Creating Shopping Malls as Postcolonial Spaces through Leisure Time Discourses: The Example of Shopping Malls in Istanbul[1]

Boş Zaman Söylemi Üzerinden Alışveriş Merkezlerinin Postkolonyal Mekan Olarak Kurgulanışı: İstanbul'daki Alışveriş Merkezleri Örnekleri

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Abstract

In this article, we will stress the construction of space and leisure time through the everyday practicing in shopping malls in Istanbul. This analysis aims to focus on the practice in shopping malls within the discussion of leisure time and space in order to develop a post-colonial critique in terms

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of daily life practices. By looking at the five shopping malls in Istanbul, this work claims that on the one hand experiencing shopping malls leads to the creation of self-colonizing subjects, and on the other hand creates new ways of pointing "others" as a "colonial" project. In other words, even if the subjects of neoliberal world try to practice the modern, Western life style in search for recognition within the hegemony of Eurocentric ideologies, at the same time this process creates them as "colonizers" who attempt to ascribe binary oppositions by referring to class, status and social differences.

***Keywords*:** *Leisure Time, Space, Postcolonialism, Shopping Malls, Neoliberalism, Social Class, Turkey*

Özet

Bu makalede zaman ve mekân kurgusunun, İstanbul'daki AVM'ler üzerinden bakılarak gündelik yaşama olan etkileri incelenecektir. Makalenin amacı, boş zaman ve mekân kavramlarının alışveriş merkezlerinde yeniden kurgulanışını postkolonyal bir bakış açısı üzerinden anlatmaya çalışmaktır. Makale oluşum sürecinde İstanbul'daki beş alışveriş merkezi gözlemlenmiştir. Yapılan gözlemler sonucunda alışveriş merkezlerinin, postkolonyalizmin bir aracı haline gelerek kendi kendini kolonize eden özneler ve sömürgeci bir proje olarak yeni ötekileştirme durumlarının üretildiği bir mekân olarak kurgulandığı anlaşılmıştır. Türkiye'de neoliberal ideolojinin hayata geçmesiyle bir kabul görme ve onay kaygısı içinde modern ve Batılı hayat tarzının pratik edilmesi aynı zamanda ikili karşıtlıkların üretildiği bir alan ortaya çıkarmıştır. Bu yeni gündelik hayat yaşam pratikleri Avrupa merkezli hegemonik söylemlere bağlı sömürgeci bir bakış açısı tanımladıkları yeni sınıf, statü ve sosyal farklılıklar oluşturmuştur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Boş zaman, Mekân, Postkolonyalizm, AVM, Neoliberalizm, Sosyal Sınıf, Türkiye*

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Introduction

In recent years, in media and academic literature the topic of shopping malls have been emphasized in terms of their rapid mushrooming all around Turkey.[2] There were several discussions and criticisms on the cultural effects of consumerism and how the new neoliberal policies support this practice in ideological and spatial manners within the urbanization projects. Nevertheless, on 23th April 2015, there was a news about Burdur's demand of shopping mall for their city.[3] Then how the shopping malls which are criticized constantly can become a demand at the same time? As Bhabha argues that this can be interpreted an activity of wearing the mask of West in order to get recognition,[4] but as Fanon reminds this is also an attempt never enough to overcome the subordinated position.[5] In that sense, we will show the continued prevalence of colonial hierarchy and subordination in the postcolonial world but in a never colonized country Turkey. The whole transformation process will be considered through the changes and new constructions of people' daily lives within postcolonial critique. Following the Second World War that contributed to the rapid economic growth of the western countries, the meaning of consumption-- etymologically defined as the utilization of economic goods in the satisfaction of wants or in the process of production resulting chiefly in their destruction, deterioration, or transformation, have been advanced into more concerning with psychological concepts such as happiness, freedom, pleasure.[6] Capitalism's offer for 'better life' through creating ideal-self, shown as the only way to accomplish happiness, have easily attracted many which in turn caused the

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2 Gulsen Ozaydin and Ebru Ozgur. "Buyuk Kentsel Projeler Olarak Alısveris Merkezlerinin Istanbul Orneginde Degerlendirilmesi." *Mimarlik Dergisi*, May-June, 2009; Guliz Ozorhon, and Ilker Fatih Ozorhon, "Investigation of the Change of the Shopping Mall's Space Organization in Istanbul," *Journal of Architecture and Urbanism* 38, no. 2, 2014, p. 123.
3 "Burdur Halkinin Buyuk Bir Cogunlugu, Burdur'a Gelenler Ve sehrimizdeki universite ogrencileri; AVM ISTIYOR." April 23, 2014, *Burdur Yenigun*.
4 Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, (New York: Routledge, 1994).
5 Franz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, (New York: Grove Publisher, 1952).
6 "Tuketim Kulturu, AVM Kulturu ve Kent Kulturu ile Toplumsal Degisim," *DCF Blogcu*, 2011.

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large increase in the number of shopping malls symbolizing public space for 'leisure time.'

In this research project, we look at five different shopping malls in İstanbul: Zorlu Center, Istinye Park, Akasya, Canpark and Optimum (see Annex Table:1). Methodologically participant observation and in-depth interviews are used. The aim of this research is to understand how people experience the social space and give meaning to it through their every day practices and also in what sense, the meaning attributions can be related to postcolonial critique. With this approach we try to complicate the relation between capitalism and its subjects in order to show that in a neoliberal world this relation extends the arguments of exploitation. The shopping malls which are chosen for this research are known to be appealing to people from different socio-cultural backgrounds. The characteristics of these malls are observed with the articulation of leisure time and spatial organizations. Another crucial point to emphasize here is the organization and categorization of brands, so that their distribution among the floors. Istinye Park, Zorlu Center and Akasya are described having the upper classes as a target group whereas Canpark and Optimum more for the lower and middle classes. Among the others Akasya has a different connotation because of the arguments made about it as a product of "green" capital due to its investors, Ülker. In order to explore this complex relations, in the first part Turkey will be contextualized within the capitalism and urbanization projects in order to understand the critical endeavor in the existence of shopping malls. Secondly, we will focus on the representation and reproduction of shopping malls as leisure time activity by detaching it from the negative criticism of consumption with the illusion of free choice, self-fulfillment and creation of subjectivities. In relation to leisure time discourse, the third part would be on the construction of shopping malls as organizational spaces. Last but not least, the article will be concluded with the effect of shopping malls as classification and distinction mechanism in terms of socioeconomic backgrounds, cultural tastes and daily life activities which leads the classical binary opposition like "us" vs "them", modern vs traditional, developed vs underdeveloped.

