Chapter 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK; TRANSFORMATION OF TRADITIONAL URBAN FABRIC INTO ARCHITECTURAL SPACE IN SHOPPING CENTRES ACCORDING TO PRINCIPLES OF MODERN MOVEMENT

In this chapter, it is intended to analyse the process by which urban space is transformed into interior space (i.e. the elements of urban space become components of the building in which it is contained). Thus, it is transformed into a modern architectural space from a traditional urban space. The aim is to emphasise that contemporary shopping spaces are, in essence, transformed form of a traditional urban spaces. Meanwhile, the qualities, which define ‘place’ in traditional city, will be certified. In this theoretical framework, spatial relations that constitute the concept of ‘place’ are investigated. For this purpose, the characteristics of place, that are defined by Lynch (1960), Jacobs (1961), Alexander (1977), Cullen (1971), Norberg-Schulz (1971), Rowe and Koetter (1979) and Krier (1979, 1991), will be re-formulated towards a new synthesis which could be well-grounded for analysis of ‘shopping places with social attributes’. This theoretical framework will constitute the foundations of determining formal characteristics to be used in the elucidation of contemporary shopping centres.

To this aim, first of all, the transformation in social structures and shopping spaces brought by modern movement will be elucidated. In the next stage, the process in which urban spaces are transformed into architectural spaces (with their forms and functions) in the modern movement will be tackled. Eventually at the end of this chapter, the process in which traditional settlements are transformed into interior spaces within contemporary shopping centres will be examined.
2.1 The Relationship between the Concept of Space in Modern Movement and Social Disintegration in the context of Shopping Centres and Malls

In this section, the transformations in urban and architectural space as well as social structure, which are brought by modern movement in architecture, will be reviewed. The aim of this section is to emphasise; firstly the functionalist nature of space which is broken from its traditional roots within modernist conception, and secondly, that its very nature also seem to make individual-community interaction, thus, social fabric to transform. Along this way, urban design theories, which exhibit a critical stance towards modernism and towards its transformations in spatial and social structures, will be tackled in order to come up with the common principles.

Prior to the elucidation of these theories, it is of utmost significance to put forward the relations between modernism and disruption of the unity of urban fabric-shopping space-social structure.

Along with modernism, spatial relations in town centres in traditional settlements have started to substantially change. Meanwhile, on the one hand, public spaces in traditional cities sustain their significance in city centres; on the other hand, new public areas are continually being constituted within new building types specific for the modern society.

Contemporary shopping centre is a typical example of these building types. It is a type in which public spaces and shopping spaces of traditional city are concurrently built up. Along with the emergence of this building type, on the one hand, traditional shopping space has changed, and on the other hand, urban space has become a void built at once dissociating from a natural entity capable of renewing itself through time. In result, development of the city in the form of an ever-renewing organisation has been interrupted, and the natural process in which city develops through time in traditional era, has ceased to proceed. As the result of these developments, contemporary shopping centre seems to have emerged as a gradually commercialised building complex in which civic awareness has been revitalised. Such awareness used to exist in traditional settlements that were the actual space for public institutions and actions. This new building type with its image of traditional city also reflects the individualist and materialist nature of the social structure.

Marc Auge is among those who remarkably define the understanding of space in modernism (Auge 1995). Auge’s definition of ‘absent-space or non-space’ (non-lieu)
gives a clear account of the facts of; first, the transformation of urban space, and the loss of social characteristics of urban space that is re-constructed within buildings. According to Auge, contemporary shopping centre is a building within which ‘non-place’ or ‘non-space’ is defined just as in the other building types of modern city. The senses of ‘place’ and ‘space’, which contributes to the formation of ‘collective memory’, seem to disappear in shopping (consumption) spaces that are designed to replace public spaces in new cities of supermodernity. Auge’s attitude towards these spaces has been of sceptics that neither memories could be accumulated in such spaces, nor they could be historicized. According to him, being in such spaces is usually directed at a specific purpose and main objective in shopping centres is clearly to make people over-consume. The function of this single-purpose space becomes so autonomous that it cannot be interfered with any other cultural practice.

Therefore, spatial organisation in contemporary shopping centres has acquired a mechanical quality while the shopping activity itself has turned into a mechanical task broken off from its social context. Baudrillard (1997), too, taken on sceptical tone about the matter by associating shopping activity in contemporary shopping centres with the assembly line.

