

ISTANBUL TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY ★ GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SCIENCE
ENGINEERING AND TECHNOLOGY

**EVALUATION OF MIX-USED DEVELOPMENTS OUTSIDE OF CENTRAL
BUSINESS DISTRICTS IN VIEW OF CONSUMPTION AND THEIR IMPACTS
ON URBANIZATION: ISTANBUL CASE**

M.Sc. THESIS

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Department of Architecture

Architectural Design Programme

JANUARY 2013

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İSTANBUL TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ ★ FEN BİLİMLERİ ENSTİTÜSÜ

**MERKEZİ İŞ ALANLARI DIŞINDAKİ KARMA KULLANIMLI
YAPILAŞMANIN TÜKETİM PERSPEKTİFİNDEN İNCELENMESİ VE
KENTLEŞMEYE ETKİLERİ: İSTANBUL ÖRNEĞİ**

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To my family,

FOREWORD

I would like to thank first and foremost my supervisor Prof. Yurdanur DÜLGEROĞLU YÜKSEL for her valuable guidance throughout my period of thesis. I am grateful to Prof. Dietmar WIEGAND for his technical and mental supports during my studies in Vienna Technical University in Fall 2012-2013 semester.

Many thanks are due for Prof. Gülçin PULAT GÖKMEN for her valuable comments and suggestions.

I would like to acknowledge information related to Nish Istanbul Project provided by Barış YEGENA, Istwest Project provided by Semih MAYUK and Mall of Istanbul Project provided by Emine DİZKIRICI.

I would like to acknowledge to my family: My mother, father and especially my brother, Cankat TANRIVERDİ who taught me many things about life. They have always supported, helped and encouraged me throughout my life and my studies.

My thanks are also for my dear friend; Shahin SHAKIBAEI. He always supported me mentally and with his presence it became easier for me to manage my life while studying.

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ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|--------------|---|
| ABPRS | : Addresses- Based Population Registration System |
| APC | : Average Propensity to Consume |
| CBD | : Central Business Districts |
| GDP | : Gross Domestic Product |
| HGC | : Horizontal Gated Communities |
| IMA | : Istanbul Metropolitan Area |
| MPC | : Marginal Propensity to Consume |
| MUC | : Multiuse Center |
| NAHB | : National Association of Home Builders |
| PUD | : Planned Unit Development |
| TOKI | : Housing Development Administration of Turkey |
| USA | : United State of America |
| VGC | : Vertical Gated Communities |

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EVALUATION OF MIX-USED DEVELOPMENTS OUTSIDE OF CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICTS IN VIEW OF CONSUMPTION AND THEIR IMPACTS ON URBANIZATION: ISTANBUL CASE

SUMMARY

It is undeniable that shelter is one of the most basic and important requirements of human beings. In this scope, houses reflect the culture and identity of their dwellers. In the process of time, all aspects of human life have been changed and housing is not an exception. Immigration, sub-urbanization, formation of new housing styles such as gated communities and mix-used developments, and changes in consumption patterns are inevitable elements of urban and rural developments.

Turkey, as a developing country, has faced above-mentioned processes. Some major cities such as Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir (especially Istanbul) have attracted immigrants from other parts of the country and even neighboring countries. Consequently, an incessant increment in population has occurred in Istanbul during recent decades, particularly after 1950s. With population growth in Istanbul, the city does not have the capacity to cover all requirements of current and coming settlers and in-migration has been observed at the peripheries. With extension of the city towards peripheries, gated communities in sub-centers have been constructed as a new housing style for upper-middle and high-income families. In this case, work places were generally situated in former city centers and the distance between working and living places were remarkable. To cope with this problem and reduce transportation time, a number of efforts have been taken. Mix-Used developments were probably the most important one. In fact, the main philosophy of these developments was to animate the city center besides the mentioned traffic related pattern.

By taking all above-mentioned processes into consideration, it is clear that in Istanbul, during last decades the idea of moving towards outside of the centers and having new lifestyles such as owning buildings in gated communities was highly recommended and supported by media, developers and investors. By formation of mix-used developments in city centers, this pattern tended to animate the city center. However, at the last stage, observed recently, it is obvious that a number of luxurious mix-used developments have been erecting outside of former central business districts, leading consequently to the formation of sub-centers. At this point, closeness to the airports of the city gains more value than dependency to the former city center and this may be consequence of some universal phenomenon such as globalization and industrialization. Thus, in the formation of mix-used developments in Istanbul, a purpose-oriented deviation from animating the city centers to making benefit and investment outside of city centers has been observed. Consumption patterns of people have been heavily affected by these changes.

This study is aiming at mainly scrutinizing the actors and philosophies behind these developments and their effects on urbanization. These effects and actors are being analyzed by some socio-economic theories such as, those by Keynes, Marx and Engels, Weber, Simmel, Burgess, Lefebvre, Castells, Harvey and Public Goods, and Game theories. In addition, a brief description and historical background of mix-used developments in the world and Istanbul is covered. Nish Istanbul, Istwest and Mall of Istanbul mix-used projects are the case studies of this thesis.

As for results, major formation reasons of these developments are: 1. Formation of alternative central business districts (CBD), 2. Profit, 3. Demand for new housing and offices, 4. Scarcity of affordable land in city centers, 5. Tendency to prestige and new lifestyles and 6. Problems in former CBD. These reasons resulted in the following effects: 1. Sub-urbanization, 2. Changes in former centers, 3. Increment in city density, 4. Increment in shopping centers, 5. Change in the real meaning of public space, 6. Change in consumption patterns and preferences, 7. Change in the importance of space and time and 8. Grouping and segregation. Government, developers, investors, entrepreneurs, landowners and consumers are considered as main actors of these developments.

Finally, it is recommended in this thesis to allot different projects for a variety of family types and economic groups, improve the mobility in city centers, increase the quality of former CBDs, consider governmental subsidizes and construct need-based projects.

MERKEZİ İŞ ALANLARI DIŐINDAKİ KARMA KULLANIMLI YAPILAŐMANIN TÜKETİM PERSPEKTİFİNDEN İNCELENMESİ VE KENTLEŐMEYE ETKİLERİ: İSTANBUL ÖRNEĐİ

ÖZET

Barınma ihtiyacı, insanođunun yaşamını devam ettirebilmesi için ihtiyaç duyduđu en temel gereksinimlerinden biridir. Tarih boyunca, insan yaşamının tüm yönleriyle deđiŐmesi, elbette yaŐama alanlarını da etkilemiŐtir. Göç, banliyöleŐme, kapalı siteler, yeni konut sunum biçimlerinin türemesi ve toplumların tüketim örüntülerinin deđiŐmesi, kent ve kırsal yaşamındaki deđiŐimlerin tetikleyicileri ve sonuçları haline gelmiŐlerdir.

GeliŐmekte olan bir ölke olarak Türkiye, yukarıda bahsedilen süreçlere doğrudan tanık olmuŐtur. Özellikle 1950'lerden sonra İstanbul, Ankara ve İzmir gibi bazı büyük kentler kırsal alanlardan ve hatta diŐ ölkelerden önemli ölçüde göç almıŐlardır. İstanbul, dünyadaki önemli ekonomik merkezlerden biri olması sebebiyle daha çok göç almasının yanısıra, bunun sonucunda da daha çok sorunla karŐılaŐmıŐtır. Sonuç olarak, son yıllarda İstanbul'da arkası kesilmeyen bir nüfus artıŐı meydana gelmiŐtir. Fakat Őehir; fiziksel, sosyal, ekonomik açılardan bu nüfus yükünü taşıyacak kapasiteye sahip olmadığından, çeperlere doğru geniŐlemeye baŐlamıŐtır. Bu süreçte, yasa diŐ konutlar oluŐmaya baŐlamıŐtır. Bu noktadan hareketle, gecekondulaŐma süreci üç aŐamada özetlenebilir. İlk olarak, kente yeni gelen göçmenlerin ekonomik durumu iyi Őartlarda yaşamaya yetmediđinden, genelde düşük gelirliler bu kesim, kent çeperinde gecekondular inŐa etmiŐtir. İkinci aŐamada, 1970'lerden sonra ekonomik durumu nispeten iyileŐen göçmenlerin, gecekonduyu ticarileŐtirmeye baŐladıkları görölmüŐtür. Kiraya verilen gecekondular bu duruma örnek gösterilebilir. Üçüncü aŐamada ise, büyük inŐaat Őirketlerinin bu bölgeleri keŐfedip üst sınıfa yönelik lüks konutlar inŐa etmesi gelmiŐtir. Böylece özellikle 1980'lerden sonra, banliyöleŐme hareketi baŐlamıŐtır. Kentteki bu geniŐleme ile birlikte, alt-merkezler oluŐarak buralarda yapılan kapalı siteler, orta-üst ve üst gelir grubu için yeni konum sunum biçimlerini oluŐturmuŐtur. Bu durumda, çalıŐma alanları genellikle kentin merkezinde (Buradaki merkez kavramı; Tarihi merkezden ziyade Büyükdere Caddesi, Mecidiyeköy, Levent, Maslak aksını oluŐturan merkezi iş alanı anlamında kullanılmaktadır) konumlandıđından, iş ve ev arası mesafe önemli sorunlardan biri haline gelmiŐtir.

Dünyada da örnekleri olan bu bölgeleme sistemi, baŐlangıçta olumlu karŐılansa da, endüstrileŐme sonrasında iş ve ev arasındaki mesafe nedeniyle oluŐan trafik yoğunluđu ve süresi gibi sebeplerle pek çok eleŐtiri almıŐtır. Kent merkezlerinde çöküntü alanlarının oluŐması; gündüzleri çeperlerde, geceleri ise merkezlerde nüfus kaybının yaŐanması; kent çeperlerindeki arazi ve konut fiyatlarının da giderek yükselmesi bu eleŐtirilerden bazılarıdır. Bunun sonucunda, kent merkezinde karma

kullanımlı yapıların inşa edilmesi ve iş-ev arası mesafenin ortadan kaldırması fikirleri, yeni bir konut sunum biçimi daha geliştirmiş ve rezidans kültürünü oluşturmuştur. Bu açıdan bakıldığında, 1990 sonrası kent merkezinde inşa edilen karma kullanımlı yapıların oluşmasının ilk önemli sebebi, kent merkezini canlandırmak olarak gösterilebilir. Kentin merkezi iş alanı yakınında; ofis, konut, alışveriş merkezi fonksiyonlarını birarada bulunduran yapılar yapılmış, 1980'lerden sonra kent çeperinde çoğalan kapalı sitelerin yeni bir versiyonu kent merkezlerinde görülmeye başlanmıştır.

Sözkonusu yeni konut sunum biçimlerinin gelişimine paralel olarak, pek çok metropolde olduğu gibi son yıllarda İstanbulda da “yeni yaşam biçimleri” arayışları gündeme gelmiş ve toplumların tüketim alışkanlıklarında değişimler meydana gelmiştir. Daha yeni olan, daha pahalı olan ürünlere daha fazla talep duyulmaya başlanmıştır. Buna bağlı olarak, lüks ve prestijli bir konuta sahip olmak, yeni yaşam biçiminin vazgeçilmez öğelerinden biri haline gelmiştir. Tüketim alışkanlıkları, büyük inşaat şirketleri ve medya aracılığı ile de sürekli değişmekte ve dönüşmektedir. Banliyöleşme hareketi döneminde, kentin çeperlerinde yepyeni, sakın, huzurlu ve prestijli yaşam tarzı sunulurken, merkezi iş alanında yapılan karma kullanımlı yatırımlardan sonra bu trendin yerini, kent ile iç içe yaşamak, kentin dinamizmini hissetmek, iş ve ev arası ulaşımında zaman kaybetmeksizin kentin tüm olanaklarına yakın olmak gibi yeni bir yaşam biçimi almıştır. Burada dikkat edilmesi gereken nokta, tüketimin sadece nesnelere tüketimi olarak değil, sosyal yaşamın, prestijin, servis hizmetlerinin, kısacası sembolik değerlerin de tüketimi olarak algılanması gerektiğidir. Sembolik değerlerin metalaştırılması, arz ve talep ilişkilerini değiştirdiği gibi, toplumda gruplaşmayı da tetikleyen unsurlardan biri haline gelmiştir.

Bu çalışmada, sözü edilen değişimlerin sebepleri, oluşum dinamikleri, bu süreçte yer alan aktörler ve bunların kentleşme üzerindeki etkileri araştırılmaktadır. Bu etkiler ve aktörler, Keynes, Marx ve Engels, Simmel, Burgess, Lefebvre, Castells, Harvey'in sosyo-ekonomik teorileri ve kamusal mal teorisi ile oyun teorisi aracılığıyla temellendirilmektedir. Özetle sosyal teorilerde, kapalı siteleşmenin, ağırlıklı olarak üst gelir grubuna yönelik konutlar inşa etmenin ve konut kavramının yaşama alanından ziyade büyük ölçüde yatırım aracı olarak görülmesinin; kentte yabancılaşmaya sebep olabileceği, üst ve alt gelir grubuna ait bireyler arasında gruplaşmanın artabileceği öne sürülmektedir. Ekonomik teorilerde ise, bu değişimlerin kapitalizmin bir sonucu olduğu, birbirine çok yakın ve aynı fonksiyonda projelendirilen yapıların birbirlerinin karlarını etkileyebileceği öne sürülmekte ve gelir-tüketim arasındaki ilişkiye yer verilmektedir. Karma kullanımlı yapılaşmanın dünyadaki ve İstanbul'daki kısa tarihçesi araştırılarak, bahsedilen değişimin dünyada ve İstanbul'da nasıl geliştiğinin gözlemlenmesi amaçlanmaktadır.

Tez bulgularına göre, bu gelişmelerin ana oluşum sebepleri şu şekilde sınıflandırılabilir: 1. Alternatif merkezi iş alanlarının oluşması, 2. Kar elde etme amacı, 3. Yeni konut ve ofis talepleri, 4. Kent merkezinde yeterli alanın bulunmaması ve arazi fiyatlarının yüksek oluşu, 5. Yeni yaşam tarzları ve prestij arayışları, 6. Mevcut merkezi iş alanındaki problemler. Bu oluşum sebeplerinin kent üzerindeki etkisi ise şöyle özetlenebilir: 1. Banliyöleşmenin artması, 2. Mevcut merkezi iş alanlarında değişimlerin meydana gelmesi, 3. Kentteki yapı yoğunluğunda artış, 4. Alışveriş merkezlerinin artması, 5. Kamusal alanın asıl anlamının değişmesi, 6. Tüketim alışkanlıklarının ve tercihlerin değişimi, 7. Zaman ve mekanın öneminin

ve anlamlarının farklılaşması, 8. Gruplaşma ve ayrışma. Devlet, proje geliştiriciler, yatırımcılar, girişimciler, arazi sahipleri ve tüketiciler de bu gelişmelerin arkasında yer alan ana aktörler olarak özetlenebilir.

Sonuç olarak, farklı gelir gruplarına ve aile tiplerine göre projelerin geliştirilmesi, kent merkezine ulaşımın iyileştirilmesi; mevcut merkezi iş alanındaki trafik yoğunluğu, gürültü, fiyatların yüksek oluşu gibi problemler sebep gösterilerek yeni bir MİA oluşturmak yerine-yanısıra, mevcut problemlerin giderilmesi, devlet destekli projelerin arttırılması ve ihtiyaç temelli projelerin geliştirilmesi önerilmektedir.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Backgrounds and Objectives

Mankind requires some basic needs to survive such as having shelter, dressing, being educated, being fed and having entertainment. Shelter is one of the most important necessities of all living creatures. A proper shelter is everyone's definite right in this world. Unfortunately, due to some inequalities and discriminations, these rights have not been given to many people all around the world and in this case, migration to other places with the hope of possessing better living conditions is undeniable. This matter is more prevalent in developing countries where most of the facilities have been concentrated in some major megacities. As a developing country, Turkey may be an exact example of this phenomenon, where most facilities, shopping and recreational centers, offices and trade centers are situated in some major cities such as Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir. Amongst them, this matter is completely rampant in Istanbul, especially after 1980s. People from all parts of Turkey and even from some other countries, especially neighbors, began to migrate to Istanbul in quest of finding better job opportunities, shelters and living standards. It is a well-established fact that in the process of migration there are some attracting forces for purpose city and repulsive forces for home-towns. Higher rate of unemployment, lack of proper educational standards, some problems due to prohibitive laws or traditions, natural catastrophes and maybe war are the main reasons motivating people to migrate and to look for better conditions. On the other hand, growing industrialization in Istanbul demands a remarkable labor force especially after 1980s. This can heavily attract in-migrants from smaller cities or villages, since the costs of labor force may be diminished by recruiting newly migrated people. Istanbul's better job opportunities, infrastructures, educational and health facilities, shopping and recreational centers are among the main reasons why people prefer to live in such a place.

Generally, mentioned in-migrants are not wealthy and cannot pay for higher costs of living in megacities. With regard to this fact, they prefer to reduce their initial requirements' costs such as housing. This may persuade them to live in some places

such as valleys, poor grounds and far from city centers, which are not preferred by main residents of that city. As a result of this fact, they erect their houses in peripheries of cities. In Istanbul formation of slum area may be summarized in three stages, as below:

Firstly, in-migrants moved to Istanbul and settled in suburban places and formed slum areas in order to shelter. Their only aim was to shelter without any further benefit. Subsequently, after some years of working and gathering money, some of them began to construct new slums and rented them out to earn more money. In this stage these areas began to raise their values and they faced a sudden increment in prices of lands. Finally, investors found those places a proper case for investment and built luxurious houses and shopping malls in such areas. In this case, former peripheral places which are currently valuable ones played a crucial role in expansion of the city. High-income people preferred these new attractive areas which are far from noise, problems of city centers and in quest of novel and better lifestyles. Thus, suburbanization commenced to be occurred. In some cases, the former dwellers of these areas could not conform to this new trend and moved to outer parts of the city to erect new slums.

Consumption is another primitive need to survive. It includes basic requirements such as nourishment, dress and shelter as well as many others. In parallel with many breaking points such as globalization, industrialization, improvement of technologies and media in the last century, the world is being incessantly changed and these changes may be reflected in all aspects of life. Nowadays, products are easily being sent from one part of the world to another part and the consumption patterns and cultures may be exported with this trend. Of course, consumption may be analyzed from a variety of perspectives, but this study mainly focuses on an aspect of it which is more than a real need. In other words, overconsumption and imitation of some luxurious lifestyles is the matter in question in this study. Houses reflect their dwellers' identity and they may be evaluated as cultural mirrors of societies. Besides, consumption is in harmony with culture and therefore, relation of housing and consumption is a matter of paramount importance which needs detailed investigations.

Having all above-mentioned issues in mind, it was obvious that the city faced a population explosion and as its result, lack of lands and houses in city centers and their high prices led to erecting new types of housing like gated communities, generally outside of city centers and mixed-use buildings in city centers. However, construction of mixed-use buildings has been recently a prevalent housing type far from city centers of Istanbul and close to the edges of the city. Almost all of these new housing types are extremely expensive. They may be potential locations for high-income people to invest in order to have further benefits in future.

1.2 Motivation for Study and Methodology

As it was formerly mentioned, mix-used buildings' main philosophy is to animate the city center. In Istanbul, the first mixed-use building, Akmerkez, was constructed in Besiktas district at central Istanbul in 1993. It included offices, shopping centers, residences and recreational centers. Afterwards, a number of mixed-use buildings were constructed in the city center such as Kanyon and Metrocity. Recently, some mixed-use projects have been planned to be constructed far from city center and near the city edges, such as Nish Istanbul in Yenibosna district, Istwest in Bahcelievler and Mall of Istanbul in Basaksehir. These locations gain more value by construction of such projects and become a new sub-center in Istanbul. With this trend, dependency to the main center is decreasing and expansion of the city is occurred. In fact, this phenomenon is not compatible with the major philosophy of mixed-use buildings. In this study, the factors affecting this trend in Istanbul and the suggestions to mitigate its adverse influences are presented.

Furthermore, as it was mentioned before, gated communities were planned to be situated far from city centers and close to the edges of the city. Gated communities emerged in Istanbul in the 1980s with the impact of globalization and liberal socio-economic policies. With regard to a study conducted in Istanbul Metropolitan Area (IMA), gated communities may be categorized in four types on the basis of their physical characteristics and their development processes as below (Levent; Gulumser, 2007):

- Gated towers
- Gated villa towns

- Gated apartment blocks
- Gated towns

The results of that study demonstrate that gated communities have emerged in both inner and outer city. In recent years, mix-used buildings of Istanbul have been constructed in an analogous pattern with gated communities since the mentioned mix-used buildings are gated. Consequently, gated communities are worthy of investigation in this study, too. Gated communities are supposed to be safer but despite this relative advantage, there are a number of problems regarding them such as segregation among citizens, gentrification, and individualization. The gated communities are sometimes called “city in city” and in this case their resident’s ties with other parts of the city and people are being weakened. All these may change the consumption patterns of residents. To recapitulate, this study’s main research questions are as follow:

- Causes of occurrence of mix-used buildings
- The effects of mix-used buildings on urbanization/suburbanization
- Role players for development of mix-used buildings
- Alternative solutions to cope with the problems related to erection of gated communities and mix-used buildings

Figure 1.1 illustrates the concepts and their interrelations, covered in this study. In this scope, forces, actors and effects behind these developments are being studied using a number of socio-economic theories. Figure 1.2 shows the relation between city center and periphery in Istanbul.

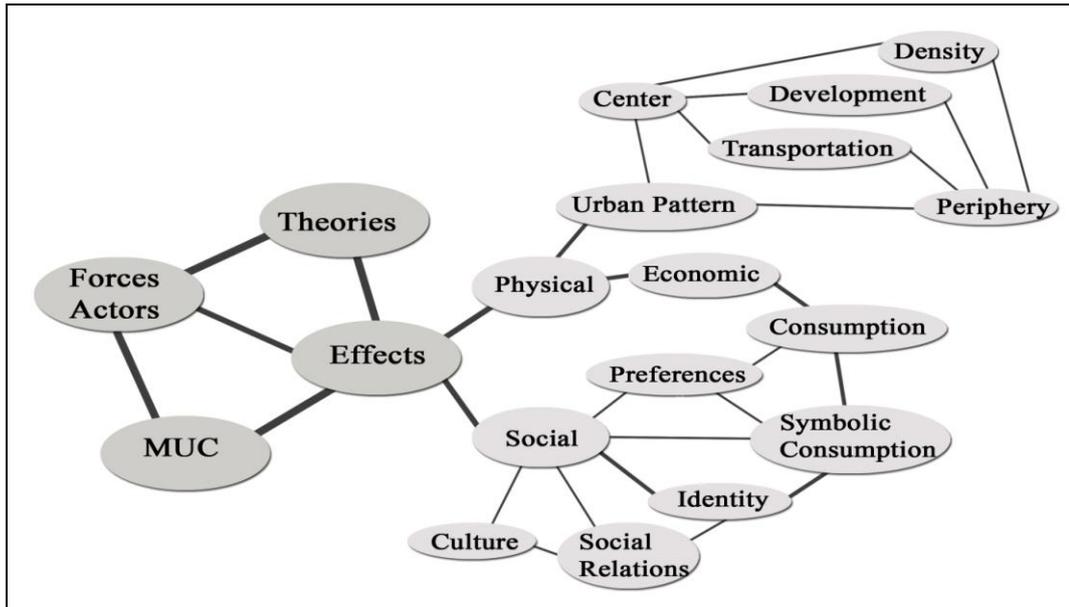


Figure 1.1 : Methodology.

1.3 Outline of Report

In Chapter 1, an introduction to the report and motivation for study are presented. Some concepts are frequently used during the thesis. Thus, definition of some important concepts beside literature review should be presented in earlier parts of the report that Chapter 2 is responsible for that. Chapter 3 encompasses some social and economic theoretical backgrounds. Chapter 4 is about general information and historical review of mix-used development. In addition, examples from the world and Turkey are presented. Chapter 5 is allocated to the case study, Istanbul. Changes of residential, offices and industrial areas of Istanbul are shown. In case study; selected projects, Nish Istanbul, Istwest and Mall of Istanbul projects are presented. Conclusions and findings are presented in Chapter 6.

