Globalization and Development Strategies for Istanbul: Regional Policies and Great Urban Transformation Projects

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Abstract

Multinational economic aspects of globalization have led certain cities to become so-called "world cities" or "global cities". In this process cities, particularly metropolises which are the arenas of global interaction, have redefined the conditions and the processes of regional and local developments and have regenerated the new infrastructural conditions of the global economy while seeking to identify their advantages, assets and power to compete with other cities. Istanbul, which is one of the largest metropolises of the world, is in a similar transformation process with the other metropolises. The city has been affected from the globalization process due to its geographical and strategic location, historical and cultural assets, dynamism and functional capacities. While the emergence of new development modes such as foreign direct investments and attractiveness of the service sector has been observed in the socio-economical and spatial aspects at the national and local level, other new developments have emerged in providing services to neighboring region at the international level. The impacts of these developments are great on both the spatial growth and the planning process. Actually, Istanbul redefines the conditions of regional and local developments to become the capital of "Euro-Asia". Against this background, the aim of this paper is to evaluate the development strategies for Istanbul in terms of regional development policies at the central government level and spatial development strategies so-called "Great Urban Transformation Projects" which transform the city to an international center at the local level. How globalization trends affect a world city's planning system and planning strategies? By reference to the role of the city in the world city network, the paper focuses on the reflections of the globalization trends in the spatial planning of the city while addressing its attempts to transform and restructure itself in terms of urban transformation projects.

1. Introduction

Since the sixteenth century certain cities have played key roles in organizing space including the organization of trade and the execution of colonial, imperial, and geopolitical strategies beyond their own national boundaries (Knox, 2002; Short et al., 2000). The first world cities of the seventieth century were London, Amsterdam, Antwerp, Genoa, Lisbon and Venice. In the eighteenth century, Paris, Rome and Vienna and in the ninetieth century Berlin, Chicago, Manchester, New York and St. Petersburg became world cities (Knox, 2002). Therefore, it can be said that the globalization has been maturing for some five hundred years since the beginnings of colonialism. However, a contemporary globalization in terms of the speed, intensity, and amount of capital and information flows are more pronounced since the 1970s. With this new globalization process, world cities have become the control centers for the flow of information, cultural products and finance that collectively sustain the economic and cultural

globalization of the world while providing an interface between the global and the local. Today's world cities are both the cause and effect of economic, political and cultural globalization. They are the sites of: i) most of the leading global markets for commodities, ii) clusters of specialized, high order business services, iii) concentrations of corporate headquarters, iv) concentrations of national and international headquarters of trade and professional associations, v) most of the leading international NGOs (non-governmental organizations) and IGOs (inter-governmental organizations), vi) most powerful and internationally influential media organizations, news and information services and culture industries (Knox, 2002). There is a great deal of synergy in these various functional components.

The globalization process has led to an increased interaction between cities and to a new world urban system/network in which they need to be competitive and complementary at the same time. After the emergence of the first contemporary global and world cities in USA and Europe (i.e. New York, London), in the last years we have witnessed that all cities of the world have become more prominent, more competitive and more integrated within the world-system.

In Europe, this integration has extended spatially through the axis from London to Turin – the "blue banana"-, the Mediterranean axis from Barcelona to Milan – the "golden banana"- and the third axis has emerged with the enlargement of the European Community – the "grey banana". Theses axes integrate in a larger urbanized system and they describe the European spatial structure that is called as "red octopus" (Lever, 1999; Taylor and Hoyler, 2000). The leading cities of Europe have globally developed within this system.

The leading cities of Asia such as Tokyo, Singapore, Hong Kong, Taipei, Seoul, Osaka, Manila, Bangkok and Kuala Lumpur have become increasingly prominent in the world economy. They have increased their centrality in the world hierarchy, they have become more active in their relations with the world's leading cities and more important and more central to the global system of cities (Shin and Timberlake, 2000).

The leading cities of the Middle East have also drawn attention with their attempts in "going global". Rabat/Casablanca with one of the leading ports in North Africa is "going global", positioning itself as the entrepot on the Atlantic for North Africa, and promoting its networks into North Africa, Africa, Europe and Middle East. Cairo with the growth industries such as tourism, pharmaceuticals, and construction commands and controls the region. The main vision is defined to create a "Delta Valley", like the Silicon Valley, around Cairo. Dubai with its trading and transport capacity such as airport, the biggest deep-water port in the Gulf, the low barriers in legislation and tariff to trade and also diversity in the high technology, shipping and cargo, and tourism is the most aggressive city of the region in "going global". The vision "Dubai Internet City" has realized, the world's first free trade zone for e-business has established and a related development the "Dubai Media City" has opened in 2000. The city is working hard to position itself like its models, Singapore and Hong Kong. Istanbul with its "global" potential depending on its geography and centrality ranks higher than other cities in the region on all global city criteria. The city has hosted several events such as olympic bids, conferences like Habitat II, and international level sports teams and participates in global networks of cities including the important World Association of Major Metropolis. Istanbul is working hard to present a culturally globalized face to investors (Stanley, 2003).

As a summary, all leading cities of the world have transform and restructure themselves to become more competitive and complementary in the new urban system and network. Istanbul has also been affected from this process and has redefined its advantages, assets and power to compete with other cities. While identifying its role and vision as to become the capital of "Euro-

Asia", the city orients all spatial development strategies and policies as well as its investments to generate the infrastructural conditions of this defined role. Against this background, the aim of this paper is to evaluate the development strategies for Istanbul in terms of regional development policies at the central government level and spatial development strategies so-called "Great Urban Transformation Projects" which transform the city to an international center at the local level. How globalization trends affect a world city's planning system and planning strategies? By reference to the role of the city in the world city network, the paper focuses on the reflections of the globalization trends in the spatial planning of the city while addressing its attempts to transform and restructure itself in terms of urban transformation projects. The next section examines the recent literature on globalization, urbanization and world cities in terms of globalization/city relationship and the impacts of the globalization process on the planning system. Section 3 evaluates different approaches and contrasting views about urban competitiveness and competitive performance of cities. Section 4 describes Istanbul's role in the world city network while referring to the recent analyses of world cities. Section 5 evaluates the development strategies for Istanbul in terms of regional development policies and spatial development strategies while examining planning principles, planning policies and urban transformation projects. Section 6 concludes with a discussion of the results.