Contemporary shopping centres are being devised, as ‘cathedrals of shopping’ quite like the shopping arcades that were the typical shopping spaces of the 19th century. While the focus of power that was influential in pre-modern city was both the political and religious authority, today, what determines contemporary urban form appears to be the economic authority which channels the issues of marketing and consumption that are the basic artefacts of current global economy. One of the most salient features of modern society is that it can be ‘controlled’ through various devices. Shopping centre is also building type in which the city that is transformed into a building can be easily controlled. While the city pre-industrial era was an entity that could be monitored by the administrative authority, similarly, shopping centre as a building type of modernist eras, particularly with its urban-like outlook, has become an object controlled by the economic authority. These resemblances allow one to strongly agree that city is re-constructed in contemporary shopping centres. Thus, city takes a much more easily mouldable and governable form, and also, spaces for individuals to realise their social needs that cannot be fulfilled in city centre any more, and created within the new shopping centres. However, although various components of urban space seem to have been transmitted into shopping centres, these spaces, in fact, appears to be incapable of
fulfilling the qualities of ‘shopping places with social attributes’. Because, urban fabric-social structure relationship that is required by shopping as a social and urban activity, happens to be interrupted in contemporary shopping centres. Shopping centre becomes a building type, which can constitute an alternative neither to the urban fabric with its commercialised spaces, nor to its innate activities demanding socialisation. The fact remains that there is a harmony between social structure and urban fabric that is a shopping place itself. Today, one cannot fail to observe that shopping centres which manages to sustain this harmony, not only fulfils the qualities required for shopping activity but also contributes to the fulfilment of social unity.

As it has been discussed in the above, modernism has transformed the most essential features of daily life (i.e. the process of change from social, to individual; from shopping to consumption), while causing to modify social relations in global terms. Mass production and mass consumption which are essential characteristics of post-industrial era seem to have reduced shopping that is by its very nature a social activity and the basic form of communication between individual and community in traditional context, into a relation between individual and product. In this context, shopping space has also been transformed from a social place to individual space.

The break in the ‘unity of urban space-shopping space’ has started with shopping arcades and department stores in the pre-industrial era concurrently with the transformation in social structure. Later, it reached to a climax with shopping centres emerging within post-modern conception.

When critical theories an this transformation are examined, it is reasonable to assume that criticisms of modernism usually focus on the issues of monotony, alienation from society and their reflection on urban space.

Along with modernism, spatial relations in traditional city have started to transform. Of prime importance is the fact that reasons of emergence as well as basic characteristics of traditional and modern cities differ from each other to a great extent. From the above considerations it is clear that pre-industrial settlement, is a whole and all its artefacts are in harmony in these settlements. This unity in traditional cities, have naturally been assembled through clear and functional arrangement of public and private spaces, since the establishment of the city. Even a brief comparison between traditional and contemporary urban spaces may suffice to convince one that issues of; relations between urban space-human scale, qualities and organisation of spaces in
between buildings, which are basic principles of urban design in traditional cities, seem to have lost their significance along with modernism.

One cannot exclude at all the existence of major differences between traditional and modern city particularly when compared from the viewpoint of qualities regarding the constitution of ‘place’. First among them is that modern city is divided into functional zones (i.e. disintegration of traditional city and its social interactions) while the traditional town is divided into neighbourhood units. Second difference is the obstruction of the formation of ‘place’ in urban spaces by means of streets converted into the surfaces of vehicular traffic in modern cities, while ‘place’ can be constituted in pre-modern cities via components of urban space such as streets and squares. Another difference is, of course, the emergence of a state of ‘centrelessness’ and ‘loss of perceivable boundaries’ stemming from the multi-centrality in modern city despite the existence of a genuine centre (urban core) in traditional city. That may obstruct the formation of a ‘place’ which can be ‘experienced’ in real sense because it transforms city into a vast area neither its centre nor its boundaries are clearly defined. Thus, it can be seen without doubt that, characteristics of ‘place’ once existed in traditional settlement seem to have disappeared in modern city.

The mutual interaction between city and its constituent buildings, was a relationship that was almost rejected by the modernist city planning approach which had began at the end of the 19th century and had been influential during the 20th century. Hence, modernism has started to be criticised particularly in late 1950s and 1960s. The essence of these criticisms, clearly, concentrate upon the issue of modernist architecture and planning approach and its denial of the fact that areas in-between buildings are actually three-dimensional urban spaces, as well as its way of tackling buildings in isolation from their surrounding. However, as expressed in anti-modern views, particularly since 1970s (Krier 1991, Lynch 1960, Rossi 1982), city has been re-considered as a formal ensemble, as it was in pre-industrial era, and concepts of architecture and city have been redefined quite different from modernist rhetoric by departing from traditional values (Yildirim 1995). Thus, the question of how the concept of ‘place’ rejected by modern architecture, is defined within the framework of critical theories.

To the purpose of answering this problem, the theories of Lynch, Jacobs, Alexander, Cullen, Norberg-Schulz, Rowe and Koetter, Krier that discuss characteristics which make urban space a ‘place’ in which social interactions can be
enriched, will be elucidated. Consequently, the spatial qualities which constitute the concept of ‘place’ in urban space are listed below:

- Legibility
- Crowd
- Mixed-use
- Unity of social structure-urban fabric
- Serial vision
- Proximity, centralisation, enclosure
- Figure-ground equilibrium
- Formal diversity

The critical theories that define concept of ‘place’ and the spatial qualities established in these theories are shown in Table 2.

