MODERN URBAN UTOPIAS AND THE CASE OF *DUBAI*

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ABSTRACT

MODERN URBAN UTOPIAS AND THE CASE OF *DUBAI*

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Is the concept of the urban utopia now defunct? This is a study of the modern urban utopias of the late 20th century, investigated their recent qualities in respect to capitalist mode of production. Accordingly, a recent example, that of Dubai, will be studied and its rapid growth over the last 20 years will be questioned. The primary objective of this thesis is to provide an understanding of how and to what extent flexible accumulation requires a spatial fix, in particular in new geographies, and mobilizes urban utopias for its own sake. The research will rely on the premise that modern urban utopias are mere reflections of capitalist ideologies.

Keywords: Urban utopia; Urban development in capitalism; Dubai.

ÖZ

MODERN KENTSEL ÜTOPYALAR VE DUBAİ ÖRNEĞİ

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Kentsel Ütopya kavramı artık geçersiz mi? Bu çalışma son dönem 20. yüzyıl modern ütopyalarının kapitalist üretim tarzı açısından niteliklerini araştırmaktadır. Buradan hareketle, yakın dönem bir örnek olan Dubai üzerinde durulacak ve kentin son 20 yıl içerisindeki hızlı gelişim süreci sorgulanacaktır. Bu tezin ana amacı, esnek birikimin özellikle yeni coğrafyalarda nasıl ve ne kapsamda bir mekânsal sabitlemeye ihtiyacı olduğu ve kentsel ütopyaları kendi yararına nasıl harekete geçirdiğini anlamaktır. Bu araştırma kentsel ütopyaların kapitalist ideolojinin yalın yansımaları olduğu önermesine dayanmaktadır.

Keywords: Kentsel ütopya; Kapitalizmde kentsel gelişim; Dubai.

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to those who are without hope today, shall be the hope of an utopia

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURES

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Is the concept of the urban utopia now defunct?

By replying "yes" to this question, one is effectively declaring "the end of history". Historical events are nothing more than a continuous rising of utopia from the inside of each system to supersede the previous form, and in this sense, development is achievable only in utopia. As a dialectical process, the path of history follows a path from order to utopia and from utopia to new order. Utopia is always a political matter. Today, there is a dominant and prevalent belief that implies that historical alternatives to capitalism are impossible to attain and that other socio-economic systems cannot be sustained. However, utopianists not only contemplate alternative systems that are thought to be unthinkable, but also create sparks of change by propagating hope and the transformation of the social consciousness. In this research, utopia is mainly understood as being a social project that does not aim to search for an alternative, but rather a utopia that is one further step beyond the current system: Consumer Society. This serves a negative purpose, as our imagination surrenders to the means of production of the current period, while utopia forces us to notice our mental (spiritual) and ideological captivity more and more on the social platform. Believing in the effects of early utopias in terms of spatial organization and social structuring, it is the

intention in this thesis to focus on today's social project. In the present day, utopia has become distanced from its abstract meanings and comes closer to the existent condition, which is a transformation that occurs both in function and in content. The most absolute example of this context can be considered as the city of Dubai. However, this thesis declares that urban utopias are not in fact obsolete, and suggests that in these times they are more necessary than ever.

1.1. Aims and Objectives of the Study

The thesis is developed in three parts. Firstly, the study seeks to draw a perspective of the modern urban utopias of the 20th century and investigate them in respect to the capitalist mode of production, and to discuss the relationship between ideology and utopia. This research relies on the premise that modern urban utopias are a mere reflection of capitalist ideologies. Secondly, a critical inquiry into the role of capital in urban development is made, thereby questioning a number of key concepts such as accumulation, the circuits of capital and state powers. This thesis suggests that economic restructuring has affected spatial production, and that economy-based nation state policies have been a contributing factor in urban restructuring. It is obvious that urban transformations are realized based on the capitalist mode of production and by the state's hand. Lastly, Dubai, as a recent example of a capitalist utopia, and its rapid growth within the last 20 years is investigated. Despite being acknowledged as an important factor in a capitalist economy, the role of urban development in the case of Dubai has received little research attention in terms of an analysis of the various advantages and disadvantages that have emerged. This thesis seeks to provide a better understanding of the nature of urban development in Dubai, and the implications of urban development for the city.

The primary objective of this thesis is to understand how, and to what extent, flexible accumulation requires a spatial fix, in particular in new geographies, and mobilizes urban utopias for its own sake; and Dubai is taken as the most significant example of this situation. The growth rate of Dubai over one decade in terms of its urban development experience can be considered as equal to a century elsewhere, making the city an outstanding example. The construction of the city from nothing, as a *tabula rasa*, is reminiscent, and recalls the attention to innovative ideas, of urban planning in the early-20th century. The urban utopias of the early-20th century were the result of a search for answers to such problems of modernization as "What is the ideal city for the 20th century," coming up with the idea that "the city that best expresses the power and beauty of modern technology, and the most enlightened ideas of social justice".[1] In contrast to the relatively social approaches of the early-20th century, contemporary utopias are created in answer to the search for such end results as achieving a world city status, taking market share and becoming a center of finance. As a social project, the intention of contemporary urban utopias is to create a consumer society.

Utopia, in its most common meaning, is described as a hypothetical perfect society. To this end, one of the most important requirements is to question the status quo; according to which the attainment of utopia could be interpreted as a breaking of the existing order to allow the establishment of a new order. By accepting that society is constructed and imagined, it may be believed that the reconstruction and re-imagination of society is possible. Tafuri explains the transformation of utopia into an ideology with a discourse based on Mannheim's thesis on modern utopia – that it is nothing more than the reflection of the capitalist ideology. There is a direct relationship between modern architecture and the capitalist ideology, and urban development has

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[1] Robert Fishman, *Urban Utopias in the Twentieth Century*, Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: MIT Press, 1982.

become an integral part of the capitalist project. According to Tafuri's hypothesis, the idealizing and legitimizing function of modern ideology is concealed behind a utopian rhetoric, and accordingly he defines utopia as being a "realized ideology".[2] As modern urban utopias are mere reflections of capitalism, features of utopia, such as it being a desirable place or imaginary space becomes a marketing strategy, and thus urban development becomes an integral part of the capitalist project.

Capitalism is obligated to achieve urbanization if it is to reproduce itself. During the period of surplus value production, capital creates and develops new spaces while leaving other spaces to remain underdeveloped. According to David Harvey, urbanization is a form of spatial organization, in that it structures the physical environment and organizes the individual and social relations inside the spaces pertaining to the developed capitalism.[3] In capitalist societies, the mobility of capital resulting from production and reproduction processes is a determining factor in the uneven development of social processes; and for this reason capital accumulation, class struggles and the state cannot be considered as independent phenomena. Since the city is not an independent spatial unit in terms of capitalist social relations either, it is only through hegemonic processes that it can be analyzed. Capital not only creates space at the expense of making another one underdeveloped, but also leaves the spaces that it creates at some stage for spaces that are more convenient, thus making permanent spatial discrepancies.[4] Capital does this while searching for ways to boost its profit margins and competitive power. Since the late-20th century an increase in capital

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[2]Manfredo Tafuri, *Architecture and Utopia: Design and Capitalist Development*, Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: The MIT Press, 1976, 55.
[3]David Harvey, *The Urbanization of Capital*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985, 222.
[4]Tarık Şengül, *Kentsel Çelişki ve Siyaset (Urban Contradiction and Politics)*, İstanbul: WALD, 2001, 146.

interest in cities has been observed; and in that period, not only has a social and spatial polarization been observed, but also a deterioration of social and spatial disparities.

Dubai offers the clearest example of these social and spatial discrepancies, with its rapid urban development, exaggerated consumerism, broad inequality and massive immigration. The city-state of Dubai, one of the emirates located on the Arabian Gulf, used to be a fishing settlement before experiencing rapid urbanization and intense growth. The main development strategy of Dubai is aimed at urban generation and property development, while also establishing itself as the region's hub for commerce, services and leisure through the creation of a new image for the city. Dubai set in motion the transformation of its infrastructure and superstructure with the aim of controlling capital flow, thus targeting the utopian ideal of becoming a world city. Consequently, profitability increased and the market grew under the power of the government. After becoming an area of speculation for capital, the city has developed an image as an investment object in which everything is aimed at promoting consumption.

1.2. Some Remarks on Present Day and Dubai

The contemporary city gives the impression that it is made up of uneven parts, like a patchwork quilt. The individual parts are physically in close proximity, however they tend to be estranged and it is no longer possible to perceive the city as a whole. Public spaces are firstly commercialized and then excluded from the real, becoming utopian or dystopian spaces for different social classes. Artificial islands, embossed urban villages, enclaves designed as 'cities within the city', shopping centers and gated communities are marketed as areas that can fulfill a variety of lifestyle fantasies. In the background though the situation is different, with enlarging peripheral shanty towns

5

and another group, the working class, that is socially and politically uncomfortable. While elements of the same society are estranged from each other, in contrast the advances in information technologies have succeeded in making the world smaller. As a further consequence the cities, in offering a variety of lifestyle fantasies, become noticeable in the global market.

Today, the flow of global capital, services, commodities, technology, communications and information obliterate our control over space and time, meaning that today it is necessary to revisit the oldest question of modernism. The main problem facing the early-20th century Modernists was, "What form should human life and its physical surroundings take in the physical world?" In seeking for an answer in an era in which the human life is being turned upside down, critical demographic changes are experienced, and social and physical surroundings undergo rapid change with the advent of new developing technologies, such as the automobile, railway and telephone;[5] and furthermore, economic and political powers become sharpened. Today this question needs to be asked again, but this time taking into account the realities of the modern day – the great technologic developments in informatics and computer sciences, the catastrophic economic conditions, the political changes that have been experienced, and the fact that the major part of human population has migrated to the cities that have come to adopt metropolitan properties.

Today, the idea of space as a material physical entity is challenged by information technologies and global economies. Space must be transformed under capitalism so as not to become a barrier to dynamism; and in fact should become a bearer of dynamism. While an increase in the high technologies of telecommunications and transportation

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[5]Hakkı Yırtıcı, *Çağdaş Kapitalizmin Mekansal Örgütlenmesi*, İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2005, 21.

has been observed, there has also been an increase in the geographical fluidity of capital. The sensitivity of capital to spatially differentiated qualities grows paradoxically when spatial barriers collapse. It is no surprise that most recent literature within critical urban studies has focused on discussions of the "annihilation of space through time," "spaceless geographies" and "space of flows".[6] Harvey states that capitalism, on the way to the "annihilation of space through time," can only do this paradoxically by building fixed physical infrastructures as means of controlling and supporting production, exchange, distribution and consumption activities.[7]

As space is a social process that is shaped by the structural and superstructural values of society, what sort of social networks, lifestyles and relationships are we seeking to develop when answering the question of what kind of a city we desire? The answer that capitalism brings to this question is obvious: An urban development that is realized by a consumer society as a utopia and is able to satisfy the requirements of capitalism. The city and space are central to the consumer culture, both as a medium for representation and as the grounds of operation. A culture and space that are rootless, unbound and characterized through consumption have been constructed. Since it deviates from its social context, what is produced is an illusion. Flatness is prevalent in both the physical space and the culture of the modern metropolis.

Since being ephemeral is also considered to be a central theme in modernism, the contemporary city is built up based on the concept of ephemerality. This highlights the reality that cities, like everything else, may be exhausted. This state of transience is

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[6]D. Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change,* Cambridge, Massachusetts: Basil Blackwell Ltd, 1989.
[7]D. Harvey.

neither far from Koolhass' description of "The Generic City," nor the reality of Dubai, which is polycentric and has grown dramatically over the past few decades.

> The Generic City is on its way from horizontality to verticality. The skyscraper looks as if it will be the final, definitive typology. It has swallowed everything else. It can exist anywhere: in a rice field, or downtown – it makes no difference anymore. The towers no longer stand together; they are spaced so that they don't interact. Density in isolation is the ideal.[8]

All of this indicates a loss of control over borders and physical limits; and as a result, the context becomes valueless. The perception of scale is confusing, and defining a place in the city becomes hard. In today's world, context-free architecture seems to have become possible. The best example of the contemporary concept of rootlessness and the diminishing of belongingness is indubitably Dubai, which has been able to realize rapid urban development in the desert.

Dubai is a capitalist utopia, where there are no income taxes, elections or labor laws. Consider a city state that is ruled by a corporate and hereditary ruler whose responsibilities are only to himself and his investors. Dubai has become a model of urban development, and may cities of the Arab world, and other cities such as Istanbul, compete to imitate it. This can be referred to as "a process of Dubaization (Dubaification)" and is based primarily on the images and icons used in marketing. The important actors in this process are international capital and central and local government. Large urban projects have become an important new development strategy in capitalist cities and a new form of development in economic, social and political life, all influenced by the accumulation and flow of capital. This study aims to

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[8]Rem Koolhaas, *S,M,L,XL*, New York: The Monacelli Press, 1995, 1253.

provide an understanding of the impacts of the new urban paradigm in reference to Dubai.

Dubai is a model for the global future. Nothing is standing in the way of it becoming an ultimate capitalist utopia – there are no conflicts or questions in its identity, and no complexity in its history or indigenous culture. It is easy to define the characteristics of the imitation of Dubai, or "the process of Dubaization (Dubaification)". Consisting of large-scale projects, an urban pattern emerged in Dubai that incorporated housing complexes, office towers, luxurious hotels, sport and cultural facilities, and shopping centers are designed. These huge construction projects appear to have a common goal: to create the tallest and largest architectural and urban projects ever built; and these singular and segregated projects are connected only by highways. Dubai offers a *tabula rasa* with unlimited finances. As a result, a boom has been experienced in everything, from ideas to buildings, from richness to poverty, from workers to investors, and from luxury to inequality.

At this point, the contemporary position of architecture should be discussed. Throughout history, architecture that legitimizes itself by serving the community and being functional, useful and beautiful, is reduced to a simple fashion in consumer society, and becomes a means of generating a consumer society. The important actors of this process are international capital and central and local government. In such a situation there is a chance that shopping will become the last remaining form of public activity, replacing all other aspects of urban life.

1.3. Content of the Study

This thesis is compiled in two main parts. In the first two chapters, a theoretical framework of the key concepts of the study is constructed; while the second part contains a detailed case study of Dubai in two different chapters. As mentioned previously, a series of key issues will be set out, one after the other, in order to explain the guidelines that constitute the backdrop of this study. First, the relationship between ideology and utopia is examined; second, the research focuses on defining the role of capital, and how economic factors have become a catalyst for development; third, the theoretical groundwork for the realization of a utopia is analyzed through an examination of Dubai from its roots to its development; and fourth, the architectural features and large-scale developments of Dubai are studied. The study concludes with a discussion of the contemporary position of architecture. The thesis draws upon previous works of such critical urban theorists as Harvey, Lefebvre and Castells; while also following the development of the concept of Urban Utopias in their respective periods using the theoretical background of Manfredo Tafuri's *Architecture and Utopia – Design and Capitalist Development* and Karl Mannheim's *Ideology and Utopia*.[9]

In the following chapter we question the architectural utopias of the capitalist era and their relations with ideology. At the outset, owing to the variety of incompatible meanings, the term "ideology" is defined, and the "False Consciousness" view looms large in our approach.[10] Next, the study provides a general summary of utopia and the

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[9]M. Tafuri, 1976, and Karl Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia*, With a preface by L. Wirth, translated from German by L. Wirth and E. Shills, New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc.; London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd, 1936.
[10]False consciousness is the Marxist thesis about processes under which capitalism misleads society. It appears to have been used by Friedrich Engels. See Terry Eagleton, *Ideology, An Introduction*, London and New York: Verso, 1991.

transformation of utopian thought. Then, the reciprocal relationship between ideology and utopia is provided before the case studies on the architectural utopias of the 19th–21st century are set forth.

In chapter 3, the research looks into space production in the capitalist period within the framework of the critical urban theories that developed based on the Marxist economy politics, before assessing the urban transformations witnessed towards the end of the 20th century and at the beginning of 21st century. In order to gain a wider perspective, the issue of capital accumulation is studied in accordance with state powers, and the circuits of capital are defined. Afterwards, regarding the dynamics of urbanization in the service of capitalism, at the end of the chapter a theoretical framework is set out before looking Dubai, drawing upon the concepts of neoliberal geography, entrepreneurial urban governance and state.

Chapter 4 presents the hybrid model of Dubai, which has achieved a balanced between state control and economic liberalism in its urban development. The planning vision of the ruling family determines the strategy for the urban development of Dubai in line with market capitalism, which it does in two ways: By attracting foreign investment, and by reducing restrictions on free enterprise. In doing so, firstly the origins, and secondly the rapid development of Dubai are explained with the help of a historical overview. After that, the development of Dubai in only a few decades into a world metropolis is analyzed with reference to the Strategic and Structure Plans of the city. The effects of the global crisis across the capitalist world on Dubai are discussed at the end of the chapter under the subtitle of "Recession".

In chapter 5, it is intended to put forward a critical inquiry into the urban development of Dubai as an urban pattern system with architectural features and large scale

11

projects. The urban expansion of Dubai is realized both in scale and in the physical spread of the city, as well as in the diversity of projects. Up to this point, this study has discussed the embeddedness of social and political relations as spatial practices under market rules and the effects of the redefined meanings of publicity. Under the three main subheadings of Urban Planning Scale, Urban Design Scale and Architectural Scale the case of Dubai is analyzed, with a discourse on capitalist geographical expansion and the suggestion that a construction of a spatial fix has been achieved through its degradation into a service area.

Chapter 6 comprises a general evaluation of a survey into the modern urban utopias, and the case of Dubai in respect to the role of capitalism in urban development. The main argument of this study is that modern architecture is an ideological tool and cannot possess a revolutionary aim within capitalism, and that urban development has thus become an integral part of the capitalist project. Furthermore, the thesis deals with the contemporary position of architecture in the construction of a consumer society before looking at the possibility of releasing the city from the confines of being a place only where capitalist demands are met.

CHAPTER 2

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN IDEOLOGY AND UTOPIA

Utopia, in its most common and general meaning, refers to a hypothetical perfect society, and is generally the expression of a place where one would most like to live. Utopias affect both the spatial organization and the design of residences; however in time, utopia recedes from its abstract meanings and comes closer to the status quo. Nowadays, the features of a utopia, such as it being a desirable place or an imaginary space, have become a marketing strategy.

Tafuri attempts to explain the direct relationship between modern architecture and the capitalist ideology, claiming that modern architecture is an ideological tool and cannot possess any revolutionary aim within capitalism, given that urban development is an integral part of the capitalist project. He expounds the transformation of utopia into an ideology with his theory that the modern utopia is nothing more than a reflection of the capitalist ideology. According to Tafuri's hypothesis, the idealizing and legitimizing function of modern ideology is concealed behind a utopian rhetoric, and designates utopia as "realized ideology".[11] The Mannheimian distinction between ideological and utopian thought is the key component for Tafuri, and he explains

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[11]M. Tafuri, 55.

utopia using quotations from Mannheim: Utopia is therefore nothing other than "a structural vision of the totality that is and is becoming", the transcendence of the pure "datum", a system of orientation intent upon "breaking the relationships of the existing order" in order to recover them at a higher and different level.[12]

2.1   Ideology

The term "ideology" accommodates various incompatible meanings. The variety of definitions is explained by the complexity of ideology, the history of the term, and the contested nature of the concept in the article of Mike Cormack.[13] The term first appeared in the 18th century to define "a science of ideas," however in the 19th century Marx and Engels removed the word from its origins.[14] In the Marxist account, ideology has a purely economic cause, and a specific economic system gives rise to a specific social structure, which in turn gives rise to particular ways of thinking. In other words, the economic base is the cause of the ideological superstructure from which the "False Consciousness" view of ideology comes to existence. False consciousness can be accepted as implying the possibility of some unequivocally correct way of viewing the world. In brief, ideology is a process that links socio-economic reality to individual consciousness. Terry Eagleton adds to the discussion by suggesting different ways in which ideology can be defined.[15] First, he declares that like culture, ideology is the material process behind the production of ideas, beliefs and values in social life. Moreover, it concerns the way individuals conduct their social relationships and involve these relationships in the signifying practices and processes of political power.

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[12]M. Tafuri, 53.

[13]Mike Cormack, "Defining Ideology", *Ideology*, Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1995, 12.

[14]M. Cormack, 9.

[15]Terry Eagleton, *Ideology, An Introduction*, London and New York: Verso, 1991.

Second, similar to the "world-view," ideology looks at ideas and beliefs with disregard of their falsity or truth, which signifies the practices and conditions of a specific class or group. Third, he continues with the suggestion that ideology, as a discursive field, promotes and legitimizes the interests of specific social groups when faced with opposing interests. Fourth, ideology is confined to the dominant social power, and dominant ideologies help to unify a social formation in ways that are convenient for the rulers. The fifth definition is that ideology signifies ideas and beliefs that help to legitimate the interests of a ruling group or class, especially through distortion and dissimulation. Eagleton finalizes the definitions with the claim that ideologies are beliefs that emerge from the material structure of society as a whole rather than for the interest of a dominant class.[16]

In his article "The Concept of Ideology," John B. Thompson acknowledges Karl Mannheim's *Ideology and Utopia* as a key text in the complex history of discussions of ideology. He implies that Mannheim's approach to ideology is outside the tradition of Marxism, a neutral conception of ideology and method, and is "the sociology of knowledge".[17] Moreover, according to Thompson, ideologies and utopias are conceptualized in Mannheim as ideas which are "discordant" or "incongruous" with reality.

> [W]hereas ideologies never succeeded *de facto* in realizing their projected modes of conduct, utopias realize their content to some extent and thereby tend to transform existing social reality in accordance with the modes of conduct which they project. Ideologies are pure projections which have no transforming effect on the social-historical world, whereas utopias are ideas which are eventually realized, to some extent, in this world.[18]

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[16]T. Eagleton, 28-30.

[17]John B. Thompson, "The Concept of Ideology", *Ideology and Modern Culture*, Standford: Standford University Press, 1990, 47.

[18]J. B. Thompson, 50.

2.2 Utopia

The root of the word "Utopia" may be from both eu-topos – denoting a region of happiness and perfection; and ou-topos – the naming of a region that does not exist anywhere.[19] Utopia, in its most common and general terms, refers to a hypothetical perfect society; but it has also been used to describe actual communities that have been created to that end. Utopia is generally an expression of a place where one would most like to live. Both desirable and impossible, it has long remained an imaginary place. Mumford defines utopia as the search for escape from existing difficulties and struggles, or as an attempt to restructure that provides the future conditions for salvation.[20] Authors of Utopias always critically point out the political and social system of the period in which they lived, opposing the social, economic and political structures of their time and ideology; accordingly, utopias are their expectations from their worlds. In contrast, they exhibit the dominant ideology's production of false consciousness in their periods.

In the search for ideals in social, cultural and economic structures, utopias propose urban forms and shape cities. Utopian thought, in general, may be defined as the feeling of displeasure for the present time and the desire to change ones status with an imaginary view of a better future. One of the most common characteristics of utopias is that they are handled mostly in terms of the city from its first appearance. Thus, it would be fair to say that inside a "utopia", the "city" holds an important place. Most utopias have an urban form, and city planning has been inspired by utopian thought. To give examples, Plato's *Republic* expresses a city that is inspired by Sparta; in More's

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[19]Krishan Kumar, *Utopianism*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991.

[20]Mumford quoted in Zeynep Aslı Gürel Üçer, Gülsen Yılmaz, "Housing Typologies in the Context Of Urban Utopias" *G.U. Journal of Science* 17(4), 2004, 136.

Utopia, there is an island that is to be discussed together with the structure of urban organization as a social organization; while Campenalla, in his *The City of the Sun*, essentially explains a city in terms of its detailed form and its polity. It is interesting to note that it is generally small cities that are chosen for the ideal utopian social order.

