

*Full Length Research Paper*

# **User preferences on transformations of shopping centers into private urban public spaces: The case of Izmir, Turkey**

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**With the spread of globalization, shopping centers are becoming a part of the urban lifestyle in many countries, including Turkey. Their numbers are increasing rapidly in metropolitan areas. In addition to their retail outlets, these newly designed, well-kept shopping centers offer facilities that enable people to pursue leisure activities and engage in social interaction. The study demonstrates that Turkish people using shopping centers as a private public space (community space) rather than simply a shopping space. To explore this phenomenon, we researched the activities and characteristics of a centre that attracts mostly Turkish people. To explore their implications for different centre characteristics and activities, user characteristics, such as gender, age and occupation, were investigated via survey and interviews. A field survey was carried out in EGE Park Mavişehir shopping centre in Izmir, the third largest city in Turkey. The centre is in a suburban area that was recently established as a high-income housing settlement. The results of statistical analysis of the data show that shopping centers corporate community space functions in, and attracts their users especially teenagers for its physical attractiveness, entertainment and leisure facilities and social interaction more than the shopping activities.**

**Key words:** Shopping centre, private public space, user preferences, transformation, physical attractiveness, entertainment and leisure facilities, socializing.

## **INTRODUCTION**

This study aims to examine which activities and characteristics of the shopping centers attract Turkish people and why Turkish urban citizens prefer them to other community spaces, such as downtown locations, cultural institutions, or parks. User ('user', 'visitor', 'consumer' have been interchangeable) characteristics such as gender, age, occupation, preferences, and attitudes are investigated in order to determine how the activities offered by, and the characteristics of, the shopping centers affect the socio-demographic distribution of the people who visit them.

As Margret Kohn (2004), argues that community collapses the distinction between public and private. It fulfills people's longing for sociability in a context that incorporates the appeals of private life: security, familiarity, identity, and (for some) control.

A space for the public to do its work-to interact, to deliberate, to confront and work through differences and disagreements has to be created. These spaces may be traditional gathering –places (for example, the town square or park, sidewalks or town halls).The kind of space in itself may not be as important as the quality of interactions afforded by different kinds of public spaces including: the kinds of people admitted, the range of speech and participation allowed, and the ways in which ideas are expressed and received. In the ideal, there probably should be few constraints should themselves be subject to public debate and deliberation (Calhoun, 1992; Young, 2000).

By virtue of shopping center scale, design, and function, shopping centers appear to be private public spaces (community spaces), more or less open to

anyone and relatively sanitary and safe (Goss, 1993). This appearance is important to their success for they aim to offer to a third place beyond home and work/school, a venue where people, old and young, can congregate, commune, and see and be seen (Oldenburg, 1989).

Although the primary activity in shopping centers is to acquire the goods required for our daily use, 'shopping' could include eating and drinking in cafes, sightseeing, visiting markets, being with one's friends (Verbeke, 1987), and browsing (Bloch et al., 1989). Bloch et al. (1989) suggested that consumers are likely to gravitate to a setting offering a favorable climate, a high potential for social interaction, a perceived freedom from safety concerns, and a large selection of consumable goods and experiences. Except for home and work, people spend more time in shopping malls than anywhere else (Kowinski, 1985; Stoffel, 1988). The mall is a major part of the US lifestyle (Stockil, 1972). During the 1980's the mall was a popular destination for shopping and recreation (Kowiski, 1985). It is a contemporary town square, a community center serving as a focal point for community congregations (Swinyard, 1998). Miller et al. (1998) argue that shopping does not merely reproduce identities, but provides an active and independent component of identity construction. Study points to the fact that consumption has become a word of its own. It also highlights the importance of space and place for consumer identities as well as the cultural practices of shopping. Moreover, it reminds us how these new geographies are constantly creating new forms of shopping and lifestyle (Morris, 2000).

Developed new lifestyles in big towns became affected by the different public space characteristics and activities of shopping centers, such as the attractiveness of the centre (atmosphere, visual appeal, cleanliness, comfort, interior design, air condition), entertainment and leisure (cinemas, bowling alley, billiard hall, fitness centers, art exhibitions, shows and music concerts, market stalls, and restaurants), retail environment (retail mix under one roof), socializing with their friends and another people, and importance of location (proximity to housing and accessibility).

As the combination of these factors, shopping centers became the part of the modern lifestyles. Before such shopping centers were built, the provision of these facilities was spread throughout the city, but now that they are offered in the centers, urban people flock to the centers because they can satisfy all their socio-cultural and consumption requirements in one place.

Changes in life style that have occurred since the Second World War have significantly affected the shopping habits of consumers. Shopping centers are now designed to provide an entire shopping environment that offers a new experience for consumers in Western cultures (Erkip, 2005). With the spread of globalization, these shopping centers also took their place in Turkish

urban life, particularly after the economic restructuring of Turkey in 1980s. This restructuring resulted in a shift of power from small, traditional traders to large domestic and multinational corporations (Tokatli et al., 1999). Consumption in Turkey increased noticeably, due to the rapid development of means of communication and the search for new markets by foreign countries. Even though there was a strong movement towards establishing shopping centers as early as 1988 in some areas of Turkey, in Izmir they started to be constructed after 1997.

In this study to investigate which activities and characteristics of the Turkish shopping centers attract Turkish people most and why Turkish urban citizens prefer them to other community spaces, a field research has been carried out and face to face survey method is used. The survey was carried out at EGE Park Shopping Centre, which is located in a high-income housing area of Mavişehir in Izmir. Izmir has been the leader in trade operations, including exports and imports in the Turkish Aegean and Western Anatolia, since BC 133. With its mild sunny climate and attractive coastline, it has always been the centre of tourism, culture, and commerce. EGE Park Shopping Centre was established in 1999 in Mavişehir, near the northern settlement of Karşıyaka in Izmir. Mavişehir is a development zone, inhabited by well-educated, high-income families. We chose Mavişehir as our study location because it provides a good example of the transformations of the new Turkish urban life style and its effects on consumer requirements and the functions of shopping centers.

This study has four sections. The title literature review on preferences of users follows this brief introduction. The second section also covers the field study which carried out in Ege Park Shopping Center in Izmir – Mavişehir district. The third section puts forth methodology and analyses of the field research. The final section discusses about the results of the field research and concludes the study.

