Infiltrating of Globalization to Cities and Identities as a Challenging Paradigm

Introduction.

> "The relationship between economic globalization and urban development is complex, and quite difficult to trace and to validate empirically…"
>
> *—Shachar, 1997:22*

Cities are different, with major differences likely to persist, but also similar social, economic processes, making the study of cities possible—not just complex jumble, but patterns. Identity is both a private and social issue, wrapped up in the construction of the self. It lies at the boundary between the private and the public in the city. Identities are formed through socialization and community as common identity involves boundaries between "we" and "they". In addition to, identity is context-dependent, reflects the social and spatial circumstances in cities, i.e., continually changing. Identities vary historically and geographically, they are contingent on when & where we live, although they often appear as "natural", as well. In this process, globalization is rapidly changing the sense of place and identities, blurring simple dichotomous definitions.

'Globalization' is a polyvalent, promiscuous, controversial word that often obscures more than it reveals about recent geographical, environmental, economic, political, social, and cultural changes. It is best used to denote a multicentric, multiscalar, multitemporal, multiform, and multicausal process, which has much less of an explanans and more of an explanandum. In recent analysis globalization has been found to be about place, space, and scale. This paper argues that infiltrating of globalization to cities and identities as a challenging paradigm.

According to Castells (1993:247), cities are inherently complex entities. This is because they are the result of ever-changing structural determinants interacting with multiple specificities rooted in culture and history. Capitalist restructuring since the crisis of the 1970s has produced the latest structural determinants, collectively termed globalization, which have created new world cities (Friedmann, 1986) or global cities (Sassen, 1991). However that is only part of the story. In addition, the historical and cultural specificities are not constants; their influences on city development alter as changing economic and political circumstances bring forth new meanings for old practices (Taylor & Hoyler, 2000).

In urban planning area it is often difficult to trace the origin of some concepts as in the social sciences. Concepts, theories and ideas are often products of collective endeavors. It would be extremely difficult to identify who used the term "globalization" for the first time. According to Waters (1995) whose book titled *Globalization* is a fine primer, Robertson was one of the early users of the term (Robertson, 1983; 1992).

No matter who coined it first, at the dawn of the 21st century globalization as a concept, as a slogan, as a term is used more frequently than any other terms. In Turkey, from the inflow of foreign capital, technology, workers or "foreign talents", music, movies, popular culture, almost everything has resonance with globalization. Globalization is a heroic process, globalization is a sinister process, depending on which side of the debate one stands. Some tend to see globalization as a brakeless train crushing everything in its path, others see benefit in getting on board the train towards economic growth and modernization.

In this century, there is already an expectation of going through a much faster and stronger process of change and transformation than the one in the past. Leading powers of 'globalization', which is seen as inevitable, bring about the concept of 'region' beyond the national borders, which necessitates not the separation but the integration of the market as well as the concealment of the 'local characteristics', which aims at protecting their own identities, characters and cultures. In this process which is called as 'glocalization', it is expected to view substantial changes in the social and spatial structures of 'competing cities', which are struggling to take place in the system. So, 'glocalization' as a different point of view decouples local identities from local places and it's possible that as dilemmas of 'authenticity'. But also, it reinforces particularity of a place.

Globalization and Cities.

> "Globalization is a trend that has spawned many conventional wisdoms. The freedom of employers to locate factories wherever labour costs are cheapest is said to have reduced the power of labour. The ability of companies to choose countries with userfriendly tax and regulatory regimes is alleged to have undermined the power of the nation state. Income inequality in the developed world is often attributed to the globalization of production. While there is an element of truth in each of these assertions, they are all potentially misleading."
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> —*Financial Times,1997*

This paper focuses on the influences of globalization to cities and identities to begin with, which taking to signify: "the stretching and deepening of social relations and institutions across space and time such that, on the one hand, day-to-day activities are increasingly influenced by events happening on the other side of the globe and, on the other hand, the practices and decisions of local groups can have significant global reverberations" (Held, 1995:20).

Globalization, thus defined, is centrally about the spatiality of contemporary social organisation, about meanings of place and space associated with intensified world-level forces and raised global connectivity. Held et al (1999:16) are right to stress that globalization is a: "process which embodies a transformation in the spatial organization of social relations and transactions assessed in terms of their extensity, intensity, velocity, and impact generating transcontinental or interregional flows and networks of activity, interaction, and the exercise of power."