There has been a significant transformation of utopian thought since the publication of the novels mentioned above that Colin Rowe and Fred Koetter explain as occurring as a result of discrimination. According to the authors of *Collage City*, there are two types of utopia in respect to the city: The first is the "classical utopia," being "the critical utopia inspired by a universal rational morality and ideas of justice, the Spartan and ascetic utopia which was already dead before the French Revolution"; and second is the "activist utopia of the post-Enlightenment".[21] According to C. Rowe and F. Koetter, the classical utopia:

> [n]ever displayed that explosive component, that sense of an impending and all-transforming new order which belongs to the utopian myth as it was received by the early twentieth century. It will behave as a detached reference, as an informing power, as rather more of a heuristic device as any form of directly applicable political instrument.
> An icon of the good society, the terrestrial shadow of an idea, the classical utopia was, necessarily, addressed to a conspicuously small audience: and its architectural corollary, the ideal city – no less an emblem of universal and final good – is to be imagined as an instrument of education addressed to an equally limited clientele.[22]

While the description of the classical utopia can be simplified as being a symbol of a universal vision, a small and good society, the basis of the activist utopia is:

> The post Enlightenment, was presumably first solidly fuelled by the stimulus of Newtonian rationalism.

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[21]Colin Rowe and Fred Koether, *Collage City*, Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: The MIT Press, 1975, 13-15.
[22]C. Rowe and F. Koether, 14.

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It was surely possible that society and the human condition could be remade and become subject to laws quite as infallible as those of physics. Then – and soon – it would no longer be necessary for the ideal city to be simply a city of the mind.[23]

The design of an ideal city that is based on social laws can only be constructed in accordance with an Ideology.

2.3   The Relationship between Ideology and Utopia

Although human beings behave according to factors that transcend their existence rather than factors that internalize their existence throughout history, they can realize their concrete ordinances with an ideological accordance about existence. This kind of orientation is utopian if the sole intention is to shatter the existentialist formation at the same time. Utopia is oriented towards exceeding the reality, while at the same time shattering the existing order. This differentiates the utopian consciousness from the ideological one.[24] Mannheim draws the sketch of characters of utopia throughout history. According to Mannheim's book, entitled *Ideology and Utopia*, throughout history, existence has been discussed with ideas that transcend existence itself.[25] However, these ideas are relevant only if they are set up as ideologies that belong to this existent phase rather than a utopia. These ideologies become utopias provided that certain social agents embody these ideals into their activities and try to realize them. In other words, when the ideals take on a revolutionary function, they transform into utopias. "Whenever the utopia disappears, history ceases to be a process leading to an ultimate end. The frame of reference according to which we evaluate facts vanishes

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[23] C. Rowe and F. Koether, 15.
[24] K. Mannheim, 187.
[25] K. Mannheim.

and we are left with a series of events all equal as far as their inner significance is concerned," says Mannheim.[26]

Johann Gustav Droysen states in his book entitled *Principles of History (Grundriss der Historik)* that ideas are a criticism of existence. That which needs to be done already falls outside the pre-defined conditions, new thoughts arise, and from those thoughts, new conditions emerge.[27] Historical events are nothing more than a continuous emergence of utopia out of the ashes of the old form. The main difference between ideology and utopia is the outcome of an ideology is conservatism, while the outcome of a utopia is progress and creativity. The Mannheimian distinction between ideological and utopian thought, as mentioned previously, is a key component for Tafuri; and both understood utopia as a constructive thought of the integrity that exists and that which is emerging, and interpret it as a system of orienting the design of a revolution within the existing order to achieve a different and higher one.[28]

Tafuri explains the direct relationship between modern architecture and the capitalist ideology, stating that modern architecture is an ideological tool and thus cannot possess revolutionary aim under capitalism, given that urban development is an integral part of the capitalist project. He establishes links between ideology and utopia based on the Mannheim distinction in the "Ideology and Utopia" chapter of his book. Following this approach, he expounds the transformation of utopia into an ideology, and his theory on modern utopia is nothing more than the reflection of the capitalist ideology.[29] Moreover, in attempt to legitimize it, illusions are produced.

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[26] Mannheim, quoted in C. Rowe and F. Koetter, *Collage City*, 32.
[27] Droysen, quoted in Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia*, 193.
[28] M. Tafuri, 53.
[29] M. Tafuri, 55.

It is important to note that for Mannheim, once affirmed, utopia is again transformed into ideology. Between ideology and utopia he thus establishes a dialectic relationship, which could well have given rise to reflection, even within his own treatise, on the profoundly structural character of utopia itself.[30]

The transformation of ideology into utopia is one of the main themes in Tafuri's inquiry, and the differences between the two are raised as questions. While thinking about the outcomes of these two concepts, it is clear that utopia stands out on the strength of its progressive and creative features, while ideology stands out due to its conservative character. Furthermore, utopia projects offer an alternative to the existing reality; while ideologies are a set of beliefs and opinions that cannot present or accept an alternative. Contrarily, Tafuri refers to utopia as a "realized ideology":

> The unproductiveness of intellectual work was the crime that weighed upon the conscience of the cultural world of the nineteenth century, and which advanced ideologies had to overcome. To turn ideology into utopia thus became imperative. In order to survive, ideology had to negate itself as such, break its crystallized forms, and throw itself entirely into the "construction of future". This revision of ideology was thus a project for establishing the dominion of a realized ideology over the forms of development.[31]

Moreover, utopia produces an illusion of hope. In short, while ideology is the legitimization and idolization of social order designated from the past, utopia has a nature which disclaims and transcends the status quo. As for the conflicting design conceptions, it is hard to determine what will be an achievable utopia of the emerging class in the future, and what will be only the ideology of the ruling class. That said, resistance to a different ideological positioning and the positive role of an architectural ideology may also be possible.

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[30]M. Tafuri, 53.
[31]M. Tafuri, 50.

2.4   The Architectural Utopias in Capitalist Era

In the 19th century, Henri de Saint-Simon, Charles Fourier and Robert Owen proposed a repeal of class differentiation in most developed capitalist countries that had grown out of the pressures of the contradictions of capitalist production in their period. At this point it is worth recalling Saint-Simon's quote that "the golden age is not behind us but in front of us, and it will be realized through the perfection of the social order". In emphasizing his hope for future, it is evident that he believed that the whole moral stance of the classical utopia had become effectively superseded. In other words, it had reached a turning point, which he clarified with the claim that "the activist utopia, utopia as a 'blueprint for the future' has finally made its decisive appearance".[32] Karl Marx designated the "utopian socialism" to the comprehension of Saint-Simon, Fourier and Owen. "Utopian socialists" imagined making life much more easy, reliable and healthy for the proletariat in the 19th century, and indicated the capacity of the human race to invent social and special alternatives.

Saint-Simon believed that the ideal society should be ruled scientifically and dictatorially by an assembly of artists, industrialists and scientists. He said that society is "a large industry" and a "political science" that aims to improve the working conditions of laborers in an industrial society. Saint-Simon attributed strong social relations to peaceful competition and cooperation, constituting a departure point from the societal designs of Owen and Fourier.

Robert Owen is known as the founder of cooperative system, and the designer of one of the earliest examples of a utopia, which was considered and planned as a social

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[32] C. Rowe and F. Koether, 20.

project. According to Owen, reformists are necessary in the development of society, and stated that it is a requirement for the individual to be content with his physical surroundings. He believed that a new social organization would be realized only through a union or cooperative of large land owners, rich capitalists, huge companies, local authorities or workers. (Figure 2.1)
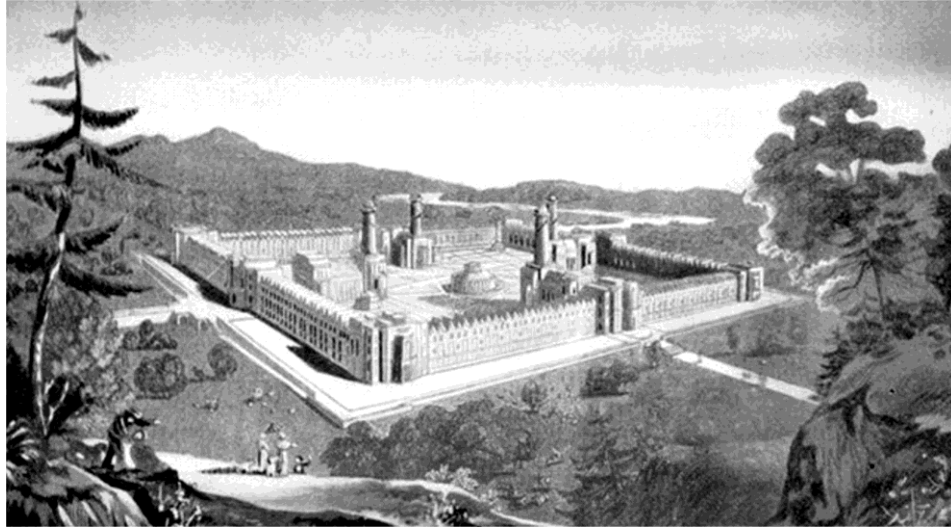
Figure 2.1 Owen's proposed Village: New Harmony. In (Internet, WWW). ADDRESS: http://www.tparents.org/library/unification/publications/Utopia/ (Access: January 15, 2009)

Fourier imagined the attainment of universal harmony through communal living. (Figure 2.2) The elderly, children and adults reside on different floors inside large block buildings where prescribed activities take place. "Phalange" has street galleries that are heated in winter, cooled in summer and ventilated throughout the whole year, with total access provided by means of covered streets and tunnels.

There are two dominant targets that exist in utopic socialist planning. The first is the removal of the distinction between urban and rural; while the second is to provide individuals   and   families   with   a   state   of   belonging   by   overcoming

their physical isolation. A common feature of the "utopian socialists" is that they did not come to the scene as agents of the historically developed proletariat and its benefits; and their desire was to rescue not one specific class, but the whole of humanity. While thinking about the formal aspects, it is evident that the "utopian socialists" did not anticipate the new forms that 20th-century technology would bring to urban design. Even their opinions of the future were expressed using traditional architectural vocabulary. In addition, their ideal cities stood at the meeting point of 19th-century hopes and 20th-century technology.
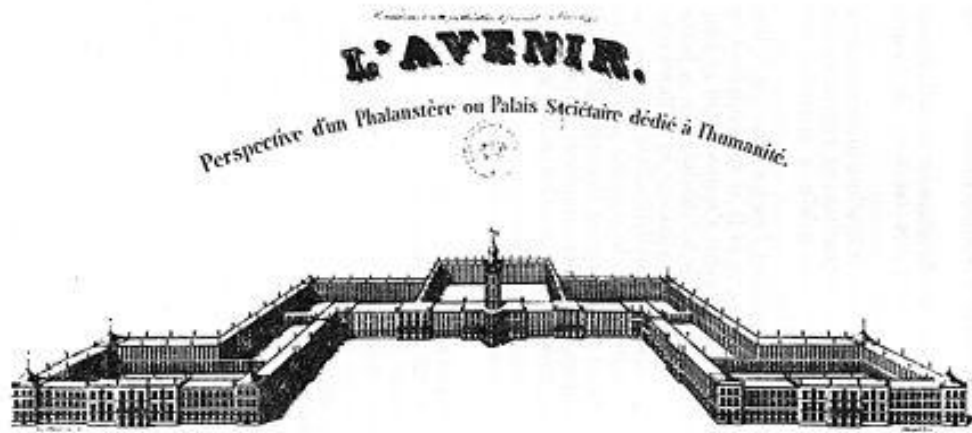
Figure 2.2 Fourier: Phalanstere. In Zeynep Aslı Gürel Üçer, Gülsen Yılmaz, 2004, "Housing Typologies in the context of Urban Utopias" in *G.U. Journal of Science* 17: 4, 136.

Tafuri highlighted the same transformation of utopian thought, "the end of utopianism and the birth of realism are not distinct moments within the process of ideological formation of the modern movement." [33] Although not providing a strict classification, as Rowe did, Tafuri's utopianism was a utopian sensibility in classical terms, but with realism – an "activist utopia". [34] In *Architecture and Utopia*, Tafuri recalls the Age of

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[33] M. Tafuri, 46

[34] M. Tafuri, 46.

Enlightenment, putting forward Ledoux's evaluation of the city as a natural phenomenon:

> Urban naturalism, the insertion of the picturesque into the city and into architecture, as the increased importance given to landscape in artistic ideology all tended to negate the now obvious dichotomy between urban reality and the reality of the countryside. They served to prove that there was no disparity between the value accredited to nature and the value accredited to the city as a productive mechanism of new forms of economic accumulation.[35]
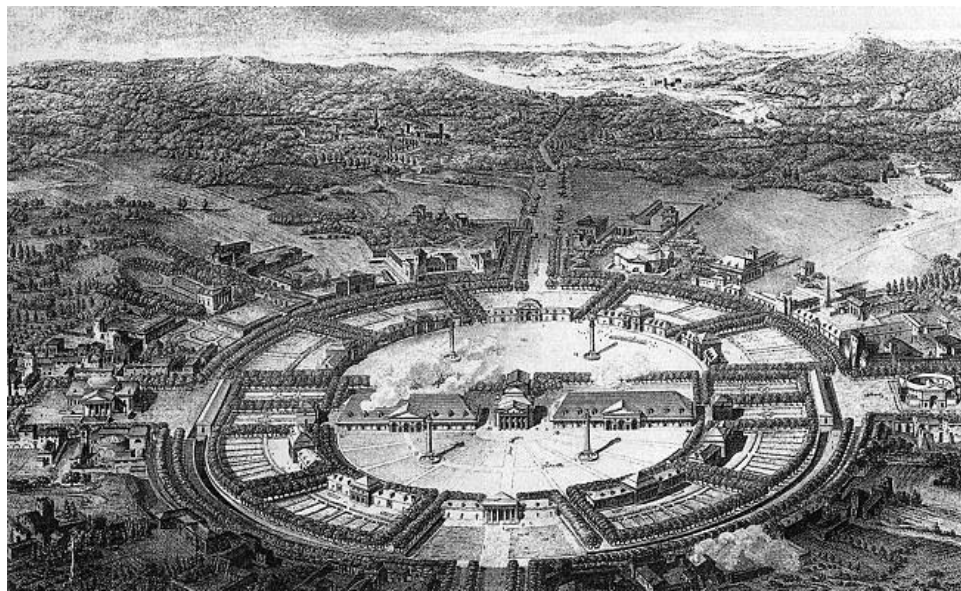
Figure 2.3 *Ville de Chaux* – Ledoux. In (Internet, WWW). ADDRESS: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Projet_pour_la_ville_de_Chaux_-_Ledoux.jpg (Access: January 15, 2009)

Claude Ledoux designed his ideal city in Chaux (Figure 2.3) in 1804 as a radial city that drew upon the geometric and proportional forms of the Renaissance.[36] In order to

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[35]M. Tafuri, 8.
[36]Kenneth Frampton, *Modern Architecture: A Critical History*, London: Thames and Hudson 1992, 16.

present his thesis, Tafuri emphasized the departure point of the modern crisis as Enlightenment.

According to Kenneth Frampton, modernism was a continuation of the positivistic traits of 19th-century thought – modern architecture was removed from 19th-century thought, and there was a rejection of 19th-century historicism. He emphasized that "modern architecture conflated absolute formalism with the actual productive forces of society," and through an idealization of technology, it undertook a role in the production of a utopian society.[37] The ideas of Tafuri and Frampton are, in a sense, parallel; on one hand architecture became a pure instrument whose forms were transparent in function, and the task was to change the world; while on the other hand it became a pure art with its own laws.

Modernism can also be said to have become a utopian project in the sense that it aimed to break the existing order. In reference to its progressive character, modernism could be directly related with utopia and the utopian mentality inherent in the notion of avant gardism. The innovative urban planning ideas of Modernism have left their mark on city planning over the years, and in believing and hoping a better world, they can be considered as urban utopia projects of the 20th century. The 20th century also saw the approach of social engineering turning to thoughts of the reconstruction of society. The great city planners, engineers and architects put powerful imaginary thought into an alternative world, among which Ebenezer Howard, Le Corbusier and Frank Lloyd Wright may be given as examples.[38] According to Howard, Wright and Le Corbusier, planning is a question of morality. Moreover, these three visionaries and their

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[37] K. Frampton, 12-13.
[38] Ebenezer Howard, Le Corbusier, Frank Lloyd Wright are choices of Robert Fishman in his book, titled *Urban Utopias in the Twentieth Century*, 1982.

colleagues believed that the design and construction of buildings in the world was by definition a social action.

Discussions of modernism came into existence on the basis of the urban context and found their spaces in the city centers. Antonia Gramsci, in his article "The Historical Role of the Cities," emphasizes that the city as the organ of industry and civil life, was the instrument of capitalist economic power and the bourgeois dictatorship.[39] Harvey, on the other hand, declared that urban development; increasing density in urban centers as a result of immigration from rural areas; industrialization; mechanization; massive new order of the built environment; and the mass action of the people, ending with revolutionary rebellions, all signify modernism as a city-centered discussion.[40] In considering modernism as an urban case it would be fair to say that the distinctive character of modernism is the intention to break away from history and tradition and to make people the subjects of their lives. Since it signifies a new and critical way of thinking, modernism enables people to transform themselves and the world; and in the modern movement, architecture also accepts responsibility for such a transformation. What draws attention in this study is that the modern architect gives himself a mission to concern himself with society. In other words, the modern architect has a belief in the power of form to transform the world. The city, as a product of human effort, gives a desired shape to the world as a space of the constructer who has to live in it; and through the construction of the physical environment, the human race is able to reconstruct itself time and again.

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[39]Antonia Gramsci, "The Historical Role of the Cities", *Selections from Political Writings*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990, 150.

[40]Güven Arif Sargın, "Le Corbusier ve Kent; devrim ve tutucu söylenceye dair". *Sanat Dünyamız*, vol.87, Spring 2003, 193.

Frampton implies in the introduction to his book *Modern Architecture: A Critical History*,[41] that an alliance exists in modern architecture between the real world of production and the ideal world of artistic representation (i.e. utopia). In the 20th century, ideas in social engineering brought forth thoughts of a reconstruction of society. According to Sarah Williams Goldhagen, "For many contemporary scholars, the presupposition that modernism in architecture constitutes social action no doubt emerges from the primary sources themselves – practitioners of modernist architecture explicitly framed their goals in socio-ethical terms."[42]

Modernism is an approach to life.[43] By believing and hoping for a better world, urban utopia projects of the 20th century are a contribution to modern discourse. Robert Fishman, Howard, Wright and Le Corbusier prefer to present their theories not as dry formulae but through three-dimensional models that reveal their total approach – the ideal city for the 20th century.

> Planned with both urban reconstruction and social revolution in mind, the three ideal cities were certainly "utopias," but not in the pejorative sense of being vague, impossible dreams. Rather, they came under Karl Mannheim's classic definition of utopia as a coherent program for action arising out of thought that "transcends the immediate situation," a program whose realization would "break the bonds" of the established society.[44]

A choice of utopia or otherwise the urbanist vision of the 1920s is suggested as the answer to the moral or biological problem of salvation – and the building holds the key. The three planners of the twentieth century believed that by reforming the physical environment, the total life of a society could be revolutionized. Colin Rowe

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[41] K. Fampton, 13.

[42] Sarah Williams Goldhagen, "Something to Talk About: Modernism, Discourse, Style," *JSAH*, vol. 64, no. 2, June 2005, 156.

[43] Sigfried Giedion, quoted in Goldhagen, 144.

[44] Robert Fishman, *Urban Utopias in the Twentieth Century*, Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: MIT Press, 1982, x.

and Fred Koetter expressed the position of the city planner and the architect using a direct quote from Le Corbusier, "On the day when contemporary society, at present so sick, has become exact prescription for its ills, then the day will have come for the great machine to be put in motion."[45]

The attempts of Howard, Lloyd Wright and Le Corbusier could be interpreted as definitions of the ideal form of any industrial society. According to Fishman, they actualized this with a set of three alternatives: the great metropolis, moderate decentralization and extreme decentralization.[46] These three choices, in other words three ideal cities, represent a common vocabulary of basic forms.
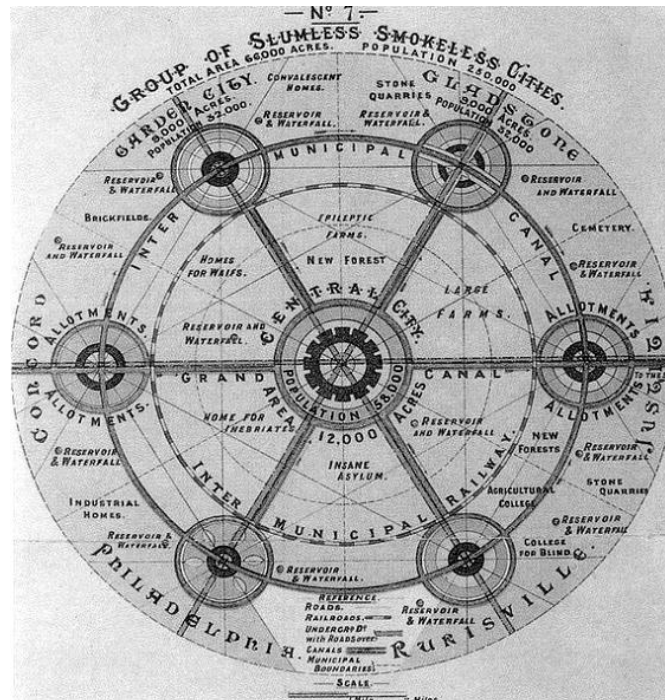
Figure 2.4 The Garden City. In (Internet, WWW). ADDRESS: http://babuk.com (Access: January 8, 2010)

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[45]C. Rowe and F. Koether, 13.
[46]R. Fishman, 7.
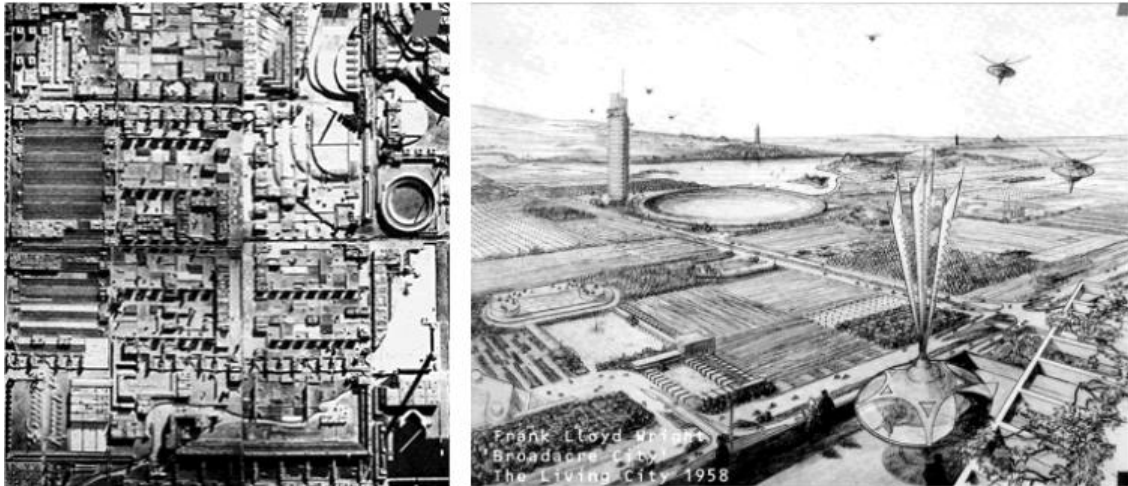
Figure 2.5 Broadacres. In (Internet, WWW). ADDRESS:
http://www.medienarchitektur.at/architekturtheorie/broadacre_city/ (Access: January 8, 2010)

Howard's contribution was "The Garden City" (Figure 2.4), as a plan for moderate decentralization and cooperativism. Fishman claims that it was Howard's intention to build entirely new cities in the middle of unspoiled countryside on land which would remain the property of the community as a whole.[47] The main features of "The Garden City" are that it would be limited in size and be surrounded by a "greenbelt". Ebenezer Howard's garden-city theory conveys the natural conditions of rural to urban, and the social functions of the city to rural, and prescribes the reciprocal solidarity between the rural and urban. Howard's basic value in the first instance was cooperation, while Wright's was individualism. According to Fishman, Wright wanted the whole United States to become a nation of individuals; and his planned city, namely "Broadacres" (Figure 2.5), carried decentralization beyond the small community into the individual family home.[48] Wright was the leading proponent of "return to nature" thought in early 20th century, aiming to provide solutions to the social, economic and health problems associated with the industrial city. Broadacres, the product of Wright's utopic

[47]R. Fishman, 8.
[48]R. Fishman, 9.