## PREFERENCES OF USERS

Shopping malls has long been attracting the attention of various researchers for analyzing socio-spatial dynamics in different cultures (Jewell, 2001; Miller et al., 1998; Csaba, 1999; Gottdiener, 1995; Goss, 1993). Despite their importance, studies of shopping malls are still not common in the academic literature (Feinberg, 1991). Since the 1980's market researchers, geographers, and town planners have studied the retail environment. Studies that focused on store choice and store image, however, typically have ignored the characteristics of immediate store environments, for example, the public environment within the shopping center (Oppewal, 1999). In the last decade, social scientists have begun to show an interest in shopping as a research topic (Cheuk, 2003).

Also architects should show an interest in shopping and the shopping centers. Architects do not design malls for architects; they design them for developers and retailers who are interested in creating malls and other shopping centers to attract consumers and keep them coming back (Richards 1990).

The research on shopping is largely dominated by the cases from Western societies; a few researchers in other cultures indicate that the social dynamics and factors affecting the use of malls are quite different than Western examples (Erkip, 2003; Salcedo, 2003; Abaza, 2001; Drummond, 2000; Al-Otobi, 1990).

When reviewing the empirical researches on the activities and characteristics important to consumer behaviour about shopping centers, the results tend to converge on 5 dominant factors which are 1- Attractiveness: Atmosphere (Downs, 1970; Bearden, 1977; Davies et al, 1978; Van Raaij, 1983; Dawson et al, 1985; Robertson, 1994; Brown, 1994; Loukaitou-et al , 1997; Oppewal et al, 1999; Severin et al., 2001; Frasquet, 2001; Erkip, 2005; Anselmsson, 2006., Puccinelli et al., 2009), 2- Socializing (Van Raaij, 1983; Goss, 1993; Southworth, 2005; Staeheli et al., 2006), 3- Leisure and Entertainment (Tauber, 1972; Goss, 1993; Bloch et al., 1994 ; Arnold et al., 2003 Erkip, 2005; Mugan et al., 2009 ), 4- Importance of the location: (Bearden, 1977; Van Raaij, 1983; Severin et al., 2001; Frasquet et al., 2001, Yilmaz, 2004., Cheng 2007), 5- Retail Environment (Frasquet et al., 2001).

In the following paragraphs we will try to give brief review about those factors.

1). Attractiveness (atmosphere, attention to lighting, seating and toilets, interior design, neat and well cared for, air conditioned, security provided, car park facility): To assess the effectiveness of shopping center upgrading plans, interest may focus on the various attributes that underlie consumer evaluations of public space appearance and atmosphere in shopping centers (Oppewal et al., 1999; Brown, 1994; Davies et al., 1978; Dawson et al., 1985; Loukaitou et al., 1997; Robertson, 1994). Though it is not the most important factor in determining consumer choice of retail destination, it is the atmosphere and appearance of store environment may nevertheless contribute to the attractiveness of a store or shopping center. This is exemplified by Downs (1970), who proposes in his seminal paper that nine component constitute the image of urban downtown shopping centers. Among these nine, he distinguished four public space characteristics (structure and design, ease of internal movement and parking, visual appearance, and atmosphere) (Oppewal et al., 1999).

A good atmosphere motivates people to stay longer and purchase more. Atmosphere has been found to be a significant factor in people's decisions to visit a shopping centre (Bearden, 1977; Severin et al., 2001; Frasquet, 2001). Public spaces that are clean, fresh, and visually

appealing with a modern appearance attract many visitors. Specifically, environmental stimuli (e.g., store lighting) can influence a consumer's emotional state (e.g., pleasure, arousal), which in turn drive the consumer's approach or avoid behavior (e.g., willingness to buy). For example, a retail store with soothing, dim lights might lead a consumer to experience the store as more pleasant and stay longer (Puccinelli et al., 2009). Decorations are important and spaces should be kept as bright and spacious as possible (Anselmsson, 2006). However some of the researchers claim that the role of atmosphere in the choice of a particular mall seems to be more limited than the social/cultural concerns (Erkip, 2005).

2). Socializing (make friends, to meet and getting together with friends): Shopping centers provide opportunities for their users to socialize. Although they are privately owned, such spaces are used by the public. Some of them are almost real community centers (Southworth, 2005). In North American cities, shopping malls are heralded as the new town square. Shopping is the most important contemporary social activity, and, for the most part, takes place in the shopping center (Goss, 1993). Shopping centers, which are separated from the old downtown by distance or design, seem for many people to be the new heart of public and social life (Staeheli et al., 2006). Later research extends to cover wider aspects of consumer behavior (Feinberg et al., 1991). It is found that malls serve as a place for stimulating social behavior.

3). Entertainment and leisure (billiard hall, bowling alley, market stall, cafes, restaurants, cinemas, fitness centers, art exhibitions, shows and music concerts): Shopping centers are designed as a complex, which provide a new experience for post modern users/citizens in Western cultures. This experience changed the nature of shopping, now merged into leisure and entertainment (Erkip, 2005). Shopping is also a form of leisure. Some researchers have noted that shoppers in shopping centers are generally more like leisure seekers. As (Mugan et al., 2009) teenagers spend much of their leisure time at shopping malls. Entertainment quickly became an industry in the early 1990's. Bloch et al. (1994) found that malls are viewed by consumers as a place not only for shopping, but also for other activities, such as entertainment. Many shopping centers now enjoy children's play spaces, virtual reality games, live shows, movies in multiplex cinemas, a variety of food in either food courts or themed restaurants, and interactive demonstrations. Also shopping is a major leisure activity of Americans and in fact it is the second most important leisure activity, after television watching (Goss, 1993). Consumers shop for various reasons, which may not include a specific need for a product or service (Tauber, 1972);\_for example, they may need entertainment, recreation, social interaction, or intellectual stimulation (Arnold et al., 2003).

4). Importance of the location (proximity to housing and accessibility): Retailing academics and practitioners seem always to emphasize “location, location, location” as the key to success (Grewal et al., 2009). Convenient location has been validated as an important determinant of shopping mall visit frequency (Severin et al., 2001; Bearden, 1977; Frassetto et al., 2001). According to Cheng et al. (2007) shopping mall location selection is one of the core business activities of developers for long-term capital investment. Depending on the study of Yilmaz (2004) geographical location of shopping center play very important role in choice of a shopping center.