2. Globalization, urbanization and world cities

The connections between globalization and the city and the role of world cities have been the subject of the recent urban literature. Following on from the work of Friedmann (1986, 1993) and Sassen (1994) there has been an explosion of interest in world cities (Beaverstock et al., 1999; Haila, 1997; Knox, 2002; Scott, 2001; Shachar, 1994; Short et al., 2000; Smith, 2003, Taylor, 2001, Taylor, 2003; van den Bergh and Braun, 1999). This literature focuses on the metropolis as a "command and control" center of advanced services and information-processing activities for the operations of multinational corporations.

Friedmann (1986) has defined "world cities" as spatial articulations through which the world economy is dialectically related to the national economies of the countries in which these cities are situated. These world cities serve as command and control centers for banking and finance, management and ideology. They are large urbanized regions that are defined by dense patterns of interactions rather than by political and administrative boundaries. Subsequently Sassen (1994) has developed another concept so-called "global cities" which are "command and control centers" of the world economy that are atop the world-wide hierarchy of place-bound human activities. Global cities are the key sites for advanced services creating new knowledges within a network of information flows and they serve as transnational market places for the implementation of global economic operations. In terms of spatial characteristics, Shachar (1994) has defined three interrelated components: a management and financial center of a global reach, a very high concentration of advanced producer services and an extremely rich physical and social infrastructure for a world city.

Capital and information flows that are the main determinants of the globalization process have led to networks of relationships between cities. In these networks, global cities of the developed countries have become prominent in progressively more integrated, hierarchical world city system as "command and control centers". On the other hand, the giant lead cities of the developing countries have generally linked into this system in structurally peripheral positions, at the fringes of these networks as "dependent cities" (Smith, 2003). Therefore, the global city process has emerged as a core-forming mechanism whereas the third world mega-city process has emerged as a periphery-forming mechanism (Taylor, 1999).

Besides this emerging new urban world-system in terms of network of relationships between cities, globalization process has led also some new urbanization trends such as the rise of global city-region. The wider metropolitan regions that are called as "global city-region" have emerged political economic units with increasing autonomy of action on the national and world stages. With the strong positive influence of agglomeration on the ability of cities to function as centers of learning, creativity, and innovation, the large cities or global city-regions have become a more insistent element of the geographic landscape (Scott, 2001). Another impact of the globalization process on the urbanization system has emerged in the hierarchical patterns. Under conditions of contemporary globalization hierarchical patterns have become unnecessary and instead of using the traditional "hinterland" concept which separates city service regions, a new concept, a world-wide "hinterworlds" for each city has emerged (Taylor, 2001). On the other hand, globalization has produced a homogeneous set of world cities. The recent studies have shown that there is a reasonable degree of regionality in the pattern such as northern America, western Europe, Pacific Asia, Latin America and eastern Europe (Taylor, 2001; Taylor and Walker, 2001). As a result, globalization has increased the importance of the regions at all levels.

On the other hand, the focus on world cities has been criticized in terms of narrowness of the definition and of the globalization/city relationship. Short et al. (2000) have argued that the focus on world cities has narrowed our understanding of the globalization/city relationship and ignores the processes of globalization occurring in almost all cities. They have proposed to widen globalization research by developing the notion of "gateway cities". They have explained that with the term gateway city they refer to the fact that almost all cities can act as a gateway for the transmission of economic, political and cultural globalization. They have emphasized that the focus on gateway city shifts our attention away from which cities dominate to how cities are affected by globalization. They have identified globalization in three different ways while addressing to the general uses of the term. According to their definitions: i) globalization is used in the popular press, magazines and news reports that the world is becoming more homogenous, ii) as a term of criticism globalization is the source of unwanted change (they have defined this as a 'globaphobia'), iii) globalization can be theorized as a threefold process involving economic globalization, cultural globalization and political globalization. Although, it is often assumed that the end state of these processes entails a global economy, a global polity, and a global culture, they have indicated that most of our understanding comes from economic globalization, the other two are less theorized. With the notion of gateway city they have drawn attention to these aspects of globalization.

With many common and similar arguments Stanley (2003) has also criticized the narrow approach to world cities particularly in terms of the definition of the concept. He has emphasized that the focus on command and control networks for global capital leads to miss the historical context and the other aspects of command and control. Stanley has proposed to broaden the definition of "world cities" by the historical context and historical continuity as well as other aspects of command and control such as "creative industries" and "cultural industries" in his study on the Middle East world cities. He has argued that cities in the region are not global capital command and control centers, but they do have important degrees of worldness that do not "register" if we restrict our analysis to the more narrow global city service sector criteria. With reference to the cities such as Rabat, Cairo, Dubai, Istanbul, Tel Aviv, Tashkent and Tehran, Stanley has examined the historical development and degree of worldness to emerge of the region. He has emphasized that the Middle East history is the history of cities. The city systems of the region were the world system from 4000 BC to the classical era, with the largest cities and central city networks. Compared to other regions, the Middle East has longer experience with the urban world, was more highly urbanized earlier, had a more central role for

cities in the political, spiritual and security life of the people, than anywhere else on the planet. He has drawn attention to the developments in the region such as emerging "creative industries" which fall within the service sector, but represent one of the fastest rising contributions to city income such as fashion industry, publishing, games and software, music, cinema etc. He has given as an example the Egyptian film industry that has played a major role as a "guidance industry" since 1935 and has been an important sector for the Cairo economy. According his examination, another development trend has emerged in "cultural industries" in the Middle East include Gaza, Cairo, Beirut and Amman with their growth in software development; Dubai with its hosting of the Fashion Fair, Beirut's growing design and fashion industry and the music industry in Istanbul.

