

PUBLIC SPACES OF POST-INDUSTRIAL CITIES AND THEIR CHANGING ROLES (1)

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INTRODUCTION

From Agora of the *polis*, and open market places of Medieval cities to today's shopping malls, corporate plazas, atria and festival places, public spaces have been one of the crucial components of cities for centuries. Despite their evident importance in cities, public spaces have become subject to broad concern for more than two decades (Francis, 1987; Carr et al., 1992; Tibbalds, 1992; Boyer, 1993; Crilley, 1993; Madanipour, 2000). Particularly under the influence of globalisation and privatisation policies, city-marketing and imaging programmes and urban regeneration projects, the new landscape of post-industrial cities has witnessed the emergence of attractive and alluring public spaces (Boyer, 1993; Crilley, 1993; Hubbard, 1995; Madanipour, 2000; McNroy, 2000). The resurgence of broad interest in public spaces has led to a significant improvement in the quality of contemporary public spaces in cities. Nevertheless, public space literature has frequently hinted at the changing roles and features of the public spaces.

This article is set up to draw attention to these changes in the post-industrial cities. Reviewing the public space literature of the last 25-30 years, it first defines the roles of public realms in cities; second explains in detail the reasons behind the increasing significance of public spaces over the last two decades; and third describes new types of public spaces in the landscape of post-industrial cities. Then, depicting the design and management characteristics, it underlines the changing roles of the public spaces of the post-industrial cities. In the conclusion, the article summarises the key issues discussed in the article and seeks to give clues for urban planning and design practice.

THE ROLES OF PUBLIC SPACES

Public spaces play a wide range of roles, which can be classified as physical, ecological, psychological, social, political, economic, symbolic,

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Figure 1. Public spaces, either as motorways, streets or water canals, performing as the key communication channels of cities. Photos from Vienna and Hamburg (M. Akkar Ercan).

and aesthetic roles. If we consider that the city is made up of public and private spaces, the public space becomes an inevitable component of the city. Seen in various forms, such as streets, squares, plazas, market places and parks, public spaces play a number of physical roles. First of all, streets, boulevards and avenues are the major communication channels of the city (Carr et al., 1992; Gehl, 1996)(**Figure 1**). They are the means of movements between objects, people and information from one sector to another, as they contain facilities to ease intercommunication such as street and traffic signs, parking areas. Second, they serve the daily needs of the public on the street by containing street lights, furniture and signs, as well as public convenience facilities, like toilets and baby changing facilities. Public spaces also provide the places for a 'variety' and 'diversity' of activities. Being places of various economic, social and political activities, public spaces hold different activities together (Czarnowski, 1982; Moughtin, 1999). Another role of public spaces is to differentiate open spaces in a city. Ellis (1978) argues that public spaces, particularly streets, provide us with the opportunity to develop a variety of open spaces with a range of uses from public to private.

Public spaces are the inevitable components of cities with not only their physical but also ecological roles. They contribute to create ecologically healthy environments (Thompson, 1998). With vegetation, they can ameliorate an unfavourable micro-climate; and they can increase air turbulence, filter dust particles, direct cooling down and cleansing breezes (Thompson, 1998) (**Figure 2**).

Figure 2. Elbe Park, in Hamburg, a fine example in terms of showing both the ecological and aesthetic contributions of public spaces in cities (M. Akkar Ercan).

As well as their physical and ecological roles, public spaces contribute to the mental and psychological health of human beings in various forms.





Figure 3. Public spaces, performing as the places of relaxation, provide people with the relief from the stresses of daily life (M. Akkar Ercan).

For example, some research proves that postoperative patients recover more quickly, and need fewer analgesics if they convalesce in a ward which has a view of trees (Thompson, 1998). Public spaces also play a role in the personal development of human beings (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1988), particularly by providing individuals with the arenas to demonstrate mastery, to meet challenges and to run a risk (Lynch, 1992). Additionally, they provide the rhythm of relaxation and tension which is desirable for the psychological and mental health of human beings (Lynch, 1992). Public spaces perform as the places of relaxation, which provide people with relief from the stresses of daily life (Carr et al., 1992) (**Figure 3**). But, at the same time, they provide stages for 'shocking' stimulus, which increases the chance of direct confrontation and spontaneous reaction that leads people to be confronted with new sights and learn about others (Lynch, 1992). Another psychological role of public spaces is to provide arenas for 'social interaction', places for active and social engagement with others (Carr et al., 1992; Lynch, 1992). Social interaction promotes individual well-being with others, enables the people to discover 'self', 'others' and 'environment', and finally lead to the emergence of a sense of personal continuity in a rapidly changing world (Francis and Hester, 1990, cited in Carr et al., 1992; Carr et al., 1992; Lynch, 1992).

Performing as the arenas of social interaction, public spaces also play significant social roles. By welcoming everyone, they bring together different groups of people regardless of their class, ethnic origin, gender and age, making it possible for them to intermingle (Madanipour, 1995) (**Figure 4**). Consequently, they help "the formation of the richest quality of a multi-class, multi-cultural, heterogeneous society" (Carr et al., 1992). On the other hand, public spaces carry out educational, informative and communicative roles to strengthen public life. People coming from different segments of the society interact and learn about each other in public spaces (Carr et al., 1992; Montgomery, 1997). This is an important step for the emergence of the 'social coherence' between diverse groups, and for the creation of community life (Walzer, 1986; Moughtin, 1999).

As for the political roles of public spaces, they are closely related to their contribution to democracy. Lynch (1992) and Rapoport (1977) claim that public spaces are open to all and accommodate 'freely chosen' and 'spontaneous' action of people. These two characteristics enable them to develop and promote 'democracy'. Public spaces encourage people to use and participate in the public arena (Moudon, 1987), by offering them with



Figure 4. A cultural festival in Vienna and Hamburg, bringing people together regardless of their class, ethnic origin, gender and age, and making it possible for them to intermingle (M. Akkar Ercan).

the opportunity to act freely, represent themselves and interact freely with others. In this sense, they provide people with arenas for political action and representation (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1988). Disagreements and conflicts become clearly visible, when public discussions are held in public spaces (Carr et al., 1992). For this reason, they provide healthier arenas to resolve disagreements and conflicts than to keep them in private (Carr et al., 1992). Moreover, they serve to facilitate free society civility and public resolve (Carr et al., 1992).

Beside the political roles, another significant role of public spaces is economic. Throughout history, public spaces have been the major places where commercial activities have taken place (Gehl, 1996)(Figure 5). Since commercial activities moved to dedicated places in cities, commerce has also kept its close relation to public spaces in order to benefit from this great coming and going (Lofland, 1973). Besides, public spaces can influence the economic value of urban land which surrounds them, as long as they are kept in good condition. Particularly nowadays, with their economic value generator role, public spaces are increasingly seen as a crucial means to add value to speculative developments, both in terms of amenity and commerce (Thompson, 1998), and to market and regenerate localities (Madanipour, 2000).

