SPATIAL IMPACTS OF GLOBALIZATION: CASE STUDY MASLAK İSTANBUL

A THESIS SUBMITTED TOTHE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF NATURAL AND APPLIED SCIENCES OF MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

BANU IŞIL IŞIK

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SCIENCE
IN
CITY PLANNING
IN
CITY AND REGIONAL PLANNING

DECEMBER 2010

Approval of the thesis:

SPATIAL IMPACTS OF GLOBALIZATION: CASE STUDY MASLAK İSTANBUL

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ABSTRACT

SPATIAL IMPACTS OF GLOBALIZATION: CASE STUDY MASLAK, İSTANBUL

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M.S.c, Department of City and Regional Planning, in City Planning Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Serap Kayasü

December 2010, 124 pages

Today, the world is in a continuous process of change, which is conceptualized as globalization. Although the concept is generally related to economy, it affects aspects of human life; i.e. social, cultural, political and so on. The impact of globalization on urban areas requires a special emphasis.

Economic development has played a significant role in restructuring the city. Particularly following the 1970s, with the changes in the international economic system, the world has started to transform into a global market and the capital has gained liquidity in this system. Along with the changing system after the industrial restructuring, capital accumulation in developed countries has started to accumulate towards new places. In order to attract capital, the roles of cities are reshaped in the globalization perspective. Globalization led to the formation of the new land uses in order to adapt to the competitive global system, which caused a transformation period of spatial structure. However, these competitive conditions led to unplanned spatial development, especially in the cities of developing countries.

This study aims to identify the spatial changes caused by changes in economic

conditions, under the impact of globalization and the development process of

Maslak, which has been taking place along with the globalization process, and

the role of planning system throughout this process in the global city of İstanbul

constitute.

Keywords: Globalization, planning system, global city, İstanbul, Maslak

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ÖZ

GLOBALLEŞMENİN MEKANSAL ETKİLERİ: MASLAK İSTANBUL ÖRNEĞİ

Işık, Banu Işıl

Yüksek Lisans, Şehir ve Bölge Planlama Bölümü, Şehir Planlama

Tez Yöneticisi: Doç. Dr. Serap Kayasü

Aralık 2010, 124 sayfa

Bugün dünya globalleşme olarak kavramsallaştırılan bir dönüşüm içerisindedir. Globalleşme genel olarak ekonomi ile bağdaşlaştırılıyor olmasına karşın, kavram insan hayatının sosyal, kültürel, politik tüm yönlerini etkilemektedir.

Ekonomik gelişmeler kentlerin değişiminde önemli rol oynamıştır. 1970lerden sonra ekonomideki değişikliklerle Dünya bir global pazar haline dönüşmeye başlamış ve sermaye akışkanlık kazanmıştır. Sanayi devrimi ile birlikte gelişmiş ülkelerde yığılan sermaye, akışkan hale gelmiş ve yeni mekan arayışı içerisine girmiştir. Akışkan olan sermayeyi kendi bölgelerine çekmek isteyen şehirlerin rolleri globalleşme bakış açısıyla yeniden şekillenmiştir.

Bu değişim yeni kentsel kullanımlara neden olurken, mekansal değişimi de beraberinde getirmiştir. Ancak küresel sermayenin akışkanlığı özellikle gelişen ülkelerde kentleri plansızlaşmaya itmektedir.

Bu çalışmanın amacı, global kent İstanbul'da, değişen mekansal kullanımların ürettiği Maslak'ın değişimi ve gelişimini tanımlarken, planlama sistemi bu dönüşümde nasıl bir rol oynadığını ortaya koymaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Globalleşme, kent mekanı, yarışma, planlama sistemi, Istanbul, Maslak

TO MY FAMILY

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my supervisor Assoc. Prof. Dr. Serap Kayasü for her advice, guidance, encouragements and endless patience throughout the research,

I also wish to thank to the members of Examining Committee, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Nil Uzun, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Özlem Güzey, Asst. Prof. Dr. Müge Akkar Ercan and Asst. Prof. Dr. Aydan Büyükgöçmen Sat for their significant critiques and contributions.

My special thanks go to my mother Ülkü Işık and my father Nevzat Işık, my family, who always supported me with appreciation throughout my life with their continuous care and kindness. I offer my deepest love to you. Also I want to thank to my sister Gizem Işık for being by my side at every stage of the study. Without the insight they have provided me it would be impossible for me to complete this study.

Very special thanks go to my friends Gökçen SİNANGİL, Cevat Üçüncüoğlu, Çiğdem Özonat, Gökçen Gökyer, Hülya Yorulmaz and Elif Can Yüce for their technical support. Even though we have just known each other, they spent their time for me and my study. Without their presence and moral support it would be hard for me to overcome such a difficult process.

Lastly, I want to thank to my Editor, Ayşem Karadağ Öktür, to allocate her time to editing my english.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND DEFINITION OF THE PROBLEM

Economic changes throughout the globalization process have led to significant changes a urban patterns. As a result of the changes urban spaces are formed through a changing process, which had developed in an unplanned way. The aim of the study is to study the case of Maslak İstanbul in this context.

The economic growth period following the Second World War was hampered along with the 1970s and the subsequent economic crises. To overcome these crises developed countries initiated an economic restructuring process. Financial capital activities became more significant than ever for the competitiveness of the city and spatial expression of this fact was the emergence of new office building areas along with new land uses, including a range of service sectors. Another important changes area of concern included the changes in communication and informatics. With the ever increasing opportunity of communication mobility of the capital flows has moved into the global arena. Change in Both domains, production and communication changes, lead to a new economic and social system. Under these circumstances the concept of "city" has developed a new content.

Since globalization runs all over the sphere, this process affected not only the cities of developed countries but also the cities of developing countries. That is many cities like Hong Kong, Singapore, Shanghai, Beijing and many others of the developing countries have become important centers of the global economy, similar to many other western cities like London, New York, Paris, Los Angeles.

Dubai, the business capital of the United Arab Emirates has emerged as a regional centre in the world global economy. Similar to Dubai, İstanbul has the potential to become a central point of the global network. It has appropriate commercial and cultural connections to global flows. It has developed quickly, adapting to the network by becoming a key city from local flows to national flows reaching the global networks.

The futures of the cities significantly were affected by global forces and network of cities. The Figure 1 indicated (Druder et al, 2008) the network of cities in 2008. London and New York have the highest global network capacities in the world. However, the situation cannot be evaluated as being static. While Tokyo, at the top of the hierarchy, is losing its leading position, Hong Kong, Shanghai and Singapore are entering a new period by becoming global cities. Also, Istanbul and Dubai have high global network connectivity at the international scale, and moreover Istanbul has passed Dubai. This argument never shows that Istanbul passed Dubai in global range; but Istanbul has an increasing tendency during last ten years.

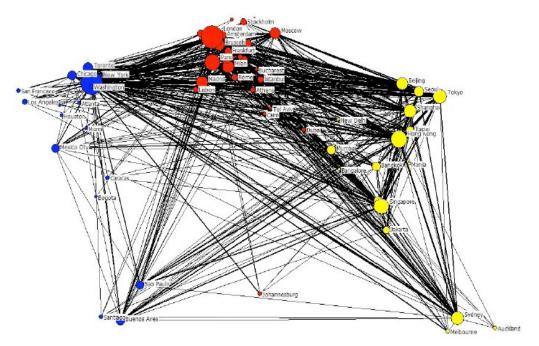


Figure 1 Global Connections between global cities

Source : Druder et al, Pathways Of Change: Shifting Connectivities In The World City Network, 2008

Since the 1970s, cities have experienced a process of spatial restructuring, accompanied by globalization, technological transformation and economic change all over the world. Throughout history, the economy has played a significant role in determining the structure of the city. The cities are in a transformation period in terms of their economic and spatial structure to adapt to the competitive global system. Today's cities must compete with one another to attract capital. To achieve this, many local authorities offer attractive financial incentives in addition to essential practical ones, such as new infrastructure and urban services, communications systems, skyscrapers and new housing systems. The structure of the world cities has generated new spatial forms.

The idea of "global Istanbul" came into agenda in the early 1980s. With this objective, local authorities wanted to transform Istanbul into an international trade, finance and culture center in Europe and the Middle East. In order to accomplish this idea, urban pattern needed to be restructured accordingly, like wide motorways, skyscrapers, shopping malls which are perceived as nations of new urban pattern. In order to ease the construction period, central government transferred some of their authority to local government, regarding plans and financial investments. Through this idea central government placed on increased emphasis the local municipalities' authorities on plans and financial resources of Istanbul.

In spite of the plan of the 1980, the environmental plan of Istanbul, the government took a decision to build the World Trade Center in the Büyükdere-Maslak area mainly as a result of considerable pressure by interest groups. Following this decision huge business centers began to select locations in this area. First entrepreneurs were Sabancı Holding, İşbankası, The Bank of Yapı Kredi, The Bank of Garanti and Alarko holding.

The master plan of Istanbul, which was made in 1995, indicated that the District of Büyükdere-Maslak should be frozen as it would led to spread of the

city into north, any permission for any spatial structure should not be given that would affect the silhouette in a negative way.

In spite of these plan decisions, Maslak is still growing in an unplanned manner and cannot be stopped.

1.1. Problem, Aim and Object of Study

Today, urban areas are reshaped by the effects of economic changes and globalization. In order to adapt to these changing conditions, cities are restructured by new land uses of this system. The global cities managed these changes with regulations with the help of plans, where as Maslak went through this period with demands of the private sector. This study aims to identify the pressure of private sector and the lack of planning throughout this transformation period in Maslak, İstanbul that has led to an unplanned development process.

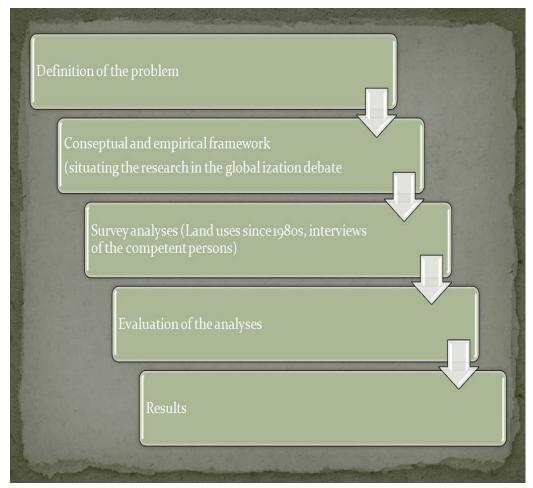
The Rationale of Location Selection

Firstly; the greatest impact of globalization has been felt in the urban centers of developed nations and the larger cities of developing countries (Cohen, 1981: 303). Secondly; In terms of economic growth and socio-cultural atmosphere, Istanbul is the primary city and center of finance, trade and cultural activities. Thirdly; International companies mostly selecting sites in Istanbul and this selection leads to changes in urban pattern and fourthly; Historical perspective of Istanbul creates the uniqueness of the city and it also enhances the importance of the city at the global level.

The objectives of this study are to identify the globalization and its impacts on cities, analyze the results of globalization on urban pattern and the impacts of globalization in the Maslak case

1.2. Methods of the study

Table 1 Methodology of Study



The aim of the study is to investigate how the cities are affected by globalization during recent decades and identify its broad implications for İstanbul during the 1980s. The approach taken in the study was both qualitative and quantitative.

Literature was extensively explored to form a base to the study. To this end, various studies and articles, accessed through libraries and internet, were studied. The literature survey conducted shed light on issues related to globalization, economic development and spatial reconfigurations of cities and city regions.

Determining the case study area is highly critical decision. Maslak is chosen for this study because this district is a financial business district of İstanbul. The assumptions at the global and urban level were also analyzed. Besides these, observations were carried out in the cases of Maslak, İstanbul and specialists were interviewed about the particular case study area, i.e. Specialist here refers to the planners who work for municipalities and researchers who focused their studies on this area.

To collect the primary and current data about case area, Sariyer, Besiktas, Şişli and İstanbul Metropolitan Municipalities were visited and city planners who worked on Maslak were interviewed. In this sense, in depth interviews were conducted and evaluated throughout the case study. To define how the case area has improved, plans and data related to land uses and aerial photos were evaluated since 1980. In addition in order to observe the case study area, site research has been conducted on a regular basis.

The newspapers and minutes of municipality decisions about the case area in the archive were thoroughly scanned.

In order to draw healthy conclusions on spatial analyses, Geographic Information System (GIS) is used to analyze, display and evaluate the case study area. Analysis maps are generated with GIS programme. In addition, to better identify the case study area, Berlin (Potsdamer Platz) and Paris (La Defensé) photos were taken.

Globalization has different spatial impacts on developed and developing countries. While this process is more organized in developed countries, this impact is not directly observed in developing countries. To see different impacts of the globalization in developed and developing countries, selected samples have been evaluated in the study.

1.3. Design of Study

Chapter 2 defines the concept of globalization and its impacts on cities. The evolution of cities and history of planning is explained in order to show how the planners' role has changed since the 19th century till the present day.

Furthermore, Chapter 2 explains Global city/world city characteristics and summarizes debates in the literature on the concept of global city. Then, spatial impacts of globalization in developed and developing countries are explained through examples. In other words, how the cities have been affected by globalization is explained in this part.

Chapter 3 discusses the position of Istanbul in the global system. This chapter discusses the changes in the city's global ranking over ten years. The spatial, economic and social configuration of Istanbul with respect to the global economic transformations and structure of landscape is explained.

Chapter 4 defines the evolution of Maslak. To do this, land uses and master plans of 1980s are evaluated. This part also introduces the current situation of Maslak, Istanbul.

Chapter 5 concludes the whole discussion. It explains to what extent Maslak, a financial district in Istanbul, is planned or unplanned.

CHAPTER 2

GLOBALIZATION AND THE CITY

Globalization shapes the city in economic, social and spatial way. This chapter defines the globalization and its impacts on cities.

2.1. The Concept of Globalization

Globalization literally refers to the act of transforming local and regional phenomena into global ones. Thus, it can be described as a process by which people of the world are unified into a single society.

The term "globalization" has been used by economists since the 1980s although it had been used in social sciences much earlier, as early as 1960s. In other words, globalization is not a new phenomenon. It began in the late nineteenth century; the earliest written theoretical concepts of globalization were penned by an American entrepreneur-turned-minister Charles Taze Russell, who coined the term 'corporate giants' in 1897. Its spread slowed down during the period from the start of the First World War until the third quarter of the twentieth century and its concepts did not become popular until the latter half of the 1980s and 1990s. (http://www.pastorrussell.com/volumes/V4/Study 07.html)

Globalization has influenced as many areas as culture, economy and politics. It is a very general phenomenon with social, cultural and political dimensions and is linked to the spread of neo-liberalism. Globalization has been defined as the accelerated circulation of people, commodities, capital, identities, and images through global space, as well as the increasing mobility of ideologies,

economic principles, policies, and lifestyles (Brenner, 1999).

Countries have experienced global integration in different ways, or they paid different efforts to be part of global economic networks. After the Second World War, the mobility of capital gained momentum; starting in the early 1950s, institutional and political structures were deregulated which captures mobile capital increasingly. Furthermore, new forms of institutional regulation have been created or the existing ones have been abolished in order to channel the flows of capital in each country. Swyngedouw (1989) characterizes this process as 'increasingly footloose and mobile capital seeking out profitable locations' and Sassen (1994) as 'hyperactivity of capital'.

One of the most important changes to take place in the world economy over the last decade has been a dramatic increase in the mobility of capital across the globe. Globalization is associated with the hyper transferability of capital crossing national boundaries. Mobile capital takes many different forms such as footloose high tech industries, employment, institutions, events conventions and spectacles, and tourism (Short et al, 1999).

To accelerate their growth, these cities try to attract a qualified labor force, innovative firms, more visitors, global organizations and the most importantly, foreign investment. Cities attempt to insert all these outer resources into their context to improve their competition power.

2.1. Globalization in Literature

Globalization is one of the central concepts defining the fortunes of cities (Newman, 2005). A number of authors have analyzed the related literature exploring the usage of the term. Literature search revealed many different opinions about the globalization and its impact.

The sociologist, Anthony Giddens, writes about the globalization process. According to Giddens (1990), globalization is "the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such way that local happenings

are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa", thereby changing all aspects of our everyday life.

Certain changes in the world bring up the globalization issue. One of the most important changes is the development in communication and informatics. The improvement of telecommunications and computer technology has enabled a faster and more extensive transfer of information and knowledge (Newman, 2005). The fact that information technologies play an important role in accelerating the globalization process is evident. Especially, the rising of information technologies accelerated in the 1970s, and the crisis of mass production and consumption have accompanied serious transformations on the structure of production.

According to Castells (1996), "functions and processes in the information age are increasingly organized around networks. Networks constitute the new social morphology of our societies, and the diffusion of networking logic substantially modifies the operation and outcomes in the process of production, experience, power and culture". Manuel Castells contributes to the definitions of globalization; he defines the term as the integration process of every individual and group around the earth into a gigantic network mediated through information infrastructure. He refers to this complex web as the network society.

Held et al (1999) define globalization as the "widening, deepening and speeding up of worldwide connectedness in all aspects of contemporary social life." The aspects of social life seem to have been affected by globalization, which includes not only economic restructuring but also "social polarization", international crime, dominant cultures, patterns of international migration and patterns of governance. While some care needs to be taken with an interpretation of globalization as the "theory of everything", there are a number of major changes taking place that can be identified under the above definition and are worthy of analysis and debate. (Newman, 2005).

In his book, "Planning World Cities", Newman (2005) regards "globalization as a complex system of different dimensions rather than as a single process. Globalization, thus, is not seen as a monolithic process. Once this has been accepted, then it opens up the possibility that contradictions may exist within this array of more complex forces. Thus, we view globalization as multifaceted and uneven as to economic, social and cultural processes, which need to be evaluated separately and in the different local and historical circumstances in which they occur". In the view of globalization as a complex of different processes to be separately identified and analyzed, the issue of interaction across spatial scales is one dimension needing examination. It is especially important to trace the linkages between global forces, national planning systems and city-level planning.

2.2. Extents of Globalization

It is observed that globalization movements have been accelerating in the past 20 years. It is expressed that globalization is a tri axial phenomenon that has economic, political and cultural means. Another extent of globalization is spatial. The spatial extents of globalization are presented as the quartus axial in this study.

2.2.1. Economic Extent of Globalization

The economic extent of globalization is at the forefront in comparison to other dimensions. Economic globalization can be defined as the internationalization of trade, spreading of capital on a global scale and turning of world into a single market. The development of market economy, acceleration of a worldwide economic organization, spreading of free trade and widening activities of multinational companies were made available in concurrence with economic globalization (Aktel, 2003).

Global exportation which was 315 million USD in 1970 increased to 3447 billion USD in 1990 and 5415 billion USD in 1998 (OECD, 1999). This is also

an evidence to the fact that trading was internationalized. The biggest impact of globalization was on the capital. Capital accumulated owing to the fact that the concept of nation state was hollowed out, enabling the movement of capital. In this respect, capital gained "mobility".

An important development was observed in foreign investments parallel to mobilization of capital. Foreign capital entrance has increased drastically in developing countries since 1980.

2.2.2. Politic extent of Globalization

The effects of local government have increased in the last decades. Cities came to the forefront as opposed to nations more than ever. While the impacts of governments on city were going down, the activities of local governments were being transformed dating from 1980. While the city plans were prepared by offices of central planning before 1980, they started to be prepared by local governments after this period. The fact that some public services is operated from the centre by local governments, have contributed to the development process. Indeed, globalization has had accelerating impact on urbanization.

2.2.3. Cultural extent of globalization

The whole world is observed to have been affected by the consumption culture, and other cultures are evanishing against this dominant culture. Consumption culture has affected each and every area of life from apparels to eating habits.

This monotype culture arising with globalization has caused the traditional life style to fade out. It has also obstructed the traditional life style from being transferred to new generations. It is also observed that language, which is the key transmitter of culture, has been changing rapidly. The development of computer technologies and communication has accelerated the borrowing of words with foreign origin.