5). Retail Environment (shopping and window shopping, high number and types of shops, indoor supermarket usage): The most widely known and discussed conceptual as well as operational framework for investigating retail store satisfaction is a scale validated in (Westbrook, 1981). This scale is designed to measure eight dimensions of satisfaction with retail outlets: sales persons, environment, merchandising policies, service orientation, product/service, clientele, value and special sales (Anselmsson, 2006). Westbrook’s scale is store specific and fails to capture the overall shopping center.

The relevance of public space characteristics also is confirmed by the study of Van Raaij (1983). He obtained five components that were labeled as follows: general evaluation, physical environment, efficiency, accessibility and social environment. Although our study, focuses on the use of public space characteristics we also added retail environment attribute to compare the preferences of users between shopping and other activities. In this context we need to understand customer preferences to see whether they prefer retailing or other public space activities.

In the Turkish case this aspects need to be tested empirically in a local area. We chose Mavişehir as our study location in İzmir Turkey.

## **İZMİR THE COMMERCIAL CITY OF TURKEY**

### **Izmir and retailing**

Izmir was established about 5000 years ago. During its long history, it has hosted many civilizations and people of many different nationalities. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Izmir was so modern, when compared to the cities of Europe, that it was named the ‘little Paris’ of the Mediterranean (Beyru, 2000). During the Ottoman Period, Izmir continued to have a multi-ethnic, multi-cultured, and multi-religious population. The city grew gradually until the 1700s, but in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries lived a very colorful life when foreigners noticed its economic potential. It is now the second largest industrialized city in Turkey, with an area of approximately 12000 square kilometers and a population of 3.3 million.

### **Izmir and Its commerce between 1923 - 1950**

After 1923, foreigners started to leave Turkey, including Izmir. Then domestic commerce decreased until the 1950s, because for various reasons the local population was not formerly engaged in exports and imports.

The ‘hans’, mosques, ‘hamams’ (Turkish baths), churches, synagogues, and public fountains in the traditional city centre of Izmir, Kemeralti neighborhood were preserved until 1923. As time went on, the base of operations for commerce changed to other subcenters, such as Alsancak, Karşıyaka, Buca, Bornova, and Göztepe, while housing areas grew and dispersed within the urban zone. These commercial subcenters weakened the significance of the traditional city centre, Kemeralti.

### **Izmir and Its commerce between 1950-1980**

During the 1960s and 1970s, Turkey grew economically and strict measures were imposed on imports and exports. The population of Izmir increased rapidly until the 1970s, largely due to immigration, especially from eastern Turkey. As a result of the weakening economy, the traditional city centre deteriorated physically in the second half of the 1960s and after. Today, the city centre is used by middle- and especially low-income groups. However, despite all the crises it has survived. Accompanying the development of new commercial subcenters developed in various locations within the city, shopping centers began to be established in various locations within Izmir. The first commercial zone name in Izmir was Kemeralti. Then, new commercial subcenters developed, to be followed by the shopping centers.

### **Commerce in Turkey and Izmir after 1980**

The economic measures of January 24<sup>th</sup>, 1980 transformed the production of goods for export (Egeli, 1996). The new model of development rendered Turkey globally competitive as an exporter. New global capital seeking emerging markets also played, and continues to play, a significant role in the country’s improved commercial life.

Flexible policies for attracting foreign investment were introduced as a part of the liberalization of the Turkish economy. Legislation regarding foreign investment and the privatization of state owned enterprises, as well as support from several bilateral and multilateral agreements and organizations, now provide a secure environment for foreign capital.

### **THE NEW SHOPPING CENTERS OF İZMİR**

All shopping centre developers and managers in Turkey

are private companies. The first shopping centre was built in Istanbul in 1988. Ankara, the second biggest city, followed suit in 1989. Izmir's first shopping centre was built in 1998 (Table 1).

It is reported that in 2001, annual income per capita reached 3,215 USD in Izmir, while the average of the country remained at 2,146 USD (TUIK, 2008).

Government-supported investment in infrastructure and highways after 1990 was followed by investments of medium- and large-scale capital. This encouraged private investment in shopping and employment centers, as well as hypermarkets. After 1960, people who had migrated to Izmir occupied vacant public land by constructing shelters in unsanitary conditions. Squatter settlements were located in the areas surrounding the city centre. Squatter households in Izmir were, on average, bigger than in other towns (Özsoy, 2002). As a result the well-educated high-income families searched for new housing areas outside the urban centre. They sought safety, good views, parking, a clean environment, and better community relations, so shopping centers were built in these new housing areas. Izmir has four main axes, which provide access to its wider hinterland and the Aegean Region. Shopping centers were built along these four main axes of the city, along which high-income housing settlements had also recently been established.

## EXTENSION ZONES OF IZMIR

Northern axis (Karşıyaka, Bostanlı, Çigli)

Southern axis (Gaziemir)

Eastern axis (Bornova)

Western axis (Balcova, Güzelbahçe)

EGS Mavişehir Shopping Centre (renamed 'EGE Park Mavişehir Shopping Centre' as a result of a change of ownership) was opened in 1999 (Table 2).

## EGE PARK SHOPPING CENTRE (MAVIŞEHİR)

After Turkey became a Republic, ethnic groups gradually diminished. However after the 1960s, Turkish metro poles attracted a large population from smaller rural settlements and zones. Izmir also received migrants. The development of industry and the moderate climate of Izmir led to migration inwards, which resulted in a considerable increase in its population between 1927 and 2000. Similarly, the country's population increased fivefold in the same period. Izmir's population increased by 6.3 times and reached 3.73 million in the year 2007. 2.7 million (83%) of this total now live in the urban zone (Demographic findings of Izmir, 2009).

Well-educated, high-income families were looking for new housing areas outside the urban core where they

**Table 1.** Numbers of shopping centers in some Turkish cities (1988 - 2005).

Year	Istanbul	Izmir	Anatolia	Total
Before 1990	2	0	1	3
1990-1995	3	0	3	6
1995-2000	11	4	22	37
2000-2005	18	2	34	54
Total	34	6	60	100

Source: Sabah, 23-July- 2006.

would find suitable living standards. Mavişehir, near the northern settlement of Karşıyaka in Izmir, is one such development zone. This development was planned and implemented by Turkish Estate Bank (Emlak Bank), which aimed at replacing small-scale, profit-oriented housing production with better-planned, high-rise housing areas of a more complex nature. The area was developed in two stages. The first stage was completed in 1995. The development now contains 2794 housing units of one to four bedrooms, as well as 88 two-storey villas.