Many scholars also point out the symbolic roles of public spaces. Jacobs, for example, argues that public spaces can give an identity to a city:

Streets and their sidewalks, the main public spaces of a city, are its most vital organs. Think of a city and what comes to mind? Its streets. If a city's streets look interesting, the city looks interesting; if they look dull, the city looks dull. (Jacobs, 1961, 29)

As well as the general image that public spaces can give to the city, some are associated with the public images of the cities to which they belong. Piazza San Marco in Venice, the Spanish Steps in Rome, Trafalgar Square in London are such public spaces. Similarly, there are streets with a special connotation to a city, such as Regent Centre in London, Champs-Élysée in Paris, the Via del Corso in Rome, Fifth Avenue in New York City (Ellis, 1978). According to Montgomery (1997), public spaces may contain elements which appeal to or represent 'higher order values', for example sacred or symbolic meeting places. The public spaces used for religious purposes are the prominent examples. Therefore, public spaces become symbols for a group of people or a society, since they represent cultural,

historical, religious or other social and political values for them. Loukaitou-Sideris (1988) argues that, with their symbolic meanings, public spaces contribute to the creation of the sense of continuity for a group, or a society. Consequently, these feelings bind the individual members of the group or society together (Lynch, 1992; Moughtin, 1999). For this reason, public spaces have become "the place where the major public works, the major public expenditure and the greatest civic art is located" (Moughtin, 1999).

As for their aesthetic roles, public spaces function to beautify the city (Carr et al., 1992). They improve and enhance the aesthetic quality of the city (Carr et al., 1992; Thompson, 1998) (**Figure 2**).

Briefly put, public spaces serve human beings through their physical, ecological, psychological, social, political, economic, symbolic and aesthetic roles which make them inevitable components for societies and cities.

THE RECENT INCREASING SIGNIFICANCE OF PUBLIC SPACES: WHY?

Public spaces have been focus of broad concern since the early-1980s. A number of researchers point out the recent interest in public spaces and explain the reasons for this increasing concern. According to Tibbalds (1992), this interest is the consequence of the emerging new spirit of urbanism, which strongly rejects the philosophy of the Modernist architecture and planning, and aims at bringing back the characteristics of the traditional city, as stated below:

We are witnessing a return to the spirit of urbanism that characterised well-loved traditional towns and cities. The concern is once again for the scale of people walking, for attractive, intricate places and for complexity of uses and activities. The object has now become the public realm –the space between buildings- rather than the buildings themselves. The aim is to create urban areas with their own identities, rooted in a regional and/or historic context. The physical design of the public domain as an organic, colourful, human-scale, attractive environment is the over-riding task of the urban designer. (Tibbalds, 1992, 2)

Francis (1987) argues that the recent concern with public spaces results from an increasing interest in street activities such as street vending, outdoor eating, walking and cycling (**Figure 6**). Carr et al.(1992) agree with Francis' point, stating that:

Older parks, playgrounds, and public squares, allowed to deteriorate in the latter part of this century, are now being renewed and revived in many cities. Farmers markets are increasingly popular and, in a few vanguard cities, public market structures have been renewed or created to house them. Street vending and performing are back, and not only in the contrived settings of 'festive marketplaces'. Outdoor cafés are enormously popular (Carr et al., 1992, 7).

Besides, Carr et al. (1992) point to the recent demands of the new young, middle-class urbanites who are active in sports and fitness for the creation of new open spaces and the provision of access to nature close to where people live and work. Hence, there has been pressure to revive older parks, playgrounds, and other central spaces and to make them useful again (Carr et al., 1992). According to Loukaitou-Sideris (1993), the increasing significance of public spaces is the outcome of the demand of certain segments of the population, like the employees of the service sector, the tourists and conventioners, for the provision of 'new' and 'safe' public



Figure 5. A market place in Vienna (M. Akkar Ercan).



Figure 6. Outdoor activities gaining popularity nowadays is one of the reasons for the rising interest in public spaces (M. Akkar Ercan).

spaces which are separated from 'undesirables' like the homeless, street vendors, noisy teenagers and children. The employees of the rapidly growing service sector have demanded new public spaces which provide them with the opportunities for shopping, enjoying themselves, socialising with their friends, colleagues, and some time meeting social peers and thus potential partners and even carrying out professional meetings (Burgers, 2000)(Figure 6).

For Burgers (2000), the 'museumization of the culture' is another factor which has caused the rising interest in public spaces. The museumization of the culture is the product of a growing interest, particularly amongst tourists, in museums and galleries, and the open public spaces (Burgers, 2000). According to Madanipour (1995), however, public spaces have lately started to be used as part of a strategy for confronting the socio-spatial fragmentation of cities. This fragmentation has resulted from the social and spatial segregation of middle and working classes and the racial and social segregation in North American and European cities (Loukaitous-Sideris, 1988; Madanipour, 1999), as well as the transformation through de-industrialisation and the transition to a service economy (Madanipour, 1999). The social polarisation and segregation have caused fear and anxiety, as well as the destabilisation of some established socio-spatial patterns. Thus, public spaces have been promoted to confront this social polarisation and fragmentation and manage this anxiety (Madanipour, 1999).

The nostalgia of traditional public spaces, the increasing interest in street activities, the pressure of certain segments of the population to create new open spaces, the museumization of the culture and the recognition of public spaces as the means to tackle social polarisation and fragmentation might have resulted in the recent concern with public spaces. Yet, the major forces which have brought about this interest are strongly related to the social, economic, political and technological changes in the world which have been taking place for over more than two decades. With globalisation, the economies of most countries have become incorporated in a global capitalist economy through the advanced communication technologies and multi-national companies and institutions which are able to switch capital investment between countries and regions (Hall and Hubbard, 1996). The consequence is that some cities have been transformed into major 'world cities', specialising in service and technology-based activities, while some cities which were previously prosperous have faced severe economic decline (Hall and Hubbard, 1996).

Figure 7. UNOCITY in Vienna, well illustrating the new urbanscape of the global city (M. Akkar Ercan).





Figure 8. Newcastle upon Tyne, an old-industrial city in Britain, seeking to erase its fading image with a new urbanscape with office, residential, tourism, leisure and cultural complexes building in the Quayside (M. Akkar Ercan).

Globalisation has brought about a drastic change in the urban landscape of the 'world cities', especially in their downtowns (Boyer, 1993)(**Figure 7**). Multi-national companies in particular have become one of the key actors in the economic and spatial development of world cities in North America and Europe (Boyer, 1993; Crilley, 1993). The new landscape which is described as 'spectacular', 'astonishing', 'glorious', 'fantasy-world' is characterised by its exclusivity and affluence (Boyer, 1993). It is generally self-referential and fragmented from the rest of the city (Boyer, 1993; Crilley, 1993). 'Good design', cleverly managed and maintained visual décor and ambience which create 'strong visual identity', and themes which are well-articulated with space are the distinguished features of the new landscape (Boyer, 1993; Crilley, 1993).

The new landscape of 'world cities' has also become distinguished with its public spaces. The developers, architects and designers of the projects claim that they seek to create beautiful and liveable public spaces in order to fulfil public needs (Crilley, 1993). However, one of the major motivations, which drive the new urban landscape, is the fact that investors and developers have realised the economic benefits which public spaces contribute to their investments. Punter (1990) and Loukaitou-Sideris (1993) argue that investors and developers have become more aware of the significance of a high quality and lively public realm in order to enhance both the value of the scheme and its long-term potential. Moreover, they have realised the benefit that they can get through the development by increasing floor area ratios of valuable commercial space in exchange for the provision of some public amenities (Carr e. al., 1992; Loukaitou-Sideris, 1993). Another reason behind the recent increasing interest in public spaces is the attempt to market the city, to create an image for the city to attract capital, goods, labour and corporations (Boyer, 1993; Crilley, 1993). According to Çelik et al. (1994) and Madanipour (2000), within the new landscape, public spaces have become significant as means of marketing localities. Burgers (2000) notes that sport and cultural events, such as football tournaments, festivals, carnivals, flea markets, circuses and fairs, which have been organised for city promotion and city marketing have made public spaces popular once more.