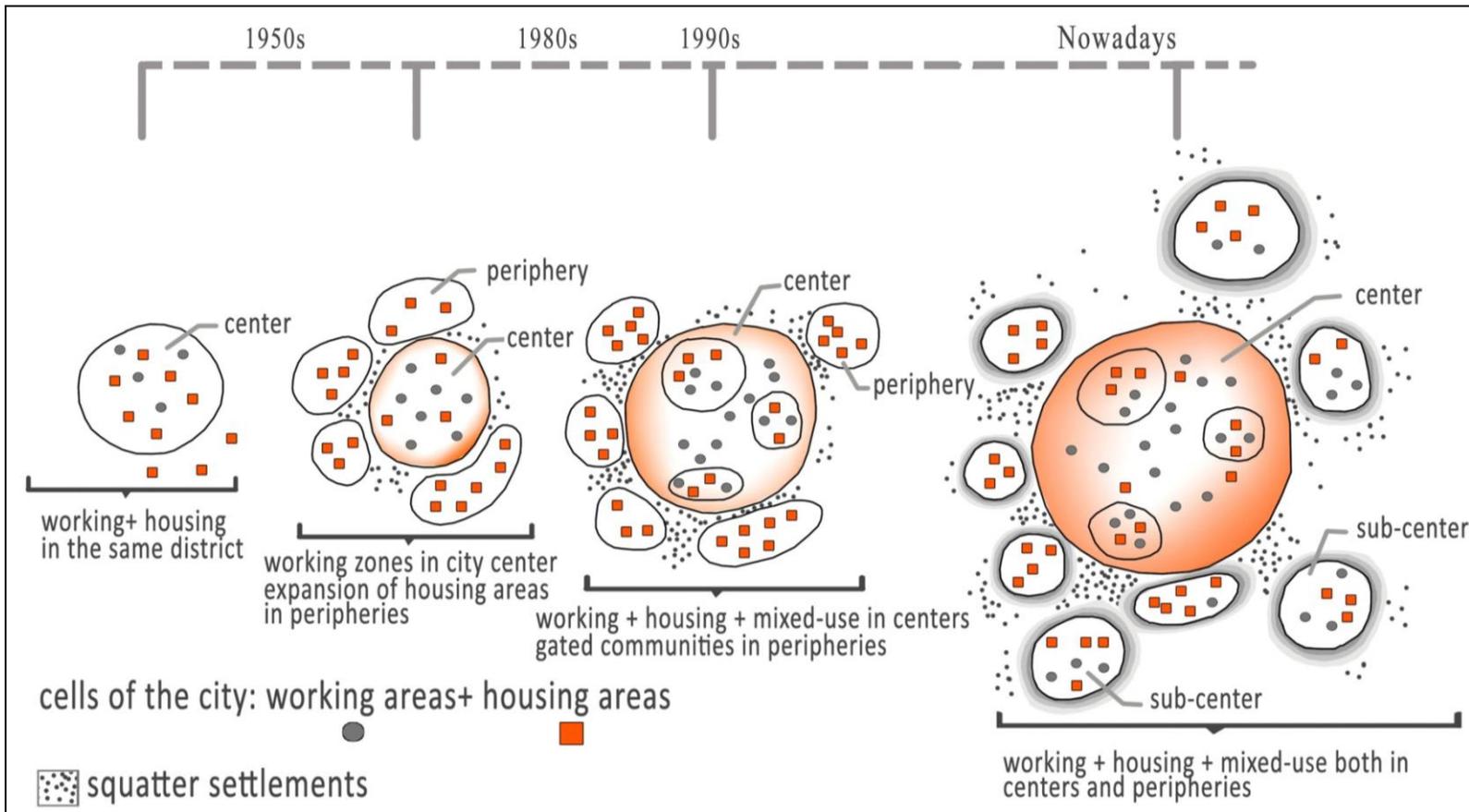


Figure 1.2 : The relationship between city center and periphery in Istanbul, expansion of the city.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW AND DEFINITIONS OF SOME IMPORTANT CONCEPTS

In this study, some important concepts such as consumption, gated communities and mixed-use buildings are frequently used. Thus, it is worth clarifying them, separately. First of all, consumption is being analyzed, since in trend of centralizing of the former peripheries, the peripheries face a cultural alteration and changes in consumption pattern which needs further studies. Consumption is a broad topic which should be analyzed in details using the concepts of globalization, industrialization including Fordism and Post-Fordism and consumption pattern. Gated communities are presented in the subsequent parts of this chapter. Mix-used buildings topic is the cornerstone of this thesis. Thus, it will be studied in detail in a separate chapter.

2.1 Consumption

Consumption, a very important concept of the last century, needs to be studied within details in the scope of this thesis. A thesis in many accounts of the contemporary world is that an economic, technological and cultural shift has occurred: from production to reproduction, modern to postmodern, monopoly capitalism to late capitalism, cultural mediation to cultural immediacies, industrial to informational technologies. Many of these accounts also depict this change as a movement, or shift in emphasis, from production-based practices to consumption-oriented practices. It is perhaps not coincidental, then, that the increasing role of consumption has coincided with the rising precedence accorded to concepts-and practices- of digitization and information. Information and consumption have become dominant practices in the world, not only in “Western” societies, but in many areas of the “Non-Western” world, from Shanghai to Rio to Singapore (Cohen et al., 2005).

Consumption is the motor force of capitalism and the motivation of consumer demand is indispensable to capitalism’s continuing development. There are significant cultural variations but, on the world scale, aspiration towards the

American and west European model has been the major dynamics behind market liberalization in the third world, China and the ex-Soviet empire, and the driving force of economic globalization (Comor, 2008).

Consumption, may also be defined as the activities beyond one's business life which are in order to join the communities and be a member of it and improve his/her humane capacity (Buğra, 2000). Due to Bocoock (1993), consumption is made communally in the historical alteration process. In feudal era, already all of the requisite goods were being produced from the soil and the degree of opulence of people was being evaluated by the amount of the land one owns. Meanwhile, money to be used was rarely distributed over the people (Hız, 2009).

Quesnay (1776) believes that consumers willing to consume more are always extant. Due to him, there are always people eating buckwheat and drinking water but are looking for finding white bread and wine; owning poor dressings but looking for luxurious and better ones. Thus, there is a latent "consumption society" all the times (Braudel, 2004).

In the process of time, industrialization already created a revolution in production. Most productive units changed their production system and machinized the factories. Mass production became a very popular phenomenon and subsequently the patterns of consumption were heavily affected by these facts.

In one of his books called "Culture and Consumption", Mc Cracken states that there are three decisive episodes in the history of consumption. These episodes are the consumer boom in the sixteenth – century England, consumption in the eighteenth – century and consumption in the nineteenth – century. In the last quarter of the 16th century, a spectacular consumer boom occurred. The noblemen of Elizabethan England began to spend with a new enthusiasm, on a new scale from residences to clothes as an indicator of the power and opulence of the government (McGracken, 1988). The Elizabethan family as a unit of consumption was devoted chiefly to establishing and maintaining "the cult of family status" which had preoccupied English families from the medieval period onward (McGracken, 1988). The 18th century saw a consumer explosion of its own. The world of goods expanded dramatically to include new opportunities for the purchase of furniture, pottery,

silver, mirrors, cutlery, gardens, pets and fabric. Following Simmel and Weblen, McKendrick suggests that social competition was the motive force of this revolution (McKendrick et al., 1982). In the 19th century, the consumer revolution had installed itself as a structural feature of social life. Profound changes in consumption had created profound changes in society and these in turn had created further changes in consumption (McGracken, 1988).

In the first quarter of the 20th century, the concept of consumption found a new meaning. Industrial revolution, capitalist economy, and production models were the important factors affecting this change in the meaning. This constitution may be considered as a breaking point for the world of thoughts, social life, and physical structuring.

Consumer society changed the original value in use of merchandise. In the consumerism stage, the “profit function” of the goods being purchased from the marketplace goes to the background and “indication function” replaced it.

Using techniques of advertisement, mass media, and exposal of goods, the original values and their significances or their real meanings gave their place to new images and public opinion (Featherstone, 1996).

The change in the meaning of the consumption entered as a symbolic consumption to the literature. Symbolic consumption affected many aspects of life from dressing to lifestyle, places to visit and so many others in everyday life. O’Shaughnessy and O’Shaughnessy (2002) state that consumers seek “positional” goods to demonstrate group membership, to identify themselves and mark their position. Thus, the symbolic meaning of possessions can be integral in expressing not only one’s own identity and membership of social groups, but also in perceiving the identity of others (Grimmer, 2009). Symbolic consumption refers to the tendency for consumers to focus on meanings beyond the tangible, physical characteristics of material objects (Levy, 1959). In order for consumer products and brands to function as communication symbols, meanings must be socially shared and continuously produced and reproduced during social interactions (Dittmar, 1992).

Consumption has percolated through people’s lives in many of their daily efforts. In most cases, media is a leader factor motivating people to follow this trend. For

instance, a variety of advertisements exist for luxurious houses, cars and etc. which are something more than real need. In this process, people purchase brands instead of their requirements and other people may act like them to keep pace with them. This thesis mainly scrutinizes this aspect of symbolic consumption.

2.1.1 Important Factors Affecting Consumption

There are a number of forces affecting the changes in the meaning of consumption. Undoubtedly, one of the most crucial factors is globalization.

Globalization is an important factor affecting people's life style, particularly in recent centuries. With trend of globalization, everything may be produced and consumed everywhere. This reduces the role of place dimension in the world and changes the concept of time. This causes the urban life to be accelerated.

Broadly defined, globalization is the process of the complete integration of the constituent parts of the world economy with each other and with international markets. In the terminal stage of globalization, nation-states as distinct economic identities pursuing national objectives are expected to disappear. What remains will be an integrated transnational economy where goods, factors of production and financial assets will be perfect substitutes wherever they are located (UNCTAD, 1997).

In other words, globalization is a phenomenon that originated in 1970s, and is a main process in transformation of societal fabric in 1990s. There is interactivity among economic, cultural and political processes as globalization is a multidimensional phenomenon, instead of one-sided, non-dialectical understanding in terms of reductionism. Turkey experiences the process of globalization and constructs capitalist system. Yırtıcı (2005) believes that the main purpose of the globalization and its major philosophy is to make whole the world merged together as a single "economic space".

As Marx mentioned nearly 150 years ago, one of the most important elements of globalization is to pulverize the "space" in the process of time and by time itself. With this trend, space has missed its meaning and importance. The keywords for today's globalized economy, globalization, information flow, economy, and

communication may endanger the meaning of existence of space. In the scope of globalized economy, space is an out-of-date concept (Yırtıcı, 2005).

It is a well-established fact that globalization and capitalism are in interaction. Consequently, the concept of global capitalism gain value. Global capitalism is a theoretical approach to the phenomenon of globalization which emphasizes the economic dimension of globalization while linking it to its socio-cultural and political dimensions. It therefore regards itself as a holistic and multi-dimensional approach which analyses globalization by way of production and consumption (the economic context), by way of socio-economic classification (the sociological context) and by way of state power and decision-making (the political context), (Yalçinkaya, 2009).

Continuous manufacturing, renewal of production tools, emerge of novel production styles, finding new markets, and obligation of expansion are results of capitalist economy which may create dynamism in incessant progress and development (Yırtıcı, 2003).

Before the capitalism era, the goods produced by people belonged to them, while in capitalist society they belonged to the owner of the factory and workers may purchase the produced goods by the money he has earned from his involvement in the production process. This is not a requirement of the nature and it is a social and historical creation by capitalism (Bocock, 1993). Progress of capitalism is only viable when production is in parallel with increase in consumption demand rate. To guarantee this increment, marketing strategies, advertising sector, fashion, technology, and organization of shopping centers have to play crucial roles. Capitalism has to improve production tools to accelerate production and consumption tools to increase demand for produced goods.

Another factor forcing consumption patterns and lifestyles to change is industrialization. According to the original sector classification of Jean Fourastié, an economy consists of a "Primary sector" of commodity production (farming, livestock breeding, exploitation of mineral resources), a "secondary sector" of manufacturing and processing (as paid work), and a "Tertiary Sector" of service industries. The industrialization process is historically based on the expansion of the secondary

sector in an economy dominated by primary activities (Pollard, 1981). Industrialization is the process in which a society or country (or world) transforms itself from a primarily agricultural society into one based on the manufacturing of goods and services. Individual manual labor is often replaced by mechanized mass production and craftsmen are replaced by assembly lines. Characteristics of industrialization include the use of technological innovation to solve problems as opposed to superstition or dependency upon conditions outside human control such as the weather, as well as more efficient division of labor and economic growth.

Industrialization is most commonly associated with the European Industrial Revolution of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The onset of the second World War also led to a great deal of industrialization which resulted in the growth and development of large urban centers and as well as suburbs. In addition, industrialization is an outgrowth of capitalism. (URL-1).

The Industrial Revolution was a mixed blessing. It had both advantages and disadvantages. Advantages can be summarized as (URL-2):

- Men became free to develop their capabilities in areas other than farming.
- It brought countries and people together. There was an international awareness among people because developments in one country influenced the others.
- Better transport, communications and mechanized goods made life comfortable for man.

Disadvantages can be summarized as:

- Cities became crowded, smoky, with problems of slums, housing, sanitation, accidents and epidemics.
- Women and child labor was badly exploited.
- Workers suffered from long working hours, low wages, and unemployment, unsafe conditions of work, with no rights to vote strike or form trade unions.
- Society became divided into rich and poor, the 'Haves' and the 'Have- Nots'.
- It led to wars of imperialism and colonization.

Industrialization covers two general categories entitled “Fordism” and “Post-Fordism”. The human landscape of the early twenty-first century owes much of its present character to the production processes now referred to as Fordism and Post-Fordism (Holland, 2005).

Fordism, named after Henry Ford, refers to the system of mass production and consumption characteristic of highly developed economies during the 1940s-1960s. Under Fordism, mass consumption combined with mass production to produce sustained economic growth and widespread material advancement (Fraser, 1981; Strasser, 1989).

Post-Fordism is a general term used to describe the transition from mass industrial production, characterized by Fordist methods, to more flexible forms of production favoring innovation and aimed at meeting market demands for customized products. Additionally, Post-Fordism is characterized by the application of production methods, considered to be more flexible than those of the Fordist area (Fraser, 1981; Strasser, 1989).

The increment of importance given to the qualification of labor force in parallel with Post-Fordism resulted in competition, individualistic entrepreneurship, importance gaining of the concept of “individual” (Vural, 2003). In the new set-up as a pattern of flexible production, mass consumption gave its place to individualistic consumption, phenomena such as disparity, display, and fashion came to a dominant mode. Therefore, this new bourgeoisie can make differences between themselves and other parts of the society and reflect these differences in their lifestyles in the process of this flexible production (Balıcađ, 2006).

The period is also called the age of Flexibility. Post-Fordism is characterized by the following attributes:

- Small-batch production.
- Economies of scale.
- Specialized products and jobs.
- New information technologies.
- Emphasis on types of consumers in contrast to previous emphasis on social class.

- The rise of the service and the white-collar worker.
- The feminization of the work force.

In transition from Fordism to Post-Fordism, the production areas moved from the center to the edges (peripheries) of the city since in Post-Fordism period, decentralization gained a remarkable value. Fordism was concentrated to make so many products as possible. Post Fordism on the other hand was producing so many as possible by demand.

It is not surprising that in late 19th and early 20th centuries, the literature related to consumption is so broad. Transportation of standardized products to all national markets and its expansion all over the world is the main reason of the mentioned matter (Fraser, 1981; Strasser, 1989).

The historical community, following the lead of Braudel and the example of McKendrick has recognized that “the great transformation” of the West included not just an “industrial revolution” but also “a consumer revolution”. This community now argues that this consumer revolution represents not just a change in tastes, preferences, and buying habits, but a fundamental shift in the culture of the early modern and modern world (McGracken, 1988). In the process of time, the concept of culture gained more value by these revolutions.

Generally, culture may be defined as follow: Life-style as a whole in a society is the collection of traditions, attitudes, values and common insights which gather the people in the society (Kephart, 1982). As for life-style, it is the behavior pattern that makes people different from each other. In this case, life-styles help people to know what to do, reasons of doing them and trend of doing so (Chaney, 1996).

Briefly, culture is the collection of all material and moral properties which human being has added to the nature. In this definition, every materials and moral laws formed by human being are factors of culture. Mankind, from the first moment of existence, is facing two main contradictions entitled “contradiction between human and nature” and “contradiction between human and human”. Contradiction between human and nature results in formation of equipment and science and subsequently improvement of technology. As for contradiction between human and human,

beliefs, principals and rules results in formation of ideologies (Kongar, 1995). Thereby, each society owns its cultural structure.

These formations involve some cultural processes such as:

Acculturation explains the process of cultural and psychological change that results following meeting between cultures. Enculturation is the process where the culture that is currently established teaches an individual the accepted norms and values of the culture or society in which the individual lives. Cultural Assimilation is a socio-political response to demographic multiculturalism that supports or promotes the assimilation of cultural and ethnic minorities into the dominant culture. Transcultural diffusion is the spread of cultural items such as ideas, styles, religions, technologies, languages, etc. between individuals, whether within a single culture or from one culture to another. It is distinct from the diffusion of innovations within a single culture.

2.2 Gated Communities

By development of transportation means, technology, and communication, some cities were heavily affected by them. In this process, services took the place of industry function in such cities. Therefore, demands were remarkably changed in the mentioned places and some novel housing types began to manifest. One of the emerge types of these new housing types is gated communities. The changing spatial character of cities has two dimensions: divisions between settlements, and internalization of quarters within the boundaries of all of the necessities of life. Therefore, the rush from the city to seek a more secure residential environment defines the term of “gated communities” in the world literature (Çekiç et al., 2009).

Gated communities are a part of the trend of suburbanization that is based on the creation of self-contained, separate communities with carefully constructed identities as well as the typical patterns of the rapid spread of proprietary urban communities of the 21st century (Webster et al., 2002). In other words, gated community may be defined as ‘walled or fenced housing developments to which public access is restricted, often guarded, using security personnel, and usually characterised by legal agreements which tie the residents to a common code of conduct. (Çekiç et al, 2009).

Amenities available in a gated community depend on a number of factors including geographical location, demographic composition, community structure, and community fees collected.

Typical amenities offered may include one or more:

- Swimming pools
- Tennis courts
- Community centers or clubhouses
- Golf courses
- Marina
- On-site dining
- Playgrounds
- Exercise rooms including workout machines
- Spa

Gated communities have been analyzed through the perspective of developers' and local governments' motivations; interaction and problems between neighbors and their importance to the political future of the city or their efficiency to provide basic services. The most declared one has been the global, economic and social actors of the gated lifestyle, and their effects on social segregation and tension within the urban environment. Deprivation of public spaces by privatization of land has been another focal point of national academic literature (Çekiç et al., 2009).

According to Sonia Roitman (2003), main reasons of constructing gated community are as follow:

- Rise of insecurity,
- Fear of crime,
- The failure of the state to provide basic services to citizens
- Increasing social inequalities,
- Social Polarization and
- International trend encouraged by developers (Levent et al, 2004).

The gated residential development is particularly intriguing, mirroring changes in social values that accompany rapid globalization. Given that gated communities are

spatially a type of enclave, Low (2003), among other anthropologists, has argued that they have a negative effect on the overall social capital of the broader community outside the gated community.

The initial motivation for construction of gated communities was to build a secure environment for people who belong to a certain group or level. Gradually, this type of housing changed to be a prestigious symbol for their dwellers. Consequently, wealthy people commenced to purchase these separated areas to boast. At this point, it enters symbolic consumption, rather than dwelling necessity. Purchasing a house from a gated community site means something beyond the real purchase of physical living environment. It is relatively a matter of prestige and it may offer higher rank of lifestyle to its dwellers. It is clear that lifestyle being presented by a special type of housing may be an important determinant in market price.

Since consumption of fashionable and label goods are the symbols of new upper/middle class identity; these people are in constant move in between the popular residential areas. This class is culturally, ethnically, and politically heterogenic in itself, but distinguishes itself from other classes by a clear consumption culture, which both explain and enact these differences (Kurtuluş, 2005).

2.2.1 Typology of gated communities

There are a number of typologies for gated communities. Here one of the most important ones is being presented. According to Blakely and Snyder (1997), gated communities can be categorized in three main typological types, as shown in Table 2.1.

In theory, the categories represent ideal types that serve particular markets. In practice, they say, communities may show a combination of features from these types. Lifestyle communities focus on leisure activities with recreational facilities, common amenities, and shared services at their core. Lifestyle enclaves may include retirement villages, golf communities, or suburban new towns.

Prestige communities serve as symbols of wealth and status for image-conscious residents. In the late 19th century, prestige developments appeared in many North

American cities: homes for industrial magnates and celebrities. Gates prevented the masses from seeing how the wealthy lived.

Table 2.1 : Blakely and Snyder's (1997) general typology of gated communities.

| Type | Features | Subtypes | Characteristics |
|---------------|---|---|---|
| Lifestyle | These projects emphasize common amenities and cater to leisure interests; may reflect small-town nostalgia; may be urban villages, luxury villages, or resort villages. | Retirement Golf and leisure Suburban new town | Age-related complexes with suite of amenities and activities Shared access to amenities for an active lifestyle Master-planned project with suite of amenities and facilities; often in the Sunbelt (USA) |
| Prestige | These projects reflect desire for image, privacy and control; they focus on exclusivity over community; few shared facilities and amenities. | Enclaves of rich and famous Top-fifth developments Executive middle class | Secured and guarded privacy to restrict access for celebrities and very wealthy; attractive locations Secured access for the nouveau riche; often have guards Restricted access; usually without guards |
| Security Zone | These projects reflect fear; involve retrofitting fences and gates on public streets; controlling access. | City perch Suburban perch Barricade perch | Restricted public access in inner city area to limit crime or traffic |

Security zone communities close off public streets to nonresidents. They reflect a fear of outsiders who disrupt neighborhoods. Although developers put security in place in the other types of gated communities, in security zones the residents themselves may lobby for and participate in erecting the barriers. As urban problems overwhelm residents, they may request local authorities to close off streets or enclose neighborhoods to prevent outsiders from gaining access. Walls and gates are erected to deter crime, limit traffic, or maintain property values.

According to Burke (2001), gated communities are classified in five groups:

- Urban security zones
- Secure apartment complexes
- Secure suburban estates
- Secure resort communities
- Secure rural-residential estates

“Urban security zones” are existing communities which are gated in order to reduce social problems, unwanted pedestrian or vehicular traffic. “Secure apartment complexes” block pedestrian or vehicular entry of non-residents, but do not have private open spaces for the dwellings or do not have communal outdoor areas and facilities available to the use of all residents. “Secure suburban estates” are the ones most commonly perceived to be gated communities. Most of them consist of low-rise villas or townhouses and are developed in the suburbs. “Secure resort communities” include within their walls one or more lifestyle features such as a lake, lagoon or golf course, and they also contain a variety of elements that are indicative of resort style living, such as gardens, pathways and elaborate lighting. “Secure rural-residential estates” are ex-urban estates, located most often at the edge of the rural fringe of major centers, which incorporate a gated entrance and other security features within a rural residential subdivision.

From physical point of view, gated communities may be classified in following groups:

- Vertical Gated Communities (VGC)
- Horizontal Gated Communities (HGC)

VGC is a novel housing type in central business districts (CBD) and targets wealthy people. Residences are protected by strict security measures and give services analogous to hotels. Offices and recreational areas such as spor centers, shopping malls are commonplace in vicinity of residences (Dülgeroğlu et al., 2012). VGCs appeared as residences in 90s for suburban elites because of the lack of land reserve in inner city of Istanbul (Levent et al, 2004).

HGCs are traditional communities residing in fenced quarters of individual houses. These communities establish themselves in the natural environment from cities. They require considerably more space than the vertical ones (Pociute et al., 2008).

Location criteria of residents are a matter of paramount importance since this factor may shape land use patterns in cities. Low income families may do it by erecting new squatter areas and may open a new residential area for city. On the other hand, high income groups may do it by their housing preferences. Some of the most important factors in choosing a suitable location for the projects; environmental characteristics, accessibility, vast and cheap lands and the existence of other nearby projects constituted the main criteria (Çekiç et al., 2005).

2.2.2 Gated communities in the world and Istanbul

In order to have a better grasp of this phenomenon, a brief historical background should be clarified.

The idea of gated or walled cities is not a new one. The earliest forms of gated communities date back to Roman Empire. Around 300 B.C. Roman soldiers were given land in tribal areas of England. Their families were clustered there, erecting walls or other defenses not only for being protected from invaders, but also to show resistance to local villagers. After the fall of the Roman Empire, the process of urbanization ceased for a long period of time. Again, this process was revived in 10th and 11th centuries and consequently, towns faced a haphazard growth (CSIR report). The components of the medieval town were normally the wall, with towers and gates; streets and related circulation spaces; the market place; the church and the great mass of general town buildings and related private garden spaces (Morris 1994). An important characteristic of these walled cities was that the wall enclosed the entire town or village and therefore served to enhance and emphasize a sense of unity. Closing to the 13th century, the philosophy of construction of gated or walled communities faced a metamorphosis. Beside military aims, class division turned out to be an important factor in rising of gated communities (Blakely and Snyder 1997). These gated communities in the USA go back to the 19th century and the era of “robber barons”, when the very richest sealed themselves off from the “hoi polloi”.

Finally, in late 20th century, this phenomenon gained prestigious value rather than security and it was expanded all over the world.

Gated communities rapidly increased in California in 1980s and in the following years it became a common phenomenon in other American states, most countries of Europe, Latin America, Asia, Middle East and Africa with their own different level of development.

In the 1990s, Americans moved from metropolitan centers to rural areas more than migrated the other way. In 1990 only one-third of Americans living in metropolitan areas remained in city centers (Çekiç et al., 2005). Blakely and Snyder (1997) have found some 20.000 gated communities in the U.S. accomodating over three million units (with seven to eight million residents), but more recent estimates put the number at more than twice that (Levent et al., 2004).

Of course, construction of enclaves follows some disparate targets in different countries. Common and the most important items are class division, boasting, improvement of security and racial discrimination.

The advent of gated communities in Saudi Arabia goes back to extraction of petrol by foreign experts. Their preference was to live together within their communities rather than sharing life with Arabs due to cultural differences between Western and Middle Eastern nations. As for South Africa, apartheid regime began to erect these communities to separate white and black race. In many Latin American countries such as Mexico, Brazil, Peru and Argentina, the main goal was to reduce the crime rate. Many Australian gated communities are built within private golf courses. It is clear that the aim of these communities is leisure.

Turkish cities want to distance themselves from the urban poor and its reflections on the urban public spaces. This distinction legitimized by the discourse of “security”. Nevertheless, Turkey has salient differences in terms of urban violence and tension compare to the other Western and Eastern countries. However, it can be clearly seen that ethnic, racial or class struggle based violence and tensions are much lower in Turkish cities compared to other world cities. The most salient aspects of Turkish experience are new housing demands of urban elite with their global culture of

consumerism, and supplying capacity of real estate capital which is aware of the accumulation opportunities in the urban space (Kurtuluş, 2011).