2.2.4. Spatial extent of globalization

The spatial impacts of globalization began with the Decentralization. Decentralization projects began in the beginning of 1980s. In this term, (it will be indicated below) industrial areas led to serious problems in the city such as health problems and slum districts. In order to solve these problems, local municipalities took a decision which required the industrial areas to be moved out of the city. This led the service sector more important in the city centre. Consequently, the new land uses that came along with globalization were located in the vacated areas. After the 1980s the term "financial centre" was used for the city. Financial activities became more significant than ever for the economic power and competitiveness of the city; therefore; spatial expression of this fact was the emergence of new office building areas along with new land uses including a range of service sectors.

The cities were going through a transformation period, wherein their economic and spatial structures were adapting themselves to the competitive global system. Many local authorities offered attractive financial incentives in addition to essential practical ones, such as new infrastructure and urban services, communications systems, skyscrapers, and new housing systems. The structure of the world cities has generated new spatial forms. This may have worked with developed countries, but obviously the urban pattern lost its specialty, while capital flows renders spaces in developing countries with the new land uses. Friedman (1986) called this heterogeneity "intersecting scape".



Figure 2 San Francisco Todd Smith / © iStockphoto.com

This picture shows the traditional parts and the global parts of San Francisco. Like San Francisco, many other cities have the same problem. The parts of the city which are made by global economy have their own characteristics. However, these parts of the cities lose its uniqueness and became the same like many other countries which affected by globalization.

2.3. Globalization, City and the Planning System

For centuries, the world economy has shaped the life of cities (Sassen, 1991). That is, even if globalization is associated with economy, this also affects the city at whole. The evolution of the city is the key element to understanding how globalization is related with the city. To understand how cities are developed, another important issue was the planning system and changing planning of the cities.

In this part, the evolution of cities, planning and the planners' role are explained. The first part will explain the evolution of the cities, and the second part will explain how the system of planning has evolved and the planners'

role has changed since the Industrial Revolution. In this part, the evolution of the city and the relation between globalization and the city is explained.

2.3.1. The Evolution of the City

An urban area is described as a heavily-populated centre where non-agricultural activities become intense and where the activities of distribution, inspection and production are carried out in companies. In this sense, urban areas are likened to agoras with respect to their functions in ancient times.

The urban is an environment based on interchanges of different social groups and specialties. Therefore, evolution of urban also commenced when products and distribution of works in society became diversified. That agora was affected in medieval age of European when the castle walls were removed and that the efficiency of capitalism commenced were like the elements of globalism that have occurred recently.

According to the common opinion, the foundations of urban structures in modern sense were laid in Mediterranean – Mesopotamia Basin. These formations are traced back to B.C. 3500 – 4000. They occurred on account of the fact that needs had arisen first in geographical areas then in economic, social and cultural areas. Mesopotamia, The South of America, Nile and Indus Valleys are the places where these formations were initially seen.

In this period, the dominant sector was agriculture and cities were governed by landowners. The basic structures forming the city centre served religious, administrative and commercial functions. (Arslanoğlu, 1998). Medieval metropolises were isolated; the fact that cities were surrounded by walls is a clear evidence of it.

Cities entered a new formation process with the removal of Medieval Age city walls, which were rescued from being isolated. Innercities communication were condensed together with the removal of walls, and this boosted intercity trading relations. Thus, the importance of trading increased on a large scale; merchants began to supersede landowners, who were dominant in the cities.

The name of this newly emerging power is "Capitalism". Capitalism changed all power balances in the XVII century. Merchants, capital holders and landowners who were subservient to them started to play effective roles in the urban growth from that time on.

Industrial cities, different from medieval metropolises, have such an urban pattern that industrial and trading activities are condensed. Henceforward, it is observed that cities were specialized and that new industrial and trade factors replaced space patterns, which were comprised by religious and administrative structures. In this period of experimented technological development, urban space showed greater growth than the past, and its structure got more complex. The roads were expanded and new buildings were constructed (Arslanoğlu, 1998). This also can be accepted as a clear indicator of the impact of capitalism on cities.

2.3.2. The Change of Planning System and Planners' Role

Although the idea of planning seems to have emerged with passing to the settled life, the argument for city planning came with the Industrial Revolution. Along with the cities, land uses became more complicated, and the problems within the cities became more complex. Spatial planning was not developed enough to solve these problems. Thus, city planning in real terms started with the Industrial Revolution.

Cities in the 19th Century

Rate of migration from rural to urban areas increased with the Industrial Revolution. Thus, the population of cities grew rapidly. Because the government and the local government were not prepared for these circumstances, rapid population increase became a serious residential, environmental, transformational and infrastructural problem in the city (Ersoy, 2007)

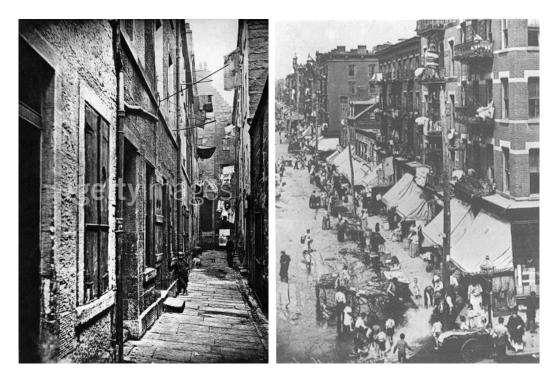


Figure 3 Slum Districts in London and New York in the Late of 19th Century

In many cities, especially London, slum districts emerged. Slum districts were dark, dirty and damp areas with narrow streets. The buildings in the district were disjointed, had no backyard and were too small for a family to live in. Because of the narrow streets, sunlight hardly reached the buildings and streets. Thus, these unhealthy areas led to terrible illnesses such as cholera, typhoid and so on.

Industrial entrepreneurs fought against these problems in order to continue production, but their attempts were geared toward saving their personnel. This did not help solve the general problem. In the beginning of the 20th century, two movements were emerged to solve these problems.

The Periods of 1900-1940

After the Industrial Revolution, industrial areas intensified around city centre. It was the the employers working in the industry sector who were living in slums, not the entrepreneurs. To solve the problem of slums, the movement of "city beautiful" and "garden city" was embarked on.

The City Beautiful Movement emerged in America. According to Daniel Burnham (1846-1912), when the public places were renewed, big monuments and temporary buildings were to be built in the city centre, for it would maintain the spiritual atmosphere of the city.

This movement was planned to provide improved social areas (public spaces) and governmental activities with temporal buildings and big monuments in order to improve the poor city atmosphere.

This plan was implemented in 1902. New buildings were built according to this plan. US Capitol, the White house and the Washington monuments are some of these buildings. All were governmental structures.



Figure 4 City Beautiful Movement

The city beautiful movement was focused on the social change of laborers; however this movement did not helped to solve the slum problem.

The Garden City Movement was founded by Ebenezer Howard. It was a spatial expression of a new social system (Ersoy, 2007). This movement aimed to do the following;

- Stop the urban migration and return migrants to rural areas.
- Solve the urban health problems.

According to garden city movement,

- · the growth of the city must be under control,
- the cities must have a green belt
- the public interest must be protected.

Ebenezer Howard (1850-1928) suggested that a social and cultural infrastructure must be established in the city and that the residential and commercial building must work in collaboration. The city must have low density, clean and bright areas.

Many cities were influenced by this movement. Traces of this movement were observed in the city environs rather than in the city centers. This movement, however, could not solve the whole problem. Although these movements drew attention to spatial and social problems, they were still insufficient in solving the whole problem. That is, spatial intervention did not help solve the general problems.

Public interest shown to these projects is another important issue for the cities. The plan should be thought to all city dwellers, not just one segment. The social, economic and spatial problems in the city should be dealt with together. This idea brought about the Comprehensive Planning in the middle of the 20th century.

A plan should not be prepared for a particular class but for all the people living in a city.

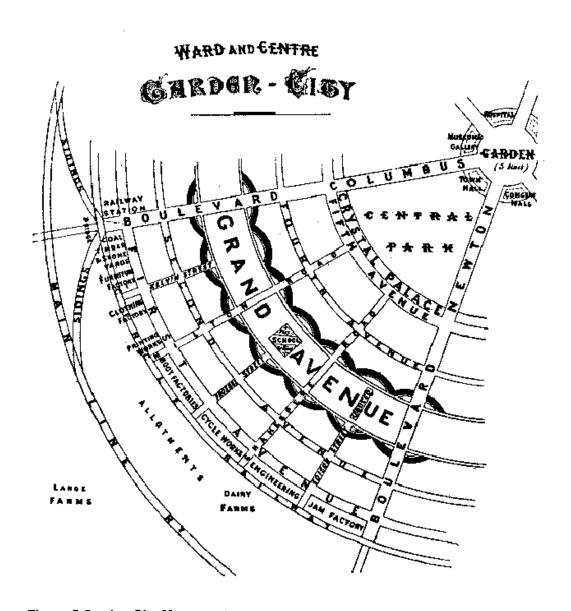


Figure 5 Garden City Movement

Source: (Howard, 1902)

The Period of Decentralization (1940-1960)

After the Second World War, the city needed "Renewable plans" to erase the memories of war. Social movement was rising and rehabilitation projects emerged. In the meantime, public interest became an important issue. Also more investments were made in the public sector and comprehensive planning became the main city planning method.

Following The World War 2, cities were reconstructed. In order to wipe out the memories of war, urban renewal strategies were used. The inner parts of the city were rebuilt, and the infrastructural problems were rehabilitated. Industrial areas were decentralized to rebuild the inner city.

Slum district was still a problem for city. In accordance with the 1949 housing law (act), public housing programs were initiated. The aim of these programs was to overcome the problem of urban disorganizations (e.g. to displace the slum districts).

The main elements of the housing act (law) included:

providing federal financing for slum clearance programs associated with urban renewal projects in American cities

- increasing authorization for the Federal Housing Administration (FHA)
 mortgage insurance
- extending federal money to build more than 800,000 public housing units and permitting the FHA to provide financing support for rural homeowners

Along with the industrial decentralization and slum district displacement, vacated land was used for commercial, high rent residential and institutional purposes. Thus, the first step was taken to globalization.

Planning approach of this term was Comprehensive planning. The basis of comprehensive planning was formed in the beginning of 1900s. Nevertheless, a limited number of comprehensive plans were implemented. In the late 1940s, the Cleveland plan was implemented. The plan contained not only decisions concerning land use, transformation scheme and public place interventions, but also employment, economic and social developments.

According to Gercenk's (2001) 1

"The comprehensive plan (also often referred to as the "master plan" or "general plan") is a practical vision of the future – capable of shifts in detail and arrangement over time as available resources and public preferences change. Note the juxtaposition of the words "practical" and "vision" in the

preceding sentence. The comprehensive plan is practical in that it lays out a series of objectives that the community realistically intends to accomplish over the coming years. The plan also reflects vision in that it encapsulates the community's goals and aspirations for its future."

A comprehensive plan is one that is interdisciplinary; it includes the economic, social and political aims. Throughout comprehensive planning, planners had the arbiter role on cities. Planners held the leading position of every stage which relates the city. Therefore, the planners must possess specific skills and have adequate management tools.

Basic characteristics of the comprehensive planning are;

- Planners provide social and economic information
- All the alternatives and tools are evaluated before
- Aims and objectives are predetermined
- The one which is most compatible with the predicted aim is selected.
- Comprehensive plans have long time period.

Comprehensive plan was too complex to understand every part of the city and solve the problems. Either was this process easy. It takes time to understand the whole stages of the city. Charles Lindblom (1917) criticized the comprehensive planning maintaining that;

- Rational approach assumes time and money limited
- Comprehensive planning requires the public Officers to approach the problems from all angles. But public agencies have few altering functions.
- Comprehensive planning has a high degree of clarity with calculations.
 But he says this level of clarification can be only in a small scale. Such detailed analysis cannot be made in the case of complex societies.

Incremental planning has emerged as a response to comprehensive planning. The characteristics of incrementalism are as follows:

Analyses are limited to a few familiar policy alternatives.

- Ends are adjusted in the light of the potentially available policies, rather than planning in abstract terms.
- Problems to overcome are a greater concern than positive goals to be achieved.
- A sequence of trials, errors and revised trials are conducted.
- Only some of the possible consequences of an alternative are explained.
- Many participants work analytically in policy making

Deindustrialization Process (1960-1980)

Years between 1960 and 1980 are a time of conservation projects and deindustrialization. Because of the rebuilding process of cities, historical areas shrank or lose their significance. New residential and commercial structures were seen in the inner city. In order to protect the historical fabric, UNESCO and ICOMOS developed "The World Cultural Heritage Program" in 1972.

The decentralization of industries from centre to peripheral areas was an opportunity to rebuild the inner city. With the deindustrialization process, cities became ready to globalization.

The 1973 global oil crisis led to loss of production. In their book "The Economy in Question" Massey and Allan (1988) explained this situation: "In 1970s, employment growth in industries was shifting from manufacturing to services, from manual to non manual workers."

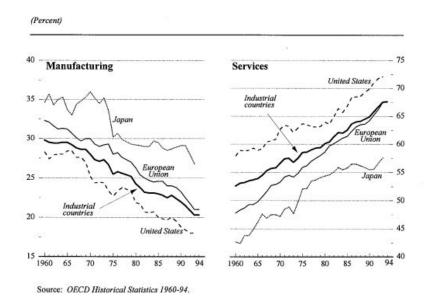


Figure 6 Employment by Sector as the Share of Total Civillian Employment

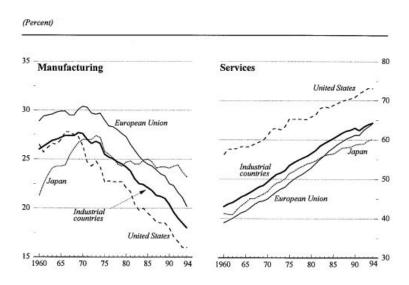


Figure 7 Sectors as the share of GDP at current Prices

The figures point at the loss of employers and share of GDP of manufacturing sectors. Manufacturing employment has declined continuously since the beginning of the 1970s especially in developed countries. The figure shows the most industrial countries (Japan, The United States, European Union countries).

Figures also draw attention to the economic shift from industry to service sector in the beginning of 1970s, which also influences the urban area. This situation led to the deindustrialization of cities. The spatial pattern was

redeveloped along with command and control functions, financial establishments and producer service firms' clustering in and around the core of the metropolitan area.

Globalization and the City (After 1980s)

1980s' is referred to as the period of globalization, when the economic development of cities became more important. In the developed countries, industrial areas were moved out of the city (i.e. deindustrialization). The new land uses that came along with globalization were located in the areas where industrial structures were vacated.

In the globalization process, new spaces were added to urban pattern which changed with the deindustrialization process. This also had an impact on urban hierarchy. Actual urban centres are comprised of spaces wherein financial services such as exchanges, banks and insurance companies are condensed. It was no more necessary for the city activities to coexist. Accordingly, shape of cities changed from concentrical to polycentric in parallel to the technological developments.

Peter Hall (1966) explained the situation in his following words:

"The growth of foreign trade and investment, the rise of transnational corporations, and the importance of international financial markets has favored well-positioned global centers at the expense of others. World cities emerged as international centers of political power, finance, insurance, trade, industry, transportation, communications, and cultural and educational institutions"

The globalization trend brought about certain changes in the world. The first change took place following the Second World War; the economic growth stopped in 1970s, and it led to economic crisis. To overcome this crisis, developed countries resorted to the production and reconstructing process. After the 1980s, the term "financial centre" was used for the city ². Financial activities became an important issue for the economic power and

competitiveness of the city; thus new areas for office building were placed in the city and created in the new land uses (new office buildings, administration and law services, banks and so on). Another important change was the improvement achieved in communication and informatics. Ever increasing communication opportunities made the capital flow into global flat.

Both production and communication changes lead to new economic and sociological system. Another important feature of globalization process is the fact that national boundaries are losing their significance and the control of state on economy is diminishing. Global capital owners are making decisions on whereabouts of investments and when to invest.

When flexibility and mobility of capital is the case, urban areas are trying to take their shares of, that is get the advantage of, capital movement by means of publicity campaigns. Urban can easily undertake such a commitment on condition that they have clearly defined administration structures (Aksoy a, 1996). It is widely accepted that urban areas can be liberated by way of integration with global economy and compete to take a greater share of capital and access to global marketplaces (Aksoy, 1996). In this sense, transformations on the local or urban levels consisted of economic reflection on global level in the reorganization process. In other words, if the city will work, it is observed that future transformations on the city level are associated with transformations on the world scale, which is much wider.

An examination of the impact of globalization on labour market reveals that capital has the power to directly comment on choosing all economic activities. Organizing economic activities on the global level has removed traditional geographical restrictions. Technological developments also have a direct relation with removing geographical restrictions. Technological developments and liberalisation of capital have made space mobile.

Advantages brought by space and economy are given priority in site selection for investment. Capitalism necessarily creates city in accordance with its needs and images in order to perform production and reproduce labour itself.

Key factors which gave shape to economic geography are comparative advantages, scale economies and negative economies (such as traffic density, weather pollution) and transportation expenses. These four key factors are determinants of where financial features will be shaped, dispersed or intensified.

Although geographical restrictions have been removed with developed technology, it is observed that developed countries are keeping hold of the market. Hence, while the developed countries holding the economic power are even further developing, other countries are used for only source and employment mobilization. That is, in site selection, the developed city is given priority. Indeed, if a city is selected to be the place for global capital, it is probably because it accommodates qualified and cheap labour.

If a city has the power of competition, not only how long the city preserves its resources, but also how the city is connected with the economic global system is important. Inherent differences between cities determine the level of their achievements in these new circumstances. Some of the regions and cities growing faster than the others have a larger economic portion both in regionally and globally.

The competition between the cities has increased around the world over these mobile investments in the past decade. It has been acutely intensified by the growth of multinational enterprises which have wide ranges of geographical perspectives. When considering new investments, the city government has an essential contact role between the government and the foreign/local enterprisers in terms of promoting and marketing of new worldwide economic sectors such as financial and producer services. Moreover, competitions held between international institutions generate considerable economic multiplier effect in the place of the competition (e.g. major sporting events, cultural festivals and trade fairs). These activities enhance not only the economic mobility but also the liveliness of the city.

In addition to increased competition between cities on a global level, spatial restructuring in urban areas is an outcome of economic globalization (Zukin, 1992). The emergence of new financial districts and luxurious residential areas has been a consequence of the rapid rise of financial and producer services and the massive influx of mobile capital in large metropolises within developed economies. The expansion of "world city functions" has been the major source of urban restructuring in world cities like London, Tokyo, and New York, where many corporate headquarters, bank head offices and financial firms are located. To accelerate their growing, these cities are trying to attract qualified labor force, innovative firms, visitors, global organizations and most importantly, foreign investment. Cities aim at inserting all these outer resources into their context and boosting their competition power.

Change in the Planners' Role since 19th Century

This part gives an overview of the planners' positions that have changed by time. City planning process began in the late 19th century. In these years, plans of cities were solely spatial. Social and economic decisions were not take in plans. Furthermore, urban planners made the functional designation of physical areas within the city as commercial or industrial or housing. Planners shaped the environment by this approach rather than with respect to entrepreneurial activities (Fainstein, 1991).

In 1950s planners gained a greater role in plans. Planners not only made spatial decision in cities, but considered economic growth and social rehabilitation. This change has started with comprehensive planning. Also the recognition of the role of planners as managers of the city debates started as a central concern with comprehensive plan.

In that time, the urban question was basically regarded as a management problem. Planners were thought as the provider of specific skills and as having the adequate tools to attain urban developments and to diminish the effects of imperfection in the urban structure. Later on, this orientation was reemphasized by the advent of the new urban planner, who was more of a crisis manager (Albrechts, 1991).