Contextualizing the Emergence of Shopping Malls in Turkey

During the early 1900s, the very signs of shopping malls have appeared in America and Europe as a cultural mentality of shopping that expanded more than just buying materials— defining one's social class, status, position in the society, identity, etc. Capitalism contributed to the rising consumer behavior through creating ideal self, dreams and possessions that one must have. Early spaces such as Central Park, Coney Island became frequently preferred by lower or working classes therefore upper classes began to search for "new spaces" that leaded to the establishment of department stores at the end.[7] The number of labor class migrants increased in urban areas due to industrialization processes that offered much more job opportunities, consequently, middle class had to move to suburbanized areas. Gülşen Özaydın and Ebru Özgür, in the article, as they evaluate shopping malls as a project in Istanbul case, argues that after 1950s shopping malls have been created to address needs of people who were subjects of suburbanization.[8] Mass migration to modern regions enhanced the rapid development of many centers individually; however, it had negative impact on the system as suburbanized regions experienced significant deprivation in terms of urban space in which people have opportunity to engage social interaction, daily activity as well as addressing needs.[9] Therefore modern shopping malls have changed to replace the sense of urban space, through offering security services comforting people; consequently, the people living in such regions showed more dependence on malls.

Capitalism by definition creates extensive competition among investors as producing surplus values that would maximize the profits. As a result investors must struggle against any factors which risks to produce surplus

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7 Sharon Zukin, "Urban lifestyles: diversity and standardization in spaces of consumption,"*Urban studies 35*, no. 5-6 1998, p. 3.

8 Gulsen Özaydın and Ebru Ozgur, *ibid,* p. 2.

9 M.Ebru Donmez and Altan Aki, "Acik Kamusal Kent Mekanlarinin Kamusal Alanda Etkisi."*Megaron Y.T.Ü. Mimarlik Fakultesi E-dergisi,* 2005, p. 71.

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values adequately.[10] Capitalism experienced the first decline with 1929's "Great Depression" during which several protests have taken place that forced government to find a solution for the increasing unemployment rate as well as the other factors resulting from economic crisis. The U.S. attempted to resolve the crisis through urbanization projects adopted from Second French Empire.[11] As a result urbanization and the rise of suburban areas provoked the change in not only economic aspects but also the creation of new life style. Keynesian's view-arguing the significance of consumption based, government intervening services and markets- has been followed until the 1960s. Capitalism has been reasoned over again following Bretton Wood agreement decline as another financial crisis has taken place in the US. Neoliberalism has been introduced as an alternative among other forms of solution attempts.[12]It suggests "free trade" economic policies which enhances privatization as reducing the influence of government over financial issues in order to increase economic liberalization as well as disabling the crisis resulting from capitalist ideology. International trade gained a global gaze due to neoliberal policies enhancing inter-state based economy so that without restrictions capitals can be transferred between individual economies, as Boratav argues that World Bank and IMF aimed to create "inter-trade" economic system in order to prevent the risks resulting from low profit rates, as each country would contribute to the global economy.[13] The influences of nation states over economic activity have been reduced therefore privatization processes advanced rapidly across the world.

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10 David Harvey, "Sehir Hakkindan Kentsel Devrime," in *Asi Sehirler*, (İstanbul: Metis Yayinlari, 2013), p. 47.

11 *Ibid*, p. 50.

12 Y. Ekici, and E. Guzel, "Emek Atolyesi Kapitalizmin Krizine Bir Yanit: Neoliberal Politikalar," April 8, 2014. Accessed June 8, 2015.

http://emekatolyesi.org/Dosya-Yazisi/kapitalizmin-krizine-bir-yanit-neoliberal-politikalar#.Vf-O2DYVjIU

13 Korkut Boratav, *Turkiye Iktisat Tarihi, 1908-2007*, Vol. 13, (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 2009), p. 148.

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As other nations across the world Turkey's attitude during 1980s reappeared actively involving the globalization and the privatization process of public companies.[14] Free circulation, free market as well as moving investments into financial and service sector were the very signs indicating the influence of neoliberalism in Turkey. Neoliberalism played the major role through privatization process that leaded to minimize the political barriers to production and distribution.[15] Central government's authority over local administrations has been restricted which produced far more independent local-government by opening gates for private companies to take major role in the economy. Decentralization and advancing local administration (i.e. metropolitan municipality) had impact on attracting investors through the urbanization project. Neoliberalism in Turkey became much more progressed by Turgut Ozal's policy who was the 8th President of Turkey after 1980 military coup.[16] Liberalization started to influence each sector after the government appeared to have less voice in the economic policy that triggered the promotion toward foreign investors which were lately called "January 24 resolution"- the stabilization program referring Turkey's transformation into free market economy promoting foreign investment by reinforcing export significantly. On top of that 24 January resolution predicted further regulations (e.g. Reconstruction Regulation, Public Housing Regulation) which have been legislated to facilitate the urbanization project.[17] Manufacturing sector that is closely related to industrial design failed to attract investment due to the rise of financial and service sector as speculative markets started to operate the largest share of the economy. Financial and service sector played the key role for the creation of shopping malls that contributed the transformation of