The population increase, the migration from rural areas to cities, the fast transition from expanded families to nucleus families and the demands of people to live in houses with better qualities can be cited among the factors behind the demand for houses in Istanbul and the fact that this demand is kept alive as in other major cities (Ergün et al., 2000). This study's domain is Istanbul. Thus, it is worth focusing on Istanbul's gated communities separately. Istanbul is amongst the most populated, crowded and biggest cities in the world. Istanbul Metropolitan Area (IMA), consists of 27 municipalities and the city is the unique one in the world, where Europe and Asia collide. Bosphorus separates the city into European and Asian parts, as shown in Figure 2.1. While the European side is essentially the business and commercial area including the Central Business District (CBD) of the city, the Asian side is the residential area (Ergin, 2001).

The peripheries of Istanbul showed an urban sprawl, with a population of 5,842,958 by 1985, and mushroomed with houses and squatter settlements. Increasing number of independent local -“belde”- municipalities, developing on the peripheries of the IMA, stimulated new demands and pressures, such as new housing projects and industrial areas, as they could make decisions independently from the metropolitan municipality and its master plan (Çekiç et al., 2009).



Figure 2.1 : Istanbul's European and Asian parts' separation by Bosphorus.

By formation of new social classes after 1980s in Istanbul, gated communities were first erected mostly in peripheral areas; however, today they are located all over the

city. In fact, the philosophy of formation of this new housing type was to build houses far from city center and its problems such as traffic, air and noise pollution. Lower prices of lands at such places were another attracting factor to build horizontal gated communities in suburban. But again the long distance of these houses to working places which are mostly situated in European side's CBD and erection of vertical gated communities close to the CBD, resulted in expansion of both types of gated communities, all over Istanbul. Approximately 400 gated communities were established in Istanbul until 2003. Since 2000, total area of newly built housing has reached to 30 million square meters (Levent et al., 2004).

According to Levent et al. (2004), gated communities of Istanbul are divided into four major types:

- Vertical gated developments/gated towers
- Horizontal gated developments/gated villa towns
- Horizontal gated developments/gated apartment blocks
- Mixed type gated developments/gated towns

Table 2.2 depicts the mentioned types of gated communities in Istanbul due to Levent and Gülümser. However, today, these developments may be situated in different locations for a variety of target profiles, mentioned in the table.

Table 2.2 : Typology of gated communities in Istanbul (Beycan-Levent, Gülümser, 2004).

| | Unit type | Target profile | Location |
|-------------------|---|------------------------------------|--------------------|
| Gated towers | Apartments of high-rise building Residence | Urban elites | CBD |
| Gated villa towns | Single unit dwelling | Upper class Upper middle class | Periphery |
| Gated apartments | Flats | Upper middle class Middle class | Inner - outer city |
| Gated towns | Any type | Mixed type | Periphery |

Figure 2.2 illustrates type of gated communities. Gated towers in Istanbul are generally located on the European side, especially in the CBD where office blocks and shopping malls are spreading very rapidly (Figure 2.3).

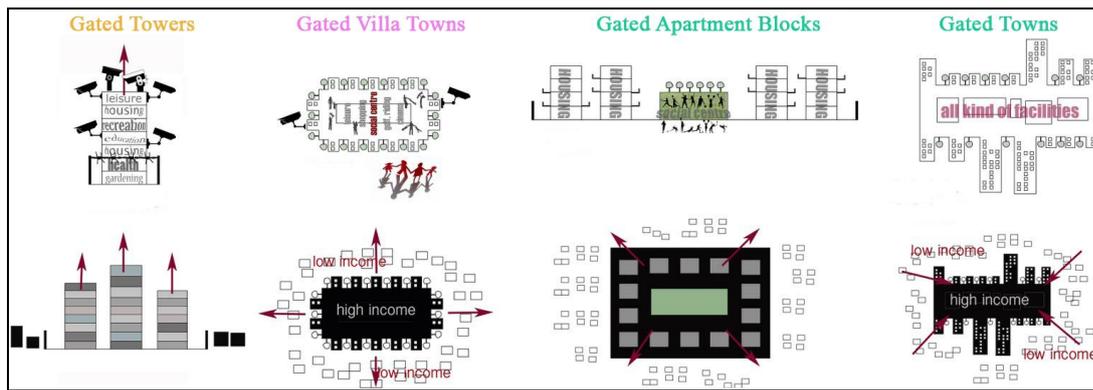


Figure 2.2 : Types of gated communities (URL-3).

However, in the last few years, the gated tower developments have also started being prevalent on the Asian side, located in the sub-business districts and in the new residential zones. Gated towers are generally developed in the CBD as a solution for the lack of available land, since the land is very expensive in the city center and the plots are not large enough to build extended gated communities. Gated towers are developed as mixed-use zones, usually integrated with a shopping mall or office blocks.

Gated villa towns are generally developed as alternative residential zones due to the demands of creating playgrounds, reducing traffic and keeping away safety problems. Gated villa towns use their horizontality to set up a more “people-friendly” settlement while regenerating lost social values with traditional or international patterns brought from other countries mainly from America and realize the ideal city of residents (Levent et al., 2004).

Horizontal gated developments/gated apartment blocks, the oldest examples of fully gated communities in Istanbul, have a similar tendency to the gated villa towns as they are an alternative to gated villa towns for middle income families. Being the oldest examples, a large number of gated apartment blocks are located in the city mainly on the European side; they are also located in the vicinity of gated villa towns in the suburbs.

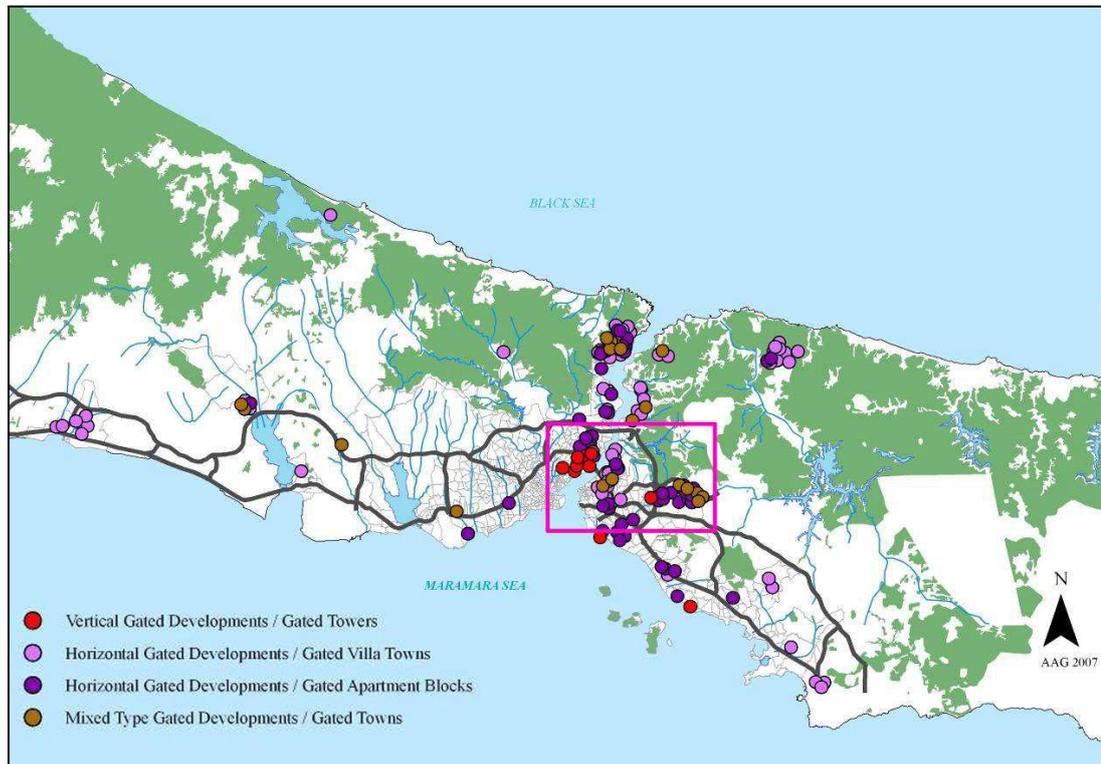


Figure 2.3 : Gated developments in Istanbul, (Levent et al., 2007).

Mixed type gated developments/gated towns constitute of a variety of unit types. In other words, these are a mixture of two or three of the other gated development types. Gated towns are in particular developed in the north of Istanbul's both European and Asian sides.

3. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

It is a well-established fact that there is a direct and close relationship between consumption and housing. Housing type of a household may represent the structure of that household. Mix-used buildings are one of the latest styles in housing production. This study mainly aims at scrutinizing the interactions of this newly constructed building style and consumption. There are a number of handy theories to analyze these interactions that are worthy of being explained in this chapter. These theories can establish the relationship between mix-used buildings and consumption pattern alterations. They help to understand the actors behind the mixed-use development and they assist to state and support the problems mentioned in this thesis. On the other hand, some important concepts which are mostly related to housing types will be used in the subsequent chapters. Therefore, their detailed descriptions are required to be given in this chapter.

3.1 Social Theories and Urbanization (Classical Social Theories)

At this point, some social theories are being studied and implemented on the case study.

3.1.1 Classical social theory (Economic-political approach of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels)

In investigating the origins and genesis of modern societies, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels developed a new materialist theory of history and society, introducing the concepts of the mode of production, forces and relations of production, division of labor, ideology, and class struggle as keys to understanding society and history (Harrington, 2005). They also produced a conception of history as a succession of modes of production, charting the emergence of modern bourgeois society and its future transition to a communist society. Karl Marx developed a complex approach

to the analysis of capitalist modernity. Marx's theory was genuinely critical. Marx believed that capitalism was an unjust and exploitative system of production, founded on the alienation of workers and products. Under capitalism, the relationship between labor and human expression changes: rather than laboring to fulfill their needs or express ideas, workers do so at the demands of capitalists. Workers are alienated from their labor because it no longer belongs to the worker, but rather to the capitalist (Ritzer et al., 2004). Marx here distinguishes four main types of alienation:

- From the product of labour, the worker places his life in the object; but now it no longer belongs to him, but to the object.
- From labour itself, His labour is not voluntary, but forced; it is forced labour.
- From the labourer, estranged labour tears away from him his species-life, his true species-objectivity.
- From other persons, each man regards the other in accordance with the standard and the situation in which he as a worker finds himself (Marx, 1988).

Marx also makes clear that although private property appears as the basis and cause of alienated labour, it is in fact its consequence. Marx's social theory has been extremely influential, remaining a point of reference for contemporary discussions of ideology, class and globalization. Marx's theory is founded on a distinctive understanding of human capacities and human potential. He contended that the social processes of material production are central to the reproduction of society and that major historical changes in social structures can be traced to alterations in the system of production. For example, the change from a feudal social structure to a capitalist social structure is related to alterations in the ownership of property and changes in the means of producing, and hence also the conditions of work. In Marx's opinion, the struggle between classes is a dynamic feature of capitalist society, class conflict being a common thread throughout human history (Browne, 2007).

Marx has analyzed the urban places in parallel with the progresses of capitalism process (Tılıç et al., 2011). Marx believes that capitalism and further industrialization results in enlargement of urban places in a very high rate and consequently, it requires a remarkable migration from rural to urban places. In other words, in Marx's opinion, urban places are spaces for social changes process. His urbanization pattern

of economic-politic approach was basically analyzed on the progress of capitalism and capital stock process. In Marx's analyses, differentiation of rural and urban places is based on division of labor. Marx and Engels look at urban places as spaces with higher rate of labor, massification of production and consumption, and conscious people, while rural life has missed its former values (Tılıç et al., 2011).

3.1.2 Max Weber's theory (City as the ideal type)

Max Weber conceived of sociology as a comprehensive science of social action. In his opinion, there are four types of sociology:

- Zweckrational
- Wertrational
- Affective
- Traditional

Zweckrational type is a goal oriented rational behavior. It is an action in which both the goal and the means are rationally chosen. Sometimes, this type of actions may be called technocratic. Wertrational approach is a value-oriented rationality characterized by striving for a goal, which in itself may not be rational, but which is nonetheless pursued through rational means. Affective action is anchored in the emotional state of the actor rather than in the rational weighing of means and ends. And finally, traditional approach is an action guided by customary habits of thought, by reliance on the "eternal yesterday" (Elwell, 2009).

In one account, "the city consists simply of a collection of one or more separate dwellings but is a relatively closed settlement". He later extends this definition to add that "the city is a settlement the inhabitants of which live primarily off trade and commerce rather than agriculture (Weber, 1958).

Weber was primarily concerned with modern western society, in which, as he saw it, behavior had come to be dominated increasingly by goal oriented rationality. He believes that in modern society the efficient application of means to ends has become predominant and has replaced other springs of social action. Weber proposed that the basic distinguishing marks of modern western man were best viewed in terms of characteristic shifts in human action.

The ideal type is one of his most famous theories. An ideal type is an analytical construct that serves the social investigator as a measuring rod to ascertain the similarities as well as deviations in specific cases. Weber's ideal capitalism involves:

- Private ownership of all potentially profitable activities
- Individual actors seeking to maximize their profit
- Competition between individuals and firms
- Government keeps its hands out of the marketplace

Weber argued that Marx had presented an overly simplified scheme that could not adequately take into account the complex web of causation linking social structures and ideas.

Individual officials have specialized and limited responsibility and authority and so are unlikely to raise basic questions regarding moral implications. The problem is further compounded by the corresponding weakening of many traditional institutions of family, community, and religion which served to bind pre-industrial man to the interests of the group. Rationalization causes the weakening of traditional and religious moral authority. Weber's views about the inescapable rationalization and bureaucratization of the world have obvious similarities to Marx's notion of alienation. Weber believed that the alienation documented by Marx had little to do with capitalism, but was a consequence of industrialism and bureaucracy. He argued that in all relevant spheres of modern society men could no longer engage in socially significant action unless they joined a large-scale organization.

To link the Weber's point of view to the cities, it should be said that Weber tends to obtain an ideal type of city by defining the city with regard to the economic and political factors. His ideal city is based on:

- Castle
- Marketplace
- Relatively independent judicial system
- Co-existence
- Elected management authority (Tılıç et al., 2011).

In Weber's account, what gives the city its special character is principally the existence of commerce and trade, together with all the activities associated with it such as the establishment of markets and exchanges. Hence, Weber writes "In the meaning of the word here, the city is a market settlement (Weber, 1958). Besides, a city must somewhat own political and administrative features. In addition, civil and democratic attendance beside the savior gates and castles are inevitable factors of an ideal city.

3.1.3 George Simmel's idea of alienation in the cities

Simmel focuses on elucidating the modern aspects of contemporary life with reference to their inner meaning. Simmel accomplishes this goal by, first, noting the adjustments and modifications made by people in response to external forces, and second, by detailing how social structures prescribe certain relationships.

Like Weber, Simmel views the metropolis as a historical development and his purpose is to identify the general characteristics of urban life. Unlike Weber, however, Simmel constructs his vision of metropolitan society by observing micro-level behavior, giving his analysis more of an anthropological or social psychological quality than the "systemic analysis" preferred by Weber (Parker, 2004). Simmel (1950) begins his book, "The Metropolis and Mental Life", by discussing one of the most important ideas in the work, namely that urban conditions necessitate the creation of a "protective organ." Due to the intensification of external and internal sensual stimuli in the city as compared to a rural setting, the metropolis fosters a situation where one must buffer him or herself from a constantly changing environment. This protection manifests itself in the rise of logic and intellect. In other words, life becomes matter-of-fact, with little consideration to emotional concerns. This intellectualism defines life in the city, and sharply contrasts with the emphasis on personal relationships characteristic of smaller settings. As Simmel writes: "Instead of reacting emotionally, the metropolitan type reacts primarily in a rational manner. Thus, the reaction of the metropolitan person to those events is moved to the sphere of mental activity that is least sensitive and furthest removed from the depths of personality" (Simmel, 1950).

The development of a protective, rational barrier has a profound impact on individuals living in a metropolis. In a word, they become indifferent. As an individual in an urban setting, one is freed from the kinds of prejudices and boundaries that one might feel in political or religious communities. This urban freedom is clearly illustrated when juxtaposed to rural life, where an urbanite might feel trapped or suffocated. The deepest problems of modern life flow from the attempt of the individual to maintain the independence and individuality of his existence against the sovereign powers of society, against the weight of historical heritage and the external culture and technique of life. Simmel believes that, rather than enforcing a commitment to a common life upon one another, the participants in the metropolitan arena enforce a distance between each other that allows them to conduct their segmental and transitory affairs, and to preserve their unique inwardness.

Simmel believes that the metropolitan lifestyle, with its ever increasing emphasis and concern with accomplishments, rationality, and the accrue of knowledge, has contributed to a decline in culture. In striving for monetary gain, people become ever more one-sided or one-dimensional and ignore extracurricular activities that could potentially enrich their lives. As a consequence of this behavior, personalities fall into disrepair. This situation is only exacerbated by the division of labor – as one is reduced a single entity, a negligible quantity in a complex system – and the characteristic urban mental phenomena that have already been documented. The consequence of this specialization is the transformation of a society from a subjective existence to one more objective in nature (Simmel, 1950).

3.1.4 Ecologic approach of Robert Ezra Park

Human ecology is the sub-discipline of ecology that focuses on humans. More broadly, it is an interdisciplinary and trans-disciplinary study of the relationship between humans and their natural, social, and built environments. The period from 1910 to 1930 was one of significant economic and social change in urban areas. Technological trends in transportation, communication, construction, and manufacturing; increases in trade and other commercial activity; the rise of professional service occupations; and the increased size and movement of the population transformed the urban community and created a host of social problems

(Burns, 1980). In the sociology of the urban places, conceptualization of the matters such as ghetto, depressed area and luxurious houses were primarily done by this approach. That was the first time for ecologists to make a relation between urban areas and social processes and evaluate how the social structure may be affected by urban place. Park explained the chaos of the cities utilizing ideas and theories of some European philosophers, such as Durkheim, Darwin, and Simmel (Tılıç et al., 2011).

In Park's opinion, cities emerge in a natural process rather than the result of some plans and designs. He believes that luxurious houses and industrial areas in cities are being erected in a natural trend. He introduces the cities as a product of human nature. Due to Park, removing the ghettos and depressed areas inside the cities is equal to the remove of human instincts.

It is clear that Park has been heavily influenced by Darwin's evolution theory. Considering the urbanization process as a natural one, he tries to use some Darwinian principles like competition and the struggle to survive in the cities. With this approach, one may deem the cities as social forests. With regard to this philosophy, residents of a city are in an incessant competition with each other. In this trend, powerful people are living in central and dominance side, while weak ones have to live in backsides of the center in this social forest. After this competitive process, generally weaker people dwell in relatively poor areas and strike root. After a period of time, stronger elements tend to have more and more and they try to expand their power and they push the weaker residents and take their places. Consequently, a novel urban settlement pattern, urban power balance, and harmony may be created. As a brief backup, one may conclude that ecologists have used Darwinism's two main factors, competition and dominance. They believe that city residents compete with others to own better life standards and conditions. Due to this theory, distribution of people in urban places is a result of dominance relations. Depressed areas and ghettos are natural parts of the cities with regard to this theory and they cannot be changed. In fact, the ecologic theory may be criticized by two main factors:

- This theory believes that spatial structure of the cities is unchangeable and this may heavily be criticized.

- The theory does not pay appropriate attention to the cultural factors affecting city processes.
- Park's spatial organization modeling is only special to America and may be suitable for some American cities. Anyway, they cannot be generalized for cities in other countries.

3.1.5 Cocentric circles theory of Ernest Burgess

A sociological study of the growth of the city is concerned with the description of processes, as those of expansion, metabolism, and mobility. The typical tendency of urban growth is the expansion radially from its central business district by a series of co-centric circles, as:

- Central business district
- A zone of deterioration
- A zone of workingmen's homes
- A residential area, and
- A commuters' zone (Park, 1997).

The first circle is the center of the city and generally covers business districts. Therefore, it is trade and business area. In this area, there are business centers, banks, shops, hotels, office buildings, and financial corporations and land prices are very high. The second circle is poorer and underdeveloped. It is always threatened by the expansion of the main center. It is generally for new in-migrants and low-income people. By expansion of the trade activities towards this region, former users of the region have to move to other parts of the city. This may affect the prices for houses and lands. In the third circle generally the living standards are better and blue-collar workers dwell. In the fourth circle, medium to high-income people and officialdom live. This region is equipped with modern shopping centers and luxurious houses. Finally, the last circle of the city is suburban places which are far from the center. Figure 3.1 shows the growth of the city by cocentric circles.

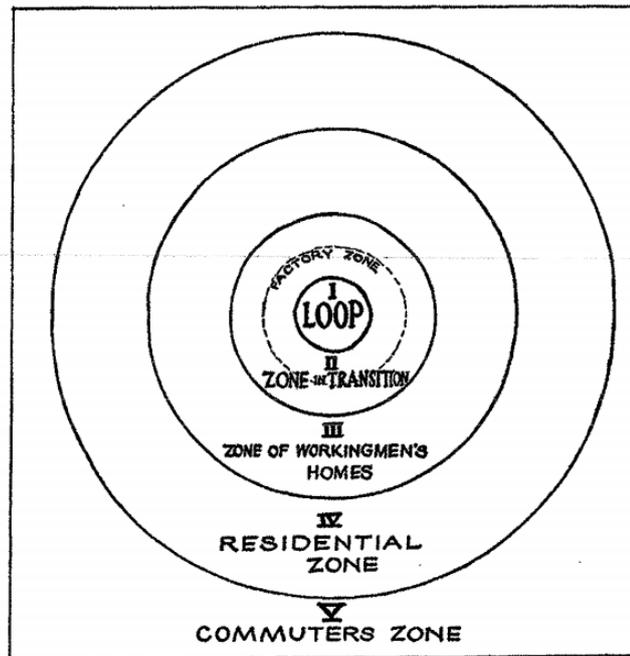


Figure 3.1 : The growth of the city, (Park et al., 1967).

The distribution of population into the natural areas of the city, the division of labor, the differentiation into social and cultural groupings, represents the normal manifestations of urban metabolism. This model explains the land use and settlements of the cities with regard to residents' ability to pay for the lands.

3.2 Contemporary City Theories

This module is organized around a number of central debates and controversies in classical and contemporary social theory. The main objectives of these theories are as follow:

- How to make sense of the main currents and controversies in classical and contemporary social theory.
- To be able to place contemporary social theories in relation to the key traditions of classical sociological thought.
- To acquire an in-depth understanding of the main differences between modern and postmodern social thought.
- To problematize both the conceptual and the empirical implications of recent sociological debates in the context of contemporary society.

- To reflect upon the linkages between theories and research strategies in contemporary sociology (URL-4).

3.2.1 Space as a social product theory of Henri Lefebvre

Lefebvre certainly believed that as a philosophy of urban praxis, his ideas should, like those of Marx, be dedicated to changing rather than merely observing society. In his book, “The Right to the City”, like Marx, Lefebvre saw that the city as a location where use value and exchange value meet and are combined in a formal system or as “relations of production”. Put simply, use value relates to the physical environment and human and raw materials, whereas exchange value relates to the worths of commodities produced for sale by the capitalist mode of production (Parker, 2004).

Lefebvre termed the capitalist city “a bureaucratic society of controlled consumption” (Lefebvre, 1984), a term which has become popularized as “consumer society”. In recent years there has been a noticeable shift from questions of temporality to those of spatiality. In his work, Lefebvre suggests that just as everyday life has been colonized by capitalism, so too has its location – social space. There is therefore work to be done on an understanding of space and how it is socially constructed and used. This is especially necessary given the shift to the importance of space in the modern age. Lefebvre suggests that in the past there were shortages of bread, and never a shortage of space, but that now corn is plentiful (at least in the developed world), whilst space is in short supply: “The overcrowding of highly industrialized countries is especially pronounced in the larger towns and cities”. Social space is allocated according to class, and social planning reproduces the class structure. This is either on the basis of too much space for the rich and too little for the poor, or because of uneven development in the quality of places, or indeed both. Like all economies, the political economy of space is based on the idea of scarcity. Today more than ever, the class struggle is inscribed in space (Elden, 2007). Lefebvre writes: “Spatial practise regulates life- it does not create it. Space has no power in itself, nor does space as such determine spatial contradictions. These are contradictions of society- contradictions between one thing and another within society, as for example between the forces and relations of production- that simply emerge in space, at the level of space, and so engender the contradictions of space...” (Lefebvre, 1984).

Although Lefebvre has been accused of prioritizing the early Marx's notion of alienation over the later idea of production, it is clear in the work on space that the mode of production is essential to the analysis. The human effects, whilst considered forcefully, do not dominate. Lefebvre unequivocally states that "social space is a social product". This means that "every society – and hence every mode of production with all its sub-variants produces a space, its own space. He notes that there is not a strict correspondence, and that sometimes spaces are produced by the contradictions in the mode of production. Lefebvre is anxious to point out that "a social space is not a socialized space", it did not exist beforehand as a non-social space, as a natural space: it is produced by social forces. An analysis of production in the modern world shows that we have passed from the production of things in space to the production of space itself. Due to Lefebvre, Space is viewed in three ways, as perceived, conceived and lived.

3.2.2 Collective consumption and urban social movements theory of Manuel Castells

A conscious collective practice originating in urban issues, able to produce qualitative changes in the urban system, local culture and political institutions in contradiction to the dominant social interests institutionalized as such at the societal level may be deemed as the urban social movement (Castells, 1983). There are many types of urban social movements, but in the scope of this study, collective consumption type is worthy of investigation. As for collective consumption aspect, the goal is to consider the cities as use values rather than commodities and the demands are social wage such as housing, education, healthcare, etc, and additionally, quality of life and conservation of history. Castells believes that, cities are common consumption places and they are also spaces for reproduction of goods and labors. He principally considers the city as a common place for consumption. On the contrary of ecologic approaches, Castells believes that urbanization process is not a natural one and deems it as a product of a created environment. In this scope, urban areas are places reflected by power, government, social and economic systems (Tılıç et al., 2011).

