square and other implementations of the 1936 plan represent the characteristics of space of extension for the city.

The most explicit specification for the space of emplacement is the sprawl of the city after 2000s. The sprawl that has taken place in two different directions is enabled by the transformation of mountainous parts. Remained as a rather distant and secluded

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<sup>212</sup> Hilde Heynen, “Heterotopia Unfolded?” in *Heterotopia and the City*, ed. Michiel Dehaene and Lieven De Cauter (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), 312.

city for centuries, the preserved nature started to be drilled by outrageous interventions in the twenty-first century. Moreover, the areas ‘in between’ the city centre and new interventions were exposed to a transformation as well. The selected area for the case study is the most specific example of this. It is located close to the expansion zone that is in the direction of Muğla-Marmaris highway. It situates at a distance of 3 kilometers to city centre and 5 kilometers to Kötekli district that hosts Muğla Sıtkı Koçman University’s campus. Adjacent to the selected area, Muğla-Marmaris highway connects the city centre and newly developed areas. Subdivided agricultural land forms the immediate surroundings that accompany to this road. Thus, in the larger segment of the area, physical texture appears on the one hand in the form of vegetation in farmlands and on the other hand asphalt and stone pavements. (Figure 4.7). Amid these, the selected area emanates as a heterotopic zone that is devoted to isolated experience of consumption.



After 2008, the construction that started on a part of agricultural land in the western part of Muğla plain, ‘heralded’ the opening of the first consumption area. This first outlet, denominated as Tekzen by local people, has not been a frequented place for a few years (Figure 4.8). The opening of two other outlets, and a shopping mall (Rüya Park AVM) led the area to be an attraction point. To serve for these spaces, a secondary road was needed parallel to Muğla-Marmaris highway. This road coupled with large car parks (Figure 4.9-Figure 4.10) form an isolation layer that secludes the adjacent emplacements from the immediate environment.



**Figure 4.8:** The first outlet opened in the area (Photograph by D. Simser)





**Figure 4.9:** Predominance of motor vehicles (Photograph by D. Simser)



**Figure 4.10:** Isolating layer created by cars (Photograph by D. Simser)

The experience of consumption which is confined by these isolator elements takes place without the intervention of anything associated to Muğla. The world constructed here reflects the world outside but the outside does not refer to the city; it rather designates a kindred relation to the practices of universal consumption. Since the area which connects Muğla to this universally shared experience of consumption was a production field for centuries, it exhibits an interesting juxtaposition. A consumption hub in the midst of farmlands not only brings a shift in the experience from production to consumption but it hybridises the area. Traces of the rural life are replaced by practices of urbanite on this specific location. However, immediate surrounding still sustains the rural appearance (Figure 4.11). Thus, the closed and detached urban life brought by consumption forms a heterotopic occurrence in the midst of rural remnants.



**Figure 4.11:** Agricultural remnants of rural life (Photograph by D. Simser)

Considering the historical, social and cultural context the city developed for centuries, a physical and cultural disconnection of the peripheral consumption spaces within the context can be argued. For the physical organization, pedestrian friendly, fluid and naturally developed arrangement that exist at the city centre is reversed with dispersed, disconnected, patchy collocation of spaces that took form with prioritizing the needs of motor vehicles. In contrast with the organically developed relationship between retail areas and public spaces in the historical part, retail takes place in a synthetic layout that foregrounds to increase movement among different consumption nodules. Moreover, the liminality of these spaces is amplified by their adjacent location to Muğla-Marmaris highway. As explained elaborately at the end of chapter 3, their liminality can be associated to their patchy physical organizations (Figure 4.12), their ambiguous location surrounded by agricultural lands (Figure 4.13), mingling of city dwellers and passers-by who represent a transitional condition of ‘being somewhere else’.