The contribution of the legibility of urban structure, as defined by Lynch, cannot be denied particularly from the viewpoint of creating a sense of belonging to the ‘place’. Crowdedness and mixed-use, as expressed by Jacobs (1961), facilitates the formation of ‘place’ in urban space through longer use of urban space by various users. In parallel, Alexander (1977) asserts that ‘place’ can be created by means of the provision of the harmony between social structure and urban structure particularly from the viewpoint of the rationale (semilattice and tree) of behind the amalgamation of urban components. Furthermore, Cullen’s (1971) principle of ‘serial vision’ is of utmost significance in that it establishes spatial characteristics of the human values, which ties the components of ‘place’ into each other. Similarly, Norberg-Schulz (1971), speaks of the physical qualities which can form ‘place’ (proximity, centralisation, enclosure) in various types of spaces which he defined (existential space, urban space, architectural space). Additionally, figure-ground relationship, of which Rowe and Koetter (1979) give a detailed account, is essentially a design strategy of the distribution of urban spaces, which contribute to the civic consciousness. Finally, Krier (1991) is among those who advocate a return to the spatial diversity in pre-industrial urban fabric as a major device for the rehabilitation of social structure.

Above-mentioned qualities may contribute not only to the formation of ‘place’ in urban space but also to the creation of ‘shopping places with social attributes’ in contemporary shopping centres. However, the unity of social structure-urban fabric seems to be impaired since qualities of ‘existential space’ (conditions that makes a
‘place’ unique) (Norberg-Schulz 1971) are not transmitted whereas the characteristics regarding the definition of ‘place’ in architectural and urban space are transmitted to shopping centres. An alternative evaluation approach regarding the solution of this problem will be developed in the fourth chapter.
Table 2 Critical theories that define concept of ‘place’ in the era after modernism

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Analyses and formulates elements (urban components) which help the legibility of traditional settlements.</th>
<th>The Image of the City 1960</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>K. Lynch</td>
<td>Probes the relations between urbanisation and economic life. Asserts that, for the shaping of healthy and liveable cities; Gathering of various functions in city fabric as opposed to zoning, Diminution of urban block-size, Increasing the pedestrian density, are required.</td>
<td>The Death and Life of Great American Cities 1961</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. Jacobs</td>
<td>Makes the distinction between natural (pre-industrial) and artificial (modern) cities, and matches them with <em>semilattice</em> and <em>lattice</em> structures respectively. Tackles the disharmony between social structure (semilattice) and urban structure (tree) and the resulting social problems. Elucidates relations between individual and functional splits and social disintegration in cities.</td>
<td>A City is not a Tree 1965</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Alexander</td>
<td>Investigates the perception of ‘here’ and ‘there’ as the conditions of ‘place’ and the continuity of this perception through its optical-visual and morphological qualities. Determines the morphological counterparts of various human values within this sequential perception. Makes assessments regarding the control of urban space in traditional settlements.</td>
<td>Townscape 1966</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. Cullen</td>
<td>Examines the concept of ‘place’ in different spatial types and spatial characteristics which can enhance the ‘place’.</td>
<td>Existence, Space and Architecture 1971</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Norberg-Schulz</td>
<td>Explores figure-ground relationships in traditional urban space. Makes morphological suggestions regarding the transformation of such relations in modern city, resulting social problem and their rehabilitation.</td>
<td>Collage City 1979</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Rowe, F. Koetter</td>
<td>Criticises the functional zoning of the city. Studies typology, form, and their transformations.</td>
<td>Luxembourg, Capital of Europe, an Appeal to the Citizens, etc, Architectural Design 49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L. Krier</td>
<td>Classifies urban spaces from morphological point of view. Elucidates the issue of spatial disintegration in 20th century city planning. Makes morphological suggestions for the reconstructing of disintegrated urban space.</td>
<td>Urban Space 1979</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R. Krier</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
2.2 Transformation of Urban Fabric and its Components into the Architectural Space

In this section, the process in which urban settlement is transformed into architectural space within buildings along with modernism, particularly from functional and formal viewpoints will be analysed. The main purpose, here, is to establish that contemporary shopping centre is a building type whereby urban settlement is transformed into architectural space (i.e. transformation of urban components into the spatial components that constitute the building). To this aim, theories about that traditional urban space has started to be transformed into architectural space, will be elucidated.

These theories are chosen mainly because of the fact that; they consider urban space as a spatial fact; emphasise that urban space is transformed into architectural space with its social function and its form (i.e. a process whereby urban spaces are integrated with the buildings in which they are comprised by breaking away from city itself, causing the disintegration of social structure with this emergent spatial typology); and meanwhile, associate formal characteristics of space with the social dimension.