3.2.3 “City as a capital stock” theory of David Harvey

The question of what kind of city we want cannot be divorced from that of what kind of social ties, relationship to nature, lifestyles, technologies and aesthetic values we desire. The right to the city is far more than the individual liberty to access urban resources: it is a right to change ourselves by changing the city. It is, moreover, a common rather than an individual right since this transformation inevitably depends upon the exercise of a collective power to reshape the processes of urbanization. The freedom to make and remake our cities and ourselves is one of the most precious yet most neglected of our human rights (Harvey, 2008). Harvey believes that production may result in creation of new demands. He also brings forward the fact that in the process of capitalism, factories and offices tend to invest in spatial areas and real estate properties rather than machinery and production-related investments. Merely profit-oriented investments which are more than the real social needs result in inequality of spatial level among the residents.

Again, in Istanbul, this trend should be analyzed in details. Lots of luxurious shopping centers and housing projects which are in fact more than society’s real need are being erected. To construct these projects, land is being overused and in some cases sometimes shanties are being destroyed and luxurious projects are being constructed in their places. Therefore, the poor side is getting weaker while the wealthy part can expand its power and this is an inequality in share of land.

3.3 Economic Theories, Relation of Consumption and Income

The former theories were basically focused on sociological theories. At this point, it is worth evaluating some economic theories.

3.3.1 Keynes’s general theory

Household’s choice of how much of their income to consume and save is a matter of paramount importance in macroeconomics. Keynes’s general theory is the cornerstone of the theory of consumption, since it is generally supposed to be the origin of macroeconomics. Keynes’s approach to the consumption was completely on a “common-sense” level. His theory was obviously based on intuition rather than abstract, mathematical theory or detailed econometrics.

The fundamental psychological law, upon which we are entitled to depend with great confidence both a priori from our knowledge of human nature and from the detailed facts of experience, is that men are disposed, as a rule and on the average, to increase their consumption as their income increases, but not by as much as the increase in their income (Keynes, 1936).

Keynes's theory was one of the initial efforts in macroeconomic and therefore, some missing points were undeniable in his theory. For instance, he gives no basis for his theory in terms of utility maximization. In other words, he does not give adequate consideration of why a consumer would behave in the way he assumes. He mostly relies on his knowledge of human nature and does not give remarkable support to his theory using numerical data. Instead, he tends to glean support from detailed facts of experience. He paved the way for economists to work out the microeconomic basis for his theory.

The gist of Keynes's basic model of consumption was that current consumption expenditures are in close relation with current disposable income. His consumption function is usually written in linear form as below:

$$C = a + cY \quad (3.1)$$

Where:

$$C = a + cY$$

C = Consumption

a = Intercept ($a > 0$)

c = Marginal propensity to consume (MPC)

Y = Disposal income

Intercept (a), is a constant which measures the consumption at a zero level of disposal income. It implies that consumption is an inevitable fact and under any circumstances, consumption even in a small level will be extant. MPC may be

defined as $\frac{\partial C}{\partial Y}$ which explains one's tendency to consume. With regard to the above-mentioned linear formula, the following derivations may be obtained:

- As income increases, average propensity to consume (APC) ($\frac{C}{Y}$) falls. This may be easily proven by dividing both left hand side and right hand side of the equation to Y.
- MPC is positive and less than unity. Thus, higher rates of income lead to higher consumption.
- The consumption expenditure increases or decreases with increase or decrease in income but non-proportionally. This non-proportional consumption function implies that in the short run, average and marginal propensities do not coincide ($APC > MPC$).

3.3.2 Kuznets paradox

From the Keynes's general theory, one may conclude that propensity to consume is the relationship between aggregate consumption and current disposable income. Keynes gave names to two measures of the sensitivity of consumption to income.

The average propensity to consume (APC) is the ratio of consumption to income: $\frac{C}{Y}$;

the marginal propensity to consume (MPC) is the amount by which consumption increases as current disposable income rises by a dollar, $\frac{\partial C}{\partial Y}$. Both the average and marginal propensities are generally believed to be between zero and one.

Simon Kuznets refined national account measures of income and consumption and pointed out a paradox that could not be explained by the simple linear consumption function. The Kuznets paradox is an empirical anomaly that relates to the relative size of APC and MPC (Parker, 2010). The MPC in Keynes's equation is the constant c , since in a linear function the marginal effect (slope) is constant. The APC is:

$$\frac{C}{Y} = \frac{a + cY}{Y} = c + \frac{a}{Y} \quad (3.2)$$

How the APC varies as income changes depends on a . If $a > 0$, then the $MPC < APC$ and people spend a decreasing share of their incomes as incomes rise. If $a = 0$, then the $MPC = APC$ and spending is a constant proportion “ c ” of income. Empirical estimation of above-mentioned equation by ordinary least squares with aggregate time-series data generally yields a value of “ c ” in the neighborhood of 0.75 and a positive value of “ a ”. Thus, early empirical estimates led to the prevailing wisdom that the MPC was less than the APC . A common interpretation of this result is that saving was a “luxury” good, whose share of overall income rises as people received higher incomes. Referred to Kuznets, if the $APC > MPC$, then the share of income consumed should decline as income increases. Thus two kinds of empirical evidence seemed to lead to conflicting conclusions: short-run econometric studies found $MPC < APC$ and long-run data showed that $MPC = APC$ (Kuznets, 1955).

The Kuznets paradox posed a challenge for theoretical modelers of consumption. Clearly the linear Keynesian consumption function was insufficient, since it could not explain why the MPC was less than the APC in the short run and across households; yet aggregate consumption was proportional to income over the long run (Parker, 2010). Explaining the Kuznets paradox became a primary goal of consumption theorists in the 1950s.

In following parts, some approaches to deal with Kuznets paradox such as “relative-income hypothesis” will be presented.

3.3.3 Relative-income hypothesis

One of the earliest attempts to reconcile the mentioned conflicting pieces of evidence about the consumption-income relationship was the relative-income hypothesis, described by James Duesenberry (1949). Although this theory has vanished with hardly a trace from contemporary macroeconomics, it carried considerable influence in the 1950s and 1960s. The relative-income model was formulated in two variants: a cross-section version and a time-series version. These variants correspond to the cross-section and time-series aspects of the Kuznets paradox. In both variants, consumption depends on current income relative to some income standard that the household sets based on its own past income or on the income of other households around it.

In the cross-section version, Duesenberry argued that a household's consumption would depend not just on its own current level of income, but on its income relative to those in the subgroup of the population with which it identifies itself. The household will attempt to align its consumption expenditures with those of other members of its group. Thus, households with lower income within the group will consume a larger share of their income to "keep up," while households with high incomes relative to the group will save more and consume less. This hypothesis gained support from the observation that families with the same income seemed to consume systematically different amounts depending on the group to which they belonged.

The time-series variant of the relative-income hypothesis is very similar to the cross section version. The main difference is that instead of comparing their income to those of other households, each household is assumed to consider its current income relative to its own past income levels. This greatly complicates the problem of modeling consumption behavior. Instead of being able to model each household's behavior in isolation, taking as given its income and market prices, one must model all households' consumption decisions together in a game-theoretic framework, taking into account how the behavior of other households affects each family's consumption behavior. Although modern developments in game theory have made such problems a little more approachable than they were in the 1950s, it is still a lot harder to build consumption models if utility is interdependent. Thus, the cross-section relative-income model may be described as "methodologically inconvenient."

To recapitulate, it may be summarized that relative-income hypothesis has two main approaches:

- Cross section variant
- Time-series variant

3.3.4 Game theory

Game theory's main aim is to help decision-makers to interact with each other. A game in the everyday sense is a case in which players compete with each other according to a set of rules. Game theory may be vastly used in order to illuminate economic, political, and biological phenomena (Osborne, 2000). von Neumann and

Morgenstern (1944) conceived game theory as a mathematical tool for solving conflicts of interests. They envisioned two or more players each with their own set of choices (strategy set) and their own objective. A player tries to choose a strategy from its strategy set that maximizes its personal payoff (Vincent et al., 2005). Like other sciences, game theory consists of a collection of models. Models cannot be judged by an absolute criterion: they are neither “right” nor “wrong”. The models of game theory are precise expressions of ideas that can be presented verbally. Game-theoretic modeling starts with an idea related to some aspect of the interaction of decision-makers. The next step is to analyze the model to discover its implications. The concept of rational choice plays a crucial role in game theory.

The theory of rational choice is a component of many models in game theory. Briefly, this theory is that a decision-maker chooses the best action according to his/her preferences, among all the actions available to him/her. The theory is based on a model with two components:

- Actions
- Preferences and payoff functions

A set “A” consists of all the actions that, under some circumstances, are available to the decision-maker. It also includes specification of the decision-maker’s preferences. In any given situation the decision-maker is faced with a subset of “A”, from which she must choose a single element. The decision-maker knows this subset of available choices, and takes it as given; in particular, the subset is not influenced by the decision-maker’s preferences. The set “A” could, for example, be the set of bundles of goods that the decision-maker can possibly consume; given her income at any time, she is restricted to choose from the subset of “A” containing the bundles she can afford.

Briefly, it can be noted that the theory of rational choice is that in any given situation the decision-maker chooses the member of the available subset of “A” that is best according to her preferences.

Another important concept in game theory is strategic game. A strategic game is a model of interacting decision-makers. In recognition of the interaction, we refer to the decision-makers as players. Each player has a set of possible actions. The model

captures interaction between the players by allowing each player to be affected by the actions of all players, not only her own action. Specifically, each player has preferences about the action profile—the list of all the players’ actions. A strategic game basically consists of:

- A set of players
- For each player, a set of actions
- For each player, preferences over the set of action profiles.

A very wide range of situations may be modeled as strategic games. In the scope of this study, players may be the investors in the field of construction (especially those building mix-used buildings), action may be the prices, and the preference may be the profit of the investors (Silvia, 2009).

One of the very rampant explanations of the strategic game is the prisoner’s dilemma. Its name comes from a story involving suspects in a crime; its importance comes from the huge variety of situations in which the participants face incentives similar to those faced by the suspects in the story. The prisoner’s dilemma story may be defined as follow:

Two suspects in a major crime are held in separate cells. There is enough evidence to convict each of them of a minor offense, but not enough evidence to convict either of them of the major crime unless one of them acts as an informer against the other. If they both stay quiet, each will be convicted of the minor offense and spend one year in prison. If only one of them testifies against his partner, he will be freed and used as a witness against the other, who will spend four years in prison. If they both testify against each other, each will spend three years in prison.

This situation may be modeled as a strategic game. Players are the two suspects. Each player’s set of actions is to stay quiet or fink. Each player’s preference is to squeal on the other suspect and instead the other one remain quiet. The Prisoner’s Dilemma models a situation in which there are gains from cooperation (each player prefers that both players choose Quiet than they both choose Fink) but each player has an incentive to “free ride” (choose Fink) whatever the other player does. The game is important since many other situations have similar structures.

3.3.5 Theory of public goods

A public good is often defined to be a good that is both non-rivalrous and non-excludable in consumption. In other words, a public good, as defined by economic theory, is a good that, once produced, can be consumed by an additional consumer at no additional cost. A second characteristic is sometimes added, specifying that consumers cannot be excluded from consuming the public good once it is produced (Holcombe, 1997).

A pure public good is consumed collectively: Its consumption by any individual does not reduce the amount available for others. The classic example of a virtually pure public good is national defense. It is claimed that the amount of security one person consumes from her nation's "defense expenditure" has no effect on the amount for others: The entire population is able to consume a pure public good (Kanemoto, 1980).

The non-rivalrous property holds when use of a unit of the good by one consumer does not preclude or diminish the benefit from another consumer using the same unit of the good. Thus there is jointness in consumption of the good—one unit of the good produced generates multiple units of consumption. Non-rivalrous implies that the opportunity cost of the marginal user is zero. Some classic examples are a radio broadcast—my listening to the broadcast does not diminish your ability to benefit from the same broadcast; air quality—if a power plant reduces its sulfur dioxide emissions, all consumers in the area exposed to the plant emissions enjoy an increase in air quality; charitable giving—when one person donates to a charity and the activities of the charity expand, everyone in the community can benefit.

Goods will be produced in the private sector, or may not be produced at all, following the conventional wisdom, so economic efficiency requires that the government force people to contribute to the production of public goods, and then allow all citizens to consume them.

To recap, The most precise technical definition of a public good, and the definition that is most often referred to by economists, is Samuelson's definition, which says that a public good is a good that, once produced for some consumers, can be consumed by additional consumers at no additional cost (Holcombe, 1997). This is

the jointness in consumption. The common name given to Samuelson's rigorous definition suggests that public goods are government-produced goods, implying that goods with the characteristics of jointness in consumption and non-excludability ought to be produced by government. Perhaps this bias in the name is obvious, but it is an integral part of the application of the theory of public goods. An economist argues that a good has the characteristics of either jointness in consumption or non-excludability, and then, because that makes the good a public good, implies that the good should be produced in the public sector.

Samuelson argued that there is no good revealed-preference mechanism for public goods, so they will not be produced efficiently, if at all, in the private sector. Public-sector production is thus required for efficiency. Note that even the titles of Samuelson's articles show the implication that public goods, as he defines them, must be produced in the public sector (Holcombe, 1997). Today, the wisdom that the market accomplishes economic tasks more efficiently than the government goes largely undisputed. However, governments do traditionally provide goods and services that have other significant dimensions besides purely economic ones (Marmolo, 1999). The conventional justification for the public provision of goods is market failure.

3.3.6 Theory of externality

A cost or benefit which is not transmitted through prices is called externality in economy. It is incurred by a party who is not involved as either a buyer or a seller of the goods. Externality may be divided in two groups:

- Negative externality or external cost
- Positive externality or external benefit

A negative externality is a cost that is suffered by a third party as a result of an economic transaction. In a transaction, the producer and consumer are the first and second parties, and third parties include any individual, organization, property owner, or resource that is indirectly affected. Some externalities, like waste, arise from consumption while other externalities, like carbon emissions from factories, arise from production. Externalities commonly occur in situations where property rights over assets or resources have not been allocated, or are uncertain. For example,

no one owns the oceans and they are not the private property of anyone, so ships may pollute the sea without fear of being taken to court.

Positive externality occurs when the consumption or production of a good causes a benefit to a third party. In other words, Positive externalities exist when the marginal social benefit of production and/or consumption exceeds the marginal private benefit.

Externalities arise when an agent does not compensate others for the effect of his actions. Smokers who do not, for example, pay for cleaning windows, or for the damage they may do to others' health. Urban life, in fact, is filled with examples of externalities. For example, firms often prefer to locate in larger cities because of the presence of other firms: individuals sometimes choose to avoid certain neighbourhoods because of the presence of certain ethnic groups (Kanemoto,1980). Housing as one of the basic and most important requirements of all households may have some positive and negative externalities, as well. Construction of houses is a time-consuming process and erection of mix-used buildings as one of the latest trends in housing type is not exception of this matter. The followings may be the negative externalities of construction of mix-used buildings in Istanbul or anywhere else:

- Noise and air pollution during construction periods
- Over-consumption of the resources
- Development of undeveloped lands and changing their original habitat
- Segregation of people with different social backgrounds
- Additional demand for civic amenities on the municipalities/ local/ county administration

On the other hand, the followings may be the positive externalities:

- Better habitat
- Rising prices of houses and rents
- Dispersal of population
- De-congestion away from old cities
- Improved health and hygiene.

3.4 Evaluation of Developments in Istanbul Using Theories

To summarize the chapter, it can be said that the matter of consumption and housing (especially luxurious housing types) may be analyzed by a number of social and economic theories for our case study, Istanbul. Figure 3.2 depicts the changes in city center and peripheries over years. These developments may be considered as results of socio-economic changes in the city. Their impacts on urban form may change socio-economic profile. Thus, the mentioned developments and dates should be thought as a whole and they comprehend each other.

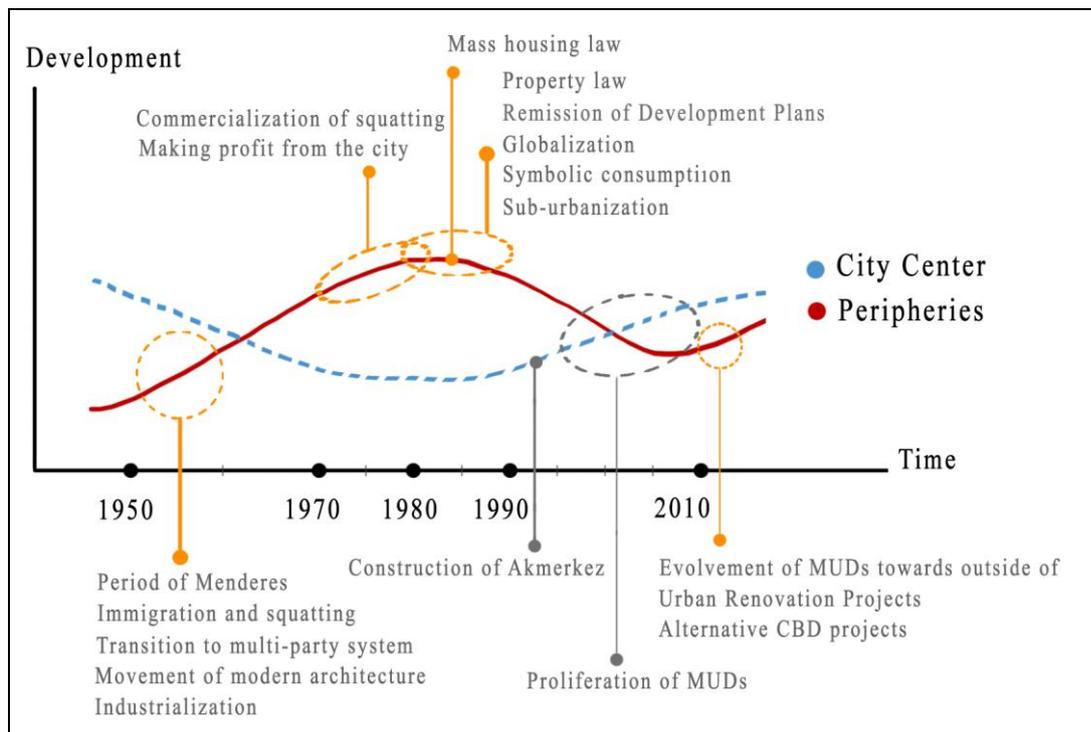


Figure 3.2 : Development in city center and peripheries in Istanbul over the years.

Istanbul, especially after 1950s, and with progress of industrialization, attracted many people from all other parts of Turkey, especially rural places. Therefore, a remarkable increase in population has occurred in Istanbul and the city expanded. According to Classical Social Theory of Marks and Engels, these developments may result in changes in production, consumption and demography of society. The lifestyles, consumption patterns, cultures, and etc. of in-migrants had to be greatly changed in the process of in-migration. All of the above-mentioned factors have paved the way for researchers to analyze Istanbul from Marx's and Engel's point of view.

People migrated to Istanbul and they were being recruited in industries and as far as they were not generally wealthy, they had to live far from city center and at the edges to manage the life costs. In the process of time, their regions were improving and by progress of facilities such as transportation means and public services, they were gaining value. At this time, rich people preferred to seize these newly progressed regions. Thus, sub-urbanization has gained value and middle and upper-income people might have pushed the main residents back and make investments in these areas. This phenomenon in Istanbul may clearly be investigated by Park's ecologic theory.

Early in the 20th century, the city was mainly constructed close to the sea and there was a center where the main trade was located. By emerging of industrialization, the industrial areas were being expanded in the city and the structure of the city faced remarkable alterations. It was growing towards the edges and forming new circles in a similar manner as Burgess's theory predicted. Thus, investigation of the expansion of the city using Burgess "co-centric circles theory" is worth mentioning.

In Turkey, especially after 1950s, industrialization rate was remarkably accelerated. Hundreds of thousands of in-migrants moved to Istanbul to find better job opportunities and living standards. At the first stage, they erected slums and lived in bad conditions. After 1970s, their income has relatively increased compared to the past with regard to the increment in production rate they were involved. Some of them began to make money from their houses by renting. This increment in income level and also trying to improve their social status in the city may have affected people's tendency to consume more or at least may change their former consumption patterns. Keynes's general theory on consumption would explain to the alterations of consumption changes of Istanbul residents. Housing as one of the main and rudimentary needs of human being is not exception of this manner and the higher rate of income may have influenced new housing type.

As it was mentioned early in theory of Keynes, after 1970s, there was a remarkable increment in Istanbul residents' income compared to their incomes in the past. This may greatly affect their consumption patterns with regard to the time-series variant of relative-income hypothesis. On the other hand, people generally try to improve their social status in a community or a society they belong to. In this case, they tend

to harmonize their behavior and consumption patterns with other members of the group and try to become similar to other members. This sometimes may result in an absolute imitation. This kind of behavior is precisely in relation with cross section variant of relative-income hypothesis.

With the popularization of gated communities and the expansion of the city, individualization is being more prevalent in Istanbul and social ties are weakened. With regard to Simmel's Alienation Theory, with acceleration of urbanization, rationalization and behaving mentally rather than emotionally have been increased and this may result in alienation in the city.

One may conclude that Lefebvre thought which claims that capitalism tends to advance its purposes by producing its required spaces holds true for Istanbul. In this case, the main aim of production is not to give services to the society, but is to create locations for residents to consume products of capitalism. In this manner, every space reveals its own social relations. In Istanbul, this matter is completely obvious. In parallel with sub-urbanization, work places remained in city center, while residential areas moved towards peripheries. With this trend, city center became more and more dynamic and peripheries offered a calm and different lifestyle. Subsequently, social relations faced some changes. However, in recent years, the mentioned peripheries has become more dynamic in comparison with the past and this has altered the social profile, again and again.

In the process of urbanization, some economic crises have been experienced. With regard to Harvey's theory of city as a social product, governments cope with such crises by investing in real estate. After above-mentioned developments in Istanbul, real estate was found out to be one of the most profiting investments. Therefore, most people tended to purchase houses in Istanbul, especially in newly developing areas.

Many positive developments have been introduced by urbanization. However, it brought some issues such as air pollution, crowding and traffic load have been occurred. These issues paved the way for researchers to study about an ideal city. Urban renevation projects were implemented as the results of mentioned stuedies in Istanbul. With regard to Weber, an inseperable part of an ideal city is co-existance.

After 1980s, in parallel with proliferation of gated communities in Istanbul, individualization and alienation became prevalent issues and this matter is in challenge with co-existence.

Undoubtedly, there is a strong relationship between urban development and policy. As it was mentioned before, every space produces its own social relations. Beside, every political approach produces its own spaces. For example, in feudal system, people used to live in a small community close to a central lord. In towns of socialism, every facility such as housing, health, entertainment, transportation or infrastructure may be equally accessible to all, and there would be no dominant authority or people separated from others. As for capitalism, fiscal point of view is more important than having equal facilities. Today, in Istanbul, like many other metropolises, making profit is playing a crucial role in the process of urbanization. With regard to Castells, cities are places of collective consumption and governments intervene in cities to prevent any social movement. For this reason, cities are also places of political relationships. Cities were basically organized around collective rather than individual consumption. However, in Istanbul, individual consumption is more prominent. For example, shopping malls have entertainment facilities beside shopping. Therefore, they may be considered as a place of collective consumption and this matter may organize consumption patterns and free time activities of societies. Castells suggests that inequality in cities may result in urban social movements. Thus, in the process of urban renewal, distribution of goods gains more value. Erecting many houses for wealthy people rather than low-income people, replacement of former residents with upper-income people by gentrification and social inequalities may lead to trigger some urban social movements.

Theory of collective consumption may be paired with theory of public good. In Istanbul, almost all of the gated communities have been erected by private sector. They all have their own shopping, recreational centers, services and facilities which are not usable for public. In this case, formation of a unwanted competition among citizens and also isolation of people is highly probable. As a result, the social ties of the members of the society may be weakened.

After 1990s, a remarkable number of mix-used projects have been constructed in city center on Levent-Maslak axis and these areas have become a central business district

of Istanbul. As it was mentioned before, one of the main philosophies of the construction of mix-used buildings is to animate the city center. On the other hand, it is clearly observed that recently, a number of these projects have been constructed far from city centers and at the edges of the city that has resulted in the formation of sub-centers. A very important point here is that some of them are very close to each other. For instance on Basın Express main road of Istanbul which is far from city center, there are a remarkable number of mix-used projects with their own shopping, recreational and services centers where they are really close together. They have formed a new sub-center at that region of Istanbul. Due to the game theory and the concept of strategic game, each project tends to carry forward its own profits regardless of the other ones. In this case, it may lead to the failure of some mentioned projects. Accordingly, housing industry has become a very profitable area in Istanbul. According to Ergün et al. (2000), the demand decreases as the price increases and as price decreases, the demand increases again. The equilibrium price is achieved where the supply and demand are equal. When supply increases, the price is pulled down in order to achieve the consumption of the total amount of the product. The increase of prices is obligatory in cases where the supply is low. In Turkey, lots of construction companies try to construct their own projects in new sub-centers of Istanbul and in this case a saturated supply even more than the demand may occur. Besides, it is a well-established fact that people prefer to use the newer projects and centers and construction rate of higher than need may not be justifiable. On the other hand, urban renewal projects are currently under implementation in city centers and in a close future, these places may attract upper and middle class. In that case, the huge investments in the sub-urban centers, may be endangered.