**Figure 4.12:** Front elevation of a consumption space (Photograph by D. Simser)

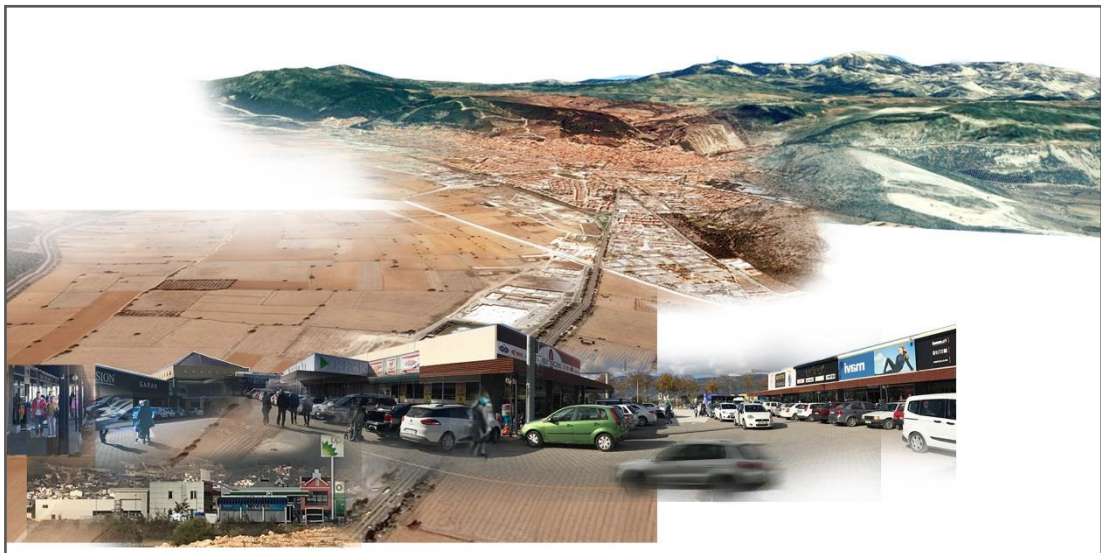


**Figure 4.13:** Agricultural land that surrounds the area (Photograph by D. Simser)

In the context of consumption, the illusory facet that is entailed in an isolated and ‘ideal’ world appears as the most justified reason to contend consumption spaces as heterotopias. The discussed properties revealed in the broad frame for the act and experience of consumption apply to these discrete consumption emplacements. As



long as they shelter the commodities, they embody the pursuit of perfected illusionary self and enable to construct identity. Beyond commodities, simply occupying these spaces might be a reason to create the illusion of a different world. This world that can be located anywhere, not necessarily Muğla points the presence of a synthetic tissue within the city (Figure 4.14). Besides that, their detached presence led them to be conceived as completely enclosed emplacements that preserve a different system within their boundaries. The way people approach these spaces, the break of regular time, their inaccessible hours defined by opening and closing codes, all amplify their heterotopic character. Due to the existence of farmlands between the area and the city centre, their perceptual and physical dispersion continues. Close to the selected area, there exists a cemetery, a boarding school (Figure 4.15), and a few motels. Thus, the immediate surrounding of the area presents diverging examples of Foucault and that enables to construe the zone as a secluded world from the city; a world that operates in itself with its own rules and its own order by reversing the existing.



**Figure 4.14:** A collage that represents the experience and the character of the environment (Rendered by D. Simser)



**Figure 4.15:** A boarding school neighbouring the selected area  
(Photograph by D. Simser)

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **CONCLUSION**

This study is formed around two aims. The concept of heterotopia is disentangled first in itself and later in a certain context. After developing a unique understanding of heterotopia within consumption context, this conception has been used to grasp the character of certain spaces, namely peripheral consumption spaces. Executed on two different levels, this analysis is principally guided by both the general frame and the intricacies of the text “Of Other Spaces” and it is supported by an introductory Foucauldian thinking, which formed a broader frame for the study. Thus, such an acquaintance with Foucault reduced the risk of misunderstandings and increased the efficacy of the developed heterotopia interpretation.

Isolated from the rest, peripheral consumption spaces deploy the heterotopian logic of exclusion. While excluding the rest, these alternative public spaces potentially engender unfamiliar situations and juxtapositions. As alternative public spaces, they reflect today’s socialising practices by connecting individuals to a collective and universal experience. Located next to each other, different ‘consumption’ emplacements contain their distinctive products to captivate dreams and utilize their previously approved labels to assure individuals that they will be a part of the world. To experience something that can be experienced everywhere in the world, creates the illusion of being somewhere else, this suspended experience that takes place in an isolated environment makes these spaces contemporary everyday heterotopias. In contrast with the strict control points of inner city malls, peripheral consumption spaces possess stray zones. Resting areas that were designed as open-air furniture might host the idlers or wanderers. As well as enclosed illusory world, unowned spaces

in between consumption emplacements exhibit a potential to free individuals from the traditional order with its idiosyncratic and suspended qualities.

Heterotopias are socially constructed spaces that create the urge to probe the broader context in which they are developed. Their capacity of integrating the impacts of the cultural and the social makes them substantial spatial tools that can decipher overlooked aspects of a culture under investigation. The range of spaces referred with 'heterotopia' is not firm and stable; they are not constitutions with certain limits, they exist where things are elasticized rather than fixed. This nature of heterotopias both necessitated to develop an authentic and specific interpretation of the concept to be used as a spatial tool focusing on certain areas.