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14 Tayfun Kahraman, "Kent Hukunun Yeni Yuzu: Duzenleyici Devletten Seckinlestirici Devlete," in *Mustesna Sehrin Istisna Hali,* (Istanbul: Sel Yayincilik, 2013), p. 17.
15 Asuman Turkun, Binnur Oktem Unsal, and Mucella Yapici, "Istanbul'da 1980'ler Sonrasinda Kentsel Donusum: Mevzuat, Soylem, Aktorler Ve Donusumun Hedefindeki Alanlar," in *Mulk, Mahal, İnsan: Istanbul'da KentselDonusum*, ed. Asuman Turkun. (Istanbul: Istanbul Bilgi Universitesi Yayinlari, 2014), p. 90.
16 Y. Ekici, and E. Guzel, *ibid.*
17 Tayfun Kahraman, *ibid*, p. 34.

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the city in many respects (e.g. architecture, social relations, transportation) especially with regard to daily life activities to become a global city.[18] Due to the influence of the transformation shopping malls have been positioned to address the residences surrounded by financial centers. Ataşehir is designed as one of these examples among Istanbul's financial centers including offices, residential buildings, and huge shopping mall area.[19] This combination comprised of residential buildings, shopping malls, offices all together predicted rapid growth as well as forming the new face of life style depending on shopping malls.

Although the negative effects of urbanization projects have been emphasized and protested by academic and activist communities like NGO's the main disagreements are on the ways and articulations about how the urbanization has to be managed. So that there are also some arguments which highlight the positive and developing effect of these projects. The new government has started to plan about Turkey's urbanization project due to the beneficial effects which have been mentioned above in details and for these reasons the government has taken rapid steps to mobilize "mega projects" as well as developing the new face of the country. Urbanization Project had "direct impact" on daily practices as well, although at the beginning it appeared to be environmentally influential. These types of renewal projects are employed by many countries in the world in order to enhance the quality of life within the society as well as spreading available public service for anyone. Renewals are thought to be the solution for many social and economic problems (e.g., economic collapse, ecological degradation, social exclusion and urban decline)[20], according to Peter Roberts, urbanization projects might be essential to accomplish the promotion in the public infrastructure as well as developing fundamental

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18 Saskia Sassen,"The Global City: Introducing a Concept and Its History," in *Mutations,* ed. R. Koolhas, S. Boeri, S. Kwinter, N. Tazi, and H. U. Obrist, (Barcelona: Actar, 2001).

19 "Finans Merkezinin Temeli Atildi," http://www.sabah.com.tr. Accessed May 7, 2015.

20 Armin Mehdipour and Hoda Rashidi Nia,"Industrialization and City Change; the Concept and Historical Evolution of Urban Regeneration" *International Journal of Sciences: Basic and Applied Research (IJSBAR)*, 23(2), 2015.

services for local purposes. Moreover he argues that it is must to sort out the urban problems hidden in the city and these urbanization projects can play the key role to manage and come up with the solution. In other words, urbanization projects can reintegrate the society all together, especially those living in the slummy areas that have been spontaneously excluded from their community. In this sense it cannot be denied that urbanization project had huge impacts on the society within various dynamics.[21]

During the early 2000s AK Party (Justice and Development Party) came to power and actively exercised Istanbul's "urbanization" project in various forms as designing "spaces" turned into the major investment tool in order to maintain active economy.[22] Urbanization (i.e. urban transformation project) was aimed to promote life standards as 2010's European Capital of Culture held in Istanbul contributed to receive cultural, social benefits as well as becoming one of the cities rivaling for global respect. Afterwards Istanbul became financially more popular attracting investors which predicted the rise of financial centers located in certain areas.[23] These areas contributed the new face of consumption as residences, offices and shopping malls built together to target a group from high socioeconomic background (e.g. Istinye Park, Zorlu Center, Akmerkez, Akasya, Buyaka). Squatter areas (*gecekondu*)-defined as usually heavily populated area of a city, characterized by poverty, poor housing and crime, have been reconstructed to enhance Istanbul's physical structure in attempt to serve for neoliberal policies. For instance lower-class populated Tarlabaşı, which is a part of Taksim district known by minority group populations (e.g. Kurds, Romans, and immigrants), have been reconstructed to become another financial and

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21 Peter Roberts, "The Evolution, Definition and Purpose of Urban Regeneration," in *Urban Regeneration: A Handbook*, ed. Peter Roberts and Hugh Sykes, (London: SAGE Publications Ltd., 2008).

22 Asuman Turkun, B. O. Unsal and M. Yapici, "Istanbul'da 1980'ler Sonrasinda Kentsel Donusum: Mevzuat, Soylem, Aktorler ve Donusumun Hedefindeki Alanlar," in *Mulk, Mahal, Insan: Istanbul'da Kentsel Donusum*, ed. Asuman Turkun (Istanbul: Istanbul Bilgi Universitesi Yayinlari 2014).

23 Murat Cemal Yalcintan, Care Olgun Caliskan, Kumru Cilgin and Ugur Dundar, "Istanbul Donusum Cografyasi."Yeni Istanbul Calismalari: Sinirlar, Mucadeleler, Acilimlar, ed. Ayfer Bartu Candan, and Cenk Ozbay, (Istanbul: Metis Yayinlari 2014), p. 51.