In Istanbul most of the mix-used buildings are considered to be belonged to wealthy people and they are a matter of prestige. In recent years, a number of these projects have been established at the edge of the city where were formerly belonged to low to medium-income people. In this case, segregation between former residents of the quarter and new wealthy dwellers is obvious and this may affect the social ties negatively. Another externality is that during the construction process, people in the vicinity of the project may be annoyed by the noise and air pollution caused by the construction. On the other hand, these projects may offer better hygienic

environment for all residents of the quarter, increase the house prices of others, and offer a habitat with higher quality of all people residing there. In addition, one of the main philosophies of theory of externality is that every piece of an entire system is important and unseperable. Every piece affects the whole. This is why, all above-mentioned issues are pieces of a system of cities and they cannot be ignored.

4. MIX-USED DEVELOPMENT

Some information about mix-used developments, a brief history of its formation and examples from Turkey and other parts of the world are given in this chapter.

4.1 Definition and Properties

Technological developments, population growth in urban areas, entry to the information age, differentiations in income level and resulted alterations in people's working style and how people make use of their free times brought up some changes in consumption patterns and habits. In this case, housing styles has been directly and heavily affected and novel demands have been emerged. One of the most important types of these housing styles is mix-used buildings. Basically, it is possible to consider mix-used concept as the congregation of more than one factors and it can be evaluated from a number of viewpoints. For instance, there may be income, age, function, family types of mix-used, but in the scope of this thesis, mix-used of the function is mostly analyzed.

Mix-used development is defined as : Development which comprises a mixture of two or more land uses, either comprised within a single building (horizontally or vertically) or multiple buildings of different uses within a distinct development site (Harbison). Mix-used projects are developments which combine two or more types of revenue producing real estate developments. Mix-used projects may be either low rise suburban projects or high rise, high density urban projects. Mix-used projects were created to satisfy a convenience and marketing demand using valuable property for its highest and best use (Hacısalihoğlu, 2009).

There are some concepts that are close to the mix-used which are being presented as follow:

- Combined Use (or shared use): Mostly used to denote the combination of facilities for more than one activity in one project.
- Grain: The degree of intimacy with which various land use elements are related (This term is to the best of knowledge attributable to Kewin Lynch).
- Joint Development: The addition of buildings, plazas, or parks to existing highways, or development in conjunction with future highways.
- Joint Occupancy: School facilities combined with private facilities.
- Mixed Use: School facilities combined with other public non-school facilities.
- Mixed Use (Alternative definition): The unspecified mixture of land uses within one building.
- Multi- or Multiple Use: A facility that serves a variety of purposes.
- Multiuse Center (MUC): A concentration of complementary land uses that is physically integrated by means of pedestrian systems.
- Planned Unit Development (PUD): Definition the same as that for multiuse center, without the necessity of physical integration (Procos, 1976).

At this step, some questions about development of mix-used buildings may emerge, as follow:

- Are these developments socially and physically compatible with their surroundings?
- Do they really facilitate traffic movement in a remarkably positive manner and increase pedestrian use of streets?
- Do they offer better facilities and public services and make the utility of the urban space better than before?
- Do they create a framework that supports different uses to their common benefits?
- Briefly, do multiuse buildings enrich the city's fabric?

Mix-used developments are characterized by:

- Three or more significant revenue-producing uses (such as retail/entertainment, office, residential, hotel, and/or civic/cultural/recreation) that are mutually supported;

- Significant physical and functional integration of project components (and thus a relatively close-knit and intensive use of land), including uninterrupted pedestrian connections, and
- Development in conformance with a coherent plan (that frequently stipulates the type and scale of uses, permitted densities and related items) (Schwanke, 2003).

Physical configuration of mix-used developments can be categorized into three groups as below:

- **Mix-used Towers:** These are single, high rise, high density towers. Functions are layered vertically. Mostly located in downtown. They have striking physical profile and create land marks so helpful in marketing the development but have a disadvantage of creating less public outdoor space.
- **Integrated Multi-tower Structures:** These structures architecturally connect individual buildings and towers in one multi-component development. Common building may be an atrium, a shopping centre or underground parking area. Mostly found in downtown central business district (CBD) or high density suburban downtowns.
- **Mix-used Town Centers, Urban Villages and Districts:** This type of mix-used projects is made up of variety of individual buildings around streets, parks or squares and seems like an urban district more than a single project. Mostly developed outside downtowns. Mix-used town centers, urban villages and districts are clearly the direction that most mix-used designs are moving today. They also offer greater flexibility for timing and phasing projects, important factors in improving feasibility and reducing risk (Schwanke, 2003).

Additionally, Rowley (1996) defines four types of mixed use depending on the scale of the mix:

- Within individual buildings (i.e., fine-grained mix);
- Within building blocks;
- Within the street or other public spaces and
- Within neighborhoods (less fine-grained mix) (Hirt, 2007).

4.2 History of Mix-Used Developments

Mix-used buildings and developments account for a very important part of this thesis. Thus, presentation of a brief history of its development is an inevitable part of the study. In fact, mix-used concept which has been a popularized one, especially in recent years, is not a very new concept and dates back to centuries ago. It is worth studying the mix-used developments in three historical time intervals, as below:

- Before industrial revolution
- After industrial revolution
- Recent years

4.2.1 Mix-used developments before industrialization

Before the industrial revolution, describing buildings as multi-use would have seemed irrelevant. Such buildings existed as a matter of course and were integrated into the fabric of European towns and cities. They have been built and used by man for centuries. The Greek Agora and Roman Baths are well-known examples of early multi-use structures. The Agora, the secular centre of Greek city, was more than just an orderly arrangement of market stalls. Figure 4.1 depicts Assos agora. The space around it served as the social and political forum for citizens where gatherings discussions of all kinds took place. The Baths, too, were centers for public discussion, not merely places for exercise and entertainments. They contained in formal, usually symmetrical plan, a great variety of uses and activities: Libraries, theatres, lecture halls, sport rooms and dining facilities (Zeidler, 1985).

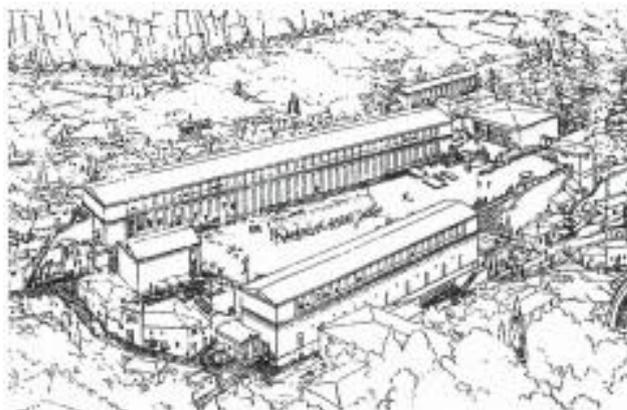


Figure 4.1 : Assos agora, (Dinsdmoor, 1975).

While studying the past Roman cities, one may observe that the development of those cities was not based on a specific plan. Instead, the development of them was around the center of the city which was the city's heart and was surrounded by shops, meeting, working, and recreational centers. In the process of time, the cities have been extended, improved, gained more value and the interrelations of the different functions of the urban life have been explored. Passages and gallerias may be other examples of mix-used developments. These places were serving as residential and commercial ones to the people, where people could gather together. A medieval bridge in London (Figure 4.2) is one of the oldest samples of the mix-used developments which had gathered living and working places together (Slessor, 2003).

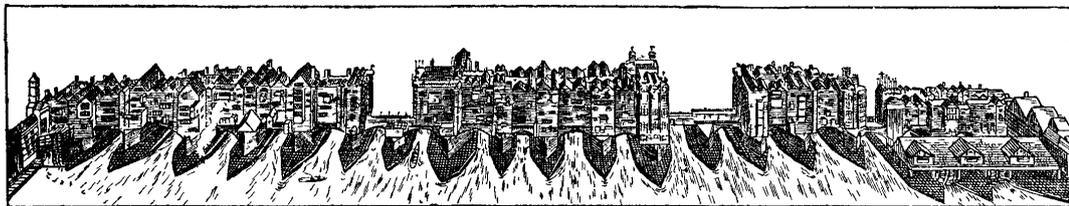


Figure 4.2 : A mix-used bridge in medieval London, (URL-5).

The walls of medieval towns enclosed all activities of an inhabitant's life. With the exception of a few isolated functions served by Church or city hall, his daily activities were circumscribed and contained within his own house. Burghers usually lived above the shops in which they worked. Residence and work place coexisted within one structure, creating the most enduring multi-use building of any city, old or new. In the compact, comparatively immobile society of middle ages, the street was the place of business. In Renaissance and Baroque cities, housing was still frequently situated over street-level shops; however, neither the owner nor the worker in the shop below necessarily lived there (Zeidler, 1985).

4.2.2 Mix-used developments after industrialization

Industrial revolution affected almost all aspects of life in the societies. Cities were not exceptions of these effects and they were facing remarkable changes. Improvement of technologies and transport systems and dependence to the mechanization were clearly observed in this period of time and industrial areas were increased and there was a need to more labor in the factories. Thus, it was impossible

for all workers to have homes close to their working places and people would travel from their homes to working places and this became a rampant case. These matters caused an increment in population in cities, air pollution, traffic problems, and unhealthy lifestyles.

In order to overcome these problems, some utopians such as Robert Owen, Charles Fourier and Saint Simon proposed communities based on still infant and naive form of socialism. Three main ideas emerged from this utopian movement. First, the ideal utopian community was an isolated entity and free from the chaos of the city. Secondly, utopian communities were restricted to a certain size and number of inhabitants. Finally, Utopians proposed a zoning of uses as a way of reducing social problems. The last one, zoning, has gained more value and attentions after the industrialization revolution and has played an important role in formation of the city styles (Zeidler, 1985).

Zoning deals with the land use and its development and aims at processing the lands. It tries to divide cities to regions and neighborhoods with regard to their current and future utility styles. In other words, zoning tries to allocate land to the different functions of the city. In the 1933 congress of CIAM, the members presented the following four functions as the key functions for the urban planning:

- Sheltering
- Working
- Recreation
- Transportation

Increment in the rate of utility of private cars and construction of new roads and highways resulted in the reduction of the former value of the concept of the center in the city. Consequently, housing projects with lower density were erected in suburban areas and industrial regions were moving and getting far from centers. This dichotomy was based on separation of the population into producers and consumers and separation of the users of lands. The reason, according to Françoise Choay, was the growing consciousness of the nineteenth-century bourgeoisie that their social class was destined to consume what lower classes produced.

The workers had to be kept in economic bondage: this meant that they had to be kept away from their employers and the new bourgeoisie, who, together, made up the most important consumer group. The factory, the place of production, was moved farther and farther from the central district and its banks, mansions, townhouses, hotels, rows of shops, and general consumer-oriented atmosphere. Thus the workers commuted between distinctly different land use environments in their daily life while the middle and upper classes stayed clear of the type of land uses associated with the working class. Ebenezer Howard's Garden City is representative of the philosophy of the return to nature. Figure 4.3 shows Ebenezer's Garden City plan (Procos, 1976).

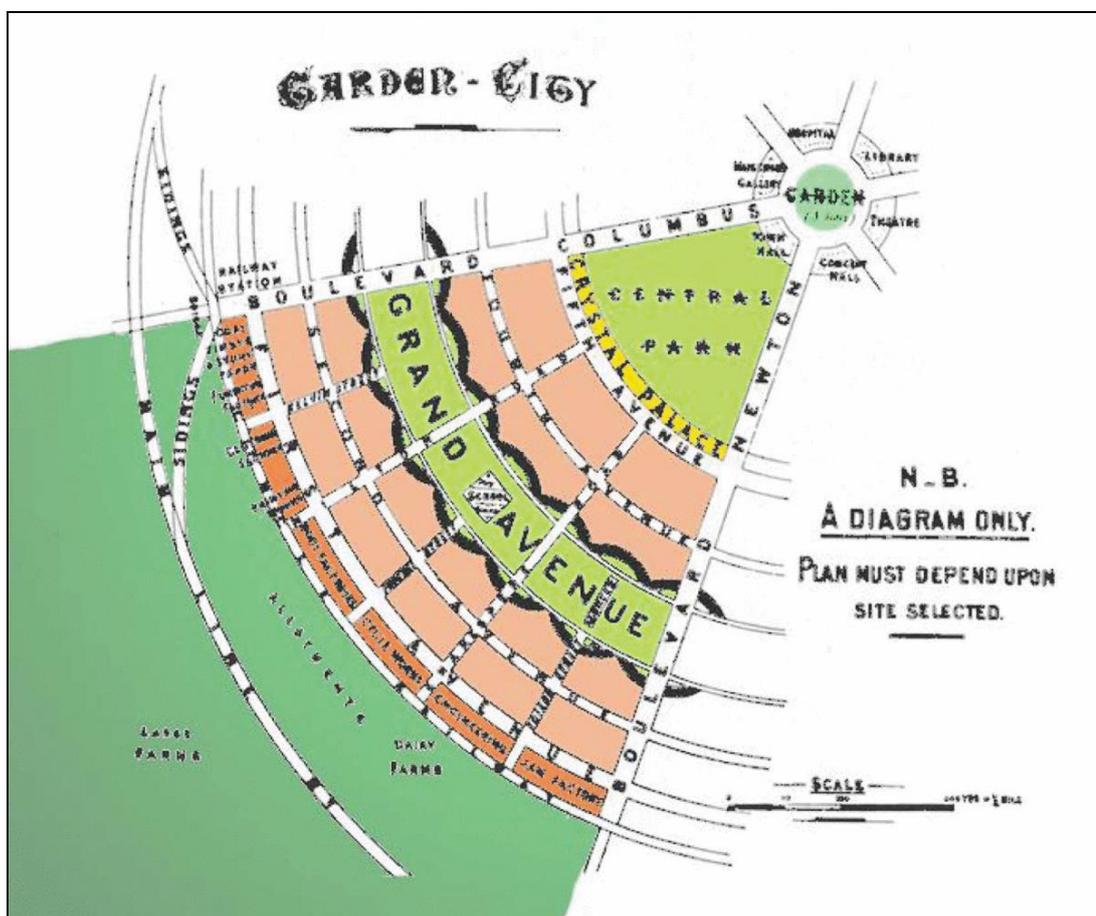


Figure 4.3 : Ebenezer's "Garden City" zoning, (Procos, 1976).

Ostensibly, land-use zoning was a European invention. Indeed, classic European planning visions such as those of E. Howard, T. Garnier, and Le Corbusier all proposed varying degrees of land-use segregation and zoning was first used in European countries such as Germany and Sweden. Yet land-use segregationist zoning found a warmer embrace in North America. By the 1930s, when the Athens Charter led by European architects, they made land-use separation the golden tenet of

modernist planning. American cities had already gone through several decades of intensive creation of single land-use zones. Furthermore, even during the peak of modernism, European planners continued to allow crossover of land uses, and used zoning mainly to control density and protect residences from heavy industry by requiring it to meet certain standards. After World War II, American planners, on the other hand, split the land uses more strictly and often prohibited the mixing of residential types. Thus, even after the widespread application of modern zoning after World War II, most European cities retained much of their early 20th-century vitality by preserving the colorful blend of different people, uses, and activities at all hours of the day. American cities, in contrast, were typically split into spread-apart land-use zones and separated by class via the imposition of rules ensuring that single and multi-family dwellings did not coexist (Hirt, 2007).

4.2.3 Mix-used developments in recent years

The distance between homes to working places was increased by zoning the city and this resulted in spending more money and time to transport. Money and time are generally very important factors for urban residents and consequently, a number of viewpoints opposed to the zoning system.

The idea of separating uses in large, spread-apart, mono-functional land blocks came under sustained attack after the 1960s. Jane Jacobs' (1961) argument that fine-grained mixed use is a crucial component of urban vitality was perhaps the first in a series of powerful critiques. In the next few decades, many other urban scholars argued that strict zoning is a reductionist approach, a division of the city into "cells", that fails to appreciate the complexity of urban life and ends up killing it. Others interpreted it as a noire plot to erect legal barriers guarding the upper classes from the poor and the minorities or argued that it is among the leading causes of sprawl. The mix-used principle has become a key tenet of the most influential current planning paradigms, such as smart growth, new urbanism, and sustainable development (Hirt, 2007).

As it was mentioned, zoning had created its own problems in the city and it was receiving criticisms and there were some proposals to have a better situation. People with high-income were living in areas relatively far from city centers and working in

city centers. This would make the city centers to be crowded regions during the day and silent places at nights. Crime rates would be increased with this trend, too. To obviate these problems animation of the city centers was a matter of paramount importance. Researchers were looking for ideas leading to lighter traffic loads, less travel times from home to working place and attractive choices. With these conditions in mind, mix-used developments with a new view were offered.

Throughout the late 20th century, it began to become apparent to many urban planners and other professionals that mix-used development had many benefits and should be promoted again. As American, British, Canadian and Australian cities deindustrialized, the need to separate residences from hazardous factories became less important. Completely separate zoning created isolated "islands" of each type of development. In most cases, the automobile had become a requirement for transportation between vast fields of residentially zoned housing and the separate commercial and office strips, creating issues of Automobile dependency.

Higher values of lands in city centers and the shortage of lands in such places resulted in vertical utility of buildings rather than extended horizontal ones. In this case a variety of functions could be covered in the same building in the city centers. John Hancock tower (Figure 4.4), the first modern mix-used building which covered all functions inside a tower was opened to public in 1969 (Schwanke, 2003).

After 1980s, some crucial changes in consumption culture and lifestyles were formed. Shopping centers gained a remarkable value in urban life. With this trend, the mix-used developments in the city centers started to cover shopping centers and places for people to spend their leisure time. This was already a rampant phenomenon for all mix-used projects around the world. Having considered this matter, mix-used developments were getting far from their initial and main philosophy. It was getting close to a consumption-based development and for wealthy and high-income people it started to be a symbol of opulence and culture rather than a real need. In this case, the idea may be need to be more studied in details.

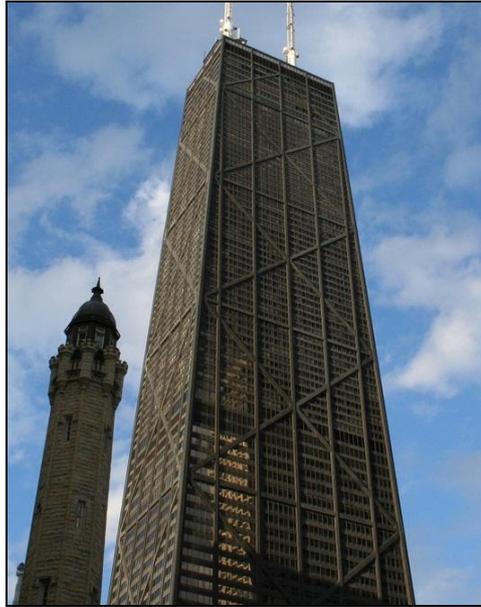


Figure 4.4 : John Hancock mix-used building in Chicago, (URL-6).

4.3 Mix-Used Developments in the World and Turkey

Widespread utility of mix-used developments started after 1950s in the United States. Afterwards, they were spread in Europe and other countries and they became a new lifestyle. This means that mix-used developments not only were built all around the world, but also they propagated a novel culture by the new lifestyle. After a brief study of the history of the mix-used developments in previous part, it is worth studying some sample mix-used developments in the world.

As it is mentioned, America was the initiator of the common usage of the mix-used developments. In America, Chicago was the first and leader city from the point of establishment of these developments. Therefore, a sample project in Chicago is being studied at this point.

Marina City (Figure 4.5), the landmark structure located along the Chicago River in downtown Chicago, is a mix-used building complex. When completed in 1964, the twin towers were the both the tallest residential buildings and the tallest reinforced concrete structures in the world. Architect Bertrand Goldberg designed the Marina City complex in 1959.



Figure 4.5 : Marina City towers in Chicago, (URL-7).

The construction cost was \$36 million and financed primarily by unions. The unions feared the flow of people from the city to the suburbs in the 1960s would lead to a decrease of city jobs. The concept of a residential “city within a city” offers an alternative to moving to the surrounding small towns. Considering the current trend for downtown residential towers because of people moving from the suburbs and back into the city, Marina City was ahead of its time. Living and working downtown eliminates the need for daily commuting by car, an original marketing slogan for the tower. Marina City is credited with being the first urban, post-war, high-rise residential complex in the U.S. and is generally credited with starting the residential renaissance of the inner cities. Marina City’s mix-used format of residential / office / retail with a parking base is the model still used today for downtown developments. In addition to the residential function, the complex also houses commercial offices, a theatre, bowling alley, swimming pool, skating rink, and a 1,200-seat auditorium (URL-7).

Another mix-used project with the slogan of “if you love it, own it!” is Trump Tower in New York, United States (Figure 4.6). Situated at the corner of Central Park West and Central Park South of New York, the Trump International Hotel & Tower covers 52 stories above Columbus Circle. Architect Philip Johnson converted the building

from a former office tower into an award-winning property offering 158 hotel condominium and 158 residential condominium units, and a world-renowned restaurant, Jean-Georges. Residence, offices, entertainment centers, restaurants and hotel are the existing functions in the Trump Tower of New York.



Figure 4.6 : Trump Tower in New York, (URL-8).

Donald J. Trump, owner of the Trump towers has also established same projects in other main mega cities of America and even other countries in the world such as Turkey (in Istanbul), Philippines (in Makati), Panama (in Panama City), South Korea (in Seoul), and Canada (in Toronto). It is clear that Trump has become a brand in the world.

China has become one of the most important countries in the world. It is most populated country in the world and evaluating new lifestyles and cultures in such a big country may be very crucial.

Jin Mao Tower (Figure 4.7), which literally means "Gold Luxuriance Building" in Chinese have 88 stories reaching a height of 420.5 meters and 290,000 square meter construction area. The first two floors are lobby. From the third to the 50th floor there are offices. The Grand Hyatt Shanghai hotel occupies floors from 53 to 87. It's the world's tallest five-star hotel in terms of distance from the ground. The 88th floor houses the Skywalk, a 1,520-square-meter indoor observation deck, which is the tallest and biggest one of its kind in the Chinese mainland; it offers a panoramic view

of Shanghai and a topside view of the hotel atrium below. The podium building is adjacent to the tower, which is designed as J·LIFE, a center for recreation and fashion.



Figure 4.7 : Jin Mao Tower in Shanghai, (URL-9).

Another mix-used development sample is Torre Velasca in Milan, Italy (Figure 4.8). Torre Velasca was built in a part of the city that had been destroyed by World War II bombing. The 24-story tower of shops, offices and apartments is freestanding in a square plaza, surrounded by lower buildings that contain shops and offices. The tower is divided into a lower zone, 18-stories high, which contains offices that are organized around a central mechanical core and corridor. The top zone of 8 floors contains one and two bedroom apartments and projects out several meters from the lower face of the building. The exterior columns bend out around this projection creating curious bracket supports for the top floors. The top two floors that step back are reserved for penthouse apartments with terraces. There are two basement levels of parking and the 19th floor, between the offices and apartments, a level that is slightly recessed emphasizing the change from commercial to residential, is used for mechanical equipment. A two-story high pavilion containing larger commercial space attaches to the south side of the tower at its base and also forms an entrance to

the building. Together, the tower and pavilion mostly fill the piazza leaving little room except for parking.



Figure 4.8 : Torre Velasca building in Milan, Italy, (URL-10).

Another example for mix-used project is Santa Caterina Market Hall in Barcelona. Situated in the centre of Ciutat Vella, in Ribera Quarter, Santa Caterina Market has been an exceptional witness of Barcelona history as it was the first covered market in the city. In 1835, Santa Caterina Convent was knocked down during the revolutions occurred at that time and that lot was given to Barcelona Town Hall to build the market, the construction started in 1844. The market was opened in 1848, trying to favor the food supply for the city popular sector and to have a place in the city devoted to wholesale and retail commerce (URL-11).

By 1997 the market had lost its luster. It was close to center but in what had come to be known as a relatively poor area of the city. It was surrounded by dismal apartment blocks and had not been properly maintained in the years before. The roof was decayed and the market had become so dilapidated that many citizens thought it should simply be demolished.

After much discussion with politicians, planners, and the official board in charge of the city's markets, Enrick Miralles and Benedetta Tagliabue submitted a proposal and eventually won the bid to refurbish the entire market. It soon became an urban regeneration project that went beyond the market stalls and included not only the market but also new housing blocks, a parking lot, and an organic waste deposit.

During the initial phase of the restoration they unearthed the archaeological remains were revealed. There is now a small archeological museum set in the east corner of the market, along with a series of lights and viewing funnels in the public plaza, so that the public can view the relics. EMBT kept the market's walls on three sides, and on the fourth side they designed an entirely new facade. They included a new public plaza and two social housing blocks containing low-rent apartments for the elderly. Below ground is the loading bay, where fresh produce and goods are ferried to the main market hall by lifts and porters (URL-12). Figure 4.9 shows Santa Caterina Market Hall.

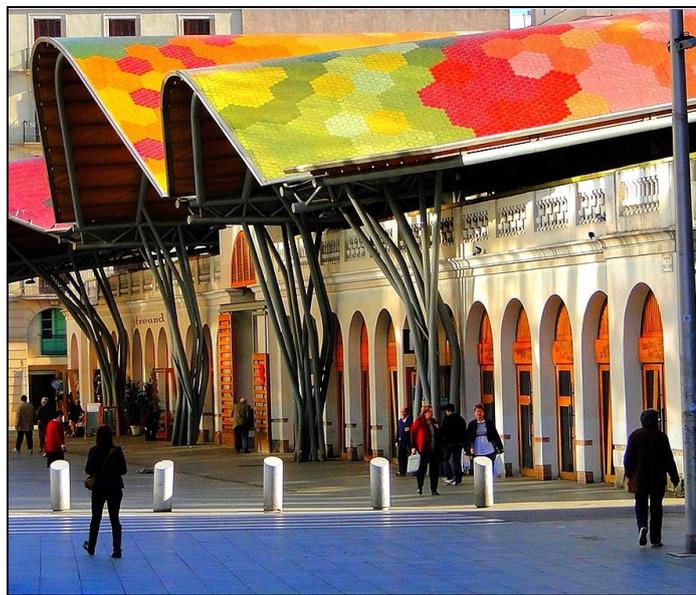


Figure 4.9 : Santa Caterina Market Hall, (URL-12).