Globalization (in other words G-word) is one of the most powerful and convincing images of today's world. The image of globalization—as promise or as threat—is invoked daily to justify actions and to rationalize policy. It is quantitatively and qualitatively different from the conventional wisdom. In particular, it is fundamentally different from the extreme visions of globalization—hyperglobalization—with which we are constantly bombarded in newspapers, on television, on internet, in popular books, and in scholarly journals (Perraton et al, 1997).

Veseth (1998) suggests that globalization is sold, and we buy it. But globalization is really a delivery system, not a final product. When we accept the image of hyperglobalization, we simultaneously accept, usually without question, a number of other images—political, economic, and intellectual. He says, "Globalization is the Marlboro Man of international political economy. People are attracted to the advertised image and buy the product associated with it. It makes them feel good and look cool, and they are soon addicted. Then one day they wake up with emphysema. This process is misleading and potentially dangerous. It is time that this globalization business was more closely scrutinized." (Veseth, 1998:2).

Globalization as a concept in literature has a short history. Even in Williams' *Key Words* (1983) there is no information on globalization (Williams, 1983). The Harper Collins *Dictionary of Sociology* (Jary & Jary, 1991) has an entry on "globalization of production" but no entry on globalization as such. Marshall and et als' (1994) *The Oxford Concise Dictionary of Sociology* (1994) has an entry on globalization together with globalization theory. It says, "Globalization theory examines the emergence of a global cultural system. It suggests that global culture is brought about by a variety of social and cultural developments…". The entry refers to the book edited by Albrow and King (1990) *Globalization, Knowledge and Society* which the term globalization was probably first used as a book title in.

It is a term in heavy current usage but one whose meaning remains obscure, often even among those who invoke it. Scholte states that "globalization stands out for quite a large public spread across the world as one of the defining terms of late twentiethcentury social consciousness" (Scholte, 2000). There are many approachs about this term (Baumann, 1999; Hamelink, 1999; Held et al., 1999; Roberts & Hite, 2000; Rupert, 2000; Sklair, 2002). If we want to take the concept of globalization both serious and critically, not least to address and think about cultural transformations in the world, the term needs to be given some precision. Crang (1999) suggests (drawing on, and condensing, Lefebvre's [1991] three key concepts of 'representations of space, spatial representations and representational practices'), is how globalization takes place through 'conceived, perceived and lived spaces', in changing patterns of spatial consumption, for example.

'Globalization' is a polyvalent, promiscuous, controversial word that often obscures more than it reveals about recent economic, political, social, and cultural changes. It is best used to denote a multicentric, multiscalar, multitemporal, multiform, and multicausal process (Jessop, 2003).

First, it is *multicentric* because it emerges from activities in many places rather than from a single centre. Second, globalization is *multiscalar* because it emerges from actions on many scales which can no longer be seen as nested in a neat hierarchy but as co-existing and interpenetrating in a tangled and confused manner – and it develops and deepens the scalar as well as the spatial division of labour. This excludes any simple opposition between the global and the national or the global and the local. Indeed, in some ways, the global is little more than '*a hugely extended network of localities*' (Czarniawska and Sevón 1996: 22). Third, the latter dynamic is m*ultitemporal* because it involves an ever more complex restructuring and re-articulation of temporalities and time horizons. This aspect is captured in the notions of time-space distantiation and time-space compression. Fourth, globalization is *multiform*. It assumes different forms in different contexts and can be realized through different strategies – neo-liberal globalization with its emphasis on the integration of the world market along neo-liberal lines is only one of these general forms and even this having several significant variants. Finally, globalization is clearly *multicausal* because it results from the complex, contingent interaction of many different causal processes. For, taken together, the preceding features mean that, far from globalization being a unitary causal mechanism, it should be understood as the complex, emergent product of many different forces operating on many scales (Jessop, 2003).

Global transformations, nevertheless, are not geographically even and without their resistance at different spatial scales and in different countries/regions and also cities. First, the global reach of corporate activities has failed to transform the world economy into a singular global production factory. In fact, what appears to be more convincing is the phenomenon of regionalisation through which regions have emerged as the major motor of the global economy (Scott, 1998). Global production seems to be taking place in such high-tech regions as Silicon Valley (Northern California), Third Italy (Emilia-Romagna) and Baden-Württemberg (southern Germany). Global finance remains highly rooted in such existing

global finance centres as the City of London, New York and Tokyo, and new international financial centres as Hong Kong and Singapore.