Table 2 Changing Role of the Planners

YEARS	MOVEMENTS	ROLE OF PUBLIC-PRIVATE SECTOR	ROLE OF PLANNERS	
1900-1940	Industralization	Public sector had an important role on plans, private sectors is only entrepreneur	The architects were making decision on cities. This led to just spatial change	
1940-1960	Decentralization	Public sector had an important role on plans, private sectors is only entrepreneur	Managers of the cities inland use, economic and social growth	
1960-1980	Deindustralization	The role of private sector is increased. Public sector has limited source, but stil managing the plans	Lost of effestiveness on cities	
1980 -	Globalization	The plan is made for economic benefits and for competitiveness	Diminishing role of planners	

Source: Development by author

The 1980s, economic development became the main political aim and this had powerful implications for the attitude of planners and their tasks. Urban planners switched their focus from regulating to promoting development. They were now engaged primarily with negotiations about, rather than designation of, land use (Fainstein, 1991). Planners were forced to come up with new approaches to city problems and development efforts. The traditional, hierarchical systems of urban management cannot meet the needs of cities today and in the future (UNDP).

After 1980s, planners lost the power of making decisions on city plans, for economic forces managed the plans.

2.4. World/global city characteristics

The world-city literature began to form following the economic downturn in the 1970s and the emergence of a globalized economic system, when the traditional pattern of separated national urban systems was made obsolete for a relevant analysis of inter-city relationships. Up to now, there has been little agreement among academicians to define what a world city is. Most scholars emphasize the internal characteristics (or attributes) of the cities such as

trans-national corporate (TNC) headquarters, banking and financial institutions, producers services, flows or a combination of all those attributes. However, hypothesis and theories of John Friedman and Saskia Sassen played a major role in understanding the emergence of global command centers and strongly influenced the world city literature.

In his book on world cities, first published in 1966, Peter Hall drew attention to the planning and land use management of large command cities. The central focus of the world city literature has been to rank cities according to their disproportionate geo-economic power in the world-system (Beaverstock, Smith and Taylor 1999, 2).

Friedman summarized the world city hypothesis in seven interrelated assertions (Soja, 2000):

- The form and the extent of a city's integration with the world economy and the functions assigned to the city in the new spatial division of labor is decisive in any structural changes occurring within it.
- Key cities throughout the world are used by global capital as a "base" for spatial organization and articulation of production and markets. The resulting linkages make it possible to arrange world cities in a complex spatial hierarchy.
- The global control functions of world cities are directly reflected in the structure and dynamics of their production sectors and employment.
- World cities are major sites for the concentration and accumulation of international capital.
- World cities are points of destination for large numbers of both domestic and/or international migrants.
- World city formation brings into focus the major contradictions of industrial capitalism, among which there is spatial and class polarization.

 World city growth generates social costs at rates that tend to exceed the fiscal capacity of the state.

Friedman's concept of command centers and his description of the "new international division of labor" influenced many researchers (Friedmann, 1986). However, if his paper is often used as a theoretical framework of reference, his method of calculation, based upon a survey of key parameters which are limited, difficult to measure and 'use in every case' has been frequently criticized for its weaknesses.

According to Saskia Sassen, "Global Cities" are not only command centers, but also above all centers of "global services". The sociologist explained her concepts of 'global city' and 'global services' in six points or "hypothesis", which can basically be summarized as follows:

- 1. First point is the geographic dispersal of economic activities, which marks globalization, along with the integration of such geographically dispersed activities. From the viewpoint of globalization, the geographic dispersal of economic activities is a key factor feeding the growth and importance of central corporate functions. Firms, which are operating in different countries in a dispersed manner, need to have more complex and strategic central operations. These complex systems can be the work of managing, coordinating, servicing, and financing a firm's of operations.
- 2. Second, because of central functions' being increasingly complex, headquarters of large global firms have their work done to supplier firms. They buy a share of their central functions from highly specialized service firms, such as accounting, legal representation public relations, programming, telecommunications and other such services. That is, the headquarters of the past turn into today's headquarter type with specialized service-firms contracted by headquarters to produce some of these central functions or components of them.

- 3. Third, those specialized firms included in the most complex and globalized markets are subject to agglomeration economies. The combination of firms, talents and expertise from a broad range of specialized fields make a certain type of urban environment function, an information center. This creates a connection loop between headquarters and service activities. This is a type of information loop that still cannot be replaced fully in electronic space. It also has one of the significant features, which is the fact that unforeseen and unplanned mixes of information, expertise, and talent can produce a higher order of information. In this point of view Global Cities are production sites for the leading information industries of today.
- 4. The fourth hypotheses is that the more headquarters outsource their most complex, unstandardized functions, particularly those subject to uncertain and changing markets and the requirements of speed, the freer they are to choose for any location, because the work done in the headquarters is not subject to agglomeration economies. The key sector specifying the distinctive production advantages of the global city is the highly specialized and networked service sector
- 5. Fifth, these specialized service firms need to provide global services, so they need to be interconnected with other firms. These relationships create global partnerships, which strengthen the cross-border city-to-city transactions and networks. At this point, these are worth mentioning: the growth of global markets for finance and specialized services, the need for transnational servicing networks because of rapid increases in international investments, and the decreasing role of the government on the regulation of international economic activity and the corresponding supremacy of other institutional arenas especially in global markets and headquarters.
- Sixth hypotheses is concerned with is the growing number of high level of professionals and high profit making specialized service firms, which have the affect of rising the degree of spatial and socioeconomic

inequality in Global Cities. Because of increasing the quality of the production talent, top-level professionals become more important. The necessity for speed also favors the most talented ones.

The hypotheses conducted by Sassen have imposed an important role on Global Cities. A Global City cannot be seen only as a command center because they are global service centers containing dispersed economic activities, specialized service firms, information database for today's industry sector, cross-border city-to-city transactions and social segregation between specialized professionals.

Thrift (1989), like Sassen and Friedman, identified New York, London and Tokyo as Global Centers. A second tier as zonal centers and a third was regional centers. Hierarchies of cities depend on the criteria chosen and Friedman Thrift focused on the concentration of international institutions, banks and the headquarters of transnational corporations.

Castells (1996) provides a conceptual framework for viewing cities within a global network of flows. Castells sees world cities as a process "by which centers of production and consumption of advanced services, and their ancillary local societies, are connected in a global network." Thus cities are important world players not because of what they statistically contain, but because of what flows through them.

Knox (2002) identified the global city as a "functional node point". According to Knox, global cities support and maintain globalization. The city is a functional node point to coordinate the financial, social and cultural changes.

Like Knox, Taylor (2004) also identified the global city as a "leading city". These cities are not only a center of the service sector but also a connection center at global flats. According to Taylor, The "leading city" is a big network power which has a great power to connect other cities.

Paul Newman (2005) explains the competitiveness in his book Planning World Cities. He asserts that "the idea of the connectivity of cities has

implications for city competition. If business services (and for that matter other networks) are interconnected, then success for in one city may have positive impacts for others." Thus the connectivity of the global system is a more important issue for today's network societiesRanking the global cities

Peter Hall (1966) initiated the modern studies of world cities. His calculation included different attributes of the city (politics, trade, communication facilities, finance, culture, technology and higher education). The 'economic turn' of the world city literature was initiated by Stephen Hymer (1972). After his study, most research concentrated on economic data and characteristics. For Hymer, the upturning new global economy was dominated by international corporates and the world cities were the places where multinational corporate decided to locate their headquarters. The use of headquarters' distribution to rank cities became a widespread method in empirical research. However, this method does not give information about the hierarchy and relationships of the city inside a network.

One of the biggest changes brought by economic globalization consists of the rise of the global financial market. By means of a multivariate analysis of over fifty financial, cultural, economic, geographical and political attributes in 76 cities between 1900 and 1980, Reed (1981) described the evolution of the international financial centers hierarchy.

In 1998, Beaverstock, Smith and Taylor (GaWC Studies) made a study focused on financial attribute (accountancy, bank, and lawyer firms). This global data set comprising information on 74 global producer service firms in 263 world cities. As a result of this study, they ranged the world cities as alpha, beta and gamma. (In this study Istanbul ranged as gamma world city at the level of 49th.)

GaWC is centred in the Geography Department at Loughborough University, this research network focuses upon the external relations of world cities. Although the world/global city literature is premised upon the existence of world-wide transactions, most of the research effort has gone into studying

the internal structures of individual cities and comparative analyses of the same. Relations between cities have been neglected by world cities researchers; the Globalization and World Cities (GaWC) Research Network has been formed to aid in rectifying this situation. In 2008, GaWC makes another study about ranking the cities, and add six more categories (this study is explained in chapter 3 İstanbul in a global context.

Table 3 Alpha Beta Gamma Cities

Alpha World Cities

12 Point: Londra, New York, Paris, Tokyo

10 Point: Chicago, Frankfurt, Hong Kong, Los Angeles, Milano, Singapur

Beta World Cities

9 Point: San Francisco, Sidney, Toronto, Zürich

8 Point: Brüksel, Madrid, Mexico City, San Paolo

7 Point: Moskova, Seoul

Gamma World Cities

6 Point: Amsterdam, Boston, Caracas, Dallas, Düsseldorf, Cenevre, Houston, Jakarta, Johannesburg, Melbourne, Osaka, Prag, Santiago, Taipei, Washington

5 Point: Bangkok, Pekin, Roma, Stockholm, Varşova

4 Point: Atlanta, Barselona, Berlin, Buenos Aires, Budapeşte, Kopenhag, Hamburg, **İstanbul**, Kuala Lumpur, Manila, Miami, Minneapolis, Montreal,

Münih, Shanghai

Sources: Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality,2009

The study 'Diversity and Power in the World City Network' by P.J. Taylor, D.R.F. Walker, G. Catalano and M. Hoyler is primarily empirical and uses a global data set comprising information on 100 global service firms in 123 world cities. Seven different ways of measuring and illustrating power differentials, which are global network connectivity, banking/finance connectivity, dominant centers, global command centers, regional command

centers, high connectivity gateways, and gateways to emerging markets are presented. Actually, the paper claims that these categories have been identified but never specified as comprehensively and rigorously as here. Power as command power is concentrated in the USA. However, in Western Europe and Tokyo, network power is much more geographically diffused, transcending the old 'North-South divide'. Furthermore, the focus on diversity makes the lazy policy tendency for emulation of a few well-known 'global cities' problematic.

Foreign policy (2010) studies "The Global Cities Index" ranks cities' metro areas according to 25 metrics across five dimensions. That are business activity, human capital, information exchange, cultural experience and political engagement ³.

In 2009, the Global Power City Index (GPCI) was formed by the non-profit organization Mori, the memorial foundation funded by Mori building in Tokyo. GPCI is studied under the direction of Peter Hall and the researchers. This research team consists of Saskia Sassen, Richard Bender, Heizo Takenaka, Hiroo Ichikawa, Takayuki Kubo, and Manabu Mineo.

This study presents a new point of view to global city rankings, which is comprehensive power. Most of the city rankings are focused on business or financial attributes of the city. This ranking does not only present the economic strengths of cities but also includes the data of tourism, housing, working.

"Comprehensive power" is evaluated by analyzing 68 indicators representing 6 urban functions. This allows the evaluation of cities from the perspective of those who are defined as 'Global Actors', as well as six urban functions: the Economy, Research & Development, Cultural Exchange, Livability, Environment and Accessibility.

2.5. Process of Globalization in Developed and Developing Countries

Globalization has different spatial impacts on developed and developing countries. While this process is advancing as more organized in developed country, this impact is not observed in developing country. The desires of attraction of foreign investments in developing country cause to gaps in planning system and spaces are formed in concert of investors' desires, not to planning decisions. There is no question about mentioned above in developed countries.

A few examples of the developed and developing countries may explain the differentials of global evolution on cities and how the arbiter's make a decision about the urban space.

For this study, Berlin and Paris are chosen as cities among the developed countries. Paris is selected due to the similarities with the case study area. La Defensé in Paris was constructed out of the historical core as in the case with Maslak. Berlin is selected because Potsdammer Platz is a well organized planning area. Berlin's plan was made by a public-private sector partnership and NGOs played an active role in the planning process.

Dubai and Beijing are selected as cities among the developing countries. Beijing is selected to indicates how global transformations is emerged in developing countries. Especially, when the reasons for choosing Dubai are compared to those for choosing Istanbul, the most significant common point can be mentioned as being the Middle East global cities both of them.

2.5.1. La Defensé And Potsdammer Platz

At the beginning of the twentieth century Berlin and Paris were acknowledged world cities. Berlin lost its imperial role and leading position as an industrial and cultural centre. Paris has, however, kept a place near the top of what is now a global hierarchy. But there is debate about whether Paris ranks with London, New York and Tokyo (Newman, 2005) .First examples Paris's finance center "La défense".

Paris dominates the French urban hierarchy. It is by far the largest metropolitan area in France with about 20 per cent of the national population and a GDP per head 43 per cent higher than the national average (Newman, 2005). La Défence is the first planned financial center in Europe.



Figure 8 La Defensé shiluette

Source: Personal archive

The history of La Défense goes back to 1950 when the Federation of Engineering Industries planned to construct the large exhibition hall CNIT (The Center of New Industries and Technologies)on a triangular plot of land. This area lies at the city border of Paris next to the site which is today known as the business district La Défense.

In 1960 the three architects of the CNIT suggested to extend a major boulevard next to CNIT by bordering it with tall office and apartment buildings that would be linked by overhead walkways. Convinced by government authorities and the CNIT's presence, the ESSO company bought a plot of land in 1957 on which to built its new Paris headquarters.

The French government officially launched its La Défense operation in 1958 by creating a Public Corporation for managing the project, the "Etablissement Public pour l'aménagement de la région de La Défense", or EPAD. 750 hectares of land were allocated from three different neighboring towns - Courbevoie, Puteaux, and Nanterre.

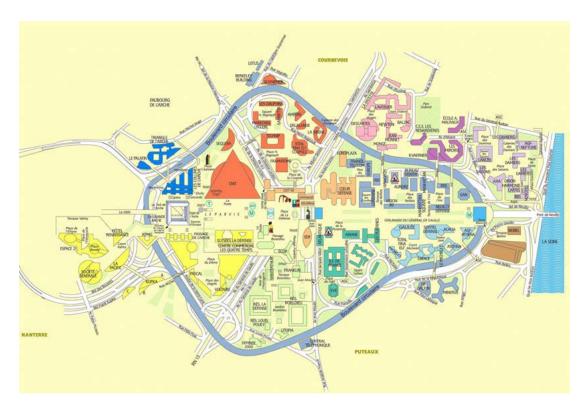


Figure 9 Conceptual Plans for La Defensé Source; http://www.emporis.com/en/wm/zo/?id=100065

In 1960 EPAD studied an urbanization plan.(figure 4) Approved in December 1964, it echoed the functional principles propounded by Le Corbusier: the creation of a pedestrian-only esplanade that would cover a network of roads underneath. To maintain architectural unity, all office buildings at La Défense would have to respect the same rules. Dimensions at the base were to be 24 by 42 meters for 100 meters of height. Each individual building could have whatever shape it liked so long as it obeyed these ground rules. As early as 1967 the first generation of skyscrapers began to rise, notably the Nobel Tower and the Aquitaine Tower. These were Paris' first skyscrapers.

Residential buildings were not to be more than ten floors high. Square in shape and built in front of the skyscrapers to take advantage of the sun, they opened towards the middle onto a garden/patio area.

http://www.emporis.com/en/wm/zo/?id=100065



Figure 10 La Defensé on April

Source: Personal archive

The development of this area was made by public-private partnership. While Private sector share was 30%, public sector share was 70%.

The first ten years buildings were constructed according to plan, however, the second term of the buildings (1970-1980) were built in order to respond the investor expectations. New buildings have no rules.

When new buildings were started to construct in the 1970, economic crisis were emerged. In order to encourage the investors, the government decreases the taxes, build up the Infrastructure and strength the road system in order to attract the investors to construct new buildings in this area.

1980 Grande Arch was made at the end of the axe. Along with the Grande Arch, hotels came into the area and metro connected to La Defensé.



Figure 11 La Defensé on April 2

Source: Personal archive



Figure 12 La Defensé on April 3

Source: Personal archive

A plan for La Defensé is to decrease the pressure on historical fabric on urban space and wants to make a new place. Both central function and new architectural features, this Plan is completely "innovative".

Today 140,000 people work and 30,000 people live in La Défense, Europe's largest business center. With headquarters of companies such as Cégétel, Société Générale, Elf, Total, Rhone-Poulenc, Usinor, La Défense is a French and European economic powerhouse.

Critisim of La defense

Altough La Defénse is first planned business district in Europe, the second term buildings were maden by political and economical pressuress in different years. This caused piece of piece design.

Berlin Potsdammer Platz is the important example to understand the process of becoming finance center.



Figure 13 Potsdamer Platz On April

Source: Personal archive

Because of the cold war in Germany, Berlin lost its significance as a major European city. After the reunification of the city in 1989, Berlin's economy was weak and had structural problems in the city centre and needed to be developed. Attention focused initially on three projects: the new large-scale commercial developments at Potsdamer Platz and Alexander Platz, and enhancing the historic core, neglected when part of the East German capital, to accommodate the national government. Transferring the national government has proved expensive (20bn DM) although much cheaper than

the subsidy that was paid to West Berlin during the Cold War. Rebuilding the capital has been controversial at every stage.

Postdamer Platz that remained in the middle of the city with the fall of the Wall became a symbol of Germany, which is unified aiming to be the center of both Germany and Berlin. In this regard, the German Government sold the Daimler Platz to big companies like Daimler Benz, Sony, and etc. since the private investment took place in the transition period as a stakeholder. Following this process, in 1991, an urban design project competition introduced by the Berlin Chamber, and the plans of Hilmer&Sattler, which refers the urban pattern of the period before 1940, is adapted.

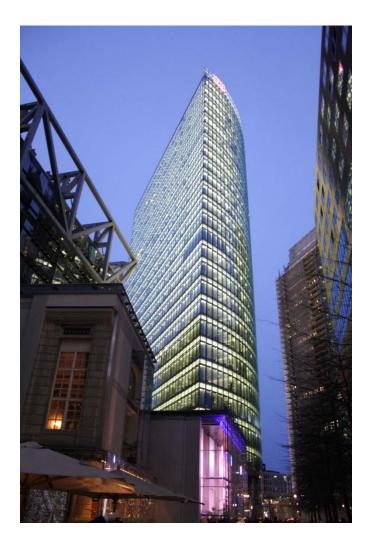


Figure 14 Potsdamer Platz On April 2

Source: Personal archive

In the frame of the model of the Project, the urban land handed over to the private sector vitalized with respect to the concept of the urban design competition, and at this time the public, with the function of directing and monitoring, the Chambers and NGOs, as representatives of public, took an active role in the Project.

Public sector has the Potsdammer Platz ownership. However, government sold the area at the half of real prices to Daimler, Benz, Sony, ABB and the other big international company who wants the area in order to accelerate the development and needed an investment to rebuild the area.

In the process of planning famous architects, who is well known all over the world, made buildings in the Postdammer platz. Some of the buildings are;

- Sir Norman Foster (Reichstag Parlament building),
- Helmut Jahn (Sony centre),
- Renzo Piano (Daimler-Benz complex),
- Hans Kolhoff (Skyscrapers),
- Giorgio Grassi (Park collonades),
- Axel Schultes (government house),
- · Arata Isozaki.
- Josef Paul Kleihues,
- · GMP von Gerkan,
- Oswald Mathias Ungers,
- Daniel Liebeskind (Jewish museum),
- Hans Hollein

2.5.2. Beijing and Dubai

In developing countries the process of being global has different affections. Here is an example of Beijing "Oriental Plaza"

Reconceptualisation of Beijing as a world city since the 1990s. The state has been active in negotiating its relationship with global forces, thereby directly aff ecting the development of Beijing. An eminent example of direct government intervention is the development of Oriental Plaza at

the city centre in Wangfujing in the mid-1990s, with sizeable investment from Li Kashing's group of companies in Hong Kong. It was a high-profile and dramatic project.

involving an 18-month moratorium on construction, with many stakeholders jostling for power and advantages. It was reported to be through the decisive hand of the central government that the project was able to overcome hurdles and proceeded to fruition. From this perspective of state involvement in attracting outside investment, the power of comprehensive planning at the municipal level has been circumscribed.