Globalisation has brought about a great deal of wealth to some cities, particularly the ones which are well placed in the global economy. However, it has resulted in recession in some cities and regions. In particular old industrial regions and cities in North America and Europe have suffered from the economic, social and urban decline (Paddison, 1993). These cities have seen the attraction of inward investments (new industries, government investment, administrative and office functions, and more importantly the newly affluent) as the major solution for economic, social and urban regeneration (Paddison, 1993; Hubbard, 1995). In order to attract new inward investments, the ruling elites of these cities have realised the need to create and promote new images, which would erase the fading memory of manufacturing industry and which would emphasise their distinctive social, cultural and historical characteristics to stress their advantages over other cities (Hubbard, 1995; Madanipour, 2000). Consequently, they have understood the necessity to create a new urban landscape which would construct and promote the new images of these cities, improve the quality of the urban environment and create safe, good-looking and exclusive environments to attract developers, investors and their employers, tourists and affluent groups (Hubbard, 1995; Madanipour, 2000)(**Figure 8**).

Public spaces have become inevitable parts of the strategies to construct this new urban landscape. They have been shown as the crucial components of urban regeneration projects and the programmes to re-image and market old industrial cities. McInroy (2000) argues that public spaces are seen as one of the prominent means to develop the positive images of an area and to improve an area's attractiveness to potential inward investors. Madanipour (1999; 2000) claims that they have been recognised as crucial in terms of manufacturing new images to find a place in a competitive global market. Hubbard (1995) notes the increasing investments in public uses such as cultural centres, conference suites or heritage parks which are designed to play an influential and catalytic role in urban regeneration. Thus, public spaces have become vehicles of legitimacy for local authorities, symbolising their commitment and effectiveness in urban regeneration and city-marketing (Madanipour, 1999).

PUBLIC SPACES OF THE POST-INDUSTRIAL CITY

The new landscape of the post-industrial city has emerged with new types of public spaces, one of which is 'decentralised, self-referential and inward-oriented retail units'. Suburban shopping malls are such developments, which first appeared in the 1950s with the move of retail functions outside the central city (Carr et al., 1992; Oc and Tiesdell, 1997). These entities, which were isolated from the rest of the city, were primarily accessible by car (Punter, 1990). The early examples of suburban shopping malls contained supermarkets, department stores, and chain stores which were connected to each other via streets and plazas (Punter, 1990). Some of them combined retail with leisure activities (Punter, 1990; Crawford, 1992). By fulfilling both shopping and leisure needs and being open late on weekdays and on Sunday, they became very popular among suburbanites (Punter, 1990; Carr et al., 1992; Oc and Tiesdell, 1997). Later on, suburban shopping malls became bigger in size and specialised according to customer types. Regional shopping malls may contain at least two department stores and a hundred shops and serve customers from as far as twenty miles away (Crawford, 1992). Another type of shopping mall is super-regional malls, which include at least five department stores and up to 300 shops, and serve an area of a hundred-mile radius (Crawford, 1992). They may also include multi-uses such as office buildings, high-rise apartments and hotels and corporate headquarters (Crawford, 1992). At the top of all these malls, there are megamalls, which are international shopping attractions (Crawford, 1992). There are also various types of malls, from the luxury malls which offer expensive specialty goods in sumptuous settings, to outlet malls which sell slightly-damaged or out-of-date goods at discount prices (Crawford, 1992). Some strip malls focus on specific products or services –furniture, automotive supplies, printing and graphic design, or even contemporary art (Crawford, 1992).

Suburban shopping malls advocated the development of quasi-public spaces, since they were privately owned, built, managed and controlled public spaces (Celik, et. al., 1994). These public spaces provided high-quality, comfortable and safe environments which were protected from outside conditions (Carr et al., 1992; Reeve, 1996; Oc and Tiesdell, 1997). For this reason, early suburban shopping malls became the new foci of social interaction and community life (Punter, 1990; Crawford, 1992). Later on, they started to serve a bigger variety of groups. In particular the regional, super-regional and mega shopping malls, which are characterised



Figure 9. Marcado Mall in Dubai, a fine example representing the features of the post-industrial shopping malls with a replica of a Venetian streetscape (M. Akkar Ercan).

by their attractive and good design, are in the service of a great number of people coming from miles away, as well as tourists (**Figure 9**).

The popularity of suburban shopping malls encouraged the decentralisation of other retail functions. In Europe like in Britain, food retailing such as supermarket chains was decentralised during the 1970s; this was followed by the movement of bulky goods such as DIY, electrical goods, carpets and furniture from town centres to retail warehouse parks in the 1980s; and so retail parks were developed in the mid-1980s. The public spaces in these self-referential and inward-oriented retail units were not able to become social gathering places, since there were limited public spaces which were only designed to help shopping activities and the attempts to introduce leisure and recreation functions have failed (Punter, 1990).

As well as the decentralised, self-referential and inward-oriented retail units, the post-industrial city is also characterised by the new developments in the central city. These developments, which were particularly built in order to attract retailers back to city centres, and thus to revitalise the declining city centres, led to the emergence of four new types of quasi-public spaces: city centre shopping malls, corporate plazas, atria and off-the ground networks (Punter, 1990; Carr et al., 1992; Boddy, 1993; Oc and Tiesdell, 1997). City centre shopping malls appeared in the late 1960s and were constructed throughout the 1970s and 1980s (Punter, 1990; Oc and Tiesdell, 1997; Rubenstein, 1992; Carr et al., 1992). Various types of city centre shopping malls were developed, such as indoor and outdoor, open and closed ones (Carr et al., 1992). Some outdoor shopping malls were developed by eliminating or restricting traffic on main streets and pedestrianising the main shopping streets (Francis, 1978; Carr et al., 1992; Oc and Tiesdell, 1997). Such shopping malls are common in British city centres. Some others were built close to public transport such as buses and light rail lines (Carr et al., 1992).

City centre shopping malls were not designed to function as gathering places (Punter, 1990). They have brought in various ways of avoiding undesirable user groups and activities in order to function as safe and protected places only for shoppers. Some malls have removed all seats in their indoor or outdoor streets, plazas and atria, except those linked to cafés, etc.; private guards have actively discouraged a group of people gathering in one place and most forms of prolonged socialising; leafleting, busking or begging have been tightly controlled and undesirable groups like bag ladies, alcoholics, punks or skinheads have been banned (Punter, 1990).

As for corporate plazas and atria, they were first developed and became common in big American cities in the 1960s (Carr et al., 1992). Corporate plazas are generally impressive foregrounds for an adjacent building, with large public artworks (Carr et al., 1992). Similarly, atria are indoor, private and lockable plazas or pedestrian streets (Carr et al., 1992). Both corporate plazas and atria were developed in exchange for the right given to developers to add significant height and bulk to their buildings (Carr et al., 1992; Loukaitou-Sideris, 1993). They were also privately managed as part of new office or commercial development (Punter, 1990; Carr et al., 1992). However, in Britain, atria have been privately developed; and then generally sold to planning authorities as 'public amenities' in order to provide safe pedestrian routes, managed open spaces, or night and day showcases for art and architecture (Punter, 1990). As they have gradually



Figure 10. Off-the-ground pedestrian network in Vienna (M. Akkar Ercan).

become exclusive settings, their access has only been granted by security guards and only fully permitted users with identity cards have been allowed to enter them (Punter, 1990).