The prime function of city is to create a convenient context in which its inhabitants can realise various activities such as accommodation, work, recreation, leisure, etc. Since their first emergence in history, cities and urban spaces shaped by buildings have been spaces that set a stage for vivacious experiences of their citizens, and where daily life takes place. Various civilisations have created public spaces (e.g. agora, forum, square, plaza, etc.) with different characteristics of fabric and thus brought a genuine and determining, identity to the cities they established throughout history (İzgi 1999, p.51). This observation has great deal to say about the fact that city, which should be tackled as a ‘social phenomenon’ (Kuban 1992, p.68) is a self-renewing that lives and develops, similar to a living organism, with citizens’ civic culture, life styles, habits, and the characteristics of social and economic structures (Mumford 1961).

Urban-public spaces, mentioned above, have sustained their effectiveness as urban spaces in which various activities of citizens took place for ages. Salient features of architectural space, in the traditional town structure, are directly related to the urban space in which it is comprised, and the continuity of architectural and urban space is of utmost significance (Çakmaklı 1992, p.3). According to Colquhoun, medieval city was
a solid object scraped with streets; hollowed with squares and connected with public buildings (Colquhoun 1992, p.82). Hence, this object, which constituted the medieval city, accommodated a living organism in social sense. Albeit, modern urban planning approach which started particularly at the end of the 19th century and was active during the 20th century, seem to have caused; a rapid transformation of urban-public spaces; loss of the social and cultural attributes of public spaces, and thus, a major transformation in the structure of traditional cities (Trancik 1986, p.5, Türkoğlu 1998, p.58). One could be tempted to conclude that the relation between two essential elements; social dimension and morphological dimension have been radically transformed along with the beginning of modern era, and this transformation can be defined as follows: solid-void ratios of the object that reflect the balance of social tissues in medieval city, seem to have turned into the modern city that is characterised by the objectlessness whereby the inhabited voids are enclosed within the solids.

Modern movement in architecture neglected that spaces between buildings are in fact three-dimensional urban spaces. Furthermore, buildings were isolated form their surroundings with modernist architectural and planning approaches, and tackled as individual objects in space. In result, design principles of traditional towns, relations between urban spaces-human scale, the qualities and organisation of spaces between buildings started to lose their importance in the past. This approach brought by modern architecture, and the undefined open/leftover spaces outside the buildings are named as lost-spaces by Trancik (Trancik 1986, p.4-10). He sees these spaces as ‘significant problems’, and for him, urban spaces in the form of sunken plazas (Figure 2.1) do not offer satisfying solutions. In fact, these spaces are considered as areas impairing the urban space, let alone constituting a solution to the problem of lost-spaces.

Traditional urban space is a meaningful ensemble of relatively low-rise buildings organised in horizontal direction with hierarchy and continuity (Figure 2.2). Modernist approach in architecture, have caused a radical transformation of traditional qualities such as hierarchy, continuity, unity, human scale, etc. (Figure 2.3).
Figure 2.1 Broadway, New York, New York (Sunken Plaza).

Figure 2.2 The Piazza Navona, Rome. Aerial view.

Figure 2.3 Houston, Texas. Aerial photograph.
In close synchrony with the fact that urban-public spaces have started to lose their value along with modernism, these spaces seem to be recreated and reinterpreted within various building types. Because, urban-public spaces, which are attempted to be abolished with modernism, are publicly demanded, and as can be seen in all kinds of compulsion, demanded facts come to life in another channel. Additionally, if public ownership of such demand is prohibited, then they continue to give service to the public, again in another channel yet this time in a privatised manner. One may well define this occurrence as the ‘recreation of communality’. In the process described above, treatment of building in the design of architectural space as an urban component, transformation of city as well as the revelation of urban qualities within interior spaces have been of major interest.

Colquhoun asserts that, from Alberti to present day, buildings are described as small models of city and vice versa (Colquhoun 1990, p.101). The emergence of megastructures, which fundamentally changed the environmental scale, in the 20th century seem to have led to various negativities for the urban space.

Here, a series of examples of such formation will be given.

Colquhoun states that Auditorium building in Chicago and Rockefeller centre in New York are the buildings in which ‘a small universe of the city is recreated’, and that massive office blocks, together with spaces addressing public functions constitute a new type of building complex (Colquhoun 1990, p.88). This case is the most evident indicator of the transformation of urban space into a building or into an interior space together with its major functions. Colquhoun gives Hospital Building in Venice by Le Corbusier (Figure 2.4, Figure 2.5) and Cetraal Beheer Insurance building by Hertzberger (Figure 2.6, Figure 2.7) as the typical examples of the transformation of urban space into an interior space within buildings by means of its physical elements.