As revealed, Foucault's distinct understanding of power foregrounds discourses and the truths that are established in relation to these discourses; this mechanism explains how power functions. In the case of consumption, related truth sets forth consumption as the answer for fulfilment of life. Thus, emptied individualism is attempted to be balanced through a world view that centres this act. Consumption appears as the cure for the disappointment of ceaseless aspirations brought by modern life. Such a truth that developed through discourse and discursive practices of consumption keeps governing present societies. This status identifier cultural act also brings along the need for approval of the body. Either this body takes on the desired appearance in the illusory experience or it just satisfies with visiting the places that devoted to pure act of consumption. While the former, the illusory facet, encapsulates a utopia of the mirror which brings forth the heterotopic qualities of consumption spaces in general, the latter diversifies according to its connection to surrounding setting. As mentioned in the introduction chapter, there are some studies where inner-city malls are investigated as heterotopias.<sup>213</sup> In addition to these, peripheral consumption spaces,

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<sup>213</sup> For example, Nicholas Jewell, *Shopping Malls and Public Space in Modern China*, (United Kingdom; USA: Ashgate, 2015), 61-62 or Douglas Muzzio and Jessica Muzzio-Rentas, "A kind of instinct: the cinematic mall as Heterotopia." in *Heterotopia and the City*, ed Michiel Dehaene and Lieven De Cauter, 137-149 (London and New York: Routledge, 2008).

which are outlets located at the thresholds of the cities, can be thought as veritable contemporary heterotopias.

Interestingly these spaces usually situate close to Foucault's examples of boarding school, cemetery, and motel. Their mutual point rests primarily on the relation they have with the rest. Besides, the divergent user profile they host, their ambiguous position among the boundaries, and addressing to a transitional phase can be collocated as other properties enabling to consider them on the same ground. As the literal translation of the term indicates, distinctness of heterotopias stems from the abnormality of the position at which they are located. Thus, their location and the relations they possess due to this location are decisive in diagnosing their character. In addition to the disconnection with the rest of space, collapse of regular time and rupture of familiar spatial setting are other significative results of the abnormality of the position. As demonstrated at the end of chapter 2, some characteristics of these spaces intersect with Foucault's six principles; in this respect having idiosyncratic opening and closing codes, interrupting time and space, juxtaposing several spaces in one single space, linking to the slices of time differently, and establishing a distinct relation with the rest of space can be collocated. Hence, peripheral consumption spaces are unique examples of heterotopias which also possess a positional affinity with Foucault's original examples.

As multi-centred organizations, physical reflection of the web of relations in the post-industrial cities brings forth the dependence on motor vehicles and dominance of their arteries, highways. In other words, space of emplacement can be seen as the niches among the webs created by the extension multiplied in every direction. After discovering this, a novel understanding of the territory that Foucault aims to refer is developed from a contemporary position. Within the process, the elusiveness heterotopias encapsulated at the beginning is replaced by a specified view of heterotopia that is discovered in the overlapping properties of peripheral consumption spaces with the six principles.

In this thesis, the main concern of developing a Foucauldian yet authentic conception of heterotopia within a contemporary context is achieved through a detailed analysis of the text “Of Other Spaces”. The study adopted a research for heterotopic peculiarities that might be existing in peripheral consumption spaces. In this process, the enquiry and resort to Michel Foucault’s overall approach to space confirmed the stance of the study. It is revealed that, as adopted here, using space as a tool of analysis was a method that Foucault employed. Moreover, understanding his ideas on power, knowledge, truth and discourse has eased to develop a new perspective for the selected context.

The close scrutiny of Foucault’s remarks on history of space and their adaptation to the developed discussion have been the most original contribution to the current literature. This attempt has not been confronted in the extend it is done in this study. Although Foucault roughly handles this part, the transition among different phases in the history of space facilitated both to pinpoint eccentricities of each phase and to grasp current condition of post-industrial space.

Elucidation of the investigation through a case study has been fruitful in thinking of the affinities these spaces have. The relations of propinquity, similarities and differences that can be observed in akin territories helped to diagnose the transformations urban areas undergo in post-industrial era. Employing heterotopia as a tool of analysis provided to comprehend the effect of the existing cultural values and norms in social construction of space.

Findings of the study challenge the tendency that regards heterotopias merely counter-sites in which hegemonic power is reversed. Rather it posits the heterotopic cracks that exist in everyday spaces. The implications of this new knowledge can be to consider heterotopias as spaces that are ‘not directly and utterly different’ from the rest of space, but as different spaces ‘due to the relationship they have with the rest of space’. Various further investigations can be developed from this study; principally, it is possible to analyse peculiarities of peripheral consumption spaces in other cities by adopting the approached developed here. This study also might help to develop unique

views on consumption spaces; with the inspiration of revealed findings one can search for heterotopic qualities of consumption spaces beyond malls or outlets. On the other hand, the periodization accounting the spatial history of Muğla can be adopted and developed for other enquiries for the physical environment of the city.





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Figure 4.4: Muğla Development Plan, 1936, from the archive of Feray Koca

Figure 4.5: Muğla Development Plan, 1981, from the archive of Feray Koca

Figure 4.6: Muğla Development Plan, 2004, from the archive of Feray Koca

Figure 4.7: Map of relationships, Muğla Map image retrieved from Google Earth,  
<https://earth.google.com/web/>

Figure 4.14: Some images of the collage retrieved from Google Earth,  
<https://earth.google.com/web/>