When shopping malls, corporate plazas and atria were built in city centres, 'off-the ground pedestrian networks' rapidly expanded as an alternative to conventional street networks (Figure 10). As mentioned earlier, 'off-the ground pedestrian networks' were present before the 1980s. Yet, the construction of skyways in the North American cities soared by the mid-1980s due to, first, the dramatic rise in crime on streets and second, a revived economy (Boddy, 1993). While the earlier skyways and tunnels were formerly policed informally, they have become strictly and privately controlled environments (Boddy, 1993; Byers, 1998). Providing sanitised, highly monitored and disciplined environments, these quasi-public spaces have turned into fortresses for certain groups who have felt themselves in danger in conventional public spaces:

Inside the hermetic bridges and atria of New Detroit, one is struck by the very conservative and very expensive clothes worn by young black men, even those who are clerks, messengers, and trainees. One soon starts to wonder whether the overdressing is a survival strategy, the entrance ticket to the new fortified urban encampments. Even Miami, with its warmer climate, is increasingly opting for grade-separated bridges and a monorail in its downtown, to spare tourists and suburbanites any encounter with the Latino street life immediately below. And in San Francisco, where protection from climate is surely not a factor, the bridges and walkways of the Embarcadero Center have bought new customers and vitality, as Market Street increasingly becomes the refuge of the infirm and nonwhite (Boddy, 1993, 141).

Skyways and underground tunnels as public spaces of the post-industrial city fail to function as places for social interaction. Boddy (1993) and Byers (1998) argue that they rather promote the separation of the public domain among various groups, which strengthens race and class stratification and social fragmentation.

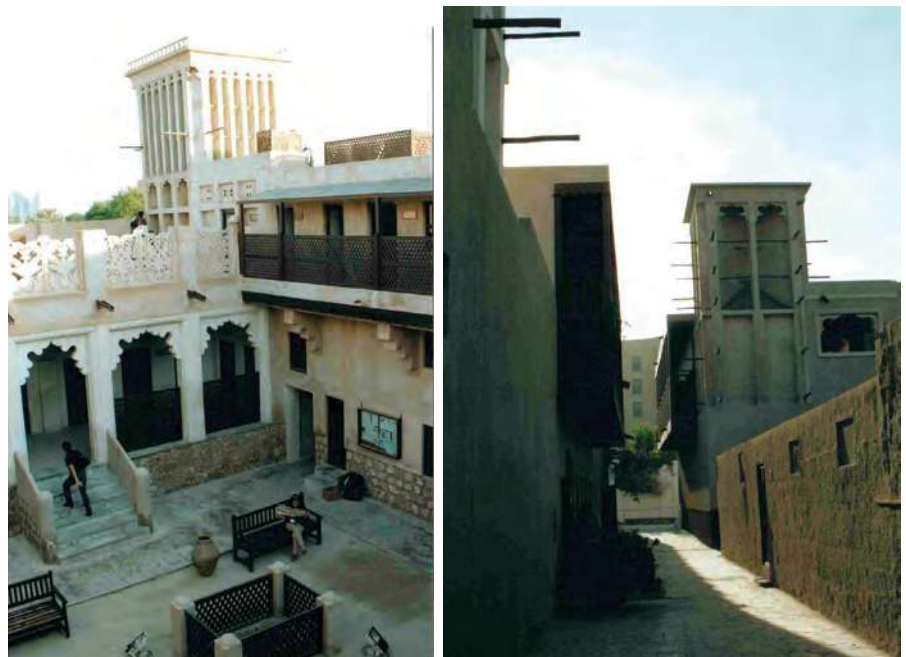


Figure 11. Bastakiya Heritage Site was re-constructed as an open-air museum to become one of the key tourist attractions of Dubai (M. Akkar Ercan).

As well as skyways and underground tunnels, public spaces were subject to sale. In the 1980s, some streets in the US cities were closed and sold to homeowner associations as a consequence of privatisation policies (Punter, 1990). The City Council in Houston raised about £3 million per annum by selling streets to homeowner associations (Punter, 1990). In Britain, Mrs Thatcher advocated the privatisation of public streets by buying a house on a private, highly-defended estate in Dulwich and also gated the public street, Downing Street (Punter, 1990). Similarly, The Adam Smith Institute in Britain "advocated the wholesale privatisation of city and suburban streets as a solution to the problems of crime, environmental maintenance and local service delivery" (Punter, 1990).

Apart from the development of the central city, another important characteristic of the urbanscape of the post-industrial city is 'mega-commercial development', which is large, self-contained, self-referential and exclusive development, constructed on old industrial districts and other derelict land uses or on virgin lands. They contain either mixed-uses, such as retailing, offices, residences, hotels and entertainment functions, or only one of these uses, like theme parks, office or residential uses (Punter, 1990; Carr et al., 1992; Crawford, 1992; Crilley, 1993; Cybriwski, 1999). The mega-commercial developments which are characterised by their well-designed, exclusive and affluent landscapes, brought impressive and distinguished public spaces. These public spaces, which are described as fantasy-oriented places, mainly function to enhance the lettability of a major commercial development and to ensure the longevity of the investment (Punter, 1990). The extreme examples are the public spaces of the megamalls and theme parks, where the design is based on the simulation of real and fantasised worlds (Crawford, 1992; Sorkin, 1992). These thematically arranged public spaces not only attract consumers to the mega-commercial developments, but also keep them in these developments and function to promote consumption.

As well as the mega-commercial developments, restored and rehabilitated historic sites have become the characteristic component of the landscape of the post-industrial city. They are promoted as tourist attractions or turned into exclusive residential, office, retail or cultural activities for affluent groups. The well-designed public spaces based on well-articulated themes are raised within these restored buildings. A nineteenth-century quayside, an old market street surrounded by sixteenth and seventeenth-century buildings or even a town which is turned into an open-air museum can be given as examples (**Figure 11**). The festival marketplace is one such public space which has recently become popular. This is a type of shopping mall, including both interior and exterior spaces, which may be privately developed and managed as part of new office or commercial development (Carr et al., 1992). It does not include a department store, but contains mainly eating and entertainment places as well as upscale, offbeat, specialty stores (Carr et al., 1992). Fanueil Hall in Boston, Harborplace in Baltimore, South Street Seaport in Manhattan and Covent Garden in London are prime examples of festival marketplaces (Crawford, 1992).

One of the remarkable characteristics of the post-industrial city is 'gated developments'. The design characteristics, such as gated streets and electronic surveillance, inward-oriented design, dead-end streets and single-entrances, create public spaces with extremely restricted accessibility (Punter, 1990). Large, self-contained, defensible and exclusive suburban residential areas in the US, namely 'planned unit developments' (PUDs) or the fortified housing sites in the city centre to satisfy the housing

needs of yuppies and the dinkies (double-income-no-kids) are such developments (Punter, 1990). Public spaces in 'gated developments' are sanitised and freed from undesirable groups and activities in order to secure the exclusivity and to protect the property values of these estates (Punter, 1990). The public spaces of science and business parks are more restricted places than the 'gated' residential developments. These public spaces which accommodate lavishly landscaped parks are "maintained as set pieces for the corporate image makers and the architectural photographer for the glossy magazines" (Punter, 1990). The strict control of their accessibility allows only security pass holders, employees and official visitors to use these spaces (Punter, 1990). As well as the new developments, the existing land uses, such as office and particularly residential uses have recently walled themselves off from the rest of the city to withdraw their streets from public use (Punter, 1990; Davis, 1992).