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tourism center within urbanization project. [24]Several mega projects have been organized (e.g. Third Bosphorus Bridge, Marmaray project) following the reconstruction of *gecekondu* areas. Public sector held the significant part of investments, Formula One Grand Prix known as Istanbul Park and Viaport shopping malls as well as other residential buildings which have been built following Sabiha Gökçen International Airport›s establishment might be accurate examples demonstrating the impact of public investments mentioned above. [25]Such locations have clearly advanced in many respects to address collective demands, especially; shopping malls were suggested as a space to accomplish socialization effortlessly. Therefore shopping malls evolved to possess further components to address all-social-needs as much as possible, holding subway station nearby like Akasya, Nautilus and Zorlu Center which are some of the examples so that visitors may perceive malls as part of public service. Following these innovations introduced into economic, social and political procedures became significantly affecting the society in daily respects.

Turkey's very first example of shopping mall, Galleria, is worth to mention in order to show the nuances in the transformation processes. It was established in 1988, the architecture shows strong influence from Ottomans (e.g. Grand Bazaar) as based on large corridor designed to create 'Bazaar' image presenting culturally familiar appearance. Food court and amusement center positioned in the opposite sides of the mall that force people to walk along with the entire hallway, thereby increasing the likelihood for one to fall into shopping behavior.[26] These details so far reveal the visible impact of consumption strategies that were being employed during late 1980s. Another impact is that the number of shopping malls significantly increased in direct proportion to the rapid urbanization.[27] The total number reached 19

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24 Tuna Kuyucu, and Ozlem Unsal, "Neoliberal Kent Rejimiyle Mucadele: Basibuyuk ve Tarlabasi'nda KentselDonusum ve Direnis," in *Istanbul Nereye, Küresel Kent, Kultur, Avrupa,* ed. Ipek Tureli. Deniz Gokturk, and Levent Soysal, (Istanbul: Metis Yayinlari 2011), p. 92.
25 Murat Cemal Yalcintan et al., *ibid*, p. 55.
26 Guliz Ozorhon and Fatih Ozorhon, *ibid*, p. 123.
27 Tulin Vural Arslan, "Turkiye'deki Alısveris Merkezleri Incelemelerine Elestirel Bir Bakıs: Yorumlar, Elestiriler, Tartısmalar," *Uludag Universitesi Muhendislik-Mimarlik Fakultesi Dergisi* 14, no. 1, 2009; Guliz Ozorhon and Fatih Ozorhon, *ibid*.

in between 2001 and 2005 which equals double compared to early amount and after all 16 shopping malls built between 2006 and 2008.[28] In the light of such information it has been seen that Istanbul displays huge increase in the number of shopping malls during 2000s.[29] There are 117 shopping malls in Istanbul by the last data.[30] Urban transformation project seems to have a major impact by creating distances between the center and the suburbanized regions thus the needs for shopping malls increased as well, therefore social and daily demands were provided through shopping malls.

Free market economy and Turkey's visibly changing attitude toward imports determined the new face of consumption culture in the country. Turkey has begun to seek for new strategies which could increase the time that people spend in shopping malls, therefore certain innovation programs applied by producing new components such as food courts, movie houses, amusement centers etc.[31] The modern form of shopping malls in Istanbul started to appear during late 1980s. Early interpretations of shopping malls in the Ottoman Era still remain (e.g. Grand Bazaar); however, there are significant differences as such shopping malls possess food courts etc. in spite of similarities (e.g. both were designed within department-store structure). Furthermore recent researches show that people perceive shopping malls not only where they would engage shopping behavior but also where they would have fun, exercise sports as well as having opportunity to practice various cultural activities.[32]This reminds the fact that shopping malls are no more the mere centers for shopping activities rather it has been created as a space in which the leisure time discourse is constructed in the way of creating new subjects of daily life with social and cultural distinctions.

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28 Gulsen Ozaydin and Ebru Ozgur, *ibid*, p. 5.
29 *Ibid*
30 "Istanbul AVM Listesi 2015," http://www.emlakkulisi.com. Accessed January 5, 2015.
31 Gulsen Ozaydin and Ebru Ozgur, *ibid*, p. 5.
32 *Ibid*, p. 4.

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Leisure Time, Consumption and Shopping Malls

Capitalism consists not only of the means of production but it also includes the consumption of products. Capitalism is cycle-based on over production, which requires large consumption so that people need time to consume the materials, which they produced. As Held argues that capitalism can survive under the condition of atomization, with the labor process, centralization of culture in the social field and division of experiences of people in individual field.[33] Individuals are encouraged to drift away from the productive role to the consuming role by the consuming culture, which is handed by capital. Thus, leisure time is not only a field of hegemony, but also a source of maximization of capitals because the economy needs consumerism increasingly, then it needs leisure time in order to make people to consume accordingly. By referring Horkheimer and Adorno, Argın points that leisure time and consumption have become identical in the consumption culture and the same mechanism controls people who work and consume.[34] Thus, the time of a modern individual is divided into two concepts, which are work and leisure. Leisure time is an opportunity to build a consumption relationship between producers and consumers. Thus people are encouraged to produce more to be able to consume accordingly, so that leisure time becomes important for capitalism to control over people's consumerism habits. Capitalism invests leisure time activities which interestingly provide the strengthening of control through capitalist mechanisms. According to Ray Hibbins leisure time "traditionally has been associated with life satisfaction, escape, freedom and choice" so that it is represented as the "free" time people decide on "freely".[35]Hibbins emphasizes the irony that leisure time is impossible to measure and control,

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33 David Held, *Political Theory and the Modern State*, (Oxford: Polity Press, 1989), p. 89 cited in Erdal Dagtas and Banu Dagtas, "Tuketim Kulturu, Yasam Tarzlari, Bos Zamanlar Ve Medya Uzerine Bir Literatur Taramasi," *Egitim Bilim Toplum Dergisi,* 2006.
34 Sukru Argin, "Kapitalist Toplumda Isin Ve Isgucunun 'Kaderi': Post-Fordizm,"*Birikim*, no. 41, 1992, p. 27.
35 Ray Hibbins, "Global Leisure Time," *Social Alternatives*,v. 15, no.1, 1996.