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thought, is defined as a city that is coherent with nature. The third planner, Le Corbusier, was able to provide more justification for his design than Wright, suggesting a "functional city" that addressed the necessity for radical change against the city of the 20th century, which was facing a wealth of problems. Fishman points out that Le Corbusier identified himself completely with capital and its values. For him, industrialization meant great cities in which large bureaucracies coordinated production.[49] Le Corbusier designed geometrically arrayed skyscrapers of glass and steel, gardens and superhighways to replace the old buildings. The most important urban utopias of Le Corbusier were "The Radiant City" (1933) and "The Contemporary City" (1922), which were designed in response to the industrialization and urbanization process being experienced.
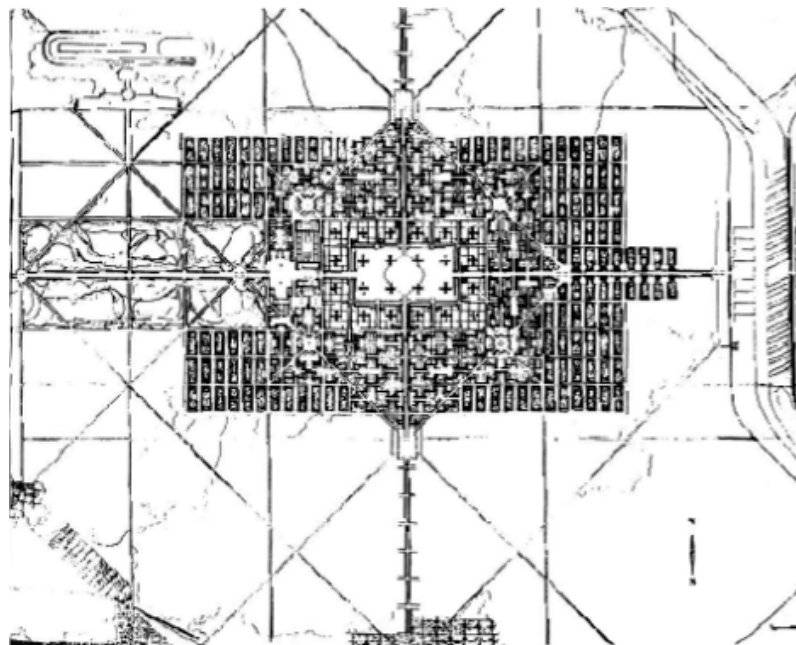
Figure 2.6 Plan of the Contemporary City, 1922. In Robert Fishman, 1982, *Urban Utopias in the Twentieth Century: Ebenezer Howard, Frank Lloyd Wright, and Le Corbusier*. Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: MIT Press, 114-115.

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[49]R. Fishman, 10.

Figure 2.7 The Plan Voisin, 1925. In (Internet, WWW). ADDRESS: http://www.planetizen.com. (Access: January 8, 2010)

Le Corbusier located his ideal city on a flat plain, a *tabula rasa*. He believed that the disorder of urban structures should be broken by creating a new environment with the help of technology, and the transformation of the surroundings should be achieved in order to provide healthy living conditions for the workers who had been forced to live in the ruins of the industrial city.[50] Congestion in the city was aimed to be solved through by increasing the number of open spaces and developing transportation. "The Contemporary City" was where the administration, finance, technology and commerce units are located, ruled by an elite group. Le Corbusier's "The Contemporary City" can be considered as a regeneration of Saint-Simon's prescribed society of the 19th century to the 20th century. "The Radiant City" reflects a more incisive hierarchy, and has many similarities with "The Contemporary City" design. At the center of "The Contemporary City" (Figure 2.6) is "the transportation interchange" for automobiles,

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[50]Le Corbusier, *Bir Mimarlığa Doğru*, translated by Serpil Merzi, İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2010.

subways and airplanes; while around the center are located administration towers and luxury apartments for "the elite". Satellite cities are located beyond the central district for workers and industry. According to plan of "The Radiant City" (Figure 2.8), residential areas are located in the central district, above which is the business district, with industrial sites located below.

Figure 2.8 Plan of the Radiant City, 1935. In Robert Fishman, 1982, *Urban Utopias in the Twentieth Century: Ebenezer Howard, Frank Lloyd Wright, and Le Corbusier*. Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: MIT Press, 114-115.

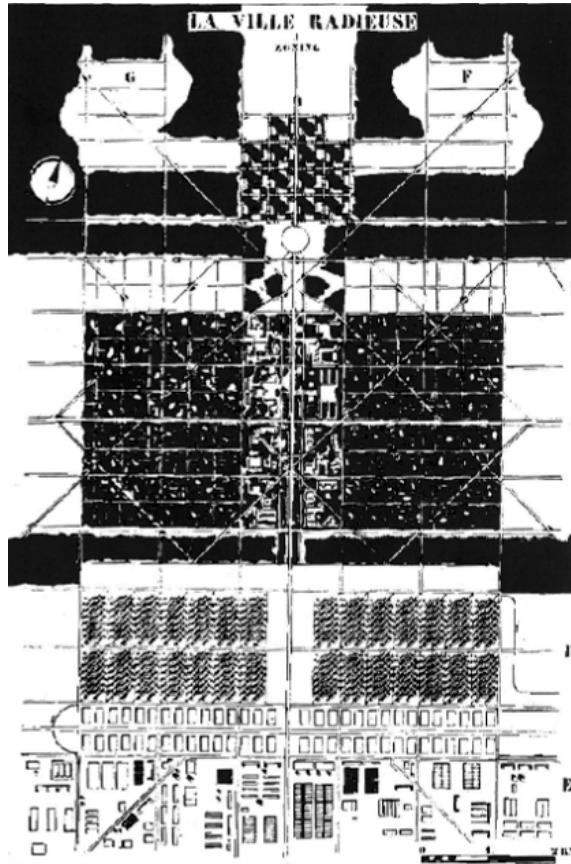Robert Fishman believed that the plans of Howard, Wright and Le Corbusier were effective because they addressed directly to the widely shared hopes and fears. In addition, he emphasized three points that the plans reflected: First, the pervasive fear

and revulsion of the 19th-century metropolis; second, the sense that modern technology had made possible exciting new urban forms; and finally, the great expectations associated with a revolutionary age of brotherhood and freedom.[51]

Howard's garden city theory could not be realized; however the idea of life integration by moving urban activities to rural areas has constituted a base for all residential and urban designs proposed since the beginning of the 20th century. Le Corbusier's expression is based on a vision that is shaped with the radical idea of destroying existing cities and re-constructing them. However, Wright aimed to integrate urban and rural life, and connected the different functions at "Broadacres" with an advanced highway network, highlighting the use of the automobile. His design was based on the distribution of activities, in contrast to Le Corbusier's city design, in which urban functions were concentrated at the center. (Figure 2.7) These three different ideas are important examples of contemporary developments and architectural formations.

Howard, Wright and Le Corbusier had an overwhelming passion to address the problems of the cities of their time. Their common belief was that planning was a question of morality, believing that the industrial society was inherently harmonious and that when the ideal form was achieved, conflicts would be replaced by order, freedom and beauty. There are clear indications in Fishman's book that Howard, Wright and Le Corbusier hoped to create their own movements through the creation of an appropriate plan for a new order. The more comprehensive the plans are in theory, the more remote they are from the concrete issues that motivate action, as appealing to everyone on the basis of universal principles is to appeal to no one in particular, which emerges as a utopian dilemma. Moreover, with each elaboration and clarification, ideal cities move closer to pure fantasy.

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[51]R. Fishman, 10.
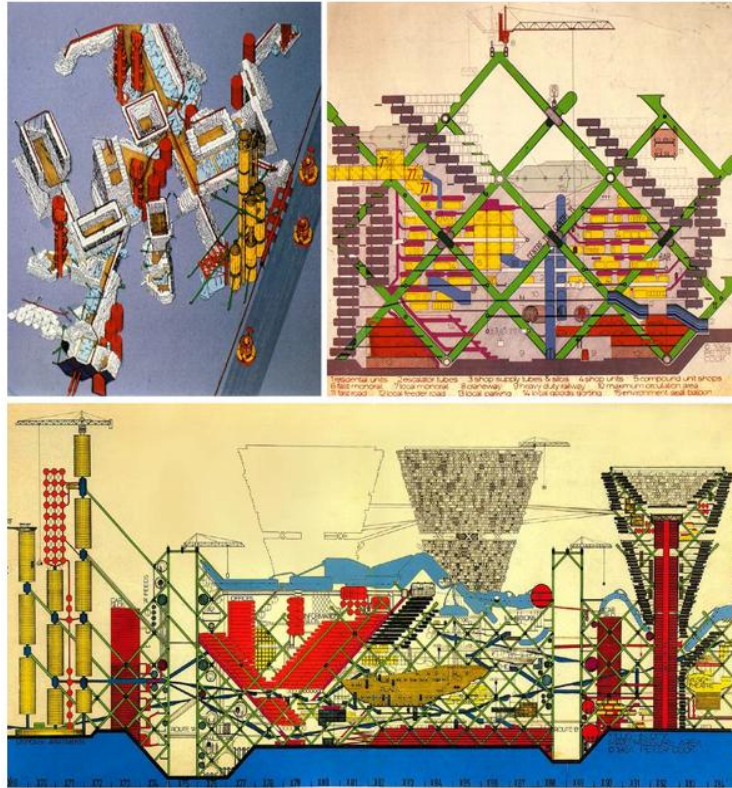
Figure 2.9 Plug-in City, Peter Cook, 1964. In (Internet, WWW). ADDRESS: http://arttattler.com/architecturemetaboliccity.html (Access: January 12, 2011)

A periodical that was launched in 1960 and the Archigram group are worthy of mention at this point. Archigram comprised six architects, led by Peter Cook, Ron Herron and Warren Chalk. A belief in the future and the development of technology to the highest level results in a particular approach, which also applies to domination over nature. Archigram considered the city as a huge machine in "Plug in City," a machine that undergoes renewal as its parts get older in which the housing areas are in the form of a grid system and have alterable. (Figure 2.9) Furthermore, in Herron's "Walking City" project, created in line with the aims of the Archigram group, cities are defined as the ultimate place, where the usual characteristics of the traditional structure may be destroyed through the inclusion of movable and transformable items. (Figure 2.10)

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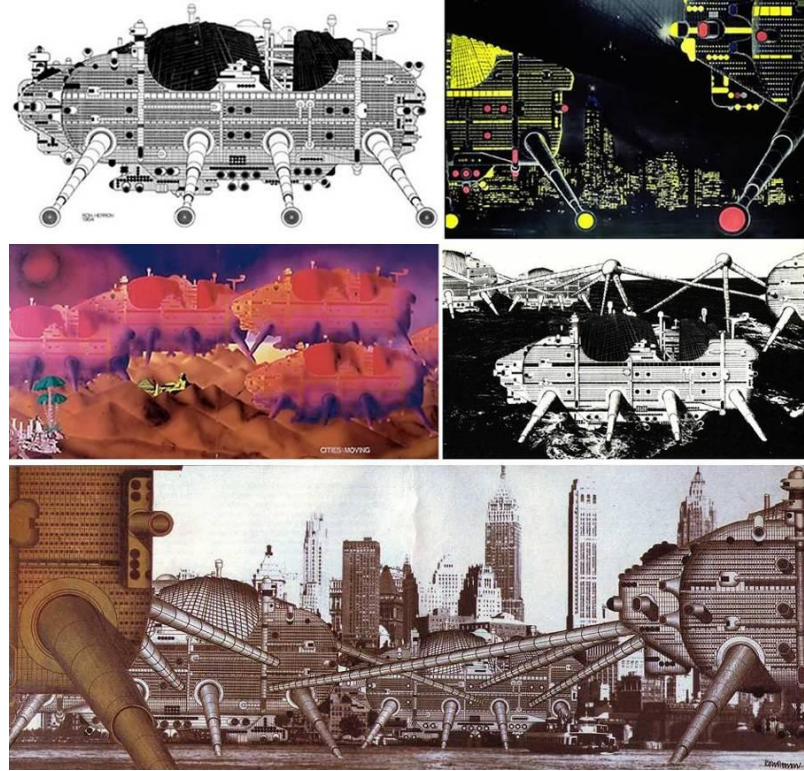
Figure 2.10 The Walking City, Ron Herron, 1964. In (Internet, WWW). ADDRESS: http://designmuseum.org/design/archigram (Access January 12, 2011)

The motivation behind these urban utopias is generally "the erasure of social difference and the creation of equality in the rational city of the future, mastered by the avant garde architect."[52] According to Mannheim, utopia is a system of thought which proposes revolutionary probabilities that target the elimination of relations in the existing order, either partially or completely.[53] However, in recognition of utopia as a light, but also restrictive and monocular visionary perspective, Colin Rowe and Fred Koetter claim that it is possible now to speak about utopia's decline and fall, and it can be considered possible to oppose and also to acknowledge the truth in this. The lack of

[52]Teresa Caldeira, quoted in MacLeod, Gordon and Kevin Ward. 2002. "Spaces of Utopia and Dystopia: Landscaping the Contemporary City". *Georg. Ann.* 84 B (3-4), 153.
[53]Mannheim, quoted in Zeynep Aslı Gürel Üçer, Gülsen Yılmaz, "Housing Typologies in the context of Urban Utopias". In *G.U. Journal of Science* 17: 4, 2004, 139.

success of utopias that became a reality may be based on not only the processes that were begun to realize them, but also the failure of the form itself. The main problem in formal utopias is that they aim to stabilize and control the processes that set them in motion in order to construct themselves. Tafuri highlighted the disappearance of the social character of the utopia, explaining it as "decline of social utopia," after which he continues by suggesting the transformation of social utopia into the "utopia of form".[54] While utopianism is still suggested by modern architecture, Tafuri points out the reflection of the existing order in modern architectural projects. Furthermore, according to Tafuri, such projects do not contribute to social development, and stand at a "purely formal level".[55] It is important to add Bademli's description of the concept, who describes utopia as models that can cover the things that we want as well as the things that we do not want, speculating the probable effects of technological developments in an exaggerated way on issues of energy, production, transportation, communication and biology on social relations and cities, being based upon some assumptions.[56]

In questioning the status quo, utopia could be interpreted as an attempt to break the existing order and establish new order. Accepting the premise that as society is constructed and imagined, then it may be possible to reconstruct and re-imagine society by means of hope, which is the fundamental principle of utopia. Moreover, the collectiveness of society is generally described in relation to spatial features, and the utopian approach generates hope and an insistence on believing in the change and transformation.

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[54] M. Tafuri, 48.
[55] M. Tafuri, 12.
[56] R. Raci Bademli, 'Geleceğin Kentleri', In *Bilim ve Teknik*, 1998, 362:58.

CHAPTER 3

THE ROLE OF CAPITAL IN URBAN DEVELOPMENT

Cities are an important part of the economic and social structure, while also being a reflection of them. The kinds of social networks, lifestyles and relationships being sought may be understood from the answer to the question "What kind of city is desired?"

Capitalism needs urbanization in order to survive. David Harvey explains that capital has to create a landscape that satisfies its own requirements.[57] Because capitalism is a class form of society it allows for the production of surpluses, meaning that the necessary conditions for urbanization always exist. While the absorption of capital surpluses and growing populations is a problem, urbanization provides a way for the absorption of both; and in this regard, a connection exists between surplus production, population growth and urbanization. Urban development is a phenomenon that is formed out of the intertwined labor reproduction processes, while also being an economic and cultural process that encompasses these complicated and multiple relationships alongside contributions from technical and technological processes as well. This chapter investigates the production of space in the capitalist period in the

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[57]D. Harvey, *The Enigma of Capital*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2010, 86.

urban transformations witnessed towards the end of the 20th century and at the beginning of the 21st century. In this period, not only has a social and spatial polarization been observed, but also social and spatial disparities have become wider. The hypothesis put forward here is that economic restructuring has affected spatial production, and that economy-based national state policies have been a contributing factor in the urban restructuring. It is clearly evident that the urban transformation has taken place on the back of the capitalist mode of production and due to interventions by the state.

In capitalist societies, the mobility of the capital during production and reproduction processes is a determining factor in the uneven development of social processes. During periods of surplus value production, capital creates and develops fresh new spaces while leaving other spaces to be left underdeveloped. In the quest to continue increasing profit margins and competitive power, the spaces that have been developed are also abandoned at some stage for even newer spaces that appear to be more convenient, thus producing permanent spatial discrepancies.[58] Because the production of spaces and places absorbs large amounts of capital surplus, new landscapes and geographies are created as part of the circulation of capital, and in this way deep contradictions are produced. From this perspective, capital accumulation, class struggles and the state cannot be considered as independent phenomena. Since the city is not an independent spatial unit in terms of capitalist social relations, only through its hegemonic processes can it be analyzed. Cities are shaped, reproduced and transformed following two approaches which are as living space, as a use value; or as a source of profit/unearned income, as an exchange value. In his book *Limits to Capital*, Harvey highlights the concept of unearned income when underlining the significance

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[58]T. Şengül, 146.

of the spatial organization in capital accumulation.[59] An increase in capital interest in cities has been observed in the defined period, which has affected to large extent the structuring of cities and the relations formed in this regard. The most striking aspect of the transformation of cities has been the increase in urban polarization. In other words, capital has started to deepen the urban contradictions while transforming the cities to satisfy its own needs. Harvey explains this situation as follows:

> No matter what innovation or shift occurs, the survival of capitalism in the long run depends on the capacity to achieve 3 per cent compound growth. Capitalist history is littered with technologies which were tried and did not work, utopian schemes for the promotion of new social relations (like the Icarian communes in the nineteenth-century US, the Israeli kibbutz in the 1950s, or today's 'green communes'), only to be either co-opted or abandoned in the face of a dominant capitalist logic. But no matter what happens, by hook or by crook, capital must somehow organize the seven spheres to conform to the 3 per cent rule. [60]

The third phase of capitalism (post-industrial capitalism) creates successfully a continuity of money-commodity-money from the land by tending to urban lands and orienting the process through direct intervention, with the end result being commoditization; and today, this process is more functional, effective and prevailing than ever before. Capitalism has an economic structure that requires it to develop continuously. Consumption, rather than being left to the natural processes of requirement and utilization, needs to be stimulated, and new needs have to be created in a capitalist economy so as to increase the speed of circulation of capital and provide continuous growth.

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[59] D. Harvey, *The Limits to Capital*, London: Oxford, 1982.
[60] D. Harvey, 2010, 130.

3.1 Capital Accumulation and State Powers

Capital accumulation results from the production of surplus value. It is formed in the political sphere where financial security is procured by several institutional structures, such as the law, the right to private property and freedom of contract. Harvey states that providing security for market institutions and contract terms is important for capitalist activity.[61] The bourgeoisie state, which attempts to prevent class struggles and to look after the interests of equity owners, is of course the best instrument for capitalist activity. The state may provide for both the adoption of a capitalist institutional layout and the privatization of property in order to form a basis for the accumulation of capital. Hence, the state has a very important and supportive role in capital accumulation.

The intervention of the state and its supportive policies, such as the liberalization of planning controls and deregulation, are dominant factors in urban development. Moreover, the inner connections between surplus production and urbanization have already been discussed. One clear example of this situation is old Paris. Haussmann in the 19th century clearly understood the state's mission in regards to capital accumulation during the rebuilding of Paris. He helped to solve the surplus capital and labor problem through urbanization, which became a primary driver of social stabilization. Haussmann utilized the utopian plans of Fourierists and Saint Simonians in the reshaping of Paris, transforming the scale, and as a result, Paris became a center of consumption, tourism and leisure.

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[61]D. Harvey, *Yeni Emperyalizm (The New Imperialism)*, translated by H. Güldü, İstanbul: Everest Yayınları, 2008, 77.

Today the city is still reorganized to increase continuously the circulation of capital and consumption, and thus is transformed into a means of consumption. The transformation of a modern city will be exemplified in Chapter 5 with a case study of Dubai; however it should be kept in mind that the main driver is circulation – the mobility of people, commodities and information.

3.2 The Circulation of Capital

Capitalism tends to create crises, which occur as a result of excess accumulation. Excess accumulation in a certain space system means increased unemployment and capital surplus, however such surpluses may be absorbed in two ways: The first way is through long-term capital projects that put off the future re-circulation of capital value or its periodic relocation by means of social expenditures like education and research; while the second way is through spatial relocations – the establishment of new markets in different areas, new production capacities, new resources and new opportunities for the labor force. This process can be analyzed in Harvey's schematic diagram (Figure 3.1), in which capital flow can be seen to move away from the production and consumption fields, and is either transformed into fixed capital and a fund for consumption, or oriented towards social expenditures or research and development activities. The capital flow towards production and consumption is known as the primary circuit; that which becomes fixed or a fund for consumption is known as the secondary circuit; and the flow towards research and development activities is known as the tertiary circuit. Continuity of flow in the circulation of capital is very important, and also entails spatial movement.[62]

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[62]D. Harvey, 2010, 42.
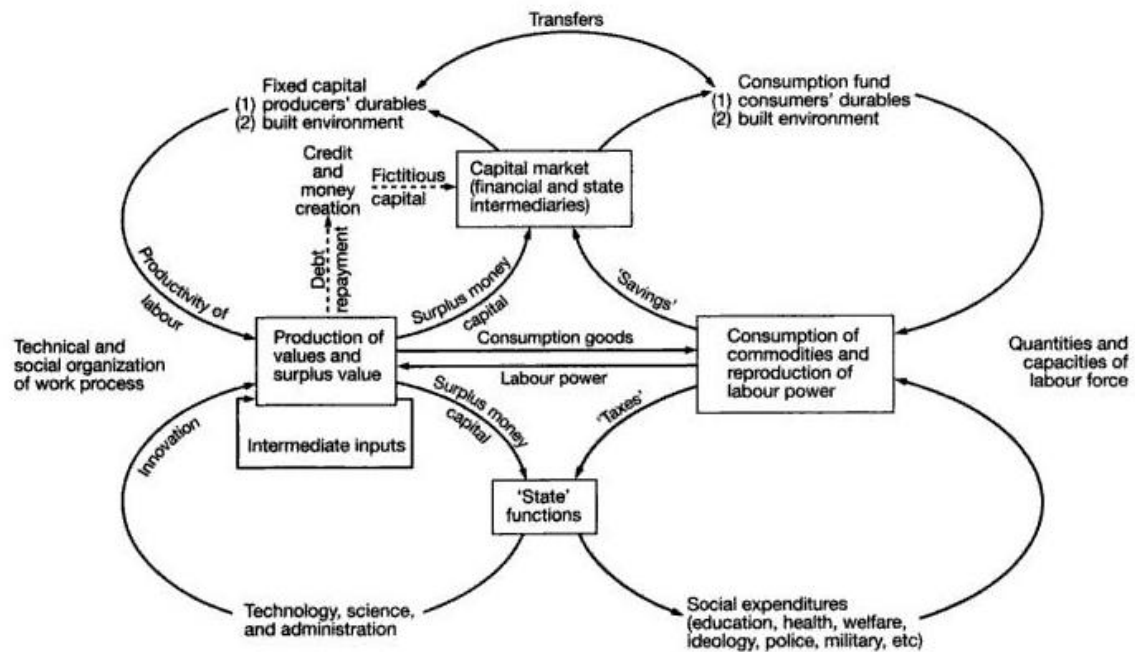
Figure 3.1 The Circuits of Capital. In David Harvey, 1981, "The Urban Process under Capitalism: A Framework for Analysis", in *Urbanization and Urban Planning in Capitalist Society*, edited by M. Dear and A. J. Scott, London, New York: Methuen, 99.