2. The principle of 'capture' is commonly used in the design of 'inward-oriented' settings such as suburban and city centre shopping malls (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1993). The 'inward-oriented' settings are characterised by high enclosing walls, blank facades distancing from the street, de-emphasis of street-level accesses, and major entrances through parking structures; and do not give any clue about the interior (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1993). Being completely isolated from the rest of the city and accessible only by car, the inward-oriented environments function to keep the users inside and to increase consumption (Punter, 1990). The principle of 'capture' is also achieved by the design principle of combining shopping and entertainment. Loukaitou-Sideris (1988) argues that the principle of 'capture' is based on a simple rule: "in order for shoppers to be attracted and to spend time in the mall space, they need to be entertained". The first suburban shopping malls in the North American cities which contained a multiplex cinema are the early examples of this design principle (Punter, 1990). Leisure activities have become complicated and diversified in the last few years. Multiplexes, movie theatres, entertainment and food courts, festival shopping, linking monorails, sport facilities, and even nightclubs, amusement parks, indoor water parks, petting zoos and symphony concert halls have appeared in the new generation megamalls in both North American and European cities (Punter, 1990; Crawford, 1992). As well as leisure facilities, another design principle which helps to create the 'capture environment', is to develop 'self-sufficient' environments. These settings, which comprise a variety of services and consumer amenities, such as banks, baby-sitting services and specialty food stores, intend to replace the whole outside environment (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1988).

The public spaces in such settings are supposed to help to keep the users inside and to increase consumption. These public spaces are self-referential; that is, they bear no relation to the surrounding city fabric. The bright and colourful interior with signs and vegetation also help to disconnect the interior of these public spaces from the rest of the city (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1988). These features help them to keep the users inside and to increase consumption.

CHARACTERISTICS OF PUBLIC SPACES OF THE POST-INDUSTRIAL CITY

The public spaces of the post-industrial city, also called 'quasi-public spaces', are characterised by the strong emphasis on their economic, symbolic and aesthetic roles. Three major phenomena, which show the over-emphasis on the economic roles of public spaces, are 'privatisation', 'commodification' and 'commercialisation'. 'Privatisation' of public space, which is the extension of the neo-liberal policies of the 1980s, signifies the shifting of the design, management and control of public spaces from the public sector to the private sector (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1988; Punter, 1990). Loukaitou-Sideris (1988) also defines it as the introduction and extension of market principles in the provision of public space. 'Commodification' of public space refers to the recognition of public realm as a commodity to be bought and sold, just like other material goods, such as cars, fridge or television sets (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1988; Madanipour, 2000). 'Commercialisation' of public space means that public realm is used in order to produce profit rather than to improve the quality of urban space and life (Tibbalds, 1992). Madanipour (1999) states that "From shopping malls to gated neighbourhoods and protected walkways, new urban spaces are increasingly developed and managed by private agencies in the interest of particular sections of the population". Loukaitou-Sideris (1988) and Madanipour (2000) claim that public spaces of the post-industrial city have been commodified; they have come to be treated as mere commodities, by stripping off their social and political roles. Tibbalds (1992) argues that the public spaces of the post-industrial city have been commercialised. The selling of public streets by public authorities to raise money can be given as an example of privatisation and commodification of public spaces. The creation of exclusive and affluent public spaces in order to increase the value of the waterfront, commercial, residential, office and entertainment complexes, and the public spaces of theme parks, regional or mega shopping malls designed according to the principle of 'capture'(2) in order to keep the users inside and to increase consumption are the remarkable examples for commercialisation of public spaces.

The promotion of 'well-designed' and 'attractive' public spaces is another feature which over-emphasises the economic, symbolic and aesthetic roles of the new public spaces. Starting from the early-1980s, 'well-designed' public spaces have been widely recognised as the means of city-marketing and image-building strategies, which help to attract inward investment and affluent consumers (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1988; Punter, 1990; Boyer, 1993;



Figure 12. Kalyon, a recently-built shopping centre in Istanbul, exemplifying the principle of exclusivity in design of the public spaces of the post-industrial city (S. Aktüre).

Crilley, 1993; Hajer, 1993; Cybriwsky, 1999). Public and private sectors have increasingly encouraged the development of 'well-designed' public spaces (Hajer, 1993). As a result, the 'beautification' of public space has become one of the major characteristics of public spaces (Punter, 1990; Crilley, 1993; Boyer, 1993; Hajer, 1993; Cybriwsky, 1999). Several design strategies have been used to produce 'well-designed' public spaces. One of these strategies is to introduce 'exclusivity in design'. By using chic architecture, stylish, highly ornamental and elegant materials, exclusivity in design intends to attract, impress and at the same time promote the feeling of affluence (Hajer, 1993; Loukaitou-Sideris, 1993)(**Figure 12**). Another common strategy is to introduce 'variety and diversity' into design. One of the prominent examples is Canary Wharf, of which the office buildings were designed by 'name' architects with various architectural styles (Boyer, 1993; Crilley, 1993). It is possible to see the replicas of world-famous artefacts in the main public spaces of mega-commercial structures, megamalls and theme parks. A replica of a Louis XV chateau and a miniature version of a Versailles courtyard at the centre of Yebisu Garden Place in Tokyo, the promoted image of Waikiki or Australia's Gold Coast in Daiba (one of the new major attractions which was developed on the reclaimed land in Tokyo Bay), are notable examples which have brought various images together (Cybriwsky, 1999). Another sharp example is from theme parks:

A trip to Disneyland substitutes for a trip to Norway or Japan. 'Norway' and 'Japan' are contracted to their minimum negotiable signifiers, Vikings and Samurai, gravlax and sushi. It isn't that one hasn't travelled -movement feeds the system, after all. It's that all travel is equivalent (Sorkin, 1992, 216).

The tourist travels the world to see the wiggled baker at the simulacrum of Colonial Williamsburg drawing hot-cross buns from an 'authentic' brick oven or the Greek fisherman on the quay on Mykonos, mending his photogenic nets, or the Animatronic Gene Kelly 'singing in the rain' (Sorkin, 1992, 216).

Crilley (1993) calls this landscape of visual variety 'scenographic variety', and argues that 'variety' and 'diversity', which is promoted in the design of the new public spaces, is used to cater to the 'taste of culture' of business. For him (1993), 'variety' and 'diversity' in design commodifies public spaces, stating that "every commodity has to have its look" to market itself. Cybriwsky (1999) claims that the eclectic mix of images in the design of public spaces encourages consumption. Another component, which is used to create good-looking public spaces, is the use of 'art'. According to Crilley (1993), "art bolsters public credibility" by turning a wasteland into a pleasurable paradise. For Hajer (1993), the way that art is used in the new public spaces aims at beautifying them, turning them into commodities and promoting affinity. In this sense, the use of 'art' commodifies and commercialises public spaces (**Figure 13**).