Second, the arrival of global cultures has further accentuated the awareness of local differences and cultural responses. While the global flows of information, images and artefacts are greatly facilitated by the advancement in telecommunications and transport technologies, the recipients and consumption of these flows remain highly territorialised and embedded in specific geographical boundaries. Third, the political economy of globalization does not necessarily indicate the demise of nation states as the primary locus of political governance. Some have argued that the world is not becoming more unruly and disorderly in the governance sense (Herod et al., 1998).

Globalization is also as much a set of material processes as a set of contested ideologies and discourses (see Leyshon, 1997) The ways through which globalization is represented can have equally significant impact on material processes.

Globalization, Cultures and Identities.

> "No one today is purely one thing, labels like 'Indian' or 'women' or 'Muslim' or 'American' are now no more than a starting point... Imperialism consolidated the mixture of cultures and identities on a global scale. But its worst and most paradoxical gift was to allow people to believe they were only, mainly, exclusively white, or black or Western or Oriental. Yet as human beings make their own history, they also make their cultural and ethnic identities"
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> *– Edward Said, 1993*

Culture is not just about dances, food and dress. It is a shared set of values and meanings practiced in everyday life. To understand the connection between globalization and identities to ask required these questions: How place shapes identity and culture? How identity shapes place and city? How places acquire meaning? Language, ethnicity, region or race, religion, subculture?

Identity is a concoction of different things. It is, in essence, a social product born out of society and culture. Identity is often influenced by and manifested in physical matter. The term "identity", it is a notion referred to daily in societies, but it is also a social science concept that has been widely discussed in past decades. When used in everyday language, a notion acquires a form of evidence and it could seem superfluous to define it. The following points have yet to be explicited to remove some ambiguities.

Tajfel and Turner (1986) suggested the Social Identity Theory (SIT), that "assumes that a person's social identity is constituted by the vast number of social identifications that person has with various social categories" (Augoustinos and Walker, 1995:109). Identity is therefore the result of an identification process, and a relational phenomenon.

If speaking about a "national identity", one therefore has to explicit the meaning of "nation". Can we consequently speak about a "Turkish identity"? Or could we speak about a "European identity"? Kriesi's conclusion (Kriesi et al, 1999:25) is that in the future Europe, citizens are supposed to have a "multi-layered national identity", similar to Indian citizens.

It is fair to say that the impact of globalization in the cultural sphere has, most generally, been viewed in a pessimistic light. Typically, it has been associated with the destruction of cultural identities, victims of the accelerating encroachment of a homogenized, westernized, consumer culture.

Although confused and faceless, the world of globalization has its physical limits which cannot be completely vanquished by modern technologies. Nevertheless, the genuine, multiple nature of the city and its new character(s) can be discovered through numerous terms that describe it as a:

- Informational City (Castells, 1989)
- Dual City (Castells, 1989; Mollenkopf & Castells, 1991)
- Telematics City (Hepworth, 1990)
- Intelligent City (Hepworth, 1990; Graham & Marvin, 1996)
- Divided City (Fainstein et al., 1992)
- Network City (Batten, 1995)
- City Of Collective Memory (Boyer, 1996)
- City Of Spectacle (Short & Kim, 1999)
- Entrepreneurial City (Short & Kim, 1999)
- Diffuse/Compact City ... Etc.

Thus, it is noticeable that the city at the beginning of the 3rd millennium is continuously excited by internal and external economical, environmental or gepgraphical, cultural, political, historical, social and ethnical stimulations that are the result of its new technological infrastructure and evolving identities. While on this development and changing will be continuity, cities are increasingly complex and confusing places. However, so that we may interact at a functional level, we seek order in and attach meanings to the environment (Walmsley, 1988). According to Norberg-Schulz (1979), the identity or the character of a city is one of the important parts of its existence and mechanism. It is the physical properties of a city which, first of all, forms its urban character. These properties are conceived as matter, structure, color and pattern (Relph, 1976; Tuan, 1977; Norberg-Schulz, 1979).

In other words, the character of an urban place, which demonstrates its identity, gains meaning and definition by its structural and materialistic qualities. In this perspective, 'identity' and 'meaning' are closely related concepts and 'indefiniteness' and 'meaninglessness' are synonyms with 'unidentification', that is having no identity.

The presentation of identity of a 'place' can only be achieved by a viewer-commentator mentality. And this is realized by 'perceiving' (Rowe and Koetter, 1978). A number of relativities related to time, place and individual can be mentioned in the definition and determination of qualities of an urban place. Actually, it is inevitable for the individual to be driven by his past experiences along with external stimulus and his value judgments and expectations; evaluation will appear after such a comparison.