(Yeung, y, 2006)

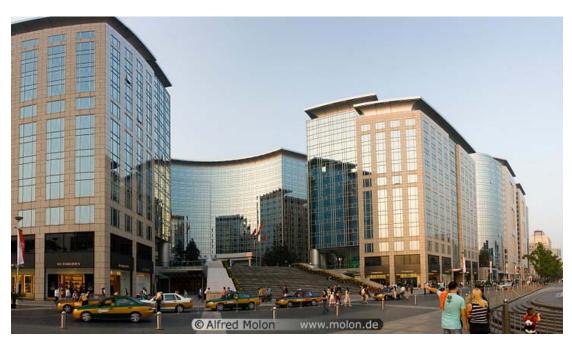


Figure 15 Oriental Plaza at Beijing

Source: www.molon.de

An outstanding example in the world, Dubai is engaged primarily in a process of urban generation and property development forms a cornerstone of its development strategy. In order to create a striking new image for the city, iconic architectures such as Burj al Arab, and global scale mega-projects such as Palm Jumeirah and the Burj Dubai are being constructed and are symbolizing the national identity. As the urban development has been shaped by mega projects, the spatial integration of these new projects within the urban layout becomes crucial.

The Dubai Urban Area Strategic Plan 1993-2012 was prepared to guide the economic and physical development of the city into the 21st century. One of the key challenges of the plan was stimulating cooperation between public and private agencies in their investments. The dynamics of the plan represented an effort to provide a spatial framework for urban growth by indicating planned land use structure. Not only leading tourism in region but also developing a business district within a globally important urban environment result a construction of a series of 'cities within the city' megaprojects.

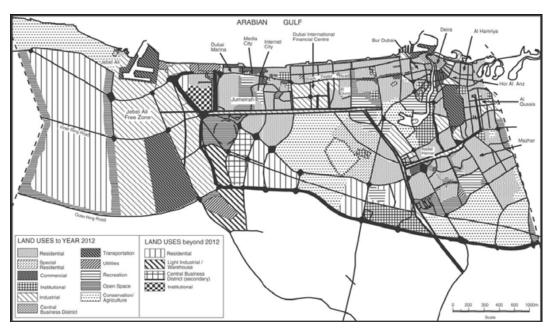


Figure 16 Planned Land Use Structure of Dubai

Source: Kubat et al., (2009)

The social and economic urban value is influenced by physical and spatial factors. Integration of spaces within an urban network can enhance or diminish these physical, social and economic benefits. Dubai's developing network holding the urban layout together, is the most critical factor in city.

Dubai's central strategy today is to establish itself as the region's hub of commerce, services and leisure. Central to this planned urban growth is the construction of a series of mega- projects that sometimes described as 'cities within the city' (Source: kubat et al., (2009)



Figure 17 Map of Dubai Source: kubat et al., (2009)

2.5.3. Critisism of La Defénse, Potsdamer Platz, Beijing and Dubai

La Defénse

Altough La Defénse is first planned business district in Europe, the second term buildings were maden by political and economical pressuress in different years. This caused piece of piece design.

Potsdamer Platz

Potsdamer platz is a new financial district than the other European financial district. Thus the district was used as a laboratory of 20th century of architecture. The district was planned stage by stage and in period of plan, the chambers and NGOs, directed and monitored the process. This process makes the plan more powerful.

Beijing

Beijing is an example that how the global transformation is emerged in developing countries. The investors make a site selection and the government implements this decision. This caused lack of planning in the area.

Dubai

Dubai planned as an international tourism center. And mega projects are made according to plans. The government and the private sectors work together to make the city more powerful in the global arena. This plan accepts the mega projects in city and projects that described as "cities within the city". However, the city is only planned for attract the capital.

1. Gercenks L. C., the comprehensive plan in the 20th century,2001 APA

2. Unesco world heritage program

Heritage is our legacy from the past, what we live with today, and what we pass on to future generations. Our cultural and natural heritages are both irreplaceable sources of life and inspiration. They are our touchstones, our points of reference, our identity. What makes the concept of World Heritage exceptional is its universal application. World Heritage sites belong to all the peoples of the world, irrespective of the territory on which they are located. A World Heritage site differs from a site of national heritage in that it is deemed to possess "outstanding universal value."

The World Heritage Commission for the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) was formed in 1976 to implement the "Preservation of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage Treaty" (World Heritage Treaty) adopted in 1972 by the 17th UNESCO Conference. The Commission is an inter-governmental agency charged with the responsibility to determine which cultural relics and natural scenery should be protected under the World Heritage Treaty. The criteria for protection under the World Heritage Treaty is that the site be internationally recognized as having outstanding significance and common value. By the end of 2002, the Commission had accepted 730 sites located in over 100 countries. There are currently 28 World Heritage Sites in China.

The Convention adopted by the parties to the World Heritage Treaty states that cultural and natural heritage sites are increasingly threatened with destruction. This destruction results from the traditional causes of decay as well as changing social and economic conditions. UNESCO believes that the deterioration or disappearance of any item of cultural or natural heritage constitutes a harmful impoverishment of the heritage of all the nations of the world. UNESCO, through its promotion and administration of the World Heritage Treaty and Convention, has dedicated itself to the protection of these unique locations.

UNESCO's World Heritage mission is to encourage countries to sign the Convention to ensure the protection of their own natural and cultural heritage, and to encourage parties to the Convention to nominate sites within their national territory for inclusion on the World Heritage List.

UNESCO recognizes three types of World Heritage Sites: cultural, natural and mixed. Cultural heritage sites can be monuments, groups of buildings, or sites with historical, aesthetic, archaeological, scientific, ethnological or anthropological value. Natural heritage sites can be outstanding physical, biological or geological formations, habitats of threatened species of animalsand plants, or areas with scientific, conservation or aesthetic value.

(http://worldheritagefoundation.com/whatisunesco.html)

3. Foreign policy the global cities index

The Global Cities Index ranks cities' metro areas according to 25 metrics across five dimensions. The first is business activity: including the value of its capital markets, the number of Fortune Global 500 firms headquartered there, and the volume of the goods that pass through the city. The second

dimension measures human capital, or how well the city acts as a magnet for diverse groups of people and talent. This includes the size of a city's immigrant population, the quality of the universities, the number of international schools, and the percentage of residents with university degrees. The third dimension is information exchange-how well news and information is dispersed about and to the rest of the world. The number of international news bureaus, the level of censorship, the amount of international news in the leading local papers, and the broadband subscriber rate round out that dimension. The final two areas of analysis are unusual for most rankings of globalized cities or states. The fourth is cultural experience, or the level of diverse attractions for international residents and travelers. That includes everything from how many major sporting events a city hosts to the number of performing arts venues and diverse culinary establishments it boasts and the sister city relationships it maintains. The final dimension-political engagement-measures the degree to whicha city influences global policymaking and dialogue. How? By examining the number of embassies and consulates, major think tanks, international organizations, and political conferences a city hosts.

CHAPTER 3

THE GLOBAL CITY ISTANBUL

Istanbul is following an increasing importance in today's network world. 3 important trends make this visible.



Figure 18The global city İstanbul (Levent District)

Source: http://www.buraistanbul.com

A first trend concerns the capital flows: Istanbul is at the center of the geography of capital flows that reach both the East and the West. Current post-Cold War geopolitics render Asian countries increasingly important, even though the EU is Turkey's dominant trade and investment partner. The second trend concerns the in and out movements of people. There is an apparent mobility between Europe and Asia, and Istanbul functions as a hub between the two. The third, and also the most important trend is that Istanbul, that city of intersections and mobility, holds a place in the top 30 (a study of

the top 60 cities in the world in terms of political and cultural variables), specifically as a global policy nexus, and as a city for human capital and talent. At the end of 2007, the Netherlands and Azerbaijan were the two largest recipients of Turkish foreign direct investment (FDI). This is striking evidence of Turkey's geographic expression between the East and West.

3.1. Improvements of Commerce Centers in Istanbul

Istanbul, within its strategic location and historical background as the capital of three empires, has been the heart of national and international economic activities in Turkey.

Before the 1950s: Since the 1950s, the improvement of commerce centers was slower than the improvement of spaces such as housing and industry. Before the establishment of the Republic, Istanbul had two different commerce centers which were Galata-Pera and the Historical Peninsula. The Historical Peninsula is a traditional commerce center accommodating Kapalı Bazaar, Mısır Bazaar, Tahtakale and Sirkeci station. Galata-Pera had a specialized service sector in cultural affairs and entertainment. However, after Ankara became the capital of Turkey, all embassies moved there and Galata-Pera lost its status. Thus Şişli started to improve housing and commerce activities. In the near future Şişli would obtain this status and Taksim would be the node point instead of Tünel.

Between 1950 and 1980: In the 1960s, Istanbul went through a fast growing process, the historical peninsula had new CBD functions in Eminönü, Fatih and Beyoğlu. In time, these functions expanded through the axles to the north, which is the Şişli and Beşiktaş district. At the same time Üsküdar and Kadıköy's sub centers expanded to the east-side of Istanbul.

After 1980s: At the beginning of the 1980s, as the TEM autobahns and the second Bosphorus Bridge were built, the city expanded to the north rather than the east-west direction. As new roads and ring roads were made, it became easier to proceed. With the growing population, the old CBD was inadequate for a new population and the city and old CBD lost its status

partially. A new commercial activity began to search for new places and CBD started to expand outwards. After the 1980s, with the new global trend, the city changed very rapidly.

3.1. Istanbul in the Global City Network

Towards economic liberalization, Istanbul, which was designated to become a 'global city' attracting foreign capital, played a major role. The city is the main and almost the only gateway of Turkey to the global economy. It is the place where international firms prefer to locate and where more than half of the exports take place. It seems that since the beginning of the 21st century the city has improved its place in the rankings significantly. Although the city is well ranked in academic rosters of world cities (Beaverstock, Taylor et al., 2008), it is still absent from the famous rankings published by global consultant agencies, such as the annual report of Price and Water House Coopers "Cities of Opportunities: Detailed study of the world's leading financial and commercial centers".

Istanbul has the potential to be a global city network and an economic and political center not only for Turkey, but also for the whole region. On the one hand, it functions as a gateway between a macro-region, the so-called "Eurasia" composed of the Balkans, Black Sea Basins, Russia and the Middle East, and on the other hand, as a global network. This position grants easy access to markets on three continents with over one billion people (OECD, 2008). The city has already been playing this role while hosting the Black Sea Economic Co-Operation Association, which includes Greece, Bulgaria, Romania, Moldavia, Ukraine, Russia, Georgia and Turkey, or while participating in global networks of cities such as the important World Association of Major Metropolis. Trakya Sub Region has two axes of development: one through Edirne and the other through Kırklareli to the North, directly connected with Romania and Bulgaria. This axis is important for the relations between East European countries and Turkey. Furthermore, the location of two airports in Edirne and Corlu at the end of this axis improves the strategic importance of the network between Tekirdağ and

Marmara Ereğlisi Anatolia, through the Aegean and Mediterranean to the Middle East, North Africa and South Europe.

3.1.1. Some Important Characteristics of Istanbul

Istanbul is a part of global network. Keyder (2009) emphasizes global characteristics of İstanbul in his article "globalization in a context". In his article "By the standards of globalization, Istanbul is a success story. It is a business platform for the transnational corporate elite as well as a playing field for the cosmopolitan consumers of global lifestyles. There are blocks of newly erected high-rise office buildings, luxury residential compounds and towers, dozens of shopping centre offering an exclusive shopping 'experience'. The city has been successful in showcasing its unrivalled cultural heritage, attracting a growing number of tourists."

In 2009, the Global Power City Index (GPCI) is studied and give the new point of view to global rankings, which is comprehensive power. This ranking does not only present the economic strengths of cities but also includes *living*, working, studying, visiting information. Castells and Borja (1997) point out that "large cities have to respond to five types of challenge: new economic base, urban infrastructure, quality of life, social integration and governability. Only by generating a capacity for a response to these challenges can they on the one hand be competitive" " that is to say, being a competitive city is just one part of the whole, Also the other features have a significant role on being "global". According the basis of this idea, some of the characteristics (as it is indicated above) of İstanbul is explained.

Level of income

Istanbul provides 33% of Turkey's total GDP, which is the largest share of Turkey. In other words, more than one-fifth of the national income is produced in metropolitan areas. According to data from the year 2000, the national average annual income is 1837 \$ per capita, while in Istanbul this is 2657 \$ (www.tuik.gov.tr). Istanbul and the neighbor cities of istanbul increase productivity which also increase the GDP per capita in urban areas .Bursa, Tekirdağ, Kocaeli, Yalova and Istanbul and Kırklareli show a tendency to

developing. Therefore, Istanbul determines the socio-economic status of in the Marmara Region and forms the main determinant of the country's most important development pole, and this feature of Istanbul will continue.

Furthermore, Istanbul's income level is far below the average income level of the European Union countries. While Istanbul's GDP value is 8210 PPS, The average in the European Union is 20213 PPS. (Istanbul 1/25000 Master plan, 2008)

Employment

Istanbul's importance within Turkey's economy is undisputed. 27% of the working population in Turkey is employed in the Marmara Region and 51% of that population is employed in the Province of Istanbul. (www.tuik.gov.tr, 2001) The unemployment rate of 16,7% in Istanbul is much higher than that of Turkey, which is estimated at 6.5%. Istanbul's labour participation rate is 46,7%. This rate is higher than the Turkey's rate.(www.tuik.gov.tr, 2009)

Foreign direct investment

In 2001, the FDI inflows into the service sector in Turkey were mainly concentrated in the banking and other financial activities, insurance, retail, communication, investment financing, and hotel, pension and camping management. Although the number of foreign investors in the banking sector is not high, with regard to the amount of the investment, the HSBC Bank, which established a partnership with a Turkish bank -Demirbank, in 2001, was one of the most important investors (Undersecretary of Treasury, 2001).

In the banking and other financial activities category, 95% of all firms in Turkey were concentrated in Istanbul as of 1999. In producer services, the firms operating in advertising, media, and services related to retail, shopping centers and hypermarkets, management consultancies, security services, legal and accounting firms, research and development firms were registered and 66% of these firms invested in Istanbul as of 1999. From 1999 to 2001, 120 producer firms started to operate in Istanbul.

In the retail industry, there were 1852 foreign retail firms in Turkey, 65% of which were located in Istanbul. From 1999 to the end of 2001, 255 foreign retail firms started to operate in Istanbul.

In the 1990s, foreign retailers entered Turkish markets with their brand names by benefiting from the Foreign Capital Law. In this period, partnerships were established between powerful Turkish holding companies/multinationals and foreign investors. The joint venture between Sabancı Holding Company and French Carrefour, the franchise deal between French Monoprix and Transtürk Holding Company, the license deal between Sezginler Holding Company and British Booker, and the entry of the German Metro AG into the Turkish markets with Real Adler and Praktiker constitute examples of such partnerships (Arasta, 1998). It should be noted that these investments were realized by both retail companies as well as domestic or multinational companies operating in other sectors of the economy, such as construction and industry.

The partnerships between powerful Turkish holdings and foreign investors resulted in the opening of hypermarkets and supermarkets in Istanbul.

Research& development

The number of universities contributes to the existing research. Tokyo has 117 universities, while Istanbul has 20.

Transportation

Table 4 Comparison Table on Transportation between Istanbul and the Top of the Three Global Cities

		New York	London	Tokyo	Paris	İstanbul
Transportation						
	Length of Line (km)	438	171	219	200	43
Subway	Average of the Number of passenger (daily)	1.700.000	201.170	7.366.000		100.000
	Length of Line (km)	1840		386	115	131
Suburban train	Average of the Number of passenger (daily)	548.720		17.425		200.000
Number of airline passengers (annual)		58.013.317	916.554.127	83.792.111	73.639.248	14.392.199

Source: İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality,2008

Airways

Istanbul has not only the potential to be an economic and political center for Turkey and the global city network but also for the whole region, playing the role of gateway between a macro-region, the so-called "Eurasia" composed of Balkans, Black Sea Basins, Russia and the Middle East, on the one hand, and the global network, on the other. This position grants easy access to markets on three continents with over one billion people (OECD, 2008). The city has already been playing this role while hosting the Black Sea Economic Co-Operation Association which includes Greece, Bulgaria, Romania, Moldavia, Ukraine, Russia, Georgia and Turkey or while participating in global networks of cities such as the important World Association of Major Metropolis. Concerning logistics, Istanbul has a strategic position to play the role of a regional logistics hub. Moreover, Istanbul is well equipped in terms of the diversity of transportation modes (road, train, air, sea), with two airports and four ports. There are many international cooperation projects that aim at developing international transport connection.

Public Transportation

The main problem of Istanbul is the high density of traffic. Because of limited road capacity and insufficent public transportation, the city traffic a causes serious problems in Istanbul. In 2007, the metropolitan municipality introduced the metro-bus to solve this problem. The length of the metrobus line is 93 km. The metro between Levent- 4-levent was finished in 2000. Hence, the length of the light railway system reached 43 km. In total, Istanbul's public transportation length (with the metrobus) is reached 133km. This is a huge development for public transport, but this length is still not enough when the surface area of the city is considered. Public transportation system continues to be a problem in Istanbul.

Tourism

According to study of Urban Age (2009); In 2006, the main purposes for coming to Istanbul were travel, entertainment, culture, business, and visits to family and friends. In 2006, the largest groups of foreigners entering Istanbul were the 7 million managers and professionals, and another 1.1 million in secondary service professions. Entries of foreigners reached 19.3 million in 2006, up from 13.7 million in 2004, and 11.3 million in 2001. Between 2001 and 2006, over 23 million people visited Turkey from Germany, nearly 9 million from Russia and the United Kingdom each, 7 million from Bulgaria, and 4 million from Iran. These are far from insignificant numbers. They represent the incredibly diverse range of people moving in and out of the city. (Urban age,2009)

Furthermore, Istanbul, which attracts many visitors and hosts many cultural events, is without any doubt, one of the most significant cultural centers of the region. The city has, among other awards, been declared 'European Capital of Culture' for the year 2010 by the European Commission. It has also hosted several events such as Olympics bids, conferences like Habitat II in 1996 or the World Water Forum in 2009. Istanbul's leadership (the Metropolitan Municipality), as well as the Turkish government, is working hard to present a culturally globalized face to investors (Stanley, 2003).

Table 5 Capacity (number of persons) of the Congress Centers in Istanbul

CONGRESS CENTERS IN ISTANBUL	CAPACITY(PERSON)
Kongre Vadisi	
Lütfi Kırdar Kongre Ve Sergi Sarayı	7.280
Hilton Kongre Ve Sergi Salonu	2.800
Askeri Müze Kültür Merkezi	1.247
Cemal Reşit Rey Konser Salonu	861
Sub Total	12.188
Sütlüce Kongre Merkezi	3.195
İstanbul Kongre Merkezi	2.500
Sub Total	5.695
Kongre Düzenlenen Oteller	23.299
Üniversite Oditoryumları	5.038
Sub Total	28.337
Total	46.220

(Source: Master Plan of Istanbul at 1/25000, 2008)

According to the declaration of the Istanbul Culture and Tourism Directorate (2009), the number of tourists was 5.346.658 in 2006, and became 6.453.553 with an increase of 21%, in 2007. Although there has been an increase of 81% in the number of foreign tourists coming to Turkey over the last 10 years, Istanbul's share in the number of foreign tourists in Turkey is decreasing.

Finance service

The changes in the sectorial mix of Turkey also reveal a move towards the typical functions of a global city. The presence and rapid development of these financial, business and banking activities in Istanbul, and recognized by Saskia Sassen as two of the most representative activities of the global-citiness of a city (Sassen, 1991), proves that the metropolis has gained importance in the global city network. Istanbul has become an important player on the international financial market, surpassing the other Eurasian cities.