The solution to capitalist crises resulting from over-accumulation may be found in periodic suspensions (or delays) and geographical expansion. In order to do this, part of the total capital is fixed to land for a period of time, and in addition, several social expenditures are spatialized and geographically immobilized. Harvey claims that, "If growth does not resume, then the over-accumulated capital is devalued or destroyed."[63] Capitalism is crisis prone, and Karl Marx strongly emphasized its self-destructive nature; that said, crises are as necessary to the evolution of capitalism as money, labor power and capital itself.[64]

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[63]D. Harvey, 45.
[64]D. Harvey, 117.

Cheaper and more docile labor supplies are necessary for the accumulation of capital, and this can be achieved by encouraging immigration and adopting such technologies as robotics. However, labor-saving technologies create unemployment, and increased unemployment can be regarded as a labor surplus.[65] Instruments that are important in the absorption of labor and capital surpluses can be listed as follows: production of space; finding new areas for capital accumulation through new and cheaper resources; organization of spatial divisions of labor; capitalist social relations; and the creation of institutional arrangements. Harvey explains this as follows:

> The necessity for continuity in the geographical flows of money, goods and people requires that all this diversity be woven together through efficient transport and communications systems. The resultant geography of production and consumption is deeply sensitive to the time and cost of traversing space.[66]

Urbanization under capitalism has become an important factor as being a way of absorbing capital surplus, given that a significant labor force required for the building and maintaining of infrastructure and the built environment. Accordingly, there is an apparent connection between capital accumulation, crises and urbanization.

3.3 The Role of Capital in Urban Development

The starting point for any discussion on the urban phenomena should be the reproduction or interruption of the social relations of production. Space, which is not a determinant factor, but rather a product of the structures and relations of society, is constructed as a result of social relationships in the capitalist mode of production.[67] As such, the meaning of production of space cannot be confined purely to the production

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[65]D. Harvey, 2008, 98.
[66]D. Harvey, 2010, 161.
[67]Henri Lefebvre, *The Production Of Space*, London: Allison and Busby, 1991.

of physical structures, as it is required to encompass all structural and superstructural values of society. Space is a social product based on values that affect spatial practices and perceptions. The social production of urban space is fundamental to the reproduction of society, hence of capitalism itself. Space is at the center of all factors, as well as being where social events take place. The dialectic process to define whether a place is for socializing or a focal point is precisely how the re-production process of spaces is achieved.[68] Thus, the Marxist explanation of the urban phenomena sets itself a more defined task than merely looking at the relations between different characteristics of cities. Edel relates these characteristics to such aspects of the capitalist accumulation process as:

> 1.   the way in which labor is employed in production to create values
> and surplus value;
> 2.   the way in which labor power is reproduced; and
> 3.   the way in which surplus value is "realized" through sales of goods,
> and is circulated to allow new investment.[69]

Hill links this to urban development, claiming that "Since the process of capital accumulation unfolds in a spatially structured environment, urbanism may be viewed provisionally as the particular geographical form and spatial patterning of relationships taken by the process of capital accumulation".[70]

Capitalism is obliged to achieve urbanization if it is to be able to reproduce itself. Urbanization, or urban development, concerns the form and function of cities, with the urban form being fundamentally shaped according to the connections between

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[68]Çağatay Keskinok, *The Role of State in (Re)Production of Urban Space,* Ankara: METU, mfy Press, 1993.

[69]Matthew Edel, "Capitalism, Accumulation and the Explanation of urban phenomena". In *Urbanization and Urban Planning in Capitalist Society*, edited by M. Dear and A. J. Scott, London, New York: Methuen, 1981, 37.

[70]Richard Child Hill, "Capital accumulation and urbanization in the United States", *Comparative Urban Research* 4, 3: 1977, 41.

capitalist development, land use and housing policies.[71] Urbanization is a form of spatial organization – a structuring of the physical environment and an organization of the individual and the social relations inside the spaces pertaining to the developed capitalism.[72]

Capitalism, according to Castells, is not the configuration of the spatial form of the urban organization, but is rather an expression of the city that follows as the urban structure integrates and organizes all of the processes of collective consumption in the social organization form.[73] Capitalism has not only survived the production of spaces, but has also secured itself a dominant position over those spaces, as Lefebvre points out.[74] The intensification of social and spatial control brought about new developments in the privatization, policing, surveillance, governance, and design of the built environment and the political geography of cityspace.[75] In a hegemonic system, the role of space is not just as a passive place for social relations, as it rather plays an active and universal role within the capitalist production method as a phenomenon.[76] To put it another way, capitalism has proved successful in sustaining its existence through its ability to reproduce, on a prolonged basis, the social production relationships that its mode of production demands, and it has achieved this through the way it uses space. Harvey adds an additional perspective to Lefebvre's thoughts relating to sovereignty, being the existence of a concurrent hegemony of capital, time and space in capitalism

[71]Ç. Keskinok.
[72]D. Harvey, 1985, 222.
[73]Manuel Castells, *City, Class, and Power,* translated by E. Lebas, London: Macmillan, 1978, 55.
[74]H. Lefebvre, 224.
[75]Edward W. Soja, quoted in MacLeod, Gordon and Kevin Ward, "Spaces of Utopia and Dystopia: Landscaping the Contemporary City", *Georg. Ann.* 84 B (3-4), 2002, 165.
[76]H. Lefebvre.

and the un-ignorable connection between this hegemony and social power.[77] Command over space is always a critical form of social power, affecting the redistribution of wealth and the redirection of capital flow.

The monetization of social relations causes the characteristics of time and space to evolve, and space is transformed into a shallow commodity. It would be fair to say that the basic space ideology of capitalism has been degraded into economic concepts. On this subject, Keskinok underlines the fact that the economic parameters of space have been victorious in the struggle between the economic and non-economic parameters of space in capitalism.[78] We can summarize the circulation of capital in the structured environment as the following way: the land owners receive unearned income; the contractor derives profit out of his enterprise; the financial backers derive monetary capital out of virtual capital in the form of interest on part of the estate price; the government backs investments that capital cannot undertake, and in doing so the government affects the circulation of capital, and uses the taxes to facilitate the movement of capital in the structured environment. This summary exhibits an analogy with the definition of capital that Harvey provides in his book *The Condition of Post Modernity*, in which he defines capital to be a process during which social life is re-generated through commodity production.[79] The internalized operational rules of capital by its very nature enable the society in which it is rooted to assume a dynamic organizational style that transforms that society constantly without failure.

> Capital is not a thing but a process in which money is perpetually sent in search of more money. Capitalists – those who set this process in motion – take on many different personae. Finance capitalists look to make more money by lending to others in return for interest. Merchant capitalists buy

[77]D. Harvey, *Postmodernliğin Durumu* (*The Condition of the Post Modernity),* translated by S. Savran, İstanbul: Metis, 1999, 257.
[78]Ç. Keskinok, 280.
[79]D. Harvey, 376.

cheap and sell dear. Landlords collect rent because the land and properties they own are scarce resources. Rentiers make money from royalties and intellectual property rights. Asset traders swap titles (to stocks and shares for example), debts and contracts (including insurance) for a profit. Even the state can act like a capitalist, as, for example, when it uses tax revenues to invest in infrastructures that stimulate growth and generate even more tax revenues.[80]

The role of the government in urban development is to ensure the re-production of the system based on capital formation. State interference has two principal aspects in capitalist countries, the first of which is to manipulate the market transformation properly; and the second is to remedy the devastating impacts of the markets. The legitimizing function of the state in manipulating the capital accumulation process and moderating the class conflicts is realized through intervention in the space. The space-oriented policies of the state are aimed at alleviating the problems of capital accumulation rather than being a conscious drafting of environmental plans.[81] In addition to this, as emphasized by Saunders in his book *Urban Politics*, the state has assumed two basic functions within capitalism, one of which is "ensuring the continuity of capital formation"; and the other being "re-production of the labor power".[82] The state realizes its function of "ensuring the continuity of capital formation" by promoting and regulating investments, regulating the demand for capital, planning land use and allowing the structuralization of new areas; and fulfills its function of "re-production of the labor power" by providing accommodation, transportation, and social and technical infrastructure services, thus regulating the means of collective consumption once again.

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[80]D. Harvey, 2010, 40.

[81]Mark Gottdiener, *The Social Production of Space*, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1988, 133-134.

[82]Peter Saunders, *Urban Politics: A Sociological Interpretation*, New York: Penguin Books, 1983.

The relationships between functions can be summarized as follows: Capital circulation can account for the capitalist organization and reproduction of labor within the scope of urbanization, while the relationships between the state and capital can account for urban development and transformation. The loan mechanisms that the government puts in place are influential in the reproduction of urban life and socio–spatial relationships, and may also explain urban development, and the relative autonomy of the government executives that are influenced by the power and impact of production relations. Direct government involvement in the production of space occurs at different hierarchical levels owing to the different levels that exist within the state mechanism. The activities of the state in regards to space can be somewhat contradictory owing to the economic structures and conflicts within the state mechanism.[83] Castells highlights the regulatory and planning role of the state, claiming that state interference is less advantageous for capital, but is mandatory for those engaged in economic activities or those taking over the relevant sectors or services for the settling of social contradictions.[84] Actually, state intervention guarantees the obligatory reproduction of labor power at the minimum level, reduces the cost of direct payments, and at the same time eases demands. The social expenditures of the state do not only serve the big capital, as they are also indispensable for the survival of the system. In Castells' *The Urban Question"* he claims that space is a social product that is shaped by the explicit relationships between the different units in the social structure, or in other words, between politics, ideology and economy.[85] He suggests that space is historically cyclical and derives its meaning as a social form from the changes in production style. *The Urban Question* explains the relationship between the urban reality and structural tendencies at the point where capitalist development has come to settle, while also

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[83]Ç. Keskinok.
[84]M. Castells, *The Urban Question*, London: Arnold, 1977, 32.
[85]M. Castells, 115.

emphasizing that urban innovation excludes the needy from the precious city center. Castell believes that the city is the spatial unit in which labor is reproduced, and the reproduction of labor is achieved through means of collective consumption.[86] These collective consumption means can be listed as housing, health, education, public transport, fields and greenbelts, and urban infrastructure. Collective consumption has a significant role in meeting the living requirements of the working classes located in the cities. The state organizes the collective consumption, while at the same time ensuring the continuity of capital accumulation. Collective consumption is instrumental in deferring the problems that spring up from the uneven development and enables the reproduction of labor power.

In capitalist societies, the mobility of capital during its production and reproduction processes is a determining factor in the uneven development of social processes. During periods of surplus value production, capital causes some spaces to remain underdeveloped while creating and developing fresh new spaces. As discussed earlier, in attempting to increase profit margins and competitive power, capital creates new spaces while leaving others underdeveloped, however spaces that have been created at an earlier stage are also abandoned for spaces may now be even more suitable, and this results in permanent spatial discrepancies.[87] "The contemporary city might be assuming an increasingly fragmented geography characterized by a patchwork quilt of spaces that are physically proximate but institutionally estranged."[88] From this perspective, capital accumulation, class struggles and the state cannot be imagined as being independent phenomena. Since the city is not an independent spatial unit in terms of capitalist social relations either, only through hegemonic processes it can be

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[86]M. Castells, 321.
[87]T. Şengül, 146.
[88]G. MacLeod and K. Ward, 164.

analyzed. In order to shape, reproduce and transform the cities, there are two approaches exist; a living space and a source of profit in other words unearned income. In *Limits to Capital*, Harvey puts forward the concept of unearned income while underlining the significance of spatial organization in capital accumulation.[89]

The new megacities of the Gulf States, with star architect-designed buildings, are a significant example of uneven geographical development. The construction of these edifices is carried out by Palestinians, Indians and Sudanese workers, meaning that "Surplus populations are no more anchored in place than is capital."[90] They flow from place-to-place in search of opportunities, employment and better opportunities in life.

When defining urban development as the production and organization of space, it is readily apparent there is a complicated relationship of several components in the construction of the physical environment and the organizational form of social relationships. Space constitutes the focal point of technical, economic, psychological and cultural activities, along with the structured environment; and is a product of the social relations that exist therein. In this regard, the production of space can be defined as a transformation of space at the hands of social relationships and organizations; and consequently, urban development and the process of space production cannot be assessed independently from the system of which they are a part. Capital/labor conflicts, unearned land incomes, urban struggles and structured environment production etc., are all active in this process.

There has been an increase in capital interest in today's cities that has affected to a large extent the structuring of the cities and the relationships formed in this regard,

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[89]D. Harvey, 1982.
[90]D. Harvey, 2010, 147.

and the most striking aspect of the transformation has been an increase in urban polarization. In other words, capital has started to deepen the urban contradictions during the process of transforming cities to meet its own needs. The most important attribute of this swift transformation in both developed and underdeveloped countries in this era has been a lowering of the importance attributed to labor reproduction, while policies oriented towards upholding capital have been prioritized. In the course of this process the management of cities has shifted beyond the responsibility level of the local administration, which has predetermined limits of power, and has started to be handled by coalitions in which capital itself plays an active role.[91]

The absolute ruling hegemony of the capitalist class, the spatial fix and the preference for certain urban locations combine to form the essence of today's progress. Urban land is rapidly commoditized, and it is readily apparent that the generated surplus value in the re-circulation of capital is not disseminated among all urban people. The city is now solely an investment object and as necessary for the continuity of capitalism as the commoditization of urban space.

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[91]T. Şengül.

CHAPTER 4

DUBAI

… the story of a small Arab village that grew into big city ruled by the same family generation after generation. No one thought the village would become a city. It sat on the edge of a vast desert, surrounded by a sea of sand. There was no running water, no ice, no radio, no road. The village drifted in an eddy of time. While other nations launched rockets into space, the villagers fished and napped. They and their slaves dove for pearls in the sea. The villagers … ruled by three principles: what is good for the merchant is good for the village; embrace visitors, no matter what their religion; and, you cannot win if you do not take risks.[92]

Figure 4.1 Map of Dubai. In (Internet, WWW). ADDRESS: http://www.dubai.ie/Dubai_Info/ (Access 09.01.2010)

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[92]Jim Krane, *City of Gold: Dubai and the Dream of Capitalism*, Newyork: St.Martin's Press, 2009, Kindle version: Locations 66.

Dubai is a remarkable city. From its origins as a small fishing community, it has established itself as trading hub of the Gulf and has boomed into a massive metropolis. Wealth from oil allowed Dubai to invest in infrastructure that facilitated rapid socio-economic development, but since the mid-1990s Dubai has diversified into non-oil based businesses. This diversification has relied on such development as an expansion of Dubai's commercial infrastructure, import-substitution industrialization, the creation of a number of "free zones", the aggressive promotion of a luxury tourist sector, and finally a freehold real estate market. Thanks to these strategies, the emirate has attracted the highest per capita levels of foreign direct investment of any Arab market". In short, Dubai is a fascinating case study in light-speed urban development, hyper-consumerism, massive immigration and vertiginous inequality, where first-world wealth for citizens and professional expatriate workers is created through third-world wages of Asian laborers in a forest of construction cranes reclaiming the desert and the sea."[93] In a few decades, Dubai has transformed to an important destination for companies, tourists and migrant workers as a global metropolis.

4.1 Origins of Dubai

Dubai is located in an isolated corner of southeastern Arabia. Previously, it was difficult to distinguish the land from the sea. Camels permitted Dubaians to travel great distances and supported trade. There was not enough water or suitable land for the growing crops, and the people were not enough rich to support commerce. "A tribesman might winter with livestock in the desert, and in summer he might fish or

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[93]Syed Ali, *Dubai: Gilded Cage,* New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010, Kindle version: Locations 187.

dive for pearls, harvest dates or tend a patch of millet in the mountains".[94] Krane summarizes the governance of the UAE as:

> The seven and sometimes eight sheikdoms in the group were tribal lands of shifting sizes and shapes. They were not organized as nation-states. They lacked standing armies, central bureaucracies, and diplomatic relations with other states. There was no central authority, as exists now in the UAE federal government in Abu Dhabi. And there were no borders demarcating the limits of the sheikhdoms. Instead, territory was based on tribal leaders and the realms they could control.[95]

The UAE's rulers, known as Emiratis, now maintain power by giving subsidies to their citizens and by making improvements in living standards, healthcare, and education, in turn receiving public support. The tribal autocracy, which is the only form of governance the UAE has ever known, is one of the oldest means of organizing society.

In the 1800s, pearls were the leading commodity in the lower Gulf; and Dubai was dependant on pearls as its sole export.[96] This was a dangerous situation to be in, as pearls are a luxury item, an ornament with no practical value. At the beginning of the 20th century, people moved to make a living from sea due to the absence of available fertile land. The commercial success was based on a lack of trade restrictions, which created a new center of attraction for Indian and Iranian merchants, however during the Great Depression of 1929, people stopped buying luxury items, and the market for pearls died in Dubai. This resulted in a widespread famine in Dubai that spanned the 1930s and 1940s.[97] At that time there was no electricity, no phone service, no concrete buildings, no paved roads and no greenery in Dubai, but this did not stop Dubai from becoming known as a "rentier state," which was a financial reward for its location. The

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[94]J. Krane, 225.
[95]J. Krane, 298.
[96]J. Krane, 539.
[97]J. Krane, 584.

first rents came in the form of payments for land rights, which required neither labor nor expertise, and Dubai was able to reap the benefits, obtaining money for nothing.

Trade has always been the most important business in Dubai; and projects to turn Dubai into a free port, providing guarantees and economic incentives, started prior to the 20th century. Syed Ali describes this as follows:

> By the early part of the twentieth century, Dubai had established itself as the main trading centre of the region – a result of a crafty move by its ruler Sheikh Maktoum bin Hasher to lure Persian Arab and Indian traders from the Persian port cities to Dubai with promises of no taxes, protection and land. The most profitable aspect of trade with these countries was gold smuggling; indeed it was the most profitable endeavor in Dubai after the collapse of the pearl trade in the wake of the global Great Depression and before the discovery of oil.[98]

Dubai always positioned itself as "a place of commerce," and by not being judgmental in the nature of commerce it has become a preferred destination for merchants. Krane described this to great effect as "free trade was mother's milk for Dubai".[99]

4.2 Emergence of Dubai

After Sheikh Rashid took over command, Dubai was given access to electricity, running water and telephones. Modern ports and a bridge spanning the creek were built and street lights began to illuminate the town. Rashid's dream was to put his unknown city on the map,[100] Dubai, after all, had become only a phone call away from anywhere in the world. A number of important infrastructure projects were launched during the Rashid period, such as the Dubai Dry Docks; the Dubai World Trade

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[98]S. Ali, 345.
[99]J. Krane, 471.
[100]J. Krane, 1244.

Centre, which is a skyscraper in the empty desert; another port at Jebel Ali that is the world's largest man-made harbor and is Dubai's greatest financial asset; and the U.S. Navy's number one overseas port.[101]

Rashid's motto was "What's good for the merchants is good for Dubai," which became very popular. Being "city of merchants," Dubai has always been a place of freedom. "Smugglers ran guns, gold, slaves, diamonds and drugs through Dubai in the past, and still do today."[102] Consequently, Dubai realized its dream of being the centre of commerce of the Middle East, one of the largest recipients of foreign investment in the region, its financial center, largest port and airport, and home to the largest number of foreign businesses. Authors generally believe that Sheikh Rashid's gambles on infrastructure were the pivotal decisions in making Dubai the city it is today. Turning it to a hub, the infrastructure investment project was a crucial step for Dubai, in that it is now linked to Europe, East Asia, the Middle East, South Asia and Africa. The key investments may be listed as Dubai's Creek, two massive ports, and an international airport, with a larger one in the works.

Dubai is not an oil town, with the first discovery being made only in 1966; but by 1975 oil earnings had dominated Dubai's economy. [103] "While some oil-related strategies met with success, including energy-dependent industrialization and selective overseas investments, it was nevertheless recognized that such strategies, coupled with any continuing reliance on oil exports, would soon render Dubai's economy vulnerable to vagaries of the international economy and other uncontrollable external events."[104] As

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[101]J. Krane, 1482.
[102]Christopher M. Davidson, Quoted in Krane, 1361.
[103]S. Ali, 522 and J. Krane, 946.
[104]Christopher M. Davidson, *DUBAI the Vulnerability of Success*, London: Hurst Publishers Ltd, 2008, 99.

oil is a non-renewable resource, the reserve price is dictated according to its relative scarcity. Oil revenues enabled the government to undertake major infrastructure and industrial projects[105] that included Port Rashid, the dry docks, an aluminum smelter, and the Jebel Ali port and industrial area. As the eighteenth-century French utopian thinker Saint-Simon argued long ago, it takes the "association of capitals" on a large scale to set in motion the kinds of massive works such as railroads that are required to sustain long-term capitalist development.[106]
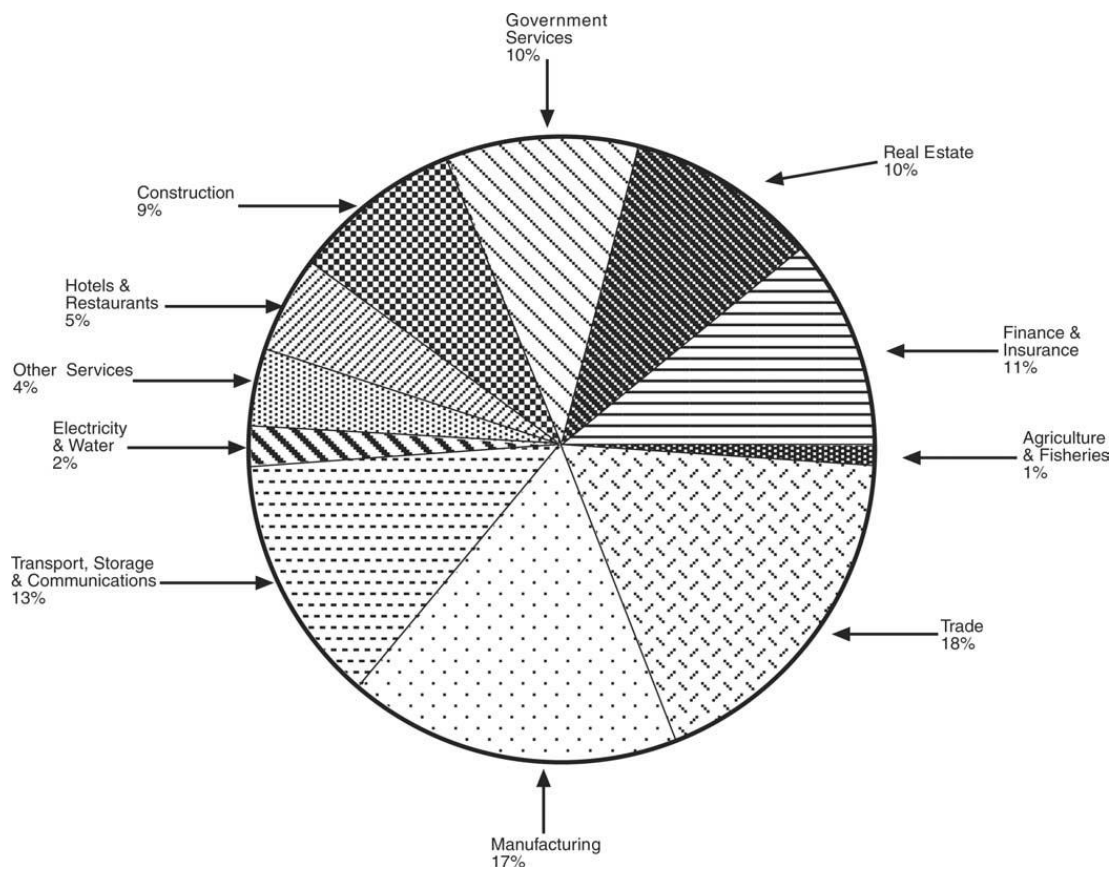
Figure 4.2 Dubai non-oil sector GDP, 2000. In Michael Pacione, 2005, "City Profile: Dubai". *Cities*, Vol: 22, 245.