but the market plans and manages people's leisure activities by creating a complex structure which is called shopping malls.[36] These constructions point the culture dimension of capitalism and globalization to penetrate into everyday life.[37]

Shopping malls include many places such as restaurants, coffee places, cinemas, and exhibitions; play grounds, which triggers the fact that people spend more time and money there. Highlighting the multifunctional aspect of this structure, Yağmur (20) asserts that "I love shopping malls as they offer everything. When you enter a shopping mall, you can shop and eat your meal and drink coffee at the same place. It offers you everything. I love it. If it consists only of stores, I go less." Thus, especially shopping malls are preferred for cultural activities like cinema, theatre and concerts. As İlknur (20) states that "We prefer to spend time in shopping malls if we are planning to go to the cinema. Because shopping malls show more concern about the design of movie houses than other places so that the quality is obviously higher there. Yes, we also prefer shopping malls' food courts over restaurants but we don't shop if we are there for eating."[38]

As Ozorhon maintains that the shopping mall becomes a center in which an individual can spend the whole time without going outside, then the individual becomes a consuming machine but in the name of the illusion of cultural activities.[39] The most crucial point here is that this is a self-colonization project in which you convince yourself to be a part of this "Culture Industry" illusion so that you can create your modern and Western identity which makes you intend to embrace some kind of activities and ideologies thus exclude some "others" as the basic premises of postcolonial subject construction.

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36 *Ibid,* p. 22.
37 Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota 1996); Homi Bhabha, ibid.
38 Interview conducted by Gökçe İncekara on 16th of June.
39 Guliz Ozorhon and Fatih Ozorhon, *ibid.*

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Held maintains that capitalism spreads information in real life through leisure time, thus it controls over both the labour process and leisure time. In this relation, "The Culture Industry" plays the most important role according to Adorno and Horkheimer.[40]Dağtaş also discuss that Culture Industry offers a temporary escape from the routine of everyday life and responsibilities, but it strengthens the world that people try to escape.[41] This is because of the fact that "in the culture industry the individual is an illusion not merely because of the standardization of the means of production" rather because he is only acceptable so long as his complete identification with the generality is unquestioned.[42]The following statement shows the importance of being a part of this structure even symbolically which indicates that the mere issue is not consuming but rather the image which is given by being in a hierarchically high categorized space with the attributed activities of this space itself. İlknur, a 20 years old architecture student, shares an interesting observation with following words:

"*For example there are people who bring beside their plastic bags from previous shopping experiences and walking around the shopping malls. They are not really there for shopping but they pretend to seem shopping, trying to leave powerful impression about themselves. I've spoken with my friend working at Zorlu Center; he talked about an individual who brings Harley Nicolson bag and spending time there regularly. Shopping becomes an addiction (disorder) for people. They go to shopping malls in order to show the power of buying things even though they don't have enough money or they don't need those things. Those addicted people have consistent will to experience the pleasure of buying. That bag (means Harley Nickolson) became the part of pleasure to their new addiction.*"[43]

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40 Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer, "The Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception," in *Dialectics of Enlightenment*, trans. John Cumming, (New York: Herder and Herder 1972).
41 Erdal Dagtas and Banu Dagtas, *ibid*, p. 27.
42 Theodor Adorno, and Max Horkheimer,, *ibid,* p. 124.
43 Interview by Gokce Incekara.

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In any sense, being in a space in relation to some cultural activities is seen as an expression and representation of your subjectivity which is created within the daily life practices in which power operates to create some truths about these practices.[44] The different characteristics of shopping malls identify your position in society accordingly, most of the time in relation to class and statue relations. As a relevant example, the Zorlu Center established in 2013 located in Beşiktaş, is designed not only as a shopping mall, but also it as a cultural center. Many worldwide famous artists and performances take to the stage at Zorlu Center such as the Phantom Opera. Its difference from the other malls is its Performing Arts Center (PAC), a hotel, offices and a residence. The first thing to realize there is softly performed live classical music in the background and also the fragrance of the mall. In PAC, ticket prices start from 210 TL. In their web site, they define themselves as follows: "At long last, Istanbul has a world-class showplace for the Performing Arts. Zorlu Performing Arts Center showcases diverse artistic genres including Broadway and West End musicals, dance, classical, opera, jazz and the best pop." Right next to the booking office there is a kiosk namely "Eataly" offering wine and cheese to the audiences in the entrance which is originally an Italian concept which is established as a mixture of market and restaurants with international products. Especially this part of the shopping mall evokes the atmospheres of the gourmet floors of shopping malls in Berlin or USA.

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44 Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings*, 1972-1977, ed. Colin Gordon, trns. Colin Gordon et al. (New York: Pantheon 1980).