Table 6 Ranking Study of Loughborough University Globalization and World Cities Search Group in 1999, Accounting and Advertising Sector

Accounting Sector			Advertising Sector			
Main Centre	Important Centre	Sub Centre	Main Centre	Important Centre	Sub Centre	
Atlanta	Amsterdam	Adelaide	Chicago	Chicago Amsterdam		
Chicago	Auckland	Antwerp	London	Athens	Bangalore	
Dusseldorf	Berlin	Arhus	Minneapolis Barcelona		Bangkok	
Frankfurt	Birmingham	Baltimore	New York	Boston	Beijing	
London	Boston	Bologna	Osaka	Brussels	Bogota	
Los Angeles	Brisbane	Calgary	Paris	Caracas	Bucharest	
Milan	Brussels	Caracas	Seoul	Copenhagen	Budapest	
New York	Cologne	Columbus	Tokyo	Dusseldorf	Buenos Aires	
Paris	Copenhagen	Detroit		Frankfurt	Cape Town	
Sydney	Dallas	Dresden		Helsinki	Dallas	
Tokyo	Hamburg	Dublin		Hong Kong	Detroit	
Toronto	Hong Kong	Geneva		İstanbul	Dublin	
Washington DC	Houston	Genoa		Lisbon	Geneva	
	Jakarta	Gothenburg		Los Angeles	Hamburg	
	Johannesburg	Helsinki		Madrid	Jakarta	
	Lyon	Kuala Lumpur		Melbourne	Johannesburg	
	Madrid	Leeds		Mexico City	Kuala Lumpur	
	Manchester	Lille		Milan	Lima	
	Melbourne	Luxembourg		Prague	Manila	
	Mexico City	Marseille		San Francisco	Miami	
	Montreal	Miami		Santiago	Montevideo	
	Moscow	Minneapolis		Sao Paulo	Montreal	
	Munich	New Delhi		Singapore	Moscow	
	Osaka	Oslo		Stockholm	Mumbai	
	Philadelphia	Santiago		Sydney	New Delhi	
	Rome	Turin		Toronto	Oslo	
	Rotterdam	Utrecht		Vienna	Rio de Janeiro	
		San Francisco		Zurich	Taipei	
		Sao Paulo			Tel Aviv	
		Seoul			Warsaw	
		Singapore			Wellington	
		Stockholm				
		Stuttgart				
		Taipei				
		Tel Aviv				
		The Hague				
		Vancouver				
		Zurich				

(Source: Beaverstock Smith and Taylor, 1999)

In the advertising service sector, Istanbul takes place in the second group which is the important center. Global banking service sector and global laws service sector are in the third group of importance, which is a sub-center in the world .To sum up all the findings, Istanbul city is included in the third ranking world cities.

Table 7 Ranking Study of Loughborough University Globalization and World Cities

Search Group in 1999 – Banking and Law Sector

Banking Sector		anking and Lat	Law Sector		
Main Centre	Important Centre	Sub Centre	Main Centre	Important Centre	Sub Centre
Frankfurt	Bangkok	Abu Dhabi	Brussels	Almaty	Abu Dhabi
Hong Kong	Beijing	Amsterdam	Chicago	Bangkok	Amsterdam
London	Bogota	Barcelona	Hong Kong	Beijing	Athens
Milan	Buenos Aires	Boston	London	Berlin	Atlanta
New York	Caracas	Bratislava	Los Angeles	Budapest	Barcelona
Paris	Geneva	Brussels	Moscow	Cleveland	Boston
San Fancisco	Houston	Budapest	New York	Dallas	Bogota
Singapore	Jakarta	Cairo	Paris	Frankfurt	Bratislava
Tokyo	Johannesburg	Chicago	Singapore	Geneva	Brazilia
Zurich	Kuala Lumpur	Colombo	Tokyo	Ho Chi Minh City	Buenos Aires
	Labuan	Dallas	Washington	Houston	Bucharest
	Los Angeles	Dubai		Kiev	Cairo
	Luxembourg	Dublin		Madrid	Caracas
	Madrid	Edinburgh		Mexico City	Dubai
	Manama	Glasgow		Milan	Dusseldorf
	Manila	İstanbul		Minneapolis	Guangzhou
	Mexico City	Lima		Prague	Hamburg
	Miami	Lisbon		Riyadh	Hanoi
	Montreal	Lyon		Rome	İstanbul
	Moscow	Melbourne		San Francisco	Jakarta
	Mumbai	Montevideo		Sao Paulo	Kansas City
	Prague	Munich		Seattle	Madrid
	Sao Paulo	New Delhi		Shanghai	Manila
	Santiago	Osaka		Sydney	Melbourne
	Seoul	Rio de Janeiro		Toronto	Munich
	Shantghai	Rome		Warsaw	Philadelphia
	Sydney	Tehran		Zurich	Richmond
	Taipei	Vienna			Rio de Janeiro
	Toronto				St Petersburg
	Warsaw				Santiago
					Stockholm
					Taipei

Table7 Continued					
					Tashkent
					Tijiana

(Source: Beaverstock and Taylor, 1999)

In the second study of Loughborough University, (Taylor, 2003) Istanbul is the 14th important city of Europe in the general service sectors, and the 7th important city in the finance and banking sector. It can be said that with respect to the 4 years between the two studies, Istanbul developed in finance and banking sector and its importance among world cities increased.

Table 8 Ranking Study of Loughborough University Globalization and World Cities Search Group in 1999 -Services Sector (General) and Finance-Banking Sector

(source:	Baeverstock and	Tailor	.1999)
----------	-----------------	--------	--------

General Services Sector	Finance and Banking Sector
London	London
Paris	Paris
Milan	Frankfurt
Madrid	Madrid
Amsterdam	Milan
Frankfurt	Brussels
Brussels	Istanbul
Zurich	Amsterdam
Stockholm	Warsaw
Prague	Dusseldorf
Dublin	Moscow
Barcelona	Luxembourg
Moscow	Dublin
Istanbul	Zurich
Vienna	Athens
Warsaw	Berlin
Lisbon	Prague
Copenhagen	Hamburg
Budapest	Budapest
Hamburg	Munich
Munich	Geneva
Dusseldorf	Barcelona
Berlin	Rome
Rome	Lisbon
Athens	Stuttgart
Luxembourg	Stockholm
Oslo	Cologne

Table 8 Continued

Geneva	Kiev
Helsinki	Bucharest
Stuttgart	Vienna
Rotterdam	Antwerp
Bucharest	St Petersburg
Cologne	Bilbao
Lyon	Rotterdam
Antwerp	Oslo

(Source: Beaverstock and Taylor, 1999)

Socio cultural activities

The small percentage of Istanbul shows that urbanization is still a big problem in Istanbul. Therefore, the rate of urbanization in Istanbul and the number of socio cultural activities are still much lower than that of other European countries.

Table 9 The Comparison On Socio-Cultural Features Between Istanbul And The Top Of The Three Global Cities

Socio-Cultural	New York	London	Tokyo	Paris	İstanbul
Number Of Theatre	35	204	82	141	24
Number Of	33	204	02	141	24
Museum	148	300	233	134	14
Percentage Of Shanty	0	0	0	0	51
Percentage Of Homeless		3	0,2	6	0,1

Source: İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality

The table indicates that Istanbul falls behind the top global cities.

3.2. Istanbul in Global Ranking

This chapter will show the ranking of global cities. Thrift (1999) has referred to contemporary globalization as a blizzard, myriad upon myriad of flows encompassing information, commodities and people. "It is the sheer magnitude of this "global spaces of flows" that is so daunting, it reflects a

degree of social complexity that is hard to contemplate let alone understand." GaWC rankings for the global cities may be helpful to understand this complexity.

GaWC is Centred in the Geography Department at Loughborough University, this research network focuses upon the external relations of world cities. Although the world/global city literature is premised upon the existence of world-wide transactions, most of the research effort has gone into studying the internal structures of individual cities and comparative analyses of the same. Relations between cities have been neglected by world cities researchers; the Globalization and World Cities (GaWC) Research Network has been formed to aid in rectifying this situation (http://www.lboro.ac.uk/gawc/index.html)

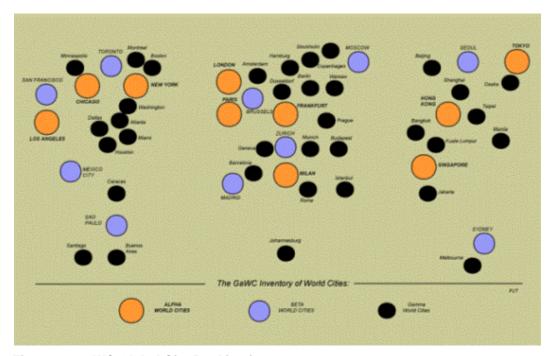


Figure 19 GaWC Global City Ranking in 1998

Source: http://www.lboro.ac.uk/gawc/index.html

This figure shows the rankings of global cities in 1998. According to this data, they ranged the world cities as alpha, beta and gamma. Istanbul was a gamma center according to GaWC studies in 1998.

The world cities are divided into three major categories in "the GaWC inventory world cities"

- "Alpha world cities" Prime world cities: Any city scoring 1 or above must be a global service center in all four sectors. If there are major centers in at least two sectors, then the other two sector must be prime. In addition, if there is a minor center for a particular service, then the other three sectors must be prime.
- "Beta world cities"- Major wold cities: Any city scoring 7 to 9 must be a global service center for at least three of the four sectors and must be a major or prime center in at least two sectors.
- "Gama world cities"- Minor world cities: Any city scoring 4 to 6 must be global service centers for at least two of the four sectors, and in at least on of those it must be a major center.
- **Cities in world-city formation process:** Any citym scoring 1 to 3 must have quantifiable evidences for global service center in one sector.

On the other hand, in the rankings of 2008, GaWC changed the rankings and added six more categories to range the cities. ¹

The figure shows that Istanbul's ranking has increased rapidly in ten years, because her position of the global cities increased. Istanbul is defined as an alpha (–) city, which means that it is among "Very important world cities that link major economic regions and states into the world economy"

The sixteenth and seventieth figures show global network connectivity. The 132 cities in both figures hold at least one fifth of the most connected city in either 2000 (London) or 2008 (New York). In eight years, Istanbul's global network capacity has increased.

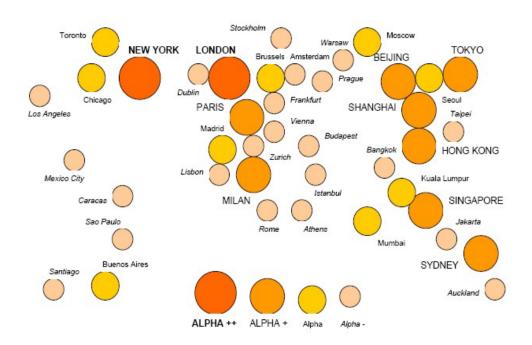


Figure 20 Global City Rankings in 2008

Source: GaWC global city rankings in 2008,2009

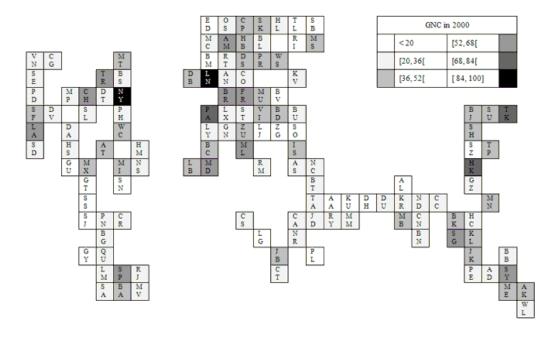


Figure 21 Global Network Connections In 2000

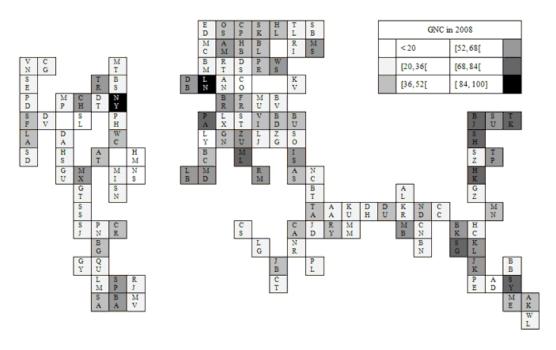


Figure 22 Global Network Connection In 2008

Source : Druder et al, Pathways Of Change: Shifting Connectivities In The World City Network, 2008

3.3. Conclusion of the chapter

The chapter shows that Istanbul's important features may be related to globalization. This chapter also shows the ranking of global cities and the position of Istanbul in the study of GaWC. According to rankings about global connection and global city; Istanbul has an increased tendency in the last ten years.

The important features of Istanbul indicates that there is still time to İstanbul as being comprehensive. Some of the evaluation is indicated above.

Economy

In the study of Lougborough university, the ranking of the cities points to the fact that Istanbul

- Ranks 7th in the finance sector
- Ranks 15th in the general service sector
- Is identified to be among the main centers in the advertising sector
- Is identified as a subcenter in the law and banking sector.

The tourism rate of Istanbul and the number of tourists visiting Istanbul increases.

Istanbul's share in foreign direct investments is 60% of Turkey's FDIs.

Livability & Environment

In Istanbul, 51% of the population lives in shanties, which indicates that Istanbul does not meet the livability section.

Accessibility

Air transportation for the whole region, which plays the role of gateway between a macro-region, the so-called "Eurasia" composed of Balkans, Black Sea Basins, Russia and the Middle East, on the one hand and the global network on the other.

Looking at the transport systems and the location of Istanbul, it is the bridge between Europe and Asia. This specific advantage alone makes Istanbul a hub center at its locality.

Research & Development

The research and development sector is increasing value in Istanbul.

Cultural exchange

Istanbul is the city of intersections and mobility, sits in the top 30 (a study of the top 60 cities in the world in terms of political and cultural variables).

The rankings of global cities study shows that Istanbul raised its position in the global city rankings.

Endnotes

1 The world according to GaWC is a city-centred world of flows in contrast to the more familiar state-centred world of boundaries.

Cities are assessed in terms of their advanced producer services using the interlocking network model (see <u>GaWC Research Bulletin 23</u>). Indirect measures of flows are derived to compute a city's network connectivity – this measures a city's integration into the world city network.

The connectivity measures are used to classify cities into levels of world city network integration. These levels are interpreted as follows:

alpha++ cities In all analyses, London and New York stand out as clearly more integrated than all other cities and constitute their own high level of integration

alpha+ cities Other highly integrated cities that complement London and New York, largely filling in advanced service needs for the Pacific Asia

alpha & alpha- cities Very important world cities that link major economic regions and states into the world economy

All beta level cities These are important world cities that are instrumental in linking their region or state into the world economy

All gamma level cities These can be world cities linking smaller regions or states into the world economy, or important world cities whose major global capacity is not in advanced producer services

Cities with sufficiency of services These are cities that are not world cities as defined here but they have sufficient services so as not to be overtly dependent on world cities. Two specialised categories of city are common at this level of integration: smaller capital cities, and traditional centres of manufacturing regions

CHAPTER 4

SPATIAL RECONFIGURATION OF GLOBALIZATION: IMPROVEMENTS OF MASLAK-BÜYÜKDERE



Figure 23 Maslak Silhouette

Source: Personal Archive

The historical center lost its attractiveness and developments started from the center to the periphery. The district became decentralized to the northern part. New sub-centers where high level services and office functions were located emerged. Maslak is one of these districts.

Maslak district is continuation of the central business district of the main Büyükdere Avenue. Its location is near the Fatih Sultan Mehmet Bridge and the Atatürk airport. Atatürk Auto industry is located in the north of the financial district. And Istanbul Technical University is located in the south.

Administratively, Maslak district is under control of two district municipalities, which are Şişli and Sarıyer.

Maslak is a financial district. It has been surrounded by high rise office buildings since the 1980s. The office development has increased rapidly in the last three decades.

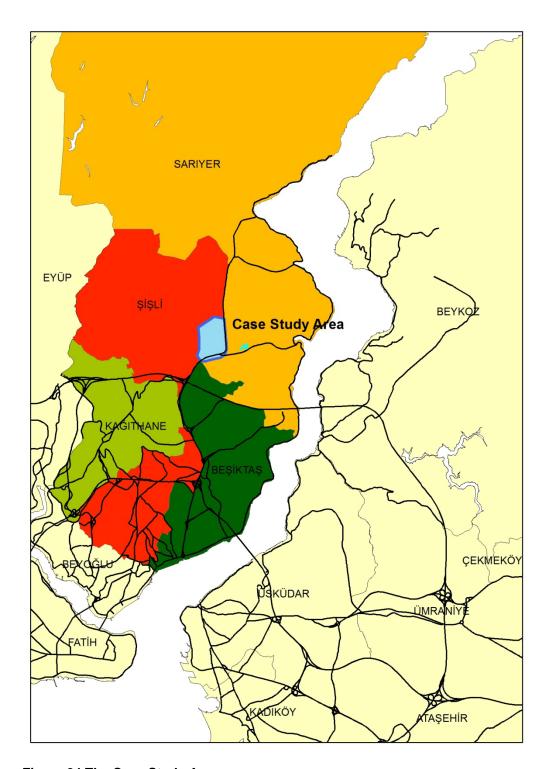


Figure 24 The Case Study Area

Source: development by author, based on Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, 2007

The historical center lost its attractiveness and developments started from the center to the periphery. The district became decentralized to the northern part. New sub-centers where high level services and office functions were located emerged. Maslak is one of these districts.

Maslak district is continuation of the central business district of the main Büyükdere Avenue. Its location is near the Fatih Sultan Mehmet Bridge and the Atatürk airport. Atatürk Auto industry is located in the north of the financial district. And Istanbul Technical University is located in the south.



Figure 25 Maslak skyscrapers

Source: Personal Archive

Administratively, Maslak district is under control of two district municipalities, which are Şişli and Sarıyer.Maslak is a financial district. It has been surrounded by high rise office buildings since the 1980s. The office development has increased rapidly in the last three decades.

Office buildings in the district have to grow in horizontal direction because of the land scarcity and population density. As a consequence, high office buildings are perceived from the bridge roads and affect the city silhouette negatively. The office buildings, reflecting the characteristic properties of Maslak region, are multi-storey buildings including mostly restaurants and banks which have unique city center functions.

Büyükdere Avenue

The development of the CBD along Büyükdere Avenue started after 1980. Then throughout the 1990s, the developments on this avenue continued towards Maslak area in the north of Şişli district. Büyükdere Avenue administratively is under control of four district municipalities, which are Sarıyer, Beşiktaş, Şişli and Kağıthane. Since the area was not under the control of one body, there were various plans approved and put into implementation on different dates after 1980 up to date. Some of them were approved by the Ministry of Tourism, and some by Beşiktaş, Sarıyer, Şişli and Kağıthane Municipalities.

Büyükdere Avenue defines the sub-district between Mecidiyeköy-Şişli-Maslak. Obsolescence in the structure of the historical district center, roads which are insufficient for increasing traffic, lack of parking lots, high land prices, new and modern office buildings became common in the new center along the Şişli-Mecidiyeköy-Maslak axle. The new center is cheaper and provides opportunities for the construction of modern offices.

On this axle, there are metropolitan scale shopping centers such as Metrocity, Kanyon, Akmerkez, Mayadrom_Akatlar, Mayadrom_Uptown, and Kuleçarşı, which are high rise and constructed on large lands, and also serve as a residential area for high income groups.

Therefore, the developments on Büyükdere Avenue toward Maslak were realized through a variety of different plans approved and implemented on different dates.



Figure 26 Maslak skyscrapers 2

Source: Personal Archive

In six years, almost 40 new office buildings, serving as the headquarters of powerful capital holders, and head offices of banks, other financial institutions and producer service firms were established.

This chapter is explained the evolution of Maslak as a financial district by private sector hand.

4.1. Spatial Configurations of Maslak

Maslak area office development began in 1976. The first headquarter of the area was Emlakbank. Today, Maslak holds 22 headquarters of national and international big companies.

With respect to land uses of the district, office building area pushes the industrial area. Figure 28 shows that Maslak, a financial district, grows toward the north.

Although in 1980, Maslak was an industry center 95% of the area of which was industry, today 56% of Maslak is used as a financial center.