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[105]Michael Pacione, "City Profile: Dubai" in *Cities*, Vol: 22, 2005, 225-265.
[106]D. Harvey, 2010, 49.

Dubai then moved from oil dependence to independence, and became the first post-oil economy in the Middle East. However, the oil income had allowed Dubai to create a "state-run business base". Aiming especially to attract foreign investment and to maintain a balance in trade, Dubai strategically created a light manufacturing base, "free zones," a luxury tourist industry, and introduced a real estate market for foreign investors. Turning Dubai into a tourist destination was the second phase of Dubai's development.[107] Sheikh Muhammed prioritized the tourism sector, taking advantage of the fact that Dubai is usually sunny every day of the year and has a long beach with a turquoise sea. In the 1990s, the government of Dubai decided to reinvent the country as an attractive place for tourists to shop. "Seven million foreign tourists came to Dubai in 2007, and Sheikh Mohammed has stated he wants there to be 15 million by 2010".[108]

Syed Ali considers the transformation of Dubai, which occurred over a very short period of time, to have been based on two important historical events:

> Into the early 1990s, most of Dubai was desert. In fact, in what today is a packed skyline on Sheikh Zayed Road, until 2000, when Sheikh Mohammeds Jumeirah Group built the Emirates Towers, there was hardly anything but sand between the World Trade Center and the Metropolitan Hotel a few miles to its south on the route to Abu Dhabi. But things changed dramatically as a result of the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 and the invasion of Iraq in 2003, and the incredible rise in the price of oil soon after, which concurrently fuelled Dubai's amazing economic growth and population explosion.[109]

The 1970 recession and oil boom made Dubai rich, while the post-2001 oil boom allowed it to become even richer. The country's wealth was internationally known, and

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[107]The first phase was overseen by Rashid, while by the second period the reins had been taken over by his son Muhammed.
[108]S. Ali, 275.
[109]S. Ali, 596.

"Brand Dubai" was developed and marketed, highlighting its iconic constructions and its fame as a consumers' paradise.

4.3 Realization of Utopia

The city of Dubai became a project of capitalist utopia, based on its global reputation as an economic hub and an excellent location for investment.[110] Dubai experiences rapid and intense growth, growing from a fishing settlement to an urbanized land in just a few decades. This phenomenal change was focused around new developments and investment projects, including large urban projects and transformation proposals for the urban structure of Dubai. Instead of generating an alternative, Dubai looked instead towards sustainability and the development of capitalism. Dubai is being created in response to globalization (based on its tourism, easy travel, access to media, large cooperation headquarters, and events such as conferences and concerts), thus increasingly catering for transient populations. The Dubai Strategic Plan highlights five key areas for the development of economic and social life: infrastructure, the environment, security, justice and government excellence. [111]

Coming to the present day, Dubai has boomed into a metropolis that is home to millions, most of which are expatriates working in the multi-sector economy and tourists.[112] With a high proportion of impermanent residents, a transitory atmosphere, superficial life and a consumer culture the utopia of capitalism has been realized. Large

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[110]Dubai Strategic Plan, 2015.
[111]Dubai Strategic Plan, 2015.
[112]The population of Dubai on January 2011 was 1.8 million, down from 2.2 million in June 2010. It is unusual that the majority of its population are expatriates. The vast majority are low-income workers from the Indian subcontinent and the Philippines, although there are a significant number of professionals from Europe and Australasia. See UAE – The official web site, http://www.uaeinteract.com (Access: June 09, 2011).

urban projects have become an important new development strategy in capitalist cities, and a new form of development in economic, social and political life. These urban developments have been made possible due to the accumulation and flow of capital.

In the case of Dubai, the main development strategy is focused on the process of urban generation and property development; while there is also an aim to establish itself as the region's hub of commerce, services and leisure through the creation of a new image for the city. There has been a monetization, and the monetization of social relationships causes a transformation of the characteristics of time and space, with space, in turn, being turned into a scarce commodity. It would be fair to say that the basic space ideology of capitalism has been degraded into economic concepts. The development of the city has been aggressive, and has included a number of artificial islands for the creation of tourist resorts and luxury housing; the world's tallest building; an indoor refrigerated ski slope and a number of multi-billion dollar master-planned mixed-use and specialized developments.
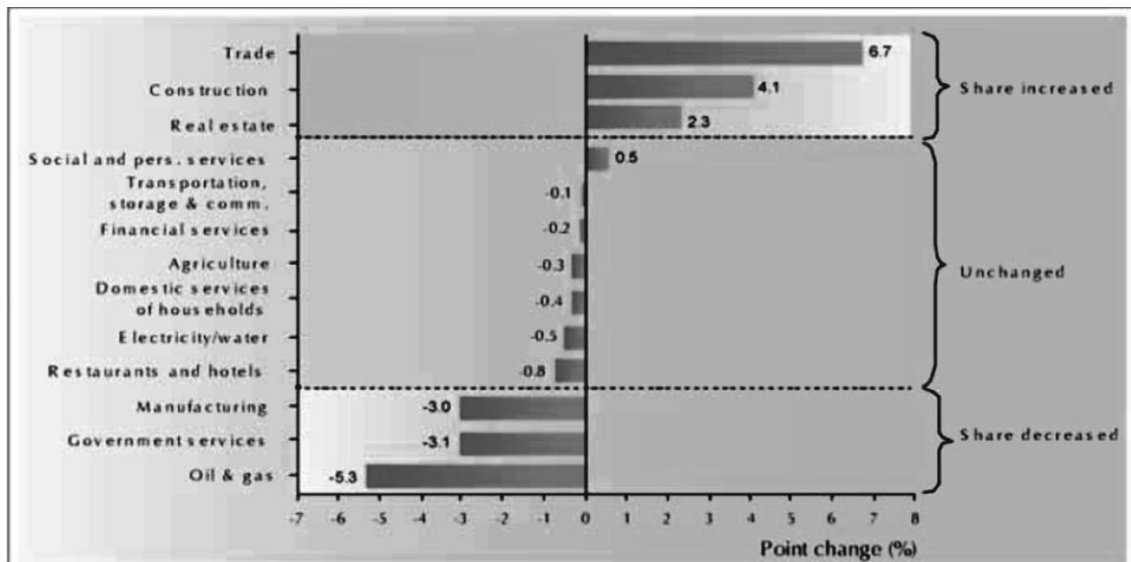
Figure 4.3 Change in GDP Sector Share (2000-2005). In Dubai Strategic Plan 2015.
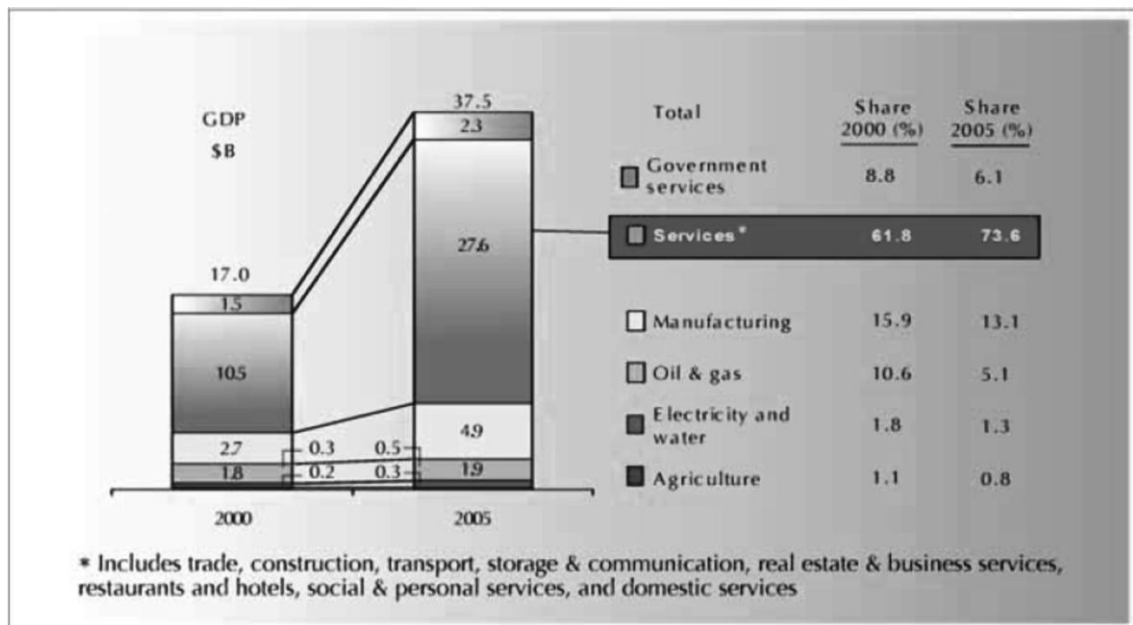
Figure 4.4 GDP by Sector (2000-2005). In Dubai Strategic Plan 2015.
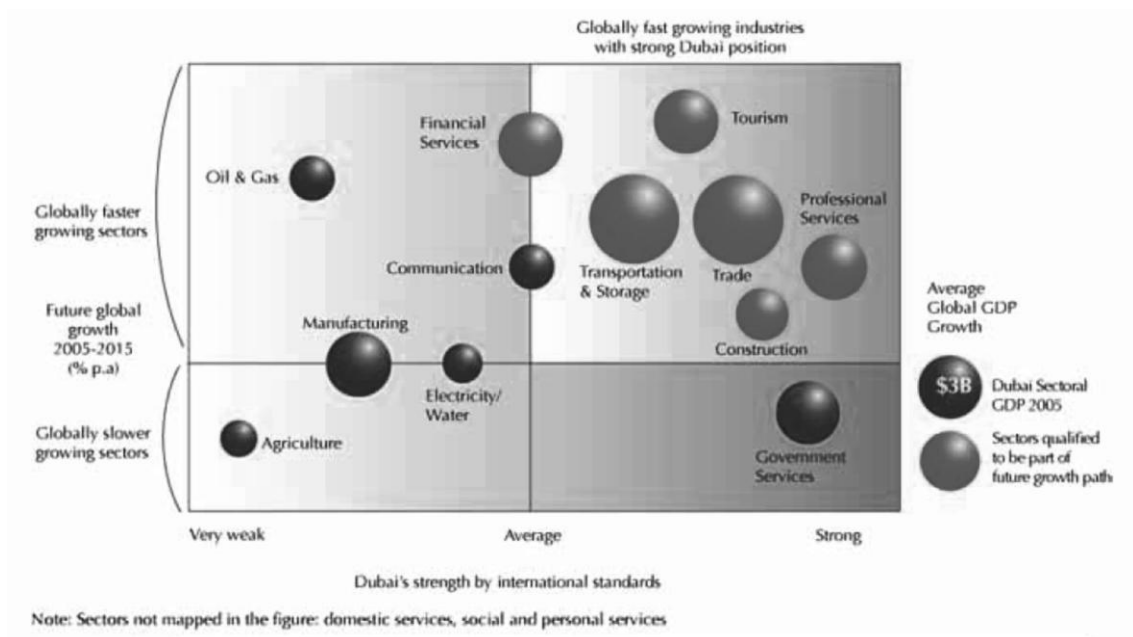
Figure 4.5 Dubai's Sectoral Strengths in Light of Future Global Growth. In Dubai Strategic Plan 2015.

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Dubai's development has been driven by government policies aimed at improving the business and investment environment, as well as initiatives to establish specialized zones and large urban projects (e.g. Internet and Media City, Healthcare City, The Palm, Dubailand, etc.). Moreover, the availability of labor and land for major real estate projects is a main supporting factor for these large urban projects. It is significant that Dubai's economic growth has been based on trade, construction and real estate sectors. (Figure 4.3) It is evident that the service sector has been the key driver of Dubai's economy. (Figure 4.4) According to the Dubai Strategic Plan for 2015, sectors such as tourism, transportation, construction and financial services constitute the focal point of Dubai's future growth path. (Figure 4.5) Moreover, as it can be seen from the figures (Figure 4.3 and Figure 4.4), non-oil related GDP contributions of Dubai have increased to over 90 percent. According to Davidson, this diversification has been based on the expansion of Dubai's commercial infrastructure, import-substitution industrialization, a number of specialist free zones, the promotion of the luxury sector and the launch of the freehold real estate market. [113]

The city-state of Dubai is one of the emirates located on the Arabian Gulf, and has grown to became the Gulf's hub for leisure, services and commerce. Dubai was a small fishing settlement before it was subjected to an impetuous in urbanization and intense growth. Development and investment projects, including large urban projects managed the transformation of Dubai. In addition to new bridges, roads, metros and waterbus systems, housing estates, commercial and recreational areas are also projected. The Palm Jumeirah, Downtown Burj Dubai, Business Bay, Dubai Marina, and Dubailand, some of the most significant large urban projects, are facing problems in becoming spatially integrated with the city of Dubai.

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[113]C. M. Davidson, 2008.

Within a period of 1970 to 1980, a planned suburban growth occurred and a new master plan for Dubai was conceived. Major transportation developments were planned to connect the city districts on both sides of the creek. Economic, social and physical transformation of the city and the major developments in urban structure continued via rapid urban expansion in 1980s. In the early 1990s, Dubai took a strategic decision to emerge as a major international-quality metropolitan.[114]

Figure 4.6 Dubai Mega Projects. In (Internet, WWW). ADDRESS: http://www.belhane.com (Access 09.01.2010)

The Dubai Urban Area Strategic Plan 1993-2015 was prepared to guide the economic and physical development of the city into the 21st century. One of the key challenges

[114]Ayse Sema Kubat, Yasemin Ince Guney, Ozlem Ozer, Mehmet Topcu, Suveyda Bayraktar, *The Effects of the New Development Projects on the Urban Macroform of Dubai: A Syntactic Evaluation*, Proceedings of 7th International Space Syntax Symposium, Stockholm, 2009.

for the plan was stimulating cooperation between public and private agencies in their investments, not only leading tourism in region but also developing a business district within a globally important urban space.[115] The large urban projects of Dubai have been prepared in a piecemeal fashion and could be defined as creating "cities within the city". (Figure 4.6) In the context of the whole of Dubai, these appear to be segregated, and in addition, each project has its own distinct qualities with the aim of creating a unique attraction. The development of Dubai is being driven by investment policies. Several globally marketed urban mega projects and infrastructures, such as the longest single-phase driverless metro system, has made it now not only a favorable destination for businesses and tourism in region, but also host to a rapidly growing population and a catalyst for more than 200 nationalities working and making homes for themselves in the city. Through a significant change in structure, composition and settlement trends the city's population has almost doubled in 15 years.[116]

Table 4.1 Population Growth in Dubai. In Samer Bagaeen, 2007, "Brand Dubai: The Instant City; or the Instantly Recognizable City", in *International Planning Studies*, Vol. 12: 2, May 2007, 176.

Year	Population
1975	183,187
1980	276,301
1985	370,788
1993	610,926
1995	689,420
2000	862,387
2001	910,336
2002	960,950
2003	1,014,379
2004	1,070,779
2005	1,321,453
2007 (Quarter 1)	1,448,000

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[115]Dubai Urban Area Structure Plan 1993-2015.
[116]Amir Mustafa Abdella, *Global Dubai, Particular Challenges Ahead,* in http://www.scribd.com. (Access: 10.01.2011)

Dubai is still an autocracy and its economic development if generally linked to its political stability. Dubai's post-war economic growth was due to the liberal economic approach of the government, which sought to attract inward investment by creating a low-tax, business-friendly and politically stable environment.[117] The story of Dubai began with the aim of creating a multi-sectoral economy and reducing its dependency on hydrocarbons and international oil markets, but it was in danger of finishing with one of the worst crash-landings of the global recession.

4.4 Recession

The most recent global crisis in the capitalist world shook Dubai deeply. Despite the glitter of Dubai, the interest of foreign investors' in real estate there went into decline, while tourists were turning to cheaper destinations. Most seriously, Dubai's banks and mortgage lenders struggled to find credit on the international market. "Loans dried up, speculators began to disappear, and the major wave of resale properties began to hit the classifieds as nervous expatriates sought to cut their losses and run."[118] Unemployment is on the rise, construction has stopped and the population is decreasing. The people who had moved to Dubai for a better life either lost their job or moved away. The Dubai dream is in descent.

Robert Worth explains the recession in Dubai as, "Due to the economic crash, parts of Dubai, once hailed as the economic superpower of the Middle East, were looking more and more like a ghost town".[119] By 2008, Dubai had hit its lowest ebb. Supplies could not meet demand, labors could not work faster, and there were no more cranes. Costs

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[117]Pacione, 225-265.
[118]C. M. Davidson, 9.
[119]Robert Worth, quoted in Ali, 43.

were lower and it was no longer feasible to continue building. The emirate had to borrow to complete its "brand" projects, such as the man-made island and Burj Dubai. In an attempt to overcome this situation, Dubai's three largest property developers, Emaar, Nakheel and Dubai Holding, started to cooperate.

The city's financial base, like the foundations of its towers, hit rock bottom. Real estate is generally understood to be a tool of development, however without production economies cannot rely on it – and the case of Dubai is proof of this. In the global recession, Dubai's tourism and luxury sectors started suffering, bringing back memories of the untradable pearls in Dubai's past. Through unemployment and in the absence of tourists, the population of the city has decreased.

Crises associated with problems in property markets tend to be more long-lasting than others. Harvey explains that this is because investments in the built environment are typically credit-based and high-risk.[120] That is why, when over-investment become evident, which has happened in Dubai, the mess that has taken many years to produce takes many more years to calm down. Dubai gave the impression that it had succeeded in escaping from its former dependency on the oil industry, and had created a self-sustaining multi-sector economy;[121] however the Emirates insisted on relying on imperialist economies such as Britain and the United States, which brought a significant conclusion to all these activities. As such, Dubai remains dependent on foreign sources for its economic livelihood. In the past it relied on its hydrocarbon exports, but nowadays it has a deepening dependency on foreign investments and luxury tourism.

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[120]D. Harvey, 8.
[121]C. M. Davidson, 2.

CHAPTER 5

THE ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES AND LARGE-SCALE DEVELOPMENTS OF DUBAI

Urban development in a world ruled by capitalism, can only be considered as a reflection of capital onto space. In Chapter III the factors affecting urban development were discussed. Dubai was the subject of urban development in only a few decades that brought it to the level of a world metropolis. The urban pattern that arose was in the form of large scale projects that included large housing complexes, multiple usage centers, office complexes and shopping centers, with circulation areas to connect them to one another.

Dubai's specific dream was to emerge as a "world city" – a utopia that would ensure the continued existence of the Arab Emirates – with the aim of attracting global capital. According to Sargın's definition, the term "world city" was a result of privilege being applied to spaces that provide maximum fluidity and flexibility for capital,[122] and the accumulation of resources at one point. Dubai, in attempting to form a utopia, transformed its infrastructure and superstructure with the intention of retaining control of the flow of capital. This is a process that can be witnessed all over the world,

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[122]G. A. Sargın, "Emek-Değer Çelişkisinin Mekansal İzdüşümü; Türkiye'de Kent ve Rant", in *Dosya 21: Mimarlık, Kent ve Rant,* Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi, 2010, 21:1.

and results in inter-city competition. Cities have become a means of capital accumulation and have started to be formed with the intention of attaining this end. According to Saskia Sassen, global cities maintain a kind of dialogue with other global cities, and major flows of capital, people and ideas circulate between them.[123] The important actors in this process are international capital and the central government, together with local authorities. In Dubai, the urban transformation is planned and set in motion by the hand of the government itself. As a result, huge rents have become available, leading to the city being referred to as a "rentier state" in the past, one in which profits are made without work. For this reason, rent coming from property rights and arising out of speculative/political moves, cannot be considered strange.

Urbanization is one way of absorbing capital surplus, and "innovation in the state–finance nexus has been a necessary condition for channeling surpluses into urbanization and infrastructural projects".[124] In order to attract increasing flows of foreign capital, the Emirates have drawn up a development strategy for the diversification of the economy, attracting new service industries such as finance, tourism and leisure. This has led inevitably to urban growth and a massive building boom of huge construction projects such as infrastructure, residential buildings, large hotels, office blocks, shopping malls, and sports and cultural facilities, designed by some of the world's leading architecture firms. Dubai is not only experiencing rapid urban growth but is also becoming associated with luxury and the highest property incomes. Property developers market themselves on an international scale through their "record-breaking" buildings and projects, which make headlines all over the world. Global media campaigns are created to support the growth of Dubai, with

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[123] Saskia Sassen, *Cities in a World Economy*, London: Sage Publications Ltd, 2006.
[124] D. Harvey, 2010, 85.

promotional activities publicizing the city's tourist attractions in different sectors, such as sport, accommodation and leisure.

All of the progress witnessed in Dubai under the power of government has brought about a degradation of public (social) welfare, while profitability and the market have seen an increase, being that the "state–finance nexus has long functioned as the 'central nervous system' for capital accumulation".[125] Class distinction, unequal income distribution and basic urban services are being sharpened in the cities, which then become an area for the speculation of capital. In the Dubai case, "there is incredible wealth and consumer excess alongside equally incredible horrible living and working conditions of labourers".[126]

The capitalization of urban space is a prerequisite for the system to maintain its existence, and in the case of Dubai the city has become fully an investment object. Accordingly, the arrival of a new player in Dubai has been readily apparent – the real-estate agent – with land being a new sphere of interest for international investors. Dubai has to create newness in order to sustain its continuity, and has to come to the scene with more and more vast new projects, supported by powerful advertising campaigns. This marketing and sale-oriented approach has relied heavily on the newness, greatness and similar expressions in the promotion of the city. Dubai "tends to be everywhere and nowhere. It is more like a diagram, a system of staged scenery and mechanisms of good time."[127] Everything aims to promote consumption and to attract the interest of tourists. It is focused on creating attraction spaces and providing a high level of comfort to its visitors.

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[125] D. Harvey, 54.
[126] S. Ali, 196.
[127] Georges Katodrytis, quoted in J. Krane, 5545.

Life is artificial and shallow in Dubai. The atmosphere of the city is transitory, like an airport,[128] and is reminiscent of Rem Koolhaas' "The Generic City," in which he states the "contemporary city is an airport":[129]

> The same always and everywhere. Adequately wide for everyone. Simple. No need for maintenance. It can be enlarged when it becomes small. If it gets old, it will be demolished then renewed. Artificial like Hollywood's Studio spaces. A new space can be produced in every morning with a new identity.
> No more street life.
> "The Generic City" has no past at all.
> There is only one activity: shopping.

As opposed to the factories, which are a means of organizing and controlling production, consumption spaces like contemporary shopping centers and hypermarkets organize and control consumption. In these areas of consumption, consumption space does the same job as a factory does in its production space. Capital organizes production at the factory to continuously decrease its recirculation period, and likewise organizes consumption in the new consumption places.

It is not only places that are temporary in Dubai, as the population is also temporary, formed by flows of people rather than permanent residents. Ninety-five percent of Dubai's inhabitants are temporary and have no chance of obtaining a legal permanent status.[130] Nowhere else has such a high proportion of impermanent residents. Whether they stay a week or 40 years, they never fully belong to the place. The urban development of Dubai, which is a product of a policy that recognizes market conditions over everything else, will be analyzed within the framework of three main headings: Urban Planning Scale, Urban Design Scale and Architectural Scale.

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[128] J. Krane, 5533.

[129] George Katodrytis, "Metropol Kent Dubai ve Fantezi Mimarlığın Yükselişi", in http://www.arkitera.com, 2005. (Access: 03.01.2011)

[130] J. Krane, 5533.