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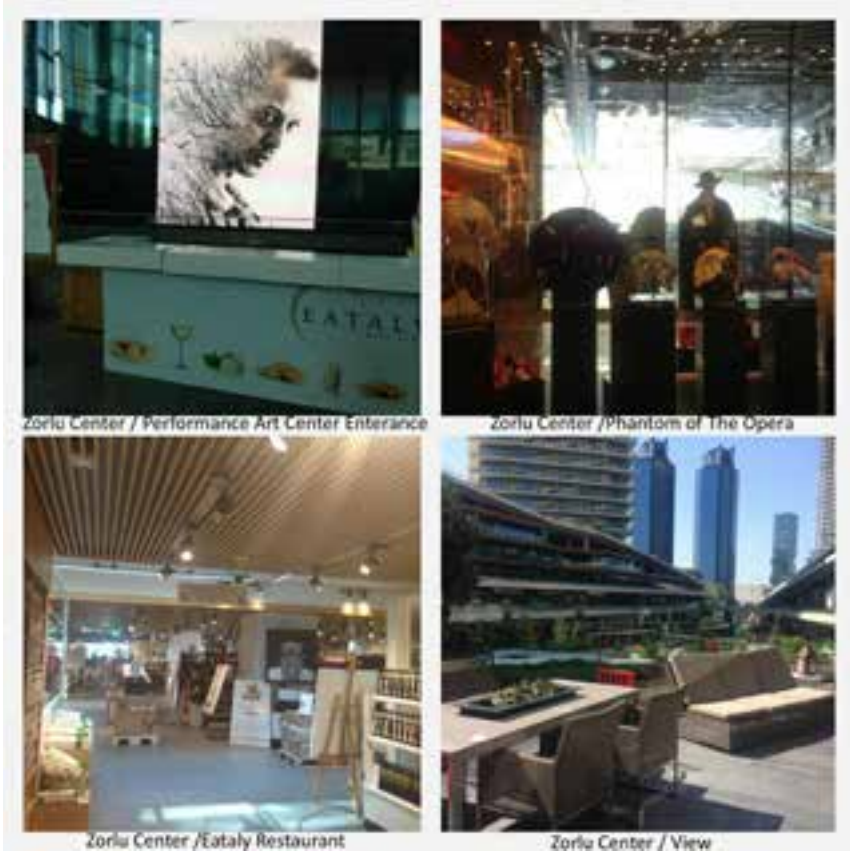
Photos: Zorlu Center

Shopping malls today are not places solely for shopping anymore but with the additional functions such as entertainment, cultural activities, sports, residence and offices; they are presented as new life center alternative to the city centers. Within the body of this group of building, a complex that includes many activities from entertainment to sports, from shopping to living was formed, and became the potential centers that provide all sorts of service possibility from baby care to commercial activities. With

the addition of these functions, shopping malls became mix-use massive buildings and with their increasing number in Istanbul their significance and effect on the city increased, and permanently entered into the many domains from sociology to business, urban planning to architecture.[45]

Construction of Space and Shopping Malls

Capitalism can be seen everywhere in politics, labor, social life, markets, in leisure time and even space by way of regulation forms, between people and constructions. According to Lefebvre "Urban space under capitalism thus has a double character. On the one hand, it functions as a productive force, which helps trigger waves of industrialization; on the other, it represents a social relation, where human everyday life is organized and reproduced."[46] It also shapes places that sell products such as hypermarkets, shopping centers. Uluoğlu and Yırtıcı maintain that "Capitalistic organization of society and the Capital itself, sees space as a tool or infrastructure which helps the maximization of its profit – like every other thing: labor, means of production, production techniques, organization of labor and promotion."[47] Therefore, the usage of space, is determined by the advantage of capitalist dynamics so that physical conditions or people's needs are defined through this construction but the spaces are also created accordingly. In this respect, the space is always reconstructed, redefined, recreated and reorganized according to the needs and changing conditions of capitalistic economy and its subjects.[48] This leads the discussion about the conceptualization of public space in contemporary world.[49] Capitalism builds shopping malls in

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45 Guliz Ozorhon and Fatih Ozorhon, *ibid*, p. 128.

46 Klaus Ronneberger and Christian Schmid, "Space, Difference, Everyday Life: Reading Henri Lefebvre," in *Henri Lefebvre and Urban Everyday Life: In Search of the Possible*, ed. Kanishka Goonewardena, Stefan Stefan Kipfer, and Richard Milgrom, (London: Routledge 2007), p. 141.

47 Hakki Yirtici and Belkis Uluoğlu. "Mekanin Altyapisal Donusumu,"*İTÜ Dergisi A: Mimarlik, Planlama, Tasarim* 3, no. 1, 2004.

48 *Ibid*, p. 1.

49 Ozlem Sandikci and Douglas Holt, "Malling Society:Mall Consumption Practices and the Future of Public Space," in *Servicescapes: The Concept of Place in Contemporary Markets*, ed. John F. Sherry, (Chicago: NTC Business Boo 1996); Mona Abaza, "Shopping Malls, Consumer Culture and the Reshaping of Public Space in Egypt," *Theory, Culture & Society*. 18th ed. Vol. 5. 2001.

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space to maximize consuming but also put forward an "ideal" consumer by offering a new way of life with new experiences in certain spaces. Shopping malls are often criticized in the sense by being places of spending time and consumption.[50] All shopping malls are shaped as places where people are oriented to spend more time and consume more. For example, localizing the elevators can be a remarkable example that they are localized in the end of corridors in order to make people walk the entire corridor and notice the shops leading to the elevator. However, this is not out of the scope of consumer's understanding of a shopping mall and their demands can vary. For example, Özge, a 19 years old management student, states her dislike when she realizes this kind of easy strategies in shopping mall in relation to its spatial structure:

"*In some cases, for example the elevators are mostly designed not one under the other but on the opposite sides to force people moving along the whole hallway. I hate it. It is too confusing as you cannot find the place you are looking for. (That's true) we aim to spend more time there but it annoys in this way. I like Metrocity because of this issue. I can find all the nice brands there and it is organized. You would never get lost during the shopping if you've been there once before. Elevators are organized one under the other looking like apartment building. I like simple architectures compared to those forcefully moving people along the hallway*."[51]

Capitalism redefines the concept of "space" by employing various strategies so that people could engage more into shopping malls. Sutton and White say that shopping malls are not only places *"that large commercial facilities offer customers more convenient access to a wider range of goods. Their self-contained, climate-controlled, closely monitored and well maintained environments also provide users with a sense of order and predictability which many people in contemporary society value for its own

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50 Guliz Ozorhon and Fatih Ozorhon, *ibid.*
51 Interview conducted by Merve Armagan on 13th of June.

sake."[52] Therefore, shopping malls offer a place that is a predictable. The temperature is sensitively prepared to address proper conditions regardless of the weather out of the mall. As Yağmur (24) also stresses that she prefers shopping malls when the weather is bad. All our interlocutors stress the atmosphere and comfort of the shopping mall area and its shops like the organization of windows and temperature degree. Similarly, Birce, a 26 years old Psychologist, explains the crucial elements in a shopping mall to be her preference: "Shop windows. When something attracts me or I see something interesting. And the temperature inside the store. If I sweat too much while trying on clothes, it annoys and I would not prefer that store again. If I feel comfortable while looking at or inside the store, I would spend time there but I wouldn't prefer if I don't feel comfortable enough."[53]

Photos: Akasya Mall, Istinye Park Mall

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52 Adam Sutton and Rob White, "Social Planning for Mall Redevelopment: An Australian Case-Study," in *Local Environment,* vol. 6, issue 1, 2001, p. 73.
53 Interview conducted by Zeynep Yapar on 10th of June.