As a summary, the globalization process has had a great impact on urbanization and the development processes of the cities in all over the world. This process has changed the traditional roles of the cities and has made them more international in their activities on the one hand and has led to a new urban world system which is defined by the networks of relationships between cities on the other hand.

3. World city network and urban competitiveness

The rapid development of information, communication and transport technology leads to an increased interaction between cities. Increasingly, cities are becoming part of a world urban system in which they need to be competitive and complementary at the same time. Urban competitiveness has been one of the most important subjects of the recent literature on globalization and city relationship (Beaverstock et al., 2002; Begg, 1999; Lever, 1999; Lever and Turok, 1999; Rogerson, 1999; van den Bergh et al., 1996; van den Bergh and Braun, 1999). Actually, there are different approaches and contrasting views and still no consensus about the concept.

"Competitiveness" is generally defined as a performance of an economy securing or defining market share at the national level. In the short term, competitiveness depends on the structure of the economy and its sectoral specialization as well as contextual conditions (effectiveness of institutions, quality of infrastructure etc.). In the long term, it depends on the ability to sustain change in the factors that give rise to productivity growth (technology, human resources etc.) (Begg, 1999). Depending on these arguments urban competitiveness can be defined as a performance of cities. However, urban performance is multi-faceted and is linked in various ways with capacity of city, standard of living, employment rate and productivity. The capacity of a city to compete is shaped by an interplay between the attributes of cities as locations and the strengths and weaknesses of the firms and other agents active in them.

There are two main contrasting views about urban competitiveness. One view has advocated that cities do compete. They do compete for mobile investment, population, tourism, public funds and hallmark events and they compete by assembling a skilled and educated labor force, efficient modern infrastructure, a responsive system of local governance, a flexible land and property market, high environmental standards and a high quality of life. The other view has argued that cities do not compete with one another. Cities are merely locus for firms and enterprises which compete (Begg, 1999; Lever and Turok, 1999).

Lever and Turok (1999) have defined urban competitiveness as *"the degree to which cities can produce goods and services which meet the test of wider regional, national and international markets, while simultaneously increasing real incomes, improving the quality of life for citizens and promoting development in a manner which is sustainable".* On the other hand, highlighting

the importance of connectivity Beaverstock et al. (2002) have suggested to consider urban competitiveness as a networked phenomena. While criticizing the approaches that suggest that the competitiveness of a city can be understood by examining its internal characteristics, they have emphasized the importance of external characteristics that refer to a city's economic success is arising from the quantity and quality of the connections it has with other cities. Developing a "co-efficiency model" they have suggested to focus on the relations between different sets of attendants such as firms, sectors, cities and states, which themselves are networked phenomena. They have argued that world cities are defined neither by their attributes nor the function they perform within the world system but their strategic positioning in a global space of flows. According to their approach, the prosperity of a world city is not only determined by its "competitive advantage" but also a "co-operation" that cities, firms, sectors and states working together to maintain flows through the network.

With the increasing interest in urban competitiveness, there has been also an increasing emphasis on local authorities and other institutions of governance being efficient and competitive. The competitiveness of cities reflects their capacity to engage with global capital, to perform an effective organization and to provide spatially attractive amenities. Therefore, a better organizing capacity plays a crucial role in improving urban competitiveness (van den Berg and Braun, 1999). The organizing capacity is defined as *"the ability to enlist all actors involved and, with their help, to generate new ideas and to develop and implement a policy designed to respond to fundamental developments and create conditions for sustainable development"* (van den Berg et al., 1996). Administrative organization, strategic networks, leadership, vision and strategy, spatial-economic conditions, political and social support are the factors that contribute to the organizing capacity and the competitive performance of a city.

The above defined factors of the organizing capacity and the competitive performance of a city constitute also the basic factors of the urban planning system. While strategic networks, leadership, vision and strategy, spatial-economic conditions are the main responsibilities of the planning authorities, administrative organization and political and social support that can be defined as a participatory planning approach, are the basic institutional characteristics of the planning system. These factors are reflected in the development plans of a city as the general principles of planning, the main strategies and the targets and policies. From this perspective, in the next section we will examine Istanbul's role in the world city network and its development strategies, planning principles and targets and policies at both central and local government levels. How globalization trends affect a world city's planning system and planning strategies? We will evaluate the reflections of the globalization trends in the spatial planning of the city while addressing its attempts to transform and restructure itself in terms of urban transformation projects.

4. Istanbul and Its Role in the World City Network

The recent literature on world cities has focussed on world city network and the spatial order and regionality of world cities in this network (Beaverstock et al., 1999; Taylor and Hoyler, 2000; Taylor, 2001; Taylor and Walker 2001; Taylor 2003). Istanbul has ranged between the world cities that have been analyzed in these studies. The findings of these studies are summarized below to highlight Istanbul's role in the world city network.

The first study was conducted by Beaverstock et al. (1999) to develop "a roster of world cities". From the need of construction of an inventory of worlds cities Beaverstock et al. have developed a roster of world cities based upon their level of advanced producer services including accountancy, advertising, banking/finance and law. They have evaluated the global capacity of