Figure 2.4 Venice Hospital, plan scheme. (Source: Colquhoun, A., Mimari Eleştiri Yazıları, Şevli Vanlı Mimarlık Vakfı Yayınları, 1990, p.38)
According to Colquhoun, plan scheme in the Hospital Building in Venice embodies a spatial organisation that repeats the overall tissue of the city, that is to say, the solid mass hollowed by means of canals and courtyards. Buildings in Venice where the city itself is a large-scale building combine the medieval scale of the city, with the assets of the tissue. Among the spaces constituting this building, there exists hierarchy, potential for change, and possibility of enlargement and development. This building, exactly like a medieval city, is an agglomeration of cells having a potential for expansion and growth, meanwhile an object that can reveal the continuous interactions between interior and exterior, can be entered into and can be hollowed (Colquhoun 1990, p.38-40). In the office building designed by Hertzberger for Cetraal Beheer
Insurance Company, the endeavour to recreate communality in interior space is worth-mentioning as the result of gradual loss of public spaces in city.

Equally, the relation among the components of the urban structure and their organisation types has been deployed as a design approach in the organisation of architectural space in various building types. In countless buildings in our environment today, it can easily be seen that atria, which have the actual dimensions and appearance of genuine urban square, have been adopted as an inner street or an inner-plaza. Examples of this sort can be further extended.

For instance, in the building designed for SMA Video (Figure 2.8), an organic lattice of urban space organised within a solid geometric form can clearly be noticed. Circulation scheme in the shape of a deformed ‘T’, here, acts as a reminiscent of the segment of traditional urban tissue displaying spatial diversity and richness through recessions and protrusions of the building periphery that define this circulation space.

![Figure 2.8 SMA Video, New York. Interior Designer: Anderson/Schwartz Architects, 1995. (Source: Rietweld, O., Intelligent Spaces, Calmann&King, London, 1997, p.38)](image)

The office buildings designed by Ton Alberts in 1987 for ING Bank headquarters in Amsterdam, as a group of independent offices organised on two sides of an inner street (Figure 2.9), constitutes another example whereby units serving for similar goals are brought together through an organic design approach. Of particular note is that ‘S’ shaped organic inner street creates public spaces via enlargements from one location to another, and that building is designed to the noble goal of supplying a medium at human scale, particularly for the actual users of the building. The public spaces created in interior space, the use of organic shapes as reminders of movement and use of natural
light into these spaces clearly indicate that building is designed almost exactly the same manner an urban space is designed. From the viewpoint of spatial organisation, street-square tissue of Medieval Europe appears to be placed within the building itself.

Another building type, which can exemplify the re-creation of urban space within buildings, is the hotel buildings designed during 1960s and 70s by Portman, and particularly the lobby spaces in the atriums of them (Figure 2.10). These spaces are small scale urban spaces reorganised within buildings through atriums whereby circulation space have a continuous vista of a central interior space decorated with pools and plants. These atriums are designed; as spaces providing a secure sitting area- in solution to the problem of safety in city centres, as spaces protected from exterior whether conditions such as rain, wind, mud, etc. According to Broadbent, Portman’s buildings, are the buildings which from urban spaces within but not among themselves (Broadbent 1990, p.76). Again, that urban space is transmitted into interior space as the solution to the problem of leftover spaces in One Peachtree Centre designed by Portman in 1976 in Atlanta, and that these spaces are converted into a ‘micro cosmos’ with its landscape design, thus that such conversion is a groundbreaking transformation in the conception of interior space may be readily admitted by various scholars (Steele 1997, p.374, 377).
The design approach, which tackles architectural and interior spaces in combination with the urban characteristics, could also be observed in various buildings designed by Frank Gehry. For instance, in Chiat/Day Modo Ad Agency Headquarters Building (Figure 2.11), Gehry seems to have interpreted a gridal urban scheme in the interior space of the building. Plan scheme of this building consists of streets (as circulation areas) and squares that are composed of various enlargements and intersections of these streets. While the offices are surrounding around small squares in a regular manner, spaces which are distinguished from functional viewpoint (e.g. gathering spaces and conference halls) seem to be treated exactly like the monuments in a city. Tanyeli, too, affirms that some buildings designed by Gehry resemble segments of city rather than conventional or even ordinary buildings. According to him;

‘Architecture is being transformed into a mimesis taking the city as a point of reference,…architecture, either in the scope of modernist or that of post-modernist movements, does confess the fact that she could not offer solution to the problem of the unity of city, via architecture of Gehry. Building has been defeated in the battle conducted against the city, and had to admit sovereignty of the structure of the city. Therefore, building imitates city, rather than claiming its own existence by being what it is’ (Tanyeli 1992, p.96).
This approach, which takes city and its urban structure as a reference point for design of interior spaces, is gradually gaining significance and is being not only admitted but also applied as an alternative approach for innumerable types of buildings. Shopping centres comes first among these types. This issue will be explored in further detail in the third chapter of this thesis.