The other two major components, which are used in the design of the public spaces of the post-industrial city and promote the economic and symbolic roles of public spaces, are 'culture' and 'history'. Like art, the use of history and culture in the design of the new public spaces has resulted in their commodification and commercialisation (Philo and Kearns, 1993; Celik et al., 1994; Cybriwsky, 1999). There are several examples, such as the public spaces of Canary Wharf in London which are the copy of the memorable public spaces of London; the medieval Tuscan hill town of San Gimignano with piazza and scaled-down towers which was simulated



Figure 13. A clock-tower in Royal Quays, an outlet shopping area in Newcastle, performing at the beginning of every hour (M. Akkar Ercan).

in The Borgata, an open-air shopping mall in Scottsdale, and the copy of a New England Main Street, dated 1720, which was constructed in suburban Connecticut with shops in saltbox houses, a waterwheel and a pond (Crawford, 1992; Crilley, 1993). As well as the simulation of historical places, the restoration and rehabilitation of the historical sites of cities and their promotion as tourist attractions have recently become common practice (Celik et al., 1994). South Street Seaport in New York, Quincy Market in Boston, Harbor Place in Baltimore, Fisherman's Wharf in San Francisco, and the Riverwalk in New Orleans are well-known examples in the US (Boyer, 1992; Defilippis, 1997). Some scholars, like Philo and Kearns (1993) and Goodwin (1993), argue that the way that historical and cultural assets are used in the new public spaces has de-contextualised the historical and cultural legacy of these places and stripped them of the political controversy on which they were historically based. Instead, they are used to enliven predictable shopping experiences (Crawford, 1992). The following quotation gives two prominent examples which clearly explain the de-contextualisation of historical and cultural legacy in the new public spaces:

A nineteenth-century quayside where casual dockworkers laboured in appalling conditions for ridiculously low wages was a context rich in meaning and political tinder, for instance, but such a quayside done up as the backdrop for postmodern warehouses-turned-into-apartments occupied by a mobile new middle-class has been stripped of its original meanings and political resonances (except in the sense that some groupings may endeavour to retrieve these meanings and resonances as almost an 'imaginary' site of resistance). Similarly, nineteenth-century mills demanded an alienation of labour both from itself and from nature that was a lived reality and a likely spur to reaction, but one of these mills converted into a postmodern industrial heritage museum (often containing relics of industrial activity and lifestyle that have little to do with the mill itself) can convey unrest (and the pictures often portray a smiling labour force working happily in the great project of industrialising a great society)(Philo and Kearn, 1993: 24).

Festival marketplaces, which are characterised by their historical associations and themes and 'individualised design' peculiar to a single location is another example of the de-contextualisation of the historical and cultural legacy. According to Carr et al.(1992) and Crawford (1992), the historical and cultural legacy of festival marketplaces is promoted as a commodity and they have become means to enhance consumption. Philo and Kearns (1993) and Cybriwsky (1999) note that the public spaces which are designed as the simulation of real and fantasy worlds without bearing any connection to local history and geography, or those which de-contextualise the historical and cultural legacy of a place, create confusions about the symbolic meanings that public spaces represent for people from different income, gender and ethnicity backgrounds.

Another feature, which strongly emphasises the economic, symbolic and aesthetic roles of public spaces, is the increasing 'control'. The recently developed public spaces are highly controlled places. The control in these places starts with their design, which aims at eliminating all uncertain or undesirable elements such as noise, car parking, traffic, smoke, cold weather, and violence which trouble traditional public spaces (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1988). For this reason, the design introduces a high degree of control over access and use of space, climate, temperature, lighting, merchandise and events (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1988; Loukaitou-Sideris,

1993; Madanipour, 1995). As well as these design principles, the strict control is also exerted into the public spaces through the management and maintenance policies (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1993; Defilippis; 1997). Surveillance and security cameras, private guards or private security forces and limited opening hours are common means which management authorities use to control the users and activities taking place in these public spaces (Punter, 1990).

The management and control policies in the public spaces which are privately controlled aim at pushing undesirable populations, including criminal elements, or homeless, street vendors, musicians and public performers, noisy teenagers and children, and in general anyone who does not conform with the management's standards of appropriateness, or whose presence might damage the image of a clean, proper and safe environment (Punter, 1990; Loukaitou-Sideris, 1993). They also do not allow certain activities to occur in these public spaces, such as noisy activities, drinking alcoholic beverages, sleeping on the benches, leafleting, busking, begging, as well as public events, demonstrations, political gatherings and protests (Punter, 1990; Loukaitou-Sideris, 1993; Crilley, 1993). According to Loukaitou-Sideris (1993), the management authorities of these public spaces mainly attempt to avoid people and activities, since: i) they might be potential threats toward the increase in the maintenance cost of the public spaces, ii) they can change the 'perfect' image of the public space (as a safe, protected and orderly setting) and thus threaten the marketability of the space, iii) they can put at risk the liability of the management authorities for all the facilities and spaces within the property lines of the owners (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1993). Moreover, the control on the users and activities of the public spaces aims at achieving the smooth operation of retailers away from thugs and muggers, the comfort and convenience of the groups which do not feel safe in conventional public spaces, as well as to encourage shopping and other consumption activities and to promote and protect the 'good' image of the city (Punter, 1990; Crawford, 1992; Boddy, 1992; Boyer, 1993; Crilley, 1993; Madanipour, 1995; Defilippis, 1997). For these reasons, the management authorities do not even recognise the new public spaces under private ownership and control as 'public'. In this sense, the posting sign in Greengate Mall in Pennsylvania is worth noting:

Areas in this mall used by the public are not public ways, but are for the use of the tenants and the public transacting business with them. Permission to use said areas may be revoked at any time, (quoted in Crawford, 1993, 23).

This strict control is seen not only in the public spaces which are privately controlled, but also the ones under public control. Particularly in the United States, an increasingly rigid control has been imposed on streets, public parks, skyways and underground tunnels from the early 1980s (Boddy, 1992; Boyer, 1993). Davis (1992) notes that older high-income cities like Beverly Hills and San Marino have restricted access to their public parks by closing them on weekends to Latino and Asian families from adjacent communities. Similarly, Boyer (1993) reports that The Transitory Authority of New York has imposed new rules that prohibit begging and lying down on train seats, littering or creating unsanitary conditions or carrying out any unauthorised commercial activity and entertainment in spaces of public transit. In Los Angeles, city police have banned public assembly and demonstrations in public spaces (Davis, 1992). The beaches of the city "are now closed at dusk, patrolled by helicopter gunships and police dune

buggies" (Davies, 1992). Further, the local authority uses 'barrel-shaped bus benches' which offer a minimal surface for uncomfortable sitting while making sleeping impossible, outdoor sprinklers which are set in urban parks and come on at random times during the night to ensure that the park cannot be used for overnight camping (Davies, 1992). Similarly, the local authorities of British cities have manifested tendencies toward stricter control over people and activities in public spaces, particularly to those in the city centre. Bath, Coventry, Sheffield, Nottingham and Glasgow are such cities which have introduced bye-laws to ban drinking alcohol in some public spaces (Reeve, 1996; Oc and Tiedsell, 1998). Similarly, a number of local authorities are considering introducing a bye-law to control anti-social behaviour in streets such as spitting, urinating or defecating, touting or importuning, inhaling any substance likely to cause that person to become mentally or physically incapacitated (Reeve, 1996). The proliferation of the surveillance and security cameras in the last two decades is also another indication for the increase in the control on the public spaces of British cities (Fyfe and Bannister, 1998). Graham, et. al. (1996) report that Britain has more public space CCTV surveillance systems than any other advanced capitalist nation.