cities at three levels as prime, major and minor global service centers. According to the aggregated results they have defined a roster of 55 world cities at three levels: 10 Alpha world cities, 10 Beta world cities and 35 Gamma world cities (Figure 1). These cities have been found to be largely geographically concentrated in three "globalization arenas", northern America, western Europe and Pacific Asia. In this analysis Istanbul has ranged between 55 world cities as a Gamma world city. The Gamma cities have been defined as cities that must have be global service centers for at least two sectors and at least one of those must be a major service provision. As a gamma city Istanbul has ranged between the major centers in the list of global advertising service centers and between the minor centers in the lists of global banking service centers and global legal service centers.
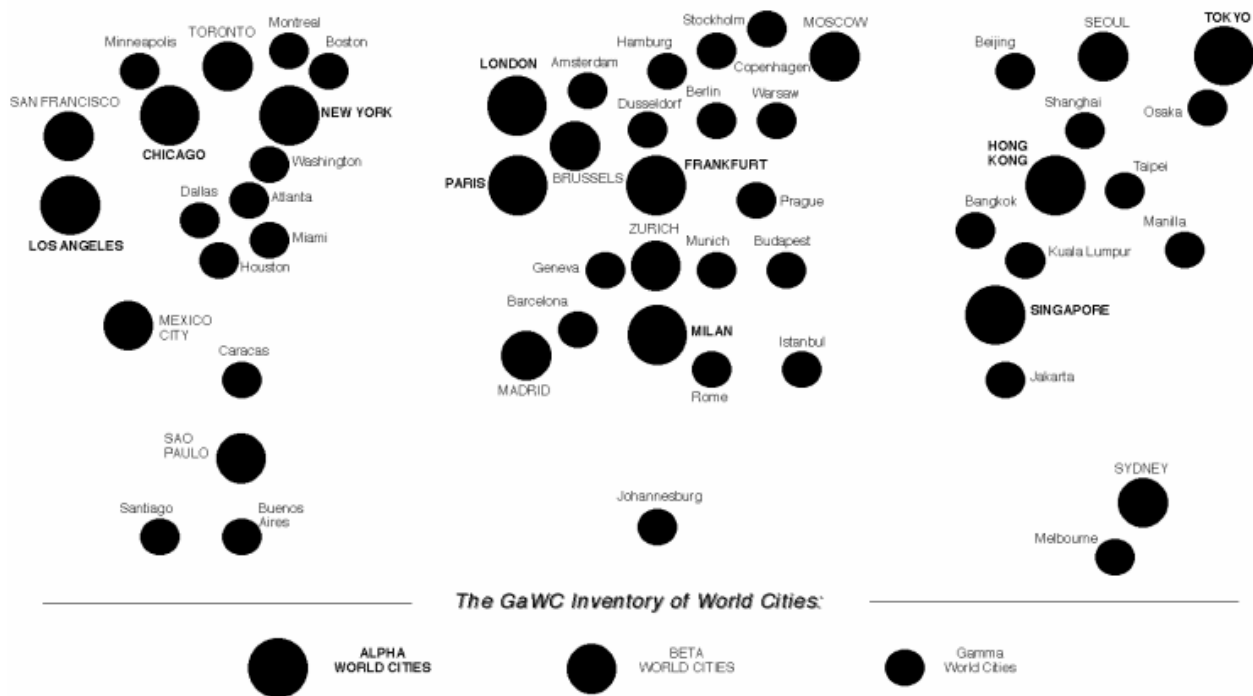

Figure 1: A roster of world cities (Source: Beaverstock et al., 1999)

In the second study, Taylor and Hoyler (2000) have developed a typology that is based upon grouping cities in terms of similar mixes of service firms to define a specific spatial order of European cities. This spatial order has defined two components measuring "spine cities", minor and major respectively, and three components measuring outer regions, a "far east" (ex-Soviet bloc), a "far west" (British Isles), and a "triangular combination of north, south east and south west". According to the results of this study, Istanbul falls into the outer triangle of cities that combines northern (Scandinavia/North Sea), south-western (Iberian/western Mediterranean) and south-eastern (Balkans/east-central Europe) regions. This triangular structure covers 19 cities and Copenhagen, Lisbon and Istanbul constitute the three most important loadings. Istanbul is accompanied by Athens, Vienna, Prague, Bratislava, Budapest and Bucharest.

In another study Taylor (2001) has examined the regionality within globalization. His analysis is based on the office networks of global service firms in accountancy, advertising, banking/finance and law and deal with 55 world cities. This study has shown that the three main

globalization arenas are distinctly separate: USA, Pacific Asia and western Europe. The results have shown that the western European region is stretching out from London and Paris at the center, only Moscow and Istanbul lie below the horizontal axis as the most exceptional of European cities on the world stage (Figure 2).
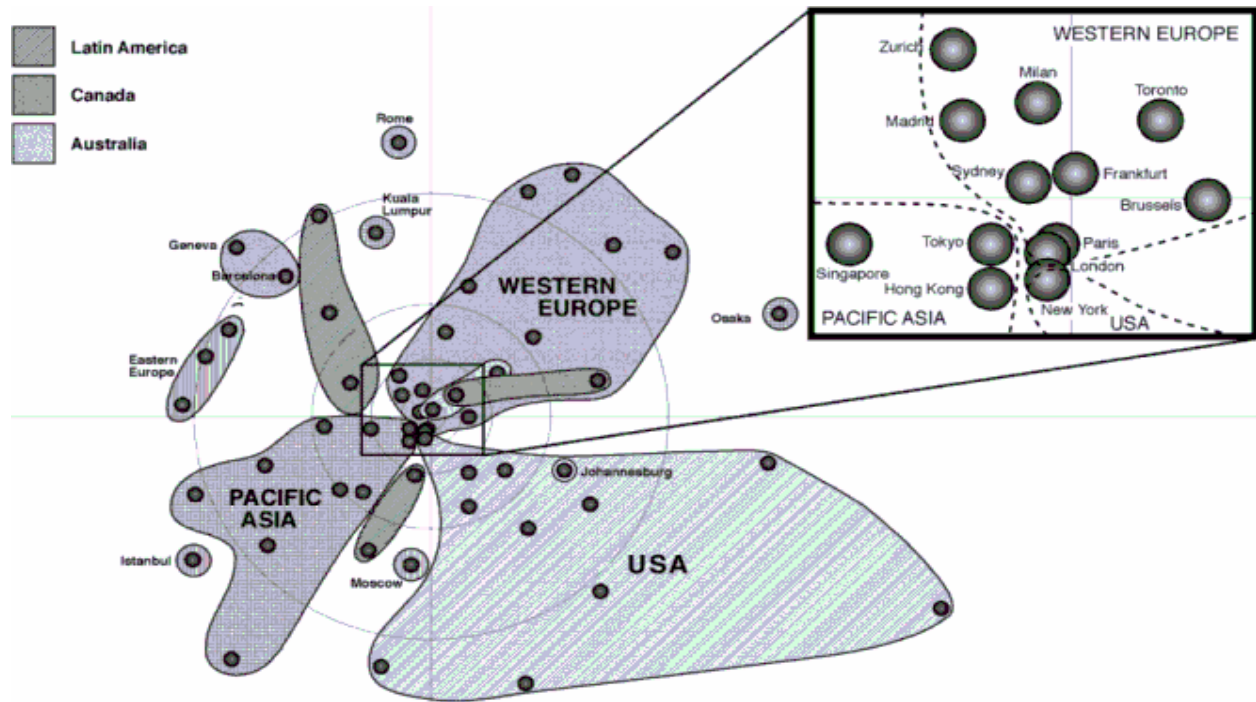