The second stage was comprised of 3446 housing units, all of which had been sold by 2005, (Özsoy, 2002). In order to cater for the shopping, entertainment, and recreational needs of the population a shopping complex, named EGE Park Shopping Centre, was created in 1999. The ideology according to which the centre was designed was similar to that of Victor Gruen's classic atrium mall. His renewal ideology emphasizes efficiency, safety, comfort, and cleanliness (Gruen et al., 1960). The Mavişehir area connects directly to fast-moving urban arteries. It is 2 km from the commercial core of Karşıyaka.

EGE Park Shopping Centre is within easy reach of the surrounding neighborhood and attracts many users from all districts of the city. It receives about 4200 visitors per month (Yeni Asir, 2004). The goal of these new settlements is to be self sufficient. They try to cater to peoples every need, such as shopping, entertainment, education, culture, and health (Erkip, 2005). There are also kindergartens, elementary and high schools, and a sports centre in the area with a hospital seven km away. We can easily see the influences of a new lifestyle there.

The Centre contains many shops and a hypermarket and covers an indoor space of 40.000 m<sup>2</sup>. This introverted atrium mall is surrounded by two parking lots.

Inside the building of Ege Park, there are two main pedestrian axes. They are each 18 m wide and run along each side of the atrium. In addition, there are subsidiary circulation axes, which are five meters wide. Shops of different shapes and sizes are located at right angles to the main pedestrian axes. In total, the Centre has four floors and 120 shops. The basement has indoor parking for 100 cars. On the ground floor, there are the following:

**Table 2.** Names and characteristics of shopping malls in Izmir.

Name	Date of establishment	Size of indoor area (m <sup>2</sup> )	Location
<b>(Former name)</b>			
EGS Park Mavişehir	1999	40.000	Northern axis (Bostanlı)
<b>(New name)</b>			
Kipa	1999	78.000	Northern axis (Çigli)
Carrefour	2000	54.000	Northern axis (Çigli)
<b>(Former name)</b>			
EGS Park Bornova	1998	17.000	Eastern axis (Bornova)
<b>(New name)</b>			
Park Bornova	2004		''
Palmiye	2003	23.500	Western axis (Balçova)
Agora	2002	41.000	Western axis (Balçova)
Özdilek	2001	20.000	Western axis (Balçova)

Source: Soysal (2006).

the hypermarket 'Migros', three branches of famous Turkish banks (Garanti Bank, Yapi Kredi Bank, and İş Bank), clothing shops (including the global and famous Turkish brands), and three cafes including Starbucks. Other shops sell carpets, jewelers, shoes, photographic equipment, eyewear, electronic equipment, perfume, chocolate, and home accessories. Two outdoor car parks have a capacity of 700 cars.

On the first floor, there are the management offices, along with shops for clothing and shoes. The second floor has a bowling alley, six cinemas, fast food courts, cafes, and several restaurants.

## METHODOLOGY AND MEASURES

We conducted a survey of 313 of the Centre's customers. We completed the questionnaire by face to face interviews the visitors in the Centre on any day of the week. These questions aimed at identifying the demographic characteristics of consumers and their user preferences. The first part of the questionnaire asked about the gender, age, and occupation of the respondents (Table 3) while the second part asked about frequencies, the respondents visited the Centre (Table 4). In the third part we asked the users which characteristics and activities of the shopping centre attracts the people Such as: 1- The attractiveness of the centre (atmosphere, attention to lighting, seating and toilets, interior design, neat and well cared for, air conditioned, security provided, car park facility) 2- Entertainment and leisure (billiard hall, bowling alley, market stall, cafes, restaurants, cinemas, fitness centers, art exhibitions, shows and music concerts), 3- Retail environment (Window shopping, High number and types of shops, Indoor Migros Hypermarket available) 4- Socializing (shopping and window shopping, high number and types of shops, indoor supermarket usage) 5- Importance of Location ( Proximity to housing ) (Table 5).

At the last part with standing to the factor stated above it is asked for what reasons the shopping center is utilized in order to test the reliability of the questions which are asked at Table 5 (Table 6).

The respondents were chosen at random at the entrances of the Centre. For the evaluation of the questionnaire results, cross-tabulations were prepared and a chi-square analysis was performed (Erkip, 2005). The latter aimed at analyzing the characteristics of the user groups, user preferences, and users' purposes in visiting the Centre.

## ANALYSIS

As may be seen from the Table 3, there were more male visitors than female visitors, both on weekdays and at the weekend. Many visitors were between the ages of 15 and 45, which show that men are more interested in the Centre than other people. This indicates that go to the centre for its cinemas, bowling alley, billiard hall, cafés, and bars to meet friends, (Otnes et al., 2001). The main reason that the Centre has more male visitors than female is that it is the only place in Izmir that has a bowling alley and billiard hall. In recent years, there has been growing interest in creating an image for shopping centers as being centers of entertainment and excitement (Ibrahim et al., 2001).

Entertainment facilities play an important role in attracting people to the Centre. Younger people use shopping centers as a place to 'hang out', meet friends, or to make new ones (Anselmsson, 2006). The 21 - 45 age groups are the dominant user group on weekdays and Sundays. People in the 15 - 20 age groups are the main user group on weekdays and Saturdays. The most important reason for this is that people in the 15 - 20 age groups who live in the Mavişehir residential area do not have any public facilities at which to meet. As a result, they use the shopping centre as a place to get together, eat and drink, have fun, and relax in day time after school and Saturdays. However they are not the user of the

**Table 3.** Socio-demographic characteristics of users.

	<b>Weekdays</b>	<b>Saturday</b>	<b>Sunday</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Sex</b>				
Male	74	68	69	210
Female	31	36	36	103
Total				313
<b>Age</b>				
15-20	47	43	29	119
21-45	49	41	51	140
46-60	7	13	16	36
60+	2	7	9	18
Total				313
<b>Occupation</b>				
Unemployed	4	2	2	8
Private sector employee	25	17	20	62
Public sector employee	6	12	10	28
Retired	5	10	18	33
Self employed	4	7	7	18
Housewife	3	2	0	5
Student	58	54	47	159
Total				313

Source: Author's survey, 2006.