As can be seen above, the idea that contemporary city has started to become interior spaces taking place in various building types together with both functional and morphological structures is found acceptable by numerous scholars. Although its raison d’être is multivariate, the major derive for such transformation is the unpreventable growth of cities as well as the unplanned nature of rapid development of metropolitan cities. As discussed in the first chapter of the study, the reflection of this development in shopping centres has brought this building type forward as one of the typical representatives of this process of transformation. Rapid yet unplanned urban growth brings about countless problems. Difficulties brought by vehicular traffic which continually gets denser in city centres, may come first among these problems. City centres, which once set a stage for various commercial, cultural, social activities in the cities of the past, have now become Central Business District, that are composed of multi-storey buildings and unsociable streets for mainly for vehicular traffic. Forms pertaining to the traditional city have gradually losing their importance as much as their functions, and thus urban spaces of the past are recreated within buildings at architectural scale by means of tackling them as controllable and pedestrianised urban spaces. One of the most evident building types that can typify such transformations could be the contemporary shopping centre with its pedestrianised and environmentally

Figure 2.11 Chiat/Day Mojo Ad Agency Headquarters, Venice, Los Angeles, 1985-1991.  
(Source: Jencks, C., Architecture Today, p.266)
controlled spaces in which traditional shopping spaces are reinterpreted in accordance with changing social and economic activities, and in which other public activities are accommodated in addition to shopping.

2.3 Transformation of Commercial Activities and Urban Fabric of the Traditional Settlements into Shopping Centres and Malls

In this section, the process by which traditional settlements (with their shopping spaces) is taken into contemporary buildings of shopping, and thus, cities are transformed into the architectural elements of contemporary shopping centres. The objective, here, is to shed light on the endeavour to re-create traditional urban space, in contemporary shopping centres together with its functional as well as spatial attributes. Therefore, Trancik’s theory is reviewed with various examples and evaluated in the context of shopping centre typology.

Shopping is one of the major activities in urban space. Thus, the building type, which can best exemplify the transformation of city into the building, is contemporary shopping centres as buildings of shopping activity.

Shopping spaces of contemporary city are organised in similar to traditional urban cores in that; functional and spatial relations of traditional city still echoed while they differ from city since they are enclosed within singular buildings outside the city. These buildings may play a major part in dilapidation of the traditional city centres. Trancik, suggests that interior pedestrian areas may cause the loss of vividness and habitability in streets and squares of urban space. According to him, these centres as isolated spaces from the city, may offer tranquil and interesting locations, yet they impair the social fabric as well as the urban tissue by detaching the shopping activity from its social context in the past. Trancik asserts that Galleria Vittoria Emmanuele in Milan (Figure 2.12) and Quincy Market in Boston (Figure 2.13) are buildings which sustain the traditional forms of shopping; which are designed as gathering places with their public spaces, and most importantly, which support and enhance urban tissue instead of damaging the urban structure no matter how much they seem to be isolated from the street (Trancik 1986, p.47).
The domain of the transformation of urban space into architectural space within contemporary shopping centres can be approached from various aspects. In so doing, here, the characteristics of shopping spaces will be probed from the viewpoints of the

Figure 2.12 Galleria Vittorio Emmanuele, Milan, isometric drawing, 1867.

Figure 2.13 Quincy Markets, Boston, 1826.
(Source: Architecture for the Retail Trade, Birkhauser Verlag, Berlin, 1996. p.167)
relation between; city-economy, city-shopping activity and socio-psychology of shopping respectively.

When the effects of relation between economy and city on the transformation process is examined, as exemplified above, that the relation of proximity between urban life and economic activity has always been a determining factor in urban development and typology of shopping spaces can be clearly seen.

City in the past is a shopping centre by itself. Production and trade are the major functions required for the establishment of a city. Trade, in the traditional city schemes, was one of the most significant urban functions that could shape the city. Organisation schemes of retail spaces may exhibit similar characteristics even in cities with planned and unplanned, organic or gridal schemes. The major reason for such similarity between these seemingly different schemes and cities is that the interdependence between social life and economic activity, as well as the ‘proximity’ relationship between similar functions (Upton 1998, p.194-195). Commercial activities in traditional cities seem to have usually taken place in proximity with public spaces of the city in order to set physical interaction with potential customers.

When shopping spaces in history are examined, one can see that these are integrated and supported with diverse functions. Various activities such as trade, production, shopping, politics, philosophical debates have taken place next to each other in the agora that was the shopping place of the Antiquity. Similar to agoras, fora and shops surrounding marketplaces of Medieval Cities; too, indicates that shopping and retail activity has always been performed in spaces that constitute public areas integrated with the city centre. Shopping spaces of Anatolian cities, too, have always been grouped in the way they can create a public space around them, as spaces where production and retail are intertwined particularly in the city core. The main principles in these groups of spaces emerge as; first, the dependence of urban life onto the economic activities, and secondly the physical ‘proximity’ of similar functions.

The period following the industrial revolution is also an era, which traditional shopping spaces integrated with city fabric in preceding times have started to be parts of buildings. At the same time, the break of the shopping activity from its social dimension has started to accelerate. Along with the industrial revolution, shopping activity which used to take place in the open squares, streets have started to be taken into buildings with the emergence of building types such as shopping arcades, department stores, in quite parallel to the technical, economic and social developments. The principle of
‘proximity’ between urban life with commercial activity can also be observed in passages. These buildings are both shopping spaces as well as gathering spaces, and are shaped as urban-public areas in which various social activities are foreseen.