The new building of the market was finished in 2005. It may be mentioned that Mercat Santa Caterina strikes a balance between local producers and consumers, contemporary architecture and tourism. The redevelopment retains its original use as a retail food market. A huge, undulating canopy covers an existing, former rundown neo-classical market in a large square within sight of the gothic cathedral. The canopy consists of a mosaic of 325,000 vividly multicolored hexagonal Spanish tiles set in mortar, "whose various colors recall a still life of produce." It is a view that will be particularly appreciated by the residents of the neighboring apartment blocks (URL-14).

Santa Caterina Market Renovation Project has taken a number of awards such as ASCER Prize (2005), Premi Nacional de Catalunya (2001), IX Spanish Biennial of

Architecture and Urbanism (finalist) (2007) (URL-15). It can be observed that this project may be a good example for mixed-use. Because it is a need-based project. It was also supported by government and it offers real public spaces.

Mix-used developments became widespread all around the world and Turkey was not exception for this phenomenon. Especially in Istanbul, a number of remarkable mix-used developments were constructed to animate the city center and afford prestige and profit. In the process of suburbanization in Istanbul, the very new lifestyle of being far from city center's crowd and problems was clearly observed. But, this approach soon became obsolete and a more attractive lifestyle again in the city center was offered.

Akmerkez (Figure 4.10) was the first mix-used development in Istanbul. It was constructed in 1993 in a luxurious district, Etiler, close to the Levent central business district. It is formed in three blocks, where two of them are belonged to the offices and the other one has residence utility and a hotel. Office towers are 14 and 17-storey buildings and residential tower is 24-storey. The reason for constructing the project as tall buildings is to optimally use the land on the expensive existing land and also to offer a broad program by the development. Akmerkez is an important structure of prestige in Istanbul. There are many stores and shops prefer this center just as an indicator of the prestige, despite the fact that they cannot make a remarkable profit there (Bilgin, 2006).



Figure 4.10 : Akmerkez towers in Istanbul, Turkey, (URL-16).

Another mix-used development in Istanbul is Metrocity (Figure 4.11). It came into service in 2003. Its location is on the Büyükdere Street, at the intersection of Beşiktaş, Şişli, and Levent quarters. Metrocity is the first mix-used building constructed on Büyükdere Street. One of the main reasons for erection of the mix-used development in that region was that it was supposed to be a very profitable investment.

Metrocity encompasses shopping and social units beside residential utility in one block for offices and two blocks for residential purposes. The residential towers are 27-storey and other block is 23-storey. There are 140 shops in Metrocity project and the shopping center does not include cinema, theater, social and cultural activity centers. As for the residential units, the dwellers have access to social facilities, swimming pool and tennis court.



Figure 4.11 : Metrocity Towers in Istanbul, (URL-17).

In the past, Büyükdere Street was an industrial region. Afterwards it became to be a place to give service to banks and financial sector and it changed to a central business area. By deeming this alteration in the utility of the region, there was a need to houses, offices, shopping and recreational centers to satisfy the users' preferences.

Kanyon is another mix-used development in Istanbul (Figure 4.12). Its construction started in 2003 and it was put into service in 2007. Its location is Büyükdere Street in northwestern Levent CBD. In 1930s, Büyükdere Street was a peripheral region. It changed to an industrial area in 1950s. With regard to the expansion of the city in

1990s, it gained value as being a working and business district with these prestigious projects (Bilgin, 2006).

For the first time in Istanbul, the important design criterion of kanyon was to give street effect inside the mall. Project includes 179 apartments, 170 shops, nine movie-theaters for 1600 people, one supermarket, café, bar, restaurants, outdoor and indoor pools, sport and spa centers.



Figure 4.12 : Kanyon project in Istanbul, (URL-18).

4.4 Evaluation of Effects of Mix-Used Developments on Urban Life and the City and Their Relations with Consumption

Thus far, the literature review of mix-used developments and evaluation of important actors using theoretical backgrounds have been offered. Some examples were given to be more familiar with these developments in the world and Turkey. At this point, it is necessary to analyze the actors and positive/negative effects of these developments in the society.

There are many approaches to mix-used developments. Just analogous to the functions in mix-used developments that are mixed together in a definite project, other elements such as family types (single, with children, married without children, etc.), income groups, educational level, and etc. are also mixed projects. In this case,

these different items may have some different positive and negative effects on the society.

The following paragraphs are presenting some general positive effects of mix-used developments.

We hear about “24 hours” of buildings and areas as being desirable social goal, or about the need to concentrate and mix different land uses because this makes for more efficient use of the (social) infrastructure. The idea of the continuous-use building or complex is to provide a mix of users to serve either a predetermined social or occupational grouping or a variety of users who will use the facilities over different times of the day or the week over varying periods of time (Procos, 1976).

According to NAHB, Mix-used development can produce diverse and convenient communities that can have the added benefit of reducing traffic. By integrating different uses such as residences, offices, and shopping, many daily vehicle trips can be eliminated or reduced in length. Zoning was established to separate different uses that created nuisances, such as separating factories from residences. But today most workplaces are clean and quiet and can be built closer to homes without adverse effects. Many employers also find that locating workplaces near shops, banks, dry cleaners, and restaurants can save their employees time. Zoning needs to address our modern condition and make these kinds of developments possible. Any of the following components of mixed use development should be considered “amenities” and are typically seen as promoting the concepts of “smart growth” and sustainable communities:

- Civic Sites
- Walkability
- Connectivity
- Mix of Land Uses
- Diverse Housing Types
- High Quality Architecture and Urban Design
- Increased Density
- Environmental Sensitivity
- Public Transportation

It is a well-established fact that in construction of important projects such as huge mix-used developments, there are many actors that play crucial role. These actors may be people, government, developers, consumers, entrepreneurs, and land owners.

First of all, a remarkable profit is being provided for land owner or developer in the case of erection of a development with different functions without using an extensive area. Besides, from the economic point of view, there may be a very good profit for investor. Inasmuch as these projects are generally luxurious and prestigious, the developers may gain prestige and they can strengthen their resume. The owners of the offices and shops in these developments or operators of them beside the users of their houses may provide profit. These structures as an element of prestige may provide profit to the owners. In addition, in the opinion of consumers, owning these facilities may better the social status of their owners. The prices of lands of the people living in the vicinity of the project may be increased and indirectly they may make a gain. As for users of the project who use the facilities and public centers of these projects, they also may live and experience such an organized and prestigious place.

Beside the mentioned positive effects of the construction of mix-used developments, there are a number of negative effects, as following:

These developments are generally gated communities and they may be segregated and fragmented. Despite their physical relations with the city, their social ties with the city may be weak due to the fact that they have been segregated. Giving so much symbolically value to the concept of security may lead to erection of many projects and buildings in the future as gated communities and in that case, social ties will be remarkably affected and weakened. Besides, public places may be reduced. Sometimes, these developments may be erected only based on profit-orientation and in this case overproduction of them may seriously threaten the environment. On the other hand, the land prices may be increased in vicinity of these projects and it may lead to people far from these regions who want to own land or purchase homes there. Already in all of the mix-used developments there are some shopping centers. Keyder (2000) believes that globalization and changes in people's consumption pattern, in addition to the formation of lots of brands and their advertisement may attract people to incessantly use better types of housing or other consumptions.

People may be encouraged to consume more than real and necessary needs by advertisement (Yılmaz, 2005).

Loading symbolic value to objects may encourage people to incessantly change their identities and show themselves to other people. With regard to Durning (1992), the main question in continuous consumption of new objects and phenomenon is: “how much is enough?”

According to Argin (1992), nowadays, money is indicator of the power and free time is a potential investment for investors. Thus, these kind of mix-used developments may increase people’s free time and subsequently the rate of consumption may be increased.

As it was mentioned in former chapters, there is a direct relation between housing and consumption as two of the main human needs. Mix-used developments especially in gated communities, as units offering multiple functions beside housing, may orientate people’s consumption. At this point, the relation of consumption and mix-used developments may be considered.

5. CASE STUDY: ISTANBUL

Istanbul is surrounded by Black Sea to the north, Sea of Marmara to the south, Kocaeli to the east, and Tekirdag to the west. According to 2010 addresses-based population registration system (ABPRS) data, more than 13 million people live in Istanbul on a 5,313 km² surface area. Istanbul is positioned as the economic center in the region consisting of the Balkans, the Caucasus, and the Middle-east with the vision of becoming a regional financial center in the medium term and a global financial center in the long term. This city is looking forward to take its place among the world's emerging markets.

In 1975-2000, the share of in-migrants from other provinces exhibited a sharp increase. During the period 1975-1980, the in-migrants' share was 9.3 percent, and then rose to 11 percent in 1990-2000 periods. Population of the in-migrants increased from 3.6 million to 6.7 million people during the same periods. In 2010, the immigration to Istanbul was higher than the emigration from Istanbul; therefore, net migration occurred as 102583 people. According to 2010 ABPRS, Istanbul is seen as an attractive region approximately for one of five people who migrated in Turkey. According to the population report of United Nations, Istanbul is placed second after Moscow among European cities in terms of population size by 2007. In the same study's 2025 prediction, Istanbul is predicted to move to the first place among all other European cities from that point. Table 5.1 shows the population in Istanbul, Turkey and Europe.

Table 5.1 : Population in Istanbul, Turkey and Europe (Istanbul Fact Sheet, 2012).

| District | Population | Ratio to National Population | Area (km ²) | Population Density (Population / km ²) |
|----------|-------------|------------------------------|-------------------------|--|
| Istanbul | 13.255.685 | 18% | 5.313 | 2.551 |
| Turkey | 73.722.988 | 100% | 785.347 | 96 |
| Europe | 501.103.400 | 680% | 4.422.773 | 113 |

On the other hand, Istanbul is the economic center of Turkey, too. As of 2010, the income per capita in Turkey is realized as 9980 USD. Regarding Istanbul, it was calculated as 10352 USD. According to the PricewaterhouseCoopers' research titled as “the world’s largest city economies and predictions of 2025”, Istanbul is listed as the 5th largest city economy in Europe; and 34th in the world on the bases of GDP. In 1980s, the industrial sector was the engine of growth and employment in Turkey while nowadays, this mission has been transferred to the services sector (Figure 5.1).

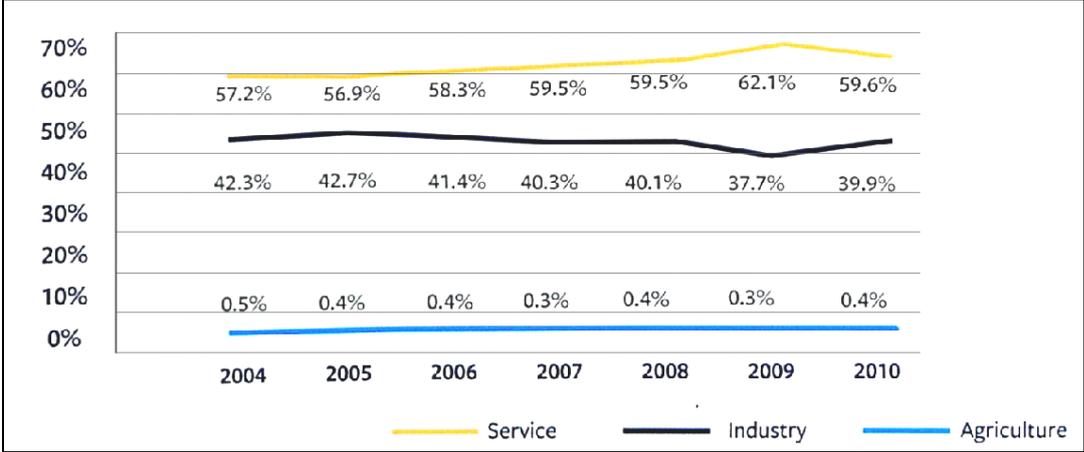


Figure 5.1 : Statistical proportion of service, industry and agriculture in Istanbul, (Istanbul Fact Sheet, 2012).

Transportation provides the effective participation of the community in regions’ economic, social and cultural life; moreover, it yields the mutual interaction and communication among residents. Within this scope, transportation system is the basic element to rise the accessibility by easing the mobility and circulation of not only the residents; but also goods, services and information.

It is clear that real estate market is being affected by development of Istanbul. With regard to Cushman&Wakefield, one of the questions is: “which are the top three cities in terms of availability of office space in Europe?”. In terms of this report, Istanbul is ranked 24th; surpassing such major European cities like Milan, Hamburg, and Prague (Istanbul Fact Sheet, 2012).

5.1 Changes of Industrial Areas in Istanbul

To be able to better understand this issue, it is better to study the Turkish economic policy since there is a direct relation between industrialization and national economy.

Turkey has taken remarkable steps to improve its economy by implementing different policies in different periods, especially after 1923. These steps may be categorized in the following items:

- Liberal national economy period: 1923-1933
- Progress period by the government leadership: 1933-1950
- Trial of liberal economy period: 1950-1960
- Planned economy period: 1960-1980
- Integration with the universal economy: after 1980.

In the liberal national period, managing and running the factories controlled by the government, issuing credits to private sector, establishing the bank of industry and mines to build new factories, and construction of railway systems gained importance. In the period of development by the government, the factories established in the remote parts of the country, played their role in the progress. These factories had social, sport, cultural, and healthcare facilities. In the period of the trial of liberal economy model, Democratic Party who had won the election, tried to focus on the implementation of the rules of liberal economy. Especially by US-supporting credits, a movement towards industrialization was observed those days. This period was ended by an economic and political crisis. In the period of planned economy, the plans were arranged as long term perspectives. The plans were “saturator” for public sector, and “encouraging” for private sector. This period was also ended by another political and economic crisis. The most important feature of the last step, is the fact that the country was not the target of receiving money. On the contrary, in this period, the flow of the property to the foreign countries was rampant. After 1980 period, there was an effort to obviate the reasons for formation of crisis. Anyway, Turkey faced two remarkable economic crises in 1994 and 2001. Despite the mentioned crises, in parallel with the growing trends in the world, some important strategic progresses were taken to keep the pace with the world economy. However, Turkey became a consuming country rather than a producing one by considering the imports that Turkey does and debts. This matter increased the foreign debts of the country (Ertuna, 2005).

In the manufacturing industry, there were four key elements in the alteration of production site determinant:

- Benefit from low production costs' advantages
- Close proximity to the raw material and semi-finishing products
- Close proximity to the markets and expansion of client bases
- Benefit from technology and assets' capacity (Gürlelel, 2009).

The global inclinations occurred during the manufacturing industry affected Turkey just like other countries in the world. In the Figure 5.2, the illustration of the mentioned effects in Turkey has been offered.

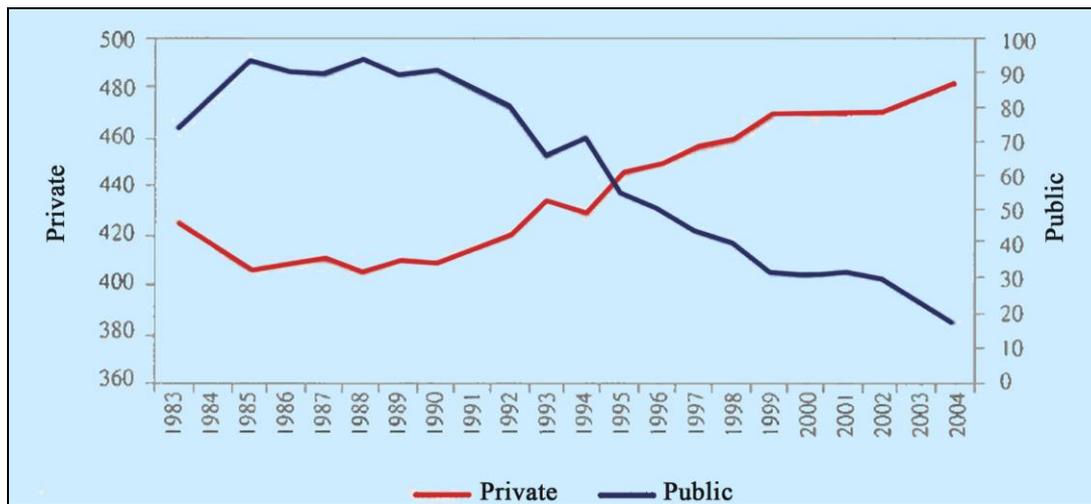


Figure 5.2 : Industrial inclinations in Turkey, (Ertuna, 2005).

In a historical analyze of the selection of industrial areas in Istanbul, it is completely clear that almost once in ten years, industrial units move towards an outer circle in he city and the former industrial centers that have been emptied changes other functions. Direction of the movement of the industrial areas may greatly affect the settlements. Accessibility, energy, and closeness to the water resources are the main factors in selecting industrial places and in this case these places become an attractive center and the places in the vicinity of such areas may be potential housing places for the labor force (relation of place of work and house). In this process, the land prices of the mentioned areas (new circles as industrial places) may be seriously increased.

Industry needs extensive field to produce and preparing such a remarkable amount of money for owning the place may be very difficult and with this trend, new factories and units prefer to one farther circle to find cheaper location and this trend may continue. The former industrial areas which have lost their former validity as industrial areas may change their function to service sector (Akın, 2011). In Istanbul,

first factories were made close to the Halic coasts; but, due to their pollutions, they gradually moved out to the outer parts of the city , to the organized industrial sites, one by one. Atatürk auto-industry site, İkitelli organized industrial site, Beylikduzu, Dudullu, and Tuzla organized industrial site are the most important industrial sites. Other prominent industrial areas in Istanbul are as follows: Hadımköy, Güneşli, Yenibosna, and Kemerburgaz on the European side and Ümraniye, Samandıra, Kartal, Pendik, Kurtköy and Gebze on the Asian side (Colliers International Research, 2011). Figure 5.3 shows the growth and decentralization of Istanbul. Figure 5.4 illustrates the changes of industrial sites in Istanbul by years.

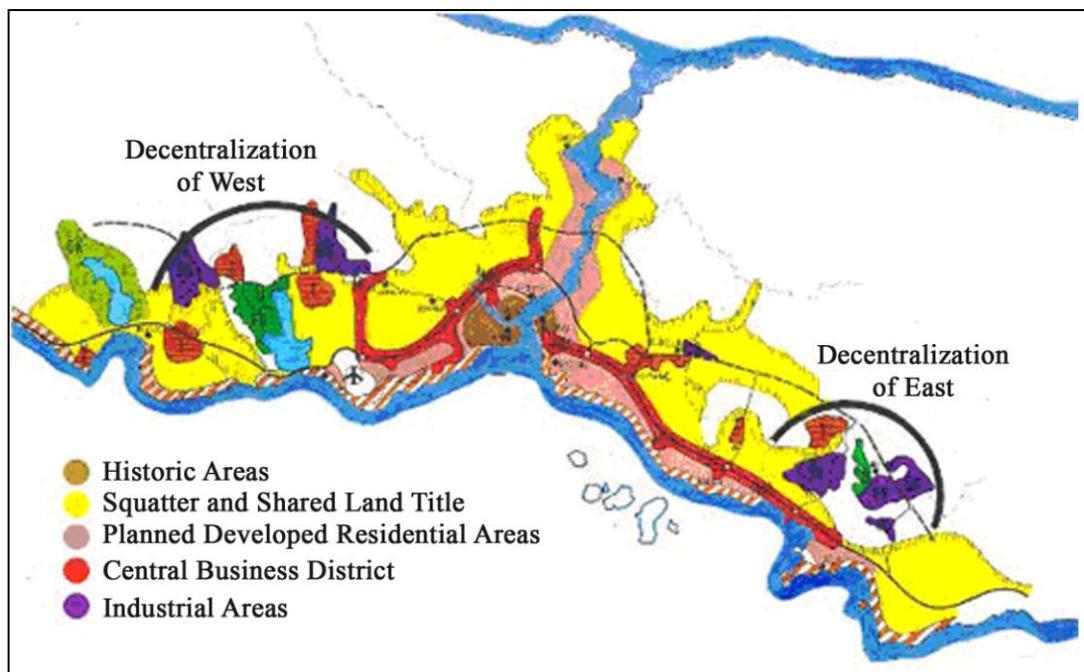


Figure 5.3 : The growth of Istanbul, (Yazman, 2009).

Nowadays, establishment of new industrial cities in Istanbul is in mind. Housing Development Administration (TOKI) of Turkey will support the projects. In the novel trend, the industrial centers will be moved to city edges. Two new industrial sites of Istanbul are planned to be constructed. One of them will be erected in Silivri and the other one in Kartal. For the Silivri project, Toki will erect 250 residential units on over 22 million square meters of land (Can, 2007).

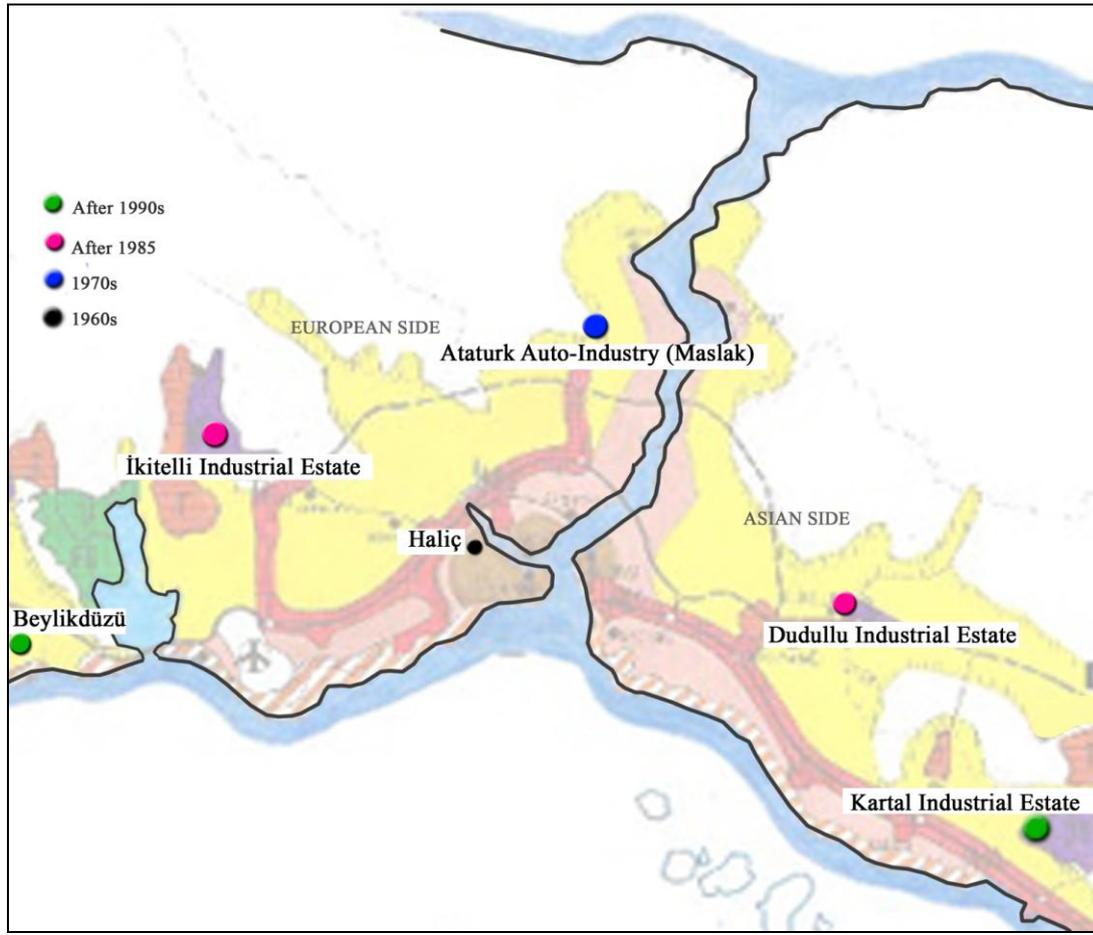


Figure 5.4 : Industrial sites in Istanbul.

To recapitulate, it can be stated that during 1950-1980, the most important role player of the progress of Istanbul was industry. In Asian part of the city, industrial areas grew along the E5 towards Gebze. As for European side, Zeytinburnu and TEM faced these areas. After 1980s, with regard to some decentralization acts, it was tried to collect these centers in planned organized industrial sites in both Asian and European sides of the city. In 1990s and with its population growth, the settling inclination changed and the macro form of the city altered. Of course, progress of transportation facilities accelerated this trend. In 2000s, enlargement of Istanbul continued. This progress sometimes gravitated towards water basins and sometimes towards forests in the city.

5.2 Changes in Central Business Districts in Istanbul

The CBD is focal point of a city. It is the commercial, office, retail, and cultural center of the city and usually is the center point for transportation networks. The CBD developed as the market square in ancient cities. On market days, farmers,

merchants and consumers would gather in the center of the city to exchange, buy, and sell goods. This ancient market is the forerunner to the CBD. In the process of time and expansion of cities, CBDs became fixed locations for retail and commerce. They were almost close to the oldest parts of the city and transport facilities. Over time, office spaces as well as center of finance and control or government were the developing items of CBDs. In the early 1900s, European and American cities had CBDs that featured primarily retail and commercial cores. In the mid-20th century, the CBD expanded to include office space and commercial businesses while retail took a back seat. The growth of the skyscraper occurred in CBDs, making them more and more dense. By the beginning of the 21st century, the CBD had become a diverse region of the metropolitan area and included residential, retail, commercial, universities, entertainment, government, financial institutions, medical centers, and culture.