Figure 2: Regionality within globalization: a new world map of cities (Source: Taylor, 2001)

In another study, Taylor and Walker (2001) have analyzed and compared world cities in terms of advanced producer services and the differences in firm's globalization strategies. According to the results of this study, Istanbul is grouped with post-communist eastern European cities. Due to its traditional role as a link between east and west, the authors have found this surprisingly and they have defined Istanbul as an interesting single city.

Recently Taylor (2003) has examined European cities in the world city network. This study has shown very interesting results in terms of Istanbul's role within the European and world city network. According to the results of this study, Istanbul has ranged in the list of the top 35 European cities for network connectivities. In terms of global network connectivity the city has ranged on the 14th rank and in terms of banking/finance connectivity it has ranged on the 7th rank. Istanbul has also ranged in the list of the European cities in the top 25 global connectivities. In terms of bank network connectivity Istanbul has ranged on the 21st rank in the world. Although its role is limited with the banking/finance connectivity, these rankings are important within the European and world city network.

A general evaluation of these studies shows that Istanbul performs as a global center for some advanced producer services. However, its performance shows an "exceptional" or "outer" European city status. Although the city has a global potential, its rank in the world city network demonstrates that its performance does not reflect this potential very well. The city needs to perform better to improve its position. The next section examines the attempts of the city to perform better and to increase its organizing capacity in terms of planning strategies and policies.

5. Development Strategies for Istanbul: Regional Policies and Great Urban Transformation Projects

Istanbul is known as the oldest metropolis in the world and has served as the capital city for several empires throughout its development (Map 1). The Ottoman period have demonstrated the interconnectedness and centrality of Istanbul for trade/production across China/India, Persia and Europe. In the middle of 19th century, especially due to the influence of the trade relations with western countries, urban pattern of Istanbul has changed from monocentric structure to polycentric structure (Ortayli, 1996). The city has kept its importance after the foundation of the Republic of Turkey and actually almost one half of the national wealth and income of the state emerges from Istanbul.

As the largest metropolis of Turkey, Istanbul is performing cultural, financial, commercial, tourism and services functions simultaneously. From an industrial and commercial standpoint Istanbul is the most important city in the country. Commercial and industrial activities diffusing from Istanbul to the region make Marmara the dynamic center of development and an attraction zone in Turkey. Therefore, Istanbul metropolitan area and its hinterland constitute one of the growth poles of Turkey (Baycan-Levent, 2002). On the other hand, Istanbul has begun to perform as a center providing services to neighboring region. Its geopolitical location as a bridge between Asia and Europe and its historical and cultural assets make the city strategically advantageous in the global interactions. It has been observed that in the last decades the globalization process affects Istanbul in many aspects. The new development modes are emerging in the areas of service sector attracting global capital and investments. The impacts of these developments are as great on the socio-economical aspects as on the spatial growth, and on the planning process (Karaman and Baycan-Levent, 2001).
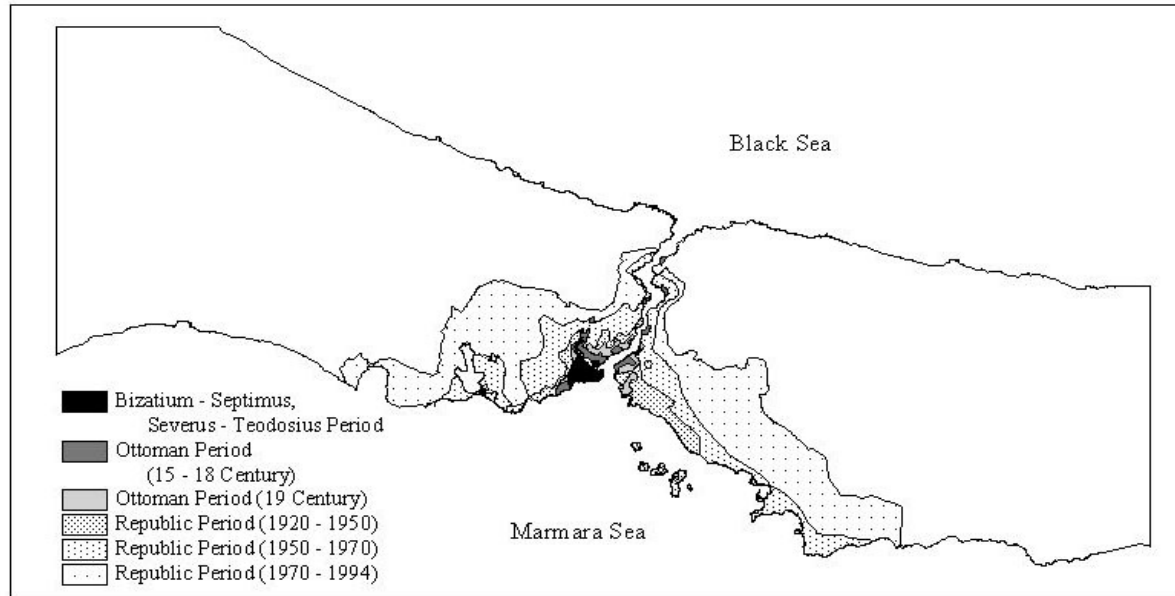
Map 1: The growth and expansion of Istanbul throughout the history
(Source: Greater Istanbul Municipality, 1995)