Upton points out that office buildings, shopping centres, department stores and buildings of similar sort are usually grouped together in the central business district of cities which sets a stage for intensive commercial activity mainly because of the need for ‘physical proximity’ (Upton 1998, p.195). Nothing can obscure the significance of the principle of ‘proximity’ in the construction on ‘shopping places with social attributes’. The rows of shops surrounding the two sides of customer circulation areas (malls) concept of which is transmitted from the streets of the city, and department stores which take place at the both ends of these areas are brought together according to the principle of ‘physical proximity’ that is also transmitted form the traditional city, in order to achieve ‘social shopping places’ in contemporary shopping centres.

At this point, it is of particular interest to evaluate the formation of contemporary shopping centres from the viewpoint of this transformation.

In the historical evolution of shopping spaces, the spatial transformation starting just after the industrialisation have accomplished its climax with contemporary shopping centres emerged during 1960s. This building type is one of the types in which urban space is endeavoured to be recreated with its urban space components, and shopping takes place as its primary function. In most shopping centres, streets of city are transmitted into malls and squares are turned into atriums (Ford 2000). These spaces are designed as interior spaces simulating urban space by using elements that belong to urban street such as cinema, café, trees, decorative plants, pools and traditional urban façades. Contemporary shopping centre acts as a gigantic box comprising traditional shopping spaces in a city together with urban-public spaces; seen in this context, it may recall appear as if traditional core of city is covered on the top and carried elsewhere.

Shopping centres which usually are located in the middle of a vast parking areas (Figure 2.14), are conceived and criticised as buildings impairing urban tissue particularly when seen from outside. Yet, there are positive aspects of this transformation. First of all, for instance, shopping spaces located on the periphery of an inner street, and in between them, interior pedestrian streets (customer circulation areas) may help to constitute favourable urban spaces. In the design of shopping centres, it is intended to reflect the vividness and dynamism of urban life performed in the streets and squares of the city. Upton defines these buildings as ‘car-free city centres’ (Upton
1998, p.230). It is aimed to recreate the proximity of street and shop in the shopping centre, by the removal of car (Figure 2.15, Figure 2.16 Figure 2.17, Figure 2.18), however, the adequacy of these spaces from the viewpoint of their potential as ‘shopping places with social attributes’ is still open to discussion.

![Northgate Regional Shopping Center, Aerial photograph.](image)

![Eaton Center, Toronto, interior.](image)
(Source: Architecture for the Retail Trade, Birkhauser Verlag, Berlin, 1996. p.167)

![West Edmonton Mall, Edmonton, interior.](image)
(Source: Architecture for the Retail Trade, Birkhauser Verlag, Berlin, 1996. p.167)
When the same domain is viewed from the angle of socio-psychology of shopping, the endeavour to re-fabricate the other functions of daily life together with shopping in contemporary shopping centres; is worthy of attention. These buildings, meanwhile, reflects the gradually changing state of the egocentric social life. Today, shopping is rapidly distancing from being an activity, to purely meet natural needs in a rational manner, turning into ‘consumption’ and the relation between individual and community that used to exist in traditional shopping space is reduced into the relation between the individual and product. The differentiation, here, is a transformation of life from communal to individual in essence. The spheres in which the issues of individuals, egocentrism, the position of individual within community are discussed have become the focus of discourse by many scholars in sociology as the consequences of post-modern state and those of the evolution of traditional community into a consumer society, particularly with the emergence of shopping centres (Baudrillard 1997, Ritzer 1998, Featherstone 1996, Willis 1991, Urry 1995, Langman 1992, Shields 1992).

Shopping in our era is being replaced with other functions such as leisure and other social activities. It is intended to make individuals feel that they moved outside the territory of their private zones in shopping centres where shopping in integrated with other activities. Here, it is intended to create in one’s mind the sense of establishing communication with other individuals in addition to the feeling of sharing the social space with others. This state has occurred with the attachment of non-shopping

Figure 2.17 Chadstone Centre, Chadstone, Victoria, interior. (Source: Altoon, R. A., International Shopping Center Architecture, International Council of Shopping Centers, 1996. p.178)

Figure 2.18 The Gallery at Harborplace, Baltimore, Maryland, interior. (Source: Altoon, R. A., International Shopping Center Architecture, International Council of Shopping Centers, 1996. p.117)
activities such as cinema, cafeteria, restaurant, fast food, playgrounds and entertainment centres particularly with the purpose of increasing the commercial competitiveness of contemporary shopping centres.