Consequently, it can be said that the evaluation of the urban place with its specific qualities, the acquisition of a specific cultural identity, definition and meaning by the place can only be possible by the citizens who have intellectual capacity to represent 'citizenship culture', who have reached the consciousness of fellow citizen. The thesis that can be put forward is that there is a mutual relationship, whose existence can be viewed, between the social cultural transmission and structural environment and these two systems continually interact and put each other into shape (Burgess, 2000).

The main hypothesis which can be developed is that, in the process of mutual interaction, forming healthy urban environments can be attained through urban culture by means of conscious individuals and by improving urban environment and keeping it in a good shape can help conscious citizens and urban culture to be formed (Bilsel, et al., 1994). This is described more detailed as: "The formation which can be viewed in cities today is, in fact, the differences in the ways of reflection of different life philosophies to the place. This concept is understandable because the citizens, who use the whole urban place together, give 'the

urban culture' different meanings and concepts. In the historical developments of cities, different and recognizable settlement and structure styles, one layer on the other or one next to the other , in the reflection of ideologies to the place, is a known formation style. However, today, the interesting thing is that these urban styles forming next to each other are concurrent. These styles are, in fact, the expressions of the same socio-economic system in different ways." (Bilsel et. all, 1994).

The discussion goes on to the topic of what the specific urban culture, in fact, which is defined as 'a fact of structured complexity' is; what the identity, which is presented by the urban management and reflected to the place, should be, as an outcome of the cultural mix defining a transferable and dominant or the possibility of uniting with an upper-identity (Rowe and Koetter, 1978; Montgomery, 1998).

Towards an Identity Crisis and Breakdown Process between Globalizaton and Glocalization

The city, when it is defined as an artificial physical environment, where an organization more than natural and primitive life mechanisms are settled and represented, the history of civilization and all the admirable facts, if it is the history of urban life, can be said to have been designed in the city. As a matter of fact, there is no great culture which has not created cities (Kuban, 1994).

On the one hand, in today's cities which are gradually becoming overpopulated, extremely big, dense, stony, inefficient the loss of natural and cultural values, in other words urban inheritance, on the other hand, the gradual destruction of place, environment and quality of life is explained by the theory of 'collapse'. According to Kuban (1994), the enlargement of a city as a livable place is a function of the rational component of the social culture living there. The existence of a city in which you cannot live in a civilized way or which does not produce civilization is now, just an abstract determination, a verbal habit.

It can be said that there are the relations gradually becoming weaker between the urban societies and the culture and the disappearance of urban civilization (civitas) underlying urban diseases. The historical cities of the Old World are societies which have succeeded in uniting the politic power with science, humanity, religion and such fields and they have been able to relate these with cultural ideals. Nevertheless, at present, the fact of metropolis, which is a product of civilization, stems from mere functionalism and social rationalism.

Contemporary metropolises do not take into consideration any hierarchical order but market mechanism, the superiority of financial power (ignoring moral values because of social welfare) and consuming and destructing powers. Even if a post-modern city tries to run away from the routines of mass production tending to variable structural differences, there will always be contrasting values between culture cities and metropolises which externalize them. What is more, today's cities are not much aware of this (Schroth, 2000).

Actually, when the identities of societies or citizens are in danger, the problem of 'cultural identity' turns out be a more discussed topic. Historical patterns in the settled regions of the city are specific parts which contribute substantially to the quality of the urban environment as long as they are kept alive by protection and they keep being unite in harmony with the city. Cities can protect cultural inheritance and identity by both a spatial continuality and a historical one, which comes from the past and goes on to the future.

Yet, as it is seen in many settlement regions in Turkey, cities enlarging in an unhealthy way become dense and wide and fails in protecting their established culture values. These regions turn out to be unidentified places, which, as time goes on, change the meanings of

quality, measure, scale due to the loss of specific identities and their readability. In fast growing cities such as Istanbul, the issue of urban identity and culture and their implications are increasingly complex and multi-dimensional.

If we define 'place' with its relations, history and identity then a place without relations, history and a specific identity will be a 'non-existent' one with the meaning of 'nowhere' (Auge, 1995). According to Arefi (1999) as the place presents diversity, multiple meaning, livability and spontaneousness, urban places which are defined as nowhere having mono meaning and mono direction. Apart from the concept of losing meaning through scale, size and aim, there is the concept of 'difference' or 'nowhere', which appears with the loss of relations among places. And this leads to an identity crisis directly related to the place.