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As a different indicator of comfort in shopping malls the security gates can be mentioned. Everyone who wants to enter to a shopping mall is not permitted because of the security guards. Thus, the shopping mall creates an artificial world for people and "it serves as a protected fiefdom, a super-insulated private club."[54] The critical point here is the inclusion and exclusion mechanisms of this security guarding system which creates the binary opposition of our postcolonial world. The only exception among the researched shopping malls was Zorlu Center which was unique without security gates in entrance but more security guards in the hallways of mall. This might remind us the highly isolated cultural construction of Zorlu Center by addressing the upper class, international and celebrity groups. This is also valid and recognizable in the architectural construction of some shopping malls as İlknur points the hierarchical order for the recently established shopping malls:

"*This is recently appearing, not valid for old shopping malls. The most expensive brands are positioned on the top floor like in the Akasya, Cevahir. Electronic stores are positioned on the ground floor and the second floor includes brands addressing anyone. Third floor is designed to balance the atmosphere so that mostly covered with sports store. And lastly the top floor includes high-class stores like Burberry in which bags cost few billions. But such stores like Mango, Koton get position closer to the ground floor.*"[55]

One of the remarkable aspects of the usage of the space is the architecture of department stores, which is based on a hierarchical order. For example, in Akasya, Istinye Park and Zorlu Center they have world brands collected on the same floors as Burberry, Armani with separate entrances which offer valet parking with a VIP entrance. Almost all showcase windows of world brands have English text advertisements. Even if all of them have a separation and hierarchy in terms of brands and organization of the floors,

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54 Paco Underhill, *Why We Buy: The Science of Shopping*, (New York: Simon & Schuster 1999).
55 Interview by Gokce Incekara.

only in Istinye Park the most famous brands are on the top floor. Whereas Zorlu Center does not contain LCW, which appeal to the middle class, in Akasya and Istinye Park it appears in the sub-ground floor. It creates a perception that the floors with international brands belong to special customers. According to observations, especially these floors are rarely crowded and often silent. The most crucial dimension of these distinctions made by spatial organizations in shopping malls shows itself as an exclusion and other creating mechanism because of the so assumed differences between their target groups.

To Conclude: Experience of Shopping Malls as Classification and Distinction through Space and Leisure Time

The most significant thing remains from the leisure time discourse and space construction practices concerning shopping malls is the distinction and classification effect of the relationship between the place and the target population in regard to their socio-economic background and the construction of cultural codes that makes the shopping malls as cultural centers since at the end there is the formation of the selves within a specific habitus which indicates the lifestyles, dispositions, values and expectations of a certain group which are embedded in their practices.[56] In this sense as Bhabha argues the subjects are not passive in terms of creating these discourses[57] and even they can become the colonizer of themselves and of the "others". In other words, the consumers desire to wear the mask of the West to achieve modern and developed identities. However, this would be an endless attempt which could not be ever achieved because of the subordinated position. At that point, "self-colonizing metaphor" operates as a collective imagination of nations, but again with a subordination of others who are created in this asymmetrical relationship.[58] Thus, some become the

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56 Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinctions: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, (London: Routledge 1984), p. 172.
57 Homi Bhabha, *ibid.*
58 Alexander Kiossev, "The Self-Colonizing Metaphor,"2010, http://monumenttotransformation.org.

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elites of these new spaces with their fancy lifestyles[59] and the "other" are re-subordinated by the subaltern itself.

To begin with, in order to show the creation of an elite understanding of lifestyle in these specific shopping malls the emphasis on the special products, collections and series which are only in display in the shops of Zorlu Center, Istinye Park and Akasya can be discussed. According to the words of salesmen in Istinye Park Zara, Zorlu Center Hotiç and Akasya, the special products for special customers are found especially in their stores. The words of salesman in Zorlu Center demonstrate clearly the distinction made by such a strategy in shopping malls. When he asked their specific products which are not visible in different shopping malls he said that their target is "A+ costumer" only. This situation creates a hierarchy between low-income customers and high-income customers. While this situation offers high-income people a feeling of privilege, whereas subordination for "others".

Optimum Outlet / Floors   Optimum Outlet / Playland

Photos: Optimum Outlet

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59 Rifat Bali, *Tarz-I Hayattan, Life Style'a*, (Istanbul: Iletisim 2002).