Such strict control measures result in a generation of highly 'ordered' and 'disciplined' public spaces, which have never been so clean, safe and stratified (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1988; Crilley, 1993; Loukaitou-Sideris, 1993). Under the strict control of public and private security forces, these public spaces do not welcome everyone. While variety in design is strongly promoted in the new urban landscape, variety in users and activities is not desirable (Crilley, 1993). In contrast, through design and management policies, undesirable members of the population are deliberately pushed out of these public spaces. In this sense, such public spaces serve a 'homogenous' public, promote 'social filtering' and therefore cause gentrification (Boddy, 1992; Boyer, 1993; Crilley, 1993).

The promotion of social filtering and gentrification is also reported by a number of studies on the public spaces which were developed within the context of urban regeneration, city-marketing and re-imaging policies. McInroy (2000) examines Garnethill Park which was a local park on the edge of the city centre of Glasgow and turned into an artwork within the city centre regeneration project. He (2000) argues that public spaces which are produced under the pressure of city-marketing policies undermine the needs of local communities for the sake of private interest. Hajer (1993) points out that gentrification resulted from the development of a newly built cultural district in Rotterdam city centre which was once notorious for its night clubs and illegal gambling. Similarly, Defilippis' investigation (1997) into South Street Seaport in New York which was once an open-air museum and turned into a privately controlled and commercialised space, and Goodwin's study (1993) on the Docklands in London which was a whole complex of port-related industrial activity and turned into one of the world's financial centres, underline the drastic changes in the user profiles of these places. Unlike the conventional public spaces which gather various people together, the new public spaces enhance, therefore, gentrification, social alienation and isolation (Crawford, 1992; Boyer, 1993; Hajer, 1993; Defilippis, 1997). This is a significant feature showing the undermined social roles of public spaces in the post-industrial cities.

CONCLUSION

This article has discussed the changing roles of public spaces of the post-industrial city by defining the roles of public realms in cities, explaining why the significance of public spaces has risen over the last two decades, and describing new types of public spaces emerged in post-industrial city with new design and management characteristics. The article has shown that the new landscape of the post-industrial city has witnessed the emergence of quasi-public spaces whose common features are the privatisation, commodification and commercialisation, the promotion of 'good design', cultural and historical values and the increasing control over activities and users of public spaces. Although these features have placed them at the centre of broad interest in cities, they have led to the impoverished physical, psychological, social and political roles of those spaces, while strongly emphasising their economic, symbolic and aesthetic roles. Consequently, these quasi-public spaces have become not only the means that increase consumption and the tools that mainly serve in the interests of developers, employers and employees of the service sector, the affluent groups of local inhabitants and tourists, but also the instruments that enhance the confusion about local traditions, identities and practices, that cause the fetishization of individual places, and that strengthen social stratification, social exclusion and gentrification. The public spaces with such features are highly questionable in terms of their 'publicness'.

The privatisation, commodification and commercialisation of public spaces, increasing control over them, and consequently the imbalance among their roles, as well as all other features outlined above, are certainly not a *fait accompli*. Indeed the dilemma of today's public spaces is the consequences of the neo-liberal policies, more generally capitalist culture. Complex capitalist relations under the hegemony of nationally rooted yet fundamentally transnational capital power have spatially and socially shaped, managed and controlled the public spaces of the post-industrial cities. In democratic societies, however, public spaces occupy an important ideological position. Open and accessible public spaces are seen places where "one should expect to encounter and hear from those who are different, whose social perspectives, experience and affiliations are different" (Mitchell, 1995). This understanding of public space reflects Habermas' discussion of the aspatial and normative public sphere in which the public sphere is best imagined as the suite of institutions and activities that mediate the relations between society and the state (Calhoun, 1992). This public sphere is the arena where 'the public' is organized and represented. As Habermas (1987, 1989, 1997) theorizes, in the public sphere, all manner of social formations should find access to the structures of power within a society. As part of the public sphere, according to many theorists, public space represents the material location where the social interactions and political activities of all members of 'the public' occur. Public spaces are the products of competing ideas about what constitutes that spaces – order and control or free, and perhaps dangerous, interaction – and who constitutes 'the public' (Mitchell, 1995). Also, in real public spaces, alternative movements may arise and contest issues of citizenship and democracy. Public spaces, therefore, cannot be genuinely public as long as they are planned, produced, and controlled under the hegemony of a specific group or groups. Real public spaces can only emerge if they are planned, designed, developed and used through the involvement of as many and variety of groups as possible.

As such, public spaces can be genuine provided that they perform their multiple functions in balance. Public spaces with strong emphasis on their certain roles cannot serve in the public interest. Designing and developing, or re-designing and re-developing the public spaces, the key issue is therefore to balance various roles of public spaces. Here, the challenge for local authorities, planners, architects and other regeneration initiatives is then to take into consideration everyday society's needs, and the wider civic functions of public spaces in cities, and not to allow the economic, symbolic and aesthetic effects to dominate. The creation of 'genuine public spaces', which can ensure the generation of vital and viable cities, can only be achieved if the cities' strategies to gain or increase a competitive advantage over others balance everyday society's needs and interests, as well as genuine civic functions of public spaces.

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ENDÜSTRİ-SONRASI KENTLERİN KAMUSAL MEKANLARI VE DEĞİŞEN ROLLERİ

Tarih boyunca kentlerin ayrılmaz parçalarından biri olan kamusal mekanlara son 25-30 yıl içinde ilgi hızla artmakta; özellikle endüstri-sonrası kentlerde çok çekici ve göz kamaştırıcı kamusal alanlar inşa edilmektedir. Bu gelişmeler, uzun bir dönem ihmal edilmiş olan kamusal mekanların iyileştirilmesi ve kentlerdeki rollerini sağlıklı yerine getirebilmeleri açısından olumlu olmakla beraber, kamusal alanların rollerinin değişmesine neden olmuştur. Bu makale, son 25-30 yılın kamusal mekan yazınına inceleyerek, endüstri-sonrası kentlerin kamusal mekanlarının değişen rollerini irdelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Makalede bu amaca yönelik olarak, kentlerde kamusal mekanların rolleri tanımlanmakta; 1980'lerin başından itibaren kamusal alanlara artan ilginin nedenleri incelenmekte; endüstri-sonrası kente özel kamusal mekan tipleri ve özellikleri tanımlanmakta; bütün bunlara bağlı olarak, endüstri-sonrası kentinin kamusal mekanlarının değişen rollerine yönelik çıkarımlar yapılmaktadır.

Kamusal mekanlar, yüzyıllar boyunca kentlerin ve toplumların yaşamında vazgeçilemez roller üstlenmişlerdir. Bu rolleri, fiziksel, ekolojik, psikolojik, toplumsal, siyasal, ekonomik, sembolik ve estetik başlıkları altında toplamak mümkündür.