This relationship between place and identity should not be necessarily established through conscious processes (Stokols & Jacobi, 1990; Dixon and Durrheim, 2000), as follows: "The traditional referents of the built environment, rather than promoting a constant awareness of historical links, instead carry important meanings that can be assessed by group members as needed. The physical manifestations of the traditional compose a repository of latent meanings that group members draw upon to reaffirm links with past or place." (Stokols & Jacobi, 1990).

For Harvey (1989), the development of 'place-identity' is a characteristics feature of the postmodern city. He compares the dramatic increase in the pace of change, the surge of 'space-time compression', with the impact of rapid modernization at the beginning of the 20th century. Similar reactions can be observed, ranging from enthusiasm for the excitement, stimulus and potential for change, to "the search for solid moorings in a shifting world" (Harvey, 1989).

Place is something to which urban identity or culture can be attached and where is a demand for those qualities which make places distinctive and give them a unique symbolic value. For many, this leads "to a reversion to images of a lost past" (Harvey, 1989), a desire for symbols of continuity and stability. Since there is a limited supply of the 'authentic past', this demand is met through what Baudrillard has called 'simulacra' (Poster, 1988).

Manuel Castells devoted an entire volume of his celebrated analysis of 'The Information Age' to the proposition that: "Our world and our lives are being shaped by the conflicting trends of globalization and identity." For Castells, the primary *opposition* to the power of globalization lies in "the widespread surge of powerful expressions of collective identity that challenge globalization... on behalf of cultural singularity and people's control over their lives and environment" (1997: 2). Far from being the fragile flower that globalization tramples, identity is seen here as the upsurging *power* of local culture that offers (albeit multi-form, disorganized and sometimes politically reactionary) *resistance* to the centrifugal force of capitalist globalization.

This more robust view of the 'power of identity' is one to which anyone surveying the dramatic rise of social movements based around identity positions (gender, sexuality, religion, ethnicity, nationality) might easily subscribe. So, recognizing the significant cultural sources of resistance to the power of globalization goes a long way towards getting this power in perspective. The impact of globalization thus becomes, more plausibly, a matter of the *interplay* of an institutional-technological impetus towards globality with counterposed 'localizing' forces. Cultural identity is not likely to be the easy prey of globalization. This is because identity is not in fact merely some fragile communal-psychic attachment, but a considerable dimension of *institutionalized* social life in modernity.

But notice that none of these problems conforms to the scenario of the general *destruction* of identities by globalization. Rather, they attest to an *amplification* of the significance of identity

positions in general produced by globalization. It is this proliferation of identity that causes problems for the nation-state's hegemony over its population's sense of cultural attachment.

Global or Glocal?

In this century, there is already an expectation of going through a much faster and stronger process of change and transformation than the one in the past. Leading powers of 'globalization', which is seen as inevitable , bring about the concept of 'region' beyond the national borders, which necessitates not the separation but the integration of the market as well as the concealment of the 'local characteristics', which aims at protecting their own identities, characters and cultures.

In this process which is called as 'glocalization' (Robertson, 1995), it is expected to view substantial changes in the social and spatial structures of 'competing cities', which are struggling to take place in the system.

Gabardi defines glocalization as follows: "[Glocalization is marked by the] development of diverse, overlapping fields of global-local linkages ... [creating] a condition of globalized panlocality....what anthropologist Arjun Appadurai calls deterritorialized, global spatial 'scapes' (ethnoscapes, technoscapes, finanscapes, mediascapes, and ideoscapes).... This condition of glocalization… represents a shift from a more territorialized learning process bound up with the nation-state society to one more fluid and translocal. Culture has become a much more mobile, human software employed to mix elements from diverse contexts. With cultural forms and practices more separate from geographic, institutional, and ascriptive embeddenness, we are witnessing what Jan Nederveen Pieterse refers to as postmodern 'hybridization'" (2000:33-34).

In fact, because of the economic gains needed to be attained, it is necessary to put up with the social costs of these so called changes in today's cities. In this respect, the emphasis is on the fact that, apart from there is social decomposition among social classes in cities, there is the problem of disappearance of traditional cultural values due to the pressure caused by structural change. Yet, there is another problem of 'identity crisis', which is encountered by the loss of cultural continuity coming from the past and going on to the future.