Photos: Canpark

The "others" are also related with the shopping malls Canpark and Optimum. Canpark is located in Ümraniye, which is a highly populated area in Istanbul which is also argued as a "conservative" district. Contrary to Istinye Park, Zorlu Center and Akasya, Canpark and also Optimum are crowded mall even though there are several other shopping malls in the area and it is rare to confront English advertisement and showcase windows. In Optimum, they highly emphasized the word "outlet" and basic brands are straggled all around the mall in contrast to those in Akasya. Interestingly our interlocutors also talk about this distinction which also shows the colonizing effect by describing others as under qualified according to space, leisure time activities. In relation to this, İlknur points the "differences" between these shopping malls and their costumers:

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"I've mentioned Optimum in the previous questions. Akasya and Acibadem are not far from each other but one is in Acibadem, another is in Yenisahra. The distance is not really much but the income level between people living in two places differs significantly. The difference affects the quality of customers which in turn even affects the quality of the stores there. Of course it affects my decisions as well. I don't mean in terms of income level but the status/quality of people is still important. You seek comfortable space there rather than 'bazaar atmosphere'. But you might not find what you look for as the quality changes depending on crowd, audience and the place."[60]

Birce, also displays her dislike about Canpark on the question of structure of shopping malls that "I would choose one place, accordingly, like Canpark is not attracting me at all. I don't like people there. When H&M was established, I preferred Canpark over Istinye Park but for example I would like to see H&M in the Zorlu center."[61] The remarkable point here is the intersection between the space construction ideas and the people who use it. As in this example, the dislike on Canpark shopping mall is related to the people who often are going there. This relation is also made with the lower rated brands and their employers as well by İlknur:

"Hygiene is the main problem differing from one store to another, especially the hygiene in the change room and staff are the essential problems. For example: Koton is very unhygienic. Because its customer capacity is too much so that the staff cannot attain organizing the dresses that people consistently disorganize, the change room neither. I think this is both related to the quality of store itself and its staff, and it is determined by whom the store is preferred. On the other hand the staff quality is flexible factor. The stores build the staff according to their customer profile. The staff is obviously seen much more qualified if you find bag with 2000TL price in a shop. But if they sell bags with 40TL price then the quality of staff is not really considered."[62]

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60 Interview by Gokce Incekara.
61 Interview by Zeynep Yapar.
62 Interview by Gokce Incekara.

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The Example of Shopping Malls in Istanbul

Shopping malls have taken the advantage of neoliberal policies exercised during the late 1980s in Turkey, which triggered the construction of "consumption culture" trying to find its way on daily basis. The typical mindset for "leisure time" has been suffered change of "shopping practice" which has been derived from bilateral effect between space and consumption. Shopping malls' new face which is more complex than it appeared to be at the beginning can be seen clearly with the help of following examples (e.g., practice of cultural activities, entertainment center etc.). These additional features contributed to address multiple social classes which turned shopping malls into "space" that the variances in daily dynamics can be visibly observed across the different classes. Now shopping malls became more than only "a space to shop" but an alternative to conduct "daily activities" addressing one's social class, as a result the components of shopping malls can be varied in accordance with the positions of the malls (e.g., elite provinces). On top of that the structure and construction of a shopping mall lead the colonizing effect of cultural, social and economic differences through the daily life of people. In this sense, the knowledge created by the leisure time and space relations is also deeply related to the classification, discrimination and distinction manipulated on other people as creating them "the other" of this relation in the name of creating their own "modern" subjectivities.[63] Even if you will search for some resistances to these structures these are the tactics which are articulated against the strategies of system as De Certeau indicates.[64] Özge is a relevant example here, who tries to protest the consumerism especially through the activities of conservative fashion by producing her own products for selling by convenient prices. Nevertheless, she continues to practice the very daily life of this system itself. However, still there is the maneuver space to create our knowledge and subjectivities upon these structures. The most crucial

63 Michel Foucault, *ibid.*
64 Michel De Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall, (University of California Press: Berkeley 1984).

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concern is to seek the ways which make alternative practices possible although the system itself has been penetrated our lifestyles so deeply.

Annex

Table: 1 "Zorlu Center, Istinye Park, Akasya, Canpark and Optimum"

Annex Table 1: Zorlu Center, Istinye Park, Akasya, Canpark and Optimum

NAME OF SHOPPING MALLS	YEAR OF CONSTRUCTION	LOCATION	POSITION	TRANSPORTION	TYPOLOGY
İSTİNYE PARK	2007	İSTİNYE/ EUROPEAN SIDE	CLOSER TO HOUSES AND RESIDENCE	IETT (BUS)	MIXED USE, OFFICE, RESIDENCE, SHOPPING MALL, DIFFERENT ENTRIES FOR DIFFERENT PLACES, OPEN SPACE, CINEMA, BRANDS FOR ANY CLASS, RESTAURANTS FOR UPPER CLASS
ZORLU CENTER	2013	ZINCIRLIKUYU / EUROPEAN SIDE	CLOSER TO BUSSINESS CENTER, HOUSES, BOSPHORUS BRIDGE	IETT (BUS), SUBWAY	MIXED USE, OFFICE, RESIDANCE, PERFORMING ARTS CENTER, SHOPPING MALL, OPEN SPACE, CINEMA, UPPER CLASS IMPRESSION, BRANDS FOR UPPER CLASS, RESTAURANTS FOR UPPER CLASS
CANPARK	2014	ÜMRANIYE/ ASIAN SIDE	CLOSER TO HOUSE AND SETTLEMENT	IETT (BUS), MINIBUS	ATRIUM, CINEMA, FOOD COURT, BRANDS FOR MIDDLE CLASS
OPTIMUM	2008	GÖZTEPE/ ASIAN SIDE	CLOSER TO HOUSES AND ARTIAL ROAD	IETT (BUS), SUBWAY	OUTLET, ICE RINK, FOOD COURT
AKASYA	2014	ACIBADEM/ ASIAN SIDE	CLOSER TO HOUSES, RESIDANCE, ARTIAL ROAD	IETT (BUS), METROBUS, SUBWAY	MIXED USE, ENTERTAIN-MENT CENTER FOR CHILDREN, SHOPPING MALL, RESIDANCE, OFFICE, CINEMA, BRANDS FOR ANY CLASS, UPPER CLASS IMPRESSION, DIFFERENT ENTRIES FOR DIFFERENT PLACES, RESTAURANTS FOR UPPER CLASS

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