Shopping used to be a social activity in traditional context. However, the main objective in contemporary shopping centres is to turn shopping place into a building at urban scale together with other social activities associated with shopping. Yet, this aim seems to have ended up with the replacement of shopping with other social functions. In that case, it seems that the unity between shopping and social fabric could not be sustained, and thus, ‘shopping places with social attributes’ could not be created in contemporary shopping centres.

Contemporary shopping centres, which were designed to become public spaces of our era, appear to be much more controlled and privatised spaces in comparison to the urban areas of the past. Thus, one is easily tempted to think that these spaces intended as public spaces, are in fact semi-private spaces. For instance, gatherings of political or religious type, which once could actually be performed in the urban centre, could not be done in contemporary shopping centres. This can be associated with the rise of individuality, as stated by sociologists, and the loss of communal awareness. It could possibly be said that shopping centre is a place where social awareness, which was long lost in outside world, is endeavoured to be recreated (Sennett 1977, Jacobs 1961).

On the other hand, actually, one can say that urban spaces of the past were not totally uncontrollable places at all. It is known that various methods in the design of these spaces are developed for citizens not to be left outside the control of governing authority. For instance, the radical transformation realised by Hausmann in the urban tissue of Paris in the 19th century was conducted mainly to control the city. Various methods and devices have been used in order to control public space throughout history; what has changed today is that these devices are developed with the help of technology.

Shopping centres today are nearly small cities within cities. It is also possible to support this view with the names selected for shopping centres in the United States such as ‘town mall’, ‘town centre’ ‘town square’, ‘triangle square’, ‘square mall’, ‘marketplace’, ‘market square’, ‘square’, ‘boulevard’, ‘promenade’. These names referring to various components of urban space, easily convinces one to admit that some qualities of urban-public space have started to lose their importance.
Shopping and other functions associated with it, which has rapidly been losing its primacy in the urban areas of the past, is intended to be recreated in micro-climatised and exceedingly comfortable shopping centres (Figure 2.19) (Kostof 1992, p.180-181).

![Image](image.png)

**Figure 2.19** “Town Square” in Runcorn New Town (England), interior.

Today, it is almost impossible to recreate and revitalise urban-public life and characteristics pertaining to the concept of shopping merely by designing copies of favourable plazas, shopping streets, and shopping buildings of the past because of a series of factors. Yet again, in the design of shopping centres which can be defined as ‘contemporary agoras’ or ‘covered shopping streets’ and in which urban spaces are reinterpreted, paraphrasing spatial relations of the precedents of shopping buildings in accordance with present conditions, is of prime importance particularly from the viewpoint of designing shopping centres as contemporary urban-public centres, sustenance of the continuity in the transformation of shopping spaces and its contribution to the formation of ‘shopping places with social attributes’ in these spaces.

The ideas voiced in the interviews conducted by The Journal of Shopping Center World in 1997 with eminent names of the sector about the issue of in which direction shopping centres will develop around 2022, are quite impressive. Countless designers and representatives of contracting firms seem to have reached a consensus that shopping centres of the future will be designed as new urban centres. According to them, shopping centres of our age will become essential components of city centres in future. As a matter of fact, shopping centres, in the future, will not be built outside the city, yet will be built as complexes that accommodate the elements constituting the urban core;
here, administrative offices, zones allocated for commercial, social, and shopping activities will be located within the walking distance from each other. It is clear that, even according to the spokespeople of the economic authority, in the design of shopping centres, as projected for 2022, users will be considered as citizens (community) rather than mere consumers (individuals), and it will be aimed to offer them the possibility of being a part of town centre. These spaces will be interpreted not as inhumane consumption machines but as active urban centres providing a comfortable environment with various leisure-oriented uses integrated with other urban activities. Thus, social interactions rather than individual consumption will be accentuated in shopping centres, and hence, the establishment of ‘shopping places with social attributes’, as required by economic authorities will be provided∗.

As can be seen, shopping centres today facilitates the formation of new city centres with high capacity to attract people as alternative to city centres. The projections made about the future of the sector of shopping centres also seem to support this view. The ever-changing and developing nature of shopping in parallel to advances in technology have put the concept of ‘on-line shopping’ on the agenda. Although there are projections in the direction that traffic of goods will be mostly realised through the medium of Internet, one cannot deny that social dimension of shopping will also prevail in the future and shopping spaces will mostly be next to public domains, and thus, these spaces will be moulded as ‘alternative urban centres’. Consequently, conversion of city centres into buildings, together with their functions; bring about the reinterpretation of forms pertaining to city centre within the buildings this time. Therefore, that shopping centres which are new urban areas of our era have quite similar characteristics to the shopping spaces of traditional city centres, particularly from the viewpoint of spatial organisation, should be assumed as a natural development.

In the following chapter, above-discussed spatial characteristics will be elucidated in the historical perspective of shopping space typology towards the establishing spatial components of the concept of ‘shopping places with social attributes’ that is targeted to achieve in contemporary shopping centres.

∗ http://www.internetreview.com/pubs/ scw97may/scw9705z.html