Istanbul is in a transformation process towards to become a global city. This transformation makes the visions and development strategies crucial at both the central and local government levels. The basic motives for the vision and development strategies of Istanbul have been described in the "8th Five-Year Development Plan: Regional Development Report" at the central government level (Karaman, Baycan-Levent et al., 2000). The spatial development strategies, on the other hand, have been described in the "Master Plan" by the Greater Istanbul Municipality at the local level. In the next sub-section (Sub-section 5.1.) we will focus on the main goals and strategies defined for the city at the central government level. We will address the importance of the city for both country and its region and we will evaluate the actual problems of the city. And next, in the following sub-section (Sub-section 5.2.) we will evaluate the main spatial development strategies for the city while examining the general planning principles, planning policies and urban transformation projects.

5.1. Regional Policies

As the largest and multifunctional metropolis of Turkey, Istanbul has been affected from the global development trends, has transformed in parallel to these trends and has become more international in its activities. The city has a central geographical position in the region of East Europe, Balkans, Middle East and former Soviet Republics and this geographical location makes Istanbul strategically advantageous in terms of global interactions. Due to its geographical position connecting two continents Asia and Europe Istanbul offers important advantageous to global capital in order to reach regional resources and markets. The impact area of the city enlarges by the Euro-Asia axis to the east and by the candidacy for European Union to the west and the city has become an important center on the Mediterranean side of Europe. The advantageous of the city have increased after the political changes in Eastern Europe and the liberal economic policies of 1980's. These changes have provided new opportunities to the city to function as not only as a transition node of economical exchanges from Asia to Europe or vice-versa, but have also provided a new status towards being a world city, the capital of "Euro-Asia", due to external and internal dynamics. Therefore, the city has

caught the opportunity to become a regional center with its regional advantages as well as the advantages of concentration of national facilities in the city. Actually, Istanbul serves as political, economical, social capital of this free market region. For example, it is the center of initiation of Black Sea Economical Co-Operation Association which includes Greece, Bulgaria, Romania, Moldavia, Ukraine, Russia, Georgia and Turkey, each has a large economical and social relationship with European and Asian countries. When this potential is evaluated by relevant strategies, Istanbul might be a world city of this region that the decisions of multinational investments are made for Balkans, the Black Sea Basin and the Middle East.

The vision and development strategies for Istanbul have been defined on the basis of this global potential of the city at the central government level in the 8th Five-Year Development Plan: Regional Development Report (Karaman, Baycan-Levent et al., 2000). The main goals for the city defined in this report are as follows:

- To have a world city status while keeping historical, cultural and natural assets
- To rank in the world cities hierarchy
- By using regional opportunities, to play a pioneering role in integrating the relationship between Europe, Middle East and Asia
- To provide a compatible urban growth and development with the regional and national development
- Depending on the city's historical, cultural, political, commercial characteristics to provide a balance between conservation and development

Although the world cities have many roles and functions in the global system, to define their main roles is of importance in the planning of the city's development. The report has emphasized the importance of defining the main function of the city and has defined this main function as an "informational city" for Istanbul. According to the report, besides the other functions such as cultural, commercial, financial and tourism to become an international metropolis, the city should function mainly as an informational city depending on its potential and position in the global system.

On the basis of these main goals, the report has also evaluated the crucial problems of the city and has drawn attention to the structural changes needed to strengthen Istanbul's role as a world city. As a metropolis of a developing country Istanbul has faced different problems than the developed countries' metropolises. The most important problem of the city is insufficient physical and social infrastructure. The city can not meet the increasing demand for housing, education and health facilities. Particularly the high rate of internal migration has made difficult to provide public services and a planned city growth and development. The uncontrolled development of the city has led to expensive public services. On the other hand, the city has not sufficient financial instruments and revenues.

The institutional structure of the existing planning system has also made difficult to overcome these problems. The most important problem at the regional level is an inefficient regional planning structure. Generally, regional plans can not provide integration between development plans and physical plans and this situation creates holes for the local plans. Metropolitan planning is not defined legally in the planning hierarchy. Therefore, metropolitan planning and management are not institutionalized and the existence of a number of authorized institutions creates many problems, particularly conflicting decisions for the city. A lack of co-operation among institutions and the existence of several responsible institutions have led to conflicting decisions for the city. The city needs some structural changes in its legal, administrative and

planning system. Therefore, the main strategies for Istanbul on the basis of these problems have been formulated in the Regional Development Report as follows:

- The main development strategy of Istanbul, in parallel to the defining role of becoming an "informational city", should be more investment on informational infrastructure and establishment of international research and development centers in which information technologies will be developed.
- In parallel to its informational city role Istanbul should establish a "Metropolis Information System" to observe the changes by modern technological tools such as geographical information system (GIS) and remote sensing.
- In order to function as an international metropolis, the administrative, legal and technical regulations should be made. From the administrative perspective, an integrated administrative structure should be provided and the complexity in the decision making process and the existence of several responsible institutions should be reorganized.
- In the spatial planning of the city, a co-operation among all municipalities including Istanbul Greater Municipality and district municipalities should be provided and the plan of the city at the regional level should be integrated with other city plans for a compatible regional development.
- A system of governance should be developed to increase public-private partnership.

Besides these main strategies which are important to transform the city to an international metropolis, the report has also drawn attention to many other strategies for the development of city. Maintaining the city's linear development pattern in order to protect the water reservoirs and forests, decentralization of industrial activities and development of a polycentric structure in order to perform the city's metropolitan function properly, are the important strategies from the planning perspective. More investment on physical and social infrastructure (transportation, social services etc.), protecting of natural and cultural assets to meet the cultural, touristic and recreational needs and finally providing a better urban quality of life are also among the general development strategies of the city.

As can be seen from the goals and strategies defined at the regional level, the global development trends have strongly affected Istanbul to transform and restructure itself and have found many reflections in the spatial planning of the city.