**Table 4.** Monthly usage frequency.

<b>Frequency of use</b>	<b>Week days</b>	<b>Saturday</b>	<b>Sunday</b>	<b>Total (%)</b>	<b>Total</b>
1-4	36	33	37	33	106
5-10	52	47	38	43	137
10-15	13	14	16	13	43
15-20	2	5	3	3	10
20+	2	5	11	5	17
Total					313

**Table 5.** User preferences for EGE park Mavişehir shopping centre.

<b>Preference criterion</b>	<b>Preference (%)</b>	<b>Non preference (%)</b>	<b>(n = 313) Total (%)</b>
Attractiveness of center (Atmosphere, attention to lighting, seating and toilets, interior design neat and well cared for)	67.2	32.8	100
Enjoyable facilities (Billiard hall, bowling alley, musicians, market stall Cafes, restaurants, cinemas)	50.6	49.4	100
Retail environment (Shopping and window shopping)	39.8	60.2	100
Location (Proximity to housing)	25.8	74.2	100
Socializing (To meet and make friends)	21.7	78.3	100
Indoor migros hypermarket available	14.6	83.4	100
Security provided	5.1	94.9	100
Car park facility	2.2	97.8	100

**Table 6.** Major reasons for selecting EGE Park Mavişehir.

<b>Shopping center selection criteria</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>(n = 313) total (%)</b>
Cinemas	70.7	29.3	100
Shopping	60.5	39.5	100
Getting together with friends	58.6	41.4	100
Eating out	47.5	52.6	100
"Migros" shopping facility	10.5	89.5	100

Shopping Center on Sunday, because they prefer to stay and study at home for the next week for school. Coffee shops, restaurants, fast food courts, cinemas, bowling alleys, and billiard halls seem to be more appreciated by younger (21 - 45 age group) consumers on Sunday (Anselmsson, 2006).

In addition, according to Jarboe et al. (1987), the typical browsers or window shoppers are teenagers. The second major user group consists of the private sector employees who live in Mavişehir. This group has high income and thus has strong consumer potential. The Centre's adjacency to their homes, easy access without driving, and finding good quality merchandise also makes it appealing to them (Table 4).

Overall, the respondents said that they visit the centre frequently. Thirty-three percent of the respondents said that they visited from one to four times a month', 43% from five to 10 times a month' 13% from 10 - 15 times a month', 3% from 15 - 20 times a month', and 5% more than 20 times a month' (Table 5).

Results that indicate why the respondents prefer to visit the Centre rather than other locations, along with the purposes, for which the respondents visit, are displayed in Table 6. The most significant feature of the Centre that makes it attractive seems to be attractiveness of center. 67.2% of the respondents said that they visit the centre for its atmosphere, well-designed, dated designed, attention to lighting, seating and toilets and almost luxurious quality, built as it is with good materials and good workmanship. 50.6% of the respondents said that they visit the centre for its clean and well care for. Only 5% of the respondents said that they visit the Centre for reasons of safety. The lack of parking space is evident but depending to the respondents choosing the EGS Shopping Centre just 2.2%.

Just over half (50.6%) of the respondents said that they prefer to use the Centre for entertainment and leisure. It is the second most important source of preference. This is an indication that the use of bowling alleys, billiard halls, coffees, restaurants or cinemas is increasing, as in the case in the US and Europe, and that these activities are attractive irrespective of the weather conditions.

The third determinant of preference to use the center is socializing; 58.6% of the respondents said that they visit the Centre in order to meet and get together with their friends.

The fourth most important determinant of preference is retail environment. 38% of the respondents said that they visit the Centre for shopping and 39.8% said that they visit for window shopping. Another interesting aspect is that the respondents did not, by and large, visit the Centre for its hypermarket (only 15% said that they use the Migros Hypermarket), but to see different shops.

It is very easy for people to reach the EGS Shopping Centre from distant parts of the city, 25.8% of people prefer it for its location so location is the fifth important determinant of preference to use the center (Table 6).

The activities that are available at the Centre were identified and divided into five main categories, to ascertain the purposes of visitors and to compare the activities at the Centre with those available at other centers. This approach also enabled us to determine whether the alternatives given in Table 5 were supported by these main categories:

- 1) People going to the cinema and using the bowling alley: these people constitute the biggest category (71%) (Entertainment and Leisure).
- 2) People coming for shopping: 61% of the respondents said that they visit the Centre for shopping. It is evident that there is good potential for shopping (Retail Environment).
- 3) People coming to meet their friends: 59% of the younger respondents said that they visit the Centre in order to meet each other (Socializing).
- 4) People coming to dine out: 47% of the respondents said that they visit the Centre in order to dine out. (Entertainment and Leisure)
- 5) People visiting the hypermarket: only 11% of the respondents said that they visited the Centre in order to shop at the hypermarket (Retail Environment).

We may conclude that people who visit the Centre for shopping do not do so to use the hypermarket, but to shop from other stores. Users of the hypermarket are housewives on weekdays and employed people at weekends. Therefore, it is evident that the intense users group does not need this facility.

## **CHI SQUARE ANALYSIS**

Which activities and characteristics of the EGE Park

Shopping Centre attracts people, and the purposes for which people visit the EGE Park Shopping Centre differ according to the age, sex, and occupation of the respondents. The relationship between these criteria and the activities and characteristics were evaluated statistically by using a chi-square test. Those associated with each other at a significance value of  $p < 0.05$  were considered and evaluated in results section.

The reasons why people prefer to visit the Centre rather than other locations and the purpose for which the respondents visit the Centre are presented in relation to the age of user groups, gender, and occupation in Tables 5 and 6, respectively.

Criteria that are related to age, gender, and occupation group are listed below:

Related with age segment:

- i. Proximity to housing (Table A1)
- ii. To get together with friends (Table A2)
- iii. Visiting for shopping (Table A6)
- iv. Visiting for Cinemas (Table A8)
- v. For Enjoyable (entertainment and leisure) facilities (Table A10)
- vi. Shopping at Migros Hypermarket (Table A12)
- vii. Getting together with friends (Table A13)

Related with gender segment:

- i. To get together with friends (Table A3)
- ii. Attractiveness of the Centre (for its neatness and well care) (Table A4)
- iii. For shopping (Table A5)
- iv. Shopping at Migros Hypermarket (Table A11)

Related to occupation segment:

- i. For shopping (Table A7)
- ii. To go to the cinema (Table A9)
- iii. Socializing (to get together with friends) (Table A14)

Appendix A. Cross-tabulations for chi-squared analysis (Tables A1- A14).