5.1 Urban Planning Scale

Dubai's main development strategy targets urban generation and property development; and establishing itself as the region's hub for commerce, services and leisure through the creation of a new image for the city. While the primary objective of the 1996–2010 Dubai Strategic Development Plan is to attain the status of a developed economy, the Dubai Urban Area Strategic Plan 1993-2015 was prepared to guide the economic and physical development of the city into the 21st century. As stated by Pacione, the 1996–2010 Dubai Strategic Development Plan contains planned economic growth, investment promotions and diversifications.[131] In addition to this, one of the key challenges of the Dubai Urban Area Strategic Plan is to stimulate cooperation between public and private agencies in their investments. Besides developing a business district within a globally attractive urban space, this also leads to tourism in the region.[132]

The origins of the modern city of Dubai are rooted in the tribal culture.[133] The discovery of oil and development of a petroleum sector had a revolutionary effect on Dubai in terms of its economy and society. However, oil is a non-renewable resource, so the Emirates made investments to achieve independence from the oil industry. It is possible to say that Dubai experienced a rapid urban expansion after the early 1990s, and the course of its transformation can be seen in Figure 5.1, Figure 5.2 and Figure 5.3. The urban expansion of Dubai was realized both in scale, the physical spread of the city and the diversity of projects. Dubai represents a hybrid model between state control and economic liberalism in urban development, which has been determined

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[131] M. Pacione, 245.
[132] Dubai Urban Area Structure Plan 1993-2015.
[133] M. Pacione, 230.

largely by the planning vision of the ruling family within market capitalism that seeks to attract foreign investment and reduce restrictions on free enterprise.[134]

Figure 5.1 E 11 Road[135], 1990. In (Internet, WWW). ADDRESS: http://www.scribd.com/essentialarchitecturedubai (Access 11.01.2011)

The Dubai Urban Area Strategic Plan 1993-2012 highlighted particular issues that were to be addressed, such as accommodating urban expansion, increasing the transportation network, continued economic growth, and support of private investment.[136] Urban expansion should be construed to mean the allocation of additional land for residential and commercial complexes. By the same token, for supporting private investment it is necessary to provide sufficient infrastructure and simplified procedures; while attracting private investment and encouraging expatriates

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[134] M. Pacione, 255.

[135] E 11 is a highway in the United Arab Emirates. The longest road in the UAE, E 11 streches from the city of Abu Dhabi and ends in Ras Al Khaimah, running roughly parallel to UAE's coastline along the Persian Gulf. The road forms the main artery in some emirates' main cities, where it assumes various alternate names — Sheikh Maktoum Road in Abu Dhabi, Sheikh Zayed Road in Dubai, and Sheikh Muhammed bin Salem Road in Ras Al Khaimah. In (Internet, WWW). ADDRESS: http://e-11-road-united-arab-emirates.co.tv/ (Access 19.05.2011)

[136] M. Pacione, 225.

to reinvest capital is also important. Moreover, a spatial framework is provided for urban growth in the Strategic Plan that focuses mainly on housing, infrastructure, public services and public facilities. As can be seen in Figure 5.4, housing represents the largest use of urban space.

Figure 5.2 E 11 Road, 2003. In (Internet, WWW). ADDRESS:
http://www.scribd.com/essentialarchitecturedubai (Access 11.01.2011)

Figure 5.3 E 11 Road, 2008 In (Internet, WWW). ADDRESS:
http://www.scribd.com/essentialarchitecturedubai (Access 11.01.2011)

73
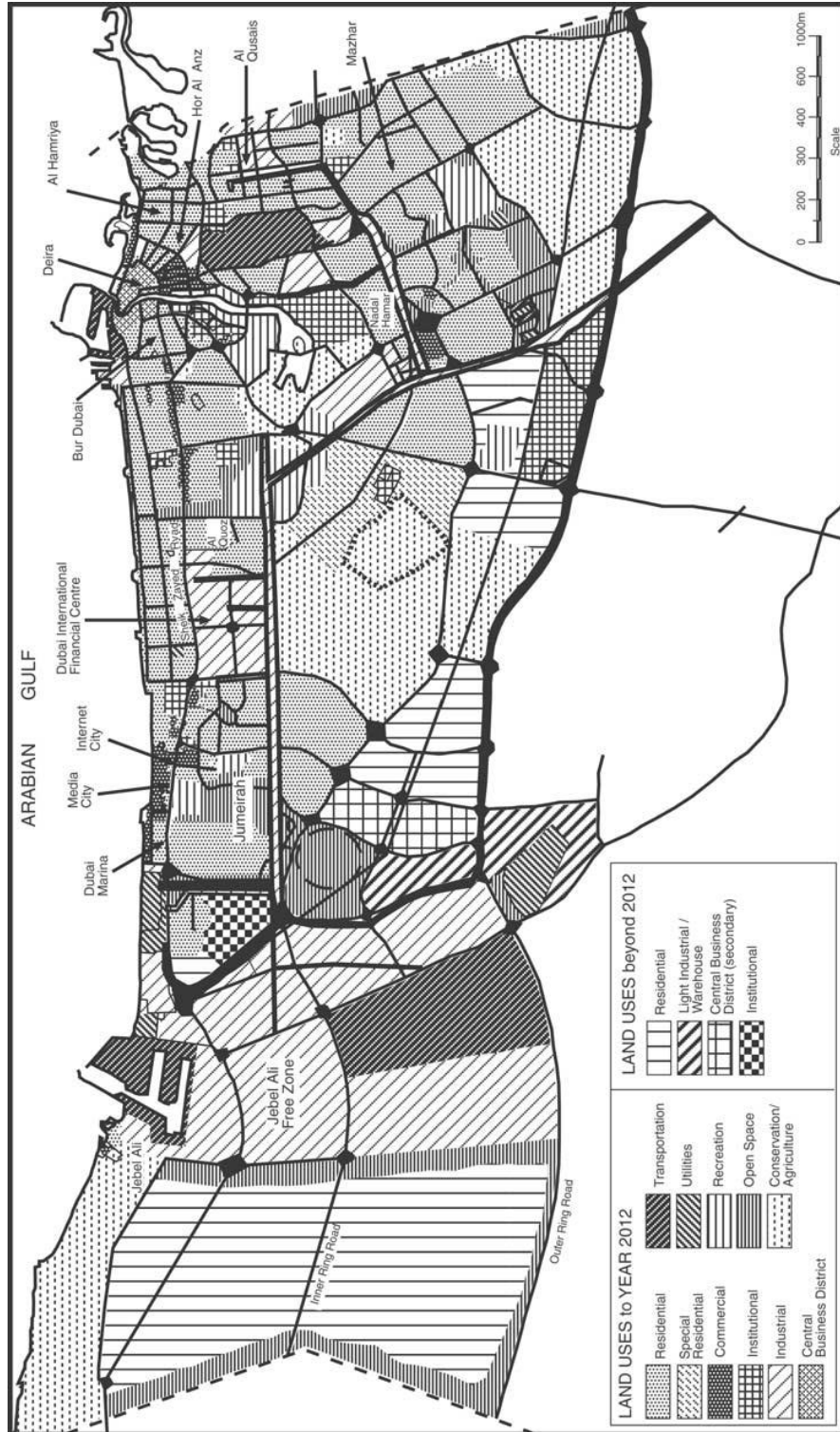
Figure 5.4 Dubai Urban Area Structure Plan 1993–2015. In Michael Pacione, 2005, "City Profile: Dubai", *Cities*, Vol: 22, 250.

Pacione's summary of the Emirate's housing policy and its physical consequences for Dubai are worthy of note:

- Because plots are provided to individuals rather than to households the total amount of land required for nationals' housing is increased.
- The relocation of nationals to new 15,000 ft² plots has been accompanied by deterioration of housing conditions in older inner city residential areas.
- The peripheral location of new housing plots has stimulated a process of suburbanization and creation of "dormitory communities" on the fringes of the city, as at Mazhar and Nad Al Hamar. In response, some effort has been made by the municipality to reintroduce nationals' housing in redeveloped inner urban areas such as Har Al Anz and Al Hamriya.
- While some of the vacated nationals' housing filters down to low-income expatriates, in general, there is limited state provision of housing for this social group. Indeed, the Structure Plan does not recommend public construction of low cost housing for expatriates on the grounds that it would place the state in unnecessary competition with the private sector. Further, state policy requires industrial firms to provide accommodation for their staff in existing or new estates as at Al Quoz and Jebel Ali.[137]

At this point, uneven development and distribution is observed in its purest form. The housing policy obviously displays an unequal attitude in the Emirate for different income groups from the very outset. The urban growth of Dubai has increased the class distinction and the distribution of basic urban services, and the divide between different classes has become even more unequal. The old centers of the city, which were built according to an automobile-based development model, are connected to each other by means of tunnels and highways.[138] The Structure Plan projects a modern transportation system and includes provisions for expansion. As Dubai was an automobile-dependent city, traffic and parking were growing problems.

[137] M Pacione, 225-265.
[138] G. Katodrytis, 2005.

Under recommendations of the Dubai Municipality, by 1997 studies had started into the creation of a metropolitan public transportation.[139] The first two metro lines, the Red Line and the Green Line, were proposed to serve the urban fabric. The Red Line, which is the longest line, runs parallel to the coast and links Jebel Ali Port to Dubai International Airport; while the Green Line connects Healthcare City to the Airport Free Zone. Two further lines, the Blue Line and the Purple Line are planned for future,[140] and do not cross any of the existing highways.

Figure 5.5 Dubai Metro, Dubai Municipality, 2007. In (Internet, WWW). ADDRESS: http://www.gis.gov.ae/en/downloads/pdfs/Major%20Projects.pdf (Access 11.01.2011)

Dubai has experienced super-fast urbanism, and the government has attempted to promote real estate development by creating their "brand of urbanism". "The purpose

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[139]Laura Daglio, *New Frontiers in Architecture: Dubai between vision and reality*, White Star Publishers, 2010, 260.
[140] Daglio, 261.

of all this building has obviously been to create an image of progress and dynamism where the fastest, biggest, most amazing structures are being built in order to attract the affluent and the talented, all essential to the consolidation of the successful Dubai brand".[141] There has been competition between cities for new investments and real estate projects, which is a natural consequence of capitalist space-economies and new urban entrepreneurialism. The open-door policy of Dubai has attracted huge amounts of immigrants in addition to flows of capital, which has had a significant impact on the socio-cultural character of the city. For example, foreign workers have had a major cultural effect on the city, bringing to the city's streets variations in dress, language and the growth of service facilities to satisfy their different needs. "Dubai is environmentally rapacious, overwhelmingly male, and socially stratified, with men earning a few dollars a day living across the road from billionaires".[142]

Emirates measure the "success" of Dubai according to the level of captures from the flows of capital. In order to continue this "success" they have built further means of capital accumulation within their borders, while forgetting the needs of the inhabitants and their quality of life. The economic growth of Dubai has led to social and spatial polarization between different income groups. Class distinction, inequality in income distribution and basic urban services become sharpened in cities that have a single-minded goal of capital accumulation, and Dubai is the most significant example of this situation. Pacione, speaking on this issue, claims: "Highly visible income and lifestyle differences between affluent and poorer residents and socio-spatial polarization between national and low-income non-national workers may require that, in future, greater consideration be directed to the distribution of wealth as well as to wealth

[141]Samer Bagaeen, "Brand Dubai: The Instant City; or the Instantly Recognizable City", *International Planning Studies*, Vol. 12, No. 2, May 2007, 179.
[142]J. Krane, 5545.

creation."[143] It can be considered that the "grid plan"[144] of city has provided an environment for artificial geometries and new morphologies It should be stated that the spread of Dubai has been realized both horizontally and vertically over the last 20 years, when the development of city has been focused on iconically designed projects, real-estate investments and dream vacation facilities.
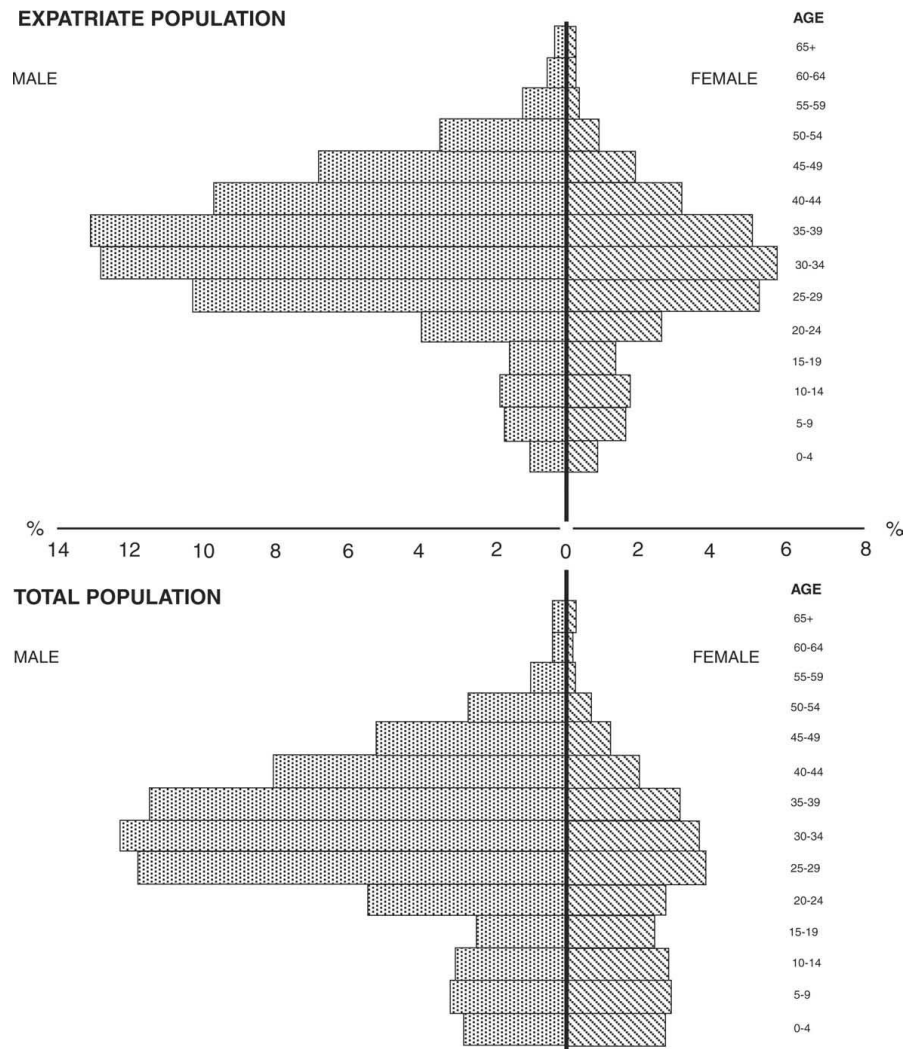
Figure 5.6 Population pyramids by age and sex for total and expatriate population. In Michael Pacione, 2005, "City Profile: Dubai", *Cities*, Vol: 22, 253.

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[143] M. Pacione, 243.
[144] G. Katodrytis, 2005.

5.2 Urban Design Scale

Large urban projects have become an important new development strategy in capitalist cities, and a new form of development in economic, social and political life, influenced by the accumulation and flow of capital. This study focuses on understanding the impacts of the new urban paradigm in reference to Dubai. The Palm Jumeirah, Downtown Burj Dubai, Business Bay, Dubai Marina and Dubailand projects are significant large urban projects, and have a problem becoming spatially integrated with the city of Dubai. The large urban projects of Dubai have been prepared in a piecemeal fashion, and may be defined as having created "cities within the city". In the context of the whole of Dubai these projects appear to be segregated, and each project has been developed with its own distinct qualities with the intention of providing a unique concept as a point of attraction.

Figure 5.7 Dubai Urban Projects. In, Dubai Municipality, In (Internet, WWW). ADDRESS: http://www.gis.gov.ae/en/downloads/pdfs/Major%20Projects.pdf (Access: 11.01.2011)

79

The large urban projects have the potential to bring about urban-scale effects of different scopes, scales and functions. In the case of Dubai, they cannot become involved in the urban space, and create involute centers in the metropolitan area. According to Soja, while architects deal with stand-alone constructions, urban designers focus on a group of constructions that are independent from the urban and regional context, and the case of Dubai provides testimony to this statement.[145] In the urban strategic plan of Dubai, the city establishes itself as a hub for commerce, services and leisure; and according to this strategy, large urban projects were planned, the most significant being:

- Emirates Living: A community located in Dubai Marina, Dubai Media City, Dubai Internet City and the Mall of the Emirates.
- Dubai International Financial Center: A multi-billion dollar real-estate development on 45,000 m2 of desert in a financial free zone.
- Jumeirah Village: Mixed land uses covering 811 ha. With landscaping, connected parks and boulevards.
- Dubai Marina: Covering 4.5 km^2, this is the largest man-made marina in the world, with a promenade that stretches along the entire waterfront.
- Festival City: Located along the shores of the creek, it comprises 15 residential communities with leisure, entertainment, and shopping facilities.
- Palm Islands: Artificial islands, each with a mixed-use land development. Each island is surrounded by a crescent of land that forms a breakwater. Palm Islands is located off the coast of the United Arab Emirates in the Persian Gulf and added 520 km of beaches to the city of Dubai.
- Business Bay: Aimed to create a global commercial and business centre, is located between the Sheikh Zayed and Al Khail Roads on the creek side.
- Downtown Burj Dubai: A mixed-use land development project covering around 200 ha. The area is dominated by the world's tallest building, Burj Dubai Tower, and the Dubai Mall.

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[145]Edward W. Soja, "Designing the Postmetropolis". In *Urban Design,* edited by A. Kriegger, W.S. Saunders. Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2009.

- Dubailand Theme Park: A mega project located behind the Emirates Road, stretching from the back of the Emirates Hills down almost to Deira Creek, aiming to become world's most ambitious leisure, tourism and entertainment destination.
- International City: A mixed-use development comprising residences for 60,000 people.
- Al Maktoum International Airport: Currently under construction near Jebel Ali, it is planned as the world's largest passenger and cargo hub.

The Palm Trilogy and The World, Marina Dubai, and Dubai International Financial Center are the most significant projects in terms of urban design scale, and as such are focused upon in this study.

5.2.1 The Palm Trilogy and the World

Figure 5.8 The Palm Island and the World. In (Internet, WWW). ADDRESS: http://www.luxurylaunches.com/travel/palm_islands_the_worlds_largest_manmade_islands.php (Access: 10.01.2011)

These artificial islands have been designed to extend Dubai's coastline, taking advantage of the fact that the most desired and valuable areas for tourism development in the Emirates are its coastlines. Their creation has resulted in a boost in the real-estate market. The Palm Trilogy and the World are situated off the coast of

Dubai and built out of sand taken from the Persian Gulf. They are the largest artificial islands in the world, and their particular shapes not only maximize beach area, but also give them a specific identity. The first of the three Palm Islands is Palm Jumeirah, which began construction in 2001. The other Palm Islands are Palm Jebel Ali and Palm Deira. The islands are formed on the shape of a stylized palm tree, and a circular breakwater has been built around each island.

Figure 5.9 The Palm Jumeirah. In (Internet, WWW). ADDRESS: http://www.dubai-architecture.info/DUB-033.htm (Access: 10.01.2011)

Palm islands are close to the mainland, to which they are connected by bridges. They feature luxury hotels, entertainment and leisure facilities and residential buildings in different densities.

> The Palm Jumeirah has already been completed. It has 17 fronds and measures roughly 3 miles (5 km) across and 3 miles (5 km) in length, with a 48-mile (77 km) coastline. It is characterized by the two Logo Islands in the shape of the development's symbol (a palm leaf) lying either side of its trunk. The Palm Jebel Ali also has 17 fronds, although it is approximately 50 percent larger than the Palm Jumeirah, with 62 miles (100 km) of coast. Villas raised on piles will be built inside the breakwater, along with a water theme park with boardwalks arranged to form writing in Arabic. The Palm

> Deira, commenced in 2004, is the largest of the three islands, with an overall area of 31 sq miles (80 sq km) and 140 miles (225 km) of beaches.[146]

Palm Islands, through the force of symbolism, advertise themselves with their characteristic forms. The islands have an attractive impact on a global scale, and are visible both from airplanes and satellites.

The World follows the same promotional method as Palm Islands. A group of artificial islands have been designed and constructed to resemble a world map. Like Palm Islands, The World also surrounded by a breakwater but is located further from the Dubai coast.

> The iconic stature of the project, which has an area of 3.5 sq miles (9sq km) and 114 miles (183 km) of shoreline, is boosted by the patriotic and symbolic values associated with the countries that the individual islands represent. Indeed the media hype has targeted a multimillionaire clientele of companies, politicians, film stars, and sports celebrities to sell those islands with the names and relative geographical positions of the world's various nations. The areas and the coasts of the islands can be customized and developed by their owners according to a master plan.[147]

In conclusion it can be said that Dubai built artificial islands and populated them, while there is a point of view that states that Dubai has created assets out of nothing.

5.2.2 Dubai International Financial Center

The Dubai International Financial Center is a financial free zone where the government offers the advantage of zero tax on the income and profits of companies, with no restriction on investments. Being a multibillion dollar real-estate development on an area of 450,000 m², the financial centre contains a 50-storey headquarters building and

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146 L. Daglio, 266.
147 L. Daglio, 267.

14 other towers.[148] The Gate Building, which houses the headquarters of UAE's leading economic and financial institutions, is the landmark of the centre and updates the typology of the triumphal arch. According to designers, Gensler, the monumental Gate Building symbolizes Dubai International Financial Center's permanence and stability, and is placed on the axis of the Emirate's Twin Towers, which also have an iconic character.[149] In addition to offices, the Financial Centre contains residential and cultural units along with hotels and shopping malls. An automated transport system serves to connect the various parts of the Centre with moving walkways.[150]

Figure 5.10 Dubai International Financial Center Master Plan. In Philip Jodidio, ed, 2007, *Architecture in the Emirates,* Köln, London: Taschen.

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[148] M. Pacione, 250.

[149] Gensler, "Dubai International Financial Center", in *Architecture in the Emirates*, edited by Philip Jodidio, Köln, London: Taschen, 2007, 66.

[150] Gensler, "The Gate", in *New Frontiers in Architecture: Dubai between vision and reality*, edited by Oscar E. Bellini and Laura Daglio, White Star Publishers, 2010, 70.

5.2.3 Marina Dubai

Figure 5.11 Marina Dubai. In (Internet, WWW). ADDRESS: www.dubaichronicle.com (Access: 10.01.2011)

Marina Dubai is a canal city at the center of the new development strategy of the Emirate and in the heart of the new Dubai. It has been hollowed out of the Persian Gulf shoreline, and is located between Interchange E5 and Jebel Ali Port. Dubai Internet City and Dubai Media City are located here, alongside residential towers and villas. When the development of the Marina is completed, more than 120,000 residents will be accommodated. It is an entirely man-made marina on the Persian Gulf. Dubai Marina has been designed by HOK Canada and is being developed by Emaar Properties, a real-estate development firm in the United Arab Emirates.

5.3 Architectural Scale

Analyzing Dubai on an architectural scale is much the same as analyzing the representative space of capital. Dubai is a product of a rapprochement whose main decision maker is its investors. The main intention in the design of the architectural

spaces in Dubai is to create a symbolic building that is independent of the city. Their relations with their surroundings are weak, and as such they are rather introverted centers. The critique that they create an "architectural monument rather than space" would not be unfair.[151] In Dubai's development strategy, property development has an important place. In this section, the recent decades of Dubai's vision are discussed on an Architectural Scale with examples from each function, being: Residential Buildings, Offices, Hotels, and Sports and Leisure facilities. These have all been presented as architectural utopias within Dubai through marketing strategies. Their extraordinary appearances, media support and technologic backgrounds, having overcome constructional difficulties, give the illusion that an architectural utopia has been created. With access to unlimited resources, realizing things that are considered impossible to create and including components that are seemingly from an imaginary world would support this illusion.