In recent decades, the combination of gentrification (residential expansion) and development of shopping malls as entertainment centers have given the CBD new life. One can now find, in addition to housing, mega-malls, theaters, museums, and stadiums. In recent decades, edge cities have begun to develop as suburban CBDs in major metropolitan areas. In some instances, these edge cities have become a larger magnet to the metropolitan area than the original CBD (URL-19).

As it was mentioned before, Istanbul, as an important city of a developing country - Turkey- is the most remarkable city regarding its economic value. Besides, Istanbul is a very attractive place for local and foreign investors with regard to its geographical location. Investors have always played their role in the central business districts of the city and in the process of time, the CBDs has faced alterations. The reasons for these alterations may be classified mainly in the following groups:

- Alteration of service sector
- Construction of roads and their improvement
- Inadequacy of existing CBDs
- Higher prestige and attractiveness of new CBDs
- Shortage of parking areas.

For almost 100 years, zoning has played a significant, sometimes controversial role in guiding growth and change in American cities. In 1916, New York City constructed the Nation's first comprehensive zoning resolution (URL-20). After the industrial revolution, it was decided to move the industrial areas far from city centers. However, after the 20th century, the changes in service sector were clear. New working places were information-based and they had potential noise and environment pollution. With the improvements in the trading and resulted segregation between industry and management activities, some new urban areas in the city center or housing areas were constructed. Demand for new office areas was increased with regard to this alteration in service sector.

For the centuries, the important trade center, Istanbul and its CBD has faced alterations considering the construction of new roads and transport facilities. Figure 5.5 shows the expansion of CBD areas from historic peninsula towards northern part of Istanbul. For instance, in 1846 and with the combination of historical peninsula and Beyoglu by Galata Tower, trading areas shifted from Halic, Sarachane, and Aksaray to the Beyoglu. After 1950s, the functions of trade and manufacturing units were gathered around Galata and Eminonu. In 1970s, Beyoglu and Eminonu were the base for the dense CBD of Istanbul. Opening of the Bosphorus Bridge in 1973 played the most important role in formation of today's CBD. Construction of ring roads led to the increment in the number of office buildings in Besiktas and Sisli. Esentepe became the heart of the CBD in Istanbul. Finally, in 1988 and opening of Fatih Sultan Mehmet Bridge, the modern CBD of Istanbul moved to the current Levent district (Ersöz, 2007).

It was mentioned that the formerly, the CBD was situated in historical peninsula of Istanbul. The narrow roads and paths in this region could not satisfy the new demands. On the other hand, quest for cheaper lands was an important factor in shifting the CBD to Levent-Maslak axis. Besides, construction of big and massive structures in the historical area had some legal and practical problems. Finally, it is worth mentioning that the traffic related problems of the ever growing CBD was one of the significant reasons for movement of the CBD (Yılmaz et al., 2010).

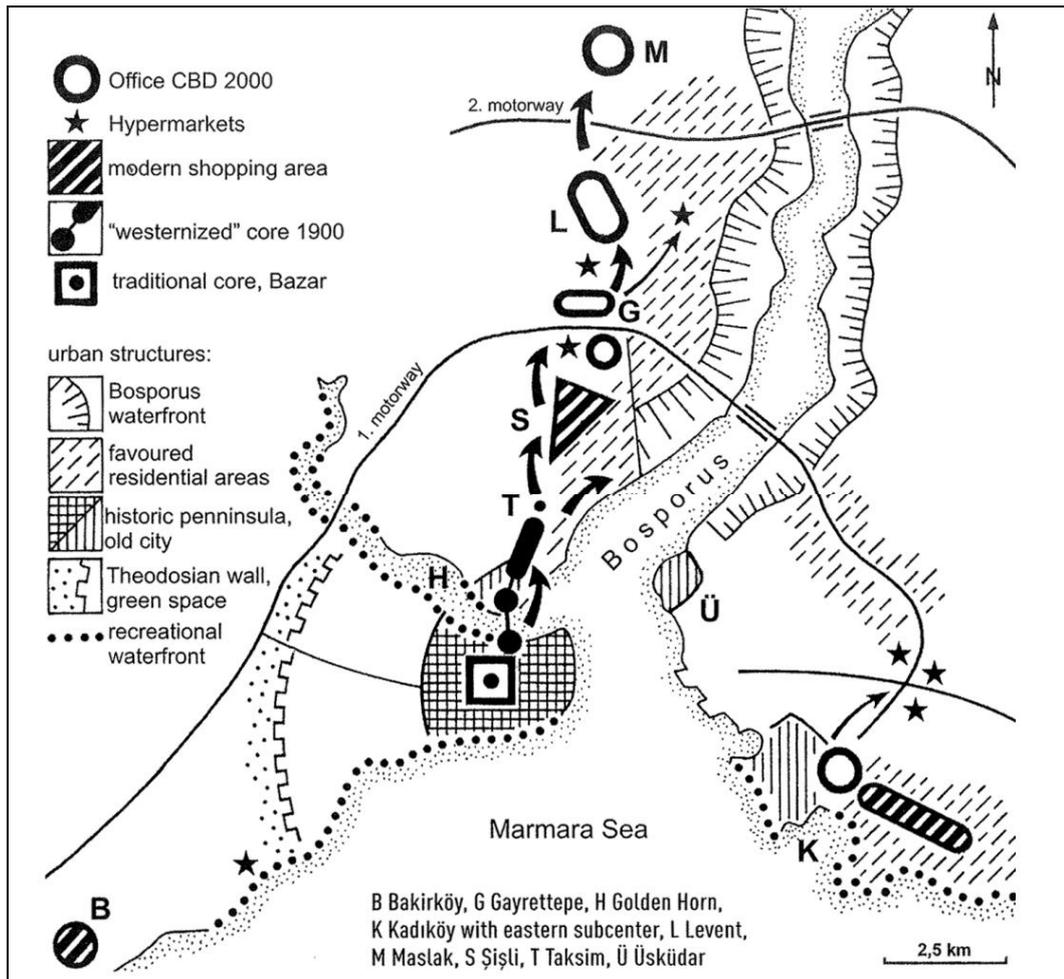


Figure 5.5 : A chain of former CBD areas from historic peninsula via Taksim and Şişli to the skyscraper areas of Levent and Maslak, (Seger, 2010).

As it was mentioned before, the main reasons for movement of the CBD were the larger size of the novel areas, being proper for investment, owning better transportation facilities, and being more luxurious. With regard to these reasons, nowadays, it is clear that there is an inclination to move CBDs to the peripheries in order to satisfy the mentioned items. Formerly, these areas were used for industrial or agricultural purposes. They have very large land segments and may be the best choice for erection of the luxurious big office centers. Their prices are by far lower than those for city center and this is another reason for the mentioned movement. Figure 5.6 illustrates the movement of CBDs in Istanbul over the time.

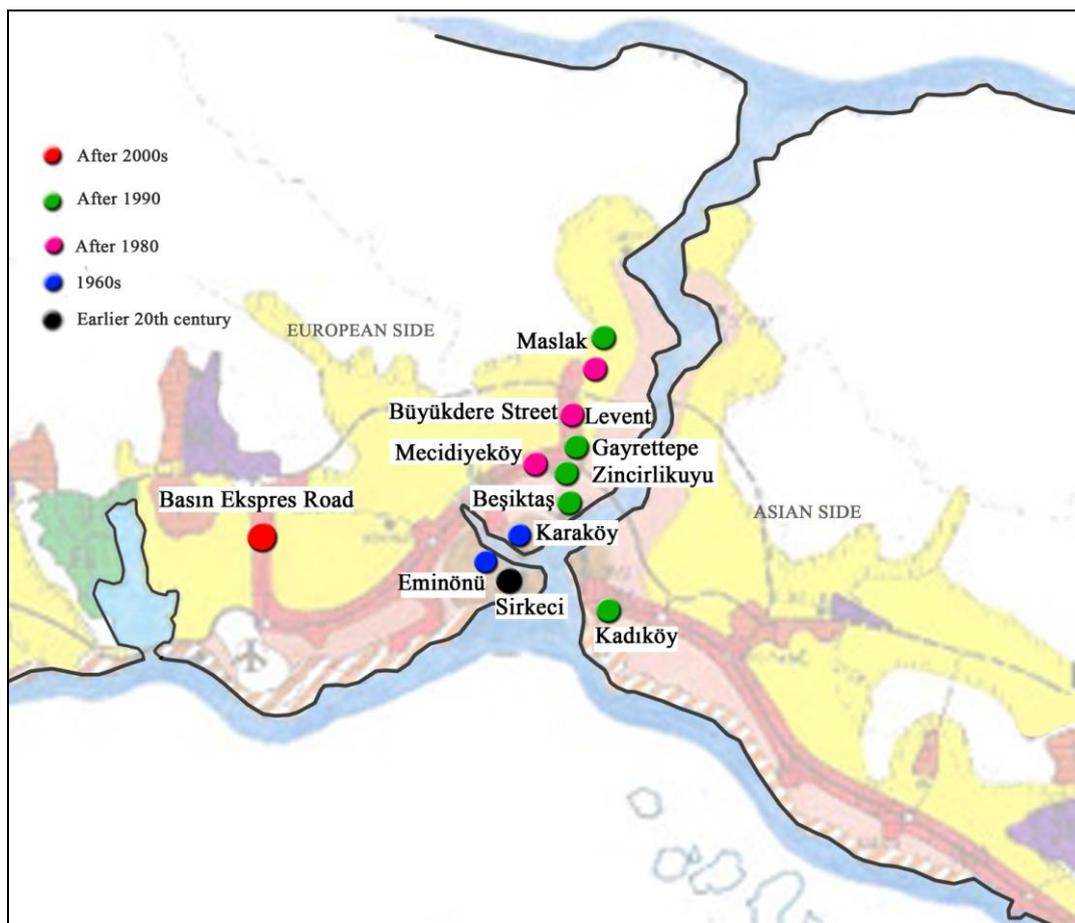


Figure 5.6 : Movement of CBDs in Istanbul over the time.

Up to 1960s, the usual business centers of Istanbul metropolitan area were located in Eminonu and Karakoy. In parallel with the trading improvement after 1960s, office areas spread through the northern part of the city. The most important feature of the office stock in the period of 1960-1985 was the transformation of houses to the working places. The modern office buildings in Sirkeci, Karakoy, and Pera which were made at the beginning of the 20th century are the early examples of this situation. Up to 1980s, there was no expert office stock except for the government offices. After 1980s and development of private sector, new demands for offices emerged. Newly constructed office buildings in Sisli, Mecidiyekoy, and Maslak initiated a novel CBD in Istanbul. In the Asian side of the city, Kadikoy is the most important CBD after 1990s (Yılmaz et al., 2010). Today, CBD of Istanbul commences from Barbaros Boulevard, continuing through the Buyukdere Avenue, and ends at Maslak. This region encompasses the Levent, Etiler, Maslak, Zincirlikuyu, Esentepe, Gayrettepe, Besiktas, and Balmumcu (Ersöz, 2007).

5.3 Changes of Residential Areas in Istanbul

A remarkable alteration in housing market of Istanbul was observed, especially after 1980s. These alterations were due to a number of different reasons. The main factors affecting the mentioned alteration in Istanbul are as below:

- Inequality among incomes of people
- Insecurity, fear of crime
- Increment in population
- Transition from expanded families to nucleus families
- Quest for new lifestyles
- International trend for newer and luxury housing
- Looking for prestige
- Social polarization
- Changes in price of lands
- The failure of the state to provide basic services to citizens
- Improvement in transportation
- Increment in the number of “Belde” Municipalities (Roitman, 2003; Yılmaz, 2005; Ergün et al., 2000)

It is clear that beside the mentioned factors, the effect of natural disasters on alterations of residential areas in Istanbul cannot be ignored.

The population growth which was seen after 1950s and serious after 1980s, changes in roads in cities, and alterations in production and consumption areas led to the changes in housing areas. Increment of density in city center and formation of new demands and needs resulted in erection of gated communities in peripheries, especially considering the needs of high-income groups. Increment of the “belde” municipalities in the city was one the main reasons of easing the construction of houses in the peripheries.

After 1980s, a number of legislations to ease the investment on housing were done and some regions that were not open to construction got opened for investors to build luxurious housing projects. Up to nearly 1970s, the main purpose was to invest in

industrial production sector; while in 1980s and 1990s it changed to build luxurious projects, hotels, offices, and shopping centers on the extant lands (Yılmaz, 2005).

Formation of new production styles and service sectors seriously affected the people and the gap between the level of income among the people was even more clear. This gap in levels showed itself by new housing areas, recreational centers, and etc. Besides, the improvement of transportation facilities had a major role in development of new housing projects. This improvement in accessibility influenced both the high-income and low-income people and it even triggered the illegal housing types of low-income people. In 1990s, the macro-form and housing areas of the city inclined to the north and Bogazici hillside (Kilyos, Zekeriyaköy, Sarıyer, Tarabya, Ulus, Beykoz, Kanlıca, Kandilli and Çamlıca). In 2000s, with regard to the convenience in access and construction of ring road referred to the third bridge, the macro-form inclined towards the north of TEM highway and used the forests and domestic waters basins. In this case, in the west coast of the city, Taşoluk, Arnavutköy, Boğazköy, Halkalı, Kayabaşı, İspartakule, and in the east coast, Ataşehir, Çekmeköy, Sancaktepe, Aydınlı, Orhanlı, Akfırat were becoming widespread for construction and the new macro-form is using the vital resources of the city such as domestic waters basins, forest lands, and 1st and 2nd degree agricultural lands (Akın, 2011).

After 2006, more than 500.000 houses have been constructed in Turkey, each year. According to the statistics of the construction permits, in 2010, more than 800.000 permits were given to houses to be constructed. Afterwards, an smooth decrease occurred. In 2011, the number of permits given by municipalities was approximately 640.000. In Turkey, nearly 357.000 houses were sold in 2010, while this amount was 420.000 for 2011. For Istanbul, this rate showed a 8 percent increment since 2010 (İstanbul Konut Piyasası Raporu, 2012). According to the data from Real Estate Associations in 2010 the projects have reached a thousand in Istanbul Metropolitan Area. The rapid increase indicates that the supply capacity exceeds the demand for housing in Istanbul (Kurtuluş, 2011). Although there is a great demand for housing for people in the low income bracket because of the population migration to the metropolitan areas of developing countries, there is a gradual increase in the supply of housing for people in the higher income bracket (Ergün et al, 2000). Figure 5.7 shows the changes in housing in Istanbul.

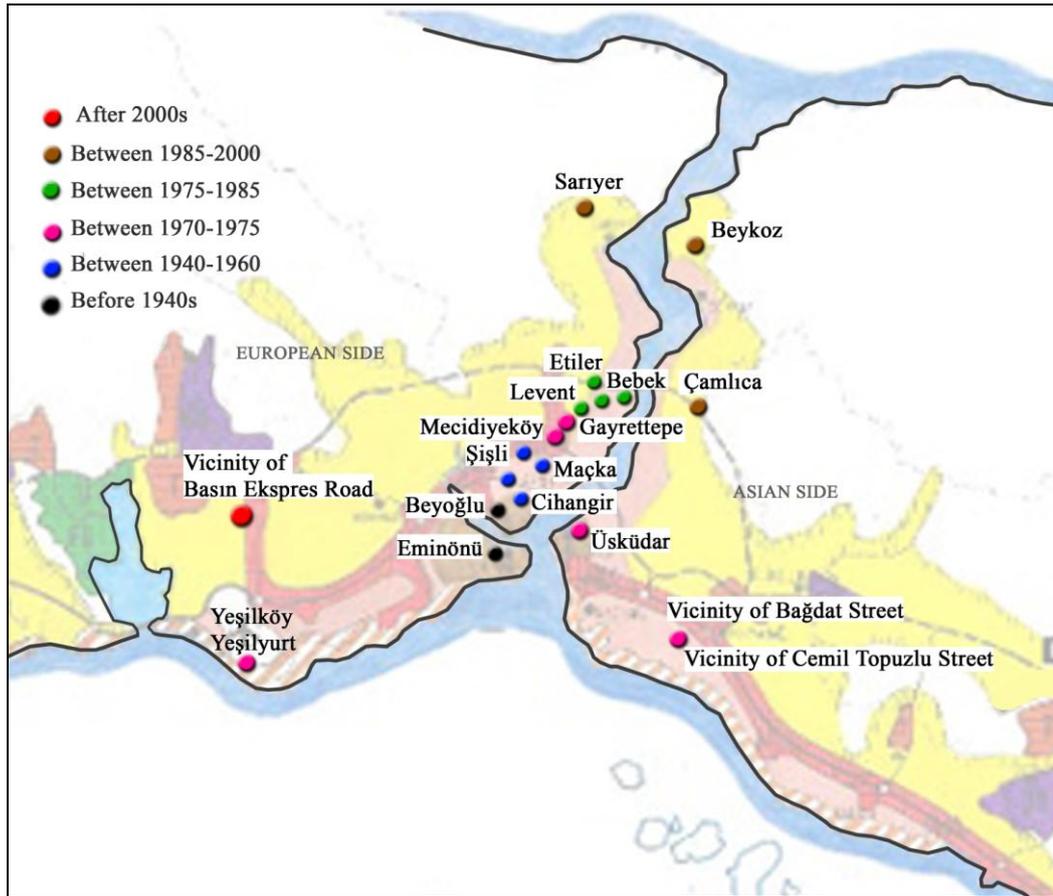


Figure 5.7 : Changes in popular residential areas in Istanbul, extracted and adopted from Marulyalı (1991).

To recapitulate, it is worth mentioning that during last decade, deeming the population growth there is a movement towards peripheries and in some regions the housing stock is increasing with a fast rate. In European side of the city, Maslak, Halkali, Beylikduzu, Esenyurt, Başakşehir, and Bahcesehir and in Asian side, Cekmekoy, Serifali, Sancaktepe, Atasehir, Maltepe, Kartal, Pendik, and Tuzla have become new housing areas (İstanbul Konut Piyasası Raporu, 2012).

5.4 Basin Express Road

Basin Express is a road in Istanbul, connecting Atatürk Airport and TEM highway to each other. It is close to D-100 (former E-5) highway and its name originated in 1990s from the press foundations across the road.

On the north-south axis of the Basin Expressway İkitelli Organized Industrial site, İstoc, Toptancılar bazaar, small industrial sites, Atatürk Airport, free trade area related to the Atatürk Airport, CNR fair center, world trade center, and EGS working

blocks are situated, respectively. Basın Expressway is bordered to the Küçükçekmece in northwest and west, Esenler to the north, Bağcılar to the east, Bahçelievler to the southeast, and Bakırköy to the south (Çoban, 2010). Figure 5.8 shows Basın Expressway.

In 1980s, this area was a peripheral and industrial one; but, today a number of remarkable investments in the region has changed it to a prestigious area. Bus terminals, industrial installations, and bank operational centers have given up their places to commercial and service areas (shopping centers, offices, residences, hotels, etc.). Urban transformation project is easily observed in the Basın Expressway with regard to the number of existing or under construction projects (Serdaroğlu, 2011).

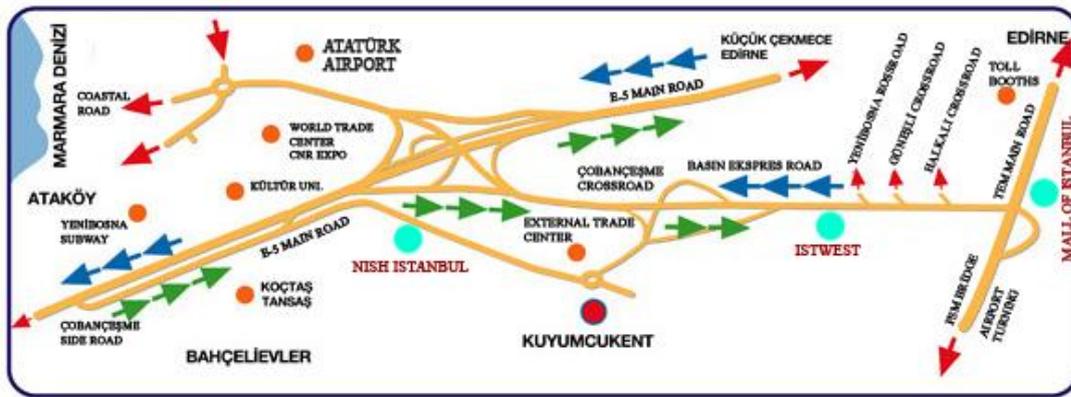


Figure 5.8 : Basın Expressway, extracted and adopted from (URL-21).

One of the first mix-used projects constructed during the mentioned transformation was erection of “212 Istanbul” project with residential and shopping functions on the former Edip İplik facilities. Basın Expressway is being performed by five different district municipalities. Its north edge is being controlled by Başakşehir municipality, west side by Küçükçekmece municipality, northeast and southeast by Bağcılar municipality, and south by Bakırköy municipality (Çoban, 2010).

The west and east axes of the Basın Expressway were for shanty areas. Some plans and measures were taken to regenerate the region which resulted in population growth of it. Traditionally, low and middle-income people were residing in the region. Nowadays, mass housing projects in Başakşehir region in the north of the axis, Halkalı in its west, and Ataköy in the south, except for the shanties are generally belonged to medium to high-income people. Today, it is clear that the construction of newly erected projects or planned projects for the future in the region

may attract wealthy and high-income people. In the revised land use plan of 2008, construction of new CBD and prestigious service areas in the region was planned as below (Çoban, 2010):

Trade and service areas: all the required service units in urban scale such as offices, bureau, marketplace, multistory stores, shopping malls, hotel, accommodation facilities, cinema, theater, museum, library, exhibition hall, restaurants, and cultural units may be located as part of this service plan. Banks, administration buildings, and financial establishments may be found as trade facilities, too.

Population information of the districts of Basın Expressway with regard to the address-based population registration system is given in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2 : Population in Küçükçekmece and in the districts nearby Küçükçekmece.

| Districts | Population |
|------------------|-------------------|
| Küçükçekmece | 711.112 |
| Başakşehir | 284.488 |
| Bağcılar | 746.650 |
| Bahçelievler | 600.900 |
| Bakırköy | 220.663 |
| Total | 2.563.813 |

Transportation is another factor in the region's importance increment. Bus services were extant in north-south axis of the Basın Expressway. However, with regard to the population growth in the region, new transportation facilities have been planned. One of the most important cases of these plans is Bağcılar-Mahmutbey-İkitelli Olympiad metro line with 15.9 km length of the project. This line which connects Bağcılar to İkitelli and Başakşehir will be integrated with the Aksaray-Bağcılar tramway (URL-22). In this case, marine and land transportation will be integrated and Asian and European sides of the city will be connected easily.

A number of prestigious mix-used developments are existing or under construction in the Basın Expressway region such as Nish İstanbul, Capital Tower, Istwest, Mall of

Istanbul, Istanbul Suits, My World Europe, My Residence 2012, and Istanbul Vizyon Park. Due to the Economist magazine, there are two five-star hotels and a four-star hotel in this area and the region has been selected as a new investment area for investors and managers. The region is come into prominence by hotels, residential areas and office projects. In the region, there are only a few vacancies that their holders prefer not to sell them and tend to develop new projects, instead. The Basin Expressway which is close to the Atatürk Airport, E-5 and TEM highways is a new attracting center in Istanbul and 16 new and modern hotels are under construction in the region that makes it to be called the “land of hotels”. Figure 5.9 depicts the mix-used projects on Basin Express Road and Figure 5.10 is another figure showing the hotel projects on Basin Expressway (URL-23).

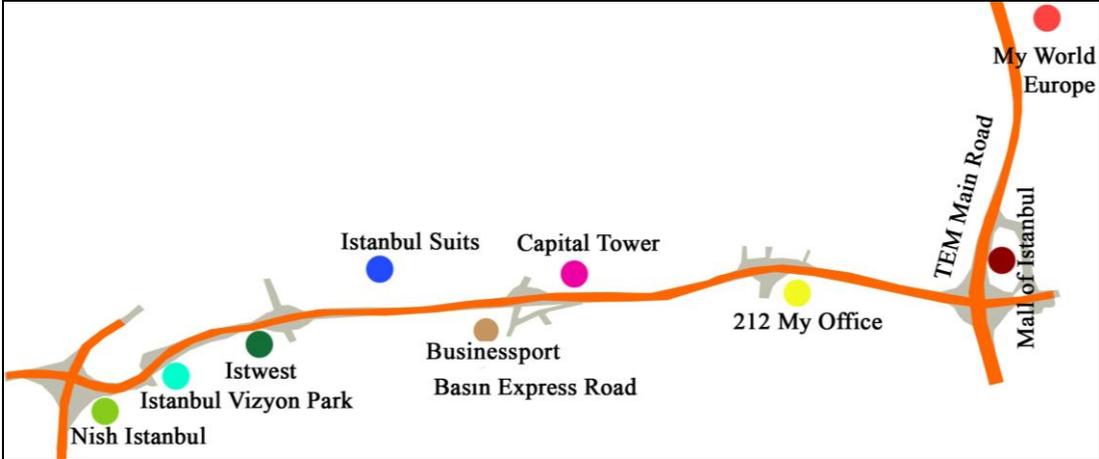


Figure 5.9 : Mix-used projects on Basin Expressway.



Figure 5.10 : The hotel projects on Basin Expressway, (URL-24).

5.5 Review of Selected Examples

As for mix-used developments samples in Istanbul, Nish Istanbul, Istwest, and Mall of Istanbul projects, all situated on Basin Expressway are considered.