## RESULTS OF CHI SQUARE ANALYSIS

Location is very important for respondents of over 45 years of age. The respondents also stated that it is important for them to have a centre close to their residences, so that they do not have to expend much effort for to get to the Centre and do not have to use a vehicle (Table A1).

It is more important for young individuals between ages 15 and 45 to meet new faces and to see different people than it is for respondents over 45. This factor is related to sex as well as to age. It is more important for the male

respondents than for the females (Table A2). There is a big difference between the male and female groups. The males want to meet and make friends in the Shopping Centre (Table A3). We noted above that males visit the Centre more frequently than females. However, it is evident that females who visit the Centre do so for shopping more frequently than do the males. (Table A4) (Table A5). The percentage of use increases with age. Forty-six percent of youths between 15 and 20 visit the Centre for shopping, while 88% of people over 60 do so (Table A6). The percentages of various vocational groups that visit the Centre for shopping are shown in Table A7. The strongest group is retired individuals. This is followed by government officers and private sector employees and students (Table A8). Cinemas are used most frequently by people in the 21 - 45 age groups, followed by the 15 - 20 and 46 - 60 age groups, successively. A lower percentage of visitors over 60 go to the cinema (Table A9). The use of cinemas according to vocational group is interesting. Fewer unemployed users go to the cinema than users in other groups. In general, 87% of all respondents said that they visit the Centre to go to the cinema. This is followed by students and private sector employees, successively (Table A10). The relation between age and visiting the Centre for entertainment is strong. The relation is the strongest for the 15 - 20 age groups, followed by the 21 - 45 age groups.

People who shop at Migros Hypermarket are mainly over 45 years of age. However, the percentage of this group who use the hypermarket is low. More females use the hypermarket than males (Table A11) (Table 12). The percentage of people between 15 - 20 that visiting to meet with their friends is 78 %, the percentage of people between 21 and 45 is 42% (Table 13). Given that the Centre is used by a large percentage of people to meet friends, we may conclude that shopping centers are places of social interaction. The percentage of the people who visit the Centre for socializing is 60%. The main users are private sector employees and students, of who visit the Centre for socializing (Table 14).

## RESULTS AND IMPLICATIONS

In this study we researched the activities and characteristics of a centre that attracts mostly Turkish people. To explore their implications for different centre characteristics and activities, user characteristics, such as gender, age, and occupation, were investigated. Although the sources of characteristics and activities are investigated in a Turkish setting, the conceptual model could be applicable for other developing countries. The model of the study captures five main factors about shopping centers as a public space (Attractiveness, entertainment and leisure, retail environment, importance of location, socializing). This results show that the predictability of the public space factors as attractiveness,

entertainment and leisure and socializing are more important for the users. Retailing and the location of the center are the second factors for preferring the center.

The results indicate that the most important determinants of user preferences are attractiveness, entertainment and leisure and socializing and they are the elements which support the characteristics of shopping centers which are utilized as a public space. So we can say that consumers of the Centre use it as a community space more than as a shopping centre.

Another salient finding is that teenagers of 15 - 20 years old and people aged 21 - 45 are the main users of the Centre. They visit on weekdays and Saturdays. However, people aged 21 - 45 visits on weekdays and at weekends, but mainly on Sundays.

**Attractiveness (atmosphere, attention to lighting, seating and toilets, interior design, neat and well cared for, air conditioned, security provided, and car park facility)**

A salient finding is that the attractiveness of the Center, with respect to its atmosphere, visual appeal, comfort, interior design, and neat and well cared for appearance, is the most appealing factor for the users. Atmosphere has been found to be a significant factor in people's decisions to visit a shopping centre (Frasquet, 2001). A good atmosphere motivates people to stay longer and purchase more. Public spaces that are clean, fresh, and visually appealing with a modern appearance attract many visitors. Decorations are important and spaces should be kept as bright and spacious as possible (Anselmsson, 2006). Unfashionable and dated designs and messy spaces can deter people from visiting. The role of atmosphere in the decision to visit the EGE Park Mavişehir Shopping Centre is greater than that of other factors, such as leisure entertainment and socializing. Modern decoration of the building, neat and well-cared for spaces, comfort, good lighting, and clean toilets make it attractive to high-income customers. Before the Centre opened, the youths of Izmir preferred to meet in the district of Alsancak. This district has well-designed shops that sell expensive products.

There are also cafes and restaurants. Young people changed their meeting place after the EGE Park Mavişehir Shopping Centre was opened. The en masse movement of Izmir's youth to the Centre and the results of the study demonstrate the effect that a clean, well-kept, well-designed, and well-built place can have on the number of people who visit and the frequency with which they visit. Concerning the atmosphere of the Centre, one respondent stated, "I come here from Guzelyali (it is 20 km from Mavişehir). I have a low income. Distance is not important for me because it is a luxurious place, neat, and well looked after. Sometimes I wish to be in such a place because I feel psychologically wealthy and happy.

This finding supports the findings of (Severin, 2001) and (Anselmsson, 2006). Visually appealing public spaces, pleasantly decorated shops, high-quality merchandise displays in high-quality surroundings, and good atmosphere significantly affect people's attitudes towards a shopping centre. The results show that the presence of good quality, pleasing places in the Centre has a strong influence. Moreover, this factor is viewed by the respondents as the most important in determining the choice to visit the Centre, regardless of age, sex, and occupation.

We also thought the car park facilities; security provided and air condition as factors attract people for shopping centers. In Karşıyaka, the crime rate is not very high and its residents feel at peace. The survey results indicate that it is not the case that people prefer the Centre because they feel safe there. Only 5% of the respondents said that they visit the Centre for reasons of safety. Insufficient parking space is a major problem in Izmir. As was mentioned, above Mavişehir is a newly established housing area. This region was planned so that each dwelling would have one parking space. However, many households now have more than one car; hence, there is a considerable parking problem. The number of cars has increased to the point where a great many residents cannot find parking space at their own home and as a result use the Centre's car park.