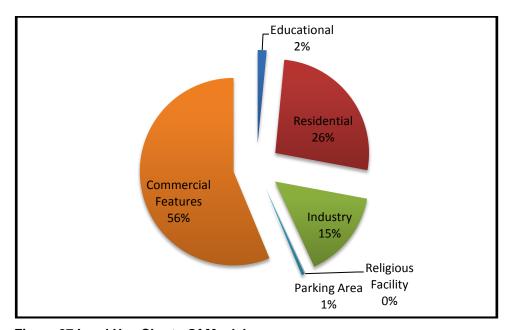


Figure 27 Land Use Charts Of Maslak

Source: Developed by the author based on Şişli Municipality, Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, Sarıyer Municipality, and survey; 2010

Although industry still plays a significant role in Maslak, this area will be removed according to the growth of the finance center*.

^{*}This data are obtained from an interviews with Gülçin BAYRAKTAROĞLU and Tülin EVEN

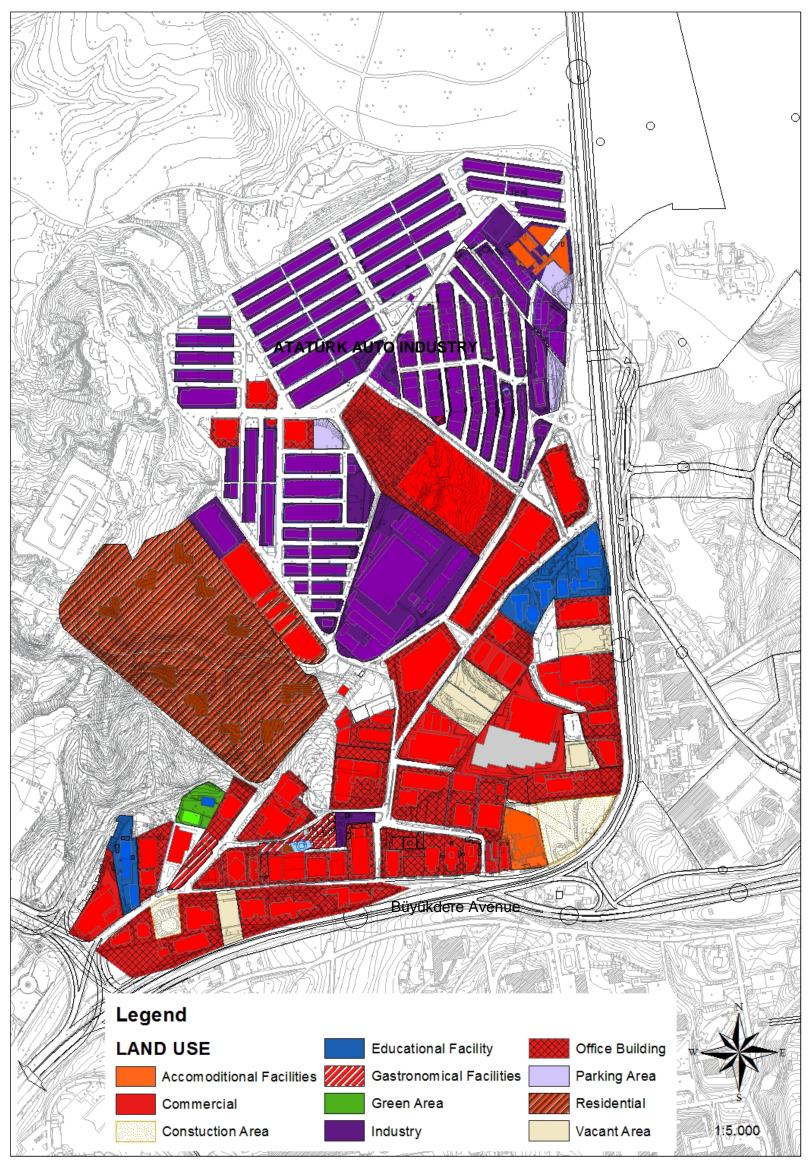


Figure 28 Maslak Land Use

Source: Developed by the author based on Şişli Municipality, Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, Sarıyer Municipality, and survey; 2010

26% of Maslak is used as residential area, which is built by globalization. The construction of Mashattan finished in 2005. Mashattan has ten 33-storey-high blocks.

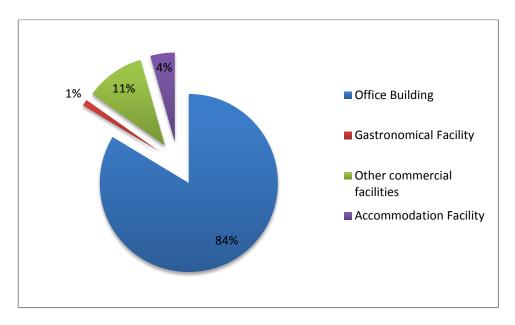


Figure 29 The Share of Commercial Activities

Source: Developed by the author based on Şişli Municipality, Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, Sariyer Municipality, and survey; 2010

According to the figure above; 84% of the commercial facilities are office buildings in Maslak districts, while in the 1980s there were only five office buildings in this area.

With respect to the number of floors, the south of Maslak is higher than the northern area because the South of Maslak is the continuation of the central business district of the main Büyükdere Avenue. The tallest building is Sun plaza, which is located behind the head quarters of Ziraat Bank.

Diamond of Istanbul (the construction area on the Büyükdere Avenue) is still under construction. When the building is finished, Diamond of Istanbul will be the tallest building (50 storeys) in the area and Istanbul. The second tallest building is Beybi Gis Plaza (48 storeys).

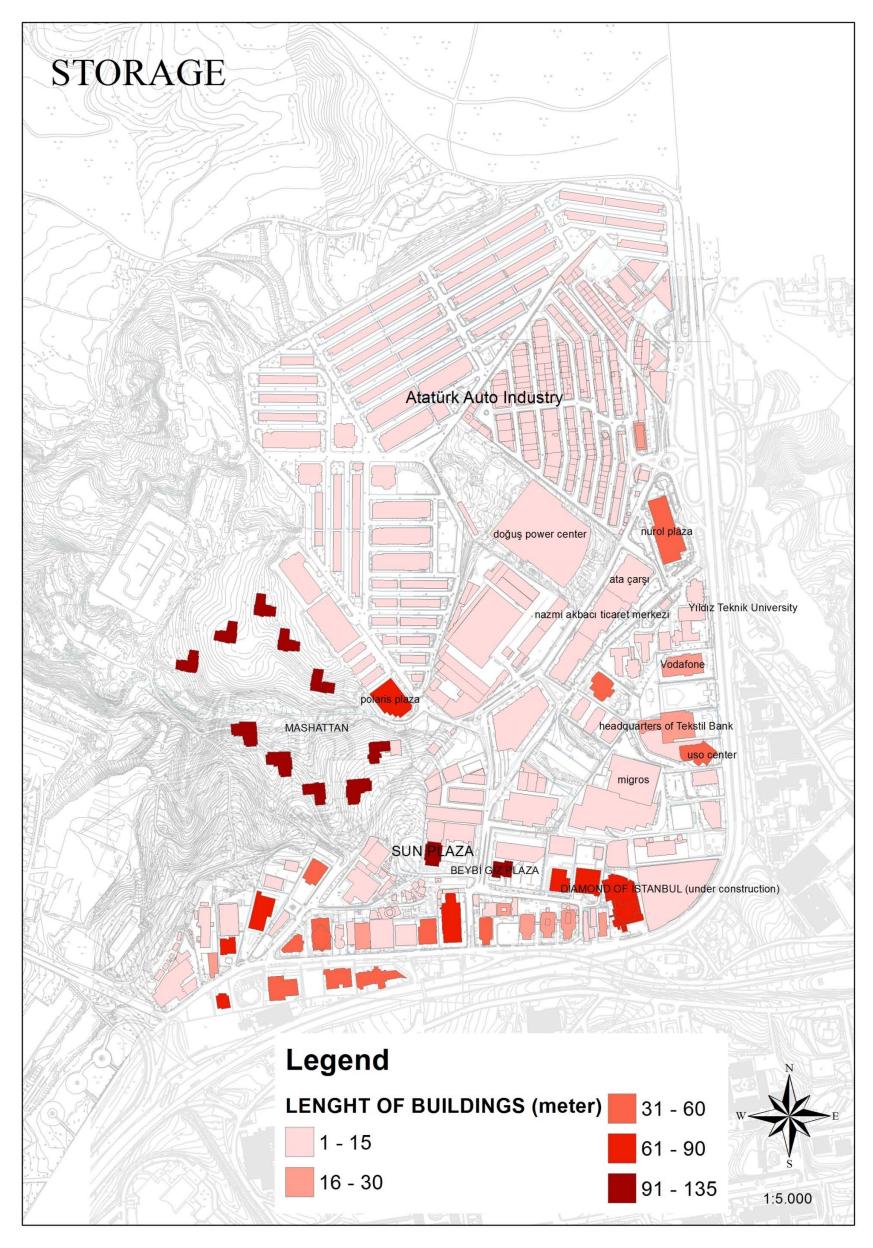


Figure 30 Number of Floors

Source: Developed by the author based on Şişli Municipality, Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, Sarıyer Municipality, and survey; 2010

Figure 32 shows the construction years of buildings in Maslak. Development started in the middle of the 1970s on Büyükdere Avenue. In the 1987, there were five office buildings in Maslak district. The construction boom started in 1992*, new office buildings, hotels, and a shopping mall (Migros) were established. Seventeen office buildings were built in the period of 1995 - 2000 (figure 26). In the last five years, office building construction again increased and three buildings are still under construction.

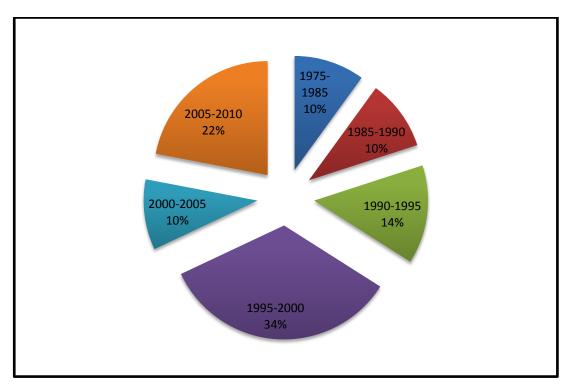


Figure 31 Construction Years of buildings

Source: Developed by the author based on Şişli Municipality, Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, Sariyer Municipality, and survey; 2010

^{*}These data are obtained from the interview with Gülçin BAYRAKTAROĞLU

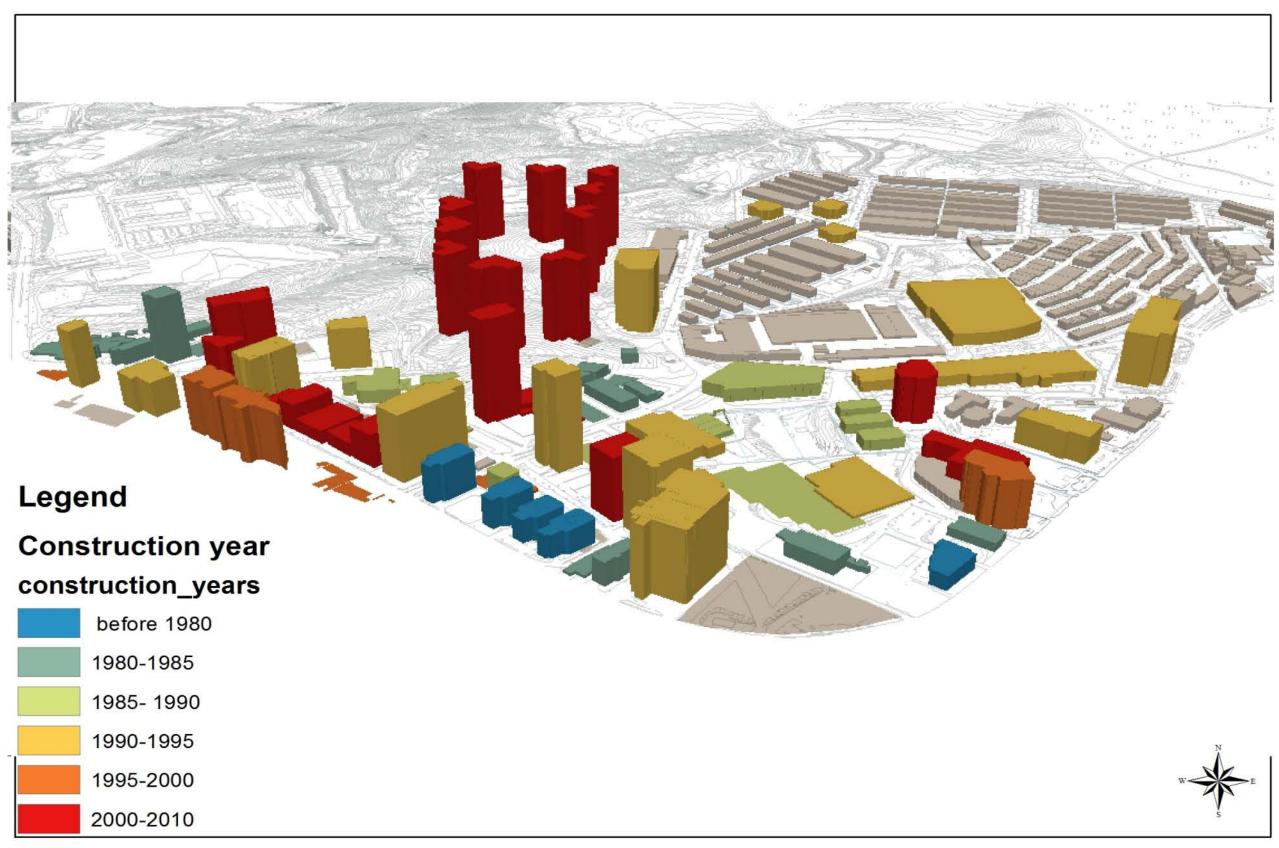


Figure 32 Buildings Construction Years

Source: Developed by the author based on Şişli Municipality, Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, Sarıyer Municipality, and survey; 2010

4.2. Spatial Evolution of Maslak, İstanbul since 1980

The evolution of Maslak is important for this study to understand how Maslak recunstructed with the globalization process. In order to illustrate this process, the history of Maslak is divided into 4 historical periods:

- 1980 and before
- 1980 and 1990
- 1990 and 2000
- And 2000 to the present day

Figure 33 shows the Maslak evolution on plans. And figure 34 shows the Maslak spatial development.

With the pressures of economic forces, the first plan was made in 1983. The plan is special because this is the only area that has a plan out of the metropolitan area in 1983 ¹. The second and the third plans were revision plans. 1991 Ayazağa Revision Master Plan decision about Mashattan area was an office development, but this has changed with the 2004 plan of Ayazağa. However, the plan was repealed*.

This chapter will show which actors played a major role in city plans and how Maslak reshaped with the decisions. This chapter is designed by interviews journals and site researches of the case study area.

^{*}These data are obtained from the interview with Tülin EVEN and Gülçin BAYRAKTAROĞLU

Spatial Development of Maslak Finance Centre According to Plans

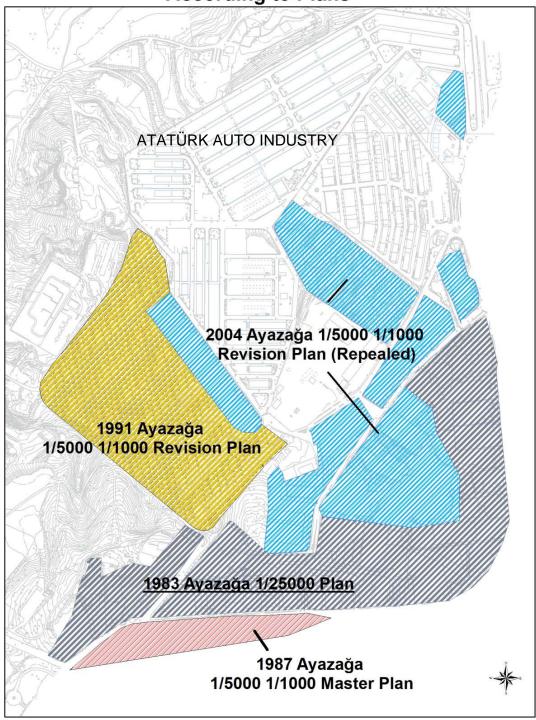


Figure 33 Evaluation of Maslak

Source: Developed by the author based on master plans; 2010

Reconfiguration of Maslak as a Finance Center

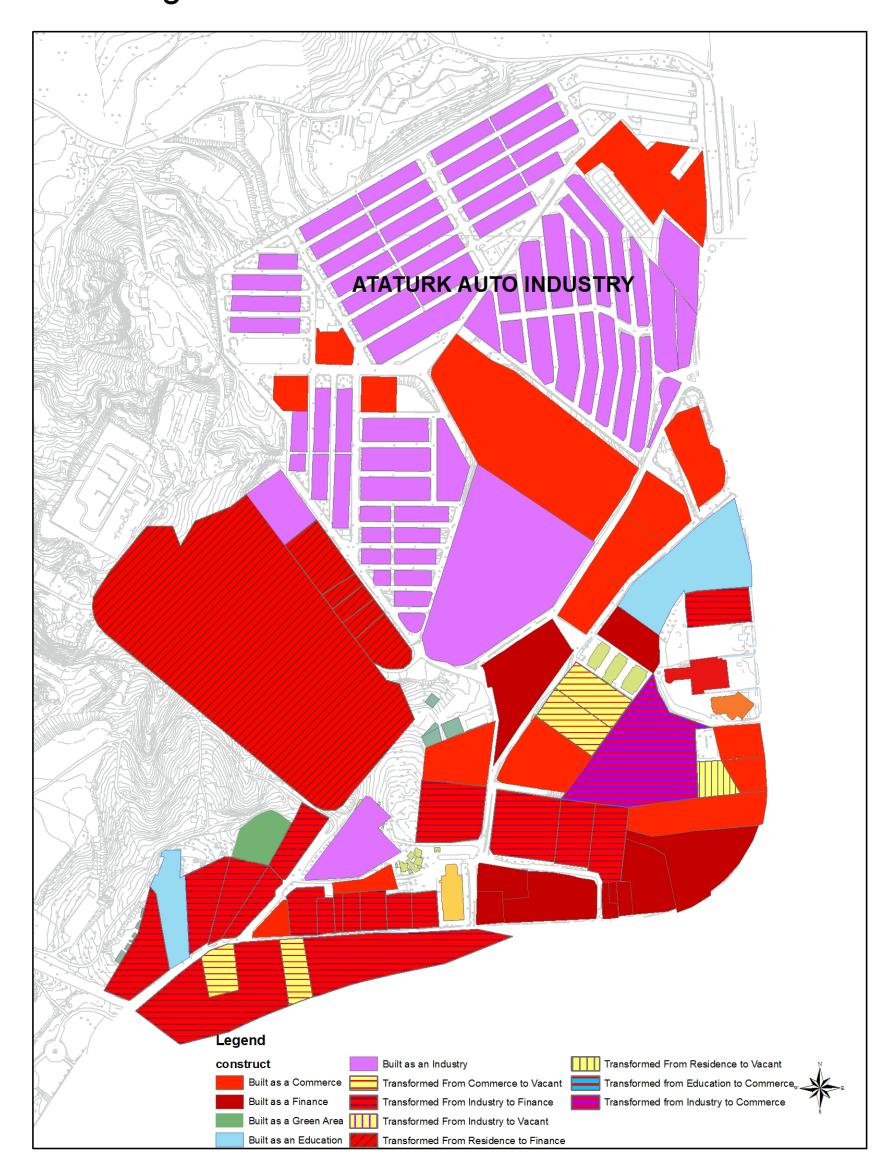


Figure 34 Reconfiguration of Maslak

Source: Developed by the author based on aerial photos and şişli municipality data ; 2010

4.2.1. 1980 and before

Büyükdere-Maslak district was a rural area and outside the metropolitan city area in the early 1950s. Planners at the head of the planning bureau did not suggest a development to the north *.