5.3.1 Residential Buildings

Residential buildings in Dubai have international appeal as a market for both large real-estate companies and small investors. In this context, "residential building transcends the mere function of housing to become an authentic consumer product".[152] The main factors driving the construction sector in developing an attractive product are "prestige and exclusiveness". In the case of Dubai's residential buildings, luxury is the primary factor, being identified with economic power and prestige. The quality of materials and fittings imply wealth, and small private swimming pools feature in a

[151]Ebru Aras, "Gayrimenkul Projelerinin Kent ve Mimarlık İlişkisindeki Rolü: İstanbul Büyükdere Caddesi", in *Dosya 21: Mimarlık, Kent ve Rant.* Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi, 2010, 21: 14.

[152]L. Daglio, "Residential Buildings", in *New Frontiers in Architecture: Dubai between vision and reality*, edited by O. E. Bellini and L. Daglio, White Star Publishers, 2010, 22.

number of projects. Moreover, building automation systems offer total control of the indoor climate, lighting and background music. Residents can enjoy such facilities as gyms and spas, and may sunbathe around outdoor swimming pools and entertain guests in lounges or ballrooms. As is the case with luxury hotels, service providers are located on the lower floors and in the commercial areas on the roof. Another important feature is the wide panoramic views; with views over the Persian Gulf or water increasing the value of the property. Finally, it should be noted that there is hardly any difference between the holiday spaces and residential spaces, being so much alike that their architectural programs melt into one another.
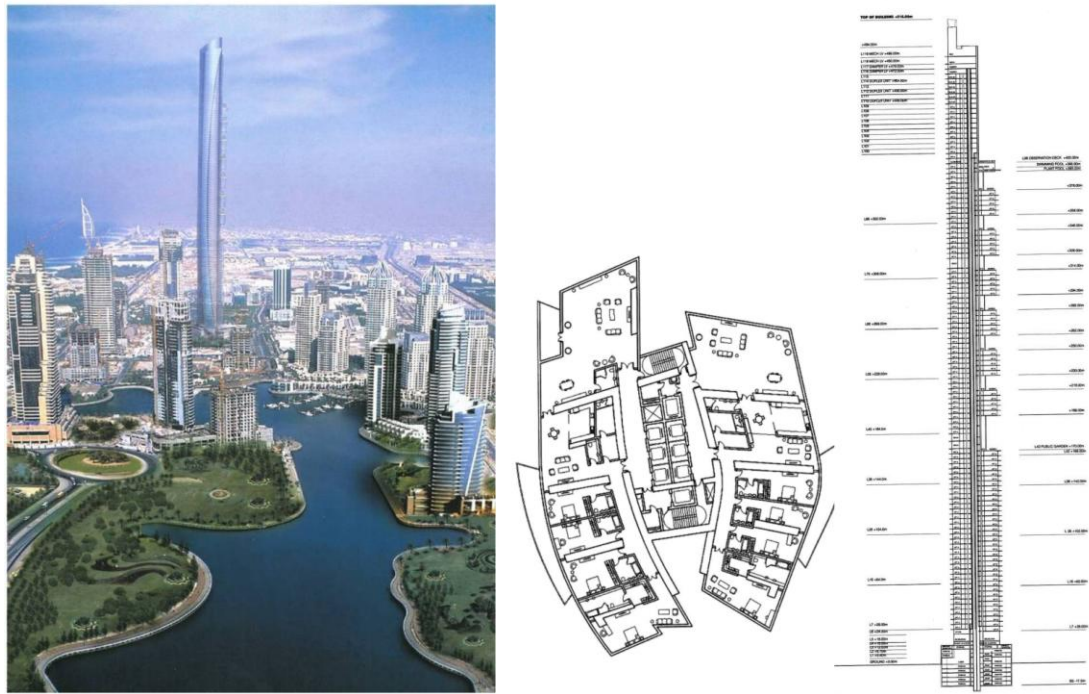
Figure 5.12 Pentominium, Plan and Section of Pentominium. In Philip Jodidio, ed, 2007, *Architecture in the Emirates*, Köln, London: Taschen.

The prominent residential projects in Dubai can be listed as: 21st Century Tower, Chelsea Tower, Marina Heights Tower, Ocean Heights, Pentominium, Al Sharq Tower, 55o Time Dubai, and Rotating Tower. To take one example, Pentominium has been

designed by AEDAS, the fourth-largest architectural practice in the world, with over 1,800 employees in 26 branches in Asia, Europe and America. Pentominium's name comes from a combination of the words "penthouse" and "condominium" to describe the concept of each resident being offered the exclusivity of a penthouse on every floor.

5.3.2 Offices

Figure 5.13 The Gate - Emirates Twin Towers. In Philip Jodidio, ed, 2007, *Architecture in the Emirates,* Köln, London: Taschen.

Since becoming a center of international finance, Dubai has become home to various banks, financial and investment firms, high-profile multinationals and foreign companies such as Microsoft, Dell, IBM, Reuters, the BBC, Oracle and CNN. Dubai has thus become the Middle Eastern headquarters of major players in the global economy by providing the opportunity to conduct business with the benefit of tax incentives. Dubai is home to many formally and technologically unique structures following a phenomenon that has become known as "Manhattanization". Verticality and height is

the most iterative architectural concept of the city's commercial buildings, inferring the idea of economic power and prestige. The design of office buildings are generally self-referring and ignore their surroundings. On the whole, it is generally features formed according to technological requirements that are preferred.

The office towers not only create new commercial centers, but also provide additional service functions for the thousands of office employees. Each office building is overstated so as to stand out as a symbolic structure on the urban silhouette. Despite the existence of these buildings as an icon in the city with global aspirations, they have a completely introspective relationship with the urban environment. It would be fair to say that in general Dubai's office towers exist as islets surrounded by traffic and fail in becoming integrated with the city. The most significant example these are: the National Bank of Dubai Building, The Gate, Media One Tower, Sheth Tower Iris Bay and O-14.

5.3.3 Hotels
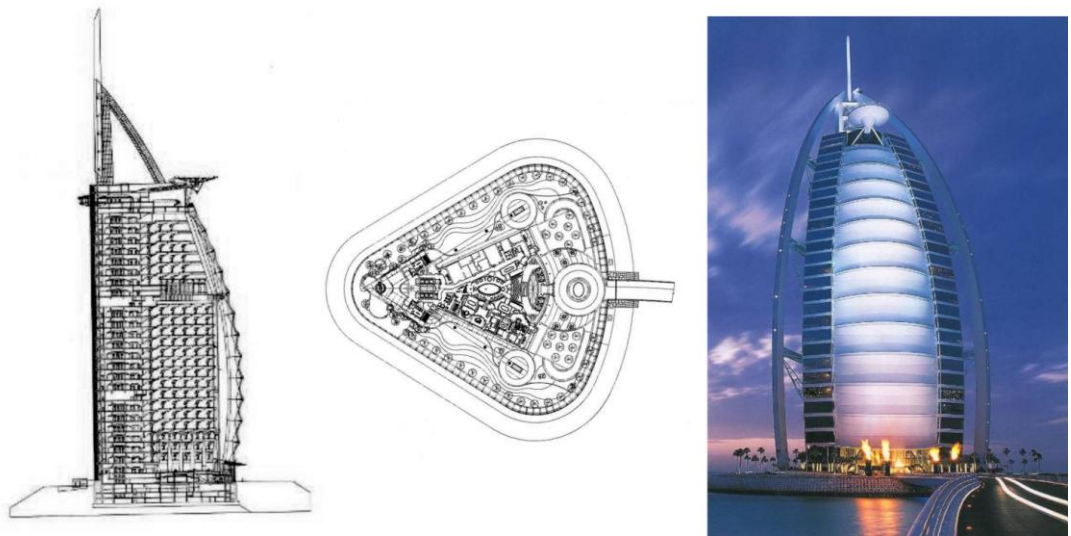
Figure 5.14 Section, Plan and Front View of Burj Al-Arab Hotel. In Philip Jodidio, ed., 2007, *Architecture in the Emirates*, Köln, London: Taschen.

Tourism has become a major economic growth sector in Dubai, with property-based tourism being one of the key components in Dubai's economic development. In addition to hotels, entertainment centers and conference facilities boost Dubai's image as a tourism destination, and its ability to offer sun, sea and sand have made it one of the most important tourist destinations in the Middle East. Tourism is almost entirely concentrated on the coast. Luxury, comfort, glitter and originality are features that are shared by almost all hotels. The visual impacts of the hotel buildings are based on wonderment in many varied forms. Finally, it should be noted that there is hardly any difference between the holiday spaces and residential spaces, being so much alike that their architectural programs melt into one another.

The most prominent hotels in Dubai can be listed as: Jumeirah Beach Hotel, Burj Al Arab, W Hotel, Apeiron Island Hotel and Eta Hotel. Dubai has become a desirable destination and has endeavored to build a luxury international tourism industry. The Burj Al Arab can be described as a symbol of Dubai's transformation.

5.3.4 Sports and Leisure

Sports and leisure facilities have also featured in the property development strategy of the Emirate. This new frontier for investment has aimed to obtain accreditation from various international sporting organizations, and has promoted the creation of stadia for the world's greatest sporting competitions and events to this end. Including both summer and winter sports, Dubai caters for a huge range of sporting activities, such as camel racing, canoeing, car rallying, cricket, football, golf, horse riding and racing, ice-skating, polo, water sports, rock climbing, rugby, shooting, archery, skiing and tennis. The city state's sports facilities allow the pursuit of all sporting disciplines, including indoor and outdoor activities with indoor ski slopes, indoor cricket pitches, camel-race

tracks, high-tech motor racing tracks, huge stadia and luxurious golf courses. Aside from their vast scale, unique opportunities, such as skiing on snow in the desert, aim to attract media attention from the international press. Furthermore, it has been deemed important for sport spaces to be designed to host international events in order to boost international tourism and maximize the level of hotel accommodation. The leading sports and leisure projects can be listed as: the Autodrome, Ski Dubai Emirates Mall and Dubai Sports City.

Figure 5.15 The Dubai Autodrome. In Oscar Eugenio Bellini and Laura Daglio, ed., 2010, *New Frontiers in Architecture: Dubai between vision and reality*, White Star Publishers, 239.

Figure 5.16 Ski Dubai Emirates Mall. In (Internet, WWW). ADDRESS:
In http://www.dubai-search-and-find.com/ski-dubai.html (Access 10.01.2011)

5.4 Epilogue

For space to be considered as fully utilized, it must be produced, used and consumed, while at the same time being where social events take place. Therefore, social space can be interpreted not only in terms of the physical means of production, but also with the network of relationships that constitute society.

The capitalist organization of space encompasses physical space as well as social space production. In other words, the "production of space" constitutes part of the social formation, the effects of this organization type to space, and its transformation within the capitalist economy, which requires particular social relations and organizations. In this way, capitalism provides both maintainability and sustainability in its mode of production, and also the reproduction of sociability.

Continual capital growth takes place during rapidly accelerated urbanization,[153] and according to a number of urban theorists Dubai offers a solid example of this situation. The contribution of the real-estate sector to Dubai's urban development cannot be denied, having been developed locally, but sold internationally. Logically, the gains of Dubai should mirrored by losses of other economies, however this is not the case, as capital aims to realize its profit expectations by remaining in certain spaces for certain periods of time.

Cities compete with one another for capital flow; and a destruction and construction process has been experienced in an effort to create favorable conditions for capital. This supports the structure of modernization based on the "construction and destruction" dichotomy. Under capitalism, the "new," which has been rapidly transformed and is

[153]D. Harvey, *Justice, Nature and the Geography of Difference*, Blackwell Publishers, Oxford, 1996.

dynamic, can survive for only a short period of time before there is a need to replace it with a new "new". This is not only one of the greatest problems in the modern world, but also of the last two centuries.

The urban utopias of the 20th century sought answers to the problem of modernization. Ebenezer Howard, Frank Lloyd Wright and Le Corbusier, in attempting to define the ideal city for the 20th century, claimed that it was the city that best expresses the power and beauty of modern technology and the most enlightened ideas of social justice. They strived to answer "how should the physical surrounding of life which is rapidly changing by new technologies be?" while great transformations are taking place. Different to the relatively social approaches of the early-20th century, the reply of the proponents of contemporary utopias to the issues listed are, "being a world city, taking place in the market and becoming a center of finance". Furthermore, they can generate cities from de novo, from a *tabula rasa*, which is the utopist dream. This is entirely possible, and may occur aggressively and with great market concern, as in the case of Dubai, which achieved that which was thought impossible or only dreamed of, generating from nothing to create the greatest, the highest and the most expensive. Dubai created artificial islands and populated them, effectively generating assets from nothing. The best, the big and the impossible have been the marketing catchphrases.

Dubai has also broken its relationships with the existent geography as a necessity of its capitalist economy, meaning that now it is the city's more remote relationships that are the leading determinant of Dubai's economy. Dubai has succeeded in achieving global fame as a suitable location for investment, and has taken firm steps to become an economic hub. The entire development strategy of Dubai is engaged in the process of urban generation and property development. The expansion of Dubai's commercial infrastructure, import-substitution industrialization, the creation of specialist free

zones, the promotion of a luxury sector and the launch of freehold real estate market have been leading factors in this development; and in parallel the service sector has increased its share of Gross Domestic Product (GDP). While life has been simplified for capital, the way for the accumulation of rents has been paved with the application of advantageous legal arrangements under the hand of the ruling family in Dubai.

The form of the city of Dubai has been restructured under the effects of global capitalism. Dubai has formed an outer city in addition to its centers that has become more pronounced owing to the rush of workers and cultures from around the world. Dubai has become known for its seemingly never-ending constructions and the degraded conditions of its working class, especially construction workers, maids and cleaners.

Social inequalities have increased and the chasm of income disparity has become deeper with the urban development of Dubai. Life in Dubai is like a work of fiction – people make money on one side, while at the same time rushing to spend it. There is also an invisible element in society that earns nothing and spends nothing; and needless to say these forgotten people are required always to stay invisible. While the Dubai government has controlled the media so as to maintain its image, it also strives to manage and keep the massive base of foreign workers under control as preserving and promoting the image of the Dubai is of priority importance. Policies, laws and their implementations remain necessarily fluid – as the rule of law is whatever the rulers say, the laws and their applications can change overnight.

Dubai is a place that is full of contradictions due to its ruling regime and social inequalities; and for this reason it is a prime example for understanding the difficulties of the context and city. Dubai has broken away from the local characteristics that are

particular to its existing geography, and has become a part of a far-relations network and gives the impression that it has many different social and cultural components.

The production economy has gradually weakened and has been replaced by a service sector economy, and space has changed accordingly, giving the settlement a dispersed essence. With different functions, distinct qualities and various concepts, places are designed as "cities within the city" in Dubai and appear to be segregated, with the main aim being to create an attraction. The large urban projects of Dubai have resulted in stand-alone enclaves that have no context and have no spatial relationship with their surroundings, each unit being a self-sufficient spatial organization.

Independent centers have been formed in Dubai city that feature only weak relationships between each other, and make sense only in terms of their own existence. In this way, the relationship of each space with its existing location has been decreased to a minimum, and thus can be easily exterminated or moved to another place as required – thus representing places rather than spaces. Usually, they are reachable only by road, meaning that their connections with each other are also limited to roads. Due to the loose structuring of the city, the road network is vital in Dubai; and each space organization is necessarily located at a node on the highway system, and in this respect the highway system is the result of homogenous expansion in Dubai.

Architectural projects in Dubai carrying great weight, with their huge infrastructures, their utilization of new technique and technologies, their tremendous sizes and scales, and their deformed or caricaturized forms and new architectural space perspectives. They appear as objects that are applicable to a desert area anywhere in Dubai, and in this regard the city can be seen as an experimental area for the concept of context-free form. In this sense, it represents a "zero point".

Dubai is the most stunning of surrealistic worlds, being constructed for a consumer society. The countless big and iconic construction projects serve the dual purpose of advertising the city and enhancing Dubai's holdings through property sales. Tourism, built on the hedonism and shopping, is another keystone in Dubai's internationally built fame. Architecture in Dubai has an aesthetic perspective, producing shiny golden buildings, artificial islands, ski-runs in the desert, golf courses that are lit to allow games at night and examples of somewhat comedic architecture and landscaping. It reminds to observers that the discipline of architecture should pass beyond this situation.

Dubai, in its awe of capitalism, has attained infrastructural characteristics that have degraded it to the level of a service area. Dubai ranks geographical and cultural features in second place, and the space takes on an abstract character with the sole intention of maximizing profitability under capitalism.

The organized life in Dubai is artificial. The buildings, the culture of consumption and the relationships between its people are all superficial, making Dubai devoid of any real culture. Moreover, because the atmosphere of the city is transitory, in both its places and people, Dubai is both everywhere and nowhere. Dubai has purposely chosen a path leading to the creation of wealth, which is a policy that has made the city "plastic," and for this reason, life, like everything that it involves in Dubai, is shallow. Similarly, it is believed that the dream life that is granted to only a particular minority is only temporary.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

The thesis opened with the question of whether "urban utopias are now defunct," and suggested that answering "yes" would also mean a declaration of "the end of history". This study understands that historical occurrences are nothing other than utopias that continuously rise from inside each system to supersede that system. As a dialectical process, the path of history passes from order to utopia, and from utopia to new order, and this thesis suggests that modern urban utopias are reflections of capitalist ideologies. The genesis of the modern utopias of the late-20th century has been investigated in respect to the capitalist mode of production, and a recent example, that of Dubai, has been studied, with particular focus on its rapid development, addressing three key issues. Firstly, the relationship between ideology and utopia has been examined; secondly, the role of capital and how economic factors have become a catalyst for development has been assessed; and finally, the architectural features and large-scale developments of Dubai have been discussed.

The works of urban theorists such as Lefebvre, Harvey and Castells are taken as the main references in the development of the thesis. Moreover, the thesis follows the historical path of utopia and examines urban utopias in relation to their periods by drawing upon the theoretical discourses of Manfredo Tafuri and Karl Mannheim. In

this way, the aim has been to construct the key concepts in two separate chapters: Chapter 2: "The Relationship between Ideology and Utopia," and Chapter 3: "The Role of Capital in Urban Development". The case of Dubai is studied in detail in the two following chapters: Chapter 4: "Dubai" and Chapter 5:"The Architectural Features and Large-Scale Developments of Dubai".

In this research, utopia is understood to be a social project. After studying the effects of early utopias in terms of both spatial organization and social structuring, attention turns to the social projects of today's utopias. Urban development has been an integral part of the capitalist project, and modern architecture, in the hands of capitalism, becomes an ideological tool. Thus, the modern utopia is nothing more than a reflection of the capitalist ideology. Tafuri explains the transformation of utopia into an ideology, with a discourse based on Mannheim, as: Utopia is therefore nothing other than "a structural vision of the totality that is, and is becoming," the transcendence of the pure "datum," a system of orientation intent upon "breaking the relationships of the existing order" in order to recover them at a higher and different level.[154]

Capitalism is a class form of society that allows the production of surpluses. While the absorption of capital surpluses and growing populations is a problem, urbanization provides a means for the absorption of both; which is the very reason why capitalism, if it is to be sustainable, needs urbanization. In surplus value production, capital creates and develops new spaces while it leaving other spaces to remain underdeveloped. In capitalist societies, the mobility of capital constitutes a determining factor in the uneven development of social processes. Moreover, economic restructuring has affected the spatial production and economy-based state policies, have been contributing factors in urban development. It is clear that there has been an

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[154]M. Tafuri, 53.

increase in the capital interest in cities in the late-20th century and the beginning of the 21st century, when not only has social and spatial polarization been observed, but also social and spatial disparities have become wider.

Dubai is the most obvious example of this situation. Beginning life as a small fishing community, it went on to emerge as a significant trading hub in the Gulf before realizing utopia and booming into a massive metropolis. The construction of the city out of almost nothing, like a *tabula rasa*, is reminiscent of the innovative ideas in urban planning in the early-20th century. Its rapid urban development, exaggerated consumerism, vast inequality and massive immigration make Dubai an example worthy of study in this respect. Both first world wealth citizens and third world expatriate workers have been gathered in the city; while its growth has been based on the expansion of the city's commercial infrastructure, import-substitution industrialization, a variety of "free zones", the aggressive promotion of a luxury tourist sector and finally a freehold real estate market. Dubai has thus transformed to an important destination for companies, for tourists and for migrant workers as a global metropolis.

Dubai actualized the transformation of infrastructure and superstructure with the intention of controlling the flow of capital, alongside the intention of creating utopia as a world city. In order to attract increasing flows of foreign capital, the Emirates have drawn up a development strategy for the diversification of the economy by attracting new service industries such as finance, tourism and leisure. The urban pattern of Dubai, with the application of large scale projects, has been formed by housing complexes, large hotels, multiple usage centers, office towers, sports and cultural facilities, shopping centers, and circulation areas to connect them to one another. These huge construction projects are the result of unique efforts to build the tallest, biggest

and largest-ever architectural and urban projects the world has ever seen, through which Dubai is able to promote its activities, develop its tourism sector and market itself on an international scale. The city has become wholly an investment object, and has brought to the scene more and more new projects, each larger than the last, supported by powerful advertising campaigns so as to sustain continuity. In the process, the market has grown and profitability has increased under the power of the government. However, this progress has been at the expense of public welfare, which takes lower precedence in the plan, and inequalities in income distribution and in access to basic urban services are prevalent in Dubai in the process of it becoming a speculation area for capital.

The urban utopias of the early-20th century sought for answers to the problems of modernization. Howard, Wright and Le Corbusier asked "what is the ideal city for the twentieth century," and came up with the answer "the city [that] best expresses the power and beauty of modern technology, and the most enlightened ideas of social justice". It is inevitable that such cities would be bourgeois utopias, even following these approaches, in that they were designed to determine both the social differences and the distinctiveness of these differences. Different from the relatively social approaches of the early-20th century, contemporary utopias place primary importance in being a world city, securing a place in the market and becoming a center of finance. Contemporary urban utopias, which are built on a marketing strategy, aim to generate a consumer society as a social project. The marketing and sale-oriented approach of Dubai is obvious in its attempts to promote itself, using such terms as newness, greatness and similar expressions. Everything is aimed at the promotion of consumption and attracting the interest of tourists. Life is artificial in Dubai and the atmosphere of the city is transitory, as it is not only its places that are temporary, but also its population.

The implications of this study into the case of Dubai, can be summarized and listed as follows: first, as distance relationships are key to the success of Dubai, connections with its existing geography have decreased as a necessity of the capitalist economy. Second, the city has been restructured according to effects of global capitalism, and an outer city has been created to house especially the working class. Third, social inequalities have increased with the urban development of Dubai. Fourth, different functions, distinct qualities and various concept places are designed as "cities within the city" in Dubai. Projects seem to be segregated and designed as enclaves, each standing alone with no spatial relationship with their context. Fifth, due to the disperse structuring of the city, road transportation is vital for Dubai. Sixth, the architectural projects of Dubai stand out on the strength of their iconic forms, huge infrastructures, the utilization of new techniques and technologies, and enormous sizes and scales. Each appears to be an object that is applicable to a desert area, anywhere in Dubai, and as such the city can be considered as a trial project for context-free form. Seventh, Dubai tries to be both everywhere and nowhere. From buildings to malls, the consumption culture and the relationships between its people are all superficial, meaning that Dubai is devoid of any real culture.

Dubai has become a model of urban development. Most of the Arab world cities, and many other cities, such as Istanbul, compete to imitate Dubai. This phenomenon can be best described as "the process of Dubaization (Dubaification)" and it is based primarily on the creation of images and icons. Dubai's emergence as a result of its development models has made it model to be emulated around the globe. There is a competition between cities all over the world to provide maximum fluidity and flexibility for capital, with the leading actors in this process being international capital, central government and local authorities. In such a situation, it may be imagined that

shopping will become the last remaining form of public activity, replacing all aspects of urban life.

In order to increase the circulation of capital and to provide for its continuous growth, emphasis has shifted from production to consumption all over the world in recent decades. The ultimate home of human life and culture, the metropolis city, has taken the form of spaces in which the relationship between consumption and the flow of capital becomes easier. Airports take on the appearances of shopping centers, as old urban areas survive only by transforming into places for tourism consumption. The patchy appearance of cities not only marks a spatial distinction, but also a class distinction, that is, the distinction between people who obtain rent from urban land and those who do not. Class distinctions and inequalities in access to urban services and income distribution become sharper in cities where the speculation capital takes precedence.