Therefore, it has become difficult for visitors to the Centre to find parking places. At weekends, especially when the weather is cold and wet, the Centre's car park, the nearby roads, vacant areas that are not designed for car parking and even pavements are completely filled with parked cars. Mavişehir has the potential to attract more customers from the whole of Izmir. The lack of parking space is evident but depending to the respondents choosing the EGS Shopping Centre just 2.2%. Convenient car parking and proximity to the house are more important factors for the elderly in Izmir not for the young people who are using the center much more for elderly. The parking problem in Turkey's big cities has been discussed in previous studies (Erkip, 2005). We had expected that the Centre would be used more when the weather was rainy and cold or very hot. However, this turned out not to be the case. The results indicate that bad weather conditions do not affect visitors much; not more than 17.5% of the respondents said that they considered bad weather conditions when deciding to visit the Centre. As suggested by previous authors (Wakefield et al., 1998) all of the environmental factors, such as (architectural design, layout, music, interior décor), with the exception of the ambient lighting and temperature factor, are positively associated either to excitement or desire to stay at the mall. It is difficult to explain this situation but lighting and temperature are environmental elements that are noticed by consumers unless they exist at unpleasant levels (Baker 1986). Temperatures that are unpleasantly high or low may be noticed, while

comfortable temperatures will not be noticed (Wakefield et al., 1998).

### **Entertainment and leisure**

Secondly, visitors prefer to use facilities such as the cinemas, bowling alley, billiard hall, fitness centers, cafes, and restaurants, rather than go shopping. Some researchers have noted that shoppers in shopping centers are generally more like leisure seekers. Fifty percent of visitors to the EGE Park Mavişehir Shopping Centre visit to go to its cinemas, go bowling, dine out, go shopping, and to generally have fun. Shopping is considered as a leisure activity by people all over the world. However, age has a bearing on the activities that people select for entertainment. Visitors to the EGE Park Mavişehir Shopping Centre who are in the 15 - 20 age group state that they visit mainly for entertainment purposes. This is followed closely by visitors in the 21 - 45 age groups. With 80%, the students are the main cinema users. Coffee shops and restaurants seem to be more appreciated by the customers in the 15 - 45 age group; the chains chosen should target the younger segments. Leisure and entertainment are important selection criteria for young people.

Art exhibitions, folk dance performances of schools, and other shows and music concerts held during national children's holidays are viewed as activities that increase liveliness, make the Centre entertaining, and attract young visitors. This result confirms previous research; consumers are motivated to spend time at the mall by more than simply the store mix. Food and entertainment alternatives may provide either needed breaks from hours of shopping or as a conclusion to extended shopping excursion. If these options are not available at mall then shoppers may not visit the mall or may leave the mall prematurely and not return to complete their shopping (Wakefiel et al., 1998).

### **Retail environment**

Even though the Centre is known as a shopping centre, its main function according to consumers' preferences is to provide an area where people can socialize, be entertained, and generally be at leisure.

Shopping centers seem to have succeeded in attracting consumers from every income group. Females who visit the Centre do so for shopping more frequently than do the males. The percentage of use increases with age. Forty-six percent of youths between 15 and 20 visit the Centre for shopping, while 88 % of people over 60 do so. But if we look at the visitor numbers the main user groups are the age group between 21 and 45. Although it is evident that females who visit the Centre do so for shopping more frequently than do the males the rate of

the man who are visiting for shopping more than 50%. This result shows that the stores which men are likely to be more involved (Damat tween: clothing shop, Ruba: trousers shop, Barçın: sporting goods, car shows) enhance males shopping involvement.

Only 11% of the respondents said that they visited the Centre in order to shop at the hypermarket. We may conclude that people who visit the Centre for shopping do not do so to use the hypermarket, but to shop from other stores. Users of the hypermarket are housewives on weekdays and employed people at weekends. Therefore, it is evident that the intense users group does not need this facility.

### **Importance of the location**

Young persons aged from 15 - 20 years, who constitute the main users of the Centre, come from different districts of Izmir. These young people like to meet and have fun in the Centre with their friends from the same schools. These youths usually visit the Centre on weekdays after school and at weekends, especially on Saturdays. Although these groups of friends reside in different regions of Izmir, most of them do not consider distance from the Centre to be a problem. It is very easy for people to reach the Centre from distant parts of the city, thanks to a good public transport system. An absence of roads with heavy traffic and the presence of roads that provide transport to the residences in Mavişehir provide visitors to the Centre with an opportunity to move freely and safely. Consequently, drawing upon the results of the questionnaires, newly established settlement areas where high-income groups reside are appropriate locations for shopping centers. It is interesting to note that many 26% of the respondents said that it is not the case that they prefer the Centre because it is close to their houses. This is because the Centre attracts young people in particular, who travel from various sections of the city and who do not consider distance to be a problem. Another point of attraction is the convenience of public transport.

The findings of the study show that location is much less important than preference for atmosphere, and entertainment. This finding confirms the findings of earlier researches (Soutworth, 2005; Anselmsson, 2006).

### **Socializing**

Public spaces provide social arenas for all kinds of people. Shopping centers provide opportunities for their users to socialize. Although they are privately owned, such spaces are used by the public. Some of them are almost real community centers (Southworth, 2005). There is a lack of community centers in Turkey (Özsoy, 2002). Consequently, people meet in shopping centers to satisfy

their need to socialize. Young people, in particular, do not have any other place to go, so they spend most of their spare time meeting their friends in shopping centers. Cinemas, coffee shops, restaurants, bowling alleys seem to be more appreciated by younger customer. There is a big difference between the male and female groups. The males want to meet and make friends in the Shopping Centre.

## Conclusion

The aim of the study reported herein was to demonstrate the transformation of shopping centers into private urban spaces (community spaces) in Turkey's new urban areas. The results reveal firstly that well-designed, comfortable spaces that have a good image are the areas that are most preferred by Turkish city consumers. Secondly, leisure and entertainment facilities are second important selection criteria for the young generation, especially for teenagers. Thirdly, shopping centers give the consumers a chance to socialize while providing a strong attachment to the community in which they live. These delineated spaces became open and accessible areas to all citizens, regardless of gender, race, ethnicity, age, and socioeconomic level. While the fact that they are private public spaces may impose restrictions on security, it is considered that everyone has a right to access and use them. These new shopping spaces display new forms like entertainment, leisure and social interaction.

These results have important implications for the professionals who build and manage these spaces. Shopping centers can be good stimuli to public life in a city or a suburb.

## FUTURE RESEARCH

The results of this study provide an encouraging start in understanding public space characteristics at the mall. This study is limited in that we looked at user preferences in one shopping center. Future research can look at multiple shopping centers even in different cultures. First the role of attractiveness in our model suggests that future research on user response to shopping centers should include (architecture, atmosphere, visual appeal, cleanliness, comfort, interior design) with causal researches.