5.2. Great Urban Transformation Projects

The Greater Istanbul Municipality has described the main spatial development strategies for the city in the "Master Plan" (Map 2). The main aim of the Master Plan can be summarized as "to maintain the balance between the conservation and development and to integrate the city to the economy of the world while playing a pioneering role in its region (Middle East, Asia and Europe)," (Greater Istanbul Municipality, 1995). The general principles of planning have been described on the basis of this main aim of the Master Plan. These general principles can be summarized as follows:

- In the development of the city the priority should be given to the regional and national balance and international relationship.
- The physical growth of the city should be controlled, the growth rate should be slowed down and a balanced development and growth over the metropolitan area should be ensured.
- In order to achieve population decentralization, the development of sub-centers should be encouraged.

- The development of the urban macro-form in a linear and ranked multi-centered fashion should be accepted and a transport and infrastructure system that supports linear development should be considered.
- The natural, historical and cultural assets which are of extreme importance for the identity of the city should be preserved in compliance with the dynamic preservation principle.

Besides these general principles of planning, the multifunctional character of the city has been described as an extreme importance for the identity of Istanbul in this plan. The targets of the Master Plan have been described to keep and improve this multifunctional character.
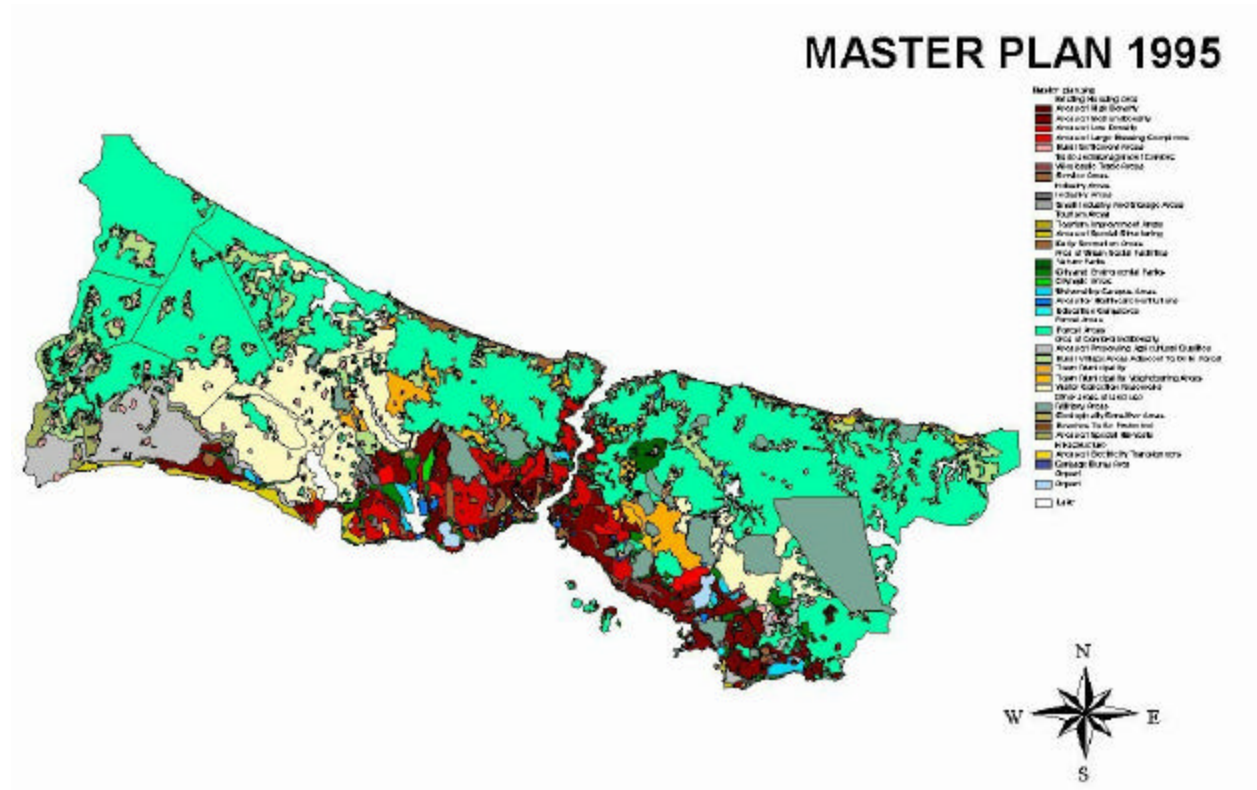
Map 2: Istanbul Master Plan (Source: Greater Istanbul Municipality, 1995)

In order to improve Istanbul as an international city the Master Plan has also developed some policies. From the international perspective the following policies are of importance:

- developing projects of conferences at international level, congress, arts and cultural centers, entertainment and exhibition palaces, forming museums and archives
- increasing the share of the tourism income in the urban economy, improving of the tourism potential and the standards and quality of the facilities and transport system in areas used for tourism and recreation

- facilitating the intercontinental cargo and passenger transport and lowering its cost by ensuring the integration to the international rail systems
- increasing the number of airports within the metropolitan area in order to organize the domestic and international relations
- increasing the areas of national and international sports, arts, recreation and leisure and improving the standards of social facilities while encouraging these kinds of organizations
- developing a new Central Trade Area outside the historical city walls that could become an international management center while transforming the existing one into a historical trade and tourism center

According to the general principles and policies of the Master Plan Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality carries out different mega projects so-called **Urban Transformation Projects**. These projects are the components of the **CONCEPT 2023** that aim to transform the city into an international center of attraction while targeting the Year 2023 for the commemoration of 100th anniversary of the Turkish Republic. These transformation projects are based on three basic strategies of the Master Plan that can be summarized as i) the principle of specialization, ii) the principle of centers grading, iii) the principle of concentration grading. These projects are based also on the Transportation Master Plan that had been carried out in parallel to the Master Plan. The subjects of these projects are transportation, highly concentrated settlements and open spaces (Greater Istanbul Municipality, 2003). By these urban transformation projects it is aimed to accelerate the adaptation process to European Union at metropolis level and to make necessary organizations. Some of these urban transformation projects are as follows:

Eurasia Corridor Project (Edirne-Istanbul Axis): Eurasia Corridor Project that is formed on Europe-Asia-Far East axis affects Turkey and Istanbul. The Greater Istanbul Municipality is actually working on the concept project of Edirne-Istanbul axis. This project has been developed as a part of an international axis while regarding its impacts on the city and the region.