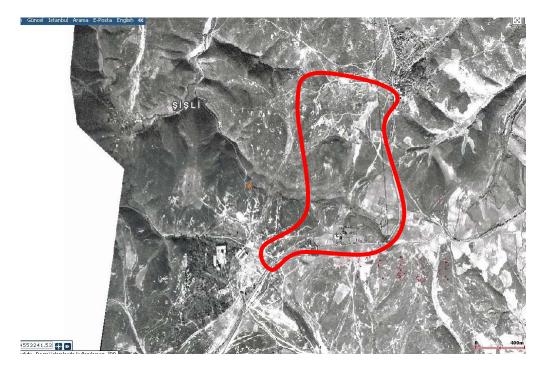


Figure 35 An aerial photograph of Maslak in early 1950s

Source: ibb.gov.tr

Head planners in the planning bureau changed and began to work to reduce the lack of dwelling units in the Levent district. Moreover, industrialization started in this area which is outside the metropolitan municipality after permission was obtained from the village headman (Öktem, 2000). The planning bureau prepared an industrial plan to prevent an unplanned development in the spline.

The area around Mecidiyeköy, Levent, Şişli and Bomonti was planned as industrial area ² (Tekeli 1994). In this area, firstly big automotive and medical industry emerged (e.g. Eczacibaşi). The industrial development started in

^{*}These data are obtained from the interview with Binnur ÖKTEM

Levent in the 1950s and continued its development toward Maslak and Ayazağa in the 1960s. Big companies bought the lands in the proximity of automotive and medical industry areas in the 1970s as they thought the worth of these areas would increase in the future (Öktem, 2000).

The macroform of the city clearly turned to the north, after the opening of the Bosphorus Bridge and connection roads (Tekeli, 1994)³. Büyükdere Boulevard started to become popular for finance and holding headquarters with the development of the city center in the north axis (Öktem, 2000). The place between Mecidiyeköy - Zincirlikuyu was planned as a 2nd degree center in the 1974 implementation plan. In this period, the idea of moving the campuses of universities outside the city center occurred and a big area was allocated to İTU in Maslak. The 3rd development was transforming the areas in Ayazaga and Maslak which were either minimized or evacuated by the military into dwelling units and industry rapidly*.

In the late 1970s, although the biggest land owners demanded to construct their centers in Maslak, the planning bureau rejected this proposal to conserve the forest and basin area on the north and develop in the east-west direction, parallel to the Marmara Sea (Öktem, 2000). In the master plan of 1980, Maslak was identified as residential and industrial areas despite the landowners' demand. (1980 1/100000 environmental layout plan)

4.2.1. 1980 – 1990 period

Transformation processes commenced in the country in concurrence with the international expansion policy of the new government that had come into power at the end of the military coup period in 1983. This process which was progressing by means of state and domestic investors previously transformed in this period, and the entrance of foreign goods and products started.

^{*}These data are obtained from the interview with Binnur ÖKTEM

In the same period, globalization trends in the world accelerated, and the economic transformation that prevailed in Europe and America started to occupy every field of life. Multinational corporations appeared in concurrence with the development of technology and communication networks. Decentralization of multinational corporations worldwide also provided capital flow into developing countries.

Decentralization of multinational corporations worldwide also provided capital flow into developing countries.

When the impact on urban space is examined, decentralization of industry from the urban center is observed. In this period, while the company centers of multinational corporations remained in the center of the urban area, production facilities moved to the peripheral areas*.

Istanbul faced big problems with infrastructure requirements, such as transportation and housing in the 1970s due to over population and population density. A key phenomenon in terms of spatial structure was the connection of both sides of the Bosphorus with a bridge in the 1970s. Bosphorus Bridge and its ring roads enhanced transit transportation of urban areas and became the backbone network of urban transportation in a short time through fast-track growth.

In the 1980s, the fact that the government tracked open policy to the world and the fact that metropolitan municipality mayor in this period (Bedrettin Dalan) desired to make Istanbul into a culture, trade and art capital started a transformation in the city.

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^{*}These data are obtained from the interview with Environmental plan department of Istanbul metropolitan Municipality

At the same time, the changing policies of countries and the revolution in Iran put Turkey in a more important position in America's perspective (Atasoy, 1996). All these developments resulted in source transfers of The World Bank and OECD (Öktem, 2000).

The government of this period put forward the need for transformation in urban infrastructure and environment. They proposed the construction of skyscrapers, wide highways, luxury hotels, malls and urban factories. National investment groups also agreed on the necessity of transformation and decided to support the government of this period. The American impact on Turkey was observed in this period (Öktem, 2000). This decision was publicized by both the foreign press and national press through national investment groups' supports (Öktem, 2000).

The aim of the plan approved in 1980, was to increase the importance of Istanbul metropolis at the international level without losing in value, and to create the necessary function and services in accordance with country development (Yüzer a, 2003). According to this plan, industry would be decentralized and the creation of a center and sub center works would start (central stagger).

In this period, authorizations of centralized and local administrations were amended and their dependences on the center were decreased. The rights of plan approval, implementation and amendment were transferred to local authorities (Öktem, 2000). Heavy industries moved to the peripheral areas and it was planned that the activities in the urban areas would develop as a part of tourism, finance and service sectors.

The first plan was the 1986 Essen Project, made for an international business center (Sezer, 2000). The transformation of municipal shack towns and collapse areas into an international business center was deemed appropriate. However, as a result of pressures to metropolitan municipality owing to the fact that investment groups had lands in the vicinity of Levent and Maslak, the project of international trade center was transferred to Levent – Maslak

(Öktem, 2000). The first demands in this period came from Sabancı Holding, İş Bank, Yapı-Kredi Bank, Garanti Bank, Tatlıcılar Holding, Alarko Holding and the Central Bank.

These companies had increased their relations with international companies after 1980, thus, financial activities had developed (Öktem, 2000). One of the most important reasons for the rapid transformation was the fact that architects, government, municipality and investors had acted in concert. Further, bureaucratic barriers were removed in order to allow for investments by foreign investors.

On account of the fact that the 1980 plan did not support such development, 1/25000 and 1/5000 plans were made by the metropolitan municipality throughout the region. In these plans, the current structuring system was made elastic and it was rescheduled to allow maximum storey height *.

There was Turkish –English partner company to prepare the "Bosphorus preview and areas of influence" plan in this period. The Levent – Zincirlikuyu line in the south of Maslak was determined as management center, and 3 coefficients were given for Maslak (Öktem, 2000).

The first revision on the plan for Maslak region was arranged as 1/25000 in 1983. The area in the south of Atatürk car industry on the side of Büyükdere Avenue was proposed as trade center*.

^{*}These data are obtained from the interview with Binnur ÖKTEM

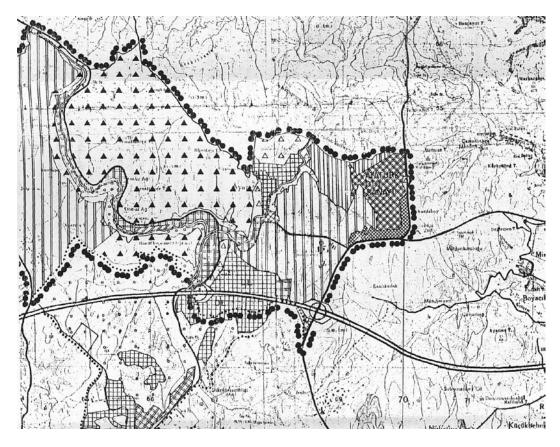


Figure 36 1983 Revision of 1/100.000 Master Plan of Maslak

Source: Şişli Municipality, 2010

The "Individual Parcel Plan" (Münferit Parsel Planı) was a concept that appeared in this period *. The right of structuring for solely building was granted by means of separate parcel plans, and different rights of structuring were granted for each parcel ³. Such right of structuring was unprecedented in planning practise up to this date. The consultant group of the Metropolitan municipality had made decisions and obtained permissions in order to allow the attraction of national and foreign investors by ignoring all plans.

Büyükdere Avenue Revision Master Plan and Ayazağa Revision Master Plan were made in 1988 because of the demands of landowners and companies which desired to invest as a result of increased structuring and incomes.

^{*}These data are obtained from the interview with Gözde GÜR

In these plans, the 2 building ratio for Maslak and its environment was increased to 2,3 building ratio and 3 building ratio for Büyükdere Avenue were increased to 4,5 building ratio. Axial structuring in this period appeared as business center, shopping center, hotels and luxury house. However, developments appeared on the Levent – Zincirlikuyu District, and it appeared in Maslak region between the 1990 and 2000.

The upper scale plan made in 1980 was ignored wholly, plan decisions were made in the scale of parcel owing to land speculation, and it caused such development by giving high coefficients on sub scale plans in spite of the upper plan *. In this process, an arrangement for urban infrastructure was not made and the sewage, water and electricity lines arranged for industrial area previously were left as they were. This situation resulted in big problems when tall buildings in subsequent periods were built.



Figure 37 Aerial photos in 1987

Source: Istanbul metropolitan municipality,2010

4.2.2. 1990 - 2000 Period

Most of the office buildings were built in this period.

The project for Istanbul to be transformed to a global city sustained its validity in the 1990-2000 periods. New projects were proposed to attract investments to urban areas. Projects for free trade zones, world trading centers, international exhibitions, money-markets, modern offices, international airports, modern communication systems, five-star hotels, railways, motorways, international congress and culture centers, international stadiums and sport centers were proposed in this period (Öktem,2000).

It is observed that government in this period was affected by the discourse of global-urban and especially by that of Friedman, Castells and Sassen (Öktem, 2000).

Government executives ignored developments that existed on Levent-Maslak line. The place was allowed in Ferhatpaşa in order to protect the historical silhouette of the Bosphorus and prevent the development of this axis to the North (1995 1/25000 Regulatory Development Plan). The 4,5 building ratios proposed for Büyükdere Avenue were decreased to 3 in the revision of the master plan. This situation was subjected to government, local government and investment groups.

In the 1/25000 environmental layout plan decision made in 1995, the Levent – Maslak District was determined as "making healthy area". The plan included the following decisions.

Levent - Maslak District;

Not to be allowed for developments that can be affected on silhouettes and frosting this District that is encourager for developing urban towards North and that is sliding to Bosporus (1995 environmental layout plan).

However, development in Maslak Region had begun and accelerated in this period, despite all plans. Maslak, which had only two buildings up to 1995, continued its development rapidly after 1995.

The period of 1990-2000 was a period in which the administration and capital conflicted. In this period, the Levent – Maslak District continued to develop despite the frosting decision.

Aerial photo (Figure 38) shows the rapid developments in Maslak district. Only ten years later, the district of Maslak was already developed.



Figure 38 Aerial photos of Maslak in 1996

Source: Istanbul metropolitan municipality,2010

4.2.3. 2000 - 2010 Period

The 2000 – 2010 period is a period in which Maslak development accelerated. Many business centers were built in this period. Atatürk Auto Industry zone was constrained to the Northernmost by the slipping of Maslak to the North. In this sense, Maslak became a threat to forest lands as of 2010. Atatürk Auto Industry zone acts as a buffer area between forest lands and finance center*.

In 2004, the Ayazağa revision plan was made. The plan involved Maslak with industrial area in the Cendere Valley. The planners decided to remove the industrial areas in Cendere Valley and turn the area into recreational area. However, Eczacıbaşı who owned this land in the Cendere Valley opposed to this decision and sued the government. As a result of the case, the plan was cancelled (see the appendices). It is claimed that the cancellation decision was only due to Eczacıbaşı's landownership, but Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality cancelled the whole plan in order to continue the permissions of "individual parcel plans" in Maslak ⁴**.

In 2020, in the Istanbul Master Plan (1/25000) that was just prepared, it was decided to frost the development because Maslak threatened forest land in the North and its development had negative impact on the urban silhouette. The decision of the government dictated that Istanbul Financial Centers would be Ataköy on the Anatolian side. Figure 33 shows the plan of the Büyükdere Avenue and Maslak. In the plan, Maslak is a central business district (CBD) of Istanbul.

^{*}These data are obtained from the interview Tülin EVEN

^{**}These data are obtained from the interview Gülçin BAYRAKTAROĞLU and Gözde GÜR

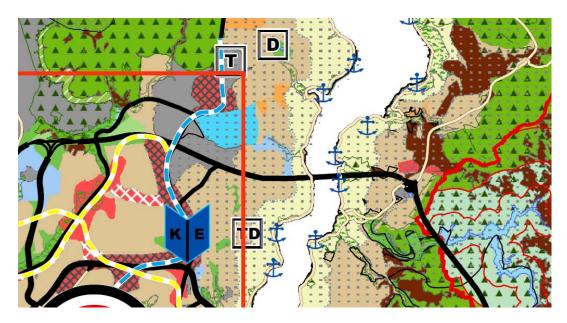


Figure 39 2023 Master Plan of İstanbul (1/25000)

Source: İstanbul metropolitan municipality, master plan department, 2010

In the beginning of 2000, the metro system was rebuilt and reached Maslak. Maslak has the biggest office buildings and the highest people capacity in Istanbul. Because the district is dense in offices and traffic at rush hours, transportation was a problem in the Maslak district. Along with the metro, the transportation is easier today.

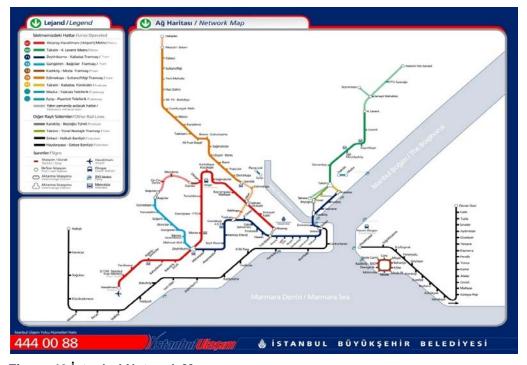


Figure 40 İstanbul Network Map

At the end of the 1990s, it was decided to build luxury housing and their construction started at the beginning of the 2000s. These are among the projects to finish next year. These houses are called "Mashattan". The project area is 140.000 m². This project consists of 10 tall buildings with 33 floors.



Figure 41 Mashattan, Maslak

Source: Personal Archive

Two foreign companies decided to build the business centers called "Trump Tower" and "Dubai Towers" on the Büyükdere Avenue. Nowadays, an opinion is expected for Dubai Towers.

Attempts are made to decide on the building ratio values and plans for individual parcels in Maslak. Owing to the cancellation of the 2004 Ayazağa Revision Master Plan (Figure 37), the development of the area was stopped in the presence of the plan. However, there are buildings under construction as of 2010.



Figure 42 Maslak under Construction 2010

Source: Personal Archive

The important features of globalization are the fact that national boundaries are losing their significance and the fact that the control of nation state on the economy is fading out. Global capital makes decisions on the whereabouts and time of investments on their own. In case of this flexibility and mobility of capital, the urban attempts to take shares of the advantages of capital movement by means of publicity campaigns. This process prevails in developing countries. Architects, planners and authorities could not select a site for investment, but the local/foreign investor could. Maslak emerged through this process. Although Maslak has all the plans (1/100000, 1/25000, 1/5000, 1/1000) the investors in Turkey decided and Maslak was a part of this process. (See appendices)



Figure 43 The Master Plan of Ayazağa (1/5000 Cancelled Plan 2004)

Source: Şişli Municipality,2010

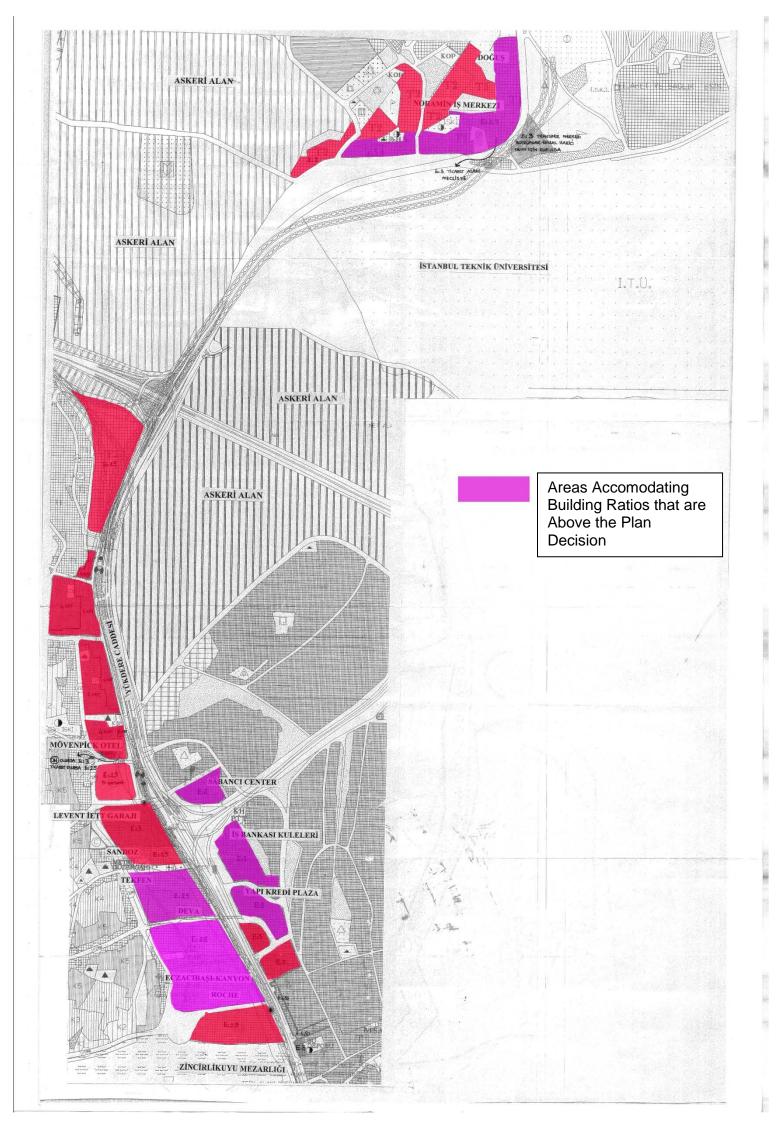


Figure 44 The Office Buildings Which Are Not Appropriate Building Ratio

Source: Developed by Author, based on İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality, Master plan data ,2010

The second problem with the plans of Maslak and Büyükdere Avenue is that the given building ratio maximum is 3. However, all skyscraper building ratios are much higher than the plan permits.

Another important problem is insufficient infrastructure. Because Maslak was an industrial area before the 1980s, the infrastructure was made for industrial areas rather than for tall buildings. This situation caused big problems after the construction of tall buildings in subsequent periods.

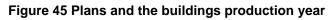
Also, the environmental plans of 1995 and 2020 point out that Maslak threats forest land in the North and this development has negative impact on the city. In 1950, there was no construction on the district. Following the development of Maslak, this area has a high density and empty areas almost left. Today, there is still investment demand to construct the building on Maslak. This situation is create a pressure on forest area and other green areas on the north of Istanbul.

Overlapping in the buildings construction year and the plan years of Maslak shows that some of the buildings were made before the plans (See figure 39).

Buildings That Construction Year Before the Plan Year







Source: Developed by author, based on plans and aerial photos

Endnotes

¹ this data compiled of city planners of istanbul metropolitan muninipality and şişli municipalty

² 1954 Industrial plan: The industrial plan prepared for the European side opened the area Mecidiyeköy-Levent, Mecidiye-köy-Şişli, Bomonti ve Kasımpaşa-Kâğıthane. Istanbul industrial Plan which is implemented in 1955,freeze industrialization in Golden Horn in one way,determined new industrial areas in , Topkapı-Rami ve Levent.The third biggest squatter housing area has developed around Kağıthane. The opening of new industrial areas caused squatter housing in uncontrolled areas like Halkalı,Maltepe, Kartal.

³ this data compiled of city planners of istanbul metropolitan muninipality and şişli municipalty

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The term of globalization is explained at first chapter. It is observed that globalization movements have been appearing and accelerating in recent 20 years. In literature; it is expressed that globalization is tri axial phenomenon that has means of economical, political and cultural.