Architecture is demoted to a simple fashion in this process, becoming a symbol and visualization of respectability, status and power for the bourgeoisie, who in turn provide continuity of capital at a global scale. Furthermore, architecture becomes an important means for generating and organizing consumption in society. The market, which has to create demand for new products and trends, is required to think from a different point of view and to create something different, even in the smallest nuances. Today, the world has turned into a giant space for consumption that is ruled over by capitalism. The current condition necessitates the discovering and the development of resistance strategies to cover all fields of every discipline, and architecture's own modern strategies and instruments need to work both against it and inside it.

Architecture continues its existence in the middle of policy. Initially, it appears as an "on sale" object, and then after it is constructed it becomes a culture. In the creation of symbolic meanings in buildings, the "symbolical" that is wanted, and the "symbolical" that is achieved are always in conflict. Assigning more importance to space than the physical structure, remembering the social and spatial values, and aiming at the production of projects that are articulated to the urban structure would help prevent the development of disconnected and fragmented areas in large scale projects.

Modern architecture is an ideological tool, however it cannot be applied with a revolutionary aim under capitalism as urban development has become an integral part of the capitalist project. However, resistance to a different ideological positioning and the positive role of an architectural ideology is also possible. There is a need for utopias to break down the hegemony of the capitalist mode of production, and also the strategies that reflect these utopias upon daily life. The idea that the city should be a place where only the capitalist demands are satisfied should be expunged.

Utopia is based on the idea that citizens can form the society as a whole, and has the ability to transform space through "window dressing" without really changing anything to create a harmless playground. In contrast, the utopian concept of space embodies political aspirations to bring about fundamental change and transformation.

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APPENDIX A

THE THREE LARGEST PROPERTY DEVELOPERS IN DUBAI*[1]

1. Emaar

Emaar is the world's largest real estate company in terms of market capitalization. It is a public joint stock company listed on the Dubai Financial Market and has been instrumental in reshaping the outskirts of Dubai with residential and leisure projects.

Emaar has several real estate projects in various stages of completion: these include Dubai Marina, Arabian Ranches, Emirates Hills, the Meadows, the Springs, the Greens, the Lakes, the Views and Emaar Towers and Burj Dubai (billed as the world's tallest man-made structure) in downtown Dubai, itself planned to be the most prestigious one square kilometre on earth. By March 2006, Emaar had built some 13,000 homes in Dubai, with many more in the pipeline.

Dubai Marina is a US$10 billion project that will be completed over a 20-year period. The first phase has involved the construction of a 3.5 kilometre canal and marina area connected to the sea. A mixed-use development on approximately 578 hectares, the marina is planned as one of the major new centres within the city. Designed with the intent to create a new focus for high density development, it was conceived as a "city within the city" that would help shift the perceived centre of Dubai further west along the shore of the Gulf.

Dubai Marina's first phase consists of 1026 waterfront apartments in six high rise towers and 64 villas on a podium containing swimming pools, sports facilities and shops. Dubai Marina is designed so that residents can arrive home, park their car and walk to take advantage of all the resources in the community. Retail shops and community services will be built into grade-level building podiums in neighbourhood centres. Larger shopping facilities with restaurants and cafes are planned at key locations along the promenade

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*[1] Samer Bagaeen, "Brand Dubai: The Instant City; or the Instantly Recognizable City", *International Planning Studies*, Vol. 12, No. 2, May 2007, p 179.

around the perimeter of the marina and along major boulevards. All residential development is within a five-minute walk of the marina promenade.

Emirates Hills, a gated community billed as 'Dubai's most prestigious residential development', has been built as a golfing community whose first phase consists of a residential golf estate, parks, 20 lakes and the 18-hole championship Colin Montgomerie golf course.

In 2004, Emaar began construction of its most ambitious project within the UAE, the $20 billion Burj Dubai Downtown development. This project includes Burj Dubai—at around 800 metres high, the world's tallest tower when completed in 2008, and Dubai Mall—the world's largest entertainment and shopping mall.

Emaar has also been involved in joint ventures and regional projects through its Emaar International division with projects spanning India, Egypt, Turkey, Morocco, Syria, Pakistan, Tunisia and Saudi Arabia. Major international projects include: Uptown Cairo in Egypt; Boulder Hills, a world-class leisure and residential community in Hyderabad, India; multiple resort projects in Morocco; Eighth Gate project in Damascus, the city's first master planned community; and Lakeside in Istanbul, a landmark development for Turkey's cultural and commercial hub.

Emaar is also heading a consortium of Saudi companies to develop a $26 billion project in Saudi Arabia known as the King Abdullah Economic City on the Red Sea north of Jeddah. Situated on 5,500 hectares of Greenfield land with a 35 kilometre shoreline, the city will be a mixed use development with six components: the Seaport, Industrial District, Financial Island, Education Zone, Resorts and the Residential Area.

2. Nakheel

Nakheel, one of the United Arab Emirates's leading property developers, currently has $30 billion worth of projects under development. When complete, these developments, which include the Palms projects, will have added 1500 kilometres of waterfront to Dubai, once limited to 70 kilometres.

It was from this need to increase the length of the waterfront that the idea of the Palm was born—the perfect icon for maximizing beachfront and, at the same time, one that pays homage to one of Dubai's most important symbols, the palm tree. Spanning 5 kilometres in length and five in width, The Palm Jumeirah is one of the world's largest man-made islands, creating the shape of a palm tree in the Arabian Gulf. Another project, called the World, comprises man-made islands shaped like countries which are being sold for millions of dollars.

Following years of feasibility studies, the Palm was launched in 2001 and reclamation began that year. At that stage the Palm was its own separate company. However, with the launch of the second Palm (in Jebel Ali, Dubai's Port and Free Zone), the name of the company was changed in 2003 to Nakheel (meaning 'Palms' in Arabic).

The first Palm to be finished will be the Palm Jumeirah. It will include 1500 beachside villas and 2200 shoreline apartments offering luxury beachfront living.

3. Dubai Holding

Dubai Holding currently has 19 companies operating in a variety of sectors ranging from health, technology, finance, real estate, research, education, tourism, energy, communication, industrial manufacturing, biotechnology and hospitality. These companies include: Dubai Internet City, Dubai Media City, Dubai Healthcare City, Dubailand, Dubai International Capital, Dubai Industrial City, Dubai Properties, Dubai International Properties, Dubai Investment Group, Dubai Energy, Dubai Knowledge Village, Dubai Outsource Zone, International Media Production Zone, E-Hosting Datafort, Empower, SamaCom, Jumeirah Group, Dubiotech and Dubai Studio City. Jumeirah Beach Residences and Dubailand are two flagship projects of Dubai Holding.

When complete, Jumeirah Beach Residences will have 36 residential towers comprising 6,400 flats and four hotel towers with 4,000 rooms (see Figures 21 and 22). Wimberly Allison Tong and Goo, an architectural, planning and consulting firm specializing in hospitality, entertainment and leisure, is providing consultancy services on various construction aspects, including the architectural design. Six other companies, including Hyder, Arif & Bintoak, Arenco, Atkins, Dar and RMJM, are supervising the implementation of quality measures through all phases of the project. Mace International Ltd. is overseeing the project management, cost management, and facilities management of the entire development.

APPENDIX B

PRESENTATION OF DUBAI STRATEGIC PLAN 2015*[1]

On February 3, 2007, UAE Vice President and Prime Minister and Ruler of Dubai His Highness Sheikh Mohammed bin Rashid Al Maktoum presented Dubai Strategic Plan 2015.

Ladies and gentlemen,

I have invited you today to talk about the future. Through the launch of the Dubai Strategic Plan, which will cover the next ten years, we will advance towards achieving our goals, and towards ensuring a prosperous future for our homeland and our nation.

First of all, I would like to point out that the Dubai Strategic Plan, despite having its own logic and specific goals, is within the national arena of the United Arab Emirates, and is aligned with the country's overall strategic plan, which is about to be completed by the Council of Ministers under the direction of His Highness Sheikh Khalifa bin Zayed Al Nahyan, President of the United Arab Emirates.

The plan which we present to you today encompasses many new attributes compared to earlier plans, with a foundation firmly built on quantitative achievements which form a solid ground for sustained growth in the era of knowledge.

The plan is also free of the direct influence of oil price fluctuations. We have succeeded in diversifying Dubai's sources of income and reduced dependence on oil such that oil's contribution to GDP is a mere 3% today.

Naturally, the objectives of the plan converge with my vision for Dubai , which is aimed at elevating the wellbeing of this nation and its people, and at bolstering Dubai 's position as a globally leading Arab city.

We have come a long way towards achieving the objectives of this vision. Indeed we have exceeded all expectations and predictions. When I announced my Vision for Dubai in the year 2000, I spoke of

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*[1]On February 3, 2007, UAE Vice President and Prime Minister and Ruler of Dubai His Highness Sheikh Mohammed bin Rashid Al Maktoum presented Dubai Strategic Plan 2015. In (Internet, WWW). ADDRESS: http://www.dubai.ae/ (Access: January 10, 2010)

economic aims for the year 2010. In fact, not only have these aims been realised, but they have been exceeded in half the time…

In 2000, the plan was to increase GDP to $30 billion by 2010. This figure was exceeded in 2005, with GDP reaching $37 billion. The plan also included an increase of income per capita to $23,000 by the year 2010. In 2005 the average income per capita reached $31,000. In other words, in five years we exceeded the economic targets that were originally planned for a 10-year period.

These achievements would not have been possible were it not for our persistence in challenging ourselves and in building and channelling our capabilities in the right direction in order to serve our initiatives, projects and programs in all aspects of comprehensive development.

How were these exceptional results achieved?

The truth is that these exceptional results were made possible mainly by the leadership and initiative of the Government, which has appreciated the importance of investment to the Emirate and has strived to improve the Emirate's investment and business environment.

There is no need to detail Government's initiatives. You have all experienced them firsthand in many areas including the development and modernisation of public services, institutional frameworks, legislation, regulation, and infrastructure; or through the launch of strategic projects such as tourism ventures, Internet and Media Cities, the Dubai International Financial Centre, specialised zones, and other mega projects.

These initiatives are the driving force behind development and the main factor in attracting investors. These initiatives also encouraged the private sector, enhanced its confidence and gave it substantial opportunities. It quickly followed the Government's lead and became a true partner in development.

Over the last few years another very important achievement came to light: Economic restructuring. The non-oil sectors played a more prominent role in 2005, contributing 97% to GDP as compared to 90% in 2000 and approximately 46% in 1975. The services sector was the driving force behind economic growth, with a GDP contribution of 74%, mirroring economies of the developed world.

Our success in diversifying sources of income has compensated for low oil reserves. Our economic development is now supported by an infrastructure that is not directly affected by oil.

This is a historic achievement, one which can benefit neighbouring and friendly oil-producing countries in their efforts to restructure their economies and diversify their sources of income.

We were in a race against time and we won. But, as I have always said, the race has only just begun. With these achievements come new hurdles, responsibilities, and challenges… The Dubai Strategic Plan systematically addresses these until the year 2015.

The plan covers five key sectors: Economic Development; Social Development; Infrastructure, Land and Environment; Security, Justice and Safety; and Public Service Excellence.

At this point I would like to present an overview of the headlines outlining the aims for each sector within the plan.

Based on the exceptional economic performance of the past years and on expected future global trends, the economic objectives for Dubai for the year 2015 are to sustain real economic growth at a rate of 11% per annum, to reach a GDP of $108 billion in 2015, and to increase real GDP per capita to $44,000.

We will focus on economic sectors that we have strong competitive advantage in and that are expected to experience future growth globally.

The sectors of strength are tourism, transport, trade, construction, and financial services, in addition to the creation of new sectors with sustainable competitive edge.

However, success in strategic development cannot be defined solely by major achievements in these economic sectors; other growth enablers must also realise similar achievements: human capital, productivity, innovation, cost of doing business and living, quality of life, policy and institutional frameworks, and laws and regulations.

These factors have demanded great attention in the past, and will demand more attention in the future. The public and private sectors need to take measures to consolidate and deepen these factors.

Ladies and gentlemen,

We must all realise that strategic success requires social development to complement and parallel economic development. Indeed experience confirms that having an effective social infrastructure is the key to reaching higher levels of sustained economic growth.

Social development has always been at the heart of government policies; it is also prevalent in this strategic plan. This plan is aimed at elevating nationals' wellbeing, and we want nationals to be the key instrument in its implementation.

To lay the foundations necessary for social development, the plan places a set of programs to achieve strategic objectives in seven key areas:

First

Preserve national identity: This will be achieved by revising policies and procedures to ensure demographic balance; increasing the sense of belonging and the awareness of local culture by updating educational curriculum and developing the abilities of national teaching resources; ensuring comprehensive cultural content through relevant activities and channels including media, arts and literature; and increasing focus on the Arabic language as it encompasses national history and culture.

Second

Increase nationals' participation in the workforce and society: This will be achieved by developing national capital to become the preferred workforce in selected strategic sectors; providing nationals with the abilities necessary to cope with the rapid changes in society and increase their awareness of the role expected of them in the development of Dubai and its society.

Third

Improve education, especially public schools, and ensure that all nationals have access to quality education opportunities: This will be achieved by improving governance in the educational sector; increasing accountability and transparency of schools; improving the quality of teachers and administration; upgrading curricula and teaching methods; improving the educational environment to improve the public's perception and attitudes towards education; and integrating people with special needs into public and private schools.

Fourth

Elevate the quality of healthcare services and the wellbeing of the population: This will be achieved by improving governance of the healthcare sector; improving healthcare planning; ensuring access to health insurance; encouraging private hospitals to gain international accreditation; developing licensing standards for medical staff; and focusing on health awareness to improve public attitudes towards health.

Fifth

Ensure that high quality social services are provided to meet the needs of nationals: This will be achieved by improving governance and efficiency of the social service sector; transforming service philosophy from a 'welfare' approach to a 'social development' approach; improving the quality and capabilities of social workers; and increasing awareness of social services and encourage community involvement.

Sixth

Provide equality and acceptable working conditions for Dubai's workforce in order to attract and retain the required expertise: This will be achieved by coordinating with federal entities to improve and update labour laws and labour rights; establishing appropriate mechanisms for the enforcement of legislations and regulations; and raising employers' and employees' awareness of their legal rights and responsibilities.

Seventh

Promote cultural life in Dubai by upgrading the regulatory framework of the cultural sector; increasing awareness and interest in Dubai's cultural activities; encouraging and nurturing national talent; developing high-quality facilities, including theatres, movie houses and museums, to attract international art and culture events; encouraging effective participation in regional and international cultural events; and encouraging and supporting the initiatives of the private sector that aim at enhancing the cultural and artistic momentum.

In this concern, I would like to laud the distinguished initiatives of the outstanding entrepreneurs Mr. Juma Al Majid, Mr. Majid Al Futtaim and the late Sultan Al Owais for their efforts in supporting the cultural movement in the Emirate.

It is common knowledge that it is far easier to build financial capital than it is to build intellectual, psychological and moral capital. Building a road or a bridge may take a year or two, but developing people takes a lifetime. We live today in an era of ever-changing knowledge, which requires continuous learning that does not end at a certain level or at the attainment of a diploma or certain expertise. Social development, in all its aspects, requires distinct programs, outstanding performance, patience and special criteria for measurement and evaluation.

The Government will remain dedicated to social development, but the desired success will require broad participation by society and its creative interaction with the anticipated social development programs and projects.

Ladies and gentlemen,

Having outlined the headlines and aims for the Social Development Sector, we move to the Infrastructure, Land and Environment Sector. As you are aware, Dubai today offers infrastructure at the best global standards. This infrastructure was the cornerstone in promoting development and achieving Dubai 's status and international comparative edge.

To ensure sustainable development of the Infrastructure, Land and Environment Sector, the plan sets forth specific objectives within four strategic areas:

First

Improve urban planning to optimise land use in order to meet the needs of sustainable development while preserving natural resources: This involves comprehensive and integrated planning of the elements of urban development; promoting policies concerning nationals' housing; ensuring public services and facilities for growth; providing adequate supply of housing for low and medium-income families; and upgrading existing labour housing policies and ensuring enforcement.

122

Second

Meet and secure energy, electricity and water needs: This involves developing an integrated policy framework; securing long-term supplies; and studying options for managing demand.

Third

Provide an integrated road and transportation system to facilitate people and goods movement while improving safety levels for all system users: This involves addressing current congestion problems, and accommodating future needs by increasing the share of public transportation and decreasing transport by private vehicles; increasing the capacity of road networks and transportation systems; securing optimal use through modern techniques, demand management, and accident and emergency management; and improving driver behaviour.

Fourth

Sustain Dubai's environment, ensuring that it is safe and clean: This involves upgrading and aligning environmental regulations with international standards; developing the required enforcement mechanisms; integrating environment-related issues into development policies and programs; and raising the level of environmental awareness.

Ladies and gentlemen,

God has showered us with countless blessings; one word best describes the majority of these blessings: Security. All of man's efforts are carried out in the belief that they will bring security: personal security, psychological security, economic security, social security, and political security. Without security life becomes a living hell, and talk of development, quality, excellence and success becomes worthless, idle chatter.

The grace of God, coupled with effective policies and dedicated people, have made the United Arab Emirates one of safest countries in the world, and Dubai one of the safest cities. Our strategic plan is designed to ensure that the Security, Justice and Safety Sector is able to keep up with the economic and social growth such that it can always continue to ensure justice and safety for individuals and the community as a whole. This will be achieved as follows:

First

Preserve security, order, and peace by improving the efficiency and capability of criminal investigations: Increasing patrols whose presence acts as a deterrent to criminal intentions; increasing operational efficiency and effectiveness in responding to the public; ensuring information security; and developing electronic inter-governmental data-sharing.

Second

Preserve rights and freedoms by enhancing transparency in the Security Sector.

Third

Alert crisis management by effective planning and programs aimed at ensuring the readiness of the entities concerned and the availability of needed equipment to face possible crises and disasters.

Fourth

Ease litigation by lifting barriers that hinder access to litigation or recourse to the judicial system and facilitating resolution of labour disputes.

Fifth

Ensure equality, impartiality, accuracy, and clarity of investigations and judgments by activating the role of judicial inspection; improving mechanisms for resolving rental disputes; and improving the quality of investigations and rulings.

Sixth

Expedite the process of case disposal by activating commercial arbitration; enhancing the efficiency of case management systems; reducing the timeframe for implementing rulings issued by the courts and judiciary committees.

Seventh

Ensure the safety of all of Dubai's residents, workers and visitors by updating safety legislations, specifications and standards; developing and implementing programs to regulate key segments within the various areas of security; unifying and developing enforcement and monitoring systems as it pertains to Dubai; and raising the level of coordination among relevant enforcement departments at the federal level.

Eighth

Protect public health and improve quality of life by updating legislation and specifications; developing facilities and mechanisms for monitoring and controlling the implementation of public health systems; and developing contingency plans to deal with incidents and threats to public health.

Ladies and gentlemen,

The Government represents the engine that drives the process of development. Over the past few years, the government was a pioneer in upgrading services, management, institutional frameworks, regulatory and administrative frameworks in accordance with the best and highest international standards.

In order to achieve the desired performance, the government plan focuses on five long-term strategic principles:

First Thrust

Strengthen strategic and forward-looking focus through an effective government administration that is notable for taking initiative and for making objective assessments; developing strategies that are aligned across sectors and which are free of conflicts and overlaps; setting guidelines and building capabilities necessary within government for effective strategic planning and policy-making; developing mechanisms for risk assessment and management; setting mechanisms to evaluate policies and decisions after implementation.

Second Thrust

Activate streamlined and accountable organisations by ensuring accountability and transparency in all government practices; modernising government's institutional structures; empowering policy-making functions within government institutions; and implementing performance management systems and indicators.

In this regard, I confirm that directors within governmental organisations will be held accountable to The Executive Council for the implementation of the strategic plan. They will be evaluated against their attainment of key performance indicators and targets to be set separately for each department.

Third Thrust

Increase efficiency and financial management by applying performance-based budgeting and resource allocation; linking budgets to the strategic plan; upgrading accounting policies; establishing partnerships with the private sector and independent institutions to provide select services; introducing the latest technologies and systems to enhance operational efficiency and to improve service delivery.

124

Fourth Thrust

Enhance responsiveness and customer service by continuing the implementation of the Dubai Government Excellence Program; establishing a comprehensive and integrated customer care system; and by offering an electronic customer complaints system.

Fifth Thrust

Empower and motivate public sector employees by reviewing and updating current civil service laws and practices; implementing a training and developing system; implementing a unified and comprehensive employee performance management system; and developing specialised training programs to raise the capabilities of staff at all levels including senior management.

Ladies and gentlemen,

The plan before you does not constitute a collection of mute words and static texts. It represents a way of thinking, a tool by which to measure and evaluate, a map that outlines our path to the future and that helps us make the right choices and reach accurate conclusions.

The plan is our guide and our reference while we are in the midst of working to elevate Dubai as a pioneering global city bursting with vibrancy and creativity. An environment where living and working is a pleasure, attracting the best minds and the most successful businesses.

I want to pause here at the term global city … What do we mean by Dubai as a global city? … Some people are afraid of the word global, believing it to be in contrast to everything local, including our national and cultural identity.

The concept of the word global is based on a set of criteria accepted by the world community and is the by-product of successful practices of a broad spectrum of human experiences. The principles set forth by international laws concerning human rights and international relations are the universal standards which should apply to all countries of the world.

Practices relating to good governance, transparency, accountability and the rule of law have become the accepted global standards for the classification of countries and for defining countries' potential and economic and cultural status.

The best practices in the areas of management, quality, excellence and innovation are the criteria that determine the ability of states, societies, companies, services and industries to survive, prosper and compete in this global village and single international market.

When we say Dubai is a global city, we mean the implementation of international standards and best practices in the details of our lives, work, institutions and society.

This implementation not only urges development and ensures that our economy can keep up with global growth, but also develops and helps to shape our national and cultural identity and character. Thus, empowering our culture to interact and enter dialogues with the contemporary world.

Adopting best global standards and practices is the only way to preserve national and cultural identity. Without it, no identity or culture will be able to endure and survive in a world where all borders, restrictions and barriers have fallen.

Ladies and gentlemen,

We are all aware that plans always involve a degree of calculated risk. The plan for 2007 to 2015 also involves a degree of calculated risk, yet it enjoys a high degree of confidence, certainty and optimism

125

based on our proven accuracy in the direction we have adopted, the successes we have achieved, and the experiences we have gained over the past years … these factors are priceless.

The Dubai Strategic Plan was prepared by a team encompassing vast experience and energy from governmental, economic and social entities.

My Executive Office will monitor the progress of the plan's programs and will remove any obstacles to ensure proper implementation and rapid execution.

One of the key criteria to evaluate departments, organisations and managers will be their level of compliance and success in implementing this plan.

I want you all to make enough time to study this plan. I want all governmental and national departments and organisations to transform the plan into a working culture and a way of life.

I want the private sector to digest the plan, to absorb it, and to benefit from its programs and projects. The private sector is called upon to play a larger role. We place this document at its disposal in the hope that it will act as a compass directing their way and lighting the path ahead over the years to come.

Ladies and gentlemen,

I trust in God Almighty. I depend on God first and foremost, and then on the brain and brawn of the children of this nation, to them I entrust much… and from them I expect much.

In the past I told you that we would succeed… and we did.

And today I tell you that I see further success in the future…

As we have succeeded in the past, we will succeed in the future. We will write new pages in our nation's epic of glory, pride and achievement. We will inspire our nation, and we will set the example. We will present to our world proof that we are capable of action, capable of imposing our presence, capable of communicating, interacting, co-existing, and cooperating with all other cultures and civilisations.

Saturday, February 3, 2007