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**APPENDIX A**

**CHI SQUARE ANALYSIS**

**Table A1.** Age versus proximity to housing.

Age	Yes (%)	No (%)	Total (%)
15 - 20	31 (26)	88 (74)	119 (38)
21 - 45	27 (19)	114 (81)	141 (45)
46 - 60	15 (42)	21 (58)	36 (12)
60+	8 (44)	10 (56)	18 (6)
Total	81 (26)	233 (74)	314 (100)

$X^2 = 11.266, p = 0.010.$

**Table A2.** Age versus to meet and make friends.

Age	Yes (%)	No (%)	Total (%)
15 - 20	40 (34)	79 (66)	119 (38)
21 - 45	28 (20)	113 (80)	141 (45)
46 - 60	0	36 (100)	36 (12)
60+	0	18 (100)	18 (6)
Total	68 (22)	246 (78)	314 (100)

$X^2 = 25.224, p = 0.000.$

**Table A3.** Gender versus to meet and make friends.

Sex	Yes (%)	No (%)	Total (%)
Male	60 (28)	151 (72)	211 (67)
Female	8 (8)	95 (92)	103 (33)
Total	68 (22)	246 (78)	314 (100)

$X^2 = 17.428, p = 0.000.$

**Table A4.** Gender versus coming for its neatness good maintenance.

Gender	Yes (%)	No (%)	Total (%)
Male	95 (45)	116 (55)	211 (67)
Female	64 (62)	39 (38)	103 (33)
Total	159 (51)	155 (49)	314 (100)

$X^2 = 8.108, p = 0.004.$

**Table A5.** Gender versus visiting for shopping.

Gender	Yes (%)	No (%)	Total (%)
Male	113 (54)	98 (46)	211 (67)
Female	77 (75)	26 (25)	103 (33)
Total	190 (61)	124 (40)	314 (100)

$X^2 = 13.021 p = 0.000.$

**Table A6.** Age versus visiting for shopping.

Age	Yes (%)	No (%)	Total (%)
15 - 20	55 (46)	64 (54)	119 (38)
21 - 45	96 (68)	45 (32)	141 (45)
46 - 60	23 (64)	13 (36)	36 (12)
60+	16 (89)	2 (11)	18 (6)
Total	190 (61)	124 (40)	314 (100)

$X^2 = 19.796, p = 0.000.$

**Table A7.** Occupation versus visiting for shopping.

Occupation	Yes (%)	No (%)	Total (%)
Unemployed	4 (50)	4 (50)	8 (3)
Private sector employer	39 (63)	23 (37)	62 (20)

**Table A7.** Contd.

Public sector employer	21 (75)	7 (25)	28 (9)
Retired	27 (82)	6 (18)	33 (11)
Self employed	12 (67)	6 (33)	18 (6)
Housewife	2 (50)	2 (50)	4 (1)
Student	85 (54)	74 (47)	159 (51)
Missing	0	2	
Total	190 (61)	122 (39)	312 (99)

$\chi^2 = 13.053, p = 0.042.$

**Table A8.** Age versus visiting for cinema.

Age	Yes (%)	No (%)	Total (%)
15 - 20	95 (80)	24 (20)	119 (38)
21 - 45	108 (77)	33 (23)	141 (45)
46 - 60	15 (41)	21 (58)	36 (6)
60+	4 (22)	14 (78)	18 (6)
Total	222 (71)	92 (29)	314 (100)

$\chi^2 = 42.227, p = 0.000.$

**Table A9.** Occupation versus visiting for cinema.

Occupation	Yes (%)	No (%)	Total (%)
Unemployed	7 (88)	1 (13)	8 (3)
Private sector employer	44 (71)	18 (29)	62 (20)
Public sector employer	15 (54)	13 (46)	28 (9)

**Table A9.** Contd.

Retired	14 (42)	19 (6)	33 (11)
Self employed	11 (61)	7 (39)	18 (6)
Housewife	0	4	4 1%
Student	130 (82)	29 (18)	159 (51)
Missing	1	1	
Total	221 (71)	91 (29)	312 (99)

$\chi^2 = 37.734, p = 0.000.$

**Table A10.** Age versus being enjoyable.

Age	Yes (%)	No (%)	Total (%)
15 - 20	76 (64)	43 (36)	119 (38)
21 - 45	78 (55)	63 (45)	141 (45)
46 - 60	4 (11)	32 (89)	36 (12)
60+	1 (6)	17 (94)	18 (6)
Total	159 (51)	155 (49)	314 (100)

$\chi^2 = 46.704 p = 0.000.$

**Table A11.** Gender versus visiting for Migros hypermarket.

Gender	Yes (%)	No (%)	Total (%)
Male	12 (6)	199 (94)	211 (67)
Female	21 (20)	82 (80)	103 (33)
Total	33 (11)	281 (90)	314 (100)

$\chi^2 = 15.905, p = 0.000.$

**Table A12.** Age versus visiting for Migros hypermarket.

Age	Yes (%)	No (%)	Total (%)
15 - 20	2 (2)	117 (98)	119 (38)
21 - 45	8 (6)	133 (94)	141 (45)
46 - 60	14 (39)	22 (61)	36 (12)
60+	9 (50)	9 (50)	18 (6)
Total	33 (11)	281 (90)	314 (100)

$\chi^2 = 74.043, p = 0.000.$

**Table A13.** Age versus visiting to meet and make friends.

Age	Yes (%)	No (%)	Total (%)
15 - 20	93 (78)	26 (22)	119 (38)
21 - 45	78 (55)	63 (45)	141 (45)
46 - 60	7 (19)	29 (81)	36 (12)
60+	6 (33)	12 (67)	18 (6)
Total	184 (59)	130 (41)	314 (100)

$\chi^2 = 46.862, p = 0.000.$

**Table A14.** Occupation versus for to meet and make friends.

Occupation	Yes (%)	No (%)	Total (%)
Unemployed	3 (38)	5 (63)	8 (3)
Private sector employer	32 (52)	30 (48)	62 (20)
Public sector employer	9 (32)	19 (68)	28 (9)
Retired	9 (27)	24 (73)	33 (11)
Self employed	7 (39)	11 (661)	18 (6)
Housewife	0	4 (100)	4 (1)
Student	123 (77)	36 (23)	159 (51)
Missing	1	1	
Total	183 (59)	129 (41)	312 (99)

$\chi^2 = 55.771, p = 0.000.$