Central Business Areas (Mega) Project: In order to compete with world metropolises, Istanbul needs a Central Business Area that will cover administrative and commercial prestigious centers for both national and international demands. As a vision, Istanbul aims to become the capital of Eurasia that all the decisions are made for this region, therefore with this project the infrastructure of the defined position will be provided.

(Mega) Transformation Project for Istanbul, the City of Fairs and Congresses Standing on Transportation Backbones: With this project the modern silhouette of Istanbul will be directed over transportation corridors. Therefore, the natural and historical identity of the city will be protected while developing its modern silhouette.

National and Global Communication Center Transformation Project within the Prestige Axis Foreseen by the Master Plan: To meet the demands of the world communication sector is essential for world metropolises. This project shall express the modern identity of the communication sector that will be developed within the prestige axis foreseen by the Master Plan.

Green Corridor Transformation Project Extending North Forests from the Black Sea to the Marmara: With this project it is aimed to extend north forests from the Black Sea to the Marmara Sea via corridors and to provide the continuity of green spaces. The application will be started from the industrial zones around the transportation corridors and the project will be supported with other green projects in the Master Plan.

Natural and Living (Mega) Environmental Transformation Project Stressing on World Water and Botanical Culture on Water Catchment Sites: This project aims to transform existing villages and settlements within water catchment sites into self-sufficient eco-villages. The project will be started from the absolute protection zones and it will be supported with social programs.

Golden Horn Environment Protection Project: Among the transformation projects the oldest one is the Golden Horn Environment Protection Project. The Golden Horn Environment Protection Project is the major urban cleaning and transformation project in Istanbul. This project was initiated by the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality and Istanbul Water and Sewerage Administration (ISKI) in 1984 with the key objective of cleansing the Golden Horn, thus removing once and for all its unpleasant odors and ugly sights, and to restore and revitalize the historic and cultural features. The main aim of the Project is to enable this unique stretch of water, famed for its incomparable beauty in the Byzantine and Ottoman periods, to recover its former identity while adding a contemporary dimension that will be a gift for the future generations (Greater Istanbul Municipality, 2003). The Golden Horn Cleaning Program was completed, but some urban design and landscaping projects are still under development and construction. The project as a whole has provided a rapid urbanization and transformation process and revitalization in all economic and social activities as well as in natural and environmental life. The project has played an important role on the revitalization and transformation of the Golden Horn with its multifunctional land use characteristics in the planning approach. This revitalization has also created a great synergy on social and economic life (see for a detailed evaluation of the impacts/benefits of the project Baycan-Levent and Kundak, 2003). For this project the municipality won an international prize by the Metropolis Association in 2002 (Metropolis, 2003).

Most of these transformation projects mentioned above are under development and construction and some of them are still a policy idea and there is no much study made about them. An overall evaluation of these projects shows two important trends in the development of the city. First, the city transforms and restructures itself to become a stronger world city particularly by the investments on infrastructure. All these investments led to a physical change and a development of the new and modern face of the city. Second, the city transforms also itself to increase the urban quality of life. The projects on natural and green areas and water catchments as well as revitalization and urban redevelopment projects are among the efforts of the city to improve the quality of life. It is obvious that these two trends are not separated each other. The transformation in each of them stimulates the other one and facilitates and accelerates the process as a whole. When these trends are evaluated from the planning perspective, a "multifunctional land use" approach emerges as the most important characteristic of the planning system. All the strategies and transformation projects developed are not only based on the existing multifunctional characteristics of the city but they also aim to strengthen the city's multifunctional identity. The global development trends and the demands of global actors make also necessary this kind of approach.

6. Conclusions

The globalization process has had a great impact on urbanization and the development processes of the cities in all over the world. From the planning perspective, the globalization has led to some paradigmatic shifts in the planning system. First, the globalization process and the emergence of a new urban system that is based on the network of cities have changed the understanding of the space. Instead of "spaces of places", a new concept "spaces of flows" has been the main argument of the planning. Second, the globalization process has changed the hierarchical patterns. Instead of the traditional "hinterland" concept, a new concept a world-wide "hinterworlds" for each city has emerged and this has also become a new planning argument. Third, the globalization process has increased the importance of the regions. As indicated by Taylor and Hoyler (2000) globalization has emerged as a region-originated in nature. Therefore, regionality within globalization and also within urbanization has been the most important consequences of the geography of change and it has become another important argument of planning. Finally, the globalization process has led to a more comprehensive and multidimensional planning approach. The most important component of the globalization, network phenomenon, has made necessary a networked planning system in which all actors are integrated in a strong co-operation.

As observed in all metropolises, the global development trends have strongly affected Istanbul to transform and restructure itself and have found many reflections in the spatial planning of the city. In quantitative terms, the city has transformed by new investments on physical and social infrastructure to meet both national and international demands. In qualitative terms, the city has improved the urban quality of life both by some physical investments on natural environment, urban open and green spaces and by some social programs and activities. In this transformation process, while the principles and the strategies of the planning system have focused on the existing multifunctional characteristics of the city, new urban transformation projects have also oriented to strengthen the city's multifunctional identity. Therefore, this multifunctional approach has emerged as the most important characteristics of the planning system. On the other hand, the city needs some legal and administrative regulations to facilitate this transformation process. The problems stemming from the existing legal and administrative structure of the planning system have been recognized both by central and local government. However, the conflicts particularly in sharing authorities and responsibilities between central and local government make difficult to reorganize the administrative structure of the planning system.

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