1980'lerin başından itibaren kamusal mekanlar kentlerde özel ilgi odakları haline gelmeye başlamışlardır. Kamusal mekan yazını incelendiğinde, artan bu ilginin çok çeşitli nedenleri olduğu görülebilir: Geleneksel kente duyulan nostalji, sokak aktivitelerine artan ilgi, orta-gelirli genç kentlilerin yaşam tarzlarına bağlı açık alan talepleri, 'kültürlerin müzeleştirilmesi' eğilimi, kamusal alanların sürekli artan toplumsal çatışmaların uzlaşmasını, toplumsal ve mekansal bölünme ve parçalanmaların tekrar bütünleşmesini sağlayacak bir kentleşmenin yapı taşlarından biri olduğunun anlaşılması... Bütün bu iddialar, son dönemde kamusal mekanlara artan ilginin nedenleri arasında olmakla birlikte, bu ilgiyi harekete geçiren temel neden neo-liberal politikaların beraberinde gelen küreselleşme ve özelleştirme politikalarıdır. Bu politikalar öncülüğünde geliştirilen kent-pazarlama ve imge geliştirme kampanyaları ve kentsel canlandırma projeleriyle birlikte, 'dünya kenti' olma yarışında rekabet eden kentleri çekici kılacak 'göz kamaştırıcı', 'fevkalade', 'olağanüstü' olarak nitelendirilen, son derece iyi tasarlanmış, özenle korunan ve kullandırılan, görsel dekoruyla güçlü imgeler oluşturan ve belirli bir grubun ihtiyaçları ön planda tutularak geliştirilmiş kentsel mekanlar üretilmiştir. Söz konusu bu yeni kentsel çevreleri tamamlayan kamusal mekanlar, yatırımcılarının ekonomik faydasını artırmaya yönelik araçlar olarak kullanılmakla kalmamakta, aynı zamanda oluşturulan

çevrelere yeni sermaye, mal, emek ve yatırımcı, ve hatta ziyaretçi ve turist çekmeyi sağlayacak önemli unsurlar arasında görülmektedir. Hatta yerel yönetimler kamusal mekanları küresel piyasalarda rekabet kapasitelerini artırmada ve toplum önünde başarılarının meşruiyetini sağlayacakları araçlar olarak kullanmaya başlamışlardır.

Bütün bu nedenlere koşut olarak, endüstri-sonrası kentin hem merkezinde, hem de çeperlerinde yeni ancak 'kamusal' özelliklerinden ödün verilen yarı-kamusal mekanlar gelişmiştir. Özellikle ticaret işlevlerinin kent merkezinin dışına çıkması eğilimi sonucunda, kent çeperinde özel araçla ulaşılabilirliği yüksek alanlarda yer seçmiş, kendi içine dönük, yalnızca kendini referans alan alışveriş merkezleri, süpermarket zincirleri, perakende ticarete yönelik parklar kurulmuştur. Açık veya kapalı alışveriş merkezleri, çok katlı ofis binalarının içinde ve dışında geliştirilen meydanlar ve geleneksel sokak dokusuna seçenек olarak geliştirilen yeraltı ve yerüstü tüneller, endüstri-sonrası kent merkezlerinde ortaya çıkan yeni kamusal mekanlardır. Bunların yanı sıra, genelde eski sanayi bölgeleri ya da atıl sanayi alanlarının yeniden geliştirildiği mega-ticaret merkezleri, tarihi dokunun restorasyonu ve sağlıklılaştırılması ile yaratılan açık hava müzeleri ve festival pazarları, konut, iş ve teknoloji işlevlerinde özelleşmiş kapalı yerleşimlerin içindeki kamusal alanlar, endüstri-sonrası kentin yeni yarı-kamusal alanlarını oluşturmaktadır.

Kamusal alanların özelleştirilmesi, metalaştırılması ve ticarileştirilmesi, kamusal alan tasarımında estetik öğelerin, kültürel ve tarihi değerlerin ön plana çıkarılması ve kamusal mekanların üzerindeki kontrolün sürekli artırılması, endüstri-sonrası kentlerin yarı-kamusal mekanlarının ortak özellikleridir. Bu özellikler, kamusal mekanların fiziksel, ekolojik, psikolojik, toplumsal ve siyasal rollerinin gözardı edilmesine; buna karşılık, ekonomik, sembolik ve estetik rollerinin gereğinden fazla vurgulanmasına neden olmaktadır. Bütün bu gelişmeler, kamusal mekanların kent ve toplumların yaşamlarında üstlendikleri roller arasındaki dengeyi bozmakta; kamusal alanları tüketimi artıran, belirli gruplara hizmet eden, yerel kimlikler ve semboller hakkında karışıklık yaratan, mekanların fetişleştirilmesine neden olan ve hatta toplumsal tabakalaşma, dışlama ve seçkinleştirmeyi güçlendiren araçlar haline gelmesine neden olmakta, kamusal alanların 'kamusalılıkları' hakkında önemli sorular akla getirmektedir.

Endüstri-sonrası kentlerin kamusal mekanlarında görülen bu olumsuzluklar, neo-liberal politikaların, daha genel olarak kapitalizmin bir ürünüdür. Küresel sermayenin egemenliğindeki karmaşık kapitalist ilişkiler, günümüz kamusal mekanları, hem fiziki, hem de toplumsal olarak şekillendirmekte, yönetmekte ve kontrol etmekte; bütün bunların sonucunda da 'kamusal' özelliklerini yitirmiş alanlar ortaya çıkmaktadır. Halbuki, kamusal mekanların demokratik toplumlarda ideolojik bir konumu bulunmaktadır. Kentlerde farklılıkları bir araya getiren bu alanlar, Habermas'ın 'mekansal olmayan ve normatif kamusal alanı'nın maddesel yanısıradır. Kamusal alan, devlet ile toplum arasında aracılık yapan kurum ve faaliyetler bütünü, toplumun kendini örgütlediği ve temsil ettiği, toplumsal etkileşim ve siyasal mücadelelerin ortaya konulduğu bir alandır. Endüstri-sonrası kentlerin kamusal mekanlarının oluşumunda ortaya çıkan en büyük çelişki, toplumsal temsilin, etkileşimin ve siyasal mücadelenin yerini küresel sermayenin üstünlüğünün almış olmasıdır. Unutulmamalıdır ki kamusal mekanlar, belirli bir grubun (grupların) hakimiyetinde planlandığı, üretildiği ve kontrol edildiği sürece 'hakiki kamusal mekanlar' olamazlar. Kamusal mekanların planlama, tasarım,

retim ve kullanım srelerine toplumun ne kadar farklı kesiminden grup dahil olursa, bu mekanlar o kadar 'kamusal' olurlar.

Kamusal mekanlar, stlendikleri rolleri bir denge ierisinde yerine getirebildikleri srece gerek anlamda kamusal olabilirler. Belirli rolleri n plana ıkarılan, kamusal alanların kamu yararına hizmet etmesi de mmkn deęildir. Bu nedenle, toplumun gnlk ihtiyalarına yanıt veren ve kamusal mekanların geni kamusal ilevlerini gz nne alan kentsel evrelerin yaratılması, ve ekonomik, sembolik ve estetik amalı politikaların kamusal mekanların tasarımımda tek ynlendirici olmaması saęlanmalıdır. Unutulmamalıdır ki, yaanabilir kentler ancak 'hakiki kamusal mekanlar' ile varolabilirler. Bu da, endstri-sonrası kentlerin rekabeti avantajlarını gelitirme stratejileri ile, toplumların gndelik ihtiyaları ve kamusal mekanların zengin ilevleri arasında bir dengenin saęlanmasına baęlıdır.