The economical extent of globalization can be interpreted as internationalization of trading, spreading of capital on global scale, formation of world as a single market. The development of market economy, acceleration of economic organization worldwide, spreading of free trade and widening activities of multinational companies were made available in concurrence with economic globalization.

Politic extent of globalization makes the local authorities more powerful. Thus, the cities have become much more free in global arena. Additionally, the fact that some public services operated from centre had made over to local governments have contributed to faster development of process. It can be expressed that in this sense of globalization have positive impact on urbanization.

Cultural extents of globalization, makes all the cultures turn to one. This culture called as consumption culture. This monotype culture coming together with globalization is causing to fading out of traditional life style, and it is also causing to not to be transferred of traditional life style to new generations.

And the evolution of cities explained. The urbanization comes with the industrial development. Beginning with the industrial changes, the cities are growing and have complex form. With the globalization this complexity is increased, because of the new landuses.

In case of this flexibility and mobility of capital; urban are trying to take shares getting advantages of capital movement by means of publicity campaigns. Urban can easily undertake such commitment owing to the fact that those have administration structures determinate clearly (aksoy a, 1996). Technological developments have also direct relation with removing geographical restrictions. Technological developments and liberalization of capital have made space mobile.

If a city has the power of competition, it is important that not only how long the city does presents its resources, but also how the city is related with the economic global system. The differentiation which comes from the native of the city naturally designated their performances and the level of achievements in these new circumstances. Some of the regions and cities growing fast than the others have a larger economic portion both in regional and global flat.

After explaining the relationship between globalization and the city, different impact of globalization on developed and developing countries explained. The examples are La Defensé, Potsdamer Platz, London and Beijing Oriental Plaza.

The world city characteristics is described in literature. To do this Friedman, Sassen, Knox and Taylor was exampled. In 1986 John Friedmann published a paper entitled "The World City Hypothesis". Friedmann (1986) argues that cities and urban development in general are closely tied to the changing organization of the global economy. Specifically the world urban system is a spatial manifestation of the "new international division of labour".

According to Saskia Sassen, 'Global Cities' are not only command centers, but also above all centers of 'global services'. The sociologist explained her concepts of 'global city' and 'global services' is summarized 6 points or 'hypothesis' .Knox (2002), identified the global city as a "functional node points" and Taylor (2004) also identified the global city as a "leading city".

After these examples the global Istanbul is discussed. Towards economic liberalization, Istanbul, designated to become a 'global city' attracting foreign capital, played a major role. The city is the main and almost the only gateway of Turkey to the global economy. It is the place where international firms prefer to locate and where more than half of the exports are made. Since the beginning of the 21th century, it seems that the city improved significantly its place in the rankings. But if the city is well ranked in academic rosters of world cities (Beaver stock, Taylor et al., 2008)

Istanbul has not only the potential to be an economic and political center for Turkey and the global city network but also for the whole region, playing the role of gateway between on the one side a macro-region, the so-called "Eurasia" composed of Balkans, Black Sea Basins, Russia and the Middle East, and on the other side the global network. As a result of this chapter this study shows for the economic, cultural and accessible features, Istanbul is Global City. But because of the low livability and pollution of environment decreases the cities selectiveness.

And the last chapter explained how impacts the urban space with globalization in İstanbul. Maslak is explain and discuss. Büyükdere-Maslak district was a rural in early 1950s and outside the metropolitan city area. Planners in the head of planning bureau did not suggest a development to north.

The late of 1970s, altough biggest land owners demand to construct their centers in Maslak, planning bureaus refused this suggestion to conservate the forest and basin area on the north and give the improve east-west direction, parallel improvement to the Marmara Sea. (Öktem, 2000) Master plan of 1980, Maslak was identified residential and industrial areas even if the land owners demand. (1980 1/100000 environmental layout plan)

Istanbul faced big problems with infrastructure requirements, such as transportation and housing in 1970s due to over population and population

density. A key phenomenon in terms of spatial structure was the connection of both sides of Bosphorus with a bridge in the 1970s. Bosphorus Bridge and its ring roads enhanced transit transportation of urban areas became the backbone network of urban transportation in a short time through fast-track growth.

Another problem of Maslak is the "Individual Parcel Plan" that appeared in this period. The right of structuring for solely building was granted by means of separate parcel plans, and different rights of structuring were granted for each parcel ³. Such right of structuring was unprecedented in planning practise up to this date. The consultant group of the Metropolitan municipality had made decisions and obtained permissions in order to allow attraction of national and foreign investors by ignoring all plans.

In 2020 İstanbul Environmental Layout Plan that was just prepared, it was decided to frost the development because Maslak threatened forest land in the North and its development had negative impact on the urban silhouette. The decision of the government dictated that İstanbul Financial Centers would be Ataköy on the Anatolian side. Like the other financial center plans, this plan may be cancelled because of the land owners.

Attempts are made to decide on the building ratio values and plans for individual parcels in Maslak. Owing to the cancellation of 2004 Ayazağa Revision Master Plan; the development of area was stopped in the presence of the plan. However, there are buildings under construction as of 2010.

The important features of globalization are the fact that national boundaries are losing their significance and the fact that the control of nation state on the economy is fading out. Global capital makes decisions on whereabouts and time of investments on their own. In case of this flexibility and mobility of capital, the urban attempts to take shares of the advantages of capital movement by means of publicity campaigns. This process prevails in developing countries. Architects, planners and authorities could not select a site for investment, but the local/foreign investor could. Maslak emerged

through this process. Although Maslak has all the plans (1/10000, 1/25000, 1/5000, 1/1000), the investors in Turkey decided and Maslak was a part of this process. Second problem is that given building ratio is maximum 3 in the plans of Maslak and Büyükdere Avenue. However, building ratios of all skyscrapers are much higher than the plan permits. Another important problem is insufficient infrastructure. Because Maslak was an industrial area before 1980s, the infrastructure was made for industrial areas rather than for the tall buildings. This situation causes big problems after construction of tall buildings in subsequent periods. All these situations show that Maslak is unplanned even though all the plans prepared for the district.

Globalization can be described as a process by which regional economies, societies and cultures have become integrated through a global network of communication, transportation and trade. The process of globalization affects life in economic, cultural and political ways. Globalization also has impacts the spatial structure of city along with certain economic interests. Along with the flow of capital, the first priority of the city was to attract capital. The economic globalization has forced the city to change in spatial terms. Therefore, city managers and investors started to transform cities in order to make the city "global". New land uses came along with globalization were located in the areas where industrial structures were vacated.

For a city not only the city presents its resources, but also the city is connected with the economic global system is important. The differentiation which comes from the native of the city naturally designated their performances and the level of achievements in these new circumstances. Some of the regions and cities are growing faster than the others. In turn these cities and regions have a larger economic portion both in regional and global grounds.

The global city idea led to similar development projects and plans to a some extent. However, different nationalities and different histories of the cities might pull the city strategies in different directions (Newman ,2005). Castells and Borja (1997) point out that; "large cities have to respond to five types of

challenge: new economic base, urban infrastructure, quality of life, social integration and governability. Only by generating a capacity for a response to these challenges can they on the one hand be competitive" In this sense, being a competitive city is just one part of the whole. Also the other features have a significant role on being "global". Although, in developed countries, governments and planners lost the effectiveness of city decisions, these are try to do what Castell and Borja said. La Defensé and Potsdamer Platz are good examples for how this kind of process must be progress when the space is developing.

Different parts of the city that globalization process produce different land uses. Furthermore, these different parts of a city are characterized by economic globalization. This is to say that certain parts of a city developed under the globalization effects indicates different physical/spatial characteristics in comparison to other parts of the city that previously developed. So they are needed to be planned more carefully than the other parts of the city, because these places are visible sites from the global flat. Therefore, these places must be planned from top to bottom. Every stage of the planning process should be carefully thought and specific planning decisions should be taken for each unique place.

Even if the construction of space is in the hands of private sector, the authorities and planners cannot let them change the main plan which would lead to changes creating loss of control.

In this study, the main area of concern has been the emphasis on the lack of planning and the role of private sector in the building up process of Maslak Financial District in Istanbul.

The important features of globalization are the fact that national boundaries are losing its significances and the fact that the control of nation state on economy fade out. Global capital makes a decision on whereabouts and when to make an investment. In case of this flexibility and mobility of capital; urban are trying to take shares of global capital movement by means of

publicity campaigns. Architectures, planners and authorities could not make a decision about where to make an investment, but the local/foreign investors do. Maslak is developed spatially through this process. Although Maslak has all the plans (1/100000, 1/25000, 1/5000, 1/1000) the investors in Turkey make the decisions in Maslak.

Maslak financial district was built by the Private Sector and has significant problems. İstanbul Environmental Layout Plan which was prepared recently decided to halt development in order that Maslak threats forest land in the North and this development has negative impact on the urban silhouette. However sub scale plans of Maslak (1/5000,1/1000) have a contradicting planning decision. These plans of Maslak support the development on this district.

The other indicator which demonstrates Maslak is an unplanned that; although, cancellation of 2004 Ayazağa Revision Master Plan; the development of area has stopped in the presence of plan. However Maslak has still under construction, new building projects have been developed for the vacant areas. Moreover the lack of the whole area plan Maslak has no order. Although Maslak has the plan, individual parcel plans (münferit parsel planı) has done in Maslak.

In summary, Maslak has got through a different development process than the other cities indicated in this study. Although, Maslak has all levels of plans, it has never planned as an international and financial district of Istanbul in any of these plans. Therefore, this development process can be named as an unplanned development, shaped by the pressures of the investor groups.

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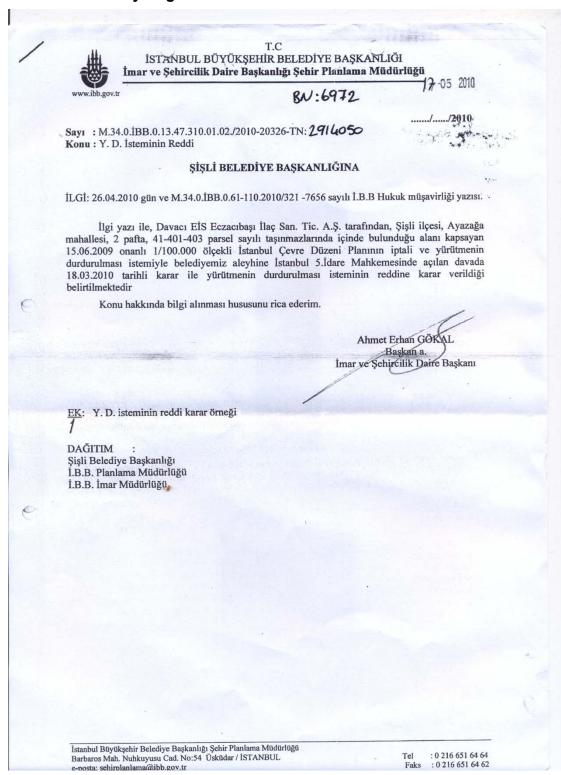
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Sariyer and Beşiktaş Municipalities

APPENDENCIES

Appendix A The Eczacıbaşı-İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality case about 2004 Ayazağa Master Plan



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T.C. ISTANBUL I. IDARE MAHKEMESI

ESAS NO : 2010/367 KARAR NO : 2010/338

: EIS ECZACIBASI ILAC SANAYI DAVACI

: AV. LEVENT BIÇAKCI VEKILI Meydan Sokak No:28 Beybi Giz Plaza No.28 K.16 Maslak /ISTANBUL

: İSTANBUL BÜYÜKŞEHİR BELEDİYE BAŞKANLIĞI DAVALI

AV. HANDAN ÖZER (AYNI YERDE)

: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediye Meclisinin 10.12.2002 tarıh ve DAVANIN ÖZETİ : İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediye Meclisinin 10.12.2002 tarih ve 631 sayılı kararı ile kabul edilen ve İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediye Başkanınca 21.01.2003 tarihinde onanan 1/5000 ölçekli Ayazağa Revizyon Nazim İmar Planının iptali istenilmcktedir.

SAVUNMANIN ÖZETİ :Dava konusu planın planlama alanı bir bürün olarak değerlendirilmek ve kamu yararı dikkate alınmak suretiyle planlama ilkelerine göre hazırlandığı bu nedenle davanın reddi gerekeceği savunulmuştur.

TURK MILLETI ADINA

Karar veren İstanbul 1. İdare Mahkemesi'nce, Mahkememizin 30/12/2005 tarih ve 2004/1860 Esas, 2005/2684 sayılı kararının Danıştay 6. Dairesi'nin 26.09.2007 gün ve 2006/4510 Esas, 2007/5180 sayılı kararı ile bozulması üzerine bozma kararına uyularak dava dosyası yeniden incelenmek suretiyle işin gereği görüşüldü:

Dava, İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediye Meclisinin 10.12.2002 tarih ve 631 sayılı kararı ile kabul edilen ve İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediye Başkanınca 21.01.2003 tarihinde onanan 1/5000 ölçekli Ayazağa Revizyon Nazım İmar Planının iptali istemiyle açılmıştır.

3194 sayılı İmar Kanunu'nun 5 maddesinde nazım imar planı varsa bölge veya çevre düzeni planlarına uygun olarak halihazır haritalar üzerine yine varsa kadastral durumu işlenmiş olarak çizilen ve arazi parçalarının genel kullanış biçimlerini, başlıca bölge tiplerini, bölgelerin gelecekteki nüfus yoğunluklarını, gerektiğinde yapı yoğunluğunu, çeşitli yerleşme alanlarının gelişme yön ve büyülükleri ile ilkelerini, ulaşım sistemlerini ve problemlerinin çözümü gibi hususları göstermek ve uygulama imar planlarının hazırlanmasına esas olmak üzere düzenlenen detaylı bir raporla açıklanan ve raporuyla beraber bir bütün olan plan olarak tanımlanmıştır.

Yukatıda anılan hüküm uyarınca nazım imar planının bölge planına uygun olması gcrekmektedir.

Dosyanın incelenmesinden, uyuşmazlığa konu taşınmazların 1/50.000 ölçekli bölge planında ağaçlandırılacak alan olarak ayrıldığı, 1/5000 ölçekli nazım imar planında ise bu plana aykırı olarak, kısmen açık otopark ve spor elanı, kısmen kentsel özel sosyal altyapı afanları lejantında "A" sembollu alanda kaldığı ve bu alanlarda kentsel kullanıma yönelik özel spor tesisleri, su oyunları parkı, eğlence parkları, özel botanik bahçesi, sera alanları, açık hava konser ve sinema alanları vb. Fonksiyonların yapılabileceğinin plan notunda belirtildiği anlaştımıştır. belirtildiği anlaşılmıştır.

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IST B.S.B PLN MDLUGU

T.C. ISTANBUL 1. IDARE MAHKEMESI

ESAS NO : 2010/367 KARAR NO : 2010/338

Bu durumda, 1/5000 ölçekli planı 1/50.000 ölçekli plana aykırı olduğu anlaşıldığından dava konusu planda hukuka uyarlık bulunmamaktadır.

Açıklarıan nedenlerle; dava konusu işlemin iptaline, aşağıda dökümü yapılan toplam Açıklarıan nedenlerle; dava konusu işlemin iptaline, aşağıda dökümü yapılan toplam 640,10 TL yargılama gideri ile 500,00 TL avukatlık ücretinin davalı idareden alınarak davacıya verilmesine, davalı idare tarafından yapılan karar düzeltme aşaması yargılama gideri olan 39,50 TL yargılama giderinin davalı idare üzerinde bırakılmasına, arıan posta gideri olan 39,50 TL yargılama giderinin davalı idare üzerinde bırakılmasına, arıan posta masrafının istemi halinde taraflara iadesine, kararın tebliğinden itibaren 30 gün içerisinde Danıştay nezdinde temyiz yolu açık olmak üzere 10/03/2010 tarihinde oybirliğiyle karar verildi. verildi.

Başkan MEHMET SALIH ÖZBILGIN

27487

Üye ÖMER ÇAPA 94905

Üye ALI RIZA BABA 102690

DAVACI TARAFINDAN YAPILAN DAVA AŞAMASI

DAVACI TARAFINDAN TAIA	Dett.
YARGILAMA GIDERLERI	20,20 TL
Başvuru ve Karar	20,2
Harci	16,40 TL
YD Harci	10,40 12
Keşif ve Bilirkişi	500,00 TL
Ucreti	50,00 TI
Posta Gideri	59,00 TL
	595,60 TL
TOPLAM	2,2,00 10

DAVACI TARAFINDAN YAPILAN TEMYİZ AŞAMASI

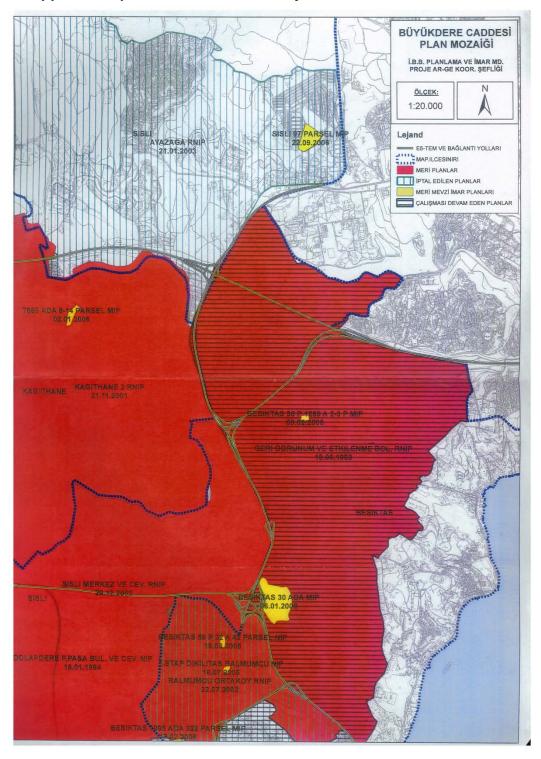
YARGILAMA GIDERLERI	
Temyiz Karar Harcı Posta Masrafi	19,90 TL
	24,60 TL
TOPLAM :	44,50 TL

DAVALI İDARE TARAFINDAN YAPILAN KARAR DÜZELTME AŞAMASI YARĞILAMA GİDERLERİ

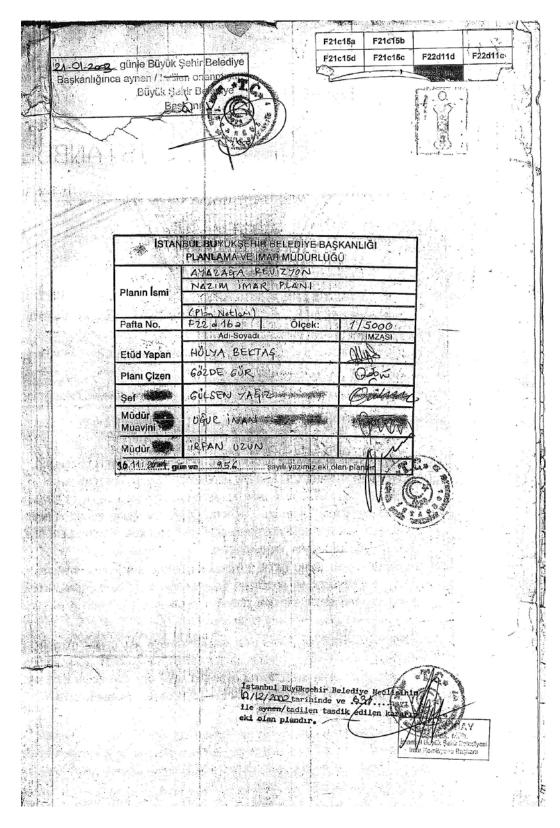
KARAR DUZELTME AŞAMAS	
Karar Düzeltme Harcı	27,00 TL
Posta Masrafi	39,50 TL
TOPLAM	66.50 TL



Appendix B plans on Maslak and Büyükdere District



Appendix C Ayazağa Revision Master Plan Planning Notes (Cancelled 1/5000)



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