The main concern is to what extent support this concept of transformation and change, which does not take into account the traditional values and measures in present pattern of cities in order to form prestigious districts and sell privileged city regions (for example, gentrification, etc.) and the image of the city, and which brings about rise and density. How can this concept of decomposition through separating the city into 'privileged' and 'more underdeveloped' regions and its consequence of concurrence in terms of time and space be united?

'Urban places that are no longer livable' frequently appear as a result of the gradual destruction of 'the sense of urban identity' and the relation of time and place, in other words, the collaboration of place-memory-identity to gain interest in a narrow sense and to demonstrate power or to establish authority through means which is called 'planning' today. At this point not being aware of what is being lost by the application of urban transformations and change stem from not being able to read or to misinterpret 'the background story of the place' (Jackson, 1994; Burgess, 2000).

Conclusions.

The new era of transformation, so runs the argument, is an old wine in a new bottle. Today's technological changes have become the so-called "a tail that wags the dog." That is, individual members of the society have no choice but to adjust to modern times and its accompanying changes. The key to protecting one's security and balance vis-à-vis the onslaught of globalization is accommodation-not resistance. Some regard globalization as a paradigm shift from which there is no escape. This shift requires changes in life style, value system, and cultural and mental attitudes toward local, national, and the universe.

Critics of globalization argue that this cultural invasion will lead to the disintegration of identity and the spirit of culture. In opposition, its cheerleaders consider the decline of cultural distinctions as a substantial sign of enhanced communications, a measure of integration of societies, and a scope toward unification of civilizations.

The international expansion of powerful retail and manufacturer groups has led to a wave of rationalization and consolidation. But instead of creating 'one global village', are globalization and the internet actually enforcing regional identities and specialisation? It is important to recognise the 'one world' fallacy for what it is: a fallacy. Despite a degree of convergence, most fundamental differences in regional tastes, preferences, culture and religions have not suddenly disappeared with the invention of the word 'globalization' or the internet.

As we are about to enter the twenty first century, the process of globalization appears at the same time irresistible and irreversible. For some, the post cold war era has found its real meaning. It is the "Global Age". With convincing clarity, if not modesty, Friedman, in his last book, *The Lexus and the Olive Tree* (1999) gives his final verdict on the significance of world events in the last ten years. It is neither the "End of History" triumphantly announced by Francis Fukuyama (1989), nor the "Clash of Civilizations" defiantly predicted by Samuel Huntington (1993). It is the return of "globalization" ; the process of globalization had already started in the second half of the nineteenth century, as a result of the revolution in transport.

Fukuyama got the end of ideology right, but he missed the resurgence of nationalism. He imagined that the end of the ideological world of the 20th century would bring a sort of stasis. Friedman has the benefits of globalization, the sort of virtuous circle idea, and its benefits for pluralism exactly right, but he missed the vulnerabilities that globalization piles on both rich and poor, wealthy and destitute. For Friedman, globalization is inevitable and irreversible; the forward march of technology makes it so. Huntington certainly got the cultural backlash of different regions right, but he missed the variations within different, what he calls, 'civilisations', and what we might call 'regional cultures'.

Identity is the relationship between people and cities, the ways they se them and meanings they attach to them. Identity does not mean blind copying from the past, but requires a thorough research and investigation of its principles. To set up strong links between the past and present we should ensure the continuity of local characteristics in the city. The past is a part of the present and both will be a part of the future.

Now, it seems inevitable for cities to gradually become wider, more widespread and more difficult to design. Despite today's features of forming which appear as a result of modernist city planning approaches developed through rational philosophy, in changing planning approaches and changing mental structure, there is the fact that the city is now 'unreadable' and 'uncontrolled' (Schwarzer, 2000; Graham and Marvin, 2001).

Today, there is 'the city of differences' formed by a number of contradictions, ambiguities and continuous oppositions. Under such circumstances, apart from interactions at a high level, there is the rapid moveability of capital, physical borders gradually becoming uncertain and architectural and urban formations which seem disagreeable.

Cities in Turkey have experienced fundamental social, environmental, historical, cultural and economic transformations in recent decades. The ongoing migration process from rural to urban areas in increasing concentration of people in big cities have accelerated socio-cultural and spatial differentiation an diversity. The fact of today's 'Turkish city' which represents an interesting mix of social, cultural, functional and spatial meanings in global or glocal process and where the traditional and the contemporary disagree with each other needed to be topic of discussion.

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