5.5.1 Review of Nish Istanbul project

Nish Istanbul project is one of the mix-used developments in Istanbul. It is located in Çobançeşme Industrial Avenue, in Yenibosna / Behçelievler district. Istanbul YEM industry is the land owner. It is a mix-used development with office, residences and shopping area functions covering 134000m² which started in 2008 and finished in 2010. There are 50 shops in 6500m² shopping area. 125 offices and 296 houses are extant in the project. As for social and cultural functions, there is a volleyball and basketball field for residences and an indoor pool, sauna and fitness saloon. Of course, social units of the project are not open to service, yet. The project is gated and the parkings are controlled and security cameras are being used (URL-25). Figure 5.11 shows Nish Istanbul Project and Table 5.3 shows general information about Nish Istanbul.



Figure 5.11 : Nish Istanbul project, (URL-25).

The project is located in the south of Basın Expressway and includes residences, offices, and shopping functions and has indoor and outdoor sport facilities. According to the information taken from one of the project developers, the land has been purchased from YEM factories and constructed by cooperation of two famous holding companies. There are four blocks in the project where three of them are residential and one is for offices on nearly 9000 m² floor space and 160000m² of building area, including parking. Each block lies on 1000 m² land and there is a Nish Area under each block. The project is very close to the main transportation facilities such as Atatürk Airport (1.5 km), World Trade Center (800m), TEM link (200m), E-5 highway (50m), and 150m to Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) (URL-26).

Table 5.3 : General information about Nish Istanbul.

| Nish Istanbul | |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| Address | Çobançeşme Sanayi Street, No:11, Yenibosna/ Bahçelievler, İstanbul |
| Project Developer | Torunlar and Özyazıcı Partnership |
| Landowner | İstanbul YEM Sanayii |
| Design Function of Project | Alpar Mimarlık & İnşaat Taah. Müş. Hiz. Ltd. Şti. Mixed-Use Center (Residence+ Office+ Area) |
| Land Area | 33.000 m ² |
| Total Indoor Area | 134.000 m ² |
| Starting Date | July 2008 |
| Completion Date | July, 2010 |
| Number of Shops | 50 |
| Rentable Shopping Center Area | 6,500 m ² |
| Number of Sellable Offices | 125 |
| Number of Sellable Houses | 296 |
| Recreational Facilities | Open Areas and Sport Centers (For residents and Office users) Volleyball/ Basketball Fields (For residents) Closed Swimming Pool Sauna and Fitness Saloons |

In construction of Nish Istanbul, mosaic concept has been used. It tends to present Istanbul's cosmopolitanism structure to people coming to Istanbul while traveling from Atatürk Airport. According to its board chairman, Nish Istanbul is a gate from Istanbul to the world. He has mentioned that the least price for the units of the project is around 180000 Turkish Lira that is indicator of the fact that it belongs to high-income people. He also believes that the location of the project is its main feature since it is close to the airport, E-5 highway, TEM and Basın Expressway. (Yeni Şafak Gazetesi, 2009). Figure 5.12 shows the functions of the project.

Nish Istanbul project generally attracts high-income people and its users are mostly from wealthy neighborhoods such as Florya, Yeşilköy, Nişantaşı, and Bakırköy. While most residents own their houses and offices at the project, some people from other cities purchase units from the project only with regard to its closeness to the airport. As for people who have houses in other parts of the city and offices at this project, incessantly increasing prices of the project due to its location and its distance to the airport are the main persuasive factors. For instance, such businessmen may lodge their foreign guests at a place close to the airport. Some users are living lonely and some are families without children who have owned the project units to as a guaranteed investment.



Figure 5.12 : Functions of Nish Istanbul.

The main attractive factors in constructing such mix-used developments, the dynamics of the region, are presented as below:

- Its closeness to Bakırköy (15km) and being in the middle of the İkitelli, Bağcılar-Bakırköy triangle.
- Closeness to the airport.
- The closest housing region to the industrial sites in European side of the city.
- Its properness to investment.
- The closest project to the Yenibosna link (Yeni Şafak Gazetesi, 2009).

An official in the project believes that Basin Expressway is a blasting point for investment. She believes in continuing increase in prices of the project and region and population growth in it. The third airport for Istanbul is being analyzed and he also believes that this may be the cease point for the Basin Expressway region to lose its former value, but it is less probable. Figure 5.13 offers the function rates in Nish Istanbul project.

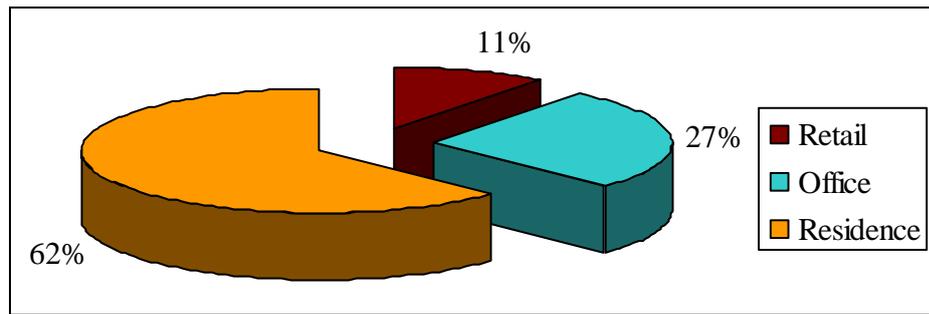


Figure 5.13 : The function rates in Nish Istanbul.

5.5.2 Review of Istwest project

Istwest project is located at Yenibosna Merkez quarter, on Bahçelievler Avenue. Table 5.4 shows the general information about Istwest Project. It is constructed by cooperation of two famous holding groups. The project is erected on the former Altıntıldız factory lands. Its functions are residences, houses and shopping center and are a mix-used project. It is constructed on 70,000m² land with overall 205,000m² indoor area. It started to be built in April 2011 and is planned to be finished in December 2012. There are 73 shops, social, sport, and cultural units in 4500m² of area. As for these centers, there are four outdoor pools, one indoor pool, playground, youth park, studios for painting, music and dance, karaoke, play station saloon, skiing and motorcycling simulators, table football and billiard saloon, partying area,

fitness, squash, pilates, yoga, aerobic and ping pong services, and observatory (URL-27). Figure 5.14 is about Istwest project.



Figure 5.14 : Istwest Project, (URL-27).

Table 5.4 : General information about Istwest Project.

| | |
|--------------------------------|---|
| Istwest | |
| Address | Yenibosna Merkez District, Ladin Street, No:63, 34197, Bahçelievler, İstanbul |
| Project Developer | Fer Yapı and Boyner Holding Partnership (Revenue Sharing Model) |
| Landowner | Altinyıldız Factory |
| Design | DB Mimarlık |
| Function of Project | Mixed-Use Center (Residence+ House+ Shopping Center) |
| Land Area | 70.000 m ² |
| Total Indoor Area | 205.000 m ² |
| Starting Date | 30 April 2011 |
| Completion Date | 31 December 2012 |
| Planned Opening Date | 31 December 2012 |
| Number of Shops | 73 |
| Recreational Facilities | 1 Closed and 4 Open Swimming Pool Playground Adventure Park, Youth Park Drawing, Music, Sculpture, Dance Studios Karaoke, Playstation and Billiard Rooms Simulation of Ski and Motor cycle Party Area Fitness, Squash, Pilates, Yoga, Aeorobic, Table Tennis Hobby Kitchen, Observatory |

Istwest Project is situated on the Basin Express Road where 200.000 vehicles pass daily; only 5 minutes from TEM Highway and Atatürk Airport by car. Fer Yapı, brought to life with the partnership of Boyner Holding, Istwest is one of the most valuable mixed real estate projects in Istanbul with its houses, residence and commercial center. Istwest consists of 493 residences, 506 house units and 73 commercial stores in Istwest open space.

For residence users, the following services are offered:

- Personal assistance service
- Reminder service
- Restaurant reservations
- Cinema information and reservation service
- Reservations and tickets to art and culture activities
- Ticket- hotel reservations organization and,
- Visa service.

Organizational services are flower delivery organization, present delivery organization, dine in organization, special occasion and entertainment at home organization catering service unit and short term valet provision, delivery organization, food shopping organization, handyman service, housing assistance services, house moving organization, guidance service organization for foreign guests.

Health services are ambulance service, 7/24 medical advisory service, information and guidance to doctor and health institutions in necessary cases, medical organization service, home care organization, doctor at home organization, 7/24 medicine delivery organization, appointment organization.

Consultancy services are travel consultancy, entertainment consultancy, style and shopping consultancy, landscaping consultancy service, veterinary consultancy.

Discount services are discount VIP transfer service, discount car rental, discount private chauffeur service.

Social facilities are meeting rooms, outdoor and indoor pools, 2 fitness rooms, office supplies service (office supplies service like fax machine and printers in meeting rooms and lobbies). Figure 5.15 and Figure 5.16 give some information about Istwest project.

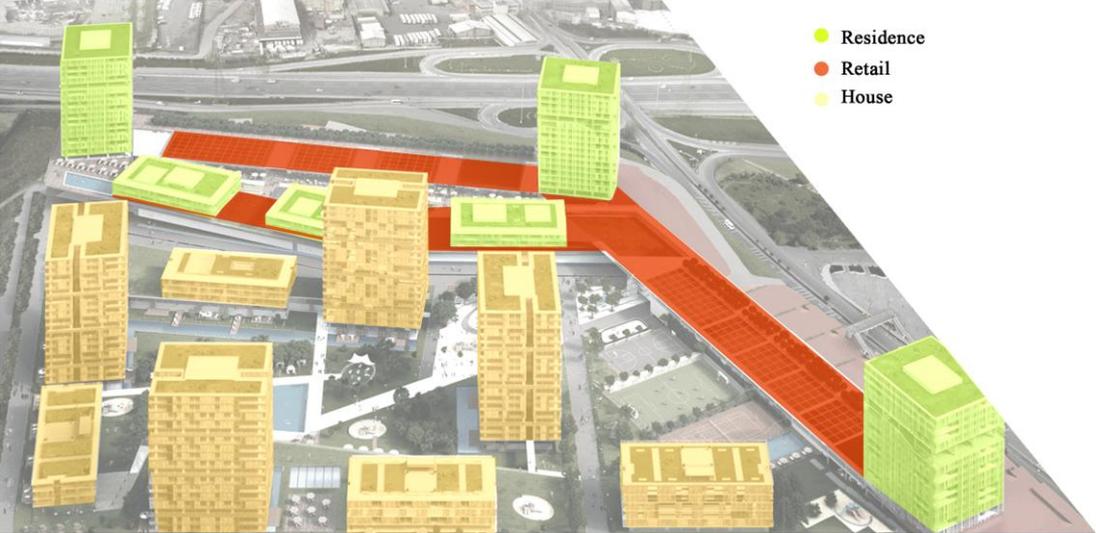


Figure 5.15 : Functions of Istwest project.

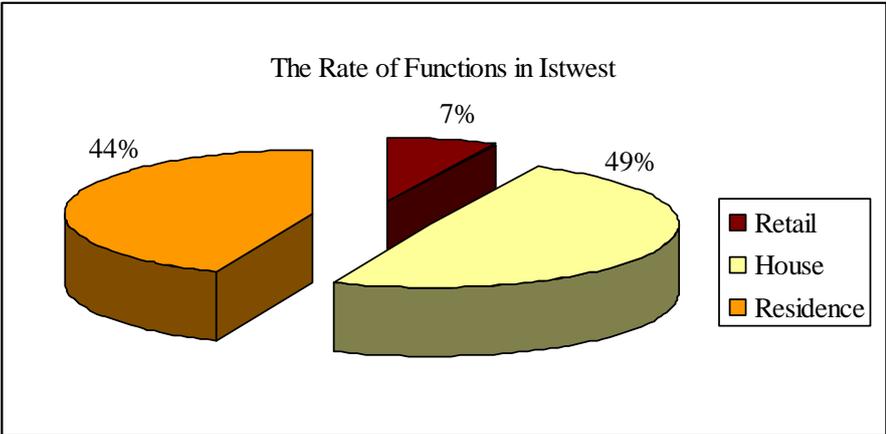


Figure 5.16 : Function rates of Istwest project, extracted and adopted from (URL-28).

5.5.3 Review of Mall of Istanbul project

Mall of Istanbul is located in Başakşehir Avenue. Mass housing administration of Turkey and Torunlar real estate investment trust are land owners and constructor is Torunlar real estate investment trust. It is another mix-used project with houses and trade centers. Its overall indoor area is 762000 m² with construction commencement date of 2010 and opening of 2013. There are nearly 350 shops in the project and

parking for 7000 cars. 1200 houses with 121000m² area and offices with 32000 m² are extant. Cinema with 14 saloons for 2966 people, amusement park, snow park, nature park, and science museum are other facilities for residents (URL-29). Table 5.5 is about Mall of Istanbul project. Figure 5.17 shows the project itself.

Table 5.5 : General information about Mall of Istanbul (URL-27, & Torunlar GYO Faaliyet Raporu, 2009).

| Mall of Istanbul | |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| Address | Süleyman Demirel Boulevard, Mahmutbey/ Başakşehir, İstanbul |
| Project Developer | Torunlar GYO |
| Landowner | Torunlar GYO ve TOKİ (Revenue Sharing Model) |
| Design | Torunlar GYO ve Gönnye Proje |
| Function of Project | Mixed-Use Center (Residence+ Trade+ Hotel) |
| Land Area | 123 decares |
| Total Indoor Area | 762.000m ² |
| Starting Date | June 2010 |
| Completion Date | Second half of 2013 |
| Number of Shops | 350 |
| Otopark Capacity | 7000 cars |
| Rentable Shopping Center Area | 148.000 m ² |
| Sellable Offices Areas | 32.000 m ² |
| Number of Sellable Houses | 1200 (121.000 m ²) |
| Recreational Facilities | Open Areas and Spor Centers (For residents and Office users) Volleyball/ Basketball Fields (For residents) Closed Swimming Pool Sauna and Fitness Saloons Number of Cinema Saloons: 14 (for 2.966 people) Amusement park covering 15.000 m ² in Mall of Istanbul is the biggest one in Turkey Snowpark Nature Park Science Museum |

The design of the recreational units in the project was done by Canadian Forrec group which is a leading one in this field. They have designed a number of prestigious projects all around the world such as Mall of America, leg lands in Germany, Malaysia, USA, Universal studios in Florida, Adventure Island in Orlando, and Wonderland in Canada (Sabah Gazetesi, 2012). In first six months of the beginning of Mall of Istanbul Project, 89 residences and 36 office were sold (Torunlar GYO Faaliyet Raporu, 2012).



Figure 5.17 : Mall of Istanbul Project.

Figure 5.18 shows the function rates of the project and Figure 5.19 is about functions of Mall of Istanbul Project.

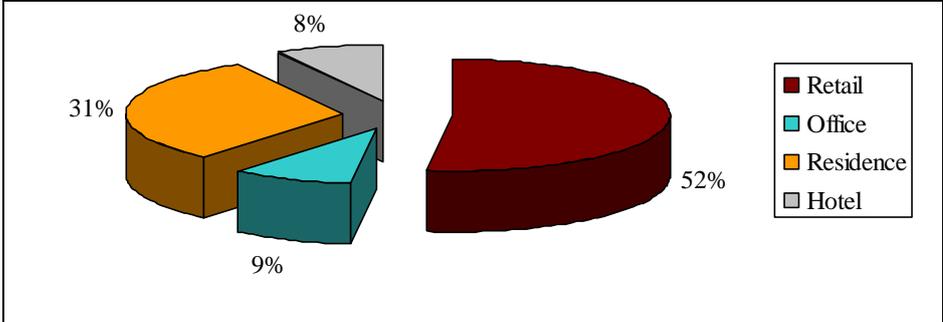


Figure 5.18 : Function rates of Mall of Istanbul project.



Figure 5.19 : Functions of Mall of Istanbul project, (URL-29).

While analyzing these projects, it is clear that the last one, Mall of Istanbul project, is by far bigger than the others and as a sub-city, it is assumed to cover all necessities of a city. In addition, the scale of these projects is even bigger than the extant mix-used projects in former CBD. In the process of time, it may be observed that the size of the projects face an incessant increment and this may result in continuous alterations in supply, demand and user profile.

6. FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

After 1950s, in parallel with suburbanization, gated communities were built outside the city centers and they presented a new life style mostly for high-income people and attracted many residents. In some cases, city centers changed to be depressed areas and lost their former values and population. On the other hand, the traffic and air pollution with regard to the commute of people who live in peripheries and work in centers were increased. To avoid these matters, it was planned to animate the city centers and give the former value back to them by developing mix-used developments. With transition to the information age, service sector also changed and clean and noise free working centers could place in city centers.

In pursuit of this trend, increment of density in centers, land inadequacy, steep increment in land prices, new expectations from offices and houses, and quest for novel life styles resulted in spreading the mix-used developments from city centers to the peripheries. It was difficult to construct huge mega-centers on small sites of city center or historical lands. Therefore, large cultivated areas out of city centers found to be the best alternative to reach the goal by investors and developers.

However, this case was different from mix-used development's initial philosophy. In this case, animating the city center is not the purpose. Instead, decreasing the density in the city center is aimed. This resulted in a new development. Beside these developments, some changes in people's consumption habits occurred. In this study, these new developments have been analyzed based on two main questions:

- What are the actors and forces behind these mixed-use developments?
- What are the effects of mixed-use developments on urbanization and social relations?

These two questions support and affect each other. In order to cope with these questions, a number of theories were analyzed in details. From economic point of

view, consumption theories and from social viewpoint, urban theories were selected. The results of the study have been presented below:

- Affecting actors for the mentioned development are government, developers, investors, entrepreneurs, and landowners, while affected actors are consumers of these developments and people who are not interfered in these developments. Roles of each actor are the points to be investigated. For instance, developers and investors interfere in this development to make profit. Landowner may provide cheap land. Consumer may either tend to upgrade his lifestyle or invest. Finally, government as the decision making mechanism of all these, plays a crucial role. The actors leave physical and social impressions by their roles.
- As for physical impressions, it is worth mentioning that the areas far from city centers where were former cultivations/industrial areas or shantytown are being new and important sub-centers. Besides, in Istanbul, one may not conclude that the mentioned suburbanization and formation of newly created sub-centers have changed the former and main city centers to depressed areas. In other words, former centers have not remarkably lost their values. For Istanbul case, we can say that these developments are popular both in main centers of the city and peripheries. This may result in increment of city density and incessant population growth. Due to the co-centric circles theory of Burgess, with changing the peripheries to new sub-centers in medium term, they may be the future's and long term's main centers and this trend may continue.
- Another matter is that it is clear that one of the main reasons in constructing mix-used developments in peripheries is to mitigate the traffic in city centers. Now, there are two questions: 1- Some people reside and work inside these developments. In this case they generally live and work in gated communities and social ties with others should be investigated. 2- Some people reside in these developments and work somewhere else or vice versa. In this case, traffic is still the point in question. For the case of this thesis, it should be mentioned that Basin Expressway was initially constructed to facilitate the transport to the former industrial areas where changed to be shantytown and mass housing projects and finally to these prestigious and luxurious

developments. These changes heavily affected the traffic in the region and increased it.

- In analyzing the mix-used projects in our case study, it was revealed that the connection and relationships between these projects and also their link to the Basin Expressway are weak. Their relation with external environment is provided by shopping centers. As for Nish Istanbul mix-used project it is being said that its social and common areas may be used by public, but in fact its social and public centers are not open to service yet. As it is clear, public areas in the city may decrease with this trend and this may be an obstacle to animating the life in the city. The question here is whether animating the social life only inside these developments regardless of social ties out of the mentioned projects can guarantee the success of social life in entire city or not and this is the matter that public goods theory deals with. The question here is what is the real meaning of public space then? Marc Francis (1989) mentions that in academia, American style shopping malls are public spaces, since people may walk on their passageways. Anyway, due to the public goods theory, one place should be presented by the government and there would be no profit-oriented purpose so that it can be called public space. With regard to the analyzed projects in Istanbul, it was clear that in the mix-used developments, only the mentioned shopping malls are open to public and this is indicator of the fact that the meaning of public goods may face potential changes in Istanbul.
- Another effect of mix-used developments may be studied from the economic point of view. Considering the investment of developers and investors in the region by construction of mix-used projects, land and real estate property prices have been increased. Consequently, the region has been an attractive one for high-income people to reside or invest. These trends have affected the consumption pattern. New products have changed the demands. In the past, houses were only shelters, but now, some factors such as sport, shopping, and working centers may not be separated from the houses.
- In our case study, Basin Expressway, there are eight mix-used developments and 16 planned and new hotels. Due to the game theory there may be a potential risk in this case. There are a number of similar projects with analogous functions very close together and each of them tries to make its

profit the most. This case and people's attitude to use newer projects may put the other projects in risk. On the other hand, the region has been a new CBD in Istanbul and in broader sense, it may compete with former CBDs and the same risk defined by game theory may occur.

- Relative income theory states that one may try to upgrade his status in order to join a special social level. In this case, he may tend to make himself similar to some upper members by imitating them or consuming more prestigious stuff. People may purchase units in such mix-used developments to reach this purpose. Another similar important case is referred to people's increment in income compared to their income in the past. Nowadays, many luxurious and prestigious facilities such as these mix-used developments may be offered to people and granting loans by banks may ease this process and people may own houses or offices in these projects. Tendency to luxurious lifestyle and being belonged to a high level group in the society may urge people to consume prestigious things and facilities for their symbolic value rather than their real utility and value. At this point, Lefebvre's theory is true, where space and time may lose their value.
- Due to Simmel's theory, urbanization results in higher rates of individualization. However, in our case study, social life and activities inside the mix-used developments have important role. This process may lead to grouping rather than individualization.
- Changes in the houses supply style and office buildings affected people's preferences, too. As it was mentioned early in the thesis, house may present its owner's identity. Therefore, changes in users' lifestyle are predictable. For instance, in the past, living and working in city centers with strong ties with the city was preferable, while today, being far from city pollutions and traffic and having a regular life is more preferable.
- It is recommended to construct mix-used developments for different economic groups and family types beside construction of mix-used developments with different functions. In this scope, public spaces which are open to all people rather than gated ones should be offered and their ties with each other and external environment should be fortified.

- As for future efforts, we should say that today only one mix-used development is active in the region of study and some are under construction. After their opening, their effects from all mentioned views should be studied and compared to the existing situation in the city center.

At the end, main formation reasons of MUDs, their effects on city and citizens, role players and recommendations are summarized in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1 : Summary of formation of MUDs.

| Formation reasons | Effects on the city and citizens | Actors | Recommendations |
|--|---|--------------|---|
| Alternative CBD | Occurance of sub-centers | Government | Projects for different economic groups and family types |
| Changes of commercial axis | Changes in former centers | Developer | Alternative transportation solutions |
| Profit Demand for new houses and offices | Traffic congestion | Investor | Remediation in former CBD |
| Traffic load in city center | Increment in city density | Entrepreneur | Government subsidization |
| Lack of land and costlines | Weak connection with other projects and the city | Landowner | Review of privatization |
| Tendency to prestige and new lifestyle | Increment in shopping centers | Consumer | Need-based projects |
| Lack of public space | Changes in the real meaning of public space | Other people | |
| Problems in former CBD | Changes in consumption pattern and preferences Risks on Basin Express Road | | |
| | Importance of space and time | | |
| | Grouping and segregation | | |

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: Floor Plans and Site Plans of Nish Istanbul, Istwest and Mall of Istanbul Projects.

APPENDIX A



Net Area: 63 m²
Gross Area: 82 m²

(a)



Net Area: 68,3 m²
Gross Area: 87 m²

(b)



Net Area: 77,9 m²
Gross Area: 97 m²

(c)



Net Area: 128,6 m²
Gross Area: 162 m²

(d)



Net Area: 149 m²
Gross Area: 186 m²

(e)



(f)

Figure A.1 : (a,b,c,d,e) : Floor plans of Nish Istanbul. (f) : Site plan



1+1.5 (Gross Area: 94,84 m²) (a)



1+0 (Gross Area: 31,11 m²) (b)



1+1 (Gross Area: 80,26 m²) (c)



2+1 (Gross Area: 110,37 m²) (d)



2,5+1 (Gross Area: 132,36 m²) (e)



2+1b (Gross Area: 104,7 m²) (f)

Figure A.2 : (a,b,c,d,e,f) : Floor plans of Istwest



3+1 (Gross Area: 157,72 m²)

(g)



3+1b (Gross Area: 157,32 m²)

(h)



4+1 (Gross Area: 210,13 m²)

(i)



(j)

Figure A.3 : (g,h,i) : Floor plans of Istwest. (j): Site plan



1+1a (Gross Area: 78,38 m²) (a)



1+1c (Gross Area: 89,81 m²) (b)



1+1,5 (Gross Area: 85,73 m²) (c)



2+1a (Gross Area: 105,02 m²) (d)



2+1b (Gross Area: 120,36 m²) (e)



2+1c (Gross Area: 129,63 m²) (f)

Figure A.4 : (a,b,c,d,e,f) : Floor plans of Mall of Istanbul project



2+1d (Gross Area: 107,31 m²)

(g)



3+1a (Gross Area: 169,56 m²)

(h)



3+1c (Gross Area: 182,55 m²)

(i)



4+1a (Gross Area: 216,31 m²)

(j)



4+1b (Gross Area: 162,66 m²)

(k)



(l)

Figure A.5 : (g,h,i,j,k) : Floor plans of Mall of Istanbul project. (l) : Site plan

CURRICULUM VITAE



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List of Publications and Patents:

Tanriverdi, Çağın, & Yüksel, Yurdanur D., & Gökmen, Gülçin P. (2012). Changes in Housing-User Profile and Its Spatial and Social Effects in Istanbul, *International Scientific Journal Architecture and Design*, Vol. 2, CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 24th October (Presented Paper at *International Conference on Architecture and Design*, Vienna, Austria, 17-18th October).

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